

**Modern history or, the present state of all nations. Describing their respective situations, persons, habits, and buildings, manners, laws and customs ... plants, animals, and minerals / by Mr. Salmon ; illustrated with cuts and maps ... by Herman Moll.**

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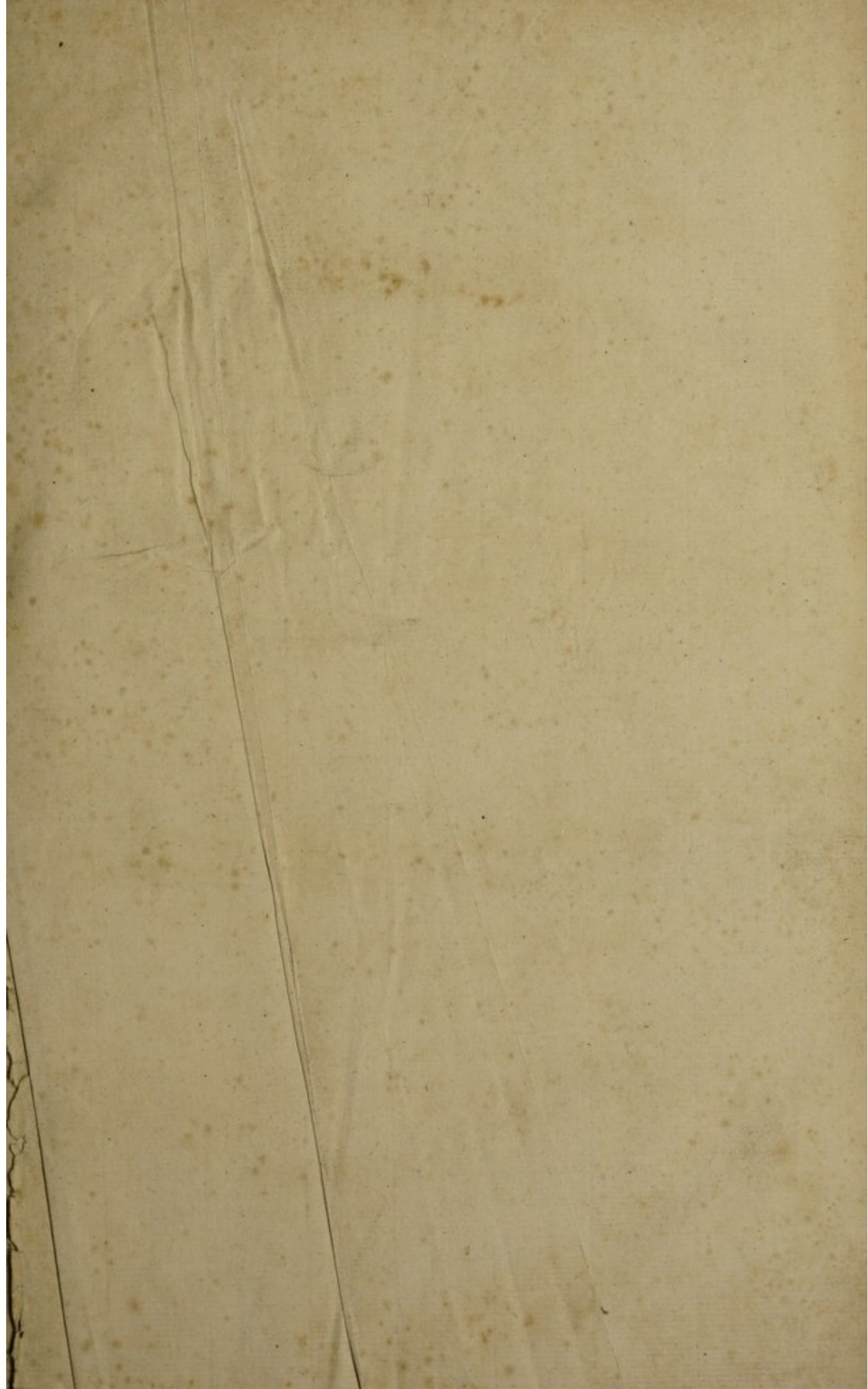
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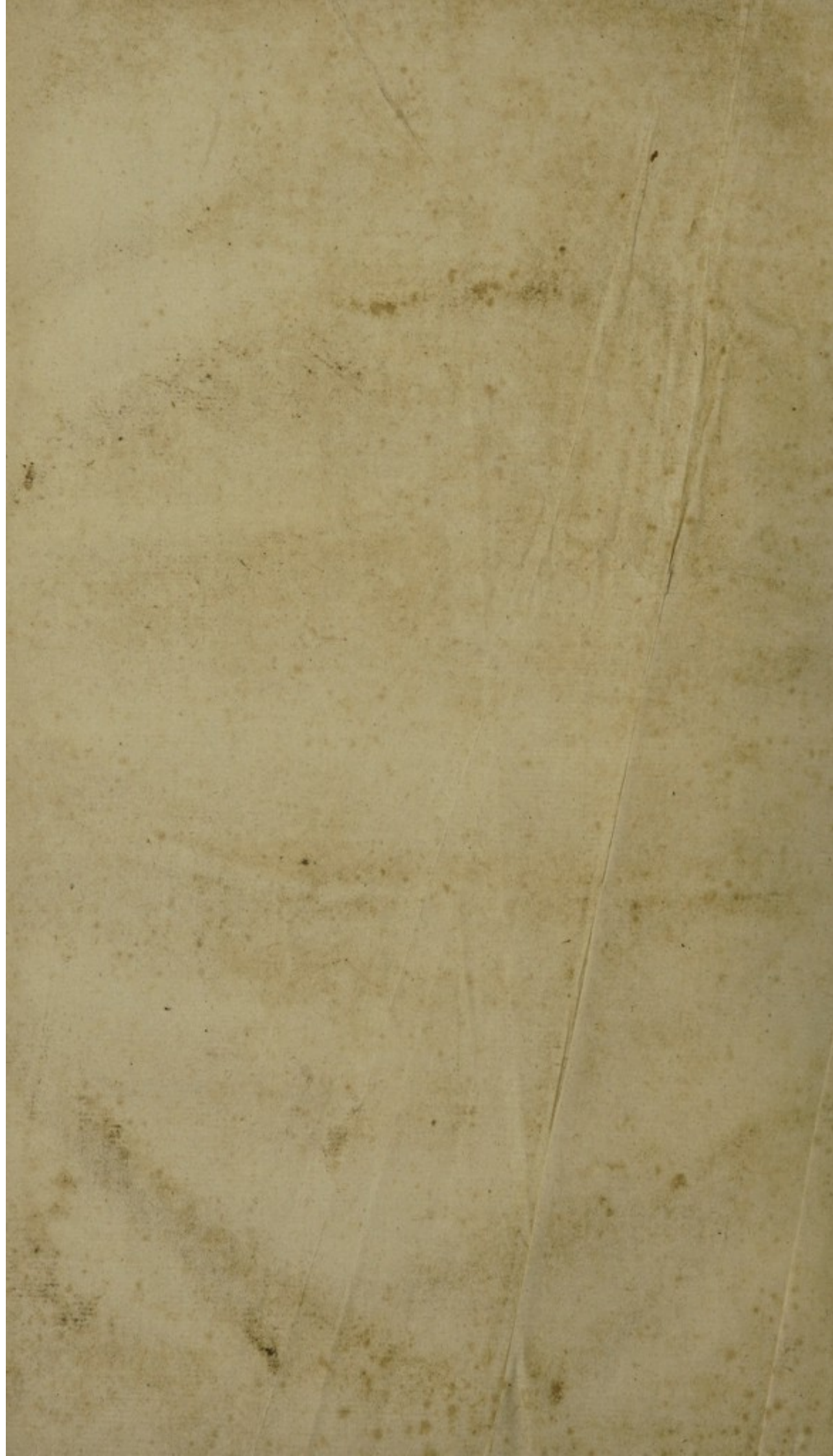




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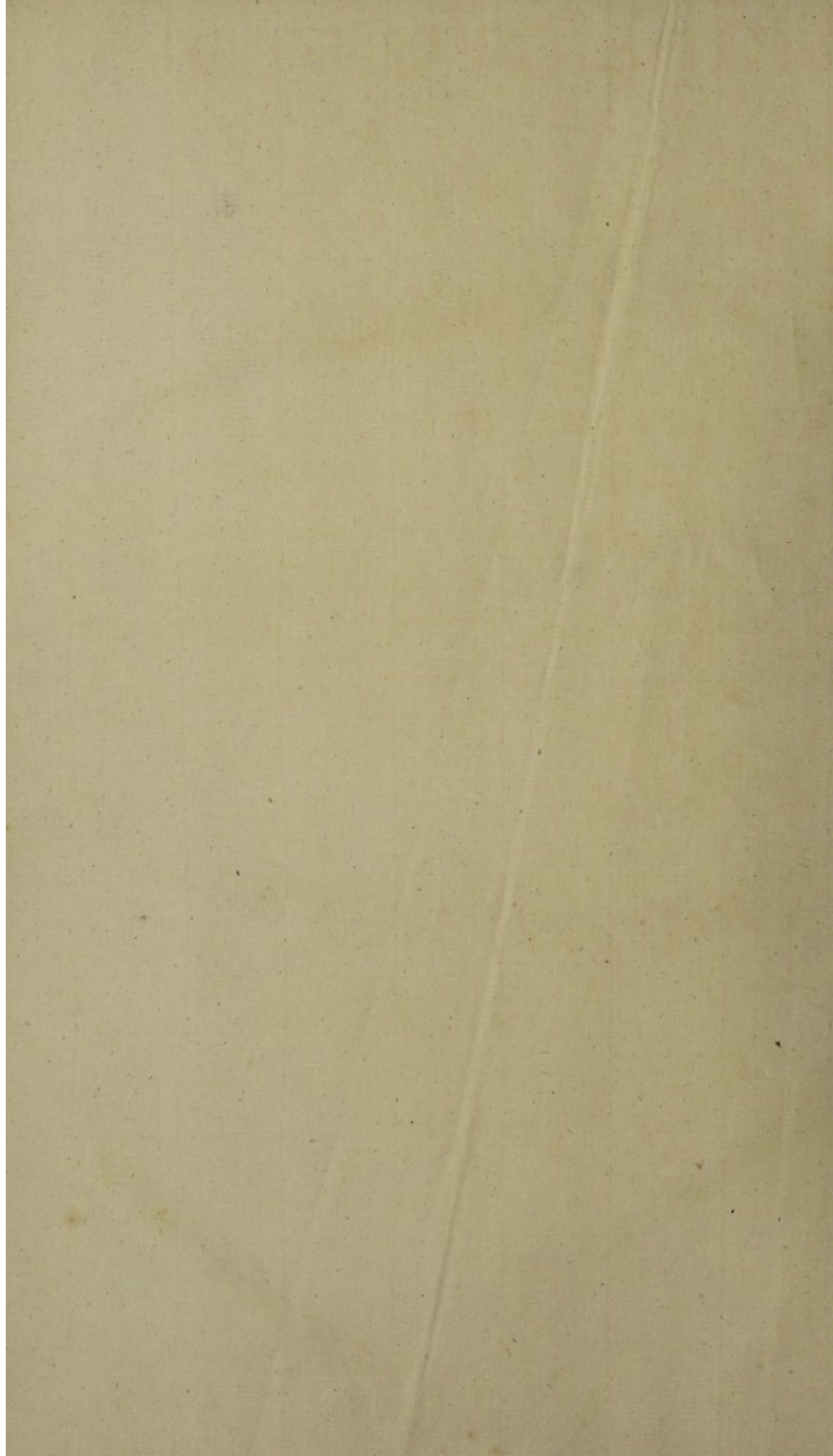




J. Matthews

1878











## GEORGE R.

**G**EORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas our Trusty and Well-beloved *Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch, and Stephen Austen*, Citizens and Booksellers of *London*, have by their Petition humbly represented unto Us, that they have been at very great Expence and Labour in procuring and purchasing Books for the compiling and improving a Work, Entitled, *Modern History: Or, The Present State of all Nations*; describing their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion, Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals, and Minerals, by *Thomas Salmon*: In which are comprehended not only such Voyages and Travels, as have been published already, but the Accounts and Observations of several judicious Travellers, who have lately visited the remotest Parts of the Globe, and had great Opportunities of informing themselves of the present State of the respective Nations they describe: The Third Edition, with considerable Additions and Improvements, and an Abstract of the antient History of most of the Countries described, brought down to the present Time. The whole adorned with Cuts of the various Inhabitants, and Maps of the several Countries, projected by *Herman Moll*, the most accurate and correct Geographer of this Age, in Three Volumes in Folio. Which Work, the Petitioners, with the utmost Submission, apprehend may be of great Service not only to the Publick in general, but to all Persons concerned in Trade and Navigation; and being desirous of reaping the Fruits of their very great Expence and Labour, and of enjoying the full Profit and Benefit that may arise from printing and vending the same, without any other Person interfering in their just Property, which they cannot prevent without Our Licence and Protection; they have therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant them Our Royal Licence and Protection for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Cases of the like Nature. We taking the Premises into Our Princely Consideration, and being graciously inclined to give Encouragement to all Works that may be of publick Use and Benefit, are pleased to condescend to their Request; and do, by these Presents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided) grant to the said *Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch, and Stephen Austen*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Date hereof; strictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects, within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the same, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of the said *Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch, and Stephen Austen*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, by Writing under their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril: Whereof the Commissioners, and other Officers of our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of *Stationers of London*, and all other Officers and Ministers, whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that strict Obedience be given to Our Pleasure herein signified.

*Given at our Court at St James's the Thirteenth Day of December 1743, in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.*

*By His Majesty's Command,*

CARTERET.



MODERN HISTORY:  
OR, THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF  
ALL NATIONS.

Describing their respective  
SITUATIONS, PERSONS, HABITS,  
AND BUILDINGS;

MANNERS, LAWS AND CUSTOMS, RELIGION,  
AND POLICY;

Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and  
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M DCC XLV.

# MODERN HISTORY:

OF THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

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Containing their Religion,

## SITUATIONS, PERSONS, HABITS,

## AND BUILDINGS.

MANNERS, LAWS AND CUSTOMS, RELIGION,

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| B The Arena, or Area.  | G The middle Seats for the Roman Knights.  | M <i>Cenaculum</i> , or upper Gallery, whither they used to retire and refresh themselves.                        |
| C The Dens of the wild beasts.   | H The Seats of the Common People, both Men and Women.  | N The Holes left in the wall to fasten Masts or Poles, to which were tied Sails and Curtains to keep off the Sun. |
| D The Wall about the Arena 13 or 14 foot high, called the <i>Podium</i> , behind which was the first Row of Seats. | I The <i>Vestibulum</i> , or square Doors thro' which they entered, being 18 in a row, to each of which there was a particular Stair-Case. |   |
| E The <i>Soggezza Imperatoris</i> , or the Imperial throne.  |  |   |
| FF The lower Seats of the Senators and   |  |   |

## Remarkable Places in the Map of PUZZOLI, p. 387.

- |   |   |                                      |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. The Grotto of PAUSIPPUS.             | 19. The Ruins of a Mole.                                      | 34. The Cento Camerelle.             |
| 2. The Tomb of VIRGIL.                  | 20. The Ruins of a Cirque, and the Hospital Dell' Annunciata. | 35. The Mare Morto.                  |
| 3. The Tomb of SANAZARIUS.              | 21. The Ruins of a Custom house.                              | 36. The Villa of M. LUCULLUS.        |
| 4. The Hill called <i>Pauphrippus</i> . | 22. The Mount Gaurus.   | 37. The Grotto Dragonara.            |
| 5. The Ruins of a Cirque.               | 23. The Villa of CICERO.                                      | 38. The Ruins of the City of Misena. |
| 6. The Island Nisita.                   | 24. The New Mountain.   | 39. Procita Island.                  |
| 7. The End of the Grotto.               | 25. The Lake Lucrino.   | 40. Ischia Island.                   |
| 8. The Grotto of the Dog.               | 26. The Bath of St. GEORGE.                                   | 41. The Lake Averno.                 |
| 9. The Lake Agnano.                     | 27. Bath and subterraneous Grotto's.                          | 42. The Grotto of the Cumean Sibyl.  |
| 10. The Wood of Ailroni.                | 28. The Ruins of a Temple, and Tomb of ACRIPIA.               | 43. The Ruins of a Temple.           |
| 11. Solfatara.                          | 29. The Castle of Baya.                                       | 44. The Arco Felice.                 |
| 12. The Capuchins.                      | 30. The Port of Baya.   | 45. The City of Cuma.                |
| 13. The Temple of DIANA.                | 31. The Villa of POMPEY.                                      | 46. Villa de Vaecia.                 |
| 14. The Coliseum, a Theatre.            | 32. The Villa of MARIUS.                                      | 47. The Bath of St. GERMAN.          |
| 15. The Temple of NEPTUNE. (Ruins)      | 33. The Piscina Mirabilis, and Elysian Fields.                | 48. The Monte X P O.                 |
| 16. The Palace of To                    |   | 49. The Ruins of a Cirque.           |
| 17. St. JAMES. (GIACOMO)                |   |                                      |
| 18. The City of Puzzoli.                |   |                                      |



# THE PRESENT STATE

OF

## Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia.

### CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation, and extent, and of the air, mountains, and rivers, of Bohemia.*

CHAP.  
I.

**W**ITH Bohemia the provinces of Silesia and Moravia being incorporated, they will be described together; but as to Lusatia, which was also formerly reckoned a part of Bohemia, this having been transferred by the Emperor FERDINAND II, to the Elector of Saxony, will be treated of hereafter, as part of that Elector's dominions.

The  
name.

Bohemia is said to have taken it's name from the Bemi, or Boiemi, the antient inhabitants thereof; who, according to TACITUS, were descended from the Boii, a Gallick nation that retired into the Hyrcanian forest, which runs through this country, rather than submit to the Roman yoke.

The situa-  
tion and  
extent.

The modern Bohemia, including Silesia and Moravia, is bounded by Saxony and Lusatia, on the north; by Poland and Hungary towards the east; by Bavaria and Austria towards the south; and by the palatinate of Bavaria and electorate of Saxony towards the west. Extending from forty-eight degrees odd minutes, to fifty two degrees odd minutes, north latitude, and is near three hundred English miles from north to south, and two hundred and fifty from east to west. This being an inland country, remote from any sea, the cold is more severe than in some other places of the same latitude; and yet the air is not healthful, which may proceed in part from the woods and mountains which abound here, and check the winds in their course; and partly from their waters, which are very bad, and occasion many distempers. The country is mountainous towards the south and east, but lies more open on the north and west: and there are also great mountains between Moravia and Bohemia. The rivers Elbe and Muldaw have their source in Bohemia Proper, and running northward, meet below Prague; after which, the united stream is called the Elbe, and continues it's course north-west, thro' Saxony, and washing the walls of Hamburg, falls into the German ocean, little below Gluckstat. The Oder also has it's rise in the mountains on the south of the province of Silesia, and running northward, washes the shores of Poland, Brandenburg, and Pomerania, after which it falls into the Baltick. The Weisfel, or Vistula, has it's source in the same mountains, and running first to the eastward, passes by Cracow in Poland;

The air.

Moun-  
tains.

Rivers.

The Elbe.

The Oder.

Vistula.

then turning northward, washes the walls of Warsaw, and continuing it's course still north, falls into the Baltick near Dantzick. The river Moraw, rises in the mountains which divide Silesia from Moravia, and taking it's course to the southward, runs quite through the province of Moravia, after which it falls into the Danube near Presburgh. The river Teya, or Theyfa, runs from west to east through the south part of Moravia, and falls into the Moraw. The river Igla, also runs from west to east, and falls into the Moraw. There are many other small rivers in this country, which are described in the map of Bohemia.

CHAP.  
I.  
Moraw.

### CHAP. II.

*Contains a description of the provinces and chief towns of Bohemia.*

**T**HE three grand divisions of the kingdom of Bohemia are, 1. Bohemia Proper. 2. The Duchy of Silesia. And, 3. The Marquisate of Moravia.

Provinces.

Bohemia Proper is bounded by Lusatia on the north; by Silesia and Moravia towards the east; by Austria on the south; and by Misnia and Bavaria towards the west. A mountainous woody country, antiently reckoned part of the Hyrcanian forest, but has not much of the appearance of a forest at present, the woods many of them having been converted into towns and villages; of which travellers relate, there are an incredible number here. The capital of this province, and of the whole kingdom, is the city of Prague; situate on the river Muldaw, in fifty degrees north latitude; and fourteen degrees odd minutes to the eastward of London; about an hundred and forty miles north-west of Vienna, and seventy south of Dresden. It is an archbishoprick; and was the largest university in Europe, if our writers have not mistaken a figure, when they relate that it contained forty thousand students in the time of their apostle JOHN HUSS, who attempted a reformation of the errors of the church of Rome, almost an hundred years before Luther. The city is one of the largest in this part of the world; and composed of three towns, viz. Old Prague,

Bohemia  
Proper.

Prague  
city.



CHAP.  
II.

Prague, New Prague, and the Lesser Prague. The old town stands on the east side of the river Muldaw, in which is the university, being the most populous of the three. Here are also several monasteries, and a fine college of the Jesuits. The new town encompasses the former, and is divided from it only by a moat. This is fortified, and has a citadel; but is of too large an extent to sustain a siege, unless it was garrisoned by an army. The lesser town is divided from the other by the river Muldaw, over which there lies a beautiful stone bridge; part of it is pleasantly situated on a rising ground, where stands a magnificent castle and palace of the Emperor's, formerly the residence of the Bohemian Kings: here also stands the cathedral church dedicated to St Veit; and here are the houses of the nobility, among which that of Count WALLENSTEYN, afterwards Duke of Friedland, and General to the Emperor FERDINAND II, is most admired. It is a very stately structure, built upon the ruins of above an hundred houses, which were pulled down to make room for it, and furnish materials. The gardens are exceeding beautiful; and the aviary, the model whereof was taken from that of Prince DORIA at Genoa. In the stables, which are very large, stands a marble pillar between each horse, and to every standing there is a rack of steel, and a marble manger, and over it the picture of the horse which used it, as big as the life, with his name. Besides these three quarters, there is a suburb called the Jews town, where great numbers of that people inhabit, who traffick chiefly in jewels and precious stones, particularly topazes, and such other stones as are dug in the Bohemian mines.

Prague, according to Dr BROWN, is much larger, and more populous than Florence, the streets longer; and the windows being of fine glass, make a far better appearance than the ragged paper windows of Florence. The Muldaw also is a nobler river than the Arno at Florence, and the bridge over it exceeds all the four bridges on the Arno; but then the cathedral of Florence, built of black and white marble, the chapel of St LAWRENCE, and the great Duke's gallery and rarities, exceed any thing that is to be found at Prague. Upon the white hill, near Prague, was fought that memorable battle on the 8th of November, 1620, between the Emperor's forces, commanded by the Duke of Bavaria; and the Elector Palatine's troops, the head of the Protestant league, wherein the Elector's army being defeated, the Protestant interest in Germany suffered pretty much, and the Elector lost both the kingdom of Bohemia and the Palatinate. 2. Egra, a great town about fourscore miles to the westward of Prague; situate on the river Eger, taken notice of for a brackish fountain near it, which cures distempers of the eyes and ears by purging. 3. Koningratz, situate on the Elbe, fifty miles to the eastward of Prague: a Bishop's see in the Archbishoprick of Prague. 4. Glatz, situate at the foot of the hills which divide Bohemia from Silesia, the capital of a very rich district, and about a hundred miles to the eastward of Prague.

The province of Silesia is bounded by Brandenburg on the north: by Poland on the east: by the mountains called Rissenbergen, which separate it from Moravia, towards the south: and by Bohemia on the west. The chief Towns whereof are, 1. Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, and of a dutchy, to which it gives it's name; being situate on the river Oder, about an hundred and twenty miles to the

north-east of Prague, in fifty-one degrees odd minutes north latitude. It is an handsome large and well fortified city, a Bishop's see, and university; and governed by its own magistrates. 2. Crossen, the capital of a dutchy, situate upon the Oder, near the confines of Brandenburg; which was mortgaged several times, and at length absolutely transferred to the Elector of Brandenburg, who now remains sovereign of it. 3. Glogaw, the capital of a dutchy of the same name; situate on the Oder, forty miles to the south-east of Crossen. 4. Lignitz, the capital also of a dutchy, to which it gives it's name; situate about thirty-six miles to the westward of Breslaw. 5. Jagendorf, situate on the river Oppa, near the confines of Moravia: the capital of a dutchy of the same name.

The marquissate of Moravia is bounded by Silesia on the north and east: by Austria on the south: and by Bohemia on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Olmutz, the capital of the province, situate on the river Moravia, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees forty minutes. A town of pretty good trade, and the only Bishop's see in the province. 2. Brin, a well fortified town; situate at the confluence of two small rivers, about fifty miles to the northward of Vienna. 3. Iglaw, situate on a river of the same name, about forty miles to the westward of Brin, near the mountains which separate Moravia from Silesia. A large strong town, and lies on the road from Bohemia to Hungary.

## CHAP. III.

*Contains an account of the persons and habits of the Bohemians; their genius and temper, buildings, way of travelling, nature of the soil, plants, animals, minerals, trade, and manufactures.*

THE persons of the Bohemians, like their neighbours the Germans, are rather of the largest: they are tall and corpulent, strong, and of a hale complexion; and given to imitate every foreign fashion, especially those of the French. This is the first country we come to from the eastward, where the people voluntarily quitted the Asiatick habit of vests and gowns, and clothed themselves in short coats, breeches, and stockings, as with us: the women too have left off their drawers and breeches, which the eastern ladies never go without; and conform themselves generally to the French dress, except some few who live on the confines of Poland, and continue to cloath themselves like that people. When I observed that the Bohemians were the first people on this side Asia, which conformed themselves to our dress, I might indeed have excepted the Russians; but as the Bohemians were the first that did it in point of time, and the Muscovites only submitted to the alteration, when they were compelled to it by the late Czar, and possibly may return to the Asiatick dress again, it may very well be said, that the Bohemians were the first who voluntarily changed the Asiatick habit for ours. But to proceed to the genius and temper of the Bohemians: their gentlemen, and those of quality, are said to be naturally brave, inclined to arms more than arts, and of an open easy conversation. Their boors, on the contrary, who are all in a state of vassalage to the great men, are a brutish kind of people; and pretty much giving to thieving and pilfering; and there are few writers but charge the whole nation with excess and intemperance in eating

CHAP.  
II.

Crossen.

Glogaw.

Lignitz.

Jagendorf.

Moravia  
province.Olmutz  
city.

Brin.

Iglaw.

Their persons  
and habits.Genius  
and temper.



CHAP.  
III.

ing and drinking. Credulity also is another foible, which this people are remarkable for: you meet every where with stories of spectres and apparitions; there is not a mine in the country which is not haunted by one or more of these, if we may credit the inhabitants.

## Buildings.

The palaces of the grantees are many of them built after the Italian model; and the materials of them, as well as of their churches, and other public buildings, are usually of stone; but the rest of their houses, both in city and country, are built with wood, and make but a mean appearance. Their way of travelling is not different from ours; coaches are in use here, tho' their roads are none of the best. The lower grounds are deep in winter, and the mountainous part of the country is inconvenient for wheel-carriages, which make the people choose the water where they have an opportunity of navigable rivers in summer. In winter their rivers are frequently frozen, and they make use of the sledge or skates upon them, either for travelling or diversion.

## Soil.

The hills, which take up a great part of this country, are generally rocky and barren; but the valleys produce both corn and wine: not in so great quantities however, as to export either; on the contrary, they import wine and fruit from Hungary. The wines of Bohemia, tho' tolerably good, will not keep, but soon turn sour, as they do in all other countries which lie so far to the northward; to make amends for which, as the soil produces plenty of barley and hops, they make and export a great deal of strong beer. Their soil also is proper for flax; and they have a coarse sort of wool, and make both linen and woollen cloth; but transport part of their wool and flax unwrought to other countries. A good sort of saffron grows in great plenty here: and their forests abound with serviceable timber, as their gardens do with fruit-trees, herbs and roots: but their greatest riches is in their mines of silver, copper, lead, tin, and iron. In their mountains also are found precious stones, particularly topazes, carbuncles, amethysts, jasper, sapphires, &c. which are bought up by the Jews, and sent abroad. There are at Gottenburg, about twelve miles from Prague, thirty mines of silver, or copper, which have been wrought these seven or eight hundred years; but an hundred weight of silver ore does not produce above an ounce of silver; and an hundred weight of copper, eight or nine ounces. Their tin mines are of vast advantage to them, this mineral being met with in scarce any other country but England; and was first discovered in Bohemia by one of our country-men. Sulphur and saltpetre also are found here, but they have so little common salt, that they are forced to import it.

## Beer.

## Mines.

Cattle,  
fish, and  
fowl.

As they have a great deal of good meadow and pasture ground, they abound in oxen, sheep, and other cattle, especially in horses of a large size: they have also most other animals wild and tame which are found in Europe: particularly great numbers of deer and game in their forests; and the many rivers there are in this country supply them with fish and wild fowl.

Manufactures  
and  
trade.

The manufactures of the country are linen and woollen: in which they are arrived at no great perfection; but make very good glass: and their manufactures of copper, iron, and tin, are not contemptible; some of these they export, as they do their precious stones, wool, and strong beer; but their foreign trade does not seem to be very considerable.

## CHAP. IV.

*Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of Bohemia; the succession of their princes, and constitution of the government.*

**B**OHEMIA is frequently looked upon as part of Germany; but as it is one of the Emperor's hereditary countries, and excluded from all those privileges which the other circles and electorates enjoy, (except that the imperial family, as Kings of Bohemia, have a voice in the election of a King of the Romans) I chose to treat of it as a distinct principality: and in this chapter proceed to give an account of the sovereigns of this country from the earliest times down to the present reign. There are also these further reasons for treating of Bohemia as distinct from the empire, namely, that neither the acts of the German dyet, or the laws of the empire, are of any force here; nor are the Bohemians obliged to raise forces, or pay taxes for the support and defence of the empire, as the other circles are, but are subject only to their own Princes of the house of Austria.

The Scythians, 'tis generally held, were the first inhabitants of Bohemia; but the Boiemi or Boii, a Gallick nation, according to TACITUS, retiring before the conquering Romans, afterwards fixed themselves here; communicating their name to the country. It was first divided into several principalities, governed by their respective Dukes, or Leaders, till ZECHUS the brother of LECHUS, who founded the monarchy of Poland about the sixth century, obtained a kind of sovereignty of the whole, but was still styled Duke, or Great Duke, and the other Dukes continued to govern their respective subjects, only acknowledging ZECHUS for their Chief, or Captain-General; for which 'tis said they had one great inducement, namely, that he and his brother LECHUS first taught them husbandry and architecture, the natives being generally shepherds before that time, and living in tents, or other movable tenements.

The next Duke we meet with in the catalogue of the Bohemian sovereigns, is CRACUS, said to be the same also who governed Poland, and built the city of Cracow; but this Prince did not begin his reign till the year 700, which is upwards of an hundred years after the reign of ZECHUS; so that there must have been several Princes of Bohemia during that space, of whom their historians have not been able to give us so much as their names. After the death of CRACUS, they relate, that his youngest daughter LIBUSSA succeeded in the government; but that the people not being satisfied with a female ruler, were about to depose her; whereupon she pretended that heaven had directed her to let a horse loose, and the man at whose door he stopped, should be her husband and partner in the government; and a horse being turned out accordingly, stopped at the house of PRIMISLAUS, a peasant, who being married to LIBUSSA, and succeeding her after her death, is reckoned the fourth of the Bohemian sovereigns: but there appearing to be so much of fable mixt with the history of their antient Princes, I shall content myself with giving their respective names, and the dates of their several reigns, till we arrive at times of greater certainty.

NIMISLAUS,

CHAP.  
IV.

Bohemia is not subject to the laws of the empire.

The antient history of Bohemia.

ZECHUS the founder of the Bohemian monarchy.

LIBUSSA.

PRIMISLAUS.



CHAP.  
IV.

NIMISLAUS, the son of PRIMISLAUS, succeeded his father, *anno* 676.

MNATHA, the son of NIMISLAUS, began his reign *anno* 715.

VOGENIUS, or VORITIUS, succeeded him, *anno* 735.

WENCESLAUS succeeded VOGNIUS, *anno* 763.

CZERZONISLAUS succeeded his brother WENCESLAUS, *anno* 785.

BELAM his son succeeded him, *anno* 803.

BORZIVOIUS the first Christian Prince.

BORZIVOIUS, the son of BELAM, succeeded his father, *anno* 856, being the first of the Bohemian Princes who embraced Christianity; converted, as 'tis said, by CYRILLUS and METHODIUS in the year 894, which occasioned an insurrection in his dominions that was near proving fatal to him; but he at length reduced his rebellious subjects, and before his death he saw the Christian religion prevail in most of the Bohemian provinces.

SPITIGNEUS, the son of BORZIVOIUS, succeeded him, *anno* 904.

ULADISLAUS I, succeeded his father SPITIGNEUS, *anno* 906.

BOLES LAUS having murdered his brother ULADISLAUS, *anno* 938, succeeded him; persecuted his Christian subjects, and introduced Paganism: whereupon the Emperor OTHO the Great, invaded his dominions; and after a war of fourteen years, compelled him to become tributary to the Emperor, to do publick penances for his apostacy, and restore Christianity in Bohemia.

BOLES LAUS II, succeeded his father BOLES LAUS, *anno* 967.

BOLES LAUS III, succeeded his father BOLES LAUS II, *anno* 999.

JAROMIR, the son of BOLES LAUS III, succeeded his father, *anno* 1012.

ULRIC, the brother of BOLES LAUS III, and uncle of JAROMIR, raised a rebellion against his nephew, put out his eyes, and usurped the throne, *anno* 1035.

BRETISLAUS, the son of ULRIC, succeeded his father, *anno* 1037.

SPITIGNEUS, the son of BRETISLAUS, succeeded him, *anno* 1055, he was the last of the Bohemian Dukes; for his brother ULADISLAUS, his successor, was by the Emperor HENRY IV, created King of Bohemia at Mentz.

#### Kings of BOHEMIA.

ULADISLAUS created King by the Emperor.

ULADISLAUS II, succeeded his brother Duke SPITIGNEUS II, *anno* 1061, and was created King of Bohemia, *anno* 1086.

CONRADE, the brother of ULADISLAUS, being appointed his successor, came to the crown, *anno* 1092.

BREZETISLAUS, son of ULADISLAUS II, succeeded him, *anno* 1099.

The Emperor appoints their King.

BORZIVOIUS, the brother of BREZETISLAUS, succeeded him *anno* 1100, by the appointment of the Emperor HENRY IV, but against the consent of the Bohemian Dukes, who twice dethroned him, and compelled him to retire into Germany.

SUATOLPLOOK, or SUTAPULCUS, nephew to BORZIVOIUS, usurped the throne, *anno* 1107; being assisted by the Bohemian Dukes, and with a sum of money purchased the confirmation, or investiture, of the Emperor.

OTHO succeeded SUATOLPLOOK, *anno* 1109; but was deposed for his incapacity to govern.

CHAP.  
IV.

ULADISLAUS II, brother to BORZIVOIUS, was elected in the room of OTHO, *anno* 1111.

SOBIESLAUS, the brother of ULADISLAUS, succeeded him, *anno* 1125.

ULADISLAUS III, succeeded SOBIESLAUS, about the year 1153, by the appointment of the Emperor FREDERICK Barbarossa, who made him vicegerent of the empire during his absence in Italy: he commanded also the Emperor's armies; and, as a reward of his merit, the Emperor gave him for his arms, azure, a lion argent, the present arms of Bohemia.

SOBIESLAUS II, son to SOBIESLAUS I, succeeded to the throne, *anno* 1174.

FREDERICK, the son of ULADISLAUS, succeeded SOBIESLAUS II, *anno* 1178, by the appointment of the Emperor.

CONRADE II, succeeded FREDERICK his cousin, *anno* 1190, by the appointment of the Emperor.

WENCESLAUS, brother to CONRADE, and son of SOBIESLAUS, came to the throne, *anno* 1192, by the Emperor's influence.

BRETISLAUS or HENRY, bishop of Prague, succeeded to the throne, *anno* 1193.

ULADISLAUS IV, son to ULADISLAUS III, succeeded to the crown, *anno* 1196; but resigned to his brother PRIMISLAUS, who ascended the throne the same year, 1196.

OTTOCARUS, to the prejudice of his elder brother WENCESLAUS, usurped the throne, *anno* 1231; but was killed in a battle with the Emperor RODOLPHUS.

WENCESLAUS II, succeeded his brother OTTOCARUS the usuper the same year 1231.

OTTOCARUS II, the son of WENCESLAUS, sometimes called PRIMISLAUS III, succeeded his father, *anno* 1253. He was continually engaged in wars with the Emperor RODOLPHUS, and sometimes with great success; insomuch that 'tis said, he was master of all the countries from the Adriatick to the Baltick; but was at length killed in a battle with the Emperor near Murkfeld.

WENCESLAUS III, succeeded his father OTTOCARUS *anno* 1278, and was afterwards elected King of Poland.

HENRY Duke of Carinthia, brother-in-law to WENCESLAUS III, was elected King by the Bohemian barons; but the Emperor deposed him, and set up his son RODOLPH, who began his reign *anno* 1306, after whose death the Emperor advanced his son JOHN of Luxemburgh to the throne of Bohemia, *anno* 1307.

CHARLES Emperor of Germany, and son of JOHN, succeeded to the Bohemian crown, *anno* 1346.

WENCESLAUS V, his son, succeeded him, *anno* 1378; and was afterwards elected Emperor.

SIGISMOND King of Hungary, afterwards Emperor of Germany, succeeded WENCESLAUS in the kingdom of Bohemia, *anno* 1418. It was in this reign that JOHN HUSS and JEROM of Prague, endeavoured a reformation in the church, and were burnt at the stake for it; of which I shall give a further account under the head of religion.

ALBERT Duke of Austria, (afterwards elected Emperor and King of Hungary) was appointed King of Bohemia by the Emperor SIGISMOND, *anno* 1436; in which he was opposed by the Hussites and the nobility of Bohemia, whom he reduced, and deprived of the privilege of electing their Kings, which they had in a great measure lost before.

ULADISLAUS



CHAP. IV. ULADISLAUS V, the son of ALBERT, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Bohemia, in 1439, being then an infant of five years of age; after whose death

GEORGE PODEBRACHE was elected King by the Bohemian Barons, anno 1471; but being a favourer of the Hussites, a party was formed against him, which occasioned him a very tumultuous reign: after whose death,

ULADISLAUS VI, was advanced to the throne, anno 1471; being succeeded by his son

LEWIS, who came to the crown, anno 1516, by the influence of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, and was afterwards elected King of Hungary. He was killed in a battle with the Turks, after whose death,

FERDINAND I, Archduke of Austria, brother to the Emperor CHARLES V, was elected King of Bohemia, anno 1526; and afterwards Emperor of Germany, in the year 1556, on the resignation of CHARLES V, after whose death,

MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, was elected King of Bohemia and Hungary, anno 1562; and Emperor of Germany, anno 1564. His tolerating the Protestants made him sometimes styled the Lutheran Emperor. He was succeeded by his son,

RODOLPH II, King of the Romans and of Hungary, elected King of Bohemia, anno 1575, and afterwards Emperor of Germany. In the year 1609, during the reign of RODOLPH, the Protestants of Germany formed a confederacy, called the Union, or Evangelical League, of which they chose FREDERICK IV, Elector Palatine for their head: with these the Protestants of Bohemia joined, under pretence of being oppressed by the Emperor, and called in his brother MATTHIAS to their assistance, obliging the Emperor RODOLPH to resign the crown of Bohemia to MATTHIAS; who was proclaimed and crowned King of Bohemia, anno 1611, and elected Emperor upon the death of RODOLPH, anno 1612.

The Emperor MATTHIAS, in the year 1616, declared his cousin FERDINAND King of Bohemia, and caused him to be crowned and recognized by the states of that kingdom, with this restriction, that he should not execute any regal act in the Emperor's life-time without his consent.

The Emperor MATTHIAS at this time kept his court at Vienna, and King FERDINAND at Gratz in Stiria, the administration of the government of Bohemia being left to the privy-council of that kingdom, who were generally Roman Catholics; and at the instigation of the Archbishop of Prague, 'tis said, very much discountenanced and oppressed the Bohemian Protestants: whereupon the nobility of that persuasion assembled at Prague, in order to procure a redress of their grievances, at the same time levying forces to support their pretensions. The government being apprehensive of an insurrection, deputed some of the imperial ministers to the Protestant nobility to endeavour to pacify them; but hot words arising in the assembly, the Protestants threw the Emperor's Chief Justice out of the castle-window two story high, and after him one of the Council of State, and a secretary of the Emperor's; but when they were cool, and began to reflect on the rashness of the action, they endeavoured to excuse the fact to the Emperor; continuing however to make levies of horse and foot,

to defend themselves in case of the worst; they proceeded also to expel the Jesuits out of the city of Prague by their own authority; at which the Emperor being further exasperated, both sides soon after took the field, towns were taken, and several skirmishes happened between the Imperial and Protestant troops, when the old Emperor MATTHIAS died; and

FERDINAND succeeded to the crown of Bohemia; being afterwards elected Emperor of Germany.

The Bohemian Barons, notwithstanding they had acknowledged FERDINAND for their King in the reign of the late Emperor, sent privately to offer the crown of that kingdom to FREDERICK V, Elector Palatine, the head of the Protestant league abovementioned, who had married the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter of JAMES I, King of England. This Prince, after several others had refused it, accepted the offer of the Bohemian Lords, and was crowned King on the fourth of November, 1619; whereupon he sent to his father-in-law, King JAMES, to excuse his accepting the crown of Bohemia without having consulted him, desiring his assistance, and acquainting him that the case would admit of no deliberation. King JAMES, it seems, was far from approving the action; and indeed very much disliked the precedent of a people's taking upon them to depose one King, and advance another to the throne by their own authority. The Emperor at the same time, to terrify the Palatine and his adherents, caused a proscription to be published against them; wherein he declares, That FREDERICK Count Palatine of the Rhine, having made himself the head of a perfidious and rebellious crew in the kingdom of Bohemia, was guilty of high-treason, and therefore requires all people to forsake him, discharges his subjects and vassals in the palatinate from their allegiance to him, and commanding them that they give him neither aid or assistance, under the severest penalties.

The Emperor's Generals also fell into the Palatinate, ravaging the country in a dreadful manner; whom the Princes of the Union, or Evangelical League, endeavoured to oppose; and King JAMES was prevailed upon to suffer a regiment of English volunteers, consisting all of gentlemen almost, to join them. But this was too slender a reinforcement to support the interest of his son-in-law, and the Emperor's Generals coming to an engagement with the Bohemian Protestants on the eighth day of November, 1620, entirely defeated them, and compelled the Prince Palatine, the new-elected King, with his Queen the Princess ELIZABETH, to fly into Silesia, and from thence afterwards into Holland, whereby he lost not only the kingdom of Bohemia, but the whole Palatinate. The Emperor, to reward the services of MAXIMILIAN Duke of Bavaria, who was his General in this war, called a dyet at Ratisbon, where he caused him to be advanced to the dignity of Elector Palatine of the Rhine, in the room of FREDERICK V. The upper Palatinate was also conferred upon him; and the Emperor having executed great numbers of the malecontents in Bohemia, resumed the government of that kingdom, of which he had been crowned King in the life-time of the late Emperor; and the imperial family have ever since claimed Bohemia as their hereditary dominion, without suffering the nobility to have any share in the choice of their Princes.

An insurrection of the Protestant Bohemian nobility.

They elect FREDERICK V, Elector Palatine for their King.



CHAP. IV. The Emperor FERDINAND III, succeeded FERDINAND II, his father, in the kingdom of Bohemia, anno 1637.

The Emperor LEOPOLD, son of FERDINAND III, succeeded to the crown of Bohemia, anno 1656.

The Emperor JOSEPH, the eldest son of LEOPOLD, succeeded to the crown of Bohemia, anno 1705.

The late Emperor CHARLES succeeded his brother JOSEPH in the kingdom of Bohemia, anno 1711.

These last Princes being Emperors of Germany as well as Sovereigns of Bohemia, I shall give a further account of their history when I come to treat of the state of Germany, and proceed at present to enquire into the antient and present constitution of the kingdom of Bohemia.

Antient and present constitution of the government.

The first inhabitants of Bohemia of whom history makes any mention, were shepherds, and either of Scythian extraction, or led a wandering life like them, moving from place to place under their respective leaders, as they could meet with water and pasture for their cattle. ZECHUS first instructed the Bohemians in building, agriculture, and planting, about the sixth century, and thereupon was chosen Chief of their tribes, a Judge of their differences in time of peace, and their Captain-General in war; but every Leader continued to govern his own people, after they had divided the country amongst themselves, and remained fixed in settled habitations. Some affirm that CRACUS, who lived above an hundred years after ZECHUS, was their first judge; that till then every head of a family governed his own tribe, having no general arbiter of their differences till they elected CRACUS for that end; and that with him they joined several Aldermen, or Seniors of families, without whose assistance CRACUS, or his successors, could determine nothing of consequence.

Thus were they governed by CRACUS and his son, and afterwards by his daughter LIBUSSA, till she married PRIMISLAUS, who assumed a more absolute command, and obtained the title of Duke, or Great Duke of Bohemia, keeping the other petty Sovereigns pretty much under his subjection. And thus were the Bohemians governed by the posterity and successors of PRIMISLAUS and LIBUSSA for four or five hundred years, till the Emperor of Germany, in the eleventh century, created Duke WRATISLAUS, or ULADISLAUS, King of Bohemia. And from that time the Emperors of Germany have insisted upon a right of investing the Kings of Bohemia in the government of that kingdom, and of rejecting those who have wanted that solemnity. Some of their Princes 'tis true have since been elected by the Bohemian Barons, or States as they are usually called, and have governed that people without the Emperor's investiture or confirmation: but then the Emperor has created such Princes a great deal of trouble, and frequently deposed them; and at other times has appointed that nation kings, without the concurrence of the Nobility or States; and for upwards of an hundred years past, the Austrian family have claimed the kingdom of Bohemia, with the incorporated provinces of Silesia and Moravia, as their hereditary dominions, governing them by no other laws, but pure will and pleasure.

As to Silesia, this has been subject alternately to the Empire and to Poland, as the one or

the other were able to maintain their title to it by the sword; but has at length by treaty most of it been confirmed to the house of Austria, and now constitutes part of the kingdom of Bohemia.

Moravia, though now divided into a marquisate, was antiently one of the most potent kingdoms of Europe; Poland, Bohemia, and Silesia, being all subject to it: but their King ZUANTAPOC, about the year 700, refusing to pay tribute to the Roman empire, after a war of some years continuance, was subdued, and Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, made provinces of the Empire; and Moravia is at this day immediately subject to the crown of Bohemia, except some small principalities which belong to Poland.

From this abstract of the history of Bohemia, and the succession of their Princes, it appears that every tribe was at first governed by its respective Leader or Sovereign; but that in order to prevent eternal strife, concerning their civil rights at home, and to unite their forces in order to defend themselves against invasions from abroad, they found it necessary to elect a Chief to be Supreme Judge of their controversies, and Commander of their armies. These Chiefs in time made their dominion hereditary, and assumed an arbitrary command over the rest of the Bohemian nobility for some hundreds of years; after which the Bohemian Barons found means of re-asserting their former right of electing their Princes, and being governed by their own laws; till the Austrian family again enslaved them, and rendered their crown hereditary, as it is at this day. But from this account of the crown of Bohemia being for several hundreds of years elective, we are not to understand that the common people had ever any share in the election of their Princes; no, this was a privilege that the nobility ever reserved to themselves, as they do still in Poland. Their husbandmen, tradesmen, and mechanicks, ever were, and still are, in a state of vassalage to their respective Lords, who have the entire disposal of them, and administer justice as they see fit in their several courts: nor does the government ever intermeddle in their decisions, but in some extraordinary cases, where the state may be affected, or the life of the subject wantonly taken away. So that every Lord is in effect a monarch in his own territories. The crown of Bohemia's being therefore elective, will be no precedent for our republicans, who assert that there can be no legal government, where the Prince or Supreme Magistrate is not elected by a majority of the people; for it is certain, that not one in ten of the people had any share in the election of a Sovereign, (any more here than in Poland) even while Bohemia was an elective kingdom.

Prague, the capital, Baron POLLNITZ observes, is one of the biggest towns in Europe, encompassed with ramparts, and as well fortified as a place of that extent can be; but commanded by several hills: That the situation is pleasant in the midst of fine fields and gardens, and adorned with noble buildings: that the convents of both sexes are a great ornament to it. The palace or castle, which joins to the cathedral, is a great building, composed of several main bodies, without symmetry or architecture. The apartments are but low and plain; but here is one of the most beautiful prospects in the world. The great hall,

in



CHAP. IV. in which the royal feast is kept on the day of the coronation of the kings, is the largest of the kind, next to the spacious hall of Westminster. The palace-gardens are large, but have nothing to recommend them besides their situation. The tribunals of the regency meet in the palace.

The bridge over the Muldaw, which joins Little Prague to the old town, is one of the longest and most substantial bridges in Europe.

If we except Rome, Paris, and London, there is no city where there are more gentry, or a gentry that is more wealthy: every body here lives grand; and in no part of the world do the nobility keep greater state, or take more pride in their substance. They are polite and civil to strangers, whom they know to be persons of quality. For my own part, says the baron, I like them prodigiously; and I can safely say it, I have hardly met with a foreigner, who has not the same notion of Prague that I have.

There are no people of quality in the world more addicted to an expensive way of living than those of Prague; which is the reason that for all their immense revenues, they are sometimes over head and ears in debt; but by good luck, they have a settlement, which prevents them from total ruin: for most part of their lands are entailed for ever on the eldest son of the family; so that he can neither alienate nor encumber them, without the consent of the whole family, and of the King himself; which is a thing very hard to be obtained.

Though the Bohemians are brave and good soldiers, yet they do not love the service; I mean the gentry. Most of them prefer the civil to military employments; and private life to posts in the army, or at court. They are so used to be absolute masters at their estates, where the peasants are their slaves, and to be homaged like petty sovereigns by the burghers at Prague, that they do not care to reside at Vienna; and to be obliged, like other subjects, to pay their court to the sovereign, and the ministers.

The Bohemian peasants are miserable to the last degree; their persons, and all that they have, are at the command of the Lord. The poor wretches have often not a bit of bread to eat, in a country which is one of the most plentiful in Europe for all sorts of provisions. They dare not go from one village to another to work, nor learn a handicraft trade, without their Lord's consent. So much subjection keeps the poor creatures always trembling and humble; so that if you do but speak to them, they are ready to lick the dust off your feet. The severity with which these people are used, is really terrible; but 'tis as true on the other hand, that gentle usage has no effect upon them; for they are excessively lazy and stubborn, and being moreover used to harsh treatment, from generation to generation, blows scarce terrify them, though 'tis the only way to make them good for any thing.

The Bohemians have a great genius for musick; so that there's no village, be it ever so small, but the mass is sung in concert; and they are very happy at winding the hunter's horn.

'Tis certain, that this kingdom is one of the best countries in the Emperor's possession, and next to Hungary brings him in the most money.

Bohemia is a country of states, whom the Emperor, as King of it, summons every year to the city of Prague. They consist of the clergy, nobility, gentry, and towns. The assembly is opened

by a commissioner of the Emperor's nomination, who lays before them his imperial Majesty's demands. The states, such is their submission and zeal, grant the full demand, which is commonly a very great sum; yet for all this, the Bohemians would not complain of taxes, if the Emperor resided among them; but they are very sorry to see their country exhausted to enrich the Austrians, to whom they have a natural aversion, and the Austrians as heartily hate the Bohemians.

The ladies here are very amiable. Gaming, which may be called the universal pleasure, is carried as high here as they please in the houses of the quality, where assemblies of both sexes are held every night, with good cheer, particularly pheasants and ortolans in plenty; and upon fish days there are trouts, salmon, and cray-fish; and, that there may be nothing wanting, Bohemia likewise furnishes good wine. At the estate of the young Count TSCHERNIN at Melneg, there is a red fort, not inferior to Burgundy. Of all these good things many partake together; and for my part, I own I am taken more with this pleasure than any other, because we make it last as long as we will, and then 'tis suited to all ages.

There is a tolerable Italian opera here. In winter they have races in stately sledges: there is great masquerading; and they dance till they are ready to drop to the ground; for this end there are publick balls, which are extraordinary splendid, and might be compared, if any can be compared, with the balls at the Hay-Market in London.

In the summer-time, when there is not so much company in town, these assemblies are thinner. The gentry meet at night in a garden belonging to the Prince DE SCHWARTZENBERG, where they game, chat, and walk up and down; after which they always go to some house or other to sup. When one has a mind to go to the country, we are sure of a good reception; and the longer one stays, the greater pleasure one gives to the master of the house. Here they pass their time in hunting of all sorts. Many of the nobility keep packs of hounds, and others hawks. The generality keep musicians in their service; so that let the weather be what it will, one may always be amused in this country. Besides, one enjoys all the freedom here that can be.

## CHAP. V.

*Treats of the language and religion of the Bohemians.*

THEIR language, like that of the Poles, is a Language. dialect of the antient Slavonian: a tongue so copious and sweet, that their antient laws required the true pronunciation and orthography of it to be strictly observed, which was exceeding difficult, having the use of no other letters but the Runick character, which had a very imperfect alphabet, and was not at all fit for the polishing a language: but afterwards when Germany came to have a more intimate correspondence with Bohemia, the Roman letters were introduced, and their language refined with more success. The modern Bohemians however, are very remiss in this particular; and their nobility look upon it as beneath them to speak their native tongue, choosing rather the High-Dutch, or a kind of gibberish, being a mixture of both these, and other foreign words.

The



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V.  
Religion  
of the Bo-  
hemians.

The Pagans, who antiently inhabited this country, adored chiefly their god PRON, the same with THOR among the Saxons, and JUPITER the Thunderer, among the Greeks; but their devotion was afterwards transferred to another idol, named SWANTO WIT, whose chief temple stood at Wollin in Pomerania, then one of the largest cities in Europe.

Christianity was first introduced here about the year 890, by METHODIUS, a Greek prelate, which was the reason that the Pope's supremacy was not acknowledged here till a considerable time after.

About the year 1403, some scholars that had attended King RICHARD'S Queen, who was a Bohemian, to England, and conversed with DR WICKLIFFE'S disciples, having made themselves masters of his doctrine, and returning to their own country, communicated WICKLIFFE'S works to the famous JOHN HUSS, a doctor of the university of Prague, who from these hints, began to reflect on the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome; and with JEROM, a master of arts of that university, afterwards stiled JEROM of Prague, began to endeavour a reformation, preaching publicly against the supremacy, and other tenets of that church, whereby they brought over great part of the Bohemian nation to their opinions. Dr HUSS and JEROM were hereupon summoned by the Pope to the council of Constance, in the year 1414, whither they refused to go however, till they had obtained the Emperor's passport for their protection. Here they endeavoured to defend their new doctrines before the council, but not to their satisfaction it seems; for the two reformers were convicted of teaching thirty articles, either heretical, seditious, or scandalous. They were condemned also as hereticks, and defenders of WICKLIFFE'S doctrines; and, after being degraded, were delivered over to the secular powers to be burnt, notwithstanding the Emperor's promised protection. HUSS, after pronouncing the sentence, appealed first to God, and afterwards addressing himself to the Emperor SIGISMUND, reproached him for his breach of faith; to which 'tis said, the Emperor gave no answer, being himself dissatisfied with the sentence, though obliged to humour the clergy in this particular. JEROM it seems retracted his pretended heresies, in order to save his life; but relapsing into the same opinions again, was also condemned, and afterwards burnt at the stake.

The deaths of these two reformers, so treacherously deprived of their lives, soon occasioned an insurrection among their Bohemian disciples, and upon their King WENCESLAUS'S publishing a proclamation, prohibiting the Hussites to assemble for divine service, the people rose, and having forced the town-house at Prague, threw the burgo-masters out of the windows, with all those who assisted at the proclamation, while the mob without received them on their pikes and halberts in the streets, whereby many of the citizens were killed or wounded. They proceeded afterwards to demolish many churches and monasteries, with which Bohemia abounded beyond any other nation, the King WENCESLAUS not being able to prevent it; whereupon he sent to his brother, the Emperor SIGISMUND, for a reinforcement of troops, and retired from Prague to a castle in the neighbourhood for his security: but the Emperor being at this time engaged in a war with

the Turks, neglected to send any succours into Bohemia.

The following year, anno 1419, King WENCESLAUS died, and his brother, the Emperor SIGISMUND, succeeded to the crown of Bohemia: but the war with the Turks still continuing, he contented himself with deputing some of his ministers to take possession of that kingdom, which increased the disaffection of the Bohemians, and made the party of the Hussites more formidable than ever. Their leader ZISCA, was a Bohemian nobleman, under whose conduct they performed many surprizing actions. He assembled an army of forty thousand men, and possessed himself of the city and castle of Prague, and many other fortresses, while the Emperor's ministers were glad to accept of a cessation of arms, being unable to make any considerable opposition. The Hussites exercised their greatest severities against the clergy, whom they abused and plundered most unmercifully, sparing neither their churches or altars.

These outrages obliged the Emperor to summon most of the princes of the empire to his assistance, and to march into Bohemia at the head of a prodigious army; where, after various success for some time, ZISCA compelled the Emperor to retire out of the country again, and leave it entirely at his devotion. But what makes this transaction the more remarkable is, that ZISCA, who was so named from having but one eye, had lost the other in an engagement with the Emperor's forces, and blind as he was, afterwards defeated his enemies in many considerable battles. But as something may be here ascribed to the name and presence of ZISCA in the army, a great deal of his success must however certainly be owing to the other generals, who had their eyes in their heads, for the sight is in no case so necessary as in a battle: but however that was, the continual victories of the Hussites inclined the Emperor at length to treat with them, and to offer ZISCA honourable terms; but as he was upon the way to the imperial court, in order to put a conclusion to the treaty, he died of the plague upon the road in the year 1427. Upon the death of ZISCA, the Emperor renewed the war with the Bohemians again, but with no better success than before. The Hussites defeated his forces from time to time, being always victorious, till about the year 1435, when they crumbled into so many sects and parties, that their divisions soon affected what it was not in the power of the whole Empire to compel them to. But the grand dispute was between the nobility and commonalty, the one refusing to be governed or directed by the other, their feuds arose to that height, that they came to a pitched battle, wherein the nobility obtained the victory; after which they sent to the Emperor, to invite him to come and take possession of the kingdom; and the Emperor so managed the matter upon the treaty, that he persuaded the Barons to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which point being gained, the common people were obliged either to renounce their principles, or fly their country; so that Popery, in a short time, became as firmly established as ever. Indeed the Bohemian nobility did obtain for the present, that they should receive the communion in both kinds; but the clergy were no sooner restored to the exercise of their functions, but either by persuasion or force, they compelled the Bohemians to give up this also. So that after a thirty years

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V.



CHAP. V. years war in defence of their religion, they relinquished all they had been contending for. Some of them, 'tis true, rather than comply with the church of Rome, retired to the woods and mountains in Moravia and Silesia, where they were afterwards joined by the Waldenses, and formed a considerable body. At the Reformation, the Bohemians in general embraced CALVIN'S doctrine, which made the Lutherans, as well as the Papists, their enemies; and the Bohemians having elected Prince FREDERICK V, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, for their King, in prejudice of the Emperor FERDINAND II, whom they had formerly recognized, as has been related already, they were fallen upon by the Emperor, and the Lutheran Princes of Germany at once. The Palatine's forces were defeated near Prague, anno 1620, Popery was again established in this kingdom, and no other denomination of Christians has been tolerated there ever since, except in the province of Silesia, where the victorious Swedes obtained for them the free exercise of their religion, and many other privileges, which have however been frequently infringed.

Dr NICHOLSON, speaking of the religion of Moravia, a province of Bohemia, seems to ascribe the misfortunes of the reformed churches on that side, chiefly to that unbounded toleration and liberty of conscience they were indulged in. As soon, says he, as the synod of St BRINN, which was assembled in the year 1608, to settle the affairs of religion, had made an edict, That every man should have liberty to regulate his faith according

to the measure of faith which God had given him; CHAP. V. each cobbler set up for a preacher of the word, and expounder of the scriptures. Whereupon, the church was immediately confounded and broken into an irreconcilable medley and hotchpotch of sects and schismaticks, viz. Hussites, Picards, Anabaptists, Arians, Flaccians, Trinitarians, Photinians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Dulcians, Lugentians, &c. So that fourteen several conventicles of different persuasions were assembled sometimes in one city, each of them asserting peculiar doctrines and tenets of their own, and denying all manner of communion in church-ordinances with the other thirteen. And what could be expected from this anarchy in the Reformation, but the re-establishment of Popery, which accordingly happened?

As to the rise of the Picards, one of the sects abovementioned, we have the following account of them; viz. That one PICARDUS, a Flemming, travelling into Bohemia, and pretending to the like state of Perfection as ADAM enjoyed, drew multitudes of people after him, who from the founder of their sect were called Picards. They pretended to have no regard to marriage, and lived in an island to which they gave the name of Paradise, perfectly naked, without a rag of clothing. But the famous ZISCA abovementioned, hearing of them, disturbed their tranquillity, and invading their island, put most of them to the sword; but their sect however met with encouragement in Germany, Bohemia, and other kingdoms many years after.



# THE PRESENT STATE OF HUNGARY.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the name, situation, and extent of this kingdom; and of the air, lakes, rivers, and mountains.*

CHAP.  
I.  
The name.

**H**UNGARY, part of the antient Pannonia, received it's modern name from the Huns, a Scythian nation, who planted themselves here about the III<sup>d</sup> Century; but Pannonia was of a larger extent than Hungary, comprehending besides part of the modern Hungary, the provinces of Servia, Bosnia, Sclavonia, part of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Croatia, and Carniola.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

The modern Hungary is bounded by the Crapack, or Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Poland on the north: by Transilvania and Wallachia towards the east: by the river Drave, which separates it from Sclavonia on the south: and by Stiria, Austria, and Moravia, towards the west: extending from forty-five degrees thirty minutes, to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, and from the sixteenth to the twenty-second degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London.

The air.

The air of Hungary is very unhealthful, especially to foreigners; which is thought to proceed in part from the sudden alteration of the weather; the days being excessive hot, and the nights intolerably cold in summer. It has been called *Cemiterium Germania*, from the great mortality which usually happens among the German forces when they take the field. The nauseous vapours which arise out of this boggy and sulphureous soil, are looked upon to be another great cause of this unhealthfulness: but these noxious exhalations are not so common towards the north of Hungary, and along the banks of the Teyffe, as they are in the south, and near the Danube.

Lakes.

This country, tho' it lies at some distance from the sea, is well watered by lakes and rivers. The most considerable lakes are, 1. The lake Balaton, or Platsee, about forty miles in length, lying on the west side of Hungary, between the Drave and the Danube. 2. The New Fidelfee, about twenty-eight miles long, lying a little to the south-west of the island of Schutz.

Rivers.

The principal Hungarian rivers are first, the Danube, which entering Hungary on the west side,

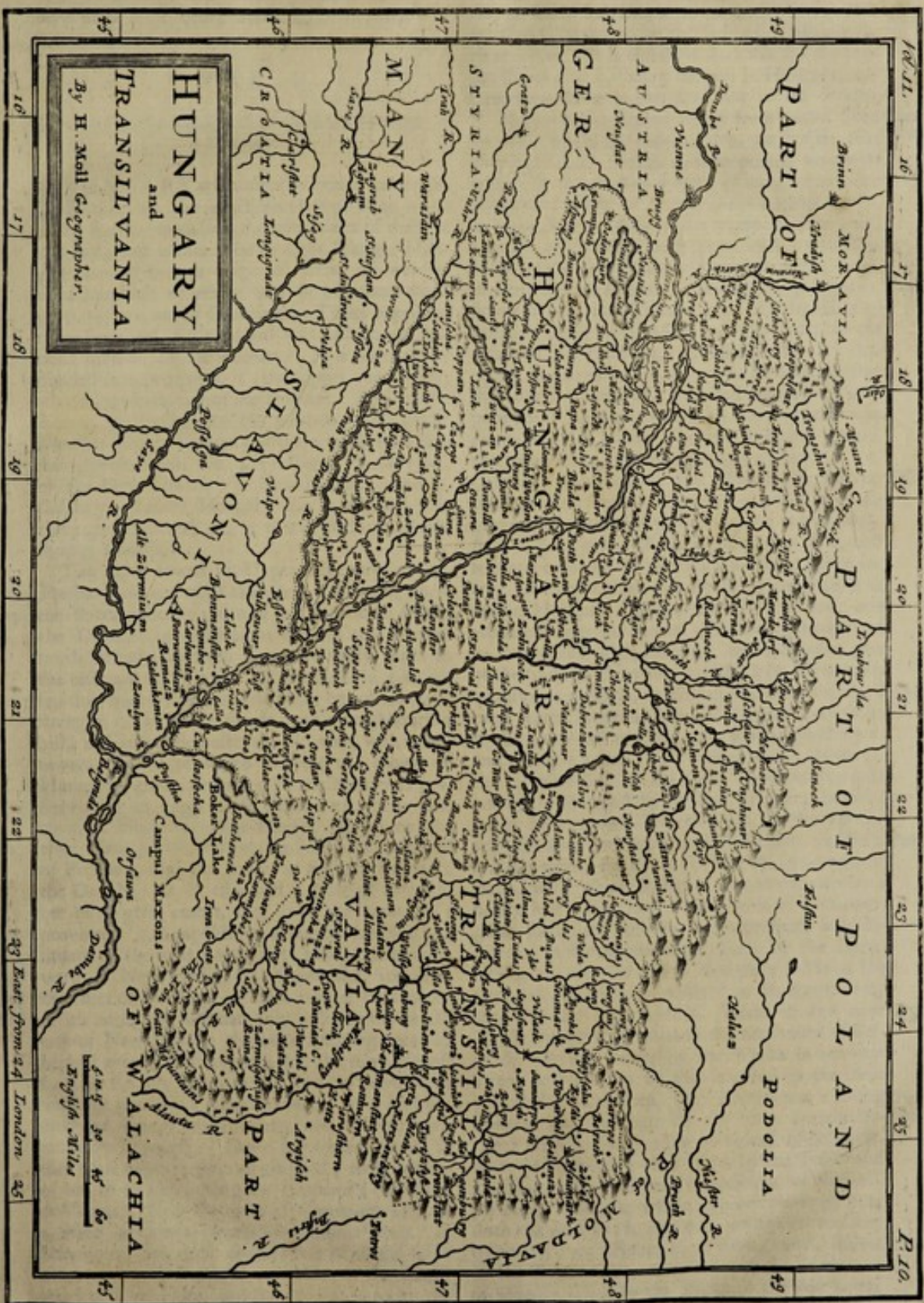
takes it's course to the south-east as far as Belgrade, running near three hundred miles through this country, and forming several considerable islands, the largest of which is Schutz, a little below Pressburg. 2. The Tibiscus, or Teyffe, which rising at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, takes it's course first to the westward, and having passed by Tockay, turns to the southward, and falls into the Danube, over-against Salankemen. 3. The Drave, which entering Hungary on the west, runs almost directly east, till it falls into the Danube, a little below the town of Esbeck. 4. The Raab, which rising in Stiria, enters the west side of Hungary; and taking it's course to the north-east, falls into the Danube near Komorra. 5. The river Gran, which rises in the Carpathian mountains; and running to the southward, falls into the Danube, near the city of Gran. 6. The Waag, which rises also in the north of Hungary, and discharges itself into the Danube, a little above Komorra.

These rivers are all of them well stocked with fish, especially the Teyffe, a thousand carps here having been bought for the value of a crown; and in some places fish are so plentiful, that they feed their hogs with them. This prolific quality in the Hungarian rivers is ascribed to the hot exhalations which arise every where out of that sulphureous soil. And now we are speaking of the Hungarian waters, the many salutary hot baths this country abounds with, must not be omitted; tho' I shall treat more particularly of them when I come to describe Buda, and other cities famous for their baths. But besides these, there are several fountains of wonderful qualities: among which, a spring of vitriol water near Schmolnitz, which in a short time turns plates of iron into copper. Other waters there are, which if an animal drink of them it is immediate death.

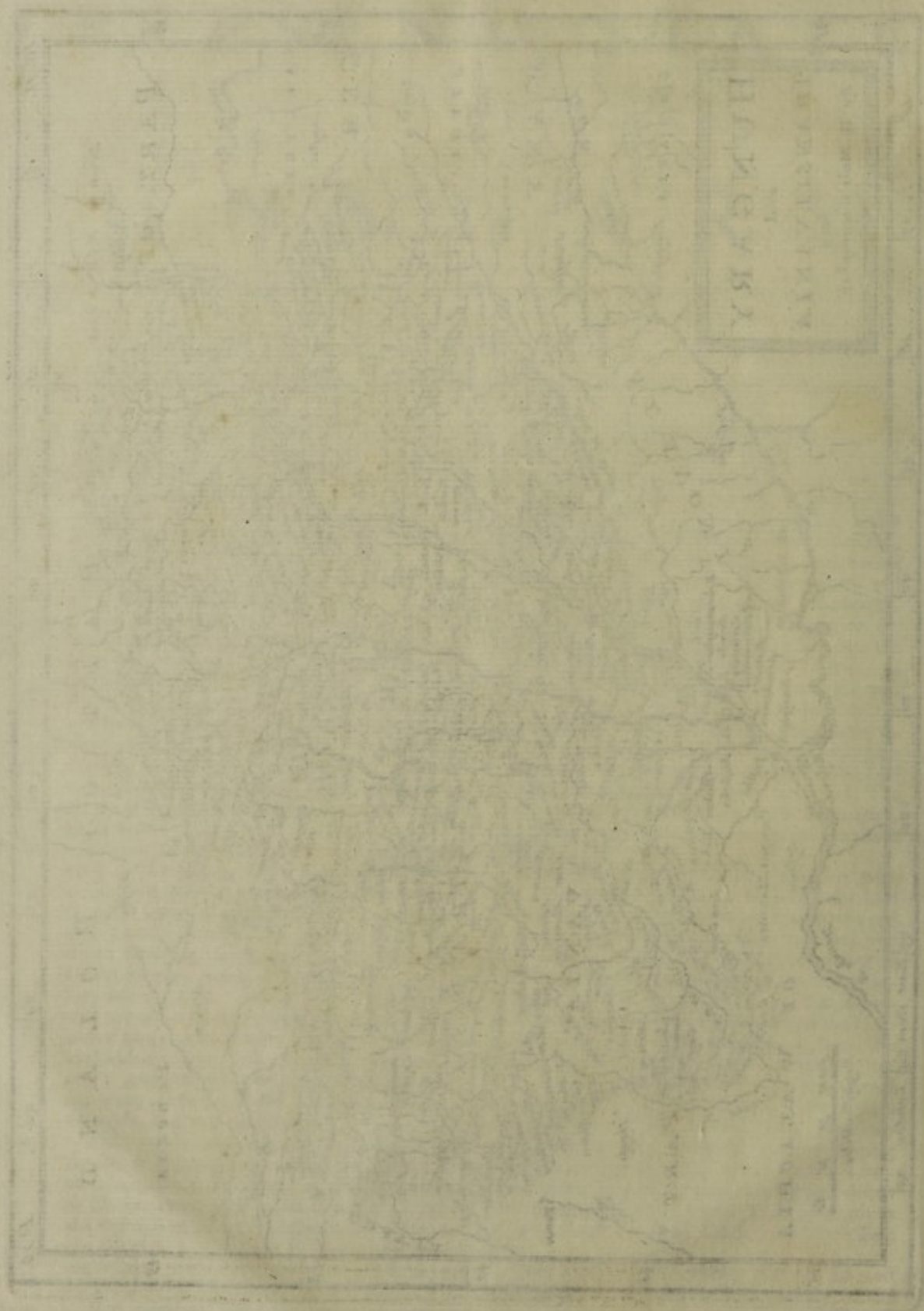
The Crapack, or Carpathian hills, are the most considerable mountains in this country, under which general name are comprehended all those hills which separate this kingdom from Poland, Moravia,

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I.











**CHAP. I.** Moravia, Silesia, and some part of Austria. The people who live near it give it different names, according to the countries, or towns it passes by, as Kalemberg, Dulsberg, Delmberg, &c. The country along the Danube from Presburg to Belgrade is almost one continued plain; being a tract of near three hundred miles; and there are besides many other large and fruitful plains in Hungary, very little of it being taken up with woods or mountains.

## CHAP. II.

*Treats of the provinces, chief towns, and mines of Hungary.*

**H**UNGARY was antiently divided into counties, but the exact number of them is not easily learnt, much less the boundaries of them at this day; nor is this to be thought strange, Hungary having been a perpetual scene of war for some hundreds of years; and the provinces changing masters, as the Christians or Turks happened to be successful, little regard was had to the antient division of the country. It is now usually divided into two parts, 1. the Upper, or Larger, which lies north-east of the Danube. And 2. the Lower, or Lesser, on the south-west side of the Danube. Upper Hungary is again subdivided into four governments, viz. 1. Presburg. 2. Bergstet, or the Berg Towns. 3. New-Hausel. And 4. Caschaw. Lower Hungary also is divided into three governments, viz. 1. that of Buda. 2. Raab. And 3. Canisia.

The chief towns in Upper Hungary are, 1. **Upper Hungary.** Presburg, the capital of the whole kingdom, where the states assemble; situate on the north side of the Danube, in forty-eight degrees odd minutes north latitude, between forty and fifty miles to the eastward of Vienna. It stands in a pleasant fruitful country, and is well built, but of no great strength. The castle stands upon a neighbouring hill, and is fortified after the old way, with round towers; in one of which is kept the crown of Hungary, which, according to tradition, was presented by an angel to St STEPHEN, their first christian king. 2. **New-Hausel.** situate on the river Nitrach, about thirty miles to the eastward of Presburg, and ten miles to the northward of the Danube. It is esteemed a place of strength, but of no great extent, tho' it be the capital of a province. 3. **Leopoldstat.** a regular fortification, situate on the river Vagus, forty miles to the northward of New-Hausel. 4. **Chremnitz,** reckoned the chief of the Berg, or mine towns, on account of it's antiquity, is situate fifty miles to the north-east of New-Hausel: the castle standing upon the highest ground in Hungary; but the town is most famous for it's gold mine, said to have been wrought in above a thousand years. It is an hundred and seventy fathoms deep, and the vein runs ten miles in length. There have been found in this mine pieces of pure virgin gold; some whereof are to be seen among the Emperor's curiosities at Vienna. Near the town of Chremnitz also, is a mine of vitriol fourscore fathoms deep. 6. **Schemnitz,** the most considerable of all the seven mine towns, is situate twenty miles to the southward of Chremnitz, and stands upon a rock, the buildings generally good, but the streets uneven. The air is very unhealthful, and the country barren, but the silver mines notwithstanding make it pretty much resorted to. The richest of these

mines are two called the Trinity, and a third called the Windschat. The ore is rich, and most of it contains some gold, which they separate by melting the silver, and afterwards grinding it, and dissolving it in aqua fortis, made of the vitriol which comes from Chremnitz, wherein the gold subsides. These mines also, afford crystals, amethysts, and vitriol naturally crystallized. 7. **Newfol.** or **Beftricia,** situate ten miles to the northward of Chremnitz, at the foot of a hill on the river Gran. It is chiefly remarkable for the copper mines near it, being the best in Hungary, and sometimes silver is extracted out of the copper. 8. **Hern Grunt,** situate about seven miles from Newfol, where the copper mines are so rich, that they yield from twenty to sixty pounds weight of copper in an hundred weight of ore. There are also several kinds of vitriol found in these mines, as white, green, blue, and a transparent red; and a green earth called berg grun, used in painting. Here are also two springs of vitriolate water, which in fourteen days turn iron into copper. 9. **Esperies,** situate on the river Tarkall, near the frontiers of Poland, about an hundred and fifty miles to the eastward of Presburg, remarkable for it's salt mines, in one of which, the veins are so large, that they dig out pieces of a thousand pound weight of pure salt. Near this place also, are two poisonous fountains, the waters whereof, kill any animal that tastes them, and are therefore walled up. 10. **Caschaw,** situate on the river Tarkall, or Taraza, twenty miles south of Esperies, a royal free town governed by the Emperor's deputy, which occasions a great resort of people of quality to it, and is become one of the best built towns in the country, notwithstanding the air is as unhealthful as any in Hungary. Their wine is also bad, and occasions many distempers; but being transported to Poland and other countries, in which great part of the trade of this place consists, loses it's noxious qualities. 11. **Agria,** or **Erlaw,** situate on the small river Agria, in the middle of Hungary, sixty miles to the north-east of Buda, is a well-fortified town, and a Bishop's see. The castle, which stands on the opposite side of the river, has been esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in Hungary, but was taken and retaken several times in the former wars between the Turks and Christians. 12. **Pest,** a large town, situate on the Danube, over-against Buda, with which it has a communication by a bridge half a mile long. It is built of a quadrangular form, and affords a fine prospect at a distance. After the taking of Buda by the Imperialists, in the year 1686, this place followed the same fate, and was surrendered to the Emperor by the Turks. 13. **Segedin,** situate on the river Teyffe, about sixty miles to the northward of Belgrade. It was taken by the Turks in the year 1552, and retaken by the Imperialists the same year Buda was retaken. 14. **Temefwaer,** a strong frontier town, situate on the river Temes, between forty and fifty miles north-east of Belgrade, taken and retaken several times by the Turks and Christians; but has been in possession of the Imperialists, with the whole country about it, ever since the year 1718, and since confirmed to them by treaty. 15. **Zolnock,** a strong town, situate on the Teyffe, about sixty miles to the northward of Segedin, taken by the Turks in the year 1552, and recovered by the Imperialists in the year 1685. 16. **Montgatz,** situate near the borders of Poland, about fifty miles south-east of Esperies. It was formerly accounted impregnable, being built upon a steep



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a steep rock, and consisting of three castles, one above another, the uppermost commanding those beneath, each of them encompassed with a large ditch, and the whole surrounded by a morass. It was a great while obstinately defended by the Princess RAGOTSKY, wife of Count TERRY, against all the power of the Imperialists; but the enemy continuing the blockade for some years, she was at length forced to surrender in the year 1688, for want of provisions. 17. Ungvár, situated on the river Ungh, at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, near the frontiers of Poland, about forty miles to the eastward of Esperies, by some supposed to have communicated its name to the whole kingdom. 18. Tockay, situate in a plain, at the confluence of the Teyssé and Bodrack, thirty miles to the eastward of Agria, famous for its excellent wine, of which they transport great quantities to Poland.

Lower Hungary. Buda.

Baths.

In the Lower Hungary, the chief towns are, 1. Buda, formerly the capital of the kingdom, situate in 47 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, on the south side of the Danube, ninety miles south-east of Presburg. The city lies on the declivity of a hill, on the top whereof the castle stands, and is one of the strongest fortresses in Hungary, large and populous, and a place of good trade. The Imperialists took it by storm in the year 1686, after a siege of ten weeks. The Duke of Lorrain commanded the siege; and besides the German forces, was attended by many noble volunteers from most kingdoms in Europe, and particularly from England, some of whom have since proved the greatest generals in Europe. The natural baths of Buda, says Dr BROWN, who was there when the Turks were in possession of it, are the noblest in Europe; not only in respect of the large and hot springs, but in the magnificence of the buildings. Eight of these baths the doctor informs us he had an opportunity of viewing; the principal whereof are, 1. That called the bath of the green pillars, the water whereof is hot, but tolerable without the addition of cold water. It is impregnated with a petrifying juice, which discovers itself on the sides of the bath, upon the spout, and other places, and makes a grey stone. The exhalations of the bath reverberated by the cupola, form long stones like iceicles, which hang down from the capitals of the pillars and irons which extend from one column to another, as is observed in some other subterraneous grotto's. The bath is of a round form, set about with large pillars supporting a cupola, which hath openings to let out the steams of the bath, and yet the whole room continues to be a hot stove. 2. The bath of Velibey, the noblest in Buda, which hath a strong sulphureous smell, and a petrifying juice, and is so hot that it requires a mixture of cold water to make it tolerable. The antichamber is very large, the bathing-room capacious and high arched, and adorned with five cupola's; one a very fair one over the great round bath in the middle, and one less at each of the four corners, where are bathing rooms for private uses. Twelve pillars support the great cupola, between eight of which are fountains of hot water, and between the others are places to sit down, where the barbers and servants of the bath attend; and in each of these places are two cisterns of free stone, into which they let hot water and cold, to be mixed as every one likes. It is generally observed, that the Turks are in nothing more neat and curious than in their baths; but when these places fall into the hands of the

Christians they are pretty much neglected; so that it must not be expected that the bagnio's of Buda are kept in that exact order they were when Dr BROWN was there, and the place was in the possession of the Mahometans. On the other hand, the Christians much improve their houses and private buildings, which the Turks altogether neglect, suffering the cities and towns under their government to run to ruin. When we have seen their temples, their bagnio's, and caravansera's, there is very little else worth our notice in their greatest cities. 2. Gran, the ancient Strigonium, is situate on the south side of the Danube, over-against Barchan, sixty miles south-east of Presburg, and thirty north-west of Buda; the see of an archbishop, who is primate of the kingdom. The city is divided into two parts, viz. the upper and lower city; the upper being built on the side of a hill, and the other along the banks of the Danube. The most considerable public buildings are the cathedral dedicated to St STEPHEN, the archbishop's palace, and the castle. The town in general is well built and tolerably large, and is now in the possession of the Imperialists, as all the rest of the towns in Hungary are. 3. Komorra, situate at the east end of the island of Schutz, forty miles to the eastward of Presburg. It stands in a pleasant champaign country, almost surrounded by the rivers Danube and Waag, and has sustained many fruitless attacks by the Turks, when they were masters of the eastern part of Hungary. 4. Raab, a well fortified little city, and a bishop's see, situate on the southern branch of the Danube, that forms the island of Schutz. It stands about twenty miles south of Komorra, and has been in possession of the Imperialists ever since the year 1606. 5. Alba Regalis, or Stul Wieselberg, situate on the river Zavitz, in an inaccessible morass, about forty miles to the southward of Gran. Here the Hungarian Kings were crowned and buried, till it was taken by the Turks in 1543. It has been in the possession of the Imperialists ever since the year 1688. These are the principal cities of Hungary, the rest will be seen in the map of the country.

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## CHAP. III.

*Treats of the genius and temper, persons and habits of the Hungarians; of their manner of travelling, and noble bridges.*

THE ancient Hungarians met with much the same character from those who were then esteemed the polite part of the world, as people generally do now on our first acquaintance with them. There is scarce an instance of one nation giving another a better title than that of barbarous, with whom they have had but little conversation. Thus the nations who had the good fortune to receive Christianity before the Huns, tell us, that they were a savage people, wholly strangers to commerce and conversation, and used to cut and disfigure the faces of their children to make them appear terrible; so that they had no more the features of men, than images carved on the publick buildings, which had suffered by the injuries of the weather. That they were bred up so hardily as not to stand in need of fire, and eat their meat without dressing. That they lived wild in the woods, having neither house, cottage, or hut to screen them from the weather; and their cloathing was of the skins of wild beasts. That they neither manured

The genius and temper of the Hungarians.



CHAP. III. or planted their fields, or continued long in any one place, but rambl'd from one side of the country to the other. That they had no sense of morality, or of the nature of good and evil; nor were ever observed to exercise one act of religion. This is the character some zealous Christians have given us of the Pagan Huns. They seem loth to allow that any people out of the pale of the church, can be endowed with any good qualities; intimating that the rest of the world are bears and wolves, and can only be reduced from their fierceness and barbarity by embracing Christianity; which may in some measure be true: but that ever there was such an abandoned race on the face of the earth, as they have made the antient Huns to be, I very much question.

The characters travellers give us of the modern Hungarians also is oddly compounded. They tell us, they are a brave warlike people, having stood as a barrier between Christendom and Turkey for upwards of two hundred years. That they are wise and politick, and zealous asserters of the Christian faith. On the other hand, they are charged with unfaithfulness, and breach of leagues, when they find it to their advantage, which other christian Kings and States are often guilty of. That they are an idle, slothful generation, which the abundant fruitfulness of the country inclines them to; as it does to excess in eating and drinking, even in the opinion of the Germans, who are not the most abstemious: but their most flagrant vice is said to be rebellion, while others look upon these frequent insurrections, as only noble struggles for their liberties.

Persons and habits.

The Hungarians are of a good stature and proportion, and have tolerable complexions, wearing fur caps on their heads, close-bodied coats girt about them with a sash, and over all they have their favourite cloak or mantle, which comes no lower than the hips, and is so contrived to be buckled under one arm, that the right-hand is always at liberty. The colours they most affect in their clothes are red, blue, or green. Young gentlemen have usually feathers in their caps, a piece of pride said to be taught them by the Turks. The women of fashion, as well as men, pretty much imitate the French mode; but neither the one or the other will leave off the short cloak or mantle. The women also throw a veil over their faces when they go abroad. The men shave their beards, but leave whiskers on the upper lip. Besides a broad sword, the usual arms of an Hungarian, are an iron mace, with a round head furrowed, and the balta made in the form of a hatchet.

Their way of travelling.

Hungary being plentifully watered with fine rivers, the usual way of travelling in summer is by water, and where they have not this convenience, an open chariot drawn by two, three, or four horses abreast, carries the traveller over this flat country with great expedition. They have also a very fleet breed of horses for riding, and never dock their tails, which are looked on as a great ornament. The Hussars, or Hungarian troopers, whose pay is small, are very troublesome to travellers, robbing all they meet, where they can do it with any security. Nor are those numbers of sturdy gypsies that swarm in this country less dangerous, though they live in towns, and generally profess some handicraft trade. The wolves are another great disturbance on the road in the night time, especially where it happens to lie through a wood. And the dogs, when you ap-

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CHAP. III. proach a town upon the frontiers in the evening, come ready to devour a passenger, being turned out, it is said, on purpose to alarm the garrison, and prevent a surprize in the night time.

And now I am upon the head of travelling, I cannot omit mentioning the noble bridges that are to be met with in this country, particularly the bridge of Esseck, built over the river Drave, and the marshy grounds beyond it, being five miles long, and railed in with towers at every quarter of a mile's distance. This has been a pass much contended for in the Turkish wars, and occasioned many smart engagements to gain the possession of it. There lies also a bridge of boats of half a mile long, between Buda and Pest; and a third over the Danube, between Gran and Barcan: but the bridge built over the Danube twenty Hungarian miles from Belgrade, far surpassed all the rest, some of the ruins being visible at this day. It consisted of twenty piles of square stone, an hundred feet in height, the basis whereof contained sixty feet on every side of the square. The distance between every one of these piles or pillars, was an hundred and seventy feet, and joined together by arches, with this inscription, PROVIDENTIA AUG. VERE PONTIFICIS VIRTUS ROMANA QUID NON DOMAT? SUB JUGUM ECCE! RAPITURET DANUBIUS. And to perpetuate the memory of this bridge, many silver coins were stamped with this inscription, DANUBIUS.

There is no river in Europe, Dr BROWN observes, that has so many large well-peopled islands as the Danube. One he mentions a little below Buda, forty miles long, and containing many villages. Another at the confluence of the Danube and the Drave; but the island of Schutz, which extends from Presburg to Komorra, and is surrounded by the Danube, is much the most considerable for the strength of the towns upon it, the fruitfulness of the soil, and the number of the inhabitants; which, as I remember, was given to the great Prince EUGENE by the Emperor, as a reward of his services upon his success against the Turks in the last war.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the nature and produce of the soil: of their husbandry, cattle, and other animals; and of their manufactures.*

NO soil can be more fruitful than that of Hungary, where it is free from woods and mountains, and there are not many of these. Their bread-corn is good, and yet so plentiful that it is six times cheaper than with us. Their grapes are large and luscious, and their wines, particularly those of Tockay, admired beyond any in Europe. The Hungarians improve their arable grounds by burning them, and instead of barns, in the war-time they made use of caves to lay their grain in, to conceal it as much as possible from the soldiers, and continue to lay it up in the same manner still in some places. But nothing better shews the fruitfulness of this country, than that it was able to subsist such vast armies as it did for many years together during the Turkish wars.

Nor have they less plenty of cattle than of corn and wine, selling incredible numbers of oxen every year into Germany, and other neighbouring countries; and such abundance of deer, game, and wild fowl, are to be met with in their fields and forests, that none are restrained from taking them, even

Soil and husbandry.

Cattle, Game, &c. Fowl and fish.



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IV.

the peasants eat them as their ordinary food. The shoals of the best fresh-water fish in the world that are to be found in their lakes and rivers, I have already mentioned, such as pikes, perch, carp, &c. which are so numerous, that some have imagined if their waters were divided into three parts, one third would be fish. Besides the cattle already mentioned, they have a good breed of buffaloes, which serve them in ploughing and husbandry. Their breed of horses are fleet but not large, and therefore more used for riding than drawing heavy carriages.

## Manufactures and trade.

As to manufactures, I can't find they have any other than those of copper, and other hard wares; consequently their foreign trade is not very considerable: the exportation of their wines and cattle seem to be the best branches of it. That their trade is no greater, may be ascribed to several causes; as first, their being an inland country at a distance from the sea. By the Danube indeed, a very profitable navigation might be carried on to the coasts of the Black Sea, and even to the Mediterranean; but as the Turks are masters of the mouth of that river, nothing of that kind can be attempted at present: should the Emperor extend his conquests a little further, and make himself master of Wallachia and Bulgaria, the situation of Hungary would not lie much amiss for carrying on a trade between Asia and the German Empire: but what is the greatest discouragement to trade, is, that Hungary is looked upon only as a province, and the imperial ministry, far from consulting the good of the country, only rack and impoverish the people, to increase their master's revenue, and fill their own pockets; while they stop the mouths of the most popular Hungarian Lords with pensions or places.

## CHAP. V.

*Contains an abstract of the succession of their princes; and of their ancient and modern history; and treats of the constitution of their government; and of the forces and revenues of the kingdom.*

Hungary, like other countries, I find, was at first divided into several little independent principalities, which united at length under one head, for their mutual defence. And the person they chose to be their leader was usually stiled their Duke: most of the Hungarian writers relate, that the country was governed by fourteen of these Dukes successively, before the nation embraced Christianity; and that they exercised a sovereign jurisdiction over the people, though they did not assume the title of Kings. The last of these Dukes was GEYSA, who being converted about the year of Christ 1000, was baptized by St ADELBERT at Prague; and being old and infirm, with the consent of his people, resigned his government to his son STEPHEN: and their historians beginning with this Prince, give us the following table of their Kings.

1. STEPHEN, the son of Duke GEYSA, came to the crown about the year 1000.

2. PETER, STEPHEN's sister's son, succeeded to the crown, anno 1038; but being deposed by his subjects, reigned only four years, and was succeeded by,

3. ABAN, or OVAN, elected in the year 1042; but the people being no better pleased with this than their former monarch, assassinate him; after whom,

4. ANDREW, the brother of King STEPHEN, CHAP. V. ascended the throne, anno 1066; who, in his lifetime, procured his son SOLOMON to be proclaimed his successor; but was succeeded by his brother,

5. BELA, who procured his brother ANDREW to be murdered, anno 1071.

6. SOLOMON succeeded to the crown upon his uncle BELA's death, anno 1073; but GEYSA and LADISLAUS, the two sons of BELA, were admitted to be independent Princes in their respective provinces; and not contented with that, commenced a war against SOLOMON, in which he lost his life: whereupon,

7. GEYSA, the eldest son of BELA, ascended the throne, anno 1074, and was succeeded by his brother,

8. LADISLAUS, anno 1077; who for his services to the church, is chronicled for a saint in the Hungarian calendar. Having two nephews, the sons of his brother GEYSA, viz. BELA and COLOMAN, he gave his crown by will to BELA the youngest, obliging COLOMAN to be no favourer of the Christians; but BELA voluntarily resigned to his eldest brother,

9. COLOMAN succeeded to the crown, anno 1095; but to secure his possession, put out his brother BELA's eyes, and threw him into prison; he was succeeded by his son,

10. STEPHEN II, who ascended the throne anno 1114; but being soon weary of it, and retreating into a monastery, was succeeded by,

11. BELA the blind, who came to the crown, anno 1132, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

12. GEYSA, anno 1141; after whose death, his third son,

13. STEPHEN III, ascended the throne, anno 1161; to whom succeeded,

14. LADISLAUS, the second son of BELA the blind, anno 1172; and after him,

15. STEPHEN IV, fourth son of BELA, came to the crown, anno 1172; but was deposed within five months, and,

16. BELA III, the second son of GEYSA, was advanced to the throne, anno 1173.

17. EMERICK, King BELA's son, succeeded him, anno 1195; and was succeeded by,

18. LADISLAUS II, his only son, anno 1204; to whom succeeded,

19. ANDREW, the brother of EMERICK, anno 1205; to whom succeeded,

20. BELA IV, ANDREW's second son, anno 1235; to whom succeeded,

21. STEPHEN his fourth son, anno 1260; who was succeeded by his son,

22. LADISLAUS, anno 1272; who being murdered,

23. ANDREW, King STEPHEN's son, came to the crown, anno 1290; after whom,

24. WENCESLAUS, son to the King of Bohemia, was elected King, anno 1292; but his father finding the Hungarians a rebellious people, and continually inciting insurrections against him, after a reign of about six years re-called him. Whereupon,

25. OTHO Duke of Bavaria, was crowned King, anno 1305, by one of the factions, who with a great deal of difficulty maintaining himself on the throne about four years, was expelled the kingdom, and succeeded by,

26. CHARLES ROBERT, grandson of King STEPHEN V, anno 1310; who was a prosperous Prince; and subjected Bulgaria, Servia, Croatia, Dalmatia,



CHAP. V. Dalmatia, and many other principalities under his dominion; and was succeeded by his son,

27. LODOWICK, or LEWIS, *anno* 1342; who was also crowned King of Hungary and Poland.

28. MARY, the daughter of LODOWICK, succeeded him, *anno* 1382; but being very young, the administration was left in the hands of her mother, whose conduct being disagreeable to the Hungarians, they elected,

29. CHARLES, King of Naples, brother to King LODOWICK, *anno* 1383; who was murdered by an assassin hired by the mother of the late Queen for that end; after whose death,

30. SIGISMUND, afterwards Emperor of Germany, who had married Queen MARY, was advanced to the throne of Hungary, *anno* 1387.

31. ALBERT, Archduke of Austria, marrying the only daughter of the Emperor SIGISMUND, succeeded his father-in-law, not only in the empire, but in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, *anno* 1438; who leaving no issue, but the Empress big with child.

32. ULADISLAUS, brother to the King of Poland, usurped the throne of Hungary, *anno* 1440; after whose death,

33. LADISLAUS, posthumous son of the Emperor SIGISMUND, succeeded to the throne, being an infant of five years of age, *anno* 1444; the administration during his minority being committed to the famous JOHN HUNNIAD, who performed such memorable actions against the Turks. Upon the death of LADISLAUS,

34. MATTHIAS CORVINUS, the son of HUNNIAD, was elected King, *anno* 1458, in gratitude for his father's great services. This Prince built the famous library at Buda; and died, 'tis said, in a fit of anger; after whose death,

35. ULADISLAUS, King of Bohemia, was advanced to the crown of Hungary by the favour of the late Queen, *anno* 1460; after whose death,

36. LODOWICK, his son, succeeded him both in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, *anno* 1516. He was a brave warlike Prince; but venturing to engage SOLIMAN, Emperor of the Turks, with unequal numbers, was defeated, and falling into a morass, with his horse loaded with armour, perished there, not being found till some weeks after the battle. To him succeeded,

37. JOHN, Waywode of Transilvania, crowned King of Hungary, *anno* 1526; but driven from the throne by FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES V, who had married ANNE, the sister of King LODOWICK: however, SOLIMAN, the Turkish Emperor, restored him to the throne again; but his rival being supported by the Emperor CHARLES V,

38. FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria, was crowned King of Hungary, *anno* 1527; being afterwards elected Emperor of Germany.

39. MAXIMILIAN, eldest son to the Emperor FERDINAND, was crowned King of the Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia, *anno* 1564; during his father's life-time, and after his death advanced to the imperial throne.

40. RODOLPH, succeeded his father, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN in the kingdom of Hungary, *anno* 1576; but was wheedled, or frightened, out of the kingdom of Hungary by his brother,

41. MATTHIAS, who ascended the throne, *anno* 1612; and was afterwards elected Emperor. He was a severe persecutor of the Protestants, which occasioned that insurrection in Bohemia, already mentioned in treating of that kingdom.

42. FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria, and grandson to FERDINAND I, succeeded MATTHIAS in the kingdom of Hungary, as well as in his other dominions, *anno* 1618.

43. FERDINAND III, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Hungary, as well as in the empire, *anno* 1625; after whose death,

44. FERDINAND IV, his son, came to the crown, *anno* 1647; to whom,

45. LEOPOLD, the son of FERDINAND, succeeded, *anno* 1658.

46. JOSEPH, son to the Emperor LEOPOLD, was crowned King of Hungary, *anno* 1688, in his father's life-time; and the crown entailed by the states upon the heirs of his body.

47. CHARLES, the late Emperor, brother of the Emperor JOSEPH, succeeded to the kingdom of Hungary, and all his other hereditary dominions, on the 17th of April, 1711.

Upon perusing this table, and the history of the Hungarian Kings, it appears that this crown has been at some times hereditary, and at others elective. That sometimes their Princes have acted arbitrarily, and at others been limited and restrained by the states. That there have been innumerable struggles between the crown and the states; the crown contending to increase its power and prerogatives, and the states to enlarge their privileges, and put limitations on the prerogative. 'Tis surprising to find how many of their Kings have been deposed or murdered either by factious subjects, or ambitious rivals. And as no body will say that their Kings could by their constitution legally oppress their subjects and invade their properties; so neither will any one sure affirm, that king-killing is part of the constitution of this, or any other kingdom. If the people indeed are vested with the supreme power, and kings are but their officers, and accountable to them, they will have some pretence for resisting and dethroning them; when they apprehend they act contrary to the good of the community; and may, without the imputation of parricide, do justice upon them, in the language of our regicides, that the rest of the Kings of the earth may hear, and fear, and do no more so wickedly. But as our republicans go upon that mistake, that Kings can have no legal authority but what is conferred on them by the majority of the people, and therefore their Princes are always accountable to the majority of the people; and since there is scarce any instance in the world that the majority of the people (the multitude) were ever consulted in the election of a monarch or supreme magistrate, their fancied power over their monarchs must be a mere chimæra; at least in all those countries where the supreme magistrate is not elected by a majority of the people; for if he received his authority from another hand, how is he accountable to them? unless it be said, that all people in the world have, and ever had, *jure divino*, an unalienable, undefeasible right to call their sovereign to account, depose, condemn, and execute him whenever they in their wisdoms conceive he does not promote the publick good. For should it be admitted they have such an authority, does not every one know how incapable the inferior part of mankind are of judging of the conduct of their Princes: and notwithstanding the specious pretences of maintaining the people's rights and privileges by insurrections, and attempts upon the throne, does it not usually appear, that some ambitious prince or nobleman is at the bottom of these conspiracies, and only flatters the rabble



CHAP.  
V.

rabble with the notion of their undoubted right to make and unmake Kings, till by their assistance the conspirators have got into the saddle, and obtained their ends, and then these noble patriots commonly laugh at the many-headed-beast that has advanced them, leaving the people to labour under greater burthens than they did before; or perhaps loading them with insupportable taxes to maintain their own possession, pretending that their establishment, and the people's happiness, are inseparable? But surely no nation has ever suffered more in these struggles, for power between the crown and the states, than the Hungarians; for while one side called in the Emperor, the other called in the Turk, to their assistance, and made their country a scene of war and bloodshed for upwards of two hundred years together, till in the end, the German Emperor has driven the Turks entirely out of Hungary, and reduced it to the form of a province. They have contended with their Princes about their rights and privileges, till the imperial eagle has decided the controversy, by devouring both, and left them only the shadow of their antient constitution. Their states, or dyet, assemble like the parliaments of France, for form sake, or rather to record the arbitrary decrees of the Emperor, and by signifying their consent to them, take off the odium of every destructive scheme from the court, and derive it on themselves. By which means probably, their chains are now so firmly riveted, that their slavery will be everlasting; unless another family should be elected to the imperial crown, and then they may possibly have another struggle for their dying liberties.

The elec-  
tion and  
coronation  
of the  
Hunga-  
rian  
Kings.

At the coronation of the Hungarian Kings, the people antiently used to assemble in the plain called Rakes, near Pest, (from whence a general assembly of the states is at this day called Rackets.) Here the bishops, the nobility, and the representatives of the several counties and cities having unanimously approved of the person proposed for their King, who was usually the next in succession, he was conducted to Stuhl-Wieffemburg, or Alba-Regalis, where he was presented to the people by the Palatine, who demanded three times whether they approved of the new-elected King; and having expressed their consent, he delivered a naked sword in the King's hand, which he brandished east, west, north, and south: then he was attended to the great church, where the Archbishop of Gran holding the regal robes in his hand, again demanded of the people whether they were satisfied with the King elect, and were willing to become his subjects; and receiving an answer in the affirmative, he proceeded to perform the usual rites observed at the coronation of their Kings; after which the prelates and nobility carried the arms, and other reliques of King STEPHEN I, before the new King, in a splendid procession to the palace. The crown of STEPHEN, their first King, is still preserved at Presburgh, with great veneration, or rather superstition; and no Prince is allowed to be duly crowned with any other crown. The Hungarians in general, believe that the fate of their nation depends on the careful preservation of it, and in all their calamities, took care to convey that to a place of security: nor have the Turks been less solicitous to make themselves masters of it, than the natives to preserve it, believing that the Hungarians would make no scruple of paying their allegiance to the Grand

Seignior, if he could once procure King STEPHEN'S crown to be set upon his head. The reason of this profound veneration for King STEPHEN'S crown has been already intimated, but I have since met with a more particular account of it, viz. that King STEPHEN having begun to propagate the Christian religion in his dominions, sent ASTRICUS, Bishop of Colocza, to Pope BENEDICT VII, desiring his holiness to confirm him in his kingdom, and send him a crown and other regal ornaments. MYSCHA, Duke of Poland, having sent an embassy to Rome at this time on the same account, and a crown being provided for him, the day before it was to be sent away, an angel appeared to the Pope, and directed him to send the crown designed for the Poles, to STEPHEN, King of Hungary; which was done accordingly: and the Hungarians, who believe this tradition equally with any article of their faith, give this antique relic almost divine adoration.

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The person of the greatest authority next to the King, was the Palatine, or guardian of the kingdom, who arrived at that dignity by the election of the states. This officer had the first voice in the election of the King, was guardian to the infant Princes of the blood, had authority to assemble the states during an *interregnum*, to hear all petitions brought to the King, to confer with ambassadors and foreign ministers, and report their business to his majesty; and during a vacancy of the throne, to take the administration of the government into his hands.

The Pala-  
tine's  
power.

The Archbishop of Gran is the next great officer, being Primate, Pope's legate, and Chancellor of the kingdom; and presides in the assembly of the states, which is composed of the Bishops, nobility, representatives of royal cities, &c.

Archbi-  
shop of  
Gran.

The common people are vassals to their respective Lords, whose lands they live upon, whether they belong to the crown, to the clergy, the nobility, or gentry, every Lord of a manor is proprietor of the lands in his manor, as it was formerly with us, and the people who use them are his subjects, and receive justice in his courts, paying such rents and services as their Lord is pleased to impose upon them. But these, though much the majority of the kingdom, never had any share in the government, or the election of their Princes. It was indifferent to them, whether the King or the nobility prevailed, they always were slaves, and still are like to be so, having no liberties or properties but what are at the disposal of their respective Lords.

Condition  
of the  
common  
people.

The forces that this kingdom could and did raise, when they were governed by their native Princes, were very considerable, as appears by the opposition they constantly gave the Turks, particularly when the famous HUNNIADIES had the command of their armies. The Emperor at present raises what forces he pleases; but the revenue of the kingdom being computed at no more than an hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which arises chiefly from the mines and duties laid on cattle, and which perhaps is half of it taken up in paying the governors and great officers of the respective towns and provinces, and repairing the fortifications of the many garrison towns upon the frontiers, the forces maintained out of the proper revenue of Hungary, are far from being sufficient to defend them against the Turks, but they will always stand in need of the assistance of the Emperor's other hereditary countries; so that Hungary

Forces  
and re-  
venues.



CHAP. V. Hungary probably does not bear it's own charges at present, notwithstanding the various methods made use of by the imperial ministers, to improve the revenue. And here we may observe once for all, that many kingdoms which made a considerable figure, while they were governed by their own Princes, after they have become provinces to a foreign power, have scarce been able to maintain the charges of the civil government, but been a burthen to the Prince who has gained the dominion of them. The reason whereof I take to be, that the eye of the Prince being far removed, and the province oppressed and exhausted by rapacious officers and tax-gatherers, who regard the making their own fortunes more than the improvement of the country; it fares as it does with a gentleman's estate which lies at a distance from him, whose stewards and agents usually roll in money, while the estate yields the owner little or nothing. Another great disadvantage is, that where the interest of any province comes in competition with that which is the seat of the government, and the residence of the sovereign, the distant province must be sure to suffer.

But to return to the Hungarian forces. Their horse are denominated Hussars, and their foot Heydukes. Several regiments of the former served in Flanders in the late wars. Their horses are fleet and well managed, but of the smallest for troopers. The Hussars ride short, and rise in their stirrups when they make a stroke with their scimitars, to give the blow the greater force. But these troops are by no means equal to the English or Danish horse, whose weight alone will bear them down.

The Heydukes are very far from being good foot, compared with regular troops; but take them as an undisciplined militia, and few nations perhaps can produce a better. They still retain the Pyrrhical dance, with naked swords in their hands, brandishing them, and putting themselves into an hundred terrible postures, advancing, retreating, turning and winding about with great activity, and singing all the while to their own measures.

## CHAP. VI.

*Treats of the language, learning, and religion of the Hungarians.*

Language.

THERE is scarce any resemblance between the Hungarian language, and that of any other people, except the Hebrew, which is governed by points and accents, as this is; the least variation of an accent or vowel alters the sense of a word. This independency on other languages, makes it learnt with difficulty; and few foreigners attempt it: the natives therefore for the sake of commerce, and conversing with their neighbours, especially those of Poland, are bred up to have a tolerable understanding of the Latin tongue. There is scarce a peasant or mechanic in some parts of Hungary, but will be able to maintain a conversation in this language; I suppose in the same barbarous manner that Latin is spoken by the Dutch, who seldom trouble themselves about mood, tense, or concord.

Learning.

Notwithstanding the Hungarians do not want parts, it is observed that this country has produced but few men of learning, and that there are no considerable schools or universities in the country; the reason whereof is said to be, that Hun-

gary has been almost a perpetual scene of war. St JEROME and St MARTIN indeed, were natives of this country, but had their education elsewhere, as all those have of late years, who have applied themselves to letters; they resort either to the universities of Vienna, Prague, or Breslaw, for their education.

The antient inhabitants of this country, it is said, had scarce any devotion but what they paid to their sword, which they looked upon as the great preserver of their country, and the terror of their enemies.

The Christian religion was introduced here about the year 1000, by King STEPHEN, as has been taken notice of already. The Hussites of Bohemia propagated their opinions here in the XVth century; and in the XVIth, LUTHER'S doctrine prevailed: but they were like their neighbours of Bohemia, divided into a multitude of sects, some of them not easily defensible; however, all of them under the name of Protestants, generally joined the other malecontents and the Turks against the Emperor of Germany, their sovereign, and maintained a war against him for many years. In the late wars between the confederates and the French, they pretty much embarrassed the affairs of the confederacy under the conduct of Prince RAGOTSKI and BEREZINI, the Emperor being obliged to withdraw part of his troops from the confederate army, to make head against them. RAGOTSKI, though he had been so long the defender of the Protestant interest in Hungary, as he pretended, was perverted to Popery by the Jesuits in his declining years, while he resided in Turkey. By the last treaty of peace between the Emperor and the Grand Signior, in the year 1718, nothing was stipulated in favour of the Protestants and other malecontents; but on the contrary, the Turks engaged that neither RAGOTSKI, BEREZINI, Count FORGATZ, or any of their leaders, should be permitted to approach the frontiers of Hungary: so that the poor Protestants of that kingdom are now left entirely to the mercy of the Emperor, and have nothing to depend on but the intercession of the Princes of their communion to his Imperial Majesty.

Hungary is now entirely rescued out of the hands of the Turks, and Christianity the only religion professed in any of it's provinces; and might have been so much sooner, if the Protestants of Hungary, who were very numerous, had not had reason to apprehend greater severities from the Imperialists than from the Grand Signior. For such is the usage of the Roman Catholics, wherever they prevail, that they will admit of no other denomination of Christians to live amongst them: whereas the Turk, like the Dutch, allows liberty of conscience to all, only requiring of his subjects that are not of the established religion, a trifling tax, which is scarce felt by them. Walachia and Moldavia also had long since thrown off the Mahometan yoke, if they could have expected better quarter from the Christian Princes of the west, than they meet with from the Grand Signior: for being all of the Greek communion, they know from a multitude of precedents, that the first step that will be taken, after there putting themselves under the protection of any Christian power, will be to make them renounce the Greek church, and conform to the Latin, as the Venetians were attempting to do in the Morea; which gave a general disgust to that people, and occasioned the sudden loss of that province in the late war.

The reason the Emperor's arms make no greater progress in Turkey.

Another



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VI.

Another thing which puts a great stop to the progress of the Emperor's arms in Turkey, is, that the Princes of Europe are jealous of the growing greatness of the Austrian family; and think themselves safer, while Romania, Greece, and other Turkish provinces in Europe, are under the dominion of the Grand Seignior, than if they were in the possession of the Emperor, who would then be in a capacity of giving law to the rest of the Princes of Europe: and being master of Constantinople, the Black-Sea, and the Archipelago, would be able to put what limitations he pleased on the Turkey trade; and indeed, to ingross the whole to himself. What could have hindered the Imperialists, after the taking of Belgrade, and Temeswar, in the late war, from marching to the very gates of Constantinople, if the English and Dutch had not interposed their mediation; and the English, by the virtue of the services they had done, and were doing for his imperial Majesty in Italy, and Sicily, prevailed with him to be content with the countries he had gained the possession of? The Turks thought themselves infinitely obliged to the English and Dutch, for the services they did them in this particular; for they looked upon their European dominions to be in a very desperate condition. But the truth is, we had no desire to see the Imperialists approach nearer to the shores of the Black-Sea, and the Mediterranean.

As to the advancement of the Christian religion, and destroying the Mahometan empire; this, the Princes of Europe do not much concern themselves about at present. They might if they pleased, in one campaign, drive the Turks over the Hellespont: or the Emperor would do it alone, if they would sit still, and not attack his dominions on this side. But what, say they, shall we get by this, but hazard the raising another universal monarch, who will at best treat us as his tributaries? whereas, the Turks is already so low, that we have little to apprehend from him: on the contrary, he may be of great use to us if any aspiring monarch in Christendom should at-

tempt to enslave the rest. And it has been frequently said of late, that in case of a religious war in Europe, the Turk may probably prove a good Protestant, or at least an ally to the Protestants: nay, the Emperor has already complained, that some Protestant powers have endeavoured to incite the Grand Seignior, the great enemy of the Christian name, to invade his dominions: in which, say some, there may be no great hurt neither; for did not the French do the same when they were engaged in a war with the confederates? But to proceed to the Hungarian antiquities.

The Romans having been a great while masters of Hungary, there are every day found here Roman coins, medals, and other monuments of antiquity. It seems the Emperors AURELIAN, PROBUS, and GRATIAN, were born in Pannonia: and a great number of Latin inscriptions are still to be seen in the country. CUSPINIAN observes, that a better account may be collected of eight Emperors and Kings, from the medals and inscriptions which are found in Hungary, than was ever given us by the best historians. And ZAMOSIUS affirms, there are coins to be met with here, that give us the true portraiture of LYSIMACHUS, ALEXANDER the Great, PHILIP of Macedon, DARIUS, and other antient heroes. Near the town of Deva, NATALIS COMES relates, that the peasants found a great quantity of these antient medals of gold, which were discovered by a sudden torrent; each of these, to the number of many thousands, weighed two or three crowns a-piece, and had on one side, the image of LYSIMACHUS, and on the reverse, VICTORIA. And with these medals, were found a golden serpent, it being a custom among the antients to bury a serpent with their hidden treasures, signifying thereby a faithful keeper.

The arms of ATTILA, the Hun, once sovereign of this country, are said to have been Gules, a Falcon displayed, Or, membered and crowned Argent. But the arms of the kingdom at this time, are barren of eight Gules and Argent.

CHAP.  
VI.

Antiquities.

Arms.

THE



# THE PRESENT STATE OF TRANSILVANIA.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the name, situation, and extent of Transilvania; and of the air, springs, rivers, and mountains.*

### CHAP. I.

The name.

**T**RANSILVANIA, part of the antient Dacia, was so called by the Romans, from it's being situated beyond those forests which separate it from Hungary and Walachia. It is called also by the natives Erdely, or Ardeli, which in their language, signifies a wood, or forest; and by the Germans, Sieben Burgen, alluding to the seven fortresses, or strong places, which were erected in different parts of the country, by the antient Pannonians, to keep the inhabitants in subjection.

Bounds and extent.

It is bounded by the Crapack, or Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Poland towards the north; by Moldavia towards the east, from which it is also separated by a long ridge of hills; by Walachia and part of Hungary on the south, and by Hungary towards the west: extending from forty-five degrees odd minutes, to forty-eight degrees north latitude, and from the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London: being about forty leagues in length from north to south, and about as many from east to west.

The air.

The air is excessive hot in summer, the country being surrounded by woods and mountains; but not quite so unhealthful as in Hungary. Their springs are unwholsome, which is said to proceed from their passing through a sulphureous soil. The principal rivers are, 1. The Alt, or Atlanta, which rises in the Carpathian mountains, and falls into the Danube; being by the last peace made the boundary between the German and Ottoman empires on the north side of the Danube. 2. The Marosch, or Merish, which arises also in the Crapack mountains, and falls into the Teyffe. 3. The river Samos, which rising near Clausen-berg, takes it's course to the north-west, and having passed near Tockay in Hungary, falls into the Teyffe not many leagues below it. Besides the mountains already mentioned on the confines of this country, there are several other hills of less note, covered with woods in the middle of the country.

Springs, rivers, and mountains.

### CHAP. II.

### CHAP. II.

*Treats of the provinces and chief towns in Transilvania.*

**I**N this country inhabit four several people, very different in their original, as well as in their language, laws, and customs: but all united under one Prince. The first stile themselves Saxons; supposed to be a colony of the antient Transilvanians, or Dacians, who are possessed of the province called Sieben Burgen, or Seven Towns, containing near two thirds of the country. 2. The Siculi, the posterity of the Huns, who inhabit the north-east, near the Crapack mountains. 3. The Hungarians, who reside towards the confines of Hungary and Walachia. And, 4. The Cingars, or Gypsies, who pitch their tents all over the country; a sort of licensed thieves and pick-pockets, who having done some service to a Transilvanian Prince, obtained extraordinary privileges; and pretend some of them to be descended from the Transilvanian Waiwodes: But they have this to recommend them beyond our vagrants of the same kind, that they will often work hard, especially as smiths and tinkers, and procure a living that way when fortune-telling grows dull.

Provinces and chief towns, inhabited by four different nations.

That part of the country inhabited by the Saxons, is subdivided into five counties, viz. 1. Altland. 2. Landvordenwald. 3. Bruckland. 4. Veinland. And, 5. Nosnerland. But the particular bounds of these counties I don't find any where described, and therefore must content myself with enquiring into the situation of their chief towns. And, 1. Hermanstat, the capital of Transilvania, is situate in the middle of a large plain on the banks of the little river Cibin, in the latitude of forty-six degrees odd minutes, about fourscore miles north-east of Temeswaer. It was antiently the seat of their Princes, as it is now of the governor of the province; and is the see of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Colocza in Hungary. The place is esteemed strong, and the houses well built; the streets broad enough to admit of canals in

Saxon part.

Hermanstat.



## CHAPTER II.

in the middle of them, which are filled by the neighbouring river. The courts of judicature for the Saxons are held here; and they have a pretty good trade in cloth and mead. The air is unhealthful; but the reigning distemper is the gout, from which few are free; said to proceed from a particular sort of wine made hereabouts. 2. Cronstat, or Corona, situate about fifty miles to the north-east of Hermanstat, is pleasantly situated in the midst of vineyards; and tolerably well fortified. The citizens are all Saxons, without the least mixture of Hungarians, or any other nation; so that here their language is spoken in the greatest purity. 3. Fogaras, a small city on the river Atlanta, twenty-five miles to the westward of Cronstat. 4. Segeswaer, or Schesberg, situate on the banks of the river Cockle, thirty miles to the northward of Hermanstat, usually compared to Buda; one part of it lying on the side of a hill, and the other on the banks of the river. 5. Megies, situate on the river Cockle, seventeen miles south-west of Segeswaer, in a plain full of vineyards, from whence the country is called Wine Land. 6. Nosenstat, or Bistricia, situate near the Crapack mountains, fourscore miles to the northward of Hermanstat; four miles from whence lie the gold mines of Rodna. 7. Clausenburg, *olim* Claudiopolis, situate on the river Samos, fifty miles north-west of Hermanstat; a large populous place where the states of Transilvania used to meet.

The division inhabited by the Hungarians, contains five counties, viz. 1. Alba Julia. 2. Huniad. 3. Thorda. 4. Dohoka. And, 5. Zatmar. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Alba Julia, called by the Germans Weissenburg, situate on the river Lompay, twenty-five miles west of Hermanstadt. It received its name from JULIA AUGUSTA, mother of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PIUS: and was the capital city of the Kings of Dacia, and at that time, twenty miles in circumference. 2. Deva, situate twenty-eight miles south of Weissenburg; remarkable for its excellent wines, and for the pass near it through the iron gate mountains, formerly of great consequence, till the imperial frontier was extended beyond it by the last peace.

The Si-  
culi. The country of the Siculi is situated on the north-east part of Transilvania; and contains seven counties, viz. 1. Markozceck. 2. Girgio. 3. Utvarthel. 4. Chick. 5. Kifdi. 6. Orbay. 7. Schepfi. Their capital towns being of the same names; but do not seem worth a particular description.

### CHAP. III.

*Treats of the nature of the soil, corn, fruits, minerals, cattle, trade, and manufactures of the Transilvanians; and of their habits and customs.*

The soil. **T**HE soil of Transilvania is exceeding fruitful: the wheat esteemed the best in Europe; and so plentiful, that the peasants eat no other bread: barley does not suit their soil so well, and therefore they brew little beer; but that defect is supplied with plenty of good wine, inferior only to that of Hungary. In their meadows and pastures they feed vast herds of large oxen, which increase so upon them, that a fat ox may be purchased for the value of twenty shillings in the country, but driven to market into Austria, will yield twelve or fifteen pounds. They have also a good breed

Cattle.

of horses, very much esteemed by foreigners. Their woods afford plenty of bees and honey, with which they make a sort of mead, which is highly valued, mixing the honey with several other pleasant ingredients. Their forests abound with all kinds of venison, deer, wild boars, hares, &c. Their hares much larger than with us, and a more valuable fur. They have also wild horses of incredible swiftness, whose mains hang almost down to the ground. Some parts of the country are infested by wolves and bears, which run together in herds, and in hard weather; do great mischief among their cattle. But to conclude this head, says my author, the country is so well provided with all manner of necessaries and conveniences, that either the fields, woods, rivers, hills, or plains can afford, that there seems great reason for the antient draughts on TRAJAN's medals; whereon the goddess CERES was represented with a cornucopia in her right-hand, and in her left, a table with this inscription, *Abundantia Dacie*.

The Transilvanians have some mines of gold, and other metals in their mountains, but not so many as in Hungary. Their chief mines are either at Sculatti, or at Rimli Dominurditz, in the last of which there have been found large lumps of virgin gold, which has been coined without purifying; and gave occasion for striking the old Roman medal still to be met with, on which Dacia was represented by a goddess with a book open in her right-hand, wherein was written *Aur. pur.* or pure gold. Their best silver mines are near Offera and Radna, where are also several copper mines in which they sometimes meet with a vein of gold. There is plenty of steel at Cyck, and of iron at Thorosch and Huniad; and they frequently meet with brimstone and isinglass in their copper mines. They have also such quantities of rock salt in the county of Maromarus, that they export it to other countries.

The only manufacture besides those of copper, iron, and steel, is that of cloth, of which they do not export any great quantities. What they send abroad is chiefly fat cattle, wine, mead, rock salt, copper and iron wares; and a country so well stocked with all manner of provisions and necessaries, was it under the government of its own Prince, must make a tolerable figure in the world; but being a distant province belonging to the German Emperor, notwithstanding all these extraordinary advantages, Transilvania is scarce ever mentioned as part of Europe; and our people know less of it than of the remotest countries in the East or West-Indies.

The habits of the Saxons of Transylvania, are a waistcoat, over which they wear a short loose coat lined with fur: their breeches and stockings fit close to the leg and thigh, and are all of a piece; the heels of their shoes are made of a plate of iron; and on their heads they wear a kind of dragoon's cap lined with fur. By their drinking, says my author, one would think them related to the Saxons of Germany; for they never look upon themselves to be acquainted with a man till they have been drunk with him; and at a drinking match, while the musick plays, they keep time with their cups by striking them one against another.

They celebrate their funerals in much the same manner as the Irish do. Their women in a dismal howl, recite all the memorable passages in the life of the deceased; expressing by their tears, sighs, and groans the utmost despair and sorrow for their loss.



CHAP. III. As to the Hungarians who inhabit this country, I find nothing different in their manners, or habits, from those of Hungary: and the Siculi are chiefly taken notice of for their ridiculous pride, like the Welsh, they all pretend to be descended from some antient noble family: not a husbandman, or shepherd, but assumes a title of honour very unsuitable to the meanness of his fortune and employment. As to the Cingars, or Gypsies, who inhabit this country, these are a vagabond race, already described at large in treating of Egypt and other parts of Turkey.

## CHAP. IV.

*Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of the Transilvanians, and the present state of religion there.*

History of Transilvania.

TRANSILVANIA, as has been observed, is only the western part of the antient Dacia, which comprehended Moldavia, and Walachia, (now tributary to the Turk, and described in Turkey) as well as Transilvania. LYSIMACHUS, one of ALEXANDER's generals, was the first who subdued this people, but has left us no account of their manners and customs, or form of government. The next time we hear of them, is from JULIUS CÆSAR, when they made frequent incursions into the Roman territories. CÆSAR repulsed their forces, and compelled them to become tributary to the Roman state during his administration; but in the reign of AUGUSTUS, they broke in upon the empire again; and LENTULUS being sent against them, fortified the southern banks of the Danube, as the best means to prevent their incursions for the future. The Emperor TRAJAN defeated their last King DECEBALUS, who threw himself upon his sword on the loss of the battle; and his country was reduced to the form of a province: but the Dacians afterwards making frequent insurrections, the Emperor AURELIAN transplanted the Roman colonies, and the civilized natives to the southern side of the Danube, about Bulgaria and Servia; from whence that country obtained the name of New Dacia. Old Dacia, of which Transilvania was part, being thus deserted by the Romans, the best part of the natives was subdued by the Goths, who kept possession of it till they were driven over the Danube by the Huns, who became lords of Transilvania, and Hungary, much about the same time. STEPHEN, the first King of Hungary, subdued Transilvania, and introduced Christianity there; after which, it was reputed a province of the kingdom of Hungary, and governed by an Hungarian viceroy, stiled in their language a Waiwode; and thus Transilvania was governed from about the year of our Lord 1000, to the year 1526; when LEWIS King of Hungary dying without issue male, JOHN, Waiwode of Transilvania, was by a faction elected King of Hungary, in opposition to FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES V. JOHN, not finding himself a match for the Emperor, first fled into Poland, where having remained some time, SOLYMAN Emperor of the Turks, invited him to return to Transilvania, promising to support his interest: whereupon, JOHN assumed the title of Prince of Transilvania, independent of Hungary, agreeing at the same time to pay a small tribute to the Turk, by way of acknowledgment for his

JOHN, the first Prince of Transilvania.

protection. After the death of this Prince, his son JOHN succeeded him in the principality of Transilvania, and was also elected and crowned King of Hungary, which occasioned a bloody war between the Emperor, and the Turk, who supported JOHN; but a truce being concluded for eight years, Hungary was yielded to the Emperor, and Transilvania confirmed to Prince JOHN; who dying without issue, STEPHEN BATHORI succeeded him, and was afterwards elected King of Poland. When his brother CHRISTOPHER BATHORI succeeded him in the principality of Transilvania. After whose death, SIGISMOND his son succeeded to the principality; and throwing off his subjection to the Turk, entered into an alliance with the Emperor RODOLPH; by whom he was admitted to a vote in the dyet at Ratibon, and declared a Prince of the Empire, on condition that on failure of issue the principality of Transilvania should be re-annexed to the crown of Hungary; but SIGISMOND afterwards quarrelling with the Emperor, was driven out of his principality. After him SIGISMOND RAGOTSKI took upon him the title of Prince; but finding himself unable to contend with the Emperor, soon after resigned it. Whereupon, GABRIEL BATHORI assumed the government; and to secure his possession, put himself under the protection of the Turk. To him succeeded BETHLEM GABOR, who being supported by ACHMET the Turkish Emperor, he entered into a war with the Emperor FERDINAND II, in behalf of FREDERICK Count Palatine of the Rhine, elected King of Bohemia, and made himself master of a good part of the kingdom of Hungary and Moravia; and dying in the year 1629, the states complimented his widow with the principality; but she finding herself unqualified for the high office, resigned the principality to Prince GEORGE RAGOTSKI, who, under the protection of the Turk, engaged in a war with the Emperor. To whom succeeded GEORGE RAGOTSKI II, his son, but the Turks proclaimed ACHATIUS BARTCHAY Prince of Transilvania in his life-time; and afterwards beheading ACHATIUS, JOHN KIMEN was elected Prince by the states; but the Turks refusing to confirm him, he was cut in pieces by their faction: and MICHAEL ABIAFFI succeeded him, anno 1661; who, with the consent of the states of Transilvania, resigned this principality to the Emperor of Germany, as King of Hungary, for ever; as appears by an act of that Prince and the states, dated at Hermanstat, anno 1688: and the Imperialists immediately put garrisons into all the fortified towns. Upon the death of ABIAFFI, anno 1690, the Emperor appointed the Prince his son Waiwode of the country, in opposition to Count TECKELI, and the Ottoman Port. And the principality of Transilvania remains now incorporated with the crown of Hungary under the imperial protection; and by the treaty of Carlowitz and Passerowitz, this principality was confirmed to the Emperor by the Turks.

The established religion in Transilvania is the Roman Catholick, as in all the rest of the Emperor's hereditary dominions; but here are great numbers of Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Protestants of all denominations, who are great sufferers on account of their religion: the severity exercised towards them, has been one occasion of the many insurrections here, as well as in Hungary. But the mischief is, that when any of the

CHAP. IV.  
JOHN II.

STEPHEN BATHORI.  
CHRISTOPHER BATHORI.  
SIGISMOND.

SIGISMOND RAGOTSKI.  
GABRIEL BATHORI.  
BETHLEM GABOR.

GEORGE RAGOTSKI.  
GEORGE RAGOTSKI II.  
ACHATIUS.  
JOHN KIMEN.  
MICHAEL ABIAFFI.

Transilvania incorporated with Hungary.

Religion:



CHAP.  
IV.

Protestant powers of Europe interpose in their behalf, and desire that they may enjoy the same privileges with his imperial Majesty's other subjects; they are answered by another request, namely, that the Papists in Protestant countries may enjoy

equal privileges with the Protestants; which when the Protestant Princes think fit to comply with, possibly their brethren in the Emperor's hereditary dominions will be indulged in like manner.

CHAP.  
IV.

# THE PRESENT STATE OF THE

## Frontier Provinces of the Empire.

### CHAP. I.

*Treats of the province of Slavonia.*

CHAP.  
I.  
Slavonia  
and Rat-  
zia.

**U**NDER the head of Slavonia I include Ratzia, which is only the south-east part of this province, so denominated from one of the counties, or subdivisions, called Ratzen, and the people Ratzians, or rather Rascians, in the accounts we receive from those parts. The antient Slavonia contained many large countries; some extended it from the Adriatick, almost to the Euxine sea, but I don't find any two writers agreed as to it's dimensions; however, certain it is, the Slavonian language obtained, and is still spoken in many kingdoms of Europe.

Bounda-  
ries and  
extent.

The modern Slavonia is bounded by the rivers Drave and Danube, which separate it from Hungary, towards the north and east; by the river Save, which divides it from Servia and Bosnia on the south, and by Stiria on the west; and is computed to be upwards of two hundred miles in length, and between fifty and sixty miles in breadth. The air is good, the country for the most part level, and not too much incumbered with woods and mountains, but exceedingly well watered by those noble rivers abovementioned, namely, the Danube, the Drave, and the Save; besides many lesser streams, from whence we might conclude it to be a very fruitful country; but as it was for many years a frontier between Turkey and Christendom, it has not been cultivated and improved as it ought to have been.

Chief  
towns.

The bounds of the respective counties, or subdivisions of this province, having been so often altered in the wars between the Turks and Imperialists, I shall content myself with describing the situation of their chief towns, which are all now under the dominion of the Emperor: and, 1. Pofega, the capital of the province, and of a county

to which it gives name, is situate in the latitude of 45 degrees odd minutes, on the river Oriana, fifteen miles north of the river Save, and a hundred and twenty to the westward of Belgrade. It contains about a thousand houses, and is a place of good trade, having about four hundred villages under it's jurisdiction. 2. Walpo, situate on a river of the same name, thirty-five miles north-east of Pofega. 3. Esseck, famous for it's bridge near the confluence of the Drave and the Danube, which has been already described in treating of Hungary. 4. Walcowar, about twenty miles to the southward of Esseck. 5. Ilock, ten miles south-east of Walcowar. 6. Peterwaradin, situate on the Danube, between forty and fifty miles south-east of Esseck; a well fortified town, and the frontier of the Turks after the taking of Buda; but is now with the whole province under the dominion of the Emperor. 7. Salankamen, fifteen miles to the eastward of Peterwaradin, remarkable only for the victory obtained there over the Turks, by Prince Lewis of Baden, in the year 1691. 8. Carlo-witz, a little to the northward of Peterwaradin; not taken notice of till the peace concluded there between the Imperialists and the Turks, in the year 1699. 9. Semlin, in the mid-way between Salankamen and Belgrade. 10. Alt Sirmium, or Zirmium, the capital of a county to which it communicates it's name; formerly the metropolis of Pannonia inferior, and since the see of a Bishop; but is now reduced to a village, and is situate about sixty miles to the westward of Belgrade. 11. Zagrab, or Agram, situate near the river Save, about an hundred miles to the westward of Pofega; the capital of a county, and a Bishop's see. 12. Gradiska, a well fortified town, situate near the Save, about fifteen miles to the westward of Pofega.

CHAP.  
I.

Walpo.

Esseck.

Walco-  
war.

Ilock.

Peterwa-  
radin.Salanka-  
men.Carlo-  
witz.

Semlin.

Alt Sirmi-  
um.

Zagrab.

Gradiska.

The

Pofega.



CHAP. I.

Persons.  
Husbandry.

Trade.

Religion.

The natives of Sclavonia are of a good stature and hale constitutions, and fit for laborious employments. Their country very proper for tillage, and would produce plenty of corn and wine if they could enjoy a settled peace, and their fields were well cultivated. The navigable rivers which pass through Sclavonia, render it also exceeding proper to carry on a trade between the Empire and Turkey; but 'tis a misfortune that notwithstanding these frontier countries are blessed with all the advantages that nature can bestow upon them, great part of them are often a perfect desert, and only considerable for the strength of their towns, and the number of their garrisons, which are always pernicious to trade and husbandry; for none will attempt to establish manufactures, or improve their lands, where the soldiers probably will reap the fruits of their labours.

As the whole province is now under the dominion of the Emperor, the Roman Catholick is the established religion; but there were not long since, almost as many Grecian as Popish Christians. The Roman clergy will no doubt bring over the Greeks to their communion in time, by one means or other, as they do in all countries where they have the ascendant. Those who dissent from them, have much better quarter from the Turks, than from their Popish brethren of the West. As for the Mahometans, with which this province was not long since replenished, they are all retired out of it to a man, except some few who, upon secular accounts, embraced Christianity. There is no instance of a Mahometan (while he remains such) taking up his constant residence in a Christian country: on the contrary, much the greatest part of the Grand Signior's subjects in Europe, are Greek Christians, and tolerated in the free exercise of their religion there.

CHAP. II.

*Treats of the province of Servia.*

Servia.

I Have already just touched upon Servia in treating of Turkey in Europe; but as Belgrade, the capital city, and great part of the province has been lately subdued by the Imperialists, I deferred speaking particularly of it, till I should have occasion to describe the Emperor's dominions.

The boundaries and extent.

Servia, the antient Mæsia Superior, is bounded by the Danube, and the Save, which separate it from Hungary, and Sclavonia, towards the north; by Bulgaria, or Mæsia Inferior, on the east; by Albania and part of Macedon on the south; and by the province of Bosnia towards the west; extending two hundred and fifty miles in length, from east to west; and about an hundred and twenty in breadth, from north to south. It enjoys a healthful temperate air, and fruitful soil, being stiled by the Romans their granary for corn. It is pleasantly diversified with woods and champaign hills and plains, and well watered with rivers; and were it cultivated, would produce wine as well as corn in abundance: but the same misfortune attends this as the rest of the frontier provinces, that the husbandman does not care to sow or plant more of his grounds than is absolutely necessary for the support of his family, under an apprehension of having the fruits of his labours devoured by the Turkish, or Imperial forces, from whose depredations they are not entirely free, even in time of peace.

Air and soil.

The chief towns in Servia are, 1. Belgrade, called by the Germans, Greek Wiesienburg, situate on a hill at the confluence of the rivers Danube, and Save, forty-five degrees north latitude, and twenty degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. The town is large, very advantageously situated for trade, and one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. It was taken from the Christians by SOLYMAN the Magnificent, in the year 1521, and retaken by the Imperialists in 1686, under the conduct of the Duke of Bavaria. The Turks laid siege to it again in the year 1688, and a magazine of the town being blown up by one of the enemies bombs, with part of the walls, the Turks entered it sword in hand, and put all the garrison to the sword, consisting of six thousand men, except the governor, and three hundred soldiers, who escaped out of one of the gates, while the enemy was busy in plundering the town. About the middle of June 1717, the Imperialists, under the command of Prince EUGENE, of Savoy, invested Belgrade again, and the place being of the last importance to the Turks, the Grand Vizier was commanded to relieve it at all hazards, which he attempted on the 16th of August 1717, and this brought on a general battle, wherein the Imperialists obtained a compleat victory. It is certain, says a gentleman, who was in the action, that since the siege of Vienna, there never was seen so great a number of Turks in the field, especially of Janizaries; and it must be owned they defended themselves well for some time. Very few officers ever saw a hotter or better-ordered fire of the Turks; and from the number of the Christians killed and wounded, particularly among the cavalry, it is evident they were not bad marksmen; but the resolution and good harmony between our horse and foot, who seconded each other admirably well in this battle, at last forced the enemy to give way.

We took from them above an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, thirty or forty mortars, a proportionable quantity of ammunition, and their whole camp: and it is worth admiration, says this gentleman, that not one soldier entered the enemies camp to plunder, till the General gave permission, nor till the whole army was rallied and put in order.

The loss of this battle, was attended with the surrender of Belgrade, which capitulated two days afterwards; and the garrison began to evacuate the place on the 22d of August, but being followed by most of the inhabitants, it was the 24th before they were all marched out; it being computed that no less than sixty thousand Turks left the place, whereof, twenty thousand were soldiers. By an exact list of the artillery taken in the town, and in the battle, it appears that it consisted of four hundred and fifty-six brass cannon, two hundred and nine, of iron, and an hundred and three brass mortars: From all which, we may easily judge of the largeness, and importance of this city.

2. Semendria, situate at the confluence of the Danube, and Morava, about twenty miles to the eastward of Belgrade. It was antiently the capital of Servia, but is now an inconsiderable town. After the battle of Belgrade, Prince EUGENE took a view of it, in order to put the town into a posture of defence, and make it a frontier garrison against the Turks; but whether he did not think it would be capable to maintain a siege, or the charge was apprehended too great, that design was

CHAP. II.

Chief towns.

Belgrade, often taken and retaken.

The last siege.

The battle of Belgrade.

Belgrade surrendered 22 Aug. 1717.

Semendria.



CHAP.  
II.

Widdin.

Nissa.

Scopia.

History of  
Servia.

was not proceeded in, as I can learn. 3. Widdin, situate on the Danube, about an hundred and fifty miles to the eastward of Belgrade, and near the river Timock: by the late treaty, made the boundary of the two empires in Servia: it is by some writers, called a strong town, but I cannot learn there is one place between Belgrade, and Constantinople, capable of sustaining a long siege. 4. Nissa, situate about an hundred and twenty miles south-east of Belgrade; another town, to which some have given the name of a strong fortress; but I find it has been frequently taken and retaken, and sometimes without a formal siege. 5. Scopia, or Uscopia, a large trading city, situate on the borders of Macedon, about sixty miles to the southward of Nissa. It stands in a pleasant fruitful country; and has several fine mosques, besistins, and caravanferas, which are an ornament to it.

This country of Servia, with Bulgaria, or the Lower Mæsia, were brought under the dominion of the Romans, in the reign of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and made a Roman province; in which state it continued, till the fall of the eastern empire, when it was seized by the Sorabi, a Slavonian people, and a branch of the Sarmatians, whose name was afterwards contracted to Sorbi, and then changed to Servi, from whence the people were called Servians. When the Turkish arms begun to make a progress in Europe, the Despots, or Princes of Servia, put themselves under the protection of the Kings of Hungary, that they might be the better enabled to make head against the Infidels; and paid some small tribute to that crown, as an acknowledgment of their dependency; and from hence, the house of Austria, as Kings of Hungary, claim the dominion of this province: but the truth is, the Turks made an entire conquest of it, and the Despots of Servia, became tributary to them, so long ago as the year 1460; since which, they modelled it after the form of their other provinces; and made it subject to the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy, of Romania: so that the Emperor had little more than the title of sovereign of this country, till the battle of Belgrade, anno 1717; and the peace which ensued upon it, whereby great part of Servia was transferred to the Emperor. And here, I think, I have a fair opportunity of making out the boundaries of the German, and Ottoman empires, which none of our geographers have hitherto done, or continue to do very wrong, according to ancient treaties, notwithstanding the Emperor's territories are extended in many places, above a hundred and fifty miles beyond the former limits, by the late treaty of Passerowitz.

The limits  
of the two  
empires.

To begin then on the north-side the Danube: All places and countries situate on the west-side of the river Alauta, and particularly Temeswaer, are confirmed to the Emperor; and whatever lies to the east of that river, remains to the Ottoman Porte, the said river, separating the two empires from Transilvania, to the place where it falls into the Danube. On the other side the Danube, the limits of the said empires, are appointed to be from the place where the little river Timock falls into the Danube, up for ten leagues along the same; Isperechbania, and it's dependencies, remaining to the Turks, and Ressova to the Emperor. And the said limits are continued from thence, thro' the mountains towards Parakin, which remains to the Emperor, and Razna to the Porte, over the little Morava, between Scahack

and Belina, to Bedka, and from thence to the territory of Zokol, towards Belina, as far as the river Drin; so that Belgrade, Parakin, Istolaz, Scahack, Bedka, and Belina, with their antient territories, are yielded to the Emperor, and Zokol and Razna, with their antient territories, remain to the Porte: and the subjects of the two empires are equally to enjoy the navigation of the Timock.

3. From the Drin to the river Unna, all walled and open places on the banks of the Save, in possession of the Imperialists, shall remain to the Emperor, as shall the river Save, with both it's banks. 4. From the place where the Unna and the Save joined to the territory of the antient Novi, shall remain to the Emperor. 5. The territories of New Novi, on the west-side of the Unna, which, after the treaty of Carlowitz, were granted to the Porte, shall be restored to the Emperor, with all their dependencies. As to the rest, the limits of Croatia remain the same as they were on the treaty of Carlowitz, the river Unna, being the boundary between the two empires in this province.

CHAP.  
II.

## CHAP. III.

*Treats of the province of Croatia.*

THE province of Bosnia, which lies between Servia and Croatia, has already been described in treating of Turkey in Europe; and, is indeed, almost all of it left in the possession of the Turks, by the treaty of Passerowitz, except those towns and places which lie upon, or near the Save, and these were confirmed to the Emperor; the preliminary article, which was the foundation of that treaty, declaring that each party should keep what they were then possessed of. And this being all that is requisite to be said of the province of Bosnia in this place, I proceed westward, to that of Croatia.

Croatia, part of the antient Illyricum, is bounded by the river Save, which separates it from Slavonia, towards the north; by Bosnia, towards the east; by Morlachia, towards the south; and by Carniola on the west; and is about eighty miles in length, and as much in breadth. The chief towns whereof, are, 1. Carlsstat, the capital of the imperial Croatia, situate on the river Culp, twenty miles to the southward of the Save; and being a frontier town, is tolerably fortified. 2. Sissef, situate on the Save, thirty-five miles to the eastward of Carlsstat; esteemed a place of some strength. 3. Castanovitz, situate near the river Unna, about thirty miles to the westward of Gradisca. These are all subject to the Emperor. 4. Dubiez, on the east-side of the river Unna, subject to the Turk: it being agreed that the river Unna, shall be the boundary between the two empires. 5. Whitz, situate on the same river Unna, fifty miles to the southward of Carlsstat; this also is subject to the Turk.

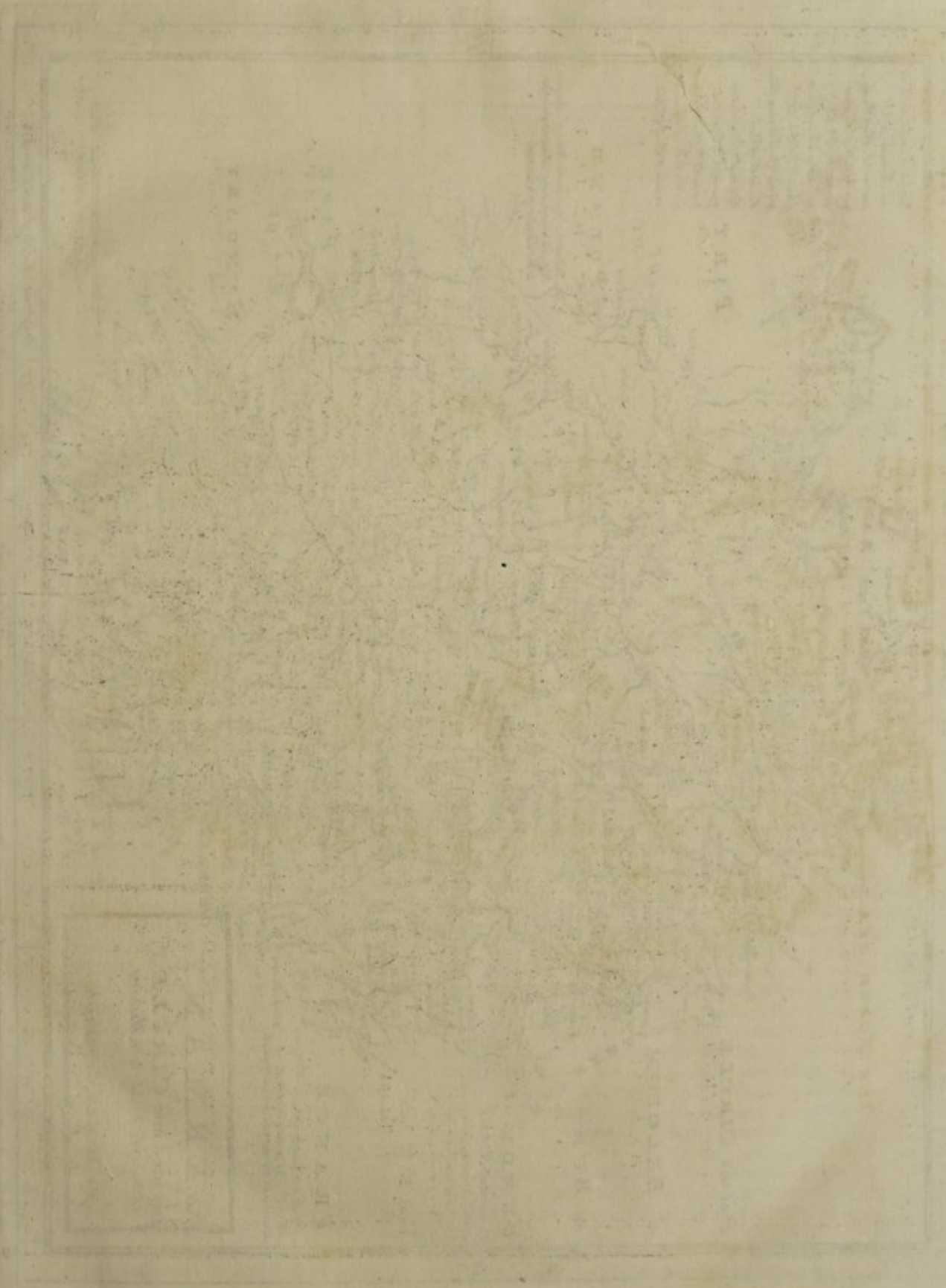
The country of Croatia, is naturally fruitful, Soil. producing plenty of corn, wine, and oil, where it is cultivated; but as it is a frontier against the Turks, has not yielded much more than would supply the necessities of the inhabitants of late years.

The people are of a good stature, and make brave hardy soldiers; on which account, many of the German Princes have their horse-guards composed of Croatz, or Krabat, as they are called. Persons. Esteemed the best horse in Germany.

Morlachia,



THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA









## CHAP.

III.

Mori-  
chia.

Morlachia, which lies between Croatia and the gulph of Venice, is sometimes reckoned a part of Croatia; but Morlachia being subject to the Venetians, and Croatia to the German and Turkish empires, they may very well be looked on as distinct provinces at this day: I choose therefore to defer speaking more particularly of Morlachia till I come to treat of the Venetian territories, as

also of Dalmatia, the sea-coast whereof belongs to the Venetians, and the inland part of the country to the Turks.

And thus having given a description of the frontier provinces of the German Empire, as well towards Poland as Turkey; I proceed to treat of the Empire in general.

## CHAP.

III.

Dalmatia.

# THE PRESENT STATE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the name, situation, extent, climate, seas and rivers of Germany.*

## CHAP.

I.

Thename.

**T**HE Germans have been known by several names, as Teutones, Germans, Almans, &c. 1. Teutones, turned by the High-Dutch into Teutthen and Deutsch; and by the English into the word Dutch, the most probable derivation whereof is from Teut, the name of one of the antient Celtick deities, whose descendants, or rather votaries, the Germans pretended to be. 2. German, a word said to be derived from Wehr and Man; Wehr and War being of the same import in the antient Teutonic; so that Wehrman signified a Warrior, or gallant Man, as the Germans were generally esteemed; and nothing is so common as the turning the German W into G by the Latins, and thus they make German of Werman. 3. Alemanni, or Almans, as they are called by the French, Spaniards, and Italians, said to be derived from the words All and Man, as much as to say all manner of men, or a mixture of all people, as the vast numbers they brought into the field, inclined their enemies to think they were. As to the name of Celts, or Celtæ, this being common to them, with many other nations, I shall wave the entering into the etymology of it here.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

The bounds of antient Germany were very different from the modern, the Danube being looked upon as the southern, and the Rhine the western limits of it; but then they extended it so far north as to include Scandinavia. The bounds of modern Germany, if we include Bohemia and Silesia, (already described) are the Baltick-Sea, Denmark, and the German ocean towards the north: Poland and Hungary on the east: the gulph of

VIO L. II.

Venice and the Alps, which divide it from Italy towards the south; and France and the Low Countries towards the west: extending from forty-five degrees thirty minutes north latitude to fifty-four degrees thirty minutes, and from the sixth to the nineteenth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; being about six hundred English miles from north to south, and five hundred from east to west. The air in the southern provinces is temperate and healthful, and the soil extremely fruitful; but towards the north the cold is very severe in winter; and the lands produce neither wine or oil, and but moderate crops of grain. The seas of Germany are the Baltick and the German ocean, and the gulph of Venice may now come into the number of the German seas, the Emperor being master of the port of Trieste and some other towns on that side, where he has lately attempted to establish a trade. The ocean washes but a very small part of the German shores at present, tho' Germany gives name to that sea: indeed, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries were made part of the empire by CHARLES V, by the name of the circle of Burgundy, and then Germany might be said to have had a pretty large sea-coast; but these provinces are now esteemed no part of the empire.

The rivers of Germany have some of them been already touched upon, but the principal of them require a further description here: and, 1. The Danube, which claims the preference of any in Europe; whose name Danubius, or Danuvius, is but the Roman version of the Teutonic, or German

## CHAP.

I.

The air,

Seas.

Rivers.

The Da-  
nube.



## CHAP.

## I.

word Danow, or Done, by most of the Roman historians derived from Duni, a branch of the ancient German nation who inhabited the banks of this river. The German writers on the contrary derive the name from Don-Aw, which in their language signifies a swift rushing stream, as this appears to be, especially about the cataracts in this river. Below Belgrade it has generally obtained the name of Isther; but the antient writers used the words Isther and Danubius promiscuously for the whole river.

Olim Isther.

The Source is near a small village in Swabia, from thence called Tone Eschingen, or Thonaw Eschingen, situate in the Hyrcinian forest, here called Schwartz Waldt, or the Black Forest: the hill at the foot whereof it rises, is not more than eight yards high, tho' some geographers have made it to issue out of a vast mountain. Not many furlongs from it's head it receives two rivulets named Brygen and Pregon, both larger than itself, and makes it look something like a river; afterwards it is mightily augmented by several navigable rivers, the chief whereof are, 1. The Iser, which having passed by Kempten, and several other considerable places in Swabia, discharges itself into the Danube near Ulm, the capital of the country.

The Iser, and other rivers which fall into it.

The Lech.

The Regen.

The Isar.

The Inn.

Ens.

Rab.

The Drave.

The Save.

Teyffe.

The Morava, the Alauta, the Pruth, &c.

The Danube never overflows.

2. The Lech, which having passed by Landtsburg, Augsburg, and several other great cities, falls into the Danube between Newburg and Donawert. 3. The Regen, which falls into this river at Ratibon, from thence called in High-Dutch, Regensburg. 4. The Isar, which having passed by Landtsbut, Mosburg, Mittenwald, &c. mingles it's waters with the Danube near Pletling. 5. The Inn, the finest river in Bavaria, which gives name to the city of Inspruck, and falls into the Danube at Passaw. 6. The Ens, which discharges itself into this river at the town of Ens, to which it communicates it's name. 7. The Rab, or Arabon, which joins it's waters with the Danube, near the strong fortress of Raab in Hungary. 8. The Drave, a large navigable river, which separates Hungary from Sclavonia, and falls into the Danube near Esseck. 9. The Save, which passing by most of the cities of Sclavonia and Servia, discharges itself into the Danube at Belgrade. 10. The Teyffe, or Tibiscus, already mentioned, which rises in the Carpathian mountains, and running southward thro' Hungary, falls into the Danube over-against Salankemen: and there are, besides these, several considerable rivers in the Turkish provinces, as the Morava, the Alauta, the Pruth, &c. between Belgrade and the Euxine-Sea, which fall into the Danube and increase the stream. The swiftness of the current, 'tis observed, renders the waters of the Danube muddy, and of a whitish colour; infomuch, that the clear streams of some other rivers which fall into it, are plainly discernible after a course of several miles. And notwithstanding the many large rivers which the Danube receives into it, it never is observed to rise higher than usual, tho' the banks of the lesser rivers which fall into it are often overflowed. The reason whereof is said to be, that in summer time the Danube has as great supplies of water from the melted snow on the mountains, as it can have in winter from the rains, so that the alteration can never be considerable. But, says my author, perhaps the vastness of the river may give people occasion to fancy it always of the same size, tho' it's increase in winter, if it were to be nicely examined, would possibly be found greater than in summer. This river has so deep and wide a

channel, that both the Imperialists and Turks have their fleets of men of war upon it, and many smart engagements have happened between these powers upon the water; particularly at the siege of Belgrade, and other great towns that stand upon it, and cannot be attacked with any hopes of success without a fleet. The whole course of this river from it's source to the Euxine-Sea, into which it discharges itself by six or seven mouths, is computed to be about fifteen hundred English miles. There are three cataracts in that part of the Danube which runs through Christendom, the first whereof is called Der-Saw Russel, or Swines-Snout, so named from a craggy rock of that shape, which hangs over the river near Lintz in Austria, under which there is a very dangerous whirlpool. 2. Der Strudel, so called from the prodigious noise which the water makes in it's fall: this cataract is near the town of Greinon in Austria. 3. Der Wurbel, or the Whirlpool, about a furlong distant from Strudel. But however terrible these mighty water-falls may have been represented of old, I do not find but the water-men find means to pass them at present without much hazard. There are some indeed in that part of the river which runs through Turkey that are said to be impassable, but this perhaps may proceed from the unskilfulness of the Turkish water-men.

CHAP. I. Fleets of men of war engaged upon it.

Cataracts in it.

2. The second great river is the Rhine, which rises from two springs in the Alps, the one near a small village called Tavetsch, out of the high mountain of Gottards Geburg, and the other near Reinwald in Rhætia, which two fountains are forty miles asunder, but unite their streams about eight miles from the city of Coire; and within less than a mile beyond this confluence the river dilates itself into that great lake called Der Bodensee, or the lake of Constance. There are reckoned nine cataracts in the Rhine, two whereof only are esteemed dangerous, one of them being a little below the city of Schaffhuysen in Switzerland, where the whole river falls from the top of a rock seventy-five foot high: the other is at Lauffenburg in Switzerland, which has it's name from the cataract, Lauffen in their language signifying a water-fall, and Burg a fortress. This river runs to the northward between Swabia and Alsace into the Palatinate, receiving the Neckar at Manheim, and the Main at Mentz, and continuing it's course to Coblenz is joined by the Moselle; afterwards it passes by Cologne, and through the dutchy of Cleve, being joined by the Roer and Lippe and other smaller rivers, and enters the Netherlands at Schenckenschans. I defer speaking of the further progress of it therefore till I come to the Low Countries.

The Rhine.

The Neckar. Main. Moselle. Roer. Lippe.

3. The Elbe, which rises near Hirschburg in Silesia from eleven several heads, which after they are united run northward between Misnia and Lusatia into Saxony, and being joined by the Muldau, Egra, and other rivers, passes by Magdeburgh, Lawenburgh, and Hamburg to Gluckstadt, below which it divides into two branches, and soon after discharges itself into the German ocean. There is scarce any European river that will bear ships of burthen to pass up so high as the Elbe does; for at Hamburg, upwards of seventy miles from the sea, it is an ordinary thing to see vessels of three or four hundred tons.

The Elbe.

Muldau. Egra.

4. The Weser, which rises in the mountains of Thuringia, and passing through Hefsen and Westphalia, falls into the German ocean a little below Bremen.

The Weser.



CHAP. I. Bremen. The rest of the German rivers, with the lakes, mineral-waters, baths, mountains, mines, and forests, will be described in the respective circles, or provinces, to which they belong.

## CHAP. II.

*Treats of the persons, genius, and temper of the Germans; of their vices and virtues; diet, lodging, and diversions.*

The persons of the Germans.

Intellectuals.

THE stature of the ancient Germans, as well as the present race, was observed to be of the largest, especially if compared with the French. Indeed there are Roman authors who inform us, that there was but little difference between the Germans and the Gauls, in their persons or manners; but this must be understood of those Gauls which lay near the Rhine, whose country is now reckoned part of Germany: for every country, I am satisfied, produces people of the same bulk, features, and complexions it did two thousand years ago; and whenever a new set of people take possession of a country, they become like those who inhabited it before in a very few generations. If a swarthy Scythian or Tartar, of a short squat make, flat nose, thick lips, and little black eyes set deep in his head, was to be transplanted into Germany (as many nations of the Scythians were formerly) his posterity, in an hundred or two of years, would infallibly be tall lusty fellows, of fair complexions, and regular features, as the present Germans are. And, on the contrary, if a German was to be transplanted into Tartary, his posterity would in time become deformed, and dwindle into the Tartar make. For notwithstanding we all sprung from one original, our features and complexion, our stature, and even tempers, vary according to the part of the world we happen to be planted in. There is something in the air, the soil, the diet, or manner of life, which makes the inhabitants of one country appear, as if they were cast in a different mould from those of another. But to proceed: whether the rest of the world were piqued to see the Germans excel them in stature, or for what other reason I cannot conceive, they have generally agreed to charge the whole German nation with stupidity, and want of sense; insinuating that it is not possible for the soul to animate so vast a bulk, with the same advantage it does one of an inferior size. The leaden temper of the Germans (say the French) wants to be mended, by mingling the French quick-silver with it. And true it is, almost every people have something in their tempers, as well as in their persons, to distinguish them by. The levity of the French, and the gravity of the Spaniard, are as much occasioned by the situation of their respective countries, as the different tastes of their wines are. Animals of such and such a frame of mind and body, are as natural to some certain soils, as the plants peculiar to the country are. But notwithstanding these different tempers and capacities that are to be met with in the world, the heaviest and most untractable part of mankind are capable of being wonderfully improved by their education and application to business. Nor is it the lad of the quickest parts that always makes the greatest man. If one whom nature has been bountiful to at first, makes swifter advances in his studies than usual, perhaps he wants the patience and diligence of others, who, by their unwearied application, at length may possibly surpass him. Again, if one person

wants a ready wit, it is frequently made up to him in a good judgment. And as it is with particular persons, so I apprehend it to be with nations. If they are defective in one respect, it is made up to them in another. Heaven has not given us all the same endowments, but has however distributed the gifts of nature so equally, that every one is satisfied with his particular portion; and perhaps, there are very few defects but may be surmounted by diligence and application: not a German, but if his genius was duly considered, and he was introduced into an employment suitable to it, might make a figure in the world; of which we shall be further convinced, when we come to speak of their learning, arts, and sciences.

The morals of the Germans also have been Vices; censured, drunkenness is said to be a vice proper to the country, *Germanorum vivere est bibere*, is become a proverb; but whether they are more addicted to drinking than their northern neighbours, or indeed than the English at present, is very much questioned. Certain it is, they cannot exceed the Russians in disorders of this kind. Nothing is more common, says my reverend author, than for the Germans to form drinking societies, which they call *Drink Brudder*, where they contract an intimacy by being drunk together. But I don't find there is much more in this, than in our common clubs, where people sometimes drink to excess. And these were as severely censured in England within these fifty years, as those in Germany can be. The Germans seem to be a little hard upon strangers indeed, in obliging them to take off a large bowl on their first entrance into their houses, which is called their Welcome. This, and some other such drunken customs, puts the French King, it is said, to some difficulty to find a minister capable of negotiating his affairs in this country; for the French are as remarkable for their sobriety, as the Germans for intemperance: and, according to PHILIP MELANCTHON, the Germans were guilty of eating, as well as drinking to excess, for he used to say, *We Germans eat ourselves sick: We eat ourselves into hell.* It is no extraordinary thing for them to sit from twelve at noon to five in the evening at dinner, and from seven at night till two or three in the morning: but I perceive the greatest part of this time is spent in drinking after the cloth is taken away: and then perhaps we may not fall much short of them ourselves. Their ordinary Food; food is beef, mutton, fowls, &c. as with us; but they have one dish which has been introduced in England very lately, and that is snails: from Michaelmas to Lady-Day these are eaten at the tables of the quality as a great rarity. There is scarce a nobleman's garden but has a snail-house in it, which furnishes his table with them. Their drink is beer and wine, as with us, but both the one and the other they have upon easier terms; for they have not only Rhenish and other wines of their own growth, but Hungary, France and Italy lie contiguous to them, where the best wines are produced.

There is no nation more in love with travelling Travel- than the Germans. We meet with them in all ling. the courts of Europe; and if it should be admitted that their natural parts were not equal to their neighbours, the experience they gain abroad makes an ample amends for what they are supposed to be naturally defective in. But the misfortune is, this passion for travelling frequently, ruins their estates,



CHAP.  
II.Virtues.  
Integrity  
and ho-  
nesty.Hospita-  
lity.

Courage.

estates, and impoverishes their country; they carry out more money annually, 'tis said, than their silver mines produce; for a German nobleman will not be seen in a foreign court without an equipage suitable to his quality, and perhaps beyond it.

The Germans however, with all the vices and vanities ascribed to them, are allowed to be endowed with some very commendable virtues, particularly honesty and fairness in their dealings. To be Dutch-hearted is a phrase with them, which signifies an open-hearted honest man, who scorns flattery and dissimulation. And the French have a saying, That a German's word is as good as another man's bond.

Hospitality is another good quality, which the antient as well as the present Germans are allowed to have. JULIUS CÆSAR informs us, that in his days their houses were open to all men, who were welcome to such entertainment as they found. That they looked upon it as a piece of injustice to affront a traveller, and thought it a piece of religion to protect those who came under their roof. Nor are the present Germans degenerated from their ancestors; for, as has been observed already, the same countries will produce people of like dispositions and qualities to the end of the world, how often soever the inhabitants may be changed. According to a modern author, you may travel cheaper in Germany than in any other country; because, says he, you pay nothing, or very little for your meat or lodging; and you will meet with all imaginable security, murders and robberies being rarely heard of: the only inconvenience is, the being obliged to ride night and day in a post-waggon, as they call it, though it goes but a foot-pace; and if you happen to have the opportunity of resting two or three hours, in the middle of a winter's night, the only bedding you must expect is clean straw, where people of all ranks and degrees, noblemen and beggars lie promiscuously.

The courage and bravery of the antient or present Germans were never disputed; but probably, the knowledge they had that their own bulk and strength exceeded that of other nations, contributed, in a great measure, to raise in them that contempt of the rest of mankind, which obtained the name of courage: for whether at last, when a person's size and strength gives him an assurance of victory, this opinion of his own abilities can properly be denominated courage, I very much question; there being but little room for a man to shew his courage where there is little or no hazard to be run. On the contrary, where the hazard is so great that there is scarce any probability of success, or if the thing a person hazards his life for, be not worth so great a venture, I take the champion to be a fool. From which few observations it will follow, that not one tenth part of the actions which are looked upon as the effects of courage deserve so noble an epithet. But to proceed: it is generally said, if Germany be ever conquered, it must be by Germans; that is, either by the mercenary troops hired from thence, or by their own dissensions: for was Germany firmly united, they might bid defiance to all the world. I have had occasion to observe formerly, that where two armies are equally disciplined, and equal in their numbers and situation, that side which has the greatest weight of men and horses will infallibly carry their point; and there is no country which affords greater numbers, or larger bodies of men and horses than this

does. Had not the army of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS consisted of Germans, with which he was furnished by the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, as well as Swedes, he had never made that progress in Germany that he did. The French King also, in the late wars, owed much of his success to the Switzers: his foot would have made but a very inconsiderable figure in the field, without these and the Germans, which the Duke of Bavaria brought to his assistance.

Hunting the wild boar or deer is the sport most generally followed in Germany by the quality: but there seems to be but little riding in the case; for the beast being found by the huntsmen some time before, is surrounded by a large company, who with their guns, lances, spears, and dogs, dispatch the creature as soon as they can, without suffering him to run for his life: sometimes indeed a wild boar will break through the croud, and 'tis well if he do not wound either man or horse with his tusks. Another diversion in winter is, the riding thro' the streets on the snow in sledges, which are drawn by horses richly accoutered, and adorned with bells and feathers: But this is a diversion used by their northern neighbours also, and has been mentioned already. The game which they used chiefly to delight in, was chess; but since their officers associated with ours, and those of other nations in the last war, they cannot be ignorant of any modern games, and no doubt divert themselves with them as their countrymen used to do in the army.

In their houses we seldom see a fire, except in the kitchen; but their rooms are heated by a stove, or oven, to what degree they desire: and they have this particular to them in their winter-lodgings, that they lay one feather-bed over them, and another under them.

## CHAP. III.

*Treats of their language, learning, universities, arts and sciences.*

THE High-Dutch, which is the language of Germany, is much admired by some, as a noble copious language, but very difficult to be attained by the French or Italians, on account of the multitude of consonants in it. There are a thousand words in the High-Dutch, says my author, which can never possibly be pronounced by one who has been used to a soft and easy language: but there can be no greater argument of the antiquity of the High-Dutch tongue, than the many monosyllables which are found in it, because these cannot be supposed to be derived from any other language. SIMON STEVIN, a Dutchman, has collected above two thousand monosyllable primitives in this tongue, whereas he could not find more than an hundred and sixty-three in the Latin, and two hundred and sixty-five in the Greek. In the English tongue a whole speech might be composed of monosyllables, which were all of them originally High-Dutch, according to the right reverend author already mentioned. There are, he observes farther, in the German tongue, twenty-three principal terminations, which though they signify nothing in themselves, yet being added to another word, very much alter it's signification; of which our English tongue retains a great many; as *er* in buyer, seller, &c. *hood*, in manhood, priesthood, &c. *dom*, in kingdom, dukedom, &c. by the help of which the German tongue is made exceeding

Sports and  
Diver-  
sions.

Lodging.

Language:



CHAP.  
III.

exceeding copious. It is held also to be the richest of any in its admirable compounds; for in this language we have not only words compounded of adjectives and substantives, and verbs or participles, with prepositions, which is usual in all languages, but also innumerable words which consist of two substantives or two adjectives. In the English tongue also we still retain this elegance of compounding substantives, as in house-wife, snow-ball, foot-ball, &c. But the greatest excellency in this kind of composition is, our author observes, in the altering the signification of the word by transposing of the substantives; as we say in English, horse-mill and mill-horse, &c. of which there are infinitely more examples in the High-Dutch than English language.

But the Germans have it seems much corrupted their language of late, by introducing a great number of Italian, French, and Latin words, which they have turned into Dutch by giving them a German termination. There are also numberless dialects of the High-Dutch in Germany, and some of them so different, that the natives of one province scarce understand those of another. A Brandenburgish will hardly understand a Misnian, or a Swabe either of them. The citizens of Leipzick observe three several dialects within the walls of their city. The old British, English, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Flemish languages are also all derived from the High-Dutch, and looked upon as branches of it. Upon the frontiers of Germany the people frequently speak the language of the nation which lies contiguous to them; as in Lorrain and the bishoprick of Triers, they speak French; in the Upper Tyrol, Italian; and in Bohemia and Moravia, the Sclavonian: but Latin and French are said to be the best travelling languages through Germany, the meanest servants in the inns being able to express themselves intelligibly in Latin, though they do not speak very correctly.

Learning.

The Germans could not boast of any great stock of learning till they became acquainted with the Romans. Some schools they had, where the priests who served at the altar were instructed in the principles of their religion, which they revealed to the laity only in dark fables, and mysterious riddles, and the actions of their great men they used to record in doggrel rhimes, but never committed them to writing. In the reign of the Emperor ADRIAN, several schools were erected in that part of Germany which lies next the Rhine, where their young nobility were taught Latin; but still the northern Germans wanted the opportunity of education, till the French got footing in Germany, whose princes founded schools amongst them, especially DAGOBERT and CHARLES the Great; but the great difficulty of the governours of these schools, was the reducing the High-Dutch tongue to writing, which till then had never been brought under any rules: and this was found so difficult an undertaking, that for many years all proceedings at law, and every thing else which was put in writing, was always drawn up in the Latin tongue. But the Germans having regulated their language by degrees, applied themselves to the study of the liberal arts and sciences with so much zeal, that in a short time were raised several universities of note. JUSTUS LIPSIVS relates, that in his days there were more universities in Germany than in all the rest of Christendom. There are at this day reckoned above thirty, and the German princes are mighty zealous in keeping up

Universi-  
ties.

the grandeur of them, being proud of nothing more than the number of scholars in their dominions.

CHAP.  
III.

There are no people more industrious in their several professions than the Germans, nor do their scholars come behind the mechanicks in their diligent application to their studies: the Hebrew is no where so generally learnt, or better understood than in Germany; and it is observed that no language is more spoken by the trading Jews than the High-Dutch.

Printing is here encouraged to a fault. Every man of letters is an author, and they multiply books without number, whether they have any thing new to entertain the world with or not. It were to be wished, says my reverend author, that a little more moderation were used in publishing those millions of suppositions and disputations which annually overstock the fairs at Frankfort and Leipzick. But it seems no man can be a graduate in their universities, who has not published one disputation at least.

The Germans are allowed by all to be excellent mechanicks and chymists. The inventions of gun-powder, guns, and printing, are generally ascribed to them; but this of gun-powder must be acknowledg'd to be discover'd by pure accident.

It is related, that BARTHOLO SCHWARTZ, a Franciscan friar of this nation, having made a great proficiency in chymistry, once happened to mingle sulphur and salt-petre with some other ingredients in an earthen crucible, and setting them on a hot fire, in order to make an experiment, the vessel was broke in a thousand pieces, with a wonderful noise and violence, which at first surpris'd him; but upon second thoughts repeating the experiment, he began to conceive mighty hopes of it, and first he procur'd a long iron pipe, not unlike the barrel of a gun, and having drilled a touch-hole, he rammed in the same ingredients he observed had such terrible effects in his crucible, putting some small stones upon them, and setting fire to the combustible matter, the stones were thrown out with greater force and noise than could be expected. And this was the original of guns; and tho' the powder was discovered by accident, yet the application of it to this purpose was purely owing to his own murdering genius, none that I have heard of having endeavour'd to deprive him of the honour of it. This occurrence happened about the year 1330; but the invention was concealed from the publick for some time, and only communicated to friends. The Venetians were the next people acquainted with this invention, which did them good service when they were besieged by the Genoese: they soon after took the cities of Padua, Verona, and others, from the Germans, by the help of their guns; so that in a little time the Germans saw their artificial thunder turned against them: and the German Jews, it is said, instructed the Turks in this art, out of their prejudice to Christianity; but if the Jews had not, the Christian renegadoes would soon have done it. The Venetians were the first that made use of guns at sea; and after them the merchants of the Baltick: the English took Calais with their great guns in 1347; and taught the French the use of them. The Spaniards about the same time found the advantage of them; which the Moors, they were engag'd with, could not but observe and endeavour to imitate. And thus these terrible engines in about the space of fifty or threescore years, were made use of by all the nations

Mecha-  
nicks and  
chymists.  
Gun-pow-  
der.Guns in-  
vented.



CHAP.  
III.The con-  
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guns fired.Gun-pow-  
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was appli-  
ed to guns.

Printing.

nations in Europe. But when the Spaniards discovered America, it is evident the natives were perfect strangers to guns in that part of the world: for they looked upon the Spaniards to be gods, when after a flash of lightning they saw some of their countrymen fall down dead, and heard the thunder of the artillery; in so much, that they began to offer sacrifice to them, till the Spanish cruelties, it is said, gave them some reason to change the opinion they had conceived of these thunderers. Having taken a Spaniard therefore straggling from his company, it is reported that they threw him into a river, and held him under water till he was drowned, by way of experiment, to try if he was mortal. But to proceed; we have abundance of reason to believe that the Germans, notwithstanding all that has been said, were not the first who understood the force of nitre and sulphur mixed together; though I am ready to allow that they were the first who applied them to the use we now put them to. It is evident that our countryman ROGER BACON, a Franciscan friar, and fellow of Merton-college in Oxford, was acquainted with the experiment three or fourscore years before SCHWARTZ the German happened upon it: For in one of his letters inscribed *ad Parisiensem*, he observes, That out of salt-petre, sulphur, and coal-dust, he could make fire which should burn at what distance he pleased; that with the same matter he could cause thunder and lightning in the air, more terrible than that produced naturally. That a city or an army might be destroyed by this fire, and that it burst forth with an incredible noise. The Chinese also had the use of gun-powder long before we knew it in Europe, tho' they did not apply it to those destructive ends: and indeed it is not easy to believe that the world should for three or four thousand years remain perfectly ignorant of the force of nitre and sulphur mixed together; though it did not come to be much talked of, till we saw the dreadful effects of them when applied to guns and bombs, and the blowing up men and towns. And I cannot avoid here relating an observation of a physician for improving these murdering arts, namely, that poisons might be so compounded and fired from guns and mortars, that they should carry certain death to all that came within the smell of them, and especially on shipboard, where the mariners could not get out of their reach. Some have thought, that the reason Friar BACON did not communicate his knowledge of the force of gun-powder more generally, was the ill consequences that he apprehended from it; but others say, he was afraid of confirming the people in the notion they had of his being a conjurer, from some experiments he had made, which at that time were thought above the power of nature.

As to the art of printing, which the Germans challenge the invention of, I shall defer speaking of it till I come to Holland; the Dutch seeming to have a better pretence to the invention than the Germans; and it is very certain that the Chinese had it long before either: but thus much must be allowed the Europeans, that they have brought this art to much greater perfection than the Chinese, who know nothing of distributing the letters, and composing several sheets with the same types, to this day; but have as many forms, or rather boards, as sheets; so that the materials used in printing a small book, would fill an ordinary room. And from hence it is natural to believe, that the Europeans neither learnt the art of the Chinese,

nor the Chinese of them, their manner of printing being so very different. CHAP. III.

Whether clock-work was an invention of the Germans is much disputed; but it is certain they brought that art to very great perfection; and among other instances of it, it is related that the Emperor CHARLES V. had a watch in the jewel of his ring, and King JAMES I. of England another of the same kind, both made in Germany. The Germans also are excellent engravers and painters, and understand engineering perfectly well: but I must confess I have scarce faith to believe what is related of REGIOMONTANUS, namely, that he made a wooden eagle, which flew a quarter of a mile out of town to meet the Emperor MAXIMILIAN when he came to Noremburg, and returned back with him thither; and that the same artist made an iron fly, which he threw off his hand, and after it had flown round the room returned to him again. But however that were, our English mechanicks seem to be in the greatest reputation for clocks and watches, since the days of TOMPION; their work being seen in the palaces of the greatest Princes in the known world.

## CHAP. IV.

*Contains an abstract of the ancient and modern history of Germany, with the succession of its Emperors.*

AMONG the many nations whose origin hath been enquired into in the progress of this work, if there had been one of which it could with any certainty be said, by what people, or in what century it was first planted, I should not despair of discovering the original inhabitants of this. Indeed CLOVERIUS and Dr. HEYLIN, and after them an hundred more, pretend to shew precisely from which of the grand-sons of NOAH, and at what time every country of any consequence in Europe was first peopled: but what slender evidence do they rely upon? or rather, have they produced any but a pretended similitude of names? From GOMER the grand-son of NOAH, say they, descended the Cimbrians or Cimmerians, who peopled Germany; for there cannot be a more easy change than that of Gomerians into Cimmerians, and this is to pass for proof. Had they said no more than that all nations were peopled by the posterity of NOAH, as we learn from scripture, they would have had the concurrence of every man who is not an infidel; but to pretend to point out particularly which of them inhabited this country, and which of them that, and the precise time of their peregrinations, when there are no histories written within two thousand years of the times they pretended to be so well acquainted with, seems to me an unpardonable presumption; and may incline their readers to believe they have no better authority for many facts they recite of a later date.

It is from the Romans we first learn any thing of this people which can be depended on. The Germans had pass'd the banks of the Rhine it seems, and fallen upon the Gauls, who were then under the protection of the Romans: whereupon JULIUS CÆSAR attack'd a body of them commanded by ARIOVISTUS one of their kings, and drove them back over the Rhine again; after which he built a bridge over that river, and obtained some further victories over them: but DRAVUS, the adopted son

CHAP.  
IV.The un-  
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Germans.



CHAP. IV. of AUGUSTUS, had the greatest success in Germany of any of the Roman generals, from whence he obtained the title of GERMANICUS; for he subdued the whole country as far as the ocean, and reduced it into the form of a Roman province. QUINTILIUS VARUS, who succeeded DRUSUS, lost all that his predecessor had gained, and with it three entire Roman legions, which seems to have been more sensibly repented by AUGUSTUS than any misfortune in his reign: insomuch, that it is related, he would often cry out as in a fit of distraction, VARUS, restore me my legions. After which defeat this prince thought fit to make the Rhine and the Danube the boundaries of his empire on that side; and to defend it against the incursions of the Germans for the future, he quartered eight legions upon the banks of the Rhine, and four upon the Danube.

The state of ancient Germany, as to government.

During this war the Romans had an opportunity of informing themselves of the manners and customs of the Germans: and they observe in the first place, that they were divided into many nations and principalities, all of them speaking the same language. That some of these nations were governed by Kings with limited powers, and others were absolute in their dominions; some of their princes were elective, and others hereditary; and some aristocratical and democratical governments were also found amongst them. And that many of these states and kingdoms frequently united under one head, or general, both in their offensive and defensive wars. The patriarchal form of government seems first to have obtained here, as in other countries we have passed through; for we are told, that several families being frequently united by marriages or compacts for their common defence under one head or leader, they gave him the name of Hertzog or Duke, and submitted their controversies to his determination: and that sometimes the ambitious head of a powerful family subdued his weaker neighbours, and assumed the same absolute dominion over them as he claimed over his own tribe. Thus various constitutions were struck out, according to the circumstances the several people happened to be under. And I believe all the world will agree with me at this day, that neither monarchy, or aristocracy, a limited or absolute power in the state or sovereign, are any of them *jure divino*; but whatever kind of government is once establish'd in any country ought to be submitted to. Thus much however I can't help observing, that whatever were the forms of government the ancient Germans liv'd under, most of the princes of Germany at present are absolute in their respective dominions, as the Emperor himself is in his hereditary countries: nay, there is scarce that state or monarchy in being at this day, but the sovereigns of them are absolute. The common people subject to the Venetians, the States of the United Provinces, or any other republick in Europe, have as little share in the administration as those who live under a monarchy, and their governors are as arbitrary and uncontrollable. The only difference, as has long been observed, is, that under a monarchy we have usually one tyrant, and under a state some hundreds; and yet I don't know how it comes to pass, but the subjects of a monarchy are usually looked upon to be in a state of slavery, while those who live in a common-wealth are supposed to be in perfect freedom. But to return to Germany: We have a set of historians who are very positive that the ancient German Kings were elected and de-

Republicks as arbitrary as monarchs.

posed by their people whenever they saw fit: that this was an unalienable right in the multitude, which they could never part with; and as we are supposed to be of German extraction, this ought to be part of the English constitution. But they may remember too, that these same Germans, or Saxons, used to determine their controversies by combat, or going to loggerheads: and that their criminals were tried by fire and water ordeal, thrown into a river, or obliged to walk over nine or ten burning plough-shares blind-fold, to vindicate their innocence; and a hundred other extravagancies of the like nature, which are parts of that admired constitution, that few of the present generation will be fond of returning to. But further, what should we get by making the populace judges of their Prince's actions, so little as they understand of the state of the world, and the interest of their own nation? Would they not commit ten thousand errors in politicks? would they not be liable to be spirited up by every designing knave, to the destruction of the Prince and the community; and perhaps oftener use their electing and deposing powers to their own hurt than benefit? Some men are so fond of a democracy, that they will not give themselves leave to reflect that they are at present under a much happier constitution than ever the ancient Germans experienced. The art of government, as well as other arts, is capable of improvement; and why we should be always appealing to the first rude draughts, and inculcating to the mob that we ought to imitate only the first essays of this nature, that were made when there were no laws to ascertain the Prince's prerogative, or the people's rights, in which our great happiness consists, shews a more than ordinary perverseness, or a very great degree of ignorance in the history of the ancients.

Other customs of the ancient Germans.

I proceed now to take notice of some other customs of the ancient inhabitants of Germany, collected by CLUVERIUS from CÆSAR, TACITUS, and other Roman historians. The common people, they tell us, generally went naked 'till they grew old, when they hung the skin of some wild beast about their shoulders, fastening it with a thong; and men of the best quality only wore a little woollen mantle, or a coat without sleeves. Their usual bed was the ground, or a little straw; and people of distinction lay upon the skins of wolves or bears. That they dipped their new-born infants in cold water; and some say, threw them into rivers, that by their swimming or sinking their legitimacy might be determined. Their food was bread, flesh, butter and fruits, as now. Their drink, water, milk and beer, not knowing the use of wine. They had seldom more than one knife in a family, for they pulled their meat to pieces with their fingers, as they do still in the east; but then 'tis usually so over-done that it is ready to drop in pieces. They were usually very merry at their entertainments, sitting in a semicircle, the master of the family in the middle, and the rest on the right and left of him, according to their quality; but no women were admitted to their feasts, or a son under twenty years of age. They had the liberty of marrying or cohabiting with as many women as they pleased; but the common people usually contented themselves with one a piece, on account of the charge that attended the keeping more, as is supposed. The eldest son, or next heir of the family, always inherited the entire principality, or estate of his ancestor; and the younger children had certain villages, or lordships assigned them for their maintenance.

Few



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IV.

The religion of the ancient Germans.

Few Pagan nations, 'tis said, liv'd up to the rules of morality so well as the Germans did. They express'd a more than ordinary regard for divine worship; chusing their priests out of their nobility, who were not altogether ignorant of moral philosophy and physicks, and were usually call'd to their councils of state. Women were also admitted to the priestly office; and both the one and the other had the profoundest respect paid them by the laity. The doctrine of transmigration prevailed amongst them, they believed that departed souls animated other creatures when they had left these bodies, and were happy or miserable, according as they behaved in this life. The sun they worshiped with that devotion, that CLUVERIUS is of opinion, they looked upon this planet as the only true God, dedicating the first day of the week to it. They also worshiped the God WODEN, or GODAN, after whom Wednesday, or the fourth day of the week is called. This word GODAN afterwards came to be contracted into God, and from the Germans we have it. They worshiped also the God TARANES, the same with the Danish THOR, the Thunderer, from whom our Thursday hath its name. The Goddess FREIA, or VENUS, was also worshiped by the Germans, from whom Friday was so called. The God THIES, or TIES, another of their deities answerable to MARS, gave name to Tuesday. CLUVERIUS also would have us believe, that they worshiped the Trinity: that they were acquainted with the history of the creation, the fall of angels, &c. but I don't see any foundation he hath for this. They performed their religious exercises, and sacrificed in groves, the one being usually made choice of for an altar: and instead of a temple, they erected an arbour made of oak and beechen boughs. They looked upon it, says CLUVERIUS, as impious to draw any picture, or representation of their gods; and yet we find the image of an armed man set on the top of a vault pillar, worshiped by the Saxons till the time of CHARLES the Great, who destroyed it; the memory of which occurrence is still kept up among the Germans in their tragedies; and some pieces of that mighty pillar are still preserved in the cathedral church of Harberstat.

The priests, as well as the sacrifice, were always crowned with wreaths of oak, or of some other sacred tree. They sacrificed not only beasts, but men, if we may believe the Roman writers; but when they offered human sacrifices, they were taken from among their slaves, or malefactors; though upon extraordinary occasions, it is said, they would offer their own children. The priests usually shot the sacrifice to death with arrows, if it was a beast, but the men were sometimes crucified. They inspected the entrails of the animal, and from thence prognosticated good or ill success in their wars and other undertakings; and when the rites were ended, the sacrifices, whether they consisted of men or animals, were eaten, and they were merry, as usual at festivals; the priests entertaining them with musick and dancing. But I must confess, that part of the account which mentions the eating of human flesh, makes me give the less credit to the rest, because I have yet never met with that people on the face of the earth which do allow themselves in eating their own species, and it is generally what even other animals abhor.

Funerals.

Their belief that their souls should animate other bodies after death, it is said, made them fear-

less of danger; and if a man happened to be under CHAP. IV. unfortunate circumstances, he made no scruple of dispatching himself to the other world. They burnt their dead bodies, and having gathered up the bones and ashes of the funeral pile, they buried them together. The wives, slaves, dogs, horses and armour of the deceased, it is said, were also thrown into the fire, in order to serve their lord in the other world. And at the funerals of the great, were tiltings and tournaments, and songs sung in memory of their heroick actions.

I have already shewn that the Germans defended their frontiers so well against the Romans, that they were contented to make the Rhine and the Danube the boundaries of their empire; and accordingly built fortresses, and planted garisons on the banks of both those rivers to prevent the incursions of the barbarous nations, as they called them: but notwithstanding these precautions, within less than an hundred years after CONSTANTINE the Great, the Franks, Burgundians, Almans, and other German nations, broke through those boundaries, passed the Rhine, and dispossessed the Romans of all Gaul, Rhetia and Noricum, which they shared amongst them; but the Franks prevailing over the rest, at length established their empire over all modern Germany, France, and Italy, under the conduct of CHARLES the Great.

The northern nations break in upon the Roman empire.

Germany was never under the dominion of one sovereign, as Dr. NICHOLSON observes, till the reign of this Prince, who was the son of PEPIN, King of France. He was born the 28th of January, 747, and upon the death of his father PEPIN, which happened in the year 768, he shared his dominions with his brother. After his brother's death, he assumed the government of the whole, notwithstanding his brother left a son behind him, with whom his mother fled to DESTIERIUS, King of Lombardy, for protection. Hither CHARLES pursued her, and having defeated King DESIDERIUS, made himself master of great part of Italy, and particularly of Rome. The Pope and clergy of that city having been forced to submit to the Kings of Lombardy, and lost much of the power they had formerly usurped, looked upon King CHARLES as their deliverer, and swore allegiance to him on St. PETER's tomb: he was also, by the decree of Pope ADRIAN, declared Patrician of Rome, which was then a title only inferior to that of Emperor, and gave him authority to confirm the election of the Popes, and grant the Italian bishops the investiture of their sees. King CHARLES, to shew his gratitude to the Pope, and to confirm him in his interest, gave him a power of constituting Exarchs, or lieutenants over the provinces of Ancona, Bologna, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Ferrara, &c. and conferred on him almost regal powers. This Prince afterwards conquered part of Spain, and reduced the Saxons in Germany to his obedience, planting the Christian religion wherever he carried his arms, and founding schools and universities throughout his whole empire. Pope ADRIAN dying in the year 795, Leo the third was chosen to succeed him, and his election confirmed by CHARLES the Great, as Patrician of Rome; but an insurrection being incited against this Pope by the nephews of Pope ADRIAN, who treated him barbarously, obliged him to fly into Germany to CHARLES the Great for protection, who thereupon marched again into Italy, and having condemned the offenders to death, their sentence was changed

Charles the Great first Emperor of Germany, &amp;c. anno 800.



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changed into that of banishment at the intercession of the Pope. It was at this time, viz. on Christmas-day, in the year of our Lord 800, that the Pope with the senate and people of Rome, agreed to confer the title of Roman Emperor on CHARLES the Great, and accordingly placed the imperial crown upon his head the moment he was at his devotions in St. PETER's church, and the people with loud acclamations saluted him Emperor of the Romans. The Pope also anointed him with the holy oils, acknowledging him to be his sovereign, and the Emperor's statue was afterwards set up in the publick places of Rome; but the Emperor chose to reside in Germany, leaving Italy in a great measure under the influence of the Pope, who knew how to make an advantage of his absence, as his predecessors had done on the removing the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople. CHARLES the Great having enjoyed the title of Emperor fourteen years, died in the year 814, and was buried at Aix la Chapelle, where he had founded a church, designing to have made that city the capital of his Empire, and the residence of his successors. He was about seventy two years of age when he died, the epitaph on his tomb being no more than this, *Magni Caroli Regis Christianissimi Romanorum Imperatoris corpus hoc sepulchro conditum jacet.*

Lewis II. 814. LUDOWICK, or LEWIS, King of Aquitain, for his piety surnamed the Godly, succeeded his father CHARLES the Great, being crowned Emperor by Pope STEPHEN IV. at Rheims in France. This Prince ordered the bible to be translated into the Saxon tongue, and dispersed among the common people. He had three sons, viz. LOTHARIUS, LUDOWICK and PERIN, by his first wife, who all rebelled against their father, and shut him up in a monastery; but being rescued by his subjects from his confinement, he assembled an army, and was marching against his son LOTHARIUS, when he died. He left also a son named CHARLES, by a second venture.

Lotharius 840. LOTHARIUS, the eldest son of LEWIS, succeeded his father, anno 840, in the whole Empire, and having reigned fifteen years, retired into a monastery at Treves, where he lived some time. It was in this reign that JOHN VIII. filled the papal chair, generally reported to be a woman, and called Pope JOAN.

Lewis II. 855. LUDOWICK, or LEWIS II. succeeded LOTHARIUS his father, upon his resignation of the Empire, and retiring to a convent, anno 855. He conquered Sclavonia, and planted Christianity in that country. It was in this reign the court of Rome assumed the power of electing their Pope, without the concurrence of their sovereign: and ADRIAN II. was the first who was chosen without the Emperor's leave.

Charles II. 875. CHARLES the Bald, son of LEWIS I. succeeded his nephew anno 875. He is said to be a weak Prince, being persuaded by Pope JOHN IX. to solemnize his coronation at Rome, and there receive the imperial scepter at his hands.

Lewis III. 878. LUDOWICK, or LEWIS III. succeeded his father CHARLES, anno 878; and having reigned about a year, died, leaving his throne to his brother.

Charles III. 879. CHARLES the Gross, so named from his corpulency, who by the death of his two brothers became possessed of all Germany, France, and Italy. He was the first who added the year of our Lord to the year of his reign, in his grants and acts of state. He made a disadvantageous peace with the Normans, whereby he left them in possession

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of that part of France which is now called Normandy; and having done some other mean unpopular things, was deposed by his nobility, and died miserably in a poor village in Swabia.

ARNOLPH, natural son of the King of Bavaria, and Duke of Carinthia, was advanced to the throne by the same faction which deposed his predecessor, anno 888. He defeated GUIDO and BERENGARIUS, who opposed him in Italy, and took Rome by storm; but is said to have been soon after poisoned there by GUIDO's wife.

LUDOWICK, or LEWIS IV. the son of ARNOLPH, was advanced to the imperial throne, on the death of his father. He was in perpetual war with the Hungarians, in which he had very ill success, and great numbers of the German nobility lost their lives. The Pope also set up another LUDOWICK against him in Italy, which created him a great deal of disturbance.

The imperial crown after the death of LEWIS IV. was offered to OTTO, Duke of Saxony, by the German nobility, who being grown old, recommended to them CONRADE, Duke of Franconia, who was thereupon declared Emperor: but the very men who advanced him, not approving his conduct, attempted to dethrone him. CONRADE however secured his possession, and on his death appointed HENRY the son of OTTO, Duke of Saxony, to succeed him.

HENRY, surnamed AUCEPS, from the pleasure he took in hawking, succeeded to the empire by virtue of his predecessor CONRADE's will, anno 919. The Pope it seems offered to consecrate and anoint him Emperor; but he answered, that he did not think he stood in need of his confirmation. He was a brave Prince, defended the empire against the Hungarians and other foreign enemies, and composed the factions among his own people at home. He first fortified the great towns of Germany, and ordered every ninth peasant to remove into the cities, and that a third part of the corn and hay about every city should be assigned for the maintenance of the inhabitants. He also first instituted tilts and tournaments: and after a prosperous reign of seven years and a half, died of an apoplexy in Italy, much regretted by his German subjects.

OTHO, the son of HENRY, succeeded his father, anno 936, being from his piety and happy conduct siled the Great. He obliged HAROLD, King of Denmark, to acknowledge his dependance on the empire, and to introduce Christianity into his dominions. He also subdued BOLESLAUS, King of Bohemia, and planted Christianity in that country. On the other hand, he deposed Pope JOHN XII. and placed LEO VIII. in his room, decreeing, that for the future the Pope should be appointed only by the Emperor. In this reign the ceremony of christening the bells of churches was first introduced.

OTHO II. succeeded his father, and after a prosperous reign left the empire to his son,

OTHO III. an infant of ten years of age. He proved a very wise Prince, and was the first, according to some, who instituted the custom of choosing an Emperor by a majority of voices of seven electors. After a reign of eighteen years, he was poisoned in Italy with a pair of gloves by his concubine on account of his refusing to marry her, as he had promised.

HENRY, Duke of Bavaria, was chosen Emperor by the Electors, anno 1002, being crowned by the arch-bishop of Mentz. He was successful in

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his

CHAP.  
IV.Arnolph  
888.Lewis IV.  
900.Conrade  
912.Henry  
919.

Otho 936.

The Emperor asserts his power of appointing the Pope.

Otho II.  
973.Otho III.  
984.

Emperors first elected.

Henry II.  
1002.



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his wars against the Saracens in Italy, whom he drove out of Apulia and Calabria, and vanquished the Wendish forces, who had over-run great part of Germany. His piety procured him the title of the Holy, and his self-denial was so great, that upon his death-bed, after he had been married above twenty years, he returned his Empress CUNIGUNDA to her relations, assuring them she was a pure virgin, having by mutual consent, on the day of their marriage, agreed they would never come together. But history relates that he was once so jealous of this lady, that he made her walk bare-foot over a red-hot grate to manifest her innocence; and if we may credit the writers of those times, she never flinched at it, or expressed the least sense of pain.

Conrade  
1024.

CONRADE, a Prince descended from CHARLES the Great, succeeded to the empire anno 1024, being crowned at Aix la Chapelle, by the archbishop of Cologne. He was generally beloved by his subjects, and amongst his laws he enacted, that no prince should make war on any province of the empire on pain of death,

Henry III.  
1039.

HENRY, the son of CONRADE, surnamed the Black, succeeded his father. He was successful in his wars against the Bohemians and Hungarians; and in the year 1046, was called into Italy, to settle the peace of that country, which was disturbed by three Popes, set up by contrary factions. He did not approve any of them, it seems, but set up a fourth, viz. CLEMENT II. and revived the decree, That the Pope should be appointed by the Emperor.

Henry IV.  
1056.

HENRY IV. an infant of six years of age, succeeded his father. Pope HILDEBRAND, called GREGORY VII. refused to acknowledge this Emperor for his sovereign, and set up RODOLPH, Duke of Swabia, against him, who was content to accept the Imperial crown at the hands of the Pope: and though RODOLPH was defeated and killed in battle, the Pope so managed matters, that he procured HENRY to be deposed by his subjects, who elected his son in his stead, after he had reigned fifty years, and fought sixty-two general battles. And he was reduced to such straits before he died, that he begged a prebendary in the church of Spire, which he had founded himself, and was denied it by the bishop.

Henry V.  
1106.

HENRY V. the son of HENRY IV. succeeded his father in the empire, anno 1106; but was obliged to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and renounce all pretensions to the investiture of bishopricks, which his ancestors claimed. It is reported that at his coronation his sword was melted by lightning, and the scabbard remained untouched by the fire. This Prince dying without issue,

Lotharius  
1125.

LOTHARIUS, Duke of Saxony, was elected Emperor, and received his crown from the Pope. He revived the practice of the civil law in the empire.

Conrade  
1138.

CONRADE, Duke of Swabia, son of the late Emperor's sister, succeeded his uncle, but was opposed for some time by HENRY, Duke of Bavaria. In this reign a body of the cannon laws was compiled, and taught in the German universities.

Frederick  
1152.

FREDERICK, Duke of Swabia, was elected Emperor upon the death of CONRADE, being surnamed BARBAROSSA, from his red beard. He was crowned by Pope ADRIAN, but during the papacy of Pope ALEXANDER III. he was excommunicated for opposing some encroachments of that see, and so humbled, that he was content to

throw himself at the Pope's feet, and suffer him to tread on his neck. In the year 1187, this Emperor, RICHARD I. of England, and PHILIP II. of France, all went in person on an expedition to the Holy Land, where this unhappy Emperor was drowned in a river, as he was bathing himself, and was buried at Tyre.

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HENRY, the son of FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, succeeded his father. He died also in a voyage to the Holy Land, which the Pope had prevailed upon him to undertake.

PHILIP, the brother of HENRY, succeeded him; but refusing to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, he was excommunicated, and OTHO, Duke of Brunswick, set up against him by the Pope and the Electors. The whole empire was engaged on the one side or the other by these competitors in a bloody war, till PHILIP was treacherously assassinated in his bed.

OTHO, the surviving competitor by the death of PHILIP became possessed of the whole Empire, anno 1208; but he had not reigned four years before he was deposed by the Pope and the Electors: and FREDERICK King of Sicily advanced to the imperial dignity by the same powers. OTHO being universally deserted, died at BRUNSWICK in the year 1218.

Otho  
1208.

FREDERICK II. much admired by historians for his learning and wisdom, and resolution, was five times excommunicated by three Popes; but prevailed against Pope GREGORY IX. so far as to depose him from the papal chair. These continual contests between him and the Popes gave rise to those two famous factions of GUELPHS and GIBELLINES; the former adhering to the Papal See, and the latter to the Emperors.

Frederick  
II.Guelphs  
and Gi-  
bellines.

FREDERICK having reigned eight and thirty years, died, or, as is insinuated by some, was poisoned in Italy; after which the Empire remained in great confusion for twenty years and upwards, there being no less than six competitors for the Imperial dignity, viz. (1.) HENRY Landgrave of Hesse, who was killed at the siege of Ulm. (2.)

An inter-  
regnum.

CONRADE IV. FREDERICK's second son, having been elected King of the Romans in the year 1254, who was poisoned by his physicians, after he had styled himself Emperor about three years. (3.) MANFRED. (4.) WILLIAM Earl of Holland, declared King of the Romans by the Pope in opposition to FREDERICK II. and was afterwards assassinated by the Frisians. (5.) ALPHONSUS King of Castile. And (6.) RICHARD Earl of Cornwall, brother to HENRY III. of England, who by his money is supposed to have gained the voices of some of the Electors; but he was at length deserted by those who set him up; and after six years contest was obliged to return to England.

RODOLPH Earl of Hapsburg, was at length advanced to the Imperial dignity, anno 1273, by the unanimous consent of all the Electors, and confirmed by the Pope. This Prince first raised the Austrian family, by creating his son ALBERT Archduke of Austria, who was afterwards Emperor.

Rodolph  
1273.Rise of the  
Austrian  
family.

ADOLPH Earl of Nassau, was declared Emperor on the death of RODOLPH, anno 1292; but serving with his troops as mercenaries in the army of EDWARD I. of England against France, he so disgusted the Electors of the empire, that they made choice of ALBERT the son of RODOLPH for their sovereign, who defeated ADOLPH in a pitched battle, and killed him with his own hand.

Adolph  
1292.

ALBERT









*The North west Part of GERMANY; Containing the Dominions of the Arch and Elect of COLOGNE, WESTPHALIA, parts the Duke of Juliers, Cleves, &c. the Bishop of Munster, Ofenaburg, &c. the City of Emden, &c. the City of Holstein and Bremen, the Duke of HANNOVER with all the County of Lunenburg &c. Brunswick, &c. and the City of Lüneburg &c. &c. &c.* By A. Moll Geographer.



**CHAP. IV.** ALBERT the son of RODOLPH, was crowned Emperor anno 1298, and confirmed by the Pope: he made his son RODOLPH King of Bohemia, and attempted to reduce Hungary in vain; he was murdered by his nephew and three other assassins.

**Henry VII.** 1308. HENRY Earl of Luxemburg, was elected Emperor on the death of ALBERT, anno 1308. He is celebrated for his wisdom and valour, as well as for his temper and extraordinary devotion. Neither prosperity nor adversity could move him, it is said; and he is reported to be so devout, that he would spend whole nights in prayer before a crucifix, and receive the sacrament every day; but was poisoned at length by a Franciscan monk with the consecrated elements: which the Emperor soon perceiving, ordered the friar to get out of the way lest he should be apprehended; which the villain neglecting, was afterwards flea'd alive. After this Prince's murder there happened a terrible famine in Germany, which some pious people looked upon as a judgment on that country: and relate such incredible things of parents eating their children, and children their parents, as would shock a very forward believer.

**Ludowick** 1318. LUDOWICK Duke of Bavaria, after an interregnum of some years, was chosen Emperor by a majority of the Electors; but FREDERICK Duke of Austria, son of the late Emperor ALBERT, was set up by a contrary faction: FREDERICK's forces being defeated, LUDOWICK remained sole Emperor. He constantly opposed the Papal encroachments, deposed Pope JOHN XXII. and placed NICHOLAS V. in his room; despising the papal excommunications, which were from time to time thundred out against him.

**Charles IV.** 1346. CHARLES IV. son of JOHN King of Bohemia, was elected Emperor on the death of LUDOWICK, anno 1346. He procured a majority of voices, it is said, by his money: and there being three Princes who pretended to the Imperial dignity during his reign, he bought off their adherents, and prevented their appearing in arms against him. He was a learned prudent Prince; and the contriver of the *Aurea Bulla*, which contains a register of the rites and ceremonies to be observed at the election of an Emperor.

**Wenceslaus** 1378. WENCESLAUS the fourth son of CHARLES, at the desire of his father succeeded to the Empire; but being a dissolute cruel Prince, was deposed after he had reigned two and twenty years.

**Frederick.** FREDERICK Duke of Brunswick, being elected in the room of Wenceslaus, was assassinated by HENRY Count Waldeck, as he came from the place of election.

**Rupert** 1400. RUPERT, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, was immediately after elected Emperor anno 1400. He was esteemed a brave Prince, and having reigned about ten years, died in peace, and was buried at Spire.

**Jodocus** 1410. JODOCUS BARBATUS, Marquis of Moravia, and nephew to the Emperor CHARLES IV. succeeded RUPERT, and reigned nine months: after whom

**Sigismund** 1411. SIGISMOND King of Hungary and Bohemia, and brother to the Emperor WENCESLAUS, was unanimously chosen Emperor by the Electors; and is represented by the catholick historians, as a brave Prince, of uncommon piety and learning; but it was he that suffered JOHN HUSS, and JEROM of Prague, to be condemned as hereticks by the council of Constance, and afterwards burnt, notwithstanding he had granted them a passport, and was engaged in honour and conscience for

their safe return to their country; which so exasperated the Hussites of Bohemia, that they raised a formidable army; and under the conduct of their General Zisca, defeated his forces in fourteen general battles, and maintained the war against him with advantage till his death.

**FREDERICK IV.** Duke of Austria, and son-in-law to the Emperor SIGISMOND, was unanimously chosen Emperor upon the death of his father, and was crowned at Rome by Pope NICHOLAS V. He made it his business to procure peace in his dominions; and by his marriage with LEONORA the daughter of ALPHONSUS King of Portugal, the houses of Spain and Austria came to be united. He reigned fifty-three years, being longer than any of his predecessors sat on the imperial throne.

MAXIMILIAN succeeded his father FREDERICK, anno 1493, having been elected King of the Romans in the year 1486. He married MARY the daughter and heiress of CHARLES Duke of Burgundy; whereby all the territories belonging to that Duke were transferred to the house of Austria. He was engaged in perpetual wars; and for five years before his death had his coffin carried with him in all his expeditions, not so much to put him in mind of his mortality, as some have suggested, as to conceal some extraordinary treasure that was locked up in it.

CHARLES V. surnamed the Great, Archduke of Austria, son to PHILIP King of Spain, and grandson of MAXIMILIAN, was next elected Emperor, anno 1519; but FRANCIS the first, King of France, being his competitor, and spending a great deal of money among the Electors, delayed the choice, and caused an interregnum of six months. He was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, on the 21st of August 1520. He procured LUTHER's doctrine to be condemned, but did not meddle with his person: and it was in this reign that the disciples of LUTHER obtained the name of Protestants, from their protesting against a decree of the imperial diet, in favour of the Catholics. This prince is reported to have been victorious in seventy battles. He had the Pope and the French King his prisoners at the same time; and carried his arms into Africa, where he conquered the kingdom of Tunis: he subdued the Protestant princes who were engaged in the Smalcaldic league; taking the Elector of Saxony and the Prince of Hesse prisoners, and drove the Turk from the siege of Vienna. And after a prosperous reign of eight and thirty years, resigned his empire to his brother FERDINAND; retiring into a convent in Spain, where he declared he had more satisfaction in one day, than in all the triumphs of his preceding life; and in this retirement he died, about two years after his resignation.

FERDINAND I. was declared Emperor on the resignation of his brother, by the unanimous consent of the Electors; but Pope PIUS IV. refused to confirm him, because neither the resignation of CHARLES V. nor the election of FERDINAND were done with his concurrence. He was a peaceful prince; and used to assign one part of the day to hear the complaints of his meanest subjects; and was esteemed a great favourer of the Protestants.

MAXIMILIAN II. his son succeeded him, being at that time King of Bohemia, and afterwards King of Hungary. He was as indulgent to the Protestants as his father, which occasioned his being called by some the Lutheran Emperor.

RODOLPH succeeded his father MAXIMILIAN in the empire, being elected as usual. He applied himself

**CHAP. IV.**

**FREDERICK IV.** 1440.

**MAXIMILIAN** 1493.

**CHARLES V.** 1519.

**Protestants** first so called.

**Ferdinand I.** 1558.

**Maximilian II.** 1564.

**Rodolph** 1576.



CHAP.  
IV.Matthias,  
1612.Ferdinand  
II. 1619.Ferdinand  
III. 1637.Leopold,  
1658.Articles  
sworn to  
at his ac-  
cession.

himself to the study of most arts and sciences, and especially the mathematicks, and entertained the famous TYCHO BRAHE in his court; but was esteemed a better scholar than a governor.

MATTHIAS, the brother of RODOLPH, King of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeded him, anno 1612. He was very severe upon the Protestants, which occasioned an insurrection in Bohemia; and at Prague two of his Ministers were thrown out of the castle-windows, as has been mentioned already in the description of Bohemia. He died without issue, having reigned seven years; and was succeeded by

FERDINAND of Gratz, Archduke of Austria, grandson to FERDINAND I. anno 1619. The Bohemians apprehending he would be as severe upon the Protestants as his predecessor, offered the crown of Bohemia to FREDERICK V. Count Palatine of the Rhine; though they had before acknowledged FERDINAND for their King; which so incensed the Emperor, that he determined the destruction of the Protestants: whereupon followed a bloody war in Germany, which lasted near thirty years; but was ended by the treaty of Westphalia, in the reign of his son; whereby the Protestants were secured in their religious and civil rights.

FERDINAND III. being elected King of the Romans the year before, succeeded his father, anno 1637. He carried on the war his father had begun, and obtained a great victory over the Protestants at Ratibon, and broke the power of the Swedes, who had been long victorious in Germany; but being afterwards deserted by most of the Princes of the Empire, was obliged to enter into a treaty with them, and allow them honourable terms. The ministers of the Catholick Princes residing at Munster during this treaty, and the Protestant ministers at Osnabrug, this is sometimes called the peace of Munster, and at others the peace of Osnabrug: it is also sometimes called the treaty of Westphalia, from it's being concluded in that circle. In the year 1653, the Emperor procured his eldest son FERDINAND to be elected King of the Romans, and crowned; but this Prince, dying within a year afterwards, his father survived him, and he never arrived at the imperial dignity.

LEOPOLD, the only surviving son of FERDINAND III. was elected Emperor on the eighth of July 1658, after an interregnum of eight months, and crowned at Francfort the twenty-second day of the same month. At the time of his election he signed and executed certain articles of agreement, made between his said Imperial Majesty and the Electors of the Empire, called the Capitulations of the Emperor LEOPOLD: whereby he obliged himself to protect Christendom, the see of Rome, and the Pope, to promote peace in the empire, and do justice without exception, according to the laws: and also to protect the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, Palatine, and all their subjects of the Protestant Religion, according to the treaty of Osnabrug and Munster. He obliged himself also to observe the Imperial constitutions, and acts of the diet; and declares he will not suffer any thing to be published against the peace of religion, concluded in the treaty of Westphalia. That he will protect the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. That the ambassadors of the Electors shall take place of those sent from any Republick. That he will make no alliance with fo-

reign states, or engage in any war without the consent of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; or alienate any thing which belongs to the Empire without the consent of the Electors. And it is thereby declared, That any state or subject of the Empire may engage in foreign wars, provided they are not against the Empire, or any of it's members. And the Emperor further declares, That he will not pretend to any hereditary right of succession to the Imperial dignity; but leave the Electors their full right of electing a King of the Romans, according to the golden bull, even during the Emperor's life, with or without his consent. And that he will employ none in his councils, or in any office in the Empire, but native Germans. But the most extraordinary article inserted in this Pacta Conventa, as it may be called, was, That he should afford Spain no assistance against France.

At the accession of the Emperor LEOPOLD, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of Sweden, was become very terrible to the German Princes, having in a manner conquered Poland, and made a great progress in the north of Germany; whereupon the new Emperor entered into a confederacy with Denmark, Brandenburg, and Poland, and carried on the war against Sweden with various fortune, till the peace of Oliva put an end to it in the year 1660. In the year 1663 he entered into a war with the Turk, in which he lost the city of Newhaufel. The Emperor's forces however having defeated several great bodies of the Turks afterwards, a truce was concluded between the two empires in the year 1664, for twenty years. The Hungarians still continued restless, and exercised the Emperor with continual conspiracies against his government; which they were induced to, 'tis said, on account of the invasion of their religious and civil rights; and in the year 1669, they made an offer to the Grand Seignior of their country, in order to obtain his protection against his Imperial Majesty: but the Turks being then engaged in the siege of Candia, neglected the proposal; and the Hungarians were left to defend themselves against their exasperated Prince as well as they could: and indeed they were grown so formidable, that the Emperor thought fit to send that great General, the Duke of Lorrain, against them, at the head of a powerful army, in the year 1671; who reduced many of the revolted cities, and made the most considerable leaders of the malecontents prisoners; amongst whom were the Count SERINI, FRANGAPANI, and NADASTI, who were all soon after beheaded: and the Emperor hoping to root the Protestant religion out of the kingdom at once, sent down the most bigotted Roman Catholick governors and judges amongst them, who exercised all manner of cruelties upon the miserable inhabitants; which made many of them fly into the Grand Seignior's dominions, and again implore his assistance. But the Emperor, being soon made sensible of the ill consequences of such severities, directed his ministers to proceed with more moderation.

In the year 1672 and 1673, the French having over-run good part of Holland and Flanders, and committed great ravages in the Palatinate on the frontiers of Germany, the Emperor entered into a confederacy with Spain and the States General against them, and sent an army of forty thousand men under the command of General MONTECUCULI to the assistance of the Dutch, who were in some danger of being conquered by France.

CHAP.  
IV.War with  
Sweden.Peace of  
Oliva,  
1660.  
War with  
the Turks  
and Hun-  
garians,  
1663.War with  
France,  
1672.



CHAP. IV. France at this Time, if this seasonable relief had not in a great measure prevented it. The war however was carried on for some years with various success, till 1678, when a peace was concluded at Nimeguen, between the contending powers.

Peace of Nimeguen, 1678. The French assist the Hungarians.

The French having sent four thousand men to the assistance of the Hungarians the preceding year, who joined Count TECKELI, the malecontents carried all before them in that country; but the Emperor making them an offer to confirm them in all their religious and civil rights upon their returning to their duty, the Turk having engaged to make him Sovereign of Hungary.

Surprise of Straßburg, 1680.

The French King also being assured of the Grand Signior's design to break with the Emperor, surprized Straßburg, the most considerable town on the frontiers of Germany towards France, in the year 1680, and entered into an alliance with Count TECKELI, who having married the Princess RAGOTSKI, and thereby gotten possession of the places that depended on that family, raised an army of thirty or forty thousand men, with which he joined the Turks; and in the year 1683, the Port declared war against the Emperor. The Imperial court, apprehending the storm that was coming, sent embassies to the Princes of Christendom to desire their assistance against the common enemy: and most of them contributed something, but none of them so largely as Pope INNOCENT XI. and JOHN King of Poland. TECKELI in the mean time made himself master of several great towns in Hungary, and began to stile himself Sovereign of the country, coining money in his own name; against whom a great army was sent under the command of the Duke of Lorraine. But while the Imperial troops were endeavouring to reduce the revolted places in Hungary, the Grand Vizier, CARA MUSTAPHA, having joined Count TECKELI, on a sudden marched into Austria, and laid siege to Vienna; the Emperor having but just time to retire from the city with his court before it was invested.

Vienna besieged, 1683.

The Turks sat down before the town on the 14th of July, 1683, and carried on the siege with their usual fury for two months, when the garrison was so weakened and harassed by continual attacks, that Vienna was almost given over for lost; and the preservation of it is generally ascribed to the vigilance and conduct of the governor, Count STAREMBERG. But the Duke of Lorraine, the Imperial General, being at length joined by the Elector of Saxony with ten thousand men, and after him by JOHN SOBIESKI, King of Poland, with twenty-four thousand horse, came to a resolution to give the enemy battle. The right wing of the Imperialists was commanded by the King of Poland, the left by the Duke of Lorraine, and the center by the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony and Prince WALDECK; and in this order they marched to attack the Infidels, TECKELI with his troops being at this time absent upon some expedition, which made their work much the easier: and after about three hours obstinate resistance, they forced the Turkish camp, whereupon the enemy's horse fled, leaving their foot to the mercy of the victorious Christians, and the siege was happily raised on the twelfth day of September. The Christians afterwards pursued the flying enemy, drove the Turks out of the island of Schut,

The siege raised.

and retook the fortresses of Gran, and several other places from the Infidels.

CHAP. IV.

The Imperialists were successful both against the Turks and Hungarians the following years, 1684 and 1685, defeating Count TECKELI, and taking in several towns; but were forced to raise the siege of Buda, after they had lain before it some time. In the year 1686, the Christians besieged it with better success, taking the city by storm. This is one of the most famous sieges in our memory, at which many noble volunteers assisted from most of the kingdoms in Europe. The following year the Emperor reduced the greatest part of Hungary under his obedience; and caused his eldest son, the Arch-duke JOSEPH, to be crowned King at Presburg. He also procured the consent of the States, that this kingdom should be no more elective but hereditary. In the year 1688, the Imperialists, under the conduct of the Duke of Bavaria, took Belgrade, which put the Turks into the utmost consternation; there being no place of any considerable strength between that city and Constantinople. In the mean time the French continued to ravage the Palatinate, burning and plundering all the towns and villages between Heidelberg and Frankfort; whereupon a grand confederacy was formed against France, by the Emperor, Spain, England, Holland, Savoy, and several of the German Princes, wherein it was agreed, "That they would never make peace with LEWIS XIV. until he had made reparation to the holy see for all damages done to it; and till he had annulled and made void all his infamous proceedings against the holy father INNOCENT XI. Nor till he had restored to each party all he had taken from them since the peace of Munster. Nor till he had restored to the Protestants of France all their possessions and goods, and an entire liberty of conscience. Nor until he had restored the estates of the kingdom of France to their ancient liberties and privileges." Upon the conclusion of which alliance the war was carried on with all imaginable vigour, both upon the Rhine, and in Flanders.

Buda taken, 1686.

Hungary made an hereditary kingdom.

Belgrade taken, 1688.

Confederacy against France, An. 1690. Conditions of it.

Prince LEWIS of Baden, who commanded on the frontiers of Turkey, on the Duke of Lorraine's being sent to make head against the French upon the Rhine, was very successful in his first campaign, defeating the Turks in a general battle near Patochin, and afterwards made himself master of the cities of Nissa and Widdin. In the year 1690, the Emperor prevailed with the Electors to chuse his eldest son JOSEPH (who was already King of Hungary) to be King of the Romans.

War in Turkey.

King of the Romans chosen.

The year 1690 proved very unfortunate to the Imperialists; for they lost not only Widdin and Nissa, but Belgrade also was taken by storm, on blowing up a magazine, which threw down great part of the wall. Count TECKELI, being also made Prince of Transylvania by the Grand Signior, routed a body of the Imperialists, and took possession of that country; though he was forced to relinquish it before the year came about. The following year Prince LEWIS of Baden had the good fortune to defeat the Turks in a general battle, near Salankamen, wherein the Grand Vizier CUPERLI was killed; and afterwards took Peterwaradin: but laying siege to Belgrade, in the year 1693, the Turks made so gallant a defence, that they were forced to rise from before it. Transylvania was again invaded by the Turks, in the year 1695, where the Imperial General VETZ-RANI was defeated and taken prisoner; and afterwards

Belgrade taken by the Turks, 1690.

Battle of Salankamen.



CHAP.  
IV.Battle of  
Zenta.Peace of  
Ryswick,  
1697.Substance  
of it.Truce of  
Carlowitz,  
1698.Treaty of  
Partition,  
1699.King of  
Spain dies,  
1700.

wards beheaded in cool blood by the barbarous Turk, contrary to all rules of war. There happened afterwards a considerable action between the Turks and Imperialists near Temeswaer, where both claimed the victory, but neither party had much reason to boast. The last great battle which was fought between the Imperialists and the Turks in this war, was in the year 1697, near Zenta in Hungary, in which Prince EUGENE of Savoy commanded the Christians, and obtained a compleat victory, the Turks losing thirty thousand men, among whom was the Grand Vizier, with their camp, cannon, and an incredible quantity of ammunition and provision. The same year the Elector of Saxony, who commanded the Imperialists at the battle of Temeswaer, was advanced to the crown of Poland, to the mortification of the French, who set up the Prince of Conti against him; and perhaps this might have some influence on the treaty of Ryswick, which was concluded at this time between the confederates and France: though surely no articles could be more different than these were from those the allies proposed to themselves at the beginning of the war; for there they engage that they will not make peace with France till the French Protestants are restored to their religious and civil rights, and in this peace those Protestants are not so much as mentioned; but on the contrary, Popery is established in the Palatinate, and the poor Protestants left to the mercy of their enemies. The substance of the other articles were, That France should restore to Spain, Barcelona, Roses, Gironne in Catalonia, and Luxemburg, Mons, and Charleroy, and all other towns that had been taken by the French in the Low-Countries, or in America: That the Elector Palatine should be restored to his territories, Dinant restored to Liege, and Fort Kiel, Friburg, Starfort, Old Brisac, and Philipsburg restored to the empire; but the important city of Strasbourg was resigned to France; the castles of Traerbach, Erenburgh, Kirnburgh, and the fortress of Montroyal to be demolished and restored to their respective owners; and Lorrain was to be restored to it's Duke. The following year, 1698, a treaty was set on foot between Germany and Turkey, in which the English and Dutch were admitted mediators; and a truce was concluded for twenty-five years between the two empires, at Carlowitz, on the twenty-sixth of January, 1698-9, whereby all Transilvania was confirmed to the Emperor, and the province of Temeswaer to the Grand Signior; and for the rest, each party was to keep what was in their respective possessions, and the Roman Catholics in the Turkish dominions were to have the free exercise of their religion.

About this time the English, French, and Hollander entered into a treaty for the partition of the Spanish dominions between the Arch-duke CHARLES and the Dauphin of France, in case CHARLES II. King of Spain should happen to die; and this they did without the consent of the Austrian family, who looked upon themselves to have an undoubted right to the whole Spanish monarchy; and the Emperor being desired to come into the said treaty, after it was concluded, rejected the proposal with some indignation.

Soon after the signing of the partition treaty, viz. on the first of November 1700, died CHARLES II. King of Spain; and by his will, (at least as the French King pretended) appointed the Duke of Anjou, second son to the Dauphin of France, to succeed him in all his dominions. And LEWIS XIV.

without any regard to the treaty of partition so lately made, immediately took possession of the Spanish territories in Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries; and declared his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, and the dominions there-to belonging. And his title to the same was acknowledged even by England and Holland; nay, King WILLIAM and the States General wrote letters to the Duke of Anjou, congratulating his accession: and he was crowned at Madrid the 14th of April 1701. The Imperialists under the command of Prince EUGENE thereupon marched into Italy this summer with an army of forty thousand men, in order to make good his Imperial Majesty's pretensions to the Spanish territories there; and were very successful in their first attempts.

JAMES II. King of England, dying on the 6th of September 1701, at St. Germain in France, and the French King causing his son to be proclaimed King of England by the name of JAMES III. King WILLIAM entered into an alliance with the Emperor and the Dutch against France: whereby it was agreed, that satisfaction should be procured to the Emperor for his pretensions upon Spain; and that England and Holland should be secured in their dominions and commerce. And if this could not be obtained in a peaceable way within the space of two months from the date of the treaty (7th September 1701,) that then they should assist each other with all their forces to accomplish it. And in order to this, they should endeavour to conquer the Spanish Netherlands for a barrier for the Dutch: and the Dutchy of Milan, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Spanish places on the coast of Tuscany for the Emperor: And the English and Dutch were to possess such places as they should take from the Spaniards in the Indies. And it was further agreed, that none of the parties should make peace without the consent of the other: nor until they had obtained satisfaction for the Emperor, and a security for the dominions and trade of the English and Dutch, and procured, that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united under the same Prince, and the French excluded from the trade of the West-Indies.

The Imperialists in the mean time had made a considerable progress in Italy, and among other actions, Prince EUGENE on the first of February 1701, N. S. surprized the French General Marshal VILLEROY in his bed at Cremona, having discovered a way into the town by a subterraneous passage. While the allies were preparing to second the Emperor in his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, King WILLIAM died on the 8th of March 1701. to the great mortification of the confederates: but his successor Queen ANNE, declaring that she would carry on the preparations against France, and support the allies, their hopes began to revive, and all things went on in the same channel as in the former reign.

Her British Majesty formally declared war against France on the fourth of May 1702; and having constituted the Earl of Marlborough General of her forces in the Low Countries, the Dutch also gave him the command of their troops; and in his first campaign he obliged the French to quit the Spanish Guelderland. The grand fleet also failed to Spain, with ten thousand land forces on board under the command of the Duke of Ormond, and made a descent near Cadiz, inviting the Spaniards to join them, and assert the title of the house of Austria: but some disorders the Eng-

CHAP.  
IV.Duke of  
Anjou suc-  
ceeds him.Opposed  
by the  
Emperor.Another  
alliance  
formed  
against  
France,  
1701, on  
the death  
of King  
James II.Success  
of the Im-  
perialists  
in Italy.King Wil-  
liam dies  
the 8th of  
March,  
1701-2.War de-  
clared a-  
gainst  
France.



CHAP.  
VI.

lish had committed, with the natural aversion of the Spaniards for hereticks, rendered the attempt unsuccessful; and the British troops were obliged to re-imbarque without effecting any thing considerable. However they had the good fortune, in their return home, to meet with the Spanish galleons at Vigo, which made some amends for their disappointment at Cadiz.

Battle of  
Luzara.

A great battle was fought this summer near Luzara in Italy, between the French and Imperialists on the 15th of August N. S. and great was the slaughter on both sides; but it is a doubt at this day which side had the victory. The Imperialists however, had the good fortune to make themselves masters of Landau in Germany this campaign; and the Earl of Marlborough took Venloe, and afterwards Ruremond and Stevenswaert upon the Meuse: Marshal Boufflers also abandoning the city of Liege on the approach of the confederates, the Earl of Marlborough took possession of it, and on the 23d of October took the citadel by storm: whereupon the Chartreuse of Liege surrendered to the allies on the 29th of the same instant. And thus ended the campaign of 1702, when the Earl of Marlborough, as he was returning by water from the confederate army to Holland, was made prisoner by a French party from Guelder; but none of the party knowing him, and the Earl producing a French pass, after they had plundered the boat, he was dismissed, and suffered to proceed in his passage. At his return to England he was created Duke of Marlborough: and it was resolved by the parliament, that the English forces under his command in Flanders should be increased to fifty thousand men.

Landau  
taken.Progress  
of the al-  
lies in  
Flanders.Duke of  
Bavaria  
joins the  
French,  
1703.

The following campaign, anno 1703, the Duke of Bavaria having declared for France, was joined by a body of French troops under the command of Marshal Villars; and made himself master of the city of Ratisbon, where the diet of the Empire was assembled. The Elector afterwards invaded Tyrol, in order to open a communication with the French in Italy; but the Imperialists invading Bavaria at the same time, he was obliged to retire to defend his own country; but afterwards made himself master of Augsburg. On the other side, the confederates in the Low Countries besieged Bonn, and took it, and afterwards Huy, Limburgh and Guelder. The French under the command of the Duke of Burgundy invested Old Brissac, and took it; after which Marshal Tallard set down before Landau, and the Prince of Hesse being detached from the Netherlands to endeavour the relief of that town, was surprized by Tallard and defeated, soon after which the place surrendered.

Towns  
taken this  
campaign.Prince of  
Hesse de-  
feated.Battle of  
Eckeren.

The confederate forces under the command of General Opdam in Flanders, also were surprized by Boufflers this campaign near Eckeren, on the 30th of June N. S. and Opdam, being cut off from his army, fled to Breda, giving all for lost; but the other Generals maintaining their ground, there was an incredible slaughter on both sides; till night came on, when the French thought fit to retire.

King of  
Portugal  
comes into  
the alli-  
ance.  
Archduke  
Charles  
declared  
King of  
Spain.

This year the King of Portugal came into the grand alliance; and the Emperor and the King of the Romans resigned their right in the dominions of Spain to the Archduke CHARLES; who was thereupon declared King of Spain by the name of CHARLES III. and on the 26th of December his Catholick Majesty arrived in England, and after having been magnificently entertained by the court

at Windsor, he continued his voyage to Portugal, under the convoy of an English squadron of men of war.

CHAP.  
IV.

The same year the Duke of Savoy coming into the grand alliance, the Duke of Vendosme, who commanded the French in Italy, having some intimation of his design, made six thousand of his troops prisoners; which his Royal Highness retaliated by taking the French ambassador into custody, and all the subjects of France in his dominions. About the same time the Marquis of Visconti joined the Duke of Savoy with fifteen hundred German horse, and afterwards General Staremberg with sixteen thousand Imperialists more, having marched two hundred miles, and skirmished every day with the French, who were superior to him in numbers; and it is to the conduct of this General, that the allies were in a great measure obliged for their future success on that side: for if the Duke of Savoy had not been supported in this critical juncture, all Italy had been lost. And thus ended the Year 1703.

Duke of  
Savoy  
comes into  
the alli-  
ance.

The Imperial Minister, Count Wratislaw, having represented to her Britannick Majesty the distress the Empire was reduced to by the French and Bavarians, and a fresh insurrection of the Hungarian malecontents, the Duke of Marlborough was detached from the Netherlands with a formidable army to assist the Imperialists on the Danube, whither he began his march the middle of May 1704; and having joined Prince Lewis of Baden, attacked the Bavarian intrenchments near Donawert on the 2d of July, and carried them after a sharp dispute, wherein many thousands were killed on both sides. The allies immediately after took possession of Donawert, and entering the Duke of Bavaria's country, he was obliged to retire under the cannon of Augsburg, where an accommodation was proposed to his Electoral Highness by the confederate Generals, and in a manner agreed to: but the Elector understanding that Marshal Tallard, with a strong body of French troops, had passed the Black Forest, and was ready to join him, broke off the treaty abruptly; which provoked the Duke of Marlborough to detach thirty squadrons of horse to burn and destroy the country of Bavaria to the very walls of his capital city of Munich. On the 13th of August N. S. Prince EUGENE and the Duke of Marlborough engaged the French and Bavarians at Hochstet, where they obtained a compleat victory, near twenty thousand of the enemy being killed, and thirteen thousand made prisoners, together with Marshal Tallard, General of the French: whereupon the city of Augsburg sent to desire the protection of the Duke of Marlborough; and the Emperor, in consideration of this important service made him a Prince of the Empire. The city of Ulm also surrendered to the Imperialists on the 11th of September; after which Prince LEWIS of Baden invested Landau, while the Duke of Marlborough covered the siege, and the place surrendered on the 24th of November N. S. In the mean time the Electors of Bavaria yielded up the whole Electorate to the Imperialists.

Duke of  
Marlboro's  
march to  
the Dan-  
ube,  
1704.Attack of  
Donaw-  
wert.Battle of  
Hochstet.Landau  
surren-  
dred.Bavaria  
yielded to  
the Impe-  
rialists.War in  
Portugal.

A detachment of twelve thousand English and Dutch forces were this year sent to the assistance of the King of Portugal, under the command of Duke Schomberg: whereupon King CHARLES III. published a declaration, inviting his Spanish subjects to join him; and the King of Portugal published another declaration, shewing the right of King CHARLES III. to the Spanish monarchy,



CHAP.  
IV.

1704.

Gibraltar  
taken.Sea-fight  
off Mala-  
ga.War in I-  
taly 1705.In the  
Low  
Countries.

narchy, and his reasons for his appearing in arms against King PHILIP, whom he stiled a usurper. King PHILIP, on the other hand, declared war against the King of Portugal, King CHARLES, and all their allies; and soon after invading Portugal, took several towns on the frontiers of that kingdom. Duke Schomberg weary of his command in Portugal, where he found neither horses for mounting the confederate cavalry, or any other provisions of war they had agreed to furnish; and the Portuguese Generals insisting on their having the command of the English troops, he desired to be recalled, and the Earl of Galway was appointed to command the English troops in Portugal in his room.

In the beginning of the year 1704, Admiral ROOKE with a body of land-forces on board commanded by the Prince of Hesse, sailed to Barcelona, where he arrived the 18th of May; and the Prince of Hesse landed near the town with 2500 men, sending a summons to the governor to surrender, who did not think fit to obey it. This expedition was undertaken on an assurance that there would be an insurrection in the town in favour of King CHARLES, on the appearance of the confederate fleet; but nothing of this sort happening, the troops were re-embarked; and the fleet sailed to Gibraltar, and having made a descent the 21st of July, attacked the place with that fury, that it surrendered the 24th. Sir GEORGE ROOKE engaged the French fleet, commanded by the Count de Thoulouse, on the 24th of August following, and had gained a complete victory if his ammunition had not failed him, which was occasioned by the great fire which was made on the attack of Gibraltar, and the leaving a quantity of ammunition there to secure it. However, the French fleet was so shattered, that they declined renewing the engagement the next day, and never after disputed the dominion of the seas with the confederates during the war.

In Italy the confederates had not so good success this campaign as in some other parts of Europe: for here the French took Verceil and Suza, and the confederates were not in a condition to attempt the relief of either. On the other hand, the Hungarian malecontents were prevailed with to accept the mediation of England and Holland, which was some relief to the Emperor on that side.

Verue in Piedmont surrendered to the French the 8th of April 1705; and soon after Nice and Villa Franca; and on the 16th of August a battle was fought near Cassano in Italy between the French and Imperialists, wherein great numbers were killed on both sides, but neither of them had much reason to boast of the victory, though both sung Te Deum for it.

The Duke of Marlborough commanding on the Moselle this campaign, the French retook the town of Huy, and made themselves masters of Liege; but the confederate army returning to Flanders, the French were forced to relinquish those places again. The Duke afterwards entered the French lines near Tirlemont, and defeated a great body of the enemies troops; but as he was about to attack their grand army at Overysch, the deputies of the states opposed it, and refused to let the Dutch troops engage; which the Duke resented so highly, that it cost their High Mightinesses some pains to reconcile themselves to him again; but such ample amends and large promises were made him on this occasion, that they continued very dear ever afterwards.

LEOPOLD Emperor of Germany, after a long and prosperous reign, died at Vienna on the fifth of May N. S. in the year 1705. He was born the 9th of June 1640, and crowned King of Hungary on the 27th of June 1655, and of Bohemia the 14th of September 1656; and afterwards elected Emperor on the 18th of July 1658. He was three times married, but left children only by his last Empress MAGDALENA THERESA, daughter to Prince PHILIP WILLIAM of Newburg, by whom he had the late Emperor JOSEPH, and the present Emperor CHARLES, and three Archduchesses, viz, MARY ELIZABETH, MARY ANNE, and MARY MAGDALEN. This Prince is frequently stiled the Happy, from his escaping the many conspiracies formed against him, and his success against the Turks: and it is certain he was very happy in the choice of his ministers and generals, which ought not to be looked upon as purely the effect of chance, but something in this case may very well be ascribed to the judgment of the Prince.

JOSEPH King of the Romans succeeded his father LEOPOLD, who laid his dying commands on him to assist his brother CHARLES in the recovery of the Spanish monarchy. The late Emperor being embalmed, his heart was put into a silver box, and carried to the chapel of Loretto to be deposited behind the high altar there. His bowels were put into another silver box, and with a great deal of ceremony interred in the cathedral church of St. STEPHEN; and his body, after it had lain three days in state in the Imperial palace, was interred in the church of the Capuchins at Vienna, with all imaginable state.

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, with a body of land-forces on board commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, set sail from England on the 24th of May, this year 1705; and having touched at Lisbon, King CHARLES III. came on board them, after which the fleet sailed to Barcelona, arriving before that city on the 22d of August, N. S. The confederate forces having made a descent, attacked the fort of Montjuich, or Montjoy, and carried it on the 6th of September; but the Prince of Hesse was killed at the first attack. The city of Barcelona also surrendered on the 4th of October N. S. and the whole province of Catalonia, except Roses, immediately after declared for King CHARLES III. The following winter the Earl of Peterborough made a prodigious progress in Spain, considering the small force he had with him; for he took possession of the city of Valencia, and obliged that whole province to declare for the house of Austria. The Portuguese also were upon the offensive this year, and took some towns on the frontiers of Spain; but setting down before Badajoz were forced to raise the siege, and were afterwards handsomely banged by the French general, the Marshall Thesse. But the French and Spaniards being apprehensive of a general revolt in the kingdom of Spain, if the allies were suffered to remain in the quiet possession of Catalonia and Valencia, drew off most of their forces from the frontiers of Portugal, and on the third of April N. S. laid siege to the city of Barcelona, where King CHARLES III. commanded in person: King PHILIP also thought fit to command the French and Spanish troops which formed the siege in person: for on the fortune of this place it was generally thought at that time, the fate of the Spanish monarchy depended. There

CHAP.  
IV.The death  
of Leo-  
pold Em-  
peror of  
Germany.Joseph  
1705.Barcelona  
taken by  
the allies.Catalonia  
and Valen-  
cia declare  
for King  
Charles.1706.  
Barcelona  
besieged  
by King  
Philip.



CHAP.  
IV.

was not more than seven or eight hundred regular troops in Barcelona, when King PHILIP sat down before it; but the Earl of Peterborough found means to throw in three or four thousand men afterwards, who defended the place till the 8th of May N. S. when the confederate fleet, consisting of fifty men of war, besides frigates and transports, with a body of land-forces on board, arrived in the road of Barcelona, the fleet being commanded by Sir JOHN LEAKE, and the land-forces by the Earl of Peterborough; which put the French and Spaniards into such a consternation, that they precipitately raised the siege, and drew off their troops on the 12th of May early in the morning, leaving their artillery and ammunition, provision, and wounded men behind them, and marched directly for France with King PHILIP at the head of them: and what is very remarkable, there happened at the same time at nine in the morning almost a total eclipse of the sun, being the French King's device, for six minutes; from whence many of the superstitious took leave to conjecture, that the French, as well as the Spanish monarchy, would soon decline and become a prey to their enemies.

The siege  
raised.The allies  
take pos-  
session of  
Madrid.

The siege of Barcelona was no sooner raised, but the Portuguese and English Generals on that side took a resolution of advancing directly to Madrid; whereupon the Queen and court of Spain thought fit to retire to the confines of France, and the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway took possession of that capital on the 24th of June 1706; and on the 27th King CHARLES III. was proclaimed there: whereupon Toledo, and several other great towns made their submission. This success made the confederate generals at Madrid send express after express to King CHARLES III. to hasten his march to his capital city and join them with all the forces he could assemble; but the Kingdom of Arragon declaring for him at the same time, he marched to Saragossa, and trifled away so much time there in bull-fights and other amusements, that King PHILIP had time to draw together an army superior to that of the allies at Madrid, and obliged the confederates to quit that city; whereupon the towns of Toledo, Salamanca and other places in Castile, which had desired the protection of the allies, declared again for King PHILIP; and three or four days afterwards, when it was too late, King CHARLES joined the Portuguese at Guadalaxara with six or seven regiments. But the forces of the confederates, not being able to subsist in Castile for want of provisions, decamped about the ninth of September, and marched into Valencia, where they were joined by ten thousand men from England, who landed at Alicant, at least they were ten thousand when they embarked in England; but sickness and other accidents, destroyed above half of them before they entered upon action. On the eleventh of December this year died Don PEDRO King of Portugal, in the 58th year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son Don JUAN IV.

Battle of  
Ramillies.

Upon the Rhine there was very little action; and in Hungary a suspension of arms was agreed on this campaign between the Imperialists and the Malecontents: but in Flanders on the 12th of May O. S. that memorable battle was fought called the battle of Ramillies, between the Confederates under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, and the French and Bavarians commanded by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal VILLEROY, where-

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in the Allies gained a compleat victory, taking great part of the enemy's artillery and baggage, with very little loss on the side of the allies. Whereupon the cities of Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Oudenard, Bruges, Antwerp, and several other considerable cities in Flanders and Brabant, made their submission, and acknowledged King CHARLES III. for their sovereign. The Duke of Marlborough the same campaign besieged and made himself master of Ostend, Menin, Dendermond and Aeth.

In Italy also the confederates were very successful at the end of the campaign, though things had but a dark aspect on that side in the beginning of the year: for the Duke of Vendosme on the 19th of April defeated the Imperialists at Calcinato. On the 23d of May the French invested Turin, and pressed that city very hard; whereupon Prince EUGENE marched to the relief of it. On the 5th of August the French took the counterscarp of the citadel of Turin, and both town and castle were upon the point of being taken: but the Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE having joined their forces, attacked the French in their intrenchments before Turin on the 7th of September N. S. and having obtained a compleat victory, entered the city in triumph. Soon after the city of Milan and the greatest part of that duchy submitted to the Imperialists: and about the beginning of March following, a treaty was concluded between Prince EUGENE on the part of the Imperialists, and Prince VAUDEMONT on the part of France; whereby it was agreed, that the French should evacuate all they were possessed of in Italy, and be permitted to march home with the usual marks of honour. And thus ended the year 1706, the most glorious to the allies of any during the war, and which would infallibly have put an end to it, if there had been a good understanding between the English, Imperialists, and Portuguese in Spain; but while their Generals were disputing about command and precedence, most of the mighty advantages we had gained in that kingdom were lost, never to be retrieved again. We conquered great part of Spain indeed afterwards; but the indolent conduct of some who were principally concerned, had so disgusted the Spaniards, that they would never be reconciled to the allies afterwards.

Battle of  
Turin.The  
French e-  
vacuate I-  
taly.

The first considerable action which happened in the year 1707, was the battle of Almanza, where the French, under the command of the Duke of Berwick, entirely routed the army of the allies commanded by the Marquis Das Minas and the Earl of Galway. The Portuguese horse, it seems, abandoned the foot at the first charge, which occasioned most of the English and Dutch infantry to be cut in pieces: while the horse with their two generals made their retreat into Catalonia, leaving the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon, which had so readily declared for the allies, to the mercy of their enraged King, who made them pay very largely for their revolt, and deprived them of their ancient privileges. Nor are the barbarities and insults which the miserable inhabitants suffered on this occasion from the conquerors to be expressed; particularly in the cities of Valencia, Saragossa, Requena, Xativa and Alcyra, which upon the loss of the battle of Almanza were obliged to submit to King PHILIP's forces: and on the 30th of September following the Duke of Orleans took the city of Lerida by storm. The principal occasion of all which misfortunes, if we may depend upon the resolutions of the Com-

1707.  
Battle of  
Almanza.

10 E

mons



CHAP.  
IV.Enterprize  
against  
Thoulon.The Im-  
perialists  
possess  
themselves  
of Naples.

mons of England, was, That of near thirty thousand English forces provided for the service of Spain and Portugal, there were but eight thousand and some odd hundreds there at the battle of Almanza. But what contributed further towards the misfortune of the allies in Spain, was a romantick project of the Duke of Savoy's, (in which revenge had a greater share than prudence) for the taking of Thoulon, in which expedition was employed the grand fleet of England, and upwards of forty thousand men by land, which attempt came to nothing, neither was there any probability it should; whereas, if half that force had been sent to Spain on the conclusion of the war in Italy, that kingdom had been secured to King CHARLES III.

In the mean time Count THAUN, with fifteen thousand Imperialists, entered the kingdom of Naples without opposition. The city of Naples submitted on the 6th of July to King CHARLES III. without striking a stroke: And on the 16th the castles of Naples surrendered. Count THAUN on the 29th of September following took Gaieta by storm, and in it the Duke de Escalona, Viceroy of Naples for King PHILIP, with all the nobility in that interest, whereby the kingdom of Naples was entirely reduced to the obedience of King CHARLES.

In Flanders there happened little or no action this campaign; and upon the Rhine the allies seemed to be asleep, while Marshal Villars, who commanded the French on that side, forced the lines of Buhl, possessed himself of Raftat, and afterwards laid under contribution the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, the Electorate of Mentz, the Landgravate of Darmstadt, the Palatinate of the Rhine, and several other German Principalities: and to finish the misfortunes of this fatal year 1707, Admiral SHOVEL on his return from the Mediterranean with the grand fleet, on the 22d of October split upon a rock near the land's end of England, and was lost with all his hands on board, to the number of near one thousand, two or three other men of war in the fleet running the same fate. And much about the same time four English men of war, and a rich fleet of merchant ships were taken off the Lizard by a French squadron from Brest. We begun this year, it is true, with a thanksgiving for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland: but some people observe, that the allies had but very few real occasions of singing Te Deum afterwards, during the course of the war, besides the defeating the Pretender's design against Scotland, who in the beginning of March 1707-8, sailed from Dunkirk to the Frith of Edinburgh with a squadron of French men of war, and a body of land-forces on board; and was driven from thence on the 13th of the same month by the English fleet commanded by Sir GEORGE BYNG, who took the Salisbury, on board of which ship, it is said, the Pretender dined the same day.

1708.

The Imperial General Count STAREMBERG was sent into Spain in the beginning of the year 1708, to command the German forces in that kingdom; and soon after Major-General STANHOPE was dispatched to Barcelona to command the English there; and Sir JOHN LEAKE convoyed six or eight thousand men from Italy to Spain to re-inforce King CHARLES. The Admiral also brought over to Barcelona at the same time the Princess of Wolfenbuttle, the present Empress, who was contracted to King CHARLES; and in this city the marriage was consummated: and

whether, according to the Jewish law, his Majesty thought it improper to go into the wars the first year after his espousals, I shall not take upon me to resolve; but certain it is, this was a very unactive campaign in Catalonia. Admiral LEAKE indeed, after his setting the Queen of Spain on shore, failed to Cagliari, the capital of the island of Sardinia; and the inhabitants both of city and country declared for King CHARLES III. with very little persuasion. The island of Minorca, in which is the commodious harbour of Port Mahon, was also soon after reduced to the obedience of King CHARLES by the confederate fleet. The young King of Portugal being at the same time taken up with a marriage-treaty, and celebrating his nuptials with the Arch-Duchess MARY-ANNE of Austria, who was convoyed to Lisbon by Sir GEORGE BYNG, little was done this campaign on the side of Portugal.

The three colleges of the Empire determined to admit the Elector of Hanover to sit and vote in the electoral college on the 30th of June, 1708. which had been opposed for sixteen years: whereupon his Electoral Highness was prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the Imperial troops upon the Rhine; but it happened to be a campaign of very little action.

In Flanders the French surprized the cities of Ghent and Bruges about the beginning of July, and afterwards invested Oudenard; the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the Chevalier St. George being in the field in person, they were attacked by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince EUGENE, while they lay before this town, and their troops being defeated, were forced to raise the siege, and retire to Ghent. The Duke of Marlborough afterwards levelled the French lines between Ipres and the Lys, putting Artois and Picardy under contribution. On the other hand, the French laid Dutch Flanders under contribution. And on the 13th of August, Prince EUGENE of Savoy laid siege to the city of Lille, the capital of French Flanders, while the Duke of Marlborough with the grand army covered the siege. This is one of the strongest fortresses in the world; and was defended by one and twenty battalions of foot, and several regiments of horse, commanded by the Marshal Boufflers. The allies attacked the counterescarp on the seventh of September, and carried it after an obstinate defence, wherein they lost two thousand men, and sixteen of their engineers. At another attack the allies lost a thousand men, and Prince EUGENE was wounded by a musket-ball, which grazed upon his skull; and being thereby confined to his tent, the Duke of Marlborough took upon him the command of the siege. The French, to distress the besiegers the more, cut off their communication with all their garisons, except Ostend: from whence General WEBB marching with a great convoy of provisions towards Lille, on the 28th of September, was attacked at Winnendale by twenty-four thousand French, commanded by General de la Mothe; but the French were defeated, and the convoy arrived safe at Lille: by which General WEBB obtained abundance of honour, the enemy being treble his number, and furnished with a train of artillery, whereas he had not a field-piece with him. The town of Lille surrendered on the 23d of October following, the garison retiring into the castle, except the horse, who were permitted to march away; and it was the 9th of December before the castle surrendered: in the siege whereof,

CHAP.  
IV.Sardinia  
and Mi-  
norca re-  
duced  
by the al-  
lies.The siege  
of Lille.



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and of the town, the allies did not lose less than twelve or fourteen thousand men by the sword, besides what they lost by sickness or other accidents. While the allies were at the siege of the castle, the Duke of Bavaria attacked Brussels, but was forced to rise from before it on the approach of the Duke of Marlborough: who afterwards invested Ghent on the 18th of December, and the town surrendered the 30th. The next day the French quitted Bruges, and all the other towns they had taken in Spanish Flanders. And thus ended this long campaign of 1708, in a cold and rigorous season, in which great numbers of men and horses must have perished, if Ghent had not surrendered so suddenly, beyond all expectation, there being a garison of near twenty thousand men in that place.

1709.  
Offers of  
peace.Tournay  
taken.Battle of  
Malplaquet.

The year 1709 begun very pacifically, the French offering by way of preliminaries, to acknowledge King CHARLES III. King of Spain; and to yield up all the Spanish dominions to the house of Austria, to resign Strasburg, Brisac, &c. to the Emperor; to acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain, and demolish Dunkirk, and relinquish Lisle, and all other places the allies had taken in the Netherlands: but after all these things were agreed on, the French plenipotentiaries refused to sign the articles; whereupon the treaty broke off the latter end of May, and both sides prepared again for war. And the allies, having assembled their forces, invested Tournay the 27th of June; the town surrendering the 30th of July, and the citadel the 3d of September following. This place cost the confederates a world of men, being one of the finest fortifications in the Netherlands, and undermined in almost every part where it was to be approached. On the eleventh of September following was fought the battle of Malplaquet, or Blaregnies, near Mons, between the allies, commanded by Prince EUGENE of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough on one side, and the French, under the command of the Marshals Villars and Boufflers on the other; each army consisting of an hundred thousand men and more, the finest troops in the world. The French had posted themselves very advantageously in the woods of Sart and Janfart, where they cut down trees, and rendered the attack exceeding difficult. In other places they were covered by a triple entrenchment, and all the intervals planted with artillery, which made it several hours before the confederates could make any impression upon them. At length the intrenchments were forced, after it had cost the allies near twenty thousand men: but the French retired in good order, the confederate forces being in no condition to pursue them far. The following winter the French being distressed by famine, as well as by the arms of the confederates, made fresh overtures of peace, wherein the French King agreed to all the preliminary articles above recited, but the assisting to dethrone his grandson with his own troops; and in lieu of it, offered to contribute a sum of money towards it, if he refused to submit to the abovesaid conditions: but the terms were rejected. The last place of treaty was at Gertrudenburg; where such was our confidence in our good friends the Dutch, that we intrusted them entirely with our interests, and had not a minister amongst them. The Dutch treated with the French plenipotentiaries, exclusive of the ministers of the other allies: and their High Mightinesses were so exceeding stiff, that this treaty too came to nothing.

On the side of Portugal the allies were unsuccessful this year; for the Marquis de Bay, who commanded King PHILIP's forces, obtained a victory over the allies on the banks of the river Caya, and made one entire brigade of English prisoners. On the other hand, the allies made themselves masters of Balaguer in Catalonia; but there happened no other considerable action in Spain.

The Pope having refused to acknowledge CHARLES III. King of Spain, or grant him the investiture of Naples, the Imperial Generals possessed themselves of Comachio, and several other places belonging to the see of Rome; but his Holiness having considered better of it, consented to acknowledge that Prince Sovereign of the Spanish dominions.

The King of Sweden having been some time engaged in a war with the King of Poland, and laid his Electorate of Saxony under contribution, and threatened other parts of the Empire, which occasioned some troops to be withdrawn from Flanders, the confederates entered into a treaty in the beginning of the year 1710, for preserving the peace of the Empire; whereby each of the contracting powers were to furnish a certain number of troops, and form an army to oppose those who should disturb the peace of the Empire for the future.

In Flanders the allies took several towns from the French this year, particularly Mortaign, Doway, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant, before which places they lost abundance of men. The confederates had no sooner taken one fortress, but another rose up at a very small distance in the room of it; and at this rate the war might have lasted forty years, if the English would have found money to have supported it: it having been long since observed, that the attacking France on the side of Flanders, is like the taking a bull by the horns, or battering it where it is most impregnable; when at the same time the adding ten or fifteen thousand men to the army in Spain, would soon have reduced that kingdom, and put an end to the war at once; as will evidently appear by the swift progress the arms of the allies made in Spain this campaign, which they were forced to abandon as suddenly for want of being timely supported.

The confederates attacked King PHILIP, who commanded his army in person, near Almenara, in Catalonia, on the 27th of July, and put his cavalry to the rout; but it being late in the evening when the action began, his foot retired by the favour of the night under the cannon of Lerida; and from thence King PHILIP retreated to Saragossa, being closely pursued by the allies. On the twentieth of August following, the two rival Kings, CHARLES and PHILIP, came to a general battle, near the city of Saragossa; wherein King CHARLES obtained a complete victory, and King PHILIP retired into France by the way of Navarre. The city of Saragossa hereupon opened her gates to the conqueror, who made his triumphant entry into the town the same night; where having staid about a week to refresh his troops, the army continued its march to Madrid; of which capital King CHARLES took possession again on the 21st of September: but all the Grantees were retired from thence, that they might not be put under a necessity of declaring for either party, before they saw the success of the war. In this situation King CHARLES pressed the army of the allies on the side of Portugal to join him; but they could not be prevailed on to move that way; and King PHILIP having assembled a superior army

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1710.

Battle of  
Saragossa.K. Charles  
takes pos-  
session of  
Madrid a-  
gain.



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army to that of the confederates at Madrid, King CHARLES took a resolution of returning to Catalonia, which he did soon after with a thousand horse, leaving the army to follow him at leisure.

The English forces taken prisoners in Brihuega.

The army of the allies in their march from Castile, for the conveniency of subsisting their troops, or upon some misunderstanding between the Generals, was divided into two bodies; the Germans and Portuguese, commanded by Count STAREMBERG, took one road; and the English, under General STANHOPE, another. The English General thought fit to halt with his body, consisting of eight battalions and as many squadrons at the town of Brihuega; where he was surprized December the 9th by King PHILIP and his whole army, which surrounded the place: the English defended themselves here till the 10th in the morning; when all their ammunition being spent, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. General STAREMBERG receiving advice of the distress the English in Brihuega were reduced to, marched with all diligence to their relief; but was prevented by King PHILIP, who gave him battle at Villa Viciosa, about a league from Brihuega, within a few hours after General STANHOPE had surrendered. In this battle STAREMBERG gave great proof of his military skill by defeating the Spaniards, though he was not half their number; but understanding that the English in Brihuega had been made prisoners the morning before, he continued his march towards Arragon; and having withdrawn the confederate troops out of the garison towns in that Kingdom, he marched to join King CHARLES in Catalonia; who was not able to prevent the taking of Gironne by the French the same winter. And thus this unhappy year 1710, which begun with so much glory, ended with the utmost disgrace to the allies: which happened rather from a misunderstanding between their ministers and generals, and a fondness in some people to have the war prolonged, than through the want of forces or treasure, to have established what had been so well begun.

1711.

The Emperor Joseph dies.

The year 1711 was fatal to some of the greatest Princes of Europe; for on the 14th of April, N. S. died LEWIS, Dauphin of France, of the small-pox, in the fiftieth year of his age, being succeeded in that honour by his eldest son LEWIS, Duke of Burgundy. And on the 20th of the same month of April, died JOSEPH, late Emperor of Germany, of the same distemper. Upon this last great event the allies used their utmost efforts to have CHARLES III. King of Spain, the only surviving brother of the late Emperor, elected in his room; and by their consent Prince EUGENE detached fifty squadrons of horse and twelve battalions of foot from the grand army in Flanders, to reinforce the Imperialists on the Rhine, and frustrate the designs of the French, who were endeavouring to penetrate into Germany again; in order to influence the Electors, and prevent the advancement of King CHARLES to the Imperial throne. And on the 27th of September King CHARLES was convoyed by the confederate fleet to Vado in Italy, where he arrived the 7th of October; and from thence went to Milan, where while he resided he was chosen Emperor; namely, on the 12th of the same month of October. Here the new Emperor receiving advice that proposals of peace had been offered to the allies on the part of France, he wrote to the Princes of the Empire and to the Dutch, to dissuade them from accepting those proposals, or entering into any treaty with France,

King Charles elected Emperor.

without some further concessions; which he assured them he would not agree to himself, be the consequence what it would. Her British Majesty, on the contrary, notified to the allies, that she had pitched upon Utrecht for the place of treaty; and that the conferences would begin there on the first of January, O. S. and invited them to send their ministers thither. Whereupon Prince EUGENE was dispatched into England by the Emperor, to dissuade the Queen from treating with France. But her ministry represented to him, that the expences of Britain, which in the beginning of the war did not amount to four millions per ann. were now increased to near seven millions, by her being obliged to supply the annual deficiencies of the allies. That the States General were frequently deficient two thirds of the quota of shipping they had stipulated to provide; which not only increased the charge of the English, but was the occasion of great damages to the royal navy, and the ruin of the English merchants, whose ships were destroyed for want of convoys; the English men of war being employed in services which ought to have been performed by the States. That the Dutch also had been deficient in the Netherlands upwards of twenty thousand men of their quota of troops; and that the whole burthen of the war almost in Spain and Portugal had of late been thrown upon the English; the Dutch every year lessening the number of their troops in those countries: and the Emperor, who was most nearly concerned in the event of that war, had no troops at all in his pay there till the last year of the war, and then but one single regiment. On the contrary, Britain did not only maintain sixty thousand land-men in the Spanish war, but the charges of the shipping only employed in that service, amounted to eight millions sterling; and that Britain had expended in this war, above it's quota, at least nineteen millions of money. That the greater our success had been, the heavier had been the burthen on the part of Britain; and while new dominions were daily conquered for the allies, they continually abated their share of the expence. Nor could it be expected those allies should ever be weary of enlarging their territories at the charge of Britain, especially when even the revenues of the conquered countries were not applied to the carrying on the war. That though Britain had born as great a share in the war as all the confederates besides, she was to reap no advantage by it: on the contrary, the late acquisitions of the Dutch might prove destructive to our trade. The putting Newport, and other places in Flanders into their hands, rendered the British trade thither precarious; and the strength of that country, which Britain had contributed so largely to reduce, might hereafter be employed against Britain itself.

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IV.  
A treaty of peace proposed.

The first general conference on the subject of peace was held between the plenipotentiaries of Britain, France, and the States General at Utrecht, on the 29th of January, new stile, anno 1711-12; and the British ministry not being to be diverted from proceeding in it by any promises Prince EUGENE could make, that the Empire would for the future contribute more to the expences of the war than they had done, the Prince had his audience of leave of her Majesty; when to express the value she had for his personal merit, she presented him with a sword enriched with diamonds, of the value of five thousand pounds.

But





*Charles VI. the Present Emperor of Germany*







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But notwithstanding the Queen of Great Britain was not averse to a treaty of peace, she did not yet slacken the preparations for war: and the Duke of Marlborough, passing the French lines at Arleux and Bac-a-Bacheul, on the fifth of August new stile, invested the town of Bouchain the 12th, which surrendered to the allies the 13th of September following, the garison being made prisoners of war. On the Rhine there was little or no action this campaign, any more than in Spain. And in Hungary a treaty of pacification was concluded between the Imperial ministers and the malecontents; whereby the malecontents being pardoned, agreed to disband their forces, and deliver up the fortresses in their possession, after they had continued in a state of rebellion for nine years together.

1712.

The Duke of Ormond having the command of the British forces in Flanders, in the year 1712, declared to the allies, that there being a near prospect of peace, her Majesty had given him orders not to act offensively: however, at the pressing instances of the allies, she did afterwards consent to the besieging of Quesnoy, which surrendered the fourth of July; and on the seventh of the same month, the French King voluntarily surrendered Dunkirk to the British troops. About which time the British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and the Duke of Ormond, General of the British troops, proposed a cessation of arms to the allies, which was rejected by them: on the contrary, Prince EUGENE, the Imperial General, with the German and Dutch troops, separated from the Duke of Ormond, inviting the mercenaries in British pay to follow them, which most of them did. And the next day, being the 17th of July, Prince EUGENE laid siege to Landrecy. Hereupon the Duke of Ormond caused a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France to be proclaimed in his camp, as Marshal Villars did in the French camp the same day. After which the Duke of Ormond, with the British forces under his command, marching towards Dunkirk, was denied entrance into Bouchain and Doway by the Dutch garisons, notwithstanding the British hospital was in Doway: whereupon the Duke bent his march towards Ghent, of which city, as well as Bruges, he took possession the 23d of July, N. S. and detached six battalions to re-inforce the English garison in Dunkirk. On the twenty-fourth of the same month, the allies under Prince EUGENE met with a misfortune, which could not but make them sensible of the rashness in insulting the Duke of Ormond, and separating their forces from those of Britain: for the Earl of Albemarle, being encamped with thirteen battalions and thirty squadrons at Denain, to secure the communication of Prince EUGENE's army (which lay before Landrecy) with Marchiennes, where was the grand magazine of the confederates, was attacked by Marshal Villars, and defeated, and himself made prisoner; Count DRONA, Lieutenant-General and Governor of Mons, was drowned in the Scheld; Count NASSAU with three thousand officers and soldiers were killed and wounded, and as many made prisoners; and a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions, besides twelve pieces of cannon, were taken by the French: and about a week after, Marchiennes itself surrendered to them, the garison consisting of between four and five thousand men being made prisoners of war: in the place also was found three hundred thousand weight of powder, an hundred pieces of

A cessation of arms between Great Britain and France.

cannon, three hundred waggons, a vast quantity of bombs, granadoes, bullets, corn, meal, bacon, wine, brandy, and all kinds of provision and tools necessary for making two sieges, besides great numbers of horses. Upon which misfortune Prince EUGENE thought fit to raise the siege of Landrecy the second of August.

And now the French being in their turn masters of the field, invested Doway on the 14th of August, which surrendered the 8th of September following, the garison being made prisoners of war. The same day Quesnoy was invested by the French, and surrendered the 4th of October, the garison also being made prisoners of war; which, according to the French account, compleated the number of forty battalions of the allies they had destroyed or made prisoners, since the defeat at Denain. The Dutch still refusing to come into the cessation of arms, Marshal Villars sat down before Bouchain on the 10th of October, which place surrendered the 19th, the garison remaining prisoners at discretion. But I should have remembered that Portugal was before-hand with all the allies in treating secretly with France: and on the fifth of November a suspension of arms was signed for four months between France and Spain on the one side, and Portugal on the other. Brigadier PIERCE also, Commander of the British troops in Catalonia, having notified to Count STAREMBERG, that a cessation of arms had been agreed upon between Great Britain and France, declared that he must separate his forces from him; and on the 15th of November the British forces in Catalonia were embarked for Port Mahon, where the Duke of Argyle at that time commanded. His Grace upon their arrival caused the Emperor's colours to be taken down, and the English colours to be hoisted in the several castles and forts in the island of Minorca: and the Emperor's governor in the island refusing to take the oaths to her British Majesty, had leave to retire to Barcelona: but the rest of the magistrates there took an oath of fidelity to the Queen.

The States General, finding the allies in no condition to oppose the arms of France without the assistance of Great Britain, agreed to come into the plan of peace proposed to them by the Earl of Strafford on the part of Britain, and conclude, and sign the peace jointly, and at the same time with the British ministers. But before the conclusion of the general peace a new treaty of guaranty for the Protestant succession in Britain, and the Barrier of the States General, was signed on the 30th of January, 1712-13. By which treaty it was agreed, that the Dutch should put garisons in the towns and forts of Furnes, fort Knocque, Ipres, Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, the town and castle of Namur, the castle of Ghent, the ports Le Perle, Philip and Damme, and the fort of St. Donat. The fortifications of all which places, with the garisons therein, to be maintained out of the revenues arising in the countries about them; so that the Dutch were to be at no expence in maintaining those garisons.

Barrier treaty.

And it was further agreed, that Britain, when required by the Dutch, should send ten thousand foot, and twenty men of war to their assistance, at the charge of Britain, to maintain the aforesaid Barrier: and on the other side, the Dutch should send six thousand foot and twenty men of war to the assistance of Britain when required, at the expence of the States, to support the Protestant suc-



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IV.Treaty  
for the  
evacua-  
tion of  
Catalonia.

cession: but if the danger on either side should be great and imminent, either party should assist the other with their whole force.

The Imperial and French ministers on the 14th of March following concluded a treaty for the evacuating Catalonia, Majorca and Ivica by the Imperialists, and for the neutrality of Italy. By the first article whereof it was agreed, that there should be a suspension of arms in Catalonia till the Empress and the Court then residing there, and other persons who were disposed to follow it, whether military or not, Spaniards or others, should with their effects, and the Imperial forces, be entirely departed from Spain and arrived in Italy, upon condition they delivered up the places possessed by them.

And by the eighth article it was agreed, that as soon as the said evacuation should be begun, there should be granted to all the subjects and inhabitants of Catalonia, and the said Islands, a general amnesty and perpetual oblivion for all that had been done by them during the war; and no trouble should be given on those accounts to the Catalans, or inhabitants of the said isles: but as to the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, this was referred to be discussed at the treaty for a general peace. And by the eleventh article it is agreed, that there shall be an entire suspension of arms throughout Italy, and the islands of the Mediterranean, respectively possessed by the parties engaged in war, as in all the territories of his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, situate as well on this side as on the other side the Alps.

In pursuance of the abovesaid convention for the evacuation of Catalonia, the Empress embarked at Barcelona about the beginning of March 1712-13, and was convoyed to Vado in Italy by the British fleet.

The year 1713 was more remarkable for negotiations of peace than warlike enterprizes; for on the 31st of March O. S. or the 11th of April N. S. the respective treaties of peace between Great Britain, Prussia, Portugal, the States General and Savoy on the one part; and the French King on the other, were executed at Utrecht: Count Zinzendorf the Imperial Minister protesting against it, declaring, that he conceived the Emperor and Empire had great injustice done them; for that the Emperor's Imperial dignity was not by the preliminary articles to be acknowledged till after the signing the peace. 2. Because that expression in them, that the Rhine shall serve as a boundary between France and the Empire, is very captious and ambiguous, there being many considerable places and countries belonging to the Empire on the French side the Rhine. 3. Because France insists on the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria, with some other demands of importance. For which reasons the Emperor and Empire determined to continue the war against France alone, till they could obtain better terms.

By the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, it was stipulated, that the acts of settlement made by the British parliament, for the security of the Protestant succession, should be thereby confirmed and enforced: that the crowns of France and Spain should remain for ever separate, Dunkirk be demolished, the British plantations in America in possession of France be restored, and a just and reasonable satisfaction given to all the allies.

By the treaty with the States General, France consented to yield up the town and dutchy of

Luxemburg, the towns of Namur, Charleroy, CHAP.  
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Menin, Tournay, Furnes, Fort Knocque, Loo, Dixmude, Ipres, and some other places for a barrier to the States; and the Dutch on the other hand, agreed to yield up Lille, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant.

By the treaty between France and Savoy, Sicily was yielded to the Duke of Savoy, a sufficient barrier was given him on the side of France; and the crown of Spain was limited to the said Duke on failure of issue of King PHILIP.

The war still continuing between the Empire and France, the French invested Landau on the 12th of June, which held out till the 20th of August, when the garison surrendered, and were made prisoners of war. On the 30th of September the French laid siege to Friburgh, which they made themselves masters of on the 1st of November, and on the 16th of the same month the castle surrendered: which successes induced the Imperialists the following winter to enter into a treaty with France, which was managed by Prince EUGENE of Savoy, on the one side, and Marshal Villars on the other, at the castle of Raftadt.

COUNT STAREMBERG having evacuated Catalonia with the Imperial troops on the 9th of July, according to the abovementioned convention, the Catalans immediately took possession of Barcelona, and declared war against King PHILIP, rejecting the indemnity the Queen of Great Britain had procured for them; and on the 13th of the same month of July, a treaty of peace was signed between Great Britain and Spain; whereby the Queen's title, and the Protestant succession in Britain were agreed to; Gibraltar, Minorca and Port Mahon yielded to Britain, with the benefit of the Assiento trade, or the furnishing the Spanish dominions in America with negroes; and by it the Catalans were not only indemnified for opposing King PHILIP, but their honours and estates, together with the privileges of the inhabitants of both Castiles were granted them, and the cession of Sicily was confirmed to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King of that island.

The Catalans continuing deaf to all offers of accommodation, King PHILIP's forces plundered and ravaged their country in a terrible manner; whereupon the Catalans declared themselves a free independent State; granted commissions for raising soldiers in their own name; and took upon them to coin money with the arms of that province stamped upon it.

At the close of this year, viz. on the 6th of March N. S. 1713-14, a treaty of peace was concluded at Raftadt, between the Emperor and France: whereby it was agreed, that the treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen. and Ryfwick, should be the basis and foundation of the present treaty; and particularly, that the French should restore to the Emperor the town and fortrefs of Old Brisack, the town and fortrefs of Friburgh, the forts of St. Peter, and of the Star; and all other forts in the Black Forest and Brisgau, with the fort of Kehl and it's dependancies; the fort of Pile, and others erected in the islands of the Rhine near Strasburgh, were to be demolished, the navigation and use of the said river to remain free and open to the subjects of either side, and no new tolls to be laid on goods passing along the said river by either party. The French King also agreed, that the fortifications over against Hunninghen, on the right side the Rhine, and the island therein should be demolished; and in general, all the forts, intrenchments,

1713.  
Peace be-  
tween the  
allies and  
France.Treaty  
between  
the Em-  
peror and  
France.



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trenchments, lines, and bridges specified in the treaty of Ryfwick, and such as have been erected since, either along the Rhine, or in the Rhine, or elsewhere in the Empire, and it's dependancies, which it should not be lawful to re-establish. The French King also agreed to evacuate the castles of Bitche and Homburgh, and to cause the fortifications thereof to be demolished. On the other hand, his Imperial Majesty agreed, that the city of Landau and it's dependancies should remain to the most Christian King : that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne be restored to all their dominions, prerogatives, &c. And the French agreed, that the Emperor should enjoy the Spanish Netherlands, saving the barrier towns there granted to the States General : that the King of Prussia should keep all he was possessed of in the upper quarter of Guelderland, particularly the town of Guelder, &c. which was confirmed to that Prince in lieu of his pretensions to the principality of Orange in France.

1714.

Death of  
the Queen  
of Eng-  
land, &c.

The year 1714 was fatal to several great persons, as 1. to CHARLES Duke of Berry, youngest son of the late Dauphin of France, and grandson to LEWIS XIV. who died at Marli on the 4th of May, in the 28th year of his age. 2. The Princess SOPHIA, Electress and Dutchess dowager of Hanover, who died on the 8th of June N. S. in the 84th year of her age. And 3. ANNE, Queen of Great Britain, who died on the first of August, in the 50th year of her age ; being succeeded by GEORGE Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, who arrived at London on the 20th of September, and was crowned the 20th of October following.

Barcelona  
taken.

The Duke of Berwick, with an army composed of French and Spanish troops, laid siege to Barcelona on the 12th of July, this year ; the citizens defending themselves with great obstinacy till the eleventh of September following, when they retired into the new city, and beat a parley ; and on the 12th they surrendered on condition their lives should be spared, and the city should not be plundered. As to the Emperor, who encouraged the poor Catalans to stand out to the last extremity, and not accept of any terms, promising to send them reinforcements from time to time, he neither sent them any assistance, or took any notice of them in the treaty of peace between the Emperor and France, or in the treaty between the Empire and France, which was concluded at Baden the 7th of September N. S. and contains nothing material but what was stipulated in the treaty of Rastadt.

Treaty  
between  
the Em-  
pire and  
France.

A treaty was also concluded on the sixth of February this year between Spain and Portugal ; so that all the nations of Europe were now in peace : but this calm lasted a very little while, for the Turks declared war against the republick of Venice on the 7th of December 1714.

1715.

The  
Turks  
conquer  
the Mo-  
reæ.

In the year 1715, the Turks made themselves entire masters of the Morea, meeting with very little opposition there : and this swift progress of the Ottoman arms obliged the Emperor to enter into a confederacy with the Venetians for their mutual defence. The peace of Great Britain was also disturbed this year by a civil war : the Earl of Marr retiring in disgust from court, assembled the friends of the Pretender in Scotland about the middle of August ; and proclaimed him King by the name of JAMES VIII. and Mr. FOSTER, who had accepted the post of General for the Pretender in England, assembled the malecontents in the north of England ; and caused the Pretender

to be proclaimed in Northumberland in October following : but being afterwards surrounded by King GEORGE's forces in Preston, General FOSTER and his adherents were most of them made prisoners of war. The same day the Earl of Marr attacked King GEORGE's troops near Dumblain ; but it was a kind of drawn battle, neither side having great reason to boast of their success. On the 25th of December the Pretender landed in Scotland near Aberdeen, with some few officers and gentlemen ; but it was now too late, the Dutch having before sent over five or six thousand men to the assistance of King GEORGE ; and the malecontents having no regular troops in their service, the Pretender and the Earl of Marr seeing no probability of success, dispersed their troops, and transported themselves into France. What disheartened the malecontents more than any thing, was the death of the French King LEWIS XIV. who died on the first of September N. S. and the Duke of Orleans being declared Regent of France, who betrayed all their counsels to the British court.

Hostilities having been begun between the German and Ottoman Empires in the beginning of the year 1716, Prince EUGENE on the fifth of August attacked the Turkish army, consisting of near two hundred thousand men, entrenched near Carlowitz : and though the Turks defended themselves well at the beginning of the action, they were at length routed, and a dreadful slaughter made of them ; the Imperialists making themselves masters of all their cannon, tents, baggage and ammunition, the military chest, with five millions of florins coined, and the Grand Vizier's pavillion, in which were found jewels and treasure to the value of three hundred thousand florins more ; two hundred of his women were also taken, from fourteen to twenty six years of age. After this victory Prince EUGENE marched to invest Temeswaer ; before which place the trenches were opened on the first of September, and the town surrendered on the 14th of October following, having been in the possession of the Turks for an hundred and sixty-four years.

1719.  
War be-  
tween the  
Empire  
and  
Turkey.

The Imperialists the following year invested the city of Belgrade on the 18th of June 1717 ; and the Turks coming to the relief of it on the 16th of August, Prince EUGENE of Savoy engaged them, and obtained a complete victory : whereupon the town surrendered two days afterwards ; but Prince EUGENE made no further advantage of his victory this year. PHILIP King of Spain having augmented his navy, as well as his land-forces this year, proposed to himself the making a conquest of Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy, which had been dismembered from that crown by the last peace ; and accordingly the Marquis de Lede, the Spanish General, made a descent in the island of Sardinia, and reduced that country to the obedience of King PHILIP.

1717.  
Belgrade  
taken by  
the Impe-  
rialists.

In the beginning of July the year following, the Marquis de Lede landed in Sicily with sixteen or seventeen thousand men, and was well received by most of the towns in that island : who set open their gates and voluntarily offered to submit to King PHILIP. Whereupon a confederacy was entered into between the Emperor, Britain, and the King of Sicily against Spain ; and the Dutch afterwards coming into it, this treaty was called the Quadruple Alliance, the chief design whereof, was to confirm the partition of the Spanish monarchy. In pursuance whereof, Sir GEORGE

1718.  
A new  
war with  
Spain.



CHAP. IV. BYNG being sent into the Streights with a squadron of British men of war, fell upon the Spanish fleet near Syracuse in Sicily, and took and destroyed about sixteen of their ships of war. In the mean time the Emperor having signed a treaty of peace, or truce for twenty-four years with the Turks, was at leisure to attend the war with Spain in Sicily.

1719. The French also assembled an army in the beginning of the year 1719, and invaded Spain by land: on the 13th of April they took Port Pafage, where they burnt six Spanish men of war, which were almost finished, upon the stocks. The French Generals afterwards besieged Fontarabia, which surrendered the sixteenth of June, as did St. Sebastian the first of August following, the whole province of Guipuscoa submitting to the crown of France. On the 29th of August the Lord Cobham with six thousand British troops made a descent near Vigo in Spain, and took the town and castle, but quitted them again the 25th of October. In the mean time the Imperialists, by the assistance of the British fleet, transported an army into Sicily; and having taken the town of Messina, the castle surrendered to them the 19th of October. King PHILIP finding himself thus pressed by a potent confederacy, thought it time to hearken to proposals of accommodation. But I should have remembered, that Spain in order to make a diversion, and distract the allies this summer, sent the Earl of Seaforth with three hundred Spaniards to Scotland, who having joined four thousand Highlanders on the tenth of June, engaged General WIGHTMAN, but they were defeated, and most of the Spaniards made prisoners.

1720. On the sixth of May 1720, N. S. a convention for a suspension of arms, and for the evacuation of Sicily by the Spaniards, was signed by the Imperial and Spanish Generals, and on the next day a convention for the evacuation of Sardinia.

1721. And in the following year the renunciations of the Emperor and King of Spain, of such part of the Spanish Monarchy as each of them were to give up, were executed; by which Sicily was surrendered to the Emperor, and Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King of that island: and thus peace was once more restored to Europe; some few matters only being left to be decided in a congress at Cambray by the ministers of the respective powers concerned.

Peace concluded.

1722. The Emperor having no male issue, summoned a general diet of the states of the kingdom of Hungary to meet at Presburg on the 20th of June 1722, where he procured an act to pass for settling the succession of the crown of Hungary on the female line of the house of Austria: acknowledging for successors to that crown the Archduchesses, his Imperial Majesty's daughters, and all the females of the house of Austria, with their descendants, in failure of male issue, according to the order of primogeniture, in the manner established in all other kingdoms and territories belonging to his Imperial Majesty, and his most august house; determining to remain for ever indissolubly united with his Imperial Majesty's other dominions; so that the same may for ever hereafter be governed by one head. And it is said, the Protestants who were members of the states, contributed very much to the resolution that was taken for the settling the succession, having had great assurances given them that the affairs of religion should be settled to their satisfaction.

The crown of Hungary settled on the females of the house of Austria.

It was looked upon to be very ominous to the Imperial family, that on the 6th of August in the evening in the inward court of the palace of the Favorita, next to the Emperor's apartment, so great a number of grass-hoppers, or rather locusts, lodged themselves, that it was the work of a whole night and the next day to clear the court of them; but the two outer courts of the palace had none in them: I do not find however, that any great misfortune hath happened to the Emperor since, according to the wife prognostications of the superstitious, unless the want of male issue is to be accounted such.

CHAP. IV.

The beginning of the year 1723, was fatal to the famous town of Buda in Hungary, most part of the city being burnt to the ground, and part of the walls and fortifications destroyed by the blowing up the magazines on Easter Sunday.

1723.

The Emperor having erected a company of merchants at Offend to trade to the East-Indies, the West-Indies, and the coast of Africa by his grant, bearing date the day of December 1722, the Dutch presented memorial after memorial to the Imperial court, in hopes of getting the grant retracted; insisting that it was contrary to the treaty of Munster, and other treaties, that the inhabitants of the Aultrian, formerly the Spanish, Netherlands should trade to the East-Indies; and seemed to charge the Emperor with ingratitude, by encroaching on their trade when they had done him so many signal services in the late war, conquering whole kingdoms and provinces for him at a great expence of blood and treasure.

The Dutch memorial against the Offend company.

This year the Emperor published an edict in favour of the Hungarian Protestants, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and their ancient privileges. On the 5th of September his Imperial Majesty was crowned King of Bohemia at Prague, and on the 8th the Empress was crowned Queen; it not being the custom of this country, it seems, for the King and Queen to be crowned the same day.

The famous congress of Cambray, which had been so long talked of, was opened the 26th of January 1723-4; where the first things agreed on, were, that the Emperor should grant the investiture of the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia in Italy, to the Prince DON CARLOS Infante of Spain: and that the artillery taken away by the Spaniards, on their evacuating Sardinia, should be restored to the King of Sardinia.

Congress of Cambray.

The Empire remaining in perfect peace, the year 1724 affords very little worth relating. The congress of Cambray, indeed, continued their conferences; but seemed to spend their time more in ceremony, or private cabals between particular Ministers, than the business they were assembled about. The Emperor having determined to constitute the Archduchess ELIZABETH, his eldest sister, governor of the Aultrian Netherlands, Prince EUGENE of Savoy resigned that government, and was made Vicar-General of all the Aultrian dominions in Italy, the highest post the Emperor could confer upon him, since the Viceroy of Naples and Sicily, the Governor of the Milanese, and all other Imperial Officers and Generals in Italy receive their orders from him, and give obedience to them as to those of the Emperor himself.

1724.

While the Ministers of the several powers of Europe assembled at Cambray, were spending their time, to all appearance, in matters of ceremony, or diversion, the Emperor and Spain entered into

1725. Treaty of Viena.



CHAP. IV. a treaty without the knowledge of the other powers, which was concluded at Vienna the 30th of April 1725; by which the Emperor acknowledges King PHILIP King of all the Spanish dominions in his possession, confirms Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, and the Dutchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia to Don CARLOS Prince of Spain, on the death of the present Duke of Tuscany, &c. and King PHILIP agrees to make over to Don CARLOS his son, the city of Porto Longone, with that part of the island of Elva in his possession: and declares, that neither he nor any of his successors to the crown of Spain shall ever have the guardianship of the Prince who shall possess any of those Dutchies; nor shall be in a capacity to acquire, retain, or possess the least thing in the said Dutchies, or in Italy, or introduce his own troops, or foreigners into the said Dutchies during the life of the present Princes: but the said Prince Don CARLOS may however take possession of the Dutchies as they devolve upon him. King PHILIP also renounces in favour of his Imperial Majesty, all rights and pretensions to the Spanish dominions in Italy, Sicily, Flanders, and elsewhere in the possession of his Imperial Majesty; but each party to stile himself King of Spain, &c. during his life: the publishing of which treaty put an end to the congress at Cambray.

A treaty of commerce also was signed between the Emperor and Spain on the first of May 1725, whereby Spain agrees, that the subjects of the Empire should have the same privileges in point of commerce as the English and Dutch, or the most favoured nations; and should have the liberty of vending their East-India merchandize brought over by the Ostend company in any part of Spain.

The Emperor also entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with Russia and Poland, and other powers were invited to accede to the Vienna treaty. At the same time the Imperial Court seemed very intent upon promoting commerce; and not only encouraged the Ostend company, but declared Trieste, on the gulph of Venice, a free port. On the other hand, Great Britain, France, and Prussia, concluded a treaty on the third of September 1725; wherein the said powers promise their mutual guaranty to protect and defend all their dominions, countries and cities, as well within as out of Europe, with all their rights and privileges, and particularly those of trade, which the said allies respectively enjoy; and if they cannot obtain justice by fair means, and any of the contracting powers shall be attacked, or molested in the said particulars, that then the abovesaid powers, within two months after demand, shall furnish the following succours, viz. his Britannick Majesty, three thousand foot, and four thousand horse. His most Christian Majesty eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. His Prussian Majesty three thousand foot, and two thousand horse. But if the party attacked, or injured, chuses to be supplied with ships of war, or transports, or money, then the other parties shall furnish him with ships or money in proportion to the expence of the troops above stipulated. And if the abovesaid succours are not sufficient to redress the wrongs of the injured party, the contracting powers then agree to furnish more forces; and in case of necessity, all their forces, and even to declare war against the aggressor. The contracting powers also agree to maintain the treaties of Oliva and Westphalia; and to invite other powers, c-

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CHAP. IV. specially the States General, to accede to the present treaty. And the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia declare they will not furnish their contingents of troops to the Empire against France in case of an offensive war; and if either of them should be compelled to it, he should furnish as many forces to assist France. And on the eighth of February following the States General acceded to the said Hanover treaty.

Upon this treaty the Court of Vienna is said to have made some very severe reflections; particularly, that this treaty being made by two Electors and Princes of the Empire with a foreign power against his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, was contrary to those solemn oaths of fidelity, which the Kings of England and Prussia swore openly with a loud voice before the Imperial Throne, and in the presence of Almighty God to his Imperial Majesty, and to the Holy Roman Empire at their investiture. That it was an actual separation from the whole Empire, and an union with those who would probably be the declared enemies of it. That by this means the administration of justice, which is put into the hands of his Imperial Majesty according to the capitulation at his election, and the laws of the Empire, are of no force with these contracting parties, but wholly destroyed; and they have assumed a power of acting according to their own will and pleasure. The peace of the country also is at an end, by the bringing in of foreign troops, which is not allowed even to the Emperor himself. And the said contracting powers may at any time seize by force the rights they have, or pretend to have, and secure them by foreign nations against the Majesty of the Emperor, their supreme judge and lord, and against the other States of the Empire.

The Elector of Bavaria, MAXIMILIAN EMANUEL MARY, died this year on the 26th of February, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, leaving his dominions to his eldest son CHARLES ALBERT CAJETAN, the electoral Prince.

In the beginning of the year 1726, we find the British ministers complaining that an English courier was stopped at Belgrade in his return from Constantinople, and of a report which prevailed at this time in the court of Vienna, that his British Majesty had not only caused the treaty of Hanover to be communicated to the Ottoman Porte, but that he had also endeavoured to excite the Turks to enter into a war with the Emperor; intimating that the alliance lately formed against him, gave the Sultan a favourable opportunity of recovering Temeswaer and Belgrade. To which the Imperial ministers answered, That it was true, they had received repeated advices from Constantinople, that the British Ambassador at the Porte, at an audience of the Grand Vizier, had endeavoured to excite the Turks against his Imperial Majesty; and that all the foreign ministers at Constantinople, with one consent, had spoken of it as a matter both certain and publick; that such informations as these, necessarily obliged the Emperor to use some precaution: whereupon orders were sent on the 23d of January to all the Generals and commanding officers on the frontiers of Turkey, to let no body pass without giving notice thereof to the court. And an English courier, or messenger, afterwards arriving at Belgrade, under the character of a Merchant, the Duke of Wirtemberg, governour of Servia, could not avoid detaining him till further orders. The courier finding himself stopped, discovered the badge of an

10 G

English



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IV.

English messenger, and delivered a letter from the Imperial resident at the Porte, wherein he was so filed. They leave the world therefore to judge whether the detaining such a person as this in a frontier town, who was returning from such an errand, and who was nevertheless released out of regard to his Britannick Majesty, can afford any room to require satisfaction for a violation of the law of nations, as the British minister files it; and if, on the other hand, his Imperial Majesty had not reason to complain of these practices. What foundation the Imperialists had to charge his British Majesty with inciting the Turk against Christendom, I shall not determine; but certain it is, the Imperialists were under some apprehensions of being attacked by the Porte; and entered into an alliance with Muscovy by way of precaution, wherein it was stipulated, that in case his Imperial Majesty's dominions should be invaded by the Turks, Russia should bring forty thousand men into the field to his assistance: and if the Turks should invade Muscovy, the Emperor should declare war against the Turks, and make a diversion on the side of Hungary.

This year issued an Imperial edict, prohibiting the importation of English manufactures into the Imperial dominions, as well as the importation of all India goods, except those imported by the Ostend company. And now things seemed to tend to a rupture between the allies of Vienna and Hanover.

## CHAP. V.

*Treats of the power of the Emperor; of his election and coronation; of the King of the Romans, and Electors; and of the general Diet.*

CHAP.  
V.

Power of  
the Empe-  
ror.

THE power of the German Emperors hath not been at all times the same. CHARLEMAGNE, who laid the foundation of this Empire, enjoyed great part of Germany, Hungary, France and Italy, of which he was absolute monarch; and took the liberty of disposing his dominions to his successor on his death, as many succeeding Emperors did afterwards. But two things much abridged the power of these Emperors, one whereof was the encroachments of the See of Rome, which did not only assume an independency for themselves and the several Princes and States in Italy from the Emperor's jurisdiction, but claimed a superiority over all the Kings and Princes of the earth, and particularly over the German Emperor, whom they did not look upon as legally advanced to the throne without their concurrence; and held that he might be deposed by the Pope, whenever the Holy Father should charge him with heresy, or male-administration. The Imperial power was also very much lessened, and almost lost by the many exorbitant grants made by succeeding Emperors to the governors of the several provinces, whom they invested with sovereign power, and made hereditary in their respective governments: whereupon these great officers soon assumed an independency, and even a power of electing their Sovereign; and while the Emperors had scarce any other dominions than those they were thus elected to, they made but an inconsiderable figure in Christendom; but now their hereditary dominions, in which they are absolute, are so much enlarged, the German Emperor may be reckoned one of the most potent Princes in Europe, especially

since the See of Rome hath lost much of that influence it had in the days of bigotry and superstition. The Emperor is neither crowned or confirmed in his Imperial dignity by the Pope at present: on the contrary, some late Emperors have ventured to seize upon the lands of the Church in Italy, and made the Holy Father sensible it was in their power to crush him, since they have obtained the possession of Milan, Naples and Sicily, which almost surround the territories of the Church.

The Emperors, like other Sovereigns, are the fountains of honour in their dominions, and do not only constitute Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, &c. but have frequently taken upon them to create Kings: They have not indeed the power of making peace or war, or of levying taxes, without the consent of the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire; neither can they make laws, or suspend them without the consent of the Diet, or assembly of the Estates: but their hereditary dominions are now so much enlarged, and they have such a number of profitable posts and honours at their disposal, that the Princes of the Empire seem very much devoted to them, and seldom oppose any thing which his Imperial Majesty proposes. Since the late acquisitions in Hungary, the Low Countries, and Italy, the Emperor has made a figure equal almost to his greatest ancestors; nor is there any power in Europe perhaps a match for him by land.

The next person to the Emperor is the King of the Romans, who has little authority but what he derives from the Emperor: in the Emperor's absence indeed he usually takes upon him the administration of the government; and after the Emperor's death, succeeds without any further election. The first occasion of electing a King of the Romans, proceeded from a contrivance of some Emperors to secure the Imperial crown to their own families; they made use of their authority while they were in possession of the throne, and easily influenced the Electors to chuse a son, a brother, or some other near relation to be King of the Romans, which is now grown so customary, that the Empire seems to be entailed on the males of the Austrian family, it being much the same thing to elect a King of the Romans, as to chuse an Emperor.

The principal members of the Empire after the King of the Romans, are the nine Electors, of whom the three first are ecclesiastical, viz. the Electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne (who are also Arch-Chancellors of the Empire,) the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick. The number of the Electors till the peace of Munster was only seven; but when the authority of chusing their Emperors became limited to so small a number, does not appear. After CHARLES the Great, the Empire was hereditary till the reign of HENRY IV. who being charged with male-administration, Pope GREGORY VII. excommunicated him, and declaring him unfit to reign, ordered him to be deposed, which his rebel subjects soon put in execution; and being absolved from their allegiance by his Holiness, they took upon them to elect RODOLPH, Duke of Suabia, for their Emperor, about the year 1106. They also declared that the right of succession should be for ever abolished, and the power of chusing Emperors be lodged in the people. The German

The fountain of honour.

Electors.

to year 1106

histories



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V.

histories are full of the confusions that happened in the Empire on this revolution, and relate, that after some years, the lower rank of the people were deprived of their share in electing their Emperor, and the whole power of election usurped by some few of the great officers of the Imperial court. The right of election is annexed to their electoral principalities and estates, and as long as there is any male issue in any of the electoral families the power of electing the Emperor cannot be taken from them, but by the ban of the Empire, or a decree of Estates.

Every Elector is sovereign in his dominions; they make laws, establish courts of justice, coin money, levy taxes, and make alliances with other Princes of the Empire, or foreigners, raise fortifications, and make war or peace under some restrictions; but they cannot alter the value of money, or lay new tolls or customs in their respective territories without the consent of the Diet; neither can they enter into such confederacies as tend to the prejudice of the Empire, or are contrary to the fealty they have sworn to the Emperor; and if they do, the States of the Empire may proceed against and divest them of their inheritances and the privileges of Electors.

Election  
of an Em-  
peror.

Upon the death of the Emperor, (where there is no King of the Romans already elected) the Elector of Mentz, as High Chancellor of the Empire, and Dean of the electoral college, gives notice to the other Electors, that they appear at Francfort within the space of a month, to elect a new Emperor, who is generally agreed on before they come to the place of Election. A day being appointed however, rather to publish than make election, they come in the morning to the town-house in their ordinary dress, and without any ceremony; here they put on their electoral habits, the three ecclesiastical Electors wearing scarlet robes with caps lined with ermine; and the secular Electors robes of crimson velvet lined also with ermine. At the town-house they take horse and march to St. BARTHOLOMEW's church, but without observing any order, only they are each of them attended with their respective hereditary Marshals, carrying a sword in a scabbard before each of them; but the deputies of the absent Electors have not this honour paid them. When the Electors come to the church, they alight at the gate, and go to their respective seats in the choir, being followed by several Princes and Counts of the Empire, the several sword-bearers standing before the respective Electors with their swords drawn, and laid on their shoulders. Divine service beginning, at the singing the hymn of *Veni Creator*, the Protestant Electors withdraw till mass is over, after which they return and take the following oath with the rest at the altar, viz. That without regard to any solicitations, promises, or rewards, they will elect such a person for Emperor, as they believe in their consciences is fit to govern the world. The qualifications required in the Emperor to be elected are, that he be a Christian Prince of German extraction, not under twenty-eight years of age, and capable of sustaining the character of his Imperial Majesty. The hymn being sung once again, they go to the place appointed for the election, being a small vaulted gallery, which goes out of the choir, and the Emperor is chosen by a majority of voices, of which the person elected may be one: then they come out, and place the Emperor elect upon the altar, if he be present,

where the Archbishop of Mentz recommends to him the interests of the Empire, and presents him with the capitulation or conditions on which he is chosen, to sign; after which the election is published, and the new Emperor proclaimed.

CHAP.  
VI.Corona-  
tion.

At the Coronation the Electors, or their Ambassadors, attend the Emperor from his palace to the church in their robes in the following order; the Elector Palatine with the crown, the Elector of Bavaria with the globe, and the Elector of Brandenburg with the scepter, march first abreast; the Elector of Saxony carries the sword, and the Elector of Hanover the standard. (As to the other secular Elector, the King of Bohemia, he has been the person elected for several generations, being the eldest son of the deceased Emperor.) At the door of the church the Emperor is received by the three ecclesiastical Electors in their robes, who attend him to the altar; and the Archbishop who officiates, anoints his head, and between his shoulders, his neck, breast, and right arm; then he is brought to another altar and crowned, being clothed with the ancient Imperial robes, and afterwards conducted to the throne, where the Archbishop bids him receive and keep the pledge which was designed for him by providence. Then *Te Deum* is sung, and the trumpets and musick proclaim the general joy.

When a general Diet, or an assembly of the States of the Empire is to be held, the Emperor issues out his summons to the several Princes and other members of the Diet, acquainting them with the time and place of their sitting; and they are bound by their allegiance to appear at the day appointed, either in person or by proxy. More than half of the assembly usually consists of such substitutes as have no voices of their own, but come to vote for their masters; which is one of the principal occasions of the slow proceedings of their Diets: for it often happens, that the persons deputed have not full instructions, and are forced to send to their masters for new instructions before they will venture to give their voices. Sometimes the Emperor requires them by the summons to repair in person to the place appointed, on account of the importance of the matters to be debated: whereupon if they do not appear, they either send in no deputies at all, or make their Ambassadors plenipotentiaries, giving them authority to vote and act as if they themselves were actually present. Ratisbon is now become the usual place for the meeting of the Diet; but it has been held at Mentz, Augsburgh, and other cities; the Emperors seem only restrained not to hold it without the bounds of the Empire.

General  
Diet.

When any of the members of the assembly, or their Ambassadors, arrive at the place appointed, they first procure an audience of the Emperor, to whom they produce their summons, and thank his Imperial Majesty for calling the Diet, promising their utmost endeavours to promote the general good of the Empire at the following session; and the Ambassadors are obliged to give the reasons of their master's absence. After this they acquaint the marshal of the Empire with their arrival, who provides every man quarters suitable to his quality, and registers their names. They also give in their names at the Chancellor's office, who is the Archbishop of Mentz, to be recorded with their credentials.

The Emperor alone proposes what is to be debated in the Diet: the members can introduce nothing. His Imperial Majesty also can adjourn any



CHAP.  
V.

any debate from time to time. The point of precedence among the Electors has been long since settled by the Golden Bull: but the other Princes and representatives of cities have not agreed upon the matter to this day; insomuch that it occasions perpetual quarrels, and the Diet would sometimes break up in confusion, if some of them did not for peace-sake yield to the rest, entering a protest only that this single instance should not be made a precedent.

Amongst the Electors, the Elector of Mentz takes the post of honour, sitting in the middle, with the other two spiritual Electors, Cologne and Treves, on each side of him, who take the right hand by turns: next to them are the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover on the left; and the King of Bohemia, the Electors Palatine and Brandenburg on the right. Below these sit the ecclesiastical Princes on the right, and the secular Princes on the left, and after them the Deputies of the towns.

On the spiritual bench anciently sat the Archduke of Austria and the Duke of Burgundy, though secular Princes, in regard to their eminence in the Empire. The Lutheran Prelates were formerly excluded this assembly; but by the Westphalian treaty they obtained seats in the Diet; not among the Roman Prelates or secular Princes, but between the one and the other. And since the archbishoprick of Magdeburg is turned into a dukedom, and the bishopricks of Lubec and Osnabrug into secular principalities, all the reformed Princes, except the Electors, sit on the secular bench which is appointed for the Princes, Counts, and Barons of the Empire, who have voices in the Diet.

The ecclesiastical and secular Princes of the Empire, and all Prelates who have princely dignities annexed to their functions, with the Master of the Teutonic order, have each of them single voices; but the rest who can claim no temporal principality, give their voices by companies, of which kind are the two benches of Suabia and the Rhine. Formerly the Counts and Barons of the Empire had but two voices, and were therefore divided into two benches, as the prelates are now. Afterwards, at a Diet held in the year 1641, the Counts of Franconia had a voice allowed them by themselves; and in the year 1654, a vote was given to the Counts of Saxony and Westphalia; so that at present there are four benches of Counts, viz. those of Suabia, Wetteraw, Franconia, and Westphalia, who have votes in the general Diet.

The representatives, or deputies of the Imperial cities, make the third and last rank of members in the Diet; but when they first obtained this privilege is very uncertain. Their deputies at present are divided into two benches; the one called the bench of the Rhine, and the other the Suabian bench. On the first sit the representatives of Lubec, the free cities upon the Rhine, in Wetteraw, Alsace, Saxony, and Thuringia; and on the other, the representatives of the free cities in Suabia and Franconia. The representatives of the city where the Diet is held sit at a table by themselves, and take an account of the voices of the other deputies, which are registered by the two registers of Ulm and Spire; one of them representing the cities in the circle of the Rhine, and the other the cities of the circle of Suabia.

It is generally said, that if we divide the time of any session of the Diet into four parts, one is

spent in disputes about precedency; a second and better in drinking-matches; a third in disputes about their privileges, with the Emperor; and scarce a fourth upon the business proposed to them from the throne, which usually relates to peace and war, the making or reviving laws, the regulating the coin, raising taxes, &c.

## CHAP. VI.

*Treats of the courts of justice, and laws of the Empire.*

ANTIENTLY, the Emperor assisted by the bishops and great officers of the crown decided all ecclesiastical causes in the Empire, but the secular Princes received justice only in the general Diets: but as law-suits multiplied, and it appeared impracticable for the Emperor to hear every cause, and the suiters underwent great hardships in following the court from one part of Germany to another, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. settled a court of judicature at Worms, which was removed to Francfort, and afterwards to Spire; from whence it cannot be removed but by the consent of all the States. The assessors appointed as judges of this court, were at first but sixteen, but have since been increased to fifty. The Emperor names the supreme judge, and four of the principal officers: every Elector names one assessor, and the rest are appointed by the several circles or benches in the Diet; and as those who appoint the assessors, are some of them of the church of Rome, and others of them Protestants; this court is composed of both, but the greater number of the assessors are of the Roman communion. There lies no appeal from this court; but the members of it, however, may be called to an account for any unjust proceedings. An appeal lies hither from all inferior and provincial courts; but this is seldom done, on account of the slowness of their proceedings, some causes being still depending here which were commenced many years ago.

There is another high court of justice in the Emperor's palace, wherever he resides, called *Der Reichs Hoffrat*, or the Dutch King's Bench; which I take to be the same with that generally called the Aulick Council. Here the Emperor himself is supreme judge, being assisted by certain assessors, both Popish and Protestant; but the Emperor's place is usually supplied by a president. Whether this or the court of Spire has the greater authority is a mighty dispute I perceive among some; but as they have each of them cognizance of the same kind of causes, and there is no appeal from one court to the other, they seem to be pretty much upon the level. As to the inferior and provincial courts, these will be taken notice of in the description of the respective provinces and great towns where they are held.

The Civil Law is generally observed in all courts of the Empire, and to this are added some decrees, to which they pay an equal regard: as first, the Golden Bull, a small parchment book, containing thirty chapters, and about twenty-four leaves, published by CHARLES IV. with the approbation of the greatest part of the Princes, Counts, Barons, and other States of the Empire; and contains all the fundamental laws relating to the time, place and persons requisite to the due election of the Emperor, the number and privileges of the Electors, the order they are to observe in all publick solemnities, and the appointing Vicars in

CHAP.  
V.CHAP.  
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Courts of  
justice.Laws.  
Bulla Au-  
rea.



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VI.Capitula-  
tio Cæsa-  
rea.Acts of  
the Diet.Sanctio  
Pragmat-  
ica.

the time of an interregnum; the seal annexed to which decree being of gold, the instrument obtained the name of the Golden Bull, or Edict, which was held to be irrevocable. But notwithstanding it is appointed by this Bull, that the Electors should not exceed seven, we find they are now multiplied to nine. 2. The Capitulatio Cæsarea, being a collection of forty or fifty articles between the Electors and the Emperor at his coronation, to the observation whereof his Imperial Majesty obliges himself by his oath, is another considerable part of the municipal laws of the Empire: by this he promises to maintain the privileges of the Electors, Princes, and other subjects of the Empire: that he will not alienate or diminish the revenues of the crown, or bring foreign troops into the Empire without the consent of the Electors, &c. That no foreigner shall be admitted to any publick employment; but all places at court shall be filled with native Germans of some noble family. 3. The third kind of laws the Germans are governed by, are the acts of their general Diets, which seem to differ from our acts of parliament only in this, namely, that the concurrence of the citizens and burghesses is not necessary to the establishing an act, though they are allowed to give their opinions of the expediency of what is about to be enacted. 4. The Sanctio Pragmatica, which principally regards the preservation of the peace of the Empire: wherein it is decreed, That if any Prince, or other member of the Empire, shall endeavour by open hostility to disturb the publick peace of the whole body, he shall be cut off from the other members, and deemed an out-law. As to the laws of the particular provinces, these will be taken notice of, as we pass through them.

## CHAP. VII.

*Treats of the modern religion, and ecclesiastical government of Germany.*

CHAP.  
VII.Conver-  
sion of the  
Germans.

SOME German writers pretend, that Germany was converted to the Christian religion by the Apostles, but it is generally held that Christianity was not introduced here until the second century, and then only in those parts of it which were subjected to the Romans.

In the eighth century several missionaries were sent over from England, who converted that part of the country which lies between the Rhine and the Weser: afterwards CHARLES the Great, conquering the pagan Saxons, established the Christian religion amongst them; and the Bohemians and Moravians were not converted till some years after.

Reforma-  
tion.

Luther.

About the year 1517 happened a reformation of religion in this country, in which MARTIN LUTHER was most instrumental. For the Archbishop of Mentz not being able to pay the large sums the Pope expected from him, procured leave of his Holiness to sell his pardons and indulgencies in all the great towns of Germany; and deputed one Friar TEKEL, his agent, to publish every where a pardon for all manner of sins, past, present, and to come, to those who would purchase them. LUTHER hearing of this, protested against the proceeding; and disputed openly at Wittemberg and Leipsick, against those who asserted the Pope's power of granting pardons and indulgencies, notwithstanding he was threatened with excommunication, and being condemned for a heretick: but the Elector of Saxony approving of his doctrines, and support-

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ing him, he was the more encouraged to propagate them in other parts of Germany, where the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Wirtemberg, Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and most of the Imperial cities became his disciples: and these drew up a protestation, containing the points wherein they differed from the church of Rome, and presented it to the Imperial chamber at Spire, anno 1529; whereupon they were called Protestants. The following year, they delivered in a confession at Augsborg, from thence called the Augsborg confession; and refusing to recede from the opinions they professed therein, the Emperor CHARLES V. endeavoured to reduce them by force. But after a long war, with various success, he was content to grant them a toleration at Passau, in the year 1552; which was afterwards confirmed to them at Augsborg, anno 1555. About two years after LUTHER had began the reformation in Germany, viz. in the year 1519, ZUINGLIUS, a canon of the church of Zurich in Switzerland, began also to oppose the church of Rome, declaring against the mass, images, the invocation of saints, &c. and made such numbers of disciples, that the mass was abolished in the year 1526, by the senate at Zurich, as it was two years after at Bern. But the differences between these two reformers, in relation to the sacrament of the LORD'S Supper (the Lutherans holding consubstantiation, and the Zuinglians denying the elements to be any more than bare signs of CHRIST'S body and blood) was a great hinderance to the progress of the reformation. LUTHER and ZUINGLIUS met to try if they could reconcile their doctrines; but to no purpose: the breach grew wider between them, and their respective disciples from thenceforward became mortal enemies to one another. The famous CALVIN suc-  
ceeded ZUINGLIUS at Zurich; adding several new opinions to the doctrines preached by his predecessor, such as predestination, free-will, and final perseverance, which made the two sects irreconcilable: and it was observed, that CALVIN'S doctrines spread further and faster than those of LUTHER; especially in France, Scotland, the Netherlands, and some parts of Germany: while the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and other parts of Germany adhered to LUTHER'S doctrine. And the Lutherans, to show their insuperable aversion to the Calvinists, in the great church at Leipsick, have drawn the pictures of the Devil, IGNATIUS LOYOLA, and JOHN CALVIN, and hung them up in one frame, with this inscription, The three great enemies of CHRIST, and of the Christian religion. Nor are the Calvinists at all behind hand with them in reproachful and reviling expressions. At present it is computed, that the Calvinists get ground of the Lutherans in Germany, being supported by the Court of Prussia, which is zealously affected to CALVIN; and the States General encourage no other doctrines but CALVIN'S, though they tolerate all religions. In France indeed, neither the one or the other can be professed openly. But to return to Germany: much the greatest part of this Empire still adhere to the Popish religion. However, the doctrines of the reformers have produced this effect, that many bishopricks have been converted into secular principalities, and a new form of church-government set up in many places instead of the episcopal.

10 H

Those



CHAP.  
VII.

Ecclesiastical government.

Bishops.

Those bishops who are still of the Roman communion exercise a greater authority in their dioceses than any prelates in Europe. They are most of them temporal Princes, and have as absolute a dominion over their subjects, spiritual and temporal, as the secular Electors have of the laity in their territories. Besides the three ecclesiastical Electors, there were formerly five Archbishops, and thirty Bishops, who had voices in the Diet of the Empire: but the archbishopricks of Magdeburg, Bremen and Riga, with the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Verden, have since the reformation been turned into secular principalities: Those of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Besançon, and Straßburgh, have been cut off from the Empire, and united to France or Lorraine: and those of Valais, Lothar, and Coire, have been abolished by the Switzers. So that except the ecclesiastical Electors, there is in the college of the Princes of the Empire only the Archbishop of Saltzburgh, and seventeen or eighteen Bishops, who have votes. The loss of these bishopricks, it is observed, is a great disadvantage to the younger brothers of great houses, who used to get a handsome maintenance by being preferred to them: whereas they enjoy now little more than the title of their elder brother, and are not allowed any part of the inheritance of their ancestors; the court or the army is their only refuge at present. The bishoprick of Lubec is still an ecclesiastical preferment, though it be in the hands of the Lutherans, and is in the gift of the Dukes of Sleswick and Holstein. The Archbishop of Saltzburgh is the first German Prelate, being born legate of the See of Rome, and gives place to none but the Electors in the publick Diets. The other Roman Bishops, who have still a voice in the Diets of the Empire, are Bamberg, Wirtzburg, Wormes, Spire, Eichstedt, Augsbourg, Constance, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Munster, Osnabrug, Passau, Frisingen, Liege, Trent, Brix, and Basil; of which Osnabrug belongs to the Lutheran Princes by turns, being lately possessed by his British Majesty's uncle, the Duke of York. The late Dukes of Hanover also possessed themselves of Hildesheim, but it was restored to the Elector of Cologne, to whom it belonged, by the treaty of Brunswick, anno 1653. Vienna is also a bishoprick, subject to the Archbishop of Saltzburgh.

The Emperor anciently had the election and investiture of all the Bishops in his dominions; but this afterwards became the subject of much contention between the Pope and his Imperial Majesty, till the council of Trent gave the sole power of conferring dignities and prelacies to the Pope, not only in Germany, but in all parts of Christendom; and HENRY V. was compelled to yield the investiture, &c. to the Pope, and divest himself of the right which his ancestors enjoyed.

There are other ecclesiastical Princes, besides Bishops, who have voices in the Diets of the Empire; the first of whom is the Great Master of the Teutonic order, the Abbots of Fulda, Hirshfeld, Murbach, Kempen, Corbray, Prum, Stabel, Ludors, the Grand Prior of Malta, the Provosts of Elvang, and Beresfolaguden; these sit below the Bishops. There are also three and twenty other Prelates, and fourteen Abbesses, who are placed below the secular Princes; but these have no voices in a full body any more than the Counts. The Abbesses send their representatives to the Diets of the Empire, being excused a personal appearance, upon account of their sex. The three and twenty inferior Prelates have either the title of Provost,

Abbots,  
&c.

Abbot, or Bailiff, of some particular place, and the revenues annexed to their dignities are frequently equal to those of Princes.

CHAP.  
VII.

Protestants.

The Protestants in the German Empire, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, acknowledge the supremacy of the Prince under whom they live, who is appealed to by unanimous consent, as supreme judge in spiritual as well as temporal causes; but the church-discipline of the Calvinists and Lutherans is very different: the Calvinists have neither bishops, or superintendants; whereas the Lutherans have their general and particular superintendants; the general superintendants answering to our archbishops, and the particular superintendants to bishops; and in the dominions of every Prince is held a consistory, which answers to our convocation. This assembly have the power of degrading and punishing offenders, and of making rules or canons, for the better government of the clergy. The superintendants visit their dioceses once a year, and make a strict enquiry into the doctrine and manners of all the clergy under their care. There are some Lutheran Princes that have the title of Bishops, who are as absolute in their dioceses as secular monarchs in their temporal dominions; and have an unlimited command over both clergy and laity. The countries in Germany where the Lutheran opinions chiefly prevail, are those of Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Lunenburgh, Holstein, Mecklenburgh, Wirtemburgh, Darmstat, Dourlach, Lawenburgh, and East-Friesland. But there are great numbers of Calvinists among them, which sect seems to gain ground of the Lutherans.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Treats of the several degrees of nobility and gentry in Germany; and of the Imperial cities and Hans towns.*

THE ancient Germans, according to Cæsar, had their Dukes, or leaders in time of war, by them called Heertzogen, who commanded as absolutely as our modern Generals, having the power of life and death. And thus we see it was in most of the countries we have passed through; Dux, or Captain, appears to have been the first title that sovereign Princes took upon them, especially in the north of Europe: but some writers seem very positive that these German leaders, or Heertzogen, constantly laid down their employments, and submitted to a private life so soon as the service they were chosen for was accomplished; for, say they, the Germans had scarce any standing magistracy in time of peace; but when any man had a controversy with his neighbour, they chose one out of the villages they lived in to decide the matter in dispute: and these temporary judges were called Graffen, or Graven Graffin, in the old Saxon language, signifying a Judge; and Die Graffen, a grey-headed Elder of the people, to whose age and experience they paid an uncommon regard.

CHAP.  
VIII.

The original of Dukes.

But the Germans were a very happy people, if they never pitched upon a General who was unwilling to return to his former private state, especially if he had been any time in his command. If some of them did submit to a private life, it is as much as can be expected; for men were surely capable of ambition, and fond of raising their families above the common level in those days, as well as these; and indeed, ever since the world began:



CHAP.  
VIII.

began : and consequently some of these Generals must have endeavoured to obtain the dominion of the people they commanded; either by their consent, or otherwise; and that in fact it was so, may very well be presumed from this, that the first Princes had the name of Dux or Captain conferred upon them; even in scripture we find the Prince stiled the Leader, or Captain of his people. Again, if the Germans had no other civil magistrates than those of their own chusing out of the old men of every village, and those but to serve a present turn; is it to be supposed, that any offender should voluntarily submit to the sentence passed upon him, especially where it extended to life or limb, where there was no power to enforce the execution of it? or, if there were no sanguinary punishments in those days, who would contentedly part with his lands or goods to make reparation for an injury, if he could avoid it? This must have been a golden age indeed, when either there were no injuries done, or there needed no compulsion to oblige an offender to make satisfaction. But these doctrines are advanced chiefly for the sake of a people who look upon all government to be unjust and tyrannical, which is not derived from the multitude, and may not be subverted by them at pleasure. But to return to Germany; whatever authority the ancient Dukes and Counts afterwards appointed by the Romans, when they had the possession of part of this country, were invested with a power not much inferior to that of sovereign Princes; but the Romans being masters of little to the eastward of the Rhine, these parts retained their ancient form of government until the Franks subdued them; who, in imitation of the Romans, reduced all Germany into provinces, over which they placed so many Dukes, whom they trusted both with the civil and military power. To these Dukes, according to Dr. NICHOLSON, they sometimes added assistants or deputies, who from their office were called Counts or *Comites*. The Duke was generally of some noble family; and upon his death, if there was no material objection against it, his son was appointed to succeed him; from whence these Dukes at length came to insist on a right of succeeding their ancestors, and refused to pay homage to the German Emperors, every Duke taking upon him to exercise regal power in his province; from whence there has sprung up so many independent Princes in this Empire.

Counts.

Of Counts there are at present various kinds, as, 1. The Schlecht Graven, or simple Count, so stiled from some small castle or territory, of which they are lords. 2. Counts Palatine, called Pfaltz Graven, or Palsgrave, are such as have a certain eminence in their dignity from the relation they bear to the Emperor's court or palace; for Palatinus signifies an officer of the household: and this title is either originally feudal, and annexed to the name of some territory with such *Jura Imperii & Majestatis*, as other Princes of the Empire want, as in the title of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine; or merely personal, without the addition of any particular territory appropriated to him that hath the dignity. Of the first kind, was that great officer in the kingdom of the Franks (long before it was converted into an Empire) called *Comes Palatii*, or Count Palatine, who was vicegerent to the King, as the *Præfetti Prætorio* were to the old Roman Emperors: and the reason the title of Palatine was conferred on the

governors of provinces remote from the court seems to be, that these governors were invested with all the royalties, and *Jura Imperii* in their respective provinces, as the Counts Palatine enjoyed at court; being so many viceroys in their particular territories. 3. Counts of the Empire, which were originally so made by patent, as the Lord ARUNDEL of Wardour was in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH by the Emperor RODOLPH II. in consideration of his services, whereby he obtained a seat in the Imperial Diets, the privileges of purchasing in the Empire, and to be exempt from all judicatures, but that of the Imperial chamber. 4. Margraves, or Marquisses, Counts of the frontiers; so stiled from the word *Marken*, or marshes, as we stile them in England, which signifies the utmost marks or limits of the Empire, or Kingdom. 5. Landtgraves, or Counts of provinces, who have the supreme government of some particular district. And, 6. Burgraves, or Counts of great towns or fortresses; Burg in the High-Dutch signifying a castle or fort.

The next degree of nobility to these Counts or Earls is that of Freyhern, or Barons. The word Freyhern signifies free Lords, such as are not tenants, or hold of any superior Lord: and though sometimes it signifies no more than Laird in Scotland, or Lord of a manor; yet usually this title is given only to such as hold considerable territories and jurisdictions of the Emperor; and some German lawyers and heralds maintain, that a Baron or Freyhern, differ only from a Grave or Count in name and title, but is the same thing in dignity and jurisdiction. BESOLDUS, a German writer, says, a Baron is equal to a Count, only the former is ceremoniously invested into his territories, and the other is not.

The only Knights of the Empire, besides those of the Teutonic Order, (of whom mention has been made already, and who are at this day of very little repute) are the dubbed Knights, whom the Emperor, like other Princes, creates by striking them lightly on the shoulders with a naked sword, and saying to each of them, *Esse Miles Dei & Sancti Stephani*. As for the title of *Armiger*, or Esquire, it is not known in the Empire. A Gentleman in Germany is called *Edel lute*, and signifies such as from the blood of their ancestors, the favour of their Prince, or their own merit are raised above the multitude. Some of these Gentlemen in Franconia, Suabia, and upon the Rhine, are free from taxes, and subject to no other courts but the Emperor's; and have the title of Free Gentlemen, or *Ordo Equestris*. I have now passed through all the degrees of nobility and honours in the Empire; and shall only observe further, that though none but the eldest son of a nobleman can inherit his estate and lands, yet all the children are entitled alike to his honour, which occasions a very neccessitous nobility.

As the Princes of the Empire took advantage of the necessities, or indulgence of the German Emperors, to erect the governments they held in the capacity of Viceroys, or Governors, into independent principalities; so did the cities now called Free and Imperial. The Emperors, frequently wanting supplies of money to carry on their wars, or for other occasions, borrowed large sums of the wealthy trading towns, and paid them again in munificent grants and privileges; making them Free States, and independent of the governors of the provinces where they stood. Accordingly, these cities exercise all kinds of sovereign power; they

CHAP.  
VIII.Marquis-  
ses.

Barons.

Knights.

Gentle-  
men.Imperial  
cities.



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VIII.

they make laws, constitute courts of justice, coin money, raise forces, and enter into alliances and confederacies for their defence. They have also their seats in the Diet, as has been observed already, only acknowledging the Emperor for their supreme Lord, and contributing their share towards the common defence of their country. I shall not enumerate the Imperial cities here, because particular notice will be taken of them hereafter in the description of the several provinces, or circles of the Empire where they stand: but proceed now to enquire how those cities which have obtained the name of Hans Towns, came to be distinguished from the rest.

Hans  
Towns.

The most general opinion is, that the word *Hanse*, or *Anse*, for it is written both ways, is derived from the Dutch *Am-see*, which signifies near to, or situate on the sea shore, as the first Hans Towns were, lying along the southern coasts of the Baltick, from the gulf of Finland to Lubec, and from thence to the mouth of the Rhine; which towns, some time between the years twelve and thirteen hundred, entered into a strict alliance for the advancement of their trade and mutual defence; and for near two hundred years ingrossed most of the trade of Europe. These cities were about fifty in number, and divided into four circles, distinguished by the name of their principal cities; namely, Lubec, Collen, Brunswick and Dantzick. In each of these four cities was held an high-court of justice, to determine such causes as happened within its proper circle; Lubec was the capital of all the Hans Towns; on which account all the other cities make use of the seal of Lubec in all their publick instruments; and this city had an advocate at the Imperial Chamber of Spire to take care of the interest of the Hans Towns; and had a power of summoning all the members of the Hanseatick Body to meet there in cases which concerned their common interest: and these associated towns became at length so considerable, as to obtain great privileges from many Princes in Europe. The port-towns they chiefly resorted to abroad were London, Narva, Bruges, and Bergen in Norway. In London the place where their ware-houses stood was called the Steelyard, because that was the chief merchandize they dealt in. These merchants did not only apply themselves to trade, but when they became powerful, interested themselves in most of the controversies, which happened between the northern Powers, and became umpires of their differences, their fleet being superior to that of any Prince in that part of the world: and thus they continued to flourish for about two hundred years, till the rest of the nations of Europe applied themselves more to navigation, and to import and export merchandize in their own bottoms; and then this society began to decline, and is at present dissolved: but there are however several of the Hans Towns still considerable for their trade, such as Dantzick, Lubec, and Hamburgh, as may be observed in the description of those places.

## A U S T R I A.

## CHAP. IX.

*Contains a description of the circle of Austria, with the provinces included in it.*

CHAP.  
IX.  
Austria.  
Bounds  
and extent  
of Austria.

**W**ITHIN the circle of Austria are contained not only the archdukedom of Austria, but the duchies of Styria, Carin-

thia, Carniola; the counties of Goreitz, Cilley, and Tyrol; and the bishopricks of Brixen and Trent, which territories are bounded by Bohemia and Moravia on the north; by the kingdom of Hungary on the east; by the dominions of the republick of Venice towards the south; and by Bavaria towards the west; and are in length from east to west near three hundred miles, and about two hundred from north to south. It received the name of Austria, or Ostria, on account of its eastern situation, with regard to other parts of the Empire, and was anciently called Pannonia Superior. After the Romans quitted it, the Boiarii possessed themselves of the country, and it became part of the great dukedom of Bavaria. The Emperor ORTO first erected it into a separate marquisate; and the Emperor RODOLPH I. made his son ALBERT the first Arch-duke of Austria, a title which was never given to any other principality, as I can learn. From the time Austria was erected into an archduchy, it increased in grandeur every day; for not only the countries of Carinthia, Styria, Tyrol, and Alsatia were added to it, but by the marriage of MAXIMILIAN of Austria, with MARY of Burgundy, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, with the Franche Comte were added to his dominions: and by the marriage of PHILIP, son of the said MAXIMILIAN, with JANE of Spain, great part of Spain, with Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish dominions in America, devolved on the Austrian family.

Division.

Austria Proper is divided into the Upper and Lower Austria. The Lower Austria is so called from being situated lower down the Danube than the other, and is separated from the Higher by the river Ens, which falls into the Danube near a city of the same name.

Towns in  
Lower Austria.

The chief towns in Lower Austria, are, 1. Vienna, or Wien, the capital of the province, and the metropolis of the Empire, situate on the south side of the Danube, on a branch of that river, which here divides itself into many streams, forming several small islands. The river Wien, which gives its name to the place, flows on the east part of the city, falling into the Danube a little below it. Vienna lies in the latitude of forty-eight degrees twenty minutes, sixteen degrees odd minutes to the eastward of London. The city itself within the walls is not three English miles in circumference. It is divided by twelve bastions, ten whereof are towards the land, and two on the north-side towards the river, and has held out several sieges against the Turks; the last of which was in the year 1683, when the place was reduced to extremity, and relieved in a very critical hour by JOHN SOBIESKI, King of Poland. This town is fortified after the modern way; but there are many stronger in the Emperor's dominions, the brave defence it has several times made against the numerous forces of the Turks, may rather be ascribed to the number and goodness of the German troops in the town, and the vigilance of their Generals, both within and without, than to the fineness of the fortification; but probably it will not endure a siege these many years again, now the Germans have extended their frontiers so far beyond it, and have such towns as Buda and Belgrade between them and the enemy.

Vienna.

The streets of the town are rather narrow than wide, and the houses built of stone, usually five or six stories high, and flat roofed, and they have three or four cellars one under another. The principal publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are,

1

1. The





VIENNA



ALMA



CHAP.  
IX.  
Austria.

1. The Imperial palace, consisting of two magnificent courts, and a third which is less, being the lodgings of the pages, the whole very richly furnished. The churches and convents of the Carmelites, Franciscans, Benedictines, and the church of the Austin friars, are much admired, the model of the last being taken from that of the holy house at Loretto. The Jesuits colleges particularly are very fine here, as in all other popish countries; and before one of them stands a column of copper upon a pedestal of white stone, with the blessed Virgin on the top of it. On the pillar are several inscriptions, declaring that Austria is dedicated to her patronage by his Imperial Majesty. But among others, here is a convent of Scots, for hither it seems those of that nation used to resort in their pilgrimages to Jerusalem; and one of their saints being murdered in this country, obtained the honour of martyrdom. The church of St. Peter is much esteemed on account of its antiquity, but the Cathedral of St. Stephen is held to be the most beautiful and magnificent of any in the city, the steeple whereof is 465 foot in height. The church looks dark and gloomy, occasioned by the painted glass in the windows; but this some think makes it appear more venerable and proper to inspire devotion. In this church are several noble monuments of Princes and great men, and near one of the doors they shew a stone in the wall, which they relate is one of those with which St. STEPHEN was stoned to death, which is worn very smooth by the superstitious people's touching and stroaking it.

The university of this city is inferior to few, either on account of its antiquity, the number of its students, or their accommodations and privileges. ALBERTUS the third founded it about four hundred years ago, distinguishing the students into four divisions; 1. That of Austria; 2. that of the Rhine; 3. the class of Hungarians; and 4. the Saxons. And under one or other of these he comprehended all nations; particularly England, Scotland, and Ireland are said to belong to this of Saxony. And it is observed that there are at this day a very great variety of nations in this university, as there are among the inhabitants of the town, where you see Greeks, Transilvanians, Sclavonians, Turks, Tartars, Hungarians, Croats, Germans, Polanders, Spaniards, French and Italians in their respective habits: and surely to reside in a city which is in a manner the rendezvous of all people, must be no inconsiderable advantage to an inquisitive traveller, who desires to be acquainted with the state of the world.

The Imperial library at Vienna is in high esteem, which contains upwards of fourscore thousand volumes, it is said; and amongst the rest, their manuscripts in Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Turkish, Armenian, Coptick, and Chinese, are not to be paralleled in the world: particularly there is a fair Greek manuscript of the New Testament, written fifteen hundred years ago, in gold letters upon purple. Here are also many thousand of Greek, Roman and Gothick coins and medals; besides which, the Emperor has a collection of numberless curiosities in art and nature, the catalogue whereof makes a large folio, to which therefore I must refer my reader. The suburbs of Vienna, like those of London and other great towns, are larger than the city itself; particularly there is a large suburb called Leopoldstadt, divided from it by a little plain, and the river Danube, where stand the houses of the nobility and persons of

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quality magnificently built. When the city was founded is very uncertain, but the Romans had a fortress here, or very near the place where the city now stands, called Vindomina, or Vindobona; and that which inclines people to think Vienna stands on the same spot of ground, are the many Roman antiquities which are found hereabouts. The city did not make any figure till about the year 1192, when it was enlarged and surrounded with a wall by the Marquis of Austria, which it is said he was enabled to do by the money he received for the ransom of King RICHARD I. of England; whom he surprized, and made prisoner in his return from the Holy Land.

The country about Vienna is very fruitful, and the city is also well supplied by the Danube; wine of thirty sorts imported from Hungary and Italy, or of the growth of Germany, may be drank here; and they have besides, a good sort of beer: sheep and oxen they receive from Hungary and the frontiers of Turkey for the supply of the city; Austria itself is not very well stocked with cattle. They have not only salt enough for their own use, but the Emperor draws a good revenue from the salt-works of Halstadt in Austria. The flesh of wild boars is esteemed a delicious dish here, their fat being equal to that of our venison; and the hunting this animal is one of their chief recreations. They have also hares, partridges, pheasants, and other game in their fields and forests, some of which we are unacquainted with here. As to fish, the Danube furnishes them in great plenty with the best, such as carp, tench, trouts, jacks, eels, lampreys and crevisses, and there is a fish called Scheiden, preferred to Salmon. Their larger fish are called Haufons, being about twenty foot long, and not unlike a sturgeon in their taste, supposed to come up from the Black Sea. From Venice they are furnished with oysters, with salted and pickled fish and trouts, as well as with oranges, lemons, and other fruits.

The inhabitants of Vienna live luxuriously, and are pretty much addicted to feasting and carousing, dancing and fencing are their ordinary recreation within doors; and in the winter, when the several branches of the Danube are frozen over, and the ground covered with snow, the ladies take their recreation in sledges of different shapes, such as griffins, tygers, swans, scollop-shells, &c. Here the lady sits dressed in velvet lined with rich furs, and adorned with laces and jewels, having on her head a velvet cap; and the sledge is drawn by one horse, set off with plumes of feathers, ribbands, and bells: and as this diversion is taken chiefly in the night-time, foot-men ride before the sledge with torches, and a gentleman sitting on the sledge behind, guides the horse. The winters are much severer at Vienna than at London; though the latitude of London is three or four degrees further north; but then the weather is more constant and severe there: and they cloath themselves so well with furs and warm caps in the day-time, and cover themselves with feather-beds in the night, that they are not very sensible of the difference, especially having such plenty of good wine in their cellars. But it is time to take leave of Vienna; I shall only observe further, that there are magazines of naval stores, and ships of war fitted out frequently to serve upon the Danube against the Turks, which makes it sometimes have the face of a sea-port, though it lies at so great a distance from the ocean,

CHAP.  
IX.  
Austria.

Produce of  
the country about  
Vienna.

10 I

2. Baden,



CHAP.  
IX.  
Austria.  
Baden.

2. Baden, a town in Lower Austria, so called from the natural baths which rise here, is situate in a plain about eighteen miles to the southward of Vienna; it is a neat little city surrounded by a wall, and much resorted to on account of its waters, which the German physicians are of opinion, will cure most distempers incident to the head, as head-aches, dimness of sight, deafness, &c. and it is recommended also as a remedy for the gout, if drank in time, as well as for the dropsy, and other chronical distempers.

Hayn-  
burg.

3. Haynburg, or Haimburg, situate on the utmost limits of Austria towards Hungary, south of the Danube, and about thirty miles to the eastward of Vienna, anciently the metropolis of Austria, and the seat of the Duke, when it had a flourishing trade; but by the removal of the court, and the incursions of the Hungarian malecontents, is now reduced to a declining condition; but still they have plenty of corn and wine, which they transport to other countries.

Tuln.

4. Tuln, an ancient town, about twenty miles to the westward of Vienna, situate on a little river of the same name, which falls into the Danube five miles below it. It is said to stand in a healthful plentiful country; but travellers relate that it is very ill accommodated with provision notwithstanding. 5. Krembs, *Cremesia*, situate on the river Krembs, on the north side of the Danube, forty miles west of Vienna, a large well built town, and has a good trade, particularly at the two annual fairs, which last fourteen days each, when their streets are crowded with merchants from all parts of Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

Krembs.

Towns in  
Upper  
Austria.  
Linz.

The chief towns in Upper Austria are, 1. Linz, or Lyncia, the capital of the province, lying on the south side of the Danube, an hundred miles east of Vienna, a place the most pleasantly situated in the Emperor's dominions. His Imperial Majesty hath a palace here, as have most of the Austrian nobility, on the north side of the river, which suburb is joined to the city by a bridge: here the nobility usually spend their summer, and hither the Emperor retired during the last siege of Vienna. The town is well built of stone, and has a spacious market-place. As to public buildings, the Emperor's palace, the church, and a monastery of Capuchins, are all that travellers take notice of; and of these they do not think it worth while to be particular.

Ens.

2. Ens, or Ensium, situate on a river of the same name, which falls into the Danube two miles below it, and is about fourscore miles to the westward of Vienna. It is supposed to be built in the place where Laureacum stood, some time the seat of the Roman Emperors; it was formerly governed by its own Count, till the Emperor RODOLPH I. purchased it, and annexed it to the duchy of Austria. There are several other great towns in Upper and Lower Austria, such as Stain, Everding, Freistadt, Steyr and Wells, whose situation will be found in the map annexed to this volume; and since travellers have not thought fit to give us any farther description of them, it may be sufficient to name them.

## STYRIA and CILLEY.

Styria, the  
bounds  
and extent.

THE duchy of Styria, or Steyrmarch, in which I include the county of Cilley, is bounded by Austria on the north; by

Hungary and Sclavonia on the east; by Carinthia and Carniola on the south; and by Salzburg on the west; extending in length an hundred miles from east to west; and in breadth in some places eighty, and in others not forty miles from north to south. Styria is divided into the Upper and Lower Styria, in regard to the course of the river Muer.

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IX.  
Styria and  
Cilley.

In the Lower Styria the chief towns are, 1. Gratz, the capital of the Dukedom, situate on the banks of the river Muer, in a pleasant fruitful country, fourscore miles south of Vienna. It is a well-built city, regularly fortified, and defended by a castle which stands on a high hill, and is the Arch-duke's palace. 2. Rakersburg, a strong fortress on the banks of the Muer, twenty-eight miles to the eastward of Gratz. 3. Pettaw, *Petovium*, situate on the river Drave, thirty miles south-east of Gratz. It was anciently a Roman city, and at present is a Bishop's See under the Archbishop of Salzburg, but very much upon the decline. 4. Marksburg, situate on the Drave, twenty miles west of Pettaw, formerly the capital of a country, till purchased by the Austrian family.

Rakers-  
burg.  
Pettaw.

Mark-  
sburg.

In the Earldom of Cilley, which lies south of the river Drave, extending to the banks of the Save, the chief town is Cilley, or Celia, an old town of tolerable strength, once the capital of a territory governed by its own Earls, but now under the dominion of the house of Austria, and united to Styria; it is situate on the river Soana, which a little below discharges itself into the Save. It is supposed to have been a place of some consideration formerly, on account of the Roman antiquities which are daily found there.

Cilley.

In the Upper Styria the chief towns are, 1. Judenburg, situate in a pleasant fruitful country, on the river Muer, fifty miles west of Gratz, a fair well-built town, in which is a palace belonging to the Dukes of Styria. 2. Isenartz, so called from its mines and forges of iron, said by a Styrian writer to afford steel enough for all Germany; but the mines are really very considerable, and were discovered in the year 712, having been wrought in ever since without any sensible decay. The town is situate on the little river Saltza, about twenty four miles to the north-east of Judenburg. The other towns mentioned in Upper Styria by Geographers, are Lewben, Rotenman, Bruck, Seckaw and Knittelfeld; but they do not seem to think them worth a particular description.

Juden-  
burg.

Isenartz.

In the Lower Styria there is plenty of corn, wine, fruits, fish and venison: the Upper Styria is more mountainous, where the natives feed large flocks of sheep, which afford good wool. Their valleys are rich, and stocked with herds of black cattle, and the air much more healthful than in the Lower Styria, where the Hungarian fever and pestilence are too common. There are no vineyards in this part of the country, but they import the little wine they use from abroad. Their usual drink is poor small beer, and at the tables of the quality they have a sharp thin wine brought out of the Lower Styria. The natives of this country are frequently troubled with a Struma, or swelling on their throats or chins to a monstrous degree. ORTELIVS relates, that as he travelled from Vienna to Venice, he met one who had such a swelling on his chin, that from his ears down to his breast was as broad as his shoulders; and their poor women are usually troubled with these excrescences

Produce of  
Styria.



CHAP.  
IX.  
Styria and  
Cilley.

crefences to that degree, that they are forced to throw them over their shoulders when they suckle their children. This epidemical distemper is supposed to proceed from the snow water they drink, which falls from the mountains; for the nobility and better sort of people, who drink wine and other strong liquors, are seldom troubled with it.

## CARINTHIA.

Extent  
and  
bounds of  
Carinthia.

THE dukedom of Carinthia is bounded by Styria and Saltsburg on the north, by Styria on the east, by Carniola on the south, and by Tyrol on the west; extending an hundred miles in length from east to west, and about thirty from north to south. The country is mountainous and barren, and the air cold, but plentifully watered with lakes and rivers; the river Drave particularly runs cross this province, receiving many other lesser streams into it. The chief towns are St. Veit, Villach, Clagenfurt, Gurck, Lavanmund, St. Andrews, and Freyfac.

Chief  
towns.

St. Veit.

St. Veit, the chief town, (so called from a Saint of that name, who is said to have preached the gospel here during the persecution of Dioclesian,) stands at the confluence of the two rivers, Wilitz and Glac, in a fruitful vale, eight miles south-west of Gratz, and as many south of Ens. It was anciently a Bishop's See, but now only venerable for its antiquity. Not far from it may be seen the ruins of the ancient city of Saal, destroyed by ATTILA the Hun. 2. Gurck, a Bishop's See, situate on a river of the same name, eight miles north of St. Veit. 3. Lavanmund, situate on the river Lavant, in a pleasant valley, ten miles east of Styria, is a small city, and a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Saltsburg. 4. Clagenfurt esteemed the prettiest town in Carinthia, being of a square form, and surrounded by a wall, adorned with a handsome piazza, and a fountain in the centre of it, and is distant about ten miles from St. Veit.

## CARNIOLA and WINDESMARCH.

Carniola,  
bounds  
and ex-  
tent.

THE dutchy of Carniola with Windes-march, or the marquise of Windes, is bounded on the north by Carinthia and Cilley, on the east by Croatia, and by a ridge of mountains which separate it from the territories of Venice on the south; extending an hundred and ten miles from east to west, and about forty from north to south.

Division.

Chief  
towns.

This province is divided into the Upper and Lower Carniola, the Windes-march, and the county of Goritia. The chief towns of Upper Carniola are Laubach, Crainburg and Bischoffslack. In the Lower are Oberlaubach and Zirknitz. In Windes-march the chief towns are Metling and Rudolphsworth. And the chief town of Goritia is of the same name.

Laubach.

1. Laubach, or Laybach, the capital of Carniola, is situate on the banks of a little river of the same name, which discharges itself into the Save ten miles lower, and lies thirty miles to the northward of Trieste. It is a Bishop's See, well built and populous, and defended by a castle. 2. Crainburg situate on the Save, twenty miles north-

Crain-  
burg.

west of Laubach. 3. Lack, or Bischoffslack, a well built town, ten miles south of Crainburg. 4. Zirknitz, a town in itself not considerable, but for the lake to which it communicates its name, from hence called the Zirknitzer-sea, or Lacus Circonienfis, which is about sixteen German miles in length, and eight in breadth, encompassed on all sides with mountains. In the month of June annually, this lake retires under ground, through a great many large holes at the bottom of it, and returns again in September with great violence, spouting and throwing up it's waters through the holes and cracks in the earth to the height of a pike, till it has covered the whole space it left. When the water retreats, the earth is suddenly covered with grass, yielding pasture for cattle and wild beasts, which feed on it, and return to the forest again when the water begins to rise. At the retiring of the waters there are found great quantities of fish, as carp, tench, eels, &c. which the country people take with their hands in the mud, and yet the lake is as well stocked with fish the succeeding year as it was before. The natives can give no account that this water ever failed to rise or fall annually as above related; neither do any of them pretend to give any account of the occasion or original of it. 5. Oberlaubach, a town about sixteen miles to the westward of Laubach, considerable for its trade in Italian goods, which from hence are dispersed all over Germany. 6. Metling, the chief town in Windes-march, situate on the frontiers of Croatia, thirty-five miles south-east of Cilley, and twenty-five east of the lake of Zirknitz, remarkable for nothing but it's having been plundered several times by the Turks. 7. Rudolphsworth, or Newstat, situate on the river Gurk, twelve miles north-west of Metling, an ancient town honoured with great privileges, and famous for the best wine in the country.

CHAP.  
IX.  
Carniola  
and Win-  
desmarch.  
Lack.  
Zirknitz.  
A remark-  
able lake.

Oberlau-  
bach.

Metling.

Newstat.

Goritia.

Goritz.

Goritia is a small district, part of Friuli, but subject to the Emperor, which occasions it's being introduced here, for the rest of Friuli is under the Venetians, and will be described in another place. The chief town of Goritia is Goritz, or Gortz, situate on the river Lizono, twenty miles from the gulph of Venice, and fifty westward of Laubach, conjectured to be the Roman Noricia. It was taken by the Venetians in 1608, and recovered by the Emperor the year after, in whose possession it now remains.

The Emperor also having made himself master of Trieste in the province of Karstia, or as some say, Friuli, this town also must be taken notice of here. Trieste lies at the bottom of a bay in the gulph of Venice, to which it gives name. It is a small town, but has the honour of being a Bishop's See, under the Patriarch of Aquileia. The Emperor is much set upon making it a free port, and turning the trade of the Levant that way, which would be a vast detriment to the Venetians; but he does not seem to have succeeded at all in these schemes yet. The harbour is large but very unsafe, and perhaps may cost a great deal of time and labour before it is fit to receive vessels of any burthen. The Emperor took this place from the Venetians in the year 1507, which he hath possessed ever since.

Trieste, a  
Sea-port.

I must here also take notice of St. Viet am Flaum, though it be situate in Istria, a province of the Venetians, and accounted part of Italy, because it is at present subject to the house of Austria, and united to their German dominions. St. Viet is situate at the mouth of the river Flaum, which

St. Viet, a  
Sea-port.



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Carniola  
and Win-  
defsmarch.

Face of  
the coun-  
try of Car-  
niola.

Inhabi-  
tants.

Tyrol,  
bounds  
and ex-  
tent.

Tyrol.

Innsbruck.

which discharges itself into the gulph of Venice, and stands thirty miles south-west of Metling. It is a place of some strength; being surrounded by a wall and a ditch, and defended by a castle: and this is another port whereby the Imperialists propose the establishing a trade with the countries in the Mediterranean.

The country of Carniola is mountainous, but agreeably diversified by a mixture of large pleasant valleys, affording plenty of corn and wine: it is well watered by abundance of good rivers, particularly the Save, the Layback, and the Gurck. The Save rises in the west, and runs the whole length of the province. The ancient inhabitants are held to be the Carni, a Scythian nation, who were subdued by the Romans under AUGUSTUS. The marquises of Bavaria afterwards became masters of this country, being stiled Margraves of Crainburg; and having passed through several other hands, it came to OTTAKER King of Bohemia, who being killed in a war against the Emperor RODOLPH I. the Emperor seized on his territories, and gave them to MAINHART Duke of Carinthia, and Count of Tyrol; upon the death of which Prince, the Emperor LUDOWICK the fourth, made Carniola a dukedom, and conferred it on the Dukes of Austria Hapsburg, from whom the present Emperor derives his right, and stiles himself Duke of Carniola.

The present inhabitants of Carniola are a mixture of Germans, Italians and Slavonians; they generally speak the High-dutch in towns, except Laubach, where the Italian prevails, but neither of them is spoken with any purity; and in the villages the peasants speak a kind of Slavonian, or Wendish; but their acts of state, law proceedings, and instruments, are all in the High-Dutch, or German tongue.

As for the country of Windefsmarch, it is mountainous and barren, inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Veneti, the most considerable branch of the Slavonian nation, who still speak pure Slavonian, without any mixture of the German Language.

## TYROL and BRIXEN.

**T**YROL, supposed to be the ancient Rhætia Superior, is bounded by Bavaria and part of Suabia to the north, by Carinthia and Friuli towards the east, by the Grisons and Trent towards the south, and by Switzerland on the west; extending about an hundred and twenty miles in length from east to west, and sixty from north to south. The chief rivers are the Eiseck, the Inn, and the Etsch or Adige, which last river rises in this province, and flows through the territories of Venice.

The county of Tyrol is usually subdivided into Tyrol Proper, the bishoprick of Brixen, and the districts of Meran, Pludentz, Bregentz, Feldkirk and Montfort. The chief towns in Tyrol Proper are, 1. Innsbruck, the metropolis and usual residence of the ancient Counts of Tyrol, and of the present governor; situated in a pleasant valley, on the banks of the river Inn, from whence it takes its name; being seventy miles north of Trent, and about eighty south-west of Salzburg; in forty-seven degrees odd minutes north latitude, and eleven degrees odd minutes of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. The town

is generally well built, especially the suburbs, which are separated from the city by a river. The cathedral is a magnificent fabrick of hewn stone, built by the Emperor FERDINAND I. on the top whereof stands a vast portraiture of this Emperor in alabaster, guarded by twenty-eight brazen statues of other great Heroes and Princesses, all of larger dimensions than the life, and make a majestic appearance. The palace is a beautiful structure, and the gardens adjoining admirably fine; and as it is the humour of the German Princes, more than any other nation, to make great collections of rarities both in art and nature, here a curious traveller may meet with a most agreeable entertainment. Among other things, here are a vast collection of agats, crystal, coral, jaspers, hyacinth, turcois stones, lumps of virgin gold and silver as dug out of the mines in Germany, ancient coins and medals, and the arms of the house of Austria exactly represented in a coat of diamonds and rubies, &c. About a mile from the town stands the strong pleasant fort of Ombras, built for the Archduke to retire to in the heat of summer, where there is another collection of rarities so large, that they are the subject of a bulky book.

Near the city of Innsbruck stands the famous monastery of Wiltheim, or Wilden, founded according to their legends by a gigantick Prince named HAYMON, twelve or thirteen foot high, who killed a mighty dragon that infested the country. A story of equal credit with a thousand others of the like nature. 2. Hall, called Im'thall, to distinguish it from Hall in Saxony, &c. has its name from the salt-works here, and is situate on the river Inn, ten miles north-east of Innsbruck. 3. Tyrol, an ancient castle, which gave name to the whole country, but is of no consequence at present.

Brixen, the chief town of the bishoprick of that name, is situate on the river Eysach, about thirty miles south-east of Innsbruck. The Bishop is a Count of the Empire, and invested with the temporal jurisdiction, but there lies an appeal from hence to the court of Tyrol. The city is small and not very populous, yet is pretty much resorted to on account of the mineral waters near it. The diocese of this bishop extends about forty miles in length, and thirty in breadth.

The little districts of Meran, Pludentz, Bregentz, Montfort and Feldkirk, have each of them a town, the head of the district of the same name; but travellers have not thought them worth a particular description.

## T R E N T.

**T**HE territory of Trent is sometimes esteemed part of Italy; but the Bishop being a Prince of the Empire, it is by the Germans accounted part of the circle of Austria. The country is situate among the Alps, having Tyrol on the north, the territories of the state of Venice on the east and south, and the country of the Grisons on the west, and extends seventy miles in length from east to west, and fifty from north to south, the river Adige running quite cross it, and receiving several other small rivers into it which fall from the mountains on each side. The chief towns are, 1. Trent, *Tridentum*, situate in a pleasant valley, on the banks of the

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and  
Brixen.

Hall:

Tyrol  
castle.

Brixen:

Meran,  
&c.

Trent  
county.

Trent  
the  
city.



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the river Adige, but encompassed with high mountains on every side, and is supposed to have acquired the ancient name of Tridentum, (from whence the modern name of Trent is derived) from three sharp piqued hills which hang over the city. It stands about seventy miles south of Inspruck: and being thus surrounded with mountains, the town is excessive hot in summer by the reflection of the sun from the neighbouring rocks; and the cold in winter is said to be equally intolerable, though the town lies in the latitude of forty-six degrees. It is a small city, surrounded by a single wall, but pretty well built, of a kind of red and white marble, such as the rock is whereon it stands. The bridge over the Adige, and the Bishop's palace are much admired for their structure by the natives, but have nothing extraordinary in them. The cathedral church, dedicated to St. Vigel, is reckoned a good piece of architecture; and the Chapter who elect the Bishop consist of noblemen; the Bishop is suffragan to the Patriarch of Aquileia, and a Prince of the Empire, as has been observed already. But this city is most remarkable for the council held here with some intermissions from the year 1545, to the year 1563; where the Pope procured the doctrines taught by the Roman church to be established, and his usurpations, both over the clergy and laity, confirmed: but as for any reformation in the church, which was the pretence of assembling the council, little or nothing was done on this head. 2. The second town in the Bishoprick of Trent is Posen, or Bolzano, situate on the Adige, twenty-five miles north of Trent: a place of good trade, where the German and Italian merchants traffick and exchange their merchandize, especially at the four fairs which are held here every year, on account whereof great privileges have been granted to the place. 3. Noveredo, a little city, famous for it's trade in silk. As to the country of Trent in general, it produces good wine and oil, cattle and fruits. Their wine is well tasted and strong; but they have very little corn or grain of any kind.

Observa-  
tions on  
the circle  
of Austria.

Having taken a view of the sub-divisions of the circle of Austria, or of the several countries which are at this day deemed part of it, I shall conclude with some general observations in relation to this circle: and here we find, that though Austria be enumerated among the circles of the Empire, it is subject only to it's own Prince, and does not come within any of the rules and orders by which the other circles are governed. The general laws of the Empire, or acts of the Diet, do not affect Austria, neither is it obliged to contribute to any charge for the defence of the Empire: for the Emperors of this house foreseeing that their male line might fail, or at least another family might be elected to the Imperial dignity, were continually heaping new privileges and favours on this and their other hereditary countries, that if they should ever come to be separated from the Empire, they might be formed into a great body, and be able to subsist independently of any other power.

The Emperor CHARLES V. particularly by his grant, reciting, that all men naturally desired the prosperity of their own house, decreed that Austria should be a perpetual fee of his family, which no future Emperor should deprive them of: That the Duke of Austria for the time being, should be the first and most intimate counsellor to the Emperor, without whose knowledge no matters of state should be transacted in the Empire: That the dominions of Austria should be exempted

from all contributions to the Empire: That the Emperor nevertheless should assist Austria against it's enemies: That the Archduke should not be obliged to go out of the bounds of his dominions to receive the investiture of them, but it should be offered him in his own territories gratis: He should be at liberty to come to the Diet or not: And the Emperor should have no power to intermeddle in his dominions, or dispose of any fees there: Nor should the subjects of Austria be drawn from home to answer in the courts of the Empire. That from the sentence of the Archduke there should lie no appeal: and he might tax his subjects at pleasure. That he might create Earls, Barons and Gentlemen. And lastly, in case the male line of his house failed, his dominions should go to the females, according to their seniority; and if there should be no females, the last possessor might dispose of them by will. Succeeding Emperors have ordered that their hereditary dominions should never be dismembered or disunited, but should always be subject to one head, and descend as the dominions of Austria descend. Thus the hereditary countries belonging to the house of Austria will be a noble dominion of themselves, if another family should happen to be advanced to the Empire. On the contrary, it will be very difficult for any Prince who shall be elected Emperor, when the hereditary dominions are separated from the Empire, to maintain that grandeur and superiority over the rest of the Princes of Europe, and the German Princes in particular, which the Emperors have hitherto done. Insomuch that some apprehend if this should ever happen to be the case, the union that has hitherto subsisted amongst the Princes and States of Germany would be dissolved, and every power there would endeavour to render itself entirely independent.

Vienna, according to Baron POLNITZ, is situate in a fine fruitful country, on one of the branches of the river Danube, which here divides itself, and forms several islands. The city within the walls is not three miles in circumference, but has several large suburbs. The houses are built of stone five or six stories high, and the streets are narrow. The publick buildings are, first the imperial palace, which, baron POLNITZ informs us, is large, but has nothing else to boast of; for the apartments are low, dark, and without ornaments, and the furniture is very ancient, though scarce any Princes have a finer treasure in tapestry. The apartments of the Empress dowager were the only ones fit to lodge in; for that Princess took care to have them not only raised higher, but inlaid and wainscotted, which has given them a certain air of majesty they had not before. This Princess's apartment is hung with black velvet, it being the custom of the Imperial court for the Empress dowagers never to quit their mourning.

The palace of La Favourita, in the suburb of Vienna, where the Emperor spends the summer, is even inferior to that of the city. It is a very large house, built upon the highway, without any court before it, without symmetry or architecture, and which, as to the outside, looks more like a convent than a royal palace. The inside perfectly answers the outside. There is an ascent to the apartments by a great stair-case, all of timber, that leads to a guard chamber, which is a room of no great extent, and without any manner of ornaments; and from thence there's an entrance into other apartments, but half furnished, and very low,

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low, which in short is the fault of all the apartments. The gardens of the palace are as inconsiderable as the building, they being full of large fruit-trees, but in very bad order; and I saw nothing there that can be called a fine prospect.

Mean time the court nobility are far from being so ill lodged as the Emperor; for they have all stately houses both in the city and suburbs. Prince EUGENE of Savoy's palace is the most magnificent building that one shall see; for whether you examine the outside, or the inside of it, the whole is of the best contrivance and the utmost magnificence. The hall, which forms the first piece of the grand apartment, is all wainscotted, and adorned with large pictures, representing the chief battles won by Prince EUGENE. From this hall we pass into a large antichamber, where we see a suit of tapestry hangings, made by the famous Devos of Brussels, where that skilful artist has represented the principal transactions of the war to as great perfection as possible: out of this antichamber we go into the bedchamber; I never saw any thing so rich as the furniture is there; the tapestry is rolled up in pilasters of green velvet embroidered with gold, with figures in needle work so finely drawn, that they seem to be miniatures. This piece is intirely furnished in all that taste. The closet next to the bedchamber is all over gilt, and every thing in general in this apartment is superb; the paintings, looking-glasses, marble tables, the very andirons being of most curious workmanship.

On the other side of the city is another suburb, which is very considerable, and the walks are fine. The Prat, for instance, is a place mightily frequented: it is a wood in an island formed by the Danube, where there is such a surprising concourse of people in fine weather, that it may well enough be called the Boulogne grove of Vienna.

The court of Vienna, says the baron, is in my opinion the plainest, and at the same time the most magnificent in Europe. To explain this seeming paradox, I must acquaint you, that as to the external appearance of the Emperor's household, nothing is so plain, nor indeed so dismal. His liveries are of black cloth, with a lace of yellow and white silk: the clothing of his guards is much the same; and besides, they are not many in number. The palace itself, as has been intimated, is very inconsiderable; yet taking the court all together, and considering the number of great and petty officers, the many rich noblemen that spend high, and the several Princes that are in the service of his Imperial Majesty, it must be confessed, that there is not a court in Europe so splendid as that of Vienna. At the time that I was there, the Emperor had in his service two brothers of a King, two Princes of royal blood, and a great number of Princes of sovereign or other honourable families: nor is there a court where there is a more sudden transition from the meanest to the most stately external appearance; and in this they commonly run to such an extreme, that they absolutely renounce elegance to incumber themselves with magnificence; for on solemn days, as those of births, marriages, &c. one sees nothing but gold, lace, and diamonds without number: and as soon as those holidays, which are called Gala, are expired, they all resume their former plainness.

Upon the days of Gala there are commonly operas and comedies: their Imperial Majesties sit

in the pit, the Emperor in the chief place, and the Empress on his left; and the archduchesses are in the same row. All those of the Imperial family have arm-chairs of the same size and height, with a stand behind, upon which is a wax candle. Their operas are magnificent as to the decorations and habits, and good judges have assured me that their musick is excellent.

Vienna is an archbishoprick, and the cathedral of St. STEPHEN a magnificent ancient building, but dark. The university in this city is inferior to few, either in point of antiquity, the number of students, or their accommodations and privileges; and the Imperial library is in high esteem, containing upwards of fourscore thousand volumes, it is said; and among the rest, the manuscripts in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabick, Turkish, Armenian, Coptick and Chinese, are not to be paralleled in the world; particularly there is a fair Greek manuscript of the New Testament, written fifteen hundred years ago, in gold letters upon purple. Here are also many thousand Greek, Roman, and Gothic coins and medals; besides which the Emperor has a collection of numberless curiosities in art and nature, the catalogue whereof makes a large folio.

Baron POLNITZ informs us, that the court of Vienna, when he was there, consisted of his Imperial Majesty CHARLES VI, his Empress ELIZABETH CHRISTINA, daughter of LEWIS RODOLPH duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, and the three archduchesses, their daughters; the eldest of which is since married to the duke of Lorraine, and the third is dead.

The Emperor CHARLES VI. is of a middle stature, moderately fat, of a hale, swarthy complexion, has a brisk eye, and thick lips; the latter being the distinguishing mark of the Austrian family. It being expected he would have succeeded CHARLES II. King of Spain, he had a grave education suitable to the people he was to govern, which made him contract an air of seriousness, which to those who have not the honour of knowing him, has an appearance of severity; yet however, he is said to be affable, and very humane.

The Empress consort was very handsome when married to the Emperor; and notwithstanding the pimples in her face, and her present corpulency, she may still be reckoned in the number of beautiful Princesses. She was educated in the Lutheran religion, but abjured it on her marriage with the Emperor, then King of Spain.

There resided also in the Imperial court at that time, the Empress dowager of the late Emperor LEOPOLD, ELEONORA MAGDALENA THERESA of Newburgh, who had issue by that Emperor, JOSEPH JACOB the late Emperor, CHARLES VI. the present Emperor, and three archduchesses. The eldest is the archduchess MARY ELIZABETH, governess of the Austrian Netherlands. The second MARY ANNE, married to the King of Portugal. And the third, the archduchess MARY MAGDALENE.

The Empress dowager of the Emperor JOSEPH, WILHELMINA AMELIA, daughter to the duke of Hanover, uncle to the King of England, also resided there, who had two Princesses by the Emperor JOSEPH then living, viz. MARIA JOSEPHA, married to the electoral Prince of Saxony, now King of Poland; and MARY AMELIA, married to the electoral Prince, now Elector of Bavaria.

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The German women, the baron observes, are rather handsome than pretty; they are tall and well-shaped; they walk well, but when they curt'ly, do it in such an awkward manner, that one would think their backs were in danger of breaking. In their dress they affect finery rather than a good fancy. Two or three excepted, there is none that lay on the red, much less the white, and patches are very little worn; in a word, they have nothing about them that denotes coquetry. As to their humour, they are reckoned frank, though not easily made familiar. They are naturally vain, and, like all our German women, pretty reserved, and not so fond of gallantry, as they are of gaming, luxury, and magnificence. Such is their indolence, that they concern themselves no more about their household affairs, than if they were strangers. They know no books but their prayer-books, are extremely credulous, and give into all the externals of religion: this makes their conversation sometimes insipid; and, unless now and then a love-story falls in, rain and fair weather are their general topics. They have at least as great a conceit of Vienna as the Parisians have of Paris; for out of Vienna they think there is no salvation. But all these little defects are repaired by an uncommon greatness of soul and generosity. They are hearty friends, and warm protectors of those whose interest they espouse. When they are in love, their passion is sincere; and instead of ruining their lovers, there are some who have made the fortunes of those to whom they have taken a fancy.

Ladies of the first rank at Vienna usually rise late. As soon as their eyes are open they call for chocolate, and send to their husbands to know who they have invited to dinner, and whether there is room for any more guests. If the lady does not like the company, she sends notice to some lady of her acquaintance, that she intends to dine with her; but if there be room at home, as a polite husband always takes care to leave some at the disposal of his wife, she sends an invitation to whom she pleases. After this she dresses, and goes to mass; for here the ladies are all so devout that there is none but what hears at least one mass in the day. There they read in five or six different prayer-books, kiss all the pictures that are at the head of the prayers, and very devoutly toss their beads. After the office is over, they commonly chat a quarter of an hour in the church; then they go abroad, and make some friendly visits, or else go home to receive them. At these visits they hear all the news in Vienna. During this they have all a little box of Indian lack upon their knees, in which they thread gold till dinner-time. When that is over they drink coffee, or play at quinze, till night, when they go to court. From the Empress's apartment they adjourn to the assembly, where they divert themselves at piquet or at quadrille; and then retire, undress themselves, go to supper, and thence to bed, well pleased to think with what indolence and idleness they have spent the day.

The women of the second class, in which I include the gentlewomen that have no titles of honour, viz. the wives of the assessors, referendaries, and agents of the court, discover such an air of plenty and prosperity, as is remarkably surprising. Their houses are richly furnished, and their tables well served. If a referendary has a mind to a nice bit, no body must offer to take it; and the best of every thing is what they are sure

to lay hands on. Belly-cheer is one of those things which the Austrians think of most: they require a great many dishes, and those well crammed. They are so very much accustomed to this profusion of eatables, that I have known some young people in Austria affirm, they do not know what good eating is in France, because they don't serve up a couple of loins of veal in one dish. Different sorts of wines are what they are also very much used to, which certainly is very expensive, because foreign wines pay considerable duties; yet nothing less will serve them than eight or ten sorts of wine; and I have been at houses where there have been no less than eighteen. They place a note upon every plate, expressing the several sorts of wine at the banquet.

The burghers, and common sort of people, mimic the nobility as far as their purses will afford; and it may be said, that no nation in the world is so extravagant as this.

The Austrians are naturally proud and haughty, and expect all mankind should stoop to them: as their Sovereign is the first in rank among the christian princes, so they think theirs to be the chief nation in the world. Nothing is more vain nor insupportable than a young Austrian, whose father is in any rank at court. They are intoxicated with pride and presumption; and as they know themselves to be rich, and their fathers to be great lords, they think they may despise all the world, and lay aside that courteous and polite behaviour, which would so well become their birth. Yet what I here observe to you, concerning the young people, is not so universally true as not to admit of great exceptions, which is the case of every thing asserted in the general.

The nobility of Austria, and of all the Emperor's hereditary dominions, are so fond of the title of count, that the gentlemen beg and solicit it as eagerly, as if it was a great estate. It is well for them, that the dispatch of their patents does not cost much; for the greatest privilege which this brings them is all a chimera. These counts may be said to hold the same rank among the ancient counts of the empire, as the King's secretaries in France do among the gentlemen of good families.

As for gentlemen, they are so common here, that there are scarce any others to be seen. All the agents of the court, and all the referendaries procure themselves a title; tho' I know not why, for neither they nor their wives dare to rank themselves among the prime nobility. This madness of theirs, to be ennobled, is so common, and so easy to be gratified, that I have known a man, who was formerly a messenger to the Emperor Joseph, purchase the title of baron, and his children begin to mix with the grand monde.

The Emperor shews all possible marks of gratitude to those Spaniards who adhered to him while he was at Barcelona. He has loaded them with wealth and honours; and, if it is possible for one's native country to be forgot, he has put them in a situation to forget theirs. This particular goodness of the Emperor extends to all that followed his fortunes in Spain, whom he distinguishes upon all occasions, and does them good, preferable to his other subjects.

The baron has given us a very lively instance of the drunken revels of the Germans, in an adventure of his own.

He

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He had the honour, it seems, to dine at the table of the Elector Palatine, in his palace of Heidelberg, and was invited by that Prince, after dinner, to see the celebrated tun. He went with him thither in the company of the Princess of Sultzbach, his daughter, and several other ladies and gentlemen.

The trumpets led the way, says the baron, and the court followed in great ceremony. When we had mounted the platform, which is over the tun, the Elector did me the honour to drink to me out of the Willhom, which was a silver gilt cup of a large dimension. He took it off clean at one draught, and having caused it to be replenished, sent it to me by a page. Good manners, and the respect I owed to the Elector's commands, not permitting me to refuse the chalice, I begged heartily that he would suffer me to drink it off at several draughts, which was indulged me; and the Elector, talking in the mean time with the ladies, I took the opportunity of his absence, and made no scruple to deceive him; for I returned great part of the wine to the bottom of the tun, threw a part of it on the ground, and the rest, which was the least part of it, I drank. I thought myself well off, that he did not perceive in what manner I bubbled him; for I saw he was very well pleased with me. Then several other great glasses went round, and the very ladies wet their lips, which was the thing that effectually contributed to demolish us. I was one of the first that was over-powered. I perceived those convulsive motions that threatened me if I drank any more; therefore I sneaked off, and made the best of my way down from the platform. I was endeavouring to get out of the vault, but was stopped at the door by two life-guard men, who, with their carabines, crossing each other, cried, Stand, there's no coming this way. I conjured them to let me pass, and told them, that I had very important reasons for my departure; but I might as well have talked to the wind. I found myself in a terrible quandary. To get up again to the head of the tun was death: what would become of me, I could not tell: in short, I crept under the tun, and there hoped to hide myself; but it was a fruitless precaution. There is no avoiding a man's destiny. It was my fate to be carried out of the vault, and to know nothing of the matter. For the Elector perceived I was a deserter, and I heard him say, Where is he? What is become of him? Let him be looked after, and brought up to me, dead or alive. The guards at the door, being examined, said, that I came that way in order to get out, but that they sent me back again. All these inquiries, which I heard from my hole, made me burrow myself the more. I crept under the covert of a couple of boards I met with by chance, where nothing but a cat, devil, or page, could find me out. But a little page, who was indeed both devil and page too, ferretted me, and bawled out like one that was mad; Here he is! here he is! and then I was taken out of my covert. You may imagine what a silly figure I made. I was carried before my judge, who was the Elector himself; but I took the liberty to challenge both him and all the gentlemen in his retinue, as being parties in the cause. Alas, my little gentleman, said the Prince to me, you refuse us for your judges; I will appoint you others

then, and we shall see, whether you'll come off any better. He nominated the Princess, his daughter, and her ladies, to try me, and the Elector was my accuser. After pleading my own cause, they put it to the vote, and I was condemned unanimously to drink as long as I could swallow. The Elector said, that as he was the Sovereign, he would mitigate my sentence; that I should that day drink four pint glasses of wine, and that for a fortnight running, I should tip off the like glass to his health immediately after dinner. Every body admired the Elector's clemency, and whether I did, or not, I was fain to do as they did, and to return him thanks. Then I underwent the heaviest part of my sentence. I did not lose my life indeed; but for some hours I lost both my speech and my reason. I was carried to a bed, where when I came to myself, I was told that my accusers were in the same pickle as I was, and that none of them went out of the vault in the same manner as they entered it. Next day the Elector was so good as to mitigate the remaining part of my sentence, and excused me from the penance to which I was condemned, upon my promising him that I would make one at his table for a month to come.

The north parts of Germany, and especially those that border on the Baltick, according to the anonymous author of the present state of Germany, are rather colder, and have longer winters than the middle counties of England of the same northerly situation. At Hamburg, it is considerably colder in the winter, and hotter in the summer, than at Lincoln, though these two cities lie in a line; and the counties of Lincoln, Leicestershire, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, Buckingham, Hertford, Essex, and Middlesex, though they lie as far north as the electorate of Hanover, yet are the winters longer and sharper there than in the English counties. In the middle and southern provinces of the empire, the climate is much the same with the parallel parts of France; only in that tract which runs along the foot of the Alps, there is more snow. In the parts about the Danube, the air is as mild as that of Italy about the Po. Though this country so much abounds with mines, hot baths, &c. yet is there not more thunder here than elsewhere, except what happens to the inhabitants of the Alps.

The weather is more constant, and the seasons more regular within land, than in those countries that border on the ocean. In the provinces near the sea, and which abound with lakes and rivers, there is plenty of rain. In other parts, where the surface of the earth is drier, there are sometimes considerable droughts. The north winds from the Baltick, and the bleak mountains of Sweden, bring frost and snow. The east blasts, coming over a vast continent of three or four thousand miles extent, bring dry and unwholesome weather. The south, in the summer, brings refreshing breezes from the Alps. So that the west-wind, as with us, is both the most frequent and wholesome that blows in Germany.

The face of the country is generally even; in some places hilly, but no where mountainous, except towards the south and south-west, where the Alps, and a few mountains in Alsace, serve as boundaries and bulwarks against Italy and France. Indeed, a considerable part of this country may more properly be said to be low, as Westphalia, and the two Saxones.

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IX.  
Austria.



CHAP. IX. Part of the great Hyrcinian forest, so famous among the ancient Romans, and other writers, is still remaining. It is, however, much diminished to what it was in Cæsar's time; who says, it was nine days journey in breadth, and sixty in length. It is now in several parts cut down. What remains is branched out into several forests, which have their distinct names, such as that called the Black Forest, &c.

Germany abounds with corn, cattle, sheep, wool, cloth, horses, &c. things of indispensable use in life.

The rivers and lakes abound in fish, in greater variety and perfection than any other country perhaps in the world.

The orchards are full of fruit trees, as apples, pears, cherries, nuts, and almonds. And in the southerly provinces, there is plenty of the more delicate fruits; as peaches, apricocks, figs, and olives, in good perfection.

The vines produce variety both of small and strong wines; and the Rhenish are not only equal to, but preferable to some of the wines in Italy.

Nay, the very mountains of the Alps, on the German side, in many places, are cultivated to the top, and the vallies abound in pastures and vines.

The wastes and forests, which seem to be of no significance or value, do yet afford many things, both for the sustenance of the poor, and the delight and luxury of the rich. They yield plenty of wood for fuel and building, and abound with great variety of wild fowl, and all sorts of good venison. They feed vast numbers of hogs, and some of them, as the forest of Ardenne, feed good mutton.

The bowels of the earth are replenished with rich mines of silver, lead, copper, salt, coal, vitriol, quicksilver, iron, bitumen, nitre, ocre, &c. Most of which things Germany has in greater plenty than any other country in Europe.

The poorest parts of the country have wood, venison, hogs, and fish.

To all which may be added the many wholsome medical springs, and baths, with which this country does abound, beyond all other countries in Europe.

The Emperor's countries abound with most necessities and delicacies for human life. Austria has enough of corn, wine, and salt, and the rivers afford plenty of fish: their black cattle they have from Hungary. The mountains of Upper Stiria feed such plenty of sheep, that the natives trade in them and their wool, and the vallies are covered with black cattle. In Lower Stiria they have store of corn, wine, fruit, fish, salt, and venison. Though the country of Carniola be mountainous, yet it has many vallies, which abound in wine, corn, fish, and excellent oil. Friuli is fruitful in corn, oil, and rich cordial wines. Carinthia has enough of corn. Kastria is noted for a breed of good horses, whence many princes and nobles of Italy furnish their stables. The bishopricks of Trent and Brixen, tho' very mountainous, have plenty of wine, oil, and fruit, in their fields and vineyards; the wine, which is strong, is exported to other countries. Bohemia has enough of black cattle and sheep for their own consumption, and their orchards and gardens yield plenty of fruit, saffron, liquorice, and hops, for export: their white and

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brown beer is also esteemed and sent into other countries, so that it may very well supply the want of wine; and their horses are remarkable for their courage and bulk. Moravia has a good breed of horses, oxen, sheep, and goats, and corn of all sorts for their own consumption, and export. Silesia has several good commodities, as madder, sweet-cane, but especially wool and flax, which they export. Hungary is one of the noblest kingdoms in Europe, exceeding fertile in rich wines, corn, and cattle: the two latter are exported in great quantities into the neighbouring provinces of Turkey.

The strong Hungarian wines have a great vent in the empire, and Poland, where the King, the nobility, and clergy, have their cellars well stocked with them. The circle of Swabia, of which about a fifth part belongs to the Emperor, is one of the most fertile in the empire; only it does not abound so much with mines as the Emperor's other countries; but in lieu of those, the inhabitants have better vent for their corn, cattle, wine, horses, &c. into Switzerland, a country that does not abound with native commodities.

## B A V A R I A.

### CHAP. X.

#### *Treats of the Circle of Bavaria.*

THE Circle of Bavaria does not only contain the proper dominions of the Duke of that name, but also the territories of the Archbishop of Saltzburg, and those of the Bishops of Passau, Ratisbon, Freisingen, and the lands of several abbeys and convents which have little or no dependance on him. This country, according to Dr. NICHOLSON, includes great part of the ancient Rætia, Vindelicia and Noricum, and acquired the name of Bavaria, or rather Boiaria, from the Boij, a Gallick Nation who settled themselves here, as has been mentioned already. The modern Bavaria is bounded by Franconia, Voithland and Bohemia on the north; by Bohemia and Austria towards the east; by Carinthia, Brixen and Tyrol towards the south; and by Suabia on the west; extending about two hundred miles from north to south, and an hundred and twenty from east to west.

The circle of Bavaria is usually divided into three parts, namely, 1. The Upper. 2. The Lower Bavaria. And 3. The Upper Palatinate. The Upper Bavaria lies between the country of Tyrol and the Danube, and is generally a mountainous barren soil, the chief towns whereof are Munich, Freising, Ingoldstat, Donawert, Rain, Landsperg, Oettingen, Tegernsee, Scheyren, Waffersburg, Hay, Muldorf, Burkhausen, Branaw and Scharding.

The Lower Bavaria stretches along the Danube to the confines of Austria, and is as fruitful a province as most in the Empire; the chief towns whereof are Ratisbon, Straubingen, Landshut, Passau, Mospurg and Abach.

The Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, or Nortgow, so called from its northern situation in respect of the Elector's other dominions, is bounded by Voithland on the north; by Bohemia and Austria towards the east; on the south by the Danube,

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Bavaria.

Upper Bavaria.

Lower Bavaria.

Upper Palatinate.



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Bavaria.

which separates it from the dutchy of Bavaria; and on the west by Suabia and part of Franconia. This is generally a rocky uneven country, tho' in some places there are valleys which afford good corn and pasture. They have also a pretty good share of vineyards, but their wine has a sharp unpleasent taste. Their greatest riches lie in the bowels of the earth, in their mines of copper, silver and other metals, especially iron, of which they forge and vend a great deal. This Palatinate was taken from the Elector Palatine, together with his other territories, upon his assuming the title of King of Bohemia, in opposition to the Emperor, about the year 1620, and transferred to the Duke of Bavaria with the title of Elector; and though the rest of the Elector Palatine's dominions were restored to his posterity with an eighth Electorate by the treaty of Munster, yet this part called the Upper Palatinate, with the Electoral dignity, was confirmed to the Bavarian family, which they remain possessed of to this day. The chief towns in the Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, are Amberg, Sulzbach, Cham, Walsaffen, Castel, Newburg, Luchtenburg and Averbach, the most considerable whereof will be particularly described hereafter.

Munich  
city.

The chief rivers of Bavaria are, 1. The Danube. 2. The Lech. 3. The Inn. 4. The Amber. 5. The Iller. 6. The Saltz. 7. The Nab. And 8. the Isar; few countries being better watered with navigable rivers. The chief towns are 1. Munich, or Munchen, the capital of Bavaria, pleasantly situated on the river Isar, in the latitude of 48 degrees odd minutes, sixty miles north of Inspruck, and an hundred west of Lintz in Austria. The town is large and well built, and the streets so broad, that there are canals in many of them filled by the branches of the river Isar, which here divides it self into several channels. It is the opinion of some travellers, that this is the fairest, though not the largest city in Germany. The splendour and beauty of its buildings, both publick and private, says Mr. RAY, especially the Electoral palace, which may compare with any in Europe, and the magnificence of their churches and convents are such, that it surpasses any thing in Germany for its bigness. It is walled round and fortified after the modern way, but not capable of maintaining a long siege, for we find the Electress of Bavaria thought it prudence to surrender this capital in the late war, rather than hazard a siege. Nor is it a town of any considerable trade, but what is occasioned by their Princes residence amongst them. Misson observes, that the outside of the Electoral palace is not answerable to the internal beauty, tho' many of the apartments too are irregular; for this vast structure being built by several persons at different times, the fabrick differs according to the fancy of the persons who had the management of it. The great hall of the Emperor's apartment is an hundred and eighteen feet long, and fifty two broad. This, says my author, is a truly magnificent apartment, especially in respect of its curious pictures, which are all history-pieces, the sacred on one side, and the prophane on the other, every history having a Latin inscription in verse under it, the following distich being annexed to that of SUSANNAH, viz.

*Castia Susanna placet, Lucretia cede Susanne;*

*Tu post, illa mori maluit, ante scelus.*

In the little chapel belonging to the apartment of the Electress, you see nothing but gold, pearls

and jewels, and among the reliques there is a piece of gold mohair, which, as tradition informs us, was a piece of the Virgin MARY's gown. The parlour of perspectives, says the same traveller, is extremely fine; but the hall of antiquities exceeds all the rest, for we numbred an hundred and ninety-two busts, and four hundred other pieces, all esteemed for their exquisite workmanship and antiquity. The furniture of the palace is rich beyond imagination, and in the treasury there were whole services of gold plate, an incredible number of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones; but the late Elector in his great necessities during the last war, was obliged to part with some of this treasure to support himself, and a great deal more was seized by the Imperialists when they were in possession of Munich; but these were stipulated to be restored by the last treaty, if such a thing was possible. The whole palace is lined or incrusted with marble, or a cement so like it that it is not to be distinguished from it: and Misson relates that there are subterraneous passages from the palace to most of the churches and convents in the city: but in this he was probably imposed upon, we may take it for granted he never saw them. 2. Ingoldstat, situate on the

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Bavaria.

Ingoldstat.

north shore of the Danube, in a plain fruitful country, forty miles to the northward of Munich, and thirty west from Ratisbon. It is esteemed a town of good strength, and well built, the streets broad and strait, but poor and ill inhabited. In the great church is an image of the Virgin MARY of beaten gold, which with the workmanship, jewels and other ornaments, is said to have cost fifty thousand crowns: before it kneels a French King of the same metal, but not so large, clothed in a long purple robe, enamelled with yellow flower de lices, and near to it stands another small image of gold, adorned with precious stones, and richly enamelled, representing St. MICHAEL with a pair of scales in his hand. In this city the famous Cardinal BELLARMINE, and PETRUS APPIANUS had their education.

3. Donawert, or Teonawert, twenty five miles west of Ingoldstat, and twenty-four north of Augsburg, which takes its name from the river Donaw, or Danube, whereon it stands, is of it self a place of no great strength; but the fortrefs of Schellenberg near it had like to have put a stop to the progress of the allies in the year 1704, when the Duke of Marlborough attacked it with the flower of the confederate army; but it was at length forced by the resolution of the troops, and superiority of their numbers, and the Elector of Bavaria obliged to retire under the cannon of Augsburg. Donawert is a great thorough-fare, both by land and water, and the entertainment of travellers seems to be the most beneficial employment of the inhabitants. It was once an Imperial city, and comprehended in the circle of Suabia; but upon declaring for the protestant Princes, was proscribed by the Emperor FERDINAND II. anno 1634, and brought under the dominion of the Elector of Bavaria, who was the Emperor's General in that war. 4. Amberg, the capital of the Upper, or Bavarian Palatinate, situate on the banks of the river Vils, thirty miles to the northward of Ratisbon, esteemed a place of considerable strength, and endowed with large privileges by the Emperor RODOLPH. It was anciently subject to the Dukes of Suabia, but by the last Prince of that race transferred to the house of Bavaria. The iron and other minerals which are dug

Amberg.



CHAP. X. dug out of the neighbouring mountains, employ the inhabitants in forging and converting it into utensils, which they vend in other parts of Germany. 5. Newmark, once an Imperial city, but now subject to the Duke of Bavaria, stands on the banks of the river Sultz, thirty miles north of Ingoldstat. The trade of the place consists chiefly in iron-work. The country about it is called the territory of Newmark. 6. Sultzbach, a small city, situate on a hill, five miles north-west of Amberg, where a Prince of the house of Newburg has a palace, and styles himself Duke of Newburg, Bavaria, &c. 7. Ratibon, or Regensburg, situate in forty nine degrees north latitude, at the confluence of the Danube and the Regen, about sixty miles to the northward of Munich, and as many west of Passau. It is the only free Imperial city within the limits of the Elector's dominions; large, populous, well built and pleasantly situated, fortified with a double wall; but yet seems to be a place of no great strength, or it would not so easily have submitted to the Elector of Bavaria as it did in the last war, when the Diet was assembled there, without striking a stroke. The place where the Diet meet is a large upper room hung with tapestry; the Imperial throne and seats richly covered with gold and silver tissues, velvet, &c. suitable to the dignity of the illustrious members. The cathedral is not admired for its beauty, or any other excellence; but the convent of St. EMERAM is said to be worth the viewing: and the stone bridge across the Danube is no mean structure, consisting of fifteen large arches supported by square pillars, and is one thousand and ninety-one feet in length, and three and twenty broad, having three handsome towers built upon it. This city is governed by it's own magistrates, and is not subject to the Duke of Bavaria. The Lutheran is the established religion, only the Bishop has the liberty of saying mass in the cathedral once a week. The town is plentifully supplied with provisions: wine is made in the neighbourhood, not inferior to Rhens: and their fields produce all kinds of corn and grain; nor do they want good pasture for their cattle. The advantage of their situation upon and near so many navigable rivers creates a brisk trade, and the concourse of people which the Diet occasions, is a great addition to it. 8. Passau, situated about sixty miles to the eastward of Ratibon, and ten to the westward of Austria, at the confluence of the three rivers, Danube, Inn and Ilts, which divide it into three parts, either of them a town by itself, but together form a noble large city: it is naturally strong, being surrounded on all sides either by rocks or rivers; but the fortifications are not answerable to the situation, or the Bishop of Passau, the sovereign of the place, had never yielded it up to the Elector of Bavaria the last war without attempting to defend it; nor would the Elector have parted with it again without force if he had deemed it tenable. The houses of the town are of wood, but the publick buildings of stone and very magnificent, especially the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN, the Bishop's palace, and the castle which stands upon an adjoining hill. In this city it was that the peace was concluded between the Emperor CHARLES V. and the protestant Princes in the year 1552; by which the Lutherans were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. It is observable that the river Inn, which gives name to that division of Passau cal-

led Inaflat, discharges itself into the Danube with that violence, that it preserves it's stream unmixed for a great way, being of a different colour from the waters of the Danube: and on the other side the Danube, the black muddy streams of the Ilts are discernable for several furlongs, that river running with a furious torrent from the Bohemian forests. The Bishop of Passau is sovereign of the country which lies between the Palatinate and Austria, for twenty miles to the northward of Passau and the Danube, in which district stand the castles of Obernberg and Eberlberg. 9. Landshut, the chief town the Elector hath in the Lower Bavaria, where his Lieutenant usually resides, stands on the river Ikar, thirty miles south of Ratibon, in a pleasant country almost in the middle of the Elector's dominions, on which account the ancient Dukes of Bavaria built a palace here, and beautified the city, which is still one of the handsomest in the country; and there is a church in Landshut, the tower whereof travellers take notice is the highest in Germany. 10. Newburg, *Novaburgum*, a pretty neat city, the capital of a country of the same name, subject to it's own Prince the Duke of Newburg, who is also Elector Palatine, stands on the south bank of the Danube, fifteen miles to the westward of Ingoldstat. The town has a good trade in wines; and the country belonging to it extends itself along the Danube near forty miles; but is exceeding narrow. Among other towns in this district is, 11. the town of Hochstet, about twelve miles to the westward of Donawert; rendered famous by the victory the Germans and their allies, the English and Dutch, gained over the French and Bavarians near this place in the year 1704. In which battle the confederates were commanded by Prince EUGENE of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough, and the enemy by the Duke of Bavaria, and the Marshals TALLARD and MARSIN. The Emperor was at this time reduced to the greatest extremity by the French and Bavarian forces, who would probably have made themselves entire masters of Germany, if the English and Dutch had not sent a powerful re-inforcement to the Emperor's assistance. And what would have been the consequence to the allies if that body had been defeated, heaven only knows. On the contrary, the advantages the Emperor reaped by that successful battle were so numerous, and so important, that the Austrian family must always gratefully remember the English nation, who contributed so largely to that expedition. 12. Between the towns of Donawert and Hochstet, stands the little city of Lawingen upon the Danube, subject also to the Duke of Newburg. The bridge over the Danube, the castle, and the great church, are all that travellers mention here to be worth our notice; neither do they give any further description of it, than that the great church is covered with copper. 13. Nabburg, a pleasant city in the same district of Newburg, which stands upon a hill near the river Nab. And, 14. Aichstat; but of this more in Franconia, of which it is sometimes reckoned a part. 15. Freisingen, situate on the side of a hill, in a fruitful country near the river Ikar, seventeen or eighteen miles north of Munich. The Bishop is sovereign of the place, and of the adjacent country; and there is another small territory belonging to him on the confines of Bavaria and Tyrol, called Werdenfels from it's chief town, which lies near the river Ikar, about forty miles south of Munich.

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Landshut.

Newburg.

Hochstet.

Lawin-  
gen.

Nabburg.

Aichstat.

Freisin-  
gen.



CHAP.

X.  
Bavaria.Saltzburg  
country.Saltzburg  
city.

Hallen.

Lauffen,  
&c.The con-  
dition of  
Bavaria in  
general.

Munich. And lastly, I come to describe the country subject to the Archbishop of Saltzburg, which is accounted part of the circle of Bavaria; being bounded by the duchy of Bavaria on the north, by Styria and the Upper Austria towards the east, by Carinthia and part of Tyrol on the south, and by Tyrol towards the west: the chief towns whereof are, 16. Saltzburg, the ancient *Juvavia*, situate on the river Saltza, sixty miles east of Munich, esteemed one of the finest cities of Germany. The cathedral is a modern building, erected in the year 1628, exceeding magnificent; the city having been burnt down a little before. The palace of the Archbishop is part of the castle of Mirabel, than which nothing can be more delightfully situated. The town is well built in general: and the publick inns, travellers relate, are the best in Germany. It has a very good trade, especially in salt, which the neighbouring pits produce. 17. Hallen, another town in this country, upon the banks of the river Saltza, about eight miles to the southward of Saltzburg, where the salt-pans continually employ great numbers of people. It is reported that in the year 1573, there was found in a salt-pit here, several hundred fathom deep, in the midst of a hard rock of salt, an entire human body, with it's limbs, hair and clothes found and uncorrupted, which by it's antique dress, was thought to have lain some ages in that condition.

The country of Saltzburg, of which the Archbishop is sovereign, extends seventy miles from east to west, and fifty from north to south: and besides the abundance of salt it affords, it has considerable mines of copper and iron, and some of silver. A little above the city of Saltzburg springs the Gastein bath, the waters whereof are very hot, and taste strong of several minerals; and are said to be a remedy for the stone, the pox, the colick, and other malignant distempers, by bathing in them only, without drinking the water. There are also many excellent quarries, out of which is dug a stone little inferior to jasper. Besides the towns already mentioned in the country of Saltzburg, are those of Lauffen, Titmoning, Radstat and Muldorf, of pretty good note; but I do not meet with any particular description of them.

Notwithstanding Bavaria in general is a rich plentiful country, and lies exceeding well for trade, the Danube and many other navigable rivers passing through it; yet the natives are generally poor, which is supposed to proceed from the Elector's monopolizing the most considerable branches of traffick: and first, that of salt, which he prohibits his subjects to import from Austria, the Bishoprick of Saltzburg, or any other Prince's dominions on the severest penalties, or to buy any that is imported, except of himself. The Elector's factors alone are allowed to furnish Suabia with salt, which they dig at the salt-pits of Drabestein and Obenhall, which being very coarse, they mix with a purer salt brought from Saltzburg. 2. A second monopoly is that of corn; the farmer is obliged to sell all his grain to the Elector's agents, who retail it out again to the people. 3. This Prince, like the Czar of Muscovy, is Brewer-General of his dominions: none may brew or sell strong beer but the Elector's factors. There is only a poor sort of small beer, which the peasants and citizens are allowed to brew and spend in their own houses. And the Bishop of Passau, whose territories lie within this circle, imitates the Elector in this piece of tyranny. The chief

subsistence of the peasants of this country is their herds of swine, which they feed in the woods; and the wild beasts and game they meet with there, such as deer, wild hogs, &c. which they make free with, though it be almost as penal for a rustick to meddle with the game in Bavaria as here: but they are compelled by necessity to take what they find; for corn, beer and salt are at such excessive rates, that a countryman is scarce able to purchase them. After what has been observed in relation to monopolies, it may be needless to shew that the Elector is absolute in his dominions; and that the legislative and executive power are both vested in him. There are some general laws of the Empire indeed, that all the Princes and States of the Empire ought to be governed by, but they take the liberty to disobey and break through them too often, when there is not a force to compel the observance of them. What the forces and revenues of the Elector of Bavaria are exactly, I do not find computed by any writer, only in general, that his revenues are very large, arising from the monopolies abovesaid; from tolls on the rivers, customs on merchandizes, and the rents of his own demesne lands. And as the country is very populous, there is nothing to restrain him from raising as many troops as he can pay: like the other German Princes, he is never without a good body of standing forces, even in time of peace. The Elector and the Archbishop of Saltzburg are co-directors of this circle. The Elector of Bavaria styles himself Duke of the Upper and Lower Bavaria, and of the Upper Palatinate, Duke and Count Palatine of the Rhine; Elector and Vicar of the Empire, and Grand Master of the household. His arms are lozengewise Argent and Azure of twenty-one pieces bendwise for Bavaria. One and four Sable a lion Or, crowned languid and armed Gules for the Palatinate, with an Imperial globe Or, as Elector and Grand Master of the household of the Empire.

The late Elector of Bavaria died on the 26th of Feb. 1725-6, in the 64th year of his age. He was a fine gentleman, and a good soldier, and had experienced great variety of fortune. In the beginning of his life he commanded the Emperor's forces in Hungary; obtained a glorious victory over the Turks, and took the strong town of Belgrade by storm. He was afterwards Viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, and entered into the Grand Alliance against France in the year 1698; being Generalissimo of the confederate forces in Flanders in the absence of King WILLIAM III. In the last war he took the part of France, and having lost the memorable battle of Hochstet, was driven out of his country in the year 1704, put to the ban of the Empire, and forced to take refuge in France: but by the peace of Radstat, anno 1714, his dominions were restored to him, to the great satisfaction of his subjects, who were infinitely fond of their Prince, and ventured several insurrections in his favour while he was in banishment, and the Imperial forces possessed their country. He lived eleven years in peace after his return to his dominions, endeavouring to repair the damages his country had sustained by the ravages of the enemy, who were ten years in the possession of it. He was the third Elector of Bavaria; son to the Elector FERDINAND, and grand-son to MAXIMILIAN I. Elector of Bavaria, who was advanced to that dignity in the year 1623, by the Emperor FERDINAND II. in the room of FREDERICK Elector Palatine, who was

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X.  
Bavaria.Forces and  
revenues.The Elec-  
tor's titles.

Arms.

Charac-  
ters of the  
late Elec-  
tor.



CHAP.  
X.  
Bavaria.  
His marriages and issue.

put to the ban of the Empire on the loss of the battle of Prague in the year 1620. He married MARIA ANTONIETTA daughter to the Emperor LEOPOLD in the year 1685; by whom he had three children, who are all dead; and the Electress their mother dying anno 1692, he married the Princess THERESA CUNIGUNDA, daughter to JOHN SOBIESKI, late King of Poland, in the year 1694, by whom he had issue CHARLES ALBERT CAJETAN, the present Elector, born August 1697; who married the Archduchess MARY AMELIA, daughter to the late Emperor JOSEPH. 2. FERDINAND MARY, second son of the late Elector, born August 1699, and married to ANNE CAROLINA of Newburg. 3. CLEMENT AUGUSTUS, the third son, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Bishop of Munster and Paderborn, born August 1700. And 4. THEODORE, the fourth son of the late Elector, and made Bishop of Ratisbon, born anno 1703.

CHARLES ALBERT (the present Emperor and Elector of Bavaria) hath issue MARIA ANNA WALPURGE, born the fifth of July 1724. 2. THERESA BEN MARY, born the twenty fourth of November 1725. 3. MAXIMILIAN JOSEPH, born in 1727.

His electoral Highness is great master of the empire. The Counts of Walpurg are his vassals. He is director of the circle of Bavaria jointly with the Archbishop of Saltzburg.

Upper and Lower Bavaria (except some tracts of land, and places which belong to some ecclesiasticks) is in length about 130, and in breadth about 100 miles.

The Elector of Bavaria is one of the richest Princes in the Empire. His country is so well peopled, that they reckon in Bavaria, including the Upper Palatinate, 35 great and little cities, 49 towns, above 1000 fiefs noble, and 11,704 villages and hamlets, which bring in a revenue of above half a million of our money: a modern German writer makes it amount to between 8 and 900,000 l. He adds, that the late Elector had some years above one million.

This Elector is known to be one of the powerfulst Princes in Germany. He has several towns well fortified, a noble arsenal, and commonly 12,000 men on foot. He can on an emergency march 30,000 men into the field.

The Elector resides in his capital city of Munich, a fine, wealthy, and populous city. His palace is very noble, and exceeding richly furnished. His other seats are Dachau, Schleisheim, Furstinriet, Starenberg, Oettingen, and above all, the magnificent palace of Nymphenberg, within two miles of the capital: it was built by the late Elector: the gardens are inferior to none but those of Versailles.

The Elector's titles are, CHARLES ALBERT, by the grace of God, Duke of Upper and Lower Bavaria, and of the Upper Palatinate, Duke and Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector and grand master of the household to the Empire, &c.

This Prince and his subjects are generally Roman catholicks.

#### *The Elector of Saxony.*

Elector of Saxony.

V. The Elector of Saxony, FREDERICK AUGUSTUS III. born the 26th of September 1696, embraced the Roman catholick religion in 1717, and succeeded to the electorate in January 1733. He married in 1719, MARIA JOSEPH, eldest  
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daughter of the late Emperor JOSEPH. Their children, besides three that are dead, are, 1. FREDERICK CHRISTIAN LEOPOLD, electoral Prince, born the 23d of August 1722. 2. MARIA AMELIA, born in 1724, (married to the King of Naples.) 3. MARIA MARGARETTA, born in 1727. 4. MARIA ANNA SOPHIA, born in 1728. 5. AUGUSTUS LEWIS ALBERT, born in 1730. 6. CAROLINA, born in 1731. 7. CHARLES JOSEPH FRANCIS XAVIER, born in 1733. 8. N—— a daughter, born in 1736.

The Elector is great marshal of the empire; he is also vicar during an interregnum, and sole director of Upper Saxony. The Count of Papenheim is his hereditary vicar.

The Elector of Saxony is rich and powerful: his country is very fruitful and populous, and brings in a revenue of betwixt 7 and 800,000 l. per annum.

The Elector commonly has 20,000 regular troops, and 20,000 militia, without reckoning the ban, and the arriere ban, and the body of miners and hunters, who are obliged in time of war to bear arms.

Dresden is the capital of the electorate, and the usual seat of the Electors. It is large, populous, and well-built; the fortifications are modern, and very strong. The Elbe runs through the town, and divides it into old and new by a stately bridge of 17 arches.

His titles are, FREDERICK AUGUSTUS III. by the grace of God, great Marshal, and Prince Elector of the holy Roman empire, Duke of Saxony, Cleves, Juliers, &c.

## FRANCONIA.

### CHAP. XI.

#### *Treats of the circle of Franconia.*

THE circle or dukedom of Franconia received its name from its ancient inhabitants the Franks, who were so denominated, as some relate, from FRANCUS, a great commander of that people; but others hold that the Franks were not one particular people, but several German nations united together against the Romans, who took the name of Franken, which in their language signified a free people, and this country might be called so by way of eminence, as being the first or principal promoters of this confederacy.

The modern Franconia is bounded by Hesse and Thuringia towards the north, by the Palatinate of Bavaria on the east, by Suabia on the south, and by the Palatinate of the Rhine towards the west, and extends about 100 and 30 miles from east to west, and about 100 and 40 from north to south: the principal rivers whereof are the Maine, the Sala, which waters the country where the famous Salique law was made, which restrains the succession to the males; the Tauber, the Rednitz, the Altmutz and the Pegnitz. It is prettily diversified with hills and valleys, forests and champaign, and moderately fruitful in corn and wine; and comprehends, 1. The bishoprick of Wurtzburg, the chief towns whereof are Wurtzburg, Ochsenfurt, Konigshoven and Bifchoffsheim. 2. The bishoprick of Bamberg, the chief towns whereof are Bamberg, Cronach, Weismann and Forcheim. 3. The bishoprick of  
10 M Aichstat.

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XI.  
Franconia.  
Franconia, it's name.

Bounds and extent.

Rivers.

Face of the country.

Division.



CHAP.  
XI.  
Franco-  
nia.

Wurtz-  
burg.

Bamburg.

Aichstat.

Marien-  
dal.

Master of  
the Teu-  
tonick  
Order.

Cullembach.

Aichstat. 4. The district belonging to the master of the Teutonic Order, the chief town whereof is Margentheim. 5. The Marquises of Cullembach and Obnsbach, the chief towns whereof are Cullembach, Weisinstat, Bertrut, Obnsbach and Kreyling. 6. The districts of Coburg, Schwartzenburg, Cassel, Hennerburg, Erpach, Wertheim and Holach, or Hohenloe. 7. The Imperial, or free cities of Francfort, Nuremberg, Rotemburg, Schweinfurt, Weinsheim and Weissemburg.

Wurtzburg, or Heribopolis, the capital of Franconia, stands on the river Maine, sixty miles to the eastward of Francfort, in forty nine degrees forty five minutes north latitude. The Maine runs through the middle of the town, over which there lies a noble stone bridge, three hundred paces long. Other little rivulets run through the principal streets. The Bishop's palace stands upon a hill above the town, from whence there is a glorious prospect of the neighbouring country, being the richest part of the province. The Bishop has a great extent of country under his jurisdiction, in which it is computed there are not less than four hundred towns and villages besides Wurtzburg. He is as absolute in his dominions as the French King, and lives in all the state of a sovereign Prince.

Bamburg, the capital of the principality of the same name, stands forty miles north-east of Wurtzburg, of which the Bishop of Bamburg is sovereign, his territories extending sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth. He has also several more castles and royalties in Carinthia and other parts of Germany; for the lands and territories of the German Princes are so strangely intermixed, that it is difficult often to distinguish one from another. Nothing is more common than for a great Prince to hold part of his dominions of one much inferior to him; the King of Bohemia, the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg, for instance, hold several of their manors of this Bishop as lord paramount. The cathedral, the Bishop's palace, the Jesuits church, and the castle of Bamburg, are the only publick buildings that travellers mention in their way through it, and these do not seem to deserve a particular description.

Aichstat is the capital of another bishoprick, by some geographers placed in Bavaria, whose Bishop also is a temporal Prince. It stands about twelve miles north-west of Ingoldstat, the principality about it extending thirty miles in length, and from eight to sixteen in breadth. These three bishops are all Princes of the Empire, and have seats in the Diet.

Margentheim, or Mariendal, is a small city situate on the river Tauber, about two and twenty miles west of Wurtzburg, where the great Master of the Teutonic Order hath his residence, and is the capital of the small territory belonging to him, since the Order were driven out of Prussia. These Knights still possess eleven commanders in Germany, and have a right to chuse their great Master, who is always a Prince of the Empire, and hath one of the first seats in the Diet after the Electors. The Knights on their admission are obliged to prove their nobility for sixteen descents, both by father and mother.

The marquise of Cullembach receives its name from its capital city, which stands on the river Maine, twenty five miles north-east of Bamburg, and is subject to the two branches of the house of Brandenburg, called Cullembach, and Bareith, who are each of them Princes of the Empire; and the Marquis of Cullembach is joint director of

the Circle of Franconia with the Bishop of Bamburg. The extent of the country of Cullembach Proper, is about thirty four miles from east to west, and thirty from north to south. Bareith, the other subdivision of this country, has its name also from its capital Bareith, which stands fifteen miles south-east of Cullembach, the country under its jurisdiction being near forty miles in length, but not a fourth part so broad in many places.

The Marquise of Obnsbach, or Anspach, is subject to another Prince of the house of Brandenburg. Its capital city of the same name stands twenty five miles south-west of Nuremberg, and the country subject to it is about fifty miles long, and twenty broad.

The county of Holach, or Hohenloe, lies between the territory of Anspach and Hall, and is about twenty five miles long, and fifteen broad, and takes its name from an old castle, the seat of the Count, who is of a very ancient family.

The county of Cassel, or Castell, lies between the bishoprick of Wurtzburg and the county of Schwartzenburg, being about twenty five miles in length, and seven in breadth, the chief town whereof is Castell.

The county of Schwartzenburg lies between the Marquise of Anspach and the Bishoprick of Bamburg, being about twenty miles long, and fifteen broad; the chief town whereof is of the same name, and situate on the river Lee. The Count to whom it is subject is a Prince of the Empire.

The County of Wertheim lies west of Wurtzburg, being twenty six miles long, and twelve broad: the chief city is of the same name; and stands at the conflux of the rivers Tauber and Maine, in a healthful country, yielding plenty of corn, wine and cattle.

The county of Erpach lies between the Lower Palatinate and the Archbishoprick of Mentz; being about five and twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; the chief town, of the same name, stands on a small river, forty three miles west of Wurtzburg.

The county of Henneburg, so called from an ancient castle, or palace of the Counts, situate on the top of an hill near Meiningen; and is bounded on the north by the territories of the abby of Fulda, by Thuringia on the east, by the bishoprick of Bamburg on the south, and the diocese of Wurtzburg on the west: a populous, fruitful country; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Mei-

ningen, a beautiful little city, on the river Vera, 2. Shleusingen, situate on the river Shleus; remarkable for the assembling the electoral college there by FERDINAND II. 1623; when he deprived the Elector Palatine of his dignity and dominions, and transferred them to the Duke of Bavaria. 3. Coberg, the capital of a county of the same name; sometimes reckoned part of the Circle of Saxony, one of the most ancient cities in Germany; tolerably large and well built, and defended by a castle which stands on an adjoining hill. In this castle MARTIN LUTHER was imprisoned several times for speaking contemptibly of his superiors; and here, during his confinement, he composed several hymns, which are sung at this day with great devotion by his followers: in one of which he highly commends the happiness of imprisonment; and might have some reason for it, if he became more humble after it; for the great turn he had given to ecclesiastical affairs, had made him insufferably insolent.

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Franco-  
nia.  
Bareith.

Anspach.

Hohenloe.

Cassel.

Schwartz-  
enburg.

Wertheim

Erpach.

Henne-  
burg.

Meinin-  
gen.

Shleusin-  
gen.

Coberg.

Luther  
imprison-  
ed here.



CHAP.  
XI.  
Franco-  
nia.  
Francfort.

The Imperial, or free cities in Franconia are, 1. Francfort, said to be so named from a ford over the Maine, where the Franks used to pass that river in their incursions against the Saxons; and afterwards built a fort to secure their passage. It lies in fifty degrees odd minutes north latitude, twenty miles to the eastward of Mentz; being built on each side the river, and joined by a handsome stone bridge. It is a large populous city, regularly fortified, but not of any great strength, being much more considerable for its trade, which is carried on by the Maine, the Rhine, and other rivers which fall into them. There are two fairs yearly, in March and September, of three weeks continuance each, when the town is crowded with people from all parts; but what they deal most in, I perceive, is books and horses. The streets of the town are broad, and the houses built either with a red stone, or of wood plastered over and painted. St. Bartholomew's church, where the Emperor is usually elected, is a stately fabrick. The other publick buildings travellers take notice of, are the Emperor's palace, the town-house, and the castle; and there are some houses of the nobility which have a grand appearance. In the town-house, or guild-hall, where the Electors assemble before they proceed to the choice of an Emperor, is preserved the original Golden Bull, which contains the rules and orders to be observed at an election. This city, with the district about it, is governed by its own magistrates; which consist of a Prætor, or Mayor, twelve Burgomasters, fourteen Aldermen, and forty-two Counsellors, in the choice of whom every company of tradesmen have their votes. They have also a senate, which is divided into three benches: on the first sit the Aldermen; on the second the Literati, or learned in their laws and customs; and on the third the tradesmen. The Roman catholicks in this city are possessed of the cathedral church, and there are two convents for men, and one of nuns; but the Papists are not allowed to make any publick processions through the town, for the magistrates and most of the inhabitants are Lutherans. There are also some Calvinists, who are not suffered to have a church in the town, but go to a village near three miles off to their publick worship. The Jews are pretty numerous here, as in other parts of Germany, and have a synagogue allowed them: they do not however live in that wealth and splendor as in England; but are frequently put to the vilest drudgeries, and particularly are employed to extinguish fires, when any happen in the city.

The territory subject to the city of Francfort, is bounded by the county of Weteraw on the north, by the county of Hanaw on the east, by the landgravate of Darmstadt on the south, and by the archbishoprick of Mentz on the west. There is little good arable or pasture ground in this district; the country being for the most part covered by woods or vineyards: the natives are a laborious people, whose employment is chiefly making of wine, which they transport to other countries, and drink little themselves: but this is probably to be understood of the lower rank of the people; people of fashion in Germany do not use to have their cellars empty.

To this city of Francfort several English Protestants retired during the persecution in Queen Mary's reign, and had a church assigned them; some of these were for retaining the liturgy and ceremonies established in the reign of King Edward VI. while Knox and others were for re-

ducing the church of England to the plan of Geneva: and not content with this, began to preach up rebellion and disobedience to governors, and particularly to the Emperor; whereupon the magistrates of Francfort compelled Knox and his disciples to quit the city, and retire to Geneva; and leave the English Protestants, who were for uniformity and the liturgy, and taught obedience to magistrates, in possession of the church which had been assigned them.

Nurenburg, or Nurnburg, *Noricorum Mons*, situate in forty-nine degrees thirty minutes north latitude, forty miles south of Bamberg, and as many north of Ingoldstat, in the very heart of Germany, is said to have obtained its name from the Norici, who built a fort on the hill where the castle of Nurenburg now stands, to defend themselves from the Huns, who had driven them out of Austria, their former country. This city is situate in a plain, being seven miles in circumference; and encompassed with a wall and towers, after the old way of fortification; and a castle standing upon an adjoining hill, but of no great strength at present. The streets are large and well paved; the houses generally built of hewn stone, five or six stories high. Their market-places and squares large and spacious, and adorned with fountains: the river Pegnitz runs through the middle of it, entering the city by twelve large arches under the wall, and issuing out on the other side of the town in the same manner, but is not navigable. It turns however a vast variety of mills in the town, for corn, paper, iron, &c. This city is extremely populous, and has the greatest trade of any in Europe, that does not stand near the sea or some navigable river. Their artificers in iron, steel, wood, ivory, alabaster, &c. are said to be inimitable, and afford their goods extremely cheap. It is from this part of Germany that those toys which we call Dutch are imported hither. And no place is more famous for clock-work: a coach was made for the King of Denmark in this city, that would go by springs without horses, and travel three miles an hour. Some private citizens here have as fine collections of rarities, pieces of antiquity and medals, as are to be found in the cabinets of Princes. And it is nothing but the genius and extraordinary diligence of this people, that procures them this flourishing trade and plenty; for they live in a barren country, which affords scarce any merchandize to traffick with, but what receives the greatest part of its value from their labour and ingenuity. Their publick buildings are the Stadt-house, or Guild-hall, said to be equal to that of Amsterdam; and the church of St. SEBALD is esteemed as stately a fabrick as any in the Empire. In this city are kept the regalia used at the Emperor's coronation; as the Imperial crown, with which CHARLEMAIN was crowned, his mantle, the golden globe, CHARLEMAIN's sword, the sceptre, the Imperial cloak, all richly adorned with precious stones, with the gloves and buskins covered with plates of gold. The established religion here is the Lutheran: the Roman catholicks are only allowed to perform divine service in a church of the Lutherans, when they have done with it. The Calvinists are not allowed any publick place of worship, but are forced to go to a church three miles out of town, and suffer the Lutherans to baptize their children.

The governors and principal magistrates of the city are elected out of the nobility and gentry. The common council consists of forty-two members,

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Franco-  
nia.  
Nuren-  
burg.



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Franco-  
nia.

bers, of whom thirteen are Burgomasters, and as many Aldermen, the rest are stiled only Elders, or Sages of the people. One Burgomaster has the military, and one Alderman the civil government of the city for a month, and are then succeeded by two more; so that there is a Burgomaster and an Alderman for every month of the year, in whom the executive power is vested by turns. The ordinary affairs of the government are debated in their common-council: the raising of forces, or levying taxes, are usually referred to a select number of the council, stiled by way of eminence, *The Eight*: and upon any extraordinary emergency, the principal burghers elected out of every trade and profession in the town are summoned, to the number of four hundred, who have also the power of electing the members of the other councils, and of the magistrates of the place, which are chosen annually.

Altorf, &c.

The Nuremburghers have a country of about twenty miles extent, and several towns and villages under their jurisdiction; the chief whereof are, 1. Altorf, a university about twelve miles from Nuremburg. 2. Burthan. And, 3. Hersprach; all which were formerly parts of the Upper Palatinate; and taken by the Nuremburghers in their wars with the Marquis ALBERT, in the year 1504.

Nurem-  
burg.

Nuremburg, according to another writer, is the richest and most powerful city in Germany next to Hamburg, and the best built. The houses are all very beautiful, lofty, and perfectly light-some, and most of them are painted on the outside like those of Ausbourg. The townhouse, in which the senate assembles, is a structure remarkably beautiful, is very large, and completely well built: the principal front is adorned by three great portico's with marble pillars; the inside is every whit answerable to the magnificence of the outside there being very fine rooms in it, adorned with noble paintings.

Nuremburg has seven other towns, and 480 villages in it's territories: the government resembles that of Venice: the established religion is the Lutheran; the catholicks have a small church in the house of the Teutonic order: the Calvinists go to church in the territory of Anspach, but the Jews are not tolerated; because, it is said, they formerly poisoned the wells. They live in a place not far from Nuremburg, but come to town every morning, paying something for their entrance; have an old woman set over them, who is commonly both their guard and their guide, and are permitted to trade and trick wherever they can till night, when they are obliged to retire.

In the church of the hospital is kept CHARLEMAGNE's crown, said to weigh fourteen pounds; the scepter and the globe; in short, all the ornaments of Empire, except CHARLEMAGNE's sword, said to have been brought from heaven by an angel.

Rotem-  
burg.

Rotenburg, another Imperial city in Franconia, situate on the river Tauber, thirty miles to the westward of Nuremburg, a pretty compact town, obtained it's freedom of the Emperor FREDERICK I. in the year 1163.

Schwein-  
furt.

4. Schweinfurt, situate on the Maine, twenty-six miles north-east of Wurtzburg; a small city, and not very populous; obtained the privilege of a free Imperial city in the year 1388.

Winf-  
cheim.

5. Wunscheim, a little Imperial city, which stands on the river Arsch, in the marquisate of

Anspach, sixteen miles to the northward of Rotenburg.

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Franco-  
nia.  
Weiss-  
burg.

6. Weissenburg, situate in the bishoprick of Eichstat, twenty-eight miles south of Nuremburg. And these are all the free cities we meet with in Franconia. I proceed now to the circle of Saxony.

## SAXONY.

### CHAP. XII.

#### *Treats of Saxony in general.*

OF what extent the ancient Saxony was is very uncertain, but it is generally held to have taken up all the northern part of Germany, from Franconia and Bohemia to the Baltick Sea; and to have comprehended not only the Circles of Upper and Lower Saxony, but Westphalia, the two Friezlands, good part of Holland, Holstein, and even Jutland, which is at present part of the kingdom of Denmark.

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XII.  
Saxony.  
Of Saxo-  
ny in ge-  
neral.

Nor is the derivation of the name less contested than the bounds of the country. Mr. CAMDEN follows the opinion of those who derive it from the Saxe, a Scythian nation, who inhabited a country to the north of Persia and India, whose posterity he supposes the Saxons are. But as there is no probability that those eastern Scythians should ramble so far to the westward, nor no foundation in history to support this surmise; later writers have taken the liberty to dissent from Mr. CAMDEN, and to suggest that the Saxons more probably took their name from a short sword, or dagger they wore, peculiar to that nation, and called in their language Seax, or Saks. But however they obtained the name of Saxons, or whatever countries they inhabited, no people rendered themselves more terrible to the Romans and their allies, both by sea and land; and from their frequent maritime expeditions, I make no question of their possessing most of the sea-coast between Holland and Denmark. It is observed, that upon the coasts of Britain and France, as far as Spain, the Romans were obliged to maintain standing troops to oppose the incursions of this people, under certain great officers, who from their commands were stiled, *Comites litoris Saxonici per Britanniam Et Galliam*. The character SIBONIUS gave of a Saxon rover, was, That he was an enemy formidable beyond comparison, one whom frequent shipwrecks recreated rather than terrified, as being not only acquainted but grown familiar with the perils of the ocean: which is a character very suitable to the natives of Friezland, whose ancestors the Saxons possessed the same shores.

The  
name.

There is no doubt but many different nations were united under the general name of Saxons; all who joined them in hopes of plunder, or finding more agreeable seats than their own, went under this common appellation; the people they invaded at least made no distinction, but as they met with them in the Saxon armies, called them all Saxons, though there might be Jutes, Angles, and twenty other tribes mixed together.

According to our ancient historians, the Saxons first infested the British shores about the year 370; but did not obtain any settlement here, till they were invited hither by VORTIGERN, a British King, to defend him against the Picts, about the year



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447. These Saxons, it is said, were commanded by HENGIST and Horsa, two brothers. But Dr. NICHOLSON, with good reason, questions whether there ever were two Saxon Generals named HENGIST and Horsa; because there never was any family of Saxons, who had these names amongst them, either before or since that time: and the occasion of the mistake the Doctor supposes to proceed from the Saxon armies having a horse in their colours and standards: for the word *Hengist* he observes, in the old Saxon dialect, signifies a Stallion; and that *Horsa* is a word of the same signification, he thinks is obvious enough to an English Reader. He looks upon it as highly probable therefore that the Saxon commanders should have the names of HENGIST and Horsa given them by the English, for the same reason that some writers enigmatically call the Emperor the Eagle, the King of France the Lilly, &c. from the arms they bear.

Modern  
Saxony,  
the  
bounds.

The modern Saxony, including both the Circles of Upper and Lower Saxony in their utmost extent, is bounded by the Baltick Sea, Denmark, and the German Ocean towards the north; by Poland and Silesia towards the east; by Bohemia and Franconia towards the south; and by the Circle of Westphalia towards the west; lying between the fiftieth and the fifty-fifth degrees of north latitude.

## UPPER SAXONY.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Treats of the Circle of Upper Saxony.*

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XIII.  
Upper  
Saxony.  
Division.

IN the Circle of Upper Saxony are included, 1. The duchy of Saxony. 2. The marquissate of Misnia and Voigtland. 3. The marquissate of Lusatia. 4. The duchies of Sax-Merzburg, Sax-Naumburg, and Sax-Altemburg. 5. The principality of Anhalt, and county of Barby. 6. The province of Thuringia; most of which provinces are subject to the Elector of Saxony. But besides these, there are included in the Circle of Upper Saxony, the marquissate and electorate of Brandenburg; the duchy of Magdeburg; the principality of Halberstat, and the duchy of Pomerania; most of which are under the dominion of the Elector of Brandenburg, the present King of Prussia. The chief rivers in the Upper Saxony, are the Elbe, the Sala, the Elster, the Unstruck, the Spree, the Havel, and the Neisse.

The  
duchy of  
Saxony.

1. The Duchy of Saxony, properly so called, which gives the Elector the title of Duke, is of no great extent; and bounded by the principality of Anhalt on the north; by Lusatia and part of Brandenburg towards the east; by Misnia on the south; and by the county of Mansfield, and the landgraviate of Thuringia towards the west. The air of this country is cold, but healthful; the soil yields wheat and some wine, though not in great plenty. Here are mines also of silver and other metals, but they want fuel to refine them. The chief towns of the duchy of Saxony are, first, Wittenburg, situate on the river Elbe, forty miles north of Leipzick. The town consists of but one long street, and has little observable in it besides the university. A merry fellow gives this character of the place, viz.

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Witten-  
burg city.

*At Wittenburg a man is sure to meet*

*Hogs, soldiers, whores, and scholars in the street.*

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Upper  
Saxony.  
Hall.

2. Hall, situate on the river Sala, forty miles south-west of Wittenburg, a neat town, standing on the side of a pleasant hill covered with vines; the inhabitants a polite people, and speak the High Dutch in the greatest purity. It is called *Hall Saxorum*, to distinguish it from other places of the same name in Germany. The salt-pits near it yield a good revenue to the sovereign, who is the Elector of Brandenburg. 3. Quedlinburg, a little city, thirty-five miles north-west of Hall, remarkable only for a nunnery there, whose Abbess is a Lutheran, and sovereign of the place, and has her deputy, or representative in the general Diet. She is always a Princess of the house of Saxony, and admits no nuns but of a noble descent into the convent. There are also in this duchy the towns of Sweinitz, Hertzburg, Torgau, Bitterfield, Weissenburg, &c. but I don't meet with any other description of them than their situation, which will be found in the map bound up with this volume.

Quedlin-  
burg.Torgau,  
&c.

2. The second division of the Circle of Upper Saxony, is the marquissate of Misnia, or Meissen, bounded by the duchy of Saxony on the north; by Lusatia on the east; by Bohemia on the south; and by Thuringia on the west; and extends about an hundred miles from north to south, and eighty from east to west; the district of Voigtland being the most southerly part of Misnia. The chief rivers in this province are the Elbe, the Mulda, the Pleiss, and the Black and White Elster. The Plains of Misnia yield plenty of all manner of grain, and their hills are rich in minerals. On the banks of the Elbe, near Dresden and Meissen, are large vineyards, which produce indifferent wine. The whole country is very well furnished with wood, and their forests afford plenty of game and venison. The natives of Misnia are distinguished for their hospitality and good breeding, their shape, make, and the neatness of their dress, beyond their neighbours; but then there is no province of Germany where they drink harder. The court it self is intolerably addicted to this vice; and how they do to preserve their chastity, which they are so much commended for, when they are scarce ever sober four and twenty hours, is a mystery to me. But by chastity I'm apt to think our travellers mean no more than their abstaining from adultery; for they relate at the same time, that this crime is punished with death by the Saxon law; and perhaps they are seldom so far intoxicated as to venture a halter for another man's wife, when there are females enough to be had without running that hazard.

Misnia  
marquissate.

Rivers.

The chief towns of Misnia are, 1. Dresden, the usual residence of the Elector of Saxony, a large populous city, situate on the river Elbe, in 51 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about forty miles south-east of Leipzick, and twenty north of the confines of Bohemia. It is one of the most considerable cities of Germany, fortified after the modern way, and the bastions faced with stone; and we have all the reason in the world to believe it very strong, because the late King of Sweden, when he was actually in possession of all the country for a year together and upwards, never attempted the siege of this place. The river Elbe divides the town into two parts, the one called the new, and the other the old city, which are

Dresden  
city.



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Upper  
Saxony.

joined together by a noble bridge of seventeen arches. The new town, where the Elector's palace stands, is best built, and very well worth a traveller's attention. The palace is large, and contains many beautiful apartments; the hall especially is admired for the many fine paintings in it, among which we see the people of most nations drawn in their respective habits: but what travellers are most taken with is the Kunst Kamer, or gallery of curiosities, containing several cabinets, in the first of which are all kind of mechanical instruments and tools, exquisitely wrought. In the other, many artificial works of coral, agate, &c. cups made of mother pearl, an ostrich made out of its own shell, with golden feathers, a purse of linnen incombustible, silver ore almost pure from the mines of Freiburg, several unpolished topazes ten inches in diameter, emeralds an inch in diameter as they grow in the rock. There is also a great variety of clock-work, as a horseman riding, a ship under sail, a centaur running and shooting, and a crab crawling on the table, &c. The stables also which are shewn to travellers are worth the seeing, the fabrick stately, and filled with the finest horses in the world; every one of which has an iron rack and a copper manger. Near the stables is a long arched walk, with the pictures of several favourite horses; and over it a gallery, where all the Dukes and Electors of Saxony are drawn both in their robes and military habits; and among them are shewn two pieces, said to be the pictures of those two Saxon Generals, HENGIST and Horsa, who first obtained a settlement in Britain, though, as Dr. NICHOLSON observes, it is probable that neither of these names were ever known to the ancient Saxons. In the arsenal there were within these few years no less than four hundred pieces of brass cannon, but the number may possibly be reduced at present, since the Swedes surprized and took so many of them in the last war. 2. Leipstick, one of the most populous and well built cities in Germany, situate in a pleasant fruitful plain, at the meeting of three small rivers, viz. the Elster, the Pleissa, and the Parde, about forty miles north-west of Dresden, a town of great trade, especially at the three annual fairs of Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas, when their streets are crowded with foreign merchants. The town is said to be defended by a strong castle, but I find the present Elector, King AUGUSTUS, did not think it tenable in the year 1706, when the King of Sweden marched into Saxony, for he ordered the governor to surrender it without hazarding a siege. Besides the castle I don't find any publick buildings mentioned by travellers except the church of St. Nicholas, which is said to be the finest Lutheran church in Germany. There is also a celebrated university in this city, in which however they have but four colleges, and those inferior to many in Oxford; the reason of which may be, that in most foreign universities the students lodge in the town, and are not obliged to reside within the walls of a college, as with us. In this city, it is observed, the High Dutch, or German language, is spoke with greater purity than in any other in Germany. 3. Freiburg, which stands about twenty miles south-west of Dresden, near the river Mulda, being of a circular figure, and encompassed with good walls, the streets broad and handsome, and the market-place spacious. The publick buildings are the Elector's palace, said to be a noble structure, and the church of St. Peter, where are the monuments of the du-

Leipstick.

Freiburg.

cal family; among which that of MAURICE, CHAP. Duke and Elector of Saxony, is accounted the finest in Germany, the bust being of black marble, admirably wrought, with many statues of alabaster and white marble about it. The situation of this place is so exceeding pleasant, that it is a proverbial saying, Were I Lord of Leipstick, I would spend my fortune at Freiburg. And the riches which are found here more than equal the beauty of the town, which stands great part of it on a mine, over vast vaults and caverns, which have been some ages digging to come at the silver ore that is found here. At a little distance from the town there are several other mines, three of which the ingenious Dr. BROWN has given us some account of. One of them, which goes by the name of the High Hill, he relates, is more than two hundred English fathom, or twelve hundred feet deep, which exceeded the depth of any mine he saw in Hungary. The second is called the Prince of Heaven, which has at some times produced an ore so rich, that it has afforded sixty-five pounds weight of silver in the hundred weight, though it generally yields but an ounce and a half, and sometimes but half an ounce of silver in the pound; but it is a constant observation of the miners, that where the veins are richest and purest they are thinnest, and generally not above the breadth of two inches. This mine, since it was first opened, it is reported, has yielded above an hundred millions of silver sterling. However, thus much is certain, that the Elector's annual profit from these mines amounts to at least an hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, clear of all charges. The third mine which Dr. BROWN visited here, was called the Neck-breaker, about eighty fathoms deep, the ore it produced being either copper and silver, or silver and lead, and sometimes all three; but they work only for silver. There is also a rich sulphur ore, hard and stony, with red spots, which is esteemed the best, some of which yields three pounds of sulphur out of an hundred weight of ore; and some of this sulphur ore yields silver and copper, but in smaller quantities.

Among the several ways they have of discovering mines, they tell us of a divine rod which directs them to the ore. It is nothing more than a forked hazel stick, the two horns of which the miner holds in his hand, while he walks over the ground, muttering some unintelligible words to himself, by way of charm; whereupon the forked stick turns in his hand, and points to the ground where the veins of silver lie. This is related by two authors of the best credit who treat of these mines, namely Dr. BROWN and Dr. NICHOLSON, who seem to have been eye-witnesses of the experiment; after which perhaps it may be thought impertinent to doubt the virtue of this rod. But however the miners may ascribe this to a supernatural power or impulse, if the fact be really true, I shall be apt to impute it to some such cause as occasions the needle pointing to the load-stone, rather than to a charm, in which I confess I have no great faith. But to proceed; these deep mines are very dangerous to the workmen, who frequently meet with damps that prove mortal; and another inconvenience that attends their labour, is the dust which grates upon and frets their skins, lungs and stomachs, and brings them into irrecoverable consumptions; to secure themselves against which they frequently wear vizards with glass-eyes. The mines are cold as far as the air can penetrate, but afterwards warm enough. There

The di-  
vine wand



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Saxony.  
Coin.  
Meissen.

Plawen.

Mulberg,  
&c.

Lusatia.

Bautzen.

Gorlitz.

Zittau, &c.

Sax-Mer-  
burg.

Sax-  
Naum-  
burg.

is a mint at Freiburg where six-dollars are coined, and other money, which is most commonly sterling, and looked upon to be the best cash in Germany; for the general coin of the Empire is a base mixed metal. 4. Meissen, heretofore the capital of Misnia, situate on the river Meissen from whence it takes its name, has little in it now worth a traveller's notice, unless a palace of the Elector's, venerable on account of its antiquity. 5. Plawen, the capital of Voigtland, situate on the river Elster, sixty miles south-west of Dresden. The other principal towns are Pirn, Mulberg, Chemnitz, Frawenstein, Koningstein, Marienburg, Annaburg, Zuickaw, Sneburg, Werda, Weisefels, Colditz, Leisneick, Lutzen, and Zeitz, of which I meet with nothing remarkable.

3. The third division of Upper Saxony is the marquisate of Lusatia, bounded on the north by Brandenburg; on the east by Silesia; on the south by Bohemia; and by the duchy of Saxony and Misnia towards the west; extending about ninety miles in length from north to south, and sixty from east to west, the principal rivers being the Spree and the Neisse. This country was a province of Bohemia until the year 1620, when being engaged in a rebellion against the Emperor with the rest of that kingdom, the Elector of Saxony was commissioned by the Emperor to reduce them to his obedience; which having effected, the Emperor transferred this province to the Elector and his successors, who still enjoy the same, except some few places which are subject to the Elector of Brandenburg.

Lusatia is part of it a sandy barren soil, and the remainder of it taken up with bogs and marshes, there being scarce corn enough growing in the province to subsist the inhabitants. Venison and fish however are extremely plentiful, and there is no want of wood. The inhabitants are supposed to be of Slavonian extraction from their language, which is a mixture of Slavonian and High-Dutch. They are observed to have quick natural parts, but more addicted to covetousness and a fordid way of living than the rest of Germany. The chief towns are, 1. Bautzen, or Budissina, situate on the river Spree, thirty miles north-east of Dresden. This city suffered much in the civil wars of the Empire, and was afterwards almost demolished by the Swedes; and is at present in no very flourishing condition. 2. Gorlitz, situate in a marsh, upon the river Neisse, about twenty-five miles to the eastward of Bautzen; in which are several handsome churches, and the private buildings are not despicable. The chief trade of the citizens lies in linen cloth, which they make and dye; and in beer brewed here and vended abroad. The other towns of any note in Lusatia, are Zittau, Leiba, Luben, Guben, Soraw, Cothus, Comitz, Friedland, Sprehenberg, Konignart, and Zobelitz, of which travellers entertain us with nothing remarkable.

4. The fourth division of Upper Saxony I am to describe, is the duchy of Sax-Merzburg, Sax-Naumburg, and Sax-Altenburg.

Sax-Merzburg was a Bishop's See till the reformation, when the Elector of Saxony seized upon the city and territory belonging to it; and now applies the revenues of it to the support of one of his younger sons, to whom it gives the title of Duke. The town stands about eighteen miles north-west of Leipzick; there is little worth observation in it, except the cathedral.

Sax-Naumburg also is the capital of a bishoprick, which the Elector of Saxony seized at the reforma-

tion; and now gives title to a Prince of Saxony of the Ernestine line, who is styled Administrator of the bishoprick. The town is situate on the river Sala, twenty-five miles south-west of Leipzick; having a territory belonging to it twenty-five miles in length, and fifteen in breadth.

Sax-Altenburg is bounded by Thuringia on the north; by Voigtland towards the east; and by Franconia on the south and west. The town of Altenburg, the capital of the territory, was an Imperial city, till FREDERICK, Marquis of Misnia, took it, in the year 1308, and united it to that province: it is now subject to the Duke of Sax-Gotha.

The fifth division of Upper Saxony is the principality of Anhalt, and the little county of Barby; bounded by the principality of Halberstat and Magdeburg on the north; by Thuringia on the south; and by Quedlinburg towards the west; extending ninety miles from east to west; but is not of a proportionable breadth, being mighty narrow. This territory is subject to the Prince of Anhalt, one of the most ancient families in Germany; from which sprung the houses of Saxony and Brandenburg. The chief towns of Anhalt are, 1. Zerbst, situate on the east side of the Elbe, about fifty miles north of Leipzick, where the Prince has a palace. 2. Brenburg, situate on the river Sala, where the Prince has another palace; but travellers have not thought either of them worth a description. 3. Dessau, situate in a pleasant fruitful country, at the confluence of the Elbe and the Mulda, eight miles to the southward of Zerbst, where the Prince also resides sometimes, the fortifications whereof are said to be very strong.

6. The sixth division of Upper Saxony is the landgravate of Thuringia, or Thuringen, in Latin authors *Thuringia*, and the county of Mansfeldt; bounded by the Hercynian forest towards the north; by the river Sala on the east; and by the woods of Franconia towards the south. The chief rivers are the Sala, the Werra, the Unstruck, the Jera, and the Leina. The country yields plenty of corn, and some wine, more palatable than that of Saxony or Brandenburg; and among that variety of plants and herbs, with which their fields abound, those peculiar to this province, are wild saffron, and woad used by the dyers in their best blues. They have also some good salt-pits; but their mines of silver and copper ore, mentioned by some travellers, do not turn to any great account. The natives are esteemed the most clownish and inhospitable people in Germany; naturally so stupid and brutish, that it is with difficulty they are brought acquainted with the common principles of humanity, or to understand their duty to their governors. The Thuringians are supposed to be descended from the Goths and Vandals; and were anciently governed by their own Kings, till they were subdued by the Franks in the reign of CHARLEMAIN, who established Christianity in this province: great part of it was made subject to the Archbishop of Mentz, who divided it into several governments, which afterwards grew up into distinct counties and baronies. Afterwards LOPWICK, Count of Schomburg, procured the title of Count of Thuringia to be conferred on him by the Emperor CONRAD II. and his posterity afterwards had the title of Landgraves of Thuringia given them by succeeding Emperors. In this line it continued till the death of HERMAN, Landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse, when Thuringia descended to HENRY Marquis of Misnia, from whom the present Elector of Saxony claims. The

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Saxony.

Sax-Al-  
tenburg.

Anhalt  
and Barby

Zerbst.

Brenburg.

Dessau.

Thuringia  
and Mans-  
feldt.



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Upper  
Saxony.  
Erfurt.

The chief towns whereof are, 1. Erfurt, or Erford, or rather Jeraford, from the river whereon it stands, the capital of the province, situate in a pleasant fruitful plain, on the banks of the river Gere, or Jera, sixty miles to the westward of Leipfick, in fifty-one degrees north latitude: it is a considerable city, usually compared to Cologne, for its beauty and dimensions, and the trade and wealth of the inhabitants. Here are several noble churches and abbeys, a magnificent castle, and a considerable university; a large territory also belongs to this city, in which are several baronies, and between three and four score villages, all which were subject to the Archbishop of Mentz till the reformation; when the citizens embracing the Lutheran religion, put themselves under the protection of the Elector of Saxony; which occasioned a war between the Archbishop of Mentz and the Elector; but by a treaty between them, it was at length agreed, That seventeen villages in this territory should be transferred to the Elector of Saxony; and the city with the rest of its dependencies should remain subject to the Archbishop of Mentz, as it is at this day. 2. Weimar, the capital of a duchy, which gives a title to a Prince of the family of Saxony; a large well-built city, situate between Erfurt and Jena, and has a great trade in wine. 3. Jena, seated in a pleasant valley, on the river Sala, three and twenty miles to the eastward of Erfurt; remarkable chiefly for its university, which has bred several learned men, particularly the famous J. LIPSIVS. 4. Gotha, the capital of a duchy, which gives a title to another branch of the house of Saxony; where the Duke has a castle and palace. The principal employment of the natives is the cultivating and preparing woad for the dyers, of which there are great quantities in the territory belonging to this city. This herb is said to be an excellent balsamick for curing wounds; and the roots enrich and improve the lands where they are planted.

Sax-  
Gotha  
Duke.

FREDERICK III. the present Duke of Sax-Gotha, was born in the year 1696. He married in 1729, a daughter of Sax-Meiningen. The Duke's father was,

FREDERICK II. knight of the order of the elephant, born in 1676, and died in 1732. He married in 1696. MAGDALENE-AUGUSTA, daughter to CHARLES-WILLIAM, Prince of Anhalt Zerbet. This Princess has borne sixteen children; those of them that are alive are,

1. The present Duke.
2. WILLIAM, colonel of a regiment of foot in the service of the Elector of Saxony, born in 1701.
3. JOHN-AUGUSTUS, a major-general in the Imperial army, born in 1704.
4. CHRISTIAN-WILLIAM, captain in the Emperor's service.
5. LOUIS-ERNEST, captain in the Emperor's service.
6. MAURICE, born in 1711.
7. FREDERICK, born the 4th of July 1715.
8. AUGUSTA, Princess of Wales, born the 17th of November 1721.
9. JOHN-ADOLPH, born in 1721.

Gotha, the capital city of the duchy, stands on the Leina, in a fine corn country, about two days journey south from Hanover. The town is large; its chief trade is in woad.

The Duke's castle, or palace, stands on a hill by itself; it was demolished by the Emperor Maximilian II. in 1567, but since rebuilt by

Duke ERNEST. From the apartments there is a vast prospect over a fine fertile plain. In one of these chambers is a collection of valuable rarities, and a noble library.

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The country of Altenburg, of which the Duke of Sax-Gotha is also Sovereign, is very fruitful. The peasants here are said to be the richest in all Germany, so that they may almost vie for substance with those of Holland, who are the richest in the world; and, like the Dutch too, they do not care to spoil the breed, and scorn to match their daughters to any but the sons of wealthy farmers.

At Altenburg, the capital of the country, the Duke has a handsome palace, where the Dutchess dowager, with the Princesses her daughters, retired on the death of the late Duke.

As of all the Saxon princes of the Ernestine branch, the Duke of Sax-Gotha is the most powerful, so of all the courts of Saxony, next to that of Dresden, his is the most numerous and most magnificent, according to the author of the present state of Germany. The Duke has all the officers of state, that are common to sovereign princes. By the wise management and economy of the publick finances, his subjects are the least burdened with taxes of any state in Germany; yet the revenues of the late Duke were computed at a million of crowns, or two hundred thousand pounds a year, with which he kept on foot between two and three thousand regular troops. His guards were well clothed, his liveries rich, his tables served with more elegance than profusion. Moreover, the dominions both of Weimar and Eysenach are ready to fall very soon into his family; by reason, that the Duke of Sax-Eysenach who is become next heir to the dominions of the Duke of Weimar, upon the death of his son, the young prince, in 1732, has no children, and the Duke of Weimar himself is not like to have any more issue to succeed him, he having absolutely refused the repetition of matrimony, to which he hath been often solicited by his subjects. This double succession, when it falls, will rank the Duke of Sax-Gotha among the most considerable princes of the empire.

The other towns of any note in Thuringia, are Mulhausen, a small Imperial city; Orlamund or Erlamund, Tonnenburg, Eysenach the capital of a duchy, which gives a title to another Prince of the house of Saxony, and hath a considerable trade in iron. Marchfeld, the usual residence of the Dukes of Sax-Gotha. Sunderhausen, the capital of the territory of Schwartzburg, forty miles long, and five and twenty broad. Northausen, the capital of the territory of Hohenstein, about twenty-five miles in length, and ten in breadth. Stolburg, the capital of a territory of the same name, twenty miles long, and ten broad; the Counts whereof are sovereign Princes.

Eysenach,  
&c.

Sunder-  
hausen.  
Northau-  
sen.  
Stolburg.

The last territory I shall mention here, is the county of Mansfield, by some called one of the Hercynian counties, (the other three being Stolburg, Hohenstein and Regenstein) so denominated from their lying upon the Hercynian forest. Mansfield is bounded by the principality of Anhalt on the north; by the river Sala, which divides it from Merzburg, on the east; by Thuringia on the south; and by the territories of Schwartzburg and Stolburgh on the west: and about thirty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. This country

Mansfield  
county.



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is rich in minerals, among which there is a black glittering kind of slate, which being melted down, yields both copper and silver, of which a German writer gives the following account: "The Counts of Mansfield, says he, have in their territories several mines of Scheifferstein, the like whereof the whole world cannot pretend to; for out of this stone the inhabitants melt a copper, each hundred weight whereof contains between ten and twelve ounces of pure silver: and whatever part of the country you dig for this mineral, you are sure to succeed; I myself have been an eye-witness of an extravagant curiosity of nature in the composition of this stone: there is in the neighbourhood of Eisleben a lake several miles in length and breadth, abounding with several kinds of fish and other animals, as frogs, water-rats, &c. all which are lively represented in many of these Scheiffer-stones, by fair copper strokes through the very body of the slate."

Eysleben.

The Counts of Mansfield are Princes of the Empire, of a very ancient family; but at present branched out into four or five distinct houses, which renders them less considerable than they have been. They pay some homage or acknowledgment to the Elector of Saxony, but have no great dependence on him. The chief towns of the county of Mansfield are, 1. Eysleben, so named from the iron ore dug there, called by the natives Eysen. The famous MARTIN LUTHER was born in this city in the year 1483, and died in the same place anno 1564. Over the door of the house where he was born, the citizens set up his statue in stone, with this inscription, viz.

*Hæc erat pæpe, sociorum pestis & bujus  
Vox mea cum scriptis nil nisi Christus erit.*

But the Imperialists in the civil wars of Germany which followed, demolished the image and defaced the inscription. The town is but small, and stands about fifteen miles north-west of Hall: the principal trade whereof is in iron-work. 2. Mansfield, which gives name to the county, and a title to it's Count; stands above five miles north-west of Eysleben; an old ruinous town, remarkable for nothing but a castle, which stands near it on the top of a hill. The other towns of any note in this country are Wipra, Arustein and Querfurt, of which travellers afford us no description.

And thus I have gone through all that part of the Upper Saxony that is subject to, or any way dependant on the Elector of Saxony. I proceed now to give some account of the present Elector, the King of Poland, and his family, and of his forces, revenues, and interests.

The family of the present Elector.

The present Elector FREDERICK AUGUSTUS was the younger son of JOHN GEORGE III. born May the twelfth, 1670. In 1693, he married CHRISTINA EBERHARDINA, the daughter of CHRISTIAN ERNEST, Margrave of Brandenburg Bareith, and succeeded his brother JOHN GEORGE IV. the late Elector, anno 1694, and was elected King of Poland in the year 1697. He has issue by the Electress a son named FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, born October the 17th, 1696, married to the Archduchess MARY, daughter of the late Emperor JOSEPH, in the year 1719. I shall not here give a list of all the Princes of the house of Saxony, but leave that for the appendix, where the pedigree of the other German Princes will be inserted; only observe that the present electoral

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family derive their pedigree from WITTING, the last King of the Saxons, who being conquered by CHARLES the Great, about the year 785, was afterwards restored to his dominions by the same Emperor; and held them of him under the title of Duke. The Princes of this house were great encouragers of the reformation; on which account the Elector JOHN FREDERICK was a considerable sufferer, being taken prisoner, and condemned to death by the Emperor CHARLES V. but pardoned afterwards as to his life, on the intercession of some powerful friends, upon condition he should resign the electoral dignity and all his dominions to the Emperor: which when he had done, the Emperor restored him the castle of Gotha, and the town of Weimar, with the territories thereto belonging, which his posterity still enjoy. But the Emperor, with the general consent of the Electors, invested MAURICE, cousin-german to the deprived Duke, in the electoral dignity, and all the lands, honours, and estates, which formerly belonged to the late Duke, the signiorities of Gotha and Weimar excepted; and the posterity of Prince MAURICE have enjoyed the electoral dignity and it's dependencies ever since, the present Elector claiming under him.

Revenues and forces.

The revenue of this Prince is supposed to exceed that of any of the German powers, except the Emperor; and to amount to at least five hundred thousand pounds per ann. For he has a tenth of all the corn, fruit, wine, and other produce of the earth in his dominions; besides a general excise upon beer, and almost all other kinds of provision. There is also a particular tax laid on his subjects for the maintenance of a war against the Turk, at least it was levied at first with that design, but is now continued in time of peace, upon pretence of the necessity of being always in a posture to oppose the enemy. A precedent that the ministry in other countries frequently copy after: and indeed, it seems to be a standing rule among those gentlemen, that whatever tax you can once wheedle or frighten the people into, is never to be laid down or diminished, notwithstanding the occasion of the first levying it hath been long since removed. But to proceed, there is also a vast estate in demesne lands, which belong to the Elector; and particularly church and abbey lands, which these Princes seized at the reformation; and over and above all this, there is a considerable revenue arises from the silver mines in this country, which, together with the other articles, cannot amount to so little as half a million of money annually. The Elector of Saxony, like other German Princes, always keeps up a good body of troops both in peace and war; and particularly the present Elector, who had never obtained the crown of Poland, or preserved himself on that throne, but by the influence of his Saxon forces. Before he had this occasion for them, he let out his troops to the allies, or other Princes for hire, as his neighbours constantly do, whenever they have an opportunity. And these Princes seem to have two very substantial reasons for keeping up a standing army at all times; the one to support the arbitrary dominion they exercise over their subjects, and the other to increase their revenues; for the Prince has always a profit out of the mercenaries he furnishes any power with, over and above the pay they receive for their necessary subsistence.

Abstract of the actions of the present Elector.

The present Prince entered into the confederacy against France, and commanded a body of troops upon



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Upper  
Saxony.

upon the Rhine, soon after his accession to the electorate, in the year 1694. He had then the reputation of a gallant man, and was actually stronger in his hands than any foldier in the army, being able to twist a horse-shoe in two with his fingers. He was called from the Rhine in the year 1696; and made General of the Emperor's forces in Hungary, where he gained abundance of honour by a victory he obtained over the infidels near Temeswaer. About the same time he thought fit to quit the Lutheran doctrine, and reconcile himself to the church of Rome, in order to qualify himself to be elected King of Poland, in which he succeeded through the interest of the powers in alliance against France, and the influence of the Saxon forces he carried with him into Poland on this occasion; and as he obtained his election by surprize and force, he was sensible he could not maintain himself on the throne of Poland, but by the continuance of the Saxon troops in that kingdom, which was however contrary to the constitution of Poland, and to the *Pacta Conventa* he had sworn to on his accession; and the only expedient he could think of in this case to avoid sending back the Saxons, was to make an offer to the republick of employing them in the recovery of those provinces which had been taken from the republick by the Swedes a century before, and yielded to Sweden by former treaties, which the Poles did not seem very averse to, especially since they were not to be at the expence of reducing them to their obedience. For let a Prince or State yield up a part of their territories to an enemy by the most solemn treaties, they ever pretend there was a force put upon them in the matter, and whenever they have an opportunity, seldom fail to renew their pretensions to the dismembered country, let the distance of time they parted with it be ever so great. But to proceed: the King of Poland, before he began this war, thought it prudent to enter into an alliance with Russia and Denmark, who had both of them the same antiquated pretensions to some of the provinces in the possession of the Swede; and when he had thus secured himself, as he apprehended, from all possibility of a disaster, he fell upon the Swedish dominions in Livonia, without declaring war, or giving the least intimation of his hostile intentions, which was looked upon to be the more barbarous and dishonourable, because the King of Sweden was then a minor. I have already given an account of the progress of this war in the modern history of Poland, I shall therefore only remember here, that the King of Sweden, though he was but seventeen years of age, assembled his forces, and landing in Livonia, defeated both the Muscovites and Saxons, and never left the pursuit of his enemies till he had ravaged the electorate of Saxony itself, obliged King AUGUSTUS to renounce the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge and congratulate STANISLAUS, whom he had set up in his room, as sovereign of that kingdom. But the King of Sweden being afterwards defeated at Pultowa by the Russians, King AUGUSTUS took the opportunity of re-ascending the throne of Poland again, in the year 1709, where he has maintained himself to this time, but in perpetual contentions with his subjects, who always insisted on the Saxon troops evacuating Poland, and at some times actually fell upon them in their quarters, and cut them in pieces; which occasioned an intestine war in that kingdom for many years, the Saxons sur-

prizing the Poles, and the Poles the Saxons, as they had an opportunity. And that which alarmed the Poles the more, was a proposal of his present Majesty to make the crown hereditary, and settle it on his family; to which purpose the electoral Prince, his eldest son, after the pattern his father had set him, renounced the Protestant religion, and became a Papist; but the Poles notwithstanding seem determined that he shall not succeed the present King. I must not forget here to do that justice to the Electors of Saxony, consort to the present King of Poland, as to acknowledge, that though the King her husband, and the electoral Prince her son, both apostatized from their religion in expectation of a crown, she has always continued firm to her principles, choosing to remain Electress of Saxony, rather than alter her religion to obtain the title of Queen of Poland, and the honours which attend it; for the Poles it seems will not suffer any Princess to be crowned Queen, who is not of the communion of the church of Rome. And this brings me to mention the religion professed in this electorate, which is in general the Lutheran, except in those cities and territories which are subject to the Archbishop of Mentz, and other popish Princes. It is true, the present Elector the King of Poland, and the electoral Prince, with some other Princes of the electoral family, have of late years been reconciled to the church of Rome; but they have not yet used any other means than their own example and persuasion to bring over the people to that church. Lutheranism is still the established religion of the country, and when the Duke of Sax-Zeitz, who had been seduced to turn Papist, returned to the bosom of the Lutheran church four or five years since, I find they sung *Te Deum* for it, as if they were under no apprehensions of the frowns of the court on that occasion; and perhaps the danger they may apprehend to their religion from the apostacy of their Princes, may put them more upon their guard, and induce them to hold their opinions the faster: for I make no doubt but many of the subjects of England, who were very zealous for their religion in the reign of the late King JAMES, having since met with no opposition on that head, have become very indifferent to it, and scarce think any religion worth the contending for; whereas, had the danger continued, their zeal would probably have continued too.

The Elector of Saxony and the Elector of Bavaria are Vicars of the Empire, and have the administration of the government during an Interregnum, (but I think this point is scarce settled between the Elector Palatine, and the Elector of Bavaria.) The Elector of Saxony is also Great Marshal of the Empire, and by virtue of that office to have the guard of the city where the Diet assembles. The titles he assumes are Duke of Saxony, Juliers, Cleve, Berg, Engers and Westphalia; Arch-Master and Elector of the Empire; Landgrave of Thuringia; Margrave of Misnia, and of the Upper and Lower Lusatia; Count and Prince of Henneberg; Count of La Marck, Ravensburg and Barby; and Lord of Ravensstein.

The arms of the Elector of Saxony, are, Azure, a lion crowned faced Argent and Gules, for Thuringia. Faced Or and Sable with Vert through the whole for Saxony. Or, a lion Sable, for Misnia. Coupee Sable on Argent two Swords Gules, for the dignity of Elector and Arch-Marshal of the Empire. Argent, a beeve Gules, and

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Upper  
Saxony.

The Elector of Saxony's titles.

The arms of Saxony.



CHAP. XIII. Upper Saxony. a wall Or, for Lusatia. The helmets are Or, surmounted with two blue wings, for Lusatia. Or, surmounted with two horns Argent, for Thuringia. Or, two crowns Azure and Argent, for Saxony. Or, surmounted with a demi-man Azure and Argent, for Misnia.

## BRANDENBURG.

### CHAP. XIV.

*Treats of the north part of the circle of Upper Saxony, viz. the marquissate of Brandenburg, the dukedom of Magdeburg, the principality of Halberstat, the duchy of Pomerania, and the island of Rugen.*

CHAP. XIV. Brandenburg. **T**HE southern part of the circle of Upper Saxony, subject to the Elector, the present King of Poland, has been already described; I come now to the more northern countries comprehended in this circle, which are, the marquissate of Brandenburg, Magdeburg, Halberstat, and the dukedom of Pomerania, most of them subject to the King of Prussia, as Elector of Brandenburg.

North part of the circle of Upper Saxony. This part of the circle of Upper Saxony is bounded by the Baltick sea towards the north, by the kingdom of Poland on the east, by Silesia and the other part of the circle of Upper Saxony towards the south, and by the circle of Lower Saxony towards the west.

Brandenburg marquissate, why so called. And first of Brandenburg, stiled the Margravate, or Marquissate, by way of eminence, as having been the utmost bounds or marches of the German Empire towards the north; the Margraff, or as we call him, Marquis, being properly *Judex*, or *Comes Limitaneus*, Lieutenant of the marches, as this officer was stiled anciently in England, and vested with the civil, as well as the military power in his province.

Situation and extent. Brandenburg is bounded by Pomerania and Mecklenburg on the north, by Poland towards the east, by the other part of Upper Saxony on the south, and by Brunswick and Lunenburg towards the west; extending two hundred miles in length from east to west, but of very unequal breadth, in some places near an hundred, and in others not fifty miles broad. The chief rivers which water this country are the Elbe, the Oder, the Havel, the Spree and the Wart; besides several large lakes, of which the Ukersee is one of the chief. They have a communication also with the Baltick sea by the river Oder; and there is a canal cut from the Oder to the Elbe, by which they convey their merchandize and produce of the country to the German ocean, and thereby avoid the duties demanded in the Sound of such ships as go through the Baltick. The air of this country is cold, and their winters long, continuing seven or eight months. The soil is sandy and barren, and over-run with woods and forests: they have however corn enough for their use for the most part, and when they want are supplied on easy terms from Poland, which lies contiguous to them. They have large flocks of sheep, and store of deer and other venison in their forests, but do not abound in black cattle. The wine they make is sour, as it is in all countries which lie so far north, and bad even to a proverb. Salt here is none, but what is imported by their rivers, the Elbe, the Havel or Spree. Here are scarce any silver mines as in other provinces of

Rivers. Germany, which may be one reason their coin is of a much baser metal than their neighbours; and their mines of copper and iron yield but a very small quantity of either. The natives are a mixture of several German nations, as is evident from the several dialects spoken by them. They are generally a poor miserable people, inasmuch that Dr. NICHOLSON observes, that to lie on a bed of clean straw is a mark of distinction, and the lot only of a man of some fashion.

The air. At the reformation the Brandenburgishers and their Prince embraced the doctrines of LUTHER, in which they were unanimous, till GEORGE WILLIAM their Elector, about the year 1614, married a sister of FREDERICK Elector Palatine, the head of the Calvinist party, who brought him over to that sect, and prevailed upon him to publish an edict for suppressing the Lutheran doctrine, and establishing Calvinism throughout his dominions, in the year 1615; whereupon his subjects unanimously rebelled against their Elector, and had infallibly deposed him, if he had not suddenly revoked his edict, and established Lutheranism again by another act of state, declaring he would confine the Calvinist worship to his own private chapel. Succeeding Electors however have found means to advance the Calvinist interest, which now bears a great sway in Prussia and some other territories belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg: in the universities of Konigsberg and Francfort upon Oder particularly, the principles of CALVIN only are encouraged; but yet the greatest part of the people of Brandenburg still remain Lutherans.

Soil. The marquissate of Brandenburg is usually divided into three parts, viz. 1. The Alt Marck, or Old Marck. 2. The New Marck. And 3. the Middle Marck.

Corn. The Alt Marck is bounded on the north by Mecklenburg, by Middle Marck on the east, by the dukedom of Magdeburg on the south, and by Sax-Lawenburg and Lunenburg towards the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Stendal. 2. Soltwedel. 3. Gardeleben. 4. Angermund, or Tangermund. 5. Osterburg. Here are also the towns of Seehusen, Werben, Havelburg, and Perleburg, but of less note.

Cattle. 1. Stendal, the capital of Alt Marck, is situated in a pleasant plain, on the river Ucht, about five miles from the river Elbe, and as many from Angermund; formerly one of the Hans towns, and is still a place of some trade in corn and linen cloth.

Wine. 2. Soltwedel, or Soltquel, a great town on the banks of the river Jetze, in the midway between Lunenburg and Stendal, the trade whereof consists chiefly in beer, which they export to Lunenburg, and other provinces of Brandenburg. 3. Gardeleben, said to have obtained it's name from the many pleasant gardens about it. The beer brewed here is in great reputation in the rest of Germany as well as their hops, which are bought up by the Danes and other foreigners. 4. Angermund, situated at the confluence of the Anger and the Elbe, eight miles to the southward of Stendal; and has a great advantage by the navigation of the Elbe, upon which they transport their corn and other merchandize as far as Hamburg, and from thence to foreign countries.

Salt. 2. New Marck, which lies between the river Warta and Pomerania, separated from Middle Marck by the Oder: containing about an hundred miles in circumference; and belonged anciently to the Knights of the Teutonic Order. It is the most fruitful

CHAP. XIV. Brandenburg. Natives, their condition.

Religion.

Subdivision of Brandenburg.

Alt Marck

Stendal.

Soltwedel.

Gardeleben.

Angermund.

New Marck.



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Brandenburg.  
Kustrin.

fruitful part of the marquisate, having plenty of corn and pasture, and in some places vines, which yield indifferent wine. The only considerable town in this territory is Kustrin, situate on the river Oder, near the mouth of the Warta, fifty miles east of Berlin: a place of such strength, that GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS having sat down before it, was forced to raise the siege. It is a neat well-built town, and has a spacious market-place. Towns of less note in this territory are Falkenburg, Dreyfen, Lansperg, Sunneberg and Sternberg.

Middle  
Mark.

Brandenburg city.

Berlin city.

Francfort  
upon O-  
der.

Magde-  
burg.

3. Middle Mark, situate in the very heart of Brandenburg, extending in length about an hundred miles between the rivers Elbe and Oder; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Brandenburg. 2. Berlin. And 3. Francfort upon Oder. 1. Brandenburg, situate in the midst of a morass, on the river Hamel, which divides it into two parts, twenty-six miles west of Berlin, gives it's name to the whole marquisate, and was once the metropolis of it. In the great church are several monuments of their Princes and Bishops: but the inhabitants are in so wretched a condition at present, that was it not for a neighbouring lake which affords them plenty of fish, they would find it difficult to subsist. 2. Berlin, pleasantly situated in a fruitful country on the river Spree; having vineyards on one side, meadows on another, and a forest on the third, stocked with all manner of game; and lies in the latitude of fifty-two degrees thirty minutes, fourteen degrees to the eastward of London, and forty-five miles to the westward of Francfort upon Oder. It is the capital of the marquisate, and the usual residence of the Elector, now King of Prussia, divided into two parts by the river Spree, the larger towards the north is properly Berlin, the other south of the river is called Coln, where stands the Elector's palace, a magnificent structure built of free-stone: in which the armory, the chamber of curiosities, the paintings, the library, the gardens, water-works, and stables are much admired by travellers. The town is also generally well built, the streets wide, and the squares and publick places spacious, the whole encompassed with a wall, and regular fortifications after the modern way; and the canals cut from this city to the river Oder and Elbe, the one falling into the Baltick, and the other into the German Ocean, render it one of the best trading towns in Germany. The people of this place we have lately imitated in the fashion of our chariots, from hence called Berlins, after the name of the city. 3. Francfort upon Oder, usually so called to distinguish it from Francfort on the Maine, upwards of forty miles to the eastward of Berlin, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, and an Imperial city, but now subject to the Marquisses of Brandenburg, who have erected a university here for the propagation of Calvinism. The town is divided into two parts by the river Oder, and joined together by a wooden bridge. The streets are wide, and the houses well built: they have a tolerable good trade, especially at their annual fairs; but the town is not in that flourishing condition it has been. The other great towns in this marquisate, are Spandaw, Oranienburg, Rotenaw, Lebus, Havelburg, Newstat, Wistock, Dalmin, Rupin, Premislaw, Potsdam, Straßburg and Templin; but of these I find nothing remarkable, unless that the King of Prussia has a palace at Potsdam, where he sometimes resides.

The Duchy of Magdeburg is bounded by Meck-

lenburg and Brandenburg on the north; by the other part of Brandenburg and Upper Saxony towards the east; by the principality of Anhalt and Halberstat on the south; and by Brunswick towards the west; extending sixty miles in length from east to west, and is about thirty miles broad from north to south; the river Elbe running cross this territory, that part of it which lies to the eastward of the river consists chiefly of forests, and has very little corn-ground; but to the westward of the river they have plenty of grain, and as great a scarcity of wood. The chief city of this territory is Magdeburg, anciently called *Parthenopolis*, situate on the banks of the Elbe, in fifty-two degrees odd minutes, seventy miles to the westward of Berlin. It was not very considerable till EDITHA daughter of EDMUND an English Saxon King, and consort to the Emperor OTHO the Great, enlarged and beautified it: she also prevailed with the Pope to make it an Archbishoprick, and independent of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction but the See of Rome, whereupon the Archbishop was stiled Primate of all Germany; and in the cathedral church there still remains the bust of the Empress EDITHA, with the representation of eighteen casks of gold by her, which she found the cathedral and embellishing the city cost her, as tradition gives us to understand. The ancient city was of a very large circumference; but it is now scarce half built, having been destroyed by Count Tilly, the Imperial General, after a brave defence, in the year 1631; of forty thousand inhabitants, which this town then contained, Tilly caused them every one to be massacred, it is said, except four hundred, on account of their adhering to the Lutheran doctrine; nor did he leave a church or house standing, except the cathedral, and some few fishermen's cottages; but the Lutherans have since erected some very handsom churches, and the Jesuits have a very fine one. The cathedral is a magnificent structure, and had in the Popish times thirty-two, Dr. NICHOLSON says forty nine, noble altars: the high altar still remains, which is a table of jasper stone, eighteen foot long, about eight in breadth, and two in thickness, valued at two tons of gold: here are also statues representing the five wise virgins, with smiling countenances, and the five foolish equally disconsolate. They shew also several reliques, which in the days of Popery were in great veneration, but not much regarded by the present inhabitants; namely, a large stone said to be a piece of one of the water-pots in which our Saviour turned the water into wine; an old wooden slipper of the Virgin MARY's; a piece of wood on which the cock stood that crowed on PETER's denying our Saviour; the bason PILATE washed his hands in, &c.

This city embracing LUTHER's doctrine about the year 1566, JOACHIM FREDERICK, son of the then Elector of Brandenburg, was elected administrator of the revenues of the Archbishoprick: and by the treaty of Westphalia it was stipulated that the Archbishoprick of Magdeburg should be for ever annexed to the Electorate of Brandenburg, and converted into a duchy; accordingly one of the titles of the present Elector the King of Prussia is Duke of Magdeburg, of which city and territory he is absolute sovereign: the revenue of which is computed to amount to an hundred thousand pounds per annum. In this place LUTHER had his education, and they still shew the remains of his chamber among the ruins

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XIV.  
Brandenburg.

City of  
Magde-  
burg.

LAND  
XIV  
Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg

Magdeburg



CHAP. XIV. of the cloyster of the Austin friars, with his bedstead and table, and over the door are certain verses in High-Dutch, which a modern writer has put into English rhyme as follows:

LUTHER lodged within this little room  
When first he did into the cloyster come,  
In memory whereof we still do keep  
The bedstead upon which he us'd to sleep.

Tourna-  
ments first  
established  
here.

Another thing the city of Magdeburg was once famous for, was the tilts and tournaments first instituted here by the Emperor HENRY surnamed the FOWLER, about the year 638, to which none but the ancient nobility were to be admitted, or any usurper, oppressor of widows or orphans, heretics, murderers, cowards, bastards, or any who had given a real affront to a lady, and not above one of a family at a time: every Prince who entered the lists was to be attended by four squires; a Count or Baron by three, a Knight by two, and a Gentleman by one. Every one at his entering the lists appeared at the President's apartment, where his name and quality being registred in the presence of three Heralds, the Champion delivered in his helmet and sword, and after confession entered the barrier attended by his Esquires, where having engaged his antagonist at all manner of weapons, the judges gave sentence, and the conqueror received the prize from the hand of some fair lady, or from the Prince who gave it. But after these exercises had continued some ages, they were abolished on account of the destructive consequences; for such an emulation was raised between the nobility of some provinces, that at one tournament in the year 1473, there were seventeen gentlemen of Franconia killed on the spot, and nine of Hesse. 2. Borch, the most considerable place in the duchy next to Magdeburg; besides which there are twenty-seven other towns in this territory, but none of them particularly described by travellers.

Halberstat  
principality.

Halberstat  
city.

Gruningen.

The principality of Halberstat is bounded by the duchy of Brunswick and Magdeburg towards the north; by the duchy of Saxony on the east; by the principality of Anhalt on the south; and by the bishoprick of Hildesheim towards the west: extending about thirty-six miles in length from east to west, and twenty-five in breadth from north to south: the chief town, which gives name to the principality, is Halberstat, situate on the little river Hotheim, about thirty miles south-west of Magdeburg. It is a neat uniform town travellers tell us in general; but give no account of any particular buildings, except an inn, esteemed the largest, and to have the best accommodations of any in Europe. Lutheranism was established here about the year 1591. But their last Bishop LEOPOLD WILLIAM of Austria restored Popery, till the Swedes taking the town introduced the Lutheran religion again; and by the treaty of Westphalia it was made a secular principality, and conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg the present sovereign. 2. Gruningen, remarkable only for a fine chapel and organ, and a tun made in imitation of that of Heidelberg, which will contain near a thousand hogheads of wine: for as the Germans pay a more than ordinary respect to BACCHUS, they adorn and enlarge the vessels which contain the generous juice of the grape beyond any thing in their publick or private buildings. In many other German towns besides this, a traveller is carried to see these capacious tuns, in the gilding and carving of which no small labour is bestowed. The other towns mentioned by geo-

graphers in this principality are Oschersleben and Osterwick, of which they give no particular description. This territory is generally fruitful in corn, and excels any of the neighbouring countries in the pleasantness of its forests, and plenty of all kinds of Venison.

CHAP. XIV. Brandenburg.

Pomera-  
nia duke-  
dom.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

Rivers and  
lakes.

The  
Frische  
Haff lake.

The country in this principality are Oschersleben and Osterwick, of which they give no particular description. This territory is generally fruitful in corn, and excels any of the neighbouring countries in the pleasantness of its forests, and plenty of all kinds of Venison.

The ancient Pomerania, or Pomerland, was of much larger extent than the present Pomerania, taking in all Casubia and Pomerelia to the eastward, which now belong to Poland, and part of the marquisate of Brandenburg on the south; the Baltick sea also, it is said, has broken in and swallowed up great part of the ancient Pomerania on the north, together with some whole islands, and half of the isle of Rugen. The modern Pomerania is a long narrow tract of land, extending near two hundred miles in length from east to west, and fifty or sixty in breadth from north to south, but the breadth is very unequal. It is bounded by the Baltick sea on the north; by Polish Pomerelia towards the east; by the marquisate of Brandenburg on the south; and by Mecklenburg towards the west: and took the name of Pomeran, from its lying on the sea-coast; Pomer signifying as much both in the Sclavonian and German tongue. The Air is severer here than in any part of Germany, as may well be supposed from its northern situation. It is well watered by lakes and rivers; among the latter are the Oder, the Pen, the Rega, the Persant, the Wiper, the Stolp, the Rekenitz, and the Barte. The Rekenitz separates Pomerania from the dukedom of Mecklenburg, forming a large lake near Damgarten, and discharging it self into the Baltick at Dars. The Barte rises near Stralsund, and falls into the sea at Bardt. The Oder soon after its entering Pomerania divides it self into several branches, inclosing many large islands, whereof some are two miles over; and having passed by Stetin flows into the Damnish Lake, and then into Damantzke, and at last dilates it self into a vast fresh-water lake, or sea, called the great Frische Haff; extending sixteen miles in length, and as many in breadth; which lake falls into the Baltick sea, by three currents, viz. the Divenow, the Swyn, and the Penemund, through which ships pass to Stetin. Between the Pene and the Swyn lies the island of Usedom: and the territory of the city of Wollin lies enclosed by the Swyn and Divenow. Besides the rivers above mentioned there are many more in this province which fall into the Baltick. Pomeran also contains a vast number of standing lakes; the chief whereof are those of new Stetin, Lukow, Sukow, Verschem, Derfenten and Penkun. Here are scarce any mountains, but the country is covered with woods and forests, well stocked with game and wild beasts. Their lakes and rivers also furnish them with vast plenty of fish, particularly salmon and lampreys; and land and water-fowl no where abound more: but the soil is generally a barren sand, on which they do not attempt to raise vineyards, and have scarce corn enough for their own use. Mines there are none, except some few of iron in the Upper Pomeran.

The country is usually divided into the eastern and western Pomerania. The western, till very lately, was all of it subject to the King of Sweden, and subdivided into the districts of Stetin, Wolgast, Gatskow and Bardt, lying on the west side of the Oder, together with the islands of Rugen, Usedom and Wollin. The eastern Pomerania is subject to the Elector of Brandenburg, and situate



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burg.  
History of  
Pomerania.

situate on the east side of the Oder, being subdivided into the districts of Pomerania, Casuben, and Vendosin or Wenden. But before I enter into a more particular description of this country, it will be necessary to give an abstract of the history of it, from the year 1217. This dukedom was divided between BUGISLAUS and OTHO, two brothers, from whom descended the two houses of Wolgast and Stetin, which continued for two hundred years and upwards. The house of Stetin failing about the year 1464, by the death of OTHO III. that part of the dukedom which belonged to it was conferred on FREDERICK, the second Marquis of Brandenburg, by the Emperor FREDERICK III. whereupon the Duke of Pomeran Wolgast conceiving a great piece of injustice to have been done his family, entered into a war with the Elector of Brandenburg, which ended in a treaty of peace, whereby it was concluded, that they should both retain the title and arms of the Dukes of Pomeran, but the Duke of Wolgast should remain in possession of all the Pomeranian territories, and upon failure of issue male, they should descend entire to the house of Brandenburg. Accordingly in the year 1637, BUGISLAUS XIV. dying without issue, GEORGE WILLIAM, Elector of Brandenburg, laid claim to the whole dukedom; but the Swedes having been allies to the late BUGISLAUS, and called in by him and other German Princes to support them against the Emperor, and being now in possession of the best part of Pomeran, and pretending that the late Duke had by his will given the duchy of Pomeran to the Swede, insisted at the treaty of Munster, that all the western Pomeran, with the isles of Rugen and Wollin, and the town of Stetin, should from thenceforward be annexed to the crown of Sweden, and that part of the country to the eastward of the river Oder only should be subject to the Elector of Brandenburg, and that no longer than there should be male issue of the house of Brandenburg; upon failure whereof, it should be added to the Swedish dominions; and in the mean time both Princes should enjoy the title and arms of the Dukes of Pomeran, and that the Elector should have by way of equivalent for his parting with the western Pomerania, the bishopricks of Halberstat and Minden, and the reversion of the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, which he now enjoys. He is also allowed one voice in the Diets of the Empire for Pomeran, another for Magdeburg, and a third for Halberstat and Minden. Notwithstanding all which advantages, the Elector took the opportunity some years afterwards, when the Swede was engaged in a war with the Danes and other powers anno 1678, to seize on most part of Pomeran allotted to the King of Sweden by the treaty of Munster, but was forced to relinquish it again soon after by the treaty of St. Germain, and the Swedes remained in quiet possession of the western Pomerania till the late King of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa, when the King of Prussia taking advantage of his distress, seized Stetin, the islands of Wollin and Usedom; and the Danes, by the assistance of the Prussians, Poles and Muscovites, made themselves masters of Stralsund, Marstrand, the isle of Rugen, &c. But by the treaty of peace which ensued anno 1720, the Danes were obliged to restore to Sweden all they had taken during the war, particularly Stralsund, and that part of Pomeran which lies west of the river Pene, with the isle of Rugen, the fortrefs of Mar-

strand, and all the other islands in their possession: but Stetin, and the isles of Wollin and Usedom, and the countries contiguous to the Oder, were confirmed to the Elector of Brandenburg, the present King of Prussia, in whose possession they then were. So that now he hath a free communication with the Baltick sea, the thing he hath so long aimed at; whereas when the Swedes were possessed of Stetin, and the isles of Usedom and Wollin, no vessels could come down the Oder into the Baltick sea without their leave.

The chief towns of western Pomerania are, 1. Stetin. Stetin, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, and capital of Pomerania, pleasantly situated on a rising ground upon the river Oder, in fifty three degrees thirty minutes north latitude, forty miles south of the Baltick sea, and seventy north-east of Berlin. It is a large populous city, and had heretofore a very great trade, nor is it inconsiderable at present. The castle, formerly the palace of the Dukes of Pomeran, is said to be a noble piece of architecture, equal to any in Europe. The town is regularly fortified, and held out a long siege of near six months against the Elector of Brandenburg, in the year 1677, who made himself master of it at length, but was obliged to restore it to the Swedes by the subsequent treaty of peace at St. Germain. In the last war, about the year 1713, the King of Prussia persuaded the citizens to admit his forces into the town, under pretence of securing it against the Muscovite, and promised to hold it by way of sequestration till a peace should be concluded; but never thought fit to part with it again: and at the following treaty between Sweden and Brandenburg, procured a cession to be made him of this city by the Swede, with the territory thereto belonging; and the King of Prussia as Elector of Brandenburg now remains sovereign of it, which is of prodigious advantage to his country, procuring him a free communication with the Baltick, and will probably render the town as considerable for trade as ever, the river being navigable for small vessels many miles above the city, as it is for larger below it. 2. Stralsund, situate on the sea-coast over against the island of Rugen, from which it is about a mile distant, lying in fifty-four degrees thirty minutes north latitude, near eighty miles north-west of Stetin. The streets of this city are broad and uniform, and the houses generally built of stone. The place is naturally strong, being surrounded almost by the sea and inaccessible marshes: it is also regularly fortified, and has a good harbour for ships of 150 or 200 tons, and has a great trade in corn, which they export to foreign countries. In the civil wars of Germany it put itself under the protection of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS King of Sweden, and the Swedes have ever since remained masters of it, except some short intervals; as when the Elector of Brandenburg besieged and took it in the year 1678, and was obliged to resign it again by the peace of St. Germain anno 1679. This city was also taken by the Danes assisted by their allies the Russians, Saxons, &c. in November 1715, after a four months siege; but relinquished again to the Swedes by a treaty of peace in the year 1720, who now continue in the possession of it. 3. Gripf-wald, situate about thirty miles south-east of Stralsund, on a bay of the sea, which forms a harbour for small ships: the town is fortified, and has the advantage of an university in it. 4. Wolgast, which stands on that branch of the Oder called the

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the Pön, about five miles from the Baltick sea, and fifteen to the eastward of Gripswald, the best harbour in the country except Stralsund, formerly the capital of a duchy till it came under the dominion of the Swedes. 5. Bardt, twelve miles to the westward of Stralsund, standing on a bay of the sea, but too shallow for a harbour. The other towns in Swedish Pomerania are Auclam, Demmin, Jatenitz, Ukermond, Passewalk, Kentzing, Gatzkow, Trebelis and Damgarten, of which I meet with nothing remarkable.

Rugen.

The island of Rugen, taken by the Danes and their confederates at the same time with Stralsund, was also yielded to the Swedes by the treaty of peace 1720, and they now remain in possession of it. This is one of the largest islands in the Baltick, and of great fame anciently for the valour of its inhabitants, and the impregnable fortresses upon it. The island was formerly of a much larger extent than it is at present, reaching to the south-east as far as Ruden, once a part of this island, though now far separated from it. This separation was occasioned by a great tempest in the fourteenth century, when the sea overflowing its banks drowned a great part of Rugen, and made so deep a channel, called by mariners the New Channel, that the greatest ships which sail on the Baltick may pass that way. At this day the island of Rugen is about thirty miles in length and as much in breadth; but so indented by creeks and bays, which run far into the island, that scarce any part of the land is two miles distant from the sea. The coast of Pomeran, and particularly the city of Stralsund, lie about a mile to the south-west of the island. The chief town of the isle of Rugen is Bergen, an open town, consisting of about four hundred houses, and not considerable for any thing that I can learn: the country about it however affords such plenty of corn, that it is called the granary of Stralsund. It is also well stocked with sheep, black cattle, and a good breed of horses, and their geese here are said to be the largest in Europe, and their seas and lakes abound in fish; but the natives have such a dependance on Stralsund, that they trade no where else. The inhabitants of this island were the last converted to Christianity of any of the northern nations. In the ninth century indeed some monks ventured to preach amongst them, and succeeded so well as to convert many of them, but they soon relapsed into idolatry, and instead of adoring the true God, paid divine honours to one of the missionaries sent amongst them, named St. Vite, whom they worshipped by the name of Swant, and after his death represented him by a monstrous image with four heads, building for him a magnificent temple. To this idol the Rugians repaired as to an oracle, for advice and assistance in all their undertakings: and here foreign merchants brought their offerings, and implored success in their voyages. Three hundred horses were constantly kept for the service of the god Swant, one whereof was a white one, and only rid by the high priest, who used to shew him to the people some mornings sweating and foaming, pretending Swant himself had been upon his back on an expedition against their enemies, which had put him into such a heat: and the Rugians have not forsaken these idolatrous practices, it is said, much above five hundred years. They were anciently governed by their own Princes, whose dominions extended a great way into the continent. History gives us a catalogue

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of eleven of them, of whom the first was WITZLAUS, computed to have reigned about the time of the Emperor OTHO I. anno 938. They were conquered by the Danes in the thirteenth century, and by them, converted to Christianity, JARIMAR being the first Prince of Rugen who was baptized. WITZLAUS IV. the last Prince of Rugen, upon an insurrection of the inhabitants of Stralsund, who till then were subject to him, endeavouring to reduce them to their duty, was killed in the attempt, which put an end to that race of Princes, and the Stralsunders declared themselves a free people, which happened about the year of our Lord 1325. Afterwards the isle of Rugen, with the territories belonging to it on the continent, fell into the hands of the Dukes of Pomeran, upon the failure of which line, it was agreed that it should be annexed to the Marquisate of Brandenburg; but in consideration of the signal services the King of Sweden had done the Protestants of the Empire, in supporting their interest against the Emperor and the Roman catholic States, it was agreed by the Elector of Brandenburg and the other powers concerned at the treaty of Westphalia, that the Western Pomerania, with the isle of Rugen, should be possessed by the King of Sweden; and notwithstanding the Elector of Brandenburg confirmed this agreement by a subsequent treaty at St. Germain, and had received an ample equivalent for his pretensions, by having the duchy of Magdeburg, the principality of Halberstadt, &c. assigned to him, yet we find him as often as he has had an opportunity, reviving his pretensions to the Western Pomeran, and was not to be satisfied till he had possessed himself of Stetin, the isles of Usedom and Wollin, and that part of the country between the river Pene and the Oder. Which shews that some Princes never think themselves longer bound by their compacts than they have an opportunity of breaking them. But I must not forget here, that the Dane also by virtue of his ancient conquest above mentioned, sometimes puts in his claim to the isle of Rugen, and actually made himself master of it in the year 1678, but was forced to restore it again to the Swede by a treaty in the year 1679. I proceed now to that part of Pomeran which lies on the eastern side of the Oder, and has most of it been in the possession of the Elector of Brandenburg ever since the death of BUGISLAUS the last Duke of Pomeran.

The Eastern Pomerania is usually divided into three districts, viz. Pomerania Proper, Casubin and Vendosin: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Cammin, situate on the east branch of the Oder, called Diveno, five miles from the Baltick sea, and thirty-five north of Stetin; formerly a Bishop's See, but at the reformation the revenues were seized, and the bishoprick afterwards secularized, as our writers term it, by the treaty of Munster, and conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg, which was the case of Magdeburg, and many other Sees. 2. Colberg, situate at the mouth of the river Perfant, near the Baltick sea, about twenty miles north-east of Cammin; remarkable for the salt-pits near it, which yield the King of Prussia a good revenue. The other towns in Eastern Pomerania are Treptow, Collin, Stargard, Dam, Buttow, Bublitz, Griffenburg, Belgarden, Rugen, Stolpe and Regemord, of which we meet with nothing particular.

Having taken a survey of those Provinces of the Circle of Upper Saxony, which belong to the Elec-

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torate of Brandenburg, it may be proper now to inquire a little into the history of the country, and the family of the Elector the present King of Prussia.

The first inhabitants of Brandenburg which history takes notice of, were the Suevi, and after them the Slaves. The Emperor HENRY I. having made a conquest of this country about the year 927, conferred the government of it on SIGEFRIDE Earl of Rengelsheim, on condition he should defend these marches, or utmost limits of the Empire, against the Slaves; from whence SIGEFRIDE acquired the title of Margrave or Marquis of Brandenburg. After SIGEFRIDE eight others enjoyed this marquisate successively, being appointed by the respective Emperors only during pleasure; of whom PRIMISLAUS, King of the Obotriti, the ancestor of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, was the last: after whose death the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA constituted ALBERT surnamed URUS, Prince of Anhalt, and Marquis of Soltwedel, the first hereditary Marquis of Brandenburg about the year 1162. In whose house it continued for sixteen descents, when SIGISMUND the last of this race, King of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeding to the Empire, sold the Marquisate of Brandenburg to JOSEPHUS Duke of Moravia, who mortgaged it to WILLIAM Marquis of Misnia, of whom the Emperor redeemed it, and conferred the Margravate upon FREDERICK Burgrave of Noremburg, at the council of Constance, anno 1417, in consideration of the sum of four hundred thousand crowns: from whom the present Elector of Brandenburg, the King of Prussia, derives his pedigree. FREDERICK II. who succeeded his father, was made Duke of Eastern Pomerania also by the Emperor FREDERICK III. but his brother and successor ALBERT relinquished the whole territory to the Duke of Western Pomerania, except the title and reversion upon failure of issue of the Duke of West Pomerania, as has been observed already. JOHN SIGISMUND the ninth Marquis of this house, married ANNE the daughter and heiress of ALBERT FREDERICK Duke of Prussia, by whom also he acquired a title to part of the duchies of Cleve, Juliers, and Bergen, with the county of Ravensburg. GEORGE WILLIAM son to JOHN SIGISMUND, claimed in his mother's right the three dukedoms aforesaid, with the barony of Ravensstein, in which he was opposed by the Duke of Newburg, who claimed by another sister; and they came to an agreement to have the joint dominion of those territories: but falling out afterwards, the Duke of Newburg, Count Palatine of the Rhine, called in the Spaniards to his assistance, as the Elector of Brandenburg did the Dutch; and a treaty ensuing, it was agreed, that Juliers and Berg, with the small territory of Ravensstein, should fall to the share of the Duke of Newburg; and that the Elector of Brandenburg and his heirs should enjoy the duchy of Cleve and the counties of Marck and Ravensburg, and so they remain at this day; but the King of Prussia however thinks fit to retain the titles to the whole. FREDERICK the last Elector of Brandenburg in the year 1700, caused himself to be proclaimed and crowned King of Prussia; and has since been acknowledged in that quality by most, if not all the powers in Europe. Upon the death of WILLIAM III. King of England in 1702, he claimed a right of succeeding to his paternal estate, as being descended from Rene of

Elector of Brandenburg assumes the title of King of Prussia.

Nassau Prince of Orange, in which he was opposed by the Prince of Nassau Friesland, whom King WILLIAM left his heir.

FREDERICK the last Elector of Brandenburg, and first King of Prussia, died on the 25th of February, 1712-13, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was born at Konigsburg the 11th of July 1657, and succeeded his father FREDERICK-WILLIAM in the year 1688; and in the year 1700, as has been said, took upon him the title of King of Prussia. He first married the Princess ELIZABETH HENRIETTA, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the year 1679, who died in 1683, leaving only one daughter, since dead without issue. His second wife was SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, sister to the late King GEORGE I. of England, by whom he had issue FREDERICK-WILLIAM, the present King of Prussia, born the 4th of August, 1688; and this Princess dying in the year 1705, his late Prussian Majesty married a third wife in the year 1708, who died a little before him, leaving no issue.

The present King of Prussia, FREDERICK-WILLIAM II. only son of FREDERICK I. married SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE, daughter of the late King GEORGE I. on the 28th of November 1706, by whom he hath had several children, of which FREDERICA-AUGUSTA-SOPHIA, born in the year 1709, CHARLES-FREDERICK Prince of Prussia and Orange, born January 24, 1712, and LOUISA, born anno 1714, were lately alive.

By the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht between France and Prussia the 11th of April 1713, it was stipulated, that the part of the Upper Guelderland, called the Spanish Guelderland, which the said King of Prussia then possessed, namely, the town of Guelder, and territory thereto belonging, the bailliage of Kriekenbeck and the country of Kessel, with all their rights, appurtenances and dependencies, should be yielded up to and possessed by the King of Prussia, his heirs and successors of either sex, in full sovereignty and propriety. France also acknowledged the King of Prussia sovereign Lord of the Principality of Neuchatel and Valengin, promising not to disturb the said King of Prussia, his heirs or successors in the enjoyment of them. On the other hand, the King of Prussia renounced for himself his heirs and successors in favour of France, all right to the Principality of Orange, and to the lordships and places of the succession of Chaalonis and Chastelbelin, situate in France and in the county of Burgundy, transferring the whole to his most Christian Majesty, his heirs and successors: and to render the said renunciation the more valid, the King of Prussia engaged and promised on the faith and word of a King, to satisfy the Prince of Nassau-Friesland as to his pretensions to the said Principality, and to the other Estates above-mentioned, by an equivalent; but the said King of Prussia is still allowed to retain the title of Prince of Orange.

In the preamble of the aforesaid treaty of peace his Prussian Majesty is stiled King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-chamberlain and Prince Elector of the holy Roman Empire; sovereign Prince of Orange, Neuchatel and Valengin; Duke of Magdeburg, Cleves, Juliers, Berg, Jettin, Pomerania, Cassubia, the Vandals, Mecklenburg in Silesia and Crossen; Burgrave of Nuremberg; Prince of Halberstat, Minden, Cammin, Swerin, Ratzemburg and Meurs; Count of Hohenzollern, Ruppin, Marck, Ravensburg, Hohenstein,

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Territories yielded to Prussia by the last peace.

The titles of the Elector of Brandenburg, the present King of Prussia.



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Arms of the King of Prussia.

The arms of his Prussian Majesty are, Argent, an Eagle spread Sable crowned with a Royal Crown, for Prussia. Gules 1, 4, faced Or 2, 3, with a Cornet Azure, the whole surmounted with an Escutcheon Chequer Or and Azure, for Orange. Azure a Sceptre Or, for the dignity of Elector. Argent an Eagle Gules for Brandenburg. Or, a Lion Sable for Juliers. Argent, a Lion Gules crowned Or, for Berg. Coupe Argent and Gules, for Magdeburg. Gules, an Escutcheon Argent in form of a heart with rays of a carbuncle knotted and flowered Or, illuminated with Vert, for Cleves. Or, a Lion Sable with a border Compone, Gules and Argent, for Nuremberg. Argent, a Griffin Gules for Pomerania.

The principal branches of this family are those of Bareith, Cullembach and Anspach, both descending from the Elector JOHN GEORGE, who died in 1598. As to the whole pedigree of the Margraves of Brandenburg, this is reserved for the appendix, and where will be found the pedigrees of the rest of the German Princes.

Present state of the King of Prussia's dominions.

The dominions of the King of Prussia are the largest of any of the German powers, except those of the house of Austria; and though they are not the most populous and fruitful, yet their late Princes have given such encouragement to foreign trade, set up so many profitable manufactures, and invited so many mechanicks and artists from all parts to settle in the country; that it seems now to be the most flourishing province in Germany. They already furnish the large Empire of Russia with woollen cloth, (which was formerly done by the English merchants) and with many other valuable commodities: and we may expect to see them ere long one of the most formidable naval powers of the Baltick, since they have so much enlarged their sea-coasts, and secured the navigation of the river Oder entirely to themselves.

Forces.

That vast body of troops, amounting to near eighty thousand regular forces, which the Kings of Prussia have of late years maintained in their dominions, has amazed all people who are not in the secret; for it is obvious to every one, that how much soever the country may be improved, it is far from being able to maintain so great a force. Some have suggested, that since Sweden hath so much declined, France makes the same use of Prussia she did formerly of the Swede, and pays part of the forces of this crown, in order to balance the power of the Emperor, if ever she should happen to have a quarrel with him; and that other powers having the same view, contribute also to the charge of the Prussian standing army. On the other hand, it is said, both the German and the Russian Emperors observing of what consequence it might be to have Prussia for their ally in case of a rupture, have offered very advantageous conditions to the present King, to bring him over to their interests. So that his Prussian Majesty's affairs seem to be in a very desirable situation, he is courted and presented on all hands; and hath it in his power in some measure to turn the balance, if ever the powers of Europe should be again engaged in a war: and 'tis no improbable surmise, that he will at length take that side which offers the best terms. Some people are under dismal apprehensions for the liberties of the King of Prussia's subjects, while he keeps

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such great armies on foot; but these have been long since lost. This Prince is already absolute in his dominions, and can lay what charges he pleases upon his people: but as he takes care to pay his troops at the expence of other powers, and seems to have set his heart on advancing trade and manufactures, and putting his territories into a flourishing condition; the people may enjoy as tolerable a share of happiness under his government, as they might under the dominion of any Monarch who has no other ends in view: but the mischief of it is, Princes are generally taught that they have something divine in their constitution; and that their subjects are made only to promote their glory or pleasure, to esteem the enlarging their dominions and making foreign conquests as the noblest pursuits; though these can only be done at the expence of the blood and treasure of their people; and in short, that it is more eligible to be Sovereign of a company of fawning indigent slaves, than to be King of a free wealthy people, who while he consults his own and their welfare, may command all that they are masters of, and will seldom meet with opposition but when he is hurried into schemes destructive to his country. It is not so much the form of government we live under, as the disposition of our governors which renders us happy or miserable: the best constituted government in the world may be perverted to the vilest purposes by artful men.

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FREDERICK WILLIAM II. the late Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia, died on the day of 1740, leaving issue by the Princess SOPHIA DOROTHY, daughter of GEORGE I. King of Great Britain.

Electors of Brandenburg.

1. FREDERICA SOPHIA WILHELMINA, born in 1709; married in 1731 to FREDERICK, hereditary Prince of Brandenburg Bareith, and now, on the death of his father in 1735, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele. They have two children, viz. 1. CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, born in September 1735. 2. GEORGE FRANCIS, born in September 1736.

2. FREDERICK, Prince Royal, at present King of Prussia, born the 12th of January 1712, married at Saltzdaht in June 1733, ELIZABETH CHRISTIANA, sister to the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele: she was born in 1715.

3. FREDERICK LOUISA, born in 1714; married in 1719 to CHARLES FREDERICK, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach. They have one son, born in 1736.

4. PHILIPPINA CHARLOTTA, born 1716, and married in 1734, to Prince CHARLES of Brunswick-Beveren.

5. SOPHIA DOROTHEA MARIA, born in 1719; married in 1734, to the Margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt. They have one daughter, born in 1736.

6. SOPHIA ULRICA, born in 1720.

7. AUGUSTUS WILLIAM, born in 1722.

8. ANNA AMELIA, born in 1723.

9. FREDERICK HENRY LEWIS, born in 1726.

10. AUGUSTUS FERDINANDUS, born in 1730.

The Electors of Brandenburg are great chamberlains of the Empire. The Prince of Hohenzo-lern is the vicar. The Elector presides in the circle of Lower Saxony, jointly with the Duke of Bremen (now the Elector of Hanover;) and in the circle of Westphalia, he and the Elector Palatine are the two directors, as Dukes of Cleves and Juliers. At the diet he has seven votes; the

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first



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first as Elector, and the rest as Prince of Magdeburg, Cleves, Lower Pomerania, Halberstat, Minden, and Camin; to which an eighth is added, for the county of Maurs, lately erected into a principality.

These countries are become rich and powerful since FREDERICK WILLIAM the Great gave so kind a reception to the French protestants, who were obliged to leave their country in 1685, and the following years. Above 100,000 of that industrious and active people having been settled in the most considerable places of his large dominions, but particularly at Berlin, have made trade and manufactures to flourish there, where formerly there were none. By these wise methods, that Prince, and his successor, FREDERICK I. who trod in his steps, saw the revenues almost doubled to what they had been but a few years before; for in 1680 they were reckoned to amount to only betwixt 6 and 700,000 l. but in 1690, they were thought to exceed 1,000,000 l. per annum. His present Majesty, by almost every year inviting and settling new colonies of that people, has advanced his revenue to one million and a half of our money. There are some, who considering the many and great taxes that have been laid on all commodities, wearing apparel and victuals not excepted, have made the annual revenue of this Prince to amount to near two millions of pounds sterling.

The Prussian forces, now esteemed the best in Europe, and much the most numerous in proportion to the territories of the Prince they serve, are thus described by Baron POLNITZ, viz. These troops are new clothed every year; their pay is good and regular; the soldier is compelled to do his duty, but when he does it, enjoys more liberty than in the service of any other nation: so that were I to carry a musket, I fancy it would be in the service of Prussia, where such a strict discipline is observed, that the soldier is no swearer, and is not allowed to game; and where, in a word, he does not abandon himself to licentiousness. On Sundays and saints days, they are required to go twice a-day to hear a sermon. The catholics have the liberty of going to mass. In short, good manners are introduced and observed in those troops to such a nicety, that you would wonder at it.

All the infantry is clothed in blue. It depends on the colonel of every regiment to order what waistcoats and trimmings he pleases for the clothes. The horse and dragoons wear white; but the household troops blue, with campaign coats of gold lace. The Hussars clothing is red; but the garbs of the officers, both of foot and horse, are plain, and only differ from the apparel of the soldiers in the fineness of the cloth; though there are some regiments, whose waistcoats are bedaubed all over with gold or silver lace.

The colours, which are uniform in all the regiments, are white, with the King's device, representing an eagle flying towards the sun, with this motto, *Nec soli cedit*. There is such a uniformity observed in all things throughout the army, even in their guns, swords, bayonets, &c. that in every regiment they wear the very same, even to their shoe-buckles.

The same regularity is observed in the horse and dragoons, which ride both upon black horses; and, indeed, they are not permitted to have any others; the officers themselves being

not exempt from this rule, when they are at the head of their squadrons or companies. The housings and equipage of the latter are of the same pattern, and extremely rich. All the horse wear buff-coats, and underneath cuirasses. They perform their exercise on foot like the infantry, and with the same exactness. The kettle-drums and trumpets of all the horse are silver.

There is not a captain in all the Prussian army but has at least ten supernumerary men; so that these included, the King's forces amount to near 100,000, all picked men. You could not but admire, if you were to see how they behave: inasmuch, that whenever they take the field, it is pity but fortune should favour them.

The tall grenadiers exceed the common report, being the completest, the finest, and best disciplined body that can be imagined. The men are of all nations, there being scarce a Prince in Europe, but takes a pleasure in sending recruits to it. Some of these grenadiers have had fifteen hundred crowns list money; and several receive two florins per diem. Some of them are very rich; others there are who trade, and have good houses at Potsdam. The tallest and best man among them all was one called JONAS, (lately dead) who worked heretofore in the mines of Norway. The famous Huguetan, whom FREDERICK IV. King of Denmark created Count of Guldenstein, took him from the mines, and presented him to the King; he then stooped in the shoulders, and hobbled in walking; but by tricking him up, they gave him that good air which he wanted.

It is certain there are no troops in the world where the peasant sooner shakes off the clownish air, and more easily assumes the military one. This gigantic regiment has required great pains, and considerable sums, to establish it; and I am sure it has cost the King more than six other regiments.

The Princes of the royal family are not exempt from passing through the degrees of military service; and it is not here as in other places, where they have regiments and military governments as soon as they are born. The King will have them to know how to obey, before they come to command; and it is an encouragement to the officers, to find themselves so far honoured as to be on a par in the service with those who are born to be their Sovereigns.

There are academies of cadets in Berlin, Magdeburg, and other towns, where they are taught the rudiments of war; so that it is a nursery from whence the King makes a draught of good officers. His Majesty has moreover ordered his generals of foot, to take each a young gentleman, whose fortune does not happen to be equal to his birth, to keep them as pages, and to make them learn their exercises, and every thing that an officer ought to know.

The King's prime minister is the King himself, who is informed of every thing, and desires to know every thing. He gives great application to business, but does it with extraordinary ease; and nothing escapes his penetration, nor his memory, which is a very happy one. No body knows better than he where his government is strong, and where it is weak; and no Sovereign in the world is of more easy access, his subjects being actually permitted to write to him without any other formality than superscribing the

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the letter, To the King. By writing underneath, To be delivered into his Majesty's own hands, one may be sure that the King receives and reads it, and that the next post he will answer it, either with his own hand, or by his secretary: these answers are short but peremptory, and they prevent a tedious painful attendance. The King, who is an enemy to vain pomp and pageantry, always goes abroad without any guards, with only a small retinue, and sometimes too walks on foot: he makes his greatness to consist in solid power; in the having his troops well disciplined, his places kept up in good order, his arsenals well provided, and his treasury full enough to enable him to oppose his enemy in case he be attacked. He never aims so much as to disturb his neighbours, much less to rob them. I heard him say one day, that he had no intention of attacking any body, nor of beginning a war; but if he was attacked, he would defend himself the best he could; a conduct which he has religiously observed ever since he has been placed upon the throne, even towards CHARLES XII. King of Sweden, notwithstanding what is said of him by a certain author, who has wrote that Prince's life. But I will not deviate from my subject.

There is no town in all the King of Prussia's dominions, except Neufchatel, where he has not been; no province which he does not know full well; not a noble family but he can tell their revenues, nor a court of justice but he is well acquainted with their chief members. His behaviour is plain; he knows no gallantry, and does not easily pardon it in his officers. He is so true to his consort the Queen, that he wishes all men would follow his example, and that every husband would live only with the woman whom God has allotted him. His diversion is hunting, and for this reason he resides commonly at Potsdam or Wusterhausen, which are pleasure-houses four miles from Berlin. Yet he generally goes on Saturdays into his capital, where he holds a council on Sunday, and returns on Monday. In the winter he makes a longer stay at Berlin; but let him be either here or there, he is on the parade every day at ten o'clock, when his soldiers mount the guard; after which he gives audience to his ministers, and holds a council, or goes abroad for the air. At noon the King appears in a great saloon, where are all the generals and officers, the foreign ministers, and all the court in general. There he converses a few moments, and then goes into another room, where he dines with the Queen, the Princes and Princesses of his family, and any other persons whom he has caused to be invited. His table is commonly spread for eighteen guests. After he has sat about an hour and an half at table, he retires to his closet till six at night, when he appears again in the room where he held his levee. There his Majesty gives orders to the marshal WARTENSLEBEN, governor of Berlin, and to the marshal NATZMER, commandant of the gendarmery. After this he talks a while with those that are present, and then passes into a room at some distance from his apartment, to which the Queen repairs sometimes with one or two ladies in company. There are ten or a dozen officers whom the King honours with his confidence, who play here at picquet, ombre, and back-gammon. Here they also smoke, and to this place the King sends for such as he has a mind to talk with about special affairs. I have been there twice upon such an account. Here

there is no manner of restraint, but every body sits down, the King dispensing with all the respect that is due to him; and at eleven o'clock he dismisses the company, and retires.

The King hunts when he is at Potsdam and Wusterhausen; but in other respects, he leads the same life there as he does at Berlin. At Potsdam he hunts the stag, having for that end caused a great forest to be paled in, where he has made noble roads.

Berlin, if we regard the largeness of the streets, the regular architecture of the houses, and the many works of magnificence and ornament, which, during the present, and the two preceding reigns, have been erected there, is the finest city of the empire. His present Majesty has been so intent, not only on fortifying, but likewise beautifying this capital, that he has made his courtiers, and other great men, build stately houses for themselves. The city is pleasantly seated on the banks of the Spree; which, with several canals to the Oder and Elbe, do, moreover, render it one of the best trading towns in Germany. The King's palace, which FREDERICK I. began in 1699, is a sumptuous and vast structure, and very richly furnished: it is not, however, quite finished.

The King's seats in the country are Potsdam, Oranienbourg, Frederickshof, Charlottenbourg, and Wusterhausen.

The King and his whole court are Calvinists; but the religion of the country is Lutheran. The Elector, GEORGE-WILLIAM, the present King's great grandfather, having married a Calvinist Lady of the Palatine family, daughter to FREDERICK V. King of Bohemia, turned Calvinist too. Since that time, those of that persuasion have increased in the country, to which they are encouraged by the court. There is free exercise of religion in the duchies of Cleves, Halberstadt, and Minden, for Roman catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

There may be about three millions of souls in this Prince's German dominions, without reckoning those of Brandenburg-Prussia.

## LOWER SAXONY.

### CHAP. XV.

*Treats of the Circle of Lower Saxony; and therein of the Duchies of Mecklenburg, Lawenburg, Holstein, Hanover, Brunswick-Lunenbourg, Bremen and Verden.*

WITHIN the Circle of Lower Saxony are comprehended the duchies of Mecklenburg, Lawenburg, Holstein, Brunswick-Lunenbourg, Bremen, the principality of Verden and the bishoprick of Hildesheim. As to the duchy of Magdeburg and the principality of Halberstadt, which are usually reckoned part of the Lower-Saxony, I chose to describe them in treating of Upper Saxony, because they lie contiguous to, and are incorporated with the other dominions of the Elector of Brandenburg, which lie within that circle, and therefore shall not consider them here.

The circle of Lower Saxony then, is bounded by the German Ocean, Denmark and the Baltic sea towards the north; by Pomerania and the

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Bounds and extent of Lower Saxony.



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Rivers.

Air and  
soil.

Mecklen-  
burg.  
Situation.

Name.

Seas,  
lakes, ri-  
vers and  
air.

Corn,  
fruits, and  
other pro-  
duce.

Division  
of the pro-  
vinces and  
chief  
towns.

Rostock.

the Marquifate of Brandenburg towards the east; by the territories of the Landgrave of Hesse on the south, and by the circle of Westphalia towards the west: extending in length from east to west two hundred miles, and about as far in breadth from north to south. The chief rivers which run through this country are the Elbe, the Weser, the Alter, the Hamma, the Hemon, the Leme, the Ocker and the Eldt. The winters here are long, and air exceeding cold; but the country however produces good corn in many places, and does not want rich pastures, as will appear in the description of the several countries it contains.

The duchy of Mecklenburg is bounded by the Baltick sea on the north; by Pomerania on the east; by Brandenburg on the south; and by the duchies of Lunenburg and Sax-Lawenburg towards the west. It is said to derive it's name from the High-dutch word Mecklen, which signifies a broker or dealer in merchandize, from the great resort of merchants to this country anciently, and particularly to a city of the same name situate on the coast; which was the occasion of adding *burg* to the word *Mecklen*, *burg* signifying a town, and *Mecklenburg* a town of merchants or brokers; and there is now a small village not far from Wismar, according to some German writers, which goes by the same name, and is supposed to be the remains of the once famous city of Mecklenburg. This country has the advantage of the Baltick sea for many miles, besides a great number of rivers and large lakes, which may be one reason that the air is unhealthful in summer, and it's northern situation renders it intolerably cold in the winter. It produces however great plenty of corn and fruits, particularly apples; and their lakes and rivers furnish them with fish and water-fowl in abundance.

Mecklenburg is usually divided by geographers into six parts, viz. 1. The dukedom of Mecklenburg, properly so called. 2. The dukedom of Vandalia. 3. The earldom of Swerin. 4. The barony of Rostock. 5. The barony of Stargard. And, 6. The bishoprick of Butzow. In the dukedom of Mecklenburg Proper are the cities and towns of Wismar, Tempin, Gades, Rhena, and Bucow. In the dukedom of Vandalia; Gustrow, Sterneburg, Malchin, Stavenhagen, Ivenack, New Calven, Warin, Peutzlin, Rebell, Wredenhagen, Malchau, Tetrou, Goltburg, Parchum, Plage, Lupfian, Grabou, Domitz, Newstat, Eldenau, and Goriosen. In the barony of Rostock; the cities and towns of Rostock, Ribnitz, Gnoiën. Tessen, Laga, Schwan, Salines, and Morlou. In the barony of Stargard; Brandenburg, Stargard, Furstenburg, Strelitz, Mirow, Fredland, and Wefenburg. And in the bishoprick of Butzow, the city of Butzow, the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

1. Rostock, an Imperial city, and one of the Hans-Towns, under the protection of the Duke of Mecklenburg, situate in fifty-four degrees twenty minutes north latitude, on a bay of the sea at the mouth of the river Warna; is a tolerable harbour, forty miles to the eastward of Wismar, supposed to take it's name from Rotzstock, or a red pillar, anciently worshiped here by the pagan inhabitants. It is divided into three parts, viz. the old, the new, and the middle city, which united make a large town, containing many thousands of lofty well-built houses. Travellers observe, that here are seven large streets leading to a spacious market place, seven handsome gates towards the

land, seven bridges over the Warna, which runs through several parts of the towns, seven great doors to the cathedral church, seven towers on the town hall, and two or three other sevens still less worth our observation; and perhaps the reader will scarce forgive me for taking up his time with these. The university here is said to contain as many students as most in Germany; and was founded by JOHN and ALBERT, two contemporary Dukes of Mecklenburg and cousins, in the year 1419. Half the charges whereof being borne by the corporation and magistracy of the city, half the professors are chosen by the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the other half by the town; and the Rector is chosen alternately every half year, as in most other German universities. Amongst other learned men that have been educated here, are ALBERT CRANTZIUS, JOHN POSSELIUS, and NATHAN CHYTRÆUS, three celebrated historians.

The government of the city is in the hands of twenty-four Aldermen, elected out of the nobility, scholars, and principal merchants; of whom four are Burgomasters, two Chamberlains, two Stewards for the river, and two Judges of civil and criminal matters. These twenty-four may be stiled the upper house, and have in a manner the whole executive power lodged in them, with the power of coining money, and electing officers. There is also a common-council of an hundred inferior citizens, who are summoned to give their advice upon extraordinary emergencies relating to the whole community. 2. Warnemund, a small town situate on the sea, seven miles below Rostock, being the port-town to that city; for large vessels cannot come up so high as Rostock. 3. Wismar, which stands between thirty and forty miles to the westward of Rostock, and as many to the eastward of Lubeck, by some esteemed the capital of Mecklenburg, said to obtain it's name from the conveniency of it's situation, *Wismeer* signifying a secure harbour, as the town of Wismar is. It is said to have been built out of the ruins of the ancient town of Mecklenburg, about the year 1250. In the year 1266 it was enlarged and beautified, and from that time became extremely populous, and was reckoned one of the chief of the Hans-Towns, for this was the harbour where all the men of war belonging to that body were laid up. The Swedes having possessed themselves of this city, during the civil wars of Germany, insisted on it's being confirmed to them by the treaty of Munster, as it was; and the Swede has since stiled himself Lord of Wismar. It has however several times been taken by the Danes, and restored to the Swedes again by subsequent treaties; particularly in the last war it was taken by the Danes and their allies, the Hanoverians, Brandenburgers and Saxons, but restored to the Swedes by a treaty made in the year 1720; wherein it was stipulated however, that the walls and fortifications should be demolished, in which state it remains at present. 4. Swerin, situate upon the great lake called the Swerin-sea, to which it communicates it's name, about fifteen miles south of Wismar, and forty south-west of Rostock, formerly a Bishop's See; but by an article in the treaty of Munster, converted into a temporal principality, and conferred on ADOLPH FREDERICK, Duke of Mecklenburg. 5. Gustrow, a well-fortified town, formerly the seat of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Gustrow, whose line became extinct in the year 1688.

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Warnemund.

Wismar.

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sent Duke.His second  
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jects.

This country was anciently inhabited by the Vandals, and govern'd by their own Princes. ALBERT and JOHN, joint Dukes of Mecklenburg, were by the Emperor CHARLES IV. first admitted Princes of the Empire in the year 1349, upon condition of being subject to its laws. Lutheranism was established in this country about the year 1550, by Duke JOHN ALBERT, who demolished the abbeyes and religious places, and converted their revenues to other uses. In the civil wars of Germany this country was miserably harassed by the Imperial army, probably upon account of their deserting the Roman communion, and embracing Lutheranism. CHARLES LEOPOLD, the present Duke of Mecklenburg, was born the 6th of November, 1679; and married to SOPHIA EDWIGE of Nassau-Dietz, anno 1698. This Princess being wantonly disposed, the Duke began a process against her in the Imperial court, in order to obtain a divorce; where meeting with more than ordinarily delays, he ventured to marry the Duchess Dowager of Courland, niece to the late Czar, in the year 1716, before there was any decision of the cause; and it seems to be no extraordinary thing with the German Princes to divorce themselves, and take another woman to their bed in the life-time of the former.

This was but the beginning of troubles to the unhappy Duke of Mecklenburg, whose country was the following year almost ruined by the Muscovite forces, which were brought into the Empire to assist the Danes and Saxons against the Swedes; and at the same time the Duke laying heavy taxes upon his nobility, they applied to the Emperor for redress; setting forth that the Russian army having committed great ravages upon their estates, when they thought fit at last to leave their country, the Duke retained in his service a body of three thousand of them; which, together with his own troops, he was continually augmenting by new levies, he quartered on the nobility, and exacted extravagant contributions from them, under pretence of providing for the security of the country against foreign invasions; pretending that he was sole judge what was necessary for the defence of his subjects, who were to bear the expence. But the nobility denied this prerogative, alledging that a convention had been made with his predecessor in the year 1701, to pay annually the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand crowns, in lieu of all taxes and duties, ordinary or extraordinary; and thereupon the Duke renounced all further pretensions of laying any taxes upon them, except the usual land-taxes. II. They alledge, that the monthly contribution of sixty thousand crowns demanded of them, exceeded the produce of their estates, and was more than necessary to pay the troops. That at the same time all the peasants, who were not subjects of the nobility, were exempted from these contributions; which made it evident, that the Duke designed the ruin of the nobility, whose estates were seized and sequestered for not paying the sums demanded, and some of them compelled to fly their country, &c.

After this cause had depended before the Imperial tribunal for some years, it was decreed about the year 1722, That the Duke should pay to his nobility one million of crowns, for repairing the damages they had sustained; and on his not complying with this edict, a body of troops were ordered to quarter upon the Duke's demesne lands, and seize his revenues; which was executed accordingly,

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and the Duke thought fit to retire out of the country for some time; but is returning to his dominions again now the decree is satisfied, and the nobility begin to be reconciled to him.

From this instance it appears, that the Princes of the empire are subject to the general laws of the empire, and that their nobility and gentry, between whom there is little difference, can appeal for redress to the Imperial courts, when they are oppressed by their respective Sovereigns. But it is not so with the peasants or husbandmen, and other inferior people; these are subjects and vassals to their several Lords, and do not hold their farms by lease, as our farmers do, but at will; and are obliged to do such services, and pay such rents in kind or money, as their Lords require of them; and if they are ordered to arm and march into the field against an enemy, they dare not refuse it. Thus it was lately among the Clans in Scotland, where a Lord with his Clan would fall upon a neighbour in a hostile manner, and endeavour to do himself justice, if he apprehended himself injured, as if there were no civil courts of judicature in the kingdom; and as for controversies among the tenants themselves, these were determined in the courts of their respective Lords.

CHARLES LEOPOLD, Duke of Mecklenburg, born in 1679, and succeeded his brother FREDERICK WILLIAM in 1713. He has been twice married; first to SOPHIA HEDGWICK, aunt on the father's side to the Prince of Orange; but they were parted in 1710. His second wife was CATHERINE, daughter to the unfortunate IVAN ALEXIEWITZ, Czar of Russia, and sister to the reigning Empress of Russia, who died in 1733, leaving one only daughter, ELIZABETH CATHERINE, born in 1718, and educated at the court of Petersburg, having made publick profession of the Greek faith in 1733, in view of succeeding her aunt in the throne of Russia, in case she died without issue.

Duke CHARLES having formed a resolution of augmenting his forces, and of incorporating two regiments of Muscovites, of 1500 men each, which the Czar had made him a present of, among the troops of the country, began to raise unusual contributions on his subjects; and on their refusal quartered soldiers on his nobility, and confiscated the estates of those of them who had made the greatest opposition. He proceeded to augment his troops to the number of eleven thousand men; but the aukick council being applied to for redress of those grievances, by the estates and nobility, who had the laws of the country on their side, the Emperor, in 1718, caused a body of troops of the circle to march into the duchy; which being encountered by the Duke's forces, great disorders ensued, till at last, his Highness being defeated, retreated to Dantzick; and in 1728, the Emperor sent commissioners to Mecklenburg, who declared the Duke fallen from the government of the country, and put the administration into the hands of his brother. The degraded Prince shewed no regard to this Imperial decision, but appealed to the diet of Ratisbon, for redress. The Emperor, on his part, laid before the same sovereign tribunal, by the Prince of Furstenburg, his first commissary, a bill of grievances against the Duke, importing, that his Highness had made many changes and alterations tending to the destruction of the rights of the country, and the privileges of his vassals: that he had erected a sanguinary tribunal, or inquisition, and for

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several years stopt the course of justice, to the great prejudice and ruin of many of his subjects: that he had spoken disrespectfully of the Imperial commission and rescript of the 11th of May 1728, and done many unjustifiable things to hinder the execution of them: that for these and other reasons, his Imperial Majesty had removed him from the government of the country, and placed his brother CHRISTIAN in his room, till he the Duke should submit himself to his Imperial Majesty, and return to a better mind.

In 1730, the Duke leaving Dantzick, returned to Swerin, his capital, and tried all manner of ways to disturb his brother's administration, and elude the Imperial decree, which was renewed in 1732, with this additional clause: "That the regent, for the further security of his person and government, might take into his service a certain number of troops of some neutral Prince, and then call the annual diet of the states, in order to restore the publick tranquillity." This Imperial mandate did moreover ordain, "That the degraded Prince should have a yearly salary of about ten thousand pounds, besides the revenues of Domitz and Swerin; and his brother, the regent, six thousand pounds." On the receipt of this writ, 400 horse of Hanover, and 200 foot of Wolfenbuttle, were taken into pay, and things continued pretty calm in the country: the unhappy Prince seemingly acquiescing in this new regulation. He hoped his sister-in-law, the Czarina, might be wrought upon to interpose in his favour. At last, finding he had nothing to expect from her, he went to Weimar; where committing some disorders in November 1735, the Magistrates began a prosecution against him, with intention to punish him for breaking the peace of their little territory. But he will probably be restored by the interposition of the Czarina, one time or other.

Lawen-  
burg  
duchy.

Lawen-  
burg city.

The duchy of Sax-Lawenburg is situate on both sides of the Elbe; being bounded by Holstein on the west and north; by Mecklenburg on the east; and the duchy of Lunenburg towards the south: the chief town whereof is Lawenburg, situate at the conflux of the Elbe and the Stegnitz, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees forty minutes, about thirty miles south of Lubeck, and near forty south-east of Hamburg. It is a small, but populous town, and has a pretty good trade. The other towns of any note in this duchy are Mollen, Wittenburg, and Ratzeburg; but of these I meet with nothing particular. The last Duke of Sax-Lawenburg was JULIUS-FRANCIS, who dying without male issue, in the year 1689, the Elector of Saxony, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Duke of Lunenburg-Zell all laid claim to it; but the Duke of Lunenburg taking possession of it, this duchy on his death devolved on the Elector of Hanover, with his other territories; the other pretenders relinquishing their claim in consideration of a sum of money, or some other equivalent given them by the Elector of Hanover.

Holstein  
duchy.

As to the province of Holstein, it hath already been described in treating of the King of Denmark's dominions, except the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, which some reckon to be out of the bounds of Holstein; perhaps because they have freed themselves from the Danish yoke, tho' that Prince frequently revives his pretensions to those places, and exacts large sums from them; and were it not that they are under the Emperor's protection, and deemed free Imperial cities, the

Dane would no doubt long since have reduced them to his obedience again.

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Hamb-  
burgh.

Hamburg, one of the most considerable of the Hans-Towns, is built partly on islands, and partly on the continent, on the north side of the river Elbe, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees fifty minutes, ten degrees to the eastward of London, forty miles south-west of Lubeck, and sixty north-east of Bremen; being about seventy-five miles distant from the sea. Its name is supposed to be derived from the forest of Ham, which stood near it, and gave title to the ancient Lords of Ham; who building a castle where the city now stands, called it *Hamburg*, or *Ham Castle*. It is generally held to be within the limits of Stormaria, a province of the duchy of Holstein: and however this is disputed by some, it is agreed, that the territories belonging to this city, and adjoining to it, lie in Stormaria. They contain but a small circuit, wherein are several large villages and noblemen's palaces. There are also several little islands in the Elbe under the government of the Hamburgers.

The city of Hamburg, says a late writer, consists of a great many little islands in the rivers Elbe and Alster, which, like Venice, have a communication with each other by bridges. The tide flows through the canals which separate the islands; and it lies so low, that in spring-tides houses have been carried away and damaged by inundations, as it happened in the year 1651. As the place appears to be naturally strong by this account, the inhabitants have added to it good walls, and regular fortifications after the modern way, especially towards the land. It is divided by a wall into two parts, called the Old and New Town. The streets are wide, but not straight; and the buildings generally of brick, very high, which make a grand appearance. The town is exceeding populous, occasioned by a flourishing foreign trade. Ships from all parts of Europe resort hither, and from hence their merchandize is distributed through the Empire. But the most considerable manufacture of the Hamburgers, if we may call it such, is their beer, in brewing of which great numbers of people are employed, and it is transported into all the neighbouring countries, being valued equally with wine. The peasants of Holstein, it is said, have such an opinion of its virtues, that they apprehend it impossible to live without it. They have also plenty of all provisions at Hamburg, which are either brought down their rivers from the inland parts of Germany, or imported from abroad; but their markets are with nothing better stored than with sea and river-fish and garden-stuff. Their gardens, which lie contiguous to the town-walls, do not only afford plenty of fruit, herbs, and roots, but being regularly planted, and extending a great way into the country, yield an inexpressible delight to the citizens, who have their country-seats in the middle of them. On the other side, ships of good burthen may come up to the very walls, to take in and discharge their lading; the largest indeed are forced to come to an anchor at New Mills, four miles below it, and unlade their merchandize into smaller vessels. The tide flows sixteen miles higher up the river than Hamburg, which is about ninety miles from the Ocean, and thought to be a longer course than the tide takes in any other European river.

The publick buildings in this city mentioned by travellers, are, the church of St. PETER, formerly a cathedral, while the town remained an arch-



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archbishoprick, and the residentiaries of this church still compose a chapter, who have cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, from whom there lies no appeal, but to the Imperial Chamber at Spire. The other most considerable churches are those of St. NICHOLAS, St. JACOB, St. CATHARINE, and St. MICHAEL, where registers of the poor of the respective parishes are kept, who have money weekly distributed amongst them, and a yearly allowance of clothes and fuel: nor is there any city can boast of more well-endowed hospitals and charitable foundations in proportion to it's bigness, for cripples, aged people, orphans, disabled seamen and their families, with free-schools for the education of the children of poor citizens, who are furnished with clothes as well as good instruction, till they are capable of being put out to trades, or sent to the university.

The city of Hamburg is a free Imperial city, independent of any other power except the Emperor, to whom they pay homage, and some other small acknowledgments for the protection they receive from the Empire, as other Imperial cities do, who have both the legislative and executive power lodged in them. The magistrates are four Burgomasters; twenty Schepins or Aldermen, chosen out of the most considerable merchants or tradesmen; twelve Common-Council Men or Senators, who constantly attend the service of the city, who upon extraordinary occasions assemble sixty more of the principal citizens, called *Burger Alten*, or Elders of the city; and if the case be of the utmost importance, the whole body of freemen are assembled, in whom seems to be the last resort. But this power has been frequently disputed of late years; the senate pretending that though they are called to advise with upon extraordinary occasions, their superiors only have the power of determining what ought to be done: and these controversies have sometimes risen to that height, that the Emperor has been obliged to take cognizance of them, and command the forces of the Circle to march into the city to keep the peace, as will appear hereafter. But before I proceed further, it may be convenient to enquire here the foundation of that claim the Dane frequently makes to the dominion of this city. And it seems WOLDEMAR, Duke of Sleswick, by the assistance of CANUTUS the VIth, King of Denmark, his brother, took this city from the Emperor OTHO IV. and WOLDEMAR being afterwards advanced to the Danish throne, transferred the sovereignty of Hamburg to ALBRECHT, Earl of Orlemund, who assigned his right to the citizens in consideration of fifteen hundred marks of silver; and thus this city became a free and independent State: and ADOLPH IV. Earl of Holstein, confirmed their rights and privileges, as his successors also did down to ADOLPH XIV. the last Earl of Holstein and Scawenburg of that family, who died anno 1459: upon whose death the province of Holstein put themselves under the protection of CHRISTIAN I. King of Denmark, whom they elected their Sovereign, under the title of Duke of Holstein; and the citizens of Hamburg entered into an alliance with the King of Denmark, engaging to maintain the same friendship and correspondence with him, they had done with the Earls of Holstein and Scawenburg his predecessors, if he would confirm their rights and privileges, which he did accordingly. His successors, however, were perpetually reviving their claim to the sovereignty of this city; and some of

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them compelled the citizens to pay large sums to purchase a confirmation of their liberties: but in all their treaties with that crown, they concluded, *Salvo jure Caesaris & Imperii, & salvo libertatibus civitatis ab Imperiali cubine obtentis*. And in a Diet, held at Augsburg anno 1510, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. with the States of the Empire, declared Hamburg a free Imperial city, and summoned the Duke of Holstein to appear before the Imperial Chamber at Spire, to make good or renounce his pretensions to the said city. But the Kings of Denmark, as Dukes of Holstein, have nevertheless several times since extorted large sums of money from this city; sometimes appearing before it with a numerous army, and at other times blocking up the mouth of the river Elbe, taking their ships, and obstructing their traffick; but the powers interested in preserving the liberties of this city, have hitherto interposed, and preserved them from being swallowed up by the Dane. The liberties of Hamburg have also been several times endangered by religious disputes with some of the neighbouring Princes, and by their own intestine divisions, as has been hinted already, particularly in the year 1708; when those disputes arose so high, that a body of troops was sent to take possession of the town, by the directors of the Circle of Lower Saxony, in order to preserve the peace of the city.

The established religion of Hamburg is Lutheranism; and so bigotted are they to their particular opinions in religion, that they will tolerate no other sect, whether popish or protestant, except in the chapels of foreign ministers: nor will they suffer any subject of Hamburg to resort even thither, inasmuch, that they prosecuted very severely some citizens who were seen at the Dutch chapel, notwithstanding the representations of the King of Prussia and the States-General in behalf of their brethren, the disciples of CALVIN, in the year 1719. And in answer to his Prussian Majesty's memorial on this subject, they acquainted him that the Calvinists in affairs relating to trade, enjoyed the same privileges as the Lutherans; but that at the time of the establishing the Lutheran religion in that city, neither the Calvinists, the Roman Catholick inhabitants, or the Jews were allowed the publick exercise of their worship, but were content with domestick service; and as for sermons and the administration of the sacraments, they were obliged to repair to neighbouring towns: which state of things was confirmed by the treaty of Westphalia, and their magistrates obliged by a very binding oath to observe that treaty. Notwithstanding which, both the Calvinists and Roman Catholicks were increased in their city of late years to an insufferable degree, and openly assumed to themselves an exercise of their worship, assembling in divers parts of the town, and particularly at the Dutch resident's house, to the number of some hundreds, with several coaches, and by preaching sermons, singing aloud, and administering the sacraments, gave reason to suspect they would in time claim a right to their publick worship; and that this, with the repeated encroachments and usurpations of the Roman Catholicks, had put the magistrates upon issuing an edict to prohibit such unlawful worship, and reduce the same within the bounds prescribed by the treaty of Westphalia.

The same year, 1719, I find the Roman Catholicks also complaining of their being insulted by the inhabitants of Hamburg on account of their religion.



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religion. The Imperial minister residing in this city, it seems, had caused a new chapel to be built, and the priests having laid the first stone with unusual ceremonies, and attempted openly to make profelytes to their religion, gave great offence to the Lutheran clergy, who incited both magistrates and people to oppose the finishing this popish temple; whereupon a mob was spirited up on Sunday the 15th of September, who first plundered the chapel of the plate and ornaments, and afterwards demolished it. They also proceeded to storm the house of Count Metseh the Imperial minister, stripping it of the furniture, and carrying off seven thousand crowns in money, abusing M. LEMBEKE, Imperial counsellor and secretary of the embassy; the tumult lasting from nine of the clock in the morning until midnight before it was suppressed: Of which the Imperial resident immediately sent an express to court. The Emperor was so exasperated at this outrageous riot against his ministers and those of his communion, that he threatened the city with military execution if they did not forthwith pay a fine of two hundred thousand crowns, rebuild the house and chapel at their own expence, and make good the loss of the furniture, ornaments, and all other damages sustained; and lastly, that two members of the senate and two of the common-council should come to Vienna, and beg his Imperial Majesty's pardon. With which the Hamburgers were obliged to comply, except that they got some part of the fine abated. But the Emperor has since taken them into his special protection, and espouses their cause heartily against the antiquated pretensions of the Dane: for in November, 1724, the magistrates published an Imperial mandate, importing, That whereas it had been represented to his Imperial Majesty, that the King of Denmark and his officers, especially the Count de Calenburg, High-Bailiff of the county of Pinneburg, had for some time past pretended to exercise an independent jurisdiction within the district of the Danish hotels (palaces) called the Schawenburg and Muhlen in the city of Hamburg, and to exempt the inhabitants thereof, and all the houses within that verge, though sworn Burghers of the city, from all civil power, allegiance, and obedience to the government, as also from all taxes and contributions; and had made use of threats to deter the said city from maintaining her rights, which they had possessed for many centuries; his Imperial Majesty annulled and vacated all the ordinances hitherto issued against the city by his Danish Majesty and his officers, especially by Count Calenburg, and the Danish Residents Hagendorn and Hohenmuhl, and all the inhabitants of the said districts were by the said mandate strictly enjoined not only to be faithful and obedient, like other Burghers, to the magistrates of Hamburg, according to the ancient constitution of the city, but likewise to pay without resistance the arrears of the taxes, and bear their share of all contributions, charges, and offices for the future, on pain of being punished corporally, and even with death, according to the nature of the crime.

The Ministers of Denmark on the contrary published an order of the King of Denmark's, requiring the inhabitants of the district of Schawenburg not to pay the least contribution or tax to the magistrates of Hamburg on pain of death, wherein his Danish Majesty also revives his claim to that his hereditary city, as he calls it; and threatens the citizens that one time or other they

should feel the effects of his resentment. In the year 1726, the King of Denmark proceeded to prohibit the currency of the Hamburg coin in his dominions, (as the Hamburgers had before the currency of the Danish coin in their territories.) He also required his subjects not to buy of the Hamburgers any goods of the growth or manufacture of England, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, or any other foreign country; and the Danish merchants were required to purchase them in the respective countries where they are produced or manufactured; which is a very great loss to the Hamburgers, who used to furnish the dominions of Denmark with most of their foreign goods. The English Hamburg merchants are said to be more favoured in this city than those of any other nation, on account of the extraordinary trade they occasion here; their factors and agents being exempted from the jurisdiction of the city courts, and all civil and criminal matters relating only to their people, determined by the English resident. They are also indulged in the publick exercise of their religious worship, a privilege said to be denied to most other nations who are not of the Lutheran persuasion; but I perceive the Dutch and other foreigners have now the same liberty, though the natives are not allowed to resort to their chapels.

Hamburg, (according to another writer) is one of the best towns in Germany, being situate on the Elbe, twenty-five leagues from the mouth of it: it has noble ramparts, and very strong outworks; and it also takes care to be well provided with artillery, and a good garrison. Moreover, it is always sure of the protection of the families of Brandenburg and Brunswick, it being so advantageously situated, that it is the interest of both, that no power whatsoever should take it.

Hamburg is also very considerable, on account of the wealth of its inhabitants, who are almost all merchants, and much of the temper of the Dutch merchants, very greedy of gain, and thrifty. Their greatest delight is to have gardens at the city gates, pretty much in the taste of those of Holland. The wives of the great merchants are as much confined at Hamburg, as the women of quality are at Venice; but I observed, they were only pent up from foreigners. A man may pass his time very well in this city, where there are several persons of quality to see, who make their visitors perfectly welcome. The walks, in and about this city, are charming, and especially that on the ramparts is a noble one; there being a double row of trees, which forms an agreeable covert, and from whence there is a prospect finely diversified by noble houses, gardens, woods, meadows, &c. in the midst of which one sees the rivers Elbe and Alster, which both together yield a charming view. The river of Alster comes into the town, and forms a basin very like a great pond, which has a fine key on the sides of it, planted with several rows of lime-trees, between which there is a very fine walk.

It depends solely upon its magistrates, who are chose by the Burghers themselves. Its liberty has been often contested by the Kings of Denmark; who, as Dukes of Holstein, pretend, that Hamburg is built upon their territory, and that therefore they ought to be sovereigns of it.

Most of the European Princes have residents here; for which reason, here are several chapels

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CHAP. XV. of the Roman catholics, who, otherwise, would be obliged to go to the church at Altena, as the Calvinists are forced to do; the Lutheran being the religion that is uppermost at Hamburgh; but the Jews have their synagogues here.

Lubeck. Lubeck, the chief of the Hans-Towns, and an Imperial city, is situated in the province of Wagerland in the duchy of Holstein, though some have placed it in the duchy of Mecklenburg, from which indeed it is not far distant. It is said to have derived the name from its situation on a corner or point of land; the word *Lubeck*, or rather *Lobeck*, in High-Dutch, signifying as much. This city stands on the river Trave, ten miles from the Baltick sea, in fifty-four degrees odd minutes north latitude, upwards of forty miles north-east of Hamburgh, about as many to the westward of Wismar, and twenty-five miles north of Lawenburg. Travemund, at the mouth of the river Trave, is the port-town to Lubeck, and esteemed a very good harbour. There is not any city in the north of Germany, according to Dr. NICHOLSON, which exceeds Lubeck in the beauty and uniformity of its buildings, or the pleasantness of the groves and gardens about it. The streets are broad and strait, and the houses built of brick; and from a publick reservoir water is laid into every citizen's house, and several of the streets are planted with rows of trees. The churches are generally well built, adorned with high spire steeples, being about twenty in number; and the cathedral, dedicated to St. MARY, esteemed a fine piece of architecture. Lubeck was an inconsiderable borough till enlarged and beautified by ADOLPH, the second Earl of Holstein, anno 1140, from whom HENRY Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, surnamed the LION, took it. WOLDEMAR Duke of Sleswick, brother and heir to CANUTUS King of Denmark, afterwards made himself master of it; but the citizens being unkindly treated by the Danes, put themselves under the protection of the Emperor FREDERICK II. who confirmed their ancient privileges and immunities, and enlarged them; since which, Lubeck has continued a free Imperial city, and was the metropolis of the Hans-Towns, as has been intimated already. The bishoprick of this city has been enjoyed by Protestant Princes ever since the year 1561, when the Lutheran religion was introduced here, and devolves as an appennage, or inheritance, on the younger sons of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who are stiled Dukes of Eutin, from a town where the palace of this prelate stands, about four miles from the city. This is the only Protestant bishoprick in Germany, it is said, which has not been stripped of the revenues and privileges belonging to it; the other Lutheran Bishops are rather superintendants, having little to distinguish them from the inferior clergy, but the point of precedence.

The present government is in the hands of twelve Burgomasters elected out of the nobility and civil lawyers, and the senate or council consists of sixteen members, half noblemen and lawyers, and the other half merchants. Two brothers, or father and son, cannot be admitted at the same time into the senate, nor any handicraft or mechanick is suffered to sit amongst them. Their territories are about sixty miles in circumference, and contain several small towns and villages. Happy were the northern Princes who could make Lubeck their friend, while she was capital of the Hans-Towns, for they are said to

have been able at some times to have fitted out upwards of two hundred ships of war, and to have had the power of turning the scale to which ever side they inclined in the wars among the northern powers: but the reader has already met with an account of the Hans-Towns, and therefore I forbear to say more of them here.

## LUNENBURG.

THE dukedom of Lunenburg, in which Zell is comprehended, is bounded by the river Elbe, which separates it from Lawenburg and Holstein on the north, by Brandenburg and Magdeburg on the east, by the Dukedom of Brunswick on the south, and by Bremen and part of Westphalia towards the west. The air of this country is cold, and a barren sandy desert takes up a great part of it: the rest is covered with woods and forests, and the people who inhabit them the most clownish, and unpolished of any in Germany: but their forests abounding in wild hog, deer and other venison, the neighbouring Princes and nobility annually assemble here to take the diversion of hunting. The principal rivers are the Elbe, the Illmenow or Awe, and the Jetze. The chief towns are, 1. Lunenburg, or Luneburg, said to derive its name from *Luna*, the moon, on account of that planet's being adored by the ancient Pagan inhabitants: but how the moon came to have a Latin name in this part of the world before the Romans arrived here, is a difficulty that is not easily got over. It stands on the river Illmenow, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees thirty minutes; about thirty miles south-east of Hamburgh, and near forty south of Lubeck, being of an oblong figure, and about two miles in circumference; the streets broad, and most of the houses tolerably well built. The publick buildings mentioned by travellers are, the town-hall or stadthouse, and the palace belonging to the late Duke of Zell, of which I do not meet with any thing remarkable; but the bridge over the river is said to be a very fine one. From the salt-springs near this town are made great quantities of salt, in which the trade of the inhabitants chiefly consists, and they afford a good revenue to the sovereign. 2. Zell, the usual residence of the late Dukes of Lunenburg, situate in a sandy plain at the confluence of the two little rivers Aller and Fuhse, about forty miles south of Lunenburg, and thirty north of Hanover. The Duke's palace is a square building, moated round, and encompassed with pleasant gardens; but I do not find the architecture of this palace much admired. The courts of justice for the duchy of Lunenburg are held in it. 3. Bardewick, five miles north of Lunenburg, anciently a considerable city, of which little remains at present but the cathedral church and a convent. 4. Ultzen, a compact uniform little town in the midway between Lunenburg and Zell, the inhabitants of which place have a tradition, that the first Saxons who settled in England came from hence. 5. Harburg, a strong little town upon the Elbe, thirty miles to the westward of Lunenburg, not very considerable at present, but capable, it is said, of being made equal to Hamburgh, standing on the opposite side of the Elbe, full as conveniently for a foreign trade as the other; and since the duchy of Lunenburg has at present the King of Great



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Britain for it's sovereign, it is expected that a trade will sooner or later be established between his British Majesty's English and German dominions, and that this town of Harburg will be the mart for the merchants of both countries to resort to, from it's convenient situation on the banks of the Elbe; but what England would get by discontinuing the trade to Hamburgh, and endeavouring to divert it into another channel, may deserve consideration. 6. Walfrode, situate in a pleasant valley, encompassed with hills and forests, near the confines of Verden; the trade whereof consists in wool, beer and wax.

The  
duchy of  
Lunen-  
burg de-  
scended to  
King  
George.

The dominions of Lunenburg and Zell on the death of GEORGE-WILLIAM the late Duke, anno 1705, devolved on the Elector of Brunswick, the late King of Great Britain, in right of the Electress his consort, who was the only daughter and heiress of the said Duke of Lunenburg, and are now descended to his present Majesty King GEORGE II. the eldest son of the said King and Princess.

The Prince  
arbitrary.

As to the constitution of the government, it is almost unnecessary to inform the reader that the Prince is as arbitrary as the King of France, in this, as well as the rest of the dominions of the house of Brunswick; except in some few Imperial cities which still retain their liberties.

Ecclesiastical go-  
vernment.

The church-government in the dominions of Brunswick is much the same as in other parts of Germany where Lutheranism is professed. In each dukedom there is a *Superintendens Generalissimus*, who has the supreme inspection of the church, and resembles an English Archbishop; to whom are subject the several Superintendants General, or Bishops, who preside over the Superintendants Special, who have much the same office as our Archdeacons. In some provinces they have no other distinction of Superintendants but General and Special, as where the province is not of so large extent as to require more than one single Bishop: and their ecclesiastical courts are as liable to the control of the Prince as the civil: neither the one or the other have any laws but what the Prince can repeal or alter at his pleasure; and we see the Electors of Brandenburg have actually altered the established religion in part of their dominions from Lutheranism to Calvinism: though I find where any German Prince attempts this, he is obliged to have a great deal of patience, and to do it by degrees, or he hazards an insurrection of his subjects.

## BRUNSWICK and HANOVER.

Brunswick and  
Hanover.

THE dukedom of Brunswick, properly so called, contains only the territories of Brunswick and Hanover or Calenberg: as for the principality of Grubenhagen, the counties of Blackenburg and Reinstein, though they are contiguous thereto, and subject to the same Princes, yet are no part of the dukedom of Brunswick; but as they are usually thrown together, I shall follow the method of those who have gone before me in describing the boundaries of the whole.

Bounds.

Brunswick then including the duchy of Hanover, Grubenhagen, Blackenburg and Reinstein, is bounded by Lunenburg on the north, by Magdeburg and Halberstat towards the east,

by Hesse Cassel on the south, and by the river Weser towards the west. This country was part of the great Hercynian forest, and is still pretty much over-run with woods, which yield more pine and fir-trees than any other sort of timber: part of it, especially the county of Blackenburg, is mountainous, cold and barren, their hills being covered with snow till midsummer; but even here are some fruitful valleys abounding in herds of cattle, and their mountains are richly furnished with mines of silver, copper, lead, vitriol, brimstone, quicksilver and copperas. The country is also generally healthful, and the people of as large a size as any in Germany, used to coarse fare and hard lodging, and naturally well fitted and prepared for the drudgeries they are put to. Dried hogs flesh and a black coarse sort of rye-bread fitter for horses than men, as the French traveller expressed himself, is their common food; the rest of the Germans, from their living so much on swines flesh, call them Bacon guts. The principal rivers are, the Weser, the Leina, the Innerste and the Ocker. Upon the top of every high hill almost are seen the ruins of old fortresses, supposed by some to have been erected by the Romans; but by others to have been built during the wars of the Saxons with CHARLES the Great. The present generation are allowed to be sincere and hospitable, as the generality of the Germans are; but a little rough and unpolished. The chief towns are,

1. Brunswick, *Brunopolis*, from it's founder BRUNO, one of the sons of LUDOLPH Duke of Saxony, situate in a plain on the river Ocker, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees twenty-five minutes, ten miles north of Wolfembutte, and between fifty and sixty south of Lunenburg. It was formerly a free Imperial city, and one of the Hans-Towns; but after many struggles for their liberties, they were forced to yield to the superior force of the Dukes of Brunswick, who keep a strong garison in the place, and have enlarged the fortifications; whereupon the merchants and trading men have forsaken it, and it is now in a declining condition, mum and butter being almost the only commodities they deal in. The town is of a square form, and about two miles in circumference, divided in the middle by the river Ocker. The private houses are tolerably well built, and the town-house and Prince's palace are said to be magnificent structures. The mum made here is of two sorts, the one thin and weak, the ordinary drink of the inhabitants; and the other called ship-mum, such as is imported into England and other parts of Europe. This Dr. NICHOLSON observes is scarce fit to drink till it has purged itself at sea, and is made of barley with a small mixture of wheat, well hopped. The town was formerly governed by it's own magistrates; but as the Dukes of Brunswick obtained it by conquest, they take the liberty of prescribing what laws and regimen they think properest for the city at present, and are at this day as absolute here as in the rest of their dominions.

2. Wolfembutte, which stands also on the river Ocker, ten miles to the southward of Brunswick, in a watery country, as the name signifies, and surrounded by marshes. It was the seat of the ancient Dukes of Brunswick; and strong both by art and nature, consisting of two parts, the one called *Arx Guelphica*, where the palace stands, having obtained it's name from the founder, who was of the Guelphian family; the other called *Henrickstat*,

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3. Hanover, the capital of the dukedom of Calenburg, situate on the river Leina, so named from a ferry on that river; Hanover in the old Saxon dialect signifying as much as *Have-over* in English, according to Dr. NICHOLSON. It stands between forty and fifty miles to the westward of Brunswick, and thirty south of Zell, and is said to be a handsome well-built city; but except some few houses of stone, I perceive timber and clay are the chief materials in their buildings. The Elector's palace is in the castle, which stands on one side of the town near the walls, being a large building of free stone, containing several square courts; but I do not meet with any traveller that has enlarged upon the beauties of it. The principal churches of the city are those dedicated to St. JAMES and the Holy Cross, which are built of stone, and have some good paintings in them. This town being the residence of the Electoral family, is tolerably populous, and well fortified. It was once a free Imperial city and a Hans-Town, when their trade was in a flourishing condition; but the only merchandize I can learn they export at present is a kind of sweet muddy beer, which goes by the name of Brühane, which the neighbouring villages take off their hands.

4. Helmstat, which stands twenty-four miles to the eastward of Wolfenbüttele, remarkable for its university founded and endowed with large privileges by JULIUS Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele anno 1576, the rector whereof has the title and dignity of a Count Palatine.

5. Hamelin, situate at the confluence of the rivers Wefer and Hamel, esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in the Duke of Brunswick's dominions; but more famous for a story related by Dr. NICHOLSON and other grave writers, and believed by the credulous people of this place, though nothing surely ever had more the air of a fable; I shall recite it in the doctor's words without any manner of alteration. 'The records of

this city, (says that reverend Gentleman) relate a notable accident which happened among the burghers on the 26th of June 1284, viz. The citizens being strangely infested by rats, and

having tried all imaginable expedients, but in vain, to rid themselves of those troublesome guests, at last met with a stranger who undertook for a certain reward to do the feat. The burghers agreed to his proposals, and the strange gentleman immediately with his tabret and pipe draws after him all the rats in the town, like so many morris-dancers, to the river, and there drowned them. Returning for his reward it was denied him, as being judged too great a recompence for so small a performance. However, lest he could not be persuaded to take, but left the town in a rage, threatening in a short time to be revenged. Accordingly about a year after he came again, and played the second part of the same tune, but with another train after him: for now he went attended with a great number of children, who followed him in at the mouth of a great cave on the top of a neighbouring hill, called by the burghers *Koppelberg*, and were never after heard of. In remembrance of this sad accident the citizens were wont for many years after, as appears by several old deeds and other records in that city, to date all their indentures and contracts, such a year *since the departure of our children*. The street through which they passed is to this day called *Bungelose Straß*, or Tabret Street; and on the top of the mountain near the cave's mouth, is still to be seen a monument of stone with an inscription giving an account of the loss of an hundred and thirty children in the manner above related.

I come now to give a more particular description of the principality of Grubenhagen, which in the High-Dutch signifies a grove or forest; this being part of the Hartz, or *Sylva Hercynia*, mentioned by JULIUS CÆSAR in his commentaries. The German word Hartz, out of which Dr. NICHOLSON supposes the Latins formed their *Hercynia*, signifying properly rosin or pitch, which is the liquor extracted from the pine and fir-trees the only timber with which this forest abounds; and though part of this forest hath since the times of the Romans been converted into towns and villages, and corn-fields, yet it is still easy to discern the traces of it quite cross the country.

Grubenhagen lies on the south-west part of the dukedom of Brunswick, and is most considerable for the mines of silver, copper and lead that are found here; besides a great many other minerals, as, 1. Grey vitriol, 2. Atramentstein, or ink-stone, out of which two beaten and boiled together the ordinary green vitriol is made. 3. Geden vitriol, which grows like icicles out of the rocks, and may be used without cleansing or purifying. 4. Blue vitriol, commonly made out of the copper ore. 5. White vitriol, made of lead-ore. 6. Misy, a mineral of the same colour and nature as the ordinary yellow brimstone. 7. Brimstone, made out of a peculiar sort of ore, from whence drop the *Flores Sulphuris*, which usually coagulate like icicles.

The chief mines of this country are, 1. Ram-melsburg, in an high mountain near the city of Gollen, discovered by a huntsman named RAMME (from whence it had its name) in the year 972. Another great vein of ore was discovered in the year 1045, where Wildman now stands; and a third at Zellerfeld in the year 1070. This last is the chief of all the mine-towns belonging to the Princes of Brunswick: here the overseer of the mines keeps his court every Saturday, and pays off the workmen. The capital city of Grubenhagen

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burg and  
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Goslar ci-  
ty.

Family of  
Brunswick.

benhagen is Eimbeck, so called from a number of small rivulets which unite their streams near this place; the word *Beck*, or *Backe*, in the old Saxon dialect signifying a rivulet. The other towns in this principality are Clonsthal, Altenan, Andreasburg, and Osterode, all inhabited by miners, who being bred up, says my author, in caves and the bowels of the earth, do not trouble themselves with erecting very fair structures above ground.

The little counties of Blankenburg and Rein-stein are usually considered together as one province, lying between the territories of Halberstadt and Anhalt. The castle of Blankenburg, which gives name to the province, is situated about forty miles to the southward of Wolfenbüttele. This country was anciently called Hartingow, or the Hercynian county. The Roman writers who describe it, say the inhabitants live in an intolerable sharp air, and have a continual winter, which modern authors observe may more justly be applied to this than any other territory in Germany, it being exposed to the north, and receiving the cold blasts from the top of Bruktas (one of the highest hills in Europe) and the neighbouring mountains, which are usually covered with snow till midsummer. The air however is so healthful, that the inhabitants frequently live to upwards of an hundred. The soil produces little corn, but the valleys are well stocked with cattle, and their mountains afford abundance of iron ore. Among the curiosities which travellers take notice of in this country, is an unfathomable cave, called Buman's hole, which seems to resemble the Peak of Derbyshire, of which they relate abundance of extravagant stories; as of a shepherd's losing himself, and wandering eight days about it, after which he returned, and gave a monstrous account of the subterranean inhabitants. The bones of men of an uncommon size, much beyond the present generation, also are said to have been found here. Near the monastery of Michaelstein are two large craggy rocks opposite to each other, which naturally represent two monks in their habits, as exactly as if they had been carved by the best artists. And all over this cold barren country are forts and castles, on the top of every craggy inaccessible rock, built by the ancients, as if they had something better worth the defending than such a desert as the Hercynian forest, the only one whereof that is thought habitable by the present generation is the palace of Blankenburg, where the Duke of Wolfenbüttele usually resides in the hunting season; the rest are only so many venerable remains of antiquity, as the old castle of Reinstein, so called from being hewn out of one entire rock or stone, Heimburg, Hartingow, Gerdsdorf, Lawenburg, Homburg, and many more. With this country of Blankenburg geographers usually describe the Imperial city of Goslar, though independent of the Dukes of Brunswick, because it is surrounded by their territories. It was built by the Emperor HENRY I. on the river Gose, from whence it takes its name. The citizens enjoy large privileges, and in all Imperial mandates and letters directed to them, are stiled *Nobile Membrum Imperii*. The inhabitants are all miners, and their employment is either in digging, cleansing, tempering, or vending of metals and minerals.

As to the pedigree of the Dukes of Brunswick, it will be found in the appendix to this work with those of the other German Princes; I shall go no higher here than their marrying into the

Palatine family, only observe that they are said to be descended from the family of the Guelphs or Whelps, who were anciently Dukes both of Bavaria and Saxony, of whose original the following relation is given us by Dr. NICHOLSON, and almost every other writer that has treated of Germany, as follows: "JERMINTRUDIS, Countess of Altorf in Suabia, having accused a poor woman of adultery, and caused her to be severely punished for having had twelve children at a birth, was not long after delivered of the same number her self, and all of them sons: her husband Count ISENERED being absent at that time, she commanded the nurse to kill eleven of them, fearing she might undergo the same scandal she had thrown on the poor woman above mentioned. But the nurse, as she was going out to execute the Lady's order, was met by the Count returning home, who enquiring what she carried in her apron, answered, Woelpen (Whelps), and the Count opening her apron to see them, she confessed the whole matter; whereupon he took them from her, and obliging the woman to be secret, put them all out to nurse. At the end of six years the Count invited his friends to an entertainment, when he took an opportunity of introducing his eleven sons to their mother, clothed all alike; who being conscious of what she had done, confessed her fault, and was restored to her husband's favour." And from the eldest of these Whelps, for so the Count ordered them to be named, in memory of the nurse's answer to him, descended HENRY GUELPH, Earl of Altorf, whom the Emperor CONRAD II. made Duke of Bavaria; and the dominions of this family were afterwards much enlarged by the accession of Lower Saxony. I do not, I must confess, give much credit to this account of the Countess of Altorf's being delivered of twelve children at a birth, but as it is in the mouth of every traveller who has visited this country, there was no avoiding the mentioning of it.

The present Elector of Brunswick, GEORGE II. King of Great Britain, is grandson of Duke ERNEST AUGUSTUS, who succeeded his brother JOHN FREDERICK, Bishop of Osnabrug, in this duchy anno 1679. By the Princess SOPHIA, daughter of FREDERICK V. Elector Palatine, and of the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter to JAMES I. King of Great Britain; Duke ERNEST had issue, GEORGE LEWIS, the late Elector and King of Great Britain, born anno 1660, who succeeded his father in the duchy of Brunswick anno 1698, and having married SOPHIA DOROTHY, the only daughter of his uncle GEORGE WILLIAM Duke of Lunenburg Zell, that duchy devolved upon him anno 1705.

In the year 1692, the Emperor LEOPOLD created Duke ERNEST, grandfather of his present British Majesty, the ninth Elector, and Arch-standard-bearer of the Empire; but the Duke of Wirtemberg laying claim to the office of Standard-bearer, the Emperor JOSEPH afterwards conferred the title of Arch-treasurer on the Elector of Brunswick. The college of Princes at first protested against the Duke of Brunswick's being made a ninth Elector, and it was the 30th of June 1708, before the Diet agreed to the establishment of this ninth electorate, in the person of GEORGE LEWIS late King of Great Britain, and son of Duke ERNEST, the first Elector of this house.

C H A P.  
XV.  
Brunswick and  
Hanover.

The Duke  
of Brun-  
swick, his  
immedi-  
ate ances-  
tors.

Duke Er-  
nest made  
the first E-  
lector, an-  
no 1692.

His



CHAP.

XV.  
Brunswick and Hanover.

The last Elector, his consort and issue.

His Majesty the present Elector's Queen and issue.

Queen of Prussia's issue.

Brothers of his late Majesty.

Arms of the Duke of Brunswick.

Three branches of the house of Brunswick, Zell, Hanover and Wolfenbüttele.

His late Majesty GEORGE Elector of Brunswick, died at Osnabrug, in the night of the 10th of June 1727, leaving issue only GEORGE AUGUSTUS, the present Elector and King of Great Britain, and SOPHIA DOROTHY, the present Queen of Prussia, whom he had by the Princess SOPHIA DOROTHY, daughter and heiress to the Duke of Zell, above mentioned. This marriage however, Monsieur PASCHOUD Chaplain to the Earl of Albemarle, in his Geographical Treatise, pag. 86, informs us, was disannulled by the consistory of Hanover, December 28, 1694; and the Electress afterwards resided at the castle of Alen, separate from his late Majesty, till her death. His present Majesty GEORGE AUGUSTUS was born October 30, 1683; and on September 2, 1705, was married to the present Queen CAROLINE, daughter of JOHN-FREDERICK, Margrave of Anspach. This Princess was born March 1, 1683, by whom his Majesty hath issue now living, 1. Prince FREDERICK-LEWIS, born the 19th of January, 1706. 2. The Princess ANNE, born 22 Octob. 1709. 3. The Princess AMELIA-SOPHIA ELEONORA, born the 30th of May, 1711. 4. The Princess CAROLINA-ELIZABETH, born the 30th of May, 1713. And, 5. Prince WILLIAM-AUGUSTUS, born at Leicester-House on the 15th of April, 1721. The Princess SOPHIA-DOROTHY, the present Queen of Prussia, was born the 16th of March, 1687, and married to FREDERICK II, King of Prussia, the 28th of November 1706, by whom she hath had issue, 1. The Princess FREDERICA-AUGUSTA-SOPHIA, born anno 1709. 2. CHARLES-FREDERICK, Prince of Prussia and Orange, born anno 1712. 3. The Princess LOUISA, born anno 1714. His late Majesty King GEORGE had also several brothers, most of whom died in the bed of honour in defence of the Empire; but ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, the present Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabrug, born the 17th of September 1674, is still living.

The arms of the Duke of Brunswick are, Gules, two leopards, Or, languid, for Brunswick; Gules, a horse Argent, for Lower Saxony; Or, a lion rampant Azure, strewn with hearts Gules, for Lunenburg; Argent, a branch of deers horns, for Reinstein; and the like Sable, for Blankenburg; and for Bremen, the arms are in a field Gules, a key Argent, as shew, says my author, that they can open or shut the passage of the river Weser as they see fit.

The house of Brunswick was till lately divided into three branches, viz. those of Zell, Wolfenbüttele and Hanover; Zell and Hanover we have seen united in the person of his late Majesty King GEORGE, but that of Wolfenbüttele still remains separate and distinct, and is frequently of a different interest from that of Hanover; particularly at the breaking out of the war in the year 1702, we find the two Dukes of Wolfenbüttele, RODOLPHUS and ANTHONY ULRICK (being brothers, and governing that duchy jointly) to take the part of France against the confederates; whereupon the Dukes of Zell and Hanover marched against them, and excluded Duke ULRICK, who refused to abandon the French, from his share of the regency, and brought over Duke RODOLPH to the allies, leaving him in the sole possession of the territories of Wolfenbüttele. But RODOLPH dying two or three years after, Duke ANTHONY ULRICK was restored to the whole dominions of Wolfenbüttele; and in the year

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1709, he renounced the Protestant religion, and was reconciled to the church of Rome, though he was before esteemed the most steady to his principles of all the Lutheran Princes, and the most learned amongst them. It was by his influence also that his grand-daughter, the present Empress, daughter to Prince LEWIS of Wolfenbüttele, his second son, was prevailed on to turn Roman Catholic.

But as Duke ULRICK wanted neither sense, learning, or experience, and was exceedingly well versed in the controversial points between the Lutherans and the church of Rome, I am very far from thinking he was brought over to the Roman communion by the strength of their arguments. It is certain there were other very strong inducements to draw him to that side, namely, interest and ambition. He had formerly been deposed by a powerful relation, and seems to have been apprehensive of the like treatment again, which he could not take a more effectual way to prevent than by marrying his grand-daughter to the then King of Spain, brother and heir to the Emperor JOSEPH; he might expect also by this means, his posterity would one day succeed to the Imperial throne. The court of Wolfenbüttele have indeed this last year entered into an alliance with that of Britain, a pension of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum must have a mighty influence on a little German Prince; but can it be supposed however he will totally abandon the Emperor's interest, if things should be brought to an extremity? Britain has better friends surely than those she purchases, or it would be easy to foretel her fate.

#### *The Elector of Hanover, King of Great Britain.*

VIII. GEORGE-AUGUSTUS, born the 30th of October 1683, was created Prince of Wales in 1714. Elector of Hanover and King of Great-Britain, the 11th of June 1727. The 22d of August 1705, he married CAROLINA-WILHELMINA-DOROTHEA, born the first of March 1683, daughter to JOHN-FREDERICK, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, and ERDMUTH-LOUISA, daughter to GEORGE, Duke of Sax-Eisenach, and of JANETT, Countess of Sayn. Their children are:

1. FREDERICK-LOUIS, born the 19th of January 1707, came to England in December 1728. On April the 27th 1736, he married Augusta, who was born the 17th of November 1719. She is sister to the reigning Duke of Sax-Gotha.

2. ANNE, born the 22d of October 1709, married the 14th of March 1734, WILLIAM-CHARLES-FRIZO, Prince of Nassau-Dietz, or Orange. December 7, 1736, she was delivered of a Princess who died in the birth.

AMELIA-SOPHIA-LEONORA, born the 30th of June 1711.

4. CAROLINE-ELIZABETH, born the 13th of May 1713.

5. A Prince born the 8th of November 1716. He died soon after.

6. GEORGE-WILLIAM, born the 2d of November 1717. He died the 5th of February the year following.

7. WILLIAM-AUGUSTUS, Duke of Cumberland, was born the 14th of April 1721.

8. MARY, born the 27th of February 1723.

9. LOUISA, born the 4th of December 1724.

10 T

At

CHAP.

XV.  
Brunswick and Hanover.

Duke ULRICK of Wolfenbüttele turns Papist.

As does the present Empress his grand-daughter.

Elector of Hanover.



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XV.  
Brunswick and  
Hanover.

At the coronation of the Emperor, this Elector carries the standard: he is arch-treasurer of the empire, a tutelar honour. The electorate is attached to the duchies of Hanover and Zell, which, by the King's mother, are both united in his person.

His revenue may amount to about 400,000 l. per annum, a sum far exceeding the current charges of state; especially now that there is no court kept at Hanover.

In the year 1692, the King's grandfather had fourteen thousand regular troops on foot. Now, that the estates of the electorate are larger by more than one half, by the addition of Lunenburg and Bremen, his Majesty may raise here an army of betwixt thirty and forty thousand men, without greatly burdening the subject. In the year 1729, he passed in review a body of nineteen thousand eight hundred and ninety men, and in September 1735, that number was augmented to twenty-two thousand regular troops.

*The town of Hanover further described, by baron Pollnitz.*

Hanover.

Hanover is situated in 52 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and 9 degrees 40 minutes east longitude. The river Leine divides it into the old and new towns, which are both encompassed with ramparts that scarce deserve the name. There is nothing very extraordinary in the palace, or castle, which is rather commodious than magnificent; and the town of Hanover, generally speaking, is but ill-built. The most remarkable structure in it is the Roman catholick church, which was granted to those of that communion by ERNEST-AUGUSTUS of Brunswick-Lunenburg-Hanover; that being one of the conditions, which the Emperor LEOPOLD demanded of him, when he honoured him with the electoral dignity. That Prince, moreover, engaged to admit of an apostolical vicar in his dominions, and to give him leave to reside at Hanover; as SPIGA, who lately died at Francfort, did for many years. Divine service is performed in this church as regularly as in a cathedral, and they who officiate in it are missionaries. The number of catholics is very considerable, but few persons of quality are of that communion, the nobility being all Lutherans.

When his Majesty King GEORGE II. sent for the Prince of Wales to England, he ordered the courtiers to continue their assemblies at the castle, and that his table should always be served in the same manner, as if he himself was at Hanover. His Majesty keeps up the same number of gentlemen, pages, domesticks, and guards, and the same of horses, grooms, &c. in his stables. There is a French comedy acted three times a week at the palace, to which all people are admitted gratis; and there are frequently concerts, balls and assemblies.

Though the sovereign is absent, yet here are not wanting amusements, there being many good families, and a number of amiable persons.

The lovely countess of Delitz, niece to the Duchess of Kendal, could not fail of adorers, even in the most barbarous countries; for the charms of her mind are not inferior to the beauty, sweetness, and gracefulness of her person.

No lady can have a better temper or behaviour than the baroness DE BULAU, daughter-

in-law to the marshal, and daughter to the late countess of Platen: her husband is a worthy gentleman, and keeps a very good house.

The count de Platen, hereditary post-master general, is one of the richest subjects in the electorate, and one that spends the most money.

The situation of Hanover is very agreeable, and in its neighbourhood are several pretty seats. Among these, Herenhausen (the house of the lord, or the master) is a castle, which was built by order of the Elector ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, the King's grandfather. This house, to which a strait walk leads, bears no proportion to the magnificence of its gardens, which are undeniably some of the finest in all Europe; being particularly adorned with water-works, that throw the water up much higher than the famous fountain at St. Cloud, which was always looked upon as the most considerable of the kind.

Between Hanover and Herenhausen there are two fine seats, of which one is called Fantasie, i. e. the Whim; and the other Monbrillant, or Mount-pleasant. They were built by two sisters-in-law, viz. madam DE KILMANSECK (who after her husband's death, was by King GEORGE I. created countess of Arlington) and the countess of Platen. These two houses are a proof of the good taste of those ladies, who were really an honour to Germany for their beauty, good sense, manners, and genius. They both died in their prime, a little time after one another; my lady Arlington in England, and the countess of Platen at Hanover, to which she was not only an ornament, but a lustre, according to the baron's notions.

## BREMEN and VERDEN.

THE duchy of Bremen is bounded by the river Elbe towards the north; by the territories of Lunenburg towards the east; by the river Weser on the south-west; and by the German Ocean towards the west; and is usually subdivided into, 1. Verden, situate on the confines of Lunenburg. 2. Bremen Proper, containing the territories of the city of Bremen. 3. Wurftland, situate on the sea-coast from the Weser to the mouth of the Elbe. 4. Hadelia, near the mouth of the Elbe, where stand the forts of Ritzenbottle and New Werck, subject to the city of Hamburg: another part of it, in which is the castle and town of Atterndorf, belongs to the duchy of Sax-Lawenburg. 5. Kedingerland, in which stands the town of Slade: and lastly, Altland or Oldland. The country of Bremen in general is either a barren sand, or a morass; though there are some fruitful meadows upon the banks of the Weser and the Elbe. It was anciently subject to the Archbishop of Bremen; but being conquered by the Swede in his German wars, was confirmed to him by the treaty of Westphalia anno 1648, and the archbishoprick converted into a dukedom. These territories the Danes acquired the possession of in the late war; and by a treaty between Denmark and Brunswick, transferred them to that Elector in consideration of a sum of money: they were afterwards confirmed to the house of Brunswick by Sweden in the year 1720. (as hath been already related in the history of Denmark) Sweden being then under the utmost consternation from the invasion and ravages of the Muscovites,

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XV.  
Hanover.

Bremen  
and Verden

The nature of the soil.



**C H A P. XV.**  
**Bremen and Verden.**  
 Muscovites, and could only be relieved by the British fleet, which induced them to consent to the dismembering this duchy from their other dominions. Whether they will ever revive their claim to Bremen, time must shew; but I am sorry to observe we are already obliged to purchase their friendship at a very high rate.

**Bremen city.**  
 The chief towns of this duchy are, 1. Bremen, situate in a plain on the river Weser, seventy miles north-west of Zell, and as many south-west of Hamburg, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees twenty minutes: it is strong by nature as well as art, the whole country round it being easily laid under water by cutting the banks of the Weser, which annually, like the Nile, it is said, overflows its banks, and enriches the sandy soil about it. The harbour is not fit to receive large vessels, the floods throwing up great banks of sand, which render the navigation to Bremen very dangerous; for which reason the city hath a custom-house six miles below it, where ships are unloaded, and the merchandize brought up in flat-bottomed vessels. Before the Swedes took possession of the country, Bremen was a free Imperial city, and one of the chief of the Hans-Towns, being very considerable for its trade; but the Swedes besieged it, and deprived them of many of their ancient privileges, which has probably occasioned their trade to decline. The citizens are generally Calvinists, but the Swedes reserved the cathedral church for the Lutheran worship when they were in possession of it. In its flourishing state it was governed by its own magistrates, viz. four Burgomasters, and twenty-four Rathera, or Senators, who were divided into four classes, one Burgomaster and six Rathera being appointed to govern each quarter of the city. And here was one of the most celebrated universities in Germany. The commodities exported from Bremen are timber, wool and minerals; they have also an excellent way of dressing leather and cloth, which are therefore sent from other countries to be manufactured here. The exporting fish caught in the sea and Weser, is another branch of their trade: within the very walls of the town, it is said, many thousands of salmon and lampreys are caught; and being smoke-dried or pickled, are exported abroad.

**Verden.**  
 2. Verden, formerly a Bishop's See, but secularized by the treaty of Westphalia, and made part of the new duchy of Bremen, stands about thirty miles to the eastward of Bremen, upon the river Aller, which falls into the Weser. It has had the misfortune to suffer pretty much in the German wars; and is not at present thought considerable enough by travellers to deserve a particular description, though it be the capital of a small territory which lies round about it. 3. Stade, anciently one of the Hans-Towns, situate on the river Zwinga near the Elbe, in a good air, about fifty miles north-east of Bremen, and twenty-four west of Hamburg: formerly reckoned a very strong place, but was notwithstanding taken by the Swedes in one day, anno 1645. It has a fort at the conjunction of the two rivers Zwinga and Elbe, which form a good harbour, and will admit of larger ships than that of Hamburg; and therefore, according to some, stands more convenient for the German trade; and since Britain and Bremen are under one sovereign, some projectors have proposed the establishing a trade between them, which would certainly be an advantage to his Majesty's German dominions, if it could be effected, whatever it may be to Britain.

But Harburg in Lunenburg, which stands close to the Elbe over against Hamburg, others have thought would make a more convenient mart: however, unless other nations could be brought into this project, it might be difficult to turn the current of trade from Hamburg; and the English would give an advantage to their rivals in commerce by attempting it, if they should not succeed. 4. Buxtehude, situate on the river Esse near the Elbe, fifteen miles west of Hamburg, and as many east from Stade, in one of the most pleasant and fruitful countries in Germany, supplying Hamburg with great part of its provisions. 5. Rottenburg, a little city on the river Wien, fifteen miles north of Verden; a place of some trade, and well inhabited. 6. Ottersburg, a little fortress, where the Archbishop had a palace, sixteen miles east of Bremen. 7. Rutzenbottle, a strong fortress at the mouth of the Elbe, belonging to the Hamburgers. And, 8. Bremerfurd, a walled town on the road from Bremen to Stade.

And thus I have taken a view of the circle of Lower Saxony, comprehending the duchies of Mecklenburg, Lawenburg, Holstein, Brunswick, Lunenburg, Bremen and Verden, (as to the bishoprick of Hildesheim, it is considered in another place) of which Lawenburg, the best part of Brunswick, with Lunenburg, Bremen and Verden, are now subject to his Majesty King GEORGE II. who has the absolute dominion of them. And as these countries are contiguous and have the advantage of lying upon the German Ocean, and of being washed by the rivers Elbe and Weser, the navigation of which they command; his German territories may be looked upon to be as considerable as those of any Prince in Germany, especially in point of trade, which the ministry on that side the water, it is presumed, will take care to improve to the best advantage, as the British do theirs: this must in time render his Majesty's German, as well as British subjects, a rich and flourishing people. We need only imitate our neighbours the Dutch in encouraging and supporting our merchants, and improving our fisheries, and we shall never want a brisk trade, or mariners to man the royal fleet. On the contrary, should we indolently lose all the advantages of our situation, and let our neighbours run away with every valuable branch of commerce; we shall soon become a contemptible people both in peace and war, and poverty overspread the face of the nation.

## S U A B I A.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Treats of the circle of Suabia, or Suevia; and therein of the duchy of Wirtemberg; the marquisate of Baden; the Imperial cities of Augsburg, Ulm, &c.*

**C H A P. XVI.**  
**Suabia circle.**  
**The situation and extent.**  
 SUABIA, Schwaben, or Suevia, is bounded by Franconia on the north, the duchy of Bavaria on the east, the county of Tyrol, and the mountains of Switzerland on the south, and by Alsatia on the west: being about an hundred and thirty miles from east to west, and an hundred and ten from north to south. But when the Romans were first acquainted with this part of the world, the bounds of Suevia, Dr. NICHOLSON



CHAP.  
XVI.  
Suabia.  
Ancient  
Sœvis, or  
Suabia.

Modern  
Suabia  
divided a-  
mong fev-  
eral  
Princes  
and States.

Wirtem-  
burg  
duchy.

Stutgard  
city.

Tubin-  
gen.

Retlin-  
gen.

Hailbron.

This  
duchy po-  
pulous.

Produce  
of the soil.

CHOLSON observes, were much larger; for it extended northward beyond the Baltick Sea to the utmost limits of Sweden, and westward to the German Ocean; comprehending, according to TACITUS, fifty-four different tribes of the Suevians, among which the chief were the Hermunduri, Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Marisingi, Buri, Semnones, Lygii, Burgundiones, Gothones, Lemavii, or Heruli, Rugii, Carini, Longobardi, Deuringi, Cariones, Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, Nuithones, Osi, Gothini, and beyond the Baltick the Sitones and Suiones: from whence it is inferred, that Suevia and Germania were almost synonymous terms among the Romans to signify the same country; but afterwards the name of Suevi became appropriated to the Hermunduri, the most considerable of the Suevian nations, who fixed their seats in that part of Germany, now called Suabia or Schwabenland; and from a kingdom dwindled into a dukedom, after it was contracted into narrower bounds, and so continued for some ages. At present no Prince claims the whole, but it is shared among several petty sovereigns. The Dukes of Wirtemberg have a greater part than any other: the Austrian family also have considerable territories here, as well as the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marquisses of Baden, and the Imperial cities claim the remainder. And first, of the territories of the Dukes of Wirtemberg.

The duchy of Wirtemberg is bounded by the palatinate of the Rhine on the north, by the bishoprick of Augsborg on the east, by the principality of Furlenburg towards the south, and by Baden on the west, being about seventy miles in length, and about as much in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Stutgard, the capital of the duchy, and the Duke's usual residence, situate near the banks of the Neckar, forty miles east of Baden, and as many south of Heidelberg. The Duke's palace is said to be a noble structure, and the gardens about it exceeding fine; but the private houses of the citizens poor wooden buildings; the town is however much resorted to on account of its baths, famous for their healing qualities. 2. Tubingen, a well-built city, twenty miles to the southward of Stutgard, at present most remarkable for its university, but according to tradition, was once the seat of the Emperor CARACALLA, who here entertained the Germans with publick games. 3. Retling, or Retlingen, an Imperial city under the protection of the Duke of Wirtemberg, situate in a plain twelve miles south-east of Tubingen, of which I meet with no further description. 4. Hailbron; or the fountain of health, so called from the virtues of its medicinal waters: a free Imperial city, situate on the Neckar, in a pleasant fruitful country, twenty-eight miles north of Stutgard; besides which, it is said, there are in this dukedom sixty cities, an hundred and fifty great towns, six hundred and forty villages, and fourteen abbeyes; and the country in general, travellers relate, abounds in every thing that can afford profit or pleasure: vines flourish on their mountains, and their valleys are stocked with corn and cattle; the bowels of the earth are rich in mines, and their forests furnish variety of game. The title of this Prince is Duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, Count of Montbelliard, Lord of Heidenham, &c. His office in the Empire is to carry the Imperial standard, which is Or, a baton Sable pointed Argent, with a spread eagle Sable. He is also Great

Huntsman of the Empire, and joint director of the circle of Suabia, with the Bishop of Constance. The pedigree of this Prince will be found in the appendix, with those of the rest of the German Princes.

The Dukes of Wirtemberg have the privilege, it is said, that there lies no appeal from their courts to the Imperial chamber; but there is a supreme court at Tubingen, consisting of five Gentlemen, four Doctors of civil law, and four Burghers, who finally determine all controversies both civil and criminal: and a consistory of the clergy, who are Protestants, that with some lay-assessors learned in the ecclesiastical laws, determine all causes proper for their cognizance. The right of primogeniture is established in the family of Wirtemberg, as in the rest of the Empire: the younger sons having some small appennages, and the daughters portions in money. The family is divided into several branches, viz. Wirtemberg, Stutgard, Neustadt, Montbelliard, Oels, Bernstadt and Weilting, of which none have the privilege of sitting in the Imperial Diets, but the Dukes of Stutgard and Montbelliard, who are both Protestants.

The marquisate of Baden is bounded by the Palatinate of the Rhine on the north, by the Black Forest on the east, by Swisserland on the south, and by the Rhine, which divides it from Alsatia, on the west: being about ninety miles in length from north to south, but not above twenty in breadth in the widest part. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Baden, the capital of the marquisate, which takes its name from the multitude of hot baths about it, said to amount to near three hundred; situate in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, fifty minutes, about five miles from the eastern bank of the Rhine, twenty-five miles south of Heidelberg, and twenty north east of Strasburg, upon a mountainous rocky ground, which renders the streets very uneven. These baths are scalding hot, and issuing from rocks of salt alum and brimstone, taste strongly of those minerals. One of them, called the Kettle, boils and bubbles up as if it stood over a hot furnace. Among other distempers, they are famous for curing the cramp and gout, on which account there is a great resort of quality there annually from Germany during the whole summer. The only publick buildings here mentioned by travellers are, the Marquis's palace, and the castle built on an adjoining hill. 2. Durlach, situate at the foot of a mountain on the river Pfintz, twelve miles north of Baden, and twenty south of Heidelberg, and gives a title to the Marquis of Baden Durlach, whose palace far exceeds that at Baden, being admired for the magnificence of the building. The streets also are strait and regular, and the private houses stately and uniform. The library, and the coins and medals in the Marquis's cabinet are worth the viewing. 3. Stolhoffen, a little fortified town, naturally strong by its situation on a morass, lies five miles south-west of Baden, and half a league from the Rhine, famous for the lines thrown up here for the defence of the Empire. 4. Kheel, situate on the east side of the Rhine, over against Strasburg, taken by the French in the late war, but restored to the Empire by the peace of Utrecht. 5. Pfortzheim, a small city at the confluence of the rivers Ens and Neckar, twenty miles south of Durlach, called anciently *Porta Hircinia*, being the entrance of the Black Forest, part of the Hercynian wood. 6. Baden Weiller, twelve

CHAP.  
XVI.  
Suabia.

Govern-  
ment.

Baden  
marqui-  
sate.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

Baden  
city.

Durlach.

Stolhof-  
fen.

Kheel.

Pfortz-  
heim.

Baden  
miles  
Weiller.



CHAP. XVI. miles south of Brisac, where are several hot baths, but not equal to those of Baden already mentioned. Hockburg, Rotel, Spanheim, Sufenberg and Muhlburg, have also been places of note on account of their castles or palaces which gave titles to some ancient Princes of the Empire, and are therefore still recorded with the other titles of the Marquisses of Baden, but have nothing in them to deserve a particular description at this day: the castle of Raftat however, which stands a little to the northward of Baden, ought to be remembered on account of the peace concluded there in the year 1714.

Soil and produce of the Marquisate.

The Marquisate of Baden is a populous fruitful country, abounding in corn and wine, and venison and wild fowl are so plentiful in their forests, that it is the ordinary food of the peasants. The rivers Rhine, Ens, Wirmbz and Phintz, which water this country, also yield them plenty of fish; and they have woods of chefnuts where they feed excellent bacon-hogs. Here are also quarries of marble of all colours, and free stone, with which materials the natives build handfom houses at a small expence. They have also some agate; and export great quantities of hemp and flax, which their country produces.

Branches of the house of Baden.

The house of Baden is divided into two branches, viz. those of Baden-Baden and Baden-Dourlach. The territories of the Marquis of Baden-Baden are the upper marquisate of Baden, part of the county of Eberstein, half the county of Spanheim, the lordship of Usenburg, the earldom and castle of Guntzburg, and the fort of Khiel. The territories of the Marquis of Baden-Dourlach are the lower marquisate of Baden, the marquisate of Hochberg, the landgravate of Sufenberg, the lordships of Baden-Weiler, Rotelin, Lahr and Muhlberg. Each of their titles are the same, viz. Marquis of Baden and Hochberg, Landgrave of Sufenberg, Count of Spanheim and Eberstein, and Lord of Rotelin, Baden-Weiler, Lahr and Muhlberg. The Princes of Baden-Baden are Roman Catholics, and those of Baden-Dourlach Protestants. Their respective pedigrees and issue will be found in the appendix. I proceed next to the description of the Imperial cities and other places in the circle of Suabia which have not been treated of already.

Augsburg city.

1. Augsburg, a free Imperial city, named *Augusta Vindelicorum*, from AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, in whose reign the Romans planted a colony here amongst the Vindelini, is situate in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, twenty-four minutes, near the confines of Bavaria, at the conflux of the rivers Lech and Wardar, sixty miles south-west of Ratibon, and twenty-five south of Donawert. It is a large populous well-built city, esteemed the capital of Suabia, furnished with many noble fountains, adorned with brazen statues of ancient Heroes and Emperors, and some valuable monuments of antiquity. The cathedral, the town-hall, and the two arsenals, are magnificent buildings; and their hospitals much admired for their convenience and large endowments, particularly that built by the family of the FUGGERS, Lords of the adjacent country, which contains an hundred and six houses, making four cross streets, inhabited by poor people, who have annual pensions settled on them. The mechanicks, especially the goldsmiths of this city, are excellent artists, and their work vended in several parts of Europe. There are more Lutherans than Papists in this town, who live in a tolerable good understanding, their poor

being provided for in the same hospitals; and to avoid giving offence, it is said, the Lutherans stand with their hats off when the host passes by. There is no place where the citizens have such a variety of habits as here, which are so regulated by the magistrates that every person's quality and religion may be known by their dress. Here it was that the Protestant Princes presented their confession of faith to the Emperor CHARLES V. in the Diet held anno 1530, from thence called the Augsbuurg confession, which occasioned a civil war in the Empire that lasted some years; but it was at length agreed at a Diet held in this city in the year 1555, that the Protestants should enjoy the free exercise of their religion in the Empire. The magistracy of Augsbuurg have since been composed of about an equal number of Protestants and Papists, their senate consisting of twenty-three Roman Catholics, and twenty-two Lutherans; and their Common Council of an hundred and fifty of each; the executive power being in the Senate, and the legislative authority in both bodies. The fortifications of this town do not appear to be very strong, for the Duke of Bavaria took it in the year 1704, after a siege of thirteen days: and upon the loss of the battle of Hochstet the same year, he withdrew his garison out of the place, as not thinking it tenable, whereupon the citizens desired the confederates to take them into their protection.

The next most considerable city in Suabia, is 2. Ulm, an Imperial city also situate on the Danube, where it unites with the Iller, and first becomes navigable for considerable vessels, being about forty miles west of Augsbuurg. The town is large and populous, and regularly fortified; but what is most admired by travellers is the cathedral, not to be equalled in Germany, it is said, but by that of Strasburg. Here are abundance of exquisite mechanicks also, especially in clock-work, and the town has a brisk trade with Bavaria and Austria, from whence they receive corn, salt and iron by the Danube; exporting linen-cloth and cottons in return. The government of this city is lodged in one and forty Aldermen, chosen out of the nobility and the principal burghers; and out of the nobility they annually elect two bailiffs, who preside in their councils. The Reformation prevailed here about the year 1529, the magistrates at this day being all Lutherans, as are most of the inhabitants. The territories belonging to this city contain no less than forty bailiwicks and lordships, most of them purchased by the city of the necessitous nobility in their neighbourhood. Ulm was taken by the Duke of Bavaria in the year 1702, but he was obliged to quit it again soon after his defeat at Hochstet in the year 1704, whereby the city recovered its liberties again; but was miserably ransacked by that Duke while he was in possession of it. 3. Bibrach, another ancient Imperial city, which stands on the river Rufs, twenty miles south of Ulm, in a fruitful valley encompassed with pleasant fields and gardens; most remarkable for its hot bath, which brings a great concourse of people thither annually at the season. The magistrates are one half Protestants and the other Papists, and the inhabitants a mixture of both. 4. Bucaw, a little Imperial city, ten miles south-west of Bibrach; remarkable for its nunnery, if it may be called such, when all the nuns, except the Lady Abbess, have the liberty of marrying, and are all of noble families. This Abbess is one of those who is a Princess of the

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Ulm.

Bibrach.

Bucaw.



CHAP. XVI. Suabia. Memminghen. Leutkirk. Kempten. Ifue. Lindaw. Bergentz. Ravenspurg. Altorf.

Empire, and has a vote in the Diet by her proxy. 5. Memminghen, a large city on the river Bach, seventeen miles south-east of Bibrach; the inhabitants a mixture of Lutherans and Papists, whose principal trade is in linen, cotton and paper, the last esteemed the best in Germany; but they come far short of the French and Hollanders in the paper manufacture. 6. Leutkirk, a little neat Imperial city, on a small river, twelve miles south-west of Memminghen, a great thoroughfare from Italy to Germany; the magistrates and people being a mixture of Lutherans and Papists. They have a tolerable good trade in linen-cloth, corn and flax; and the citizens have the privilege of digging the mines which lie about the place. 7. Kempten, one of the most ancient cities of Germany, formerly the residence of the Dukes of Suabia, made Imperial by HENRY IV. who granted them the privilege of sealing their instruments with the spread eagle of the Empire half Or, half Sable, crowned with the Imperial crown. It stands about fifteen miles south of Memminghen on the same road from Italy; and the inhabitants being generally weavers, have a good trade in linen-cloth, as they have also in salt, which is brought from Tyrol and Switzerland hither, and vended in Germany. 8. Ifue, or Eifna, situate on a little river of the same name, twelve miles to the southward of Kempten, formerly a Roman colony, as appears by an old marble inscription, purporting, that the highway between this city and Kempten was repaired by SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and M. ANTONINUS. They have neither corn, wine or cattle in the neighbouring country, and seldom attempt to sow any thing but beans, oats, rape-seed and flax; all other necessaries are imported from Italy, or other parts of Germany. It is, however, said to be a flourishing town, and well built, having been burnt down in the last century. 9. Lindaw, an Imperial city, standing partly on the continent, and partly on an island in the lake of Constance, united by a stone bridge near three hundred paces long; remarkable for a nunnery governed by an Abbess who is a Princess of the Empire, and is Sovereign of the territories belonging to the nunnery. The nuns are all of noble families, and have the liberty of marrying. The city has a pleasant healthful situation, and by the lake and the Rhine, which runs through it, has an opportunity of importing and exporting merchandize at very easy rates. The magistrates and most of the natives are Lutherans. 10. Bergentz, or Bregentz, situate also on the lake of Constance, five miles south-east of Lindaw, formerly a great city, and still the capital of a county of the same name; but at present an inconsiderable town. 11. Ravenspurg, or Gravenpurg, twenty miles west of Leutkirk, and as much south of Bucaw; a well-built Imperial city, standing on a little river which falls into the lake of Constance. The town-hall, and some of their churches said to be handsom structures; and there is a watch-tower in the middle of the town with an inscription on it, importing, that the old tower being blown down by a whirl-wind, the watchman who stood at the top of it to give notice of the time of the day or night once in three or four hours by a trumpet, as is the custom in other German towns, received no hurt by the fall, though his wife and son were both killed. 12. Altorf, an ancient town two miles from Ravenspurg, belonging to the house of Austria at present; but formerly had an

CHAP. XVI. Suabia. Wangen. Constance. A Council held here. Three Popes at once. Wickliff, John Huss, &c. condemned by the council of Constance. Buchorn.

Earl of it's own, from whom descended the ancient Dukes of Bavaria, and the present Dukes of Brunswick; and here stood the ancient monastery and chapel of St. OSWALD, the burying place of the Guelphian family. Altorf is now the usual residence of the Emperor's Lieutenant, or High Commissioner for Suabia, who here holds a court of judicature, and receives appeals from the Imperial cities in this Circle. 13. Wangen, a small Imperial city, ten miles north-east of Lindaw, whose trade is chiefly in flax and paper. 14. Constance, or Costnitz, stiled by some the capital of the Imperial Suabia, situate on the south-west part of the lake of the same name, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees ten minutes, eight miles east of Uberlingen, and twelve west of Bucaw. The lake whereon it stands, now called Constance, or the Bodensee, was anciently named *Lacus Brigantinus*, from the city Bregentz, above mentioned, situate upon it. This is the largest lake in Germany, extending one and twenty miles in length, and eight or ten in breadth, the country bordering upon it is frequently called Hegow. The Rhine, which runs through this lake, has so strong a current, that it is said it does not mix with the waters in it. The town of Constance is well built, populous, and finely situated, but not very large: it has a brisk trade from the conveniency of water-carriage along the lake and the Rhine. It retains still some of the privileges of an Imperial city; but the Emperor took it at the reformation, and appointed them a governor, on account of their refusing, as the rest of the German cities did, to accept of the Interim, a scheme drawn up by himself, anno 1534, for reconciling the Roman Catholick and Lutheran principles. The Bishop of this place is a Prince of the Empire, and one of the directors of the Circle of Suabia, but suffragan to the Archbishop of Mentz. The Emperor SIGISMUND called a council, in the year 1414, for preventing a schism in the church, on account of three Popes pretending to the infallible chair at the same time, viz. JOHN, set up by the Italians; GREGORY, by the French; and BENEDICT, by the Spaniards; who were all summoned to attend the council: however, none but JOHN appeared; and finding an inclination in the council to make him a prisoner he fled from the city; but being apprehended at Friburg, and brought back, he was deposed, and committed to prison. The same sentence passed against the two absent pretenders; and MARTIN V. was afterwards elected Pope; in which choice the Emperor and all Christendom acquiesced. In the eighth session of this council Dr. JOHN WICKLIFF of Oxford, and his doctrines, were condemned as heretical, and his bones ordered to be dug up and burnt, forty years after his death. In the fifteenth session JOHN HUSS was condemned, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, though he had the Emperor's letters of safe-conduct. And the same sentence passed upon JEROME of Prague, who was likewise burnt in the same city; and the natives still shew the place to strangers who visit them. This council lasted four years, during which time it is observed, there were in this little city four Patriarchs, twenty-nine Cardinals, three hundred and forty-six Archbishops and Bishops, five hundred and sixty-four Abbots and Doctors, ten thousand secular Princes and Noblemen, four hundred and fifty common Whores, and three hundred and twenty Fiddlers. 15. Buchorn, situate on the same lake, twelve miles north-west of Lindaw, so called



CHAP.  
XVI.  
Suabia.

Uberlin-  
gen.

Ratolfzell

Burgaw  
marqui-  
sate.

Burgaw  
city.  
Gunzburg

Nellen-  
burg land-  
gravate  
and city.

Hohen-  
burg  
county  
and city.

Offen-  
burg, &c.  
The Bris-  
gow.

Friburg  
city.

Brifac  
city.

from the woods of beeches near it, formerly sub-  
ject to it's own Earl, but now part of the Austrian  
dominions, and made dependent on the city of  
Uberlingen. It is a small city, but has a pretty  
good trade by means of the lake, their vessels con-  
tinually passing and repassing with merchandize  
between Suabia and Switzerland. 17. Uberlin-  
gen, a city on the Bodensea, or lake of Constance,  
twenty-seven miles north-west of Lindaw, situate  
on the top of a rock, and surrounded with vine-  
yards, whose situation seemed so pleasant to the  
ancient Dukes of Suabia, that they made it their  
usual residence. It has at present a pretty brisk  
trade, and is famous for it's mineral waters, which  
cure the stone and other distempers, and in twice  
or thrice washing take off all warts. The hospi-  
tal in this town is the best endowed of any in  
Suabia; and the people so rich, that they con-  
tribute, it is said, as much to the general charges  
of the Empire as many of the German Princes.  
18. Ratolfzell, or *Cella Ratolfi*, which communi-  
cates it's name to that part of the lake called the  
Cellar-Sea, on which it is situated, subject at this  
day to the house of Austria.

Besides the principalities and towns already men-  
tioned, I find the following are deemed part of the  
Circle of Suabia; 1. The marquissate of Burgaw,  
lying on the south side of the Danube, extending  
thirty miles in length, and as much in breadth,  
under the dominion of the house of Austria; the  
chief towns whereof are, 1. Burgaw, situate on  
the Mindel, twenty miles north-west of Augs-  
burg. 2. Gunzburg, a small city on the Danube,  
eight miles north-west of Burgaw, with a castle ad-  
joining to it, where the Imperial Governor resides.

2. The landgravate of Nellenburg, subject also  
to the Emperor, twenty-seven miles long and  
twelve broad, the chief town whereof is Nellen-  
burg, twelve miles north-west of Uberlingen.

3. The county of Hohenburg, situate between  
the duchy of Wirtemberg and the principality of  
Furstenburg, about twenty-four miles long and  
twenty broad; the chief towns whereof are Ho-  
henburg, Rotenburg, and Willengen, subject to  
the house of Austria; and three Imperial or free  
cities near the Rhine, viz. Offenburg or Offin-  
gen, Zell, and Gongenback.

4. The Brisgow, subject also to the house of  
Austria, and lies near the Rhine, between Hohen-  
burg and Furstenburg; the chief towns whereof  
are, 1. Friburg, situate on a hill near the river  
Treisem, at the entrance of the Black Forest,  
thirty miles south of Strasburg, esteemed a strong  
place, and very populous. The mechanicks here  
are expert in polishing precious stones, found in  
Lorrain and the neighbouring countries. This  
town has been more than once taken by the French  
in the late wars; but surrendered to the Impe-  
rialists again by subsequent treaties, and particu-  
larly by the treaty of Baden, anno 1714, and is  
now subject to the Emperor. 2. Brifac, usually  
called Old Brifac, to distinguish it from another  
town opposite to it on the western side of the  
Rhine, which the French built some few years  
since, giving it the name of New Brifac. The  
town of Old Brifac is situated on the top of a  
round hill, on the east side of the Rhine, thirty  
miles to the southward of Strasburg, and ten west  
of Friburg, reckoned a strong place, but taken by  
the French in the year 1703, after thirteen days  
open trenches; it was however restored to the  
Emperor by the treaty of Baden, anno 1714,  
and now remains in his possession.

The four forest towns in Suabia also belong to  
the house of Austria, and are, 1. Rheinfeild, a  
small city, having a bridge over the Rhine, twenty-  
eight miles south of Brifac, and eight to the east-  
ward of Balle in Switzerland. 2. Seckingen, in  
an island of the Rhine, eight miles east of Rhein-  
feild. 3. Laufenburg, divided into two parts by  
the Rhine, situate seven miles east of Seckingen.  
And, 4. Waldhuft, or Waldshut, situate on the  
conflux of the Schult and Rhine.

The principality of Furstenburg extends seventy  
miles in length, lying on both sides of the Danube,  
near it's source, but is very narrow; the chief  
town whereof is also named Furstenburg, situate  
on the south side of the river, twenty miles north  
of Schaffhausen in Switzerland, and thirty-five  
east of Brifac. The village of Tone Edingen,  
where the Danube rises, is situate in this county.  
The Prince of Furstenburg is a Count of the Em-  
pire, of a very ancient family.

The county of Sultz is situate on the confines  
of Zurich and Schaffhausen in Switzerland, the  
chief town whereof also is named Sultz, which  
gives the title of Count to the Prince of this  
county.

The county of Ems, which takes it's name  
from a castle near the Rhine, that gives title to a  
Count of the Empire, lies about ten miles to the  
southward of Bregentz, being about ten miles  
long, and five broad.

The county of Montfort, twelve miles long,  
and six broad, lies to the southward of Ems, on  
the confines of St. Gall and Appenzel, and gives  
the title of Count to the family of Montfort.

The county of Waldburg lies south of Raven-  
spurg, extending twenty miles in length, and  
eighteen in breadth, comprehending the lordships  
of Walfee, Wurtzback, Friedburg, Sheer, and the  
fine castle of Waldburg, which gives a title to the  
family who are Princes of it.

The county of Konigseck, which gives title to  
a Count of the ancient family of the Guelphs, lies  
to the north-west of Waldburg, the chief town  
whereof is of the same name, an open place, of  
which travellers give no further description.

The county of Kirkburg, of which the town  
of Kirkburg is the capital, gives title also to a  
Count, and lies southward of Ulm, being about  
eighteen miles long, and eight broad.

The principality of Mindelheim, situate in the  
Algow, between the bishoprick of Augsburg and  
the abbacy of Kempten, eighteen miles long, and  
ten or fifteen broad, for the breadth is various,  
now gives the title of Prince to the family of  
Marlbrough; with which the late Duke was ho-  
noured on the victory he obtained over the  
French at Hochstet, and the heir of that family  
is thereby entitled to a seat in the Imperial Diet.  
The capital of this principality, which gives it's  
name to it, is an open town, situate eighteen  
miles north of Memmingen, and twenty-five  
south of Augsburg.

The principality of Hohenzollern, which de-  
rives it's name from the castle of Zollern, is si-  
tuated between the principality of Furstenburg  
and the duchy of Wirtemberg, thirty miles in  
length, and eight or ten in breadth, governed by  
it's own Prince, who is Chamberlain of the Em-  
pire, and Vicar to the Elector of Brandenburg in  
that office. The chief places are Hechingen, Ha-  
gerlach, Sigmaringen, and the castle of Zollern;  
of which the chief is Hechingen, a small city,  
which lies between the Danube and the Neckar,  
eight miles south of Tubingen.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
Suabia.

Forest  
towns.

Rhein-

feild.

Seckin-

ghen.

Laufen-

burg.

Waldhuft.

Fursten-

burg prin-

cipality

and city.

The coun-  
ty and  
town of  
Sultz.

The coun-  
ty of  
Ems.

The coun-  
ty of  
Montfort.

Waldburg  
county.

Konig-  
seck.

Kirkburg.

Mindel-  
heim prin-  
cipality.

Hohen-  
zollern  
principa-  
lity.

Heckin-  
gen city.



CHAP.  
XVII.  
Suabia.Oettingen  
principality  
and  
town.  
Nordling-  
gen city.Lower-  
stein.Grave-  
neck  
county and  
town.Eglingen  
town.

The principality of Oettingen lies between the marquissate of Anspach and the duchy of Newburg, and is near thirty miles long and eighteen broad, the chief places whereof are Oettingen, Allerheimb, Wallerstein, Nordlinghen, Dunkelpihel, and Gingen, the principal whereof are, 1. Oettingen, situate on the river Wernitz, fifteen miles north-west of Donawert. 2. Nordlingen, a small Imperial city, on the river Eyer, eight miles north of Blenheim, famous for two battles fought there in the years 1634 and 1646.

The county of Lowenstein lies near the river Neckar, whose Sovereign is a Count of the Palatine family.

The county of Gravenack lies between the duchy of Wirtemberg, and the principality of Hohenzollern, and gives a title to a Count of the Empire, who is Sovereign of it. The chief places in it are Eglingen, a small city near Nordlingen, and Gravenack, a large open town, defended by a castle, the usual residence of the Count.

## UPPER RHINE.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Treats of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, comprehending the landgravates of Hesse, Wetteravia, Alsatia, and the duchy of Lorrain.*

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.Hesse  
landgra-  
vate.  
The situa-  
tion and  
extent.Air and  
soil.

Mines.

Religion.

THE Circle of the Upper Rhine is usually divided into three parts, viz. 1. The landgravates of Hesse and the Wetterau. 2. The landgravate of Alsatia. And, 3. The duchy of Lorrain.

1. Hassia, or Hesse, is bounded by Brunswick on the north; by Thuringia towards the east; by the river Maine and Franconia on the south; and by the bishopricks of Mentz and Treves, and the Palatinate of the Rhine on the west; extending about an hundred miles from east to west, and about as far from north to south.

The air of this country is cold, but healthful, and in some parts fruitful in corn and wine, especially near the rivers Rhine and Lech. In their plains also are numerous flocks of sheep, which yield the finest wool in Germany, which is bought up even by the English merchants, as equal if not preferable to their own; but great part of the country however is covered by woods and forests, especially towards the north, which are well stock'd with deer, and all manner of game: and in their mountains are found mines of copper and lead that yield a considerable profit. This country is held to be anciently the seat of the Catti, mentioned by Tacitus in the first book of his annals. The Christian religion was first planted here about the year 730, by WINEFRID, an English Saxon, who was afterwards advanced to the bishoprick of Mentz. PHILIP the Magnanimous, who succeeded to the landgravate of Hesse, anno 1509, established the reformation according to LUTHER's model; and in the year 1530, he formed a confederacy of the Protestant Princes at Smalcald, for the defence of their religion, against the Emperor CHARLES V. from the place of the treaty called the Smalcaldick league. But the Protestant Princes had but ill success in this war, the Duke of Saxony, as well as the Landgrave of Hesse, being made prisoners, and obliged to submit to such

terms as the Emperor thought fit to impose upon them. The Landgrave LEWIS, son of PHILLIP the Magnanimous, dying without issue, anno 1604, divided his territories between his two nephews MAURICE and LEWIS; and MAURICE having shewn an inclination to Calvinism, he provided by his will, that if he should endeavour any alteration of the established religion in his territories, he should be deprived of his share in them. MAURICE nevertheless, soon after his uncle's death, obliged his subjects to embrace Calvinism; whereupon LEWIS appealed to the Emperor, and procuring a decree against his brother, was put into possession of the whole landgravate; whereupon Lutheranism was again established, and continued so till AMELIA-ELIZABETH, mother and guardian to WILLIAM VI. having a great standing army, compelled the natives of Hesse to profess Calvinism again, about the year 1666, as the greatest part of this country do at present. High and Low Dutch are spoken indifferently in Hesse, occasioned by its situation between the Upper and Lower Saxony; for in the Upper Saxony High Dutch is spoken in the greatest purity, and Low Dutch generally in the other.

Hesse is divided into, 1. Hesse Proper. And, 2. Veteravia, or the Wetterau. In Hesse Proper are, 1. The landgravate of Hesse-Cassel. 2. The landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the territories belonging to the other branches of this family. 3. The county of Waldeck. 4. The territories of the abbies of Fuld and Hirschfeld. 5. The county of Solms. 6. The Imperial cities of Wetlar and Friedburg.

In Hesse Proper the chief towns are, 1. Cassel, the capital of Hassia, the seat of the Landgrave or Prince, to whom it gives title, situate on the river Fulda, in a pleasant fruitful plain, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees twenty minutes, forty miles south-east of Paderborn, and is supposed to stand in the place where DRUSUS built his *Castrum Cattorum*. It has at present four churches, the principal whereof is that of St. MARTIN, formerly the cathedral, in which are the monuments of the Landgraves, with their busts in copper and marble. The streets of this city are broad, and the market-places spacious, but most of the houses are timber buildings. The citizens have a good trade, especially of wool and woollen manufactures, and are very well supplied with provisions of all kinds. The palace, which is separated from the rest of the town, is strongly fortified, and may be called a citadel; it is admired for the many noble apartments within it, and the fine prospect it has of the adjoining country, there being no less than sixty large towns to be seen from its walls. 2. Marburg, pleasantly situated on the river Lohn, forty miles south-west of Cassel, and as many north-east of Frankfort upon the Maine, a fortified town, and defended also by a castle. Here is held the supreme court of justice for all the natives of Cassel, who may appeal from other jurisdictions to this, which consists of a President and six Assessors. Here is also a university, one of the best in Germany, founded about the year 1426. 3. Darmstadt, the capital of the landgravate of that name, and the usual residence of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, situate on a small river, ten miles to the eastward of the Rhine, and fifteen south of Frankfort on the Main; a small, compact and well-built town, and the Landgrave's palace, a magnificent structure, surrounded with a most elegant garden; besides which, he

CHAP.  
Upper  
Rhine.Division  
of the  
country.Chief  
towns.  
Cassel.

Marburg.

Darmstadt.



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Catzenel-  
lebogen  
town and  
county.

Smalcald.

Schwal-  
bach.

Embs.

Roten-  
burg.

Homburg.  
Alsfeld.

Waldeck  
county  
and town.

Hesse,  
Prince of.

has two other country seats, about two miles distant each from Darmstadt, either of them fit to entertain a Prince. 4. The little town of Catzenellebogen, which communicates its name to a county on the banks of the Rhine, is situated ten miles east of Nassau, and twenty north-west of Mentz. The property of this town and county was long disputed between the Earls of Nassau and the Landgraves of Hesse; but it was at length surrendered by WILLIAM of Nassau to PHILIP Landgrave of Hesse, at the treaty of Passau, in consideration of sixty thousand crowns, though the family of Nassau still retain the title of Counts of Catzenellebogen. 5. Smalcald, situate on a rivulet of the same name, fifty miles south-east of Cassel, a well-built town, and considerable for the iron-mines in the neighbourhood of it, which employ vast numbers of smiths and artificers in this town, the iron ware made here being vended all over the Empire. But what has rendered this town most famous is, the congress of the Protestant Princes, held here between the years 1530 and 1538, to form a confederacy for their mutual defence against the Emperor; in which they had ill success at first, but at length procured the liberty of professing the Lutheran religion in their respective territories. 6. Schwalbach, ten miles north of Mentz, famous for its baths, which, according to the accounts of them, cure almost every distemper; at least they have obtained so great a reputation, as to draw great numbers of the German nobility and gentry hither annually at the season. From one of the springs, the streams of vitriol, sulphur, and other minerals rise with that force, that they will almost choak a person who holds his head over them; and though the waters seem to boil continually, they are so cold that the natives usually cool their wine in them in summer. At certain times it throws up its waters with that vehemency, that in a few minutes the fountain is emptied, and does not recover its usual quantity of water in some days after; which sudden evacuation is said to proceed from a violent eruption of subterraneous spirits, which sometimes burst out like a storm of wind. 7. Embs, another town famous for its baths, impregnated with vitriol, allum, iron, and sulphur, which cure the gout, shortness of breath, weaknesses in the limbs, and a multitude of other distempers. 8. Rotenburg, pleasantly situated on the river Fulda, thirty miles south-east of Cassel, considerable for its collegiate church, consisting of a Dean, and twenty Canons, richly endowed. 9. Homburg, twenty-five miles south of Cassel, and twenty to the eastward of Rotenburg. 10. Alsfeld, fifteen miles to the east of Marburg, one of the ancientest towns in Hesse; but taken notice of for little at present but its fine stadt-house.

The county of Waldeck, which geographers make a part of Hesse, is bounded on the north by the bishoprick of Paderborn; on the east and south by other provinces of Hesse; and on the west by the territories of Cologne; being about twenty-four miles in breadth, and as much in length. It is sufficiently fruitful in corn, and has wine enough for the use of the natives; some mines also they have, and plenty of sheep and venison. The chief town whereof is Waldeck, situate on the top of high hill, thirty miles to the northward of Marburg; other towns of any note in this county are Wildenburg, Corbach, and Eyenburg.

The house of Hesse is divided into two principal branches, viz. those of 1. The Landgrave of

Hesse Cassel; and 2. The Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt.

The House of Hesse Cassel comprehends that of Hesse Rhinfield, as that of Darmstadt does that of Hesse Homburg.

The present Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, FREDERICK King of Sweden, was born the 16th of April 1676; knight of the order of the elephant and of the black eagle in 1705; made lieutenant general of the Dutch army in 1702; general of their horse 1707; generalissimo both by land and sea of the armies of the King of Sweden in 1717; Regent of the kingdom in his absence, and King of Sweden on the resignation of Queen ULRICA in 1720. He succeeded his father in the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel in 1730.

His first wife was LOUISA, daughter to the late King of Prussia, who died in 1705. His second wife was ULRICA LEONORA, Princess royal of Sweden, and sister and heiress to King CHARLES XII. of that kingdom, to whom she succeeded in 1718; but two years after she resigned the royal dignity to the Landgrave, to which the states of the kingdom agreed. They have no children; and the King has lately resigned the kingdom to the Queen again.

The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel's revenues are upwards of 120,000 l. per Annum. It is computed that he has between 40 and 50,000 men in his dominions able to bear arms. The 12,000 men we had in our pay for five years brought him in above a million of pounds.

The branches of Cassel and Homburg are Calvinists, Darmstadt Lutherans, and Rheinfelds professes the Roman catholic religion: the latter is not tolerated in the dominions of the other three Princes, except in the small principality of Hirschfeld.

The territories of the abbey of Fuld, sometimes Fuld called the country of Buchen, or Fagonia, lie to abbey and territory. the northward of Hanau, and are about thirty miles in length, esteemed a very rich country; the chief town whereof is Fuld, situate on a river of the same name, forty miles to the eastward of Marburg; here is one of the noblest monasteries in Europe, of the Benedictine Order, founded by St. BONIFACE, in the year 744, and endowed afterwards with large privileges by several Emperors. The Abbot is a Prince of the Empire, and takes place in all general Diets at the Emperor's feet; he is Lord both of the town and country about it, and Primate of all the Abbots in Germany, and depends immediately on the Pope. The great church dedicated to St. BONIFACE is esteemed a magnificent structure, and shews a great deal of the ancient architecture. They have among their antiquities three manuscripts, containing the New Testament compleat; the four Evangelists distinct, and a treatise of the Trinity, which, according to tradition, were all written by St. BONIFACE. Other towns of any note in the territory of Fulda are Hamelburg, Bruckennau and Hunfeld.

The town and monastery of Hirschfeld stand twenty miles north of Fuld upon the same river. This convent was held to be one of the noblest structures in the Empire. The territories belonging to it are about twelve miles long, and as many broad; but these, with the other revenues belonging to it, were at the reformation secularized, as it is called, and the Landgraves of Hesse enjoy them as administrators of Hirschfeld to this day: for it seems at the reformation, when any

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Hirsch-  
feld  
abbey and  
territory.



C H A P.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Solms  
county  
and town.

Wetlar.

Fried-  
burg.

Ziegen-  
heim,  
Hatzfeld,  
Franken-  
burg, &c.

Veteravia,  
or the We-  
terau.

County  
and town  
of Hanau.

Budingen  
and Hema-  
burg.

Gelnhau-  
sen.

County of  
Nassau.

temporal Prince seized on a bishoprick or abbey in Germany, he called himself Administrator of it: and all the Protestant Princes confederating together, procured these ecclesiastical estates to be confirmed to them by subsequent treaties with the Emperor, and the Catholick Princes of the Empire.

The county of Solms, situate on the south of Hesse Marburg, is subject to it's own Prince; the chief town whereof is of the same name, fifteen miles south-west of Marburg: the castle of Brunsfield, fifteen miles to the southward of Solms, being the usual residence of the Count. The Imperial city of Wetlar stands on the river Lohn, eighteen miles south-west of Marburg, and is remarkable for little, but the Imperial chamber's being removed hither after the French destroyed Spire; it is by some placed in Weteravia, as well as the Imperial city of Friedburg, which stands fifteen miles to the south of Wetlar, and twelve north of Francfort, at the foot of a ridge of hills, called De Hohe, a rich town of good trade; where some of the German Emperors have formerly resided. The other towns of most note in Hesse, are Ziegenheim, the capital of a little county of the same name; Hatzfeld, capital also of a county; Fritzlar, Frankenburg, Gießen, Grannenburg, Nidden, Geraw, St. Goar, Wied, Sayn, Hemburg, Runkel, Eschwege, Wilzenhausen, Suntra and Geymar.

I come next to that part of Hesse which goes under the name of Veteravia, or the Weterau, which some reckon a distinct country from Hesse, the Landgraves being Sovereigns but of very little of it. The name Weterau, is supposed to be derived from the river Wetter, which runs thro' part of the country, and it is bounded by Hesse Proper on the north; the county of Reineck on the east; by the river Maine on the south; and by the Rhine on the west: being about an hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth. It yields both corn and wine, and is by some esteemed one of the most fruitful countries of Germany; the counties of Hanau and Nassau take up the greatest part of it. The county of Hanau is bounded on the north and east by the territories of the abbey of Fuld, and by the dominions of the house of Nassau towards the west, extending north-east from the river Maine about forty miles, and is about fifteen in breadth, and governed by it's own Earl: the chief town whereof is Hanau, pleasantly situated on the river Kuntz, ten miles to the eastward of Frankfort; the town is well-built and uniform, and has a very good trade, and the fortifications about it are after the modern way.

2. Budingen situate on the river Soam, five miles north of Hanau, a large city with a fine castle belonging to it, the capital of a county twenty miles long and eight broad, sometimes called the county of Upper Hemburg. 3. Gelnhausen, an Imperial city, twelve miles north-east of Hanau, a place of little trade at present, but before the civil wars in Germany of some reputation, being inhabited by many of the German nobility and gentry.

The county of Nassau, strictly taken, is but of small extent, but in the last age grew up into a considerable principality, by the accession of the counties of Weilburg, Idstein, Wilsbaden, Dillenburg, Beilstein, Gleiburg, Siegen, and Hadamar, which together are usually called the county of Nassau-Catzenellebogen. The several districts may be known, according to a late Writer, by their

different soils and productions. Dietz, says he, is rocky and mountainous, and yields corn, wine, and venison. The county of Westerwalt affords fat pastures, and a large breed of cattle. In Siegen and Dillenburg they have mines of iron, lead, copper, and other metals. And at Frenduburg they make the greatest part of the steel which furnishes the German Empire. The chief towns belonging to the dominions of Nassau, are, 1. Nassau-Nassovia, a little town and country, situate on the river Lohn, eight miles east of the Rhine, and twelve south-east of Coblenz, heretofore the seat of the first branch of the family of Nassau. 2. Dillenburg, which gives name to a county situate on the river Dilla, from whence it derives it's name, sixteen miles west of Marburg, defended by a castle which stands upon an adjoining hill, formerly the seat of the Counts of Dillenburg, a branch of the family of Nassau; it is a town of some trade, which consists in cattle and woollen manufactures. 3. Siegen, the capital also of a county, situate on a high rock, and regularly fortified, thirty miles north-east of Nassau, gives a title to another branch of this family; here is a university, and an academy for training up young gentlemen in martial exercises, and a little distance from the city is a very good iron-mine. 4. Herborn, two or three English miles below Dillenburg, on the same river, an university also, which has some few exhibitions for poor scholars settled on the dissolution of monasteries at the reformation: the citizens have a tolerable trade in woollen cloth, which is wrought here. 5. Beilstein, an old town, which gives name to a county, and was the inheritance of a younger branch of the family of Nassau, situate among rocks and mountains, about ten miles to the south of Herborn. 6. Dietz, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Lohn, ten miles east of Nassau, the capital also of a county. 7. Wilsbaden, the capital of a county, situate five miles north of Mentz, and twenty south-east of Nassau, not very large, but much frequented on account of it's baths. In these waters there may very sensibly be discerned by the taste four minerals, as sulphur, allom, salt, and salt-peter; the first of which is most predominant, and renders the waters as hot as any in Germany. 8. Hadamar, twenty miles north of Mentz, gives title to a Prince of the family of Nassau. The other towns mentioned by travellers in Nassau, are Idstein, Weilburg, and Hager, but of these I meet with nothing particular. Having taken a view of the towns in Hesse and Weteravia, it may be proper to enquire into the families of those Princes to whom most of them are subject, and these are the Princes of Hesse and the Princes of Nassau.

The Princes of Hesse anciently enjoyed no other title than that of Schelt-Graven, or the lowest degree of Counts; the country of Hesse being then part of the principality of Thuringia. LEWIS III. was first created Landgrave of Hesse: PHILIP the Magnanimous of this family formed the Smalcaldick league above mentioned about the year 1537, being a confederacy of all the Protestant Princes of the Empire against the Emperor CHARLES V. CHARLES, the late Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was esteemed a very brave Prince; he was a general in the confederate army in the war between the allies and France, in the reign of WILLIAM III. between whom and the Landgrave, there seemed to be very great intimacy. This Prince was born anno 1654, and married MARY.

C H A P.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Nassau  
town.

Dillen-  
burg.

Siegen.

Herborn.

Beilstein.

Dietz.

Wilsba-  
den.

Hadamar.

Family of  
Hesse-  
Cassel.



CHAP. XVIII. Upper Rhine. MARY-AMELIA, sister to CASIMIR late Duke of Courland, anno 1673; by whom he had issue FREDERICK, the present Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and King of Sweden, and born anno 1676, and married 1699, to SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE, daughter to the late Elector of Brandenburg; since whose death he married the Princess ULRICA ELEONORA, now Queen of Sweden, anno, 1715, and at her request was chosen King of Sweden, anno 1720, but has no issue either by his former consort or this: He is the eldest branch of the house of Hesse-Cassel, who, next to the Brandenburgers, have been the greatest patrons of Calvinism in the Empire; but upon his accession to the throne of Sweden, he was compelled by the States to renounce Calvinism, and swear to promote Lutheranism with equal zeal; and this I do not see many Princes of that persuasion scruple when there is a crown in view, tho' till interest open their eyes, they persecute the Lutherans with as much passion as they would a Papist or an infidel: the territories possessed by this Prince are the lower landgrate of Hesse, in which are Cassel Ziegenheim, and the lordship of Pless. 2. Marburg in the upper landgrate. 3. The principality of Hirschfeld. 4. Part of the county of Catzenellebogen. 5. The county of Scawenburg. 6. Smalcald in the county of Henneburg. And 7. the bailiwicks of Rottenburg and Sachsenhausen.

Hesse Darmstat. Another branch of the house of Hesse is that of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstat, a little inferior in point of territories to that of Hesse Cassel, for the present Landgrave of Hesse Darmstat possesses, 1. the upper landgrate in which are Gießen, Butzbach, Aendorf, Battenburg, Gleunda, Blamkerstein, Frankenau, Gera, Grunburg, and Konigsburg. 2. The county of Nidda. 3. The lordship of Itter. 4. The upper part of the county of Catzenellebogen, in which lies Darmstat. And 5. the county of Dietz.

Hesse Rhinfield. A third branch of the house of Hesse is Rhinfield; this Prince possesses part of the lower county of Catzenellebogen, viz. Rhinfield, St. Goar and Gevernhausen, the bailiwicks of Rechenburg, Florstein and Braubach, with Rottenberg and it's district.

Hesse Homburg. The fourth branch of this house, is that of Hesse Homburg which possesses, 1. Homburg with it's territory. 2. Wevelingen and Helmstadt with it's dependencies. And 3. Bingham. There are still some other branches, which will be found in the pedigree of the family of Hesse in the appendix; I shall only take notice here, that the branch of Darmstat are Lutherans, and that of Rhinfield, Papists; that of Homburg, as I take it, are Lutherans; as for the eldest branch of Hesse Cassel it has been already observed, that they have been for many years zealous Calvinists till the present Prince thought fit to embrace Lutheranism, in order to mount the throne of Sweden.

Arms of Hesse. The arms of Hesse Cassel, and Hesse Darmstat are Azure a lion, part Argent part Gules, for Hesse. Or, a leopard, Gules armed and crowned, Azure for Catzenellebogen. Gules, two lions spotted like leopards languid and armed, Azure for Dietz.

The Family of Nassau. The family of Nassau is agreed to be very ancient, and some are so zealous for it's antiquity, that they relate that two brothers of this family attended Caesar in his conquest of Gaul; but however that be, credible historians give an account of one OTHO of Nassau made Earl of Guelderland in the year 1079. The late King WILLIAM

descended from another OTHO, whose son HENRY, about the year 1190, added Dillenburg, Wisbaden and Idstein, to the territories of his grandfather WALLERAN, which seems to be the ancient name of the family: Nassau was the name of the castle or palace only where the eldest branch resided. From WILLIAM WALLERAN of the branch of Dillenburg, says a late writer, came the second branch of Nassau Orange, which ended in WILLIAM III. King of England; and from him also proceeded JOHN of Nassau who established the protestant Religion in his territories, and died anno 1606, from whom descended the present Prince of Nassau Friesland, whom the late King WILLIAM left his heir; but I do not design here to give the entire pedigree of the Nassaus, which will be found amongst the rest of the German Princes in the appendix, only it may be proper just to mention the most considerable branches of it now being, which are those of Nassau Dietz, Nassau Dillenburg, Nassau Hadamar, Nassau Saarbruck, and Nassau Siegen, the last of which are Papists.

The arms of the princes of Nassau, are, 1. Azure sprinkled with billets, Or, a lion of the same languid for Nassau. 2. Or, a lion gules crowned, and languid Argent for Catzenellebogen. 3. Gules, two lions, or, leopard-wise for Dietz.

This house has formed three principal branches, those of

I. Orange, extinct in King WILLIAM III. of Great Britain.

II. Dillenburg, divided into the branches of, 1. Sigen, catholick and protestant. 2. Dillenburg. 3. Dietz, which is called Nassau Friesland, or Orange.

(4. Hadamar, extinct in 1711.)

III. Saarbruck, divided into the families of the counts of Idstein, Weilburg, Ottweiler, and Usingen.

The Prince of Nassau-Dietz, Friesland, or Orange.

WILLIAM-CHARLES-HENRY-FRISO, born the 21st of August 1711. He married ANNE, Princess Royal of Great Britain, on the 14th of March 1734. She was delivered after a long dangerous labour of a Princess, who died in the birth: the corps was presently laid on a bed of state, and ordered to rest there three days for the view of the people; it was afterwards carried to Delft, and there interred in the burying-place of the family.

The Prince's father was,

JOHN-WILLIAM-FRISO, born in 1687, Prince of Nassau-Dietz, Stadtholder of the two provinces of Friesland and Groningen, and one of the Dutch generals in the late war: he died in 1711. He married a daughter of the late Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by whom he had these two children.

1. CHARLOTTE-AMELIA, born the 2d of October 1710; in 1727, married to the hereditary Prince of Baden-Durlach. He died in 1732, leaving only one son.

2. The Prince of Orange.

I come next to describe the landgrate of Alsatia, another part of the circle of the Upper Rhine; as to the Palatinate, though part of it be deemed within this circle, yet as much the greater part is comprehended within the circle of the Lower Rhine, I choose to describe it all together when I come to that circle, rather than dismember

CHAP. XVIII. Upper Rhine.

Arms of Nassau.

Orange Prince.



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Alfatia.  
Name.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

ber the territories belonging to the Palatinate. Alfatia, or Elfas, is supposed to derive its name from the river Ell, which runs through it, though SHERRINGHAM supposes this to be a part of the territories of the ancient Saxons, and to be called Edelfassen, as the richest and pleafantest country the Saxons were masters of; the fruitfulness of the soil giving some colour for this opinion. It is bounded by the county Palatine of the Rhine on the north, by the circle of Suabia, from which it is separated by the river Rhine on the east, by Swifferland on the south, and by the dutchy of Lorrain on the west; and has been contended for by the French and Germans for an age past with the utmost fury; but is now entirely under the dominion of the French. As I have described the bounds of the Brisgow, and some other territories on the east side of the Rhine, which were heretofore look'd upon as part of Alfatia; but as late treaties of peace have made the Rhine the boundary between France and the Empire, it seems much better to treat of the territories on each side of the Rhine as distinct provinces: the extent of this country from north to south is about an hundred miles, and the breadth at a medium about twenty five, tho' in some places it is less, and at others it is more than thirty.

Alfatia.

The soil is exceeding rich, producing plenty of corn and wine. Their hills are covered with chefnut groves, and afford also great quantities of copper, lead, and other minerals, and the meadows and pastures are scarcely to be equalled; add to which the agreeableness of the climate, and the temperature of the air, with the conveniency of the river Rhine, which runs the whole length of it, and it will not seem altogether unworthy of the blood and treasure which have been spent in the long wars between the Empire and France, the one to defend their possession, and the other to make a conquest of it. The whole country is usually divided into the Upper and Lower Alfatia. The chief towns in the Lower Alfatia are,

Straßburg,  
or Argen-  
toratum.

1. Straßburg, *olim Argentoratum*, pleasantly situated in the middle of a plain, at the conflux of the rivers Ill and Breusch, which a mile below fall into the Rhine, lying in the latitude of forty-eight degrees forty minutes, and near eight degrees of longitude to the eastward of London, a free Imperial city, till it was treacherously surprized by the French King in the year 1682. The trade of this place was great and flourishing, and the people enjoy'd the free exercise of their religion, which was generally Lutheran, till it fell into the hands of France; but with their liberties their trade is much declined; scarce any thing is improved of late but the fortifications, which the French have made as fine as possible, it being the most considerable frontier town they have on the side of the Empire. The town is of a large circumference, and so well built, that my author says the houses of the magistrates and merchants are fit to entertain Princes; and over the rivers which run through it are laid many handsome bridges. It is a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Mentz. Upon the reformation the Bishops and Canons were expelled, and the Roman Catholicks had only one little church left them: but when it fell into the hands of the French, Popery, with the Bishops and Canons, were restored, after they had been dispossess'd upwards of an hundred years, though, as I have been inform'd, the French do still tolerate the Protestant religion here. Travellers who pass through this city ad-

mire the contrivance of their publick granaries, store-houses, wine-cellars, stadt-house, arsenal and cathedral, the last of which is esteem'd one of the wonders of Germany, and described at large in a treatise on purpose, by Os. SCHADÆUS, anno 1617. The height of the tower is four hundred eighty-nine feet, and eight junctures of admirable workmanship, and has a pair of folding-gates of brass at the west-end; but what is most admired is the great clock, wherein is a celestial globe, with all the motions of the planets, fixed stars, &c. behind which there is a perpetual almanack, wherein the day of the month is pointed at by a statue standing by. The hours are crow'd by a cock, and afterwards struck on a bell by an Angel; not far from which stands another Angel with an hour-glass in his hand, which turns round as soon as the clock has done striking. The first quarter is struck by a child with an apple, the second by a young man with an arrow, the third by a full-aged man with a tip-staff, and the fourth by an old man with his cane. On the out-side of the church are shewn the increase and decrease of the moon, with the motion of the sun through all the signs of the zodiack, and a multitude of other curiosities, which may be seen at large in the treatise above-mention'd. An university was founded here by the Protestant magistrates about the year 1538, on which the Emperor FERDINAND II conferr'd many great privileges and immunities. A late writer observes, that the women of this place are exceeding handsome, but as remarkable for their odd fantastical dresses as for their beauty.

By the last treaty of peace at Rastat, concluded anno 1714, and by several former treaties, Straßburg is confirm'd to France by the Emperor; but then it is thereby provided that Fort Keihl, erected by the French on the other side of the Rhine, at the end of the bridge of Straßburg, shall be yielded up to the Empire; and as to the Fort of Pile, and others erected in the islands of the Rhine near Straßburg, that they should be entirely razed, and never be re-established by either party for the future, and that the navigation and use of the river Rhine should remain free and open for the subjects of either side. 2. Zabern, or Savern Elfas, so called to distinguish it from another Zabern in the Palatinate, fifteen miles north-west of Straßburg, of which I meet with no other description than that it is defended by a strong castle situate on the top of an adjoining rock, where the Bishops of Straßburg used to hold their courts. 3. Haguenau, a strong town, situate ten miles to the westward of the Rhine, and fourteen north of Straßburg, formerly a free Imperial city, but taken by the French, and since confirm'd to them by the peace of Westphalia and other subsequent treaties. 4. Fort Lewis, situate ten miles east of Haguenau, on an island in the Rhine, almost over against Baden, built by Lewis XIV, and confirm'd to him by treaties with the Emperor, particularly by the last treaty of Rastat anno 1714. 5. Weiffemburg, formerly an Imperial city, but now also subject to the French, situate on the river Lutra, ten miles west of the Rhine, and sixteen north of Haguenau. 6. Landau, situate on the Queich, ten miles north-east of Weiffemburg, on the confines of the Palatinate, and formerly reckon'd a part of it. The fortifications of this town are as fine as the nature of the ground will admit, and the consequence of possessing it esteem'd so considerable

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Zabern.

Haguenau

Fort Lew-  
is.

Weiffem-  
burg.

Landau

both



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Upper  
Rhine.

both by France and the Empire, that it was taken and retaken five or six times during the last war, with a vast expence of blood and treasure. The French last made themselves masters of it on the 20th of August N. S. anno 1713, after about two months open trenches, the Germans being in no condition to relieve it after they had separated from their allies; and the place was confirmed to the French by the ensuing treaty of peace at Rastat. Tho' I don't doubt, if ever there should happen a rupture between France and Germany again, or the Germans should meet with a favourable conjuncture, they would endeavour the recovery not only of Landau, but of Strasburg, and all the other strong towns in Alsace; for when Princes are forced by the necessity of their affairs, as they term it, to give up and dismember part of their territories, they seem to think however that their rights can never be extinguished by such forced cessions, and make no manner of scruple of repossessing them again, whenever an opportunity offers. 7. Drusenheim, situate near the Rhine, about eight miles south-east of Haguenau, remarkable for little but the ruins of an old fort, which it is supposed Drusus built here to prevent the incursions of the Germans. The other towns of any note in Lower Alsace are, Moltzheim, Rosenheim, Benfeld and Schelstat, of which I meet with nothing particular.

Drusen-  
heim.

Colmar.

The towns in the Upper Alsace, so styled from it's lying higher up the Rhine than the other, are, 1. Colmar, once a flourishing Imperial city, but almost ruined in the wars between France and Germany, and yielded to the French by the treaty of Munster. It stands about eight miles west of Brisac, and thirty south of Strasburg; and here the French established their sovereign council for Alsace. It is supposed to have been built out of the ruins of the ancient *Argentuaris*, conquered by the Emperor GRATIAN anno 378, and afterwards destroyed by ATTILA the Hun. 2. New Brisac, a fortress erected by LEWIS XIV. on the west side of the Rhine, over against Old Brisac. 3. Murback, remarkable for it's fine abbey, at the foot of the mountains which separate Alsace from Lorraine, fourteen miles south-west of Colmar. 4. Mulhausen, an Imperial city, fifteen miles south of Colmar. 5. Hunningen, a strong fortress, built by LEWIS XIV. on the Rhine, half a league below Basil. 6. Pfird, or Ferett, a small city, the capital of the district of Suntgow, thirty miles south of Colmar, and ten west of Basil, confirmed to the French by the treaty of Westphalia. Other towns of any note in the Upper Alsace are, Keiserburg, Turchein, Munster, Eufisheim and Befort, or Betfort.

New Bri-  
fac.

Murback.

Mulhau-  
sen.

Hun-  
nin-  
gen.

Pfird.

Keiser-  
burg,  
&c.

Lorrain  
Duchy.

Situation  
and extent

The duchy of Lorraine, the remaining part of the circle of the Upper Rhine, is bounded by the duchy of Luxemburg towards the north; by Alsacia, the duchy of Deuxponts, and the Palatinate on the east; by Franche Compte on the south; and by Champagne on the west; extending from forty-eight to forty-nine degrees, fifty minutes north latitude, and is upwards of an hundred miles in length, and about as much in breadth. The air of Lorraine is healthful and temperate, but the country is pretty much incumbered with mountains and forests, particularly by the mountains of Vauge, which separate it from Alsace and Burgundy, and the famous forest of Ardenne. The soil in other parts is rich and fruitful, affording plenty of corn, wine and good pasture, in their hills also are found mines of silver, copper, lead

and iron, but most iron; and their salt-springs are so numerous, that it is said the Duke draws a revenue of two hundred thousand crowns per annum from them. The principal rivers are, 1. The Maes, or Meuse. 2. The Moselle. 3. The Sar. 4. The Meurte. 5. The Soame. 6. The Selle. 7. The Voloy. And, 8. The Maidon.

Lorrain is usually divided into three parts, viz. 1. Lorrain Proper. 2. The duchy of Bar, or Bar-le-Duc. And, 3. French Lorrain and Bar, which consists chiefly in the bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun.

The name of Lorrain is said to be derived from LOTHARIUS, second son of the Emperor LOTHARIUS, and formerly King of this country, from thence called *Lot-reich* by the Dutch, and *Lot-reigne* by the French, by an easy transition converted into Lorrain. It was anciently reckoned a part of Belgium, and the first inhabitants we have any account of were the *Medionatrici*, since when it has been alternately subject to France and the Empire, being sometimes reckoned a province of the one, and sometimes a province of the other; but as the Duke of Lorrain is a Prince of the Empire, and the duchy usually esteemed part of the circle of the Upper Rhine, I chuse to describe it with the rest of Germany, especially since the French have been obliged by the treaty of Ryfwick, anno 1697, to restore the greatest part of it to it's proper Sovereign.

The natives, as they lie in the neighbourhood of France, imitate the fashions of that country, and scarce speak any other language. They are naturally brave, of robust constitutions, and esteemed to have good natural parts, but more addicted to drinking than their neighbours the French, tho' not so much as some other provinces of Germany.

Lorrain Proper is subdivided into the bailiwicks of, 1. Nancy. 2. Vauge. 3. Vander-Vange. And 4. The re-united countries in the bailiwick of Nancy, the chief towns are, 1. Nancy, the capital of the whole duchy, situate in a large plain near the river Meurte, in forty-eight degrees forty-five minutes north latitude; six degrees to the eastward of London, thirty miles south of Metz and sixty to the westward of Strasburg, divided into the Old or Upper Town, and the New or Lower Town. In the Old Town is the Duke's palace, the entrance whereof is very magnificent, and leads into a noble court, surrounded with a piazza, and adorned with statues; and the gardens about it are exceeding fine. The New Town is much larger than the Old and better built: it has a handfom square, in which three large streets center, and in this part of the town are the stadthouse, the courts of justice, several good churches and monasteries, and a fine college of the Jesuits. The town was admirably well fortified after the modern way while the French were masters of it, but upon their relinquishing it at the treaty of Ryfwick, the fortifications were agreed to be demolished. It was taken by the French King, LEWIS XIII. in the year 1633, and with the rest of the duchy remained in the possession of France most part of the last century; when they made it the seat of one of their parliaments, and established a chamber of accounts, and a seneschal's court here; as in their other conquered provinces. 2. St. Nicholas, a large open town, situate on the river Meurte, six miles south-east of Nancy, whither vast crowds of pilgrims resort to pay their devotions to NICHOLAS the Saint of

CHAP.  
XVII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Division  
of the  
country.

The name.

Character  
of the na-  
tives.

Lorrain  
Proper.  
Chief  
towns.  
Nancy ci-  
ty.

St. Nicho-  
las.



CHAP.  
XVII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Rosiers.  
Chateau.  
Salins.  
Laneville.  
Nomeny.

Vaude-  
mont.

Blamont,  
&c.

Vauge  
Bailiwick.

Vander-  
Vange  
Bailiwick  
and town.  
Bitch.

Saverden.

Homburg.

Bar  
Duchy.

Bar-le-duc  
City.

Ligny.  
Comercy.

Damiris.

La Mothe.  
Gondrecourt.

St. Michael.

Pont-a-mousson.

the place, who according to tradition was Bishop of Myra in Lycia, and a great opposer of the Arian heresy at the council of Nice. 3. Rosiers, on the Meurte, twelve miles south-east of Nancy, considerable for the salt springs about it. 4. Chateau Salins, situate on the Selle, considerable also for its salt springs. 5. Luneville, a pleasant town, seven miles south-east of Rosiers. 6. Nomeny, on the Selle, honoured with the title of a marquise. 7. Vaudemont, an open town, the capital of a principality of the same name, usually given as an appennage to a younger son of the house of Lorraine. The other towns of most note in the bailiwick of Nancy, are, Blamont, capital of a county of the same name, Moyenneville on the river Selle, and Vezelize.

In the bailiwick of Vauge the chief towns are, 1. Mirecourt, situate on the Maïdon, not far from the foot of Mount Vauge, twenty miles and upwards south-west of Nancy. 2. Neufchâtel, situate on the Maes near the confines of Champagne. 3. Remiremont, situate on the Moselle, at the foot of Mount Vauge, between forty and fifty miles south-east of Nancy, remarkable for an abbey of ladies who have the liberty of quitting their convent and marrying, except the Lady abbess, who is vested with the temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction of the town and country about it. All the Ladies on their admission are required to prove their nobility for four descents. The other towns of any note in the bailiwick of Vauge are, Charms, Espinal, St. Diey, Roan and Fontenay.

In the bailiwick of Vander-Vange the chief towns are, 1. Vandervange, situate on the Sar, thirty miles north-east of Metz. 2. Bitch a little town on the frontiers of Alsatia, the capital of a county of the same name.

The chief towns in the re-united country are, 1. Saverden, situate on the frontiers of Alsace, and gives a title to a county, situate between forty and fifty miles north-east of Nancy. 2. Homburg, a city and castle the capital of the county of Sarbruck, sixty miles north-east of Nancy, formerly possessed by a branch of the family of Nassau, to which it gave a title.

Ever since the year 1473, the duchy of Bar has been united to that of Lorraine, and is divided into four bailiwicks, viz. 1. Bar. 2. Baligne. 3. St. Michael, and 4. Clermont. The chief towns in the bailiwick of Bar are, 1. Bar-le-duc, the capital of the country, situate on a rising ground on the banks of the river Ornain, about forty miles west of Nancy, a handsome well-built city, with a collegiate church and seminary for students, and had a seneschal's court and chamber of accounts erected here while it was subject to the French. 2. Ligny, eight miles south-east of Bar-le-duc. 3. Commercy, situate on the Maes, the capital of a principality subject to the Prince of Lillibone of the family of Lorraine, twenty-five miles west of Nancy. 4. Damiris on the Seaux, five miles south-west of Ligny.

In the bailiwick of Bassignie the chief towns are, 1. Mothe, built upon a rock, thirty-three miles south of Nancy. And, 2. Gondrecourt, situate on the river Ornain.

In the bailiwick of St. Michael the chief towns are, 1. St. Michael, situate on the Maes, twenty-seven miles west of Nancy, remarkable for a fine monastery of the order of St. BENNET. 2. Pont-a-mousson, the capital of a marquise of the same name, situate on the Moselle, twelve miles north-

west of Nancy, an open handsome town, and has the advantage of a university, and professors in all sciences, with two considerable abbeys, and several magnificent churches. 3. Hatton le Chatel, fifteen miles north-west of Pontamousson, the capital of a small territory which has the title of a marquise.

In the bailiwick of Clermont the chief towns are, 1. Clermont, situate on the river Ayr, the capital of a county. And, 2. Varenne, situate on the same river.

In French Lorraine, which comprehends the three bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun, the chief towns are, 1. Metz, the capital of French Lorraine, situate at the conflux of the Moselle and Selle, twenty-five miles north of Nancy, formerly an Imperial city, but reduced to the obedience of France anno 1552, and confirmed to the French King by the treaty of Munster anno 1648. It is a large wealthy city, and fortified after the modern way; the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Triers. The cathedral is an ancient venerable pile of building, in which they have a font of porphyry one entire stone ten feet long: the town consists of sixteen parishes, seven nunneries, and several other monasteries, being about nine miles in circumference. The Protestants also had their churches formerly here, and a share in the government; but the Roman Catholic is now the established religion of the place, and the Protestants barely tolerated. There are several arches and other Roman antiquities still remaining about this city.

2. Saar-Lewis, situate twenty-five miles north-east of Metz, a strong fortress erected by Lewis XIV, anno 1680, and confirmed to him afterwards by the treaty of Ryswick.

The chief town in the bishoprick of Toul is of the same name, situate ten miles to the westward of Nancy, the Bishop whereof is suffragan to the Archbishop of Triers, and bears the title of Count. It is a large place, but has no other fortifications than a single wall. 2. Vaucouleurs, a small city on the Maes, near which stands the village of Arque, where the famous Joan of Arque, or maid of Orleans was born, who revived the drooping courage of the French when the English had almost made a conquest of their country.

Verdun, the capital of the bishoprick of the same name, is situate on the Maes, thirty miles west of Metz, whose Bishop has also the title of Count of Verdun, and Prince of the Empire. The place is tolerably well fortified.

In that part of Bar which is subject to the French the chief towns are, 1. Stenay, capital of the country, situate on the Maes, sixteen miles north-west of Verdun, the fortifications whereof have been put into a good condition since the French made themselves masters of it. And, 2. Jamets, a little fortified town situate on the frontiers of Luxembourg, between Stenay and Damvilliers.

The titles of the Duke of Lorraine are, Duke of Lorraine and Mercoeur, Duke of Calabria, Bar and Guelderland; Marquis of Pont-a-mousson and Nomeny; Count of Provence, Vaudemont, Blamont, Zutphen, Saar Werden, and Salm. His dominions are, 1. The duchy of Lorraine. 2. The duchy of Bar. 3. The marquise of Pont-a-mousson. 4. The counties of Blackburnburg, Falkenstein, Donnerberg, Clermont and Bielftein. The provostship of Kummelsberg and of Hattonsbuig, and the county of Salm.

CHAP.  
XVII.  
Upper  
Rhine.

Hatton.

Clermont.

Varenne.

French

Lorraine.

Chief

towns.

Metz.

Arque.

Joan of.

Saar-Lewis.

is.

Toul.

Verdun.

Verdun.

Verdun.

Verdun.

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Verdun.

Verdun.

Verdun.

Verdun.



CHAP.  
XVII.  
Upper  
Rhine

Younger  
branches  
of this fa-  
mily.  
Arms.  
The eldest  
branch of  
the fami-  
ly.

The younger branches of this family are, the Prince of Vaudemont, the Prince of Elbœuf, and the counts of Harcourt.

The arms of Lorrain are, Or a bend Gules charged with three larks Argent: but according to others, with three allierions, which are, in blazon, small birds without feet.

The last Duke of Lorrain was CHARLES LEOPOLD, born in the year 1643, who being kept out of his dominions by the French, as his brother and predecessor had been, was made General of the Emperor's forces against France and Turkey. He had such success in the Turkish war, that he raised the siege of Vienna, and recovered a vast extent of country from the infidels. He married ELEONORA-MARIA, sister to the late Emperor LEOPOLD, and widow of MICHAEL WIESNOWSKI, King of Poland; and died the 18th of April, 1690, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, LEOPOLD-JOSEPH-CHARLES, the present Duke, had his dominions restored to him at the treaty of Ryswick, anno 1697, except what is denominated the French Lorrain and Bar above described; and the French King before he relinquished the rest, caused the fortifications of Nancy, and every other strong place belonging to the Duke to be demolished. He reserved also to himself a liberty of marching his troops thro' Lorrain to Alsace whenever he saw fit. So that the present Duke, though his country be restored him, lies entirely at the mercy of the French, and was obliged to stand neuter in the last war, whatever inclination he might have to the cause of the allies. The Duke is absolute in his dominions, unless the French think fit to control him; and tho' he be a Prince of the Empire, I do not find his country is liable to contribute to the general charges of the Empire, or that it is subject to its laws, any more than the electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony are. The religion established in this duchy is the Roman Catholick. The rest of the pedigree of the Dukes of Lorrain will be found in the appendix, with those of the other German Princes. The present Duke seems to be much caressed at the court of Vienna, and it is said one of the present Emperor's daughters is intended for him, which will entitle him to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and give him a fair opportunity of standing candidate for the Imperial throne, if the Emperor should die without male issue.

## LOWER RHINE.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Treats of the circle of the Lower Rhine, in which is comprehended the Palatinate of the Rhine, and the arch-bishopricks of Mentz, Triers and Cologne.*

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Lower  
Rhine.

The Pala-  
tinate of  
the Rhine.  
Its situa-  
tion and ex-  
tent.

THE Palatinate of the Rhine, in which I include the bishopricks of Spire and Worms, and the duchy of Zweibruggen or Deuxponts, is bounded by the archbishopricks of Mentz and Triers on the north; by Franconia and Suabia on the east; and by Alsatia and Lorrain towards the south and west: being upwards of an hundred miles in length from the south-east to the north-west, and from fifty to seventy in breadth; stiled the Lower Palatinate, to distinguish it from the Upper and Bavarian Pa-

latinate already described. The air, the soil, and noble rivers which water this country, all contribute to render it one of the richest and pleasantest provinces of the Empire; only unhappy in being so desirable as to incite the ambition of the neighbouring powers to become masters of it; which has in the last age frequently rendered it a scene of blood and misery; most of its fine towns have been demolished, and the distressed natives driven out of the country to make room for the hungry French, or other necessitous adventurers. The hills in the Palatinate, says a late Writer, are covered with vines, which yield that rich liquor known in other parts of Europe by the name of Rhenish wine. Their valleys afford plenty of all manner of grain and fruits, and deer and other game abound in their forests. The rivers Rhine and Neckar yield them fish in abundance, and their hills want neither metals or other minerals; and they have the convenience of water-carriage, and of transporting their merchandize every way by means of their navigable rivers. The religion of the Palatinate, says Dr. NICHOLSON, has been exceedingly changed and varied since the first introducing of Lutheranism by Count FREDERICK II; for FREDERICK III set up the doctrine and discipline of JOHN CALVIN. LOUDOWICK V expelled Calvinism, and restored the doctrine of LUTHER. His son FREDERICK IV brought the Calvinists once more into play, to oblige his avaritious ministers chiefly, who proposed to raise their fortunes by sacrilegiously seizing on the tythes and glebe, and other poor remainders of the church's patrimony; by which means, Dr. HEYLIN observes, the clergy being reduced to miserable short stipends, under the name of a competency, became so contemptible and neglected by all sorts of men, that at last the church of the Palatinate was reduced to the same condition as the church of Israel was under JEROBOAM, when the priests were made out of the meanest of the people: and as a church brought into these straits was not like to be very durable, we find the Papists every day gained ground upon them till the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome was again established, and the nobility and gentry who had seized on the lands of the church were forced to resign their ill-acquired possessions to Popish Priests and Jesuits. The Protestant religion is now scarce tolerated in the Palatinate, though the generality of the natives are of this persuasion; and what is most to be lamented is, that in every peace, that has been made the last forty years, the Protestants have given up their unhappy persecuted brethren, and consented to confirm and establish Popery in this and many other countries, where the Protestant religion was not long before triumphant.

The chief towns in the Palatinate are, 1. Heidelberg, or Eidelburga, situate in a fruitful plain on the river Neckar, at the foot of a mountain, forty miles south of Frankfort, and twelve north-east of Spire, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees twenty minutes. The name is said to be derived from a shrub resembling myrtle, called by the Germans *Heidelbeeren*, which grows on the hills about the city. It is encompassed with mountains on every side, except towards the west, which way it has a good prospect over a large pleasant plain. The town is neither large nor very populous, consisting chiefly of one handsome street, and a spacious uniform market-place. The Elector's palace, which stands on the ascent of the hill

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Lower  
Rhine.

The air  
and soil.

Religion.

Chief  
towns.  
Heidel-  
burg.



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Lower  
Rhine.

hill Konigstul, and overlooks the town, is a magnificent fabrick; and not far from it is a fortified tower, hardly to be parallel'd for it's height in the Empire. It was formerly called *Trutzkayser*, or a defiance to the Emperor; but since the restauration of the Elector Palatine, it has obtained the name of the Star-Fort, from some new works round it in form of a star. Another curiosity which all travellers who visit this country are full of, is a monstrous wine-fat, generally called the Tun of Heidelberg, which stands in an out-house near the palace, and was built by the Elector CHARLES-LODOWICK, anno 1664, and contains two hundred tuns of English measure. Instead of hoops, it is encompassed with large trees of knee-timber, like the ribs of a ship, which have several inscriptions painted and carved upon them, and are supported by carved pedestals. On one side of the vessel there is a handsom stair-case, leading to the top, into a gallery set round with ballisters, three and forty steps from the ground. Nor is this the only town in Germany, as has been observed already, where we meet with tuns, or wine-fats, of an uncommon size, carved and gilded, which seem to be built more for ornament than use; which I take to proceed, not only from the veneration the Germans have for the generous juice these vessels contain, but to shew that this is one of the most profitable branches of their trade in the provinces near the Rhine and Danube. The university of this city was founded by Count RUPERT, about the year 1387, and has produced many valuable men. The Elector's library which was kept in the great church dedicated to the Holy Ghost, was esteemed one of the best in Europe, both for the choice and number of books, great part of it having been composed of the libraries of the monastery of Sponheim and other religious houses, plundered at the reformation; among which were many valuable manuscripts in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chaldean, Arabic, Indian, Russian, Tartarian, Italian, French, German and Bohemian languages: but as many other places had been robbed to make this glorious collection, so the Spanish and Bavarian forces at the taking of Heidelberg in the year 1622, after the unfortunate Palatine, stiled King of Bohemia, was defeated, trod under foot, and destroyed some part of them, and the rest were conveyed over the Alps to the Vatican, or to the Imperial library at Vienna. This unhappy city was also taken and plundered by the French in the year 1683, and again in the year 1692, when they almost entirely demolished it, committing the most unheard of barbarities on the miserable inhabitants; and those who survived were driven from their dwellings with their families to starve in the open fields. What could induce the French to be guilty of these cruelties I can't conceive, unless they hoped to force the Elector to abandon his allies, or to express their implacable malice to the natives, on account of their religion, most of them being Protestants.

Manheim. 2. Manheim, situate near the confluence of the Rhine and Neckar, twelve miles north-west of Heidelberg, formerly esteemed a strong town until burnt by the French in 1688, and the fortifications demolished; here the Elector lately erected a magnificent palace, and made it his usual residence. 3. Frankendal, twenty miles west of Heidelberg, once a flourishing city, but taken and burnt also by the French in the year 1689. 4. Altsheim, anciently the residence of the Elector, twenty five miles north-west of Frankendal.

5. Creutznach, a good town, situate on a hill near the river Nahe, eighteen miles north-west of Altsheim, under the joint dominion of the Elector, the Marquis of Baden, and the Prince of Simmerin. 6. Keisar Lautern, situate on the river Lautern, thirty miles south of Creutznach, a small city formerly Imperial, but now subject to the Elector. 7. Sintheim, a small city twelve miles south-east of Heidelberg, where Marshal TURENNE obtained a signal victory over the Imperialists, anno 1674. 8. Oppenheim, situate on a hill on the banks of the Rhine, formerly an Imperial town, but now subject to the Elector, about ten miles south of Mentz, destroyed also by the French in the year 1693. 9. Traerbach, a strong fortress on the Moselle, taken by the French in the year 1702, but restored to the Elector by the last peace. Other towns of any note in the Palatinate are Newstadt, Bacharach, and Eberinburg.

The bishoprick of Spire lies on both sides the Rhine, surrounded by the territories of the Elector Palatine, extending about forty miles in length from east to west, and about fifteen in breadth from north to south; the chief town whereof is Spire, an Imperial city, standing in a plain on the west side of the Rhine, where the small river Spierbach falls into it, about twelve miles south-east of Heidelberg, and eight miles north of Philipsburg; the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Mentz; 'tis a large populous town, but not strong enough to sustain a siege. The French burnt it down to the ground, with a great many other places in the neighbourhood in the year 1689. Here the sovereign court of justice for the Empire, called the Imperial chamber, was held 'till removed to Wetzlar on the destruction of this place. To this court there lies an appeal from any Prince's court in the Empire, and the Electors themselves in some cases may be summoned to appear there. 2. Philipsburg, or Udenheim, a little strong town situate in a morass on the east side of the Rhine at the mouth of the river Salta, ten miles to the southward of Spire, a place frequently taken and retaken during the late wars; relinquished by the French, with the other places in the Palatinate, by the peace of Rastat. Other towns of any note in this bishoprick are Spirebach, Bruxal, Weibstat and Altrip.

The bishoprick of Worms lies also on both sides the Rhine, to the northwards of the bishoprick of Spire, being of a very small extent, viz. about eight miles in length and two in breadth, considerably lessened at the reformation, by the Elector Palatine's seizing part of the territories which belonged to it; the chief town whereof is Worms, an Imperial city on the west bank of the Rhine, twenty five miles north of Spire, a large flourishing town, 'till the French almost destroyed it in the year 1693. It is since great part of it rebuilt, but there are still, as formerly, large void spaces within the walls planted with vines, which yield two or three thousand hogheads of excellent wine annually. The inhabitants are a mixture of Papists and Lutherans, but the Papists are possessors of the cathedral and most of the churches. 2. Ladenburg, a small pleasant city, under the joint dominion of the Elector Palatine and the Bishop of Worms.

The duchy of Zweibruggen, or Deuxponts, is surrounded by other parts of the Palatinate on the east, north, and south, and bounded by Lorrain on the west, being forty miles in length from the

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Creutznach.  
Keisar Lautern.  
Sintheim.

Oppenheim.

Traerbach.

Newstadt.

Spire bishoprick.

Spire city.

Philipsburg.

Spirebach.

Worms bishoprick.

Worms city.

Ladenburg.

Deuxponts.

Lorrain.

forty miles.

length.

from the.

west.

bounded.

by Lorrain.

on the west.



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north-east to the south-west, and in breadth twenty five in some places, and in other places nine or ten; the chief town whereof is Deuxponts, forty miles south-west of Worms; a little well-built city, so named from the bridges over two little rivers whereon it stands. The crown of Sweden enjoyed this duchy until the death of the late King CHARLES XII; on whose death without issue, it devolved on a Prince of the Palatine family. The duchy of Deuxponts contains the five following bailiwicks, viz. 1. Zweibruggen. 2. Meizenteim. 3. Lichtemburg. 4. Newcastle. 5. Landsperg, with part of Guttenburg and Bischweiler.

Religion  
in Deux-  
ponts.

Calvinism was generally professed in the duchy of Deuxponts, 'till the Swedes became possessed of it, and then Lutheranism began to flourish; the King of Sweden giving some of the best livings and preferments to the Lutheran clergy, which created great animosities between the disciples of both persuasions: but the late King of Sweden dying without issue, and that duchy devolving upon a Roman Catholick Prince, his Protestant subjects thought fit to unite and drop their party-quarrels, lest they should give an opportunity to their common enemies the Papists, to make an advantage by them; and I find there has been several projects set on foot by the King of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other Protestant Princes of the Empire, for a comprehension or union of the Protestants of all persuasions, that they may be a match for the Roman Catholics; but the Lutheran clergy are apprehensive that these Princes design at bottom only to establish Calvinism throughout Germany, which they look upon with almost as much detestation as they do Popery.

Simmeren  
duchy and  
town.

The duchy of Simmeren in the Palatinate was heretofore governed by it's own Prince, but is now subject to the Elector Palatine; the chief town whereof is of the same name, situate thirty miles to the westward of Mentz in the lower county of Spanheim.

Birken-  
field town  
and duchy

Birkenfield, with the territory about it, also enjoys the title of a duchy, and is situate in the upper county of Spanheim, twenty eight miles to the eastward of Triers.

Lauterach.  
Leningen,

The other towns of any note in the Palatinate are Lauterach, situate on the river Lauter, forty miles west of Worms; Leningen, capital of the county of Linage, twenty miles north-west of Spire; Rhingravestein, thirty miles north-west of Worms; Veldentz, capital of a county of the same name, twenty miles west of Simmeren; and Reipoltzkirk, the capital also of a small county thirty miles west of Worms.

Titles and  
territories  
of the  
Elector  
Palatine.

The countries which belong to the Elector Palatine, are the greatest part of the Lower Palatinate, the bailiwick of Boechelheim, the duchies of Juliers and Berg, the city of Duffeldrop, and the lordship of Ravenstein: his titles are Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-Steward and Elector of the holy Roman Empire, Duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves and Berg, Count of Veldentz, Spanheim, Marck, Ravensperg and Meurs, Lord of Ravenstein, &c.

His Arms.

His arms for the Palatinate are, a Lion Or, drawn armed langued and crowned Or, a Lion Sable for Juliers. Gules, an Escutcheon Argent with rays of a carbuncle knotted, Or, for Cleves. Argent, a Lion Gules, armed and crowned Azure for Berg.

The Pala-  
tine fa-  
mily.

I shall here go no higher in the pedigree of the Palatine family than FREDERICK III. who

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succeeded to the electorate on the death of OTHO without issue, anno 1559. This FREDERICK Duke of Simmeren was descended from STEPHEN Palatine of Deuxponts or Zweibruggen; he first introduced Calvinism into the Palatinate, and dying, anno 1576, was succeeded by his son LEWIS V. who was as much devoted to Lutheranism as his father to Calvinism. FREDERICK the 4th son of LEWIS V. succeeded his father anno 1583, and dying in the year 1610, left his dominions to FREDERICK V. who married the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter of JAMES I. King of Great-Britain, who accepting the crown of Bohemia, to which the Emperor FERDINAND was before elected, he was attacked both by the Emperor and Spain; and being defeated at the battle of Prague, anno 1620, he lost not only the Bohemian crown, but was proscribed by the Emperor and the Electoral College, and deprived of all his own hereditary territories and dignities, and forced to fly for refuge with his consort the Princess ELIZABETH into Holland. The Lower Palatinate was conquered by the King of Spain, and assigned over to him; and the Upper Palatinate, with the Electoral dignity, conferred on the Duke of Bavaria, General of the Imperial forces in this war. This unfortunate Prince died at Mentz the 29th of November 1632, having been for some years subsisted with his family by the court of England. His son CHARLES-LODOWICK had the Lower Palatinate restored to him by the treaty of Westphalia; but the Upper Palatinate, with the dignity of Elector, was confirmed to the Duke of Bavaria: the Palatine, however, was made an eighth Elector, and dying the 28th of August 1680, was succeeded by his son CHARLES-LEWIS, who dying without issue, in him ended the male line of FREDERICK III. PHILIP-WILLIAM Duke of Newburg succeeded to the Lower Palatinate and the eighth Electorate, anno 1688: he descended from LEWIS the Black, brother of FREDERICK III. Duke of Simmeren, both sons of STEPHEN the younger son of RUPERT III. Emperor of Germany: he was of the Roman Catholick communion, and exceeding zealous that way, which gave his subjects of the Palatinate, who were most of them Protestants, a very gloomy prospect. He married ELIZABETH daughter of GEORGE Landgrave of Hesse, by whom he had issue the Princess ELEONORA-MAGDALENA THERESA, who was married to the Emperor LEOPOLD, anno 1676. The Palatinate being invaded by LEWIS XIV. in the year 1688, the old Prince resigned the government to his son JOSEPH, as better able to defend his territories; but the French notwithstanding the next year, anno 1689, burnt to the ground Heidelberg, Worms, Spire, Oppenheim, and Mannheim, with all the towns, villages and castles in this fine country, not sparing any thing sacred or profane, which could be demolished by fire or gunpowder, and then were forced to abandon it.

The last Elector JOHN-WILLIAM-JOSEPH-IGNATIUS, was born the 19th of April 1658, and succeeded his father the second of September 1690. In the year 1678, he married MARY-ANNE-JOSEPH, daughter to the Emperor FERDINAND III. who dying some years after, he married anno 1686, ANNE-MARY-LOUISE, daughter to COSMUS III. Great Duke of Tuscany, and left no issue by either of them; but had no less than seventeen brothers and sisters, of whom the following survived him, viz. 1. The late Em-

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press mother. 2. Prince CHARLES-PHILIP of Newburg, the present Elector born the fourth of November 1661. 3. FRANCIS-SIGISMUND Bishop of Augsburg, born anno 1663. FRANCIS-LEWIS, Great Master of the Teutonic Order, and Elector of Triers, born anno 1664. 5. The Queen Dowager of Spain, reliet of CHARLES II. born anno 1667. 6. The Duchess of Parma, born in 1670; and, 7. The Princess AMELIA married to Prince JAMES SOBIESKI, son to JOHN King of Poland. The late Elector was generally acknowledged to be a good Prince, but too much bigotted to the Roman communion, of which he was a member; suffering his Protestant subjects to be insulted and ill used by the Roman zealots: but no Prince was more firm to the confederacy against France, or a greater sufferer on that account; and to make him some amends upon the proscription of the Duke of Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate was conferred upon him, but by the peace of Rastat, he was obliged to relinquish it again to Bavaria, being promised an equivalent for it; but I don't find any has been yet made to him or his brother and successor the present Elector CHARLES-PHILIP, who succeeded to the electorate on the 8th of June 1716, and has had three wives, viz. LOUISA-CHARLOTTE daughter of BOGISLAUS Prince of Radzevil, and widow of LEWIS Margrave of Brandenburg. 2. THERESA-CATHERINA, daughter of JOSEPH Prince of Lubomirski. 3. BENEDICTA-ERNESTA-MARIA d'ESTE, daughter of the Duke of Modena; by none of whom has he any issue living, except one daughter married to her cousin the Prince of Sultzbach; and the electoral dignity will, on the death of the present Elector, devolve on his brother the Bishop of Augsburg; but as he is an ecclesiastical person, and incapable of marrying without a dispensation, it will go next to his other brother the Archbishop and Elector of Triers; who having also taken the vow of celibacy, the Prince of Sultzbach is not unlikely to succeed to the Palatinate, being next in blood: but as this Prince has yet no issue, I find the Protestants in great hopes that the Palatinate with the electoral dignity, will devolve on the Prince of Birkenfeld, a zealous Protestant, who is next in succession to the house of Sultzbach. The court of Rome, 'tis said, is so apprehensive of this, that they have tried all imaginable ways to persuade the Elector to marry again, and not having met with success here, are endeavouring to prevail with his brothers, though ecclesiasticks, to enter into the state of matrimony: for should the Palatinate descend to a Protestant, the whole Palatinate would be in some danger of renouncing the Roman communion. Notwithstanding the present Elector is a Papist, and charged with persecuting and oppressing his Protestant subjects, it is computed that there are still five parts in seven of them of that persuasion: which leads me to give a further account of the present state of religion in the Palatinate, and of the late differences between this Prince and his subjects on that head.

The state  
of religion  
in the Pa-  
latinate.

The great church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, had for many years been divided between the Papists and Calvinists; the Papists celebrated Mass in the choir, and the Calvinists heard divine service in the nave, or body of the church; but the Elector alledging that this city being the place of his residence, divine service ought to be performed in the principal church, according to the rites of that religion only, of which he was a

member; prohibited the Protestants to celebrate divine service in the church of the Holy Ghost, and actually put the Roman Catholics in the possession of the whole. Whereupon the Reformed applied themselves to the Protestant Powers to procure a redress of this grievance; at which the Elector was so exasperated, that he published a placart, requiring the magistracy to seize on and suppress the Heidelberg catechism, wherein he observed there were some questions and answers injurious to his Highness, and contrary to the decrees of the Empire, especially where the Elector's religion is represented as superstitious and idolatrous.

The Protestant Powers hereupon unanimously agreed to demand satisfaction for this infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, which established the Protestant religion in places where it was professed; and the courts of Great Britain, Prussia, the States-General, &c. each of them sent a minister to the Palatine court, to represent the injustice of this proceeding. To whom his Electoral Highness answered, that he allowed his Reformed subjects to enjoy his protection, and was far from disturbing them in their liberty of conscience, but that the 80th question and answer of the Heidelberg catechism, reflecting on the superstition and idolatry of those of his communion, could not be looked upon as a symbol or principle of religion; that it was added to that catechism in 1684, and that the rejection of that question was founded on the constitutions of the Empire, which prohibited all reflections and provocations of this nature; that the taking of the church of the Holy Ghost from the Reformed was of absolute necessity, because those of his communion had not room to celebrate mass in the choir; and that his Electoral Highness was building the Reformed another church more commodious for them; that in these two points he had done nothing contrary to the constitutions of the Empire, or the treaty of Westphalia, which his Electoral Highness would religiously observe; that he should justify himself before the Emperor and Empire, who were the only judges in things of this nature; and that he would order the other grievances of his Reformed subjects to be inquired into, and redressed in such a manner, as they should no longer have any just cause of complaint.

To this the ministers of the Protestant Powers replied, that they could not believe their reiterated representations in the name of their masters had been reported with due weight to his Electoral Highness, or his commissaries would not have treated on so weighty an affair in so trifling a manner: they agreed with them, that the Emperor and Empire are the only judges of the laws they have made; but when foreign Powers are concerned in a treaty, they also claim a right of interpreting them; that they looked upon the prohibition of the Heidelberg catechism, the seizing the church of the Holy Ghost, and several other things which had passed of late years in the Palatinate, as manifest infractions of the treaties they were obliged to maintain.

While the Protestant Princes were soliciting a redress of the grievances of the Reformed, some accidents happened which alarmed them afresh, and occasioned their being still more importunate on that head; the coach of the Dutch Minister standing before the door of the Resident of Hesse, as the Host was carrying by to a sick person, the guards which attended the Host obliged the coachman to come down and kneel; at the same time

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military execution was ordered against the shoemakers, who refused to contribute to the masses of St. CRISPIN, and the Reformed in general were forbid working on popish holidays, even in harvest-time, under great penalties; some ecclesiasticks also were turned out of their churches and possessions, on pretence of their having been built and founded by Roman Catholics, which would have served for a pretence to turn out all the rest.

The Protestants further complained, that in marriages between Protestants and Papists great hardships were put upon them; for though by the Elector's declaration, parents were permitted to educate their children in that religion, which was stipulated by contract before or after marriage, yet the Roman Catholick magistrates pretended, that they were impowered to direct the education of children as they thought fit; the popish priests (who alone seem authorized in the Palatinate to solemnize matrimony, where one of the parties is a Roman Catholick) also scrupled to marry a man of their religion, unless the Protestant bride would declare herself of their communion; and Roman Catholick husbands were severely fined, if they did not educate their daughters in the popish religion, in violation of prior contracts with their wives, sworn before publick notaries, by which they stipulated, that their wives should have the liberty to bring up their daughters in their own religion. That though by the Elector's declaration, where no matrimonial compacts are made, the children are to conform to the head of the family; children are frequently taken by force from their Protestant parents, and bred up in Roman Catholick seminaries: that Protestant burghers have been confined and imprisoned, for having their children baptized by Protestant ministers where the wife was a Papist: that other Protestants have been prosecuted for educating their children in Protestant schools, where the wife was a Papist. That notwithstanding by the Elector's declaration it is provided, that children when they come to years of discretion should have full liberty of conscience to embrace which religion they saw fit, the government never came to a determination, what should be accounted years of discretion; and parents have been treated with great severities, who have suffered their children to declare themselves Protestants at fifteen or sixteen years of age, and troopers have been sent to quarter on them at discretion, for this pretended offence, till the people have been ruined: and although the surviving father or mother are by the said declaration allowed to breed up their children in their own religion, the Protestant widow and minister have both been fined for baptizing a child in the Protestant way, and the woman afterwards obliged to carry her child to a Jesuit to be baptized with popish ceremonies. And lastly, notwithstanding most of the subjects of this country are of the Reformed religion, and endeavour to bring up their children in the liberal arts and sciences, as many of them are, in order to render them capable of preferment, and by the edict of Hall, are assured, that they shall not be excluded from preferments on account of their religion; yet the most inconsiderable places are refused them, until they will turn Roman Catholics, or marry wives of that religion, and engage to have their children bred Papists. And here, for the reader's satisfaction, I shall recite the question and answer in the Heidelberg catechism, which occasioned it's

being prohibited by the Elector, as an unmannerly reflection on his Highness, and all others of the Roman communion, viz.

“Quest. 80. What difference is there between the Lord's Supper, and the Mass of the Papists?”

“Ans. The Lord's Supper is a testimony to us, that we have full remission of all our sins, by the only sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which he himself has once fulfilled upon the cross, and that we are incorporated by the Holy Ghost in Jesus Christ, who with his real body is now in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, and requires our worship. But the Mass of the Papists teaches, that neither the living nor the dead obtain remission of their sins by the death of Jesus Christ, unless he be again offered up daily for them by the hands of the priests. It teaches also that Jesus Christ is corporeally under the species of bread and wine, and by consequence ought to be adored. So that the Mass is at the bottom nothing less than blaspheming the only sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and a cursed idolatry.”

The Protestant Powers finding that his Electoral Highness was not to be moved to redress the grievances of his Protestant subjects, by any other means than retaliating on the Papists in their dominions, the like usage their brethren underwent in the Palatinate; the King of Prussia seized on some ecclesiastical estates in his territories, declaring with the Dutch, that they would sequester the revenues of all the Roman Catholics in their dominions, if justice was not done to the Reformed. This proceeding had so good an effect upon the Elector, that he relinquished the body of the church of the Holy Ghost, and restored the catechisms, declaring also that no person should be molested in the streets, for not kneeling when the Host passed by. But then to shew his resentment against the Heidelbergers, who had in a manner extorted these orders from him, he declared his intention of abandoning that city, and removing to Mannheim, with all the courts of justice; and accordingly laid the foundation of a new palace there, which is since finished, and become the place of his usual residence, which has very much impoverished the city of Heidelberg.

The Elector also, it seems, had ordered the bibles in the hands of the reformed to be seized, as well as the catechism, but I don't find them mentioned in the order for restoring the catechisms.

The condition of the rest of the Protestants in Germany, where the Sovereign is of the Romish communion, is much the same with those in the Palatinate; but it is said, the French allow the towns in Alsace, inhabited by Protestants, better terms than any of the Popish Princes of Germany, though they are so severe upon their Hugonots at home.

VII. CHARLES PHILIP, the late Elector, born Electoral Palatine. Octob. 24, 1661. He was at first an ecclesiastick; but afterwards took to the sword, and was made general velt-marshal of the empire, and governor of Tyrol, and succeeded his brother JOHN WILLIAM in the electorate, in 1716. He has been twice married; first to CHARLOTTE, widow of LEWIS margrave of Brandenburg, and daughter to BOGISLAUS of Radzevil, a Polish Prince. She died in 1695. Secondly, to THERESA, daughter to LUBOMIRSKY, another Polish nobleman. She died in 1712. By his first wife he has had four children, three of which died

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died in nonage; and the fourth, to the unexpressible grief of the Elector, her father, died in 1728. having been married to the hereditary Prince of Sultzbach, who died in 1729. By his second wife he has had two children, but both died in the cradle.

The Elector Palatine formerly enjoyed the office of great master of the empire, and the fifth place in the bank of Electors; but they were deprived of those dignities, which were given to the house of Bavaria in 1623. when the Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, was by the Emperor stript both of his crown and patrimonial estates. By the treaty of Westphalia, his son CHARLES LEWIS was restored to his estates, and the electoral dignity, and the office of great treasurer of the empire was erected in his favour. Things continued in this situation till the year 1708. when the Elector of Bavaria, having been put to the ban of the empire, the office of great master was given to the Elector Palatine; who, in exchange, yielded that of great treasurer to the new Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, or Hanover: but in 1714, the Elector of Bavaria, having reconciled himself to the Emperor by the treaty of Baden, the Elector Palatine was obliged to restore to him the title of great master. This is the ground of dispute that subsists between the two electoral houses of Palatine and Hanover, for the titular office of great treasurer of Germany.

The Elector Palatine is director of three circles; of the Lower Rhine, jointly with the Elector of Mentz; of the Upper Rhine, as Prince of Simmeren, with the bishop of Worms; and of Westphalia, as Duke of Juliers, alternately with the King of Prussia, who is Duke of Cleves.

In the diets of the empire this Elector has five votes; one in the assembly of Electors, and four in those of the Princes.

The revenues of this Prince arise chiefly from the toll on the vessels that pass up and down the Danube and the Rhine; from imposts on wine, corn, &c. The countries of Juliers and Berg yield above a third; the Palatinate about one other third, and his ancient patrimonial estate of Newburg, about a fourth part of the Elector's revenue: the whole has been esteemed at about three hundred thousand pounds a year.

In time of peace, the Elector has, of standing forces, about six or seven thousand men; but during the last long war with France, he had twelve thousand regular troops on foot; which, however, could not hinder the country from being laid waste, the fortresses demolished, &c. In the duchy of Juliers there are two fortified places, viz. Juliers and Duren, and in that of Berg, Dusseldorp; and some years since, the Elector has put the fortifications of Manheim in a very good condition.

Manheim. Manheim, the present residence of the Elector Palatine, is situated in 49 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, and eight degrees 20 minutes east longitude, between the Rhine and the Necker, in a marshy country.

It is strongly fortified, and has three fine gates, of which that of the Necker is the most magnificent, and the best adorned; in which one sees beautiful basso-relievo's, after a plan very happily executed. This gate opens towards a long and spacious street, at the end of which stands the Elector's palace, one of the largest and most substantial buildings in Europe. The situ-

ation of this palace is indeed very fine, at the end of the city, and of a very noble large street, which, like all the rest, runs in a strait line. The palace, which has a great square before it, consists of a large number of lodging rooms, with a great high pavilion in the middle, and two advanced wings, with ample pavilions at the ends; where two other very extensive wings rise on both sides, that are likewise terminated by pavilions, behind which there are other lodging rooms. The inside of the palace is formed by two great courts, which are separated by an open gallery or terrace. The apartments are adorned with fine noble floors and ceilings, and have the finest prospect in the world to Spire, Frankendahl, Worms, and all the country in general, as far as the mountains of Alsace, which consists wholly in towns and villages. All this fine fruitful country is watered by the Rhine, which passes behind the palace of Manheim, and washes its fortifications. Upon this beautiful canal are the gardens of the palace, for which there are intended two curtains and a bastion. The whole town is laid out in a most regular and charming manner; and it is, without dispute, one of the prettiest towns in Europe. It is pity the houses are not higher: the reason they alledge for it is, that Manheim is a fortified town, and that by consequence the houses ought to be low. I know not what authority there is for this, since Straßbourg, Metz, Luxembourg, and Lisle, are places of much more importance than Manheim, and yet the houses are as high there as they are in other towns.

This Prince's titles are, By the grace of God, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, great treasurer and Elector of the holy Roman empire, Duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves, &c.

The remaining part of the circle of the Lower Rhine consists of the three spiritual electorates, or archbishopricks of Mentz, Triers and Cologne. These Electors have the precedence of the other six secular Electors; and of these the Elector of Mentz, Dean of the electoral college, is the chief; who by virtue of his office, appoints the time and place for a new election, on a vacancy of the Imperial throne. He is also Arch-chancellor of Germany, Guardian of the archives and matriculation, Visiter of the aulick council at Vienna, and of the chamber, or sovereign court of Spire, to whom all foreign Princes and States address themselves, who have any propositions to make to the Empire; and to him the Princes and States apply for a redress of their grievances. He is elected to the archbishoprick by twenty-four capitulary Canons of the church of Mentz, of noble extraction.

The archbishoprick of Mentz lies on the banks of the river Maine, being bounded by Veteravia, or the Weterau, on the north; by Franconia on the east; by the Palatinate on the south; and by the electorate of Triers on the west; extending in length about fifty miles from the north-west to the south-east, and about twenty in breadth; besides which tract of land, there are other territories belonging to this archbishoprick in Hesse, Thuringia, the counties of Waldeck and Veteravia, in the Palatinate, &c. The chief towns belonging to the archbishoprick of Mentz are, 1. Mentz, or Mayence, the *Moguntiacum* of the Latins, situate near the confluence of the Rhine and Maine, twenty miles west of Francfort on the Maine, fifty miles north of Spire, and twenty-

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Rhine.

The three  
spiritual e-  
lectorates.

Mentz  
archbi-  
shoprick  
and electo-  
rate.  
Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

Mentz  
city.



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Rhine.

ty-five north of Worms, a very ancient city; but those who make it to be built thirteen hundred years before our Saviour, seem to have but a slender authority for their opinion: others, who look upon DRUSUS as the founder, are thought to have much more probability of their side, it being very certain that he built several fortresses on the Rhine; and a better situation could not well have been pitched upon than this, where the Maine falls into the Rhine; and here are still the ruins of a trophy erected to the memory of DRUSUS. It is a fortified town, of no great strength, but large and populous, and the publick buildings, as their churches, monasteries, and palace of the Elector, make a good appearance; the streets are generally narrow, and the private houses mean. In the cathedral are several magnificent tombs of the Electors; and the habits and ornaments in which the Elector says mass, are admired for their richness. The canopy, under which they carry the host at publick processions, is in a manner covered with pearl. Protestants are permitted to live and trade in this city, but are not allowed the publick profession of their religion. It was an Imperial city, till ADOLPHUS of Nassau, Archbishop of the place, deprived them of their privileges, about the year 1462, and his successors have ever since been absolute masters of it, as they are of the whole archbishoprick; the temporal as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction being vested in them. Their university, founded by CHARLEMAIN about the year 800, is not in any great reputation at present. It is pretended that gun-powder was first invented here by BARTHOLDUS SCHWARTZ, a Franciscan Friar, but it has been shewn already that Friar BACON of Oxford was long before acquainted with it. They also claim the invention of printing, which I shall enquire farther into when I come to Holland, where it is also said to be first invented. 2. Bingen, pleasantly situated on the Rhine and Nahe, which here unite their streams, sixteen miles to the westward of Mentz, mentioned by TACITUS as a Roman fortress, since an Imperial city, but now subject to the Dean and Chapter of Mentz. Travellers who visit this place are full of a story of an Archbishop of this diocese, eaten up by rats, in a tower he built to defend himself against them in an island of the Rhine over-against Bingen, which they look upon as a judgment upon him for his covetousness and cruelty to the poor: but it seems to me to have too much the air of a fable to be recited at length.

Bingen.

The Elec-  
tor of  
Mentz.

1. The Elector of Mentz, PHILIP CHARLES D'ELTZ, born the 14th of October, 1665. canon of Mentz and Treves in 1677. provost of the church of Moxstadt in 1710. chosen Elector and archbishop of Mentz in 1732.

The present Elector is son of the late JAMES D'ELTZ, major in the Emperor's service, and counsellor of state to the Elector of Treves.

As the Electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologn are ecclesiasticks, they never marry.

The brothers and sisters of the Elector of Mentz are, 1. CHARLES, chamberlain to the Elector his brother; 2. DAMIAN, canon of Treves; 3. PHILIP, knight of the Teutonic order; 4, 5, 6. JOHN, ANNE, and MARY.

He is the second person in the empire next to the Emperor, as he is high chancellor. He is moreover president of the electoral college, visitor of the aulic council, of the chamber of Spies, and all the other courts of the empire, and guardian

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of the archives and matricula. He crowns the Emperor. All foreign princes and states direct to him what propositions they make to the empire; and to him the princes and states of Germany make their complaints, in order to the redress of grievances. He is director of the posts of the empire.

A considerable part of this Elector's revenues arises from the toll on the rivers Rhine and Maine, as also from the tax on the excellent wines which his country produces. The Jews, who are rich here, pay an extraordinary tax. These, with other things, bring in a sum of about 100,000 l. per annum to the Prince.

The Elector of Mentz in time of war has had in arms 8000 foot and 800 horse. He is able at all times to maintain 5 or 6000 men.

He resides at Mentz, an ancient and trading town: 'twas very much embellished by the last Elector but one, and its fortifications put into so good a condition, that it may now be reckoned one of the strongest bulwarks of the empire.

His titles are, PHILIP CHARLES, by the grace of God, Archbishop of the holy see of Mentz, great chancellor in Germany, and Elector of the holy Roman empire.

There are many protestants in this Roman catholic electorate: at Mentz they are allowed to live, but have not the free exercise of their religion. Both the city of Erfurt and the university are mostly protestants.

In the Rhingau, a narrow tract of land, extending about twenty miles in length, along the banks of the Rhine, are a great many fine towns; as, 3. Elfeld, a town of some strength on the north side of the Rhine, fifteen miles west of Mentz. 4. Erbach, remarkable for its magnificent monastery, where are the tombs of the old Counts of Nassau, and some of the Archbishops of Mentz. 5. Rodesheim, famous for the growth of the best vines; and indeed the whole country of Rhingau abounds in the choicest vines, and seems but one intire city, interspersed with gardens and vineyards within its walls.

Rhingau  
country.

Elfeld.

Erbach.

Rode-  
sheim.

The county of Eichfeld, or Eschfeld, surrounded by the territories of Hesse, Thuringia, and the duchy of Brunswick, belongs also to the Elector of Mentz; wherein are the towns of, 6. Heiligenstat, anciently the seat of King DA- GOBERT, but remarkable for little at present but a college of the Jesuits. 7. Trefurt, situate on the Weser, in a pleasant fruitful country. 8. Duberstat. 9. Wormbys. 10. Fritzlar, a strong fortress in the landgravate of Hesse.

Eichfeld  
county.

Heiligen-  
stat.

Trefurt.

Duberstat,  
&c.

11. Ommenburg, or Amelburg, situate on the river Ohm, near Marburg in Hesse. 12. Aschaffenburg, situate on the Maine, where it is joined by the river Aschaff, forty miles east of Mentz, esteemed the strongest fortress in the Elector's dominions; here the Elector has a palace, where he frequently resides. 13. Hochst, situate on the Maine, having the privilege of taking toll of the vessels which pass up and down that river, for the use of the Elector. 14. Konigstein, a little fortified town, which gives title to a county, nineteen miles north-east of Mentz. 15. Reinech in Franconia; Steinheim, Epstein, and some other places in the same circle; Erford in Thuringia; the Bergrafs in the Lower Palatinate; the county of Lohr on the banks of the Maine; the city of Urb in Spessart, considerable for its salt-springs, and several other towns and places of less note belong

Hochst.

Konig-  
stein.

Reinech.

Erford.



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Rhine.

to the Electorate of Mentz. The present Elector, **LOTHARIUS-FRANCIS**, Archbishop of the holy See of Mentz, and Bishop of Bamberg, is of the house of Schonborn, born the fourth of October, 1665, and succeeded **ANSELM-FRANCIS** of Ingelheim, anno 1695. His revenues are computed to amount to an hundred thousand pounds per annum.

Triers e-  
lectorate.

The soil.

Triers ci-  
ty.

The electorate of Triers is bounded by the diocese of Cologne and the duchy of Burg towards the north; by Veteravia on the east; by Lorrain, the Palatinate, and part of Hesse towards the south; and by the Austrian Netherlands on the west, extending in length from the south-east to the north-west above fourscore miles, but of a very unequal breadth, being in some places fifty, and in others not five and twenty miles over. The face of the country, and the nature of the soil, is very different in one part from what it is in another. The south and western parts of the country are mountainous and barren, incumbered with woods and forests, the air cold, and but few towns or people to be met with, or indeed any thing but wild beasts, deer, and other game, which usually abound in such desert places. On the contrary, near the Rhine and the Moselle the country is exceeding pleasant, abounds in corn and wine, and is crowded with people. The chief towns in this electorate are, 1. Triers, or Treves, the capital city, the *Augusta Trevirorum* of the Latins, pleasantly situated on the river Moselle, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, fifty minutes, six degrees to the eastward of London, sixty miles to the southward of Cologne, and about the same distance to the westward of Mentz. The city is of a square figure, but neither large or populous, having but four collegiate and five parish-churches, two great abbeys, and some other religious houses, with an university, which, till the late wars, was esteemed equal to most in Germany. It is encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, but not sufficient to sustain a siege. The French and the allies were alternately masters of it in the late war, as they happened to be masters of the field on this side. In the years 1704 and 1705, the allies threw up lines for the defence of the place, and erected vast magazines here, designing to have carried on the war against France through this country, where there are not so many fortified towns as in Flanders, and would probably have soon brought the war to an end, if they had kept steady to this resolution; but old **LEWIS XIV.**, apprized of the consequence of being attacked from hence, made his utmost efforts, and brought a prodigious force into the Low Countries, while the Duke of Marlborough and the grand army of the Allies were upon the Moselle, which put the Dutch into such a panick fear, that they compelled the Duke to return on a sudden to defend their frontiers, who leaving his magazines behind him, and General **D'AUBACH** with seven or eight thousand men, to defend the lines before Triers, the next intelligence he received was, that the body of troops left at Triers had abandoned the place, on the approach of the French, destroyed his magazines, and left the country to the mercy of the enemy, whereupon the French immediately took possession of Triers again; which put an end to all the schemes that had been laid for attacking France on the side of the Moselle, where their frontiers are weakest; and the Confederates carried back the war again into Flanders, where they yearly threw away thousands of brave fellows against stone-walls

to very little purpose; and the campaign of 1705 concluded with little action. This city having been frequently plundered and pillaged by the French in the late war, occasioned the removal of the principal inhabitants, and consequently a great decay of their trade. The private houses also were lately in a ruinous condition. The churches, monasteries, and the Elector's palace are esteemed magnificent buildings, though these have not altogether escaped the fury of the war. As Triers is one of the most ancient, so it was in the time of the Romans one of the most considerable cities in Europe; for here several of the Roman Emperors kept their courts, inasmuch that it acquired the name of *Roma altera*, and in the ruins of the old city are still daily found Roman coins, medals, and other antiquities; it was afterwards an Imperial city, till reduced by their Archbishop, who was formerly Metropolitan of Mentz, Cologne, Liege, Utrecht, Straßburg, Worms, and Spire; but Pope **ZACHARY** exempting these cities from his jurisdiction, he is now the least Metropolitan in Germany, having no other suffragans than the Bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which are under the dominion of the French. He is however the second Elector in the Empire, and Arch-chancellor of the Empire in France. He gives the first voice in all elections and general assemblies, and his seat is in the middle of the hall, over-against the Emperor. As the Elector of Mentz always takes the votes of the rest of the Electors, he has the privilege of voting last, of which those prelates have frequently made great advantages. 2. The second city in the electorate of Triers is Coblenz, or *Confluentia*, in a wonderful pleasant situation, at the conflux of the Rhine and the Moselle, and surrounded with vineyards, being fifty miles north-east of Triers, and about forty south-east of Cologne, of a triangular form, two of its sides being washed by the said rivers, and the third inclosed with a wall and fortifications after the modern way. The convenience of its situation has rendered it a town of good trade, especially in corn, wine, wood, and iron. The houses are well-built, and the streets uniform. The publick buildings of any note mentioned by travellers, are two great churches, some monasteries, and the palace of the Elector, who sometimes resides here. There is also a stone-bridge over the Moselle, and a bridge of boats over the Rhine at this place; and on the opposite side of the Rhine a castle on a hill, which commands the town and the passage of both rivers, and at the bottom of the same hill stands the Elector's palace, the front whereof and two large wings look towards the river: this, in the time of the Romans, it is supposed, was the station of the first legion. 3. Meyn, situate on the river Nette, fifteen miles west of Coblenz, a walled town with a castle, and gives name to a large territory about it, in which stands the little town of Munster-Meynfeld, so called to distinguish it from Munster in Westphalia. 4. Cochem, a fortified town on the Moselle, three miles north-east of Triers. 5. Saffich, the capital of a county of the same name, about a league distant from the Rhine. 6. Boppard, a town and castle situate on the Rhine, ten miles to the southward of Coblenz, formerly Imperial, but granted by the Emperor **HENRY VII** to **BALDWIN**, Archbishop of Triers, held to be one of the forts anciently erected by **DRUSUS** on the Rhine. Here the vessels which pass this river pay a toll to the Elector. 8. Engers, a handsome town upon the Rhine, seven miles north of Coblenz,

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Rhine.

Coblenz.

Meyn.

Cochem.

Saffich.

Boppard.

Engers.



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Lower  
Rhine.  
Berncastle.  
Cell.

St. Ven-  
del.  
Sarburg.  
Limburg.

Montroy-  
al.

State of  
the Ger-  
man fron-  
tiers to-  
wards  
France.

lentz, and gives name to the territory of Engers-  
faw. 9. Berncastle, a town of good trade, where  
they make great quantity of wine, pleasantly si-  
tuated on the Moselle. 10. Oberwefel, a fortified  
town, situate on the west side of the Rhine, twenty  
miles west of Coblentz. 11. Cell, or Zell, situate  
on the Moselle, thirty miles north-east of Triers, a  
town that has a good trade in wines, the product  
of the neighbouring country. 12. St. Vendel, a  
little fortified town on the confines of the Palati-  
nate. 13. Sarburg, a small fortress on the river  
Sar, eight miles south of Triers. 14. Limburg,  
situate on the Lohn, the territories whereof, great  
part of them, belong to the Langrave of Hesse.  
15. Montroyal, situate on a peninsula made by  
the Rhine, twenty miles north-east of Triers, es-  
teemed a strong place, but taken by the French  
in the war between the Confederates and France,  
and restored to the Elector again by the peace of Ryf-  
wick. Other towns of any note mentioned by geo-  
graphers, are Ulmen, eight miles north-west of Co-  
chem, St. Maximin, Phaltz, Wittlich, and Prum.

The revenues of the Elector of Triers, in time  
of peace, when his country is not liable to the  
depredations of an enemy, as it was for many years  
together before the last peace, are computed to a-  
mount to near an hundred thousand pounds per  
annum. This Elector, and other German Princes  
who lie upon the frontiers of France, and have  
neither strong towns, or forces sufficient to resist that  
formidable power, are under very dismal circum-  
stances, whenever a rupture happens between the  
Empire and that kingdom, their territories are  
sure to be made a scene of blood and rapine. It  
seems strange therefore, that these Princes have  
not already yielded up their countries to the French,  
who can better protect them, rather than remain  
subject to the Empire, whose armies are always  
so slow in their motions, and so ill provided, that  
the frontier provinces are sure to be destroyed be-  
fore their forces enter upon action, or attempt to  
oppose the enemy. But then it is to be considered  
on the other hand, that the Elector of Triers,  
and the other Electors on the frontiers, while they  
remain a part of the Empire, are Sovereign Princes,  
and have the privilege of electing the Emperor;  
besides many other great advantages, which would  
be entirely lost, if they should come under the do-  
minion of France. That crown would use them as  
she does her own nobility, and they would in a little  
time have nothing that they could call their own,  
which is the worst that can befall them, let the  
event of the war be what it will; whatever they  
may suffer during the fury of war, they have found  
by long experience is usually restored to them by a  
subsequent peace; and as the Empire is now more  
powerful than it has been for some ages past, by  
the acquisition of such large territories on the side  
of Turkey, by the addition of the Austrian Ne-  
therlands, the Milaneze, Naples and Sicily, possi-  
bly they may for the future be better secured from  
the insults of the French than they have been.  
But to return to Triers: The present Elector is  
FRANCIS-LEWIS, brother to the Elector Pala-  
tine, born the 24th of July, 1664, and elected  
into this See, anno 1716: His title is FRAN-  
CIS-LEWIS, by the grace of God Archbishop of  
Triers, Archchancellor of the Empire in France,  
(for France the reader will observe was once part  
of the Empire) Prince and Elector of the Holy  
Roman Empire, Count Palatine of the Rhine,  
Great Master of the Teutonic Order, Bishop of  
Breslaw and Worms, Administrator of the abbacy

The pre-  
sent Elec-  
tor of  
Triers, his  
title.

of Praym, Judge of the Imperial chamber of  
Wetzlar, or rather Spire, &c. The chapter of  
Triers consists of sixteen capitular Canons, who  
have the election of their Archbishop, and of  
twenty-four Domiciled; and none are admitted in-  
to the chapter, who cannot prove their nobility  
for four descents, both by father and mother.

II. FRANCIS GEORGE, count of Schoen-  
born-Puckheim, born the 4th of June 1682. ca-  
non of Cologne, Munster, and Treves, provost  
of the church of St. MAURICE in Augsburg, and  
provost of the cathedral church of Treves, was  
chosen Archbishop and Elector of Treves in 1729  
(upon the resignation of the late Elector of Mentz):  
he was also elected provost of the church of El-  
wangen, and bishop of Worms, in 1732.

This Elector is son to M. FREDERICK count  
of Schoenborn-Puckheim, counsellor of state to  
the Emperor and the Elector of Mentz; he died  
in 1717.

The electorate of Treves is comprized in the  
circle of the Lower Rhine; having the countries  
of Luxemburg on the west; Juliers and Cologne  
on the north; Lorrain and the Palatinate on the  
south; and the principality of Nassau on the east.  
It is, one part with another, about 70 miles in  
length, and 30 in breadth. On the south and  
west it is somewhat barren, woody, and hilly, a-  
bounding however with all sorts of venison; but  
on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle there grows  
good corn; also some wine, which is sharp, and  
not very rich.

The toll on the Moselle and Rhine, his own  
domain, which is considerable, and the taxes  
which he imposes upon his subjects, bring him  
in a revenue of near 70,000 l. per annum.

Tho' the city of Treves is a very ancient and  
noble city, yet the Elector has his ordinary resi-  
dence at Wittlich, in the castle of Ottenstein.  
Sometimes he resides at the castle of Hermanstein  
on the Rhine, over-against Coblentz, on account  
of it's noble prospects.

His titles are FRANCIS GEORGE, by the grace  
of God, Archbishop of Treves, great chancellor  
in Gaul, Elector of the holy Roman empire, bi-  
shop of Worms, &c. and count of Schoenborn.

As Archbishop, he has a cross, &c. On each  
side of the electoral hat appears the crozier, and  
the sword, to represent the spiritual and temporal  
power of the Prince.

The subjects of this electorate are Roman ca-  
tholicks.

The Archbishoprick and electorate of Cologne, Archbi-  
shoprick and elec-  
torate of  
Cologne.  
the ancient seat of the Ubii, lies on the western  
side of the Rhine, being bounded by the duchy  
of Cleves on the north; by the duchy of Berg,  
from which it is separated by the Rhine, on the  
east; by the electorate of Triers on the south;  
and by the duchy of Juliers and the Netherlands  
on the west; extending about forty miles in length,  
but not above seven or eight in breadth, a plea-  
sant fruitful country, bounding in corn and wine,  
and all other necessaries of life. The Archbishop  
also has several other large territories in West-  
phalia, and other parts of the Empire appropriated  
to his See, being esteemed more rich and powerful  
than either of the other two spiritual Electors,  
though he yields them the precedence. In the  
diocese of Cologne, strictly so called, the chief  
towns are, 1. Cologne, or Colen, the capital of  
the electorate, the Colonia Agrippina of the Ro-  
mans, taking it's name from AGRIPPINA, daugh-  
ter of GERMANICUS, wife of CLAUDIUS, and  
mother



mother of NERO, who was born here. It was the metropolis of *Germania Secunda*, and seems to have obtained the name of *Colonia*, by way of eminence, as being the most considerable Roman colony in these parts. This town is built in form of a crescent, and pleasantly situated in a plain near the western bank of the Rhine, in the latitude of fifty degrees, fifty five minutes, six degrees and a half to the eastward of London, forty miles north-west of Coblenz, and twenty south-east of Dusseldorp. The fortifications are so inconsiderable, that whoever is master of the field may be master of the place without a formal siege. The city itself is one of the largest, most beautiful and populous in the Empire; and yet the walls enclose large spaces of ground, which are not built upon; and particularly three hundred acres planted with vines. Here it was King CHARLES II of England spent the two last years of his exile. Some travellers number four and twenty gates in the walls, thirteen to the landward, and eleven on the Rhine. The streets are large and well paved in the middle of the town; and there are two spacious market-places. Among the publick buildings there are eleven collegiate churches, nineteen parish-churches, besides the cathedral, thirty chapels, twelve monasteries, twenty-two nunneries, and four large hospitals; besides which, the Lutherans have a church allowed them. The cathedral, dedicated to St. PETER, is a magnificent structure, wherein they shew three tombs, and as many skulls richly enshrined, which, according to the tradition of the place, belonged to the three wise men, who came from the east to worship our Saviour, from hence called the three Kings of Colen; and the superstitious pretend the very touch of them has cured many diseases. They were, as the story goes, first brought to Constantinople by HELEN, the mother of CONSTANTINE the Great, from thence removed to Milan; and upon the taking of that city by the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, in the year 1164, removed again to Colen by REYNOLD, Archbishop of this See. In the church of St. GERON they also expose to view the heads of a thousand saints, who are said to have suffered martyrdom under the Emperor MAXIMIN, adored by the common people as most sacred reliques. In the church of St. URSULA also is shewn the tomb of that saint, and some of her associates, who, if their records may be credited, came over from the island of Britain with eleven thousand virgins, her companions, to convert the infidels of this country, and all suffered martyrdom by the Huns. Upon many of these tombs are old crosses and lamps, but upon that of St. URSULA there is an inscription, importing, that it was discovered by St. COLUMBA, a native of North Britain. From the multitude of reliques of saints and martyrs, churches and religious houses in this city, it has obtained, for several years past, the name of *The Holy City*; and notwithstanding it is a great town of trade, we meet almost as many ecclesiasticks as laymen in the streets. The rich endowments of their cathedral and collegiate churches induces many Noblemen, and even Princes of the Empire, to become Prebends and Canons here, who have generally magnificent houses, or rather palaces, with large vineyards and gardens contiguous to them.

The Elector also has two palaces in the city, but resides generally at Bon. It is contrary to the constitution of their government to suffer him to reside long here: this people being apprehen-

sive his presence might endanger their liberties. For the same reason some other free cities of the Empire look upon it as a breach of their privileges, whenever their Dioecesan comes to reside amongst them for any time, and make loud complaints on this head. The convent of the Carmelites is a noble commodious building, where was held a congress of Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries from most of the Powers of Europe to treat of peace, in the year 1673. Those from Britain being Sir LEOLINE JENKINS and Sir JOSEPH WILLIAMSON; and from France the Prince of Furstemburg, who set all Europe in a flame, and was one occasion of the ensuing war. He was it seems originally a Count of the Empire, but afterwards educated in a French monastery, of which he became Abbot. His zeal for the Grand Monarch LEWIS XIV, induced him afterwards to lay aside his religious habit, and accept of a post in the army, where he gained the esteem of the French King to that degree, that he made him his Plenipotentiary in this important negotiation at Cologne, where he had the address to defeat all the measures of the Confederate Princes for the obtaining peace on the terms they proposed; which so exasperated the Emperor, whose subject he was born, that he caused him to be seized in the streets of Cologne, and hurried to Vienna, where he was made a close prisoner; and it was expected he would have been executed as a traitor to his country; but this was thought too dangerous a step by the Imperial court, lest the French King should take a severer revenge on the Princes of the Empire who lay most exposed. This accident however broke off the treaty for the present; and Furstemburg remained a prisoner till the peace of Nimeguen, when LEWIS XIV advanced him to the bishoprick of Strasburg, and afterwards procured him a Cardinal's cap. And it may be observed of that Prince in general, that those who served him zealously never failed of his protection and a suitable reward; which may be one reason his ministers and officers were so entirely devoted to his service, during the whole course of his long reign, that we have scarce an instance of his councils being betrayed, or a town surrendered while there was a possibility of defending it: while his enemies suffered more from the treachery of their Ministers and Generals, than from all the forces of this Grand Monarch. But to return to Cologne, which still remains a free Imperial city, under some limitations, settled by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. on a dispute between the Archbishop and the Burghers, it was decreed, that the magistracy of the city should have the determination of all civil causes; but in criminal, none should be executed or pardoned but with the Archbishop's concurrence.

The government of the city consists of six Burgomasters, seven Aldermen, and an hundred and fifty Common-council men, who all continue for life, only two of the Burgomasters are Regents annually by turns; the Aldermen are appointed by the Archbishop, and the Common-council men elected by the trading companies of the city, fifty of the Common-council only acting in one year, taking it by turns; if a Burgomaster dies, the Common-council elect another. The inhabitants of Cologne are for the most part Roman Catholics, but many of the principal merchants and tradesmen are Protestants, of whom the Lutherans have a church in the city, as has been intimated already, but the Calvinists are obliged to go as far



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Bonn.

Ander-  
nach.

Broel.

Lintz.

Nuys.

Zous.

Rhinberg.

Meurs.

as Mulheim, two miles on the other side of the Rhine, to their publick worship. This city was anciently one of the principal Hans-Towns, and capital of their fourth province. This is what I could meet with most material concerning the city of Cologne; there is an idle story indeed mentioned by most writers, of a Lady's being buried with a ring of value on her finger, in a church at Cologne, who upon the sexton's coming to steal it, revived at the opening of the coffin, frightened the fellow, and went home to her house, where she lived seven years after; but it is related with so many other foolish and incredible circumstances, that it will not bear a recital at large.

2. The second city in the Archbishoprick of Cologne is Bonn, a small but strong town, pleasantly situated on the Rhine, ten miles to the southward of Cologne, supposed to be the *Castra Bonensia*, where the Roman forces sometimes had their winter quarters, near which place JULIUS CÆSAR built a bridge cross the Rhine. Here the Elector has a palace suitable to his dignity, where he usually resides. It stands at the end of that long ridge of mountains which shuts in both sides of the Rhine from hence as far as Bingen. The vineyards in the neighbourhood afford plenty of good Rhenish wine, and the forests variety of game. It is supposed from its happy situation, to have obtained the Latin name of *Bona*, and was an Imperial city, but is at present under the dominion of the Elector. The town was taken and retaken several times during the late wars, but the confederates remained in possession of this and the whole archbishoprick at the end of the war; the late Elector and his brother of Bavaria being forced to take refuge in France, (with which kingdom they sided) till their dominions were restored to them by the peace of Rastat. Besides the Elector's palace, the gardens and water-works whereof are much admired as well as the building, the stadthouse is said to be a magnificent structure, and adorned with the finest paintings. In the collegiate church they shew some ancient tombs, where, according to tradition, PIUS-CASSIUS, FLORENTIUS, MALUSIUS, and several others of the Theban legion were buried, who suffered martyrdom under the Emperor MAXIMUS. 3. Andernach, eight miles to the northward of Coblenz, at the limits of the two electorates of Trier and Cologne, where the Elector of Cologne has a custom-house. 4. Broel, in the midway between Cologne and Bonn, where the Elector has a hunting seat. 5. Lintz, an ancient city on the east-side of the Rhine, eighteen miles to the northward of Coblenz. 6. Nuys, the *Novesium* of the Latins mentioned by TACITUS, four and twenty miles to the northward of Cologne, seated on the river Erp, where the Romans built a fort to secure the boundaries of their Empire, now a large fortified town, several times taken and retaken in the late wars. 7. Zous, seven miles to the southward of Nuys, situate on the Rhine, in a country which produces plenty of corn, with which they supply the neighbouring cities, who seem to want it pretty much. 8. Rhinberg, situate on a hill near the Rhine, forty miles to the northward of Cologne, and separated from the Elector's other dominions; it is a fortified town, the capital of a county which affords plenty of wine. 9. Meurs, ten miles south of Rhinberg, and thirty north-west of Cologne, a neat little city, which belonged to the Prince of Orange, and claimed by the King of Prussia, as heir to King WILLIAM III. 10.

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Keyserwaert, a small but strong town, on the east side of the Rhine, five miles north of Duffeldorp, and twenty north-west of Cologne, endured a siege of two months in the year 1702, before it surrendered to the Imperialists. 11. Kempen, or Kerpen, a fortified town and castle on the confines of Guelderland and Juliers, situate on the river Erp, thirty-four miles north-west of Cologne. On the east side of the Rhine, between the bishoprick of Munster and county of Marek, lies a narrow tract of land, which is a peculiar subject to the Archbishop of Cologne, containing several large manors and lordships; the chief towns whereof are, 12. Recklinghausen, a fortified town, the capital of a county twenty miles long, and ten broad, wherein there is a nunnery, the Abbess whereof is vested with sovereign power in the town and country about it, and she only makes a perpetual vow of virginity; the other nuns being allowed to marry after a certain term of years. And 13. Dorsten, a strong place, situate on the Lippe. The Elector of Cologne is also Bishop and Prince of the diocese and territory of Hildesheim, being near fifty miles in length, surrounded by the dominions of the Elector of Brunswick, the inhabitants whereof are most of them Lutherans, tho' subject to a Popish Bishop; the chief town whereof is Hildesheim, situate on the river Innerste, fifteen miles south-east of Hanover, and twenty-five south-west of Brunswick, a neat old town, but the buildings are not so considerable, as to deserve a particular description. It is an Imperial city, anciently one of the Hans-Towns, and has still a pretty good trade in corn. 2. Peina, another small city on the river Euse, twelve miles west of Brunswick, the castle whereof is said to be the strongest fortress in the bishoprick. Other places mentioned by Geographers in this territory are the towns of Marienburg, Popenburg, Dassel, Bokenem, Woldenburg, Eltz, Sarstedde, and the abbey of Gonderheim.

The archbishoprick and electorate of Cologne, has been possessed for three generations, by a younger son of the house of Bavaria, as appears by the following account of the late Elector's death, viz. On the twelfth of November 1723, died JOSEPH CLEMENT, brother to the Elector of Bavaria, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was chosen Bishop of Ratibon in the year 1685, which bishoprick he resigned to his nephew CLEMENT-AUGUSTUS of Bavaria anno 1716, (who resigned it also in favour of JOHN THEODORE of Bavaria, his youngest brother.) He was elected Archbishop and Elector of Cologne on the tenth of July 1688, seven days after the death of his cousin MAXIMILIAN of Bavaria, whom he succeeded not only in the electorate, but also in the principality and provostship of Berchtolsghaden. He was chosen Coadjutor to the Bishop of Hildesheim anno 1694, whom he succeeded in that See on the 13th of August 1702, and was elected Bishop of Liege on the 20th of April 1694. This Elector, with his brother of Bavaria, taking the part of France in the late war, was expelled from his electorate and other territories till the peace of Baden, as has been intimated already; and did not receive the investiture of the temporalities of the archbishoprick of Cologne, the bishoprick of Hildesheim, or of the provostship of Berchtolsghaden, until the 12th of April 1717. The present Elector of Cologne, CLEMENT AUGUSTUS, (sent Elector's younger brother to the present Elector of Bavaria, succeeded his uncle JOSEPH CLEMENT in the archbishoprick

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Keyser-  
waert.  
Kempen.

Reckling-  
hausen.

Dorsten.

Hilde-  
heim  
diocese  
and city.

Peina.

Marien-  
burg, &c.

Family of  
the Elec-  
tor of Co-  
logne.

The pre-  
sent Elec-  
tor.



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archbishoprick of Cologne on the 12th of November 1723, having been elected Coadjutor to him on the 9th of May 1722, and is the third son of MAXIMILIAN-EMANUEL-MARY, late Elector of Bavaria, who died on the 26th of February 1725-6. He was born in the month of August 1700, elected Bishop of Munster on the 26th, and Bishop of Paderborn the 27th of March 1719. Notwithstanding he succeeded his uncle JOSEPH CLEMENT in the electorship and archbishoprick of Cologne, he could not prevail with the chapter of Liege to elect him their bishop; these Gentlemen being determined to chuse one of their own number, who should reside amongst them; but he was afterwards chosen Bishop of Hildesheim.

His titles.

The present Elector's titles are, CLEMENT AUGUSTUS by the grace of God Archbishop of Cologne, Arch-chancellor of the Empire in Italy, Prince Elector of the holy Roman Empire; Bishop of Hildesheim, of Munster and Paderborn; Administrator of Berchtolsfaden, Duke of Engern and Westphalia, Duke of the Upper and Lower Bavaria, &c. His great chapter consists of sixty Canons, who are all Princes and Counts; but the Archbishop is elected by the four and twenty Seniors. He crowns the Emperor by virtue of his office, unless the coronation be performed in the diocese of the Elector of Mentz, or in the diocese of the Elector of Triers. The directors of this circle are the Archbishop of Mentz and the Elector Palatine.

Elector of  
Cologne.

III. CLEMENS AUGUSTUS, Prince of Bavaria, born the 5th of August 1700, was bishop of Munster and Paderborn in 1719, coadjutor to the late Archbishop of Cologne, Prince JOSEPH of Bavaria, in 1722, to whom he succeeded the first of November 1723. He was afterwards elected bishop of Hildesheim in 1724; bishop of Osnabrug in 1728, on the death of ERNESTUS, brother to King GEORGE I. of Great Britain; and in 1732, he was made provost of Liege, and great master of the Teutonic order. He is brother to the present Elector of Bavaria.

This Elector crowns the Emperor if the ceremony be performed in his diocese; and, if elsewhere, he and the Elector of Mentz have that honour by turns. His subjects cannot appeal to the tribunals of the empire but for great sums.

His estates are very considerable; they consist of, 1. The Archbishoprick, which extends about 100 miles along the west-side of the Rhine, but in most places it is not above seven or eight miles broad. It belongs to the circle of the Lower Rhine, having Cleves on the north, Bergues on the east, Treves on the south, and Juliers on the west; and is very fruitful in corn and wine, particularly that sort of wine called Blecker and Rheinish.

This Prince is more rich and powerful than either of the other two ecclesiastical Electors; for he generally holds several wealthy bishopricks, whereof that of Liege is one in commendam. The electoral revenue amounts to about 130,000 l. but the other five great benefices, which the present Elector is actually possessed of, augment that sum to betwixt 2 and 300,000 l. a year.

In time of war he has, besides garisons, guards of horse, grenadiers, partizans, and carabineers, three regiments of horse, three of foot, and one of dragoons, consisting of between 1500 and 2000 men each.

His Electoral Highness resides at Bonn, a well-built trading town on the Rhine. The palace is very

grand; it was erected by the late Archbishop, but not quite finished. His seats of pleasure are Beuil and Arensburg. The first lies about eight miles from the capital; it was built by the present Elector, who spends most of his time at it.

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His titles are, CLEMENT AUGUSTUS, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Cologne, great chancellor in Italy, (this office is now quite obsolete) Elector of the holy Roman empire, &c.

The cross is the chief thing that presents in his coat of arms for the archbishoprick; the ensigns armorial, are the mitre with the crozier and sword, &c.

The established religion here is the Roman catholic; but there are protestants in the electorate, particularly in Cologne, where the Lutherans have a church; but the Calvinists are obliged to go two miles out of town to their place of worship.

## WESTPHALIA.

### CHAP. XIX.

*Treats of the city of Westphalia: comprehending the duchy of Westphalia, the bishopricks of Liege, Munster, Paderborn and Osnabrug; the duchies of Juliers, Cleves and Berg; the principality of Minden; the Counties of Marck, Ravensburg, Lippe, Schawenburg, Hoya, Diepholt, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, Embden, Bentheim, Tecklenburg, Pyrmont, Lingen and Steinfort, Corbey Abbey; and the Imperial towns of Aix la Chapelle, Dortmund, &c.*

THE circle of Westphalia is bounded by the German Ocean on the north; by the circle of Lower Saxony on the east; by Hesse on the south; and by the Netherlands towards the west. Extending in length about two hundred miles from north to south, and an hundred and fifty, and in some places two hundred miles from east to west.

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Situation  
and extent.

The air of this country towards the north is very cold, and the soil almost one continued morass or barren sand: but here, however, they feed the best bacon in Europe, with the chestnuts and other fruits which their forests produce. The southern part of this circle has a warmer air, and a much better soil, as will appear in the description of the particular provinces.

The air  
and soil.

The principal rivers are the Weser, the Ems, the Lippe, the Roer, the Aa, and the Hunt. Travellers who visit this country complain much of their coarse bread, bad beer, hard lodging, and long dirty miles, as well as of their way of travelling in post-waggon, as they are called, which move no faster than a snail: but the reader will be better able to judge of the country from a description of the particular provinces.

The name of Westphalia is, by some German writers, derived from *Weissenpholen*, which signifies a white Horse: for Westphalia, as well as the circle of Lower Saxony, going anciently under the general name of Saxony; as the Duke of Lower Saxony, whose territories lay to the eastward of the Weser, carried a black horse in his standard; so the Duke of that part of Saxony, now called Westphalia, which lay to the westward of the Weser, had a *Weissenpholen*, or white Horse, painted on his standard, from whence his territories

terrics



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tories were called *Westphalen*, which was easily changed afterwards into Westphalia. Others affirm, that the country to the eastward of the *Weser* was called *Eastfeld*, or Eastfield; and that to the westward of the river *Westfeld*, or Westfield, which with a Latin termination was easily converted into Westphalia. I must confess, that both of these accounts have so fair a shew of probability, that I cannot tell which to incline to, and therefore leave the reader to his own judgment, and proceed now to a particular description of the provinces of this great circle. And first I shall endeavour to describe Westphalia Proper, or the duchy of Westphalia, because great part of it is subject to the Elector of Cologne, whose other territories were last treated of; for notwithstanding Westphalia is the general name of the whole circle, it is however restrained, and especially applied to this particular province.

Westphalia duchy.  
Situation and extent.

Soil.

Rivers.

Mines.

Arnsburg.

Werle.

Geseck.

Brilon.

Liege bishoprick.

The duchy of Westphalia is bounded by the bishopricks of Munster and Paderborn on the north, by the landgravate of Hesse on the east, by Veteravia on the south, and by the county of Mark and duchy of Berg towards the west: being about fifty miles in length from the south-west to the north-east, and about forty broad. This country is for the most part mountainous and woody, except towards Lipstat, where the soil is tolerably fruitful, nor does there want good corn or pasturage in the valleys among the hills, at least enough to supply the inhabitants, who are not very numerous. Their rivers run from the mountains with an impetuous torrent, the chief whereof is the *Roer*, which falls into the *Rhine* near *Duyfburg*: and though they have mines of silver, copper and lead in many places, they can make but little advantage of them, they are so subject to be flooded by the rivulets which fall from every side of their mountains. This dukedom was taken from *HENRY THE LION*, Duke of Saxony, and conferred on the Archbishops of Cologne by the Emperor *FREDERICK-BARBAROSSA* about the year 1170, by way of punishment, for Duke *HENRY*'s having confederated with the Pope against that Emperor.

The chief towns of this duchy are, 1. *Arnsburg*, a pretty town pleasantly situated on the river *Roer*, about fifty miles north-east of Cologne, adjoining to which is a fine castle, where the Elector frequently resides in the hunting season. It was anciently subject to its own Count, by whom it was sold to the Archbishops of Cologne, with *Hovestart*, *Geseck*, and other towns in the neighbourhood. Near this town stands the fine monastery of *Wedinghausen*. 2. *Werle*, a pleasant town between the *Roer* and the *Lippe*; where the supreme court of justice is held for the duchy of Westphalia, which occasions it sometimes to be called the capital of the duchy. 3. *Geseck*, a fortified town, situate at the bottom of a hill near the banks of the *Lippe*, in a fruitful country, about five and twenty miles north-east of *Arnsburg*; where the head of *St. CYRIACUS*, a Saint of this country, is preserved as a very precious relique. His body also was long kept here in a golden coffin, till the Count de *Oberstein* robbed them of it. And, 4. *Brilon*, near the head of the river *Moens*.

The bishoprick of *Liege*, or *Luyick*, the ancient *Leodium*, or *Legia*, is supposed to derive its name from a little rivulet called *Liege*, which runs thro' this country and falls into the *Maes*. The diocese of *Liege* is bounded by *Flanders* and *Brabant* to-

wards the north and west, by the duchy of *Limburg* on the east, and by *Luxemburg* and part of *France* on the south: being near seventy miles in length from north to south, and five and twenty in breadth from east to west, and in some places twice as broad. It is in general a pleasant fruitful country, having large corn fields, and a great deal of rich meadow and pasture ground. They have also some mines of lead and iron, and quarries of marble; but what it is most particularly remarkable for, is the great quantities of *brimstone* and *vitriol* which are made in this country. The chief towns in the bishoprick are, 1. *Liege*, the capital, *Liege* situate in the latitude of fifty degrees. forty minutes, twelve miles south of *Maestricht*; a large populous city, of a triangular figure. There are several hills and valleys within the walls, and some islands made by the river *Maes*, two branches whereof run through the town. The streets are neither clean nor regular, and most of the private houses built of wood; but there are some however which make a handsom appearance, a clear stream generally runs through the middle of the streets, besides which, many of the best houses have fountains in their courts and gardens. In the city and suburbs are upwards of an hundred churches: the Bishop's palace and the cathedral are magnificent structures, the last built with red stone, and dedicated to *St. LAMBERT*: according to some travellers, no city in Germany or France can equal it in fine churches, convents, and other religious foundations. The country about it also is so extremely agreeable, that it has obtained the name of *The Paradise of Ecclesiastics*. The English Jesuits have a college here, proudly situated on the top of a hill, with a most delightful garden, in which is seen variety of dialling; not far from it is a convent of English Nuns. In the monastery of *St. WILLIAM*, without the walls of the city, lie the remains of that famous English traveller *Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE*, who having taken a view of most of the great cities in the world, preferred *Liege* to any of them; and accordingly spent the latter part of his life here, after he had finished his travels. Near his tomb are placed his saddle, spurs and knife; and the following inscription, viz. *Vos ki passeis for mi pour l'amour Deix proies por mi*; i. e. You who pass over me, for the love of God pray for me. The university of this place was once so considerable, that it is said, there were at one time in it, nine King's sons, four and twenty sons of Dukes, and nine and twenty Counts. *MEIBONIUS* relates, that in the year 1131, there were one and twenty King's sons resident in this university: the rest of the town also was so populous, that the Duke of Burgundy, when he took it by storm, according to *Dr. NICHOLSON*, put an hundred thousand of the inhabitants to the sword. At present the fortifications of the city are but mean, and being commanded by the hills which surround them, are not capable of resisting a royal army; but the citadel, which is situate on a hill, is a place of some strength. The late Elector of Cologne, who was also bishop of *Liege*, delivered it up to the French in the beginning of the last war; but the Duke of *Marlborough* took it in the year 1702. It was again besieged by the French in the year 1705, and upon the point of being taken, when the grand army of the confederates returning suddenly from the *Moselle*, the French thought fit to retire. *Liege* is stiled an Imperial city, under the protection of its Bishop: but this Prelate is really Sovereign

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Mandeville buried at Liege.



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West-  
phalia.

The pre-  
sent Bi-  
shop of  
Liege.

Tongren.

Huy.

Sovereign of the city and diocese; and the citizens for disputing his authority, have more than once suffered very severely; though Mr. RAY affirms, that he can lay no taxes on the people without the consent of the Clergy, Gentry and Commons, whom he calls the three estates. The chapter of Liege consists of sixty major Canons, who are most of them of noble extraction, and have the power of electing their Bishop. There are twelve other Canons, called *Canonici Mediores*, and twelve more *Canonici Minores*, who have no share in this election. The present Prince and Bishop of Liege is GEORGE LEWIS Count de Berghes, elected on the 7th of February N. S. anno 1723-4, who was then sixty five years of age, and lived in a mean house, with only one man servant, and an old maid. He was the last of the family of JOHN III. Duke of Brabant, and had been a Lieutenant-Colonel of horse in his youth. He is the third of this family, who have been advanced to this See, and was preferred before three other powerful candidates, viz. the Elector of Cologne, the Cardinal of Saxzeits, and the Prince of Auvergne Archbishop of Vienna in Dauphiné, by a majority of the Electors, who entered into an engagement to give their votes to one of their own members who would reside amongst them; being morally sure none of the other candidates would. Before this last choice the Electors of Cologne were generally chosen to this See: and it was a fine addition to the power and revenues of that Elector; for the Bishop of Liege is one of the most considerable ecclesiastical Princes in Germany, having, as is computed, within his diocese, or rather principality, fifty-two baronies, eighteen walled towns, and four hundred villages, very well peopled, which yield him an annual revenue of three hundred thousand ducats. The second city in the diocese of Liege is, 2. Tongres, or Tongren, *olim Tungrorum oppidum*, situate on the little river Jecker, ten miles north-west of Liege; a very considerable town in the time of the Romans, when there was a road pitched with stone, reaching from hence to Paris, near two hundred miles in length, some parts of which are still to be seen: there are also still remaining here the ruins of some of their temples and other monuments of antiquity; particularly in the great church they shew an image supposed by some to be the statue of Minerva, but by others the image of Hercules, who was anciently worshipped here by the Pagan inhabitants. It was very early made a Bishop's See, and had an hundred churches in it when destroyed by ATTILA the Hun; but the bishoprick was removed from hence to Maestricht, and afterwards to Liege; and the town has now very little remaining of it's former grandeur. It is generally held that the old castle and the wall on Bishop MATERNUS's chapel were standing before the time of our Saviour. The great church is a handsom Gothick structure, and has a Dean and two and twenty Canons belonging to it. The French took this town by surprize in the year 1703, but abandoned it again in 1705, on the approach of the confederate army, without venturing a siege; from whence it is evident the town is a place of no great strength at present. 3. Huy, or Huy, situate on the east side of the Maes, twelve miles south-west of Liege, and sixteen north-east of Namur. The iron mines in the neighbourhood find employment for most part of the inhabitants. The town and castle are for-

tified after the modern way; but were taken by the French in the year 1693, and retaken by the allies in 1703. It was formerly governed by Counts of it's own, the last of whom transferred it to the Bishops of Liege, who are now Sovereigns of it. 4. Bullion, or Bullion, situate on the river Sarmay, thirty miles south of Dinant, and forty west of Luxemburg; the capital of a small duchy, which gives the title of Duke to the Bishop of Liege; and was formerly the inheritance of the famous GODFREY of Bullion, who sold it to the Bishops of this See, anno 1096, in order to enable him to raise forces to carry on the war against the infidels in the Holy Land: in which expedition he met with such success, that within the space of three years he made himself master of Jerusalem and the greatest part of Palestine; and was thereupon crowned the first Christian King of that city and territory. Historians who have written of these transactions generally relate, that this Prince was so extremely modest he could hardly be prevailed on to accept the regal dignity, alledging that he thought it a presumption to wear a crown of gold, where our Saviour wore a crown of thorns. 5. Dinant, a fortified town, situate thirty-five miles south-west of Liege, and twelve south of the city of Namur. It is an ancient town, and a place of some trade, particularly in the manufactures of brass and iron. 6. Franchemont, fifteen miles from Liege, anciently a large populous city, and still the capital of a marquissate, whereof the Bishop of Liege is Sovereign; but is no more than an open village at this day, and considerable only for the lead-mines near it. 7. The Spaw, or Spa, situate in a bottom inclosed with hills, and to the north with craggy mountains, fourteen miles south-east of Liege, and seven south-west of Limburg; famous for it's mineral waters now, as it was anciently. The account PLINY gave of them was, that they tasted of iron, and were purgative; that they cured tertian agues and the stone, and when boiled grew turbid, and at last of a reddish colour. Modern travellers relate, that there are four mineral fountains much in esteem in and near this place: the first called Geronster, is in the middle of a thick wood two miles south of Spa, being the best kept, and built up with stone, with a pavilion over it supported by four stone pillars, and near it stands a little house for the patients to warm themselves in. This spring hath a strong sulphureous smell, and causes vomiting in some, but works chiefly by urine, as do all the rest. The second spring, called Saviniere, lies as far to the east of the Spaw, whose waters are not so strong as the former. The third is called Tonnelet, and rises in a meadow near the Spaw, which contains more nitre than the rest, but is very cold in the mouth and stomach. The fourth of these fountains, called Pohunt, in the middle of the village, (for the Spaw is but a village) which supplies most of the water that is sent into foreign parts, and is beautified with a fine stone building, over which there is an inscription, importing that these waters remove obstructions, dissolve hard swellings, dry up a superfluity of moisture, and strengthen weakened limbs, if drank according to the advice of the learned. There are vast quantities of these waters sent abroad to all countries in Europe. The season for filling bottles with it is either in the heat of summer when it is very dry, or in the hardest frosts in winter, then the water is observed to be the strongest, brisk and sparkling.

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West-  
phalia.

Bullion.

Dinant.

Franchemont.

Spaw, or Spa.



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West-  
phalia.

Borchloen

St. Tron,  
&c.

Bilsen.

Hasselt.

Mayefick.

Horn,  
&c.

Munster  
bithoprick  
and prin-  
cipality.

Munster  
city.

An infor-  
mation of  
the Ger-  
man Ana-  
baptists.

sparkling. It is observed that they weigh two grains in three ounces more than Tunbridge, and four grains more than the Islington waters, and yet less than the common water by several grains. Other towns of any note mentioned by Geographers in the bishoprick of Liege, are, 1. Borchloen, or Loots, twelve miles north of Liege, which formerly gave title to a Count, and was the capital of the territory of Loots. 2. St. Tron, or Truden, five miles west of Borchloen. 3. Bilsen, taken notice of for a nunnery of Ladies of quality there, who have the liberty of leaving their convent and marrying if they please. 4. Hasselt, where the Bishop has a palace. 5. Mayefick, eighteen miles north of Maestricht, considerable for being a pass over the Maes. 6. Horn, capital of a county of the same name. 7. Couvin. And 8. Verviers.

The bishoprick of Munster lies on both sides the river Ems; being bounded by the counties of Bentheim and Steinfurt on the north; by the bishoprick of Osnabrug and Paderborn towards the east; by the county of Marck on the south; and by the duchy of Cleve, and some part of Zutphen towards the west: extending an hundred miles in length, and in breadth in some places sixty, in others forty, and in others scarce twenty miles. Munster is a barren country, but no part of Westphalia produces better bacon, which they export all over Europe; so much admired, that it bears double the price of any other. The name of Munster is said to be derived from *Monasterium*, there having been a noble monastery erected in the place where the capital city now stands; which was converted into a bishoprick by CHARLES the Great about the year 785. The Bishop of this diocese is a Count of the Empire, and absolute Sovereign of the territories belonging to it: the present Bishop is the Elector of Cologne, brother to the Elector of Bavaria, of whose election to this See an account has been already given in treating of the electorate of Cologne. The chief towns in this bishoprick are, 1. Munster, *Monasterium*, the metropolis of Westphalia, situate on the river Aa, in a pleasant fruitful plain, in the latitude of fifty two degrees, seventy miles to the northward of Cologne, and twenty-five south-west of Osnabrug. The town is generally well built of free stone. The cathedral and Jesuits college are noble structures; besides which, there are four other collegiate churches. The Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church have the election of the Bishop, whose revenue is computed to amount to near an hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. Munster was an Imperial city, and preserved it's liberties till the year 1661, when their Bishop reduced them under his power. The Roman Catholick is the established religion, though the Protestants were very numerous here after the reformation, till some Enthusiasts and bigotted people brought a disgrace on this persuasion by their extravagant behaviour and insurrection against the government. Of which transaction DR. NICHOLSON gives the following account: The first captain of these bigotted zealots, says he, was BERNARD ROTHMAN, a Lutheran Minister, who had the cure of St. MAURICE's church in the suburbs, who by his railing at the superstitious follies and innovations of the church of Rome in the year 1533, rendered himself exceeding popular. To this gentleman JOHN BUCKHOLT a taylor born at Leyden in Holland, associated himself; he had

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been bred an Anabaptist, and thoroughly instructed in their doctrines, being withal naturally bold and ambitious, and a man of bright parts. By a cunning use and improvement of these qualifications he became in time a man of so much credit as to win over ROTHMAN, who before had only maintained LUTHER's tenets, to his opinion, and with him all the Protestants of the place immediately professed themselves Anabaptists. Their faction afterwards increased to such a degree as to alarm the government, and the senate endeavoured in vain to apprehend the ringleaders: their numbers became so formidable that they compelled the magistrates to grant them a toleration. Hereupon JOHN of Leyden's inferior agents began to pretend to divine inspiration; and getting a croud about them in the streets, declared they had an immediate command from heaven to call men to repent, and to be rebaptized; and most part of the city coming over to them, they seized on the town-hall and the magazines, and invited the people of the neighbouring towns and villages to join them: and having thus filled the city with Anabaptists, they deposed the Popish magistrates, and all others who refused to come into their schemes, supplying their places with those of their own faction. Whereupon the Bishop raised a body of forces and laid siege to the city in the year 1534, but was obliged to rise from before it; which so flushed their great leader JOHN of Leyden, that he caused himself to be proclaimed King, and made one of his concubines Queen, tho' upon her disapproving some of his extravagant projects he afterwards cut off her head. The year following, anno 1535, the Bishop being re-inforced by the troops of the Elector of Cologne and the Langrave of Hesse, surprized the city by a stratagem, and took the anabaptist King prisoner, who having been carried in derision to most of the courts of the German Princes, he was the year following torn in pieces with red-hot pincers, and his bones hung in an iron cage on the top of a steeple *in terrorem*.

At Munster also was concluded that treaty in the year 1648, which established the Protestant religion in those parts of the Empire where it was professed, and put an end to a war of thirty years standing, viz. from the year 1618, to that time, between the Protestant Princes of Germany and the Swede on one side, and the Emperor and the Popish Princes of the other, and has been made the basis and foundation of almost every subsequent treaty, especially as to the religion of the Empire. This is sometimes called the treaty of Westphalia, having been negotiated in that circle; and at others the treaty of Osnabrug, because the Protestant Plenipotentiaries held their conferences at Osnabrug, as the Popish Princes did theirs at this city of Munster. The Swedes had been engaged in the German war eighteen years, and had possessed themselves of an hundred strong towns in the Empire; and by this treaty procured the duchies of Bremen and Verden, Western Pomeran, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar to be confirmed to them; and might have had better terms, it is said, if they had not preferred the interest of the Protestant Princes of Germany to their own. 2. Meppen, a fortified town on the frontiers of Friesland, forty three miles north of Munster. 3. Haselunen, another fortress on the Hase, ten miles east of Meppen. 4. Vecht, the capital of a county, situate thirteen miles south-east of Kloppenburg. Other towns mentioned by geographers in this bishoprick are, Kloppenburg, sixteen miles north-

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phalia.

The treaty  
of West-  
phalia  
concluded  
at Mun-  
ster.

Meppen.

Haselun-  
nen.

Kloppen-  
burg.



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West-  
phalia.  
Ahufen.  
Tilligt.  
&c.  
Paderborn  
bifhoprick

north-eaft of Hafelunen, Warenburg on the Ems, Stromberg, Coesfelt, Ahufen, fifteen miles north-west of Meppen, capital of a large barony, Tilligt on the Ems, and Rheyne a small city on the river Ems, eighteen miles north of Munfter.

The next divifion of this circle is the bifhoprick of Paderborn, bounded by the county of Lippe towards the north, by the duchy of Brunfwick on the eaft, by the county of Waldeck on the fouth, and by the duchy of Weftphalia on the weft; being about forty miles in length and twenty in breadth, containing in it twenty caftles, twenty-four market-towns, fifty-four other parifhes, and sixteen monafteries, fubject both in fpirituals and temporals to it's Sovereign, the prefent Elector of Cologne, who was chofen Bifhop of this See anno 1723. This country is remarkable for the variety of falt-fprings and other fountains in it. In the tranfactions of the Royal Society, published in December 1665, there is an account of a fpring in this territory, which lofes itfelf twice in twenty-four hours, returning with a great noife, and fuch force, as to turn three mills not far from it's fource, and is called by the inhabitants *Bolder Born*, or the Boifterous Spring. And in the tranfactions of January following, there is an account of another remarkable fountain in this diocefe called Metborn, which is a treble fpring, two fprings whereof, not a foot and a half diftant from each other, have very different qualities, the one limpid, bluiſh, lukewarm, bubbling, and containing fal-armoniac, ochra, iron, vitriol, alum, fulphur, nitre, and orpiment: the other cold as ice, turbid and whitifh, much ftronger in taſte, and heavier than the other, containing much orpiment, falt, nitre, iron, and ſome fal-armoniac, allum and vitriol; of which water all fowls that drink of it die ſoon after in convulſion-fits, but giving them ſome common falt immediately they die not ſo ſoon, and vinegar will recover them. Thoſe that have been opened after drinking this water, their lungs have been found quite ſhrivelled up, and yet it is a perfect cure for people troubled with worms. The third fpring or ſtream which iſſues from this fountain, and is about twenty paces diftant from the others, is of a greeniſh colour, very clear, and taſtes both ſour and ſweet, pleaſant enough, and from it's weight is ſuppoſed to be a mixture of the other two. This bifhoprick was founded by CHARLES the Great, about the year 777, to which he was incited by a miracle, according to the tradition of the place; for being about to encamp on that ſpot of ground where the city of Paderborn now ſtands, and in ſome diſtreſs for water for his army, on the knocking down the firſt tent-pin of his pavilion, there iſſued, it is ſaid, a plentiful fpring, upon which fountain the Emperor cauſed the cathedral church to be built. But fprings being ſo common in this country, it is obſerved there was little occaſion for the expence of a miracle, tho' it is generally allowed that CHARLES the Great was the founder of this See. This territory being generally barren, they have little to boaſt of beſides their hogs-ſleſh, deer and other veniſon. The

Paderborn  
city.

chief towns of this diocefe are, 1. Paderborn, the capital city, ſo named from the head or fountain of the river Pader, which ſprings in a torrent near the cathedral of this city, and falls into the Lippe near Neinhuf. At this fountain, according to the Magdeburg chronicle, moſt of the inhabitants of Saxony and Weftphalia were baptized about the year 780, by the order of

CHARLES the Great, the natives being Pagans before he conquered this country. The city of Paderborn ſtands on the river Pader, thirty-two miles north-weſt of Caſſel, and fifty-fourth-eaſt of Munſter, a large populous and well-built town, regularly fortified, formerly a free Imperial city, but ſubject to the Biſhop, the prefent Elector of Cologne, at this day, as it has been to the Biſhops his predeceſſors ever ſince the year 1604. The citizens many of them embraced the doctrine of LUTHER at the reformation; but HERMAN, Elector of Cologne, being chofen their Biſhop, executed ſixteen of the principal burghers who had turned Proteſtants, and compelling the reſt to abjure their principles, the Roman catholic religion prevailed, and ſtill remains eſtabliſhed here. 2. Lippeſpring, or Lippeſburg, five miles north of Paderborn, ſo called from the head of the river Lippe, which ariſes here in a large ſtream, fix or eight paces in breadth, turning three or four mills before it leaves the town. Here the Dean and Chapter of Paderborn have a fine caſtle, or rather palace. 3. Warburg ſituate on the Dymel, eighteen miles ſouth-eaſt of Paderborn, in a fruitful country, conſiderable for the iron and lead mines about it, and a ſtrong palatable beer which they brew and vend to their neighbours. 4. Lude, or Ludge, twenty-five miles north-eaſt of Paderborn, (uſually reckoned part of the county of Pymont, but ſubject to the Biſhop of this See;) and twenty-seven miles north-eaſt of Paderborn, remarkable for it's holy well, ſaid to be a remedy for moſt diſtempers, and in the days of ſuperſtition, held to have effected miraculous cures. The remaining towns of any note in this bifhoprick are, Peckleſheim, Boreatrick, Buren, Soltkot, Herfel and Welſburg.

The bifhoprick and principality of Oſnabrug has the county of Diepholt on the north, the counties of Minden and Ravensberg on the eaſt, and Munſter, Steinfort and Bentheim, on the ſouth and weſt, extending about forty miles in length, and thirty in breadth where broadest, eſteemed one of the moſt fruitful parts of Weftphalia, and ſubject to it's Biſhop, who is a Count of the Empire. This was the firſt bifhoprick founded by CHARLES the Great, who dedicated the cathedral to St. PETER, and the two martyrs CRISPIN and CRISPIANUS, and granted extraordinary privileges to this See, exempting them from all manner of ſervice and homage, even to the Emperor himſelf. Lutheraniſm prevailing here at the reformation, it was at length agreed by the treaty concluded anno 1648, (frequently ſtiled the Munſter and Weftphalian treaty; and at others the treaty of Oſnabrug, from the Proteſtant Plenipotentiaries reſiding here,) that this bifhoprick, with the territories and revenues belonging to it, ſhould be enjoyed alternately by a Proteſtant and Papiſt, and that the Proteſtant Biſhop ſhould always be a Prince of the houſe of Brunfwick, in conſideration that the principality of Halberſtat had been taken from this houſe, and conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg. When they have a Popiſh Biſhop he is ſuffragan to the Archbiſhop of Cologne, but the Proteſtant Biſhop is indeed a temporal Prince, and has little to denominate him an eccleſiaſtick but the title. The prefent Biſhop is ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, Duke of York, his Britiſh Maſeſty's Uncle. The chief towns are, 1. The city of Oſnabrug, or Oſenbruck, the capital, ſo named from a bridge over the river Oſe at this place, ſituate in a fine plain, and beautified

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Weſt-  
phalia.

Lippe-  
burg.

Warburg.

Lude.

Oſnabrug  
bifhoprick

Oſnabrug  
city.



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West-  
phalia.

beautified with several noble publick buildings. They are said to have the best bread and beer here which is to be met with in Westphalia, and they have a tolerable trade in bacon and linen. The cathedral is in the hands of the Roman Catholics, with the church and monastery of the Dominicans in the old city, and the collegiate church of St. JOHN in the new, (for the city is divided into the old and new town by the river Ose.) The Protestants are masters of the great parochial church of St. MARY in the old city, and both Protestants and Papists have a voice in the election of their magistrates; but of the five and twenty Canons which belong to the cathedral, eighteen are Papists, and the revenues of four more are enjoyed by the Jesuits for the support of their college; so that there are but three Protestant Canons, who have no voice in the election of the Popish Bishop, that succeeds every other turn, as the Popish Canons have. The Bishop's palace is fortified like a castle. Here it was that his late

Here King  
GEORGE  
was born,  
and died.

British Majesty King GEORGE the First was born on the 28th of May 1660, his father ERNEST-AUGUSTUS being then Bishop and Prince of the place: and here the same King GEORGE died in the night of the tenth of June 1727, and some relate in the very room where he was born. 2. Iburg, situate ten miles south of Osnabrug, in the castle whereof the Bishop formerly resided. 3. Quakenburg, on the river Ose, twenty-five miles to the northward of Osnabrug. Other towns mentioned by geographers are, Vorde, Forstenaw, Mello, &c. Whitlag, and Mello; but these are not thought worth a description.

Iburg.

Quaken-  
burg.

Mello, &c.

The  
duchies of  
Juliens,  
Cleves and  
Berg.

Until the year 1609, the duchies of Juliens, Cleves and Berg were subject to the same Sovereign; but upon the death of JOHN-WILLIAM, the last Duke, without issue male, the Emperor RODOLPH II granted these dukedoms, together with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg, and the Barony of Ravenstein, dependant upon them, to the house of Saxony, with a proviso however for saving the rights of all other claimants. And in the reign of CHARLES V, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Newburg, the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Marquis of Burgow, having all married sisters, or daughters of the sisters of the last Duke WILLIAM, claimed their shares in the said territories; but the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Newburg obtaining the possession of these countries by their arms, the other powers desisted from their pretensions, and it was at length agreed that Juliens and Berg, with the territory of Ravenstein, should be enjoyed by the Duke of Newburg, and that the Elector of Brandenburg should have for his share the duchy of Cleve, with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg; and these Princes still remain possessed of the territories respectively allotted to them, retaining each of them the titles to the whole, as do the posterity of the other pretenders.

The  
duchy of  
Juliens.

The duchy of Juliens is situate between the Maes and the Rhine, and bounded by Guelderland on the north; by the duchy of Berg, and part of the electorate of Cologne towards the east; by Limburg on the south; and the Netherlands on the west; extending sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth, a plentiful country, abounding in corn, cattle, and rich pastures, and plentifully supplied with wood; but what it is most remarkable for is, a fine breed of horses, and woad for dying, which is gathered here in large quantities.

Juliens ci-  
ty.

The chief towns are, 1. Juliens, or Gulick, call-

ed by the Romans *Juliacum*, and said to be so named from JULIUS CÆSAR, its supposed founder, situate on the river Roer, twenty-five miles east of Maestricht, and as many west of Cologne. It is a small fortified town, neatly built with brick, the citadel large and strong, wherein is the palace of the ancient Dukes. 2. Aken, or *Aquis Granum*, usually called Aix la Chapelle, a large Imperial city, fifteen miles south-west of Juliens, and twenty south-east of Maestricht, supposed to have taken its ancient name from SÆRENUS GRANUS, Lieutenant-General of *Gallia Belgica*, in the reign of the Emperor ADRIAN, who having discovered the hot springs here about the year 53, first built and beautified them after the manner of the Roman baths, and then erected himself a palace in the place; in confirmation whereof, the natives still shew a piece of ancient architecture, which they call *Turris Grani*, and relate that it is a part of the ruins of that General's palace. This town is called by the French, *Aix la Chapelle*, from a chapel in the great church much resorted to by pilgrims, containing a multitude of reliques in high veneration among the Roman Catholics. The town is situated in a fruitful valley, encompassed with mountains and woods, and yet the air is esteemed exceeding wholesom. It may be divided into the inward and outward city: the inward city is surrounded by a wall about three quarters of a league in circumference, having ten gates; and the outward wall about a league and a half in circumference, in which there are eleven gates. Some rivulets run thro' the town, which keep it very clean, and turn several mills; besides which there are twenty publick fountains, and many private ones: and as the stone quarries in the neighbourhood furnish them with excellent materials, their buildings are suitably magnificent, of which the Senate-house, or the Stadthouse, and the cathedral are the chief; besides which there are thirty other parochial or collegiate churches. The Stadthouse is a stately fabrick, built in the year 1533, adorned with the statues of all the Emperors since CHARLES the Great, and consists of three stories, the two first divided by several partitions, but the upper story is one entire room, of an hundred and sixty-two feet in length, and sixty in breadth, where the new-elected Emperor used to entertain the Electors and all the Princes of the Empire at their coronation; for here the Emperor formerly received his first crown of iron, as he did a second of silver at Milan, and a third of gold at Rome. In this hall are several fine pieces of painting, particularly one of the resurrection, and another of CHARLES the Great, giving the charter to the city of Aken. In the middle of the market-place before the Stadthouse is a noble fountain, admired for the largeness of its dimensions and curious workmanship, being supplied by four springs, which fall into a copper basin, thirty foot diameter, from whence it is conveyed quite through the city, and on the top of the fountain is a large brass statue of CHARLEMAGNE in armour gilt, with his face towards Germany. On the edges of the brass cistern is an inscription importing that GRANUS a Roman Prince, first discovered and built the hot baths in this city. The cathedral is of Gothick architecture, having a high steeple at the west-end, adorned with pyramids, and covered with a cupola in the middle. On the inside are a vast number of pillars of brass and marble, gilded statues, brazen doors, and a great

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Aix la  
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great



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great deal of Mosaic work. Over the place where CHARLES the Great was first interred, hangs a very large crown, made of silver and brass gilt, the gift of the Emperor FREDERICK I, surrounded with forty-eight statues a foot high, and thirty-two lesser statues, all of silver. The same Emperor FREDERICK removed the body of CHARLEMAGNE, and buried part of it under the altar in the choir in a silver coffin, and the other part near the wall of the old building, and covered it with the same tombstone of white marble, which it had before, with the bust of PROSERPINA upon it, supposed to have covered JULIUS CÆSAR's tomb. The principal reliques which pilgrims resort hither to adore, are, 1. The Virgin MARY's gown, in which she was dressed at the incarnation of our Saviour, made of wool, says Dr. NICHOLSON, not unlike that which grows on the coco-tree; but this description is altogether unintelligible to me, who could never discover any thing like wool on a coco-tree; but certain it is the gown must be of very durable materials to last so long, or it must have been preserved by a miracle as great as any that are ascribed to it. 2. The cloth girt about our Saviour when he suffered, being of very coarse linen. 3. A piece of the cord with which he was bound when he was delivered to PILATE. 4. Some of the blood of the first martyr St. STEPHEN, enshased in gold and precious stones, on which the Emperors are sworn at their inauguration. 5. The picture of the Virgin MARY with our Saviour in her arms, embossed upon a jasper two inches in breadth, found in the Emperor CHARLES the Great's tomb, and said to be the work of St. LUKE. 6. A manuscript of the Gospels found in the same tomb, which with a great many other reliques, it is said, were procured by CHARLES the Great of AARON King of Persia, and of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople. At the east end of the cathedral is a throne, upon which our Saviour is represented sitting majestically in a long robe, and round the throne a representation of the four animals mentioned in EZEKIEL's vision. Over his head is a circle of golden stars, and underneath them the symbol of the cross, said to have appeared in the air to the Emperor CONSTANTINE, when he conquered MAXENTIUS. Here is also a representation of the four and twenty elders rising from their seats, laying down their crowns, and prostrating themselves before the throne. In this church also is a pulpit covered with plates of gold, as is the altar in the choir, whereon is represented our Saviour's passion. In the upper part of the church over against the Prince's altar, is a throne of white marble, where the Emperors used to sit, and is supposed to be the same which CHARLES the Great placed there nine hundred years ago.

This city is governed by a Mayor, two Burgomasters, fourteen Aldermen, and a hundred and twenty Common-council-men. The Mayor presides among the Aldermen, and is constituted by the Duke of Juliers; the Burgomasters, Aldermen and Council, are chosen by the companies of the city, of which there are fourteen or fifteen; and the territories of this city are so large, as to comprehend two hundred villages.

The hot baths of Aken occasion it to be much resorted to, whereof three are within the inner wall. 1. The Emperor's bath. 2. The little bath. And, 3. The bath of St. QUIRINUS. The first of these is in the same place, and supplied

by the same springs as that was which CHARLES the Great so much delighted in; and used to invite his nobility and great officers to bathe with him in it; for it was the custom anciently to bathe an hundred together, though now the bath is divided by several partitions. These baths rise so hot that they let them cool twelve hours before they are used; but those which rise without the inner wall of the town are not so hot. The smell of the latter is offensive, and the water in the cisterns not transparent. Here is also a fountain of warm water, which is drunk in summer mornings for many chonical distempers. Less than a quarter of a mile from the south gate of the city, stands the village of Porcetum, so called from the droves of wild hogs which formerly frequented the woods near it, where is a nunnery, the Abbess of which is a Princess of the Empire. The village in general is well built, and has four handsome churches in it. The hot springs here lie on each side a small cool rivulet, which runs through the town, and are by pipes conveyed into fourteen houses, forming eight and twenty baths. The water of these springs is clear and pleasant, without any offensive smell, but much hotter than that of Aken; being usually cooled eighteen hours before it can be endured. There are several mines of lead, coal, vitriol, calmey or lapis calaminaris, near this place. With the calmey they make brass, by mixing eight and twenty pounds of the best Swedish copper, with an hundred pounds of this mineral, to which they add some broken pieces of brass, and a good quantity of dross of both the simples above mentioned. These they melt in crucibles over a hot furnace twelve hours, then putting eight of these crucibles into one, they let the drossy parts boil over, the purer subsiding at bottom; then they pour the liquid metal into a frame of stone bound with hoops of iron, and thus run it into large brass plates, which are afterwards cut in pieces with a kind of scissors or shears.

Those who have described the virtues of the baths of Aken, and particularly Dr. BLONDEL, relate that they are good against all affections of the nerves; such as convulsions, palsies, numbness, tremblings, gout, sciaticas, contractions, swellings, distempers of the bowels, stomach, spleen, inveterate head-aches, vertigo's, nephritical distempers, cold affections of the womb, stoppage or flux of the menses, barrenness, abortion, and scabs of all sorts. The waters of the city and those of Porcet, may both of them be drank, and thus taken are said to be good against, 1. Hot distempers of the liver, spleen, reins and bowels. 2. Against obstructions of the mesentery, pancreas, liver, spleen and reins. 3. The yellow jaundice, cachexy and dropsy proceeding from thence. 4. Inveterate and stubborn fevers, new tertians and quartans. 5. The whites in women. 6. Bleeding at the nose and flux of the menses. 7. Against worms, which they kill of all sorts. 8. They help conception, and dry over-moist parts. 9. They purge the urinary vessels of all impurities. 10. They cure stoppage of water and stranguries. 11. They cure the gout, scurvy, rheumatism, cholick, scrophulous distempers, imposthumes of the mesentery, &c.

The city of Aken professed the Protestant religion soon after the reformation, on which account the people were miserably harassed by the Imperialists during the civil wars of Germany, till at length Popery was again established, and is now the

The hot  
baths at  
Aken.



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The Emperors were usually crowned in this city for five hundred years after CHARLEMAIN, and by the Golden Bull made in the time of CHARLES IV. the Emperor was to receive his first crown here ; but that custom of crowning him with three crowns hath been long since disused ; and at every coronation the magistrates who have the custody of CHARLEMAIN'S sword, shoulder-belt, and the gospel in golden letters, which are used at that ceremony, deliver them to the Elector of Mentz, and the Emperor declares that his being crowned elsewhere shall not prejudice the privileges of the city of Aken.

Duren. 3. Duren, situate on the river Rore, ten miles south of Juliers, a little uniform well-built city, with rivulets running through the streets. This place pretends to great antiquity, and in the church of St. MARTIN, the finest building in the town, they shew the head of St. ANNE, mother to the Virgin MARY, which admired relique formerly brought crowds of Pilgrims hither. It was an Imperial city, but is now subject to the Duke of Neuburg, Elector Palatine. Other towns in the duchy of Juliers, mentioned by Geographers, are, Munster-Eifel, Bedbur, Enskirchen, Nideck, Boisslar, Linnich, Dalen, Wafenberg, Sittard, Tudder and Safteren ; but it seems they do not merit a particular description.

Berg duchy. The duchy of Berg, having been allotted to the Duke of Neuburg Elector Palatine, and now subject to this Prince, as well as the duchy of Juliers, naturally comes to be described next. Berg, or *Montium Ducatus*, as the Latins called it, from it's being a mountainous country, is bounded by the county of Marck on the north, by the duchy of Westphalia towards the east, by Cologne on the south, and by the Rhine which divides it from the duchy of Juliers on the west : extending near fifty miles in length upon the banks of the Rhine, and about twenty miles in breadth where broadest. The country being for the most part rocky and mountainous, affords very little arable or pasture, and is consequently thinly peopled. The chief towns are first Dusseldorp the capital of the duchy, a large fortified town, pleasantly situated near the eastern bank of the Rhine ; twenty-five miles to the northward of Cologne, and six to the southward of Keyfarwaert. The town receives it's name from the little river Dussel, which here unites it's streams with the Rhine. It is generally well-built, and the publick buildings make a handsom appearance from the river, among which are the Duke or Elector's palace, who frequently resides here : the collegiate church of St. MARTIN is a handsom structure, where are the tombs of the ancient Dukes of Juliers and Berg ; and the Jesuits college is esteemed a very fine building. It was anciently an Imperial city, but now subject to the Elector Palatine ; the principal trade of the place consists in corn, which they import from the Low Countries and transport to Cologne, and other towns in Germany. 2. Essen, fifteen miles north-east of Dusseldorp, where stands a noble nunnery, to which the best part of the town, with several adjoining manors belong. Only ladies of noble descent are admitted here, who are at liberty to leave the convent and marry if they think fit. The natives of Essen are re-

Essen.

CHAP. XIX. Westphalia. koned excellent artificers in iron, and particularly in fire-arms. Other cities of any note in the county of Berg, are Bensburg, Solingen and Wipperford.

The remaining part of the territories allotted to the Duke of Neuburg in the dispute between him and the Elector of Brandenburg is the lordship of Ravenstein, a small barony between Guelderland and Brabant, receiving it's name from the castle of Ravenstein, a fort on the Maes four or five miles below Grave.

JOHN WILLIAM, the last Duke of Cleves, Juliers, &c. dying without issue, in 1609, left behind him four sisters, who were married to the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Neuburg (ancestor to the present Elector Palatine,) the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Marquis of Burgow. The first, for having married the eldest sister, claimed the whole succession : the second formed the same pretensions, because the eldest sister died before her brother, and his wife was the eldest of the surviving sisters : the other two insisted on an equal partition to be divided among the four sisters. Besides those Princes, the Elector of Saxony set on foot an old pretension ; and the Duke of Nevers did the same. And, last of all, the Emperor pretended, that those countries should be sequestered in his hands, and disposed of as he judged proper. But there was no regard had to the Emperor's pretensions ; and his son, Archduke LEOPOLD, whom he sent to take possession in his name, was drove out by the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Neuburg.

These two Princes only maintained their claim by arms ; the former being assisted by the Dutch, and the latter by the Spaniards, who were then in possession of the Netherlands. The Dutch army was commanded by Prince MAURICE of Nassau, and the Spanish by the marquis of Spinola. So that (a thing which never before happened) the States and the Spaniards made war upon one another, in the name of their allies, though the truce that had been lately made, still continued betwixt themselves. There was not so much as one blow given on either side. The two armies industriously avoided meeting one another. The campaigns were spent in taking towns ; so that the most diligent of those two great Generals was he who made the greatest progress. Upon one's getting first to a place, the other did nothing to hinder it's being taken, but bent his march full speed to another place, and seized it, which he kept by virtue of his being the first comer.

During these things, a congress was held at Zanten, in order to an amicable accommodation betwixt the chief claimants, at which the ambassadors of France, Great Britain, Spain, and the States General, assisted ; but this came to nothing. At last Brandenburg and Neuburg made an agreement, and divided these dominions betwixt themselves. The first had the duchy of Cleves, and the counties of Mark and Ravenburg ; and the latter the duchy of Juliers and Berg, with the small territory of Ravenstein.

Under this agreement the two Electors of Brandenburg and Palatine have lived quietly ever since. But the present Elector Palatine being the last direct male descendant of the house of Neuburg, has nominated for his successor the Prince of Sultzbach, the nearest of kin to him by a collateral branch of the Neuburg family ; which, however, proceeds not from the lady, by whom



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the Palatine family possesses Juliers and Berg.— Indeed this young Prince, strictly speaking, is not related to his Electoral Highness.

The King of Prussia forms his pretensions of succeeding in right of his maternal ancestor, on failure of heirs of the Elector Palatine. These pretensions were settled by a family-treaty (betwixt the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg) of mutual succession to the whole dominions of the last Duke of Cleves, on the failure of either of their male issue; and this treaty was renewed in 1670.

To this his Electoral Highness replies, That his predecessors could not make such a treaty; and that he has as good a right to annul it as they had to make it. But the particular reason which is whispered at the Palatine court, why this family-bargain, or treaty, ought not to take place, will hardly pass, viz. because it was made over their cups. If this reason was good, there are very few contracts, it is to be feared, made, whether in this country, or in any other, but what would be liable to a new discussion.

To disappoint his Prussian Majesty as far as possible, and to procure to the Prince of Sultzbach the entire dominions now united in the Palatine house, his Electoral Highness omits nothing that can be done; and the young heir being under age, has named for his administrator (and perhaps for his successor, in case he dies before his majority) Duke FERDINAND of Bavaria, whose house, and that of Neuburg, are already knit together by ties of blood: it is not therefore to be doubted, but the Bavarian house will interpose in this succession.

The duchies of Juliers and Berg (the countries in dispute) lying in the neighbourhood of France and the United Provinces, those two powers are nearly interested in the person who shall succeed to them. So that the issue of this grand affair does not concern the Germanick body alone; tho' we may be sure, that there is not one member thereof, that is not uneasy at the thoughts of an unequal distribution of power among them. This being the case, according to the present state of Europe, notwithstanding the justness of his pretensions, his Prussian Majesty must rest contented with what shall be given him. Happy if he shall be able to obtain any thing, in the way of negotiation; for, unless unforeseen opportunities should offer, it is in vain for him to try to do himself justice by arms; not but those countries are worth fighting for, as they bring in near 200,000 l. per annum to the Elector. But the King of Prussia has neither ally, nor well-wisher in the present affair; but on the contrary, he is surrounded with neighbours, who are far from being desirous of contributing to the augmentation of a power, which already they look upon with a jealous eye, and think too formidable.

The gentleman who drew up this state of the case, observes, that it would greatly contribute to the advancement of the protestant interest, and the strengthening the barrier against France, were those countries to be possessed by the King of Prussia. On the other hand, it might not only be of ill consequence to the protestant religion, but dangerous to the liberties of Europe, if the succeeding Sovereign should be under French influence.

The territories allotted to the Elector of Brandenburg, as has been observed already, were the duchy of Cleve, with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg. The duchy of Cleve or Cleef, lies

on both sides the Rhine, and is bounded by part of the United Provinces towards the north, by Munster on the east, by the duchy of Juliers on the south, and by Guelderland and Brabant towards the west: extending upwards of forty miles from north to south, and about five and twenty from east to west. The chief rivers are,

1. The Rhine which passes through the middle of it to Schencken Schans, a fort belonging to the United Provinces, where it divides itself into two branches, whereof that which runs by Arnheim retains the old name, but the other which passes on to Nimeguen, is called Wale. 2. The Roer, which rises in the county of Marck, and falls into the Rhine between Duifburg and Roerort. 3. The Lippe, which rises in Westphalia, and unites its waters with the Rhine near Wesel. And 4. The Nierse, which rises in the dukedom of Juliers, and joins the Maes near Gennep. The country is generally mountainous and woody; but is not destitute however of corn and cattle. The chief towns are, 1. Cleve, or Cleef,

the *Clivia* of the Latins, said to be so named from its situation on the declivity of a hill between the Rhine and the Maes, and surrounded by cliffs and craggy rocks, about twelve miles south-east of Nimeguen, and sixty north-west of Cologne. It is supposed by some to be the old *Colonia Ulpia Trajana*, and by the ruins about it appears to have been of much larger extent than it is at present. There is an inscription also here on the south gate under the monument of EUMENIUS RHETOR, who is said to have taught oratory in this city, importing, that he resided here in the time of JULIUS CÆSAR, who founded the castle; of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, who had a garison in it; of ULPUS TRAJANUS, who made it a colony; and of ÆLIUS ADRIANUS, who enlarged it and reduced it into the form of a city: but whether this inscription be not of a later date than it pretends, I find is very much disputed. The city is at present small, but very well peopled: neither the town nor castle of any great strength. On the west side of the town lies the park of Prince MAURICE of Nassau, admired for the fine water-works, canals and grotto's in it; and above these is a high hill called the Sternberg, from whence it is said Utrecht may be discerned at fifty miles distance, with forty more cities and great towns, twelve whereof are seen through so many vists, at the end of each of which appears a fine city. The private houses in Cleve are but mean; and the only publick buildings mentioned by travellers are, 1. The great church, a monastery of Capuchins, and another of Franciscans. As the Elector of Brandenburg, the present King of Prussia, is Sovereign of the country, the religion countenanced by the government is Calvinism; but most of the churches are possessed by the Papists in this city as well as in the rest of the duchy, by virtue of the agreement abovementioned with the Elector Palatine on the division of the country, who in consideration thereof promised not to disturb the Protestants in that part of the country allotted to him. 2. Embrick, situate on

the eastern side of the Rhine to the northward of Cleve, taken by the French in the year 1672, when they invaded the Netherlands; but restored again in 1674. 3. Gennep, situate at the con-

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Embrick.

Gennep.

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duchy.



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Mark county. Another of the counties allotted to the Elector of Brandenburg, on composing the differences between him and the Duke of Neuburg, was Marck, the largest county in Westphalia; so named, as is supposed, from having been the ancient boundary of Germany towards *Gallia Belgica*, and is situate between the rivers Lippe and Roer, upwards of forty miles in length, and about the same in breadth; containing fifteen bailiwicks or lordships, which derive their names from as many towns; the chief whereof are, 1. Hamm, twenty-five miles south of Munster, situate in one of the most fruitful parts of Westphalia, which produces plenty of corn and flax. It was anciently a Hans-Town, but the principal business of the natives at present is the entertainment of travellers, who usually lie here in their passage from the duchy of Cleve and the Netherlands to Brandenburg and Brunswick. 2. Unna, situate in a large plain, ten miles south of Hamm, formerly also a Hans-Town, and a place of trade; but suffered so much in the wars between the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, that it has not yet recovered itself. 3. Altena, which anciently gave a title to the Counts of Hamm, and was then a large city, but does not merit a description at present. 4. Werden, situate on the Roer, ten miles north-east of Dusseldorp, where vast quantities of Westphalia bacon is cured and transported into foreign countries. 5. Soest, a fine Imperial city on the river Arse, fifteen miles east of Hamm, the largest town in Westphalia next to Munster, consisting of ten parishes, with many more churches and chapels, among which the collegiate church of St. PATROCLOUS is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne.

Ravensberg county and castle. The county of Ravensberg, the remaining part of the territories allotted to the Elector of Brandenburg, is bounded by the bishoprick of Osnabrug on the north; by the county of Lippe on the east and south; and by the bishoprick of Munster on the west; taking its name from a fortress,

CHAP. XIX. Westphalia. situate on a high hill, sixteen miles south of Osnabrug: and here Dr. NICHOLSON observes, that most of the ancient seats of the German Princes and Nobility are thus situated upon high hills, which is the reason that so many countries and lordships in Germany terminate in *berg*, which, in the language of the country, signifies a hill; and we may further observe, that the reason so many towns in Germany end in *burg* is, that *burg*, or *borch* as the natives pronounce it, is High Dutch for a city or town. Ravensberg is a rocky mountainous country; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Bielevelt, a fortified town, seven miles south-east of Ravensberg, situate at the bottom of a high hill, which commands it. 2. Hervorden, or Herfurt, pleasantly situated at the conflux of the Aa and Wehre seven miles north-east of Bielevelt, in which is a noble nunnery, the Abbess whereof is a Princess of the Empire, and has a vote by her Deputy in the Diet. One of the Abbesses since the reformation was the Princess ELIZABETH, sister to the famous Prince RUPERT and the late Princess SOPHIA, niece of CHARLES I, King of England. The miracle of her sex, says Dr. NICHOLSON, as is evident from the letters which passed between her and DESCARTES, published in that great man's works. The nuns of this convent, according to the same author, soon after the reformation embraced the Protestant religion; and since the Elector of Brandenburg became their Sovereign have professed the doctrines of CALVIN. On the top of the hill, a little without the city, stands another convent of religious ladies, which is only a nursery to the former, to the Abbess and nuns whereof it owes its foundation. They have here all sorts of offices in our collegiate churches, as Deane's, Treasure's, &c. all which are in the disposal of the Abbess of Herfurt, as supreme Governess of the place. Of the first foundation of the church here take the following story, says my author, as I had it from one of the Vicars in the choir. The nuns at Herfurt having resolved to build a church, were informed by a poor shepherd, that the Virgin MARY, their Patroness, had appeared to him in the likeness of a dove, sitting on the stump of a tree, and commanded him to declare, that she had a mind it should be built upon this hill. The holy sisters, not giving credit to his words at first, wished that (to attest the truth of what he reported) he should first hold a red-hot iron in his bare hand, and afterwards go bare-foot over some glowing plough-shares; both which ordeals he having performed without harm, the miracle was confirmed, and the church built as it now stands. Near the altar they shew you the formentioned stump guarded with bars of iron: and they have yearly a great fair on this hill, which, in remembrance of this miracle, they call vision-market.

3. Engern, the ancient *Angrivaria*, where King WITEKIND kept his court, and lies interred; formerly a considerable city, but now reduced to a village. The Elector of Cologne however still styles himself Duke of Engern. And, 4. Vlotowe, situate on the Weser, fifteen miles east of Herfurt, said to be well situated for trade, because the river is deep enough here for ships of burthen; which I am apt to believe a mistake, because the river Weser is unnavigable much lower for large vessels.



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duchy.

Minden  
city.

Petersha-  
gen.

Lippe  
county.

Dieth-  
mold.

Lippe ci-  
ty.

Lemgow.

Horn.

Uffen.

Pyrmont  
county and  
town.

The duchy of Minden also belongs to the King of Prussia, being given with Halberstadt and some other territories by the treaty of Munster, anno 1648, in lieu of that part of Pomerania then yielded to the Swedes. This country lies between the county of Hoya on the north, and the county of Lippe on the south, extending about five and twenty miles in length, and twenty in breadth; and towards the south yields plenty of corn, of which they export great quantities; but on the north it is pretty much incumbered with woods and mountains. The chief towns are, 1. Minden, the capital, situate on the west bank of the Weser, thirty-five miles east of Osnabrug; a large city, and a Bishop's See at the reformation, but secularized by the treaty of Munster, and the revenues of the bishoprick assigned to the Elector of Brandenburg, who still enjoys it under the title of a dukedom. The cathedral, according to tradition, takes up the place where King WITTEKIND's palace stood, which, it is said, he desired might be converted into a church on his being baptized. 2. Petershagen, situate on the same river, about three miles below Minden, where the Bishops of this See formerly had a palace.

The little county of Lippe lies between the duchy of Westphalia and the county of Ravensberg, being somewhat more than thirty miles in length, and ten in breadth, governed by its proper Counts, an ancient family, who pretend to derive their pedigree from MANLIUS, who defended the Roman Capitol against the Gauls; but however that be, it is generally agreed they are of Roman extraction, and are at present divided into the branches of Diethmold, Brackel, and Buchenburg. The chief towns in their territories are, 1. Diethmold, or Dietmelle, where the eldest branch of this house have their residence, twelve miles north-east of Paderborn supposed to derive its name from TEAT, or DITH, a pagan deity, worshipped here before the conquest of the Saxons by CHARLES the Great, from whence CLUVERIUS concludes this to have been the ancient *Teutoburgum*, a word of the same import as Diethmold. It is at present but a small place, and has little other trade than what is occasioned by the residence of the court. 2. Lippe, or Lippestat, called *Lippia* by the Latins, and takes its name from the river Lippe, on which it is situated, twenty miles west of Paderborn; the chief trade of the inhabitants being in timber and planks, for the building ships and barges on the Rhine. 3. Lemgow, a free city, situate on the river Pega, fifteen miles north of Paderborn, in a plentiful country, abounding with corn, the natives an ingenious industrious people, and generally Lutherans. 4. Horn, not far from Diethmold, supposed to be the place where the Roman General QUINTILIUS VARUS was defeated by the Germans, and the legions under his command cut in pieces; anciently subject to its own Counts, till annexed to the territories of Lippe, about the year 1567. 5. Uffen, or Saltz Uffen, situate between Lemgow and Herfurt, considerable for its salt-springs and a manufacture of cloth.

The county of Pyrmont was also annexed to the territories of Lippe, upon the death of the last Count of Pyrmont and Spiegelburg without male issue, who was killed at the battle of St. Quintin, about the year 1557, the chief town whereof is of the same name, and situated sixteen miles to the eastward of Lemgow. It is famous at present for its mineral waters, which occasions

a great resort of the German nobility hither, these being preferred even to the waters of the Spaw, and exported to the most distant countries in Europe.

The county of Ritberg also had a Count of its own till the year 1562, when the family became extinct; and it is now under the dominion of the Counts of Lippe. The chief town is Ritberg, situate near the head of the river Ems, ten miles north-west of Lippe, of which I meet with no particular description.

The county of Schawenberg is bounded by the dominions of Brunswick on the north, east and south; and by the county of Lippe and principality of Minden on the west; now also subject, part of it to the Counts of Lippe, and the other to the Prince of Hesse, being about thirty miles in length, and sixteen in breadth, a country affording plenty of good corn and pasture, and well watered with rivers; particularly the Weser, the Hammel, the Awe, the Caspaw, and the Exter. Here is also a great lake which goes by the name of the Steinhuddersee, five miles in length and two in breadth, which yields them plenty of fish, especially perch. Their principal commodities are salt, timber, coals, allom, chalk, and venison; and the free-stone in their quarries is so good, that it is daily exported to Holland, Flanders, Lubeck, &c. They had also formerly some copper-mines, which yielded gold and silver, but they are either exhausted or lost at this day. The chief places in this county are, 1. The old fortress of Schawenberg, situate on the top of a high hill on the east-side of the river Weser, sixteen miles east of Minden, the ancient seat of their Counts. 2. Buckenburg, twelve miles south of Schawenberg, considerable at present only for being the residence of the second branch of the house of Lippe. Other places of any consequence in this county are, Statshagen, seventeen miles west of Hanover; Oldendorf, five miles south-east of Scawenberg; and Saxenhagen, sixteen miles north-west of Hanover.

The county of Hoya is bounded by Bremen on the north, by Lunenburg on the east, by Minden on the south, and by Diepholt on the west. It was governed by its own Counts till the death of OTHO, the last Count, anno 1582; upon whose decease the greatest part of this county devolved on the houses of Brunswick and Lunenburg, and is now the inheritance of his British Majesty. The house of Hesse enjoyed another small part of this county, wherein the towns of Ucht and Frenndenburg are situated, but transferred their interest in it to the Counts of Bentheim. The chief towns are, 1. Hoya, situate on the east side of the Weser, thirty miles north of Minden, a small fortified town, with a strong castle adjoining to it. 2. Nyenburg, situate on the east side of the Weser, a fortified town, ten miles east of Hoya. The rest of the towns and places of any consequence in this county, are Stoltzenow, Erenburg, Sierk, Steigerberg, Sidenburg, Depenaw, Burenburg, Lavenhaw, and Bruckhausen, all which are situated in that part of Hoya which belongs to his British Majesty.

The small county of Diepholt is bounded by Delmenhorst on the north, by the county of Hoya on the east, and by Munster on the west, extending thirty miles in length, and about fifteen in breadth, subject to his British Majesty as Duke of Lunenburg. The chief town whereof is Diepholt, situate on the Dummer-Lake, twenty-five miles west of Hoya.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
West-  
phalia.

Ritberg  
county and  
town.

Schawen-  
berg coun-  
ty.

Schawen-  
berg ca-  
stle.

Bucken-  
burg.

Hoya  
county.

Ucht and  
Frennden-  
burg.

Hoya.

Stolze-  
burg, now, &c.

Diepholt  
county and  
town.



CHAP.  
XIX.  
West-  
phalia.

Delmen-  
horst  
county  
and town.

Olden-  
burg  
county and  
town.

Embsen  
county.

Embsen  
city.

Norden.

Aurich.

The county of Delmenhorst lies on the south-west of Bremen, being about sixteen miles in length and eight in breadth, now subject to Denmark, as was intimated in the description of that kingdom, but formerly governed by its own Counts; the chief town whereof is Delmenhorst, a small place situate on the river Delm, ten miles west of the city of Bremen.

The county of Oldenburg is bounded by the German Ocean on the north, the duchy of Bremen on the east, and by the county of Embden on the west, being about fifty miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth, a barren country, consisting chiefly of vast marshes, where are bred a small sort of cattle, less than those of Wales or North Britain. The inhabitants are a poor miserable people, and their dwellings of clay and turf, suitable to their condition. The King of Denmark has been their Sovereign ever since the death of their last Duke ANTHONY GUNTER, anno 1656. The chief town is Oldenburg, situate on the river Hund, about sixteen miles west of Delmenhorst, a fortified town of some trade.

The county of Embden, or Emmerland, sometimes called East-Friesland, is bounded by the German ocean on the north, by the county of Oldenburg on the east, and by the province of Groningen on the west, extending about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth, part of the kingdom of the ancient Frizons, and made a province of Germany by CHARLES the Great: ULRICH the Governor was made the first Count of it by the Emperor FREDERICK IV, in the year 1453, whose posterity still continue in possession of great part of it. The people are said to be of the Belgick race as well as the Hollanders, but they are at present a slothful generation, and want very much of the industry of a true Dutchman. The soil is generally marshy, much of the same nature as the adjoining county of Oldenburg, and the natives as remarkable for their rusticity. The chief towns are, 1. Embden, or *Amasia*, the capital, situate near the mouth of the river Ems, on the Dollaert Bay, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees twenty minutes, sixty miles to the westward of Bremen, and twenty-five to the eastward of Groningen, a large populous city, and a place of trade, having a very good harbour. From hence they have a fine prospect of the ocean and the adjacent country. The houses are high and well-built, and the town-hall a magnificent structure. They are at present a free state, under the protection of the Dutch; but were subject to their Count till the year 1595, when, taking an advantage of his absence, they published an act of Common-council, That he should no longer have his residence in the city, and decreed themselves to be a free state, independent of this Prince. This revolt was occasioned by the Count's professing Lutheranism, the inhabitants being generally zealous Calvinists. Here the English had a mart for cloth, till upon some disgust taken it was removed to Hamburg, since which Embden has been upon the decline. 2. Norden, a well-built town, pleasantly situated on the sea, ten miles north of Embden, formerly a good harbour, but not capable of receiving ships of burthen at present.

3. Aurich, ten miles north-east of Embden, which gives name to the territory called Auricherland, considerable for seven great fairs of cattle which are annually kept here, and a castle, the usual residence of a branch of the house of

VOL. II.

Embsen, where is also held the supreme court of judicature for the county, consisting of a President, who is a nobleman, a Stadtholder, or Chancellor, who is a Doctor of law, and nine Assessors, three of whom are noblemen, and the other six civilians. In a vacancy of their sessions the President follows the Count's court, and determines all controversies within the verge of the palace.

4. Jever, or Jevern, a handsome trading town, thirty miles north-east of Embden, the capital of a barony, forty miles in circumference, containing several fine seats of the nobility and gentry. The Barons anciently pretended to an independency, but were brought under the dominion of the Counts of Oldenburg, and consequently are now subject to Denmark. 5. Esens, the capital of the district called Harlingerland, situate on a river of the same name, twenty-four miles north-east of Embden, formerly an independent principality, but annexed to the territories of the Counts of Embden by marriage, about the year 1581. 6. Wittmund, the capital of a barony, five miles to the eastward of Esens. 7. Leer, or Lera, a fine market-town, situate on the Ems; and, 8. Fredeburg, about thirty miles north-east of Embden.

The counties of Bentheim and Steinfurt were anciently subject to different Lords, but are both at present under the dominion of the Count of Bentheim. The county of Bentheim is bounded by the United Provinces on the north and west, and by Steinfurt on the south; being about forty miles in length, and ten in breadth; both counties, like the rest of Westphalia, are covered with forests, but have very few hills, except near the towns of Bentheim and Neirhus. The only town of any consequence is Bentheim, the ancient seat of their Counts, which stands in the middle of a forest, thirty miles north-west of Munster.

The county of Steinfurt lies to the southward of Bentheim, about twelve miles long and six broad; the chief town whereof is Borchsteden, situate on the river Aa, fifteen miles north-west of Munster.

The county of Lingen, subject to the Bishop of Munster, has Osnabrug on the east, and Bentheim on the west, extending about fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth; the chief town whereof is Lingen, subject to the late Princes of Orange, and claimed by the King of Prussia, as heir to that family; tho' the Bishop of Munster is Sovereign of the country about it. The town of Lingen is situate on the river Ems forty miles north of Munster, the inhabitants generally Calvinists.

The county of Tecklenburg lies on the west of Osnabrug, extending about sixteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, and is subject to the Counts of Bentheim. The capital of the same name is a large open town, ten miles to the westward of Osnabrug, said to be the ancient *Teselia*, the city of the *Angriveri*, but not very considerable at present.

Dortmond, said to be an Imperial city, under the protection of the King of Prussia, is sometimes styled the capital of the county of March, but being omitted there, I take the opportunity of mentioning it in this place. It is a small, but populous city on the river Empster, thirty-five miles to the southward of Munster, and about as much to the northward of Cologne; and however it may pretend to be a free Imperial city, the King of Prussia claims the sovereignty of it, and is in effect master of the place.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
West-  
phalia.

Jever.

Esens.

Witt-  
mund.

Leer.

Frede-  
burg.

Bentheim  
county.

Bentheim  
town.

Steinfurt  
county.

Borchsteden-  
fort.

Linge or  
Lingen  
county  
and town.

Tecklen-  
burg  
county and  
town.

Dortmond  
city.



CHAP.  
XIX.  
Westphalia.

Corbey  
abbey and  
territory.

Hoxter  
city.

Circle of  
Burgundy.

The ma-  
tricula of  
the Em-  
pire.

With the abbacy of Corbey I shall conclude this tedious, but necessary description of the German territories, which lie between the bishoprick of Paderborn on the west, and the river Weser on the east, extending about sixteen miles in length, and eight in breadth. The town of Corbey, in which the abbey is situated, stands on the river Weser, twenty five miles to the eastward of Paderborn, and, with the whole territory, is subject to the Abbot, who is a Prince of the Empire. The town of Hoxter, or Huxer, situate on the banks of the Weser, five miles to the southward of Corbey, is subject also to this abbey, a handsome city, and a place of some trade.

THE Circle of Burgundy, which made the tenth Circle of the Empire, consisting of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands and the Franche Comte, being now subject to other Princes, and independent of the Empire, I shall describe hereafter in it's present state: in the mean time I shall add some things in relation to Germany, which have been but lightly touched upon, and may need some particular description. And first the matriculation-book so often mentioned, which is a register kept by the Chancellor of the Empire, the Elector of Mentz; containing the names of all the Princes and States who are members of the Empire, with the time of their investiture, the forces and treasure every one is obliged to contribute for the defence or support of it. Here also are entered the admission of all persons to honours or offices in the Empire, which is called a matriculation, and gives them the possession of their estates and dignities.

By this matricula every Circle was at first obliged to contribute the following forces, or a sum of money in lieu of them, viz.

	Horse	Foot or Florins.
The Circle of Austria	174	907 5714
Circle of Bavaria	231	1060 6934
Circle of Franconia	249	1219 8100
Circle of Upper Saxony	278	1167 7972
Circle of Lower Saxony	321	1053 8992
Circle of Suabia	341	2100 12623
Circle of the Upper Rhine	433	1950 12280
Circle of the Lower Rhine	190	885 5828
Circle of Westphalia	309	2019 8964
Circle of Burgundy.	180	831 5484

Total 2707 13192 82891

N. B. Every German florin is forty pence, which is double the French florin or livre.

There is another tax the States of the Empire are obliged to pay towards the charges of the Imperial chamber or sovereign courts of Spire and Vienna, amounting to 48925 florins.

The first  
division of  
the Em-  
pire into  
Circles.

The Empire was at first divided into six Circles only, by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. anno 1500, namely, into the Circles of Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony; and twelve years afterwards he added the Circles of Austria, Upper Saxony, the Lower Rhine, and Burgundy. This last division of the Empire was confirmed by CHARLES V. at the Diet of Nuremberg, anno 1522; and by the matricula above-mentioned, he appointed what each Circle, and every Prince and Member of each Circle, should contribute towards the defence and support of the Empire: and those who

did not send in their quota of troops, instead thereof, for each horseman were to pay twelve florins, and for a foot-soldier four florins: afterwards it was enacted, that sixty florins should be advanced in lieu of every trooper wanting, and twelve for every foot-man: and these payments obtained the name of Roman months, on account that the forces or money above-mentioned, was at first applied towards the raising a body of horse and foot, to guard the Emperor in his progresses to Rome, and probably was raised monthly. This tax the States of the Empire at this day augment or alter as they see occasion. There are, as hath been intimated, in every Circle one or two directors, who summon the States of their Circle, and have the command of the above-mentioned militia, regulating their march, quarters, &c. and putting the decrees of the Empire in execution, where any Prince or Member refuses to comply with their resolutions. The States of each Circle, besides a General, (who is usually their Director) elect five Lieutenants to assist him, or supply his place in his absence. They choose also a Treasurer, a Receiver, and a Secretary, for the service of each Circle. When all the Circles meet it is called a general assembly; but usually the Circles which lie nearest together meet every year, from whence they are called the corresponding Circles; of which there are three classes, viz. 1. The Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, and Westphalia. 2. The Upper and Lower Saxony. And, 3. Franconia, Suabia, and Austria. That of Upper Saxony assembles usually at Leipzick; that of Franconia at Nuremberg; and that of Suabia at Ulm. They treat of the regulation of their coin, the publick peace, their treasure, magazines, fortifications, and commerce, rectifying the matricula, putting the decrees of the Empire in execution, and appointing Judges of the Imperial chamber of Wetzlar or Spire, and of the Aulick council at Vienna, and have a power of enacting laws which are not inconsistent with the constitutions of the Empire.

As to the forces, which the several Princes of the Empire are able to maintain and pay, the author of the Atlas Historique seems to have made a very moderate calculation. Beginning with the ecclesiastical Princes, he supposes, that

	Men
The Elector of Mentz may maintain	6000
The Elector of Trier	6000
The Elector of Cologne	6000
The Bishop of Munster	8000
The Bishop of Liege	8000
The Archbishop of Saltzburg	8000
The Bishop of Wurtzburg	2000
The Bishop of Bamberg	5000
The Bishop of Paderborn	3000
The Bishop of Osnabrug	2500
The Abbot of Fulda	6000
The other bishopricks of the Empire	6000
The abbeyes and provostships of the Empire	8000

Total of the ecclesiastical Princes 74500

The Emperor for Hungary	30000
—For Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia	30000
—For Austria, and his other dominions	30000
The King of Prussia	40000
The Elector of Saxony	25000
The Elector Palatine	15000
The Duke of Wirtemberg	15000
The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel	15000

CHAP.  
XIX.  
Westphalia.

The Ro-  
man  
month.

The forces  
each  
Prince  
and State  
in the Em-  
pire is  
able to  
raise.

The







A New Map of the  
**UNITED PROVINCES  
 OF  
 NETHERLANDS**  
 By Herman Moll Geographer.

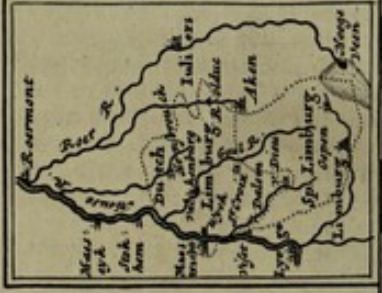
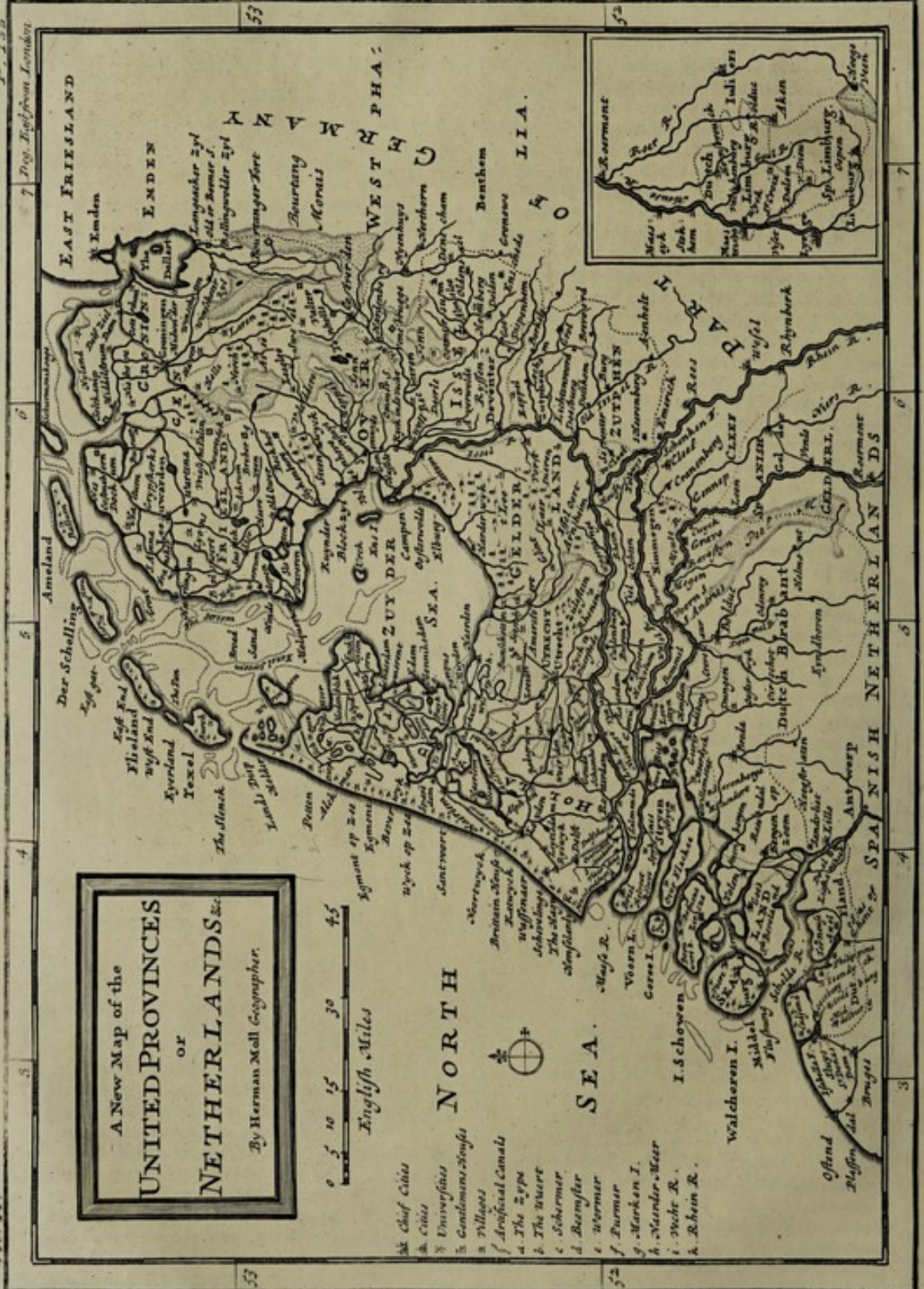
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 English Miles

- a Chief Cities
- b Cities
- c Universities
- d Conventual Hospitals
- e Villages
- f Artificial Canals
- g The Zuyder Zee
- h The Waart
- i Schiermer
- j Bevinger
- k Wormer
- l Purmer
- m Marken I.
- n Vlieter Meer
- o Vlieter R.
- p R. Rhein R.

NORTH



SEA.





CHAP. XIX. Westphalia.	The Brinco of Baden	10000
	The Elector of Brunswick	30000
	The Duke of Holstein	12000
	The Duke of Mecklenburg	15000
	The Princes of Anhalt	6000
	The Prince of Lauenburg	6000
	The Elector of Bavaria	30000
	The Dukes of Saxony	10000
	The Princes of Nassau	10000
	The other Princes and Imperial towns	50000
	The secular Princes	379000
	The ecclesiastical Princes	74500
	Total	453500

If we reflect on the vast addition which has

been made to the Emperor's hereditary dominions since this computation, on the frontiers of Turkey, in the Netherlands, Italy, and Sicily, we may very well throw in 50,000 men more to his share; and then the forces of the Empire will amount to 500,000 men and upwards, two thirds whereof are usually kept in pay, though they are in a profound peace. A body of troops sufficient to give laws to the rest of the world, if they were united under one head; but a country divided among so many petty Princes, of different religions and interests, can never be formidable to the neighbouring Powers, or endanger the liberties of Europe; they may sometimes be unanimous in opposing foreign invasions, but will scarce ever unite in an offensive war.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NETHERLANDS.

### CHAP. I.

*Treats of the Netherlands in general, and shews how the seven United Provinces came to be separated from the other Ten, and form a distinct State.*

CHAP. I. FROM Germany, travelling westward, we meet with the seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, or Low Countries; so denominated from their low situation, at the mouths of several great rivers; the maritime provinces whereof were almost one continued morass, till drained of late years by the industry of the numerous people, who retired hither for shelter, from the persecutions and oppressions of their respective Princes.

These provinces are bounded by the German Ocean on the north, by the circle of Westphalia, the bishopricks of Triers and Liège, and the duchies of Juliers and Cleve on the east, by France and Lorraine towards the south, and by the British seas, and other provinces of France, on the west: and are situated between the fiftieth and fifty-third degrees, thirty minutes north latitude; extending three hundred miles in length, viz. from the confines of Picardy to the mouth of the river Ems, in East-Friesland; and two hundred miles in breadth, viz. from Gravelin to Triers, but in many places they are not of half that breadth. The ancient name of this country was *Belgia*, so called from the *Bellovaci*; whom it is supposed were the most considerable people

here when Cæsar wrote, and probably might have the rest of the provinces under their dominion: These provinces were anciently divided between Gaul and Germany, as they were situated south-west or north-east of the Rhine; those of them which were situated south-west of the Rhine, were with the rest of Gaul reduced under the obedience of the Roman Empire by JULIUS CÆSAR: afterwards the *Batavi*, the *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders* submitted also to the Romans, but were looked upon rather as allies than subjects. When the Franks of Germany established a new kingdom in Gaul, these provinces were at first united to it; but when Germany was afterwards separated from France, most of them fell to Germany. The northern nations (says a celebrated writer) having broken in upon the Roman Empire, and extended themselves beyond the Rhine; by their marches and counter-marches, so wasted and harassed that tract of land now called the Low Countries, as they passed by them to greater conquests, that the inhabitants grew thin: and being secure of nothing, fell to seek the support of their lives, rather by hunting or violence, than by labour and industry: whereby the grounds came to be uncultivated, and in course of years



**CHAP. I.** either turned to forests or marshes. Flanders, under which name was comprehended most of the provinces which belonged to Gaul, was for many years before the reign of CHARLEMAIN one great forest. And Holland, an island made by the branches of the Rhine, (then called *Batavia*) was only a great marsh or fenn, and esteemed rather a part of Germany than Gaul, in regard of it's being planted by the Catti, an ancient people of Germany: this island, says the same writer, probably changed it's inhabitants, and customs, upon the irruptions of the northern nations; but chiefly of the Normans and Danes, from whose countries and language the names of Holland and Zealand seem to be derived.

The Forester of Flanders had most of these provinces under his jurisdiction.

The Franks, having made an entire conquest of Gaul, distributed most part of the lands among their Generals and Officers; to one of whom great part of the Low Countries were given, under the title of Forester of Flanders, which officer continued for several descents, who having suppressed the robbers and banditti who infested the country, and in some measure civilized the inhabitants, CHARLEMAIN, or rather CHARLES the Bald, made Flanders a county, and changed the title of Forester into that of Count, or Earl, without interrupting the succession. But what the extent of this country was, or how far the jurisdiction of the Forester reached, my author says is very uncertain: it is generally agreed, however, that it bordered upon or included part of that famous forest of Ardenne, which in the time of CHARLEMAIN extended beyond the city of Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany.

The ancient Foresters (in imitation of their northern ancestors) subdivided the country, and parcelled it out among their creatures and dependants; reserving certain services from the Grantees, obliging them to bring into the field a certain number of troops when required, or to defend their castles and fortresses against the invasions of enemies, or by some such military tenure. Another constitution which the northern people established, it is observed, where-ever they came, was the erecting three estates or orders; consisting of the nobility, clergy, and people, under the limited sovereignty of one person, styled King, Prince, Duke, or Count: which kind of government had prevailed for time immemorial in the Low Countries, before the Spaniards endeavoured to subvert it. Several other privileges were granted to the cities and inferior districts of this country by their Princes, such as the choice of their magistrates, civil judicature, and exclusion of all foreigners from places of trust and profit, and an exemption from all taxes and impositions but what were consented to by the States. Their Princes also agreed, never to introduce foreign troops among them.

The 17 provinces, governed by as many Princes anciently.

The provinces which enjoyed these great privileges and immunities were seventeen in number, and were long governed separately by distinct Princes under various titles: the provinces of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelderland, had each of them a Duke for their Sovereign; Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namure, and Zutphen, were Earldoms; Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen, had the title of Lordships; and Antwerp, that of a Marquisate of the Holy Roman Empire. These in a long series of time, by inheritance, marriages, or contracts, became united under one head, and first in the house of Burgundy: PHILIP the Good, about the year 1430, enjoyed the

**CHAP. I.** titles of Duke and Earl of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, Limburg, and Luxemburg; Marquis of the Holy Roman Empire; Earl of Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Artois, and Namur. CHARLES the Warlike, his son, succeeded him anno 1467, on whom devolved the duchy of Guelderland and Zutphen: who being killed in a battle against the Switzers anno 1475, left issue only one daughter, MARY, who married MAXIMILIAN of Austria, son to the Emperor FREDERICK III, to whom he succeeded anno 1482: PHILIP, the son of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN and MARY, married JOAN the daughter and Heir of FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queen of Spain, the first Monarchs of that whole kingdom: CHARLES their son, afterwards elected Emperor, by the name of CHARLES V, succeeded to the duchy of Burgundy, of which the Low Countries were part, in the right of his father, anno 1506, to which he added Overysse and Utrecht; and succeeded to the kingdom of Spain, in the right of his mother anno 1516; and to the Empire (as has been mentioned already) anno 1519: constituting the countries above-mentioned one of the circles of the Empire, by the name of the Circle of Burgundy.

They are united again in the house of Burgundy.

Possessed afterwards by the house of Austria.

Made part of the circle of Burgundy. The trade of Europe centered here.

These provinces being extremely well situated for trade, and the natives living under a mild and gentle government, extended their commerce far and near, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp were the great marts of Europe; when CHARLES the Warlike or Hardy, as he was called, being engaged in the war against France, and the Switzers demanding larger taxes and contributions of his subjects than they had been used to pay, gave some interruption to their prosperity, and occasioned discontents amongst them. In the reign of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN their privileges were again invaded by the bringing German troops into the Low Countries on pretence of defending them against France: and in the time of CHARLES V, greater forces, consisting of Spaniards and Italians, as well as Germans, were introduced into Flanders on the like occasion, which was a thing scarce ever practised in preceding times; but the Emperor CHARLES V, being a fortunate Prince, and beloved by the people for his generous actions; and having the advantage of being born amongst them, and versed in their customs and language, and conferring on them many posts of honour and profit throughout his large dominions; there was scarce any murmuring either at the numbers of foreign troops kept up in the Low Countries, or at the taxes levied to maintain them, in his reign. And upon the resignation of his dominions he left the Low Countries to his son PHILIP II, in as peaceable and settled a condition as could be wished; but PHILIP determining to retire into Spain, and leave the Low Countries under the government of a Viceroy, which had till CHARLES the Fifth's time been the constant residence of their Princes, being also a Spaniard born, and partaking of the severity and gravity of his nation, which the Flemings denominated pride and reservedness; and taking only Spaniards into his councils even in Flanders, continuing also the Spanish and Italian forces on foot, and insisting on supplies to maintain them even after the peace with France was concluded, he soon ceased to be beloved, says my author, and became dreaded by his Flemish subjects: while he thinking it beneath him to attend to the grievances and discontents of so inconsiderable

CHAP. I. was the residence of the Princes at that time.

These were the revolutions in the Netherlands.

June 1671. Jan 1672.



CHAP. I. siderable a people, or to be limited by their ancient forms of government, created in them such a disgust to his person and administration as rendered that people ripe for a revolt. Nor did WILLIAM Prince of Orange, a crafty and ambitious man, (according to PUFFENDORF) a little contribute to foment their discontents. For when King PHILIP had resolved to go into Spain, and to commit the administration of the Netherlands to a governor; the Prince of Orange proposed the making CHRISTINA Duchess of Lorrain Regent, hoping to marry her daughter, and to have the direction of all affairs of state; but miscarrying in both his designs by King PHILIP's constituting his natural sister the Duchess of Parma Regent of the Netherlands, and refusing his consent to the match with the Duke of Lorrain's daughter, the Prince of Orange became a malecontent, and only waited for an opportunity of being revenged. The Counts of Egmont and Hoorn, and many others of the nobility, were extremely dissatisfied also on account of the Spaniards being preferred to the most beneficial employments, and influencing all their councils. Nor were the clergy less offended with the King for taking away the revenues of the abbeys, and endowing several new bishopricks which he had erected, with their revenues. For before this time it seems there were but three bishopricks in all the Low Countries, to which King PHILIP added fourteen more, making the number of Sees equal to the number of provinces. But what contributed more than any thing to inflame this people, was the great change of religion which happened about this time: many of the Flemings had forsaken the Popish communion, some professing the Lutheran doctrine, some that of Calvin, and others the errors of the Anabaptists, &c. which CHARLES V. had endeavoured to check by severe proclamations, that served only to exasperate the minds of the people; and his son PHILIP determined by still more violent methods to root out these heresies, as they were called. In order to which he revived his father's proclamations, and was about setting up a court of justice, resembling that of the Spanish inquisition; the very mention whereof created the utmost horror in the minds of the Flemings; for in this court they understood the lives, estates and reputation of every subject were to be put into the hands of unmerciful Priests, who gloried in the inhumanity and rigour of their proceedings, and might punish any man on suspicion without producing his accuser, or acquainting him with the charge against him. While they were under these dismal apprehensions a religious war breaking out in France, compelled great numbers of Calvinists to fly that kingdom and retire to the Netherlands, as great numbers of Lutherans had already done from Germany, and English from Britain on account of the persecution there in Queen MARY's reign. These accidents filling the Netherlands with swarms of Protestants; the admiration of their zeal, compassion for their sufferings, or the humour of the age, gained them many proselytes daily among the nobility, as well as the meaner sort of people, but principally in the cities, where trade and riches were much increased by these new inhabitants, who brought their fortunes with them. This gave frequent opportunity to the judges of the inquisition to exert their authority, and inflict the severest punishments on the unhappy Protestants; with which proceedings the Flemings were the more terrified, because in this

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court none of their privileges, the indulgences of the King, or intercessions of the Grandees could avail them, and they were conscious they had given a great deal of liberty to their tongues, and thereby rendered themselves obnoxious to their enemies. The Spaniards, it is said, were not ill satisfied to find the Flemings oppose these violent proceedings, whereby they were furnished with a handle to reduce them under their absolute dominion, and by suppressing their liberties and privileges proposed to make them subservient to their designs against England and France, which King PHILIP had determined to invade. Whereupon Queen ELIZABETH of England, who had discovered his intentions, it is said, fomented the divisions of the Low Countries, in order to find the Spaniard employment, and divert him from his intended descent upon England: for Spain was at this time arrived to that height of power as to become terrible to all her neighbours; and universal monarchy, as generally dreaded from this quarter, as it was afterwards in the reign of LEWIS XIV from the side of France.

Thus, says Mons. PUFFENDORF, were the seeds of civil discord sown among the Flemings, when PHILIP II went into Spain, having left the 1559: government in the hands of the Regent and council of State, whereof the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Egmont, and others were members; but Cardinal GRANVILLE, a Burgundian, a subtle Statesman, was most relied on by the King: and the Regent had positive orders to govern solely by his advice, which the rest of the Lords of the council observing, opposed the Cardinal in whatever he moved, especially when he pressed the putting in execution the King's orders concerning the establishing the new bishopricks, and extirpating the Protestant religion; the Flemish Lords ever advising a toleration, and that the people might be treated in a milder manner: and so universal was the hatred of the people against the Cardinal, that the Earls of Egmont and Hoorn wrote to the King, that unless he was removed it was impossible to preserve the peace of that country.

Whereupon his Majesty so far complied with them as to remove the Cardinal, but at the same time directed the Regent to be guided by the president of the council VIGILIUS and the Earl of Barlemont, who in every respect pursued the Cardinal's rules: inasmuch, that it was commonly said, tho' the body of the Cardinal was removed, his spirit still remained in the council; and proclamations and acts of state still continued to be published against the new religion, which the people opposed, and would not suffer them to be put in execution; the Earl of Egmont thereupon was sent into Spain by the Regent and the Senate, to represent the state of affairs to his Majesty: but the King would remit nothing of the severities he had directed to be used in relation to religion; and it was given out in the Low Countries, that he had agreed with CHARLES IX of France to extirpate all hereticks (Protestants) out of their dominions, which put the Flemings in the utmost consternation, and occasioned their coming to a resolution to oppose the Spanish court with all their might.

Several of the nobility entered into an association, which they styled a compromise, whereby they engaged to suppress the inquisition, and stand by each other in the defence of their religion: protesting however at the same time, that they had no other end in view but the glory of God, the grandeur

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grandeur of the King, and the peace of their native country. This association was subscribed by four hundred persons of quality, among whom the chief were the Lords HENRY BREDERODE, LEWIS Earl of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, the Earls of Cuylenburg and Berg, &c. who met at Brussels, and delivered a petition to the Regent, desiring that the proclamations concerning religion might be recalled. She answered them in courteous and general terms; but promised no more than that she would know the King's pleasure in the matter; and it was commonly reported that the Earl of Barlemont, who stood near the Regent, acquainted her that they were a parcel of beggars, and that she had nothing to fear from them; which rendered the name of *Geusen*, or beggars, very famous afterwards, the malecontents taking for their arms a beggar's pouch.

In the mean time several pamphlets were published on the subject, which still more exasperated the people, who finding the King inexorable in the point of religion, assembled in a tumultuous manner, plundered the churches, and broke down the images they found there; and tho' the Prince of Orange and the Earl of Egmont did their utmost to appease the tumult, King PHILIP could never be persuaded but that they were at the bottom of it, who finding themselves suspected, held several consultations for their own safety, but came to no resolution. The Regent in the mean while having raised some troops either by threats or fair words, prevailed with most of the malecontents to submit and reconcile themselves to the King, others fled into foreign nations, and some few were exemplarily punished, whereby the country was restored to its former tranquillity, and the Prince of Orange retired into Germany.

The Regent hereupon advised his Catholick Majesty to come into the Netherlands in person without many forces, and endeavour to reconcile his Flemish subjects to him: but his Majesty being influenced by the Duke of Alva, determined to take this opportunity of reducing the Netherlands entirely under his power, and accordingly sent D'Alva with a body of Veteran troops from Italy into the Netherlands, where he was no sooner arrived but he took the Earls of Egmont and Hoorn into custody, whom he charged with being the authors of the late insurrection, declaring all that had been concerned in the late association, and the demolishing of images, to be guilty of high treason.

He proceeded also to erect a court of judicature, consisting of twelve judges, for the trial of these matters, from the severity of whose proceedings this court obtained the name of *The Bloody Council*. Before this tribunal the Prince of Orange, and some other Lords who had fled, were summoned, and on their not appearing were declared traitors, and their estates confiscated; nor were the common people treated with less severity, which so terrified the inhabitants, that they quit their dwellings in crowds, and fled to foreign countries; while Duke D'Alva erected citadels in several great cities, the better to awe the people and prevent any future insurrection.

The Prince of Orange in the mean time assembled a considerable force in Germany, with part of which he detached his brother LEWIS to fall into Friesland, where he defeated Count Artemberg the Governor of the province; but Duke D'Alva having caused the Earls of Egmont and

Hoorn to be beheaded, marched against him in person, and having routed his troops, fell upon the Prince of Orange, who had invaded Brabant, and entirely dispersed his forces. Upon which success D'Alva erected a magnificent statue of himself at Antwerp, in memory of his victories, where he was represented trampling on the States of the Netherlands; and having formed a design of subduing this people with their own money, he levied a tax upon them of the hundredth penny of their whole estates, the twentieth penny of their immoveables, and the tenth of all moveables, as often as they were sold, which provoked the Netherlanders to the last degree; and while he was busy in raising these taxes by force on the inhabitants of Brussels, who refused to pay them, he received advice that the exiled Flemings, denominated the *Sea Geusen*, being turned privateers, had with twenty-four ships under the command of the Earl of March, surprised the city of Briel in Holland, and that many other towns in Holland had revolted from the Spaniards; and it is looked upon to be one of the greatest errors in the Duke of Alva's conduct, that he did not in four years of his regency make any provision for the security of the sea-coasts.

But to return, the revolted towns having chosen the Prince of Orange for their General, and sworn allegiance to him as the King's Stadtholder, were joined by many privateers from England and France; insomuch, that in the space of four months they increased to a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, who had their rendezvous at Flushing in Zealand, and distressed the Spaniards more than all the forces of the malecontents by land.

About the same time the Earl of Berg took several places in Guelderland, Friesland, and Overijssel; and LEWIS of Nassau, with the assistance of the French, surprised the city of Mons, which the Duke D'Alva soon after retook, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Prince of Orange to relieve it, who found himself obliged to retire into Holland. D'Alva afterwards repossessed himself of Mechlin, which city had declared for the Prince. He also retook Zutphen, and having made himself master of Naerden and Haerlem, treated the citizens with the utmost barbarity; and if D'Alva be not misrepresented, he used to boast that besides the numbers he had destroyed by the sword during his six years administration, he had caused eighteen thousand of the natives to be executed by the hangman; but the Spanish court finding that the Netherlands were never like to be reduced by these violent methods, thought fit to recall D'Alva in the year 1573, and to appoint LEWIS REQUESENES a man of a milder temper, to succeed him.

REQUESENES at his entry on the government of the Netherlands, finding the city of Middelburgh besieged by the Prince of Orange, sent a fleet to its relief; but had the misfortune of seeing it destroyed, and the town soon after surrendered to the Prince. On the other hand the Princes LEWIS and HENRY of Nassau, brothers to the Prince of Orange, bringing a reinforcement of troops to the confederates from Germany, were attacked and defeated by the Spaniards near Grave, and both of them killed in the field of battle. The Spaniards afterwards sat down before Leyden, and reduced the place to great extremities; but the besieged cutting their dykes, overflowed the country, and obliged the Spaniards

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CHAP. I. Spaniards to rise from before it. About the same time the Spanish troops mutinied for want of pay, and lived upon free quarters at Antwerp and other places, which still more incensed the Netherlanders against the government; and the following year 1576, REQUESENES dying, the council of state took the administration into their hands, when the outrages of the Spanish soldiers continuing, they were declared enemies, and the Flemings were permitted to take up arms against them, which however could not prevent Maastricht and Antwerp's being plundered by them.

These distractions induced the council to enter into a treaty of pacification with the Prince of Orange at Ghent, wherein it was agreed, that peace should be restored, and the proclamation issued during the regency of the Duke of Alva revoked, and the Spanish troops be withdrawn out of the country; which treaty was ratified by the King, and he soon after constituted his natural brother Don JOHN Governor of the Netherlands; of whose administration the Prince of Orange was extremely jealous, and cautioned the Netherlanders against admitting him amongst them; but upon his subscribing the treaty of pacification made at Ghent, and engaging to dismiss the Spanish soldiers, he was received as their Viceroy by a great majority.

The Prince of Orange hereupon retired with his friends into Holland and Zealand, and Don JOHN soon discovered that their fears were not altogether groundless, by his surprising the castle of Namur. The Flemings endeavoured to retake the city, and sent for the Prince of Orange to command their forces, constituting him Grand Bailiff of Brabant, which created the Prince some envy among his confederates, and particularly the Duke of Arschot seemed to be highly offended at the conferring on him this mark of distinction; whereupon they invited MATTHIAS, Archduke of Austria, to be their General, who was received as well by the party of the Prince of Orange as the rest of the confederates, as their Governor, upon condition that the Prince should be his Lieutenant, and that the Archduke should not transact any thing of moment without the consent of the States.

In the mean time ALEXANDER, Duke of Parma, being sent into the Low Countries to the assistance of Don JOHN, defeated the army of the confederates near Gemblours, and afterwards took the cities of Louvain, Limburgh, Philipville, and several other places, whereby the allies were reduced to great extremities; and finding themselves an unequal match for the veteran troops lately arrived from Spain and Italy, they offered to put themselves under the protection of HENRY III. King of France; who refusing to be concerned with them, they next offered to submit to the Duke of Alençon his brother, who thereupon immediately repaired to the Netherlands, and took upon him the government of the confederated States, but found such divisions and misunderstandings among the chiefs of the party, who seemed to be unwilling to be under any command, that he could effect nothing of moment. There appeared also an irreconcilable enmity between the Protestants and Papists at this time, the one being for allowing liberty of conscience to all persuasions, and the other opposing it; particularly the provinces of Artois and Hainault, and some other cities, appeared so very

zealous for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, that they set up a new faction, which obtained the name of the Malecontents, about which time Don JOHN of Austria died, leaving the regency to the Duke of Parma, who was confirmed therein by the King of Spain.

The Duke began his regency very successfully, with the taking of Maastricht, and by treaty prevailed with the provinces of Artois, Hainault and the Walloon Flanders to submit to the King of Spain. Whereupon the Prince of Orange finding from the difference of religion, and the factions among the heads of the party, that it was not practicable to unite all the provinces of the Netherlands in one confederacy, applied himself chiefly to the provinces of Holland, Friesland, Zealand, Guelderland and Utrecht, over whom he had the greatest influence; and having procured an Assembly of their deputies, or representatives at Utrecht in the year 1579, formed an alliance or confederacy amongst them, which afterwards obtained the name of *The Union of Utrecht*, and was the foundation of that state which is at present known by the name of *The United Provinces*; and in this union were afterwards included the provinces of Overijssel and Groningen.

The principal terms of which confederacy were, that these seven provinces should unite themselves, as if they were but one province, never to be divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement; reserving however to every particular province, all their respective rights, liberties and customs; in determining whereof, or any other differences which should arise in any of the provinces, the rest should not intermeddle further than by their intercession for an agreement. They also mutually bound themselves to assist each other with their lives and fortunes against all attacks made upon them on pretence of sovereignty, religion, &c. And it was agreed, that all frontier towns belonging to the union should be fortified at the charges of the Province where situated, but where new fortresses should be erected, the generality should bear the charge. That all duties and customs should be farmed out to the best bidder, and the royal revenues employed in their common defence. That all the inhabitants of the provinces from eighteen to sixty should be mustered and disciplined; and neither peace or war be concluded, or taxes levied without the consent of all the provinces; and all differences that should arise thereon should be submitted to the Stadtholder. As to religion, the respective provinces might regulate it as they saw fit, provided a free toleration were allowed, and no person examined or called in question for his persuasion in that point. The States, it was agreed, should be assembled as heretofore; and if any differences should arise in the interpretation of these articles, they should be determined by the States, and in case they could not agree, by the Stadtholder.

These Confederated Provinces were reduced to that distress at this time, that on a medal, which was struck on occasion of their union, they represented their new state as a ship without sails or rudder, left to the mercy of the waves, with this inscription, *Incertum quo fata ferant*. In the mean time a general peace was treating of at Cologne by the mediation of the Emperor, which the Prince of Orange endeavoured by all means possible to obstruct, being assured that if it took place, the Spaniards would sooner or later revenge themselves upon

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The original of the United Provinces.

1579.

The first terms of their union.

Distress of the United Provinces.



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upon him and his party. As his fortune therefore wholly depended on establishing the abovesaid union, his first endeavour was to render a reconciliation with their Sovereign, the King of Spain, impracticable; whereupon he prevailed with the Provinces to renounce all allegiance to his Catholic Majesty, who he put them in mind had violated their privileges which he had sworn to observe, and put them upon making choice of the Duke of Alençon for their Sovereign, with whom it is said he had made a secret treaty to share the Netherlands between them. And the judicious PUFFENDORF assures us, that the States of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht were at this time for making the Prince of Orange their Sovereign, and would certainly have effected it afterwards, if his unexpected death had not prevented it.

In the mean time the Spaniards continued very successful in the Netherlands, taking the cities of Bois-le-Duc, Breda, Tournay, Valenciennes, Mechlin, &c. which induced several great men among the malecontents to go over to their party; but the Duke of Alençon having the sovereignty thus conferred upon him, was so fortunate as to raise the siege of Cambray, which was besieged by the Spaniards, and caused himself the next year to be proclaimed Duke of Brabant at Antwerp, and Earl of Flanders in Ghent; but his power being limited within very narrow bounds by the States, he was advised by his friends to endeavour to render himself absolute: whereupon he took a resolution of surprising Antwerp, and some other cities of the Confederates; but notwithstanding several thousands of his French troops had privately gotten into Antwerp, they were driven out again by the Burghers with considerable loss. The like attempts were made by the French the same day on several other towns, but they had not the fortune to succeed any where except at Dunkirk, Dendermonde and Dixmude: but by this ill-concerted attempt, the French having lost all their credit in the Netherlands, the Duke of Alençon, in the utmost confusion at his disappointment, returned to France, where he died not long after, and the Duke of Parma retook the towns of Dunkirk, Newport, Winoxbergen, Menin, Alost, and the rest of the places in Flanders which had declared for the Confederates, and Ypres and Bruges submitted to him without striking a stroke.

The  
Prince of  
Orange  
assassinated.

1584.

The same year (anno 1584) the United Provinces received a fatal blow by the death of the Prince of Orange, who was assassinated by BALTHAZAR GERHARD, a Burgundian, in his palace at Delft; whereupon the States of Holland made his younger son, Prince MAURICE, their Stadtholder, who being then but seventeen years of age, the Earl of Hohenloe was constituted his Lieutenant. But such was their distress, that they offered the sovereignty of their provinces again to the King of France, who being involved in a civil war, could not assist them; and the Duke of Parma taking advantage of their confusion, reduced Antwerp, Dendermond, Ghent, Brussels, Mechlin and Nimeguen to the obedience of King PHILIP, which so terrified the Confederate States, that they implored the protection of Queen ELIZABETH in the most abject terms.

An alliance  
between  
England  
and the  
United  
Provinces.

The Queen, notwithstanding she did not think fit to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which was offered her, entered into a treaty with the Confederate States, whereby she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, which together with the forces of the States were

to be commanded by an English General: that the English forces should be paid by the Queen during the war, but the charges she should be at should be repaid upon a peace in manner following, viz. In the first year of the peace should be repaid the expences of the first year of the war, and the rest within four years afterwards, and that in the mean time, Flushing, the island of Briel, with the city and two forts upon it, with the castle of Ramekins in Walcheren, should be delivered up to the Queen as cautionary towns. That the said places, after the money repaid, should be restored again to the States, and not delivered to the Spaniards, or any other enemy of their state. That the English General and two others of the same nation should be admitted into the council of the Confederate Provinces; and that the States should not enter into any league with any other power without the concurrence of her Majesty; nor the Queen, on the other hand, enter into any treaty without their approbation. That ships for their common defence should be fitted out by both nations in equal numbers, to be commanded by the Admiral of England; and that the ports of both countries should be open to either party, with some other less material articles. In memory of which treaty the Zealanders in a transport of joy coined money stamped with a Lion (their arms) rising out of the waves with this inscription, *Luctor & emergo*, and on the reverse were the arms of the several cities of Zealand with this motto, *Autore Deo, favente Regina*.

The Queen at the same time published a declaration to justify her conduct in assisting the Netherlanders, wherein she says, that notwithstanding sovereign Princes are only accountable to God for their actions, she chose to acquaint the world, especially her friends and allies, with the justice of her proceedings in relieving the natives of the Low Countries, who had been long oppressed by wars and persecutions, and were now in danger of being brought into perpetual servitude by the Spaniards.

The  
Queen's  
declaration  
on there-  
upon.

She sets forth, that for time immemorial, England and the Low Countries had constantly traded together and entered into alliances for their mutual advantage, even when the country was governed by distinct Sovereigns, and every province had its peculiar Lord: That when they became united in the house of Burgundy, treaties of perpetual amity and for mutual commerce were entered into between the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgundy, and the subjects of either side had ever entertained the greatest kindness and friendship for each other, and trafficked together to their mutual advantage, and the enriching of their respective states, till the Spaniards and other foreigners being introduced into the country, contrary to the constitution of the government, had in a tyrannous manner, without any colour of law or justice, banished, murdered or destroyed the nobility and principal inhabitants; and though the beginning of these persecutions proceeded, as was pretended, from a zeal for the Romish religion, yet they spared not the catholicks or even ecclesiasticks; particularly they had executed Count EGOMONT, a gentleman well affected to the popish religion, and the glory of his country, who had been often victorious in the service of the King of Spain, and deserved another kind of treatment at his hands. That the Spaniards and other foreign troops had rendered the country de-



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That the French King observing the oppressions of this people, had promised them his protection; and when he was diverted from it by the succeeding civil wars, had recommended them to the care of her Majesty. That she had frequently represented to the King of Spain the ill consequences of treating his subjects in that barbarous manner, which must unavoidably compel them to look out for another Sovereign to protect them; which they might be justified in by the laws and constitutions of the country, that absolved the inhabitants of the Netherlands from their allegiance in cases of such general injustice and notorious breach of their privileges.

That the Queen was obliged in point of policy to prevent the Spaniards making a conquest of the Netherlands, which must very much endanger her own kingdoms; especially since his Catholick Majesty had already thought fit to foment and encourage the rebels of Ireland, and joined them with his own troops, which was alone sufficient to justify her conduct in assisting the Dutch upon their continual and lamentable requests for succour to defend them against the rage and cruelties of the Spaniards and other foreigners.

The first troops sent to their assistance.

Sir JOHN NORRIS commanded the first troops which were sent over to the Low Countries; but the Earl of Leicester, then the great favourite in the English court, soon procured that command to be conferred upon himself, with the title of General of the Queen of England's auxiliary forces. The Dutch received him with joyful acclamations, erected trophies to his honour, and pretended to esteem him their deliverer, constituting him Supreme Governor of the Confederate Provinces, and Generalissimo of their armies, and swore obedience to him. They also gave him the title of his Excellency, an honour till then never bestowed upon a subject of England. LEICESTER looking upon the Dutch to be sincere in their professions, and that they really intended he should have the sole government of their state, assumed a suitable authority, but soon found the great titles they had given him to be little more than compliment, being, in all matters of moment, controlled and opposed by a deputation of the States; which when he resented, they applied themselves to the Queen of England, insinuating that he designed to render himself absolute, and usurp the dominion of their country.

The Earl of Leicester made governor of the Netherlands.

Thus while the English General drew one way, and the chiefs of the Dutch another, it was not to be expected that their affairs should be managed to any great advantage, which gave frequent occasion for complaints on both sides; but this good effect however, the sending the English auxiliaries into Holland had, that their People were now no longer under apprehensions of being subdued by the Spaniards, and were at leisure to improve their foreign trade. The Squadrons the Queen sent to the West-Indies, also diverted the Spaniards from sending their fleets to the coasts of Holland, and gave the Dutch great opportunities of encreasing their shipping and extending their commerce.

Complaints against LEICESTER coming over daily from Holland, her Majesty thought fit to reprehend him for attempting a power she never intended him; and excommunicated him with the Dutch, for that without her knowledge, they had conferred the absolute government of the Confederate Pro-

vinces upon LEICESTER her subject, which she had refused herself; and by her manifesto declared, that she intended no more than to relieve her neighbours in distress, and not to take the sovereignty upon her. But however she might pretend to be angry both with the one and the other, LEICESTER was soon restored to her favour, and the States were effectually supplied from time to time both with money and troops, to oppose the Spaniards; who having discovered their intentions of invading England, she apprehended the Dutch might be of great use to her in opposing a descent; as they afterwards really were in the year 1588, by sending their ships to join her fleet, when the Invincible Armada, as it was called, was upon the English coast. As to LEICESTER, finding that he had only an appearance of an authority, and that in effect he must be subject to a clownish people, whom he infinitely contemned, he chose to resign his command, and return to England.

Upon LEICESTER's laying down his commission, 1588. the States thought fit to create Prince MAURICE, Prince of Orange, their Generalissimo; who being a good soldier, and supplied from England with money and recruits, and entirely confided in by the Dutch, began to act with great advantage against the Spaniards: Breda he took by stratagem, anno 1590, and in the following year he reduced Zutphen, Deventer-Hallst, and Nimeguen, under the power of the States. In the year 1592 died that fortunate General the Duke of Parma; whereupon the Spanish troops grew mutinous, and the Dutch advanced their conquests, almost without opposition, taking Stenwick, Coeverden, and Gertruydenburg; and in 1592 Groningen was reduced, which made the United Provinces intire and secure.

In the year 1596, ALBERT, Arch-duke of Austria, was made Governor of the Spanish Netherlands; and in the year 1598, King PHILIP gave his daughter ISABELLA-CLARA-EUGENIA to him in marriage, and with her, as a dowry, Burgundy and the Low-Countries; in hopes that the Netherlands, being thus, in appearance at least, freed from a foreign subjection by having a Prince of their own, Holland and the other Confederate Provinces, would be the easier induced to return to their allegiance. But the Hollanders, who had now tasted the sweets of sovereignty, and from the condition of distressed subjects were become a High and Mighty State, were not to be wrought upon by any artifice, but remained immoveably determined to maintain the dominion they had acquired; to which they were the more encouraged, from the vast successes they met with in their attacks of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the Indies at this time, where they found so immense a treasure, that their State grew incredibly rich, even while they were engaged in a war with the most potent Monarch of Europe.

The losses the Spaniards sustained at sea, and the apprehension of further mischief to their plantations in the east and west, made them at this time very desirous of peace, to which the Confederate Provinces seemed no less averse; nor would they enter into a treaty with Spain, or the Arch-duke, till he declared he would acknowledge them as free independent States, and condescended so far as to send his Plenipotentiaries to the Hague, where they were received by the States with much coldness and arrogance. The success of their arms by land for thirty years, the vast increase of their trade and naval power, made their people in general



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neral averſe to peace: they could never expect to meet with greater advantages by a treaty, than they reaped from their prizes and daily acquiſitions in the eaſt; by which many of the natives had made their fortunes, and many more were in expectation of raiſing them, if the war continued.

There were ſome conſiderations however, which prevailed with the wiſeſt among them at length to entertain more pacific thoughts: one whereof was the growing greatneſs of the French King, who, if he ſhould make a conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands, was likely to become an uneaſy neighbour to them; and the Spaniard was in no condition to prevent it, while he was engaged in a war with Holland. Another was a jealousy that Prince MAURICE, who had the chief command of their armies, and was become exceeding popular, as well by his own perſonal merit, as the memory of his father, who was aſſaſſinated for his ſervices to the States, ſhould aſpire to make himſelf Sovereign of the country; which he would not want an opportunity of effecting, if he remained at the head of ſo conſiderable an army of veterans devoted to his ſervice.

Such conſiderations as theſe, even in the miſt of their victories, prevailed with this cautious people to liſten to terms of accommodation: and in the year 1609 a truce was concluded between Spain and the Confederate Provinces for twelve years, by which the latter were to be treated as free States, and each party to remain in poſſeſſion of what they had taken.

Thus much ſeemed neceſſary to preface, before I entered upon the deſcription of the United Provinces, to ſhew the original of this mighty ſtate; which aroſe to that grandeur in the ſpace of fifty years, as to rival the moſt formidable Powers in Europe; to diſpute the dominion of the ſea even with Britain, which raiſed them from obſcurity to engroſs almoſt every valuable branch of trade.

A full account of theſe provinces will, 'tis preſumed, afford an agreeable entertainment to the Britiſh reader, and in ſome meaſure make him amend for the tedious deſcription of the petty principalities and ſtates of Germany that preceded it; which could not however be avoided in a work of this nature, the deſign whereof was to give the modern hiſtory of all nations, and people on the face of the globe, and eſpecially thoſe of Europe.

## CHAP. II.

*Treats of the ſituation and extent of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; of their ſea, harbours, lakes, rivers, dikes, and canals; and of the air, winds, ſeaſons, and diſeaſes.*

## CHAP. II.

THE ſeven United Provinces, conſiſting of Holland, Zealand, Frieſland, Groningen, Overyſſel, Guelderland with Zutphen, and Utrecht, are bounded by the German Ocean on the north and weſt, by the Circle of Weſtphalia on the eaſt, and by Flanders, Brabant, and the duchy of Cleve towards the ſouth; extending from 51 degrees 35 minutes, to 53 degrees 40 minutes, N. E. and from 3 degrees 20 minutes, to 6 degrees 30 minutes in longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; being about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and as many in breadth: but then the Zuiderſee, which ſeparates North Holland from Frieſland and Overyſſel, takes up a great part of this ſpace; and perhaps if all their ſea and lakes within the limits above-deſcribed were

excluded, the whole country could not appear to be above an hundred miles over either way. Indeed thoſe parts of Flanders and Brabant, which they have made themſelves maſters of, and lie contiguous to theſe provinces, are a conſiderable enlargement of their dominion; but theſe will be treated of in another place.

Theſe countries, according to ſome writers, have great part of them been gained out of the ſea, by caſting up banks and draining them. Others are of opinion that there has been a great deal of them loſt by inundations of the ſea and tempeſtuous ſeaſons, and both of them are certainly in the right; for their ſea and rivers appear to be in many places above the land at high-water, and are only kept out by prodigious banks of earth; and there have been inundations even in the memory of man, that have laid great tracts of land under water. The tops of ſteeples, or other high buildings, where towns and villages formerly ſtood, have been ſeen upon their coaſt at low-water; and the Zuiderſee, as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE judiciously obſerves, never having been mentioned by any Roman writer, makes it reaſonable to believe that it was formed by ſome great inundation, breaking in between the Texel and other iſlands which lie near together in a line, and look like the ſhattered remainders of a continued coaſt; and this is rendered the more probable, he further obſerves, from the ſhallowneſs of that ſea, and flatneſs of the ſand upon the whole extent of it. Other changes, he ſuppoſes, have happened in the face of theſe countries ſince the time of the Romans, by the ſands which have gathered at the mouths of their three great rivers, viz. the Rhine, the Maes, and the Scheld; for the ancient Rhine divided itſelf into two branches where the fort of Skenk, or Skenkenſcans, now ſtands, whereof one preſerved the name of the Rhine, and running by Leyden, diſcharged itſelf into the ocean at Catwick, where may ſtill be ſeen at low-water the ruins of an ancient Roman caſtle, which commanded the mouth of that river; but this branch is now choaked up, a great canal where the river once ran, only preſerving the name of the Old Rhine at preſent. The Maes ſeems to have kept it's ancient courſe, which, running by Dort and Rotterdam, diſcharges itſelf into the ocean near the Briel, as it did anciently, with a mighty torrent of water; but the ſands thrown up for three or four leagues upon this coaſt, make the harbour too dangerous to be entered without a pilot, and my author thinks it probable, that theſe ſands obſtructing the courſe of that river, have ſometimes occaſioned or increaſed thoſe inundations, by which ſo many iſlands have been formed in this part of the country. The Scheld the ſame writer thinks formerly fell into the ſea near Walcheren in Zealand, which was an iſland in the mouth of that river, till the waters of the Maes and Scheld were united together by ſome inundations of the ſea, by which the whole country was laid under water, and formed that inland ſea, which waſhes the coaſts of Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant, and ſerves for a paſſage between them. It is obſerved alſo, that the ſea for ſome leagues from Zealand lies upon ſuch banks of ſand as are found at the mouth of the Maes, but divided by deeper channels.

The occaſion of ſtopping up or obſtructing the paſſages of theſe rivers is held to proceed from the weſterly winds, which generally fit upon theſe ſhores; for one year with another it is obſerved, they



CHAP. II. they blow westerly here three parts of the year, and are much more violent than the east winds, which usually bring calm fair weather, and settled frosts. But to return to their rivers; that of the Rhine has been described already in the state of Germany as far as Skenkenschans, where it enters this country, and divides itself into two branches, one whereof retains the name of the Rhine, and continues its course to Arnheim, and so to Duyster de Wyck, where it mixes with.

The Leck. 2. The Leck, which afterwards continues its course to Schonhoven, and unites its waters with

The Waal the Maes a little above Rotterdam. 3. The Waal, the other branch of the Rhine, which begins at Skenkenschans, runs by Nimeguen and Brommel to Gorcum; and having joined the Meruwe, or New Maes, passes by Dort, and uniting with the Leck and the smaller Iffel, runs on to Rotterdam, where it is called, 4. The Maes, from a river with which it joins there, whose source is in Burgundy, from whence it runs to Namur, where it receives the Sambre; and then passing by Liege, Maastricht, Venlo, and Grave to Worcum, joins with the Waal, and runs in an united stream to Dort, where they divide again and form an island, but meet afterwards at Vlardigen, and discharge themselves into the ocean near the Briel. 5. The Iffel, which rising in Westphalia passes by Doesburg, where it is vastly augmented by a canal cut from the Rhine by the order of Drusus Nero, as 'tis said, from whence it runs by Deventer, separating the provinces of Guelderland and Overijssel, and falls into the Zuidersee near Campen. There is,

The lesser Iffel. 6. Another small river called the Iffel, which is rather a branch of the Leck, dividing from it near Vianen, and running towards Rotterdam, falls into the Maes. 7. The Scheld, which rising in Picardy, runs by Cambray, Valenciennes, and Oudenard to Ghent, where it joins the Lis, and passes on to Dendermond and Antwerp, which was once a good harbour, and one of the greatest marts in the Netherlands. A little below Antwerp it divides itself into two branches, one

The Hont whereof is called the Westerscheld, or the Hont, which divides Flanders from Zealand, and discharges itself into the sea at Flushing. The other called the Osterscheld, dividing from the Westerscheld at Santvliet, runs by Bergenopzoom, and afterwards between Tolen and South Bevelandt falls into the sea with a violent torrent.

Seas. The seas which border on the seven provinces are either the German or the British ocean, which wash the northern and western shores; the Zuidersee, enclosed almost on every side, having the islands of Schelling, Ameland, &c. on the north, the provinces of Friesland and Guelderland on the east, Utrecht and part of Holland on the south, with another part of Holland and the islands of the Texel and Flie upon the west; being about seventy miles in length, and half as much in breadth, exceeding shallow and full of sands, as has been intimated already; so that the entrance of it at the Texel, and the passage over it, according to a late writer, is more dangerous than a voyage to Spain. And such is the violence and rage of the sea, when the wind blows a storm at north-west, if it happens to be a spring-tide, that their strongest dikes sometimes give way, and threaten the destruction of all the maritime provinces; for the land lies so exceeding low and flat, that the flood often appears above it; and were it not for the islands of the Flie, the Texel and Schelling, and some sand-hills, which break the

force of the sea, inundations would be much more frequent than they are. Their dikes to keep out the sea are generally seventeen ells thick at bottom, and seven ells high, made as strong to the landward as wood and stone can make them; and towards the water they cover them with mats, rushes, and sea-weed, and sometimes with sail-cloth; but the raging waves often force their way through all. In the year 1530, the sea broke in and overflowed great part of Zealand; and in 1568, it rose to that height, that it covered some of the islands of Zealand, drowned great part of the coast of Holland, and almost all Friesland, swallowing up seventy-two villages, and destroying twenty thousand people in Friesland only; but many people however were saved by getting up trees, the tops of houses, or rising grounds, who were afterwards brought off in boats. Another inundation happened in 1655, and a much greater in 1665; when the sea broke in with such violence between the Texel and the Helder, that it carried away part of the village of Huysdunen, laid all the country under water between Wiring and Zyp, broke the dike of Horn in pieces at two places, and came up to the gates of Medenblich, drowning many villages, and turning a large tract of land into a continued sea, whereby numbers of people and cattle were destroyed. The dike of Muydenberg was also broken down, and all the country round Naerden, Myden, and Wesop, as far as Loren in Goyland, and Balecorn in the province of Utrecht, were laid under water. The gates and fortifications of Naerden were ruined, and that strong rampart of stone called the Asses Back driven away in a moment, and a hole left where it stood thirty-six feet deep. In Amsterdam the Newen-dike, with the street upon it, and the adjoining market-place was overflowed. The dike betwixt Amsterdam and Haerlem broke in the middle thirty or forty rods, so that there was thirty-three foot of water in those parts, and a great part of Waterland was entirely swallowed up. Other inundations happened in the years 1682 and 1717, which 'tis said did as much mischief as any of those mentioned already. The banks of their rivers are also broken down, sometimes by shoals of ice and land-floods, as it happened in 1638, when the Iffel-dike near Utrecht giving way, most part of Holland was laid under water; but the dike was speedily repaired, and the country drained by their wind-mills, of which they have great numbers on purpose for carrying off the winter's rain and melted snow, which in the spring overflows the country, and makes it appear like a sea, the towns and villages built upon the rising grounds looking like so many islands: and indeed after the greatest inundations from the sea, when part of the coast seems to be irrecoverably lost, they will by their mills throw out the water, and repair their dikes, and in a few months the country recovers much the same face as it had before.

Notwithstanding this country is so famous for its trade and multitude of shipping, there is scarce a good harbour upon the coast; the best are said to be Flushing, Helvoetsluys, and Rotterdam. As for Amsterdam, which has in a manner engrossed the trade of the world, there cannot be a more incommodious haven, being seated in so shallow a water, that ordinary ships cannot come near it, unless at high-water, nor vessels of burthen without unloading.



After the seas already mentioned, their lakes may deserve to be remembred, which are only lesser seas furrounded by the land, of which there are a great many in the United Provinces; the chief whereof is Haerlem-Meer, extending almost from Amsterdam to Leyden, being sixteen or eighteen miles long, and about half as broad, but grows larger every day, encroaching on the lands contiguous to it, which has occasioned some to project the draining of it, as other lakes have been, and proved to be a very good soil, when laid dry; particularly one of two leagues broad Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE mentions in North Holland, which has been made firm land; being that part of the country called the Bemster, now the richest soil in the province, lying upon a level divided by canals, and the ways through it planted with rows of trees, which make a most agreeable summer's landscape. Indeed the whole country is cut through with canals, which lead to every town and village, and even to every farm-house almost; and we see such an infinite number of sails, says my author, steering every way through the land, that one would be tempted to think there were as many people live upon the water as on shore; which he observes is a great advantage to their trade, and not to be imitated by any other country, where there is not the same level and softness of earth, which makes the cutting of canals so easy as to be attempted by almost every private man.

Their seas, rivers, and canals afford them plenty of fish; but there are some kinds which they are obliged chiefly to the coast of Britain for, particularly herrings, oysters, and many other kinds of shell-fish: but I design to treat particularly of their fisheries hereafter, and therefore content my self with the bare mention of them here, and proceed next to enquire into the air and seasons.

The air of this country, says Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, would be all fog and mist, if it was not purified by the sharpness of their frosts, which never fail to visit them with every east wind for about four months in the year, and are much feverer than with us, though there be scarce any difference in the latitude, because this wind comes to them over a long tract of frozen continent; but is moistened by the vapours, or softened by the warmth of the sea's motion before it reaches us. This, says the same writer, is the greatest disadvantage of trade occasioned by their situation, tho' it be extremely necessary for their health; for their harbours are frequently shut up two or three months together in winter by the ice, when ours are open, especially those in the Zuidersee. The spring is much shorter and less agreeable in the United Provinces than in England. The winter colder, and some parts of the summer much hotter; nor is it uncommon for the violence of the one to give way to that of the other, without any intermediate temperate season. The moistness of the air, the same ingenious writer is of opinion, was originally the occasion of that great neatness observed in their houses, and the cleanness of their streets, for without this their country would scarce be habitable, the air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the natives to infectious distempers; which they seldom escape three summers together as it is, especially at Leyden, where the waters stagnate more than in any other part of the country; and this is supposed to be the reason why Leyden is one of the cleanest towns in Holland. This moisture of the air also causes metals to rust, and wood to mould sooner than in o-

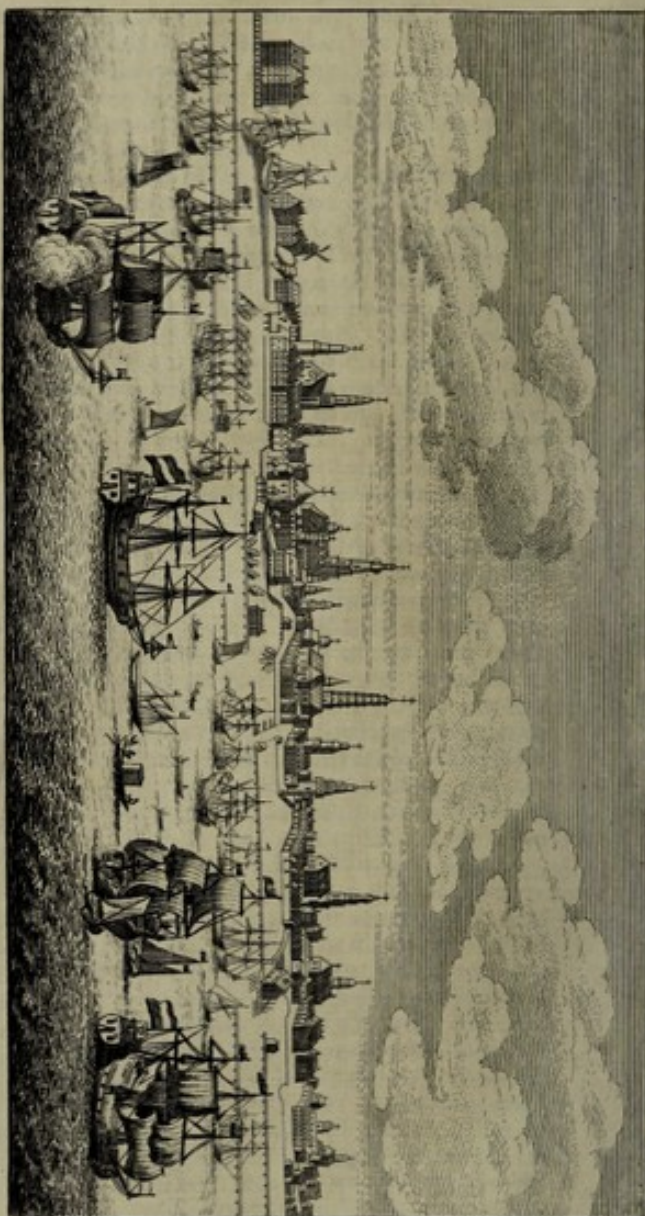
ther places, which occasions their perpetual rubbing and scouring; and this is the reason of that brightness and cleanness which seems affected in their houses. DE WITT their countryman observes, that the winters in Holland are sharp and long, and consequently that they have more occasion for light, firing, clothing, and food than in warmer countries: That their cattle are forced to be housed and fed with dry meat great part of the winter; when in other countries in the same latitude they remain all winter in the field. The seasons also are so short, that they must be punctually observed, if they expect their arable lands should yield them any profit. And the neighbourhood of the sea does not only occasion unwholesome weather in spring and autumn, but cold winds blast most of the fruit; and in autumn great part of their unripe fruit is blown down by furious storms of wind.

The diseases of the country are chiefly the gout and the scurvy, but in hot and dry summers they are visited with malignant fevers, especially at Amsterdam and Leyden. These distempers lie most in the head, and frequently occasion sudden death. If the patient recovers he continues a great while in a languishing condition. The plague is seldom known here, or at least all talk of it is suppressed, and no distinction made, as with us, what distemper every one dies of. Nor do they take much care of their sick; which my author ascribes to their firm belief in predestination, or to their preferring trade and business even to life itself. Foreigners, it is observed, are frequently subject to the spleen in this country, which the natives seldom are, being too busy a people, it is supposed, to be affected by this distemper; this seeming to be the disease of the idle, or of those who think themselves ill entertained, who are never out of humour or discomposed, but they attribute it to a formal disease: whereas such dull fits frequently happen from the changes of the wind or weather, which affect the finer spirits of the brain before they grow sensible in other parts, and are apt to alter the shapes and colours of whatever is represented to us by our imaginations, while we are so affected. Yet this effect is not so strong, but business or intention of thought will either resist or divert it, in the opinion of my author, who observes further, that this is a disease too refined for this heavy people, who are well when they are not ill, and pleased when they are not troubled; content because they think little of it, and seek their happiness in the common satisfactions and conveniences of life, or the increase of riches, not amusing themselves with more speculative entertainments, or refinements of pleasure. But to return: Long life is a blessing seldom known in this country, both men and women begin to decay very early, especially at Amsterdam; and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE seems to remark it as an uncommon thing, that he had seen at the Hague (the best air in Holland) two men above seventy; which may possibly proceed from their diet, and want of exercise, as well as from the badness of the air; for dried and salted flesh and fish are their usual food, and brandy and geneva very commonly drank. They scarce know what rural sports mean; neither do they ride on horseback, or walk from one town to another about their business, but are drawn along by a horse in a covered boat upon a smooth canal, scarce sensible of any motion; which too I take to be the occasion that they are generally corpulent and full of gross humours.









## ROTTERDAM

- a. Leene Haven
- b. Scheep makers Haven
- c. Nieu Haven
- d. De Bleack
- e. De Oude Haven
- f. Harwich whic
- g. Suten Timmerwerf
- h. De Maas River
- i. De Nieuwe Haven
- h. t. J. Maas Huis
- l. J. Laurens Kerk
- m. De Boven
- n. De Kopersen Kruis





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## CHAP. III.

*Contains a description of the particular provinces, and of their chief towns, with their publick and private buildings and furniture.*

## CHAP. III.

Holland province, the situation and extent.

Divided into South and North Holland.

Chief towns of South Holland.

Islands.

Amsterdam, the capital city.

THE most considerable of the seven provinces is that of Holland, in many respects equal to the other six; bounded by the Zuidersee on the north; by the same sea and the province of Utrecht and Betawe on the east; by Brabant and Zealand on the south; and by the British Ocean on the west; extending in length from north to south about eighty miles, and in breadth from east to west forty miles in some places, but in others not above twenty; and is usually divided into South and North Holland. South Holland contains all that country between Zealand and Brabant, and that arm of the sea which usually goes by the name of the river Y or Ty; and North Holland reaches from the same river Y to the ocean.

The principal towns in South Holland are Amsterdam, Haerlem, Rotterdam, Dort, Delft, Leyden, Goude, Gorcum, Scheidam, Schoonhoven, Gravesand, Gertrudenburg, Huesden, Worum, Vianen, Woerden, Oudewater, Yfelsein, Asperen, Hockelem, Leerdam, Naerden, Wesep, Muyden, Klundert, Williamstad, the Hague, Catwyckopzee, and Nortwick. The islands belonging to South Holland, are those of Voorn, Goree, Overstaikee, Putten, Beverland, Korndyck, and Helmond; the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

1. Amsterdam, the capital of Holland, and of the seven provinces, is situate on the little river Amstel, which runs through it, and falls into that arm of the sea called the Y, that lies on the north side of the town, and forms a large harbour. It is in the latitude of fifty-two degrees twenty minutes, four degrees and a half to the eastward of London, twelve miles east of Haerlem, and about thirty N. E. of Rotterdam. This city is almost in the form of a crescent, the foundations laid upon vast piles of timber, drove into the earth at a prodigious expence, the place where it stands being a perfect morass or bog. The first mention of this place in history is about the year 1300, when it was a poor fisher-town; in 1342 the buildings were pretty much increased on the east side of the Amstel; and in 1400 some buildings were added on the west side of the river. In 1482, their Princess MARY of Burgundy encompassed it with a strong brick-wall of extraordinary workmanship, as appears by two gates still remaining. In 1585 we find it still farther enlarged, and become the chief town of trade in these provinces. In 1656 a large space of ground was taken in and built upon, and the whole surrounded with a new wall of brick and gates of stone, which gave it the present form of a crescent, and it's circumference is now computed to be about half as much as London and Westminster: others assure us that it stands upon two thousand acres of ground. A great addition was made to the fortifications in the year 1672, when LEWIS XIV. invaded their country, which occasioned the destruction of several fine gardens: but the town was thereby made as strong as it was capable of being by art. Three parts of it are defended by a strong wall, bastions, and outworks, and a large graff or ditch, and the fourth secured by that arm of the sea already mentioned, called the Y or Ty. The houses

are generally well-built with brick and stone, the streets broad and neatly paved, with canals in the middle of many of them, planted with rows of trees, and handfom stone-bridges over their canals.

Their finest streets are the Heer-graff, the Keysergraff, and the Prince's-graff, where many of the houses are of free-stone, and adorned with columns of the Corinthian Order. The street of Haerlem also is admired for it's length and breadth, and three stone-bridges laid across the canal. The harbour always contains an infinite number of ships, especially in the spring, when may be seen fifteen or sixteen hundred vessels setting sail for the Baltick only. There are not however in this great city more than thirteen churches for those of the established religion, which is that of JOHN CALVIN, or the Presbyterian, with two French, one High Dutch, and one English church, all Presbyterians; these only are allowed bells, and their preachers maintained by the government. Those of this sect are computed to make one third of the inhabitants of the city. The Papists, who have upwards of fourscore chapels or private meeting-houses, are supposed to make another third. These have a square in the town inhabited by nuns, who are at liberty however to leave their cloyster, and marry if they please. The Roman Catholics are least in favour with the government of any of the inhabitants, and their chapels are sometimes shut up by the Scout or Sheriff, and opened again upon application made to the magistrates. The Lutherans, Arminians, Jews, English Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers take up another third part of the town; and all these, except the disciples of CALVIN, are restrained from celebrating their marriages according to their respective rites, till the parties have been first married before a magistrate, nor are any admitted to offices or places of trust but Presbyterians.

Their churches are generally handfom structures, that of St. CATHERINE'S is esteemed the finest, having been burnt down in the year 1645, and since magnificently built; in the paintings of the windows is represented the Emperor MAXIMILIAN giving them an Imperial crown, as a crest to their arms. The pulpit is said to be a master-piece of it's kind, adorned with the most exquisite carvings; and the organ the largest and best in Europe, at least at the time it was set up, and is supported by marble pillars. The partition which separates the church from the chancel is of polished brass, kept as bright as possible; but to say the truth, we must not expect to find the churches of the Dutch Presbyterians comparable to those in Roman Catholick countries, either for the elegancy of the building, paintings, carvings, ornaments, or the richness of the materials, and therefore I shall not tire the reader with a further description of this or the rest, but proceed to the Stadt-houfe or Guild-hall, on which building alone the Dutch seem to have laid out much more money than on all the churches in this great city.

The Stadt-houfe is a handfom oblong square building of free-stone; the front, which is the length of it, extending two hundred and eighty-two feet, the breadth two hundred and thirty-two feet, and the height of the roof one hundred and sixteen feet. The pillars are of the Corinthian Order; and it is founded upon above thirteen thousand vast piles of wood, driven into the earth with incredible labour. In the middle of



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the front, over the cornice, is a noble piece of carving in marble, eighty-two feet in length, and eighteen in height; where the city of Amsterdam is represented by a woman, with Neptune on her right hand, and two sea-nymphs offering her the fruits of the earth, and on her left are two Naiades, presenting her with laurels and palms; and before her are two Tritons, dancing and founding their horns; over these is a statue of brass representing Peace, with Justice on one side, and Providence on the other; each figure twelve foot in height. On the back part of the building is a piece of carved work, answerable to that in the front; in the middle whereof sits a woman with the wings of a Mercury and a hat on her head; behind her are seen the masts, sails, yards, and tackling of ships, with all kind of mathematical instruments used in navigation; round about her and at her feet lies that arm of the sea called the Y, and the river Amstel; and on each side the inhabitants of the four quarters of the world offering her fruits; over these also are placed three images of brass, of the same dimensions with those in the front; one whereof is an ATLAS, bearing a large globe of copper ten feet diameter, having on the right a statue representing Temperance, and another personating Justice on the left. Over the four corners of the building stand four eagles of brass finely gilt, supporting an Imperial crown; and in the middle of the building is a handsome round tower, which rises fifty foot above the roof, supported by pillars, and adorned with statues, and in it is a fine chime of bells, on which are played all manner of tunes on their festivals and rejoicing days: but the bells in the Low Countries are never rung out as they are in England. The portico, which is not answerable to the magnificence of the building, is entered by seven little arched doors; within the portico are two large gates or doors, which lead into the house. At the entrance on the right-hand is a noble hall, where a tribunal is held for the trial of criminals, adorned with marble statues, whose dejected looks seem to express a concern, say some, for the unhappy wretches that are brought before this court; or, as others, that they represent the prisoners themselves full of that confusion, which is natural to persons in their circumstances, expecting their doom. The cornices and cielings of most of the rooms are finely carved, painted, and gilded, and the floors laid with marble. Below stairs is the office of the bank, and the prisons both for debtors and criminals, with a guard-chamber, where the citizens have their main guard, and where the keys of the city are locked up every night. From hence a handsome broad pair of stairs, but something dark, leads into the Burghers hall, which is an hundred and twenty foot long, fifty-seven broad, and ninety-eight foot in height; the marble-floor whereof is so laid as to represent, without any other lines than the veins of the stone, the celestial and terrestrial globes, the constellations in the heavens, and the situation of every country upon earth. Each of these marble-maps, as they are stiled, being two and twenty feet diameter. At the end of this hall is the Schepens or Aldermens's chamber, where civil causes are tried: and in the galleries, which surround two square courts, are several other chambers and offices belonging to the government; as the chamber of their senate or council, the Burgomasters chamber, the treasury, the chamber of accounts, &c. Over these chambers in the second story is a large magazine

of arms; and on the top of the building are eight large cisterns of water, which are conveyed to any room in the house by pipes in cases of fire, and the very chimneys, by way of prevention, are lined with copper. On a pedestal of black marble, whereon is placed a statue of the blessed Virgin, is a Latin inscription, importing that the first stone of this noble structure was laid on the 28th of October, 1648; when the war, which the States had maintained in almost every part of the world above fourscore years, in defence of their religion and liberties, against the three PHILIPS of Spain, was happily concluded. Their magistrates first assembled in it in the year 1655, but it is not yet entirely finished; which some conjecture proceeds from an old prophecy, that from the time their Stadthouse is finished, their state shall begin to decline.

Other publick buildings in Amsterdam which travellers take notice of, are the admiralty-office, the East-India-house, the arsenal, the hospitals for widows and orphans, from which bastards are not excluded, for madmen, sick and aged, the house of correction, spin-house, or work-house, the publick schools, where lectures are read on several faculties, and the Exchange. In their hospitals of all kinds, it is said, there are not less than twenty thousand souls maintained: and it is observed of them, as of those in England, that they resemble Princes palaces rather than the habitations of poor people. There are houses also where a person may have his diet and lodging for life on the advancement of a small sum of money, which are called the Proveniers-houses: and at every house almost in the city there hangs a poor's box by a chain, in which people put money as they are disposed, especially on a sale of goods, or any considerable bargain; and the deacons go once a quarter round the city, and take the money out of these boxes: there are also twice a week men that belong to the hospitals who go round the city with a bell, and ask relief at every house, and are seldom dismissed without some pence. They have several other ways of raising money for their poor, as by the play-houses, that pay half their gains to this use: every rope-dancer, puppet-player, and person pretending to divert the people at fairs by any means whatever, also pays a third part of his gains to the poor. Every person who passes through a gate after candle-light pays a penny to the use of the poor: and what these, and some other little taxes fall short of maintaining their hospitals, is supplied out of the publick revenue. As to the government of this city, I shall have occasion to enlarge upon it hereafter under another head, and proceed next to describe some other considerable towns in this province.

2. Haerlem, a large populous city, twelve miles to the westward of Amsterdam, and four to the eastward of the ocean, surrounded with a wall, and other fortifications, but of no great strength. The buildings are of brick, the streets wide and strait, and canals in the middle of several of them, as at Amsterdam. It was made a Bishop's See in the year 1559, but lost that honour soon after, on the States throwing off their allegiance to the Spaniard, and embracing Calvinism. The cathedral church, now called the great church, is esteemed the largest and most beautiful in Holland. Their manufactures consist chiefly in silks, velvet and linens: the linen they make here is esteemed the finest and whitest in the province. They have also a considerable trade for thread and tapes.



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tapes. Here the famous LAWRENCE COSTER dwelt, to whom the Dutch ascribe the invention of printing, anno 1440; which is disputed with them by the citizens of Mentz in Germany. This town is famous also for the brave defence it made against the Spaniards in the year 1573, when the women formed themselves into regiments and companies to assist the burghers; but being obliged to surrender after ten months gallant defence, the Spaniards exercised great cruelties on the inhabitants, destroying many of them in cold blood. To the southward of the town lies the lake called Haerlem-meer, which extends eastward almost as far as Amsterdam, and southward to Leyden, a shallow, but dangerous water for the passage-boats, which was probably the occasion of cutting canals from this city to Amsterdam and Leyden, on which people travel with all the safety and ease imaginable.

Rotter-  
dam.

3. Rotterdam, esteemed the chief town in Holland next to Amsterdam, situate on the north side of the Maes, about thirty miles to the southward of Amsterdam, and fifteen to the eastward of the Briel, is a large city of a triangular figure, and very populous, lying mighty convenient for trade, the canals, which run thro' the town, bringing up their shipping to their doors. Another great advantage they have, is, that the Maes is open, and the passage free from ice much sooner in the spring than in the Y and Zuidersee that lead to Amsterdam, which is the reason that the British merchants frequent this port much more than that; inasmuch, that after a frost, when the sea was open, there hath been seen three hundred sail of British vessels steering out of this harbour at once. The town is handsomely built of brick, the streets wide and well paved; and there are four churches besides that of the English (where the service is performed according to the rites of the church of England) and a kirk for the Scots. Here are constantly residing great numbers of the subjects of Britain, who live in much the same manner as on this side the water, not being confined to Dutch diet, as in some other towns. The publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are, the great church of St. LAWRENCE, the Stadt-house, the Exchange, the Admiralty-office, and the East-India-house, which are handsom structures, but not thought worth a particular description: upon the great bridge in the market-place is a noble brass statue of ERASMUS, in a furred gown and a round cap, with a book in his hand. The situation of this place is pleasant, and from the top of the great church may be seen the Hague, Delft, Leyden, Dort, and most of the towns of South-Holland. But the canals in Rotterdam having little or no current in summer, the stagnated water proves very offensive as well as unhealthful.

Leyden.

4. Leyden, or *Leyda*, the *Lugdunum Batavorum* of the Latins, four miles to the eastward of the Ocean, and eighteen miles south of Amsterdam, stands on the old channel of the Rhine, the mouth whereof being now choaked up, occasions the waters to stagnate, which renders the air unhealthful. It is however esteemed one of the neatest and pleasantest towns in the Low Countries, and the largest in Holland next to Rotterdam: the buildings beautiful and magnificent, the streets broad and exceeding clean, with canals in the middle of them planted with rows of trees. This city is surrounded with a wall, and regularly fortified, and endured a siege of five months in the year 1574, when finding them-

selves in danger of being taken by the Spaniards, they laid the country round about it under water, and compelled the enemy to rise from before it. In the middle of the town is a round stone tower, six hundred and ten feet in circumference, ascended by fifty steps, and according to the tradition of the place, was built by the Romans, but of no great strength at present. Those who give a particular description of the place observe, that it hath eight gates, that there are twenty-three wards in the city subdivided into ninety lesser parts; that there are thirty islands, twenty-four canals, an hundred and eighty streets, ninety-five bridges, and forty towers on the walls. The principal churches are those of St. PETER, St. PANCRAE, and the New Church, the last of which is of a circular form. These hospitals are many and large, that of the orphans only maintaining nine hundred children. A university was founded here by the States General in the year 1575. The schools consist of a large pile of brick buildings three stories high, in the uppermost whereof the famous ELZEVIJ had his printing room. The students of this university are computed to be about two thousand; but there are only two endowed colleges, most of the lads boarding in the town. Adjoining to the schools is a physick garden, where the Professor in botany reads his lectures. The Professors never wear gowns but at lectures, and when they preside in publick disputations. Nor are the Students at all distinguished by their habit. The Rector, who is chosen out of three presented to the States, is elected annually; there are besides three Curators, and twelve Professors, three in each faculty. The Rector with the four Burgomasters, his Assessors, and some of the Aldermen, determine all causes civil and criminal. Their library is in great esteem for it's manuscripts; and the anatomy theatre is said to exceed that of Padua, or the Surgeons hall in London, having a vast number of skeletons of all kinds and sizes, several mummies, and particularly one of an Egyptian Prince eighteen hundred years old, with Pagan idols and reliicks, and habits of people of the most distant countries. The principal manufacture in Leyden is woollen cloth and camblets; and their gardens yield them a considerable profit, their garden stuff being so much valued as to be carried as far as Amsterdam. These gardens are said to have four or five crops in one year, and an acre of garden ground to be worth two hundred and fifty, or three hundred pounds, an acre of arable two hundred, and an acre of meadow an hundred and forty pounds. In the Rhineland-house the Dikegrave, one of the most considerable officers in this country, and his associates, meet in consultation about the repair of the dikes, banks and canals in the district of Rhineland, of which Leyden is the capital. In the church of St. MARY's is a monument of JOSEPH SCALIGER, and another of CLUSIUS the herbalist, with a Latin inscription, importing, that he was called hither to adorn the academy, where he lived sixteen years, and died anno 1609, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, under which is this distich;

*Non potuit plures hic querere CLUSIUS herbas,  
Ergo novas Campis querit in Elysiis.*

Englified thus by a late writer;

*Since no more herbs the earth to CLUSIUS yields,  
He's gone a simpling to th' Elysian fields.*



5. The Hague, or *Gravenhage*, i. e. the Earl's-grove, esteemed a village, because it has no walls, but the most considerable of the kind in Europe, situate nine miles south-west of Leyden, fourteen north-west of Rotterdam, and two miles to the eastward of the Ocean, encompassed with fine meadows and pleasant groves, in the midst whereof is a pleasure-house belonging to the Princes of Orange. The place is governed by its own magistrates, and enjoys all the privileges of a city of Holland, but the sending its representatives to the States. In this village also the States-General and the council of State always assemble. Here are held the supreme courts of judicature. Foreign ministers are admitted to their audience, and reside here; and all publick affairs are transacted, which draws a multitude of people hither, and occasions its being a very flourishing town. The palace is a handsome brick building, making two angles of a square, in the middle whereof is a large hall, equal to that of Guildhall in London. In this palace was an apartment for the late Princes of Orange; the chambers of the States-General and Provincial, and of the council of State. And adjoining to it is a noble stone building, called the palace of Prince MAURICE of Nassau, who built it. On the north side is a large square pond called the *Vijver*, and on the west the palace opens to a large plain surrounded with magnificent houses, and regularly planted with trees, which have made some compare it, not improperly, to St. JAMES's-park: and every city of the United Provinces has a house here for their respective deputies. Notwithstanding it is evident from what hath been already observed, that the place must be large and extremely populous, yet are there but two churches in it; one of them called the Old Church is a handsome fabrick of the usual form. The other a new building of a round figure without a pillar, which seems to be a kind of building that the modern Dutch affect, for there are other temples lately built in Holland of the same form. On the north side of the Hague is a walk paved with bricks, and shaded with lime-trees for two miles, extending as far as Scheveling, a village on the sea-shore, where King CHARLES II. took shipping for England at his restoration. Scheveling was once a considerable town, but lying upon a tempestuous sea, has been extremely lessened by the waves beating on its shores. About ten miles south-west of the Hague lies Honslaerdyke, a magnificent palace of the late Prince of Orange, having noble gardens adorned with fountains and statues, some of which it is said were taken from a palace on this side the water, as well as the furniture within doors. Here are two galleries full of beautiful paintings, and the closet of the late Prince is wainscotted with Japan-work. Within two miles of the Hague lies the village of Ryswick, where the Prince had another palace. The treaty of peace between the confederates and the French was concluded here in the year 1697. This palace also is admired for its stately front of free-stone, its marble staircase, marble floors, exquisite paintings, &c. Another village called Loosduyne, about six miles north-west of the Hague cannot be omitted mentioning in this place, since every traveller is full of the monstrous birth said to have happened here: the account we have of this occurrence is, That MARGARET Countess of Henneberg, daughter of FLORIS Count of Holland and Zealand, and sister to WILLIAM King of the Romans, having

reproached a poor woman as guilty of adultery on account of her having twins, insinuating that she could not have two children by one man at a time, the woman provoked at this usage, wished that the Countess might have as many children as there were days in the year, which it is said happened accordingly in the year 1276, in the fortieth year of the Lady's age, when she was delivered of three hundred and sixty-five children, equally divided as to sex, only the odd one was a boy. They were afterwards christened in the parish church in two brass basons (which they pretend still to shew to travellers) the boys by the name of JOHN, and the girls by the name of ELIZABETH; and in the church wall there is a stone with an inscription, giving the abovesaid relation: but it is observed by travellers to be a modern writing, and different from the inscription given us by historians an hundred and fifty years ago, which was much shorter than the present. The ceremony of baptism was performed, according to tradition, by GUTO, suffragan to the Bishop of Utrecht.

6. Delft, called by the Latins *Delphium* and *Delphi*, six miles south-east of the Hague, and eight north-west of Rotterdam, pleasantly situated among the meadows, the streets spacious, with canals running through them, planted with trees. It is about two miles in circumference, and surrounded by an old wall and ditch. The earthen ware of this place is esteemed the best next to China-ware; and they had formerly a good trade in cloth and beer, but it is more considerable for being a quiet town, the retreat of wealthy merchants who have left off their business, than for its trade at present. The publick buildings taken notice of are, the Stadt-house and the arsenal of the States, the magazine of powder belonging to which accidentally blew up and destroyed great part of the town in the year 1654, but it has been since rebuilt to great advantage. There are but two churches in the place, the Old and the New; in the latter whereof is the tomb of WILLIAM first Prince of Orange, who was assassinated in this city: his statue in marble is upon the tomb, and another in brass armed *cap-a-pe* standing by it, and a Fame sounding over him with this motto, *Te vindice tuta Libertas*. At his feet lies a dog, which, according to tradition, died of grief on the murder of his master. There are also many other brass and marble statues about the tomb, which serve to adorn it. Delphi-Haven, which belongs to this city, lies within two miles of Rotterdam, and has a communication both with Delft and Rotterdam by a canal. It is strongly fortified, and has three dams to defend it against inundations.

7. Dort, or *Dordrecht*, an ancient city, the first in dignity of those which compose the States of Holland, and the capital of a small country called the Bailiwick of Dort, is situate on the river Meruwe, forty miles south of Amsterdam, and fourteen south-east of Rotterdam. This city, with the district about it, became an island by an inundation which happened in the year 1421, throwing down the banks of the Maes and Meruwe, and laying a large tract of land under water between Dort and Brabant, destroying near fourscore villages, and twenty or thirty thousand people. Its situation between the Maes and Meruwe makes it naturally strong; and the natives pretend that it was never yet taken: but the waters are its greatest security; for besides the rivers abovementioned,



CHAP. III. mentioned, which are of a very great breadth near this city, a large lake called the Biesbos enclaves it on the south and east. The place is large and populous, the streets broad and well paved, and the houses high and built of brick. Here was held a synod in the year 1619, for examining the opinions of the Armenians and Calvinists, and it is easy to imagine which side had the best of it, when the magistracy was in the hands of the disciples of CALVIN. The room where this Synod was held is still shewn to travellers as a curiosity, though it does not seem to deserve a particular description. The British merchants have two churches in this city, and particular privileges, it being the staple for their cloth, as well as for Rhenish-wines, corn, wood, and other commodities, brought down the Rhine and the Maes.

Gertrudenberg. 8. Gertrudenberg, so named from St. GERTRUDE, situate in the district of Dort, on the south side of the lake called Biesbos, twelve miles south-east of Dort, and ten north of Breda, and belongs to the house of Orange. It is strong by nature as well as art, having a marsh on one side, and the river Meruwe on the other, which in this place looks like a sea.

Goude. 9. Goude, or *Tergow*, the sixth city in dignity of those which compose the States of Holland, situate on the rivers Gow and Issel, twelve miles north-east of Rotterdam, and twenty-four south of Amsterdam, a handsome large city, and a place of strength, especially on account of its low situation, the country about it being liable to be overflowed by their sluices whenever they apprehend any danger.

Naerden. 10. Naerden, a small, but strong town, situate in a morass near the Zuider-sea, twelve miles to the eastward of Amsterdam, and fifteen north of Utrecht. It was taken by the Spaniards in 1572, when the enemy, in revenge for their having submitted to the Prince of Orange, summoned all the inhabitants to the market-place, and there cut them to pieces in cold blood; which did the Spaniards no service, for the Hollanders thereupon became desperate and irreconcilable; and it is to such acts of cruelty as these that the loss of the Seven Provinces is generally attributed.

Williamstadt. 11. Williamstadt, a little fortified town belonging to the house of Orange, having been built by WILLIAM I. anno 1583, from whom it received its name. It is situated on the water called the Roo Vaert, which separates the island of Voorn from the continent, and secures the communication between Holland and Zealand. The islands above mentioned to belong to South Holland, lie at the mouth of the Maes, the principal whereof is Voorn, or the land of Voorn, as it is called, on which stands,

The Briel. 12. The city of the Briel, a fortified town, twelve miles to the westward of Rotterdam. The buildings are old, but regular; the streets broad, and the walls planted with trees. It has a pretty good harbour, and a tolerable trade, but not comparable to Rotterdam or Dort, which lie higher up the river. This was the first town on the coast of Holland which the Geuses, or Malecontents, took from the Spaniards, and occasioned the revolt of the rest; and this was one of the cautionary towns which the States delivered into the hands of Queen ELIZABETH, for repaying the expences she was at in defending them against the King of Spain, and was afterwards restored to them, with the rest, by King JAMES in his necessities, for a very small part of the money that

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remained due to England. The island whereon it stands is about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and is generally fruitful in corn.

13. Helvoetsluice, on the same island of Voorn, stands about four miles to the southward of the Briel, and is esteemed the safest harbour in the country. Here are usually some of the States largest men of war, which come up to the middle of the town; and hither the English packet-boat comes and takes in the mail; and though it be one of the most convenient places to embark at, yet has the place but little trade, merchant-men choosing to go higher up the river before they unlade. To the southward of the land of Voorn lies the island of Overlacke, about fifteen miles long and five broad, on which are several towns and villages, the chief whereof is,

14. Summerdyke, situate on the north side of the island, formerly a town of some trade, but upon the decline at present. To the westwaert of Overlacke lies the little island of Goree, the chief town whereof is of the same name, but not considerable for its trade or any thing else at this day. This is usually the first land we make on the coast of Holland in a voyage from England to Helvoetsluice. Between the land of Voorn and Rotterdam lies the island of Islemond, or Overmaes, about ten miles in length and four in breadth, the chief town of the same name standing almost over against Rotterdam. As for Putten and Byerland, I comprehend them under the title of the land of Voorn, from whence they are separated but by a small stream.

I come next to North Holland, being that part of the province which lies north of that little arm of the sea called the Y, or Ty, the towns whereof are Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Alckmaer, Edam, Munickedam, Medenblick, Purmerend, Beverwick, Wormer, Schermer, Beemster, Egmont, Petten, Schagen and Ninckel: and the islands belonging to North Holland are, the Texel, Eyerlandt, Flielandt or Vlielandt, Schilling, Grind, Vieringen, Ureck, Ens. The chief of which towns and islands I am now to describe, and,

1. Hoorn, twenty miles north of Amsterdam, a large wealthy city, pleasantly situated on the Zuider-sea, almost surrounded by gardens and pasture grounds, and secured against the fury of the sea by a vast dam. The produce of the country about it is chiefly butter and cheese, which they export to several parts of Europe.

2. Enckhuysen, situate also on the Zuider-sea, ten miles north-east of Hoorn, and as many south-east of Medenblick, a large handsome city with a capacious port, from whence great numbers of ships yearly set sail for the Baltick and herring-fishery, by which, and ship-building, the town is grown very rich.

3. Medenblick, an ancient city, once the capital of North Holland, now but a little town situate on the Zuider-sea, ten miles north of Hoorn, is still a commodious harbour, and defended by an old castle. Here are the strongest dams and banks of the country to defend it from the fury of the waves, which beat violently on these shores when the wind blows a storm from the northwards. The country about this place is taken notice of for its rich pastures.

4. Alckmaer, twenty miles to the northwards of Haarlem, an ancient town, but one of the best built in this part of the country, and pleasantly situate in the midst of gardens, groves, and pasture



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ture grounds, which last produce vast quantities of cheese and butter, which enriches the natives.

Sardam. 5. Saenredam, or Sardam, situate on the Y, or Ty, seven miles north-west of Amsterdam, and almost opposite to it, very considerable on account of the numbers of ships which are annually built here, though it be but an open town.

Edam. 6. Edam, situate on the Zuider-sea, ten miles south of Hoorn, a small town, but considerable also upon account of the ships that are built here.

Purmer. 7. Purmer, a neat fortified town, five miles west of Edam; the country about this place and Edam was formerly a lake, which having been drained, makes a pleasant fruitful country, that goes by the name of Purmerend, and to the southward of this lies the Beemster, already mentioned, which was formerly a lake, but now a fine country, containing seven or eight thousand acres of ground. Of the like kind are the Wormer, which lies still further southward; the Schermer and the Huygen Waert to the westward of the Beemster; as also the Zype, the most northerly part of this province, the sea being kept out by a vast mole formed by beams of timber driven into the ground, and the spaces filled up with huge stones and cement.

Between the ocean and the Zuider-sea lie the islands above mentioned to belong to North Holland; and first, the Texel, a fruitful island, about six miles long, and five broad, lying a little to the northward of the continent of Holland, between which and this island is one of the principal passages out of the Zuider-sea into the Ocean: the chief town is Burch, situate on the east side of the island, strongly fortified and garrisoned; the natives apply themselves pretty much to the herring fishery. To the northward of the Texel lies the Vlie, or Flie island, nine miles long, and two broad; and north-east of this the island of Schelling, in which was a village containing about a thousand houses, burnt by Sir ROBERT HOLMES, who commanded an English squadron in the Dutch war, with near an hundred sail of merchant ships. These islands, and some banks of sand that lie at the entrance of the Zuider-sea, a little break the fury of the Ocean when the wind sits north-west, or the whole province of Holland would be very much in danger of being laid under water every storm that happens from that quarter. The Wierings are several small islands which lie in the Zuider-sea within the Texel; to the eastward of which lies the island of Vieringen or Wieringen. The island of Eyerland lies between the islands of the Texel and the Flie, but of these I meet with nothing particular. I shall only add that there is a tolerable harbour in the Texel, and another in the Flie, in the first of which the ships bound to the southward usually rendezvous, and in the latter those bound to the north; and when the homeward bound vessels can recover either of these ports, they look upon themselves to be secure from the enemy.

Zealand Province. Zealand, the second of the seven provinces I proposed to describe, consists of several islands, and is held to have obtained the name Zealand, or rather Sealand, from the Danes when they over-run this part of the world, as resembling some islands of their own country surrounded in like manner by the sea, and carrying the name of Zealand. The islands which compose this province are eight in number, four whereof are said to belong to the

western branch of the Scheld, and four to the eastern branch of the Scheld. Those of the western Scheld, are Walcheren, South Bevelandt, North Bevelandt, and Wolferdyke: and those of the eastern Scheld, Schowen, Duveland, Tolen and Orefand. The whole province comprehending the seas and channels which divide the several islands, is bounded by the Ocean, and the islands of Holland on the north, by Brabant on the east, by Flanders on the south, and by the ocean towards the west; and extends thirty miles in length, reckoning from Tolen to the most westerly part of Walcheren, and twenty miles in breadth, viz. from the southern shore of South Bevelandt to the northern shore of Schowen. The principal of these islands is that of Walcheren, lying at the mouth of the Scheld, about nine miles in length, and eight in breadth, almost of an oval figure. The chief town of the island of Walcheren is, 1. Middleburg, the capital of the whole province; so named, it is said, from its situation in the middle of the island. It lies in the latitude of fifty-one degrees forty minutes, forty miles south-west of Rotterdam, and as many of Breda, and twenty-five north-east of Bruges. The city is large and populous, and abounds in wealthy merchants: a canal has been cut from an arm of the sea to the city, whereby they bring merchant ships into the middle of the town. The streets are broad and well-paved; the publick buildings magnificent, particularly the stadthouse and churches, of which last there are no less than twenty; that called the New Church, admired for its beauty, is of an octagonal figure, and has a noble cupola over it; the whole town is surrounded with a wall, a moat, and other fortifications. King PHILIP II. made it a Bishop's See in the fifteenth century: but the Dutch malecontents soon after gaining the possession of it, converted the palace to secular uses, and sequestered the revenues, as they did in other parts of the United Provinces where bishopricks were established. 2. Rammekins, or Ze-Rammekins, a fortress, situate at the mouth of the harbour of Middleburg, and three miles south-east of it, once a considerable town, and one of those cautionary places delivered up to Queen ELIZABETH; at present an inconsiderable village. 3. Flushing, or Vlissingen, situate in the most southerly part of the island, five miles south of Middleburg, a considerable city, and a place of great trade, having a good harbour, and fortifications for its defence. This was another of the cautionary towns delivered to Queen ELIZABETH by the Dutch as a pledge of their fidelity, and a security for the money she had advanced them to resist the Spaniard. 4. Ter Vere, three miles north of Middleburg, a fortified town, and a good harbour; but lies pretty much exposed to inundations. 5. Armuyden, situate at the mouth of the river which comes from Middleburg, and two miles east of it. It had once a good harbour, and was a place of trade, but the harbour being choked up, it is but an inconsiderable town at present. The island of South Bevelandt lies to the eastward of Walcheren, and is the largest of the Zealand islands; being about fifteen miles long, and seven or eight broad, and was much larger till part of it, in the year 1532, was laid under water by an inundation. The only town of any consequence in it is, 4. Ter Goes, on the north part of the island, twelve miles east of Middleburg, and fifteen west of Bergen op Zoom. There are besides above thirty villages, and several

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III.Situation  
and extent.Walche-  
ren island.Middle-  
burg city.Ze-Ramme-  
kins.

Flushing.

Armuy-  
den.South  
Bevelandt  
island.

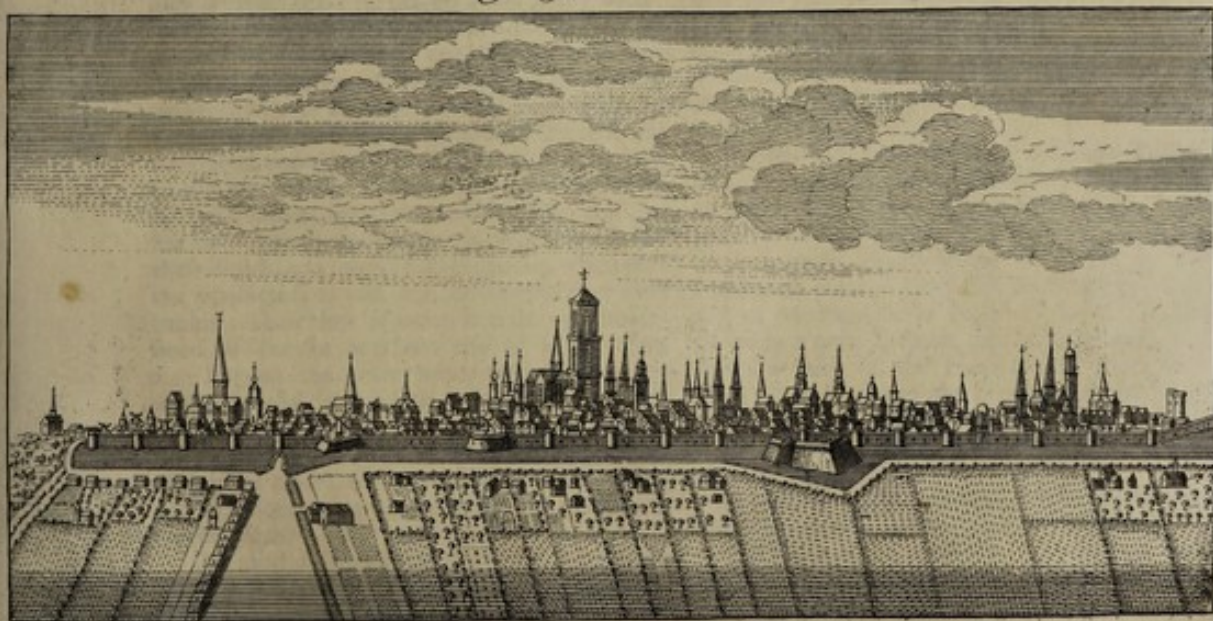
Ter Goes.

Composed  
of eight  
islands.





*The City of Utrecht*









CHAP. III. **III.** **Wolferdyke Island.** The island of Wolferdyke lies between North and South Bevelandt; and is about five miles in length, and one in breadth; having at present only three or four villages upon it, great part of it has been laid under water by inundations. To the northward of Wolferdyke lies North Bevelandt; about five miles in length, and two in breadth, great part whereof also has had the misfortune to be swallowed up by the sea, before which the country was so pleasant, that it was called the garden of Zealand. There is no town of any note upon it at present. To the northward of North Bevelandt lies the island of Schowen, the largest of those on the side of the Eastern Scheld; being fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth, and was much larger till worn away by inundations; the chief town whereof is, Zirickzee. 5. Zirickzee, said to be the most ancient in Zealand, situate on the channel which divides Schowen from Duvelt, and fifteen miles north-east of Middleburg. It has a tolerable harbour, and is a place of some trade. 6. Browershaven, situate on the north side of the island, five miles north of Zirickzee; the natives whereof subsist chiefly by fishing and husbandry. 7. Bommenee, two miles to the eastward of Browershaven, over-against Goree, esteemed a strong fortress. To the eastward of Schowen lies Duvelt, separated from it by a very narrow stream; there are several villages upon it, the chief whereof is of the same name with the island, but not one considerable town. The island of Tolen is separated from Brabant by a very narrow channel, called *Het Slaek*; being about six miles in length, and five in breadth: the chief town whereof is Tolen, esteemed a strong fortress, situate four miles north-west of Bergen op Zoom, and twelve miles south-east of Zirickzee. The small island of Orefand lies between Schowen, and North Bevelandt, and has some villages upon it, but no town of any note. These islands of Zealand were anciently subject to the Earls of Holland, and afterwards to the houses of Burgundy and Austria; but enjoyed very ample privileges all that time till PHILIP II. invaded their rights, which occasioned the civil war above-mentioned, and Flushing was the next town to the Briel which was seized by the Sea-Geuses, or malecontents upon the coast. The land, as has been intimated already, is very low in all these islands, and subject to inundations, which puts the inhabitants to vast expences in repairing their banks. Their low situation and the neighbourhood of the sea occasions also an unwholesome air; but on the other hand, the country is generally fruitful, abounding in good corn and pasture grounds, and the natives many of them being employed in the fisheries, and other branches of foreign trade, are a wealthy and flourishing people, though they have scarce any manufactures among them.

**Friesland province.** The third of the United Provinces I propose to treat of is Friesland: bounded by the Ocean on the north, by the province of Groningen on the east, by the province of Overijssel, and part of the Zuider-sea towards the south, and by other part of the Zuider-sea towards the west. This was the country of the ancient Frizons, and formerly, 'tis said, lay contiguous to North Holland, (sometimes called West Friesland) from which it is now separated by the Zuider-sea, formed not many years since by an extraordinary inundation. Groningen with East Friesland, or the county of Embden, was also part of the county of the an-

cient Frizons; and some affirm that it was still of a larger extent, but the present bounds of this province are as above described: extending about forty miles in length from north to south, and twenty-five in breadth from east to west, and is usually subdivided into Westergo, Oostergo, and Seven Wolden. In Westergo, or the western part of it, are the towns of Franeker, Harlingen, Bolswaert, Sneek, Worcum and Staveren. In Oostergo, or the north-east part of it, are the towns of Leuwarden and Dockum, and in Seven Wolden, the south-east part of the country, a barren soil, and meanly inhabited, is only the town of Sloop, besides villages.

1. Franeker, *Franquera*, situate in fifty-three degrees ten minutes north latitude, four miles to the eastward of the Zuider-sea, and eight to the westward of Leuwarden, a little handsome city, and a place of some trade. Here a university was founded by the States in the year 1585, and well endowed out of the abby-lands which were sequestered about that time.

2. Harlingen, situate on the Zuider-sea, five miles west of Franeker, it has a pretty good harbour for small vessels, and carries on a trade to Norway. The place is fortified, and naturally strong, the country about it being easily laid under water in cases of necessity.

3. Leuwarden, a fortified town, eight miles to the eastward of Franeker, the best city of the province in all respects, and the residence of the Stadtholder and sovereign council. It is a place of trade, and admired for its fine buildings, its handsome streets and bridges, and the pleasant gardens about it.

4. Doocum, situate ten miles north-east of Leuwarden, in a fruitful country, a place of some strength, and tolerably well built; most taken notice of for a fine bridge, under which vessels may pass with their masts up.

5. Sloop, or Sloten, situate upon a navigable canal; a league from the Zuider-sea, nine miles north-east of Staveren. It has but one church, and no other building of any note, but the Stadthouse.

6. Bolswaert, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, about seven miles south of Franeker. Its harbour at present is choked up, but carries on a trade however in small vessels along their canals.

7. Staveren, situate on the Zuider-sea on the south-west point of Friesland, four leagues north-east of Medenblick in North Holland. It had formerly a good harbour, and a brisk trade, and was the third of the Hans-Towns, more anciently the capital city, and residence of the Kings of the Frizons; but the harbour being choked up, it is fallen to decay, and but an inconsiderable town at present.

The islands of Ameland and Schiermonnikoog lie in the Ocean to the north of Friesland, and both belong to this province; but here are only seven or eight villages which do not seem to merit a description.

The air of Friesland is cold, but more healthful than the southern provinces, and though the land lies under water great part of the winter, inasmuch, that they are forced to go from town to town by banks and causeways, it is all driven out either by art or the hot weather which succeeds, and there appears to be a great deal of good arable and pasture in the summer season. Their best, and almost only firing is turf, which burns as white, and gives as good a heat as wood: these

turf



CHAP.  
III.

turf meadows being mixed with a bituminous matter, have, as history relates, taken fire at certain times, and burnt up the country for several leagues, till a stop has been put to the conflagration by some lakes or rivers which happened to interpose and extinguish it. The natives of this province, it is observed, are martially inclined and choose to follow the camp rather than apply themselves to trade. Their nobility and gentry avoid matching into the families of merchants, or mechanicks, and delight in rich clothes and equipages much more than their southern neighbours. In their fashions they follow the mode of France, and in drinking the Germans, good fellowship prevails.

Gronin-  
gen pro-  
vince.Chief  
towns.Gronin-  
gen city.

Dam city.

Winfcho-  
ten.Overysfel  
province.

The fourth province I shall describe, is that of Groningen and the Omlands; which is bounded by the Ocean on the north; by the rivers Ems and the Dollart Bay, which separates it from Embden, or East Friesland, in Germany, on the east; by the province of Overysfel on the south; and by Dutch or West Friesland, the province last described, towards the west: extending upwards of thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty miles in breadth from north to south, and is usually divided into Groningen Proper and the Omlands. In the former of which the chief towns are Groningen and Winschoten; and in the Omlands, Dam.

Groningen, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, situate on the confluence of the two rivers Aha and Hunefus, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees odd minutes, thirty miles to the eastward of Leuwarden, and twenty south-west of Embden; a fortified town, about two miles in circumference; and besides the rivers above-mentioned, it is watered with several artificial canals, by which it has a communication with the river Ems, the Ocean, and the neighbouring countries, by means whereof they carry on a brisk trade to Germany, &c. They have two or three spacious market-places, and about seven and twenty handfom streets; and formerly there were twelve churches in the place, but the Dutch have converted nine of them to secular purposes. All the ground within the walls is not built upon, but there are several large gardens and orchards belonging to the principal citizens, which with the canals render it a pleasant town in summer.

2. Dam, the capital of the Omlands, twelve miles north-east of Groningen, situate on the canal called the Dampster Diep, three miles west of the river Ems; a large well-built town, but without walls, the States of Groningen being jealous of the Omlanders, who sometimes dispute their authority, and pretend to an independency. 3. Winschoten, a fortress, situate between the Dollart Bay and an impassable morass, which commands one of the passes out of East Friesland into the United Provinces; is seventeen miles east of Groningen, and twelve south of Dam: there are also the Billingworder Schans, and the Bourtangier Fort, with several others which lie upon the frontiers, and secure the United Provinces against any attacks on the side of Germany: and indeed the Dutch are in a manner masters of Emben in East-Friesland, that city having put it self under their protection, and admitted a garison of the States troops. The soil of this province is generally barren, and the air sharp, but more healthful than that of the southern provinces.

The fifth province of the United Netherlands which I am to describe, is, that of Overysfel, so named from it's situation beyond the river Yssel:

this province is bounded by Groningen and Friesland towards the north; by the bishoprick of Munster in Germany on the east; by Guelderland and Zutphen on the south; and by the Zuider-sea on the west: extending near sixty miles in length from north to south, and forty in breadth from east to west; and is usually divided into three parts, viz. Iselandt or Sallandt, Twente, and Drent. Of which, 1. Iselandt, lies about the river Yssel; on.

the chief towns whereof are Deventer, Swoll, Campen and Hasselt. 2. Twente, which lies to the eastward of Sallandt, on the confines of Munster; the chief towns whereof are Oldenzael, Omerfan and Enscheden. 3. Drent, the most northerly part of Overysfel; the chief towns whereof are Coverden, Meppel, Vollenhoven, Steenwick, Swarte Sluice and Blockzyl.

1. Deventer, or Daventer, situate on the river Yssel, seven miles north of Zutphen, and thirty to the eastward of Amersfort, a large populous city, elegantly built, and well fortified, formerly an Imperial city, and one of the Hans-Towns, and still a place of good trade. The inhabitants are many of them noblemen and persons of distinction. There were in it formerly ten or twelve churches, which the States since their being masters of it have reduced to three: PHILIP II. also made it a Bishop's See in the year 1559; but the Dutch abolished the bishoprick and sequestred the revenues in 1580. The most remarkable structure here is the tower of Noremberg of a round figure, built with brick and stone, the walls seventeen feet thick, and of such large dimensions, it is said, as to require a garison of several thousand men to defend it.

2. Swoll, or Zwoil, situate between the two rivers Yssel and Vecht, eighteen miles north of Daventer. Another river runs through the town, by which the tide brings up vessels from the Zuider-sea, and makes it a place of tolerable trade. The fortifications which surround the town are well planted with trees, the streets regular, and the buildings good, all which contribute to make it a very desirable place.

3. Campen, pleasantly situated near the Zuider-sea on the south side of the river Yssel, eighteen miles west of Swoll, a large well built city, in which the publick buildings, such as the Stadthouse, the churches, and the custom house, are said to have an air of magnificence; but the trade of the town is much diminished since the mouth of the river Yssel has been choaked up with sand. 3. Coverden, the capital of the district of Drente, situate on the confines of Bentheim in Germany, thirty miles to the eastward of Swoll, a fortress strong by nature as well as art, situate in an unpassable morass, and as it commands a pass out of Munster in Germany into Groningen and Friesland, is a place of great importance.

The next province we come to is that of Guelderland, formerly divided into Dutch Guelderland and Spanish Guelderland; but by the late treaty of peace a partition was made of the Spanish Guelderland between the Emperor, the Dutch, and the King of Prussia, of which I shall give a particular relation after I have described that part of the province formerly called Dutch Guelderland.

Dutch Guelderland, of which the country of Zutphen is deemed a part, is bounded by the Zuider-sea and the province of Overysfel on the north, by the bishoprick of Munster on the east, by Brabant and the duchy of Cleve towards the south, and by the provinces of Holland and Utrecht



CHAP.  
III.Subdivi-  
on and  
chief  
towns.  
The Ve-  
luwe.The Be-  
tuwe.Zutphen  
county.

Arnhem.

Palaces of  
Dieren  
and Loo.Harder-  
wick.Nime-  
guen.

trecht towards the west, extending about fifty miles in length from north to south, and is not much less in breadth from east to west, being usually subdivided into three lesser parts or districts, viz. the Veluwe, the Betuwe or Betawe, anciently Batavia, and the county of Zutphen.

1. The Veluwe is the northern part of this province, and situate between the Zuider-sea, the Yssel, and the Rhine, in which the principal towns are Arnheim, Wageningen, Harderwick, Hattem, and Elberg. 2. The Betuwe is almost encompassed by the rivers Rhine, Leek, Maes, and Meruwe, in which district the principal towns are Nimeguen, Tiel, Schenckenschans, Bommel, Buren, and Cuylenburg. 3. The county of Zutphen, bounded by the province of Overijssel on the north; by the river Yssel, which separates it from the Veluwe, towards the west; by the duchy of Cleve on the south; and by the bishoprick of Munster on the east; extends about thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty four in breadth from north to south, in which the principal towns are Zutphen, Doesburg, Groll, and Brevort.

1. Arnheim, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Rhine, about thirty miles south of the Zuider-sea, and ten to the northward of Nimeguen; a large fortified town, anciently the residence of the Dukes of Guelder. The air is more healthful here than in most of the provinces we have passed through; for here they begin to get out of that moorish soil, which is too common in the maritime provinces, and ascend the hills, especially on the side of the Veluwe, which occasions it to be inhabited by people of the best quality. The buildings also are neat and elegant, which makes it in every respect a very desirable place. The church of St. EUSEBIUS is taken notice of by travellers as a handsome structure; but there were many more churches as well as monasteries in this city, while it remained under the dominion of the Spaniard, which are now run to ruin, or converted to secular uses. However, it must be acknowledged, that the Dutch have in this, and most of their cities, erected several fine hospitals in the room of them. Ten miles north-east of Arnheim stands the palace of Dieren, belonging to the late King WILLIAM; and about seven miles further northward, the palace of Loo, situate in the middle of the Veluwe, in a healthful air, the country about it abounding with all manner of game: this therefore was the favourite place of that Prince, and his usual residence when affairs of state would permit him to retire. The gardens are much admired for their fine walks, grotto's, fountains and cascades, and whatever may render such a retreat desirable.

2. Harderwick, situate on the coasts of the Zuider-sea, thirty miles north of Arnheim, a well-built town, and a university erected in the year 1648, by the states of this province. The Rector, who is the chief magistrate of the place, is chosen annually by six Curators. The great church of St. MARY'S is said to be a magnificent structure, but I don't find any other publick buildings taken notice of. The French half ruined the place when they invaded the United Provinces anno 1672, and the Zuider-sea daily encroaches upon it, so that it is now in a very declining condition. 3. Nimeguen, pleasantly situated on the river Waal, (a branch of the Rhine) ten miles south of Arnheim; eight north of Grave; and twelve to the westward of Schenckenschans; a large populous

city, built in form of a crescent on five small hills, by the river side. The streets are wide, the houses neatly built, and there are still ten churches remaining in it, of which that of St. STEPHEN'S is esteemed a very handsome structure. Here are two hospitals also for the maintenance and education of poor orphans, two others for ancient people, one for lepers, two for other infirm people, and one for lunatics. The Stadthouse is a magnificent pile, adorned with the statues of several Emperors. The castle called Valckhoff, or Waalhoff, signifying a palace upon the Waal, was anciently esteemed a palace of great strength, from whence there is one of the finest prospects of the neighbouring country that can be imagined. In the year 1608, a navigable canal of ten miles in length was dug from hence to Arnheim, at the joint charge of those cities. Upon the French invasion, anno 1672, this city surrendered to them after a siege of six days, and the garison were made prisoners of war; but the French abandoned it again in 1674. And here afterwards was that famous treaty of peace negotiated between France and the confederates in the years 1678 and 1679, called the treaty of Nimeguen. 4. Schenckenschans, or Schenck-  
fence, so named from the Engineer Schenck, who projected this important fortress, which stands on that point of the Betuwe where the Rhine divides itself into two branches, one whereof takes the name of the Waal, and the other retains it's ancient name: thus situated, the fort commands both those rivers, and is one of the principal passes between Germany and the United Netherlands. 5. Tiel, situate on the south side of the Waal, twelve miles west of Nimeguen, is a marshy soil, which renders it very unhealthy; but the place is reasonably strong, and the capital of a district called the Tielers Waert. 6. Bommel, situate on the south side of the Waal, ten miles to the westward of Tiel, a pleasant well-built city, surrounded with good fortifications and the capital of a country called the Bommel Waert, which is an island formed by the Waal and the Maes, about twelve miles long and four broad. On the west point of this island stands the castle of Lovestein, and on the east the two strong fortresses of Fort St. ANDREW, and Fort Voorn or Nassau, which command the rivers Maes and Waal. These are the chief towns of the Betuwe, or Batavia, the seat of the ancient *Batavi*, so often mentioned in Roman history, who according to TACITUS, descended from the tribe or nation of the *Catti*. The extent of ancient Batavia is supposed to have been from Rhinburg in the duchy of Cleve to Catwick near Leyden on the coast of Holland, which town is thought to have derived it's name from the *Catti*. The present Batavia, or Betuwe, extends from Schenckenschans in the east, to Worcum in the the west, being a tract of about forty miles in length; but the greatest breadth from Arnheim on the Rhine to Grave on the Maes, is not much above sixteen miles.

In the county of Zutphen, the third subdivision of Guelderland, the chief towns are, 7. Zutphen, or South Fen; supposed to have obtained this name from it's situation, when the Frizons were masters of the whole country, viz. of Friesland, Groningen, &c. as well as of the provinces to the southward of them. This city lies on the river Yssel, fifteen miles north-east of Arnheim, and twenty four miles almost north of Nimeguen. The river Berkel runs through the middle of the

CHAP.  
III.Schenck-  
schans

Tiel.

Bommel.

Lovestein.  
Fort St.  
Andrew.  
Fort  
Voorn.  
Batavia.Zutphen  
city.



CHAP.  
III.

town and divides it into two parts, called the old and new town, and then falls into the Yssel, over which there is a handsome bridge, besides two others which join the old and new town together. The city is generally well built, and being in a good air, is inhabited by people of condition. The admired Sir WILLIAM SIDNEY was mortally wounded in an engagement with the Spaniards near this place, in the year 1586. It was taken by the French in 1672, but quitted again two years after; which was the fortune of most of the towns of this province. The great church dedicated to St. PETER is a noble building, and the brazen font in it much admired for the curious workmanship. Here is also a handsome old monument of Count OTHO the Third, who by some is supposed to have founded this church. There is still the ruins of a palace, which, according to the tradition of the place, belonged to the ancient Counts of Zutphen, and near it a high brick tower of a pyramidal form, one of the greatest ornaments to the city. The monasteries and religious houses which were formerly here, are part of them demolished, and the rest converted into hospitals or other secular uses.

8. Doesburg, on the Yssel, eight miles south of Zutphen, strongly situated by nature, having the river on one side and a morass on the other, and only to be approached by a narrow neck of land, and yet was surrendered to the French anno 1672, in three days, who demolished the fortifications when they quitted it the next year. This town is supposed to have been built by DRUSUS, lying near the place where he cut the channel to bring the Rhine to the Yssel. 9. Groll, about sixteen miles to the eastward of Doesburg, another considerable pass from Germany to the Low Countries, taken by the Bishop of Munster in the year 1672, but yielded to the States again not long after. The air of Dutch Guelderland, as hath been intimated already, is much better than that of the maritime provinces, great part of the country being a gravelly soil and heath ground, and rising gradually into hills, especially the Veluwe. Zutphen however has good meadow and pasture ground, where great herds of lean black cattle, brought from Denmark and the north of Germany, are fatted for the market; and other parts of the province yields good corn. I proceed next to the description of that part of the country till lately denominated Spanish Guelderland.

Austrian  
and Prus-  
sian Guel-  
derland,  
&c. for-  
merly Spa-  
nish Guel-  
derland.Chief  
towns.Partition  
of Spanish  
Guelder-  
land.

This district lies at a little distance from the Dutch Guelderland, the western part of the duchy of Cleve interposing, and is bounded by the said duchy of Cleve towards the north, by part of the same duchy and the electorate of Cologne on the east, by the duchy of Juliers on the south, and by the bishoprick of Liege towards the west; extending upwards of thirty miles in length from north to south, and twenty miles in breadth where broadest, but in most places much less: the chief towns whereof are Guelder, Ruremond, Venlo, Wachtendonck, Stralen and Stevenswaert: which, with the respective countries dependent on them, were thus parcelled out by the last treaty of peace, anno 1714; viz. 1. His Imperial Majesty surrendered to the King of Prussia all that part of the upper quarter of Guelderland which he was then possessed of, namely, the town of Guelder, the prefecture, bailiwick and lower bailiwick of Guelder, with all that belongs to it and depends upon it; as also the towns, bailiwicks, and lordships of Stralen, Wachtendonck, Midelaer, Walbeck, Aertsen, Afferden

and Wiel, together with Racy and Kieyn, Kevelhar, with their appurtenances; the ammanie of Kriekenbeck, and it's appurtenances, and the county of Kessel and it's appurtenances and dependencies, except only Erkelin with it's appurtenances and dependencies; to be enjoyed by his Prussian Majesty, his heirs and successors, in the same manner as the house of Austria, and particularly the late King of Spain possessed them. 2. His Imperial Majesty surrendered to their High Mightinesses the States General, for ever in full sovereignty and propriety, the town of Venlo in the upper quarter of Guelderland, with it's precincts and jurisdiction, and the fort of St. MICHAEL: also the fort of Stevenswaert, with it's territory and jurisdiction, and as much land as was necessary to augment the fortifications on this side the Maes: and his Imperial Majesty promised never to permit any fortifications to be built within the distance of half a league from the old fortrefs. His Imperial Majesty also yielded up to their High Mightinesses the ammanie of Montfort, consisting of the little towns of Nieustadt and Echt, with the villages of Oke and Lack, Roostern, Bracht, Bessel, Belseln, Vlodorp, Postert, Berg, Lin and Montfort, to be possessed by the said States-General in the same manner they were enjoyed by CHARLES II. of Spain; provided always that this surrender be made with this express clause, that the statutes, ancient customs and privileges, civil and ecclesiastical, as well with respect to magistrates, as private persons; the churches, convents, monasteries, seminaries, hospitals, and other publick places, with their appurtenances and dependencies; as also the diocesan rights of the Bishop of Ruremond, and generally all that concerns the rights, liberties, immunities, functions, usages, ceremonies, and the exercise of religion, shall be preserved and subsist without any change or innovation, directly or indirectly, in all places given up as aforesaid, in the same manner as in the time of King CHARLES II. And the offices of magistracy, or policy, shall be given to none but such as are of the Roman catholic religion. The right of collation to benefices, which has been hitherto in the Sovereign, shall hereafter belong to the Bishop of Ruremond, on condition they be not given to persons obnoxious to the States. And it was further agreed, that the duties of import and export levied along the Maes should not be encreased or abated but by common consent; of which duties his Imperial Majesty should receive those paid at Ruremond and Navaigne, and the States those to be paid at Venlo. [A like clause as to the religion, liberties, and privileges of the natives of those countries, made over to the King of Prussia in Guelderland, is inserted in the surrender of them by his Imperial Majesty.] As to the city of Ruremond, and all the rest of the country lately called the Spanish Guelderland, this was left to his Imperial Majesty to possess, in the same manner it was enjoyed by the late King of Spain, CHARLES II. It remains now that I give some description of the principal towns already mentioned, and, 1. of Ruremond, or Roermond, situate on the confluence of the Roer and the Maes, about thirty miles north-east of Maestricht, and twelve to the southward of Venlo; a large populous city, well fortified and elegantly built, and the See of a Bishop, being one of those erected by PHILIP II. of Spain, a little before the revolt of the United Provinces. The cathedral

CHAP.  
III.Ruremond  
to the  
Emperor.



CHAP.  
III.Venlo to  
the Dutch.Guelder  
to the  
King of  
Prussia.Wachten-  
donck to  
Prussia.Stevens-  
waert to  
the Dutch.Utrecht  
province  
and city.

dral is dedicated to the Holy Ghost, but I do not find the building so much admired as the fine Carthusian monastery here, a noble fabrick, and richly endowed. This city was seized with the rest of the Spanish Guelderland by the French, on the death of the late King CHARLES of Spain, but taken from them by the allies in the year 1702, and is now in the possession of the Emperor. 2. Venlo, situate on the Maes, twelve miles north of Ruremond, a populous trading city, and well fortified, taken from the French by the confederates in the year 1702; and by the last peace surrendered to the States General by the Emperor, who are now Sovereigns of it. 3. Guelder, a small city, ten miles north-east of Venlo, situate in the middle of a morass, and by consequence naturally strong, but was surrendered to the confederates in the year 1703; and on the ensuing peace, anno 1714, was yielded by the Emperor to the King of Prussia, who is now Sovereign of it. 4. Wachtendonck, situate on the river Niers, in a marshy soil, esteemed one of the strongest towns in the province, yielded by the Emperor also to the King of Prussia on the last peace. 5. Stevenswaert, a strong fortress, situate on the Maes, about eight miles to the southward of Ruremond, taken from the French by the confederates in the year 1702, and yielded by the Emperor to the Dutch, who are now Sovereigns of it.

The last of the Seven United Provinces I am to describe, is that of Utrecht, bounded by the Zuider-sea and part of Holland on the north, by Guelderland on the east, by other parts of Guelderland towards the south, and by Holland on the west; extending about twenty-five miles in length, and near as much in breadth; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Utrecht, the ancient *Antonina*, supposed to have been a Roman colony, pleasantly situated on the channel of the Old Rhine, twenty five miles south-east of Amsterdam, and about as many north-east of Rotterdam, a large, populous, and well-built city, with canals in the principal streets; and as it stands in a healthful air, is much resorted to by persons of distinction, who have fine houses in the place. The two principal canals which run the whole length of the city, are the Vaert, and the New Gracht, over which there are no less than thirty-five bridges; the buildings on the banks of the New Gracht being very magnificent. The market-place is large, and several handsome streets centre in it; and without the town are beautiful walks of trees, to which the English have given the name of the Mall, as resembling that in St. JAMES's park: the fortifications are not strong, upon which account, or as some insinuate a much worse, the Magistrates surrendered the city to the French without striking a stroke, in the year 1672. They kept possession of it a year and half, during which time the French King had prepared materials to build a citadel, but being obliged to withdraw his troops, that design was laid aside; but he extorted two hundred thousand pounds first from the inhabitants, notwithstanding their ready submission. The great church, formerly the Cathedral, is dedicated to St. MARTIN, and has a tower of four hundred and sixty steps, from whence there is a noble prospect of the adjacent country, no less than fifty walled towns appearing at once in view. Their University, at first a publick school only, founded by DAVID of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, was in the year 1636 converted into a University by

the States, and is now in a very flourishing condition, abundance of foreigners, and among the rest some English, resorting hither for education and degrees, the latter being more easily obtained here than at home; but a Dutch degree does not seem to be in any great repute at present. This University is entirely subject to the magistrates of the city, and has very few privileges to boast of. The students wear their ordinary habits, and board in the town, there being scarce any endowed colleges in Holland where they live in societies, and common together, as in Oxford and Cambridge. 2. Amersfort, pleasantly situated on the river Ems, fifteen miles north-east of Utrecht, and seven south of the Zuider-sea, about three miles in circumference. It stands in a fruitful country, abounding in corn and pasture grounds, husbandry being the principal employment of the inhabitants. The town is large and populous, and surrounded by a wall, but the fortifications are not considerable; the private buildings are regular and handsome, and their churches and hospitals no mean structures. To the southward of Amersfort stands Soesdyke, a hunting seat of the late King WILLIAM's, in a country abounding with game, the forest where the palace stands being near ten miles in length, and five in breadth. 3. Wyck de Duesterde, the *Durostadium Batavorum* of the Romans, situate at the confluence of the Leek and the middle channel of the Rhine, twelve miles south of Amersfort; a little town, pleasantly situated and well built, and surrounded with a wall, but retains little of its ancient grandeur. 4. Rhenen, another ancient walled town, situate on the Rhine, fifteen miles to the south of Amersfort, which has scarce any thing in it that merits a particular description at this day. 5. Montfort, a little well-built town, eight miles to the westward of Utrecht, capital of a small territory in which it stands, and defended by a wall and other fortifications, but of no great strength.

The province of Utrecht is one of the most pleasant and healthful of the United Netherlands, for here they may be said to tread upon firm ground, whereas the maritime provinces are almost all quagmire and bog, made habitable by incredible labour and expence. This province was entirely under the dominion of the French, in the years 1672 and 1673. LEWIS XIV. keeping his court in the capital city; but the Germans coming to the assistance of the Dutch, he was obliged to withdraw his garisons from most of the towns he had taken, and retire to defend his own frontiers.

As to the buildings in the United Provinces, they are for the most part of brick, and differ but little from those in Britain; only 'tis observed that the ground-floor is usually of the largest dimensions, and every story, in proportion to its height, grows less and less; the reason whereof may be, that their foundations standing often upon a marshy soil, will not bear a very weighty roof. It is observed also, that their kitchens, and most ordinary rooms, are frequently lined or wainscotted, if I may use the phrase, with white Dutch tiles, which make them look exceeding neat. Their other rooms they choose rather to adorn with pictures than hangings, and their paintings are not bad. Stoves are used in many houses instead of chimneys, where a man may be as hot as in a bagnio in the coldest weather without seeing a fire. Their ordinary lodging is in many places very different from ours, for instead of beds they have

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III.Amers-  
fort.Wyck de  
Duesterde.

Rhenen.

Montfort.

Buildings  
of the  
United  
Provinces.



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III.

little cabins or cupboards on the sides of the room, placed so high that they are not easily mounted without a ladder or steps; and there are often six of these cabins close together, especially in their inns, where a gentleman's quality must be something extraordinary, if he be permitted the favour of having a room to himself: but I must confess there are some houses where the lodging and furniture are much the same as with us. They do of late begin to imitate their politer neighbours in these particulars as well as in their dress. Their kitchen-utensils, whether pewter, brass, or iron, are as bright as possible, and many of them muffled up in woollen to preserve them from rust; and the china, and other fine earthen ware, is marshalled in the exactest order in their houses. Their table-linen and sheets are always clean and fine, a man does not meet with a foul napkin in the country. Their children's cradles are slung with four ropes to a beam in the middle of the room, and hung above a yard from the ground, and their children consequently rocked with a very easy motion, without noise or giving any disturbance to the family.

## CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the persons and habits, the genius and temper of the Dutch; of their vices and virtues, and of their diet, entertainments, diversions, roads, carriages, and way of travelling.*

CHAP.  
IV.Persons  
and habits  
of the  
Dutch.

THE Dutch are generally tall strong-built men, but both men and women have the grossest shapes that are to be met with any where, or rather no shape at all. Nor is their motion less disagreeable than their shape; they move heavily and awkwardly, inasmuch that it is not difficult to distinguish a Hollander from a native of England or France, almost the length of a street by his mien. Their features or complexion are not to be found fault with, except among the boors and sea-faring men, who are very numerous; but the badness of their complexions is to be ascribed rather to their being exposed to the weather than any thing else. Their garb is exceeding plain among all sorts of people, except the officers of the army, and some few others, which affect to follow the French modes, otherwise they change their fashions as rarely as in Spain. I did not observe any thing very particular in the dress of the men, unless it were that their coats had neither shape nor pleats, and their long pockets were set as high as their ribs; but that of the women appeared something odd to us, their coats coming no lower than the middle of their legs. As to head-dresses they have little or none, many of them content themselves with tying up their hair, and wearing three black knots upon their heads, one on each side, and the other on the hinder part of the head, and perhaps a hood over all when they go out; though I must confess I have seen several of them of late in a French dress, which in time will be probably followed there as much as in England; and it seems strange that they have continued their old fashions so long, when there is such a multitude of foreigners in the country, especially of the French nation. The ladies of pleasure, who frequent their musick-houses, are generally dressed in a coat and jacket, pretty much resembling the riding habits, which are worn at present by the women of England, which is not the most becoming dress to a Dutch shape.

As to the genius and temper of the Dutch, I know my readers will have a great regard to the opinion of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in this particular, and therefore I shall give them the substance of his observations on this head; but shall take liberty, where I see occasion, to make some reflections on the character he gives them, and add some things which he may have omitted. This gentleman divides the nation into five classes, consisting, 1. of boors or husbandmen. 2. Seamen and watermen. 3. Merchants and tradesmen. 4. Renteners, or men who live in their chief cities on the rents or interest of their estates acquired by their ancestors. And, 5. The gentlemen and officers of the army.

The first are a people industrious enough, but flow of understanding; not to be dealt with by hasty words, but easily managed by soft and fair, and yielding to plain reason, if you give them time to understand it. At a distance from great towns they appear plain and honest, and entirely content with what they have; and if you should give one of them a shilling, for what is usually sold for a groat, and bid him take it, he would however give you the change, and perhaps ask if you were not a fool. They have no further views than the supplying themselves with what nature requires, and the making some small addition to their flocks. Their food is chiefly roots, herbs, or milk, which my author supposes is the reason that their strength and vigour is not answerable to the bulk of their bodies.

The seamen are a plain, but a much rougher people, surly and ill-mannered, which is usually mistaken for pride, but supposed by our author to proceed chiefly from their conversing with winds and waves, that are not to be wrought upon by language. They seldom use more words than are necessary about their business: and as for their valour, it is rather passive than active, not being a very enterprising people at present.

As to the trading people in great towns, whether merchants or mechanicks, their wits are something sharper than those of the former classes, improved by their conversation with foreigners who resort thither; but even these are much better at imitation than invention; and indeed sometimes they exceed the original by their unwearied industry, and constant application to the business they undertake. They make use of all their skill to take advantages of the folly and ignorance of those they deal with; and are great extortioners where there is no law to restrain them; but where they deal with men of skill, and apprehend themselves within the reach of the laws, there indeed they are the plainest and best dealers in the world.

Those who live on their patrimonial estates in great cities, resemble the merchants and tradesmen in the modesty of their dress, and their parsimonious way of living, but there is a wide difference in their education and manners; for after they come from school, they go to the universities of Leyden or Utrecht, where they go through the common studies of those places, but apply themselves chiefly to the civil law, which is the law of the country, at least they are in a great measure governed by it. When young gentlemen have finished their studies at home, if their relations are wealthy, they are sent abroad to England or France; not often to Italy, and less to Spain and the northern countries, the whole design of their education being to fit them for the magistracy in their towns and provinces; and of these men are the

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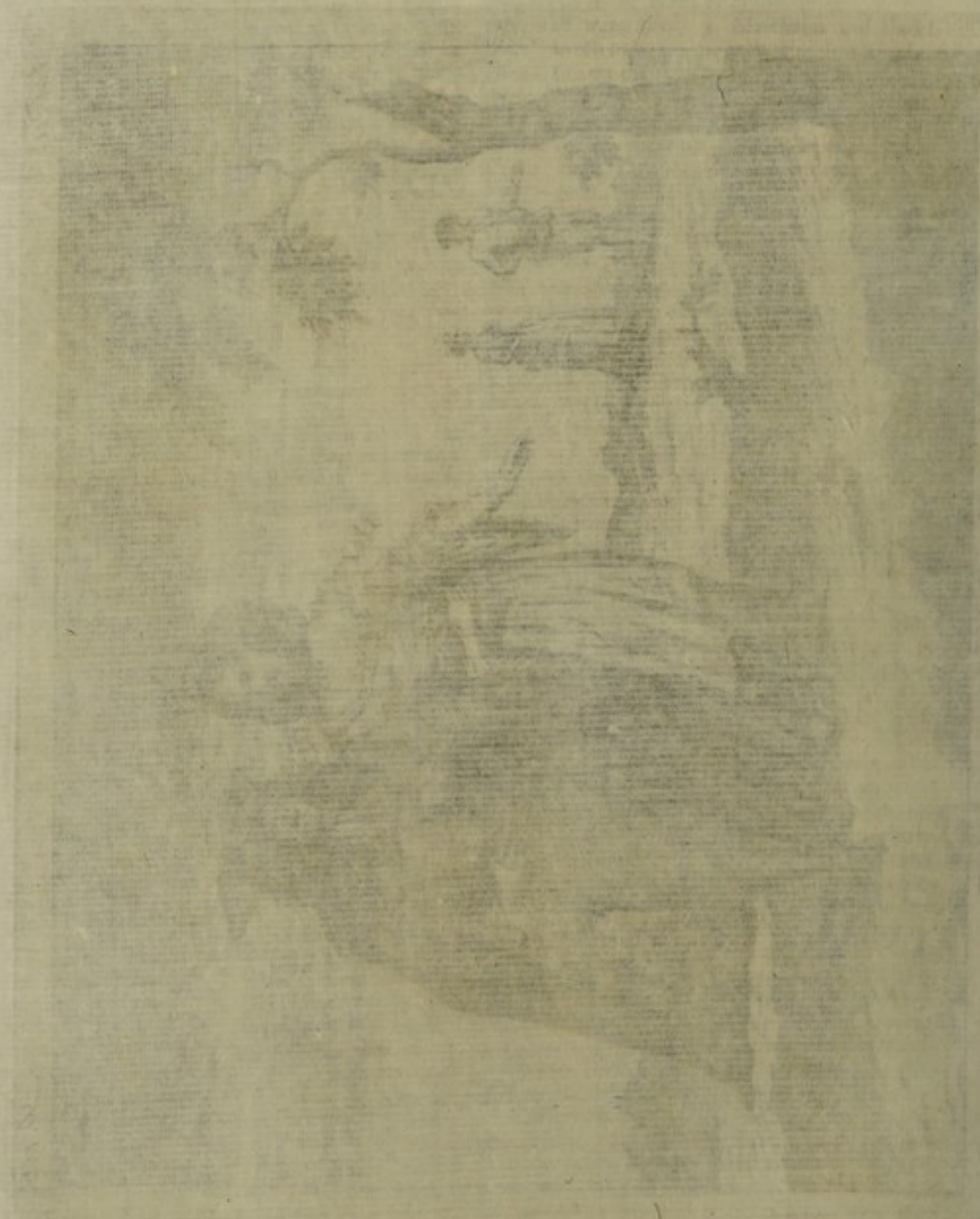
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A Burginmaster & his Wife





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IV.

the civil officers of the State generally composed; namely, of men descended of families who have constantly been in the magistracy of their native towns for many generations, and not of mean or mechanick tradesmen, as is sometimes suggested; though, 'tis true, there are sometimes merchants and wholesale tradesmen admitted into the magistracy, and made Deputies of the States. And the members of the States will sometimes employ their money in carrying on a beneficial trade, by servants and houses maintained for that purpose; but the generality of the States and Magistrates are of the other kind, whose estates consist in the pensions of their offices, the rents of their lands, the interest of their money, stocks in the East-India Company, or in shares upon the adventures of great merchants; and it is seldom that these families, though they are continually in the magistracy, get great estates; the salaries of their offices being mean, interest but low, and the innumerable taxes charged upon their lands, making the neat produce of them much lower, seldom exceeding the profit of two in the hundred. They are contented with the honour of being useful to the publick, and in the esteem of their country; and with the ease of their fortunes, which they seldom fail of by their frugal management, at first necessary, and since esteemed honourable among them. The men of mighty wealth are their merchants and tradesmen, who apply themselves wholly that way, and are content with a small share in the government, provided they may have security in what they possess: they know no cares but those of their private fortunes, and the management of their trades, and the rest of their time is spent in their recreations and diversions. Yet these, when they have acquired great estates, choose to qualify their sons for some employments in the State, and marry their daughters in the families of the ministers and great officers, and thereby introduce their posterity to a share in the government, and honours of their country, which consists not in titles but in publick employments.

Their merchants wealthy, but not many of them magistrates.

Their gentry and military officers follow the French modes.

Their gentry or nobility are not numerous (in Holland especially) many of these families having been extinguished in the wars with Spain: those that remain are usually employed in the military service, and sometimes in civil charges in their respective provinces; and having lived much abroad, affect rather the garb of the neighbouring courts, than the popular air of their own country; and value themselves more upon their nobility, than men do in other countries where it is more common. They look upon it dishonourable to marry beneath their rank, and will scarce do it to make up a broken fortune. They imitate the French in their dress, their mien, their talk, their diet, and in their gallantry or debauchery, but mimic them very awkwardly. They are however an honest good-humoured gentleman-like sort of men, and usually acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country. The officers of the army follow the fashions and customs of their gentry, as do many of the rich merchants sons, who returning from their travels scarce ever apply themselves to the service of their country, but seem intent upon their pleasure and making a grand appearance, in imitation of what they have seen abroad; and sometimes perhaps they will accept a commission in the army. But there are some customs and dispositions, my author observes, which seem to run through every class of men, namely, a great frugality and order in their ex-

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pences. Their riches consisting in always having more than they spend, or rather in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will, it is a constant maxim with them not to let the course of their expences equal their revenue; and if this ever happens, they think they have lived that year to no purpose, and their reputation is in some measure affected by it, as if they had been guilty of some great extravagance. Which frugality enables them to bear the excessive taxes laid upon them, and makes the people less sensible of the burthen; and from hence proceeds the beauty and strength of their towns, and the commodiousness of travelling in their country by canals, bridges, causeys, and pleasant walks of trees, and the noble grasses or canals in and near all their cities, and even the beauty, convenience, and magnificence of their publick works, to which every man contributes as willingly, and takes as much pleasure and vanity in them, as people do in other countries in building and planting on their private estates. What they can spare from their domestick expences, and the publick payment, and the common course of still increasing their stock, is laid out in the fabrick, ornament, and furniture of their houses, rather than in keeping great tables, fine clothes, or equipages, which end wholly in a man's self, and the gratifying his personal humour, whereas the other is for the advantage of his posterity, and contributes much to the beauty and honour of his country. The order in casting up their expences is so just, that no one undertakes any thing he is not prepared for, and master of the design before he begins; and it is very rare to hear of a publick or private building which was not finished in the time it was intended; and so it is in their canals, causeys, and bridges; to which the Stadthoufe at Amsterdam perhaps may be an exception: but this seems to be designedly left to time without limitation, either of that, or the expence, that the genius and industry of their succeeding magistrates might be employed in the collection of all things that might add to the beauty or magnificence of it; and perhaps, says my author, upon a current prediction, that the trade of Amsterdam should begin to decline the same year the Stadthoufe should be finished, as it did at Antwerp.

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All degrees of men frugal and exact in their accounts.

They keep neither tables nor equipages.

Their charity national.

Their charity is rather national, and regulated by the orders of the State, than moved by the common objects of compassion; which is seen in the admirable provision that is made for all kind of people that can want, and ought to be relieved by any government. But among the many and various kinds of hospitals we meet with in the Low Countries, our author admired none more than that at Enchuyfen for aged seamen, which is so contrived, he says, as if it was intended, that those who had passed their lives in the hardships and inconveniences of the sea, should find a retreat, stored with all the satisfactions and conveniences that old age was capable of enjoying.

Our author is of opinion, that all appetites and passions run lower and cooler here than in any other country, avarice excepted; quarrels are very rare, revenge seldom heard of, and jealousy scarce ever known. Their tempers are not airy enough for joy, nor any unusual strains of pleasant humour, nor warm enough for love. This is indeed something talked of among young fellows as a thing they have heard of, but never felt, and as a discourse that becomes them rather than affects them. It is very rare for any of them to be

Covetous, but not subject to passion of any kind.

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CHAP.  
IV.Very in-  
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chastity  
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really in love, nor do the women seem to care whether they are or no; which our author accounts for in the following manner: either, he says, the men are such lovers of liberty as not to bear the servitude of a mistress, or the dulness of the air renders them less susceptible of more refined passions, or they are diverted from it by the intention every man has to his proper business; and the same causes may have had the same effects among their married women, who have the whole care and management of their domestick affairs, and live generally in good fame; a certain sort of chastity being hereditary and habitual to them. The same dulness of air, this gentleman thinks, may dispose them to that uncommon assiduity, and constant application of their minds, with that perpetual study and labour upon every thing they undertake; one man particularly he instances in, who employed four and twenty years in making and perfecting a globe, and another thirty about the inlaying of a table. Nor is it to be conceived how much may have been contributed towards the great things achieved among them by this one humour, of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass; nor leaving one scent to follow another they meet with, the fault of lighter and more ingenious people. The same quality of the air may incline them, he thinks, to the custom of drinking, so much laid to their charge; which probably may not only be necessary to their health, as they generally believe it, but to the vigour and improvement of their understandings in a thick foggy air, and such a coldness of temper and complexion; for though the use or excess of drinking may destroy men's abilities who live in better climates, and are of warmer constitutions; it may improve their parts who are of cold complexions, and live in a dull air, and perhaps be necessary to thaw and move the frozen or unactive spirits of the brain. Yet in Holland, he observes, that few of their magistrates or ministers of state are given to this vice; or if they drink much it is only at feasts or great entertainments, and then rather to comply with the company than out of choice: and as for the merchants and tradesmen, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a morning, or till they come from the Exchange, where the business of the day is commonly dispatched; they scarce think it lawful to drink before that time, and will not so much as offer a stranger liquor at their houses in a morning, but excuse themselves on account of the time of day. The afternoon, or at least the evening, they give up to whatever may divert them; which this gentleman is of opinion is no more than is necessary, where the former part of the day has been spent in cares and business: thus far my honourable author Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. I shall now proceed to make some observations on that part of these remarks, which relates to the government of their passions, especially that of love, in which they are represented as perfect Stoicks: but perhaps were the same liberties allowed by publick authority to the youth of any other nation, as are to those of Holland, they might be guilty of as few extravagancies in love and gallantry as the Dutch. For here are musick-houses, which pay a tax to the States for a license to entertain as many wenches as they please, and the girls pay each of them another tax every time they are admitted into these venereal schools, whether the people resort to them openly without fear or shame; the scandal is as little in being found at one of these houses, as at a play-house with us.

When a sufficient company is met, an entertainment consisting of several nice dishes, and the best of wines are set before them; where after they have eat and drank plentifully in a publick room, the dishes are removed, and a ball or entertainment of musick and dancing succeeds. When they have raised their desires sufficiently by these incentives, any gentleman that pleases takes his nymph, and retires into a little closet furnished with a bed and all conveniences, of which there are many on all sides of the room; where having recreated himself as long as he sees fit, he returns to the company again with his mistress, and no more notice taken of it, than if he had gone out to speak with a friend: and the entertainment concludes with dancing or drinking, as the company are disposed. Of these houses there are of all degrees, some for the better sort, and some for the vulgar, who resort to the one or the other, as they are able to bear the expence: and one related to me, that he saw a Dutch sailor in one of these houses, who had not patience to retire out of the publick room to close quarters, but laid his mistress down before them all, and gratified his lust, while numbers of people were looking on, and went out again without saying a word. And indeed the States give that as one reason for encouraging these houses, That considering the numbers of sailors that resort to their principal cities, who have been long kept on board their ships without women, and fed with salt-meats, if they should not indulge them in this particular, they could never keep their wives or daughters to themselves; and of two evils therefore they choose the least. Now thus far I will agree with Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, that the Dutch are not a people that deal much in speculative love, or dwell much upon the virtues or accomplishments of their mistresses; any girl the man thinks that may ease his brutal passion, and make a good drudge in the family, is a wife fit for him, he is not very nice in other respects; and if his mistress should prove unkind, he would go to one of the musick-houses above-described, and think no more of her. On the other hand, the women, whom some cry up so much for their hereditary chastity, if a gallant attacks them that they like, and they intend him for their husband, they make no manner of scruple of granting him the last favours before marriage. It is the commonest thing in the world for a woman of any quality to be married in Holland with a great belly; so that if a gentleman does succeed in his addresses, there is no manner of reason to run mad for love; and if he does not, a musick-house is his remedy. And the indulging young fellows in these entertainments is thought to be one of the most effectual remedies to prevent their sons making disadvantageous matches. As for the religion of the matter, in tolerating or establishing whoredom by a law, this objection has been long laughed out of the Low-Countries, where they have no other religion but what is political, as will be shewn hereafter under another head.

I shall here add a word or two more out of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, which shews the extraordinary neatness of the Dutch in their houses, and the ascendant the women have over the men on that side the water; notwithstanding he has suggested in a former volume, that there is very little love between them. He relates, that being at the house of one of the chief Burgomasters of Amsterdam, while he was Ambassador in Holland, and having a great cold, he observed that

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every time he spit, a clever handfom wench, who stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand, presently wiped it up and rubbed the board clean; and Sir WILLIAM expressing some uneasiness at the trouble he gave, the master of the house told him, if his wife had been at home indeed he would not have escaped so well, for she would probably have turned him out of doors for daubing her house, notwithstanding he was an Ambassador; adding, that he had two rooms which he durst never come into, and believed that they were never open but twice a year to be cleaned. My author observing thereupon, that the wives of Amsterdam generally governed their husbands, and that this seemed part of their constitution; the Burgomaster replied, it was true, and that all a man could hope for there was an easy governess. This occasioning many stories to be told concerning the extravagant neatness of these Holland ladies in their houses; the Secretary of Holland, who was in the company, pointed to a house over the way, where he said one of their magistrates going to pay a visit to the mistress of it, a strapping North-Holland lass happening to open the door, as he was about to enter, the wench observing his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him on her back, and carrying him cross two rooms, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, and putting him on a pair of slippers, without speaking a word to him before them, told him he might walk up to her mistress, who was in her chamber.

Their diet

The diet of the Dutch boors or husbandmen, as has been intimated already, is but mean; roots, herbs, sour milk and pulse, are a great part of their food. In towns the people have something better diet. About November every year they purchase an ox, or more, according to the largeness of the family, and salt up or smoke-dry it to eat with bread and butter and fallet. On Sunday a piece of salt-meat is usually taken out of the powdering-tub, which comes every day to table all the week long, with some other little dishes of garden-stuff, sour milk, &c. which the peasants feed on in the country: pickled herrings, Bologna sausages, and other savoury dishes, are much admired; when they have fresh fish, they generally eat them with oiled butter upon choice, and I have heard some of our countrymen say, when they have been used to this kind of sauce a good while, they have really liked it better than well-melted butter. They have several other ways of dressing their fish, which a little use may reconcile an English palate to; but seldom use anchovies, or any savoury ingredients, though they admire salted flesh so much. Their butter and cheese is extremely good, and the common people seldom take a journey without a butter-box in their pockets. This box is made in the shape of a churn, and holds half a pound or a quarter of a pound, being shut down close with a wooden lid, the butter never works out. As they travel upon their canals in drawn boats, a man with a roll and his butter-box will make a very comfortable meal; and so extravagantly fond of butter are this people, that I have seen some of them take it up and eat it by handfuls, without knife or spoon. But the Dutch do not live now on that plain simple diet they did formerly, they have introduced the luxury of every neighbouring nation: English and French dishes may be had here with as much ease as with us. They ingross our oysters every year at Feverham, and carry them off in fleets, scarce

leaving the natives of that part of Kent enough for their own use. Puddings, which before King WILLIAM's reign they were strangers to, they make as rich and as good as we do in England. And as for drinking, they had always the advantage of us; for they have not only very good beer, but wine and brandy in great plenty, almost as cheap as beer. Their geneva also is very good and cheap; I have seen an ordinary fellow make a delicious breakfast of half a pint of gin and a roll. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE observes, that it is necessary these people should tittle to improve their understandings, as well as for the preservation of their healths; and by way of excuse for the drunkenness of the Dutch, intimates, that strong liquor has different effects on them to what it has upon other people, preserving their healths, and brightning their parts to a very great degree.

Diversions

The diversions of the Hollanders are bowls, billiards, chess, and tennis, as with us; but they do not seem so much addicted to the games of chance, unless that of *Verbeeven*, or track-track reversed: shooting wild-geese and ducks in winter, and angling in summer, make another part of their pastimes. In the most rigorous season of the year sledges and skates are a great diversion. It is incredible how swift some of them move in their skates, no running-horse can keep pace with them; and the women as well as men use them to carry their goods to market, as well as for their pleasure. The sledge is drawn by a horse, or pushed along by a man in skates. When the snow is upon the ground and the streets frozen, young gentlemen and ladies appear abroad in the most magnificent sledges. The person drives his horse himself, which is covered with a rich skin or caparison, and a fine tuft of feathers, and the gentleman or lady wrapt up in furs, or a fine Indian quilt. The sledges are of various shapes, finely painted, gilt, and varnished, and the horse's harness rich and glittering: numbers of these being seen in the streets together, especially at Amsterdam, make one of the most beautiful shews we meet with any where. But of these entertainments I have already had occasion to speak more largely in the description of the more northern countries, who excel in these diversions; I shall only observe further here, that there are little machines of this kind, in which they put their children, pushed along by their fathers, as people of fashion are by their men or maid-servants in skates. Bandy is another play much used when the earth is covered with ice and snow, at which they are very dextrous: they seldom play for any thing but drink, and the tavern where they spend their winnings always concludes the diversion of the day. Hans never cares to go to bed without his dose. In summer we see multitudes of people walking out of town on the banks of fine canals, well planted with trees, or by the sea-shore, or perhaps in the publick gardens; but the end of every walk is the tavern, where they do not fail to meet with a thousand little amusements and agreeable entertainments: as cool summer-houses and grotto's, excellent wines and other liquors, fruit, cakes, and relishing meats; and here you meet with musick of all kinds, vocal and instrumental. Nor are these pleasures dear here; ordinary workmen indulge themselves in this manner, while in other countries, it is observed, people of this class generally want bread to eat. Nor are there those distinctions kept up between wealthy traders and the mechanicks in Holland as in other countries:



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tries: they converse pretty much upon the level, and it is not easy to know the man from the master, or the maid from her mistress; such liberties do they allow their servants, who may not be struck or corrected by them, but the dispute must be left to the magistrate, where any arises between master and servant; it not being fit they say that any one should be judge in his own case. They sometimes take a boat and their whole family with them, and go a considerable distance from home, to eat river fish at some publick house in the country. And it must not be forgotten, that the drinking of tea has long been universal here among all sorts of people, and esteemed none of the worst of their entertainments.

Way of travelling

Their usual way of travelling is in *Trechtsbutes*, or covered boats, drawn by a horse at the rate of three miles an hour, for which the fare does not amount to a penny a mile, and you have the convenience of carrying a portmanteau, or provisions, so that you need not be at any manner of expences at a publick-house by the way. You are not in the least exposed to the weather in these vessels, and can scarce feel any motion; so that a man may read or divert himself upon his journey, as he sees fit; and there is scarce a town but one may go to this way every day; and if it be a considerable place almost every hour, at the ringing of a bell; but they will not stay a minute afterwards for a passenger, though they see him coming. The greatest inconvenience I found was the getting out of one boat into another at every great town; and paying a tax at every gate I passed through with my portmanteau, which was wheeled along from one boat to another, in a machine pretty like a wheelbarrow. And as one often passes through many of these towns in a day, this must be allowed to be some trouble and expence; but I think the conveniences of this way of travelling out-balance the inconveniences. That of an open waggon instead of a coach, when we travel by land, I must confess is not so agreeable; and skating, which the country people are dextrous at, is not soon learnt by foreigners.

Their inns

As to the inns and publick-houses on the road, I have already said we are sure to meet with clean linen and soft beds; but their bedsteads, or rather cabins in the sides of the wall, are placed so high, that a man must infallibly lame himself if he happens to fall out of them; and we must be content to lie with half a dozen people or more in the same room, and be disturbed all night long by one or other, if the churl of a landlord pleases to have it so. Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, travelling into this country, and having made choice of a room in an inn, it seems was so unreasonable to look upon it as his sole property, while he staid there, and would admit no chamber-fellows to be imposed upon him, but the governor of the castle, to speak in Don QUIXOT's phrase, soon gave him to understand his error, broke open the door and introduced half a dozen strangers into his apartment; whereupon Sir ROGER drawing his sword, they knocked him down, threw him down stairs, and dragged him about the street 'till they left him for dead, tho' he had the good fortune to recover afterwards: and indeed there is no disputing with a Dutch innkeeper, either about the reckoning or any other particular, for he will enhance his bill if you find fault with it, and procure a magistrate to levy his demands by force if they are not paid readily. I observed also that a man pays for his passage always before

he has well begun his journey; for as soon as the passengers are set down in the boat, a fellow comes round with a hat and collects the money, so that if any accident should happen that he cannot carry you to your journey's end, yet still he is sure of his hire, and leaves you to procure another convenience. I shall conclude this head with observing that the canals, highways, causeys and bridges, are always kept in excellent repair, which deserves our imitation; for the cheapness of carriage it is, which, in a great measure, renders all commodities cheap, and enables the Dutch to carry on a trade from one part of the country to another, as well as with Germany, France, and other adjoining countries, at a very easy expence. And whoever can afford their merchandizes upon the most reasonable terms, will infallibly have the greatest demand for them. But the article of trade is to be the subject of another chapter, and therefore I forbear enlarging upon it here.

## CHAP. V.

Treats of the government of the United Provinces.

JOHN DE WITT in his introduction to the government of the United Provinces endeavours to shew, that that is the best government where the well or ill-being of the governors necessarily depends on the well or ill-being of the subjects; and not where the well or ill-being of the subjects depends on the virtues or vices of the governors: for self, he observes, is ever preferred in all societies or assemblies of men; and all sovereigns or supreme powers will, in the first place, endeavour to advance their own interests; or else, abandoning themselves entirely to ease and pleasure, suffer their government to fall into the hands of favourites and courtiers, who finding themselves vested with sovereign power, do for the most part rule for the benefit of themselves, and to the prejudice not only of such voluptuous and unwary Princes, but also of their subjects: and infers, that a republican State is infinitely to be preferred to Monarchy; because the governors of a commonwealth in promoting the welfare of the subject promote their own advantage, and while they study their particular interests must of necessity advance the people's, especially in a country which depends upon trade and manufactures, where the governors reap a proportionable advantage with the subject: whereas a Monarch usually is solicitous to promote his own grandeur or pleasures, and finds it necessary frequently to oppress and impoverish his subjects on a prospect of false glory or some selfish designs. But when we have enquired into the constitution of the several republicks in the United Provinces, we shall be better able to judge of the justness of these inferences.

The United Provinces are a confederacy of many independent States; for not only every province is sovereign and independent of any other power, but there are in each province several republicks independent of each other, and which are not bound by the decrees or acts of the States of the province until such acts are ratified by each particular city or republick, which sends deputies or representatives to the provincial assembly.

As the States General can neither make war or peace, enter into new alliances or raise money without the consent of every province; so neither can the States Provincial determine these things without the consent of every city or republick,

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Observations as to government in general.

The government of the United Provinces.



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publick, which by the constitution of the province hath a voice in the assembly. In some civil cases indeed there lies an appeal from the courts of justice in cities to the provincial court of justice; but in criminal matters there lies no appeal. Nor can the States of the province exercise any jurisdiction, punish an offender, pardon and offence, or execute any general law within any of the cities or republicks of the province, but by the courts and officers of the place where it is to be put in execution.

The form of government in most of the provinces and cities being pretty near the same, I shall only give an account of two or three of the chief of them, from whence the reader will be able to make a tolerable judgment of the rest; and first of the province of Holland, which in point of trade, riches, forces and great towns, may be esteemed equal to all the rest.

The government  
of the  
province  
of Holland

The States of Holland are composed of the deputies or representatives of the nobility, and of eighteen cities or great towns, making in all nineteen voices, of which the nobility or gentry have only the first. The cities which had voices were at first but six, viz. Dort, Haerlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam and Tergow; to which Prince WILLIAM of Nassau, their first Stadtholder, added twelve more, namely, Rotterdam, Gorcum, Scheidam, Schonehoven, Briel, Alkmaar, Horne, Enchusen, Edam, Moninckdam, Medenblick and Permeren. This is observed to be by no means equal, because the little town of Permeren has an equal voice in the assembly of the States of Holland with the potent and wealthy city of Amsterdam, which contributes as much to the publick expences as all the rest of the cities of the province.

The nobility  
of Holland  
have  
one voice.

The nobility, who are not numerous in Holland, are represented in the States Provincial by eight or nine of their own number; and when one of them dies, they elect another to succeed him; but these have all together but one voice equal to the smallest of the above-mentioned towns. They are however very considerable in the government, possessing many of the best posts both civil and military, and having the direction of all the ecclesiastical revenues which were confiscated by the state upon the alteration of religion for the use of the publick. As the nobility vote first in these assemblies, they influence in a great measure the cities which give their voices afterwards. The Pensioner of Holland, who sits with them, delivers their vote and assists in all their deliberations previous to the general assembly. He is always a person of great credit, and seldom removed, tho' by their constitution he ought to continue in that post but five years. His place is behind all the deputies or representatives, being, in reality, but the servant of the province, tho' he has frequently the good fortune to lead, or at least influence his masters; for he proposes all matters to be debated by the States, collects their opinions, and digests their resolutions, like the Speaker of an English House of Commons, and assumes a power sometimes of delaying and postponing the most important affairs, notwithstanding a majority of the assembly are for the question, pretending it will be of ill consequence to the province: and he is always constituted one of their deputies or representatives to the States General.

The towns  
of Holland  
eighteen  
voices.

The representatives of the cities are elected out of the magistracy and senate of each town, and their number more or less according to the pleasure

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of those they represent, tho' they have all but one voice, and have a salary from the places which send them. One of the burgomasters and the pensioner are usually of the number. The States of Holland generally assemble at the Hague four times a year, viz. in the months of February, June, September and November. In their three first sessions they consider the filling up of vacant offices, renewing the farms of the several taxes, and other matters relating to the general good of the province, or particular differences between the towns: and in November they meet on purpose to consider of the charge, forces, &c. which have been allotted by the States General as the proportion of this province for the ensuing year.

The States of Holland upon extraordinary occasions are summoned by the *Ge committee rede*, or council of state of the province, consisting of several deputies or representatives, viz. one from the nobility, one from each of the chief towns, and one from three of the smaller towns; each of these chusing a representative by turns. This council sits constantly at the Hague, and proposes to the States of the province at their extraordinary assemblies the matters proper for their deliberation, and executes their resolutions. One negative voice in the assembly of the States of the province hinders their coming to a resolution; but they are so united by their common interest, or a view to the publick good, that after things have been fully debated, it is observed, they are generally unanimous, the smaller party seldom contesting it long or violently with the majority. When they are all agreed, they send some of their number to the respective towns they represent, to obtain their consent; and if it be a matter of any intricacy, and may take up time in debating in the several cities, the States usually adjourn for such a time as they have reason to think the deputies will return.

Council of  
State of  
Holland.

There is also a chamber of accounts which manages the revenues of the province, and hath the absolute disposal of the demesne lands, or the lands belonging to the States of the province, which anciently, I presume, were the inheritance of the Earl.

Chamber  
of accounts  
of Holland

The revenue which these bring in is seldom applied to the use of the publick but upon urgent necessity, the States having disposed of it to magistrates and officers grown old in their service, whose prudence and integrity they have long experienced; and by this means these gentlemen meet with a plentiful and honourable retreat after they have spent the best part of their lives in the service of their country.

The provinces of Holland and Zealand have two courts of judicature common to both provinces. The one constituted of twelve counsellors or judges, namely, nine of Holland and three of Zealand. This court judges finally in all criminal cases, but in civil there is an appeal to the other court, which is called the high council, from whence there lies no appeal but by petition, to the States of the province for a revision; whereupon if the States think proper they grant a commission to some Sindiques (recorders) of towns, who being added to the judges of the two former courts, revise and finally determine the matter.

Holland  
and Zealand  
the same  
supreme  
courts of  
justice.

The government of the province of Friesland is very different from that of Holland, being composed of four members, viz. The quarter of Oistergo, the quarter of Westergo, that of Seven-Wolden; and lastly, that of the towns of the province. The quarter

The government  
of the  
province  
of Friesland.



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of Oftergo confifts of eleven baillages, the quarter of Weftergo of nine, and the quarter of Seven-Wolden of ten, each baillage comprehending twelve or fifteen villages, or thereabouts; and the towns of the province which fend deputies are eleven in number. Thefe four members elect their refpective representatives, viz, two out of every baillage, and two out of every town, which compofe the afsembly of the States Provincial, who deliberate and conclude all matters relating to the government of the province, without having recourfe to thofe who elected them, or requiring their confent to any affair how important foever, nor receive any inftructions from thofe who fend them, as the States of Holland do, but feem to be velted with the like powers as the members or representatives of the commons are in England.

And, whereas in Holland the nobility or cities choofe the representatives who compofe the States, in Friesland every bailly, or greetman, fummons all perfons who are poffeffed of a certain parcel of lands (who may be compared to our freeholders) within his baillage; and a majority of thefe men chufe the two representatives or deputies of the baillage to be fend to the afsembly of the States of the province: the bailly alfo and his affeffors compofe a court of juftice for civil matters, from whence there lies an appeal to the court of juftice of the province.

The States of Friesland thus conftituted, as aforefaid, difpofe of all vacant offices, elect the nine members, who compofe the council of ftate, and twelve judges, three for every quarter, who compofe the court of juftice of the province, and determine all civil caufes which come before them by way of appeal, and all criminal caufes at the firft inftance, there being no other criminal jurifdiction but this in the province; whereas in Holland there is no town but has the determination of criminal matters within itfelf, and feveral Lords of manors, and even villages, have both the high and low juftice belonging to them.

In the province of Groningen the deputies or representatives elected to ferve in their afsembly of the States of the province are chofen as in Friesland by freeholders, or perfons poffeffed of a certain portion of land. And in Overyffel all the nobility and gentry who have manors, or feignerial lands, are qualified to be members of the States of that province.

The conftitution of the government in the provinces of Guelderland, Zealand and Utrecht, pretty much refembles that of Holland, the States of each province being compofed of the deputies or representatives of the nobility and cities; but there are fome fmall differences, as in Guelderland, where all the nobility and gentry who are feized of fuch certain lordfhips have a feat, and vote in the afsembly of the States of the province, and thefe compofe one half of the States, as the representatives of the towns do the other half; and though fome certain perfons of their number are deputed to the States General, yet any of the nobility of Guelderland have a feat there if they will attend at their own charges.

The nobility of Zealand having been almoft extinguifhed in the wars with Spain, and the Prince of Orange being proprietor of the marquisfates of Flufhing and Terveer, this Prince alone represents that part of the States of the province, under the title of firft or fole Noble of Zealand; and by virtue thereof his deputy has the firft place and voice in the afsembly of the States of Zea-

land, and in their council of State and chamber of accounts. As Sovereign of Flufhing and Terveer he alfo conftitutes the magiftrates, and confequently difpofes of the votes of thofe two towns, as well as the votes of the nobility; and there are but fix towns which fend deputies to the afsembly of the province of Zealand.

In the province of Utrecht eight delegates from the clergy had feflion in the afsembly of the States with the deputies of the nobility and towns, making a third eftate. And thefe are ftill elected out of the four chapters in the town, the preferments and revenues whereof, though ecclefiaftical till the alteration of religion, are now poffeffed by laymen, who are moft of them gentlemen of the province.

This is the beft account which hath been given us of the government of the refpective provinces; I proceed now to enquire further into the conftitution of the States General, which is compofed of the representatives of the feven feveral Provinces abovementioned, and ufed at firft to be convened on extraordinary occafions by the council of ftate, though this was but feldom, in regard this afsembly ufually confifted of eight hundred perfons, which occafioned their debates to be long and confufed, and their refolutions too flow: in their abfence the council of State acted in their ftand, and executed their refolutions, and fummoned a new afsembly of the States when they judged proper. And thus it was till the Earl of Leicefter refigned the government of thefe provinces, when they refolved that the provincial States by their conftant refpective representatives fhould continue their afsemblies under the name of States General, and all the members of the confederate States have never been afsembled above once fince that time. This representative of the Seven Provinces, called the States General, fits now conftantly at the Hague, gives audience to Ambaffadors, and exercifes other acts of fovereignty, the afsembly of all the States being now wholly difufed.

Subordinate to this representative of the States, now ftiled the States General, are the council of State, the Admiralty and the Treafury, all which very nearly refemble the feveral councils eftablifhed when thefe provinces were fubject to their feveral Princes, or united under the houfes of Burgundy or Auftria.

The members of thefe feveral councils are nominated or changed by the faid provinces, according to their refpective cuftoms. Every one fends their representatives in what number they pleafe, fome ten, others twelve, and fome but two; but this makes little difference, becaufe all the deputies of one province, how few or many foever, have but one fingle vote: the cuftoms of the provinces differ alfo in the time for the continuance of their refpective deputies in the faid councils, fome deputing them for a year, two, three, or more; and others for life. The province of Holland fends to the States General one of their nobility who is perpetual, two deputies chofen by the eight chief towns, one chofen by North Holland, two out of their provincial council of State, and their Penfioner.

No Stadtholder, Governor, or military Officer, can fit or vote in the States General, and each province takes it's turn to appoint a Prefident of the afsembly, who is changed once a week. He fits in an armed chair at the middle of a long table which will hold thirty perfons, this being a-

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V.The States  
General  
in a col-  
lective bo-  
dy feldom  
afsembled.Their re-  
presenta-  
tives only  
afsembled  
at this  
day.The coun-  
cil of  
State, Ad-  
miralty  
and Treaf-  
ury.The States  
General.



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bout the number of Members of which this supreme council is composed. The Greffier, or Secretary, sits at one end of the table, and Ambassadors at their audience are seated at the middle of the table over-against the President, who proposes all matters in the assembly, puts the question, collects the votes, and forms the conclusion; and in all ordinary cases things are carried by a majority: but if the subject be peace or war, foreign alliances, levying or coining money, or concerning the privilege of any province; in these cases every province must concur, and a plurality of votes is of no weight; for this council is not really sovereign, but represents the sovereignty: and therefore on all these important points the States of every province are consulted, and their consent obtained before any thing is absolutely determined. And in other matters decided by a majority, they frequently consult the council of state; though Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE relates, that during his embassy in Holland he had the good fortune to prevail with the States General to conclude three treaties within the space of five days without passing the essential forms of their government, by having recourse to the provinces, who must likewise have had the consent of the several cities, &c. And he assures us, that in concluding these alliances without commission from their principals, the deputies of the States General might have lost their heads if the treaties had not been approved by their principals; but the necessity of using this expedition being apparent, and of the utmost importance to their country, they were so far from being animadverted upon, that they gained an universal applause.

Council  
of State.

The council of State also consists of representatives of the several provinces, whereof the province of Holland sends three, the provinces of Guelderland, Zealand and Utrecht, two a-piece, and the provinces of Friesland, Groningen and Overijssel, each of them one; nor is it in the power of any province to send more or less to this council than the numbers above expressed, so that the council of state for the whole United Provinces always consists of twelve members. Nor do they vote here by provinces, as in the assembly of the States General, but by personal voices, and every deputy presides by turns; and in this council the Stadtholder, or Governor of the United Provinces, when there is one, hath a decisive voice. The Treasurer-general has a seat here, and may give his opinion, but has no vote, though his place be for life, as is that of the deputy sent by the nobility of Holland, and the deputies of the province of Zealand; the other deputies are but for two, three, or four years. This council of State executes the resolutions of the States General, proposes the number of troops requisite for the ensuing year, the methods of raising them, and of levying money for the exigences of the government. They also superintend the militia, fortifications and contributions levied on the enemy in time of war; the revenues and government of the conquered places acquired since the union, which being conquered by the common arms of the State, depend on the States General, and not on any particular province.

The council of State at the end of every year, present to the States General a state of the expences which they apprehend to be necessary for the ensuing year, desiring them to demand of the States Provincial their respective proportions,

which are as follow, viz. in every 100l. sterling, each province raises the following sums,

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	l.	s.	d.
Guelderland,	7	00	00
Holland,	42	00	00
Zealand,	13	00	00
Utrecht,	8	00	00
Friesland,	17	00	00
Overijssel,	5	00	00
Groningen and the Omlands,	8	00	00
	100	00	00

And this is but a continuance of the practice in the time of their ancient Sovereigns: indeed when they were under the dominion of their respective Counts or Dukes, this was only upon extraordinary occasions; but in the times of the houses of Burgundy and Austria, it became a thing of course, and annual, as it is still in the Spanish provinces.

Every province raises such sums, and by such ways and means as are most suitable to it, and sends it's quota, or share of the general charge to the Receiver-General, converting the remainder to the use of their particular province.

The chamber of accounts was erected within these hundred years, to take off part of the trouble from the council of State; and their business is to examine and state all accounts of the several receivers, to control and register the orders of the council of state, which disposes of the revenue: and this chamber is composed of two deputies sent from each province, who are changed every three years.

The  
chamber  
of ac-  
counts.

The next great office is the court of admiralty, which after the States General, by the advice of the council of State, have concluded on the number and force of the fleet to be set out, have the absolute disposal of all marine affairs, as well in the choice and equipment of the several ships, as in issuing the money allotted for that service.

The court  
of admiral-  
ty.

This office is subdivided into five lesser courts, three whereof are in Holland, viz. one at Amsterdam, a second at Rotterdam, and the third at Horn; the fourth at Middleburg in Zealand, and the fifth at Harlingen in Friesland, and each of these composed of seven deputies, viz. four of that province where the court is, and three named by the other provinces. The Admiral, and in his absence the Vice-Admiral, has a seat in all these courts, and presides there when he is upon the place. They have the cognizance of all crimes committed at sea, whether piracies or others, and of all frauds and neglects in the payment or collection of the customs, which are always applied to the use of the admiralty, and to no other purpose; and as this fund is not sufficient in time of war, the States grant a farther supply out of other taxes. In time of peace there being however a considerable overplus, this is applied to the building of great ships of war, and purchasing stores for their arsenals and magazines, in which they have always materials sufficient to fit out more ships than can be wanted in the course of a long war.

Subdivi-  
ed.

When the number and magnitude of the ships appointed for any expedition are agreed on by the States General, and orders issued for their equipment by the council of State, every particular college, or court of admiralty, furnishes it's stated proportion. The Captains and superior Officers of each Squadron are appointed by the respective courts



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courts or colleges which set them out; and the Captain who has the care of manning and victualling his own ships, uses his utmost diligence to procure his compliment of the best men, and in getting the best provisions, surgeons and medicines for the men under his command, being allowed by the admiralty a certain rate for every man; and according as he performs this great trust, he gains or loses his credit with the admiralty, on whose opinion the fortune of all sea-officers depends; and consequently in all their expeditions there appears an emulation among the Captains, who shall treat the seamen under their command best, and apply the money appointed for their victualling, &c. to the best advantage, and not by little knavish practices endeavour to fill their own pockets by starving their men, or laying in unwholesom provisions. The salaries of all the great officers of this State are very mean, and particularly that of their Vice-Admiral, which does not amount to above five hundred pounds a year.

The government  
of the ci-  
ties.

Having enquired into the constitution of the government of the respective provinces, and of that grand court which is a representative of the States General, with the council of State, chamber of accounts, and courts of admiralty; I now proceed to describe the administration of the government of their principal cities and great towns, and first, that of Amsterdam.

Of Am-  
sterdam.  
The Se-  
nate.

The sovereign power of this city is lodged in six and thirty Senators, who continue members of this assembly for life, and when one or more of them dies, the remaining Senators elect others in their room, the people having no share in the nomination or choice; so that, as Sir W. TEMPLE observes, this is far from being a popular government at this day, though it might be so esteemed an hundred and fifty years ago, when the Senators were chosen by a majority of the principal Burghers, who were about that time wheedled to transfer their right of election to the Senate, and their example was followed by the rest of the towns of the province, who differ in little else but the number of their Senators.

Burgomasters,  
or May-  
ors.

The Senate elects the deputies to be sent to the States of Holland, and appoints the chief Magistrates of the city, namely, the Burgomasters and Eschevins, who are said to resemble the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. The Burgomasters are four in number, of which three are chosen annually, one of them always remaining in office two years, but the three last chosen are styled the reigning Burgomasters for the year, and preside by turns after the first three months; for so long after a new election the Burgomaster of the preceding year presides, in which time the new ones have an opportunity of being instructed in the forms and duties of their office. It is by a majority of such persons in the Senate as have been Burgomasters or Eschevins that the new Burgomasters are chosen, and these represent the government of the city on all occasions, and dispose of all inferior offices that fall during their administration: they issue all money also out of the treasury for the publick service, and may properly be looked upon to have the executive power, (as the whole senate have the legislative.) They have the inspection also of all the publick buildings and fortifications about the city, and direct them to be repaired or improved as they see occasion. But though these Gentlemen are vested with so great power, there is but very little profit attends it,

only they stand fair for more profitable places after they have executed these with reputation, the salary of a Burgomaster not being above five hundred guilders, or fifty pounds a year, though there are offices in their gift worth an hundred pounds a year; but then their employments put them to no manner of expence in their habits, equipage, or way of living, being attended on all solemn occasions by officers who have a stated salary on that account; and whatever entertainments are made for foreign Princes or Ministers are at the expence of the publick, and at other times they appear with the garb and modesty of private citizens. When the Burgomaster's office expires, and they have well discharged that great employment, some of the most profitable places in the city are of course conferred upon them, of which there are a great many esteemed very profitable there, but much inferior to those of the British Magistrates and Officers.

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The Eschevins, or Aldermen, constitute a court of justice in every town. There are nine in the city of Amsterdam, of whom seven are chosen annually, two of the preceding year remaining in office: a double number of candidates being nominated by the Senate, the Burgomasters have the choice of those that shall serve; and they are sole judges in all criminal cases, but in civil there lies an appeal to the court of Justice of the province, if the thing in dispute be of a considerable value. And they never pronounce sentence of death without first communicating the matter to the Burgomasters; but when they have complied with this form, they proceed to give judgment themselves, and are not obliged to be determined by the Burgomasters opinion.

Esche-  
vins, or  
Alder-  
men, con-  
stitute a  
court of  
justice.

The Officers subordinate to these supreme Magistrates, are, 1. The Treasurer, who receives and issues all money arising from the revenues of the city. The Scout, or Sheriff, who is conservator of the peace, apprehends criminals, and sees the sentences of the courts of Justice put in execution. 2. The Pensioner, who is a person well versed in the civil law and the customs of the city, whom the magistracy advise with in cases of intricacy, and rely upon to defend their rights and privileges in disputes with other cities and powers. He delivers messages also from the Burgomasters and Senate, and makes speeches and replies on all solemn occasions, and is therefore said to resemble the Recorder of an English corporation.

The Treas-  
urer.  
The Scout, or  
Sheriff.  
The Pen-  
sioner, or  
Recorder.

The revenues of Amsterdam arise from an excise on almost all sorts of commodities bought and sold within the city, or the district belonging to it; out of the city rents, or the duties imposed on every house for charitable uses, for the repairs of the fortifications and publick buildings. Or else by extraordinary taxes imposed by the Senate for furnishing their part of the publick expences agreed to by the States of the province. Or by the deputies of Holland in the States General for the support of the union. And all these payments are made into one common treasury for the city, and not in the respective parishes or divisions of the place. And 'tis said, that the payments of all kinds made by the city of Amsterdam, to the States General, to the States of the province, and to the uses of the city, amount to above sixteen hundred thousand pounds a year.

Revenues  
of Am-  
sterdam.

The Princes of Orange have, from the commencement of the union of the Seven Provinces, born a great share in the government of the whole,

The  
Stadthol-  
der.



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whole, as well as in particular cities and sovereignties, of which this State is composed. These Princes, says Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, had a most essential part in the first frame of the government, and in all the fortunes thereof, during the whole growth and progress of the State. Prince WILLIAM I, of Nassau, was Governor of Holland and Zealand in the time of CHARLES V and his son PHILIP II; and by his wisdom and goodness acquired a mighty esteem with the other provinces as well as these, who readily constituted him their Governor and Stadtholder. Nor hath this nation, according to the same author, ever been without a head under some title or other, though it was a head always subordinate to their laws and customs, and to the sovereign power. Upon their revolt from Spain, all the power and rights of Prince WILLIAM of Orange, as Governor of the provinces, were carefully reserved to him; but those which were inherent in the Sovereign devolved on the assembly of the States General; namely, the power of making peace and war, foreign alliances, and the coinage of money. The Prince had the command of all their forces by sea and land, as Admiral and Captain-General, and thereby the disposal of all military commands: as also the power of pardoning crimes, and choosing magistrates upon the nomination of certain candidates in the towns, who presented three to the Prince, and he elected one of them: and thus it continued till the death of the late King WILLIAM's father, when the province of Holland influenced the rest so far as entirely to suppress this office of Stadtholder, sharing the authority of the Prince among the several magistrates of the State. The cities particularly assumed the power of appointing their own magistrates; the States Provincial the disposal of all military commands in the troops they paid; and the States General the command of the armies by Generals of their own appointing, whom they removed and changed at pleasure. No power was left of pardoning one condemned by rigour of law, nor any single person to represent the State or receive Ambassadors. This form of government was supported for near twenty years by the great authority and riches of the province of Holland, which drew a kind of dependance from the other six, and by the great abilities of their chief minister DE WITT; till the late Prince of Orange, afterwards King of England, notwithstanding both himself and the very office of Stadtholder had been abjured, was restored to his authority, and equalled, if not exceeded his ancestors in his authority and influence over this State; upon which occurrence I shall enlarge further, when I come to give the modern history of this State. Upon the death of the late King WILLIAM the office of Stadtholder was again suspended in five of the provinces: as for Friesland and Groningen, Prince CASIMIR of Nassau was hereditary Stadtholder of those provinces, to whom since succeeded his eldest son the young Prince of Orange-Nassau, whom the late King WILLIAM by his will constituted his universal heir. And in the year 1723 the province of Guelderland also elected the said Prince of Orange-Nassau for their Stadtholder, which the province of Holland opposed with all their might, presenting a formal memorial on that head, an abstract whereof, with the answer of Guelderland, and the limitations put on the Prince on his admission to the Stadtholdership of Guelderland, will

Representation of Holland against the province of Guelderland's choosing a Stadtholder.

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give us some further light into the present state of the United Provinces. In their memorial the States of Holland declare,

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That they could not conceal their surprize when they were informed Guelderland had determined to make so very great a change in the nature of their government, as to choose a Stadtholder, and divide their power and authority with another: they could not forbear judging that a revolution of this nature must produce some great and fatal factions in the provinces. That on the one hand, various means would be used to excite and foment a change of the same nature in the other provinces: while some, on the other hand, would be endeavouring to preserve their government in the order it had been established; and these two parties would be continually nourishing distrusts and suspicions of each other, and perpetually loosening the bands of their union. That if they reflected never so little on the power which it pleased God to confer upon the union of their ancestors, they could not without trembling think on the fatal effects which discord might produce. And as they dreaded these misfortunes for the States of the United Provinces in general, of which Holland made so considerable a part, they could not forbear pushing these reflections a little further, and representing to their High Mightinesses, that they must expect their share of the calamities consequent on their precipitate resolution.

That above twenty years experience had given them all the insight into this matter they could desire; they had seen times of war and peace and dangerous dissensions, which had at length been amicably adjusted without the interposition of a Stadtholder: their publick revenues were administered and settled so very happily, that all the other provinces took example by Guelderland: that there were indeed faults in every kind of government, but it ought to be duly weighed, whether those faults would be redressed sooner under the government of a Stadtholder, than under that of a State. They need only call to mind the times they had spent under the government of a Stadtholder, and compare them with the present, to set them right in this matter. And if their High Mightinesses would please before they proceeded further, to name some Lords to confer with them, they would undertake to answer every argument which could be made use of as a specious pretence for this change of government. That for their parts they could not comprehend any advantage it would be to them, equal to the inconvenience of dividing their power with another: and it was still further beyond their comprehension, what should induce them to this change in the present juncture, when their province enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity, and their publick revenues were in a flourishing condition. And for this reason also they could not imagine what danger there could be in provisionally deferring this affair; for Guelderland and Zutphen were countries of that importance, that they would never want a Prince to accept the government of them.

The States of Guelderland and Zutphen having on the second of November 1723, chosen the Prince of Orange for their Stadtholder, did on the fourth of the same month send an answer to the States of Holland, to this effect: That in the choice of their Stadtholder they had used all possible circumspection, without any other view than

The answer of the States of Guelderland.

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the good of the State in general, and of their own province in particular; and could not conceive why their High Mightinesses should be disquieted at this election, or in what manner it could be prejudicial to them.

That the question, whether it were more advantageous to the States of the Seven United Provinces, both in general and particular, to have some illustrious chief, usually stiled a Stadtholder, under whose authority, but that a limited one, the affairs of their common alliance might be administered, as well in war as peace: or whether it were better to transact these affairs without such a chief, had so often been debated in the several provinces, and so much had been written on both sides, that they did not think it necessary at present to say much on that subject. But if they were pleased to take a review of the ancient government of the Netherlands before the union, and before they came under the dominion of Spain, they would find that the Seven Provinces were always governed by their respective Dukes, Earls, Bishops or other Lords, in conjunction with the States of each province. That these Seven Provinces were more closely united in a firm alliance in the year 1579, for the preservation of their liberties and religion; and WILLIAM I, Prince of Orange, had, as their High Mightinesses themselves had formerly observed, been the man who with the immediate aid and blessing of God laid the first foundations of this republick, notwithstanding the threats and powerful opposition of the then potent King of Spain PHILIP II. That Prince MAURICE of Nassau, Prince of Orange, raised this edifice still higher upon the foundations which had been already laid; and that with a conduct and courage truly heroical. That Prince FREDERICK HENRY on the same foundation and the same walls, finished the edifice of this State. And in the time of Prince WILLIAM II, anno 1648, a peace was concluded at Munster between Spain and the United Provinces, whereby their independence and sovereignty were generally acknowledged; but this Prince dying in 1650, and leaving his Princess with child of WILLIAM III, most of the provinces remained without a Stadtholder till the year 1672.

They said, they would not put the States of Holland in mind of the many dissensions which happened during that interval, nor the fatal consequences which attended them, by which the total ruin of the State was almost effected; but they could not forbear remembering, that by the blessing of GOD, under the conduct of WILLIAM III, Prince of Orange, chosen Stadtholder of these provinces, this republick, of which three whole provinces were fallen under the dominion of the French, and the rest ready to become a prey to them, was restored to the present happy condition. And though they were fully persuaded that their High Mightinesses had not forgot such extraordinary events, yet could they not avoid the mentioning them, to shew that the election of a Stadtholder is no innovation in the government of this State; but that on the other hand, it was under Stadtholders the State attained to it's greatest splendor. That as their High Mightinesses observed there always would be faults in every kind of government, and consequently there must be some under that of a Stadtholder, and therefore they did not expect by choosing one to have a government free from all defects; but having se-

riously weighed all events which had happened to the State in general, and to the province of Guelderland in particular, as well during the time it was governed by Stadtholders as whilst it was not, they concluded, that the election of the Prince of Orange for Stadtholder and Captain-General of that Province, was mightily conducive to their true interest: for this Prince was without dispute the only native of the United Provinces who could justly have this noble dignity conferred upon him, and was before constituted Stadtholder of two of the Seven Provinces, and his illustrious ancestors and relations had both in war and peace done the most important services that could be performed for the good and preservation of their country. That it was true, in the time of peace a Stadtholder, Captain-General and Admiral, might not at first view seem essential to their constitution: but if their High Mightinesses would reflect on the usual inconstancy and vicissitude of human affairs, they would conclude, that a time of peace could never be better employed than in taking such measures as might secure them from danger in case a war should break out, at least as far as human reason could insure it.

That when they considered the present situation of the whole state, their common country, the low ebb of their publick revenues and credit, which were sunk to a very great degree, even since the conclusion of the peace, the decline of their militia and maritime power, the low esteem they were fallen into with their neighbours, and the little probability of remedying these things, they concluded, that it was not without just grounds that their High Mightinesses and the Council of State represented in writing at several times to the United Provinces, "That such was the unhappy state of the union, it was impossible it should long subsist;" and it was much to be feared, that some revolution would cause it's total ruin: and yet these repeated remonstrances had not had the least effect, or any means been used hitherto to remedy these disorders.

This as the republick was composed of seven particular provinces, and each province a sovereign one of itself, where private, and even directly opposite interests frequently occasioned divisions, and the common interest to be neglected, and the means which should be taken for the safety of the State entirely forgot; it could not be disputed but that it must be very advantageous for their dear country to have the union cemented closer and stronger for the common good, and to make these Seven Arrows indissoluble, by binding them close together in the bands of friendship and concord, formed by an illustrious chief, who should govern them all with a limited authority. Of great advantage must it be on any emergency to have their affairs conducted by such a head, with the speed and activity requisite on such occasions.

And as they found themselves unanimously disposed to put themselves under this form of government, they could not any longer defer the election, after having drawn up the necessary instructions for their Stadtholder the Prince of Orange, which they took the liberty of transmitting to their High Mightinesses for their perusal, wherein they would not discover one article which could be prejudicial to the State in general, or to their province of Holland in particular. Nor could this election create any differences or jealousies among the members of their own province, since

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CHAP. V. it had been unanimously agreed on. It was not imaginable therefore what foundation their High Mightinesses could have to surmise, that this election would occasion a change of government, or that they would endeavour to excite factions and differences among the United Provinces, of which they had never given the least reason to suspect them, protesting that they should contribute all that was in their power towards the maintaining a good understanding amongst them. They should have rejoiced at an opportunity of entering into a conference with their High Mightinesses, but that they understood by their letter that they only desired a conference to divert them from the choice of a Stadtholder, on which they had already determined; but their High Mightinesses might assure themselves that they should always be ready for the future to confer with their High Mightinesses, and to take such measures with them as should be judged necessary for the service of the State.

*Instructions drawn up by the States of Gueldres and Zutphen, by which the Prince of Orange and Nassau, their Stadtholder, Captain-General, and High Admiral, is to regulate himself in the administration of his offices, after having attained his eighteenth year.*

Limitations put upon the Stadtholder of Guelderland.

1. THE Stadtholder shall be of the reformed Christian religion, (a Calvinist or Presbyterian) which he shall publicly profess, and be obliged to aid and defend as much as in his power lies, the doctrines thereof being the same as were confirmed in the national Synod anno 1618, and 1619.

2. The sovereign authority shall still be vested in the nobility and cities of the dutchy of Gueldres and county of Zutphen, as it formerly was, and still is, nor shall the Stadtholder assume any part of it to himself.

3. The said province shall still consist of three separate and distinct divisions, viz. of Nimeguen, Zutphen, and Veluwe. The Stadtholder shall not dispose of any commission, either within or without the province: he shall not take cognizance of the reception of any member into the order of the nobility or magistracy in the cities of this province; nor shall he make any change amongst them.

4. The Stadtholder shall be obliged to observe and keep the union concluded between the allies at Utrecht anno 1579; as also all the conventions and agreements of this province. He shall maintain and defend all the rights and privileges, immunities, orders and customs which the nobility and cities, either in general or particular, at present enjoy. He shall also endeavour to maintain the sovereignty of this province; and defend it against all those who shall attempt to destroy or prejudice it.

5. The Stadtholder being at Arnheim, or any other place where the provincial court shall be assembled, shall take his seat and preside in it, where he shall collect the voices, and conclude their sittings. And when he shall be full eighteen years of age, all acts of State, letters and dispatches shall be made in the name of the Stadtholder and counsellors, as was practised heretofore.

6. If any unforeseen differences shall arise between the three divisions of this province, or between the body of the nobility or cities in the respective divisions, the Stadtholder shall endeavour

amicably to reconcile them: which if he cannot accomplish, he shall hear the complaints of the several parties, and decide their differences according to reason and equity.

7. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall not do any thing against the orders established by all the confederates in the year 1651, concerning patents, the keeping the keys and giving the watch-word in all those cities whose magistrates have a voice in the assembly of the States. Nor shall he change the garisons in the cities of this province; but the power of granting patents and changing the garisons shall remain in the disposal of the particular divisions, or of the Lords their usual deputies; and the keeping of the keys and giving the watch-word, shall still be in the magistrates of the cities who have a seat in the assembly of the States, as it is at present.

8. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall not dispose of the offices of Commanders, Governors and Majors of cities and fortresses in this dutchy or county.

9. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall not dispose of any military post of the forces quartered in this province, except in time of war, and when he is personally in the field; and then he shall have the disposal of such military offices as shall become vacant during the campaign, but not otherwise.

10. There shall be given to the Stadtholder and Captain-General one regiment of foot, which he himself shall choose amongst the several regiments of this province, which shall be called the Stadtholder's regiment. The Colonel however shall retain his pay during his life-time, but immediately after his death the Stadtholder shall have it: as also the disposal of the commissions which shall become vacant in such regiment, provided he prefer natives to foreigners; and that before his disposal of any such commission he be full fourteen years of age, and the said military commissions be signed by the Secretary of the division, according to the present practice.

11. The Stadtholder shall have an annual pension of 5900 florins, to issue out of the revenues of this province. And he shall further have in the quality of Stadtholder of this province, his share of all fines of Fiefs, and of their dispatches.

12. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall never endeavour any alteration to be made in these instructions, whether in the whole or part; nor shall he apply himself to the province in general, or to any member in particular, for that end: and as soon therefore as he shall attain the age of eighteen years, he shall be obliged to sign these instructions before his installation, and to swear in the assembly that he will observe them.

From what hath been collected on this head, we may be able to form a tolerable idea of the government of the United Provinces, which seems not to have been well understood by some, who would persuade us, that the sovereignty of the provinces and cities, of which this State is composed, is lodged in the diffusive body of the people, and that they are, in all cases the *Dominant Power*. Whereas the people seem to have much less to do in the government here than they have in England, and as little as in any monarchy on the face of the earth. In the cities of Holland, which are equivalent to all the rest, we find the legislative power lodged in the senate, composed of twenty or thirty persons, or thereabouts, who continue

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Reflections on the nature of the Dutch republics



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continue in that capacity for life, and when one of them dies, the rest make choice of another to succeed him; the people have no share in the nomination or choice. That this senate elect some of their own number to represent them in the assembly of the States of the province; and the Provincial States elect also some from among themselves to represent them in the assembly of the States General; so that the people have nothing to do, either in the administration of the government, the enacting laws, or in the choice of those persons who have the legislative or executive power lodged in them, but are as despotically governed by the Magistrates and Senate of their respective cities and districts, as the subjects of France or Turkey are by their several Monarchs. All the difference is, that in France and Turkey there is one absolute Sovereign, and in Holland every city hath twenty or thirty tyrants, from whom there lies no appeal, and who may govern their people, if they please, without laws; or, which is much the same thing, by such laws and rules as they are pleased to prescribe, and may repeal, suspend or alter as they see fit. They don't suffer the subject here to talk of original contracts, birthrights, or unalienable powers of calling their Sovereigns to account; this is a doctrine reserved for the meridian of Britain, and would meet with little countenance in Holland, or in any State in Europe: and yet this republick, by ignorant pretenders, is made a pattern of popular government, and recommended to our imitation, as the only model fit to be admitted, especially among a trading people.

An enquiry whether a Monarchy or a Republican government ought to be preferred.

Now whether the limited Monarchy of Britain, where the people elect one body of the legislature, and the Prince can impose nothing on them without their consents, be preferable to the despotick government of the States of Holland, will, I believe, scarce be made a question by any man that understands the constitutions of both: I shall only therefore here enquire, whether the sovereignty of one or of twenty be most eligible; or, which is the same thing, under which of these forms the people in general are like to enjoy the greatest ease and security; and could we be sure to meet always with a wise and good Prince, I shall make no difficulty in affirming that the government of one was better than that of many; for on this subject there are two principal points to be considered, namely, 1. The defending the people from foreign enemies; and, 2. From domestick oppressions. Now in war, secrecy, unanimity in councils, and a speedy execution of our resolutions, are considerable advantages, which we may expect to find oftner under a Monarchy than an Aristocracy, and the interest of the Prince and people are generally the same in cases of invasion; he can scarce be suspected of having a different interest from that of his country: whereas when the sovereignty is in many, it is not impossible but some of them may have different views, and sacrifice their country to their private piques or advantages. And as to domestick oppressions, if the Prince be a wise man, he cannot but understand that his own grandeur is promoted by the flourishing state of his subjects, that both his power and revenues increase in proportion to his encouragement of their trade and manufactures, and the security they enjoy in their possessions.

If it be said on the other hand, that in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom; and that

therefore where the supreme power is lodged in twenty or thirty, affairs are like to be better managed than by one: To this it is answered, That all Princes have their councils, supposed to consist of the ablest heads in their dominions; and therefore in that respect they are upon the level with a republick: and as none can know what resolution the Prince will take, after he has heard their debates, he has certainly a vast advantage in the speedy execution of his designs, and preventing their disappointment, and in over-ruling any perverse or designing member, who may have views to his own interest: whereas when the power is in many, they are long frequently in resolving, longer in executing, and perhaps the scheme, tho' never so well laid, shall be discovered or opposed by the contrary faction underhand, if not openly; and in the mean time the estate remain defenceless and exposed to their enemies, as was the very case of the United Provinces, when LEWIS XIV invaded them in the year 1672, and they were saved almost by a miracle.

Should the subject under an absolute monarchy happen to be governed by a weak, ambitious, or voluptuous Prince, here indeed a settled Aristocracy seems preferable to it; but it is certain that States, as well as Kings, do often go very great lengths in oppressing and tyrannizing over the people. Is there a Monarchy in Europe where the taxes are more burthenfom than in the United Provinces? or where is there a Prince so jealous of his authority as the States are, who will suffer no petitions or remonstrances from their subjects, let their grievances be never so great? And indeed where the people are oppressed, there is much less reason to hope for redress from a republick than a monarch; because a body of men can never be supposed to be moved by pity or compassion as a single man may, neither are they so apprehensive of a revolt or insurrection. It is a common observation, that should the Burgundian or Austrian family, formerly Sovereigns of these countries, have imposed half the taxes they groan under at present, the people would never have born it; but now their Governors consisting of the principal men in every great town and province, have such an influence over the whole, that it is next to an impossibility for the common people to form themselves into a body, so as to endanger the State. Their Sovereigns are always upon the spot, and so intermixed with them, that they would nip any insurrection in the bud; and should the mob prevail in one city or province, unless they met with the like success in the rest, they must expect soon to be reduced to their duty: so that I take a rebellion, or what some denominate a noble struggle for their liberties, to be utterly impracticable by the subjects of Holland; let their oppressions be never so great, they have no remedy but patience. Holland happens indeed to be a country which depends entirely upon trade, navigation and manufactures, in all which their Governors are some way or other interested, and therefore must be supposed to promote these to the utmost of their power; consequently that part of their subjects which are concerned in these, which it must be admitted are much the greatest number, are sure to meet with all manner of encouragement. If the magistrates are not all of them merchants, there are few of them, who are not nearly related to those that are, or who have not some shares in their great companies stocks, or other branches of business. And this gives the Dutch a prodigious advantage

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CHAP. V. advantage of the English in point of traffick; for while our ministry are indolent and careless in affairs of trade, as receiving little benefit by it, the States of Holland, whose private fortunes as well as the publick good require their utmost application to these things, let slip no opportunities of advancing their traffick. And thus far DE WITT is certainly in the right, That it is happy for a people, when the well-being of the Governors apparently depends on the well-being of the subject, for then the subject may rest assured his welfare will not be neglected. To instance first, in the case of convoys in time of war; how many more British ships were there taken in the last war than Dutch in proportion? The reason was, the English admiralty had seldom any share in the merchant-ships which went abroad, whereas there was scarce a fleet of Hollanders, but the States were deeply interested in. Again, if we look back a little, and observe how we have in every part of the world been supplanted in our trade by the Dutch; first in India, where we suffered them to possess themselves of all the spices of the east, (though some of the principal islands where they grew were actually under the dominion of Britain, by the surrender of the natives, and which are not restored to this day :) afterwards how we were tricked out of the Russia trade, the whale fishery, and even the herring fishery upon our own coast; we must acknowledge that it is some disadvantage to a trading people, that their Governors have but little dependence upon trade. Had the greatest part of our Ministers fortunes depended on the success of the British trade, as that of the States did on the Dutch trade, we should not have parted with the most valuable branches of it so easily. Three ways the Dutch have taken, in DE WITT's phrase, to beat us out of our foreign trade. 1. By their arms, or openly disputing the empire of the seas with us, in which they have prospered but little. 2. By sowing divisions amongst us, and joining our malecontents against the government, which diverted us from calling them to an account in time. And, 3. By bribing our ministry in some former reigns, in which they have met with all the success that they could wish. It is not to be supposed we should have put up all those affronts and encroachments on our trade, if the gentlemen who sat at the helm had not been made easy. And though it might not be difficult to shew that the crown, the nobility, and gentry of England, would all be great gainers by their encouragement of trade; that the publick revenues would not only be increased by an increase of the customs, and consequently the lands less burthened, but that the value of the lands themselves would advance, in proportion as trade flourishes: yet, as these are remote prospects, and seem to concern posterity more than the present generation, it is not expected such considerations should be of much weight. The Dutch legislature and ministry find an immediate profit by their promoting traffick, and leave therefore no means unattempted to advance it: and as they are a powerful body, and masters of such immense wealth, if they see any project setting on foot in any foreign kingdom, which may be a detriment to their trade, they will at any rate purchase the ministry of that kingdom, and thereby baffle the best-laid schemes. By this means they have indeed beaten all other nations out of their foreign trade; or, which is the same thing, rendered it of very little advantage

to them. If it be said, why don't other nations apply themselves in the same irresistible manner to the Dutch ministry, and buy them out of some considerable branch of trade? It may be answered, that the Dutch ministry subsist chiefly by trade, and therefore are not to be purchased. They would lose more than they could gain by a bribe. There are so many wealthy merchants concerned, that there is not a nation in Europe that can, or at least will raise money sufficient to influence so considerable a body, and in this they have an indisputable advantage of all other people. But notwithstanding the United Provinces have these great advantages in relation to trade, I look upon the constitution of their government at this day to be in a very weak and languishing condition; should they be attacked by any formidable power, as they were in the year 1672, they would probably be reduced to as great straits as they were then; for they have now no common Stadtholder, or head, to preside in their councils, or command their armies; and it must be next to a miracle if so many independent sovereignties, as there are in these provinces, should on an instant unite and enter on the properest measures for their defence. The provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Guelderland are indeed agreed upon a Stadtholder, and invite the other provinces to join with them in their choice, representing the danger of being attacked by a foreign enemy, while they remain thus disunited: but Holland, the most powerful of the provinces, and the wealthy city of Amsterdam especially, protest against the government of a Stadtholder; being more apprehensive of the loss of their liberties, and oppression from such an officer, than of a foreign invasion, as they pretend. But the true reason of their rejecting a Stadtholder is probably the same now as it was formerly, namely, because the Hollanders and the city of Amsterdam would lose much of that influence they have over the other provinces under the government of a Stadtholder. At present the other States seem to have a dependence upon this, and which-ever way the province of Holland inclines, the rest are swayed and biased by it; all applications are therefore made by foreigners in the first place to them, and their Pensioner is addressed to as Prime Minister of the States General: whereas, if there was a Stadtholder they would be less considered, and lose much of the power and influence they have at present. There has therefore, from the very infancy of this State, been constant struggles between the Stadtholder and the province of Holland for dominion. Old BARNEVELT was sacrificed to the Orange faction, and so was DE WITT, both Pensioners of Amsterdam; but then DE WITT had the pleasure of suppressing the stadtholdership for twenty years before he perished; and had maintained his ground at last, had not such a conjuncture happened, as could not easily have been foreseen, namely, the kingdoms of England and France both invading their territories at once, which compelled them to advance the Prince of Orange to the stadtholdership to unite and command their scattered forces, and to ingratiate themselves with England, whereby they made a friend of a powerful enemy, and by that means principally saved their sinking state. The Lovestein faction then, of which DE WITT was the head, dreaded much more the falling under the government of a Stadtholder than a foreign invasion, as the present leading members of the States of Holland seem to do. In the first case, say they, from the condi-



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tion of Sovereigns of the United Provinces, as we are in effect from the influence our mighty wealth and power procure us, we shall be reduced to the condition of subjects. And as to a foreign enemy we have very little to fear, it is so much the interest of every power in Europe to prevent our State being conquered, or added to any of the neighbouring kingdoms, that we may depend on the interposition of more powers than one, if we should be attacked; as we found by experience, when the French fell upon us in 1672. And why, say they, might we not agree upon a General to command our troops in such an exigency, as in the last war, for the time it continues; but must elect a Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral in one person for life; who will probably draw such a dependence on him from all the provinces, as may endanger our liberties, and end perhaps at last in a monarchy: a form of government of all others to be dreaded by a people, whose sole dependence is upon traffick? But I proceed next to give the Modern History of these provinces, from the time of the truce concluded with the Spaniards in the year 1609, by which the constitution of their government will be still better understood.

## CHAP. VI.

*Contains the Modern History of the United Provinces from the year 1609, when a truce was concluded with Spain, to the present time; with a brief account of the Princes of Orange their Stadtholders.*

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FROM the first foundation of the Dutch State, there hath ever been observed two factions amongst them; the one inclined to monarchy, and the other as fond of a republican form of government. WILLIAM Prince of Orange, the first Stadtholder and Captain-General of the United Provinces, who contributed so much towards the rescuing them from the Spanish tyranny, is charged however with designs against their liberties: and, 'tis said, had formed a considerable party in the State, who were ready to compliment him with the sovereignty of these provinces, if he had not in that instant been taken off by an assassin, as has been related already. OLDENBARNEVELT, Pensioner of Amsterdam, one of the most intimate friends of the deceased Prince, by the great interest he had in the States, influenced them to choose his second son Prince MAURICE, their Stadtholder in his room; his eldest son PHILIP-WILLIAM being rejected on account of his education in the Roman Catholick religion, and his adherence to the Spanish interest. For several years Prince MAURICE was governed by the councils of that wise Minister BARNEVELT; but the Prince's creatures inspiring him afterwards with ambitious views, and representing BARNEVELT as a person the most likely to defeat his designs upon the sovereignty, he ever after looked upon him as an enemy: and as the power of the Stadtholder is much greater in time of war than peace, Prince MAURICE endeavoured to render the last treaty with Spain void, which BARNEVELT had taken the utmost pains to bring to a conclusion, and this still increased their mutual animosity. About the same time religious disputes ran very high in Holland, which were first begun in the year 1608, by JACOB ARMINIUS and FRANCIS GOMAR, Professors of divinity at Leyden: AR-

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MINIUS asserting the doctrine of free-will, as GOMAR did that of predestination, and both of them maintaining their opinions with much zeal, scarce any other subjects were treated of, either in the schools or churches of the United Provinces. Whereupon the States appointed a conference to be held between ARMINIUS and GOMAR at the Hague, where after a long dispute, they parted without coming to any conclusion. However, it appeared on this occasion, that the Magistrates and principal Burghers generally sided with ARMINIUS; and the clergy, the common people, and soldiery, who were in the interest of Prince MAURICE, took the part of GOMAR. ARMINIUS happening to die in the year 1609, his disciples drew up an account of their tenets, and presented it to the States General, wherein they stile themselves *Remonstrants*, which name they went by for some time afterwards; as their adversaries did by that of *Contra Remonstrants*. BARNEVELT, being in the interest of the Remonstrants, prevailed with the Curators of the University of Leyden to elect VORSTIUS, a disciple of ARMINIUS, Professor of divinity, in the room of ARMINIUS; but he was no sooner advanced to this dignity, than he was charged not only with Arminianism, but Socinianism, from a treatise he had before published, *of God*; but having been heard before the States, as to this charge, he was honourably acquitted: whereupon he printed his apology, dedicating it to the States of Holland; which happening to fall into the hands of JAMES I, King of Great Britain, he commanded his Ambassador at the Hague, Sir RALPH WINWOOD, to protest in a full assembly of the States against the doctrines contained therein, and all those who should protect such heresies; and ordered the book to be burnt in St. PAUL's Church-yard in London, and in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The English Ambassador having presented a memorial on this subject to the States, they returned his British Majesty an answer in writing; wherein they seemed to justify VORSTIUS, and used several expressions very much to his honour; assuring his Majesty at the same time, that if he could be convicted of any of the points he was charged with, they would not suffer him to enjoy the professorship. To which the King replied, That he would advise them with all possible speed to rid themselves of so dangerous and pestilent a fellow, whose doctrines contained the most execrable blasphemies; with many other severe expressions against the tenets of the Arminians or Remonstrants: and the States of Holland finding his British Majesty inflexible, commanded VORSTIUS to leave the city of Leyden, rather than incur his displeasure. In the mean time the parties were so enraged against each other, that scarce any thing but opprobrious language was to be heard even in their churches, one minister inveighing in the afternoon against what another had taught in the morning; and calling each other Atheists, Hereticks, Schismatics, &c. which created such animosities among their auditors, that tumults and riots frequently ensued as they went from church. Prince MAURICE, the Stadtholder, did not at first, it seems, publicly declare himself for either party; but observing his great adversary BARNEVELT and the Republicans to take the side of the Arminians, in opposition to them, he at length espoused the cause of the Gomarists; charging BARNEVELT with being in the Spanish interest, and endeavouring to intro-



CHAP. VI. duce popery and slavery again; and papers were daily printed and published to that effect, which obliged BARNEVELT to publish answers to them, in vindication of his reputation; and the States of Holland hereupon prohibited the clergy to treat of the doctrine of predestination in their sermons, which gave great offence to Prince MAURICE.

About this time the Dutch sent an embassy to King JAMES, offering him part of the money due to the crown of England for the auxiliary troops lent the States in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH; desiring he would evacuate the cautionary towns, which remained in the possession of the English, as a security for that money; and BARNEVELT, the chief person in the embassy, managed the matter so dextrously, according to the Dutch writers, that the King was surprized into a promise of delivering them up. But the truth is, the King was in ill terms with his parliament, and could raise money no other way, which occasioned his consenting to that destructive bargain, by the conclusion whereof, the United Provinces were rendered independent of Britain, and made great rejoicings for it. But however this matter was brought about, it drew a lasting odium on the English ministry, who transacted it: and the Dutch tell us, that the King would never forgive BARNEVELT for over-reaching him, and that this was the principal reason of his combining with Prince MAURICE to ruin that great Minister.

The Arminians being supported by the magistracy in the towns of Holland, and the Gomarists by Prince MAURICE, no day scarce passed without some bickerings between them; but the mob being generally on the side of the Gomarists, these in most tumults had the advantage; and proceeded so far as to attack a merchant's house at Amsterdam, where their adversaries the Arminians were assembled for divine worship, and having dispersed the congregation, plundered the house of all the moveables to a very great value. And now the Gomarist Preachers in their sermons began to call in question the power of the Magistrates to intermeddle in religious matters: which obliged the States of Holland to publish a declaration, asserting their authority. The Gomarists hereupon exasperated to the highest degree, accused BARNEVELT with having procured this act of State in favour of the Arminians, by his crafty insinuations, to which eight Deputies of the cities only had consented; and by the powerful influence of Prince MAURICE, procured a judgment against this act of the States of Holland in an assembly of the States General. This being looked upon as a novelty, and directly contrary to their constitution; that the Representatives of the States General should take upon them to controul the acts of a Sovereign Province, which acknowledged no superior, the States of Holland declared the said judgment of the States General to be void; requiring the Magistrates of Amsterdam, and the rest of the cities of Holland, to pay no manner of regard to it: they also strengthened themselves by levying new forces, who should take an oath only to the States of their province. The same precautions were taken by several cities in the provinces of Utrecht and Overysse, where the Magistrates were Arminians. The Gomarists of Amsterdam, and several other places, on the other hand, preferred petitions to the Magistrates against BARNEVELT; desiring they would assert the authority of Prince MAURICE, which was invaded and

violated by these new levies; and their example was followed by others. They were afterwards incited by their Preachers to desire a national synod, to settle all disputes concerning religion. In which, it seems, they were seconded by DUDLEY CARLETON, the English Ambassador at the Hague, who made a florid speech in the assembly of the States General, to induce them to call a national synod: to which the Arminians published an answer, but it was suppressed by the States. About this time the mob rose at Leyden, and fell upon the new-raised troops, for not carrying the Prince's arms in their colours; and had driven them out of the city, if the Magistrates had not interposed; in which skirmish some hundreds were killed or wounded. On the other side, at Rotterdam, and some other cities, where the Arminians were most numerous, they forced the Gomarist Preachers to abandon their churches. And as to a national synod, GROTIUS and the Arminian Doctors insisted, that as every province was an independent sovereignty, the controverted points in religion ought to be determined by their respective provincial synods, convened by each particular State, and not by a national synod.

Things being come to extremes, Prince MAURICE at the head of a great body of veteran troops, and attended by the Deputies of the States General, in the year 1618, marched through the provinces, dispersing the new-raised forces, banishing the Arminian Preachers, and displacing the Magistrates of that persuasion; in whose stead he introduced his own creatures. In this manner he proceeded in the cities of Nimeguen and Zutphen, which had declared for the Arminians; and from thence he marched into the province of Overysse, where the city of Campen expressing a great zeal for the Arminians, he dragooned them into better manners, and restored the disciples of JOHN CALVIN to their pulpits. The same he did at Arnhem soon after; which city pretending at first to stand upon its defence, was betrayed into his hands by some of the Presbyterian zealots within the walls; whereupon he deposed and banished such of their Magistrates as were of a contrary persuasion. From hence he continued his march towards the city of Utrecht, which also stood upon its defence; but his eldest brother PHILIP-WILLIAM Prince of Orange, dying at this critical juncture, the citizens of Utrecht were delivered from their fears at this time; for Prince MAURICE was obliged to return to the Hague to take order about the affairs of the deceased, who dying without issue, had left him the principality of Orange and the rest of his large possessions.

BARNEVELT, in the mean time, finding himself chiefly struck at by the Gomarists, in all their libels, published an apology, which he addressed to the States of Holland; in which he took the liberty of representing the signal services he had done the republic, in the several great stations he had been employed for many years, in a stile so natural and free from all foreign insinuations, that it was evident they owed as much to his counsels and conduct, as to the Prince of Orange's sword, for their preservation; which had so powerful an influence on the States of Holland, that they openly took him into their protection. The Prince however having modelled the States General to his mind, by placing and displacing whom he saw fit, proceeded in his project of changing the magistrates and garisons in every town, which was not of his party; and particularly in the city of

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Briel in the province of Holland; at which the States of that province were greatly alarmed, and sent to the Magistrates of all their cities for full powers to oppose the execution of the commission granted by the States General to the Prince of Orange, for removing their magistrates and garisons, and entered into a confederacy with the other provinces for their mutual defence; a copy of which instructions were dispatched to Utrecht, and several other cities: but while Utrecht was deliberating on the affair, the Prince of Orange took advantage of some divisions amongst them, and advanced to their very gates, not giving them leisure to prepare for their defence. And notwithstanding Roodmold Hoogerbets, Pensionary of Leyden, and Grotius, Pensionary of Rotterdam, who had been before dispatched thither with Moetsberg and Secretary Ledenberg, and other Gentlemen of the province, did all that was in their power to animate the citizens and garison, they were so terrified by the approach of the Prince of Orange, that they thought fit to open their gates to him: whereupon he disbanded the garison, deposed the Arminian Magistrates, imprisoning some, and banishing others.

The next thing the Prince of Orange resolved upon was to seize such persons as had been most active in opposing his desired Sovereignty; accordingly he procured a warrant from eight persons, whom he had assembled for that purpose, and whom he was pleased to denominate *The States-General*, to imprison BARNEVELT, HOGERBETS, GROTIUS, and LEDENBERG; and at the same time published a manifesto, justifying the conduct of the pretended States, in taking these great men into custody, wherein he insisted chiefly on their inciting the commotions at Utrecht, and entering into other secret conspiracies against the States General. Their enemies the Gomarists also took this opportunity of reviving the clamour of their being popishly affected. But surely nothing could be more contrary to the fundamental constitution and articles of union of the Seven Provinces, in the year 1579, wherein it appears, that the States General have no manner of jurisdiction over the subjects of any particular province, much less over the Members of the States themselves, as these gentlemen were.

The King of France on this occasion sent to the Hague the Sieur DE BOISSISE, Counsellor of State, who had signalized himself in many embassies, to endeavour in conjunction with Monsieur MAURIER, his ordinary Ambassador there, to procure a reconciliation of these differences; but the Prince of Orange found means to render this application of no effect, and proceeded without opposition to displace the Magistrates of the rest of the towns in Holland, which were not of his party. In Rotterdam, where the Arminians were most powerful, he left a garison of twelve hundred men, and took from them one of their three churches in that city, and gave it to the Gomarists. This was followed by the banishment of VORSTIUS, PETER BERTIUS, and others, the most considerable Arminian Preachers; and amongst the rest of JOHN WYTENBOGART, a person highly esteemed for his exemplary life and moderation, as well as for his moving eloquence; which could not however exempt him from this fate, on his adhering to a party opposite to that of the Prince, by whom he was highly carested till then.

The States of Holland hereupon published a manifesto, demanding the release of BARNEVELT,

HOGERBETS, and GROTIUS, but to no purpose; and LEDENBERG of Utrecht expecting no quarter, (the States of his province having already submitted to the Prince) laid violent hands upon himself in prison, and thereby prevented a publick execution. The French King being much concerned at these violent proceedings, especially against BARNEVELT, renewed his instances in the prisoners behalf; but the King of England joining with Prince MAURICE against them, rendered all efforts to save them abortive. And now most of those who had opposed the calling of a national synod being imprisoned or banished, a day was appointed for assembling a convocation of the clergy of the United Provinces at Dort; and that it might have the face of a general council, they invited the Divines of all the Reformed churches in Europe to send their Deputies thither; ordering provincial synods to be held in each province in the mean time, to agree upon points to be proposed in the national synod, and to appoint Deputies to represent them there. The Arminian party observing what unfair practices were used in the provincial synods to exclude them from the national synod, so that there were like to be ten to one against them in that council, they protested against the same, and every thing that should be transacted there, as illegal and void in itself; which so exasperated the Gomarists, that by the influence of the Prince of Orange, they procured the banishment of many more Arminian Preachers, under pretence of Immorality or Socinianism. And the States-General having dispatched their letters to the King of Great Britain, the French Hugonots, the Electors Palatine and Brandenburg, the Prince of Hesse, and several other German Princes, as also to the Swiss Cantons, Geneva, &c. to invite their respective Deputies to the national synod; they repaired thither from all these places, except the Brandenburgers and French Hugonots: the latter by the articles of pacification granted them by King HENRY IV. being obliged not to send their Ministers to assist at any foreign synod, the Dutch Ambassador could not obtain permission of the French King for their repairing to Dort; but the chief reason is supposed to be, because the French court had espoused the cause of BARNEVELT and the Arminians.

This famous synod being opened on the 13th of November, 1618, in the name of the States-General; after two sermons preached, one in Dutch, and another in French, the Deputies of the foreign Divines were introduced into the assembly, and placed according to their rank, viz. first the English, next those of the Palatinate, Hesse, the Swiss Cantons, Geneva, Bremen, and Embden, the rest being not arrived. After which LYDIUS made a Latin speech, and implored the assistance of the Holy Spirit in a long prayer. And MARTIN GREGORY, one of the council of the Duchy of Gueldres, and one of the Deputies of the States-General, began the first session in the name of his masters, by a speech suitable to the occasion. After which LYDIUS read the commission of the States General, by virtue whereof eighteen Deputies of the States were appointed to assist at the synod; who chose for their Secretary the celebrated DANIEL HEINSIUS, Professor of history, and Library-keeper of the University of Leyden. At the second session, the Deputies of the respective provincial synods of the United Provinces presenting their credentials, it

The synod  
of Dort.

appeared



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appeared that there were not more than three Arminians among all the Deputies; such effectual care had been taken to prevent their being elected in every province: and those they excluded from their synod, summoning them, and several others of the same party, before them; whom they gave to understand, that they must not expect to be treated with by way of conference, but as such as were summoned to appear before their Judges; and that therefore after they had proposed their reasons in defence of their tenets, they must withdraw. Whereupon the Arminians delivered in a long memorial, shewing, That they could not acknowledge this synod to be a legal assembly, as being composed of persons who were both Parties and Judges, and entered a protest against all their proceedings. But an act of State was soon after procured from the States-General for their proceeding, notwithstanding this protest; with an order, that the Arminians should immediately enter upon their defence in writing, and should be no more allowed to appear personally before that body. Thus they got rid of their Arminian brethren. But there happened afterwards very obstinate disputes between the Gomarists and the English and other foreign Divines, about the merits and sufferings of Christ; in which the foreigners were treated with that rudeness by the Dutch Clergy, that they left the synod, and were about to return home, if a deputation of the States had not come and promised them satisfaction, and prevailed with them to return to the assembly.

This synod having at length settled their canons, which related to the doctrines of predestination, election and reprobation, free-will, grace, perseverance, &c. and condemned the errors of the Arminians, as they called them; their resolutions were made a rule of faith in all the Calvinist churches in Europe; for though the Representatives of the French Hugonots, or of the electorate of Brandenburg, did not appear, yet the Elector promised their canons should be signed by the Clergy under his jurisdiction; and PETER DU MOULIN, the chief of the Hugonot Ministers in France, engaged that he and his brethren would do the like. And now the fathers of the Gomarists began to debate what judgment they should pass upon the persons of the Arminians; but the English, and the rest of the foreign Divines, except those of Geneva and Embden, desired this might be waved, alledging, that they had no jurisdiction over the subjects of the United Provinces. The Dutch Clergy still insisting, that they should, at least, be adjudged enemies to their country, and disturbers of the public peace; it was answered, that this did not belong to the ecclesiastical, but the civil jurisdiction: which produced some alteration in the intended sentence. The Deputies of England, Hesse, and Bremen, refused however to intermeddle in any thing relating to the persons of the Arminians; judgment was therefore given without their concurrence, in the name of the synod and deputies of the States General; whereby all persons were obliged publicly to renounce the Arminian tenets; and such of the Arminian Preachers, as had been guilty of raising and fomenting these divisions in the church, especially those who refused to conform to their decrees, should be deposed from their ministerial functions, and declared incapable of any ecclesiastical benefices or academical preferments; which sentence was afterwards ratified by the States General: and the synod having thus finished the busi-

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ness they were convened upon, were dismissed, after they had sat about six months. The States General soon after published a proclamation, to put the decrees and sentence of the synod of Dort in execution; after which they proceeded to banish some of the Arminian Preachers, and imprisoned others, confiscating their estates. The party of the Arminians being thus depressed, the Prince of Orange proceeded next to finish the destruction of BARNEVELT, and the other prisoners of state, who, according to the constitution of the United Provinces, could only have been tried in their proper province; but the Prince, by his interest, procured twenty-six Judges to be appointed by the States General, all persons devoted to his service; who passed sentence of death on BARNEVELT, for having, as it was alledged, advised a toleration of the Arminians, and occasioned many disturbances in the church; by asserting, that, according to the laws, each province had a right to judge and regulate points of religion in their respective jurisdictions, without the interposition of any or all the other provinces. The French Ambassador having notice of the sentence, desired instantly an audience of the States, who excusing their refusal on pretence of the unreasonableness of the time, he sent them a letter, conjuring them in the name of his Master the French King, not to shorten the days of so ancient a Minister, who had spent his life in their service; but the influence of the Prince of Orange prevailing, BARNEVELT was beheaded the next day in the court of the Hague, over-against the Prince's apartment, who came to be the spectator of a tragedy, of which he had been the principal contriver; for which he was severely censured, even by his friends. BARNEVELT said little more at his execution, but "that he did not die as a traitor, but as a true patriot, for having asserted the rights and liberties of his native country." And the people expressing a more than ordinary concern for this noble sufferer, the Prince of Orange did not think fit to proceed with the same severity against HOOGEZERT and GROTIUS, who were only condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and the sentence of MOERBERG, Counsellor of Utrecht, was still milder, being only confined to his country-house. GROTIUS afterwards made his escape out of the castle where he was confined, by the assistance of his wife. It seems he had obtained leave for a great trunk of books to be brought to him, which he sent backwards and forwards several times for near a twelvemonth; it was at first very diligently searched by the guards, but finding nothing but books or linen, they did not afterwards trouble themselves to look into it as it passed; whereupon his wife persuaded him to let her lock him into the trunk, and endeavour to make his escape; and he was accordingly carried off without any suspicion to Gorcum, from whence he got to Antwerp, and afterwards to Paris; where he was highly caressed by the French King, and allowed a pension of a thousand crowns per ann. His lady, who was left behind in his apartment, lay upon the bed in her husband's night-gown and cap, pretending he was ill, whereby she prevented any enquiry after him for several days, for which she was in some danger of being condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but was at length by a majority of her Judges honourably discharged, and followed her husband into France, where many other Arminians met with a kind reception, and were allowed liberty of conscience.

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Barnevelt  
beheaded.Grotius,  
&c. con-  
demned to  
perpetual  
imprison-  
ment.Escapes to  
Paris.



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The East-  
India com-  
pany.

West-Ind-  
dia com-  
pany.

The  
Dutch fix  
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selves in  
Brazil.

As to the conquests of the Dutch in the East-Indies, and their monopolizing the spices of the east, by dispossessing the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, of their dominions and settlements in that part of the world, between the years 1600 and 1640, these transactions have been treated of at large in the former volume of this history, when the state of India was treated of.

But it is necessary here to enquire into the original and progress of their West-India company, which we find as well as the former was projected by that great statesman BARNEVELT, though their first patent did not bear date, however, 'till two years after his death, in the year 1621, when they were empowered by the States to plant colonies, erect forts, make alliances, and appoint governors and officers on the continent and islands of America, within the limits prescribed them. And a stock of seven millions two hundred thousand livres was raised towards their establishment. In pursuance of their design they fitted out two squadrons, one to drive the Portuguese out of Brazil, and the other to attack the Spanish settlements in Peru, and took so many prizes in their first expedition, that they were enabled to make a dividend of five and twenty per cent. on their first expedition, anno 1623. In the year 1624, the Dutch Admiral HERMITE defeated a fleet of Spaniards on the coast of Peru, and took several rich prizes; and his countryman Admiral WILKINS made himself master of the city of St. SALVADOR the same year, bringing home the Viceroy, the Bishop, and several grandees of Portugal prisoners to Holland, and left JOHN VAN DORT governor of St. SALVADOR, and the territories belonging to it, for the Dutch West-India company; but the Portuguese retook the city the year following and cleared the country of Hollanders. The Dutch Admiral PETER ADRIAN, however, in the year 1628, engaged another Spanish squadron, near the island of Cuba; and having forced most of them on shore, took out all the plate and merchandize, and set fire to the ships, returning laden with the spoils of the enemy to Holland. The Spanish plate-fleet also fell into the hands of PETER HEYN, another of the Dutch Admirals, and were all taken by him, the cargo amounting to seven millions two hundred thousand livres in silver, and three millions six hundred thousand livres in merchandize, and the shipping and artillery were valued at four millions more. On this flow of success the company divided no less than fifty per cent. which was at that time looked upon to be very imprudent by some, considering they were not then masters of any considerable settlement in America, and were engaged in a chargeable war with Spain. In the year 1630, the Dutch equipped a large fleet for Brazil, and made themselves masters of the province of Fernambouque, with the capital city of Olinda. They afterwards extended their conquests over the neighbouring provinces of Tamarica, Pareiba and Rio Grande; and in expectation of conquering the other eight provinces still in possession of the Portuguese, they conferred the dignity of General of Brazil, and the south coast of America, on JOHN MAURICE of Nassau, nearly related to the Prince of Orange, with the same powers as are exercised by the General of the East Indies at Batavia. Count MAURICE arrived at Brazil on the 23d of January, 1637, with a fleet of thirty two ships and a body of land-forces; and advancing further into the Portuguese settlements, took the fortress of Pavaccaon; and having intel-

ligence that the Portuguese forts on the coast of Africk were but in a weak condition, he detached part of the fleet thither, who made themselves masters of the town and castle of St. GEORGE de la Mina, and many other places. The Portuguese having shaken off the Spanish yoke, and advanced the Duke of Braganza, the heir of their ancient Kings, to the throne in the year 1640; a truce was the following year concluded between the Dutch and Portuguese, whereby a liberty of trade was allowed to both parties; and each possessed what they were masters of in Brazil and Africk: and for two or three years the truce was tolerably well observed; but Count MAURICE, the Dutch General, returning from Brazil into Holland in the year 1644, the Portuguese, who were settled in the Dutch Brazil, entered into a conspiracy with their countrymen in the provinces still subject to the Portuguese, to extirpate all the Dutch out of Brazil, to which they were provoked by the hostilities committed by the Hollanders in Brazil after the truce, and by their East-India company's falling upon their settlements in India. And tho' the conspiracy was timely discovered, yet it occasioned the war to break out afresh between the two nations in Brazil and Africk, as well as in the East-Indies, which ended in the entire expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil, and was fatal to their West-India company; but the acquisitions of the Hollanders in the East-Indies, and on the coast of Africk, made them ample amends for their losses in America, they also made a discovery of a vast tract of land to the southward of the Equinoctial in the East-Indies, extending from the tenth to the thirty-third degree of south latitude, to which they gave the name of New Holland; but what the country produces, and whether peopled or not, they have kept in a great measure concealed to this day; some random accounts we have received indeed of a barbarous people that have been seen on those coasts; but the country is generally represented by the Dutch, as yielding scarce any thing worth their notice: the true reason whereof probably is, lest other nations should be tempted to settle there, who might interrupt their spice trade, and perhaps come in for a share of it. And the reason the Hollanders do not send any colonies thither, or endeavour to make settlements on that continent themselves, is certainly because they are already possessed of a greater extent of country in India, than they know how to govern or preserve; but it is surprizing to all mankind that the English do not send ships to make discoveries on that side, and endeavour to find out other places where cloves and nutmegs may be planted and cultivated, if they do not think fit to endeavour the recovery of those rich islands of Banda and the Moluccoes, which the Dutch treacherously and barbarously deprived them of, and still detain, notwithstanding several solemn treaties wherein they stipulated to deliver them up. I have already given an account of the attempts of the Dutch as well as the English to find out a north-east and north-west passage to the Indies, in which they met with no manner of success, and return therefore now to a continuation of the history of the Hollanders nearer home, from the time of the truce with Spain.

The Dutch had no sooner concluded a truce with Spain, but they began to make some other Princes of Europe sensible of their power; they perfectly bullied the English and Danes out of the whale-fishery, compelled the Danes to lower the duties Spain.

The  
Dutch  
driven out  
of Brazil.

Their dis-  
covery in  
New Hol-  
land.

Transac-  
tions of the  
Dutch in  
Europe af-  
ter the  
truce with  
Spain.



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VI.

duties for passing the Sound, took the part of the Elector of Brandenburg against the Duke of Newburg in their contest concerning the succession of the duchy of Juliers, &c. and took several towns from the Duke, though assisted by Spain; interesting themselves in the quarrels of several other Princes: and about the year 1619, the Protestants of Bohemia and the Catholics of that kingdom taking arms against each other, the Dutch encouraged the Protestant party to form themselves into a commonwealth; but the Bohemians making choice of the Elector Palatine for their King, the Prince of Orange sent a body of troops into the Palatinate to his assistance, looking upon the establishment of his kinsman the Elector on the throne of Bohemia, as a considerable step towards the attaining the sovereignty of the Netherlands he had so long aimed at; but the Emperor FERDINAND obtaining a victory over the Elector Palatine at Prague, and thereby recovering the crown of Bohemia; the Palatine was driven also out of his own hereditary dominions in Germany, and forced to retire into Holland. And from this time, it is said, the Prince of Orange began to despair of obtaining the dominion of the United Provinces; an event, it seems, which was not to be compassed without foreign assistance, notwithstanding his being possessed of the affections of the people, and having an army of Veterans under his command. The Dutch seemed very averse towards the making this alteration in their constitution, when the Prince of Orange began to discover his intention of rendring himself absolute; insomuch, that when he came into any of their cities, he was not received with the usual ceremonies and acclamations of the people, as formerly; and particularly as he went through the marketplace of Gorcum, where crouds of people were assembled, not so much as one person moved his hat to him, which some imagine he took to heart, and observe that he was ever pensive and melancholly afterwards to his dying day.

A plot against the Prince.

The truce with Spain expiring, the war between the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands was revived and carried on with various success, during which a plot was discovered against the life of MAURICE Prince of Orange, which was managed chiefly by WILLIAM of Olden Barnevelt, youngest son of the famous Pensioner BARNEVELT above-mentioned, formerly governor of Bergenopzoom, a man of a resolute temper, who was determined to revenge his father's death upon the Prince of Orange; and drew several persons into the conspiracy, especially Arminians, under pretence of recovering their ancient liberties by this means, which he suggested had been notoriously invaded of late years in the execution of his father, and the heads of their party, and imprisoning and banishing others without any colour of law. MONS. GROENVELD, the eldest son of Pensioner BARNEVELT, was also earnestly solicited by his brother to be concerned in the plot; but he refused, and dissuaded him from it, which could not however prevent GROENVELD's ruin. The design, it seems, was to have assassinated the Prince on the road between the Hague and Ryswick, whither he often used to go in the company of a very few persons; and several people were lodged at inns who were to be actors in this tragedy, but without arms, to avoid suspicion; and a small chest of arms was ordered to be carried to a certain place, where they were to take them at the time of the intended

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assassination: but one of the conspirators having imprudently offered a piece of gold to a porter to carry the chest to the place designed, raised a suspicion in the fellow; and four seamen about the same time discovering to the Prince of Orange that they understood there was a design against his life, though they could not give any particular account of the scheme that was laid to take him off, the Prince returned immediately to the Hague, and the news of the plot coming to be buzzed about, the porter who had the chest imagining it contained something extraordinary, carried it to a magistrate, who upon the opening of it found several pair of pistols, poniards, &c. and four persons being also found at an inn where the chest was to have been delivered, who could give no satisfactory account of themselves, being strictly examined confessed the whole matter, and discovered their accomplices: whereupon the conspirators were soon after apprehended, tried and executed, and amongst them GROENVELD the eldest son of the Pensioner BARNEVELT, and several others for not discovering the plot, tho' it appeared GROENVELD dissuaded the conspirators from the attempt. And as most of the criminals were Arminians, this gave occasion to their enemies to throw the plot upon the whole party, and raised a fresh persecution against them, especially against their Ministers, those of them who remained in the country being either imprisoned or banished: whereupon several able pens were drawn in defence of the Arminian cause, and among the rest, that of the celebrated GROTIUS, who endeavoured to expose the practices of the Synod of Dort, and the illegal sentence of the judges who condemned OLDEN BARNEVELT to death; which treatise was censured by the States, and a great sum of money offered to any one who would bring the head of GROTIUS alive or dead; but he being under the protection of LEWIS XIII, despised their menaces. These severe proceedings, however, occasioned great murmurings in Holland, especially at Rotterdam, and other towns, where the States found themselves obliged to keep strong garisons to prevent insurrections. At the same time the State was engaged in a desperate war with the Spaniards and Imperialists, and had they not been supported both by the French and English with forces and treasure, their country would have been in great danger of falling under the power of the Spaniard again. The year 1625 was fatal both to their ally King JAMES I, and their Stadtholder MAURICE Prince of Orange; the first of them died on the 27th of March, and the latter on the 23d of April, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried at Delf, near his father Prince WILLIAM. He is generally esteemed a great soldier, and the best engineer of his age; but this excellency lay in managing a defensive rather than an offensive war. He does not seem to me to be of a very enterprising genius. The great successes the Dutch met with during his Stadtholdership were at sea, and in the East-Indies, to which they are much more indebted to the administration of OLDEN BARNEVELT, and to their Admirals, than to him.

The death of Prince Maurice.

Upon the death of Prince MAURICE the five provinces of Gueldres, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overijssel, chose his brother FREDERICK-HENRY their Stadtholder, Captain-General and Admiral, and each of them also declared him their particular Governor; but the province of Groningen chose Count ERNEST CASIMIR of Nassau,

Succeeded by his brother Frederick-Henry.



CHAP. VI. Nassau, (who was before Stadtholder of Friesland, and Lieutenant to Prince MAURICE in Groningen) their Stadtholder.

Prince FREDERICK-HENRY I, who became Prince of Orange on the death of his brother; by which title I shall therefore generally speak of him for the future; hoping to signalize himself at the entrance of his government, made an attempt to relieve Breda, at that time besieged by the Spaniards, but did not succeed, and was forced to be a witness of the surrender of that important place in June following.

The Arminians, who had been long oppressed by the opposite faction, found some ease under the administration of the new Prince of Orange, who upon several occasions gave evident proofs of his inclinations towards them; however, lest he should disoblige the States General, he did not think fit to do any thing further for them at this juncture, than to put a stop to the persecution of them, and declare himself favourably in respect of GROTIUS, then at Paris. But the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, it seems, about this time invited the Arminians to settle in their respective dominions. Those who went to Sweden generally fixed themselves at Gottenburg near the Sound, as those who were invited to Denmark did at Glückstadt near the mouth of the Elbe; but none gave them greater encouragement than FREDERICK Duke of Holstein, who some years before assigned them a large tract of land on the banks of the river Eyder, where they founded a city, to which they gave the name of Frederickstadt, in memory of their great benefactor; and the Duke conferred on them the privilege of choosing their own Magistrates, and many other immunities.

In the year 1627, the Prince of Orange took the city of Groll, situate on the confines of Zutphen and the bishoprick of Munster, from whence the Spaniards used to levy large contributions out of the provinces of Overijssel, Groningen and Gueldres; but the conquest of this place rendered the Dutch secure on that side.

The intestine divisions between the Gomarists and Arminians were not yet entirely quieted, for the common people of Amsterdam raised an insurrection against the Magistrates under pretence of their being Arminians, notwithstanding they conformed outwardly with their established Presbyterian church; but the Prince of Orange prevailed with the States General to send a body of forces to suppress the tumult, and make an act of State, that the people should pay obedience to their Magistrates without regard to their opinions in religious matters. In the year 1629 the Prince of Orange, with the assistance of the French and English, besieged and took Hertogenbosch or *Boisleduc*, one of the most remarkable cities on the confines of Brabant, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Spaniards and Imperialists for its preservation. This success of the Prince of Orange had such an influence on the States, that in the year 1631 they declared his Son WILLIAM, then about five years of age, successor to him in all his offices and dignities; and the same year the States entered into an alliance with the famous GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, King of Sweden, against the house of Austria, and the Roman catholic party in Germany. In the year 1632, the Prince of Orange took Venlo and Ruremond in Guelderland, from the Spaniards; in the siege of which last place, Count ERNEST CASIMIR,

Stadtholder of Friesland, was killed by a musket-ball; and the States General, in gratitude for the services done by his father, declared his son HENRY-ERNEST hereditary Stadtholder of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. The same year the Prince of Orange took the large and strong city of Maastricht, situate on the Maes, in the bishoprick of Liege, but belonging to Brabant, after an obstinate siege of two months and upwards, during which time the Spaniards and Imperialists often attempted to relieve it: and the loss of this place was followed by that of Limburg and Orfroy before the end of the campaign. The next year, 1633, he reduced the fortress of Rhineberg, situate on the Rhine between Wesel and Orfroy; and soon after Fort Philip near Sas van Ghent in Flanders: but the Spaniards making great preparations for the retaking these places, the Dutch entered into an offensive alliance with the French in the year 1634, wherein they made a partition of the Spanish Netherlands (when they should be conquered,) and it was agreed, that the provinces of Luxembourg, Namur, Hainault, Cambray, and most part of Artois, should belong to the French; and the residue of the Spanish Netherlands to the Dutch. The French King soon after commanded the Marshal CHATILLON, brother-in-law to Cardinal RICHELIEU, to join the Prince of Orange in Brabant with twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse; and the Spaniards marching to prevent this conjunction, were defeated by the French near the village of Avein in Luxembourg. CHATILLON afterwards continuing his march towards Maastricht, there joined the army of the States, forming together a body of fifty thousand men, of whom the Prince of Orange was Generalissimo by the treaty; but the Dutch on second thoughts being jealous that if the French should once become their next neighbours, by being possessed of that part of the Spanish Netherlands above-mentioned, their state would be in a more dangerous condition from them than it was at present from the Spaniard; and the Prince of Orange at the same time entertaining a particular pique against Cardinal RICHELIEU, the prime Minister at the court of France, on account of his endeavouring to surprize the city of Orange; this alliance with France came to nothing: for the Prince of Orange declined entering upon any considerable action this campaign, and by marches and countermarches, and want of necessary provisions, so harassed and distressed the French troops, that of a gallant army of near thirty thousand men which came out of France into the Netherlands, scarce four thousand returned, though there had not been any considerable enterprize undertaken. Notwithstanding which, Cardinal RICHELIEU finding himself surrounded with abundance of domestick enemies, and standing in need of the alliance of the States General, was obliged to stifle his resentments, and enter into a new treaty with the Dutch, whereby he stipulated to pay them two millions of livres per annum, and fifteen hundred thousand more towards the charges of the next campaign; and in order to regain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange, he ordered the French Ambassador at the Hague to give him the title of his Highness whenever he addressed himself to him, which the Prince and his posterity ever after retained, having before no other title than that of his Excellency. And thus a good harmony being established between the Cardinal and the Prince,

CHAP. VI.

Maestricht taken.

Limburg Orfroy, and Rhineberg taken by the Dutch.

Alliance between the French and the Dutch.

Venlo and Ruremond taken.



CHAP.  
VI.Breda re-  
taken by  
the Dutch,  
and Ven-  
lo and  
Rure-  
mond by  
the Spa-  
niards.Victory of  
the Dutch  
over the  
Spanish  
Armada  
in the  
Downs.

preparations were made for a vigorous campaign, anno 1637, in which the Prince of Orange retook the city of Breda; but on the other hand the Spaniards made themselves masters of Venlo and Ruremond again. The year 1638 proved disadvantageous to the Dutch, who had the worst of it in several engagements, but there happened no decisive battle. In the following year 1639, their successes against the Spanish Armada, which they destroyed upon the coast of England, is almost incredible. The Spaniards, it seems, at the instance of the Emperor FERDINAND III, had agreed to fit out a powerful fleet of men of war, to join the Danes against the Swedes, whereby they hoped to make a considerable diversion, and thereby compel the Swedes to withdraw their forces out of the Empire, which they had long harassed; but first the Spaniards proposed to touch on the coast of Zealand, to give some countenance to their forces in the Netherlands. Accordingly the Spanish Admiral DON ANTONIO DE OQUENDO failed from the Groine with sixty-seven men of war, and twenty thousand men, in the month of July, and was to be joined by fourteen sail more from Dunkirk; of which the Dutch having received intelligence, and imagining by the extraordinary preparations that were making at Dunkirk, that the chief design of the Spaniards was against their coasts, they ordered Vice-Admiral TROMP to observe their motions, who fell in with one of their squadrons separated from the rest near Dunkirk, on the sixteenth of September at night, which he engaged with that fury that he entirely dispersed them; but the Spanish Admiral bearing down to their assistance the next morning, boarded the Dutch Admiral, where he was so warmly received, that he was glad to quit him again, and being pursued by TROMP, was sunk with a thousand men on board, after which the fleets were parted by a fog: but the Dutch being joined by eleven men of war the same evening, fell upon the Spaniards again at midnight, and compelled them to fly to the Downs on the English coast, where then lay thirty English men of war, who took the Spanish fleet into their protection, there being at that time an alliance between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain, of which TROMP complained to the British court; whereupon King CHARLES I, who was at this time engaged in a war with his Scottish subjects, who had broke out into rebellion, and having reason to expect an insurrection in England, determined not to break with the States, but ordered his Admiral to forbear all hostilities against the Dutch.

TROMP afterwards receiving a powerful reinforcement, resolved to attack the Spaniards again, and even the English, it is said, if they persisted in protecting the enemy in the Downs. The Spaniards therefore finding they were to expect no assistance from the English fleet, took the opportunity of a thick fog in order to return home; but TROMP had intelligence of it, and overtook them with near an hundred men of war, whereupon there happened a smart engagement between the two fleets, and most of the Spanish ships were burnt, sunk or taken; a great Portuguese galleon particularly, of fourteen hundred tons and eighty guns was destroyed, with eight hundred men on board, most of them gentlemen, and about twenty ships more run on shore in the Downs; and of the whole Spanish fleet not more than eight escaped into Dunkirk. The common people in

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England it seems had a notion, that this Armada was designed against their own country, and were not displeased therefore to see it destroyed: and perhaps King CHARLES found it would alarm his subjects, already sufficiently discontented, if he should permit the English fleet to take their part; or surely he would never have suffered the Dutch to have fallen upon them in our roads. an indignity that ought never to have been borne but in such circumstances as his Majesty was at this time. The Dutch lost but two ships and about fourscore men in the engagement, which plainly shews that they were better seamen even at that time than the Spaniards, for the Spanish fleet was deemed at least equal to theirs in force and number of guns; but however that be, certain it is, TROMP gained immortal honour by the victory, and the Spaniards have never since made any figure at sea.

The French and Dutch acting in separate bodies, anno 1640, as had been agreed, the Prince of Orange sat down before Damme, a city five miles from Bruges; but meeting with greater difficulties than he expected, was compelled to raise the siege. The French had better success before Arras, the capital of Artois, which they took this campaign after a siege of two months. Count HENRY-ERNEST of Nassau, Governor of Friesland, being killed in an engagement with the Spaniards, was succeeded in that province by his brother WILLIAM-FREDERICK; but the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the other provinces, was chosen Governor of Groningen and the Omlands; and the following year, 1641, the Prince of Orange married his son WILLIAM, being then fifteen years of age, to the Princess MARY, daughter to CHARLES I, King of Great Britain, and the young Prince going over into England, the marriage was consummated there on the second of May. The same year the Dutch had the good fortune to take the strong fortress of Gennep, situate on the river Niers: as the French did the cities of Aire, Lens and Bapaume, in the province of Artois; but Aire was re-taken not long after by the Spaniards.

In the year 1642 died the famous Cardinal RICHLIEU, who had long supported the Dutch against Spain, and assisted them in humbling the house of Austria. And the following year his Master LEWIS XIII died, which did not however make any alteration in the measures of the French ministry, who entered into a stricter alliance with the United Provinces than ever; wherein the French agreed to give the States the title of High and Mighty, to furnish them with twelve hundred thousand livres, and to attack some considerable places on the coast of Flanders. In consideration whereof, the States engaged to have forty men of war on that coast to support their land forces; and not to make peace with Spain without the concurrence of France.

In pursuance of which treaty the French laid siege to Graveling, while Admiral TROMP blocked it up by sea, and the place surrendered about two months after. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange made himself master of the strong fortress of Sas van Ghent the same campaign. And thus the French and Dutch went on, enlarging their respective frontiers at the expence of the miserable Spaniard: but the French made the most considerable advances, for in the campaign of 1645, the French took Mardick, Bourg,

CHAP.  
VI.Arras taken  
by the  
French.The son  
of the  
Prince of  
Orange  
married  
to the  
Princess  
Royal of  
England.Gennep  
taken by  
the Dutch:  
Aire and  
Lens by  
the FrenchGraveling  
taken by  
the FrenchSas van  
Ghent  
taken by  
the Dutch.



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bourg, Bethune and Armentiers, while the Prince of Orange was repulsed in an attempt he made upon Antwerp; but he had the good fortune however before the end of the year to make himself master of Hulst in Flanders, the capital of the country of Waes.

Mardick,  
Bethune,  
&c. taken  
by the  
French.  
Hulst tak-  
en by the  
Dutch.

The Prince of Orange in the year 1646 renewed his design against Antwerp; and being joined by six thousand French, was marching to invest it, when he was seized with an apoplexy, which disordered his understanding; and the Hollanders apprehending if this city were taken and made part of their State, the ancient trade might be revived there to the disadvantage of Amsterdam, marched back again without attempting any thing against that city.

Dunkirk  
taken by  
the  
French.

In the mean time the French besieged and took Dunkirk, by the assistance of the Dutch fleet, which blocked up the harbour; of which they have since had sufficient reason to repent, it having been made a nest of privateers, from whence they have been infested in all their wars with France.

Prince of  
Orange  
dies.

William  
II. suc-  
ceeds.

In the spring following, viz. on the 14th of March 1646-7, the Prince of Orange died, in the 67th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son WILLIAM the second, in the Stadtholdership of the six provinces which his father held; upon whose accession the States addressed themselves to him, intreating that he would contribute his utmost towards the conclusion of the peace of Munster, which was now negotiating, and not adhere too strictly to the interest of France, of whom they began to be very jealous since the conquests they had made in Flanders, and the rest of the Spanish provinces: and notwithstanding their engagements with that crown, they concluded a separate peace with Spain at Munster, in the year 1648; the principal conditions whereof were,

*An Abstract of the Treaty of Munster.*

THAT the King of Spain should acknowledge the Lords the States General of the United Provinces with their provinces, towns, lands, and appurtenances, sovereign States, provinces and countries: upon which he or his successors would not for the future make any claim or pretence. That each party should keep and enjoy the countries, towns, places and lordships in their respective possessions, with their dependencies and appurtenances. Whereby the Dutch were to enjoy Boisseluduc, with the lordships, towns and villages thereto belonging; the town and marquise of Bergen op Zoom; the town and barony of Breda, the town of Maestricht, and the district thereto belonging; the county of Groenhoft, the town of Grave; the country of Luickhulst, and bailiwick of Hulst and Hulster Ambacht; and all the forts the States were possessed of in the country of Waes, with their dependencies and appurtenances: as also all such other places as the States then held in Brabant or Flanders, with all right of sovereignty, in the same manner as they held the United Provinces. The States were also to retain all they possessed in the East and West-Indies, Asia, Africa, or America. And the Spaniards were to continue their navigation to the East-Indies in the same manner they then did; but not to extend themselves on that side: and each party, both in the East and West-Indies, were to abstain from the navigation and trade of such places and countries as belonged to the other. That

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the river Scheld, and the channels of the Sas and Swyn, and other entrances into the Sea thereabouts, should remain in the possession of the States, who might lay what duties they saw fit on vessels passing that way, and on goods going in and out of the harbours in Flanders. And the Dutch also were to have the customs of all goods passing through their country by the Rhine or Maes. It was also agreed, that no new Forts should be erected in the Low Countries on either side, and that on the part of the King of Spain should be demolished near Sluice, the Forts of St. JOE, St. DONAT, the Star Fort, the Fort TERESE, St. FREDERICK, St. ISABELLA, and St. PAUL; and on the side of the States, the two Forts in the island of Leefant, called ORANGE and FREDERICK; the two forts De Pas on the east side the river Scheld, and the Fort of Kieldrecht called Spinola.

The United Provinces now enjoying a profound peace, proposed to make a reduction of their forces, which met with great opposition from those of the Prince of Orange's party, apprehending it would tend to the lessening his authority and influence; which was indeed the very reason that the other side were zealous for it, remembering the attempts that his uncle Prince MAURICE had made to obtain the sovereignty: an act of State therefore being drawn up for disbanding part of the army, the Prince laboured with all his might to get the matter debated in another assembly; but the deputies who were for it following the advice of CORNELIUS BICKER, Burghomaster of Amsterdam, left the Hague abruptly, and thereby defeated all his stratagems. Hereupon it was proposed by some of the Deputies of his party who remained at the Hague, that he should visit the cities of Holland in person, who were most averse to it, in order to obtain their consent for keeping up the army; but the province of Holland protested against this expedient as an encroachment on their liberties, and the city of Amsterdam in particular desired him to forbear coming thither; at which he was so exasperated, that he exhibited a complaint to the States General against that city, demanding satisfaction for the affront put upon him; in answer to which they published a Manifesto justifying their conduct: but the Prince determining to be revenged on that proud city, sent orders for a great body of troops to assemble and invest it. He also imprisoned JOHN DE WITT the Pensionary, and five others of the province of Holland, whom he apprehended most averse to his designs, in the castle of Loevestein, from whence they were called the Loevestein Faction. The Prince's orders were executed with that secrecy, that the Amsterdamers had not any intimation of the march of the army to attack them, till the Hamburg post-boy brought them notice there was a body of horse advancing towards them, the very morning the town was to have been invested; and had it not been for the rains and the darkness of the night, whereby some of the forces lost their way, and did not come in time to the appointed rendezvous, the city had been surrounded before they had received the least intelligence of his intentions; but having had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, they sent to the Prince to know the reason of his approaching in that hostile manner; and he insisting that the Burghomaster BICKER should be delivered up and punished, they took

A contest  
between  
the Prince  
of Orange  
and the  
States.

The  
Prince  
sends a  
body of  
troops to  
invest  
Amster-  
dam.



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took the opportunity while the conferences about it continued, to open their sluices and drown their country, so that it was now become impracticable for his army to attack the place. The citizens, however, being desirous to remove so formidable a force from their gates, and to procure the liberty of DE WITT, and the rest of their friends, whom the Prince had imprisoned in the castle of Loevestein, agreed at length to displace Burghomaster BIEKER, and his Highness, on the other hand, consented to release the prisoners and withdraw his troops, but could not help however discovering his concern for the disappointment; and while he was meditating which way to repair the disgrace, was taken ill of the small-pox at the Hague, on the 29th of October 1650, and died on the 6th of November following, contrary to the opinion of his physicians, who declared him to be out of danger; from whence it was afterwards surmized that he was poisoned with a draught of Limonade: but however that matter was, certain it is he was become very terrible to the republick; and the late hostile attempt upon Amsterdam rendered his death the less regretted; some of the Clergy in their pulpits went so far as to ascribe it to the just judgment of God, and some medals were struck reflecting on his memory, among which one represented the precipitate fall of PHAETON, with those words in Ovid, *Magnis tamen excidit ausis*. About a week after the death of WILLIAM II, his son WILLIAM III. was born, afterwards Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and King of Great Britain, which gave great joy to the Princess and the family of Orange, who were before overwhelmed with grief for the loss of the late Prince, their great support, in the flower of his age. Two days after the Betawe and Velawe, and Utrecht, were good part of them overflowed by the breaking of the dikes of the Yssel, &c. The sea also broke in upon North Holland with a terrible inundation, and destroyed incredible quantities of merchandize, even in Amsterdam itself; so that however they might rejoice at the death of the Prince of Orange, they had reason to mourn for the calamities which soon after befel them.

The office of Stadtholder abolished.

The conduct of the States in relation to King Charles II, and the Royal family.

Upon the death of the Prince of Orange the province of Groningen chose the hereditary Prince of Friesland, WILLIAM-FREDERICK of Nassau, their Governor; but the other five provinces elected no particular Governor: and the States General resolved to have no Stadtholder, Captain-General, or Admiral, for the future; and entered into a new union, whereby they settled the sovereignty of the particular provinces, declaring against the innovations of Prince MAURICE and his successors, who had endeavoured to make every province subject to the States General, or rather to themselves. Then they published a general toleration of all religions, excluding however from publick employments all who did not make a publick profession of Calvinism. The five Gentlemen imprisoned by the late Prince of Orange in the castle of Loevestein, were set at liberty, and with Burghomaster BIEKER restored to their offices and dignities, and the proceedings against them declared illegal and void. They also changed the magistrates in many places, supplying their rooms with such as were not well-affected to the house of Orange, and disbanded good part of the army.

England, after the murder of King CHARLES I. anno 1648, was under the dominion of a Com-

monwealth in appearance, but really subject to CROMWEL, who had usurped the supreme authority, and driven King CHARLES II, and his brother the Duke of York into Holland, where they were well received by their brother and sister, the Prince and Princess of Orange, at the Hague: the States, in the mean time, gave frequent intimations that their residing in Holland would be very inconvenient in their present circumstances; and it was with some difficulty the Prince of Orange prevented their sending them a message to remove out of their territories. About the same time Dr. DORISLAUS, one of the English regicides, coming as Envoy to the Hague, to propose an alliance between the two republicks, while he was at supper in his house with some company, six or seven Gentlemen of North-Britain entered the room with their swords drawn, and WHITFORD, one of them, dragging DORISLAUS from the table, stabbed him to the heart, saying, *Thus dies one of the regicides*; then the Gentlemen putting up their swords, walked quietly out of the room, leaving the rest of the company in the utmost consternation. This accident made the Dutch still more uneasy, lest CROMWEL should demand satisfaction, and occasion the removal of King CHARLES from the Hague soon after; and the death of the Prince of Orange, which happened about the same time, gave but small encouragement to hope for his Majesty's restoration from that quarter. The year following, anno 1651, the Commonwealth of England, as they were called, sent over their Chief Justice Sr. JOHN and Mr. WALTER STRICKLAND as their Ambassadors to the States, attended by two hundred Gentlemen and a magnificent equipage, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance between the two Commonwealths; who were received with all imaginable respect by the States, but were however frequently affronted and assaulted by the mob, who, notwithstanding a strong guard constantly attended them, often broke their windows and pelted their servants with dirt and stones, crying out, *Long live King CHARLES, and the Prince of Orange*. ST. JOHN also meeting the then Duke of York in the walks of the Voorhout at the Hague, and refusing to give him the way, or salute him, the Duke pulled off his hat and told him, he ought to be taught to pay more respect to the King's brother: to which the Ambassador answering, that he knew no other Sovereign than the parliament of England, and reflecting grossly on the royal family, the Duke's attendants attacked the Ambassador and his servants sword in hand, and being supported by most of the Gentlemen then in the walks, the Ambassador was obliged to retire with his people into his house. The States who pretended to remain neutrals between the King and Parliament of England, desired the Duke to retire from the Hague to a country-seat of his sister's, the Princess dowager of Orange, at Honflaerdike: after which they sent a deputation to the English Ambassadors, to express their concern for what had happened, and to assure them, that if any of their subjects had affronted them they should be punished with the utmost rigour: but ST. JOHN it seems was not to be appeased, and represented matters in such a manner to his masters, that they were soon after recalled. At their return it was proposed in the parliament to endeavour to prevent the mighty growth of the Dutch trade and advance their own by all possible means; the first attempt

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Dorislaus, Envoy from the English parliament, killed.

St. John insults the Duke of York at the Hague.

Attempts of the English to annoy the Dutch, and advance their own trade by the act of navigation.



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IV.

attempt towards which, was by drawing up an act, since called the Act of Navigation, whereby foreigners were prohibited importing any merchandize into England which was not of their own growth; which affected Holland more than any other country, because the produce of that country is exceeding small, and one of their greatest advantages at that time consisted in their being the common carriers of Europe; and under colour of this law also the English frequently took an opportunity of searching the Dutch ships and making prize of them. The States hereupon sent over four Ambassadors to England, to expostulate with that remnant of a parliament, who were answered with the following demands: 1. That they should pay the arrears of tribute due for fishing on the English coast. 2. That they should restore the Spice-islands they had taken in the East-Indies. 3. That those who had assisted in the murder of the English at Amboyna and Banda, should be brought to justice. 4. That satisfaction should be given for the murder of *DORISLAUS* the English Envoy. And, 5. Reparation made for the damages sustained by the English in Russia, Greenland, &c. by the Dutch encroachments, to an immense sum. From these demands the States concluding that nothing less than a war was intended, gave orders for fitting out a great fleet of men of war: the English Parliament, on the other hand, never imagining that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them, fitted out only the usual squadron for the guard of the coast, giving their Admiral no particular instructions in case of a rupture. The admiralty of Holland, in the mean time, had ordered *VAN TROMP* with a fleet of forty two men of war to sail over to the English coast, and not to strike sail to that nation as he used to do. This Admiral accordingly in the month of May 1652, coming into Dover road, met with Admiral *BLAKE*, and a squadron of twenty-six men of war there under his command, who perceiving the Dutch did not strike sail as usual, gave them three guns; whereupon *TROMP* hung out a red flag, and bore down directly to the English Admiral, giving him a broad-side, which being returned, an obstinate fight began, that lasted till night parted them. On the Dutch side was one ship taken and another sunk: the English had a great many men killed and wounded, but lost no ship or officer of note, though the Hollanders pretended there were two English ships sunk and six taken; however, certain it is, *BLAKE* did not think fit to renew the fight the day following on so great odds, but retired in order to refit and reinforce his squadron.

War between the English and Dutch.

The first sea-fight.

The States soon after sent an embassy to England, to assure the Parliament that the late engagement between the two fleets was without their knowledge, and contrary to their intentions, and begged of them, as they professed the same religion and love of liberty, they would enter into a treaty, in order to heal this bleeding wound, and avoid the further effusion of blood. To which the Parliament answered, That the extraordinary preparations the Dutch had made of a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail without any apparent necessity, and the instructions they had given to their sea-officers, gave too much cause to believe they designed to usurp from the English the dominion of the sea; they thought themselves obliged therefore to endeavour, by God's assistance, to obtain reparation for the injuries and damages

they had received: and having returned this answer, immediately ordered *BLAKE* to sail northward and attack their fishing-busses, guarded by twelve sail of men of war, most of which he took and brought home as good prize. And Sir *GEORGE ASCOUGH* being sent with another squadron to the southward, meeting with a fleet of Dutch merchant-men between Dover and Calais, took or destroyed most of them; and afterwards standing westward, fell in with a fleet of sixty of the enemy's men of war, and thirty merchant-men near Plymouth, with whom he maintained a fight till night parted them, though he had but thirty sail of men of war with him; but being damaged in his rigging, he could not come up with them the next day. However, these attempts struck such a terror into the Dutch, that for the future they chose generally to sail north about, rather than to run the hazard of being taken in the English channel; and notwithstanding all their precaution they lost six East-India ships, valued at four millions of livres, thirty-five more of their Portugal fleet, and many other vessels. King *CHARLES II* being now at Paris, and finding the English and Dutch republicks were come to an open rupture, made an offer to the Dutch Ambassador to join his interest with theirs, and go in person on board their fleet; but the Dutch resolving to clap up a peace with England, and apprehending the King's appearing among them might prove an impediment to it, refused the generous proposal. *VAN TROMP* about this time resigning the command of the Dutch fleet upon some disgust, *DE WITT* succeeded him, who with *DE RUYTER* appearing at the head of the Dutch grand fleet on the coast of Kent, were attacked by *BLAKE* on the 28th of October; in which engagement the Rear-Admiral of the States was boarded and taken, two more of their men of war sunk, and a fourth blown up; whereupon the Dutch thought fit to retire, and were pursued to their own coasts. In the mean time a squadron of English men of war in the Mediterranean, consisting of five or six sail, were attacked by sixteen Dutch, under the command of *VAN GALEN*, and forced to retire into the port of Leghorn for protection, having lost the *Phoenix*, one of their number; on which occasion the Hollanders triumphed as for a signal victory.

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King Charles II. offers to go on board the Dutch fleet.

Another engagement.

In this war the Swedes declared for the English, and the Danes for the United Provinces; and the Danes engaged to send twenty men of war to the assistance of their allies, in case *VAN TROMP* was restored to his command; which being readily complied with by the States, that Admiral put to sea with eighty men of war and two fire-ships, and meeting *BLAKE* in the Downs, with between forty and fifty sail, a terrible engagement ensued on the 29th of November 1652; but the English being overpowered, were at length compelled to retire, with the loss of two ships taken, three sunk, and one burnt; and of the Dutch only one of their flag-ships was blown up. After which *TROMP*, in contempt of the naval power of England, rode with a broom at his top-mast head, shewing that he could sweep the channel of them. But this triumph was short-lived, for on the 18th of February following, the English grand fleet, commanded by *BLAKE*, *DEAN* and *MONK*, consisting of eighty sail, lying extended cross the channel over-against Portland, to wait for *TROMP*, who was convoying home

A third sea-fight between the English and Dutch.



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VI.A fourth  
sea-fight.

home three hundred sail of merchant-ships with seventy-six men of war; the English Scouts discovered the Dutch fleet on the 18th of February by break of day, whereupon another bloody battle was fought, which lasted three days: VAN TROMP on the third interposing between the English fleet and his merchant-ships, maintained a running fight till he recovered the coast of Holland; having lost in the engagement eleven men of war and thirty merchants: there being but one ship lost on the English side. On the 2d of June 1653, there happened another engagement between Dover and Calais, when the English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail, was commanded by MONK and DEAN, who were both on board one ship: the Dutch fleet consisting of upwards of an hundred sail, and were commanded by TROMP, DE WITT, DE RUYTER, and the two EVERTSONS. It was about noon when the engagement began, and at the first broad-side Admiral DEAN was shot into by a cannon-ball as he stood by MONK, who without being discouraged covered the body with his cloak, and then maintained the fight with great bravery, and before evening the Dutch bore away before the wind. The next morning, there being but little wind, the English could not come up with the Hollanders before noon, when the fight began afresh, and the Dutch were put into the utmost confusion; TROMP sent his boat aboard some ships, and fired at others, to oblige them to come into the line; but all to no purpose; he found himself obliged to retreat to their own flats, where there was no following them. In this engagement eleven Dutch ships were taken, six sunk, and two blown up; with very little loss on the English side.

Sixth sea-  
fight.

The Dutch, notwithstanding this defeat, fitted out a fleet of an hundred and five and twenty men of war within a little more than a month, commanded by TROMP, who meeting the English fleet upon the coast of Holland commanded by MONK, another famous engagement ensued, on the 29th of July, wherein MONK ordered his Captains neither to give nor take quarter, which made this battle more bloody than any of the former: the famous VAN TROMP, the glory of the Dutch nation, as he is styled by some writers, was shot with a musket-bullet as he stood on the quarter-deck with his sword drawn, encouraging his men; and seven and twenty Dutch men of war were sunk and burnt, but none taken, which was occasioned by MONK's orders to give no quarter. DE WITT taking upon him the command after the death of TROMP, and having maintained the fight till evening, the Dutch retired into their harbours. The English had a-bundance of men killed and wounded in the engagement; but lost only one ship, and had two or three more disabled.

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lish.

The Dutch, discouraged by the defeat of their fleet, and the loss of their Admiral, but more by the losses they suffered in their foreign trade, for it seems the English had taken in this short war no less than seven hundred sail of ships; sent orders to their Plenipotentiaries, who were already treating with CROMWEL at London, to hasten the conclusion of the peace almost upon any terms; to which they were moved also by frequent insurrections at home, and the suggestions of the Orange party, who perpetually insinuated that these misfortunes were occasioned by their not having a Stadtholder. CROMWEL, though he had for-

merly vowed the destruction of this State, began now to hearken to the proposals made him, in hopes the States might be assistant to him in maintaining his usurped sovereignty; for he had dispersed the remains of the long parliament, and taken upon him perfectly to new-model the constitution. Both parties therefore having their particular views in promoting a peace, the treaty of it was brought to a conclusion in April 1654, by which the Dutch renounced King CHARLES's interest, engaged to strike to the English at sea, and to bring such of their subjects to justice as had been concerned in the barbarities at Amboyna, if there were any of them living, and to make reparation for all the damages the English had sustained by their means in their foreign trade for thirty years past. CROMWEL also demanded that the States should exclude the Prince of Orange, grandson of King CHARLES I, and all his posterity, from being Stadtholders, or Governors of any particular provinces, city or fort; as also from being Admirals, Vice-Admirals, or even Captains of men of war; which the States at length agreed to, under this limitation only, that this exclusion should extend only to such of the Prince of Orange's posterity, as should be lineally descended from the daughter of the late King CHARLES I; and that this should be a private article, and not inserted in the general treaty. About this time JOHN DE WITT, son of DE WITT the Burghomaster of Dort (who had been imprisoned in the castle of Locvestein by the late Prince of Orange) and his brother CORNELIUS DE WITT, began to grow very popular, and the one being Pensionary of Holland, and the other High Bailiff of Putten, they had the chief direction of this State during the minority of the Prince of Orange WILLIAM III. These gentlemen were so very cautious of retaining any office in the commonwealth that might have the least resemblance to that of Captain-General, that they suppressed even that of Field-Marshal, and kept no other General Officers in their pay but Count MAURICE of Nassau in quality of Lieutenant-General, and the Rhinegrave as Major-General of the horse; and if a body of troops was assembled on any occasion, they were usually commanded by the eldest Colonel.

The States  
governed  
by the De-  
Witts.

CROMWEL, encouraged by the condescensions the States had already made, proposed to them an union between the two commonwealths under one form of government; but the cautious Hollander foreseeing that CROMWEL would have the direction of the whole, and probably in the end assume the dominion of both countries, rejected the proposal. He then offered to enter into a league offensive and defensive with them against the church of Rome; to which they answered, their business was traffick, and they must endeavour to live peaceably with all the world if possible: whereupon CROMWEL upbraided them with preferring their temporal interest before the advancement of the Protestant religion, and the destruction of Popery. But after all, few will believe that CROMWEL's religion put him upon making this proposal; how much soever he might pretend to an excess of piety, he had some temporal interest in view. If he had seen himself at the head of a Protestant league, there is no doubt but under the colour of advancing the kingdom of Christ, he would have advanced his own dominion over most of the kingdoms of Europe; and this that subtle people could not but

Cromwel  
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and Hol-  
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VI.The Dutch  
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Charles's  
reception  
in Holland  
before his  
restoration.

be sensible of; the sham pretences of religion to cover a roguish project they were sufficiently instructed in, and were not to be caught in the same snare they had so often laid for others.

The war was no sooner ended between England and Holland, but the Dutch being jealous of the growing power of the Swedes in the Baltick, incited the King of Denmark to enter into a new war with them: they also took upon them the protection of Dantzick, then insulted by the Swedes, with which city they carried on a vast trade, and sending a fleet of men of war thither with land-forces on board, compelled the Swede to accept of such terms as they were pleased to prescribe. After which a new war breaking out between the Danes and Swedes, and the Danes proving unsuccessful, the Dutch sent another fleet to their assistance, with which they defeated the Swedes at sea, and relieved Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, which was then closely besieged; in which engagement, however, the Dutch lost two of their Admirals. The reason the Dutch gave for interposing in this war was, lest the Swedes should make themselves masters of both shores of the Sound, and thereby render their trade to the Baltick precarious.

In the mean time, a kind of civil war broke out in the United Provinces. At Tergoes in Zealand there happened an insurrection of the populace, and in Groningen another: and in the province of Overijssel the cities of Campen and Zwoll declared war against Deventer and Haffelt; but by the interposition of the States General these commotions were at length composed.

In the year 1658, the French and English laid siege to Dunkirk and took it; and according to the treaty between them, the place was left in the possession of the English, to the great mortification of the Dutch, who were not well pleased to see their rivals in trade masters of both sides the channel, as they were in effect by the acquisition of Dunkirk. But the same year died CROMWEL the Usurper, or Protector, as he styled himself, on the 3d of September, leaving Britain in such confusion, that the Hollanders had little to apprehend from that side for the present; there was a fleet indeed sent to the Baltick by RICHARD CROMWEL, to assist the Swede against their ally the Dane, but the distractions which soon after followed in England prevented their entering upon action.

Things being come to a crisis in England, the people heartily weary of the many changes they had lately experienced in the government, were generally inclined to attempt the restoration of their natural Sovereign King CHARLES II; which the Dutch observing, and not apprehending it in their power to prevent, though they had entered into a confederacy with CROMWEL against the STUART family; his Majesty was no sooner arrived at Breda, but they sent a deputation of the States to compliment him on his arrival in their dominions, and to desire he would take up his residence at the Hague till he should embark for England, which the King readily accepted, arriving there on the 16th of May 1660; where he was not only magnificently entertained at the charge of the States, with all his dependants, but presents made him, amounting in the whole to the value of an hundred thousand pounds. And here all the Ambassadors and publick Ministers of such Princes as were at the Hague attended the

King, congratulating his approaching restoration on their masters behalf, by whom but a very little before he had been intolerably slighted and ill used: and from the speech made by the deputies of the States at his Majesty's embarkation, none could believe that these were the very men who had a little before entered into a treaty with CROMWEL, his mortal enemy, to prevent his restoration, and even to exclude all of his blood from the Stadtholdership of the United provinces: Your Majesty, say they, may observe in the looks of all our people the joy they have in their hearts to see a Prince cherished by God, a Prince wholly miraculous, and who will probably contribute in a great measure to their quiet and felicity: our joy, say they, is common to us with that of our subjects, but as we know better than they the inestimable value of the treasure we possess, so are we more sensible of this sad separation; and it would, Sir, (continued they) be insupportable to us if we did not reflect, that it was the thing in the world we most desired, and the greatest advantage also that we could wish to your Majesty. We therefore acquiesce, because we know that this removal is no less necessary for us, than glorious for your Majesty; and that it is in your kingdom we must find the accomplishment of the prayers we have made and still make for you and us. We pray God, Sir, that your return may be quiet and happy; and that as he hath disposed the hearts and affections of your subjects to acknowledge their lawful Sovereign, he will be pleased also to command the winds and the seas to expedite your voyage. And after you have received on your own coasts the vows that we shall reiterate, you may enjoy in your Royal Person, and in your never-ceasing posterity, all the felicity that can be wished.

The King having taken leave of the States, after ten days stay at the Hague, embarked for England at Scheveling, where a squadron of men of war attended him under the command of Admiral MONTAGUE, the shores being thronged with multitudes of spectators, who wished him all imaginable happiness. Nor is the sincerity of the common people to be suspected, who are ever infinitely joyful when they see right take place, and an injured Prince long banished from his inheritance peaceably restored to his dominions; but as for States and Courts, these are seldom governed by any other motives than such as seem conducing to their interest.

The Bishop of Munster having obtained a commission from the Emperor in the year 1663, to take possession of some lands in East-Friesland, in Westphalia, and amongst the rest of the castle of Eydeler on the river Ems; the Dutch under pretence that the Bishop might prove a dangerous neighbour to them, dispossessed him of that castle by force: and though the Bishop was not then in a condition to shew his resentment, he soon after entered into an alliance with the King of England, and became a terrible thorn in their sides; which brings me to enquire into the grounds of that war which happened afterwards in the year 1665, between England and the United Provinces.

The account the Dutch give us of the occasion of this war, is a very confused one. They say, that in the year 1664, a squadron of men of war was sent by the Court of England to the coast of Africa under the command of Captain HOLMES, who took several forts and settlements from them

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Munster.The occa-  
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English  
and Dutch.



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near Cape Verde, and on the coast of Guinea; and that thereupon they sent DE RUYTER thither, and retook those places; whereupon the English afterwards seized upon several Dutch ships in Europe, and make prize of them. That they had no mind to enter into a war with the English, but were ready to make them any reasonable satisfaction, and to refer the matters in difference between the two nations to any indifferent umpire; but the English court were all for war.

The English on the other hand give a very different relation of this matter: for, in the month of April 1664, as appears by the journals of Parliament, the Lords and Commons of England resolved, That the wrongs, dishonours and indignities done to his Majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Africa, and elsewhere; and the damages, affronts, and injuries done by them to our merchants, were the great obstructions of our foreign trade: and that his Majesty be humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for redress thereof, and for prevention of the like for the future. And in prosecution thereof, they declare, that they will with their lives and fortunes assist his Majesty against all opposition whatsoever. To which his Majesty answered, That he would examine the particular complaints which had been made to the Parliament; and thereupon appoint his Minister at the Hague to demand speedy justice and reparation from the States General. And in November following his Majesty sent a narrative to the two houses, containing a state of the differences between the two nations, signed with his own hand, which still remains among the records of the house of Lords.

A narrative of the wrongs done the English by the Dutch.

His Majesty acquainted them in this narrative, that he had required his Minister at the Hague, to press the States to make him immediate satisfaction for the wrongs and oppressions his subjects underwent, which he had indeed solicited them to do for a year past, and would now bear no longer delay. That the States having deferred returning any answer to his Majesty for some months, with great passion and noise sent orders to their several admiralties to equip great numbers of ships of war, and to work night and day upon them, Sundays as well as other days of the week; and gave orders also for raising a great body of land-forces with all expedition. That in August last, 1664, they pretended to have received news that captain HOLMES, who with one of his Majesty's ships had convoyed some merchants of the Royal African company to the coast of Guinea, had assaulted and taken possession of a Fort near Cape Verde, belonging to their West-India Company: whereupon the States peremptorily required that his Majesty would forthwith give orders for the re-delivery of that Fort to them. The King thereupon assured the Dutch Ambassador that he had given no commission or order to Captain HOLMES for that purpose: that he expected him shortly home, when he would strictly examine his proceedings, and cause exemplary justice to be done, as well in redelivering the Fort, as in punishing the person, if his conduct deserved it. But this answer did not satisfy them; new orders were given for equipping out more ships, and for raising men and money; and they published in their prints, that what HOLMES had done was by his Majesty's warrant and authority.

That his Majesty, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, did not lay aside all hopes of

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bringing the States General to a better temper, but put them in mind how readily he had redressed every complaint they had made to him since his restoration; while instead of any return of this kind from them, though his Minister at the Hague had importuned them for eighteen months to release twenty ships taken by them upon the coast of Guinea, and to give satisfaction for other affronts and damages in the East-Indies; and that tho' he had received no answer to these demands, he had nevertheless forborn to do himself justice. He put them in mind also of the declarations published by their commanders in the East and West-Indies, interdicting all trade and commerce with all other nations to the natives of those countries, whom they called their subjects, thereby endeavouring to exclude the rest of Europe from all commerce with the Indies.

They had indeed, his Majesty observes, by their industry, and by acts of horrible injustice and cruelty, planted themselves in stronger forts and factories than any Prince in Europe had done, especially in the East-Indies, where their naval power was very great. And when they found the natives inclined to traffick with other nations, as they generally desire to do, being in truth universally weary of the oppressions of the Dutch; some of their ships are sent to lie before those ports, and to declare they are at war with this or that Prince, or city, and thereupon prohibit all other nations to have any traffick with them; and thus did they restrain the English ships under the command of the Earl of Marlborough two years since from going to—and taking in a great cargo provided for him there by the East-India company, forcing his Majesty's ships to return empty home. That in some places they had compelled the English factories to remove, and in others incited the natives to rise and cut them in pieces, and assisted them in such attempts with their shipping, of which his Majesty had undeniable evidence.

The Lord Chancellor Clarendon in a speech to both houses of Parliament, in the year 1665, also takes an opportunity of remembering some of the inducements which prevailed with the English to enter into this war. He takes notice, that every day brought fresh accounts of the depredations of the Dutch on our merchants in all parts. That instead of delivering up the island of Poloroon (one of the spice-islands in the East-Indies) which they were obliged to have done by treaty, they hindered our ships from taking in their lading of such merchandize as our factors had provided; upon pretence that the ports, where the merchandize was ready to be embarked, were in the dominions of some Princes whom they had declared to be their enemies, and therefore they would not suffer any traffick to be maintained with them. That they published the like declaration, and challenged the same sovereignty in Africa; and by virtue thereof would not suffer our ships to trade upon that coast, where we had a trade long before the Dutch. That when the King had equipped a fleet to send to Africa, in order to procure justice to our merchants, and the Dutch desired they might remain in harbour, as theirs should, till matters could be amicably adjusted; at that very moment they sent to their Admiral DE RUYTER in the Straights, to make war upon the English in Guinea. "And in truth, says his Lordship, this stratagem of pretending one thing, and intending another; of promising

The grounds of the Dutch war related by Clarendon.

"with



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"with all solemnity, and never designing to perform; of swearing this day not to do a thing, when they had already served their turn, and actually done it the day before clandestinely; is the highest pitch of their wisdom of state, by which they govern their affairs, and delude their neighbours."

That notwithstanding his Majesty had seized on some of the Hollanders ships in Europe, upon intelligence of DE RUYTER's being sent to Africa to make war upon his subjects there; neither the ships or merchandizes were confiscated, till he had received certain information that DE RUYTER had put his orders in execution, by taking and seizing the English settlements and shipping upon that coast.

The reasons of the Dutch war summed up.

From the whole it appears, that the English had three very substantial reasons to come to a rupture with the Dutch, besides the business of the flag, and dominion of the sea, which the States at this time disputed. 1. They detained the island of Poloroon in the East-Indies, contrary to several solemn treaties and engagements to deliver it up; whereby we were entirely deprived of the spice-trade, at least of nutmegs and mace, the most valuable part of it. 2. They had seized several English ships and merchandizes, and kept the men prisoners in loathsome dungeons, where many of them perished, though his Majesty's ministers had solicited their release from year to year. 3. They kept guard-ships upon the coasts of India and Africa, to prevent the English and all other European nations dealing with the natives. Either they pretended the country was in alliance with them, and had agreed to trade with them alone; or they were at war with the Dutch, and then that was a sufficient reason for blocking up their ports, and seizing such boats and vessels as would come on board the English and other Europeans: so that in fact, they had actually monopolized all the valuable branches of trade in India and Africa; which was the real occasion that the merchants of England, and of London in particular, applied themselves to the Parliament for a redress of these grievances, apprehending their foreign trade to be expiring, unless the Dutch were obliged to do them justice. And I find the Speaker of the house of Commons, in a speech to his Majesty, declaring, that they had examined the reasons of the decay of trade, and that they found the English merchants undermined by fraud and practice, and sometimes beaten out of the East and West-Indies, in Turkey and Africa, by our neighbours the Dutch; who, besides the insufferable indignities offered to his Majesty and the crown of England, had in a few years spoiled his subjects to the value of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds. And his Majesty in a letter to the States, just before the breaking out of the war, declares his great desire to maintain peace with them; but he saw with regret they went not about to give any satisfaction to the English for their losses; concluding with a protestation before GOD and man, That the States would be guilty of all the inconveniences and fatal consequences, if a speedy reparation was not made.

I have been the more diligent in searching the journals of Parliament, and examining the histories of these times, because there is a party in England so fond of the Dutch, that they are ever endeavouring to blind our eyes, and to cover the treachery and barbarity of their high and mighty friends; and lay the whole blame of our entering into this war

on the English court, when we had, according to them, no real occasion for a rupture: but if the facts above recited are true, as I can aver they are from undeniable evidence, the nation must have been the merest bubbles in nature to have borne such injuries and insults any longer: nay, we must have been content to have lived under the dominion of the Hollander, at least at sea, and given up every branch of our foreign trade; and as it is, we suffer them to retain and monopolize the spices of India, which are of more value than all the rest of the trade to India and Africa put together.

Having enquired into the reasons and grounds of this war, I proceed to give an abstract of the progress and success of it. In November, 1664, the grand fleet of England rendezvous'd at Spithead, being commanded by the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral; and the Dutch keeping close in their ports, the English intercepted their merchant-ships as they came home, to the number of one hundred and thirty, and condemned them as lawful prize, (in retaliation for DE RUYTER's taking the English forts and ships on the coast of Africk) without any previous declaration of war: for as the Dutch made no scruple of falling upon the English in that part of the world without proclaiming war, they could have no manner of reason to complain of the like usage in Europe, tho' their friends are to this day very loud upon the injustice of such a proceeding. The citizens of London were then so filled with resentment against the Dutch, for their usurpations upon their navigation and commerce, that towards the speedy equipment of the grand fleet, they advanced his Majesty an hundred thousand pounds, and after that another hundred thousand at his Majesty's request; for which the Parliament returned them thanks at their next meeting, and voted his Majesty five and twenty hundred thousand pounds, to be raised in three years, towards carrying on the war: and on the fourth of March 1664-5, the war was formally proclaimed at London, the declaration bearing date the second of February before. The States now finding the English in earnest, applied themselves to the French King, desiring his mediation, or rather assistance, against the English, as appeared afterwards; for upon his British Majesty's refusing to submit to such terms as France was pleased to prescribe, they declared for the Dutch. In the mean time the grand fleet of England being assembled, to the number of an hundred and eight men of war and fourteen fire-ships, was divided into three squadrons: the Red, commanded by the Duke of York in person, assisted by the Admirals PENN and LAWSON; the White, by Prince RUPERT, assisted by MINNS and SANSON; and the Blue, by the Earl of Sandwich, under whom was CUTTINS and ASCOUGH; stood over to the coasts of Holland, to prevent the joining of the Amsterdam squadron with that of Zealand: but the Dutch not appearing (after taking many rich merchant-ships, as they were entering into their harbours) the English fleet returned to their own coasts; which gave the Dutch an opportunity of uniting their squadrons, amounting in the whole to an hundred and three men of war, and eleven fire-ships; commanded by Admiral OPDAM, and under him by EGBERT CORTENAER, Vice-Admiral of the Maes; old EVERTSON, Vice-Admiral of Zealand; and CORNELIUS VAN TROMP (son of the famous VAN TROMP) Vice-Admiral of Amsterdam. On the first of

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War proclaimed.

June



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between  
the Eng-  
lish and  
Dutch af-  
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formation.

June the Dutch fleet stood over to the coast of England, and on the second these two great naval powers faced each other; but the Dutch, 'tis said, avoided fighting that day, as being ominous to them, having been beaten that day twelve years by General Monk. The next day, the third of June 1665, about four o'clock in the morning, the battle begun between the squadron commanded by the Duke of York, and that commanded by Admiral OPDAM; wherein the Duke plied OPDAM so warmly and so close, that, according to the English account, he beat his own fire upon him, which taking the powder-room, that great ship, with all the men, were blown up into the air. The Dutch say, this accident is to be imputed to the treachery of an English gunner on board the Dutch Admiral. But it is very probable, that neither one nor the other can give any certain account of the matter, any farther than that Admiral OPDAM, after an obstinate dispute with the English Admiral, was blown up by his own powder; soon after which, victory declared on the side of the English: for at the same time three Dutch ships which seconded their Admiral, being fallen foul of one another, and entangled with their masts and rigging, were all burnt at once by an English fire-ship. After the death of OPDAM, Vice-Admiral CORTENAER hoisted the Admiral's flag, being then closely engaged with Prince RUPERT; but this gentleman being killed, and his son soon after, the Lieutenant, despairing of success, fled with all the sail he could make, with the Admiral's flag at the top-mast head, which the Dutch say was the occasion of their defeat, the rest of the fleet steering after him. The Vice-Admiral of Zealand also made the best of his way, leaving his squadron to shift as they could: and only young TROMP with twelve men of war retired with any order to the Texel. And had not the English shortened sail, it is said, scarce any of the Dutch fleet had escaped: which is attributed to one BRUNKARD, of the Duke's bed-chamber, who, 'tis said, carried those orders to Sir JOHN HARMAN, Captain of the Admiral, when his Highness was laid down to sleep, without his knowledge; for which he was afterwards called to an account in the House of Commons. Of the Dutch eighteen capital men of war were taken, and fourteen sunk or burnt; and eighteen thousand of their men killed or taken prisoners. The English lost one ship and about a thousand men, besides some persons of distinction; particularly the Earl of Falmouth, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, the Lord Muskerry, and the Honourable Mr. BOYLE, with Rear-Admiral SANSON and Sir JOHN LAWSON.

The people in Holland began to be very mutinous upon this defeat, and particularly the clergy, representing it as an effect of the divine vengeance. But the States, after their usual manner, soon silenced their preachers, and executed two or three of their Captains for cowardice, as an example to the rest, who were most of them very defective in their duty.

On the fifth of July following the grand fleet of England put to sea again, and visited the coast of Holland, but returned without meeting the enemy; and a detachment from the fleet about the same time attacked a fleet of India-men, and other merchant-ships under a strong convoy of Dutch men of war, in the port of Berghen in Norway; but had not the success they proposed,

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the Dutch being protected by the Danish Governor. However in their way home they had the good fortune to take eight Dutch men of war, two India-men valued at a million sterling, and twenty other merchant-ships. And a few days after the English fleet fell in with eighteen sail more of Hollanders, of whom they took the greatest part, and amongst them four men of war.

In the mean time the Bishop of Munster, being supported by the King of England, fell upon the Dutch by land, and entering the province of Overysse, reduced great part of it, making himself master of most of the towns on the river Yssel. Whereupon the Dutch applied themselves again to the French King for assistance, who sent them a good body of troops, which repulsed the Bishop, and obliged him to retire out of the Dutch territories; and not long after compelled him to make a separate peace, without the concurrence of his ally, the King of Great Britain, who had supplied him with large sums of money. And now the French as well as the Danes, having made themselves parties in the war, sent considerable reinforcements to support the Hollanders against England, which was at the same time in a manner depopulated by the most terrible plague that has been known in this part of the world. The English Sectaries also threatened a rebellion, and kept a correspondence with the Dutch, and some of them actually went into their service: but under all these calamities the English bravely resolved to continue the war.

The grand fleet of England being commanded in the year 1666 by Prince RUPERT and General Monk, who, in order to prevent a conjunction between the French and Hollanders, had divided their forces, Prince RUPERT sailing westward, toward the French coast, while Monk attended the motions of the Dutch. On Friday the first of June 1666, the Dutch fleet, amounting to ninety sail and upwards, were discovered lying at an anchor near Newport: MONK, who had then but fifty sail under his command, bore down upon them however, and there followed a most obstinate battle, which lasted three days; and had not Prince RUPERT with his squadron then come in to MONK's assistance, great part of the English fleet had been lost; for the old General seem determined not to retire as long as his ship would swim, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers. Upon the Prince's joining MONK, the fight was renewed the fourth day, when the Dutch thought fit to retire to their coasts, and the English returned to their harbours, being in no condition to pursue them. Both sides, however, made rejoicings for the victory, though both had sufficient occasion to mourn, for the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, and the English ten, and most of the ships in both fleets were miserably shattered.

Before the end of July the English and Dutch fleets met again to contest the empire of the ocean, as my author expresses himself, being about an hundred sail of a side; when the English obtained an uncontested victory, destroying twenty sail of Dutch men of war, and pursuing them to their coast; where Sir ROBERT HOLMES burnt an hundred and fifty sail of merchant ships in their harbours, with the town of Brandaris in the isle of Schelling. The Dutch, however, to keep up the spirits of their people, who upon this ill success grew very mutinous, put to sea again the

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latter end of August, and endeavoured to join the French squadron; but Prince RUPERT, who commanded the English, discovering them in Bologne road, they were forced to hawl their ships close to the shore to avoid another engagement; however, if a sudden storm had not happened, which obliged the Prince to stand off to sea, they had most of them been burnt or sunk, but by this lucky accident they escaped to their own coasts. The French making some attempts in the mean time to join them, had a ship of a thousand tons taken by the English; whereupon their Admirals also thought fit to retire to their harbours. The common people in the United Provinces, upon this ill success, were ready to break out into rebellion, and five of the seven provinces cried out for peace, declaring they could no longer contribute to the charges of the war; and what increased these distractions were the feuds between their Admirals DE RUYTER and VAN TROMP, who charged their ill success on each other. VAN TROMP's commission hereupon was taken away by the interest of the Pensioner DE WITT, who espoused DE RUYTER's quarrel; and several of the Sea-Captains were executed or imprisoned on a pretence of cowardice, or breach of orders, to pacify the people. But to the great consolation of the Dutch and their allies, the latter end of this year, on the fatal second of September, a day highly celebrated by their friends in England, the greatest part of the city of London was burnt to the ground. Under which calamity, with the plague that preceded, and that formidable confederacy of the Dutch, French, and Dane, against Britain, with a rebellion of the Scots, and perpetual conspiracies of the English Puritans against the government; it is amazing how the nation was able so bravely and successfully to defend itself.

The fire of London happened during this war.

The Dutch desire peace.

During the treaty they attack part of the royal navy laid up at Chatham.

The Dutch finding little to be got by the war but blows, and thinking that under such a load of calamities the English would not be averse to peace, sent over to propose an accommodation; and by the mediation of Sweden a treaty was agreed on to be held between the contending Powers at Breda, which was opened in the beginning of May 1667: and the preliminaries being settled, whereby it was agreed, that each party should keep what they had possessed themselves of, either before or during the war; the English looked upon the war to be at an end, and neglected to equip out their grand fleet, as they had done the preceding years; which neglect, or piece of good husbandry, as some styled it, who were, as they pretended, for saving the publick treasure, brought a lasting disgrace upon the nation: for the Dutch taking advantage of this conduct, sailed with a fleet of seventy men of war into the mouth of the Thames; and being piloted by some English Puritans, made themselves masters of the fort of Sheerness. They afterwards detached a squadron, which sailed up the Medway as high as Chatham, and burnt three or four first and second rate men of war, which lay there unrigged, and brought off the hull of the Royal Charles; all which they performed with the loss only of two or three of their men of war which were run on ground, and set fire to by themselves; after which they fell down the river. This bold attempt put the city of London in the utmost consternation, expecting a visit of the like nature; whereupon fourteen or fifteen ships were sunk in the river, and several batteries raised upon the banks to pre-

vent their sailing up: but the Dutch thinking they had ventured far enough, contented themselves with the success they had met with, and soon after stood out to sea again, sailing to Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other ports, in hopes of destroying more of the royal navy; but these places having been taken better care of than Chatham, they were prevented doing further mischief: whereupon they returned to the Thames mouth, where Sir EDWARD SPRAGO with a squadron of English men of war disputing their passage, they put to sea a second time, and insulted the English coast, till they could no longer dissemble their knowledge of the peace being concluded at Breda, and then retired to their own coast. By this treaty, according to the preliminaries, each party was to remain in the possession of what they had acquired, and the Dutch were to acknowledge the right of the Flag to belong to the English. The French by a subsequent treaty agreed to deliver up to the English their share of St. Christopher's, and such other islands in the West-Indies, as they had made themselves masters of during the war.

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Articles of peace.

Conquests of the French in the Spanish Netherlands.

While these treaties were negotiating at Breda, the French King had made a surprising progress in the conquest of the Spanish provinces of the Low-countries, which indeed hastened the conclusion of them; for neither the Dutch or English desired to see him in possession of these provinces; but the Dutch were most nearly concerned, seeing him advance so near their frontiers: having therefore first ordered a considerable addition to be made to their forces, in order to join the Spaniards if more peaceable measures could not prevail, they offered their mediation in conjunction with England to compose the differences between the two crowns; which the French King having accepted, a treaty was set on foot at Aix la Chapelle, and brought to a conclusion on the second of May, 1668; wherein it was agreed, that France should retain the possession of all such towns and places as she had taken during this war, viz. of Bruch, Aeth, Fort Scarpe, Doway, Tournay, Oudenard, Lisle, Armentiers, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, with their territories, domains, seigniories, appurtenances, and dependencies.

The insolence and vanity of the Dutch on the procuring of this peace and the former, is not to be imagined, for which they not many years after paid very dear; they caused medals to be struck containing vile reflections on the most potent Kings in Europe; in one of which they represented Holland resting upon trophies, with an inscription, purporting, "That they had assisted, defended, and reconciled Kings, restored the free navigation of the seas, and peace and tranquillity to Europe, by the force of their arms." Some differences arising afterwards between the commissioners of France and Spain on settling the limits of the new conquests in Flanders; and the French court declaring, that unless they had speedy satisfaction given them on that head, they would do themselves justice; the Dutch, notwithstanding their late vain boasts and insolent behaviour, began to be in some consternation; and for the security of their frontiers applied themselves to England, desiring to enter into a still stricter alliance with that kingdom; which being agreed to, and Sweden also coming into it, this treaty was afterwards denominated, *The triple Alliance*; whereby each of these powers was to furnish fifteen thousand

The triple alliance.



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sion of the  
second  
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land land-men for the defence of the Spanish Netherlands, besides a considerable fleet with forces on board; but the French King soon found means to render this alliance abortive. In the mean time the States of Holland, by the influence of the Pensionary DE WITT, passed a perpetual and unalterable edict, as it was called, for the support of the liberty and preservation of the union and tranquillity of the province of Holland; wherein it was provided that the dignity of Stadtholder should cease and never more be revived; which was sworn to by all who had any places or employment in the government, and even by the Prince of Orange himself, not without some compulsion we may suppose; which the King of England, whose nephew he was, and who had in a manner taken him into his protection, could not but resent. Thus the Dutch wantonly and unnecessarily, by their brutal behaviour, drew upon them the indignation of two mighty Kings, who weary of their repeated insolence, if we are to credit our writers of secret history, had agreed to divide the United Netherlands between them, reserving only the province of Holland for the Prince of Orange, of which they proposed to make him Sovereign; but this is a piece of history which has but a very slender foundation to support it. I make no manner of question however, but that both Kings had a design to humble this proud State, and not without reason; for it is not conceivable with what contempt they treated them, and all other sovereign Princes in the East-Indies, Africa, and elsewhere; representing themselves as Lords of the ocean, and superior to all the Powers in Europe, and as such they actually opposed and hindered the subjects of Britain, France, Portugal, and all other nations, from carrying on a free trade in those parts of the world: and not content with these injuries and indignities at a distance from home, they made the infirmities and misfortunes of sovereign Princes their sport and entertainment in Holland, every day producing some ludicrous medal or picture to expose them. So self-sufficient they seemed to be, as to despise and laugh at the rest of the Powers of Europe; which surely from an upstart commonwealth, composed of the most boorish and clownish part of mankind, was never to be born. Whatever colour their own historians, or their brethren of England, who seem much more in the interest of the Dutch than of their native country, may put upon these practices, the Lord Clarendon, whose ingenuity and veracity is applauded by most of our own writers, speaking of the Dutch to the Parliament of England, has these expressions, viz. "They load us with such reproaches, as the civility of no other language will admit the relation of; they have a dialect of rudeness so peculiar to their language and their people, that it is high time for all Kings and Princes to oblige them to some reformation, if they intend to hold any correspondence or commerce with them."

The first effects the Dutch felt of the French King's indignation was on the side of Munster, which Prelate the States having sufficiently provoked, was easily induced, on an assurance of being supported by France, to arm against the Hollanders. His next step was to dissolve the alliance between England and Holland, which he found but little difficulty to bring about; the Dutch having in several instances broke the treaty of Breda, and continued to disturb and obstruct the

trade of the English in India, and other parts of the world. Should it be admitted that the French King had no reason to fall upon the United Provinces, besides the vindication of his honour; certain it is, if the English had suffered those encroachments on their foreign trade they complained of, to pass without any resentment, they would in a short time have had very little left; and as it was, such has been the management of their friends in England, from that day to this, that they have supplanted us in almost every valuable branch of it.

But the friends of the Dutch observe, that tho' the war with that State should be admitted to be just on the part of the English, yet it was not honourably begun; for that we fell upon their Smyrna fleet in the channel in the beginning of March 1671-2, before the war was proclaimed: but if we are to give as much credit to facts related in the English Gazette, as to Dutch surmises, this was pure accident, and altogether owing to the obstinacy and insolence of the Dutch, in refusing to strike to us, as they had agreed to do at the treaty of Breda. The account given of this occurrence in the English Gazette is as follows:

"Whitehall, Wednesday, March 13. Five of his Majesty's frigates cruising by the isle of Wight, met with the Dutch fleet of Smyrna men, and others of about fifty sail, convoyed by six men of war; and of their merchant-men twenty at least carried between twenty and forty guns a-piece. When our frigates came near them, we shot to make them strike and lower their top-sails; which the Dutch refusing to do, our frigates shot through and through them; and though they then lowered their top-sails, yet they refused to strike, upon which the fight began. This happened about three of the clock that afternoon, and continued until night, at which time three more of our frigates came in. Thursday, the next morning the fight began again, and continued all that day. In the evening were taken five of their richest merchant-men; and Captain JOHN HOLMES in the Gloucester boarded their Rear-Admiral and took her; but she was so shattered and torn, that she sunk within a few hours in his possession. This Squadron was commanded by Sir ROBERT HOLMES in the St. Michael; the Earl of Ossory, Vice-Admiral, in the Resolution; and Sir FRETCHVILLE HOLLIS, Rear-Admiral, in the Cambridge; Captain LEGG commanded the Fairfax, Captain ELLIOT the York, Captain FOWLIS the Diamond, and Captain WATSON the Success, who all behaved themselves with great gallantry." This in a late writer's words, must have been the most impudent assertion that ever had the sanction of public authority, if it was false, for the thing might have been disproved by a thousand witnesses in a week's time; so many gentlemen of quality are here named, who commanded the several ships engaged, that the government could not have been rendered more contemptible than it must have been on their return to London, if the relation was not true. What could it avail the government to have procured Sir ROBERT HOLMES to have affirmed the truth of this story, when the Earl of Ossory, and so many persons of honour were upon the spot, and could have contradicted him? And there is this further reason to believe there was no premeditated design of falling upon this



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this fleet, and making prize of it, namely, that Sir ROBERT HOLMES had but five frigates with him, who would no doubt have had a much stronger squadron, if such a thing had been intended; and indeed the Dutch, to give an air of probability to the story, affirm that the English squadron consisted of thirty or forty sail; but we cannot depend on their veracity in giving a relation of this or any other engagement between them and the English, who usually fute the story to their circumstances.

An alliance between France and England against the Dutch. War declared. The swift progress of the French arms in the United Provinces, an. 1672.

The Kings of France and England having entered into an alliance against the Dutch, the Duke of Monmouth in pursuance of that treaty, embarked with six thousand British troops in the beginning of April 1672, to join the French army in the Low Countries, war having been declared in both kingdoms the seventeenth of March preceding. In the beginning of May the French King divided his army, consisting of an hundred and twenty thousand men, into three bodies, with which he attacked the United Provinces in three different parts, while the Bishops of Munster and Cologne attacked them in a fourth; and such was the weakness and consternation of the Dutch, notwithstanding all their boasts and vain inscriptions, which they had stamped on their medals but a very little before, that they made no manner of defence: inso much, that the French King within the space of two months over-run three of the seven provinces, viz. Guelderland, Overysse, and Utrecht, and made himself master of most of their great towns, some of which had been deemed impregnable, with very little opposition; the French King keeping his court at Utrecht this summer.

The first sea-fight in the second Dutch war.

In the mean time DE RUYTER, the Dutch Admiral, having assembled a fleet of men of war, consisting of an hundred sail and upwards; and having the advantage of the wind, attacked the united fleets of England and France in Solebay, upon the coast of Suffolk: but was so warmly received, that after a terrible slaughter he was obliged to retire, being pursued by the Duke of York, Admiral of the English, to the coast of Holland. This train of misfortunes put the Dutch in the utmost confusion; the people grew head-strong, and publicly arraign'd the conduct of their magistrates, and threatened their destruction, unless the Prince of Orange was declared Stadtholder; which the DE WITTS, who had so long governed the State, were not able to prevent: and the perpetual edict, which excluded the Prince from any share in the government, was immediately repealed. Their next step was to lay the province of Holland under water, whereby they effectually stopped the progress of the French King's arms, till they could form their alliances, and join the Germans, who were marching to their assistance; for all the Prince of Orange could do with the little army he had assembled (notwithstanding he was restored to his ancient honours and command) was to cover such parts of the country, as were most liable to be invaded.

John De Witt the Pensioner and his brother torn in pieces.

The advancement of the Prince of Orange proved the destruction of CORNELIUS and JOHN DE WITT, who had ever opposed him, and procured the perpetual edict for excluding him from the government; and such was the rage of the people against these two Ministers, whom they charged with betraying their country to the enemy, and with all the calamities that had befallen them, that one of the brothers was stabbed in the

street, but not mortally, for which fact indeed CORNELIUS DE WITT, being afterwards charged with a conspiracy against the life of the Prince of Orange, of which his Judges neither acquitted or convicted him, but sentenced him to be banished, probably to give him an opportunity to escape; his brother DE WITT the Pensionary went in his coach, and a greater equipage than ordinary, to fetch him out of prison: whereupon the mob rose, knocked down both the Pensionary and the Prisoner, as they were coming down the stairs of the prison, and afterwards tore them in pieces; nor did their fury stop there, but they cut their hearts in pieces, and distributed the flesh among their friends to be broiled and eaten; a strain of brutality not to be paralleled in history, and yet were not any of the offenders brought to justice for it.

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The Hollanders still finding their affairs desperate, sent three of their Deputies into England to implore peace, whereupon King CHARLES sent a solemn embassy to his ally the French King at Utrecht, to see how he stood inclined, and to assure the States by the way, that he never intended their destruction, but to bring them to reasonable terms. The war however was still carried on by sea and land, and three battles more were fought between the English and Dutch at sea the following summer, viz. the 28th of May, the 4th of June, and 11th of August, in all which the English had the advantage, and obliged the Dutch to retire into their harbours; but the French squadron not doing their duty, their victories were not so compleat as might have been expected. The Dutch keeping close and not venturing to sea afterwards, the English had projected a descent upon their coast, but were prevented putting it in execution by a furious storm, which arose at the instant they were about to land; tho' there are some superstitious writers which impute that disappointment to a miraculous alteration of the tides, contrary to the course of nature. In the first naval fight the Earl of Sandwich was blown up in the Royal James, with a thousand men; and in the last, Admiral SPRAGG. The Dutch also lost Admiral VAN GHENT, and some other officers of note: and in the West-Indies the English took the island of Tobago from them.

The Dutch desire peace.

Three Sea-fights between the English and Dutch in one summer.

The latter end of the year 1673, the United Provinces having entered into an alliance with Spain and the Emperor, and the English being ready to clap up a peace with them, the French King found he should not be able to maintain the conquests he had made; and therefore having extorted large sums from all the towns he had possessed himself of, he retreated with his army out of the Dutch territories, retaining scarce any place of note except Maestricht: whereupon the three provinces which had for some time been dismembered from the rest, were upon their earnest application united to the body, and their deputies admitted again into the assembly of the States General. About the same time the dignity of Stadtholder and Captain-General was confirmed to the Prince of Orange, and settled upon his heirs male.

The French abandon the Dutch territories.

A treaty of peace was concluded about the same time between England and the United Provinces; whereby the right of the flag was again acknowledged by the Dutch, and it was agreed that all places that had been taken by either party should be restored, and that the States should pay his British Majesty eight hundred thousand patacoons.

A treaty of peace between the English and Dutch.



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200,000l. paid by the Dutch, towards the charges of the war.

patacoons, amounting to near two hundred thousand pounds; which is a demonstration to me of the success of this war, notwithstanding our historians in general make it a very unfortunate undertaking. Nor had the English any reason to put an end to it at this time, if the growing power of France had not made them apprehensive of the Grand Monarch's designs against the liberties of Europe. The Dutch may magnify the courage and conduct of their young hero the Prince of Orange as much as they please, but if the English had not changed hands at this time, their State must have been inevitably ruined; and perhaps they were not less obliged to the English for their preservation now, than they were to Queen ELIZABETH for their first establishment.

Still the war continued between the Dutch, the Germans, Danes, and Spaniards, on the one side; and France and Sweden on the other: and the French King in the campaign of 1674, made himself master of the duchy of Burgundy, or Franche Comte; but the Confederates having assembled an army of sixty thousand men, endeavoured to put a stop to the further progress of the enemy, which occasioned the memorable battle of Senef, where both sides claimed the victory, but neither had any great occasion to rejoice, the slaughter being great on both sides, and very little advantage gained by either.

Upon the peace with England, the Dutch had proposed to carry on the war against the French by sea as well as land, and accordingly fitted out a strong squadron under DE RUYTER, to attack Martinico, and other French settlements in the West-Indies; while VAN TROMP was ordered to harrahs the coasts of France, and make a descent in Normandy, where some malecontents had promised to join them; but they were unsuccessful in both these attempts, and returned home without effecting any thing: The Dutch had the good fortune however to make themselves masters of the town of Grave, while their allies the Germans were beaten in two engagements on the Rhine. About this time the province of Guelders offered the Prince of Orange to make him their sovereign under certain limitations; but the Prince finding the rest of the provinces alarmed at the proposal, thought it most prudent to discountenance the offer.

The sovereignty of Guelderland offered to the Prince of Orange.

Liege, Dinant, and Huy taken by the French.

Limburg taken.

In the campaign of 1675, the French took the towns of Liege, Dinant, and Huy, before the Confederates marched out of their winter quarters, which the Dutch excuse on account of the Prince of Orange's being taken ill of the small-pox at that time; but when the Prince was recovered, and had assembled an army of forty thousand men, he was nevertheless forced to be witness of the taking of Limburg by the French soon after. The allies of the States, the Danes and Brandenburgians, had much better success against the Swedes, who were upon the point of being driven out of Germany. The Imperialists also obliged the French to retire over the Rhine; and upon the Moselle, the Duke of Lorraine having laid siege to Triers, and the French General, Marshal CREQUI, marching to its relief, was entirely defeated; but found means however, with some of his troops, to throw himself into the place, which he defended bravely for a month; after which, expecting no relief, he was obliged, with his garrison, to surrender prisoners of war. The Prince of Orange about the same time having laid siege to Binch, a little town between Mons and Charleroy, took

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it, and demolished the fortifications; and the campaign of the northern Confederates concluded with the taking of Wismar, a considerable seaport on the Baltick, from the Swedes; but the Dutch suffered very much the latter end of this year by storms and inundations.

All parties seeming now desirous of peace, the King of Great Britain offer'd his mediation, which was readily accepted, and Nimeguen appointed for the place of congress: The French however made great efforts, and raised a prodigious army against the next campaign, especially in Flanders, where the French King commanded an army of fifty thousand men in person, the Duke of Luxemburg another great army upon the Rhine, and the Duke of Noailles a third in Rouffillon. The French having ravag'd and plunder'd the Spanish Flanders to the very gates of Hult and Sas Van Ghent, laid siege to Conde, which the Prince of Orange attempted in vain to relieve, the place being taken by storm on the 26th of April, 1676; and those within the town put to the sword, except 1200 men who capitulated for their lives.

The treaty of Nimeguen begun.

Conde taken by the French.

And Bouchain.

The French King immediately after laid siege to Bouchain, which the Prince of Orange also not finding himself in a condition to relieve, the place surrendered in less than a week; after which his most Christian Majesty returned to Versailles, and the armies went into quarters of refreshment. The Prince of Orange however reassembling his forces about the beginning of July, and being joined by some reinforcements from the German Princes, laid siege to Maastricht, one of the strongest towns on the frontiers of the United Provinces, and then in possession of France. Here were many brave actions performed on both sides, the bastions and out-works being taken and retaken several times; in which service, 'tis said, the English troops, who composed part of the Prince of Orange's army, signalized themselves; but the Confederates being much weakened by the siege or sickness, and the French advancing with a superior force to the relief of the town, the Prince was forced to raise the siege after he had lain before the place near two months; which ill success made the States very desirous of peace, while their allies the Imperialists having taken Philippsburg this campaign, were no less zealous for continuing the war.

Philippsburg taken by the Imperialists.

Part of Sicily revolts from Spain.

III success of the Dutch fleet in the Levant.

De Ruyter kill'd.

Success of the Dutch squadron in the Baltick.

Messina and some other cities of Sicily having a little before this time revolted from the Spaniards to the French, the States sent a strong squadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, under the command of Admiral DE RUYTER, to the assistance of Spain, which arrived in the road of Milazzo in September 1675. They had several smart engagements with the French fleet near Sicily; but were defeated in every one of them, the French, as the Dutch relate, being double their number; but the greatest loss they sustained, was in their brave Admiral DE RUYTER, whose left foot was shot off, and great part of his right thigh by a cannon-ball, of which he died soon after, in the seventieth year of his age, of which he had serv'd his country fifty years with remarkable success.

The States sent another squadron into the Baltick under the command of Admiral TROMP (much about the same time that DE RUYTER sail'd to the Mediterranean) to the assistance of their allies the King of Denmark against Sweden; in which expedition the Dutch met with better success than in the former, for having join'd the Danish fleet, they attack'd the Swedes on the eleventh



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eleventh of June 1666, and gave them a total defeat, destroying nine of their men of war. Of which success the Danes taking the advantage, made a descent upon Schonen, and took the towns of Ellingsburg, Landskroon, and Christianstadt, but were soon after beaten out of them again by the Swedes.

Religious  
disputes in  
Holland.

While the States were thus engaged abroad in a very extensive war, religious feuds began to grow very high at home. In their Universities were many learned men who espoused the Arminian doctrine, and not a few among their clergy and magistrates, whereby the ancient animosities were revived, which so distracted these provinces about the time of the Synod of Dort. In Zealand the Prince of Orange deposed the ministers and magistrates who were supposed to be of that persuasion (for all of them are obliged publicly to profess Calvinism, or they cannot be admitted to any preferment in Church or State). The city of Amsterdam however, were not for these severe proceedings, and took a quite different method to allay these heats and animosities among their people; namely, by declaring in their consistories, That there was no essential or real difference between the opinions of the contending parties.

Valenciennes, Cambray, and St Omer's, taken by the French.

The French, as usual, were very early in the field the next campaign; and on the first of March 1676-7, laid siege to Valenciennes, and by the seventeenth the garrison consisting of three thousand men surrendered prisoners of war. On the twenty-second of the same month the French King in person sat down before Cambray, which surrendered also the fifth of April; and the Duke of Orleans laying siege to St Omer's at the same time, the prince of Orange march'd to it's relief, but was defeated near Cassel; whereupon the castle of Cambray and St Omer's immediately surrendered.

The Prince of Orange married to the Princess Mary.

Upon the conclusion of the campaign in the year 1677, the Prince of Orange came over into England to make his court to the Princess MARY, eldest daughter to the Duke of York. In which it is reasonable to suppose his Highness had more views than one. As, 1. The uniting the interests of England with those of the United Provinces. 2. The rendering his own authority in those provinces more considerable. And, 3. as the Duke of York had no son at that time, he could not but entertain some hopes that the Princess he married might probably one day succeed to the crown of England; but surely he was not then sanguine enough to expect that she should exclude herself to set him on the throne, as in fact she did at the Revolution. He had abundant reason no doubt to make her a very compliant husband, but as to affection I don't perceive there was a great deal more on his part than is usual in political matches; tho' certain it is, she was a fine woman, and wanted neither sense or good-humour; and if any thing, had more of the latter than was consistent with her true interest, being through an easiness of temper surprized sometimes into schemes very disadvantageous to herself and family by those about her. But to leave these reflections, and proceed to the match. The King having given his consent to it, possibly with a view of advancing both their interests, the one being his sister's son, and the other his brother's daughter; the Duke, who never flatly contradicted the King in any thing he insisted on, thought fit to resign himself wholly to his Majesty's pleasure on this occasion, though he was not without some apprehensions of the consequences that

might attend it. And on the fourth of November, the Prince's birth-day, in the evening, the marriage-ceremony was performed at St JAMES'S palace by the Bishop of London.

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The Prince having thus happily finished this great affair, represented to his Majesty the weak condition of the Spanish Netherlands, and the probability of their falling into the hands of France, if England did not interpose to prevent it: whereupon, 'tis said, that the King agreed, that unless France would restore to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, and the States, all that had been taken from them during the war; and to the Spaniard the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Conde, and Valenciennes; he would join the Confederates with a considerable army, and compel France to come into these terms by force. And upon the refusal of the French King to submit to this demand, his British Majesty did accordingly raise an army, and join the Confederates in the Low Countries; but the Dutch running precipitately into a separate peace, the terms afterwards agreed on were less advantageous to their allies than they would otherwise have been; but this is a transaction which belongs to the succeeding year: We must first attend the Prince and Princess into Holland, who arrived there the latter end of November 1677, and observe the events of the following campaign in the Netherlands, which began exceeding early, for before the end of February 1677-8, the French King marched at the head of a great army into the Low Countries, and having made a feint, as if he intended to lay siege to Mons or Namur, and drawn the Confederate forces that way, he on a sudden bent his march towards Ghent and Ypres, of both which towns he made himself master before the end of the month. Hereupon his British Majesty, as has been intimated already, raised an army of twenty thousand men, as fine troops as any in Europe, and embark'd them for Flanders with incredible expedition, which actually did, when nothing else could, prevent the remainder of the Spanish Netherlands falling under the power of France; and would the Dutch now have resolved to continue the war, they and all their allies might have had ample satisfaction for their losses; but they had made their own terms advantageously, and had not honour enough to consider their allies of the Empire, who came into the war in their greatest distress, purely to prevent their being swallow'd up by France: Tho' it must be said to the honour of the Prince of Orange, that he laboured with all his might to defeat this separate treaty, which was carried on between France and Holland at Ghent, while the Ambassadors of France, and of all the Confederates, were negotiating a general peace at Nimeguen, where this treaty being at first begun, and with some intermissions concluded, afterwards obtain'd the name of the Peace of Nimeguen; before the conclusion whereof, however, his British Majesty obliged the French to abandon all their conquests in Sicily, and resign the whole island into the hands of the Spaniards again; that being of too great consequence to the trade of England in the Levant to be left under the dominion of France.

Ghent and Ypres taken by the French. England becomes a party in the war.

But notwithstanding the States and the French had agreed upon all other matters, his most Christian Majesty refusing to evacuate the towns in Flanders which were to be restored to Spain, 'till the places taken from the Swedes in Germany were restored to that crown; the negotiations were

were



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VI.The peace  
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were upon the point of breaking off, and more vigorous preparations made for war than ever: Marshal Luxemburg block'd up Mons, and the Prince of Orange being joined by the English auxiliaries, was marching to the relief of it; but the French Ministers, on the last day given them to declare whether they would evacuate the towns in Flanders or continue the war, consented to the immediate surrender of the places agreed on, and the peace was sign'd that very night. In the mean time the Prince of Orange, either not knowing, or dissembling his knowledge of the peace, attack'd the Duke of Luxemburg in his camp at the abbey of St DENNIS near Mons, on the 14th of August 1678, and obtained a signal victory, though with great slaughter on both sides. The next morning the Prince sent a letter to Marshal Luxemburg, to acquaint him that the peace was concluded; and this seems to be almost the only action in which the Prince of Orange met with success during the whole series of the war, which his friends ascribe to the slowness of their German allies, and the poverty and indolence of the Spaniards, their forces being seldom in a condition to take the field till the French King had taken two or three of the strongest frontier towns. But to proceed; the Spaniards thought fit to accept the conditions the Dutch had procured for them, and their plenipotentiaries sign'd the peace accordingly about the latter end of September, tho' their German allies still stood out in expectation of better terms.

I should have taken notice, that while the French were wavering and starting difficulties about the execution of the treaty between them and the Dutch, England entered into a defensive alliance with the United Provinces, wherein it was agreed, that the Kings of France and Spain should be obliged to conclude a peace upon the following terms, viz. That the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, and St Gislain, with the duchy of Limburg and town of Binch, should be restored to his Catholick Majesty, with all the towns and places the French had possessed themselves of in Sicily; but that the duchy of Burgundy, or Franche Compte, should remain in the hands of France. And as to France and the United Provinces, all places should be restored which had been taken on either side; whereby the Dutch recovered that important city of Maestricht and its dependencies. As to the Emperor and Empire, France was to restore all that had been taken from the Emperor, or the Princes of the Empire, during the war; and the duchy of Lorraine was to be restored to the Duke of that name; but we find several alterations made in this scheme afterwards, occasioned by the too great eagerness of the Dutch to conclude the peace; for the Spaniards were not only obliged to renounce their interest in the duchy of Burgundy, or Franche Compte, comprizing the city of Besançon and its district; but the towns of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Conde, Cambray, Aire, St Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperinghen, Pailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Maubeuge, with their appurtenances and dependencies, were also yielded to France, which had been taken from the Spaniard in this war, together with the town of Dinant, which the King of Spain engaged, that the Bishop of Liege, the Sovereign of it, should transfer to France.

By the treaty between the Emperor and France, which was concluded at Nimeguen, the third of February 1678-9; it was agreed, That the peace concluded at Munster anno 1648, should be the foundation of this treaty and remain in force, where it was not altered by the present treaty. And the city of Philipsburg, which had been taken by the Emperor during the war, should be confirmed to him by his most Christian Majesty, as the city of Friburg, which had been taken by the arms of France, should be confirmed to that crown.

His most Christian Majesty agreed also to yield up to the Duke of Lorraine all that duchy (except the capital city of Nancy and its dependencies, which were by this treaty transferred to France) and the Duke of Lorraine was obliged to lay out a road half a league broad through his country, from the confines of France to Alsace, for facilitating the march of the French troops, which were to have a passage through his country at pleasure, and all the villages and lands included in those roads were to be the property of his most Christian Majesty. But his said Majesty, in consideration of the town of Nancy, did transfer to the Duke of Lorraine the city of Toul; and if the revenue of Toul did not equal that of Nancy, the French King was to pay what was deficient. And by this treaty the Emperor agreed to restore the famous Prince WILLIAM EGOON of Furstemburg to his liberty; the occasion of whose confinement has been already related in the modern History of Germany.

Soon after the peace of Nimeguen, the States General sending a solemn embassy to the French court, and insinuating that their Ambassadors should be received with the same marks of honour as those were who came from crowned heads, were for some time refused audience by the French King: but the Dutch tell us, that having shewn that these honours were granted them by HENRY IV, and LEWIS XIII, and even by his Majesty himself in the year 1660; and that Ambassadors from the Venetians, the Duke of Savoy, and the Swiss Cantons, were not denied this piece of respect; his most Christian Majesty at length complied with their demands, and they were admitted to their audience. But probably the principal inducement to this piece of complaisance was the hopes of prevailing with their High Mightinesses to stand neuter, while the grand Monarch made himself master of the rest of the Spanish Netherlands and Alsace. The next year, anno 1680, the French proposed that the States should enter into a defensive alliance with that crown, at which the British court taking the alarm, their Minister at the Hague declared, that his Majesty could not look upon this proposal otherwise than as intended against him, and used very moving arguments to dissuade the States from entering into an alliance with France, which had the desired effect. The French however did not lay aside their design upon Flanders and Alsace, but sometimes under pretence that the Spanish commissioners would not fairly adjust the limits with them in Flanders; and at the others, that his Catholick Majesty retained the title of Duke of Burgundy, though that province was surrendered to France, threatened a sudden rupture with the Spaniards. Upon the Rhine also the French erected courts or chambers of re-union, as they called them, by virtue whereof they extended their

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Abstract of  
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dominion



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VI.Strasbourg  
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dominion over several places and countries in the possession of the Imperialists and German Princes, under pretence that they belonged to some cities or fortresses yielded to them by the late treaty of Niméguen, or some former treaties; and not content with this, they proceeded to surprize and seize the Imperial city of Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, in the year 1681; at that time a town of as good trade, and as populous as most in Germany, but the fortifications miserably neglected, after the custom of the Germans: they have since been mightily improved by the French, while the trade is no less decayed under their tyrannical government; garrisons and citadels ever proving the bane of traffick. The French, about the same time, took possession of almost the whole province of Luxemburg in the Netherlands, blocking up the capital city thereof with their troops. Whereupon, the Dutch looking upon a rupture on that side to be inevitable, entered into an alliance with Sweden, and proposed the same to the court of Britain, which his British Majesty declined, but assured the States, that if the French possessed themselves of any considerable place in Flanders, he would declare war against them. The Emperor also finding no end of the encroachments of the French upon the Rhine, under colour of re-unions, came into the alliance with the States and Sweden for the defence of the German frontiers, as did several other Princes of Germany; at which the French King was so exasperated, that he seized on the principality of Orange in France; nor would he be prevailed on to restore it, notwithstanding the British Court espoused the interest of that Prince, and joined with the Dutch in representing the injustice of this proceeding.

But while the Dutch were soliciting the assistance of the English in Europe, it seems they were dispossessing them of their settlements and factories in India. Bantam in Java, the most commodious situation in the east, for carrying on a trade with the Indian islands, was now to be ravished from us by our good friends the Dutch, even in a time of full peace, and when they were begging our protection against their enemies in this part of the world. By the account the Dutch themselves give of this transaction, it is of a piece with the rest of their behaviour towards the English in India. They represent Bantam as a powerful and populous kingdom, where trade flourished extremely by the resort of European nations thither, especially the English; and pretend that the King of this place had made several attempts upon their darling settlement of Jacatra, or Batavia, a town about forty miles to the eastward of Bantam; that they were apprehensive the neighbourhood of this Prince would sooner or later be fatal to them, unless he was subdued: adding, that a favourable opportunity happened in the year 1681, when the old King of Bantam having resigned the government to his youngest son, (the eldest having devoted himself to religion) the people dissatisfied with the young gentleman's administration, deposed him, and taking his brother out of the cloister, placed him on his throne; whereupon the old King resumed the government again, or rather marched to the assistance of his younger son, while the eldest having made himself master of the castle of Bantam, implored the assistance of the Dutch. Our good allies hereupon immediately sent him very considerable reinforcements both by sea and land, and having defeated

the father, and afterwards deposed the son their allies, they usurped the government of the place, seized upon the goods and effects of the English, and other European merchants, and expelled them the island, keeping possession of the English settlement, the most considerable they had in India, without making any satisfaction for the merchandizes they seized, or restoring the factory from that day to this; which is represented by their friends in England as a trifling injury, not worth our demanding satisfaction for, of our good friends the Dutch. But if we consider the situation of the place upon the straits of Sunda, by which the seas of China and India have a communication, and that whoever is master of these straits, and those of Malacca, (as the Dutch now are) have it in their power to restrain all nations from entering the Chinesian seas, or having any intercourse with the Molucca's and Banda islands, of more value for their spices than all the other Indian trade, must acknowledge that a more irreparable damage could not have been done to Britain: though had this been the only stratagem of this kind practised on that side of the world, we might possibly have imputed this enterprize to their fears of the King of Bantam, as is pretended. But it has been the constant practice of the Dutch, to force the Princes and Governors in the Indian islands, either to enter into contracts with them not to sell the product or manufacture of their respective countries to any but themselves; or if they refuse, then to make war upon them, burn and destroy their countries, and massacre the inhabitants. At other times we find them blocking up their ports, and denying entrance to any ships but their own, assuming to themselves the empire of the Indian seas, and all the islands and countries, that lie dispersed in them; and the only reason they suffer us yet to trade to China and some parts of India is, because very little advantage can accrue to Britain from the trade they have left us: and should they deprive us of the whole, they might awaken the most drowsy and indolent amongst us to demand satisfaction of them in Europe. But it must certainly render us despicable in the eyes of all the world, that we suffer that treacherous and encroaching people to deprive us entirely of the spices of the East, without so much as attempting the recovery of them; for it is these alone that render the trade of the Indies valuable. These the Dutch exchange for other merchandizes all over Asia and Europe, and have occasion to lay out little treasure in purchasing the product of other countries. They have this inconceivable advantage by monopolizing the whole, that they set what price they please upon them, which they could not do while the English had a share in the spices; this induced them to enter upon those scenes of cruelty and treachery at Amboyna and Banda, mentioned in the former volume, and afterwards upon this villainous transaction at Bantam, lest we should one day attempt the recovery of what they formerly took from us, or discover some other country where these spices grow; either of which would bring down the price, and put us upon the level with them. If it be alledged, as it often is, that we must not quarrel with the Dutch on any account whatever, I must say we are in a very happy situation: Do we indeed stand in as much need of the Dutch as they formerly did of us, and can no longer subsist without their protection? I should be ashamed to hear any Englishman affirm this;

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this; not that I am for falling out with them or with any nation whatever, but upon the last necessity. At the same time, I cannot for my life apprehend, why we are not entitled to be fairly dealt with by the Dutch. Where two nations enter into an alliance or confederacy, it is presumed to be for their mutual advantage, and not to give the one an opportunity, under a colour of friendship, of plundering the other of all they have. In partnership, where one shall lay violent hands on what belongs to the other, and then represent the ill consequences of quarrelling with him, would not the world look upon the injured party as a very despicable animal, not to assert his right? Shall a man be esteemed litigious, because he refuses to part with his own and his family's subsistence? Or, will that people be thought unreasonable who insist upon restitution from a faithless ally, who has dispossessed them of part of their territories and traffick in a time of full peace, and this in an hundred instances. The English East-India company upon this last instance of Dutch treachery, applied themselves to his Britannick Majesty for redress, who ordered his Minister at the Hague to demand satisfaction and restitution of the factory at Bantam; which the Dutch indeed promised from time to time, without any intention of performing; at least never any thing was done in it from that day to this, for which it is not very difficult to account.

Courtray  
and Lux-  
emburg  
taken by  
the  
French.

The French continuing their encroachments in the Spanish Netherlands on one pretence or other, the Spaniards, in hopes of being supported by the Germans and the Dutch, declared war against them in the year 1683; but being unprovided of men and money, they lost Courtray and Dixmude in one campaign, and Luxemburg the next, when the Dutch marching to their assistance, the French King was content to grant them a truce for twenty years, which was signed the 15th of August 1684, at Ratisbon; but their High Mightinesses could not procure any satisfaction to be made to the Prince of Orange for his principality, which the Grand Monarch had taken possession of, as is above related.

Duke of  
Mon-  
mouth's  
expedi-  
tion to  
England.

Some English Malecontents, who had been engaged in conspiracies against King CHARLES II, of whom the Duke of Monmouth, natural son to that Prince, and the Earl of Argyle, a Scot, were the chief; being fled into the Low Countries, and hearing of the death of his Majesty, concerted measures with their friends in Britain, soon after King JAMES's accession to the crown, to raise an insurrection; the one in the west of England, and the other in Scotland, and bought up great quantities of arms and ammunition in Holland, to be employed in that service; of which the King, who succeeded his brother in the throne on the sixth of February 1684-5, having intelligence, required the States to deliver them up: whereupon the Duke of Monmouth retired to Brussels; but the Marquis de Grana, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, receiving a letter from King JAMES, intimating that the Duke was fomenting a rebellion against him, his Grace was obliged to leave the Spanish territories; and returning into Holland again, he prepared, with the Earl of Argyle, for their intended expedition against Britain. Dr BURNET acquaints us, that Argyle having met with a rich widow at Amsterdam, zealous for the cause, she furnished him with ten thousand pounds, with which he bought arms and ammunition for the enterprize, and

that the Duke of Monmouth would have embarked for Scotland with him, but that Argyle did not offer him the command, and on the contrary, advised his making a diversion in England; which the Lord GREY, FERGOUSON, and the Lady HARRIOT WENTWORTH, who constantly attended the Duke, were very zealous for. He adds, that in point of conscience, the Duke and this Lady looked upon their cohabitation to be very innocent, his Grace having been married to the Duchess before he was capable of making a choice, (though he was above the age of consent the law requires) and therefore they held the marriage with the Duchess was void. That the Lady HARRIOT had so possessed him with her enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied their living together was approved by God. The Duke pawned his jewels to buy arms for the intended expedition, which were pretended to be shipped for Spain: but the Earl of Argyle being first ready, embarked the second of May 1685, and setting sail the same day with three ships, arrived on the fifth of the same month at the isles of Orkney, in the north of Scotland, where sending his Secretary and Surgeon on shore, they were both seized by the inhabitants, and sent to Edinburgh. The Earl therefore meeting with such discouragements here, set sail again for the west Highlands, and on the 20th landed near Dunstaffnage, a ruinous castle of his own, where he left a garrison, and marched afterwards through the counties of Argyle and Lorn, inciting the inhabitants to join him: but all the men he could raise did not amount to above four or five thousand, with whom he marched to the isle of Boot, and encamped; but being pursued by the King's troops, they fled from one island to another, leaving their spare arms and ammunition in the castle of Ellengreg, with an hundred and fifty men to defend it; but two or three small frigates coming before the castle the same day, the garrison fled, and the King's forces took possession of the place, where they found five thousand small arms, five hundred barrels of gun-powder, and the rest of the rebels ammunition. Argyle in the mean time, marched through his own country of Argyleshire towards Glasgow, being closely pursued by the King's forces; and the rebels not finding themselves in a condition to make head against them, soon after dispersed; and Argyle himself running into a bog up to the neck, was knocked down and taken prisoner the 17th of June, and beheaded the 30th of the same month at Edinburgh, standing outlawed for high-treason on a former conspiracy against the government. With him was taken RUMBOLD the maltster, who proposed the assassinating the late King CHARLES II, as he came by his house, called the Rye-house, in Hertfordshire, who was also hanged at Edinburgh; and thus ended this ill-concerted insurrection in Scotland.

Argyle's  
expedi-  
tion to  
Scotland.

The Duke of Monmouth having hired a man of war of thirty-two guns, and three small vessels in Holland, embarked arms for five thousand men upon them; of which the English Envoy at the Hague having notice, pressed the States to stop them in their ports: and one of the small vessels was actually seized, but the Duke used such diligence, that he escaped out of the Texel with the rest on the 24th of May. The States, as well as the Prince of Orange, were very averse to this expedition of the Duke's, for they were conscious if it succeeded, the Prince must never expect to

The  
Duke of  
Mon-  
mouth  
embarks.



mount the throne of England; therefore King JAMES no sooner made application to them to send over the six British regiments in their service, but they complied with him, and readily offered to enter into any other measures to defeat the Duke's designs. His Grace has been blamed by some of his friends for entering so precipitately on this enterprize, but as Argyle was at this time making a diversion in his favour in Scotland, and himself and his friends were in danger of being seized in Holland, he was really under a necessity of embarking as he did, and could not defer it. The Duke meeting with cross winds, and a tempestuous passage, was longer at sea than he expected, it being the 11th of June when he appeared before the port of Lyme in Dorsetshire. He went on shore with his small body, which did not amount to an hundred men, the same afternoon; and having in a short prayer implored the blessing of heaven on his undertaking, he set up his standard in the market-place of Lyme, and ordered a long declaration, containing the reasons of this expedition, to be read to the people; in which he charges King JAMES (the Duke of York, as he there styles him) with usurpation and tyranny; with assassinating the Earl of Essex, and even poisoning his brother, the late King CHARLES; declaring that he will pursue the said Duke of York as a mortal and bloody enemy, and endeavour as well with his own hand as the assistance of his friends, to have justice executed upon him: and so exceeding popular was the Duke of Monmouth at this time, that multitudes of the common people came over to him. On the other hand, King JAMES having acquainted the houses of Parliament with the Duke's being landed at Lyme, they attended his Majesty with an address, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and immediately passed a bill of attainder of high-treason against the Duke, desiring his Majesty would set a reward of five thousand pounds upon his head. From Lyme the Duke marched to Taunton-Dean in Somersetshire, having increased his army to five or six thousand men; and here he took upon him the title of King, and was solemnly proclaimed. On the 21st of June, he advanced to Bridgewater, the militia constantly retiring before him, and some of them deserting over to him, which made their officers cautious of engaging, finding them more inclined to the Duke than to the King; but his Majesty sending down a body of regular troops against the rebels, under the command of the Earl of FEVERSHAM and the Lord CHURCHILL, this soon altered the case, and the Duke of Monmouth received a total defeat at Sedgmore, near Bridgewater, on the sixth of July 1685; the Lord GRAY, who commanded his horse, being taken prisoner the next day, and on the eighth, the Duke himself was found in a ditch covered with fern, in a very abject condition, and being brought prisoner to London, was beheaded on the fifteenth of the same month. But to return to Holland.

Steps towards the Prince of Orange's expedition to England.

The English Envoy at the Hague presented memorial after memorial to the States upon the affair of Bantam to very little purpose, he demanded also, that Dr BURNET, and some others, who had been convicted of a conspiracy against his Majesty might be delivered up; but as the Dutch were now concerting measures to incite an insurrection in Britain themselves, and the Doctor was made use of by them as an instrument to effect it,

their compliance was not to be expected in this particular, any more than the sending back the six British regiments in the service of the States, which that Minister also demanded; for this had been to defeat their grand design. And it must be confessed, that the measures King JAMES had taken ever since the defeat of Monmouth to render his subjects malecontents, had given the Dutch but too much cause to promise themselves success upon an invasion of Britain: for he had introduced Popish officers into civil and military employments in all the three kingdoms, and claimed and actually exercised a power of dispensing with the laws. He set up an ecclesiastical commission, prosecuting the clergy and universities in an unprecedented manner, displaced many Protestant officers in the army, and supplied their rooms with Irish Papists; and according to some, was entirely governed by Jesuitical councils: but I take the Jesuits to be a more subtle generation than to have put the King upon such measures as must infallibly ruin both themselves and him. There is much more reason to believe, that he was put upon doing many things by false friends in his councils, on purpose to render him odious to his people; for it may be demonstrated at this day, that some who had the greatest influence on his councils, kept a constant correspondence with his enemies, and his bigotry for his religion so blinded him, that he did not sufficiently animadvert on their conduct, though he had repeated intimations of their treacherous practices: even the birth of the Prince of Wales, which the King's friends looked upon to be of vast advantage to his cause, by the reports which were industriously spread of his being spurious, was made instrumental to his ruin. The Prince of Orange indeed sent over a Minister to compliment the King on his birth, and ordered the same prayers to be used in his chapel at the Hague for the Prince of Wales as were used in the churches in England; but still it was suggested by the friends of the Prince of Orange, that this was a cheat put upon him by the Jesuits, in order to exclude the Princess Royal his consort from the throne. The common people of England, who were terrified with the apprehensions of Popery and Slavery breaking in upon them, made no difficulty in crediting the story of the Prince's illegitimacy, and the Dutch had more reasons than one to promote the belief of it. While King JAMES remained upon the throne, they had sufficient reason to believe he would insist upon a share in the Indian trade, and a restoration of the islands and factories they had taken from us: that both the English and French would endeavour to reduce their naval force, and restrain that insolent State within due bounds. Whereas if they could give a King to Britain, and, according to their own expression, take us out of the hands of France, they had reason to believe the English would be made subservient to all their designs; that they should hear no more of their encroachments on the British trade: on the contrary, when the Prince of Orange should be at the head of the English forces, they might rest assured he would defend their frontiers against France, and perhaps enlarge them at the expence of other nations. And there appeared to be but little hazard or difficulty in bringing about a Revolution in Britain; for the ministry there had put King JAMES upon doing so many illegal and unpopular things, with an intention of ruining him; that his subjects were in general become male-

Male-administration of King JAMES.

The States reasons for assisting the Prince of Orange in his expedition.



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malecontents, and even the soldiers and seamen in his pay ready to desert on the first appearance of a competitor: the very Prime Minister and others of the council, many of the Bishops, the Nobility and Gentry, the Generals and Admirals had joined in an invitation of the Prince of Orange, to secure them against Popery and Slavery; inasmuch, that if the Prince had the least spark of ambition in him, which his friends say he did not want, so favourable an opportunity of placing himself at the head of the Protestant interest, and of a much more extensive confederacy, was not to be resisted. For the Emperor, and most of the German Princes, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and even the Pope himself, were ready to support him in his intended enterprize, under an apprehension that if England should unite its forces with France, the rest of the powers of Europe would soon lie at the mercy of Lewis XIV. The Prince of Orange therefore, and the States having all imaginable encouragement to attempt a Revolution in England, ordered a fleet of fifty sail of men of war, and five hundred transports, to be prepared with all expedition, selecting fourteen or fifteen thousand of their best troops to be embarked on board the fleet, whose places were supplied by others from Sweden, lest the French King should attack the Netherlands in their absence. Of these preparations King JAMES received intelligence from Mr SKELTON, his Minister at the Hague, and from the French King, assuring him that this armament was intended against England; but the Ministers in the English Court, who had the greatest influence over that Prince, and actually maintained a correspondence with his enemies, lulled him asleep, and made him neglect the proper means for his defence, till every thing was ready for the descent. The French King, apprehending of what consequence the deposing of his ally, the King of England, might be to his ambitious designs, proposed the sending over twenty or thirty thousand men to his assistance; which King JAMES's treacherous ministers had the address to prevail with him to refuse. Then his most Christian Majesty threatened the Dutch, that if any attempt was made upon his ally the King of England, he would look upon it as done to himself, and immediately invade their frontiers; but the confederacy against him was so great, and the bringing Britain into it of that importance, that his threats were slighted, and only served to make his enemies more industrious in their preparations.

King JAMES being at length convinced of his mistake, and finding he had been betrayed and flattered into measures the most opposite to his interest, hoped to retrieve the affections and esteem of his subjects, by undoing all that he had done for two or three years past. Accordingly he endeavoured to reconcile himself to the Bishops and Universities, by restoring to them their authority and privileges. He restored also the charters of London, and other corporations which had been taken from them, displaced many of the Popish officers and magistrates he had introduced, and disgraced the minister, by whose advice he had been principally governed and precipitated into those fatal measures.

The  
Prince of  
Orange  
embarks  
his forces.

In the mean time the Prince of Orange proceeded to embark his forces, and published a declaration, dated the tenth of October 1688, N. S. wherein he charges King JAMES with male-administration in all the instances above-cited, and

with imposing a pretended Prince upon the nation: Assuring them, that this expedition was intended only to procure a free Parliament, to whom he should refer the enquiry into the legitimacy of the pretended Prince of Wales; to restore the constitution of the government to its ancient legal state, and secure the people against Popery and arbitrary power.

The States also published their reasons for assisting the Prince of Orange with a fleet and army; wherein having taken notice of the invitation given him by the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, they declare the apprehensions they had of the French King, if King JAMES should render himself absolute, and join his forces with his most Christian Majesty; suggesting that nothing less than the absolute ruin of their state would probably be the consequence of it: for both Kings, either for reasons of state, or out of an aversion to their religion, would probably endeavour to subdue their country; which this expedition therefore was intended to defeat. From whence, and what has been already observed on this head, it is evident, that it was their own preservation and interest which put them upon this invasion, more than any regard to their good friends on this side the water; though for some years after the Revolution, it was thought impossible ever to pay that immense debt of gratitude we owed to these our high and mighty deliverers. But to proceed; the Prince having assembled a fleet of fifty men of war of the line, twenty-five frigates, as many fire-ships, and between four and five hundred transports, on which he embarked ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, set sail from the Briel the nineteenth of October; being accompanied by the Earl of SHREWSBURY, the Earl of MACCLESFIELD, the Lord Viscount MORDANT, the Earl of ARGYLE, the Lord WILTSHIRE, the Lord PAWLET, the Lord ELAN, son to the Marquis of Halifax, the Lord DUNBLAIN, son of the Earl of Danby, Admiral HERBERT, Colonel SIDNEY, Mr RUSSEL, Sir ROWLAND GWYN, the infamous FERGUSON, and Dr BURNET. The Prince himself was on board a frigate of thirty guns, with some few officers and intimate friends of the Dutch nation, and took his station in the centre of the fleet during the voyage. The flag he carried at the top-mast-head had the arms of the Prince and Princess wrought in it with these words, viz. *The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England*. The fleet had not been many hours at sea before there arose a terrible storm, which drove them back to Helvoetsluys, but without any considerable loss.

On the first of November the Dutch fleet put to sea again, and stood to the northward, the original design, 'tis said, being to have landed in Yorkshire; but the wind coming about easterly, it was afterwards determined to sail for the channel, and on the third of the same month they past by the mouth of the river Thames, where the Earl of Dartmouth lay at anchor with the English fleet. The fourth, the Prince was driven by a strong gale beyond Torbay, the place where he designed to have landed; but the wind shifting to the west on a sudden, they were soon after brought into the bay; and the next day, the fifth of November, 1688, they landed most of their troops.

But it is very natural to enquire here, what was become of that gallant army and fleet which King JAMES had raised and fitted out to prevent a descent,

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The  
Dutch  
land in  
Torbay.



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a descent, that the Prince of Orange met with no opposition at sea, or at his landing? It has been intimated already, that the military men were not less disgusted than other people, by breaking many Protestant officers, and supplying their rooms with English or Irish Papists; which disgust JOHNSON, and some other pamphleteers, had heightened, by exposing the administration. A declaration also was published by the Prince of Orange, wherein he addresses himself to the army, and tells them, he was come to rescue them from Popery and Slavery, and hopes they would not be made instruments of enslaving the nation, and ruining the Protestant religion; for when that was done, they must expect to be cashiered, as the English officers and soldiers in Ireland had been, and many Protestant officers in England, for adhering to the constitution and religion established: That they must not flatter themselves to be better used in the end, and therefore invites them to join his forces, promising rewards to those who should come over to him.

A letter from Admiral HERBERT also was printed and dispersed in the English fleet; wherein he represents the ruin that attended them and their families, if they delayed to join the Prince of Orange; and how infamous they would appear to posterity, if by their means the Protestant religion, and the liberties of their country should be destroyed. That he was well assured the best part of the army, as well as the nation, were in the Prince's interest, and exhorts them to be beforehand with the army, in assisting an enterprize which was undertaken to secure all that was valuable to them.

King  
JAMES's  
prepara-  
tions a-  
gainst the  
Dutch.

King JAMES was not backward in his naval preparations to defeat the designs of the Dutch; for we find him in June 1688, dispatching his cruisers to observe the motions of their fleet; and not long after a squadron of men of war, under the command of Sir ROGER STRICKLAND, put to sea to intercept their passage, if they should come out, or at least to follow them and prevent their disembarking any troops, whether they bent their course northward, westward, or into the Thames mouth; for the King had no manner of intelligence for what part of England they were designed; and it seems probable their own Commanders were not determined what course to steer, till they found how the winds would favour them. The King seems most apprehensive of their landing in the north, by his marching a body of his troops that way, and leaving the west in a manner destitute of Forces. The first of October following, the English fleet being increased to three-score sail, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, the Lord Dartmouth was appointed Admiral. The King, in his written instructions to that Lord, acquaints him, that he had undoubted advice, that a great and sudden invasion from Holland was intended, and that therefore he should hasten the equipping out such ships as were not come to the appointed rendezvous, and endeavour to prevent the approach of the Dutch fleet to the English coasts, and their making a descent. The English fleet being at the Gunfleet (in the mouth of the river Thames) at this time, a council of war was held, and by a great majority, it was resolved to continue there; though some were of opinion it was more advisable to proceed to the coast of Holland, and there attend the coming out of the Dutch fleet: which last proposal, says my author, Secretary BURCHET,

certainly carried great weight, *Had there been a real design of obstructing the Prince of Orange in his passage to England.* But instead of that, matters were so concerted and agreed among the flag-officers and commanders, who had frequently private meetings, that had the Admiral come fairly up with the Dutch, it would not have been in his power to have done much against them: while they were busied in these cabals, the Dutch fleet passed by the Gunfleet in sight of them. And since the Commanders were thus affected, it is no great matter whether the storm which Mr BURCHET mentions, or their own inclinations, prevented their weighing anchor, and sailing in pursuit of the Dutch; they would have left their anchors behind them, 'tis presumed, if they had been very zealous for the service. There is little heed to be given to what some officers alledge as an excuse for deserting their Prince, that the winds upon all occasions favoured the Dutch, and were contrary to the English. Nor does there seem to be any thing very miraculous in the case, notwithstanding Dr BURNET's opinion of the matter, that people who were resolved not to fight, should seldom meet, and if they did, should part without striking a stroke; but heaven is ever dragged in to favour what we desire should succeed; this having been found one of the most effectual stratagems to wheedle the vulgar in all ages. But to proceed in Mr BURCHET's account of this transaction: So soon, says he, as the English fleet could purchase their anchors, they put to sea, and bent their course westward; and coming in a few days off of Torbay, the Dutch ships were there discovered. We had not viewed them long, e'er a storm arose, and forced us out of the channel; but returning in a little time, we gave the Dutch an opportunity of seeing what our strength might have enabled us to do, *Had our inclinations been to treat them as enemies.* (From whence it is evident, it was want of inclination, and not the want of favourable winds, that prevented their falling upon the Dutch at this time; as it is extremely probable therefore it was before, when they pretended they could not get up their anchors at the Gunfleet.) But the Prince being landed, says Mr BURCHET, and all things favouring his designs, the Admiral sailed with his fleet to the Downs; where several officers known, or at least suspected, to be Roman Catholics, being dismissed from their employments, an humble address was presented from the rest to his Highness the Prince. After considering which account, I believe few people at this day will be of opinion, that heaven need have been at the expence of a miracle, to prevent the English fleet's falling upon the Dutch.

The Prince of Orange being landed, proceeded no less prosperously on shore than he had done at sea; for he advanced on the eighth of November to Exeter without opposition, and made his entry into that city in a triumphant manner; but the people did not seem at first very forward in coming in to him, having been terrified not long before with the executions that followed the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. Here therefore the Prince thought fit to make a halt, till he was better informed how the country stood affected; and he was in such suspense at this time, that it was once debated, whether he should not re-embark his troops, and return to Holland. But a few days mightily altered the face of his affairs; for on the fifteenth of November great numbers of

gentry



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gentry of the neighbouring counties came in, and offered their assistance to the Prince; among whom were Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR, Sir WILLIAM PORTMAN, Sir FRANCIS WAR, &c. who proposed the entering into an association for their mutual defence, and an instrument was drawn up accordingly; wherein they promise to the Prince, and to each other, to maintain the cause they were engaged in, and never to separate, till their religion and liberties were secured to them in a free Parliament. And if their enemies should attempt any thing against the life of the Prince, they solemnly engage to pursue them, and all they found in arms against them, with the utmost severity of a just revenge; which being signed by all the nobility and gentry about the Prince, was sent to Oxford and other parts of England, where it was signed by many more. In the mean time several others of the nobility and gentry joined the Prince at Exeter, particularly the Lord COLCHESTER, son to the Earl Rivers, an officer of the life-guards, and some private troopers of that body, the Earl of ABINGDON, Mr RUSSEL, and others; and soon after the Lord CORNBURY, son to the Earl of Clarendon, a Colonel of dragoons lying at Salisbury, who pretending orders from the King to dislodge the enemy from an advanced post, brought over his own regiment, and great part of the regiments of horse of Berwick, St Albans, and Fenwick, and at the same time there were insurrections in the Prince's favour in all parts of the kingdom.

King JAMES, observing how the Prince's troops every day increased by the defection of his own, which he apprehended could only be prevented by his appearing at the head of them, and entering upon immediate action, went down to Salisbury; but to his great surprize, some of the principal officers of the army desired the Earl of Feversham, their General, to acquaint his Majesty, that though they were ready to spill the last drop of their blood for him on any other occasion, they could not in conscience serve against the Prince, who was come over with no other design than to procure the calling of a free parliament, for the security of their religion and liberties. And the next day the Lord CHURCHILL, who commanded a brigade, and was the King's principal favourite, and consequently the last man whose fidelity he could have suspected, went over to the Prince, accompanied by the Duke of GRAFTON, and many of his officers and soldiers which served under him. And now the King being entirely convinced there was no confiding in his troops, thought fit to return towards London, being deferred on the way thither by Prince GEORGE of Denmark, the Duke of ORMOND, and others of the first quality, who left him at Andover: and arriving at Whitehall the twenty-sixth of November, he found the Princess ANNE of Denmark also had privately retired from thence the night before; which so affected him, 'tis said, that in the anguish of his soul, he cried out on entering his apartment, *God help me, my own children have forsaken me!*

In this distress his Majesty summoned the Lords spiritual and temporal, which were about town to attend him, and give him their advice; who unanimously agreed, That considering the present state of the kingdom, it would be advisable for his Majesty to grant a general pardon to all who had joined the Prince before or since his landing; and that he would depute some Lords to treat

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with the Prince concerning a suspension of arms, and bringing matters to an accommodation: and lastly, to quiet his people's fears, would immediately turn all Roman Catholick Officers and Magistrates out of their employments. And accordingly a proclamation was issued the 30th of November, for the Parliament to assemble the 15th of January following, and the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Rochester, and the Lord Godolphin, were appointed Commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. As to the turning out the Roman Catholicks, his Majesty declared he would leave that also to the Parliament. The Commissioners set out from London to attend the Prince the second of December, the Earl of Clarendon having deserted his Majesty the day before. On the sixth of December the King received an express from the Commissioners, acquainting him that they were to meet the Prince that night at Amesbury; but the next day there arrived a second express, to acquaint him that the Prince would meet them at Hungerford, and had sent the Earls of Clarendon and Oxford to them to desire their proposals in writing: which answer was not only looked upon as dilatory and evasive, but to express a contempt of his Majesty; and the rather, because the Earl of Clarendon, the professed enemy of the Marquis of Halifax, the King's principal commissioner, was sent with it. But however that was, the Commissioners on the eighth of December delivered to the Prince their proposals in writing; wherein they observed, that as all the causes of complaint enumerated by the Prince seemed to be referred to a free Parliament, the King had actually issued a proclamation for their meeting, and they were come to adjust all matters necessary to the freedom of elections, and the security of their sitting.

In answer to this, the Prince required, 1. That all Papists, and unqualified persons, should be disarmed and removed from all employments. 2. That all proclamations against him and his adherents should be recalled. 3. That the Tower of London and Tilbury-Fort be put into the hands of the city. 4. That if his Majesty remained at London during the sitting of Parliament, his Highness might be there also with an equal number of troops; or whatever distance the King thought fit to be, his Highness might be at the same distance. 5. That the armies be thirty miles from London, and no other forces admitted into the kingdom: and for prevention of the French landing, that Portsmouth be put into such hands as should be agreed between his Majesty and the Prince. And lastly, that part of the publick revenue be assigned for the subsistence of the Prince's troops.

With these conditions his Majesty did not at first seem to be dissatisfied; but the Popish party about him, 'tis said, dreading nothing more than the meeting of the Parliament, concluding that their religion at least must be given up, and some of them sacrificed to atone for past miscarriages; and the King himself apprehending that such limitations would be put upon the prerogative, and his power so restrained, that he should be little more than a cypher in the government; but chiefly relying on the assistance of the French King to restore him to his dominions, he determined to retire into France, and wait for a favourable opportunity, when he might return again with honour. And it was supposed, that the Prince also had some good Protestants about his Majesty, who encouraged



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JAMES  
leaves  
White-  
hall, and  
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to go be-  
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encouraged him in these sentiments, and terrified him with imaginary plots against his life, believing they should be best able to accomplish the scheme they had laid in his absence. But whatever were the motives, in the night between the ninth and tenth of December, the King sent away his Queen and son, an infant of six months old, who landed safely at Calais the next day; and the following night the King took water at Whitehall, in order to embark for that kingdom, leaving a letter directed to his General, the Earl of Feversham; wherein he tells him, that if he could have relied on his troops, he would have had one blow for it, but though there were many brave men amongst them, he had been advised by the General himself, and several other officers, that it was no way advisable to adventure himself at their head, or fight the Prince of Orange with them; therefore he could only now thank those who had been loyal and faithful to him, and hoped they would still retain their fidelity, though he did not expect they should expose themselves at this juncture, but hoped they would keep themselves free from associations, and such pernicious snares. Before his Majesty took water, 'tis said, he ordered the writs which were issued for calling a parliament to be recalled, and in his passage cross the Thames, threw the broad seal into the river; which his adversaries afterwards made an evidence of his abdicating the government.

Upon the King's withdrawing himself, the officers of the army who were about town met at Whitehall, and sent an express to the Prince of Orange to acquaint him with it; assuring his Highness, that they would assist the Lord-Mayor in keeping the city quiet till his arrival there. At the same time the Lords spiritual and temporal, to the number of thirty, which were about the city, assembled at Guildhall, among whom was the Archbishop of Canterbury; and having sent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, drew up a declaration; wherein reciting that his Majesty had withdrawn himself, as they apprehended, in order to depart the kingdom, they unanimously resolved to apply themselves to the Prince of Orange, and to assist his Highness in the obtaining a free Parliament, wherein their laws, liberties, and properties, might be secured; and that in the mean time they would endeavour to preserve the peace and security of those great cities of London and Westminster, by disarming all Papists about the same; which declaration being signed by all the Lords present, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viscount Weymouth, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord COLEPEPER, were appointed to attend his Highness with it; and to acquaint him that they had taken the keys from Colonel SKELTON, Lieutenant of the Tower, and given the command of it to the Lord LUCAS, which the Prince approved.

The city of London also addressed the Prince, desiring his protection, and that he would repair thither: and another address of the same purport was presented him by the lieutenancy. And notwithstanding the militia were under arms, the mob rose and demolished the mass-houses, plundering the houses of some persons of quality of the Popish religion, particularly those of the Spanish and Florentine Ambassadors, where many wealthy Roman Catholics had lodged their best effects, and where the consecrated plate and utensils belonging to the royal chapels were deposited, as in places of security, and what the mob could not carry away they burnt; neither were they much

interrupted in these riotous practices, either by the militia or civil magistrates, who were most of them secretly pleased to see them exercise their fury against the Papists, from whom they were apprehensive of a treatment of the like nature but a little before. The Lord Chancellor JEFFERIES also fell into the hands of the mob, and was in danger of being pulled to pieces, but was secured by the militia, and carried to the Tower at his own request, as a place where he might be most secure from the insults of the people, who were sufficiently enraged against him, as one of the principal instruments in their late oppressions.

The Earl of Feversham in the mean time having received his Majesty's letter at Uxbridge, (where he lay with part of the army, in expectation of his Majesty's coming down thither) having drawn out the troops, read the letter at the head of them, and afterwards disbanded the army, which contributed to the distractions of the times; the soldiers being destitute of all means of subsistence, and forced to commit some irregularities. The next day happened that universal alarm over the whole kingdom, which obtained the name of *the Irish Fright*; when it was given out that the Papists and Irish regiments were burning and destroying the whole country. And as this report was spread in all parts of the kingdom at the same instant, it is supposed to have been a stratagem of the Prince's Generals, to create in the minds of the people the greater abhorrence of the late administration; as was a former account of the Papists preparing saws, spits, grid-irons, and other instruments of cruelty, in order to begin a persecution against the Protestants, that should equal any of those in the primitive times. Those fictions, how incredible soever, wrought wonderfully upon the common people, and even among those who would be esteemed something above the vulgar, and served to establish the Prince's interest, and to beget in the people the utmost detestation of the late King and his Ministers.

In the mean time his Majesty, by contrary winds, or some other cross accident, was detained upon the coast of Kent near Feversham, when the seamen and fishermen thereabouts taking the liberty to search all vessels that passed that way for Popish priests, as they pretended, pillaged the passengers of what they had; and happening to seize the vessel the King was in, used him a little roughly before they knew him, taking from him four hundred guineas, with some valuable seals and jewels: but a constable of the place at length discovering it was his Majesty, fell upon his knees, and begged his pardon for the rudeness of the mob, commanding them to return what they had taken; but the King distributed the gold amongst them, and kept only the seals and jewels. From hence his Majesty was carried to an inn in the town, and sending for the Earl of Winchelsea, who was at his seat in the neighbourhood, he prevailed upon the King not to leave the nation, but to return to London; and the Privy-Council also hearing where he was, sent some of their number to attend him, and invite him to Whitehall. His Majesty thereupon set out from Feversham on the sixteenth of December, and arrived at London the same night, with his guards and usual splendour, being welcomed thither by the loud acclamations of the people, who made bonfires, rung their bells, and illuminated the streets, as if his Majesty had returned from some glorious expedition; which appeared to be no small mortification to

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stops at  
Fevers-  
ham.



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to the Prince of Orange, who did not expect to have seen any thing of this kind, after the intelligence he had received of his Majesty's being embarked for France: and it is evident this occurrence did a little ruffle the hero's temper, and induce him to forget the respect due to so near a relation and a crowned head; for the King sending the Earl of Feversham to the Prince, kindly to invite him to come to St James's palace, that they might personally confer together of the means for redressing the publick grievances, his Highness, instead of returning any answer, made the Earl of Feversham prisoner, and signed a kind of an order, requiring King JAMES to remove out of his palace of Whitehall the seventeenth instant, to a house of the Dutchess of Lauderdale's at Ham, and commanded the Dutch guards to take possession of the posts about Whitehall that night by force, if the King's guards did not quit them voluntarily. King JAMES hereupon sent for Count SOLMES, who commanded that detachment of the Dutch troops, who were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, and earnestly desired him to let him have his own guards that night; but the Count answering he had positive orders to take the posts at that time, the King bid him do as he was commanded, and the English guards thereupon retired. The Dutch having thus taken possession of Whitehall, three English Lords from the Prince intruded into the King's apartment a little after midnight, when he was in bed, and shewed him the Prince's order above-mentioned for his leaving his palace, and removing to Ham, desiring he would be gone early in the morning, that he might not meet the Prince in his way to London, whither he was to come that day: with which his Majesty answered he would comply, but desired he might rather go to Rochester than Ham, to which the Prince consented; but would not suffer him to have his own guards or coaches to carry him by land, but compelled him, tho' the King urged the rigour of the season and his ill state of health, to go by water to Gravesend. And now, says one of our reverend English historians, the Prince having a clear stage, took this favourable opportunity of making his first appearance in London, (the same day the King was driven from his palace) where he received the congratulations of the nobility and gentry, and of the city of London, who but two days before had expressed no less joy at the arrival of his competitor King JAMES. The mob also, while their betters were complimenting the Prince, and offering him the administration, plundered the houses of the Papists, not sparing those of the nobility and foreign ministers.

The King  
goes over  
to France

The King having been used in that imperious manner by the Prince and his adherents at his return to London, and finding by their refusing to treat with him, that he was no more to be considered as a sovereign Prince, was apprehensive that the next step would be imprisonment at least, which his present condition seemed to border upon, being put under a guard of foreigners; he took the opportunity therefore of a dark night, and went on board a ship provided for him in the river, on the twenty-third of December, early in the morning, and was soon after landed in France, to the unspeakable joy of the Prince's party, as well as his own.

The Prince of Orange in the mean time having assembled about sixty Lords, who sat in their own house, and about an hundred and fifty Com-

moners, who were members in the reign of King CHARLES II, with the Aldermen of London, and part of the Common-Council, who sat in the Lower-House; he desired their advice in the present conjuncture, and particularly as to the calling of a Parliament: whereupon they advised his Highness to send his letters to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the several counties, universities, cities, boroughs, and cinque-ports of the kingdom. The letters for the counties to be directed to the Coroners of the respective counties, and in default of the Coroners to the respective Clerks of the peace; the letters for the universities to be directed to the Vice-chancellors; and the letters to the corporations to be directed to the chief magistrate in each; containing directions for chusing members to represent them in parliament: notice of which elections to be published in the churches, and the said Parliament to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second of January 1688-9.

The Prince of Orange also having assembled as many of the Scotch nobility and gentry as were about London, made a speech to them much of the same purport with that he made to the English Lords and Gentlemen, viz. That the only reason that induced him to undergo so great an undertaking was, that he saw the laws and liberties of these kingdoms over-turned, and the Protestant religion in imminent danger, and desired their advice in this conjuncture. Whereupon the assembly, having chosen Duke HAMILTON their President, addressed his Highness, thanking him for this generous undertaking to preserve their religion, laws, and liberties, and desired he would take upon him the administration of the government, and the disposal of the publick revenue, and call a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the fourteenth of March. But the Presbyterians in Scotland had been before-hand with the Lords, and taking the government into their hands, if it may be called a government, which consisted chiefly in plundering all that differed from them in opinion, not only Papists, but the Bishops, Clergy, and people of the then established Church.

King JAMES, apprehending from the steps that were taken in England, that there was a design to depose him, wrote letters to the Lords and others of his privy-council; wherein he desires them to observe, that he had taken away all causes, and even pretences of discontent, and redressed all those grievances that were set forth as the occasion of the invasion: That the Prince notwithstanding had laid a restraint upon his person, and rendered it impossible to have a free Parliament by confining him; for as it was absurd to call that a free Parliament, where a force was put upon either of the Houses, it was much more so where the Sovereign, by whose authority they meet and sit, and from whose assent all their acts receive their life and sanction, is under actual confinement: That the sense of the indignities he had suffered, and the apprehension of further attempts from those who had already endeavoured to murder his reputation, by suggesting he had imposed a Prince of Wales upon the kingdom; and the consideration of his royal father's maxim, *That there was little distance between the prisons and the graves of Princes*; had induced him to free himself from that unjust confinement, as well for the security of his person, as to put himself in a capacity of contributing to the peace and settlement of his kingdoms; and that no provocation



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of his subjects, or any other consideration should prevail with him to make the least step contrary to the true interest of the nation; which he required the Privy-Council to make known to the Lords, the city of London, and the rest of his subjects, and that he desired nothing more than a free Parliament, wherein their religion, liberties, and properties, might be secured. He desired their advice therefore concerning his return to his people for the accomplishment of these ends. This letter was printed and dispersed about London, but no notice being taken of it by the Privy-Council, upon the assembling of the Convention-Parliament, King JAMES wrote another directed to the Lords and Commons: wherein he acquaints them, That nothing should be wanting on his part for the redressing of former errors, or securing the Protestant religion, or the property of the subject; desiring to refer the whole to a Parliament legally called, freely elected, and held without restraint: That he should extend his mercy even to those who betrayed him, some few excepted, resolving by an act of oblivion to cover all past faults. This letter was presented to the Speaker of the House of Lords the Marquis of Halifax by the Lord Preston, and a copy of it was also given to the Speaker of the Commons; but neither the one or the other was opened, and very little notice taken of them.

Various  
opinions  
on the ab-  
dication.

In the convention, though it was generally agreed to provide against the return of King JAMES, and his being admitted any more to the administration of the government; yet various were the opinions on whom the government should devolve at this conjuncture. One set of men insisted, That King JAMES having deserted the kingdom, and appointed no person to administer the government in his absence, this amounted in law to a demise, and the next heir ought to succeed as if he was dead. Another party were of opinion, That King JAMES having broken the original contract between King and People, by violating the fundamental laws, and abdicating the government, the throne was thereby become vacant, the government dissolved, and the people were empowered by the law of nature to fill the throne, or to set up any other form of government they saw fit. A third sort held, That King JAMES having embraced a false religion, which obliged him to destroy those subjects he ought to protect, the case was the same as if the King was under any natural incapacity, as phrenzy or doating old age; and that then the next in blood, according to the English constitution, ought to assume the administration of the government in the room of the disabled Prince (but in his name) during his life, or so long as such incapacity remained.

The Lords upon the question resolved, that the throne was not vacant, because by the laws of England the throne is always full; that on a demise of the former King, the throne is immediately filled by the Successor.

The Commons insisted there could be no demise while the King was living, but that the King by his male-administration had forfeited the crown for himself and his posterity; and therefore, *That the throne was vacant*, and the people empowered to make a new election.

I shall not pretend to say here, which of these opinions had most law or reason to support it; but after a long debate on this subject between the two houses, they were given to understand,

that the Prince of Orange was determined to have the administration of the government lodged solely in himself, exclusive of his Princess, or he would return to Holland again, and leave the people to shift for themselves: which put the two Houses into such a consternation, that on the 13th of February 1688-9, they declared the Prince and Princess of Orange to be King and Queen of England during their lives, and the life of the longer liver of them; but, *That the sole exercise of the Regal Power be only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange*, in the names of the said Prince and Princess during their joint lives, remainder after their decease to the heirs of the Princess, and for default of such issue to the Princess ANNE of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Prince, in pursuance of this declaration, took upon him the regal titles and authority. But the following Bishops, notwithstanding they had agreed in committing the administration of the government to the Prince of Orange, on King JAMES's withdrawing himself, thought fit to refuse taking the oaths to King WILLIAM, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Gloucester, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough. And about the middle of March, the royal Scots regiment of horse quartered at Abingdon, and great part of DUNBARTON's regiment declared for King JAMES, and marched towards Scotland: but a detachment of Dutch troops being sent after them, they were brought back prisoners to London.

The Dissenters having wheedled themselves into the good graces of King WILLIAM about this time, he proposed to the Convention, that they might be admitted into places of trust and profit, and the oaths altered for their satisfaction; but the two Houses did not think fit to comply with the motion. On the eleventh of April, King WILLIAM and Queen MARY were crowned at Westminster by the Bishop of London, Dr BURNET preaching the coronation-sermon; and the same day they were proclaimed King and Queen at Edinburgh, the convention there having before declared the throne vacant, according to the precedent England had set them. But it was some months before King WILLIAM was so universally acknowledged in Scotland as in England: for the Duke of Gordon having possessed himself of Edinburgh-castle, did not surrender it till the thirteenth of June; and on the sixteenth of July a battle was fought between the Lord DUNDEE, General for King JAMES in Scotland, and General MACKAY, wherein MACKAY was routed; but DUNDEE happening to be killed in the action, the interest of King JAMES declined in that kingdom, and his friends never appeared in a considerable body afterwards. On the twenty-second of the same month an act passed in Scotland for abolishing episcopacy there.

On the other hand, Ireland being generally in the interest of King JAMES, he was convoyed thither by a squadron of French men of war, and landed there with five thousand troops of that nation: soon after which he caused Londonderry to be invested, and assembled the Parliament of that kingdom, which met on the twenty-ninth of April 1689, and attainted the Duke of Ormond, the Archbishops, seven Bishops, and many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland. But King WILLIAM having found means to relieve Londonderry by sea, King JAMES's forces were obliged

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The  
Prince and  
Princess of  
Orange  
declared  
King and  
Queen.



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to raise the siege. On the twelfth of July, Duke SCHOMBERG was detached from England with a body of ten thousand forces to support King WILLIAM's interest in Ireland; but the bloody-flux reigning in the English army this campaign, they did not enter upon any considerable action.

The year following, *anno* 1690, King WILLIAM transported an army of between thirty and forty thousand men into Ireland, commanded by himself in person, and fought King JAMES, his father-in-law, on the banks of the Boyne, on the first of July, obtaining a compleat victory over the old King. For the greatest part of his army consisting of new-raised Irish regiments, not half armed, they were soon forced to give way to the veteran bodies of Germans, Dutch, and English, of which King WILLIAM's army was composed. The French and Swiss however in King JAMES's army, made a regular retreat, and the King finding it impossible to maintain his ground after this defeat, retired into France; whereupon his son advanced to Dublin, making a kind of triumphant entry into that city on the third of July. In the mean time, the French fleet had defeated the English and Dutch, commanded by the Lord Torrington (formerly Admiral HERBERT) off of Beachy-head, and the French rode triumphant on our coasts, making a descent with some few forces they had on board, and burning Tinnmouth, put the kingdom into a very great consternation. King WILLIAM however went on successfully in Ireland, and made himself master of Waterford, and other places; but sitting down before Limerick, was forced to raise the siege, his heavy cannon being rendred useless as they were coming to Limerick by a detachment of the enemy, commanded by Sarsfield, who defeated their convoy, and destroyed the carriages and ammunition: whereupon King WILLIAM returned to England. The following year, *anno* 1691, his Generals gave the enemy another defeat at Aghrim; after which Limerick was taken, and the whole kingdom reduced under his power.

Having seen King WILLIAM in the peaceable possession of England, Scotland, and Ireland, it is time to return to Holland, and observe the face of affairs on that side the water. The French King had threatened the Dutch, as has been observed already, to attack their frontiers, if they made any attempt against England; he was exasperated also against them for taking part with Prince CLEMENT of Bavaria, who stood candidate for the bishoprick of Cologne against his creature, Cardinal FURSTENBURG; it was expected therefore, that he would have fallen upon the Dutch with the greatest part of his forces, to have diverted the Prince of Orange from his British expedition: but instead of this, the Dauphin marched with the flower of the French army into Germany, and made himself master of Philippsburg, Worms, Spiers, Mayence, and other places on that side. As to the Dutch, they contented themselves with barely declaring war against them, on the 26th of November 1688, N. S. but marched no troops towards their frontiers; though the Prince of Orange was at that time actually landed in England. In the year 1689, the French made dreadful ravages in the Palatinate, destroying the cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, Frankendal, and all the places which had escaped them the preceding year. The Imperialists, on the other hand, took from them the cities of Mayence, Keyserwaert, Rhineberg, and Bon. Upon the

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advancement of the Prince of Orange to the throne of Great Britain, the States sent a solemn embassy to compliment him upon the occasion, and to concert measures with him to oppose the French; against whom war had been proclaimed at London on the seventh of May 1689, by the English; as it was between the French and Spaniards, much about the same time. And on the 15th of August 1689, happened a smart engagement near Walcourt in Flanders, between the confederates commanded by Prince Waldeck, and the French commanded by the Marshal D'HUMIERES; but it proved a drawn battle. In the same month the English Parliament passed an act for the payment of six hundred thousand pounds to the States, for the charges of King WILLIAM's expedition to England.

The French made their greatest effort in Flanders in the year 1690, and gained a victory over the confederates in the plains of Fleury, on the first of July, taking six thousand prisoners, and all their cannon. The same year the Duke of Savoy came into the confederacy, and a grand congress being held at the Hague between all the Ministers of the allies in January 1690-91, King WILLIAM went over thither to assist at it. Wherein they came to these resolutions, and solemnly engaged, 1. That they would never make peace with LEWIS XIV, until he had made reparation to the Holy See for all injuries and encroachments upon it: nor till he had annulled and made void all his infamous proceedings against the present Pope INNOCENT XI. 2. Nor till he had restored to every one of the allies all he had taken from them since the peace of Munster. 3. Nor till he had restored to the Protestants of France all their possessions and goods, and granted them an entire liberty of conscience. Nor till the Estates of France were established in their antient rights; so that the clergy, the nobility, and third estate, might enjoy their lawful privileges. Nor till the King of France should consent to call together his said three Estates whenever any supply was to be raised, without whose consent he should not levy money upon any pretence whatsoever. Nor till he should consent to restore to the parliaments of that kingdom, and the rest of his subjects, all their just rights. And, in conclusion, the subjects of France were invited to join the confederates in this undertaking, for restoring them to their rights and liberties; and ruin and devastation was threatened to all that opposed them.

At this famous congress, there were present many sovereign Princes besides King WILLIAM; as the Elector of Bavaria, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Lunenburg-Zell, the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Prince of Wirtemberg, the two Princes of Anspach, the Duke of Cologne, the Duke of Holstein, the Rhinegrave, and a multitude of other German Princes; with the Ministers of the Emperor, Savoy, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Saxony, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Treves, Mentz, Cologne, Munster, Lunenburg, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, Hanover, the Elector Palatine, Poland, Holstein-Gottorp, Liege, and Ham-  
burgh.

Notwithstanding this numerous confederacy, the French were masters of the field in Flanders almost every campaign during the war. They sat down before Mons in the beginning of the year 1691, and compelled that strong fortress to sur-  
render

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Six hundred thousand pounds paid the Dutch, for the charges of their expedition to England.

Terms of the Grand Alliance against France, *anno* 1690-91.

Mons taken by the French, *an.* 1691.



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render on the first of April, O.S. King WILLIAM indeed put himself at the head of the confederate army, giving out that he would relieve the place; but finding it impracticable, returned to the Hague. The same campaign the French took Halle, and falling upon the rear of the confederate army afterwards, as they were decamping from Lens, put them into some confusion at first; but the confederates made good their retreat, with the loss only of a thousand men.

Namur  
taken, *anno*  
1692.The victory  
of the  
confederate  
fleet  
at La  
Hogue.

The French opened the campaign of 1692 with the siege of Namur, which King WILLIAM not finding himself in a condition to relieve, the town surrendered on the fifth of June, after a siege of three weeks, and the castle, on the 20th of July following, being one of the strongest fortresses in the Low Countries. On the other hand, the English and Dutch fleets under the command of the Admirals RUSSEL and ALLEMOND, gained a signal victory over the French, near La Hogue, on the 19th of May, this year, burning and destroying one and twenty capital men of war, and among the rest the French Admiral, the *Rifling Sun*, which was run on shore and burnt on the French coast, in sight of the French army, that was intended to have made a descent in England, if their fleet had met with success at sea. How the French came to bear down so boldly on the English fleet, as they did, when their own consisted but of sixty sail, and the confederates of eighty at least, still remains a mystery; though some, who would not be thought ignorant of the motives of any action, relate, that the French King apprehending the English and Dutch fleets could not be joined so soon, gave Admiral TOURVILLE express orders to fight as soon as he discovered the enemy. Others are of opinion, that they had an assurance of Admiral CARTER's Squadron coming over to them; but the Admiral behaved himself with that gallantry as perfectly cleared him from any suspicion, and lost his life in the action.

Battle of  
Steinkirk.

Still the French were victorious in Flanders; for King WILLIAM attacking Marshal LUXEMBURG in his camp near Steinkirk, was forced to retreat with the loss of many thousands of brave officers and soldiers; which disgrace was ascribed to Count SOLMES, the Dutch General, who did not in time support the English in their first attack. Towards the latter end of the campaign, a reinforcement of fourteen thousand English for the confederate army landed at Ostend and Newport, and possessed themselves of Furnes and Dixmude. The following campaign of 1693, was opened by the siege of Huy, which surrendered to the French on the eighth of July, after a siege of five days; which King WILLIAM expecting should have lasted much longer, had detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with part of the confederate army, to raise contributions within the French lines; when the Duke of LUXEMBURG, taking advantage of the separation of the confederate army, fell upon King WILLIAM on the 19th of July, near Landen, and obtained a compleat victory: after which he laid siege to Charleroy, and took it on the first of October. The same unfortunate campaign, Marshal CATINAT defeated the confederate army under the command of the Duke of Savoy, near Turin, where Duke SCHOMBERG, who commanded the English forces, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. This was the first battle where the foot charged with bayonets at the end of their loaded Muskets, to which strata-

Battle of  
Landen.Battle of  
Turin.

gem the success of the French in this battle is generally ascribed.

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The French continuing superior to the confederates in Flanders, the Commons of England resolved to increase their land-forces to eighty thousand men, and granted an aid of four shillings in the pound, as they had done the preceding year, that being the first that ever was raised in England. The campaign of 1694 proved unfortunate to the Spaniards, who were defeated by the French in Catalonia, on the 27th of May, and the city of Palamos taken by storm on the 8th of June following. The last day of the same month Gironne in Catalonia surrendered to the French; but Admiral RUSSEL, with part of the confederate fleet, being commanded to protect the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, prevented the further progress of the enemy, and saved Barcelona at this time. Another part of the confederate fleet, with a great body of land-forces on board, under the command of General TALMASH, were ordered to make a descent on the French coasts near Brest, which they attempted the eighth of June; when the General landing with the first six hundred men, found such batteries and intrenchments, and other preparations made to receive them, that he found himself obliged to retire to his ships; but the tide ebbing, the flat-bottomed boats stuck upon the ouse, and many of them were not able to get off. Most of them that landed were killed or wounded, and amongst the rest General TALMASH himself was mortally wounded, and died on his return to Portsmouth. The confederate fleet however afterwards bombarded Diep, Havre de Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais; but the powder and shot spent against them, amounted, 'tis said, to as much as the damage the French sustained. The grand armies in Flanders being pretty near equal this campaign, they seemed cautious of entering upon action, and there happened nothing considerable on that side, except the siege of Huy, which surrendered to the confederates on the 17th of September, after a week's open trenches. In the mean time religious disputes began to revive in Holland, between the Calvinists and Arminians, inasmuch that the States found themselves obliged to interpose, and command a general silence concerning the things in dispute, which put a stop to them for the present. The winter following, Queen MARY, King WILLIAM's consort, died of the small-pox on the 28th of December, at Kensington. This did not however hinder the Hero from taking the field in Flanders the next campaign, *anno* 1695, where he found Marshal VILLEROY at the head of the enemy's troops, that successful General LUXEMBURG dying the winter before. On the third of July, King WILLIAM invested the city of Namur, which surrendered the fourth of August, and the castle the second of September following. This was the most memorable siege that happened during the war, for the town and castle are of themselves exceeding strong, and had a garrison of fourteen thousand men in them, commanded by BOUFFLERS, a Marshal of France, who defended themselves so well, that the confederates lost twelve or fifteen thousand men before the place. While they were busy at this siege, Marshal VILLEROY had very near surprized Prince VAUDEMONT, who commanded a separate army of the confederates in Flanders, of thirty thousand men; but the Prince made a fine retreat to Ghent, without any

Disgrace  
of the al-  
lies at  
Brest.Queen  
MARY  
dies.Namur  
retaken  
by the al-  
lies.



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VI.Brussels  
bombard-  
ed.England  
threatened  
with an  
invasion.

any considerable loss, upon which his military skill was much applauded, the enemy being twice his number. But the French met with better success against Dixmude and Deynse, which they took the latter end of July, and made the garrisons, consisting of six thousand men, prisoners of war, whom the French refused to exchange, till Marshal Boufflers was arrested on his marching out of Namur, and obliged to give his parole of honour for their release. Before the castle of Namur surrendered, Marshal Villeroy also took the opportunity of bombarding Brussels, which was begun the thirteenth of August, and continued for eight and forty hours with the utmost fury, with bombs and red-hot bullets, whereby five and twenty hundred houses in the heart of that fine city were entirely destroyed, besides churches and publick buildings, whose very foundations were blown up, and converted into heaps of rubbish: and this the French did (though it was contrary to the Cartel to bombard any capital city) by way of retaliation for the towns the confederates had bombarded upon the French coasts, without any view of taking them, which was looked upon as a barbarous way of making war among Christians. About this time, there happened a dangerous insurrection at Amsterdam, on account of some alterations that were introduced into their burial-service, which lasted several days, the houses of many wealthy citizens being plundered, and their persons abused, till at length the militia being assembled under arms, fired upon the rioters, as they were ravaging the quarter of the Jews, and dispersed them; and some of their leaders being executed for a terror to the rest, the city was reduced to its former tranquillity. The following winter, the French had concerted with King JAMES the making of a descent upon England, and King JAMES, with a great body of forces, was actually marched to the coast of France, with an intent to embark, waiting only to hear his friends in England were ready to receive him; for it seems there was a conspiracy in England to have fallen upon King WILLIAM's guards, and to have made him prisoner; and they were charged also with a design to assassinate him, which occasioned this conspiracy to obtain the name of the *Assassination-Plot*: but 'tis certain the conspirators denied this last part of the plot at their deaths, though they made no scruple of acknowledging their design of joining King JAMES if he had landed. However, the plot being discovered, and some of the principal conspirators apprehended, and a good body of troops brought over to England from Flanders, to oppose the intended invasion, the French King marched his troops back again from the coasts, and King JAMES returned to St Germain.

The following year 1696, passed without any action in Flanders, and in Italy the Duke of Savoy having advantageous offers made him by the French King, made a separate peace; whereupon the confederates concluded a treaty with France, for the neutrality of Italy; and the following winter a treaty was agreed to be set on foot between France and all the Confederates. The King of Sweden being accepted for mediator; the conferences between the respective Plenipotentiaries for treating of a general peace, were opened at Ryf-  
wick near the Hague, on the 29th of April O. S. 1697. The French however, sensible what a mighty influence the successes in the field have upon negotiations of this nature, made their utmost

efforts on all sides this campaign. In Flanders they laid siege to the strong fortrefs of Aeth the 6th of May, and made themselves masters of it the 26th of the same month. In the Spanish West-Indies Admiral PONTY stormed Cartagena, and plundered it, bringing home to France twelve millions of crowns, according to the Spanish account. And into Catalonia the French marched a powerful army, and laid siege to Barcelona, which was obliged to surrender on the 5th of August, though well defended by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, with a numerous garrison, which induced the Spaniards very unwillingly to sign the peace with the English and Dutch on the 10th of September O. S. The Imperialists were still more averse to the signing the peace, and not without reason; for the terms the English and Dutch had procured for them, were extremely disadvantageous to the Empire; Strasburgh, with its dependencies, and all Alsace, being yielded to the French by this treaty. But the English and Dutch having gained their main point, in getting King WILLIAM acknowledged King of Great Britain, were not very solicitous for their allies. The Dutch especially were glad to make an end of the war when they found the English Parliament began to insist on their bearing their share of the expence. And the English had no reason to be fond of continuing it, when they were every year obliged to make good the deficiencies of their allies. The Germans also not finding themselves in a condition to maintain the war alone, agreed first to a cessation of arms, and on the 30th of October, O. S. their Minister signed the treaty.

By the treaty between France and Savoy, the Duke obliged himself to abandon his confederates and procure a neutrality for Italy, or if that was refused by the allies, to enter into a league offensive and defensive with his most Christian Majesty against the Confederates. The French King, on the other hand, agreed to surrender to his Royal Highness the city and citadel of Pignerol, with their dependencies, the fortifications being first demolished; but his Royal Highness was allowed to inclose the said city with a single wall not terraced. His most Christian Majesty also stipulated to restore to his Royal Highness the rest of the towns and countries he had conquered and taken from him, amongst which were Montmelian, Nice, Villa Franca, and Suza; and it was further agreed, that the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's eldest son, should marry Madame the Princess, his Royal Highness's daughter: That the Ambassadors of Savoy in the court of France, should receive the same honours as those of crowned heads: That those who inhabit the Vallies of Lucerne by the name of Vaudois, should have no communication with the subjects of France; nor should any Protestant Preacher come from thence into his Majesty's dominions: And as his Royal Highness should not suffer the exercise of the pretended reformed religion in any of the territories or places relinquished by his Majesty, so neither would his Majesty suffer it in his kingdom.

By the treaty between England and France, concluded at Ryf-  
wick the 10th of September O. S. 1697, the French King promised not to disturb King WILLIAM in the possession of the British Dominions, or to give any assistance to his enemies: And that he would restore to England all countries and places taken during the war. In like manner, the said King of England agreed to restore all that had been taken from France.

The peace  
of Ryf-  
wick, an.  
1697.The treaty  
between  
France  
and Sa-  
voy.Between  
England  
and  
France.



France: The French King also agreed to restore to the King of England the principality of Orange, and the rest of the territories belonging to him in France. And by a separate article it was agreed, that the Emperor should have time till the first day of November to accept the terms offered him by his Most Christian Majesty.

Between  
France  
and the  
States  
General.

By the treaty between the French King and the States General it was agreed, That all countries, towns, and places which had been taken during the war, should be restored on either side; and the late treaty between the most Christian King and the Duke of Savoy was thereby confirmed: the rest of the treaty contained nothing but matters of course.

Between  
France  
and Spain.

By the treaty between France and Spain, Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, and all other places taken by the French in Spain, were restored to his Catholick Majesty: and in the Low Countries, the city, province, and dutchy of Luxemburg, and county of Chinay, the fortrefs of Charleroy, the city of Mons, the town of Courtray, and all other towns and places, which his most Christian Majesty had taken during the war, were restored to Spain. The town and castle of Dinant also were restored by his most Christian Majesty to the Bishop and Prince of Liege.

Between  
the Empe-  
ror and  
France.

By the treaty between the Emperor and Empire on the one part, and France on the other, concluded the 30th of October 1697, it was agreed, That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the foundation of this treaty, where it was not otherwise expressly agreed to the contrary; and that restitution should be made to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, and to the States and Members thereof, by the most Christian King, of whatever had been taken during the war; but yet so as that the Roman Catholick religion should continue in the state it then was, in the places to be restored. But as it was thought proper to make an exchange of some places, his Imperial Majesty yielded to his most Christian Majesty the city of Strafsburg and its dependencies, on the west side of the Rhine, to be incorporated with the Kingdom of France. On the other hand, his most Christian Majesty yielded to the Emperor the Fort of Kehl, the city and castle of Friburg, the Fort of St Peter, and the Star Fort; the town of Brisac, and fortrefs of Philipsburg, with all their dependencies: and the Duke of Lorraine was restored to the possession of his capital city of Nancy, and the rest of the dutchy of Lorraine; the fortifications of Nancy only to be demolished, and the fort of Saar-Lewis, with some other small places, to be reserved to his most Christian Majesty; and his forces were to have liberty to march through the dutchy to and from their frontier towns. It was stipulated also, that Cardinal FURSTENBURG, Bishop of Strafsburg, should be restored to the possession of his territories and rights in the Empire.

As to the remainder of the Modern History of the United Provinces from the peace of Ryf-  
wick to this time, the reader will meet with it in the former part of this Volume, blended with the history of Germany; wherein all the actions of the confederates and the French during the last war are described. I proceed therefore in the next place to enquire into the nature of the soil, and the produce of the United Provinces.

*Contains an account of the nature of the soil, and produce of the country, viz. their plants and animals.*

AS to the maritime provinces, it has been already intimated that they lie upon a perfect flat, cut through with numberless canals; except that on the western part of Holland, from the Maese to the Texel, containing the space of fourscore or an hundred miles, there lies one continued ridge of sand-hills, which serve to break the fury of the Ocean, the soil whereof produces only herbage enough to feed the rabbits, which are very plentiful all along that coast. The strand between the sand-hills and the sea is exceeding pleasant, whether multitudes of people resort on summer evenings, and are entertained with the prospect of ships and vessels under sail, going to and returning from all parts of the world; nor is it easy to say whether a smooth calm water, or a tempestuous sea, where the mariner is forced to use his utmost skill to preserve a leaky bark, affords the most exquisite delight. That part of the country which is not a barren sand consists either of arable, rich pasture, or a spongy marshy soil, out of which they dig turf, the general firing of the country. Their arable is tolerably fruitful, but does not produce corn enough however for half the numerous inhabitants. Their meadow or pasture, which is most of it under water in the winter, on the return of the summer, either by the sun, or the help of wind-mills, is drained or dried up, and the waters leaving a fat slime behind, become exceeding fruitful; on which they either feed such lean cattle as come from Denmark and the North, or milch kine, with which they make vast quantities of as good butter and cheese, as are to be met with in Europe. They have also large plantations of flax and hemp, but much the greatest part of what they work comes from Germany, or the Baltick. The turf which they dig in their bogs, or *Veens*, as they call them, are an excellent firing, which burn as clear and sweet as the best wood; and this earth, 'tis said, after cutting, swells and grows up again in the space of a few years, and may be cut for the same use again. As for timber, there is very little in the country, except some groves and plantations on the sides of their canals, intended more for pleasure than profit. As to the inland provinces of Utrecht and Guelderland, here indeed the country begins to rise into hills, and there is much the same variety of high and low lands, woods and champaign, as we meet with in England, and the country produces a tolerable quantity of grain. They seem to take pleasure also in fine gardens and orchards, and are arrived to a great perfection in flowers. Minerals they have none, nor do they dig below the surface of the earth upon any account, unless it be for turf or clay. The province of Overysfel consists chiefly of heaths and marshes, and is the worst inhabited of any of the seven. The grain which is produced in the United Provinces, is either the common wheat, or buck-wheat, rye, barley, peas and beans. They have also some plantations of hops and rape-seed, out of the last of which they draw oil. Their fruit is much the same with ours, and frequently blasted in the spring, or blown down in autumn by the tempestuous

The na-  
ture of the  
soil.

Grain.

Fruit.



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VII.  
Cattle

pestuous winds on their coasts, before it comes to maturity. Their milch cattle are very large, and give incredible quantities of milk; and those which they buy from the northern countries, and fat in their pastures, grow to a very great bulk. Their common breed of horses are large and heavy; but, 'tis said, care has been taken of late years to mend it. Their sheep are very good, especially in Zealand, where they feed on the salt-marshes. Their hogs-flesh is but indifferent. In the up-lands there are plenty of hares, rabbits and squirrels, but scarce any deer. Their wild beasts, which are found chiefly in the provinces bordering on Germany, are wolves and wild hogs. Here are all manner of tame fowls as in England; and of the wild, the stork, about the bigness of a heron, is the most remarkable, which builds on the tops of their chimnies in most of the towns and villages; and, by virtue of a national superstition in their favour, are never destroyed. They take their flight with their young brood about the beginning of August, and, as some conjecture, retire into Africa, or some other warm country, returning again in February. There are prodigious numbers of wild geese, ducks, and other water-fowl also, which visit the Low-Countries from the North every winter; nor do they want partridges, snipes, quails, or pigeons.

Fowls.

Fish.

The fish in their rivers are salmon, perch, trout, jacks, and eels; and their sea-fish, haddock, halibut, sturgeon, soles, mackerel, smelts, crabs, and some other sorts of shell-fish; but there are scarce any oysters or herrings upon the coast. The game is generally the right of the nobility and gentry, inferior people being excluded these recreations, as in England; and the fisheries in some places are appropriated also to them, but in others are open to every man who likes these kind of amusements. I proceed next to give some account of their grand fisheries, especially that of herrings.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Treats of their great fisheries.*

The great fisheries.

The Herring-fishery.

THE three great fisheries, which by all that treat of the United Provinces are looked upon to be of such vast advantage to their state, are, the herring-fishery, the whale-fishery, and the cod-fishery. In these fisheries the provinces of Holland and Zealand are principally concerned; and that of Holland alone, according to Pensionary DE WITT in his time, annually set out no less than a thousand sail, from twenty-four to thirty tun, to be employed in the herring-fishery, which are since increased in bigness from thirty to fifty tuns. These busses, with the vessels that attend them, and those which are employed in carrying and dispersing them all over Europe, amount to many thousand sail, and at a moderate computation, in all the maritime provinces, occasion the employing of fourscore thousand hands, which makes it a noble nursery for seamen. The busses are sent out three times every year, and begin to fish the first season on midsummer-day, near the islands of Schetland (belonging to the British crown) and on the north of Scotland; and this season lasts till September, when the busses having discharged their lading in Holland, fish near Yarmouth, and at the mouth of the Humber, on the coast of England; and hither they make two trips every year, the season not being over till the latter end of November. According to Sir WALTER RALEIGH's computa-

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tion in the reign of King JAMES I, the Dutch fished on the British coast, with no less than three thousand ships, and fifty thousand men; and employed and set to sea, to transport and sell the fish so taken, and to make returns thereof, nine thousand ships, and one hundred and fifty thousand men more; adding, that every twenty busses maintained eight thousand people at sea or on shore. These calculations I find some writers think to be of the largest; but I believe very few that have succeeded Sir WALTER are better qualified to make a computation of these matters than he was; and as the scheme was laid before King JAMES, with whom this gentleman was not on very good terms, it is to be presumed he took care to have proof of what he advanced.

However, if it should be admitted that the Dutch employ only one thousand busses in the herring fishery, and that these busses at a medium may be reckoned forty tuns each, and that they make three trips every year; then every buss may be supposed to take an hundred and twenty tun, and consequently the whole fleet an hundred and twenty thousand tun of herrings. Again, if every tun is supposed to be worth twenty pounds, then do they by the herring-fishery alone, make annually two millions four hundred thousand pounds; out of which, if we allow a third part for charges, there remains clear sixteen hundred thousand pounds; to which if we add the profits they make by the goods they take in return for them and export again, two millions sterling is the least they can be supposed to make annually, clear of all expences; and the multitude of hands that are employed in the making of nets and casks, shipping and tackle occasioned by this fishery, and in the salting, curing, and packing of them, makes it an inconceivable advantage to Holland. If it

be demanded why the subjects of Britain, on whose coasts alone these fish are caught, reap so very little profit by this fishery, and their neighbours so much, it is generally answered, 1. That we do not understand the right method of curing them, which is the reason they will not go off at foreign markets as long as the Dutch have any to sell. 2. That though we have timber for building vessels of our own growth, yet the Dutch can import timber from Germany much cheaper than ours is at home; and that by their saw-mills, and other engines, they save such a number of hands, that the building of ships and other vessels is performed for half the expence it is here. 3. That the shipping sent to the Baltick with herrings, loads back with corn, timber, and other heavy goods, which the English having little occasion for, must return empty, and thereby lose their freight homeward bound. 4. That the rivers Rhine and Maese running through a vast tract of a well-peopled country, and discharging themselves into the sea through the United Provinces, the Dutch have an opportunity of furnishing the people which lie near the banks of those rivers with herrings, and of taking their merchandize in return, which the subjects of Britain by their situation are perfectly excluded from. To the first of these objections against the subjects of Britain applying themselves to the herring-fishery, I find it replied, that there is very little mystery in the curing and pickling of herrings, and that the true reason the Dutch herrings are better than ours, is because we want proper vessels to cure and salt them in: that the Scots particularly fish in open boats, and let their herrings lie exposed to the weather till they come on shore, before they

Why the herring-fishery is not so advantageous to the English as to the Dutch.



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falt them; while the Dutch buffes are covered, and the fish salted in them before they are well dead. But this might certainly be done by the English as well as the Dutch, and would be so if the fishery was under any regulation, and made a government concern. It cannot be expected, indeed, that foreigners should take off our herrings on the same terms they do those of Holland, till we cure them as well, and then we need not doubt their custom: but methinks we have this advantage of the Dutch, that our coasts are so near the fishery, that we may put our herrings on shore, and prepare them for the market much sooner than the Dutch can: for though the first salting be performed in the buffes, they are all taken out and prepared in a different manner, and put into other casks when they come on shore, in order to be sent to foreign markets. And admit there be an art in the pickling them that we are yet unacquainted with, surely we are not so dull, but by sending over half a dozen clever fellows thither to observe their method, or inviting some of them over hither by good rewards, we might soon come into it: and indeed till we do make them as good and as merchantable as the Dutch, it is in vain for our superiors to concern themselves in the matter, and beg foreigners custom, as we did lately at Hamburg; for we must ever expect the same answer that city gave us on this occasion, viz. That if our fish were equally good, they would with all their hearts deal with us as soon as with the Dutch. It is however to be remembered in favour of the natives of this island, that though our pickled herrings are not so good as those of Holland, our red herrings are the best in Europe, and are a manufacture almost peculiar to Britain, which is one great encouragement to the entering on this fishery.

2. As to that objection, That timber for building vessels and naval stores are dearer here than in Holland, this seems generally admitted at present; but the case would be wonderfully altered, if due encouragement were given for importing them from the British plantations, where there is more timber stands neglected, and more pitch and tar, flax and hemp, might be produced at an easy expence, and brought us in return for the native commodities and manufactures we export, than are sufficient to supply all the shipping of Europe. This would produce such a variety of benefits, of such importance to Britain, and of such a lasting duration, that, 'tis presumed, the government will not long overlook them. We want, in short, nothing to make us the greatest and wealthiest people upon earth, but to improve the advantages we have in our hands. The very traffick we might maintain between our own people of the old and new world, would soon give us a vast superiority over the rest of the nations of Europe. As it is, this trade does not employ less than a thousand sail of ships from an hundred to five hundred tons; whereas a little more than an hundred years ago we had little or no traffick with that part of the world. But I forbear to enlarge on this subject here, and proceed to consider the second part of this article; namely, That the Dutch can build their buffes for the herring-fishery cheaper, because they have more expeditious ways of working their timber by saw-mills, &c. by which means one man will do the business of ten: nor is this to be denied; for it seems we are afraid to introduce these machines, lest our people should want employment. Now

did we consider the irreparable injury we bring upon our country by neglecting to introduce such engines, as might enable us to work as cheap as our neighbours, not a man of us would make this trifling objection against them; especially against such as promote our navigation and manufactures. The cheaper we can build ships, and work our manufactures, the cheaper we can send them abroad, and afford the better pennyworths to all we deal with: and this is one of those important secrets, by which the Dutch have ever undermined and worked us out of our foreign trade. As for their living more frugally, and working their vessels with fewer hands, I look upon these articles to be trifles: for what mighty difference can it make in the voyage, where fifteen or twenty hands are employed in navigating a ship of three or four hundred tons, where the Dutch shall spend four shillings and the English five shillings a head per week; what great difference, I say, can this make in a cargo of three or four hundred tons, even where it is of the meanest value? And perhaps if it be considered, as we employ more hands, consequently we breed up more mariners, and our ships are liable to fewer hazards, I question whether in the main they have any advantage of us in these respects. But further it is to be observed, That we should in this case be so far from having our poor multiply upon us, and of having too many idle hands, that we should have much fewer than we have at present. If we could build our vessels cheaper than we do now, and work our manufactures with less charge, consequently there would be a great deal more of them taken off our hands; and as our foreign trade flourishes, so does the home trade of course. A multitude of rich merchants will always find employment for a multitude of inferior people; which is not a meer notion, but we actually find it thus in Holland, where there is not an idle hand in the country; nay, the trader, among that croud of people, finds it difficult to procure servants and labouring men for his money, so little are they in danger of being over-run with poor in those countries where they employ all manner of machines to enable them to work with a few hands. As there is no spot of ground of the same dimensions on the face of the globe where there are so many rich merchants, so there is no place where labouring men are better paid, and live more comfortably.

As to the third objection against promoting the herring-fishery in Britain, namely, That our ships which carry them to the Baltick would for the most part return empty, because we do not import corn, timber, and other cumbersome goods from thence, in such large proportions as the Dutch do; I answer, If we could once prepare our fish as well as the Dutch do, and consequently could find as quick a market for them, I do not doubt but our merchants would find something to import from thence which might turn to a tolerable account: and as I propose in the foregoing articles, that our trade, if not neglected, will suddenly be improved and extended in other parts of the world, possibly we may find it as advantageous to carry our herrings to some other places, as the Dutch do in carrying them to the Baltick. And this also may serve as an answer to the fourth objection, as to our situation, whereby we are excluded from the trade of the Rhine and the Maese, in which rivers the Dutch dispose of great quantities of herrings.

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VIII.

An enquiry into our right to exclude other nations from the herring-fishery.

As to our right to the herring-fishery exclusive of the Dutch and all other nations, this fishery lying all along close to our own shores and no where else, this has been made sufficiently evident by Mr SEILDEN, and many other writers: And for my life I can't see why foreigners have not as much right to the oysters upon the British coast as the herrings. Should it be admitted that seas and defarts are generally free for all mankind to travel in, and wild animals the property of every one that can take them; yet surely there are some instances, wherein seas and defarts may be, and are, appropriated, as well as their wild inhabitants. And as to the Dutch, who have actually appropriated the seas about the Molucca's, Amboyna, and Banda, where the fine spices grow, and would, if they had power, also exclude all other nations from the rest of the Indian seas, under pretence that they are Lords of the ocean, the very title they give themselves in that part of the world; against these people surely our claim will be allowed to have it's full weight, for we may with as much right appropriate to ourselves the seas on our own coasts, as they do the seas about the spice-islands, which they so unjustly and treacherously possessed themselves of, and which lie ten thousand miles from the shores of Holland. Should a British ship offer to sail within sight of the coasts of Amboyna and Banda, the Dutch would make no scruple of taking or destroying her; why then should they be permitted to come close to the British shores, drive away our fishermen, and disperse the shoals of herrings after their own vessels are laden, as they continue to do to this day. These practices, I believe, the subtlest sophister amongst them will be troubled to find a tolerable excuse for. But supposing they had a natural right to do all this, and we had no natural or acquired right to come into those seas which border upon the spice-islands; yet if we can show that the Dutch have, for time immemorial, till the reign of King CHARLES I, solicited the British Princes for licences to fish on their coast, and have actually paid thirty thousand pounds per annum for the liberty of fishing there, surely this puts the matter beyond all dispute: people may part with and deprive themselves of many natural rights, and the Dutch have actually done so here by repeated solemn compacts with this nation. Even OLIVER CROMWELL, their brother Saint, had infallibly compelled them to have performed this contract, if he had not afterwards found them necessary to support his usurpation, and accepted of their guarantee for his tyranny in lieu of that invaluable fishery: for were we to insist upon our right, and exclude all other nations from the herring-fishery, as the Dutch do from the fine spices, we might set our own price upon them; and if the Dutch make two millions per annum neat profit of our herrings, we might by that means make five millions, or indeed what we pleased, and should save an immense treasure annually from going out of the nation: for with these we might purchase the merchandize of the Baltick, Germany, and other countries, as with ready money. Neither need we be over-nice in the curing of them, for if they were to be had no where else, there is no doubt but the worst would go off. But if it should not be thought expedient wholly to exclude the Dutch, or any other nation, from the herring-fishery on our coast; yet surely no Briton can think it unreasonable that we limit the number of busses, or oblige them to pay an acknowledgment in proportion to the quantity of

fish they take. This may be expedient, even in regard to the Hollanders themselves; for if all nations be permitted to come and fish upon our coasts without restraint, why not the French, Flemings, and Spaniards, and even the Hamburgers, and the Powers of the Baltick; and if this were allowed, of what advantage would the herring-fishery be, either to England or Holland? Those very people who now take them off our hands, would take them themselves out of the sea, and consequently the trade would be entirely lost to both nations, which would then perhaps incline the Dutch themselves to wish we had insisted more strenuously upon our right. And as the Dutch are allowed to have their eyes in their heads, and to penetrate as far into future events as other people, I will venture to make them one proposal, which if a little present profit does not bias their understandings, they will certainly close with. The Dutch, as well as the English, can't but observe, that many powerful nations at this day, are endeavouring to improve their foreign trade and navigation, and will probably in a short time fall into some branches of commerce which the Hollander at present monopolizes, and reaps great advantage by. We may see them, as I have already hinted, attempt the herring-fishery, and to discover some countries where the fine spices grow, which are not under the power of the Dutch; or they may possibly wrest some of the spice-islands from them which they are possessed of, as they wrested them from us, and so share these two valuable branches of trade with them: And if this ever should happen to be the case, the Dutch will then be deprived of their greatest strength, and these giants in trade become like other men. I beg leave therefore, even for the sake of the Hollanders themselves, to propose a most intimate union in commerce between them and Britain; and in order to this I do insist, that they submit to share the trade of the world with us: this, if any thing, will perpetuate their grandeur; for our interest must be mutual, if we expect to remain long united. I know no bands so indissoluble between Princes and States as those of interest: let them, upon our admitting them into a share of the herring-fishery, and excluding all other nations from it, admit us into a share of the spice-trade, (originally our own) and then we will unite our maritime force with theirs, by which means we may put what conditions we please upon the rest of the trading world. On the other hand, if they refuse to let us share the trade of the world with them, and pretend to stand upon their own bottom, it is not difficult to foretel, that other nations will soon encroach upon their foreign trade, and they may possibly by their parsimony lose the whole. In the mean while, Britain has such a noble prospect opening to her view by the increase of her plantation-trade, that I don't doubt in a few years to see her able to manage the commerce of the world alone, without the Dutch, or any other foreign assistance. Therefore let that High and Mighty State in time consider and cultivate a strict friendship with Britain before it be too late, and she see herself with regret stripped of the most darling branches of her navigation and traffick.

I proceed now to treat of the second great fishery, that of Greenland, where whales are taken; and this too they have in a manner monopolized; for the Dutch send annually to Greenland between two and three hundred

The whale fishery.



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dred sail of ships, from two to four hundred tuns burthen, and all the rest of the nations of Europe together scarce fit out fifty. That part of Greenland where they usually fish for whales is situated between seventy-six and eighty degrees of North latitude. The English were the first who practised the taking of whales in these seas; and apprehending of what consequence the securing this trade to the nation might be, our people went on shore, set up the arms of Britain, and formally took possession of the country for King JAMES I. And as there were at that time no inhabitants there, or any foreign nation that could have any manner of claim to it, this was then thought to vest a sufficient right in the Kings of Great Britain to fish on these coasts, exclusive of all others; but that pacific Prince, King JAMES, rather than hazard a war, suffered the Dutch to break in upon that part of our navigation, and even to seize our ships and merchandize in those seas in time of full peace, 'till in the end our merchants were wearied out, and obliged to abandon that branch of business; which indeed there has been many attempts to revive, but none of them have succeeded 'till the South-Sea company undertook it; and they may if they please no doubt make it as advantageous to this nation as it is to the Hollander: but they don't however at present set out a tenth part of the ships the Dutch do for this service; for, as has been observed, the Dutch employ between two and three hundred ships annually, manned with forty men each, and the South-Sea company do not employ more than three or four and twenty ships in it: and indeed the judicious DE WITT, and most writers who have treated of trade, are of opinion, that companies and monopolizing grants tend to the destruction of commerce and navigation. The largest whales it is computed yield seven or eight tuns of oil, which is esteemed the best in the world for dressing several kinds of leather and skins. The price of it rises or falls according as the voyage succeeds; for some years they meet with whales, and in others with more than they can manage. If every ship takes a whale, they look upon it to be no bad voyage. Besides oil, each whale affords six or eight hundred lengths of that bone which is become so necessary in cloathing our females; these are found in the mouth of the animal under and on each side the tongue, which lies in the midst of them, as in a bed. As to the season and manner of taking them and extracting their oil, these have been treated of in the first volume, and therefore I forbear to say more of them here.

The cod-fishery.

The third great Dutch fishery is that for cod, which they meet with chiefly on the Dogger bank, a sand between the British coast and their own, in which they employ about three hundred vessels called Doggers, (from the bank they fish upon) being between forty and sixty tuns burthen; and tho' this fishery be of great advantage to them, the English are supposed to have as good a share of it as the Dutch, especially if we take in our fisheries at Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to the northward of New England, where there appears to be the greatest plenty of this kind of fish that are to be found in any part of the world.

The inland fishery.

The fourth and least, is their inland fishery in their lakes and rivers, which is not however inconsiderable, consisting of almost all kinds of fresh-water fish. Of these, what are not spent at home, they salt up also and export with their herrings and codfish to other countries. Sir WALTER

RALEIGH computed in his time, that of all kinds of pickled and salted fish the Dutch did not export less annually than three hundred thousand tuns, which exportation M. DE WITT supposed to be increased one third when he was Pensioner; and as they are exchanged for foreign merchandize, may (as well as their spices) be looked upon as so much treasure, and probably together are of greater advantage to the Hollander than the mines of Potosi are to the Spaniard.

## CHAP. IX.

*Treats of the Dutch manufactures.*

THERE is not a nation under the sun where the people apply themselves with more diligence to all manner of mechanick arts than the inhabitants of the United Provinces. Those manufactures which an hundred and fifty years ago were appropriated to this or that particular country, have been of late years introduced amongst them, and brought to as great perfection almost as in the places they were formerly peculiar to. Nor is this much to be admired, if we consider, that when the mechanicks of the neighbouring countries of France, Flanders, and England, were driven from thence by their bigotted Princes, they retired hither, and set up the same employments as they carried on in their respective countries. It is not therefore to the ingenuity of the Dutch that we are to ascribe their proficiency in this great variety of manufactures; but to the necessity they were under of making their country the refuge or asylum of all distressed people, in order to strengthen their hands, and enable them to resist the then formidable power of Spain. It was this that occasioned their proclaiming an universal liberty of conscience, and making that one of the fundamental articles of their union. In imitation of ancient Rome, this distressed people invited all others in the like distress to join them; and out of a variety of nations who brought their several arts along with them, first formed their little republick: consequently such mechanick arts as were practised by the several people, of whom this commonwealth was composed, must be in some perfection here, especially if we consider that the country was small, and the people so numerous that they could not be subsisted out of the product of it. They were in a manner forced to work for their lives, and by the fruits of their labour purchase the corn and produce of other countries to feed the multitudes that retreated thither. Thus the diligence and parsimony they are so famed for, were founded in necessity rather than choice; and when they were once become habitual, practised without reluctance. They saw what great things their frugality and application had effected, and as these became the subjects of universal applause amongst them, every one pressed forward to excel his neighbour in these arts, 'till they arrived at such a degree of covetousness, as to stick at nothing to advance their fortunes; even their governors became guilty of all manner of injustice, cruelty and treachery towards their allies to promote their foreign trade, and private men scrupled no frauds that did not bring them under the penalty of the laws, or affect their credit. Like their brethren here, they excluded only expensive and unprofitable vices, whatever had a prospect of gain, with them was godliness. But to be a little more particular as to their manufactures,

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IX.

How manufactures were introduced into Holland.

Every



CHAP.  
IX.Harlem  
famous for  
fine linnen  
and silks.

Every province and every town almost in the United Provinces have some particular manufacture which they value themselves upon; not that these trades are carried on in no other places, but there are particular towns and districts where the respective mechanick arts are brought to a greater perfection than in others. In Harlem, for example, they make the finest linnen, and give it so pure a white, that they bring it from all the rest of the provinces, and even from Germany, and other foreign countries, to be bleached here: And Harlem lying in the province of Holland, this kind of linnen is generally called by that name, tho' one third part of it is not wove in Holland. Harlem is also distinguished for its manufactures of fine silks and gauzes, coarse flowered velvets, and gold and silver brocades, and other rich stuffs.

Leyden  
for wool-  
len manu-  
factures.

Their woollen manufactures flourish most at Leyden: Here they make the finest broad and narrow cloths, serges, and camlets; but still inferior to those of Britain, or they would not purchase such vast quantities of our woollen manufacture as they do to export to other nations. Their wool they have from Spain, Germany, Turkey; and some from England, Scotland, and Ireland, clandestinely; and tho' their want of British wool is the occasion that this manufacture is no better, yet they have of late years much lessened their demand for our English cloth, being able to supply their own people and other nations with such cloth as serves their turn, tho' not altogether so good as ours. Nor are the silk manufactures of Holland so good as those of France or Italy; but the difference in the price, being twenty per cent. cheaper, makes them go off better.

Delft for  
earthen  
ware.

In Delft is made that fine earthen ware which takes its name from this city: And the brewing trade, which flourishes here, is reckoned among their manufactures.

Sardam  
for ship-  
building.

Sardam, three miles from Amsterdam, hath prodigious magazines of timber of all kinds, and the inhabitants build more ships and vessels here than any town of the known world; which makes it highly reasonable to include ship-building among their manufactures.

Enchuy-  
sen for  
herrings.  
Horne for  
cheese.

Enchuyfen is remarkable for its herrings. Horne for the best cheese in North Holland, and for its refineries of salt, &c.

In Am-  
sterdam  
all kinds  
of manu-  
factures.

In Amsterdam all these manufactures, and more, are carried on, except that of Delft-ware: Here they weave broad-cloth, woollen and hair-stuffs, silks, gold and silver stuffs, and ribbons of all kinds. Here they make gilt-leather, morocco, shammy, and many other sorts. Nor is dying one of the least of their manufactures. Here are also refineries for sugar, salt, sulphur, yellow wax, &c. mills for sawing timber, for polishing marble, for drawing oil from several seeds, powder-mills and fulling-mills; and here all kinds of tapestry are wrought. Their linnen manufacture also is brought to great perfection, particularly that of sail-cloth, in which the English fall extremely short of them; as they do also in printing, and the manufacture of paper: but why we do so, is not easily accounted for; surely there is nothing so very difficult in these manufactures but an English genius might imitate.

Printing  
and Paper.

Sail cloth.

As to sail cloth, our sea-commanders in general complain, that what they buy in England is so slight, it frequently rends from top to bottom in a storm, and sometimes occasions the loss of their ships; whereas that of Holland wears like a board, and will bear the most furious tempest. Now the

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defect of ours must be either in the materials or the weaving, either of which 'tis presumed might be remedied, if those who had the care of fitting out our fleets gave due encouragement to the manufacturer. The materials we have from the Baltick as well as the Dutch, and surely we might spin and weave them as strong as the Dutch do, if it was made a government concern; and if we considered what vast sums are sent annually to Holland, to purchase this manufacture for our shipping, it would be thought worth enquiring into.

As to printing and paper, there may be some reason why we do not come up to the Dutch, if what our printers say be true; namely, that their founders and paper-makers in Holland have greater encouragement than those of Britain: tho' how this can be, when we pay much dearer for paper and print in England than in Holland, is not easy to discover. As to paper indeed, the manufacture is but lately set up amongst us, and therefore it cannot be expected yet to be brought to that perfection it is in Holland: Besides, there are such taxes laid upon this manufacture, as are enough to discourage those that deal in it. Another disadvantage our paper-makers tell me they lie under, is, that tho' we use the greatest quantities of fine linnen of any people in the world, yet the rags are so tinged with the coal-smoke and dirt, especially in London, that they can never bring them to be of a pure white. As to the types made in our founderies, it is something strange they are no better, because in all other iron-work and hardware there is no nation which excels us: Why then are we obliged to fetch all our types from Holland or France when we expect to have a work beautifully printed, in the booksellers phrase? I would advise our workmen to try again if they cannot outdo the Dutch in this, as well as in all other iron manufactures; and do not doubt but they will meet with the like encouragement as other mechanicks do: for though it be true, that there is a slight kind of hardware which foreigners afford exceeding cheap, yet those same foreigners are willing to give double or treble the price for our London-ware, it is so substantially and exquisitely wrought. The reader will pardon me that I dwell so long upon these things, but they are indeed no trivial matters; I would have my country-men excel all others in mechanick, as they do in liberal arts, and draw over the trade of the whole world to them by their merit; or at least, prevent foreigners drawing over so much of our treasure to them for manufactures which might be made as well here, and the money for them circulate among our selves.

## CHAP. X.

*Treats of the foreign trade of the United Provinces.*

IF we regard the number of ships the Dutch employ in their voyages to the Baltick, and the northern crowns, and the various kinds of merchandize absolutely necessary to their very being, which they import from thence; this may be looked upon as far the most considerable of any trade they carry on in Europe. For from Norway they import vast quantities of fir-timber, masts and yards for their shipping, pitch, tar, stockfish, furs, skins, pot-ashes, and dried fish, and, as some say, copper and iron; but this must be in very small quantities, for there are few mines wrought in this country. In return for these commodities they supply the Norwegians

The Baltick and Northern trade of great advantage to the Dutch.



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X.

with wine, brandy, vinegar, tobacco, spices, salt, cheese, drapery, both linnen and wollen, and haberdashery wares; but their exports not being near equal to their imports from hence, they are forced to pay the difference in dollars, and other specie. This trade is however of vast advantage to the Dutch, though the exchange be against them; because they export again the fir-timber and other merchandizes of Norway to the southern countries of Europe for a considerable profit, and employ annually two or three hundred ships of four or five hundred tons burthen in their Norway navigation. They have this further benefit also by it, that they man great part of their fleet with Norwegian sailors, as hardy a race of mariners as are to be met with in the world, and have in a manner incorporated them with their own people.

Their  
Russia  
trade.

Their trade with Russia was antiently carried on through Livonia by the ports of Riga, Revel, and Narva: but upon the discovery of the north passage into the White Sea by the English, the trade removed to Archangel at the bottom of that sea. In the late Czar's time it was by him drawn to Petersburg, and the ports of Livonia; but after his death the Russian government thought fit to open the trade with Archangel again; and now it is carried on at all the ports above-mentioned. As the English first discovered the way to Archangel, the only Russian port by which they had then a communication directly with the rest of the kingdoms of Europe, they had large privileges granted them by the Russian Princes, and were in possession of that trade, exclusive of all other nations, for some time; but the Dutch, by bribing the Russian ministry, and the false and scandalous representations they made of our nation at the Russian court, soon worked us out of that trade, and sent thither ten ships to our one.

From Russia the Dutch import flax, hemp, pitch and tar, linseed, honey, wax, furs, skins, Russia leather, fir-timber, tallow, pot-ashes, caviar (the spawn of sturgeon), and linnen: for which they exchange, spices, pickled-herrings, tobacco, drugs for dyeing, and physical drugs, wines, brandy, oil, vinegar, fruit, sugar, and woollen manufactures, gold and silver stuffs, silks, ribbons, haberdashery, hard-ware, toys, hats, soap, and paper; but the silks and hard-ware they used to carry thither are like to become a drug, if they are not so already; for the Muscovites have now a more intimate communication with Persia, India, and China, than they had formerly, and can purchase silks there at a better hand than in Europe: nay, the Russians talk of furnishing the rest of Europe from thence with silks and other merchandize of the East. And for iron-ware, which they used to receive from Holland and other southern countries, the late Czar established founderies and forges for all manner of iron-ware in his own dominions; particularly for great guns, bombs, swords, small arms, &c. inasmuch, that it is said, they will be able to supply the southern countries of Europe, in a few years, with these things, on easier terms than they can make them at home. From Livonia also, now subject to Russia, as soon as the country has recovered itself, they will no doubt import as large quantities of corn as they did heretofore. Notwithstanding that prodigious quantity of spices and herrings, which the Dutch dispose of in the Russian dominions, the balance of trade is against them here also, and consequently they are obliged to pay the difference in specie;

but then as they manufacture most of the commodities they receive from thence, and export them afterwards to other European nations, this trade is in the main of exceeding advantage to them.

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Denmark affords very little merchandize, except lean cattle, which the Dutch buy up and fat in their rich pastures: but from Sweden they import a great deal of iron, steel, and copper, and some manufactures of these metals, with fir-timber, pitch and tar, but not such quantities as from Norway and Russia: in exchange for which the Dutch carry them spices, drugs, salt, fruit, sugar, wine, brandy, silks, linnen and wollen cloth, and stuffs; but not so many herrings as to Russia: for the Russians being of the Greek communion, have twice the number of fasts that the Roman Catholics have, and consequently are prohibited flesh the better part of the year; and these fasts they observe so religiously, that they will rather die than eat a morsel of meat while they last. The Swedes also having of late fallen into the woollen manufacture, work up most of that cloth which the common people wear, and suffer as little as may be to be imported from abroad. Their late acts of navigation also, whereby they prohibit other nations importing several kinds of merchandizes, which are not of their own growth or manufacture, are no small prejudice to the Dutch commerce, which consists chiefly in transporting the produce of one nation to another.

Their  
trade with  
Denmark  
and  
Sweden.

From Pomerania and Mecklenburg the Dutch import all kinds of grain, coarse wool, timber, Silesia linnen, skins and leather, honey, wax, and flax. From the ports of Royal and Ducal Prussia, that is, from Dantzick, Königsburg, and Memel, where the merchandizes of Poland and Livonia are frequently shipped, the Dutch bring vast quantities of corn, leather, furs, timber, pipe-staves, pot-ashes, wax, hemp, and flax, amber, quick-silver, salt-petre, sulphur, pitch, and tar. And from Courland, the principal port whereof is Libaw, the Dutch import grain, timber, and linseed: in exchange for which, they carry to the southern coasts of the Baltick, spices, herrings, tobacco, sugar, fruits, salt, paper, haberdashery and hard ware, wine, brandy, and, till lately, linnen and woollen manufactures; but the Prussians have now set up woollen manufactures, with which they do not only clothe their own people, but supply good part of the great empire of Russia. Others of the Northern and German Princes have also erected manufactures of linnen and woollen, which has very much abated the demand for those goods. In this trade to the Baltick and the north, the Dutch do not employ less than twelve hundred sail of stout ships, and I question if Britain sends two hundred thither; but then the Dutch are freighted homeward chiefly with corn, timber, and other cumbersome goods, which the English do not stand in so much need of: nor do the Dutch want half the corn they import from thence; but if there happens a scarcity in any of the southern kingdoms of Europe, they seldom fail of selling the grain they import at double the price they give for it. Huetius observes, that the monopolizing the trade to the Baltick and the North, is of that importance to the Dutch, that it is a fundamental maxim of their government, to hinder as much as in them lies, the northern nations from trading to the southern and western parts of Europe, and the southern nations from trading to the north. Accordingly, I find a cer-

Their  
trade with  
the southern  
coast  
of the Baltick.

tain



CHAP. X. tain modern writer declaring, that the Dutch will not suffer the Spaniards to import the merchandize of the Baltick in their own ships. He spends a great deal of time indeed a little before, in endeavouring to shew, that the Spaniards, by treaty with the Dutch, have excluded themselves from the India trade, but does not attempt to prove, that the Hollander has any right to exclude them from the trade of the Baltick; only says that the Dutch *will* do it; and seems to intimate, that because it is their *pleasure*, therefore they *ought* to do it, and that there is no injury done the Spaniards, if they should oppose their trading thither by force. I don't doubt but the same author, though he pretends to be of British extraction, could, if he pleased to undertake the task, justify the Dutch in excluding the subjects of Britain from the spice-trade and the herring-fishery; for he seems to be one of those who are ready to justify all their encroachments, only by saying, *They will have it so*, and *they must not be provoked*; for poor distressed Britain cannot subsist without their high and mighty protection; we must support them in all their injustice, in order to our own preservation. But sure these poor-spirited animals deserve no other notice than our contempt; I proceed therefore to enquire into the other branches of the Dutch trade.

Their trade to Germany. The trade of the United Provinces to Germany is carried on chiefly by the rivers Rhine, Maese, Elbe, Weser, and Ems. The river Rhine is navigable from Switzerland to the Low Countries, containing the space of three hundred leagues, and running through several rich and populous provinces, and being joined by several other considerable streams in its course (among which are the Moselle and the Mayn) furnishes Holland with incredible quantities of merchandize; particularly with wine, timber and oak-planks; iron-guns, bullets, cutlers-ware, copper, linnen-thread and flax. By the Maese they receive bullets, bombs, grenadoes, small arms, braziers ware, wrought steel and iron, lead and pit-coal: in return for which, the Dutch carry them vast quantities of their herrings and spices, silk and woollen stuffs, drugs, sugar, fruit, and cheese. By the Elbe, and especially from the city of Hamburg, situate on the eastern bank of it, the Dutch import vast quantities of corn, tin-plates, or white iron, (as 'tis usually called) brass-wire, and timber. By the river Weser also they receive excellent timber, wool, grain, several sorts of metals, beer, and Brunswick mum; for which they exchange herrings, spices, silk and woollen stuffs, and other goods, the product or manufacture of their own country or plantations. But instead of carrying treasure to Germany, they bring a great deal from thence, the balance being very much on their side.

Their trade with the Austrian Netherlands. The trade the Dutch formerly had with the Austrian Netherlands was very advantageous to them, and carried on with great ease by the rivers and canals which water these countries. From thence the Dutch imported fine Brussels and Mechlin laces, cambricks, lawns, damask, diaper, and other fine linnens, fine thread-tapestry or arras, ferges, and sheeps-leather nicely dressed; for which the Hollanders exchanged their spices, and all manner of Indian goods, as also the silk and woollen manufactures of their own country. But since the erecting of the Ostend Company, the Flemings take off no more Indian merchandize; and the Emperor having prohibited the importa-

tion of Dutch goods into his hereditary countries, there seems to be a perfect stagnation of trade on this side at present. Neither have the Dutch only lost their trade with Flanders, as to the point of India goods; but with several other countries contiguous to Flanders, which have been of late supplied by the Ostend Company, on which I shall enlarge when I come to treat of the trade of the Austrian Netherlands.

The trade of the United Provinces with France was much more considerable in the year 1660 than it is at present; for the French since that time having laid high duties upon the merchandize of Holland, and set up several manufactures, the Dutch, by way of retaliation, encouraged the making the manufactures of France in their own country, which very much lessened their importations from thence. It appears, that about the year 1660, the Dutch imported from France to the value of four millions sterling of French goods; consisting of velvets, fattins, gold and silver tissues and taffaties, ribbons, silk and thread-laces, hats, watches, looking-glasses, gilt frames, and toys; gloves, paper, pins, needles, small iron and steel-ware; linnen, sail-cloth, beds, quilts, and other upholsterers goods; wines of various sorts; brandies, and vinegar; salt, saffron, soap, almonds, capers, olives, prunes, and other fruit.

The merchandizes imported at this day by the Dutch from France, are wines, brandy, vinegar, and salt; sail-cloth, small iron and steel-ware, pins and needles; ivory, ebony, and box-combs; watches, looking-glasses, gilt frames, plumes, and a great variety of toys; saffron, almonds, olives, capers, prunes, and some other fruits: for which the Dutch send them in return, spices, tin-plates usually called white iron, timber and naval stores, herrings and other dried and salted fish; butter, cheese, tallow, Russia leather, arms, gun-powder, wood and drugs for dying and other uses; linnen, steel, and copper. And notwithstanding they have struck off so many considerable articles in their importations from France, still the balance is against them, and they pay the difference in treasure. The French trade however is held to be of great advantage to them, in as much as they export most of the goods they receive from thence again, with which they purchase the merchandize of other countries.

From Spain the Dutch import wine, brandy, raisins, oranges, lemons, oil, salt, wool, figs, olives, almonds, sonde or kalt, (an herb which being burnt, turns to an hard substance, and is used in making of soap) iron, steel, chefnuts, anchovies, and anniseeds, which are the produce of old Spain. The merchandize of America, which the Dutch import also from Cadiz, are pearls, emeralds, quinquina, cochineal, indigo, cocoa, and vanelloes (used in making chocolate) Campechy-wood bark, balsam of peru, tobacco, and leather; but above all, those precious metals of gold and silver, of which 'tis computed the Dutch receive no less than five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually, for goods sent to America. For it seems the Spanish merchants not having cargoes sufficient to freight their ships, for that country, take goods of the Italians, English, and Dutch, which they send thither, and having exchanged them for the merchandize and treasures of Peru and Mexico, deliver the produce to the foreign merchants who intrusted them; so that the Spaniards are in reality but factors to those nations for great part of the goods sent by the flota and flotilla to that part of the world,

CHAP. X.

Their trade with France.

Their trade with Spain and the Spanish West-Indies.



CHAP.

X.

world, and the Spaniards they employ have ever proved very faithful in this trust, as the profit they reap by such commissions encourages them to be. 'Tis true, if the whole cargo the Spaniard sent to America were their own, the profit would be much greater; but since they make all the advantage they can desire of their proper goods, and have a further advantage by dealing for the merchants of other nations, it is not to be wondered at that they undertake the charge; neither is it to be supposed that the government would ever put a stop to this practice, because the larger the returns are, the larger are the duties and indulgences payable to the crown. And there may be this farther political reason for the Spanish government's winking at this underhand traffick, namely, that the neighbouring powers having already all the advantages within a trifle they can expect by a *direct* trade with the Spanish dominions in America, will not be so sollicitous to attempt a trade thither, or endeavour to encroach on their western plantations and settlements, as they might otherwise be. Of all the nations that traffick thus to the new world through the hands of the Spaniards, the trade of the Italians is much the most considerable; for the western people seem to love to make a figure and shine in silk, which manufacture the Italians seem to be arrived at the greatest perfection in of any nation in Europe. The trade of the English and Dutch also is very considerable to New Spain; and I take it for a rule, that the less the English trade is here, the more the Dutch have of it; for which reason the Hollander cannot but rejoice to find us at variance with the Spaniard: nor will he ever desire to see us in the quiet possession of Gibraltar, a port in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, from whence the flota annually sets out for New Spain, lest we should have too great an influence on the navigation to that part of the world. But I forbear to make any further reflections on this head here, and proceed to enumerate the several species of merchandize the Dutch export to Spain; and these are spices, herrings, cod, and all manner of salted and dried fish; butter, cheese, and, in scarce years, corn; timber, masts, pipe-staves for casks, planks, and all manner of naval stores; linnen and woollen manufactures, as hollands, cambricks, lawns, muslins, callicoes, table-linnen and tapes; broad and narrow woollen cloths, serges, camblets, plain silks, brocades, gold and silver stuffs, lace, hats, ribbons, small wares, paper, cards, Russia leather, white and yellow wax, medicinal drugs, and those for dying. But besides the trade the Dutch carry on with the Spanish settlements in America by the way of Old Spain, they trade clandestinely also with the Spaniards in that part of the world from the island of Curaçoa, which lies not far from Cartagena; the merchants of which port, and of the other towns along the coast of Terra Firma, have a very good understanding with the Dutch, as *Huetius* relates: and this is almost the only advantage which the Dutch have of their American settlements, for I do not know any island or place they are masters of in the West-Indies, that produces any thing worth the taking notice of. But I had almost forgot one branch of the Dutch trade with America, and that is the furnishing the Spaniards there with Negro-slaves from Africa, which is chiefly transacted at Curaçoa; this is not the least beneficial part of their traffick, and the English endeavour to rival them in it: but this dealing in our own species in the manner it is usu-

ally managed, is so barbarous a practice, that I must confess I cannot wish my country-men success in it: this part of commerce is only fit for Dutchmen, who can divest themselves of all humanity, where there is a gain to be expected.

The merchandizes the Dutch import of the growth of Portugal, are wine, oil, olives, lemons, oranges, anniseeds, raisins, figs, dry sweet-meats, and salt. And those of their plantations and settlements in America, are sugar, tobacco, brazil-wood, and other woods for dying, hides, ginger, indigo, ambergrease, pearls, and diamonds, for which the Dutch exchange their silk, linnen and woollen manufactures; hard-ware, haberdashery, leather, and in a scarce year corn. And here the balance is on the side of the Dutch, which they receive in moidores, or other gold coin.

Their trade with Portugal.

The Dutch Turkey trade is so considerable, as to become the particular care of the government, who have established a council stiled the Chamber of Direction, consisting of six Deputies and a Register, who have been Burgomasters of Amsterdam, to take care of it. This council regulates the convoys, and sees the orders of the States observed concerning their navigation and commerce. The ships employed in this service are usually vessels of good force on account of the rovers of Barbary, who are seldom long at peace with the Dutch, and were lately so troublesome, that the Hollanders were obliged to intercede with their allies, the English, to procure a peace for them; which that good-natured nation brought about, though much to the disadvantage of their own trade: for while the Dutch were at War with the towns on the Barbary coast, the English enjoyed the Levant trade almost without a competitor; for the convoys the Dutch sent into those seas, could not protect their merchant-men. Their ships bound for Turkey usually touch at Cadiz and Leghorn, as well to take in Spanish pieces of eight, as for fresh provisions. And there are other ships which touch at the ports of Spain and Italy with merchandize, which they dispose of there, and take in other goods for Turkey, either on their own account, or for the French, Italians, and other nations; and in returning also, they frequently sell the merchandize of Turkey in the ports of Italy, or Spain, and ship other goods for Holland, either on their own account, or for others.

Their Turkey trade.

The principal port the Dutch use in Turkey is Smyrna, from whence, and other ports, they bring raw and spun silk, goat's and camel's hair, cotton and several kinds of Turkey leather; camlets, wax, allum, galls, wool, coffee, currants, medicinal and dyers drugs, particularly rhubarb, which comes through Turkey from the eastern Tartary; scammony, galbanum, tutia, frankincense, fenna, cassia, aloes, sal armoniac, tamarinds, and mastick. To purchase which, the Dutch carry to the Levant their spices, woollen-cloth, tin, lead, iron, and steel; Russia-leather, cochineal and indigo, and a pretty deal of treasure, consisting of pieces of eight or Spanish dollars.

The Dutch have also a considerable trade with Italy and Sicily, the principal ports whereof are Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, Naples, and Messina, from whence they import raw, twisted, and wrought silks of various sorts, as sattins, damasks, tabbies, gold and silver brocades, the most beautiful of their kind in Europe, gold-thread drawn and twisted, velvets, oil, fruits, confections, allum, sulphur, Venetian steel, manna, amber, turpentine, cream of tartar, lacca, glasses, white marble

Their trade to Italy.



CHAP. X. marble in squares and tables, paper, soap, essences, perfumed gloves, snuff, rice, and anniseeds. In exchange for which the Dutch send thither their spices, China-ware, salted and dried fish, iron, Swedish copper, English tin, and lead, whalebone, masts, planks, and naval stores; woollen-cloth, ferges, camlets, Flanders thread, cavear, and grain in scarce years; except that at Venice they will suffer no iron, copper, or cloth, to be imported, because they have very good of their own.

Their trade with Britain.

The trade of the United Provinces with the British isles is very great. From England they import broad-cloth and other woollen manufactures in large quantities; for whether it proceeds from want of skill, or of materials, certain it is the English still excel all other people in making of fine cloth. Tin and lead is another great article in their importations from Britain, as well as tobacco and sugar. Malt and grain is another, when it bears a moderate price in England; and the exportation of coals from Newcastle and Scotland increases every day. From Scotland also the Dutch import some coarse woollen manufactures, lead, salted salmon, hides, and tallow. From Ireland they receive salt beef and butter, tallow, hides, and wax; and these several kinds of merchandize are exported generally in British ships and vessels, to the city of Rotterdam, the centre of the British trade in the United Provinces. In exchange for which, the Dutch export to the British isles, spices, fine linnen, sail-cloth, Rhenish wine, and brandy, geneva, and other spirits; deal and wainscot-boards, with some of the merchandize of the Austrian Netherlands, such as tapestry, lace, cambricks, lawns, and pictures. And a late writer assures us, that from an inspection of the entries of imports and exports at London, and the best information he could procure, this traffick has been extremely to the advantage of the subjects of Britain for the last seven years. But (admitting this to be true, which I have some reason to question) how much more considerable would the balance be on the side of Britain, if we were not wanting to ourselves: what necessity have we of importing that prodigious quantity of fine linnen from Holland that is used here? Is there not a linnen manufacture in Ireland brought to a very great perfection? and ought we not in justice, and even compassion, to that people, to encourage their linnen manufacture, when we have suppressed that of woollen? and in the end, would not the greatest advantage result to our selves by this conduct? As the seat of government is in England, thither would the wealth of Ireland as naturally flow, as rivers fall into the ocean. The same may be said of Scotland: Were that people encouraged to establish a herring-fishery, they too in time would become rich, and we should in some measure make them amends for the loss of their Court and Parliament. How much soever it may be thought our interest to strengthen the Dutch, sure it is much more so to strengthen and advance the wealth of our own kingdoms and provinces, which might by these means be brought to bear a great share in the charges of the government. Let me recommend to my countrymen also, the introducing all manner of machines that may enable us to work with as few hands as the Dutch do, and we shall soon find our importations from Holland considerably lessened. Let us also encourage by rewards, every man that shall bring any branch of our manufactures to perfection, and

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teach us to finish them as well as our neighbours do. For example: Let that Irishman who can produce a piece of linnen equal to that of Holland, have such a reward as shall encourage others to imitate him. Let a proportionable sum be given to our manufacturers of paper, and founders of types for printing, and we shall not fail to see them in a few years equal the French and Dutch in those particulars. Let the Scotch mariner, who can produce a cargo of pickled herrings equal to those of Holland, receive a reward suitable to those advantages the nation may reap by his industry and ingenuity. Let the man that can discover how to transplant cinnamon, nutmegs, or cloves, to settlements under the British dominion, have all the encouragement my native country can give him. And let the like be done in every other beneficial branch of business, and we shall soon see a new face of things. 'Tis true, in some former reigns, when attempts have been made towards advancing our manufactures or traffick, we have miscarried by the covetousness of our own ministers, who have accepted bribes to betray the interest of their country to foreigners; but this is not to be suspected from gentlemen so perfectly free from corruption as the present, and who have no other views than the prosperity of their country.

As to the navigation of the Dutch, it is frequently said, that they have more vessels and mariners than all the rest of Europe put together; but then we must bring into this account all the vessels, seamen, and watermen, that are employed in their fisheries, and upon their rivers and canals: for it is evident, that the English have as many large ships, and vessels of burthen, as the Dutch, except in their Baltick and Northern trades, where they may possibly employ a thousand ships more than the English do (but this is balanced by the number of ships the English send to their plantations in America, where the Hollander has little or no trade). In every other country almost, whither the English and Dutch trade to, we also find more of the English shipping than of the Dutch. But this article will be farther considered when we come to treat of their forces by sea and land. The reader may expect here that I should enlarge on the Hollanders trade to the East and West-Indies and Africa, but he may be pleased to remember, that these branches of trade have been treated of in the former volume; and I would not weary him by repeating what has been already said on those heads: besides, I shall have further occasion to treat of their East-India trade, when I come to enquire into their naval force.

Navigation.

## CHAP. XI.

*Treats of their revenues, taxes, ordinary and extraordinary, and of their forces by sea and land; as also of their coin, weights, and measures.*

THE subjects of the United Provinces are liable to a great variety of charges and impositions. The council of state every winter draw up an estimate of the expences of the ensuing year, and present it to the States General, who signify to the respective provinces their several shares and proportions of it, the whole usually amounting to between two and three millions sterling in time of peace. The States of every province demand of the several cities and districts within their limits, their respective shares; which when brought in, each province sends its quota to the treasury of the States General;

Their revenues and forces.



out of which are paid their land-forces, consisting of twenty five thousand men, composed of Switzers, Scots, and other foreigners, as well as national troops. And there are seldom less than fifty men of war in commission, either employed in convoys to protect their merchants and fisheries, or which lie ready equipped in their harbours, for any service the state may have occasion to make use of them in; and there are seldom less than fifty or sixty sail more unrigged, which are from time to time repaired out of the publick money. The residue is employed in paying the salaries of the officers of state, ambassadors and publick ministers, in entertaining foreign Princes, or their ministers, or other accidental charges of the state.

The forces  
of the bar-  
rier.

To the standing forces of the United Provinces, we may now very well add the troops they are obliged to keep in the barrier towns of the Austrian Netherlands, by a treaty concluded between his Imperial Majesty and the States General, on the 15th of November, 1715. By the third article of this treaty it is stipulated, That his Imperial Majesty and the States General shall constantly maintain in the said Netherlands, a body of thirty or twenty-five thousand men, whereof his Imperial Majesty to have three fifths, and the Dutch two: And when there is any appearance of war, the said body is to be augmented to forty thousand men, according to the said proportion: And in case of actual war, such a further force as shall be thought necessary by both parties. By the fourth article of the said treaty his Imperial Majesty agrees, That the States General shall have private or separate garrisons of their own troops, in the towns and castles of Namur and Tournay, and in the towns of Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and Fort Knocque; but the States General engage not to garrison the said places with troops belonging to any Prince or nation at war with, or suspected to be in engagements contrary to the interests of, his Imperial Majesty. In the town of Dendermond it was agreed there should be a garrison composed of an equal number of Germans and Dutch, under an Imperial Governor, who is, however, as well as the inferior officers, to take an oath to the States General, not to do or suffer any thing that may be prejudicial to their service, with respect to the preservation of the said town and garrison, and the Governor to be obliged by the same oath, to give free passage to the States troops as often as shall be desired. And it was further stipulated, That in the places to be garrisoned by the States, they might place such governors, commanders, and officers, as they saw fit, provided they were not chargeable to his Imperial Majesty, or the country, unless for lodging, which governors and officers should be dependent only on the orders and jurisdiction of the States General, for what concerns the guard or security of such places; but are however to take an oath to his Imperial Majesty, to guard the said places faithfully for the house of Austria, and not to intermeddle in civil affairs. It was agreed also, that the States might change their garrisons as often as they should see proper, and should have free passage for their troops through any of the towns of Brabant and Flanders, as well going as returning, and through all the open country; with liberty of making bridges on the canal between Ghent and Bruges, and upon all the rivers in their road, upon request first made to the Governor of the Netherlands, with whom the rout of such troops should be settled. By the 13th article it is

agreed, That the States should be at liberty to augment the fortifications of any of the said towns at their own expence, advising first with the Governor of the said Netherlands. And because it was found necessary in the last war to leave a considerable body of troops in the towns of the States General, to prevent their being surprized (whereby their army was much weakened) a second barrier is granted them within the former upon their own frontiers; for his Imperial Majesty, by the 17th article of this treaty, consented to let the States post their troops on the Demer between the Scheld and the Maese; and to give up to the States General such forts and territories of the Austrian Flanders bordering upon their frontiers as lie between Dendermond and the sea, for the better covering of those parts where they cannot make inundations upon the lands already belonging to the States General, in case of a rupture with France: and in consideration of the expences, the States will necessarily be at in maintaining the troops in the said barrier towns, and repairing their fortifications; his Imperial Majesty agreed by the 19th article, That the States should have and receive out of the revenues of the Austrian Netherlands the sum of five hundred thousand crowns per annum. And by the 27th article it was agreed, That the fortifications of the citadel of Liege, and the castle of Huy, should be demolished. Of which treaty his British Majesty became Guarantee.

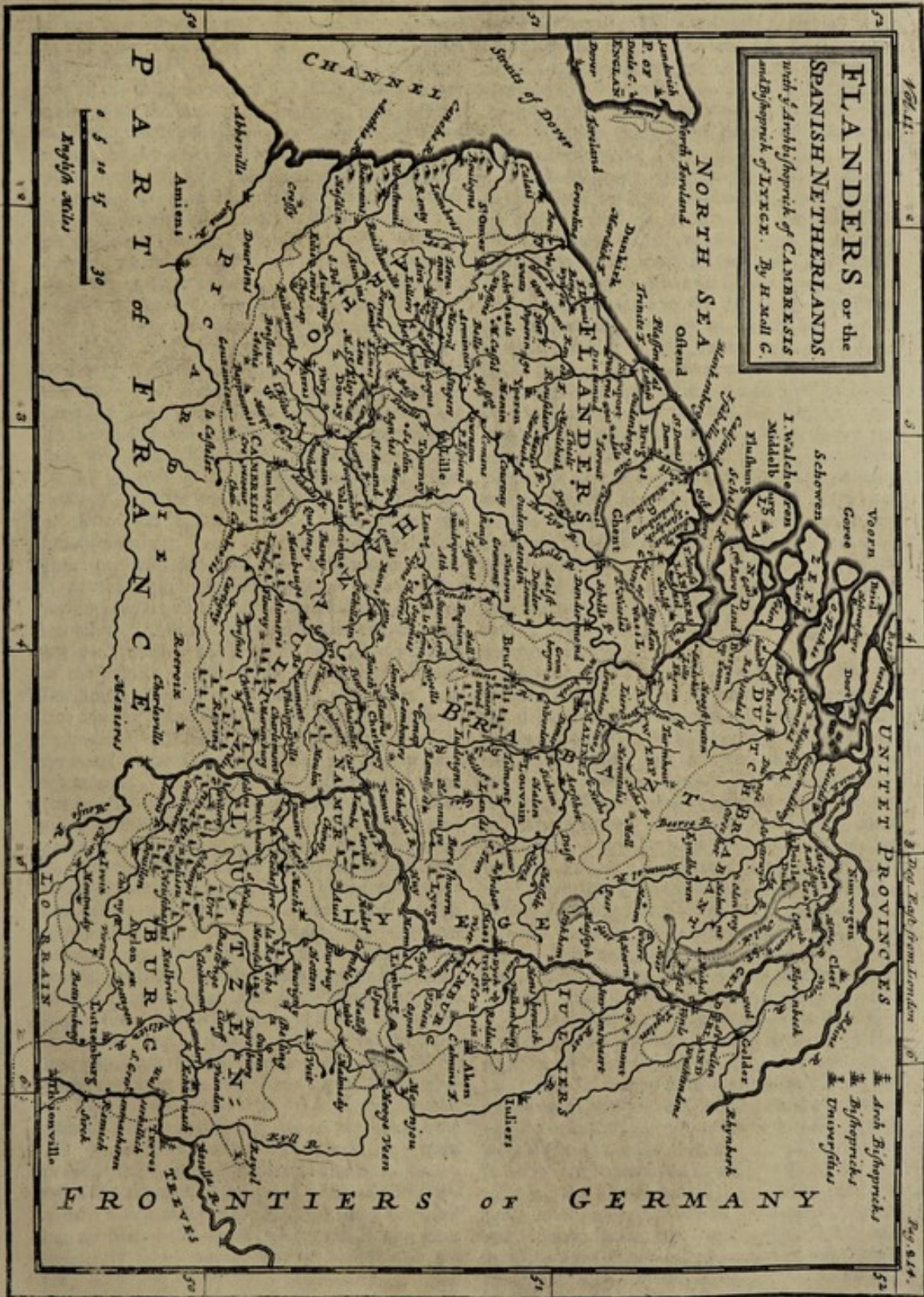
The forces thus maintained in the barrier towns, the reader observes, are not any charge to the States; so that though their standing forces be now increased to forty thousand men, their charge is not at all augmented. The rest of the troops are for the most part quartered in the conquered places and countries of Brabant, Flanders, Juliers, &c. and not in the Seven Provinces, who have besides the forces abovementioned, their respective militia's; the town of Amsterdam alone hath a body of two or three thousand men in their pay, to whom the guard of their city is committed. Nor can the soldiers of the States General regularly quarter in any of their cities without the consent of their respective Magistrates; which was one occasion of the loss of so many of their towns so suddenly on the French invasion in 1672; for while they were deliberating whether they should admit the troops of the States General or not, the French took advantage of their dissensions, and made themselves masters of many considerable places without the trouble of a formal siege; from whence it appears, that the several towns and provinces are put to some additional charges in maintaining their respective militia's, as well as ministers and officers, besides their quota of two or three millions, which they pay to the States General: and over and above these there is an everlasting enemy, namely, the water, which costs the maritime provinces incredible sums to defend themselves against: tho' the frontier provinces against France and Germany, before the barrier was settled, used to complain no less of the charge they were at in maintaining the fortifications of their towns; for every province or city repairs it's own fortifications, though those of the conquered countries are kept up at the charge of the States General.

I come next to inquire into the several kinds of taxes, whereby the respective provinces and towns raise their quota, towards the expence required of them by the States General, and the charges requisite

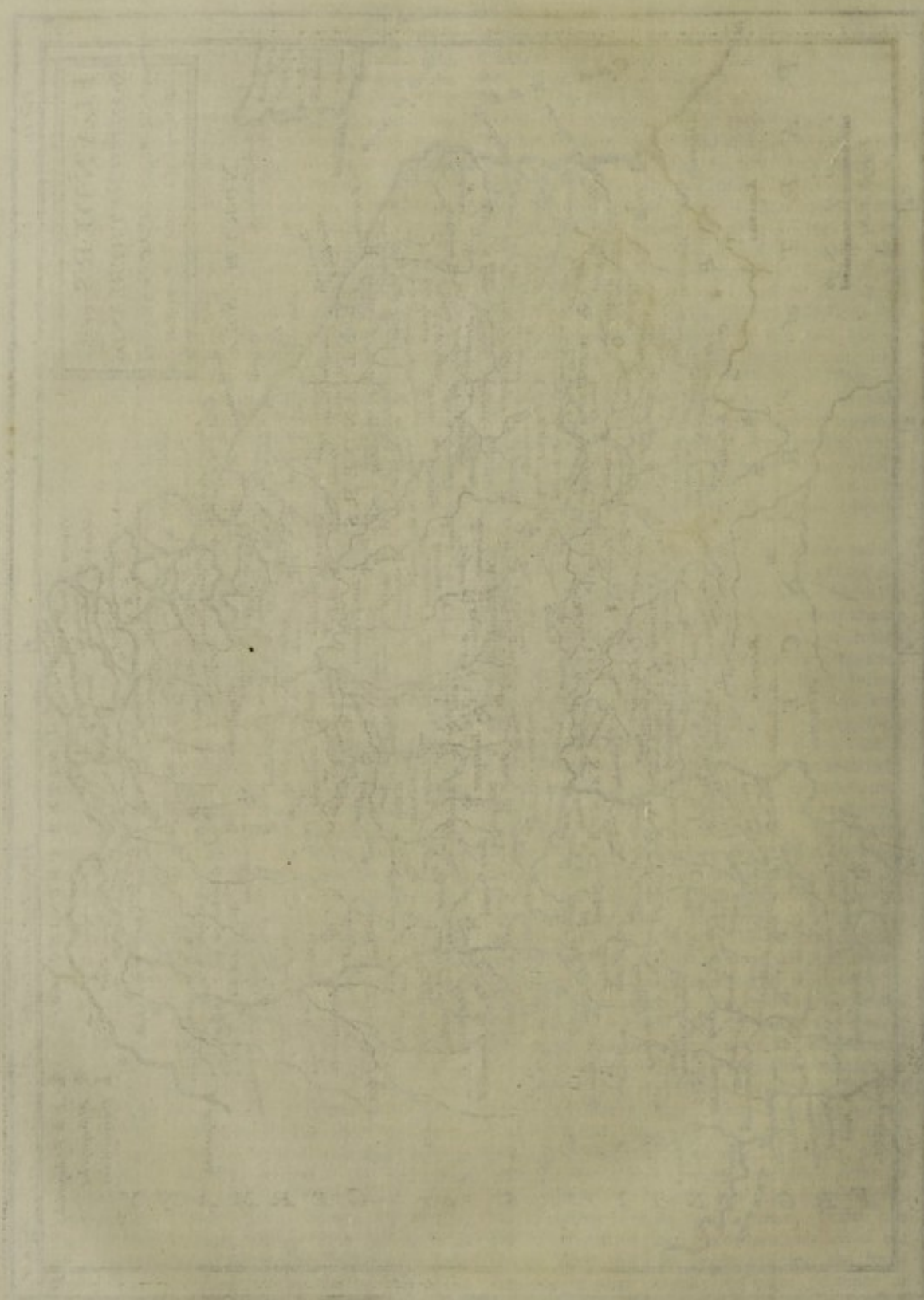
500000  
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**FLANDERS or the  
SPANISH NETHERLANDS**  
with  $\frac{1}{2}$  Archbishopric of CAMBRISIS  
and Bishopric of LUXEM. By H. Wall G.









CHAP.  
XI.The various ways  
of raising  
money in  
Holland.

requisite to support their respective States Provincial as well as cities. And these are in short, by an almost general excise, and their customs; but because it may be a satisfaction to my readers to be a little more particular, I shall here specify some of the chief of them. Their taxes are divided into ordinary and extraordinary; their ordinary or constant taxes, which are levied as well in time of peace as war, are, 1. A duty upon salt, called *Sout-geldt*, which is very moderate: one of the Magistrates of the place takes an account of all the souls in each family, and guessing at the quantity of salt they may spend, levies on them annually a proportionable sum. 2. A duty upon beer, for which every private man pays about twenty pence a barrel; only such small beer as is not worth half a crown a barrel, which the poorest people drink, pays nothing. 3. Another duty amounting to twelve pence per barrel is paid by every publick brewer; and English, German, or other foreign beer imported, pays a much higher duty. 4. The victuallers, or retailers of beer, pay also a further duty of twenty pence per barrel. 5. Every hoghead of vinegar pays nine shillings the barrel. 6. French wine pays six pence the stoop, or gallon; Spanish wines twelve pence the stoop; and brandies ten pence. 7. Butter six shillings the barrel, containing three hundred and twenty pound. 8. For a pipe of eating-oil, eight shillings; and for a pipe of fish-oil, four shillings. 9. Wax and tallow-candles, eight pence the hundred weight. 10. Turf for firing, three half-pence per tun, and coals from England and Scotland, thirty shillings per tun. 11. Five pence per hundred for lead. 12. Wood, an eighth part of the value. 13. Silver and gold stuffs, twelve pence per yard or ell. 14. English cloth, a third part of the value. 15. Tapestry hangings, and other household goods, a ninth part of the value. 16. For a last of wheat which is ground in Holland, six pounds six shillings; half as much for a last of rye; and five and thirty shillings per last for barley or oats. 17. For all cattle, sheep and hogs that are killed, a seventh part of the price. 18. For every horned beast above three years old, three pence per month; and for every horse, two pence. 19. Herrings and salt-fish sold to private citizens, twenty pence the pannier. 20. Every retail fishmonger pays a ninth part of the value for salmon and sturgeon. 21. Tobacco, ten pence per pound; soap, eleven shillings the barrel, and pitch sixteen pence the barrel; every cart or little boat twenty pence a year, and every coach ten shillings a year. 22. All farms and lands, one pound in sixteen. 23. All lands sown or planted, pay four pence half-penny an acre per month, till the grain or plants are cut. 24. Every house pays an eighth part of the rent. 25. Every servant-man or maid pays twenty pence per head. 26. All immovables, under which title they comprehend ships, as well as estates in land and houses, pay a fortieth part of the price when sold or alienated, which arises to a very great sum, there being no part of the world where estates are more frequently sold. 27. A duty or stamp upon paper, according to what is written thereon. And indeed, there is not that thing scarce in the whole country but some duty or other is laid upon it: and every province and city varies their taxes as they see fit; so they raise the quota required of them, nether the Provincial Estates, or the States General interpose in the matter. And where any province refuses it's proportion of taxes, I don't

find that the States General ever proceed against them for it by military execution; but by persuasion and argument, and shewing the ill consequences of breaking the fundamental articles of their union.

Their extraordinary taxes in time of war are either, 1. Poll-money, which is usually twenty pence per head; 2. Chimney-money, twenty pence every hearth: or, 3. The land-tax, as it is called, or two hundredth penny, being ten shillings on every hundred pounds a year; which though their country be but small, arises to a considerable sum, there being so many great towns with houses of good value in them.

I proceed next to observe the constant charges or taxes laid upon them to defend their country against the seas and floods; and the famous *DE WITT* assures us, that every rod of sea-dyke costs them six hundred gilders, or sixty pounds sterling, to make; that against the rivers also the charge of maintaining the banks is very great; but the greatest charge of all, is the draining the country when it is over-flowed, and their dykes broke through, as they frequently are. In Rhineland, a part of the country which has very little communication with the sea, or with any running water, only with standing lakes, every acre pays two shillings a-ledge money, and fifteen pence per acre more towards draining the snow and rain-water off their lands every spring, and another shilling per acre towards highways, canals, and foot-paths, besides great fines and charges they are put to by their Dyke-Graves, (officers who have the inspection and care of repairing their dykes) and by their Bayliffs and Heemraden, who are governors and judges in the country villages.

Before I leave this head of their forces and revenues, it may not be improper to inquire into the strength and forces of the Dutch in the East-Indies; because I find it said by many writers, and some of them men of figure, That the Dutch can fit out a fleet of forty sail of men of war of the line at Batavia, and muster an army of thirty or forty thousand men there; and I don't doubt the Dutch would be very glad to have this believed in Europe; and that their fleet and army there are as good in all respects as an equal number of their ships and forces are allowed to be on this side the world, that other nations may be deterred from making any attempts on their settlements in the Indies. But whatever the number of their men of war, or land-forces be on that side, I will take upon me to say, that twelve or fifteen fourth-rate men of war fitted out in Europe, would drive their whole naval force out of the Indian seas, and joined with a very small detachment of land-soldiers, would take the best town they have in the Indies, even Batavia their capital; for neither the ships that are built and fitted out in India are comparable to those of Europe; neither are the Dutch troops or seamen there an equal match for ours. Those in Batavia, and other Indian settlements, who are of Dutch extraction, are become as effeminate as the former inhabitants were of the Portuguese, whom the Hollanders dispossessed of these very countries, and may as easily be dispossessed of them in their turns. 'Tis true, the Dutch are at present the most formidable naval power in the Indian seas; because the Princes of the East, the Mogul, and the Emperor of China, have not yet applied themselves to navigation; neither has any Euro-

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XI.The forces  
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pean Prince or State yet attempted to drive the Dutch from those coasts, as they did the Portuguese and English. But I would have my countrymen well apprized, that the thing is not impracticable, and the usage we have received from the Dutch in that part of the world, may one day possibly occasion it's being attempted, if they do not behave themselves in a more friendly manner than they have done.

One observation more I shall take leave to make in relation to the Dutch trade in India, which I omitted in the former chapter, where it ought properly to have come in; and that is, concerning their managing that trade by a Company. It is no secret at this day, that the company's servants, their Governors and inferior Officers, run away with most of the profit of this trade, and the company itself does not thrive in proportion to the advantages they might be expected to reap by a monopoly of the fine spices. Which is occasioned by the members of the States of Holland being also members of the East-India company, who advancing their relations and friends to all important posts in that part of the world, and in the fleets that are sent thither, give them ample opportunity of making their fortunes and families; and, 'tis said, frequently share with these gentlemen they send abroad in the plunder of the company. One of these Indian Governors for the Dutch having been a little too open and scandalous in this practice, was, I remember within these few years, fined an hundred thousand pounds, and yet was thought to come off with a great deal more: and these delinquents having such powerful supporters, it is not one time in an hundred that they are called to account at all. When these gentlemen have amassed prodigious estates in the Indies, they usually return and spend the remainder of their lives in their own country; which, considering the many hundreds of gainful employments the company has to dispose of in India, may well be supposed to fill Holland with more wealthy overgrown merchants than are to be met with in other places. Two ways especially the Indian Governors and Officers have of making their fortunes: one is by selling spices under-hand in the Indies to the English and other foreigners, and the other is by trading in the country for themselves and those that employ them; the first of which the Company have taken all imaginable care to prevent, by placing three or four Officers in every considerable port to be checks upon each other; but nothing it seems is more common than for all of them to agree together to defraud their masters, and make their own fortunes. As for little villains indeed, they are very severe upon them: we are informed that a native of Ceylon happening to furnish an English mariner with a small quantity of cinnamon, was upon the discovery instantly hanged up without mercy; and thus, no doubt they would have served any of their own common people who had offended in the like nature: but when this is done by a brother officer, who may wink in his turn, the case is otherwise, especially if the roguery is capable of being concealed from vulgar eyes. But I wave any further reflections on this head at present, and proceed to inquire further into the state of the forces and public revenues of the Dutch in Europe.

A further enquiry into the Dutch forces and revenues.

Since the States General apprehended a rupture with the Emperor, they have increased their standing forces to near fifty-four thousand men, con-

sisting of 4612 horse, 2400 dragoons, and 46914 foot, which, joined with the militia of their towns, constitute a very formidable land-army; and they have also ordered their fleet to be considerably augmented, and published a proclamation, prohibiting their sea-men to enter into any foreign service on pain of death.

To say what forces the Dutch are able to maintain, might be looked upon as a piece of presumption in me; but I have some reason to believe that there are not many kingdoms in Europe able to equip out larger fleets, or more numerous armies than the States. The friends of the Dutch indeed tell us, that their naval force is much lessened, and that they run themselves very much in debt by maintaining their quota of troops the last war: the design of which suggestions is no doubt to induce their good allies, the English, to take the whole charge of defending them on themselves; and whether the confederates of Hanover have a quarrel with the powers of the Baltick, Spain, or the Austrian Netherlands, the English alone may if they please be at the expence of a fleet to assert their common rights; nay, to defend all the extravagant pretensions of the Dutch to monopolize the trade of the world to themselves. But if the Dutch have really fewer men of war in commission than the English, who have of late years employed theirs in many expensive and hazardous voyages, in some of which by sickness alone, without striking a stroke, they have lost their compliment of men and officers twice over, and suffered their ships to be eaten up with worms; these circumstances to me are very far from proving that the British fleet is at present in a better condition than that of the Dutch. There are no people in Europe who take more care in laying up their men of war, and keeping them in repair, than that nation does; and supposing there have been some of their fleet suffered to decay, there are few nations who can sooner supply their rooms than the Hollanders can. If we may believe eye-witnesses, there is not such a magazine of ship-timber, and other naval stores in the world, as is to be met with at Sardam, a league from Amsterdam; and their shipwrights and artificers there, some writers tell us, are so numerous, that they are able to build a ship of five hundred tons every day in the year: add to this, that there is no kingdom where there are always such numbers of mariners ready to man the largest fleets; insomuch, that in the fiercest contests between the English and Dutch for the Empire of the sea, in the times of CROMWELL and King CHARLES II, they never had occasion to press a man into the service. Let any Gentlemen, I say, but lay all these circumstances together, and conclude, if he can, that the Dutch are not able to fit out a fleet equal to that of any of their neighbours.

As to their remaining still in arrear, and not able to discharge their debts they contracted the last war, I look upon this to be all grimace; they might soon be out of debt if they pleased, but this serves them for a good pretence to beg with. By pleading poverty they prevail with their allies to take the burthen of their defence upon them; besides, they pay little or no interest for the sums they owe; and their credit is so good, that people crowd in with their money when there is the least intimation that the government will do them the favour to accept it; and the proprietors, in the phrase of a writer of figure, ever receive it back



back again with tears; they value a security from the State much beyond ready money: but admitting their government were deeply in debt, and did not know which way to turn themselves: what is the reason of it? Why, to say the truth, their excises and taxes lie chiefly upon the poorest, or the middling sort of people, and those of the greatest fortunes pay but a trifle towards the public expences in comparison of the estates they enjoy.

An old hunk, who has two or three hundred thousand pounds in trade, in the bank or lombard-house (a publick office for pawns) and keeps but two or three servants, pays no more towards the support of the government than an ordinary shop-keeper, the excises affect him little more, and the customs upon import and export being so extremely low. Now, was the government reduced to any great distress, it lies in their power to tax these gentlemen who have personal estates, equal to the real estates of our noblemen in proportion to their fortunes; and should the Dutch ever exert themselves in this manner, I do not doubt but their publick revenues would at least equal those of Britain: for there is no place in the world so well planted with overgrown merchants as Holland, which will readily be acknowledged, if we consider the advantages they have in trade beyond the rest of the world.

1. They have in the first place the monopoly of the fine spices, on which they set what price they please: with these, as hath been observed, they purchase the merchandize of every other country.
2. They have the benefit of nine parts in ten of the herring and whale-fisheries. And, 3. They employ above a thousand sail of ships in transporting the merchandize of the Baltick and the northern kingdoms, to the southern countries of Europe, and the product of the southern countries to the north. And, 4. They have much the greatest trade of any nation in the world upon the coast of Africa. Let any person but well consider the riches that are to be gained from these four articles, in which the rest of the nations of Europe scarce interfere with them, and they will not vary much from my opinion, that there are more rich merchants in the seven United Provinces than in all the kingdoms of Europe; and consequently, that this nation is able to raise very large supplies; nor can any thing easily ruin them, unless their assuming too much; and by their haughty and insolent behaviour inciting a confederacy of the most potent nations of Europe against them, as they did in the year 1672. If it be demanded why the States do not lay their taxes more equally, and comprehend the wealthy as well as the meaner sort of people in their levies; it may with a great deal of truth be affirmed, That it is, because the legislative power in every province and city almost is lodged in the hands of the wealthiest inhabitants, or their relations. And, 2. That if they should lay higher customs upon merchandize, it might discourage their importations and exportations, which are one great support of the state.

There remain two things still to be considered, in order to give us a just idea of the present strength and security of this mighty state, namely, the alliances they have lately entered into, and the strong towns of the Austrian Netherlands they are possessed of, which makes the situation of their affairs much more desirable than in any preceding times: they have not only an army

of between fifty and sixty thousand men in their own pay, but by the treaty of Hanover, Great Britain and France are engaged to assist them with the forces of their respective nations, if there happens a rupture with the Emperor; and there are not at present any other powers in Christendom the Dutch can be under any apprehensions of. The barrier towns they are masters of, are some of them the strongest fortresses in the known world, particularly Namur and Tournay, as appears from the notable resistance they made in the late wars, and the time they held out against armies consisting of an hundred thousand men, commanded by the greatest Generals in Europe; and such is their situation, that should a war happen between the Imperialists and the Dutch, the latter would probably be able to make an entire conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, and unite it to their state, if their allies the French and English, in their wisdoms, should think fit to contribute towards such a union. 'Tis true, the Dutch frontiers lie a little open to the Imperialists on the side of Guelderland and Over-Yssel, but as they are now actually fortifying all the passes on this quarter, by which they can be attacked, and with their confederates will be able to form an army equal, if not superior, to what the Emperor can bring into the field, they have little to fear from any attempt on the side of Germany. On the contrary, should there happen a misunderstanding between the French and the Hollander, the latter have now so strong, and continued a barrier from the sea-shore near Furnes to Namur, and so along the river Maese as far as Maestricht in their own territories, that the French would find it much more difficult to approach their frontiers in case of another war than they did in the last; especially if they were supported by Britain and the Emperor, as they will infallibly be, if it is not their own fault. I look upon the Dutch state therefore to be in a manner impregnable on the land-side; and if they keep a good correspondence with Britain, as it is certainly very much their interest to do, they have nothing to fear from the sea. But if they should again encroach upon our trade, and insult our Princes, and imagine themselves to be self-sufficient, and to stand in need of no foreign assistance, as in the days of DE WITT, who in his history of Holland plainly asserts, they were a match for all the powers of Europe; I say, if they should become as vain again as they were then, and wantonly and unnecessarily provoke the neighbouring powers to attack them with their united forces, they must expect to be reduced to the like distress, notwithstanding all the advantages they at present enjoy.

I proceed next to give some account of the coin which passes in the United Provinces, of which there is a great variety; as gold ducats, gold ducatoons, silver ducatoons, and half ducatoons, rix-dollars, half and quarter rix-dollars, florins, schillings, four-penny, two-penny, and penny pieces, deuts, and pennings, whereof sixteen pennings make one stiver, or penny; and three deuts, or doits, make one stiver; six stivers, or pence, make one schilling; twenty stivers make one florin (or gilder); fifty stivers make a rix-dollar; sixty-three stivers make a ducatoon; fifteen florins or gilders make a gold ducatoon; and five florins five stivers a gold ducat. The coin of England, France, and Germany, also pass here for their intrinsic value: the French Lewis-d'Or goes for about



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XI.

about nine gilders, or an hundred and eighty stivers, and a French crown for fifty stivers; but the reader is to observe, that the Dutch stiver is something more in value than the English penny, and therefore I find most people, who treat of the Dutch coins, make a gilder, or twenty stivers, equal to two shillings English: so that when foreigners reckon by livres, florins, or stivers, we have nothing more to do, than to divide by ten, and this reduces the sum to pounds sterling. The coin called a schilling, and which goes for six stivers, is always a base metal, and not a third part of the value it goes at; and whoever travels from one province to another, will take care therefore not to carry too much of this coin with him, for it is never taken for so much in a foreign province as in the place where it is coined. And here, give me leave to add a word or two concerning the bank of Amsterdam, where is supposed to be lodged more treasure than in all the banks of Europe; one reason whereof may be the great security those who lodge their money there apprehend it to be in; for it seems the whole city is obliged to make good the treasure deposited there, and it is observable, that a bank-note is of more value here than current money, the reason whereof is, that they take no coin but at the intrinsic worth: for example, a ducatoon of silver, which in current payment passes for sixty-three stivers, or pence, is received in the bank but for sixty stivers; so that there is in reality, five per cent, difference between bank-money and current-money, and this surplus is called the *Agio*, which is not always the same, but is subject to rise and fall as our stocks are, but usually it is from four and a half to five per cent. The Directors of this bank, it seems, are not known to trade with this money, or make any use of it; but I find it is very much suspected that they do underhand, and particularly, that they go shares with the publick lombard-house, or pawn-office, when jewels, or things of great value are lodged there by neighbouring Princes, as they frequently are; nor do they in this case at all hazard the treasure intrusted with them; for the directors of the lombard-office do not lend above two thirds of the value upon any pawn; nor do they ever suffer the interest to run, but if it be not regularly paid, immediately give notice of a sale, as they did in the case of the late Elector of Bavaria's jewels.

There are several cities in the United Provinces which still retain the privilege of coining money, as Arnheim in Guelderland, and Dort in Holland; and the States or Magistracy of North-Holland (usually called West-Friesland, and in some respects a distinct province) have a mint within their own jurisdiction, sometimes at Hoorn, and sometimes at Enchuyfen. The province of Zealand also have a mint at Middleburgh; and the city of Utrecht still enjoys it's antient privilege of coining money. In Friesland the city of Leuwarden hath the same privilege; as have the cities of Deventer, Campen, and Swoll in Over-Yssel, without any regard to the States of the province, claiming it as free cities of the Empire, as they were formerly; and the city of Groningen makes the like pretence. But as by the union of Utrecht there was to be a certain standard of all money current through the whole state; the States General appoint officers to inspect the several mints, and to take care that no counterfeit money be coined in their dominions.

Their  
bank.

Their weights are, the pound, an hundred whereof make the Dutch quintal, that is an hundred and eleven pounds English (or, according to some an hundred and eight pounds) which is equal to an hundred and seven pounds of Antwerp, an hundred and seventeen pounds of Flanders, and ninety-eight of Paris.

Their most usual measure is the ell, an hundred and thirty-four whereof make an hundred yards English: and their corn is sold by the last, which contains an hundred and three of their shepels, or ten quarters English. The shepel I may denominate the Dutch bushel, an hundred and eight shepels making fourscore of our bushels.

## CHAP. XII.

*Treats of their Language, Learning, Universities, and of their liberal and mechanicks Arts.*

THE language of the United Provinces is a dialect of the German or High-Dutch, but more corrupted and clownish than that of Higher Germany; of which the reader will find an account in the former part of this volume. There are few of the better sort but understand French, which is indeed become the common language of the courts of Europe.

As to the state of learning here, says a modern writer, the mechanick arts are preferred to the liberal ones: for how can it be expected that people who are so bent upon trade, should trouble themselves much with speculation or nice distinctions. This country hath however produced some very great men in the commonwealth of learning: and they have two Universities, which some of our countrymen seem to prefer to our own, by sending their sons and relations thither; though perhaps the cheapness of the place, and the little trouble they have in acquiring degrees, may be the principal inducements for entring their friends here; for our people don't generally admire a Dutch education. But to proceed;

The University of Leyden was founded in the year 1674, by the States: the schools are one pile of brick building three stories high, containing two rooms on a floor, the uppermost having been ELZIVIER's printing-office. There is here, as in some other foreign Universities, a *Series Lectiionum* printed annually, and affixed to the school-gates, whereby people are apprized what hour every Professor reads. The number of scholars in this University is computed to be about two thousand. They have a physick-garden contiguous to the school-yard, consisting of an acre of ground well stocked with plants. On the left of it is a long gallery, in which the Botanick Professor reads his lectures, and in which are a great variety of rarities. There are but two colleges in the University, the Students living in private lodgings in the town. The Professors alone wear gowns, and that only when they read lectures, or preside at disputations, others performing their exercise in cloaks; and the auditors sit covered at lectures and disputations. They confer degrees without any regard to their standing: and for exercise, he that intends to commence, prints a state of the question he designs to maintain, which he is obliged to defend against all opponents. Each Professor, besides the profits which arise to him from his auditors, who are in the nature of pupils, hath two or three hundred pounds a year allowed him by the States. *Liberalium artium Ma-*

CHAP.  
XII.

Their  
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and mea-  
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Their lan-  
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ties.

gister



*gister* and *Doctor* in each faculty, are the only degrees conferred. Those who are matriculated in the register of the University enjoy large privileges, and Students above the age of twenty are exempted from paying of excise for a considerable quantity of wine and beer. The Rector, who used to be chosen by the Stadtholder, and now by the States, enters annually on his office on the day of the dedication of the University, viz. on the 8th of February N. S. and he enjoys the title of *Magnificus*. There are also three Curators, assisted by the four city Consuls as their colleagues, who have the Syndick or Recorder for their counsel. The senate of the University consists of twelve Professors, namely three of each faculty; but they may be augmented by the Curators, under certain limitations. All causes among the Scholars, both civil and criminal, are decided ultimately by the Rector and his four Assessors, to whom are joined the consuls and some of the Schepins of the city. The library of the University is only considerable for its manuscripts, which are esteemed of great value two hundred and twenty one whereof were brought out of the East by J. GOLIVS. There are skeletons innumerable of all sorts and sizes in the Anatomy-Theatre; mummies, heathen idols and reliques; a variety of minerals, and habits of several countries. They shew here a man's bladder containing two gallons of water; and the mummy of an Egyptian Prince reputed to be eighteen hundred years old. Many learned Professors this University is said to have produced, 1. In Divinity, LAMBERTUS DANÆUS, FRANCISCUS GOMARUS, and FRIDERICUS SPANHEMIUS. 2. In Law, HUGO DONELLUS, BERNARDUS SCHOTANUS, and JACOBUS MESTERTIUS. 3. In History, JUSTUS LIPSIUS, PAULUS MERULA, PETRUS CUNÆUS, JOHANNES VOSSIUS, and DANIEL HEINSIUS, ADRIANUS HEREBORD, JOSEPH SCALIGER, and CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS; the two last being natives of France, and invited hither by the States of Holland, who allowed them considerable salaries. And, 4. In Physick, FRANCISCUS DE LA BOE SYLVIUS. The reader may meet with a fuller account of this University in MEURSIUS's *Athenæ Batavæ*.

As to the original of the University of Utrecht, the Dutch historians inform us, that DAVID of Burgundy, Bishop and Prince of the Province, erected a publick school in this city about the year 1459. That in the year 1636, the magistrates of the place erected it into an University. The power of the academical Governor and Officers is exceedingly limited; both the Professors and Students, being subject to the ordinary magistrates of the town, who inflict punishments on all offenders. The hour and subject of their lectures, are printed every half year by their Professors; among whom ISBRANDUS DIEMERBROECK is in great reputation for his *Anatomie Corporis Humani*, published here anno 1672. This library has more printed books than that of Leyden, but not near so many manuscripts.

As to their mechanick arts, the reader will find many of them taken notice of already in the chapter of their manufactures, to which I shall therefore refer him; and only add, that their skill in painting, graving, and carving is much admired, and their musical instrument-makers are esteemed excellent artists: but it is generally observed of them, that they are much better at imitation than invention.

*Treats of the religion of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and of their marriages and funerals.*

UPON the first struggles for their religion and liberties, the Protestants of the Low Countries agreed, that the publick profession should be Lutheranism, with liberty of conscience however for those of different opinions. But by the union of Utrecht, concluded in the year 1579, each of the provinces was empowered to establish such a religion in their respective limits, as was thought most conducing to the welfare of their Province, with a proviso still, that none should be forced in matters of conscience. But in the year 1583, it was agreed by the States General, that Calvinism should be the established religion of the United Provinces; for these reasons, says Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, among others, 1. Because their chief supporters in England, France, and Germany, were of that persuasion. 2. Because those of that persuasion seemed most violent against the Spaniards. 3. Because by this profession all the rights and jurisdiction of the clergy being suppressed, there was no ecclesiastical authority left to disturb or fetter the civil power; and all the goods and possessions of churches and abbies were seized into the hands of the State, which occasioned a great increase of their publick revenues, a thing the most necessary for the support of their infant government. The same honourable writer observes further, That since this establishment, it hath been the great care of the State to favour no particular or curious inquisition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their laws, and to suffer no violence or oppression to be used towards any man, whose opinions broke not out into expressions or actions of ill consequence to the State. The Roman Catholick religion only was excepted from the common protection of the laws, on account of their acknowledging a foreign and superior jurisdiction. But though this is not provided for by the constitution of their government, it is in a manner tolerated by the connivance of their officers, who upon certain constant payments from every family, suffer the exercise of the Roman Catholick religion in their respective jurisdictions, as freely, tho' not so cheap and so avowedly, as the rest. But as to what this honourable writer says further, I cannot agree with him, namely, That no disputes are ever heard of here, on account of religion, and that the civil government hath never been disturbed by religious feuds for a long course of years; when all the world knows, that there is no country in Europe has been more endangered and disturbed by religious disputes than this, and that even from the very foundation of the State to this day, as is evident from the repeated contests between the Gomarists and Arminians in this very country; so that however it may be true, that a general liberty of conscience is the readiest way to promote peace in any government, the Hollanders are but a very unlucky instance of it. And Sir WILLIAM, in working up a panegyrick of this people and their government, seems to have forgot a great many particulars he could not but be acquainted with: nor are the Dutch at last to be altogether acquitted of persecution, for they have frequently dispossessed the Gomarists and others,

The religion of the United Provinces.



others, of their estates and preferments, who would not subscribe to the doctrine of Calvinism: nay, they have imprisoned and banished Nonconformists, and even condemned them to death. And as to the Papists, do they not make them constantly pay for a liberty to profess themselves of that communion? And do not the Scouts, or civil Officers, frequently shut up their private chapels, in order to extort sums of money from them? And after all this will the Dutch wipe their mouths, and say they are not guilty of persecution! But further, do they not exclude all people who are not Calvinists from all places of profit and trust in the government, which their brethren on this side the water look upon as no small degree of persecution, telling us of their birth-rights and natural privileges, from which, according to them, no subject can be justly excluded? And as to the friendship and unity among the subjects of the United Provinces, which are so much applauded, some late writers assure us, that one sect or party will scarce deal with another, but if a tradesman comes to settle any where, who is not of the same communion with the people of the place, they will starve him: and surely the man who is thus treated must resent the usage, and then what good neighbourhood is to be expected amongst them, more than we meet with in other countries? Authors of undeniable credit also assure us, that such have been the disputes between the Gomarists and Arminians, that they frequently came to blows in many of their cities, even while they were coming home together from church, and sometimes actually beat out one another's brains; till the Gomarists called in the civil power to their assistance, and imprisoned and banished the most considerable of their enemies. And though the mob are generally Calvinists, the better sort of people I find are Arminians in their hearts, and do not stick to discover their opinions upon some occasions. But it is remarkable, that the Calvinists here, contrary to those of Scotland and other Presbyterian countries, are great advocates for a monarchical form of government; while the Arminians, who approach pretty near to the church of England, are altogether of commonwealth principles.

And as the Dutch are in many instances as guilty of persecution as their neighbours whom they charge with it, so are they, in some particulars, intolerably remiss and negligent; there is no sect, how scandalous and blasphemous soever, that they will not entertain, if they bring but wealth along with them, and may contribute to enrich their country; inasmuch that there are above thirty several sects in Amsterdam, even Brownists, Familists, and such extravagant opinions as no other establishment will bear, and such as have long been suppressed in all other civilized countries. But the Dutch perhaps (according to the opinion of some of their friends on this side of the water) are in the right in tolerating what the rest of mankind abhor.

But to proceed: The bulk of the people are Calvinists at present, and have the power in their hands, though whether the Roman Catholics do not equal their numbers in many of the villages, I perceive is made a question of late years. The Deputies of the general Synod we find complained to the States General in the year 1725, that the number of Roman Catholics was increased in the United Provinces since 1650, at least three hundred and fifty thousand. The Arminians also, now

they are without a Stadtholder, begin to lift up their heads; and as there are many of them among the magistracy, may possibly, e'er long, give a turn to ecclesiastical affairs in this country. Some of their greatest men have conjectured, That the struggles for power between the Calvinists and Arminians, will one day endanger the destruction of their State; and yet this is the country where Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and, after him, some modern writers, without examination, affirm that there are no heats or contests occasioned by different opinions in Religion. The Anabaptists also are very numerous in this State, especially in North Holland, where I think they reckon up no less than six divisions or sects of them. The Jews have two synagogues at Amsterdam, and two others at Rotterdam and the Hague; among which one of those at Amsterdam is esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of that city, by this people sometimes called their New Jerusalem.

The Calvinists, who are the established sect, or Church, as they call themselves, are governed by a presbytery, among whom there is almost a perfect equality, except that the seniors, or those made choice of to preside amongst them, have some preference in their assemblies. Particular congregations are under the direction of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons; but all censures and degradations, and what concerns religion in general, is determined in their synods, which are either provincial or general. These assemble twice a year, having first given notice to the States of the time of their meeting; whereupon the States appoint a member of their own body to preside in the synod, who is stiled the *Commissarius Politicus*. The General synod send a deputation to the States General once in three years, to represent the state of religion, and to petition for a reformation of such abuses as their own authority does not extend to. The ministers receive their stipends, which are usually about an hundred and fifty pounds a year, from the magistrates of the city, or place where their cure lies; and I do not find that any of them are allowed a plurality of livings. As to tythes and church-lands, it has been already observed, that the States took possession of these on the first constitution of their government, and have retained them ever since, so that the Dutch clergy depend entirely on the magistracy; and if their discourses offend them, 'tis said, they send the preacher a pair of shoes and a staff, by which he understands 'tis their pleasure that he march out of their territories, and he dares not be so impertinent as to offer at a defence.

The Dutch churches are seldom without organs, especially in their cities and great towns, and no part of their worship delights them like psalm-singing; accordingly we find scarce any other books in their churches but psalters, bound up with their catechism; and the psalm to be sung is usually marked on slates, hung up in several parts of the church. Collections for the poor are made in sermon-time, a purse and a bell being fastened at the end of a staff, and carried about by the Deacon, (who is a kind of overseer for the poor) for that purpose. They are very far from observing the Lord's day with that strictness the Presbyterians do on this side the water, making no scruple of travelling by boat or waggon, or of buying or selling small matters; nay, there is not any diversion they refrain from on these days: and yet what a work did our Presbyterians make in the last age, about a permission to the common



CHAP.  
XIII.

common people to follow their recreations on a Sunday, after divine service in the evening? even this alone was thought cause sufficient to justify a rebellion against the government by some, and to murder an Archbishop in cold blood; so various are Presbyterian principles in one country from what they are in another!

Their  
marriages.

Before the celebration of any marriage, there is a solemn contract made between the parties in the presence of their friends, whereby their choice is so far determined, that there is no receding from it; which to me seems to be the marriage itself, and to be so looked upon by the parties espoused; for they make very little scruple of living together as man and wife afterwards, and the woman is frequently pregnant before the marriage is solemnized in a church, or blessed, according to the French phrase. There are in some towns commissaries for causes matrimonial, chosen out of the principal citizens; these take the names of the persons to be married, and see that they have the consent of their parents or guardians; after which they deliver the names of those who are to be married (if they approve of it) to the minister of the place, who publishes the banns three times in the church before or after sermon, according to the custom of the place. As to those who are not of the established church, it is the custom in many cities to publish the banns before the stadt-house, or town-hall, in which the ceremony is celebrated afterwards, according to their respective forms, in the presence of two Senators; though this is sometimes dispensed with, and their marriages are suffered to be solemnized after banns published in their respective chapels, or places of divine worship. Though the Dutch women in their bloom are handsome enough, yet after marriage, applying themselves to all manner of drudgery, and drinking pretty freely with their husbands, their beauty is gone usually before they are five and twenty. If the husband be a tradesman, the wife manages every thing in the shop, as well as in the house, and her man, as she calls her husband, has very little to do within doors, and indeed can scarce be called master of his family; the very children, especially his wife's favourites,

insult him, and his servants shew him but little respect; nor dare he correct any of them, they are so very much upon a level in this country.

At the burials of the Calvinists I cannot learn there is any funeral-service read at the grave, or any bell rung to give notice of the time of their death or interment; but a certain person, whose office it is, gives notice to the neighbourhood to attend the corps to the grave, three or four days after his decease; and there is in many places a penalty inflicted on those who neglect to perform this last office to their deceased friends. In some places both men and women attend their friends to the grave, and in others the women are prohibited. They follow the corps as with us, being usually clothed in long black cloaks, and having seen their friend put into the ground, return to the house, where they meet with an entertainment, or at least a glass of wine; and in some places it is the custom to be very merry, in the room where but a little before they wept and lamented their loss: but people of distinction, 'tis said, order a sum of money to be spent on the bearers and company at some tavern or publick house, and retire decently to their chambers to lament their misfortune. There is a certain set time of day appointed both for marriages and funerals, in some places in the morning, and in others in an afternoon; and if the corps is not brought out at the appointed time, those who have the direction of the funeral forfeit a certain sum for every hour they exceed the limited time, to the use of the poor, which people of figure frequently choose to do, for the state of the matter, and to shew their charity. The time of mourning for a parent, for a husband, or wife, is a year and six weeks.

The Papists and Lutherans seem to lay a great stress upon ringing a bell at the death and interment of their deceased friends, and having them buried in churches, or consecrated ground, which the government makes them pay very dear for; and indeed there are no rites, how superstitious soever they are esteemed, but the Dutch will tolerate if they are paid for it.

CHAP.  
XIII.Their fu-  
nerals.



# THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Austrian and French Netherlands.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the Austrian and French Netherlands, containing those ten provinces, the remainder of the seventeen, which were not included in the union of Utrecht; describing their seas, harbours, rivers, canals, air, and climate.*

### CHAP. I.

The ten  
Austrian  
and  
French  
provinces.

**T**HE ten provinces of the Netherlands, which were not comprehended in the union of Utrecht, and which are now subject to the house of Austria and France, (except some small part of Brabant and Flanders, which the Dutch have made themselves masters of) are, 1. The duchy of Brabant. 2. The county of Flanders. 3. The county of Artois. 4. The county of Hainault. 5. The County of Cambresis. 6. The county of Namur. 7. The duchy of Luxemburg. 8. The duchy of Limburg. 9. The marquise of the Holy Empire, or Antwerp. And, 10. The lordship of Malines or Mechlin. These ten provinces are bounded by the Ocean and the United Netherlands towards the north, by Germany on the east, by Lorraine and part of France on the south, and by another part of France and the British ocean towards the west; being about an hundred miles in length from east to west, and about fourscore in breadth from north to south.

Their seas  
and har-  
bours.

The north-west part of these provinces only is washed by the ocean, and is a very unsafe coast, on account of the numberless shelves and sands which lie upon it. The only ports are those of Graveling, Dunkirk, Newport, Ostend, and Sluys, and these will scarce admit ships of any great burthen; the best of them are Ostend and Sluys. The harbour of Dunkirk was destroyed, in pursuance of the treaty of Utrecht: but of these I shall give a more particular account when I come to describe the towns to which they belong.

Their  
chief  
rivers.

The  
Maese,  
the Scheld  
and Lys.  
The Lieue.  
The Aa.

The  
Sambre.

The chief rivers that have their course through these ten provinces, are, the Maese, the Scheld, the Lys, the Lieue, the Aa, the Sambre, the Dele or Dyle, the Demer, the Scarpe, and the Dendre. The three first of which, namely, the Maese, the Scheld, and the Lys, have been described already in treating of the United Provinces. The Lieue rises near Middleburg in Flanders, and falls into the Scheld at Ghent. The Aa has its source in Artois near Terouen, and passing by St Omer's, divides itself into two branches, which are re-united near Graveling, where it falls into the sea. The Sambre, called by CÆSAR *Sabis*, rises in Hainault, and passing by Landrecy and Maubeuge,

is united with the Maese at Namur. The spring of the Dyle is in Brabant, and takes its course by Louvain; and afterwards receiving the Demer, runs on to Mechlin, a league from whence it acquires the name of Rupel, communicating, its name to the town of Rupelmond. The Demer arises from two springs in the county of Liege, about a league from Tongres, which uniting below Bilsen, pass on to Hasselt, Diest and Arschor, uniting with the Dyle a little below Boteslaer. The Scarpe hath its source from two springs in the province of Artois, which being united near Arras, flow on to Doway and Marchiennes, and a little below St Amand fall into the Scheld. The Dendre hath its source in Hainault, not far from Conde, and running by Aeth, Ninove, and Aloft, falls into the Scheld at Dendermond. Besides these rivers there are as fine canals here as in Holland, though not so many of them: the chief whereof are those of Brussels, Ghent, and Middleburg.

### CHAP. I.

The Dyle.

The  
Rupel.  
The  
Demer.

The  
Scarpe.

The  
Dendre.

Canals.

It is observable that in the flat country, and especially that part of it which borders on the sea, there are no springs, though there are several in the hilly part of these provinces at a distance from the sea; which, as Dr NICHOLSON intimates, is a confirmation of the modern opinion, that the source of fountains is not from the sea, but from great quantities of waters otherwise, and chiefly by rain, collected in subterraneous receptacles; and this is farther evinced from a well in one of the maritime provinces, not far from the sea, of a very great depth, but with little or no water in it.

No springs  
in the flat  
country  
near the  
sea.

The air of this country is for the most part healthful, at least much more so than the air of the United Provinces, except that part of Flanders which lies near the sea, as about Dunkirk, Ostend, and some few other maritime places. But of this and the soil I shall speak more particularly, when I come to describe the several provinces.

The air.

This country was antiently famous for its fine woods and forests, of which there are still some remains, though far the greatest part of them are now converted into populous towns and villages, and

Forests.



CHAP. I.  
Of Arden-  
ne. and fruitful fields of arable land and pasture. The chief of these forests is that of Ardenne, in CÆSAR's time the largest of all Gaul; for beginning near the Rhine, and extending itself through the middle of the country of Triers, it reached on one side as far as the territories of the city of Tournay, and on the other as far as Rheims in Champagne, being five hundred miles in length. The thickest part of it at present is between Thionville on the east borders of Luxemburg, and the city of Liege, which is about thirty leagues; in which limits also there are many villages and plowed fields; the principal whereof is the town of St Hubert, situate on the middle of it.

Mormant. 2. The forest of Mormant in Hainault, which begins near Quefnoy, and reaches several leagues towards Vermand, containing however some towns and villages: and here are made great quantities of charcoal, from whence some suppose it to be part of that ancient forest, called by the French, *La Cberboniere*.

St Amand. 3. The pleasant wood of St Amand, situate also in Hainault, beginning from the limits of French Flanders near the town of St Amand, and extending to Valenciennes. But this, as I remember, the late French King ordered to be cut down.

Faigne. 4. The forest of Faigne, being near Avesnes in Hainault, and extending as far as Mézières in Champagne, being about sixteen leagues.

Soigny. 5. The forest of Soigny, adjoining almost to the city of Brussels, is above one and twenty miles in compass, and contains fourscore thousand acres; one hundred of which being cut down every year, yields the Emperor a revenue of fifty thousand florins per annum, according to Mr PEERS, which makes 5000 *l.* per ann. when reduced to pounds sterling. But this reverend Gentleman (or his author) must certainly mean a thousand acres, as well from the price he rates it at, as because he says it is all cut down once in eighty years; and then supposing it to be worth five pounds an acre, it must yield five thousand pounds per annum. But I am apt to think they cut four thousand acres a year; because 'tis usual in most other places to cut underwoods at twenty years growth; and in this case it will be a revenue worth the mentioning, namely twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum. If it be meant indeed, that a hundred acres of timber are cut every year, which are worth fifty pounds an acre, then Mr PEERS's calculation of fifty thousand florins, or five thousand pounds per annum is right: but then the timber must not be cut above once in four hundred years, which can hardly be supposed.

Meerdale, &c. 6. Meerdale, near Louvain; Zaventervloo, between Louvain, Brussels, and Vilvord; and Grootenhout, near Tournhout in Brabant.

Marlaigne. 7. Marlaigne, beginning near the castle of Namur, and extending along the banks of the Maese, reaches almost to Philipville.

Niepe. 8. Niepe, which begins on the confines of Artois, extends as far as the river Lys, and is the principal forest in Flanders. There is also a forest called Nonna, contiguous to Ypres, which extends itself to the northward.

Poodfberg. 9. Poodfberg, on the confines of Flanders and Hainault, between Grammont and Lessines, a large forest of a round form, which with Niepe and Nonnen were formerly part of the forest of Ardenne.

William's Wood. 10. Le Bois Guillaume, or William's Wood, in Artois near Renty.

CHAP. II.  
Mountains. In Luxemburg and Namur, and some parts of Hainault, there are some hills which may deserve the name of mountains; and part of Brabant is hilly, but the rest of the country is upon a flat.

## CHAP. II.

*Contains a description of the particular provinces, and of their chief towns.*

THE duchy of Brabant, being the first province of the Austrian Netherlands which lies in my way westward from the country last described, I chuse to inquire into the present state of this in the first place.

Brabant, in which I comprehend Antwerp, or the marquissate of the Holy Empire, is bounded by Holland towards the north; by the duchy of Guelderland, and the bishoprick of Liege towards the east; by the counties of Hainault and Namur towards the south; and by Flanders on the west: extending near seventy miles in length from north to south, and sixty miles in breadth from east to west, in the broadest part. The air is temperate and healthful, and the country generally fruitful, except the northern part, called *Kempenland*, which is a sandy barren soil, affording only pasture for sheep. The face of the country is generally plain and open, but in some parts it rises into little hills, and is clothed with wood; but what is remarkable in the inhabitants both of Brabant and Flanders, is, that they have found means to improve most of their barren lands, and make them more valuable than the richest grounds. Of the soil and husbandry of which provinces I meet with the following account, viz. That though the soil of Brabant be for the most part good, that of Flanders is much better; that the richest land in Flanders lies between Dunkirk and Bruges, extending about forty English miles in length, consisting of rich meadows, and fields of as good wheat and barley as are to be met with in Europe. But that between Bruges and Ghent, which lie about twenty-four miles asunder, the soil begins to alter for the worse, and between Ghent and Antwerp we find a gravelly or sandy soil, resembling the most barren part of Surrey, producing scarce any thing but heath or broom, if it remain uncultivated. Nor does the soil much alter for the better till we come within two miles of Antwerp, from which Ghent is five or six and twenty miles distant. That part of Brabant which lies between Antwerp and Holland, is no less barren than that which lies between Antwerp and Ghent; but this soil, which is so remarkably bad for grain and grass, happening to be the most proper for flax, by the industry of the husbandman, is become so far preferable to that called the richest, that one acre of their flax-ground is now worth four of the other. After the flax is pulled, the same ground produces a crop of turneps; and in April following, they sow the same land with oats, harrowing in clover-grass seed upon it with bushes, which grass appears after the oats are mowed, and is good pasture till Christmas. The year following they have three crops of clover; the first about the beginning of June, the second at the end of the same month, and the last before the end of August. Other part of their heath-grounds they plant with hops, fruit-trees, and other trees, which they have found means even upon this barren soil to bring to great perfection.



## CHAP.

## II.

Division  
of Brabant.  
Louvain  
quarter.  
Chief  
towns.

Louvain  
city.

Brabant is usually divided into four quarters, distinguished by the names of the four principal cities, viz. Louvain, Antwerp, Brussels, and Bois-leduc. The chief towns in the quarter of Louvain are, 1. Louvain, the capital city. 2. Tienen, or Tirlemont; 3. St Truyen, or St Tron. 4. Leue. 5. Dieft. 6. Gemblours. 7. Halen. 8. Sichen. 9. Judoigne. 10. Hannue. 11. Landen. And, 12. Ramelies: the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

The city of Louvain is pleasantly situated on the river Dyle, in the latitude of fifty degrees, fifty minutes, fifteen miles north-east of Brussels, and twelve south-east of Mechlin: the walls are six or seven miles in circumference, but include several fields and vineyards, scarce one third of the ground inclosed being built upon. It is a town of no great strength, as appears by its surrendering to the allies after the battle of Ramelies, on the twenty-fifth of May 1706, without making any defence. The castle stands on the top of a hill surrounded with vineyards and fine gardens, and has an unbounded prospect over a very pleasant country, and the air is esteemed the best in the Netherlands; which occasioned its being the residence of their antient Earls, and afterwards of CHARLES V, in his minority. This place was formerly very considerable for its manufactures, it being computed, that there was no less than four thousand master-weavers in it at once, and still they have a trade in fine linnen, but not comparable to what it was. The university is now its only glory; and this, 'tis said, resembles those of England more than any foreign university, and was founded about the year 926, but first endowed by JOHN IV, Duke of Brabant, with the concurrence of Pope MARTIN V, anno 1425. Though the situation and buildings of this university be much admired, as well as its noble endowments, Mr PEERS assures us, it is inferior to Oxford in all these respects. The students in divinity here constantly wear gowns and caps, but the rest only at publick exercises. There are forty-three colleges in this university; of which there are not more than four for the education of youth, where strict discipline is observed: the others are for those of riper years, who come and go when they please. In every one of the four colleges above-mentioned, is taught philosophy by two Professors, each of whom read two hours in a day, the young students writing after them, who when they are matriculated, make oath that they believe all the articles of the Church of Rome. The Professors of these four colleges chuse annually forty-eight scholars of two years standing; and out of that number, after publick examination, twelve are chosen to exhibitions. The degrees taken here are those of Master, Licentiate, and Doctor; the Licentiate seems to be a kind of middle graduate between Bachelor and Doctor, and may answer to our Master of arts. He is upon his going out conducted from the schools with drums and trumpets, treats all the Doctors and his opponents, and gives gloves: at his lodging a bell is rung four and twenty hours together, and he is at liberty to chuse a coat of arms, and immediately accounted a gentleman. The Governor of the university is stiled Rector, and is chosen every half year by the *Senatus Academicus*, to whom the chief magistrate of the city gives place. He has plenary jurisdiction over the scholars, and is on holidays, and solemn processions, attended by eight beadles, who go before

him with silver maces. There is another officer, called the Promoter, who, by the authority of the Rector, inflicts punishments on offenders, and sometimes gives judgment of death; but generally crimes are expiated by pecuniary mulcts.

If a citizen be plaintiff against a student in a civil cause, the Rector determines it; but if a student sue a citizen, the Conservator of the university takes cognizance of the cause. This Conservator is an ecclesiastical person, who with his Assessor, being a person learned in the law, proceeds in cases of contumacy to excommunication, and the offender if obstinate is delivered to the secular power. They have also a Chancellor, whose only business is to confer degrees, and who in all publick assemblies takes place next to the Rector. Degrees are taken here in five faculties, viz. divinity, canon-law, civil-law, physick, and arts: and of the superior graduates in these faculties does their academical senate consist.

The town-house of Louvain is a magnificent building of great antiquity, the outside being adorned by abundance of curious sculpture: the Jesuits church also is a handsome structure, and their liberty is said to be the best in the Austrian Netherlands, in regard of the great number of valuable manuscripts it contains. In the church of the Cordeliers lies buried JUSTUS LIPSIUS, an eminent Professor in this university, and of great esteem in the learned world.

About two miles from this city stands the Duke of Arschot's palace of Heverly; the walks leading to it being much admired by travellers, consisting of tall lime-trees, which afford a delightful shade, but the palace itself, an antique building, is in a ruinous condition at present. In the chapel here they shew a piece of money, said to be one of the thirty for which JUDAS betrayed our Saviour: it has indeed great marks of antiquity, and weighs about an English shilling; having the head of TIBERIUS on one side, and a flower resembling a lily on the other. 2. Tienen, or Tirlemont, formerly a large walled town, but now in a ruinous condition; lying about eight miles south-east of Louvain, still about a league in circumference, and has the same privileges as the four capital cities of the province above-mentioned have. 3. St Truyen, or St Tron, between St Tron, Tirlemont and Tongren; the walls whereof were demolished by the French, together with those of Tirlemont. It takes its name from an abbey of Benedictines here, the Abbot whereof is lord of half the town, and puts in the magistrates. 4. Leue, or Levia, five miles east of Tirlemont; a little fortified town, remarkable for the great priory of St AUSTIN's, whose Prior is one of the chief nobility of the province. 5. Dieft situate on the river Demer, ten miles north-east of Louvain, a pretty town, with a large territory belonging to it: has the title of a barony, and belongs to the Princes of Orange; the French demolished the fortifications in the late war. 6. Gemblours, nineteen miles to the southward of Louvain, and eleven north-west of Namur, stands on a steep hill, encompassed on all sides by precipices, except towards the east, on which side a hill hangs over it, considerable at present only for a monastery dedicated to St BENEDICT, the Abbot whereof is lord of the place, and takes the first place among the lay-nobility in the States Provincial. In this monastery the late King WILLIAM took up his quarters for a considerable time during

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Tirle-  
mont.

Leue.

Dieft.

Gem-  
blours.



during the late war. 7. Landen, situate five miles south of Leue, remarkable only for a victory obtained near it by the French over the allies in the year 1693. 8. Ramelies, eleven miles north of Namur, a village famous only for a victory obtained over the French near it, by the allies in the year 1706.

The second quarter of Brabant is that of Brussels: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Brussels. 2. Nivelles. 3. Senef. And, 4. Vilvorden.

Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and of the Austrian Netherlands, stands on the declivity of a hill on the little river Sinne, or Saine, in the latitude of fifty degrees, fifty minutes; twenty-five miles south of Antwerp, and thirty south-east of Ghent; in a pleasant fruitful country, being about six miles in circumference, and surrounded with a wall, and other fortifications, but not capable of sustaining a long siege, as appears by its surrendering to the allies, after the battle of Ramelies, in the year 1706, without making any resistance. And indeed the fortifications are so extensive, that it would require an army to defend them. In the year 1696, it was bombarded by Marshal VILLEROY, who came before it with an hundred thousand men, while King WILLIAM was at the siege of Namur; and though Prince VAUDEMONT, who lay within the walls with an army of thirty thousand men, prevented its being surprized, there were above two thousand houses demolished in the middle of the town, together with the Stadthouse, and several churches, whose foundations were blown up by the bombs; and the city lying on the side of a hill, and exposed thereby to the enemy's artillery, they fired red-hot bullets into the heart of the place for eight and forty hours, whereby the town became a heap of rubbish, though it was soon after rebuilt with great advantage. It was again vigorously attacked by the Duke of Bavaria in the year 1708, while the confederates were employed in the siege of Lille; but the Duke of Marlborough marching with great expedition to its assistance, the enemy withdrew precipitately from before it.

There are abundance of noble abbeys and monasteries in the town; the country about it is well planted with fruit and timber-trees, and watered with fountains, canals, and rivulets: The river Sinne runs through the city; and is united to the Ruppel, which falls into the Scheld, by a fine navigable canal, near twenty miles in length, whereby this city hath a communication with Antwerp and other cities. This was performed by CHARLES V. and PHILIP II, Kings of Spain, and was a work of incredible labour and expence, the engineers being obliged to level a mountain to effect it, and to erect sluices, whereby vessels are raised perpendicularly to a surprising height upon this canal. Brussels is a populous city, containing large handsome streets, spacious market-places, and uniform elegant buildings both publick and private, especially since the bombardment above-mentioned in the year 1696. It is the usual residence of the Regent of the Austrian Netherlands, and of the nobility and people of distinction. Here also is held the court of chancery for Brabant, and the assemblies of the States of all the provinces. The place is situate in the highest part of the town, a large antient structure, which escaped the fury of the French bombs, being too far from their batteries, which were erected on the lower-side of the town: Marshal VILLEROY, indeed, sent a compliment to

the Electress of Bavaria, to acquaint her that he would spare that part of the town which she resided in, if she would let him know it; to which she returned no other answer, but that he might execute his Majesty's orders (the Duke of Bavaria was then Viceroy of the Netherlands). The church of St GUDULA is esteemed the most magnificent in this city: in which are kept three consecrated hosts, from which, 'tis said, blood issued on their being stabbed by certain Jews in contempt of our Blessed Saviour. Among their religious houses, there is one for penitent whores. Their hospitals are kept exceeding neat, and well endowed, and there are some for the entertainment of strangers, who are supplied with all necessaries for three days. There is another erected for foundling children, who are not suffered to perish through the cruelty or poverty of their parents. Adjoining to the palace is a large circuit of ground inclosed with a wall, containing in it whatever can contribute to the diversion of the court, among which are a park and aviary, grotto's, canals, water-works, and flower-gardens, in which last the natives of Brussels in general are very curious. The Stadthouse, which is a noble building, has over it a brazen statue of St MICHAEL, the Guardian Angel of the city, being fifteen foot in height. Here are also a great many fine paintings done by the best hands; and what renders the houses of the citizens exceeding pleasant, is their fountains and gardens, which few of them want, the meanest of the people being extravagantly fond of flowers.

The magistracy of this city consists of two Consuls, (Burghermasters) and seven Schepins, or Aldermen, chosen annually by the Prince out of seven antient and noble families, and six common-council elected out of the principal tradesmen, of whom there are two and fifty colleges or companies.

2. Nivelles, situate fifteen miles south of Brussels, near the head of the river Sinne, one of the

pleasanteest towns in the Netherlands, but has no other fortifications than a single wall. It is remarkable for a nunnery of noble ladies, who enjoy all manner of innocent freedoms, and are not confined to their cloyster, as in other places. Their governess, called Madame de Nivelles, is chosen by themselves, with the consent of the Prince and the Pope. This town has large privileges, and is considerable for the great quantities of fine linnen made here, equal to that of Cambray.

3. Senef, a village five miles to the southward of Nivelles, memorable for a battle fought near it in the year 1674, between the French and Dutch.

4. Vilvorden, situate on the river Sinne, between Mechlin and Brussels, two leagues distant from each; in the old castle whereof formerly were confined prisoners of quality who had offended against the state, and here also were kept the records of the province of Brabant.

The third quarter of Brabant is that of Antwerp, or the marquissate of the Empire; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Antwerp. 2. Breda. 3. Lillo. 4. Lire. 5. Herentals. And 6. Hoogstraten.

Antwerp is situate on the east bank of the Scheld, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees, sixteen minutes, twenty-five miles north of Brussels, and thirty north-west of Louvain. It is built in the form of a crescent, and lies in a low fenny ground; the Scheld being twenty foot deep here, and the tide rising twelve foot more, ships of burthen may



unlade at the keys; there are also eight canals cut from the Scheld for the convenience of carrying vessels into the town, some of which will contain an hundred sail, which made it one of the safest and most commodious harbours in Europe, until the Dutch cut off their communication with the sea by their forts toward the mouth of the Scheld, and diverted the trade to their own ports; an injury which the Austrian Netherlands will endeavour to redress, if ever it be in their power. This city is about seven miles in circumference, and surrounded with a beautiful wall, and bastions faced with stone; the top of the wall is not less than an hundred foot broad, and well planted with trees. There are thirteen noble gates, eight of which stand towards the water, and have their several keys near them, where vessels are laden and unladen: The citadel is a pentagon of five royal bastions, and stands on the south side of the city, on the banks of the Scheld, commanding the city, the river, and the neighbouring country, the building whereof by PHILIP II, King of Spain, was the first check to the trade and greatness of this port. The citadel is about a mile in compass, and there is a good space of ground between it and the city. Here are large repositories for ammunition and provision, and conveniences for quartering above three thousand soldiers. In the middle of the fort stood the Duke of Alva's statue, trampling upon the conquered States of the Netherlands. The streets of Antwerp are broad and regular, and the buildings magnificent; the whole so beautiful and uniform, that it is usually compared to Florence, which some modern travellers say it excels. The church of St MARY, now the cathedral, is a handsome structure, wherein are sixty-six chapels and altars, adorned with pictures and statues which deserve admiration; and the steeple is esteemed a most exquisite piece of architecture, from whence may be seen the cities of Ghent, Mechlin, and Louvain; and on the other side, the islands of Zealand in a clear day. Among the publick buildings belonging to the religious orders, the Jesuits church is admired for it's large dimensions, curious workmanship, and variety of paintings drawn by RUBENS and other famous hands. The inside of the church is lined with the finest marble, and supported by marble pillars. The stadthouse is a magnificent structure, but the Dutch observe, that from the time it was finished their trade began to decay. The trade of the English was once so considerable here, that they had an exchange to themselves. There is another common to all nations, which was the model of that at London, but hath the advantage of being supported by three and forty pillars of white marble, and standing in the center of four large streets. There is a building also erected by the tapestry merchants, admired for it's dimensions and architecture; and the Printing-house is said to be the best in Europe, having been furnished with an hundred different sorts or funds of letters, whereof two were Syriac, ten Hebrew, nine Greek, and forty-seven Roman.

The trade of this city was at the height about the year 1568 when it was supposed to contain two hundred thousand inhabitants; but the Dutch forming their state soon after, and making themselves masters of the islands Zealand, which lie at the mouth of the Scheld, turned the current of trade to Amsterdam and other great cities of Holland. Nor did the oppressions of the King of Spain and the civil wars they were involved in

contribute a little to the removal of the merchants from thence, to which we may add QUEEN ELIZABETH's being at war with Spain, and setting up the Dutch to oppose that Monarch; and consequently withdrawing her subjects from Antwerp, who had the greatest share in the trade of that place.

Antwerp was made a Bishop's See by Pope PAUL IV, at the request of PHILIP II, King of Spain, who assigned to it seven towns, and an hundred and forty four villages, for the verge of it's See. When it was erected into a marquisate, or how far the limits extended, is very uncertain; but it was afterwards an Imperial city, and the Princes of Nassau Burgraves or Governors of it. As to the constitution of the present government, nine persons taken out of the nobility, and as many nominated by the prefects or masters of the streets, to whom are added eighteen more of the principal citizens, in all thirty-six, are presented to the Prince, who appoints one half of them to be a standing senate, by whom are afterwards chosen two Burghermasters, or Consuls, one of whom represents the city at the convention of estates, and the other administers justice at home, having, with the senate above-mentioned, the cognizance of all causes civil and criminal. The city hath also a Schout, or Sheriff, for the apprehending and executing malefactors; and a Solicitor-General to prosecute offenders on the behalf of the city. The Senate appoint all inferior officers, and elect another council of twelve from among the deans or masters of the several trades or companies.

2. Breda, situate in a flat country on the banks of the river Merck, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees forty minutes, thirty miles north-east of Antwerp, and as many to the southward of Rotterdam, a large populous well-built city, regularly fortified after the modern way, and one of the strongest fortresses on the Dutch frontiers, and hath usually a numerous garrison of the States troops. It hath the title of a barony, which comprehends seventeen villages; the inheritance of the Princes of Orange. The Dutch have been masters of it ever since the year 1637, when it was taken from the Spaniards by FREDERICK Prince of Orange. The great church is said to be a magnificent structure, in which is the tomb of Prince HENRY I. But I do not find any other publick buildings taken notice of by travellers.

3. Lillo, a little strong fortress on the river Scheld, eight miles north-west of Antwerp, and built by that city to render the navigation of the river more secure; but happening to fall into the hands of the Dutch, they do by this and some other forts, obstruct the trade to Antwerp as often as they see fit.

4. Lire, or Lie, situate on the river Nethe, ten miles south-east of Antwerp, and twenty north of Brussels; a pleasant well-built town, remarkable for a spacious market-place, and the elegant buildings which surround it; formerly esteemed a place of great strength, but was surrendered to the allies three days after the battle of Ramelies, without making any defence. It is now subject to the Emperor; and, on account of the agreeableness of the situation, generally inhabited by people of fashion, and merchants who have left off their business. The collegiate church dedicated to St GUMMIANUS, is said to be a handsome building; besides which, there are several convents and religious houses in the place.

5. Herentals,



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Herentals.

5. Herentals, situate also on the river Nethe, eight miles north-east of Lire, and subject to the Emperor, formerly reckoned a strong place, but not capable of sustaining a siege at present.

Hoogstraten.

6. Hoogstraten, a large open town, fifteen miles north-east of Antwerp, which hath the title of an earldom, comprehending several villages within it's jurisdiction.

Eckeren.

7. Eckeren, a small town, three miles to the northward of Antwerp, rendered famous by a desperate battle fought near it, between the French and the Confederates, in the year 1703, where the Dutch General OPDAM, being cut off from his army, ran away, and gave out that the Allies were defeated, who notwithstanding maintained their ground, to the everlasting disgrace of that gentleman.

I proceed next to the description of Bergen-op-zoom, Steen-Bergen, and Santvliet, with some neighbouring fortifications, which geographers place in Dutch Brabant, but do not reduce to any particular quarter.

1. Bergen-op-zoom, sometimes called simply Bergen, situate on an eminence in the middle of a morass, half a league from the eastern branch of the Scheld, with which it hath a communication by a navigable canal. It is about eighteen miles north of Antwerp, and as many to the westward of Breda. It stands advantageously on the confines of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, and is strong by nature as well as art, being so secured by the morasses about it, that this, if any place, may be looked upon as impregnable. It does not only secure the communication between Holland and Zealand, but opens the Dutch a way into Brabant whenever they please, and from whence they have formerly made excursions into the heart of the country. The town is well built, and the market-places spacious; the church of St LAMBERT, and the Marquis's palace are the only publick buildings taken notice of by travellers, for this town was erected into a Marquisate by CHARLES V, and the neighbouring country made subject to it; but whoever has the possession of the Marquisate, the town is subject to the States General.

Steenbergen.

2. Steenbergen, a small town near the sea, about five miles to the northward of Bergen-op-zoom, with which it hath a communication by a canal, and is strongly fortified, in order to defend the approaches to that city.

Santvliet.

3. Santvliet, eight miles south of Bergen-op-zoom, erected by the Spaniards with some other forts, in order to attack Lillo. There is also a fort between Santvliet and Lillo, called Henry-Frederick, upon the Scheld, which the Dutch are in possession of, and contributes to secure the navigation of that river to them.

Bois le Duc quarter.

The fourth division of Brabant is that called the quarter of Bois le Duc, the chief places whereof are, 1. Bois le Duc. 2. Helmont. 3. Eindhoven. 4. Megen. 5. Ravenstein. 6. Grave. 7. Maestricht. 8. Crevecœur. 9. Bostel.

Bois le Duc.

Bois le Duc, Sylva Ducis, called by the Dutch, Hertogenbosch, and frequently the Bosch, which had it's name from a neighbouring wood, is situate on the banks of the Dromele, which here receives the Aa and Diefse, and five miles to the northward falls into the Maese at Crevecœur. The town stands on a rising ground, in the middle of a large marsh, and for great part of the year can only be approached by causeways, on which are built forts and redoubts for it's defence. The town is

about four or five miles in circumference, and regularly fortified after the modern way, which with the advantage of it's situation, renders it one of the strongest towns upon the Dutch frontiers. It lies about twenty miles to the eastward of Breda, and as many to the westward of Grave. Several fine navigable canals run through the town, over which lie fifty stone bridges; and ten of the principal streets center in a spacious market-place, surrounded with good buildings, but generally of timber. The publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are, the Stadthouse, built after the model of that at Amsterdam, and the church of St JOHN, formerly the cathedral, when King PHILIP II made this city a Bishop's See, in the choir of which are the arms of the knights of the Golden Fleece, and over their stalls, an inscription giving an account of their institution by PHILIP the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Lorraine, and Brabant.

The linnen and woollen manufactures flourish here, and their cutlery ware and needles are in good esteem. The magistrates are two Prætors, or Burghermasters, usually of noble families; who take cognizance of civil and criminal causes, there are also seven Schepins, or Aldermen, who administer justice, and a common-council, or senate, as in other cities of Holland; but there is a tribunal at the Hague, to which there lies an appeal from this and all other cities of Brabant subject to the Dutch, consisting of seven Senators, a Grefier, a Treasurer, and an Attorney-General. Within the jurisdiction of Boisleduc, are Campin, Peeland, Maesland, the district of Osterwick, and the towns of Helmont, Eindhoven, Megen, Ravenstein, and Grave. Helmont lies on the river Aa, fifteen miles south-east of Boisleduc, a walled town, capital of the district of Peeland. Eindhoven is a little walled town, situate on the Dromele, twelve miles south-west of Helmont, and is the capital of the district of Campinland. Megen lies on the Maese, about ten miles north-east of Boisleduc, and gives title to an Earl, the adjacent country being under it's jurisdiction. Ravenstein is also situate on the Maese five miles south-east of Megen, defended by a castle, and the neighbouring country is subject to it.

Grave is a small but strong fortress, situate on the Maese, in a flat marshy country, five miles east of Ravenstein, and sixteen north-east of Boisleduc, of great importance to the Dutch, who are sovereigns of it, as it commands a considerable pass on their frontiers. 'Tis a neat pleasant town, and capital of the little earldom of Cuyck, about four miles in length and one in breadth, belonging to the family of Orange. The Magistrates are two Consuls, or Burghermasters, and seven Aldermen, appointed by the Prince, and a common-council, consisting of eight persons, who are only assembled on extraordinary occasions. The town enjoys large privileges, and an exemption from many taxes which the neighbouring places are liable to.

Maestricht is situate on the west side of the river Maese, having a suburb strongly fortified, called the Wyck, on the east-side, and is about twelve miles to the northward of Liege, and thirty to the eastward of Louvain. It takes it's name from a ferry, formerly over the Maese at this place, Trecht signifying a boat in the Dutch language. Both parts are now united by a stone bridge of nine arches: The town is generally reckoned to be in the Province of Brabant, but the Wyck in the diocese

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## II.

Helmont.

Eindhoven.

Megen.

Ravenstein.

Grave.

Maestricht.



diocese of Liege, whose Bishop hath the civil government thereof, though the whole is under the dominion of the Dutch. The town is about four miles in circumference, and strongly fortified after the modern way, but it is not very populous, there being several void spaces within the walls. The streets are large, the old buildings of wood and the new of brick: The Stadthouse is built after the model of Amsterdam. There are three Dutch churches, and several more belonging to the Roman Catholics, of which communion the greatest part of the natives are, and have a convent of monks, and another of nuns in the place. The government resembles that of the other towns of the United Provinces, to whom it is subject. It revolted from Spain about the year 1570, but was reduced to the obedience of the Spaniard again in 1579, under whose dominion it remained till the year 1632, when it was taken by the Dutch who held it till the year 1673, when it was taken by the French King in person, but restored to the Dutch by the peace of Nimeguen, Anno 1679, in whose possession it has ever since remained.

Creve-  
cœur.

Crevecoeur is situate on the Maese, five miles north of Boisleduc, a fortress of great importance on the Dutch frontiers.

Boxtel.

Boxtel lies about five miles to the southward of Boisleduc, and is considerable on account of it's commanding the sluices, whereby the country may be overflowed or drained.

Mechlin  
province.

The little province or lordship of Mechlin being entirely surrounded by that of Brabant, comes naturally to be described next. The whole extent of it is scarce ten miles from east to west, and the breadth of it from north to south is about five. It was erected into a separate jurisdiction by PHILIP the Good, Duke of Burgundy, and hath several considerable villages within it's limits, but the only town of any consequence is the city of Mechlin.

Mechlin  
city.

Mechlin, or Malines, is situate on the river Dyle, between the cities of Antwerp, Brussels, and Louvain, from each of which it is about twelve miles distant. It is a large well-built city, the streets spacious and extremely neat, and divided into several islands by the branches of the Dyle, or artificial canals which run through it, over which lie a great number of bridges. As to the strength of the fortifications which several writers magnify, they must certainly be under a mistake, for in all the late wars it never endured a siege, and particularly after the battle of Ramelies, it surrendered to the Allies, without attempting to make any defence. The town is divided into seven parishes, each of which hath a beautiful church. The cathedral, dedicated to St RUMBALD, is a magnificent old building; and among their religious houses, the monastery of the Franciscans and the nunnery of St CLARA are most admired. Pope PAUL IV erected it into an archbishoprick in the year 1559, giving this Prelate the title of Primate of the Low Countries. The States of this lordship, or province, consist of a certain number of the magistracy, and the representatives of the common people; and here is held a great council, instituted by CHARLES the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, anno 1473, consisting of a President and sixteen Senators; to which high court all appeals were brought from the rest of the provinces formerly, and still are from those which remain under the dominion of the house of Austria.

The tanners and weavers trades flourished much in this city formerly, and are very considerable at present: they are famous also for casting of bells

and great guns; but what has been most admired of late years is their lace, being the finest that is made in the Low Countries; and when the English troops were quartered here, their beer was in great esteem amongst the officers, being equal to the best October in England.

In this province I shall include the little town of Arschot, erected into a duchy by CHARLES V. This city stands on the river Demer, twelve miles to the eastward of Mechlin, and hath a small territory belonging to it, being the inheritance of the ancient family of the CROYS, who came originally out of France.

The province or earldom of Flanders is bounded by the ocean, and that branch of the Scheld called the Hout, which separates it from Zealand, towards the north: By Brabant and part of Hainault towards the east. By another part of Hainault and Artois towards the south; and by the ocean and part of Artois towards the west: extending in length from east to west upwards of seventy miles, in breadth from north to south about sixty. This province is generally flat and level, and the most fruitful spot of earth that is to be met with in Europe; nor is the air any where unhealthy at a distance from the sea and the mouth of the Scheld: And what renders this country extremely pleasant, is, their fine canals, their regular plantations of trees, and the many beautiful cloysters, towns, and villages, which stand so thick, that we no sooner part from one, but we find our selves at another. But notwithstanding the country abounds in good arable and pasture, and there are some grapes, the climate is too cold to produce good wine; for their winters are much colder, and their frosts of a longer duration than ours; the north-east winds coming to them over a long extent of frozen continent, which are rendered much milder by the sea before they can reach us. They have a noble large breed of cattle, especially of horses for draught, which we frequently see in the coaches of our nobility: nor do they want any animals, wild or domestick, which are to be met with in Britain; and to me the inhabitants appear a politer and more hospitable people than those of Holland: and however some may magnify the freedom and pleasure they enjoy in the United Provinces, foreigners, who visit Flanders, as well as the natives, seem to enjoy much more freedom and satisfaction than is to be met with in the territories of the Dutch. I presume the reader will naturally understand me to speak of the Austrian Flanders; for the eastern part, under the power of the Dutch, and the western side, in the possession of the French, very much resemble the respective nations to which they belong, and speak their language. What part belongs to one, and what to the other, will appear from the description of the several great towns, and the territories belonging to them. And in my way westward, I first meet with those under the dominion of the Dutch, viz. Sluys, Ardenburg, Middleburg, Sas van Ghent, Hulst, Axel, Liefkens, Ternhuys, Philippin, Bier-Vlier, Isendick, Osburg, and Cadstrand fort and island; the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

1. Sluys, one of the five ports of Flanders, and the most commodious of them, is situate about ten miles to the north-east of Bruges, which city can have no communication with the sea, by the way of the Scheld, when the Dutch, who are in possession of Sluys, are pleased to obstruct it; (for which reason a navigable canal for ships of burthen

The pro-  
vince of  
Flanders.Dutch  
Flanders,  
the chief  
towns.



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II.

burthen hath been cut from Bruges to Ostend by the Spaniard, since the Dutch have been masters of Sluys.) It is a fortress of great strength and consequence, as it is situate over against the island of Cadfandt, in possession also of the Dutch; but the whole town is not above a mile in circumference, and of very little trade at present, tho' it was once as considerable a mart as any in Flanders, and hath been in the hands of the Dutch ever since the year 1604.

2. Ardenburg, a league to the south-east of Sluys, and formerly capital of the maritime parts of Flanders, but of little consideration at present.

3. Middleburg, another little town about five miles to the southward of Sluys.

4. Sas van Ghent, or the Port to Ghent, about twelve miles to the northward of that city; a small but strong fortress, situate in a morass, by the possession whereof the Dutch may cut off all communication between Ghent and the sea whenever they think fit, and have been masters of it ever since the year 1644.

5. Hulst, situate ten miles to the eastward of Sas van Ghent, in the country of Waes; a strong town taken by the Dutch in the year 1645, and confirmed to them by the treaty of Westphalia.

6. Axel, a small fortress, a league to the westward of Hulst.

7. Liefkens, a fort on the Scheld, built over against Lillo by the Dutch, to command the passage of that river.

8. Ternhuys, another small fort on the banks of the Scheld, two leagues to the northward of Axel.

9. Fort Philip, a league north-west of Sas van Ghent.

10. Bier-Vliet a small island in the mouth of the Scheld, on which stands a town of the same name, a league north-west of Fort Philip, which commands the passage over to Zealand.

11. IJendick, a little fortified town on the other side of the channel, two miles to the westward of Bier-Vliet.

12. Osburg, a little fortified town on the channel which separates the isle of Cadfandt from the continent.

13. Cadfandt, an island situated at the mouth of the Scheld, over against the island of Walke- ren, about nine miles in length and four in breadth, on which is a Fort of the same name; by which the Dutch secure their communication between the islands of Zealand and Flanders. And these are all the places the Dutch are possessed of in Flanders, except what relates to their barrier.

The chief towns belonging to the Austrian Flanders, are Ghent, the capital of the whole province; Bruges, Damme, Ostend, Plassendal, Newport, Deynse, Dendermond, Rupplemond, Aloft, Ninhove, Audenard, Harlebeck, Courtray, Menin, Comines, Warwick, and Warneton, Tournay, Ypres, Fort Knocque, Dixmuyde, and Furnes.

1. Ghent, Gaunt, or Gand, the capital of Flanders, is situate on four navigable Rivers, viz. the Scheld, the Lys, the Liene, and the Mour- water; thirty miles north-west of Brussels, de- fended by a castle, and surrounded by a wall, and other fortifications; ten or twelve miles in cir- cumference, and consequently requires an army to defend it; besides, there is so great a variety of ground in so large an extent, that 'tis impos- sible a town of these dimensions can be very strong. The town is large, but not one half of

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the ground within the walls built upon, the rest consisting of fields and gardens. The streets are wide and well paved, the market-places spacious, and the houses well built of brick. The town is divided into six and twenty islands, by the rivers and canals which pass through it, over which are laid near an hundred bridges. It is reckoned to be situate in an healthful air, tho' there are many hundreds, if not thousands of English soldiers who lie buried on St Peter's Hill, and other places within the walls of this city, who all died nat- ural deaths; for 'tis observable that our forces when transported into any foreign country, die great part of them the first year, either by the flux, or some other contagious distemper; I pre- sume from living in a different, or more irregular manner, than they used to do at home; so that we ought not to conclude Ghent, or any other city, the more unhealthful on account of it's be- ing fatal to our troops, especially when we ob- serve our seasoned men to have their healths very well here. In the late war, this town was gen- erally the winter quarters of the English foot, when there were sometimes four and twenty re- giments in the town at a time, and yet the place did not seem to be crowded with them. They had a large building assigned them for divine wor- ship, and the Chaplains of the several regiments officiated by turns; nor was there ever any mis- understandings between our people and the inha- bitants, on account of religion, but a friendly in- tercourse was maintained between them; and I believe the natives were glad of our company on account of the money that was spent in the place, for the soldiers generally lay in barracks, and were not burthensome to the inhabitants, as they usually are in England. The publick build- ings worth our observation here, are the Stadt- house, and the Cathedral, both handsome struc- tures; and I took particular notice of an image of white marble in the latter, with one head and three faces, looking three different ways, which stood at the east end of the church, by which gross figure, we apprehend they designed to re- present the Trinity. There are besides this, seven parish churches, and fifty-five monasteries and nunneries, among which there is one English nun- nery. In the largest square of the town is a statue of CHARLES V, who was born in the castle; and here also the famous JOHN Duke of Lan- caster first saw the light, from thence called JOHN of GAUNT, son of EDWARD III, King of Eng- land. On the bridge called Dogebrack, are two brazen statues, representing a son beheading his father; for it is related, that both of them being condemned to die, a pardon was offered to him that would be the other's executioner; and the fa- ther having prevailed on the son to take the office upon him, as he was ready to strike, the blade of the sword broke in his hand, which being looked upon as miraculous, they were both pardoned. The silk and woollen manufactures flourish in this place as well as the linnen, and they have a great trade in corn. It is a Bishop's See under the Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Provincial Court is held here, from which however there is an appeal to that of Mechlin. The French possessed themselves of it, with the rest of the towns in Flanders, on the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain; but it surrendered to the allies on the defeat of the French at Ramelies anno 1706. And in the year 1708, the French surprized the city again, and threw an army into the place to defend



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defend it; but the Confederates having taken the cattle of Lisse, invested Ghent in a very advanced season near Christmas, and the enemy were obliged to surrender it, after a few days open trenches. The winter was so severe at this time, that the horses' hoofs froze to the ground in the night-time, and had not the French been so complaisant as to quit the place before things were come to an extremity, the confederate army must have suffered very much. The government of the city is lodged in the Burgomaster and Schepins, that is, in the Mayor and Aldermen, as in most of the cities of the Low Countries; besides which, there is a great Council, or Senate, which assembles upon extraordinary occasions.

Bruges.

2. Bruges, situate four and twenty English miles to the north-west of Ghent, on the grand canal which runs between those two cities, being about ten miles to the eastward of Ostend, and as many south-west of Sluys, said to be so named from the great number of bridges over the canals and rivulets, which run through the town. The place is about four or five miles in circumference, surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, but not able to sustain a regular siege carried on by our modern engineers. It is a populous city, well built, and hath a spacious marketplace, in which six of the principal streets center: there are in it seven parish churches, besides the cathedral, sixty monasteries and nunneries, among which, one for English Nuns, and a college of Jesuits. It was erected into a Bishop's See by PHILIP II, King of Spain, about the year 1559, and is subject to the Archbishop of Mechlin, or Malines. Before the revolt of the seven Provinces, or rather before Antwerp arrived to it's grandeur, it was the greatest town of trade in Europe; all countries who had any concern in commerce, having their factories and agents here, particularly the English, who made it their staple for wool. As it hath a communication with the sea, by means of the new canal to Ostend, it is still a place of good trade. Their manufactures are chiefly those of woollen cloth, and stuffs, linnen and tapestry, and will probably flourish or decline as the navigation of the Ostenders succeeds.

Damme.

Fort St  
Donat.  
Fort  
Isabel.  
Blanken-  
burg.

3. Damme, a small but a strong fortress belonging to the Emperor, four miles to the northward of Bruges, situate on the old canal between Bruges and Sluys; four miles to the northward whereof lies Fort St DONAT, yielded to the Dutch to strengthen their barrier; and two miles further north, Fort ISABEL; and six miles west of Fort ISABEL, lies Fort Blankenburg on the sea-coast, between which and Heyft the second barrier of the States begins, and is carried on from thence to the Scheld. They are also to possess all the posts upon the Demer from the Scheld to the Maese, in case of a rupture with France. The towns assigned them from the other barrier, are Furnes, Fort Knocque, Ypres, Warneton, Menin, Tournay, and Namur.

Ostend.

4. Ostend, the capital of the territory called Vryland, or Freeland, ten miles to the westward of Bruges, is situate in a morass, almost surrounded by wide trenches, filled with the sea-water, having the best harbour in Flanders next to that of Sluys: It is fortified after the modern way, which with it's hoggy situation, renders it one of the strongest towns in Flanders: The place is not large, but the houses are generally well built, the streets regular and well paved; and as the Emperor seems determined to promote it's trade and

navigation, will probably e'er long be in a flourishing condition; but I shall enlarge further on this subject when I come to consider the trade of the Austrian Netherlands. It is not long since Ostend was a small village, it first became famous in the year 1601, when it was defended by the English and Dutch against all the power of Spain, till the latter end of the year 1604. In which time the Spaniards lost seventy thousand men before the place, nor did the besieged lose fewer than thirty thousand; not that the garrison ever consisted of half that number at one time, but the sea being open to the allies, they supplied the town from time to time with fresh forces and provisions, till, according to the phrase of that time, the enemy perfectly dug them out, and made the town a heap of rubbish. It fell under the dominion of the French on the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain, and was taken from them by the Confederates after the battle of Ramelies in the year 1706, being now subject to the house of Austria.

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5. Plassendal, situate three miles to the eastward of Ostend, where the canal of Newport falls into that leading from Ostend to Bruges, and consequently commands them both. It is a strong fort, and defends an important sluice, through which the shipping passes backwards and forwards; and being seized by the French, together with Bruges and Ghent, while the Confederates were employed in the siege of Lisse anno 1708, put the Confederates to very great difficulties; but fell into the hands of the allies again the same year, upon the surrender of Ghent and Bruges to them.

Plassendal.

6. Newport, another of the five ports of Flanders, lies near the sea-shore, eight miles south-west of Ostend, and fifteen west of Bruges, at the mouth of a small river, which renders it a secure harbour for vessels of small burthen. The town is fortified, but cannot be much commended for it's buildings or trade, the houses being low and built of wood, and the inhabitants subsisting chiefly by fishing.

Newport.

7. Deynse, a little town situate on the river Lys, Deynse ten miles south-west of Ghent, and twelve almost north of Oudenard.

8. Dendermond, situate at the confluence of the Dender and the Scheld, twelve miles to the eastward of Ghent; a strong fortress, surrounded by meadows, and is not to be approached but by causeways, when the citizens are pleased to lay the country about them under water. This is one of the barrier towns, wherein the garrison are one half Imperialists and the other Dutch. It surrendered to the allies upon the victory at Ramelies, in the year 1706, after a short siege.

Dender-  
mond.

9. Rupplemond, a small town, situate in the county of Waes, at the confluence of the Rupple and the Scheld, five miles south of Antwerp, and eighteen to the eastward of Ghent.

Rupple-  
mond.

10. Aloft, situate on the river Dender, six miles south of Dendermond, and fifteen south-east of Ghent, the capital of a territory, formerly called Imperial Flanders, on account of it's being a fee of the Empire. It is a pretty town, and a place of some trade, but neither large, or well fortified.

Aloft.

11. Ninove and Grammont, two little towns, the first seven miles south of Aloft, and the other five miles further south, both of them situate on the river Dender. At Grammont there is a noble abbey, standing on an eminence, which gives

Ninove,  
Gram-  
mont.



CHAP. II. us a delightful prospect of the neighbouring country.

Oudenard, or Audenard, situate on the Scheld, fourteen miles south of Ghent, a large well-fortified town, divided by the river into two parts, and almost surrounded by meadows, except that there is a hill which commands it on the south-side. The buildings are good, and the streets wide and handsome, and there are several fine churches and monasteries in the place: it hath also a flourishing trade in fine linnen and tapestry, and is the capital of a chatellany, which contains three and thirty villages. The French laid siege to it anno 1708, which occasioned an obstinate battle, wherein the allies obtained a compleat victory, and saved the place.

Courtray. 13. Courtray, on the river Lys, twenty-six miles south-west of Ghent, and twelve miles north-east of Lisle, strong by art and nature, and defended also by a good citadel. It is a populous place, and both the woollen and linnen manufactures flourish here.

Harlebeck. 14. Harlebeck, on the river Lys, a little open town, two miles to the northward of Courtray, capital of a small territory.

Menin. 15. Menin, a little well fortified town, situate on the river Lys, five miles to the southward of Courtray, taken by the allies in the year 1706, and is now one of the towns of the Dutch barrier against France.

Warreton, Comines, and Warwick. 16. Warreton, Comines, and Warwick, three little towns, situate on the southward of Menin, in the way to Lisle, of which Warreton is one of the barrier towns.

Tournay. 17. Tournay, or Dornick, situate on the river Scheld, which runs through it, surrounded by pleasant fruitful meadows, being thirty miles south of Ghent, and as many north of Cambray, and eleven to the eastward of Lisle. It is a large populous well-built city, and a place of good trade; and having been for a considerable time in the hands of the French before the last war, it's fortifications were brought to as great perfection as any in the Low Countries: but what added most to the strength of the place, as the allies found by dear-bought experience, when they besieged it in the year 1709, was the mines, which blew up hundreds, if not thousands of the besiegers at a blast. When they had with the utmost hazard and difficulty made themselves masters of the strongest works that ever were contrived, and the French could maintain them no longer, then did they set fire to the mines, and blow up whole regiments of brave fellows at a time, who fell, as a certain writer has it, in a shower of shattered limbs and mangled carcases. These mines, says a British gentleman who view'd them, consist of vast subterraneous vaults, so well contrived, that they may rather pass for terrass-walks than mines. In the center of the citadel there is a well, the surface of whose waters is fifty foot from the mouth, just above which water are balconies, that lead to those beautiful destructive caverns above-mentioned. This city is divided into ten parishes, to which belong as many elegant churches, besides great numbers of fine convents and cloysters. The cathedral, dedicated to St MARY, is a magnificent structure, adorned with brass and marble monuments, erected to the memory of it's Bishops, with many admirable paintings. The church of the Croisiers is esteemed the finest building next to the cathedral, whose marble pillars and altar-piece

make it much admired. Here we see the crowning of our Saviour, done by the celebrated RUBENS, a piece of inestimable value; with another picture of the nativity, done by the same hand. There is in the market-place an old building, said to be of Roman architecture, and frequently called JULIUS CÆSAR'S palace: but the town is certainly very antient. King HENRY the eighth of England besieged and took it in the year 1513, and built the old citadel; but it was delivered up to the French again upon a treaty of marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess MARY. The Spaniards made themselves masters of it in the year 1581, and the French surprized it again in the year 1667; but it was taken from them by the allies, after an obstinate siege, in the year 1709, and is now one of the towns of the Dutch barrier. The principal manufacture of the place at present, is linnen, and it was antiently as famous for woollen. It is the capital of a small territory, called the Tournesis, and a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Cambray, while in the hands of the French; but the government, both spiritual and temporal, has received some alterations since it came under the dominion of the Imperialists.

18. Ypres, or Ipres, situate in a flat country on the river Ypre, about ten miles to the westward of Menin, and eighteen to the northward of Lisle; a large town regularly fortified, and by it's sluices can lay the neighbouring country under water; the streets broad, and the market-place said to be the most spacious of any in Flanders, and surrounded with a piazza, but the houses are generally of timber. The cathedral is dedicated to St MARTIN; and there are several monasteries, in one of which, belonging to the Jesuits, is our Saviour's resurrection, admirably painted on the altar-piece of the chapel; and in the cloyster are the pictures of all the Jesuits who have suffered in England, represented as so many martyrs. The town has still a good trade in the silk and woollen manufactures, and was erected into a Bishop's See in the year 1559: this Prelate is suffragan to the Archbishop of Mechlin. Ypres is the capital of a large fruitful chatellany, comprehending Mont-Cassel, Belle or Baillieu, and Rouffelaer; as also Poperingen, Warreton, Comines and Warwick, and hath the title of a viscounty. It was taken by the French in the year 1678, and remained in their hands till the latter end of the last war, when it was taken by the allies, and by the treaty of Utrecht confirmed to the house of Austria, together with the chatellany, comprehending all the places above mentioned, and this city is now part of the Dutch barrier.

19. Fort Knocque, situate on the river Iser, about fifteen miles to the northward of Ypres, makes another part of the Dutch barrier.

20. Dixmude, situate on the Ypre, about ten miles north of Ypres city, taken by the allies in the late war, and confirmed to the house of Austria by the treaty of Utrecht. It is a small town, and not very considerable, either for it's trade or fortifications.

21. Furnes, or Vuerne, situate on the river Colm, in a fruitful country, about six miles from the sea, ten to the eastward of Dunkirk, and five to the westward of Newport. It is a little fortified town, capital of an Ambacht, or territory, and part of the Dutch barrier against France.

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II.

Mont-Cassel.  
Baillieu.  
Rouffelaer.  
Poperingen.



In French Flanders the chief towns are Lille, Dunkirk, Mardyke, Graveling, Berg St Winock, Doway, Orchies, Armentiers, La Basse, L'Ecluse, St Amand, Launoy, and Bourbourg.

1. Lille, or Lyffel, called the island antiently, on account of it's being situated in a morass, surrounded with waters, (which are now drained off) stands on the river Deule, twenty-five miles north of Arras, and twelve west of Tournay, a large populous well-built city, defended by a citadel, and so strongly fortified, that it cost the allies more men to take it in the late war, than any town in Flanders, and was very near baffling their united forces. It is the capital of the French Flanders, and from the elegancy of it's buildings and it's flourishing trade, usually stiled *Petit Paris*. The Stadthouse and the Church of St PETER are noble structures, and the citadel a master-piece in fortification. The silk and linnen manufactures are in great perfection here, and they are famous for their camblets. It was taken by the French in the year 1667, who built the citadel, and enlarged the city as well as it's fortifications, making it the centre of the Flemish trade. It was taken by the allies on the 22d of October 1708, after a siege of two months, and the citadel the eleventh of December following; but yielded to the French again by the treaty of Utrecht, in consideration of their demolishing the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk, from whence they used to infest the English seas with their privateers and men of war.

2. Dunkirk, situate on the sea-shore, at the mouth of the river Colm, twenty miles north-east of Calais, twenty-four south-west of Ostend, and fifty almost east of Dover. The harbour and fortifications of this place had cost LEWIS XIV incredible sums of money, in which however he found his account; for here he always kept his pyratial squadrons, which brought him in prizes from time to time, during the late long war, almost sufficient to maintain his fleet; which occasioned the English and Dutch to insist on the razing the fortifications at the treaty of Utrecht, and both the harbour and walls of the city were accordingly entirely demolished. The town is only remarkable at present for being the capital of a fine fruitful territory, though formerly it was one of the five ports of Flanders, and a place of good trade. It is said to have taken it's name from the sand-hills on the shore, by the Flemings called *Duynen*, or Downs, on which a church being erected that was a sea-mark for mariners, it obtained the name of *Duynen-Kirk*, or Dunkirk. This place must have been of great advantage to Britain, if we had kept the possession of it instead of demolishing it, as it would have made us masters of both sides the channel; but the Dutch, who were no less apprehensive of the English, their rival in trade, than of the French, had the address to procure the demolition of it, that it might no more be a terror to them, either in the hands of the one or the other.

3. Mardyke, a little town upon the coast about a league south-west of Dunkirk, which the French were about to fortify on the demolition of the fortifications of that city; but upon the representations and menaces of the English Court, the design was laid aside, though the French had made a considerable progress in the work.

4. Graveling, situate at the mouth of the river Aa, ten miles south-west of Dunkirk; a little

fortified town, and one of the five ports of Flanders, but is not capable of receiving large vessels.

5. Winoxberg, or Berg St Wynox, which takes it's name from a monastery erected on a hill to the memory of St WYNOX an Englishman, stands about two leagues to the southward of Dunkirk, and is the capital of a large fruitful territory or chatellany.

6. Doway, situate on the river Scarpe, twenty miles south of Lille, a large populous town, and strongly fortified. It cost the allies eight thousand men at least when they took it from the French, in the year 1710, and was retaken by the arms of France in the year 1712, after the separation of the British troops from the rest of the allies, who refused to accept a peace on the terms proposed by Britain. The principal manufacture of the place is worsted camblets; and here is a considerable seminary of English Roman Catholics, founded by PHILIP II, of Spain, about the year 1569.

7. Orchies, an antient little town, about twelve miles south-east of Lille, taken by the allies in the last war, but yielded to France by the treaty of Utrecht.

8. Armentiers, situate on the river Lys; a fortified town, and a place of some trade, eight miles to the westward of Lille.

9. La Basse, a little fortified town, situate on the Deule, twelve miles south-west of Lille.

10. St Amand, situate on the Scarpe, in a pleasant fruitful country, ten miles south-east of Tournay; remarkable for a noble abbey dedicated to St AMAND; the Abbot whereof is a temporal Prince.

11. Bourbourg, a pleasant little town on the top of a hill, twenty miles west of Ypres, and three to the southward of Graveling; capital of a fruitful chatellany, one of the most antient in Flanders, yielded by the Spaniards to the French at the Pyrenean treaty.

The Province of Artois, or Arras, is bounded by part of Flanders on the north; by another part of Flanders, and by Hainault, and the Cambrisis on the east; and by Picardy, a French province, on the south and west: being about sixty miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth; the chief rivers whereof are the Lys, the Scarpe, and the Aa. The inhabitants enjoy an excellent air, and an exceeding fruitful soil; and having been for many years under the dominion of the French, they cannot easily be distinguished by their manners, habits, or language, from the rest of the subjects of that kingdom. The whole province having been conquered by France, was confirmed to that monarchy by the Spaniards at the Pyrenean treaty anno 1659.

The chief towns are Arras, St Omer, Aire, Bethune, St Venant, Bapaume, Hesdin, Teroouen, Lens, Avesne le Comte, St Paul Mont, St Eloy.

1. Arras, the capital of the province, antiently called *Atrebatum*, being the chief town of the Atrebatians in the days of CÆSAR; is situate on the river Scarpe, twenty-five miles south-west of Lille, and twelve south-west of Doway. It is a large place, divided into two parts, whereof one is called the city, and the other the town, both surrounded with a wall, and fortified after the modern way: it is a Bishop's See, and the cathedral a magnificent structure dedicated to the blessed Virgin MARY; the diocesan being suffragan



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II.

to the Archbishop of Cambray. In a certain chapel here the Priests shew a wax taper burning, which they pretend does not consume, and that it was sent them from heaven; they have a pot of manna also, which they pretend came to them the same way; and this is exposed in a dry season, when prayers are put up for rain. The town is generally well-built, the streets broad, and the market-places spacious; and it is famous for the tapestry manufacture, from thence frequently called Arras. It was taken by the French in the year 1640, who have been masters of it ever since. The Abbey of St VEDASTUS in this city is a noble foundation, having a revenue of twenty thousand crowns a year.

St Omer.

2. St Omer, situate on the river Aa, twenty miles south of Dunkirk, and fifteen south-east of Calais; which takes its name from St OMER, Bishop of Terouen, who founded a monastery here anno 660. The reputed sanctity of this Prelate occasioned a great resort of people hither, and the building of a considerable town here not many years after. It was made a Bishop's See anno 1559, whose Bishop is suffragan to the Archbishop of Cambray. This place is famous for an English seminary of Jesuits, whereof TITUS OATES procured himself to be admitted a member, in order to qualify himself to be an evidence of the Popish plot. The town is rich, large, and populous, strong both by art and nature, and taken from the Spaniards by the French in the year 1677, being confirmed to them by the ensuing treaty of peace at Nimeguen. What contributes much to the trade of the place, is a navigable canal cut from thence to Graveling, by which it hath a communication with the sea.

Aire.

3. Aire, situate on the Lys in a morass, twenty-five miles north-west of Arras, and as many south of Dunkirk, a little strong town and castle, of which the French took possession in the year 1676, and held it till the late war anno 1710, when it was taken from them by the allies, but yielded to the French again by the treaty of Utrecht anno 1712.

St Venant.

4. St Venant, another little fortress, situate on the Lys, about five miles to the eastward of Aire, and besieged at the same time, taken by the allies a month before it, but yielded also to the French by the treaty of Utrecht.

Bethune.

5. Bethune, situate on the river Biette, twelve miles south-east of Aire, a strong place, taken by the allies after a siege of six weeks, in the year 1710, but yielded to the French by the treaty of Utrecht; a pretty neat town, and hath a flourishing trade; but is most remarkable for the excellent cheese made in the neighbourhood.

Bapaume.

6. Bapaume, a little strong town on the confines of Picardy, twelve miles south-east of Arras, and the capital of a large territory.

Hesdin.

7. Hesdin, a strong town, situate on the river Canche, twenty miles to the southward of Aire, taken from the Spaniards by the French about the year 1639.

Terouen.

8. Terouen, five or six miles to the westward of Aire, antiently the capital city of the Morini, and since a Bishop's See, but is now in a ruinous condition.

Lens.

9. Lens a little town, ten miles north of Arras, considerable only as it is the capital of a large territory.

St Paul.

Agin-  
court.

10. St Paul, a little town, fifteen miles west of Arras, the capital of a county; not far from whence is the village of Agincourt, famous for  
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the victory obtained near it by the English over the French anno 1415.

CHAP.  
II.Cambray  
province.

The province or archbishoprick of Cambray, usually called the Cambresis, is bounded by the province of Hainault on the north and east; by the province of Picardy in France on the south; and by Artois on the west, extending in length from east to west about five and twenty miles, but the breadth is very unequal, being in some places ten miles, and in others not more than five. The natives enjoy a good air, and a fruitful country; and being now united to France, are scarce to be distinguished from the French by their manners or language. The chief towns are, 1. Cambray. And, 2. Chateau-Cambresis.

Cambray  
city.

1. Cambray, is a large well-built city, on the river Scheld, not far from its source, almost surrounded by gardens and fruitful meadows, being sixteen miles south-east of Arras, and about as many south-west of Valenciennes. It is defended by two citadels, and regularly fortified: and as the neighbouring country may be laid under water, is esteemed one of the strongest places in the Low Countries. The town contains nine parish churches, three abbeys, and several other religious houses and hospitals. The publick buildings taken notice of are the Stadt-house, standing in a spacious market-place, where most of the streets center: the great church of the blessed Virgin, well furnished with fine tombs and statues, among which the statues of St MICHAEL and St SEBASTIAN are most admired: the brazen partition between the nave of the church and the choir, also is esteemed a piece of excellent workmanship. The principal manufacture of the place is that of fine linnen, from hence called Cambrick. This city was an Episcopal See, subject to the Archbishop of Rheims till the year 1559, when PHILIP II, King of Spain, procured it to be erected into an Archbishoprick by Pope PAUL IV. It was also for some time a free Imperial city, under the protection of the Count of Alost; but the Emperor CHARLES I, deprived them of their antient privileges, having erected two citadels which command the town: it afterwards fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who remained masters of it till the year 1677, when it was taken by the French, and confirmed to them the following year by the treaty of Nimeguen.

2. Chateau-Cambresis, situate on the river Selle, about twelve miles south-east of Cambray, once a considerable town, but at present in a ruinous condition. And, 3. Crevecoeur, another walled town, six miles to the southward of Cambray, but not considerable enough to merit a particular description.

Chateau-  
Cambresis.Creve-  
coeur.

The province or county of Hainault, which receives its name from the river Haine, is bounded by Flanders and part of Brabant towards the north; by another part of Brabant and the county of Namur towards the east; by the Cambresis, Picardy, and Champagne, towards the south; and by the province of Artois, from which it is separated by the river Scheld, towards the west: extending in length from the north-east to the south-west about five and fifty miles, and in breadth about forty miles; and hath a pleasant healthful air, and a fruitful soil. The chief rivers are the Scheld, the Sambre, the Dender, and the Haine; besides which, it is well watered with lakes and springs, and in the bowels of the earth are some mines of lead and iron, and several quarries of marble. The States Provincial are composed of,

Hainault  
county.



## CHAP.

## II.

1. The twelve Peers. 2. The Prelates and ecclesiastical Colleges. 3. The Gentry. 4. The Great Officers. And, 5. The Magistrates of the chief cities.

## Chief towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Valenciennes. 2. Bouchain. 3. Conde. 4. Bavay. 5. Maubeuge. 6. Le Quesnoy. 7. Avesnes. 8. Landrecy. 9. Philipville. 10. Marienburg. 11. Mons. 12. Aeth. 13. Braine le comte. 14. St Ghillian. 15. Enghien. 16. Binche. 17. Halle. 18. Lefines. 19. Roches. 20. Soignies. 21. Beaumont. The first ten of which are in the possession of the French and the rest in the hands of the Emperor.

## Valenciennes.

1. Valenciennes, the capital of the French Hainault, situate on the Scheld and the little river Rouelle, which surround it, and pass through the principal streets by several canals. It is said to have derived its name from the Emperor VALENTINIAN, who built it, being pleased with the delightful situation. It lies about fifteen miles north of Cambray, sixteen south-west of Mons, and as many south-east of Tournay; and is a large well-built town, strongly fortified, and defended by a citadel; and as it stands in a flat country abounding with rivulets, the ground about it may be overflowed, and the approaches rendered exceeding difficult in case of a siege. The late French King caused a noble causeway to be thrown up from this place to Lisle, and so on to Ypres, extending near fifty miles in length. The great Church, dedicated to the Virgin MARY, is a magnificent old building, the pillars and architraves consisting of marble; but the private buildings are many of them of wood. Their chief manufactures at present are those of silk and linnen, and they had formerly a good trade in cloth and French wines. The French took it in the year 1677, and it was afterwards confirmed to them by the treaty of Nimeguen.

## Bouchain.

2. Bouchain, a small but strong town, situate on the river Scheld, ten miles south-west of Valenciennes, taken from the Spaniards by the French in the year 1676, and confirmed to them by the following treaty of Nimeguen, which they remained in possession of till the year 1711, when it was taken by the allies; but retaken by the French anno 1712, after the British troops were separated from the allies.

## Conde.

3. Conde, situate at the conflux of the rivers Scheld and Haine, six miles north-east of Valenciennes, and ten to the westward of Mons; a little fortified town, often taken and retaken by the French and Spaniards, but yielded to France by the treaty of Nimeguen, and gives a title to a Prince of the House of Bourbon.

## Bavay.

4. Bavay, an old town of no strength, (supposed by some to have been the ancient *Belgium*) ten miles south-east of Valenciennes, whither the French retreated after the battle of Malplaquet, in the year 1709, leaving 1500 of their wounded men there, who were made prisoners by the allies.

## Maubeuge.

5. Maubeuge, situate on the Sambre, seven miles north-east of Bavay, yielded to the French by the treaty of Nimeguen.

## Landrecy.

6. Landrecy, situate on the Sambre, fifteen miles north-west of Maubeuge, and sixteen south-east of Cambray, yielded to the French by the Pyrenean treaty.

## Avesnes.

7. Avesnes, a fortified town, situate on the frontiers of France, nine miles to the eastward of Landrecy.

## Philipville.

8. Philipville, twenty miles south-west of Na-

mur, and twenty-four south-east of Mons, a well-fortified town, yielded to the French by the Pyrenean treaty.

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9. Marienburg, situate on the confines of the bishoprick of Liege, thirty miles to the eastward of Landrecy, yielded also to the French by the treaty of the Pyrenees.

## Marienburg.

10. Quesnoy, a little fortified town, situate on the river Rouelle, six miles north-east of Valenciennes, and twelve to the westward of Mons, taken by the allies in the year 1712, but retaken by the French the same year, after the British troops were separated from the Confederates.

## Quesnoy.

11. Mons, in Dutch *Bergben*, so named from its situation on a hill near the banks of the Trouille, which a little below falls into the Haine, twenty-six miles south-west of Brussels, and twenty-nine west of Namur; a large strong town, the capital of Spanish Hainault. The streets are broad, the market-places spacious, and the buildings magnificent; and among the rest a college of Canonesses, who may leave the house and marry when they please, founded by a Princess of Lorraine, by whose appointment none but the descendants of noble families can be admitted into the society. This city is a Bishop's See, and here the Provincial Council or Parliament assembles, and receives appeals from the rest of the towns of Brabant under the Emperor's dominion. It was taken by the French in the year 1691, but restored to the Spaniards by the treaty of Ryfswick. The French possessed themselves of it again on the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain; but the allies retook it in the year 1709, after the memorable battle of Malplaquet, and it was afterwards confirmed to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht.

## Mons.

12. Aeth, situate on the Dendre, twelve miles north-west of Mons, capital of the district of Burbant, a little town, consisting but of one parish, but extremely well fortified, being perfectly covered by the fortifications and the trees on the ramparts, insomuch that nothing can be discerned from without but the top of the steeple; and it has more than once endured a long siege against an army of an hundred thousand men. It was taken however by the French in the year 1667, and being restored to the Spaniards by the ensuing treaty of Nimeguen, was again taken by the French in the year 1697; but yielded to the Spaniards a second time by the treaty of Ryfswick, and is now in possession of the Emperor, to whom it was confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht.

## Aeth.

13. Braine le comte, a little town near the confines of Brabant, thirteen miles to the southward of Brussels.

## Braine le Comte.

14. St Ghillian, about eight miles to the westward of Mons, a town of no consequence.

## St Ghillian.

15. Enghien, eight miles also from Mons, which gives title to a Duke of the house of Bourbon.

## Enghien.

16. Binche, situate on a branch of the Haine, eight miles south-east of Mons, formerly a populous place, but ruined in the wars of the Low Countries, and the fortifications demolished.

## Binche.

17. Halle, situate on the utmost confines of this province, eight miles south of Brussels, and twenty to the northward of Mons, situate in a very pleasant country, and watered by the Saine or Sinne; a walled town, but of no great strength, most remarkable for a chapel dedicated to the blessed

## Halle.



**CHAP. II.** blessed Virgin, whose image about two foot in length is enshrined in gold, and hath a crown of the same metal on it's head, holding an image of our Saviour in one hand, and in the other a gilded Rose. On the first of September annually, multitudes of her votaries resort hither, and presents are sent from the neighbouring towns and cities.

**Leffines.** 18. Leffines, a little walled town, situate on the Dendre, about four miles to the northward of Aeth.

**Rocles.** 19. Rocles, or Reux, another little walled town, four miles to the southward of Soignies.

**Soignies.** 20. Soignies, situate on the Sinne, nine miles north-east of Mons.

**Beaumont.** 21. Beaumont, ten miles to the eastward of Maubeuge, and fifteen south-east of Mons, situate on a pleasant hill, from whence it derives it's name.

**Chimay.** And lastly, Chimay, about fourteen miles to the southward of it, both which places have been yielded to the French.

**Namur county.** The province or county of Namur is bounded by the province of Brabant on the north, by the bishoprick of Leige, and part of Luxemburg, towards the east; and by Hainault on the south and west; extending about thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south. The county of Namur enjoys a good air and a fruitful soil, and hath some good mines of lead, iron, and coals, with veins of tolerable marble, and great store of fossile nitre. They have also plenty of wood for their iron-works.

**Chief towns.** The chief towns are, 1. Namur. 2. Bouvines. 3. Walcourt, or Valencourt. And, 4. Charleroy.

**Namur.** 1. The city of Namur is of a circular figure, and situate at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maese, in the latitude of fifty degrees thirty minutes, thirty miles to the eastward of Mons, and as many south-east of Brussels. It lies in a bottom, between two hills, the greatest part of the town standing on the north side of the Sambre, on the other side whereof is a steep mountain, on which the castle is situated, being a magnificent structure, and esteemed the strongest fortrefs in Europe; for the rock on which it stands is not only very steep, but the approaches to it fortified with the greatest art, and on the top of the rock are several good springs of water. The town was erected into a bishoprick, suffragan to the Archbishop of Cambray, anno 1559, and the church of St ALBAN converted into a cathedral. There are besides nine or ten handsome churches, of which the Jesuits church is said to exceed that of Antwerp, in the magnitude, structure, and beauty of the stone, being supported by wreathed columns of red marble of the Dorick order, finely veined, and near a yard and a half diameter, with bafes and cornices exquisitely wrought. It was taken by the French in the year 1692, and retaken by the allies in the year 1695, and is at present part of the Dutch barrier. The States of the province assemble here, from whence however there lies an appeal to the supreme court at Mechlin.

**Bouvines.** 2. Bouvines, situate on the Maese, ten miles south-west of Namur, and two below Dinant. 'Tis a pass between Namur and Luxemburg, but has little else to recommend it a present.

**Walcourt.** 3. Walcourt, or Valencourt, a little town twenty miles south-west of Namur, near which a battle was fought between the Confederates and the French in the year 1689.

**CHAP. II.** 4. Charleroy, situate on a hill near the Sambre, fifteen miles west of Namur, and twenty-five south of Brussels; a strong fortrefs, erected by the Spaniards in the year 1666, to prevent the incursions of the French. It has been taken and retaken several times, but is now in the possession of the Imperialists. To the north-east of Charleroy stands the abbey of Flerus, or Fleury; near which a memorable battle was fought between the French and the Allies in the year 1690, wherein the Allies were defeated, but made a good retreat with their foot.

**Charlemont.** 5. Charlemont, a strong fortrefs, sometimes placed in Hainault, situate on the top of a high hill, under which runs the river Maese, about twenty miles to the southward of Namur, fortified by the Emperor CHARLES V, anno 1555, to whom it was granted by the then Bishop of Liege.

The province or duchy of Luxemburg is bounded by the duchy of Limburg and bishoprick of Liege towards the north; by the river Moselle, which divides it from the archbishoprick of Triers, towards the east; by the duchy of Lorraine on the south; and by the river Maese, which separates it from the county of Namur and Champagne, towards the west; extending seventy miles in length, and about sixty in breadth, and is usually divided into two parts, viz. Famenne and Arduenne. Famenne, the northern part, is a fruitful soil, yielding plenty of corn, and some wine; but the other, which lies towards France, called Arduenne, is a more barren soil, and in many places covered with wood; in the mountains whereof are however some mines of iron, which make amends for the sterility of the surface, and their woods abound in game. The principal rivers which water this province are the Moselle, the Else, the Semay, the Ourte, and the Maese; and the air is generally healthful and temperate. It is divided into seven earldoms, many baronies and inferior lordships; and the common people are in a state of vassalage here, as in Germany. The States consist of the Prelates, the Nobility, Gentry, and Representatives or Deputies of the chief towns. The French and Dutch languages are both spoken in this province; but the people in their manners resemble the French most, being contiguous to France, and having been some time under the dominion of that crown, till Luxemburg was yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht, anno 1713.

**Chief towns.** The chief towns of the duchy of Luxemburg are, 1. Luxemburg. 2. Thionville. 3. Montmedy. 4. Damvillers. 5. Yvoix. 6. La Ferte. 7. Aftenay. 8. Morville. 9. Rode Macheren. 10. Konings Macheren. 11. Sirick. 12. Mafieres. 13. Durby. 14. La Roche. 15. St Vite. 16. Viande. 17. Eichternach. 18. Bastoigne. 19. Neufchatel. And, 20. Virton; the most considerable whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

**Luxemburg.** 1. Luxemburg, the capital of the province, said to be built in honour of the sun, and called *Lucisburgum*, situate in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, forty minutes; twenty miles south-west of Triers, and an hundred south-east of Brussels, forty-five miles to the eastward of the river Maese, and twelve to the westward of the Moselle, and stands on the river Else or Alsat, partly on a plain, and partly on the declivity of a rocky hill. The town is strong both by art and nature, but not very large or well-built, though there are some handsome



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handsome stone buildings in it. There is a monastery of Franciscans here, who pretend their house was founded in the life-time of St FRANCIS. In the great church are the tombs of JOHN of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, and of Count MANSFIELD, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands; but the publick buildings don't seem to merit the description of any modern writer.

Thionville. 2. Thionville, or Diedenhoven, situate on the Moselle, fourteen miles to the southward of Luxemburg. It is a well-built town, and strongly fortified, but hath however been frequently taken and retaken.

Montmedy. 3. Montmedy, situate on a high hill near the river Chier, twenty-five miles south-west of Luxemburg, esteemed a place of some strength.

Damvillers. 4. Damvillers, once a strong fortress, twelve miles to the southward of Montmedy, but the fortifications were agreed to be razed by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

Arlon. 5. Arlon, situate on the river Semoy, twelve miles north-west of Luxemburg, heretofore a pretty town, but hath suffered much by the wars.

Chiny. 6. Chiny, ten miles south-west of Arlon, capital of a county of the same name, formerly subject to it's own Princes, but united to the duchy of Luxemburg about the year 1400. It still however retains an independent jurisdiction. The rest of the towns do not require a particular description, and their situation will be described in the maps bound up with this volume.

Limburg province. The province or duchy of Limburg is bounded by the duchy of Juliers on the north and east; by Luxemburg on the south; and by the bishoprick of Liege towards the west; extending in length about thirty miles from north to south, and in breadth twenty-five from east to west. Here is a great deal of good arable and pasture-ground, plenty of wood, and some of the best iron-mines in the Low-Countries, but no wine made in the province.

Chief towns. The chief towns are, 1. Limburg. 2. Dalem. 3. Rolduc. And, 4. Valkenburg, or Fauquemont.

Limburg. 1. Limburg, situate on a steep rock near the river Vese, fifteen miles south-east of Liege, and twelve to the southward of Aix la Chapelle. It is a small town, consisting chiefly of one broad street, not very elegantly built, but the situation renders it very strong, there being but one passage to it, and that almost inaccessible. This is the only town of note in the province which belongs to the Imperialists, the other three are in the possession of the Dutch.

Dalem. 2. Dalem, situate on a rivulet, which discharges itself into the Maese, seven miles south-east of Maestricht. The town is small, and the fortifications both of that and the castle were demolished by the French, who restored it to the Dutch at the treaty of Nimeguen.

Rolduc. 3. Rolduc, on the east side of the province, five miles to the northward of Aix la Chapelle, is a small town capital of a county, and hath an old castle belonging to it.

Fauquemont. 4. Fauquemont, or Falkenburg, situate on the Guel, eight miles north-east of Maestricht, a large handsome town, formerly well fortified, but the works were demolished by the French on their being obliged to restore it to the Dutch by the treaty of Nimeguen.

## CHAP. III.

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III.

*Treats of the manufactures, trade, and navigation of the Austrian Netherlands.*

FROM the description of the respective provinces, the reader is no doubt pretty well acquainted with the trade and manufactures of those countries; but it may not be amiss however to make some general observations on the whole. Before the revolt of the seven provinces, their woollen manufactures were in great esteem; hither the English sent all their wool to be made into cloth: but, happily for us, their Princes being possessed with more superstition than good policy, drove many of their mechanicks over hither, who taught us to manufacture our own wool. Whereupon the soil of the Low Countries being extremely proper for flax, they sowed vast quantities of it, and being an ingenious people, soon became as good proficient in the linnen and lace manufactures, as they had been in the woollen, and at this day excel all the nations in Europe in making fine linnen and lace: witness their cambrick and their Brussels and Mechlin lace, of which Britain alone takes off prodigious quantities, and makes most of her returns in treasure; for except tin and lead, sugar and tobacco, there are very few things produced, either in England or our plantations, which they stand in need of from us. The product of India indeed formerly might be exchanged for their cambrick and lace, before they fell into the India trade themselves; but this traffick is at full stop at present, and with most of the merchandize of India they might always have been supplied from their neighbours the Dutch, as without all question they were: and therefore the Flemings applying themselves to that trade, or indeed to any other foreign trade, must be of infinite disadvantage to the Dutch. Should they encourage a whale or herring-fishery, or attempt to carry on a trade to the Baltick, or the Levant, any of these undertakings would equally wound the Dutch commerce. but still I can't apprehend what right the Dutch can have to exclude this people from the fisheries, or from trading with any Prince or State upon earth independent of them. What have the Dutch to do to prescribe what nations the King of Persia, the Great Mogul, or the Emperor of China, shall deal with? Are not their ports open to all the world in friendship with them? or, what pretence can the Dutch have to monopolize the trade to the Baltick? That people indeed tell us, they will not suffer the subjects of Spain or the Empire to trade thither in their own bottoms, but what right they have to exclude them I can't learn; and what is most surprizing is, that the Hollanders should expect Britain to defend them in all their extravagant pretences, while they stand by idle spectators of the contest, and continue to trade with all the nations at variance.

'Tis true, it is not for the advantage of the Dutch, that the Flemings should become a trading people again. When Bruges and Antwerp flourished, the ports of Holland were scarce mentioned; and indeed had not the Dutch by their forts blocked up the mouth of the Scheld, it is not to be conceived how the Flemings could so suddenly lose their foreign trade; for the harbours of Flanders, though not the best in the world, are

Of their  
trade, &c.



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are any of them as commodious however as that of Amsterdam; and the product, as well as manufactures of the country, were then much beyond those of the United Provinces. They have plenty of corn, and good pasture, and their plantations of flax still exceed those of Holland; and their manufactures of linnen and lace are much beyond any thing we meet with in Holland; and should they encourage their fisheries, their navigation and foreign commerce, the Dutch must lower their top-sails. But notwithstanding the Dutch would be very nearly affected by such attempts, England could receive but little prejudice by it; for if they don't take our herrings, the Dutch will; and it must be indifferent to us, which of these nations become the common carriers of Europe. If the Flemings do not bring the merchandize of the Baltick to the southern kingdoms of Europe, but leave this branch of commerce to the Dutch, what advantage or disadvantage is it to us, that we should be spirited up to prevent the Flemings entering upon a foreign trade? If it be said, that the Imperialists by this means may become too formidable, and destroy the balance of power in Europe; this I believe must appear to be a chimæra to all that consider the present growing power of France: that kingdom will always find the Empire employment enough to divert their thoughts from attacking Britain; and should LEWIS XV appear as enterprising a Prince as LEWIS XIV, I don't see why he should not bid as far for universal monarchy, notwithstanding he is so much courted by some Powers at present; it may possibly cost us as much hereafter to undo what we are doing, as it did to resume Flanders out of their hands by the last thirty years war. And why at last are we so exceeding jealous of the poor Flemings breaking in upon our commerce, and have no manner of apprehensions of the potent French? a nation, who at this very day, while they are at peace with us, are spiriting up and assisting the natives of America to fall upon and distress our settlements on that side, and are in a fair way of supplanting us in our sugar trade; an article at present perhaps as important as that of the fine spices was formerly.

In one thing indeed I am for lessening the trade of Flanders, as I was in the former part of this volume for abating the pride of Holland; and that is in prohibiting the importation of their lace and linnen. If to promote our home manufactures, it was thought necessary to prohibit the wearing of India silks and calicoes, why is it not equally expedient to prohibit the linnen and lace of Holland and Flanders? Will any man pretend it is necessary to his being, or well-being, in the phrase of a late writer, to wear hollands and cambricks, and Flanders laces, when the linnen of Ireland or Scotland is very little inferior to that of Holland; and probably would be soon equal to it, if those nations met with suitable encouragement? But while nothing but what is foreign will go down, either with ladies or gentlemen, or even with inferior tradesmen and apprentices, what are we to expect but to see our nation beggared, even in our silk manufacture, in which we equal, and perhaps excel any nation in the world? The Merchant at this day can sell nothing unless he swears it is of foreign make; so depraved is the sickly taste of our people at present! But surely if reason and argument has at present lost it's force, and can make no impression on this whimsical generation,

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in cases which so nearly concern us; authority will one day interpose and prevent our destruction. What an immense treasure every year issues out of the kingdom to purchase hollands, cambricks, lace, and (clandestinely) foreign wrought silks? What multitudes of people lie unemployed and starving in the three kingdoms for want of encouraging these manufactures; while there is not a nation in Europe scarce but prohibits our woollen manufacture, and compels their people to wear their own coarse home-made cloth, between which and the English there is no manner of comparison. If we are so fond of imitating foreigners therefore, let us imitate them in this, namely, in encouraging our own manufactures, though they should be something inferior to theirs.

There are two objections indeed made to this reform, which a native of Britain may be ashamed to mention. One is, that by prohibiting the Dutch linnens, &c. we should lessen the duties of the crown: and the other, that by this means we should disoblige our best allie. But as to the duties arising by the importation of linnen, I may say without offence, that our present Court would be far from founding it's grandure on the ruin of the subject. We are happy indeed in a numerous royal progeny, but if they were still more numerous, they may be supported without the destruction of the British trade. If the customs should fall short, other ways and means may be thought of to supply their room, without diminishing the lustre of the royal house. And as to the disobliging an allie; will any nation give themselves those airs, and be so impertinent, as to call the promoting our own trade and manufactures a breach of friendship? No, the more they see you apply yourselves to put the kingdom into a wealthy and flourishing condition, the more will they and other nations court your friendship, and in proportion to your indolence in this particular will be their neglect and contempt of you. Besides, as their loss is our gain, and riches would flow in upon us by the encouragement of our manufactures, we should stand in less need of foreign powers to defend our interests. The more independent we are, the greater is our security. Every one would court the alliance of a powerful wealthy neighbour, few care to associate themselves with beggars.

There is a third reason given, why our trade and manufactures do not flourish, as might be expected, under the many advantages we have of other nations, and that is our mercenary temper. A bribe well applied by a subtle foreigner shall blast the most promising undertaking. I am credibly informed, that in the reign of King CHARLES II, a commission being obtained to drive the Dutch from some of our settlements they had surprized in the East-Indies; and the English East-India Company having fitted out a strong squadron of ships accordingly, when their commanders came to open their commissions at the Cape of Good Hope, they found themselves empowered to make war upon the Indians, but not one word of acting against the Dutch; so that the whole design was defeated, and the treasure it had cost the company in fitting out this squadron was thrown away. And this the Dutch brought about by clapping a round sum into the Duche's of Portsmouth's hands, who thereupon procured the instructions given to the East-India Captains to be altered. And one provoking circumstance in this enterprize was, That the thing

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was



was all the while pretended to be so very great a secret, that the officers who were to be entrusted with the execution of it, were not to be acquainted with the extent of their commission, till they had sailed half their voyage, and passed the Cape of Good Hope, when the Dutch were in the secret from the very beginning. So destructive are the influence of he or she-favourites: the wealth they heap upon themselves and their creatures is a trifle, if compared with the mischiefs they do in betraying the most important interest of their country.

But this nation, one would think, had taken such precautions, that it could not lie in the power of any designing foreigner, or treacherous courtier, to stifle any well-weighed proposal for the advancement of the British commerce. For here are commissioners of trade, with noble salaries allowed them, who are, or ought to be, the guardians of our foreign trade, and upon a due application to the throne might baffle all the attempts of designing men to destroy our commerce. The government no doubt takes care to put none into this important commission, of whose skill and fidelity they are not very well assured; and these gentlemen will certainly be ashamed to receive such large sums of their country's money, without doing something annually for the advancement of her interests. But to return from this digression: Flanders an hundred and fifty years ago had all the trade of Europe; her ports were crowded with the ships of all nations, and she had some ships of her own; but upon the oppressions of her own Princes, and the revolt of the United Provinces, both merchants and mechanicks left the country, and their commerce in an instant dwindled to nothing; since when they have scarce had a ship at sea, or dealt in any thing but the productions of their own soil, till the peace of Utrecht, when falling into the hands of the Imperialists, a variety of projects were set on foot for reviving their antient commerce. The first that took effect was that of the India trade, which alarming their neighbours the Dutch, they soon drew the English into the quarrel, and by their influence have in a manner put a stop to their navigation thither. The next thing the Flemings proposed, was to establish a fishery; and this they are labouring at now, but whether the Dutch will not be as sensibly affected by this attempt as by the other project may be a question; and whether we are not to be hauled in by neck and shoulders to oppose this design also, must be left to time to discover; though, as I have observed already, it must be perfectly indifferent to us whether the Dutch, the French, or the Flemings, take the fish upon our coast, since they are not thought worth our own care. If it be objected, that it is dangerous to suffer the Flemings to increase their shipping; have we not much more reason, as hath been intimated already, to be apprehensive of the increase of the French shipping; and may not this people, as the Hollander did the last war, assist us in breaking that power, which in a very few years will probably become as formidable as ever? But these are remote prospects, and I believe the Dutch will take such care to keep the naval power of Flanders under, that we need have no apprehensions of them. I see very little prospect at present of their prejudicing our foreign trade, or contending with us for the sovereignty of the sea, as both the Hollander and France have done.

*Treats of the religion, government, forces, and revenues of the Austrian Netherlands.*

THE religion of the Austrian Netherlands being Roman Catholick, needs no particular description here; only we may observe, that the administration of their ecclesiastical government, is much milder here than in many other Popish countries: we have scarce an instance of late years of the Inquisition exerting it's authority in these provinces as in Spain or Portugal; every one who visits these countries, knows that Protestants live with all imaginable freedom amongst them.

The Emperor, by the consent of all the Princes and States concerned in the last war, was, after the peace of Utrecht, acknowledged Sovereign of these provinces; and in him, or his Viceroy, and the Convention of the States of the respective provinces, is the legislative power in each lodged. Here new laws are enacted, and by their assent alone is money levied, and the whole assembly must be unanimous in the passing of an act. The Assembly or Parliament of each province, consists, 1. Of the Bishops, Abbots, and dignified Clergy. 2. The Nobility and Gentry. And, 3. The Deputies or Representatives of their chief towns. These meet at Brussels, except those of Luxemburg and Gueldres, who by their antient privileges cannot be summoned out of their respective provinces, any more than the States of Brabant: neither do the States of the several provinces which meet at Brussels assemble in one house, but each of them apart, and make distinct laws for their respective countries.

The present Regent of the Austrian Netherlands is the Arch-duchess, MARY-ELIZABETH, &c. daughter of the late Emperor LEOPOLD, who is assisted by three councils. The first styled the Council of State, where war and peace and foreign alliances are considered; and from them ambassadors receive their instructions and dispatches. 2. The Privy-Council, the members whereof are appointed by the Sovereign or the Regent, the President whereof is keeper of the great seal. In this court are determined the boundaries of provinces, their jurisdiction, &c. And, 3. The Council of Finances, which superintends the publick revenue.

Besides the Regent, or Governor-General, every province hath it's particular Governor, subject to the Regent; and in every province are courts of justice established for the trial of civil causes. The civil and canon law are in force here, where they do not interfere with the particular laws of the country; and from the civil courts of every province, there lies an appeal to the grand council at Mechlin, already mentioned. As to criminal matters, there is an officer called the Provost in every province, who with his associate hath the determination of them, but accountable however to the Grand Provost, or Chief Justice, who resides in Brussels, the capital of the Austrian Netherlands.

The forces stipulated to be maintained in the Netherlands by the barrier-treaty, made between the Emperor and the Dutch, anno 1715, I have already observed are thirty thousand men, and upon an appearance of war are to be forty thousand; of which his Imperial Majesty's quota is three



CHAP. three fifths, and that of the Dutch two. I have  
IV. also in the description of the United Provinces  
specified the barrier towns, in which the States are  
to have separate garrisons, to which I refer the  
reader, to avoid repetition.

The Walloon troops are generally good, and  
by the antient constitution of this country, no o-  
thers ought to be introduced; but as the Span-  
iards had done for many years, so the Impe-  
rialists now introduce what forces they please, and  
chuse to rely on their German troops rather than  
on the natives.

Revenues. The revenues of the Netherlands, when under  
the dominion of the Spaniards, were not sufficient  
to defray the charges of the civil government, and  
maintain their garrisons. (I mean since the re-  
volt of the seven provinces, and the decay of their  
commerce; for in their flourishing state, when  
Antwerp was the centre of trade, there was not  
a kingdom in Europe which yielded a larger re-  
venue to its Princes.) But their finances having  
been better regulated by the Imperialists, and their  
trade something revived by the vast demand of  
late for their fine linnen and lace, they are not  
so great a burthen to the Emperor as they were  
to Spain: however, it is still a question whether  
the publick revenues will maintain the charges of  
the government, even in time of peace. The or-  
dinary revenues of the government are either those  
arising from the demesne lands, or from the cus-  
toms. If there be an extraordinary tax to be  
raised, it is demanded of the States of the respec-  
tive provinces, with whom the court usually main-  
tains so good a correspondence, as not to meet  
with frequent denials: but the supplies must be  
much more precarious there than with us, because  
the consent of every single member is requisite to  
complement the grant.

The Emperor, though he be not much richer  
by the acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands, is  
however much stronger than he was. The forces  
maintained by the Imperialists and the Dutch in  
this country, and the many strong fortresses they  
are possessed of, will enable them always to give  
France a considerable diversion on this side: and  
the putting the Emperor and the Dutch into the  
possession of them, will in all probability keep the  
French within due bounds: but should we foolishly  
and impolitickly join with France to wrest this  
country out of the hands of the Imperialists, we  
shall soon be in the same condition we were on  
the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain; and  
it may occasion as expensive and bloody a war to  
recover them as the last. But I hope we shall  
not ever be changing hands, and throwing away  
our blood and treasure for we know not what.  
This may indeed be the wish and interest of the  
foldiery; but can never be to the general advan-  
tage of the British nation.

Nobility,  
&c.

The nobility and gentry of the Austrian Ne-  
therlands are much more numerous than in the  
United Provinces, especially in Luxemburg. They  
have most of them their palaces in and about the  
capital city; and their country-seats are so many  
castles, walled and moated round, from thence  
denominated *Chateaux*. The principal order of  
knighthood here is that of the Golden Fleece, of  
which there are fifty Knights, usually men of the  
first quality. As to the modern history of this  
country, the reader will find it blended with that  
of Germany and the United Provinces. I proceed  
therefore in the next place to Baron POLNITZ's  
description of the United Provinces.

The liberty so much boasted of in Holland, ac-  
cording to baron POLNITZ, is no more than what  
the good people of other countries enjoy; never-  
theless I must except religion, which every one here  
may adapt to his own fancy. The liberty there-  
fore consists only in the equality of conditions: but  
for a boor to presume to be saucy to a burgher,  
to despise the nobility, to censure his masters with  
impunity, and to treat all Kings as tyrants, seems  
to me to be a liberty which favours very much of  
libertinism. The Germans and the French, who  
are not used to such licentiousness in their own  
country, easily fall into it here; and 'tis really a  
wonder to hear them in a coffee-house, talking of  
sovereigns, especially when inspired with a holy  
zeal, plead for religion, which, say they, is eve-  
ry where oppressed, except in the dominions of  
the Calvinists. They think every government  
tyrannical, which does not allow entire liberty  
of conscience. 'Tis true, that in this country  
every one believes as he pleases: and here are  
religions of every kind, which nevertheless tend  
to one and the same centre, viz. the acquiring  
of riches, and the tormenting both of body and  
soul, to get an estate, not to enjoy it, but to  
have the pleasure of dying rich. Money, the  
darling, and the idol of the whole world, is so a-  
dored in this country, that it stands in the stead of  
birth, wit, and merit. A man who has but a  
small share of the favours of fortune, is neglected  
almost every where, but here he is despised.

Next to those of the prevailing religion, the  
Catholicks, among whom I include the Janse-  
nists, are the most numerous; I have been told they  
are above 20,000. They have fourteen churches,  
served by different orders of friars, who, as they  
die, the States have declared, shall be succeeded  
hereafter by none but the secular priests, who are  
natives of the country.

Amsterdam is not a place for a man to live in  
that is not concerned in trade; and a foreigner,  
especially, knows not how to bestow himself.  
He can find no where to go, but to some sorry  
coffee-house, or melancholy walk. In the one,  
he is sure to be incensed with tobacco, and stun-  
ned with wretched commentaries upon news pa-  
pers, or the price of pepper and ginger; in the  
other he is as solitary as a hermit. Their come-  
dies are but a poor relief to such as do not un-  
derstand Dutch; which, besides, is a language that  
I think is not very fit for the stage any more  
than ours. I thought the actors pitiful, and the  
habits trifling; but the decorations are fine, and  
the theatre spacious and magnificent. I cannot  
imagine why the magistrates will not let French  
comedies be acted in their city, where, I think  
they would do more good than harm; for they  
would help to polish the youth, and would un-  
doubtedly keep them from that temptation to de-  
bauchery, to which idleness, and the difficulty of  
knowing where to spend the evenings, naturally  
incline them. I heard M. D'ARGENSON, the late  
keeper of the seals, say, he had observed, while  
he was lieutenant of the police at Paris, that there  
were more disorders and debaucheries committed  
in that city, during the fortnight at Easter, when  
the theatres were shut up, than were commit-  
ted in four months, when all shews were kept  
open. I doubt not but it would be the same at  
Amsterdam, where there is a numerous youth,  
for whom the parents are blindly complaisant,  
and ready to kill the fatted calf; so that being  
left to their own devices, and having in general  
but

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Baron  
POL-  
NITZ's  
descrip-  
tion of the  
United  
Provinces.



but few maxims of education, they run with the stream of their passions into all extravagancies. These young fellows, who prefer the exercise of driving a chaise before all others, set up in the mean time for fine gentlemen; but how well they perform their part, I leave you to think.

The assemblies, or societies, as they are here called, have nothing that is engaging. You see very fine faces there, but not a tongue moves, at least to a foreigner; the very sight of whom seems to frighten them. Here they drink tea, or play a game at ombre, or quadrille, and afterwards go in quest of a supper.

Those societies, or clubs, where there are no ladies, are still worse. In these they smoke and drink in abundance; talk of trade or politics; and at such times, woe be to those powers that have forbid the importation of Dutch toys into their dominions. The only remedy against chagrin, is reading, of which a man may have his heart full; for Amsterdam is not only the centre of the bookselling trade, but here are booksellers that are very ready to lend books to such, who, like myself, cannot be at the charge of a library. I divide my time between reading, the coffee-house, and taking the air; the latter of which I use very moderately; one being obliged to go so far for it, that I think of it at least four times before I set out. The canals, such as the Heers-Gracht, and the Keizers-Gracht, are pleasant walks in the town, because they are planted with trees; but they are indifferently paved. Upon these two canals live persons of the greatest distinction, or rather those of the greatest wealth, in the city.

One of the finest walks in it is the bridge, which joins the rampart from one side of the Amstel to the other. 'Tis six hundred and sixty feet in length, and seventy in breadth; and here one enjoys an admirable prospect, which is the only one, perhaps, that can be compared with the view from Pont-Royal at Paris. The admiralty, with its precinct, forms a little town. 'Tis one of the arsenals of the Dutch navy. Here one actually sees seventy men of war, and materials for building a much greater number. With the leave of the Venetians, their arsenal, so much boasted of, is by no means comparable with this, with regard to naval stores.

The admiralty office is so near the India-company's warehouse, that I am tempted to give you some account of a house which contains such a treasure. 'Tis a very great structure of several stories, distributed into divers chambers or rooms, where there is a prodigious quantity of all manner of spices, of which the most common sorts lie in heaps, as corn does in all our granaries. There are also a great many other things of value; and, in a word, every thing, be it ever so precious, that comes from the Indies. After I had walked about an hour in this warehouse, I was, as it were, embalmed with the odour of the different spices, which made my head ache exceedingly, or else I should have thought myself metamorphosed into a mummy; but jesting apart, I fancy, that were a carcass to be deposited in this house, it would be free from corruption. The India-company is properly a republick within the republick itself: it arms, disarms, raises and disbands officers and soldiers, without being accountable to the states. It maintains a governor in the Indies, who lives there with more pomp and grandeur than his masters do here.

The suburbs of this great city, in which it is

said there are above five hundred thousand souls, as many as are in Naples, are extremely populous. There are above eight hundred windmills continually at work in grinding corn, or sawing of timber. On the other side of the harbour there are several villages, of which Sardam is the most considerable, not only for its size, in which it surpasses many towns, but for the wealth of its inhabitants, who are called peasants, and pretend to be nothing else, though I cannot imagine why; for they trade, and make a figure here upon the exchange, like the most substantial merchants, and do not apply themselves to agriculture. I have been told, that there is above a thousand windmills at Sardam, always employed in sawing of timber, which would have been a rare field for Don Quixote to have displayed his valour. That neatness of which the Dutch are so fond, is cultivated to the greatest nicety in this village; and the Amsterdammers themselves cannot but own and admire it.

The peasants of Sardam dress more like the citizens of Amsterdam than those of the other villages in those parts do, whose apparel is of a very extraordinary fashion. They wear monstrous large trowsers, wide enough to make any body a whole suit. Under this trowser there is another pair of breeches, and perhaps a third, or else a pair of drawers; and to the two pair of breeches which are in sight, they have solid plate buttons bigger than a crown piece. They also wear three or four waistcoats, one over the other, which are set so thick with silver buttons, that they perfectly touch one another. Over all this clothing, they have a dark-coloured surcoat, or doublet, which keeps them extremely tight downwards, and therefore all their waistcoats ride up so, that they seem to have breasts like woman. Their shoes are sea-men like, or, with reverence be it spoken, such as are now worn by the French *petit maitres*. They have also silver buckles, but so large, that they are fitter for the harness of horses than for shoes. I assure you, that if the Romans had been dressed like these peasants, the Carthaginians would have taken a richer booty in silver buttons, than they did at the battle of Cannæ, when they took that heap of Roman rings. The women also wear a small equipage of gold and silver. They have gold ear-pendants; a bodkin of the same which fastens their caps; chains about their necks in form of pearl necklaces; great rings; and in all this there is no expence grudged.

The Sardammers are so very much wedded to their antient habit, that a father once refused to own his son, because, having been for some years in France, he came to wait on him upon the exchange of Amsterdam, in a suit of clothes bedawbed with gold lace.

I cannot say that I have had any other satisfaction in my tour to North-Holland, than the gratification of sight; for company does not seem to be the taste of the country. I never stirred out, but every body took me for a very odd kind of a man: yet I am no *petit maitre*, nor is there any thing uncommon in my make. The fair sex in this out-of-the-way country, is very handsome; and here are country lasses, who have a delicate complexion, not inferior to the finest ladies. These sylvan beauties are generally fair, and have such a languishing look, that I guess they would not prove unkind to any young faun that courted them.



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IV.

The history of the United Provinces was brought down to the year 1728, in the former edition of MODERN HISTORY, when we find the Dutch extremely incensed against the Emperor, for supporting the Ostend company, in their trade to the East-Indies, and shewing but little inclination to give up that branch of traffick. The Dutch, thereupon, gave orders to their commanders in India, to seize and sink all Ostend ships they met with in those seas; and, unhappily, prevailed on the English company to give the same barbarous orders to their captains, which were shamefully put in execution; and one ship, if not more, belonging to Ostend, was sunk in the river Ganges, by ships belonging to the English and Dutch East-India companies; an outrage that the Emperor will never forget: and in this, our unhappy countrymen were made tools to the Dutch; for we could reap but little advantage by excluding the Emperor's subjects of Flanders from the East-Indies: we had none of the fine spices to lose; the Dutch had long since ravished these from us; and the other branches of the East-India trade are scarce worth the contending for: and the cunning Hollander, at last, over-reached himself in getting the Ostend company suppressed; for other nations immediately took the hint, and imagining there must be something extremely valuable in that trade, to which there was made such a violent opposition by the maritime powers, immediately formed East-India companies, or enlarged their navigation that way; and will now, probably, one day dispute the possession of the spice islands with the Dutch, which the English so tamely abandoned, and, perhaps, would never have attempted to recover. The Dutch, indeed, would have drawn the English in to assist them, in excluding other nations from the Indian seas; but, I presume, we are grown wiser than to burn our fingers in their quarrel any more; we have made too many nations our enemies by coming into their schemes, and what returns they have made us for such favours, are too notorious: we are frequently drawn into quarrels, and then left to get out of them as we can; our crafty allies, in the mean time, running away with our trade; whether they are at peace or war with any power, they continue to trade with them, and double their gains, by getting their allies excluded from it, while they lay the burthen of the war upon their good-natured confederates.

In the year 1730, great numbers of people were put to death in the United Provinces, under pretence of sodomitical practices, against which crime the States published a very severe placart; wherein they observe, that their laws had hitherto assigned no particular punishment for this offence, and direct the judges to condemn those who were convicted of it to what kind of death they thought fit: but the prisoners being tried privately, and none admitted to converse with them after sentence, some have suggested, that they were arbitrarily put to death on suspicion of their disaffection to the state, of which they could produce no clear proof.

A treaty being concluded at Vienna in the year 1731, between the Emperor and the King of Great Britain, wherein the principal articles on the part of the Emperor, were, that six thousand Spaniards should be admitted into Tuscany, to secure the eventual succession of Don

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CARLOS, and that the Ostend company should be abolished; Britain agreed, on her part, to guarantee the Pragmatick Sanction, and the States were pleased to accede to this treaty in February 1731-2. Whereupon the Emperor prohibited the Ostenders, and all his subjects of the Netherlands, to carry on any trade to the East-Indies, to the great satisfaction of the Dutch. This grievance was no sooner redressed, but the Dutch were afflicted with a plague of worms, a calamity that they had never before experienced; these insects eat into the wooden piles which supported their dikes, and had not the frosty weather come on, and destroyed them, the banks that keep out the sea would probably have been demolished, and great part of their country laid under water; and it seems, the Dutch looked upon their deliverance to be so extraordinary an event, that they kept a fast and thanksgiving in one day, on the occasion, which are always blended together here.

The same year, the dispute between the King of Prussia and the Prince of Orange, in relation to the estate of the late King WILLIAM III, was adjusted; but, I perceive, the Prince of Orange was obliged to accept something less than his share; the States, who were executors of the will, having more complaisance for the King of Prussia than the Prince. The province of Zealand also kept him out of the possession of Flushing and Terveer, which were part of his inheritance: however, the court of England had such an opinion of this Prince, thus stripped of great part of his possessions, that a marriage-contract was signed between him and the Princess Royal, in the year 1733; and on the fourteenth of March 1733-4, the marriage was solemnized at St James's with great splendor.

When the King notified the marriage of his daughter with the Prince to the States General, they returned him abundance of compliments on the occasion; but gave him to understand, that they should endeavour to preserve their constitution; and he must not expect they would alter it again in favour of a stadtholder, though they could not but discern, that this was his Majesty's principal view in this match; and, indeed, they seem in all their conduct to depress the Prince of Orange as much as they can, lest he should one day grow so popular, that the province of Holland, as well as the rest, should be compelled by the people to appoint him their stadtholder, which was the very case of WILLIAM III, late King of England.

And when his present Majesty, the King of Great Britain, represented to the States the hardship and injustice of keeping the Prince, his son-in-law, out of possession of the lordships which belong to him in the island of Zealand, they would not intermeddle in it, but contented themselves with letting his Majesty know, that Zealand was an independent province, and might do as they saw fit; which his Majesty very well knew before: though he was satisfied, at the same time, if the States General would interpose, the province of Zealand would have been influenced by them: they were afraid, if the Prince was restored to the lordships of Terveer and Flushing, he would have such an interest in Zealand, that he might induce that province to elect him their stadtholder; and, as this is the most powerful province next to Holland itself, this would be a great

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great



great step towards his being appointed Stadtholder-general; and for that reason, unless the Prince meets with some such favourable juncture, as happened when WILLIAM III. was made stadtholder of Holland, he will scarce ever arrive at that dignity, but must expect to be treated by them, in the mean time, as a Prince they are jealous may one day be their rival in power.

The next thing that deserves our notice in the history of the United Provinces, is their conduct on the King of Poland's death, when they saw France in a confederacy with Spain and Sardinia, against the Emperor: then did these honest gentlemen sign an act of neutrality for the Austrian Netherlands without consulting either the Emperor or Great Britain, which gave France and her allies such a superiority on the Rhine, and in Italy, as perfectly ruined the Emperor's affairs; especially as their entering into this neutrality, and refusing to send the Emperor those troops they were obliged by treaty to furnish him with, probably induced Great Britain to observe much the same conduct. It is not to be wondered, if the Emperor, thus left alone, to oppose so powerful a confederacy, was in a manner driven out of Italy, and brought to the brink of ruin; which when Great Britain saw too late, she augmented her forces by sea and land, and invited the Dutch to do the same, to retrieve the false step they had made, and give a check to the conquests of the confederates; but we find, the Dutch refused to put themselves to the least expence in arming themselves; they left Great Britain the honour of disobliging both parties, that they might make the better terms, I presume, with the Kings of Spain and Naples, in point of trade: but here again, possibly, this crafty state have over-reached themselves; for both the French and the Emperor have been so much disoblighed by their High Mightinesses, in several instances, that they will probably unite to express their resentment against a state, that has had so little regard to both, and played such a double game: for by an article from Antwerp, we learn, that the Emperor has declared, he intends to make his subjects, of the Austrian Netherlands, ample satisfaction for their loss in the abolition of the Ostend company, by a new tariff: and the French seem determined, at the same time, to put the Hollanders under very great difficulties in point of trade; having, in a manner, prohibited the importation of their merchandize in France: but what will affect them most sensibly, is a project, said to be formed between the Emperor and France, for weakening their barrier, and laying them open to the attacks of their enemies.

1739.

Great Britain entering into a war with Spain, and it being expected that the French would join the Spaniard, the honourable HORATIO WALPOLE, was sent over to Holland in the year 1739, to discover what assistance the Dutch were inclined to give the English, in case of a rupture with France; but it does not appear that any thing more than compliments passed between the Ambassador and that cautious State. On the contrary, they concluded a new treaty of commerce with France, in which they were pretty much favoured by the French court, in order to prevent their entering into too strict an alliance with Great Britain. In the mean time their conduct in relation to the Prince of Orange, gave

some uneasiness to the British Court, for they still refused to restore that Prince to his rights in Zealand; jealous, that he might one day aspire to succeed his ancestors, in the office of Stadtholder; whereupon his Highness declared, that he would be content with receiving the revenues of his lordships in the province of Zealand, and wave his right to appoint magistrates, and elect deputies to represent that Province in the States General; but this reasonable proposition being rejected, he ordered his minister Mr BURMANN, to break off the conferences, and to declare, that he would no more make them any propositions on his part, or hearken to any on theirs, but should endeavour to preserve his right to his marquisates of Terveer, Flushing, &c. in it's full extent, in order to recover the same when time and opportunity should serve. And the King of Prussia being guarantee of the Prince of Orange's succession to the said Marquisates, and having some pretensions to them himself, in case the Prince should die without issue; demanded of the States, that they should be restored to the Prince, but it does not appear that they have hitherto had any regard to the representations of the one, or the other.

The King of Prussia espouses the Pr. of Orange's cause.

The King of Denmark having prohibited all people, whether natives or foreigners, (except the Danish Greenland company) to fish upon the coast of West Greenland, or Iceland, or within fifteen leagues of those coasts. The Dutch, notwithstanding, continued to fish there as formerly; whereupon the Danes seized several Dutch ships, but were obliged to release them again, on the States threatening to make reprisals; for whatever right any nation may pretend to the fisheries on their coasts, or to a monopoly in the trade of any distant country, if their neighbours happen to have a superior force at sea, they make no scruple of invading such rights; insisting, that the sea is free for all men, and that all nations are at liberty to trade with what people they please, if the inhabitants of the countries they trade to desire it.

The Dutch encroach on the Danes fisheries.

But surely, the Dutch with a very ill grace, insist that the sea is open to all men, and that it is lawful to visit any country where the natives consent to traffick with foreigners; when the Hollanders themselves have monopolized the traffick of all those countries in the East, where the fine spices grow, and will not suffer any people to traffick with the natives in that part of the world.

But however the Dutch thought fit to insult the Danes, and fish upon their coasts in Greenland and Iceland, notwithstanding the prohibition abovementioned, they seemed determined to observe an exact neutrality, in the war between Great Britain and Spain: The taking of their ships in Europe, or America, by the Spaniards, could not move them to express their resentment, any otherwise than by memorials and representations to the court of Spain, in order to obtain redress, though they had not always justice done them. They apprehended, possibly, that if they gave Spain any provocation, they should draw the resentment of the French upon them, and endanger their being engaged in a war with those two powers, which of all things in the world they dreaded most, as it would obstruct that profitable traffick they carry on, while their neighbours are engaged in war, and might bring upon them an expence, of which they could see no

1740.  
The Spaniards take Dutch ships.

end,



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Dutch  
augment  
their  
forces.1741.  
The King  
of Prussia  
threatens  
the Dutch.

end, if they engaged as principals in the quarrel. However, to render their State considerable, and give weight to their negotiations, they thought fit to augment their land forces, and fit out a squadron of men of war.

There was such an extraordinary fog in Holland on the 22d of November this year, that it grew dark before sun-set, and above fifty people lost their way, and fell into the canals: but to proceed in their Modern History.

The Dutch being under some apprehension of an invasion by the King of Prussia, who is supposed to have been incited by France, to alarm the States on that side, and threaten their territories in case they entered into a confederacy with Great Britain. They thought fit to make a second augmentation of their forces: the first pretence the King of Prussia made for invading the territories of Holland, was their erecting a sluice in Guelderland, which he apprehended would occasion some damage to his subjects in that province; he afterwards caused a memorial to be presented to the States, laying claim to the cities of Nimeguen and Zutphen, but he was pleased to wave his pretensions for the present, being engaged in a war with the Queen of Hungary.

The French Ambassador at the Hague, the Marquis of Fenelon, presented a memorial to the States General about the same time, complaining, that in their News Papers was contained an abstract of a pretended treaty between the French King, and the Duke of Bavaria, by which several places in Germany, and the Netherlands, were to be yielded to France, in case the Duke of Bavaria was advanced to the Imperial Throne, and the arms of the French met with success; he assured their High Mightinesses, that the pretended treaty was a mere forgery, and desired they would suppress the paper which contained the calumny.

The States answered, that it was published entirely without their knowledge, and they really looked upon the pretended treaty as a forgery.

About the same time, the Dutch published the following account of a conspiracy, and insurrection of the Chinese, against their colony at Batavia, in the island of Java; said to be received from one of their officers residing at Batavia, which was of the following tenor (viz).

I cannot but impart to you, the dismal misfortune we have lately met with, (viz) a conspiracy among the Chinese dwelling in and about this city (who were upwards of 90,000) to massacre every one of us Europeans, and make themselves masters of the island of Java.

Having with this intent, in bodies of 5 or 6000 men, for some time infested the Highlands, and committed great massacres, rapines, and devastations, by fire, sword, &c. the cause of which we were not able to learn, the Javans, and those they had forced to assist them, were sometimes taken thirty or forty together, and four or five hundred of them examined at once; whereupon two hundred, who could give no account how they subsisted, were sent to the island of Ceylon, and the rest that could get their bread discharged: but this salutary precaution did not avail, the riots increased every day in the Highlands, till at last the government judged it expedient to send a detachment thither, for which purpose Mess. VAN IMHOFF and VAN AARDEN, were sent out with eight hundred men, who having been

some days in the Highlands gave them battle, routed and dispersed them.

In the mean time the Chinese dwelling in and about Batavia, had made all manner of preparations, providing themselves with a sufficient number of wooden cannons, and other warlike stores, and digging of mines under ground which they charged with powder; the treachery being now upon the point of execution, it pleased God to discover the whole affair to us, and that too by five Chinese, who of their own accord came and acquainted the government with the scene of blood which their countrymen were preparing; whereupon all our guards and posts were doubled, and all the clerks, and even first and second supercargoes without exception, were obliged to mount guard completely armed in the castle, though the government did not apprehend the danger to be so great as it afterwards proved.

Matters remaining in this situation for two days; we had intelligence, on Saturday the 8th of October, that one of our advanced posts near the island Onrust, called Quale, had been surprized by the Chinese, all the Europeans murdered, and every thing destroyed by fire; whereupon the government met, and ordered that no Chinese should open his door, appear in the streets, nor burn a light in the night-time, and that the contraveners should immediately be shot to death; strong guards were also presently posted in all the streets and bye-places.

Whilst the government was yet assembled, in the evening about seven o'clock, the Chinese set fire to the suburbs, near the gate of Utrecht, expecting we should come with all hands to extinguish it, in which case, those within would have sallied from their habitations, and have made an end of us all together; but they were mistaken, the gates being kept close and well guarded.

Towards eight, the members of the government took, two by two, the guard of the gates upon themselves, in order to execute in person, what commands and orders might be given.

At nine o'clock, the Chinese to the number of forty or fifty thousand, advanced with a terrible noise of drums, trumpets, bassoons, and hideous shouts, in order to give their comrades in the city, a signal for the attack; but those within seeing our good regulation and order, and that they were deprived of every opportunity to join their brethren kept the selves very quiet, being seized with fear, and indeed had they ventured upon the matter, in combination with the rest, we had all been destroyed, being little more than three thousand fighting men.

Mean while the Chinese that were about the city, continued their havock with fire and sword, they surprized a guard of fifteen blacks without the gate of Utrecht, and likewise another without the Dies gate, all whom they murdered and destroyed: they also fell upon a guard of sixty men near the new gate, but these defended themselves so gallantly, that many Chinese were killed, and the gate remained in our hands, it being within reach of our cannon, which plied them with good success all that night; moreover we made a sally with 160 men, both horse and foot to relieve this post, and other Christians inhabiting the out-parts; we could not make a stronger sally, having our sworn enemies both within and without. Thus we spent the night with great courage, though not without danger, finding ourselves in the midst of our foes.

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In the morning the Chinese quitted the suburbs; whereupon the government met, and an order was issued to kill all the Chinese except the women and children, there being no other remedy to secure us within, and to defend ourselves against the multitude of enemies without. Accordingly the doors and houses of the Chinese were forced open with axes and engines, and all the men hauled out and massacred, their wives and children were all conveyed to the Chinese hospital, mean time the streets, rivulets, and moats, were soon filled with dead bodies, and in some places one might have been over the ankles in blood, so great was the slaughter. In the interim, some large guns were planted on the opposite side of the Roemolake, to play upon the Chinese captain's house, where there were upwards of eight hundred Chinese: When we had stormed it, about thirty women came from thence, on our promising to do them no hurt, the Chinese captain being amongst them, and hoping to escape in women's apparel, but being too well known, he was apprehended and sent to the castle.

In the afternoon Mess. VAN IMHOFF and VAN AARDEN, returned with their men from the Highlands into the city. At the same time (being Sunday at two in the afternoon) the whole city was in flames, for the Chinese, being in the utmost terror, set fire to their houses and perished in the flames, and those that came out of their doors were slain by our people.

This conflagration caused inexpressible confusion, especially amongst the women, who fled in crowds to the castle, that part of the city where the Chinese dwelt, being by this time almost reduced to ashes; and there being upwards of six hundred Chinese men confined in prisons, they were all put to death by the order of the government. During this confusion, the money and goods of the Chinese were plundered, and many greatly enriched by these robberies and murders, some of the seamen got nine or ten thousand rix-dollars (crowns) each man.

The Chinese that escaped the slaughter fled to the mountains, where they destroyed every thing with fire and sword, but were many of them killed by our people; in all this havoc (says the writer) we have not lost much above an hundred men. At present, there is a general pardon published for such Chinese as will submit within a month, which several hundreds have already done; however, this pardon does not extend to their two chiefs, but, on the contrary, a reward is promised of 1000 dollars, to those that bring them dead, and 5000 for taking them alive; for the inferior sort, 200 dead, and 500 alive: this pardon expires the 22d of this month of November, so that all those that do not surrender by that time, are to be outlawed.

By subsequent accounts, the Dutch pretended they had learnt, that the chief of this conspiracy was a bastard son of the late Emperor of China, who had been forced to fly that country several years before, for attempting to stir up a rebellion, but that he pretended to be the lineal descendant and heir of the antient Imperial family of China, before it was conquered by the Tartars, by which pretence he engaged the Chinese of Java to unite under him, and was still in the mountains, at the head of a great number of men.

It was added, that the Chinese quarter in Ba-

tavia, continued burning several days, and many of the miserable inhabitants were found alive among the ruins, but put to death without mercy by the Dutch, as were all those in the prisons, and hospitals; and that the riches that nation was found possessed of, is not to be expressed, many chests filled with gold, silver, and other treasures, having been dug up, and all sorts of merchandize found in caves and pits, dug on purpose to conceal them.

We have since received a more circumstantial account of the slaughter of the Chinese at Batavia, which sets that action in a very different light, (viz.)

The Chinese in Java are a colony which transported themselves thither, rather than submit to the Tartars, who conquered China about an hundred years ago, and required the natives to cut off their hair, and alter their habits to the Tartar mode.

The Chinese have multiplied prodigiously since their arrival in Java, they were computed to amount to one hundred thousand at least, at the time of the late massacre; on whom the Dutch (who were masters of that part of Java where the Chinese resided) levied a poll-tax annually, in consideration of their wearing their hair, which the Tartars would not suffer them to do in China, and which was one principal reason of their removing from thence, and chusing to remain in exile.

The Dutch also, by other taxes and impositions on the Chinese, added very considerably to the revenues of their government at Batavia, for this colony still carried on a great trade with their mother country, as well as with the continent of India and the Oriental islands, and were become immensely rich, which the Dutch government of Batavia beheld with avaritious eyes, and at length found, or rather made, a pretence for murdering these unhappy people, and seizing their treasure; whether the Chinese were provoked by the oppression of the Dutch, to murmur and endeavour to get their grievances redressed, or whether the plot was a mere invention of the State, does not appear: that the general or governor of Batavia sent for Baron IMHOFF who commanded the soldiers of that garrison, and acquainted him, the Chinese were conspiring against the government, and that their numbers were so formidable, that it was not practicable to proceed against them in the ordinary courts of justice, but a general massacre was become absolutely necessary, to prevent the total destruction of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Empire in Asia, and consequently, of that invaluable commerce they carried on in this part of the world; and thereupon, commanded the Baron to see his orders executed, and totally extirpate that dangerous colony of the Chinese.

The Baron, however, before he would enter on this bloody scene, desired to see the information and evidence of the conspiracy on which the governor proceeded, but was told, there was no room to doubt of it, and he had nothing to do but to obey his orders; whereupon the Baron represented, that tho' some of the Chinese might be in a plot, it could not be imagined the whole nation was concerned, and it would be barbarous to put the innocent to death with the guilty; and the governor still refusing to communicate the proofs of the conspiracy to him, the Baron absolutely refused to obey his orders, and retired; whereupon the governor



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governor assembled the council, and made such a representation of the Baron's disobedience, that they concurred with him in an order, to apprehend Baron IMHOFF, and send him prisoner to Europe: after which the drums were ordered to beat to arms, and proclamation made through the Chinese quarter, that none of that nation should stir out of their houses, which the Chinese obeyed.

The next day, the drums were ordered to beat again, and the Chinese commanded to deliver up their arms, which they submitted to; and the night following, the Dutch garrison was ordered to massacre all the Chinese in the place; which was no sooner began, than it occasioned the most dreadful shrieks and out-cries: and whether the soldiery tortured the Chinese, and put them to cruel deaths, to make them discover their treasure; or from what other motive it proceeded, the Chinese so dreaded the cruel butchery of the Dutch, that many of them strangled themselves, or cut their own and their childrens throats, fired their own houses and perished in the flames; and either by their own, or the hands of their enemies, twenty or thirty thousand of the Chinese men, women, and children, lost their lives in one night.

The Chinese in other parts of the island, hearing of the distress of their brethren at Batavia, assembled and advanced to the gates of the town, to the number of five thousand; but either they came too late, or found it impracticable to get into the place; however, this was deemed a manifest evidence of a plot of the Chinese against the government, though if the strength of the fortifications, the numerous garrison of Europeans and Asiatics, the ships of war always in the harbour, and the defenceless condition of the Chinese, are considered, it must appear impossible for them to have made themselves masters of Batavia. They had neither cannon, mortars, or ammunition to enable them to reduce a fortress of that strength: but however that was, the Dutch governor was so well satisfied that he should be able to justify his conduct to his masters, that he determined to return to Europe, at the expiration of his government; and accordingly collected most of the treasure he had acquired, by the plunder of the Chinese, or otherwise, and sent it on board some Dutch ships to Holland, where it was all cast away on his native shore, in sight of his countrymen.

Soon after the governor had sent away his treasure from Batavia to Holland, he embarked for Europe himself, and arrived at the Dutch settlement, at the Cape of Good-hope, in Africa; where the governor of that fortress resigned the command to him, as is usual in all the Dutch garrisons in Asia, and Africk, when the General of Batavia arrives, who is vested with sovereign power, wherever he resides in that part of the world, the commissions of all other governors and generals being suspended. In the mean time, advice of this horrid massacre arriving in Europe, and seeming to be detested and severely reflected on by every other nation; the Dutch, in order to remove the odium of it from themselves as a nation, imputed it to the barbarous disposition of that particular man, who was then General of Batavia; and sent an order to the governor of the Cape of Good-hope, to apprehend him if he came home that way, and send him back prisoner to Batavia, to be tried for the fact.

This order coming to the Cape, at the time  
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the General of Batavia was there, and while he had the command of the place, was delivered into his own hand, and had he opened it himself, might have been suppressed, but his evil genius seems to have had the ascendant at this time, he did not care to be disturbed as he lay indolently lolling on his couch, but put the packet, and with it the sentence of his own death, into the hands of the governor of the Cape, desiring him to withdraw and peruse the contents: who finding an order in it to make the General prisoner, sent immediately for a guard, and took him into custody: it is easy to imagine the consternation the wretch was in, on this turn of fortune; before this, and before he received advice of the loss of his treasure on the coast of Holland, he was confident he had it in his power to bribe his judges in Europe to acquit him; especially as he was able to have made so specious a defence, and shew he had the concurrence of a majority of the council of Batavia, in perpetrating the horrid fact; and could prove, there was an insurrection of the Chinese, in the open country, at the very time of the massacre: but now all his confidence in his immense riches, and in the tricks and evasions he had prepared to amuse the world, forsook him; he was sent back bound to Batavia, where that very Baron IMHOFF, he had sent prisoner to Europe, for refusing to execute his bloody commands, was constituted General, and ordered to see justice done upon his predecessor.

But to return to Europe; we find the States of the United Provinces much divided, when a third augmentation of their troops was moved, those who were against the motion, represented that by this augmentation, their national troops would amount to fourscore thousand men, a number so greatly superior to what it was the interest of the Republick to maintain, that they believed no good patriot could be insensible of the danger arising from it; for how could they be sure after consenting to such a motion, it would be in their power to make a reduction, without risking a change in the form of their government.

Indeed were the augmentation the effect of immediate danger, or necessity, there would be no room left for dispute; the common safety would then unite all suffrages in it's favour. But it was plain the Republick had no enemies, but such imaginary ones as were raised to terrify the populace into this measure. To do this, the most chimerical apprehensions were raised; sometimes the Queen of Hungary was said to be reconciled to the King of Prussia, to induce them to arm in support of that alliance; when this failed, that King was represented as a dangerous enemy, who being secretly instigated by France, was meditating projects prejudicial to her repose, though at the same time it was apparent to the world, that his Prussian Majesty had not in all his territories, from Minden to the Maese, above five battalions, the garrisons of Wesel and Gelders included; and of these, during the present alarm, he had withdrawn two regiments: with respect to France, they were so far from having any cause of suspicion, that they had rejected her propositions for securing their barrier, and disregarded the assurances she seemed willing to give them as to her designs.

Notwithstanding this, the popular fermentation was still artfully kept up, by letters industriously spread, relating to the vast preparations of France through all her provinces: whereas that crown

The States divided on the proposing a third augmentation of their troops.



was so far from acting like a power inclined to disturb it's neighbours, that though she had sent two armies into the Empire, *with views known to to all the world*; yet she had made no addition to her cavalry: and this she would certainly do, had she the sinister intentions imputed to her, for her squadrons were at present too thin to support a war: her dragoons were also but half mounted, and of those she had sent into Germany, the half had been left in the frontier towns for want of horses: such deficiencies proved at least her designs not deep; so that should they at last make the augmentation so much desired, it might be imputed to their indiscretion, and want of confidence.

And could it be believed, they should easily reduce their troops, after so considerable an augmentation, without the hazard of a popular disturbance; the party that was so zealous for the one, would probably be as violent against the other: designing men, who by popular influence had carried one point, would use the same means to extend their power; the favourers of the augmentation would keep up their credit and reputation with the people and the army, by preserving the establishment they had made; in altering which, the Republick might feel greater agitations than she now did in making it: In that case, the attempting a change would probably throw the State into great convulsions; it was time the province of Zealand did make a reduction of her troops, but this was no precedent for them; the situation of that province, surrounded by the sea, made her less need a land force; but the situation of Holland was different; the members of this province, who espoused the augmentation, would be equally against a reduction; for those who gain the ascendancy over others, keep it by all possible artifices, of which the present case was a proof, to which might be added another.

How often had they been the dupes of England, who had made her advantages of the credulity of this State? It was evident some provinces had a particular view and interest, in the success of this measure, and would have the same hereafter, in keeping up the army, at it's highest complement.

They ought never to forget, what happened after the peace of Munster, when the Republick came to disband an army, necessary during a long war, the views of those interested in it's support drove things to fatal extremities; the worthy patriots of the province of Holland, who generally promoted a reduction, were seized by violence, and imprisoned in the castle of Louvesteyn; arbitrary power forced even patriots in the supreme councils of the Republick; Amsterdam was on the brink of a surprize, and the State was rescued from impending slavery, only by the sudden death of a young Prince, who employed the army entrusted to him by the Republick, to subvert it's freedom, and imprison it's defenders.

It is to little purpose, to alledge that the case then was quite different, and that what happened then was the effect of heat or ambition in a young Prince: whereas the Republick having now no Stadtholder, runs no hazard: it was true there was no danger from a *reigning Stadtholder*, but was there none from a *meditated one*? civil commotions were never more to be dreaded, than when the humour of the populace, and the incli-

nation of the army, united to give it's sovereign power, where it was most dangerous it should be placed.

In answer to this representation, those that were for the augmentation of their forces observed, that the present condition of their State was more dangerous, than it had been at any time since the peace of Utrecht; that it nearly concerned the Republick to be upon it's guard, while all it's neighbours were in arms, and that their High Mightinesses were answerable to God, and their posterity, if they delayed the augmentation of their forces any longer, while such numerous bodies of foreign troops, were assembling on their frontiers: the present augmentation would indeed increase their forces, much beyond the numbers necessary when Europe was in tranquillity, and no person would appear in behalf of such a measure, but on account of it's absolute necessity.

France had sent two armies into the Empire, with views (as had been observed) *known to all the world*, (*viz.*) *the election of an Emperor, and the ruin of the house of Austria*; the first of these designs she had accomplished, and was now intent on the execution of the other: the increase she had made in her forces, left no room to suspect, she had still undiscovered schemes in view, which required extraordinary support, for it was frivolous to ascribe such preparations to their declining the neutrality she offered: an impartial observer must conclude, her conduct on this occasion furnished just matter for distrust; why should France insist on their sitting still, unless she was afraid they would be in a posture of defence, to defeat her designs, either against themselves, or against those countries, whose safety and independency was necessary to their own; namely, that barrier which had cost them so much blood and treasure: an impartial observer must see, that all the secret artifices, and open menaces, employed by that intriguing court, were only put in practice to amuse them, till her blow was struck, which would enslave Europe, and leave them the poor consolation of being the last conquest. Every step taken by France to retard the augmentation, was a new motive to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

The majority of the members of the Republick, were thoroughly convinced of the necessity, and importance, of the augmentation proposed, and to decry it, because it was a popular thing; as if whatever was popular, was extravagant or foolish, was very absurd: for the voice of the people in all well regulated states had been esteemed sacred; amongst despotick Princes, those who have been the most popular, have been the best, or least exceptionable: It is only tyrants who throw off all regard for their subjects, witness the *oderint dum metuant* of a NERO; the more prevailing an opinion is among the people, the more it merits the attention of every well wisher to the publick, and especially in such a form of government as theirs: nothing should be so popular in Holland, as the detestation of slavery and persecution, and consequently a dread of all measures that had a tendency to introduce them; to watch over the publick safety, and by such a vigilance to deserve the confidence reposed in them, was the duty of the supreme magistrates: their people to a man, were ready to contribute a part of what they had, to preserve their property in the rest; and warned by the example of their neighbours, they thought it necessary to be upon their guard, when they found



CHAP. IV. found it too common with Princes to regulate their conduct in the observation or violation of treaties, only by their interest and convenience. It was easy to answer the representation, with regard to the two points chiefly insisted on therein; as to the first, it is plain the Republick in the beginning of this century (1700) greatly increased her forces, without any hazard to her liberty; as to the second, at the peace of Utrecht, a reduction was made of those troops, and in 1736 a further reduction was made, without the least opposition or inconvenience, which was sufficient to silence the chimerical objections of the other party: the imprisonment of the members at Louvesteyn in 1650, is taken notice of in the representation indeed, but the writer is perfectly silent, as to the desperate condition of the Republick, on a later occasion (1672) for want of forces to defend herself.

The instance of a young ambitious Prince indeed is formidable, but the hazard of a sudden invasion is much more so.

What must they expect would be the consequence of a mean dispirited inactivity, in compliance with those, who advised them to continue disarmed, in the present embroiled state of Europe.

What could be the intention of those, who having no enemy but what was weaker than themselves, still continued to augment their troops, while, like good friends, they advised the United Provinces to neglect the preservation of their liberties, and to continue in a defenceless state, upon bare assurances conceived in dubious terms; the explication of which, as experience shewed, was left to themselves.

The party for a third augmentation appearing to be a great majority, the French offered (tis said) to cause the barrier towns to be annexed to the United Provinces for ever, and guarantee'd by the Emperor, Spain, and Prussia, provided the States would consent to a neutrality; but the Dutch appeared too honest, or too sagacious, at this, time to listen to the proposal; on the contrary, they commanded thirty battalions, and fifty squadrons, to march out of their quarters and encamp on the 8th of July 1742; and the year following, they suffered twenty thousand of their troops to march into Germany, but they did not join their allies till after the battle of Dettingen.

The reason some of the provinces opposed these measures, was, because the Prince of Orange was refused the post of General, which they apprehended him intitled to, the refusal whereof seems to have been deeply repented by the Prince himself, as appears by the following letter.

High and Mighty Lords,

I Am informed that your High Mightinesses in your last promotion made not long ago, have named me a Lieutenant-General, after having deliberated often on this subject, tho' to no purpose, within these few years, your resolutions being deferred, or suspended at least, for reasons well enough known to all the world, and which consequently could not be hid from me, even if I had no direct information from the deputies of more than one province, which compose your High Mightinesses assembly.

After mature deliberation, I am determined not to accept the post your High Mightinesses now offer me, because in 1727 it was judged inferior to the dignity of Captain-General of three Provinces, with which I have the honour to be already invested.

All the world knows in what light my ancestors, and the princes of my family stood, who enjoyed the post of Captain-General of the Provinces. The history of these Provinces, and the register of your High Mightinesses, attest this, and your High Mightinesses cannot therefore be ignorant, that by excluding me from the rank of General, you have made it impossible for me to serve in the combined armies of the States, out of the territories of those provinces of which I have the honour to be Captain-General, without manifestly exposing that dignity to contempt, which I hope, with the divine assistance, to raise in time to all its rights, in spite of the endeavours of such as, from personal views, are inclined to sacrifice the majesty and prerogatives of their provinces, by degrading a character to the pre-eminence and lustre of which they are bound in duty to contribute.

I shall not enter into a detail of the other motives which have led me to that resolution, with which I have now the honour to acquaint your High Mightinesses.

The long deliberations of your High Mightinesses on this promotion, are sufficient to convince any man who judges without partiality, and who is apprised of the true cause of such delays; that at least, the reasons alledged by such as were for my election, appear to be such as merited the most serious attention.

I have been compelled by force, to lose a part of my estate, and to suffer the taking away from me a very considerable part of the inheritance of my ancestors, notwithstanding an age and half's uninterrupted possession. The usage I met with in the business of Terveer and Flushing, the interdicting the ordinary methods of justice, contrary to the antient privileges of the provinces, and against the fundamental principles of the Union, ought to have prepared me for all that has happened since; but though I could not defend my estates, it still depends upon me, and my instructions make it my duty, to preserve the honour and lustre of my charges, wherein the pre-eminence and liberties of those provinces principally consist, in whose name I have the honour to execute these offices.

The great number of generals, of a rank superior to that which your High Mightinesses have assigned me, as well as the clause for completing the number, even from strangers, in case one or more of those by you appointed should refuse to serve, make your firm resolution to postpone my advancement sufficiently known, and leave me very little reason to hope, that your High Mightinesses continuing in these sentiments will either make use of my services, or put it in my power to be more useful to you hereafter than I can be at present, and this it is that gives me the most pain.

I most sincerely wish, that the foreign officers your High Mightinesses shall take into your service, as they will undoubtedly surpass me in capacity, may equal me also in my love and zeal for the State, for which I am always ready, according

The Dutch exceeding slow in their motions. Their usage of the Pr. of Orange.

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‘ according to the example left me by my ancestors,  
‘ to sacrifice the last drop of my blood, whenever  
‘ it’s circumstances shall require it.

‘ I am, &c.

Leo,

7 Oct. 1742.

‘ The Prince of Orange and Nassau.’

The  
Dutch  
forces  
continue  
to loiter  
in the rear  
of the ar-  
my.

To return to the Dutch forces, which marched into Germany in the campaign of 1743; after the battle of Dettingen, they followed the British and Austrian forces at some distance, during the remainder of the campaign; the French seem to have been well assured they had little to fear from them, or they durst not have detached so many of their troops from the Palatinate, to oppose the passage of Prince CHARLES’s army over the Rhine into Alsace: and indeed it seems pretty evident, that even the British forces had no intention of attacking the French, after they retired out of the Palatinate, into their own territories beyond the Quiech, and consequently the French were left at liberty

with their whole force, almost to oppose the passage of Prince CHARLES over the Rhine: but surely the British or rather Hanoverian Generals were a little too squeamish, when they scrupled falling upon the French in their own territories, after they had been so furiously attacked by the French at Dettingen; it is generally held, to have been an unpardonable neglect, that they did not follow their blow, when the French retreated, and that they did not afterwards keep Marshal NOAILLES in play, till Prince CHARLES had penetrated into Lorraine, or Alsace at least; but some of our Admirals have not had less complaisance for the French than our Generals, such opportunities have been lost, of destroying the naval forces of the French and Spaniards, as are not to be expected every day; nor is the matter likely to be much mended, if the Dutch should join the British fleet with a squadron of men of war, their Admirals instructions will probably be clogged with such limitations and reserves, as will render the best concerted enterprises abortive.

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THE



# THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SWITZERLAND.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of Switzerland, of the air and climate; and of it's mountains, rivers, lakes, springs, and woods.*

### CHAP. I.

The situation and extent of Switzerland.

**S**WITZERLAND, filed by the Romans *Helvetia*, as it is still by the Italians, if we include the country of the Grisons and their other allies, is bounded by that part of Alface called the Suntgaw, the Black Forest, and part of the circle of Suabia, towards the north; by the county of Tyrol on the east; by the duchies of Savoy and Milan, and the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia in Italy, towards the south; and by the county of Burgundy or Franche Compté in France towards the west: extending in length from east to west about two hundred and sixty miles, and in breadth from north to south upwards of an hundred miles, there being some parts of Italy and Gaul annexed to it, which were not included in the antient Helvetia.

The air and climate.

This country lying between the latitude of forty-five degrees, forty-five minutes, and forty-seven degrees thirty minutes, might reasonably be expected to be moderately warm; but their mountains being the highest in Europe, and great part of the year covered with snow, occasions a sharper air than is found in much colder latitudes: however, the honourable Mr STANYAN, who resided several years in this country with a publick character, assures us, he met with some summers so warm, that the heat was very inconvenient; but then the weather is subject to frequent changes, and passes from hot to cold in a day's time. The Alps, he adds, were the occasion of frequent rains; and as rain in the flat country is usually snow upon the mountains, the air becomes exceeding cold whenever they have a lasting shower. But tho' the air be moist, it is notwithstanding healthful, and the people live to a good old age; malignant distempers, which in other parts of the world depopulate whole cities, being seldom known in this country: what they are most afflicted with, are wens or swelled throats, which disfigure them extremely, and are supposed to proceed from their drinking snow-water.

The face of the country. Their mountains.

As Switzerland is separated from every other country by prodigious mountains, so is every Canton almost divided from another by a ridge of hills; from Italy it is divided by a long chain of hills, called the Alps, which, tho' exceeding high,

and during the winter covered with snow, are not naked and barren, but in the summer afford good pasture to the very tops; and in some places are seen fields of corn, on a precipice where one would imagine it impossible for a plough to go. The rest of the country, says the same honourable writer, is rather hilly than mountainous, and in some places we meet with a plain champain country: two thirds of the Canton of Bern particularly, is a plain fruitful country, abounding in good corn. The Cantons of Zurich, Soleure, and Friburg, with Bazil and Schaffhausen, also are pretty much upon a level, and produce good grain, though it be for the most part a rocky soil, which requires a deal of good husbandry to produce a crop.

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The source of many great rivers are found in or near this country, from whence it is generally concluded to be the highest land in Europe; particularly the Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube, the Adda, the Ticino, the Linz, the Aar, the Rufs, the Inn, and innumerable other lesser streams, not a valley but is watered by a rivolet. There are also a great number of noble lakes; my author says, he reckoned up above thirty, whereof some might deserve the name of seas, particularly those of Constance and Geneva, being near sixty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; and those of Neuschattel, Zurich, and Lucerne, almost of equal magnitude; and besides the lakes in the vallies, there is one on the top of every mountain almost; in short, there is not an inland country in Europe so well supplied with water, and particularly with springs, the best and purest in the kind that can be tasted, by which means the husbandman may flow his grounds as often as he pleases.

Their rivers, lakes, and springs.

There are also all over the country, as well on the hills as in the vallies, abundance of fine woods; here you may see whole forests of pine and fir-trees, which if they lay nearer the sea, would be inestimable. There are also some groves of oaks and elms, but deal is most generally used both for building and firing, there being no great plenty of the other.

Woods.



*Treats of the nature and produce of the soil, and of their plants and animals.*

The nature and produce of the soil.

THE mountains of Switzerland are not barren, as has been observed already, but afford good pasture, on which they feed great herds of cattle: there is also on the mountains some arable land, but more in the vallies, which seem to be a hard strong soil, much worse than the hills, and require all the husbandman's care and skill to raise a crop. My author observes, that if the Switzers were not the best husbandmen in Europe, many of their vallies would scarce bear any thing; and as it is, the cold tempestuous seasons about harvest frequently destroy all the fruits of their labour. In the Cantons of Lucerne, Ury, Switz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel, they have not corn enough for the subsistence of the natives, and in some of them none at all: And tho' the surplus which the other Cantons produce might supply them if it came to maturity; yet the mountains which surround them, says my author, are such magazines of hail, rain, and tempests, that the fruits of the earth are frequently blasted by storms, or killed by cold rains, and sometimes they lose their harvest entirely: for which reason the Switzers in plentiful years lay up their corn in magazines, to prevent a famine among the common people in times of dearth.

Animals.

Switzerland also produces wine of several sorts, of which two are preferred above the rest: the first is white, produced in the Pais de Vaud, upon the banks of the lake of Geneva; and the second, which is red, grows in the county of Neuchâtel: the white is good table-wine, and the red has something of the relish of Burgundy, but is inferior to it. The wine also which is made in the Cantons of Zurich, Schaffhausen, and some other places, is admired by the natives, but not very agreeable to foreigners, being almost as sour as vinegar: the same misfortune frequently happens to their vines as to their corn-fields, the vintage being often spoiled by unseasonable weather. The timber which grows in this country, as has been intimated already, is chiefly fir and pine, with some oak and elm; travellers do not mention any other. The Switzers abound in good cattle of all kinds; they have not only sufficient for their own use, but drive a great trade with them in the neighbouring countries, especially with their horses. Venison they have in abundance, and are well furnished also with all manner of fowl, both wild and tame: their wild-fowl, well as their venison, is observed to have a more delicious taste than in countries of a lower situation. Besides deer, they have wild hogs, and goats of various kinds, particularly bouquets and chamois, which they reckon among their venison; and it is of the skin of the chamois that the shammy-leather is made.

Minerals.

Their lakes also abound in excellent fish, particularly trouts of an extraordinary size; it is not uncommon to take them of sixty pounds weight, and the larger they are, the sweeter and firmer is their flesh; they have such plenty of these and other fish, that they sell great quantities of them.

It is said there are some veins of silver, lead, iron, and copper in their mountains; but I don't find any of them are wrought, or that they receive any benefit from them. They have also

plenty of black marble with white veins and spots in it; and great quantities of crystal on the tops of the mountains and sides of the rocks, being of two kinds, the one clear and transparent, and the other pale and cloudy: and in the Valais they meet with a kind of bituminous coal.

*Treats of the respective Provinces, or Cantons; and of their chief towns and buildings publick and private.*

SWITZERLAND may be divided into three parts, viz. 1. Switzerland Proper, or the thirteen cantons. 2. The subjects of Switzerland, or the conquered countries. And, 3. the allies of Switzerland. The thirteen Cantons, according to their precedency are, 1. Zurich. 2. Bern. 3. Lucerne. 4. Ury. 5. Switz. 6. Underwald. 7. Zug. 8. Glaris. 9. Basil, or Basle. 10. Friburg. 11. Solothurn. 12. Schaffhausen. And, 13. Appenzel. Of which the Protestant Cantons are Zurich, Bern, Basil, and Schaffhausen, with above two thirds of the Canton of Glaris, and more than half of Appenzel; the rest are all Roman Catholics.

Provinces.

1. The Canton of Zurich, is bounded by Schaffhausen on the north; by the Canton of Appenzel towards the east; by the Cantons of Zug and Switz on the south; and by Bern and Lucerne towards the west: extending about fifty miles in length from north to south, and forty miles in breadth from east to west: and is of a round, or rather oval form; and tho' it be not half so large as that of Bern, is looked upon as richer in proportion to it's territory: for here the people apply themselves more to trade, and have established several beneficial manufactures. Zurich is divided into twenty-four bailliages, thirteen whereof are so inconsiderable, that the Bailiffs or chief officers usually reside in the capital city of Zurich, where they dispatch the business of their respective districts in their own houses. Two others of these bailliages, named Stein and Winterthur, have such large privileges, that they are almost independent of the Canton; the people being governed by their peculiar laws and magistrates, and the government only sends an officer every year to receive the revenues payable to the State. The remaining nine bailliages are of a large extent, and so considerable as to require the constant residence of their Bailiffs, whose offices afford them handsome perquisites. The chief towns in the Canton of Zurich, are, 1. Zurich, the capital city. 2. Kiburg. 3. Gruningen. 4. Lauffen. 5. Ruffy. 6. Wadischweil. 7. Andelfinger. 8. Griffeuree. 9. Ktingenew. 10. Eglisow. 11. Regensburg. And, 12. Stafen.

Zurich Canton.

Chief towns.

1. Zurich, situate at the north end of the lake of that name, in forty-seven degrees, thirty minutes north latitude, about sixteen miles south of the frontiers of Germany. It is divided into two unequal parts by the river Limagus, having a communication by three bridges. The town is small, but populous, and surrounded with a wall, and other modern fortifications. Their publick buildings, especially their churches, make a tolerable figure, and their private houses are some of them lofty structures, tho' the materials are generally clay and timber, and their streets but narrow. It is a very antient city, supposed to have been the capital of the *Figurini*, one of the four Helvetian



CHAP. III. Helvetian people, and was enlarged and beautified by CHARLEMAGNE, who built the great church, where his statue is still preserved. The library and the arsenal are taken notice of by travellers, as worth the viewing. The adjacent country produces corn and grapes, but their wine is not good. ZWINGLIUS, who was Canon of the great church, introduced the Reformation here. The adjoining lake is four and twenty miles long, and three broad, the water of it green, but not brackish, the colour supposed to be occasioned by the melted snow which falls from the mountains, and contains a nitrous salt. The principal manufacture of the place is crape, and the people generally apply themselves to trade, having the convenience of exporting and importing merchandize on the lake, which hath a communication with the Rhine. The rest of the towns of this Canton do not require a particular description.

Bern Canton.

2. The Canton of Bern is bounded by that of Basil and Solothurn towards the north; by Lucerne, Unterwald, and Soleure, on the east; by the lake of Geneva towards the south; and by Neuchâtel and Burgundy or Franche Compté towards the west: extending an hundred and twenty miles in length, and sixty in breadth, and some give it much larger dimensions; however, it is generally agreed to make near a third part of Switzerland, and to be the most fruitful of any of the Cantons, as well as the most powerful. It is usually divided into two parts: the one called the German country, and the other the Roman, or French, distinguished by the different languages they use. The French part is named the *Pays de Vaud*, the pleasantest, but not the most fruitful, taken from the Duke of Savoy in the year 1536. The whole Canton is divided into seventy-two bailliages, governed by as many Bailiffs, who are members of the council of two hundred at Bern, and changed every six years. There are in this Canton many considerable cities and towns, whereas in most of the small Cantons there is no town at all, and in the rest scarce more than one of any consequence.

Chief towns.

The chief towns of the Canton of Bern are, 1. Bern, the capital. 2. Lausanne. 3. Thun. 4. Arberg. 5. Vangen. 6. Lansburg. 7. Erlach. 8. La Serre. 9. Bruck. 10. Nion. 11. Sana. 12. Aubone. 13. Brienz. 14. Walen. and, 15. Yverdon.

Bern city.

Bern stands in a peninsula, being encompassed on three sides by the river Aar; in forty-seven degrees of north latitude, forty miles south of Basil, and about as much west of Lucerne. It stands on a rising ground, most of the houses are of free-stone, and it is a mile in length, consisting chiefly of three broad streets, through which run as many clear rivulets, and most of the houses have a piazza before them. The great church, the town-house, and the arsenal, are said to be noble structures; and the whole is defended by a wall and fortifications after the modern way.

Lausanne.

2. Lausanne, the capital of the *Pays Roman*, or the country of Vaud, is situate on three hills, near the north side of the lake of Geneva, forty miles south-west of Bern, and thirty north-east of Geneva, which is frequently therefore called the lake of Lausanne. The town was formerly an Imperial city, but has been subject to the Canton of Bern since the year 1536. It was also a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Archbishop of Besançon; but upon falling into the hands of the Protestants, the See was removed to Friburg.

Of the other towns of this Canton I meet with no particular description.

CHAP. III.

Lucerne Canton.

3. The Canton of Lucerne is bounded by Soleure on the north; by Zurich, Zug, and Unterwald, towards the east; and by the Canton of Bern on the south and west; being about fifty miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. This is one of the chief of the Roman Catholick Cantons; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Lucerne. 2. Sempach. 3. Sursee. 4. Rot. 5. Sualhufen. 6. Wiken. 7. Willisow. 8. Hotburg.

The city of Lucerne is situate on a lake of the same name, at the mouth of the river Ruis, about twenty miles south-west of Zurich, and forty to the eastward of Bern. It lies in a plain, and is encompassed with mountains on two sides; a neat elegant town, with a spacious marketplace, and surrounded by a wall and other fortifications. The town-house and Jesuits college are magnificent structures; and here the Pope's Nuncio and the Spanish Ambassador usually chuse to make their residence. The neighbouring lake is about twenty miles in length, and seven or eight broad, and it hath a communication with the Rhine by the river Ruis. The other towns of this Canton don't seem to merit a description.

Lucerne city.

4. The Canton of Uri is bounded by Switz on the north; by Glaris and the country of the Grisons on the east; by Unterwald towards the south; and by the Canton of Bern on the west. This Canton consists but of one valley, extending from Altorf to the foot of mount St Goddard, through which the river Ruis takes it's course, and frequently overflows great part of it. The country produces no wine, and but little corn: the neighbouring mountains however furnish them with pasture for great numbers of Cattle, by the sale whereof they are able to purchase both corn and wine. There is but one bailliage belongs to this country, and that a poor one; but being a great thorough-fare for merchandize between Switzerland and Italy, they raise money by the duties on goods which pass through their country. There is not one walled town in this Canton; the most considerable village is Altorf, near the river Ruis and the lake Lucerne, where the courts of justice for the Canton are held.

Uri Canton.

5. The Canton of Switz is bounded by Zurich and Zug on the north; by the Canton of Glaris on the east and south; and by Lucerne and Unterwald towards the west; extending about five and thirty miles in length from east to west, and five and twenty in breadth from north to south. It is very mountainous, having only three narrow vallies, which yield little corn, and no wine; and there are only three poor bailliages belonging to it: It does however give name to the whole country, being the first Canton, it is said, that took arms to defend their liberties. They have no walled towns, their principal village Switz lies on the banks of the river Meuse, near the lake of Lucerne.

Switz Canton.

6. The Canton of Unterwald is bounded by Switz and Lucerne on the north; by Uri on the east; and by another part of Lucerne on the south and west; extending about five and twenty miles in length from east to west, and as far in breadth from north to south. This Canton is very mountainous, and the soil no better than that of Switz: There is not one bailliage in it, and but eight good villages.

Unterwald.

7. The Canton of Zug is about eighteen miles long

Zug.



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III.

long and seven broad, and surrounded by those of Lucerne, Zurich, and Switz. This is much more fruitful than the Cantons last described, yielding corn and wine sufficient for the inhabitants, and contains six bailliages, though none of the richest. The village of Zug, the most desirable place in the little Cantons, stands on a hill, on the east side of the lake of Zug, which is about seven miles long.

Glaris.

8. The Canton of Glaris is bounded by the valley of Lintz on the north; by the country of the Grisons on the east and south; and the Cantons of Ury and Switz towards the west; extending about twenty miles in length from north to south, and is near as much in breadth from east to west. It consists of one large valley, which yields them a sufficient quantity of corn, as their mountains do of pasture for their cattle: but as to other necessities, the inhabitants are forced to purchase them of their neighbours. There is one good bailliage in it, and by a treaty of comburgership, it is coarbitrator, in conjunction with the Canton of Switz, of all differences which arise between the Abbot of St GALL, and his subjects of Tockenburg.

Bazil.

9. The Canton of Bazil is bounded by the circle of Suabia in Germany on the north and east; by the Canton of Soluthurn on the south, and by part of Allatia on the west, being twenty miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and contains five bailliages. This Canton having so small extent of territory, the natives have applied themselves wholly to trade, by which they are grown rich. They were formerly subject to their Bishop, who upon the Reformation was driven from Bazil, and deprived of his authority in great part of the Canton, but still retains his sovereignty in some places, and is a Prince of the Empire. He usually resides with his Chapter at Porentru, from whence the Protestants call him the Bishop of Porentru; the Catholics, however, still stile him Bishop of Bazil. The country he remains possessed of lies to the southward of Alsace, between Franche Compté and the Canton of Soleure; the inhabitants whereof are vested with such privileges, that he hath little more than the name of Sovereign, and the liberty of collecting his revenues; for they are not only governed by their own laws and magistrates, but claim a right of contracting alliances with other powers for their protection; in pursuance whereof his Protestant subjects are in a confederacy with the Canton of Bern, and under it's immediate protection; of which my author says he saw an instance in the year 1706, when the Bishop endeavoured to introduce some innovations, in order to enlarge his authority: for the people of Munster complaining thereof to the Canton of Bern, procured a body of four thousand of their troops to march to their assistance, who reinstated them in their former rights, in opposition to the Bishop, and then returned home. And this is very common, he observes, as well as necessary in Switzerland; for if the Protestant subjects of the Roman Catholick Princes or Bishops were left to their discretion, they must not expect long to enjoy either their religion or liberties.

The chief towns of this Canton are, 1. Bazil, or Basle. 2. Valtenberg, or Waltenberg. And, 3. Homburg.

Bazil city.

Bazil, or Basle, the most beautiful city of Switzerland, is situate on the river Rhine, near sixty miles to the southward of Strasburg, and three

miles south of the fortress of Hunningen, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees, forty minutes. It is divided by the Rhine into two parts, joined by a noble stone bridge of fourteen arches. The town is large, the streets wide and clean, and their squares spacious, adorned with no less than three hundred fountains; their publick and private buildings magnificent, and generally built of stone. The church of St MARY, which was the cathedral when the Roman Catholics were in possession of it, is a stately pile; and the town-hall and arsenal admired by travellers. Here is also a flourishing university, wherein are seventeen Professors, viz. in Divinity, Law, and Physick, three of each; and in Philosophy and other sciences, eight more. ERASMUS spent the latter part of his life here, dying in the year 1536, in the seventy-first year of his age, having founded a college for twenty students in divinity. He was interred in the great church of St MARY's, where he hath a marble monument on the north side of the communion-table, and his library is kept in this church. They claim the invention of making paper, and assure us that printing was introduced among them in the year 1478. Trade flourishes here as much as in most cities in Switzerland, and there are several wealthy merchants in the place, it lying near the frontiers of Germany and France, and having the conveniency of the Rhine to facilitate their importations and exportations.

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10. The Canton of Friburg is almost surrounded by that of Bern, and is about twenty-five miles in length and twenty in breadth, containing fifteen bailliages. This Canton produces corn enough, but no wine. The chief towns are Friburg, Estavaye, and Gryers or Gruyeres.

Friburg  
Canton.

The city of Friburg is situate on a hill, almost surrounded by the river Sana, in a pleasant country, sixteen miles south-west of Bern. The place is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications; and besides the cathedral, travellers take particular notice of a fine piazza, and a noble publick fountain. The Bishop of Laufanne hath his residence here.

Friburg  
city.

11. The Canton of Soluthurn, or Soleure, is bounded by that of Bazil, and part of Alsace towards the north; by the Canton of Bern on the east and south; and by the bishoprick of Bazil on the west; being about twelve miles in length, and ten in breadth. This Canton affords plenty of bread-corn, but no wine, and contains ten bailliages. The chief towns are Soluthurn or Soleure, Olten, and Golgen.

Soluthurn  
Canton.

Soluthurn, or Soleure, is pleasantly situated in a fruitful valley, upon the river Aar, about twenty miles to the northward of Bern. It is defended by a wall and other fortifications, and is tolerably well built. Here the French Ambassador usually resides.

Soluthurn  
city.

12. The Canton of Schaffhausen is bounded by Suabia in Germany on the north, east, and west; and by the Canton of Zurich on the south; being about twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, and is well supplied with the necessities of life, especially fish, of which they have greater plenty than most of their neighbours; the chief towns whereof are Schaffhausen, Herblingen, Newkilch, and Halaw.

Schaffhausen.

The city of Schaffhausen is esteemed the finest town in Switzerland next to Bazil, it is situate on the Rhine, about twenty-five miles north of Zurich, and as many to the westward of Constantance.

Schaffhausen  
city.



CHAP. III. stance. The streets are broad, and the houses built of stone, generally painted on the outside, as in many other towns of Switzerland. All vessels being obliged to unload here, on occasion of the neighbouring cataracts of the Rhine, it is become a place of good trade.

Appenzel. 13. The last Canton, says my author, both in rank and goodness, is that of Appenzel, consisting of one large barren valley: it is bounded by the country of St Gall towards the north, by the Rhintal on the east; by the country of Grisons on the south; and by Togenberg on the west; being about twenty miles over either way. The inhabitants live chiefly upon milk and cheese, and are esteemed the most clownish people of Switzerland; they enjoy so small a share of the comforts of life at home, that the better sort endeavour to get into some foreign service. It is said to have obtained its name from an Abbot's cell, built where Appenzel now stands, being called in Latin, *Abbatis Cella*. The chief place is Appenzel, which is rather an open village than a town, about thirty miles to the southward of Constance.

#### *The Subjects of Switzerland.*

The subjects of Switzerland.

THE subjects of Switzerland are such countries, towns, and bailliages, as belong to them all, or to several of them in common, having been conquered by their united arms. The common bailliages are nine, viz. the county of Baden, the Free Villages, the counties of Turgovy, Sargantz, and Rhintal, and the four Italian bailliages of Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio, and Valmadia, to which we must add the three cities without territory, viz. Bremgarten, Mellingen, and Rapperswil.

Baden county.

The county of Baden hath the Rhine on the north and west, and the Canton of Zurich on the south, being as large as some of the little Cantons, and of a much more fruitful soil; and formerly belonged to the house of Austria, but the seven old Cantons made a conquest of it in the year 1415.

Baden city.

Baden, the capital city, so named from its baths, lies on the river Limath, about fourteen miles north-west of Zurich, and six to the southward of the Rhine. It is one of the antientest towns in Switzerland, and the place of their general Diets, and usually called Upper Baden, to distinguish it from Lower Baden in Germany.

The free villages.

The Free Ambter, or Free Villages, is a small district, which formerly went under the name of the county of Roer, and was conquered by the seven old Cantons at the same time that Baden was conquered. There is no great town in this district, the principal place is Mayenburg near the river Rufs. They were denominated free on account of the liberty given them to chuse their own magistrates. The natives are all of them Roman Catholics.

The Turgow.

The county of Turgovy, or Turgow, is bounded by the Rhine and the lake of Constance on the north and east; by the country of the Grisons towards the south; and by the Canton of Zurich on the west; being about forty miles long, and thirty broad, and contains fifty parishes. It was taken from the house of Austria by the seven old Cantons at the same time as Baden was conquered by them. The inhabitants are most of them Protestants. The chief towns are, 1. Frawenfield. 2. Weil. 3. Bishop's Cell. 4. Arbor Felix. And, 5. Dissenhove.

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CHAP. III. 1. Frawenfield, the capital, is situate on the river Marck, about ten miles south-west of Constance. 2. Weil, a small city, with a beautiful castle, the residence of the Abbot of St Gall, situate about ten miles north-west of St Gall. Altho' the seven old Cantons, or, as some say, ten Cantons, have the supreme jurisdiction in the Turgow, yet the clergy and nobility have inferior jurisdictions in many places. The Bishop and Chapter of Constance also have a jurisdiction in several parts of the country, as the Abbot of St Gall hath in other parts of it; and there are eight monasteries, to which some others are subject, but all however under the protection of the Swissers.

Sargantz.

The county of Sargantz is situate on the frontiers of the Grisons, of no great extent or revenue. The chief towns are, 1. Sargantz. 2. Wallenstat. 3. Rugatz. and, 4. Pfevers. The county was purchased by the seven old Cantons of the last Count, anno 1483.

The town of Sargantz, which takes its name from the river Sar, on which it stands, is a small town and castle, where the governor resides, about sixteen miles to the southward of Appenzel. The inhabitants of this, and all other places in this district are Roman Catholics, except one community.

Rhintal.

The county of Rhintal extends itself along the Rhine before it falls into the lake of Constance, and is a very narrow district. This was also taken from the house of Austria by the seven old Cantons, when Baden was conquered; but Appenzel having some pretensions to it, was admitted into a share of the sovereignty. Two thirds of the inhabitants are Protestants. The chief town is Reineck, situate on the Rhine, at its entrance into the lake of Constance.

Rapperswil.

2. Rapperswil, situate on the lake of Zurich, sixteen miles south-east of the city of Zurich, taken from the house of Austria by the Cantons of Uri, Switz, Unterwald, and Glaris, in the year 1458, remarkable for its wooden bridge a mile and a half in length.

The two cities of Mellingen and Bremgarten, are situate within the county of Baden, and are governed by their own laws and magistrates, but subject to the old Cantons.

Lugano, &c.

The four bailliages of Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio, and Valmadia, are situated on the Italian side of the Alps, and were formerly part of the duchy of Milan, but dismembered from it by Duke MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, and given to the Swissers in the year 1513, for the service they had done him in his wars. They belong to twelve of the Cantons, Appenzel having no share in them, being not then received into the alliance as a Canton. These four bailliages extend several leagues in the warm climate of Italy, but the country is mountainous. The chief towns are, 1. Lugano. 2. Locarno. 3. Scona. And, 4. Brifago.

The city of Lugano is situate on the north side of a lake of the same name, about eight miles from the frontiers of Milan, the governor whereof hath the command of the other bailliages.

Locarno

Locarno is situated on the west side of the lake Mayor, ten miles north-west of Lugano, formerly a considerable place, but now in a ruinous condition.

The natives of all these four bailliages are Roman Catholics; and so bigotted, that when a Protestant Canton sends a governor in its turn



CHAP.  
III.Bellinzo-  
na, &c.Alfax.  
Werden-  
berg.

Gasteren.

Morat,  
Granfon,  
Echelens,  
Swart-  
zenburg.

of that persuasion, he is not allowed the exercise of his religion in his own house. There are still three other bailliages in Italy, viz. Bellinzona, Valbruna, and Riviera, subject in common to the three Cantons of Ury, Switz, and Underwald, taken by them in their wars with the Dukes of Milan, and the sovereignty yielded to them anno 1516.

The little Barvug of Alfax belongs to the Canton of Zurich, and the county of Werdenberg to that of Glaris, both of them situate on the banks of the Rhine before it enters the lake of Constance. And another bailliage, called Gasteren, belongs to Switz and Glaris, and lies between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstat, on the banks of the river Limath.

Four considerable bailliages also in the Pais de Vaud, belong jointly to Bern and Friburg, being taken by their united arms at the time that all this country was won from the Duke of Savoy, viz. Morat, Granfon, Echelens, and Swartzenburg, to which governments each Canton sends it's Bailiffs alternately.

And, according to my author, the war in 1712, between the Cantons of Bern and Zurich on the one part, and Lucern, Ury, Switz, Underwald, and Zug, on the other, hath made great alterations in the property of the common bailliages; for by the ensuing treaty of peace the whole county of Baden, half the free billiages, including particularly the cities of Bremgarten and Rappertswil, were yielded to the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern, reserving to Glaris it's share in the sovereignty, because that Canton had not concerned itself in the war. The Canton of Bern also was admitted to a share in the sovereignty of Turgovy, Sargantz, Rhintal, and the other half of the three bailliages, of which it had no part before that war. These common bailliages are governed by their respective Bailiffs, elected out of the several Cantons, who are co-sovereigns; every Canton appointing the Bailiff by turns, who is changed in some bailliages every five, and in others every six years; and these Bailiffs are not accountable to the particular Canton which elected them, but to the Cantons in general that are co-sovereigns.

## CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the persons, habits, genius, and temper of the Switzers.*

Persons  
and ha-  
bits.

THE Switzers are generally good bodies of men, tall, and well made, and living in a cold mountainous country, where hunting over the rocks and precipices is their principal diversion, are a very hardy race; but as they are frequently exposed to tempestuous stormy weather, their complexions are not the best; most of them wear their hair, and in some places long beards are still in fashion, but few of them care to part with their darling whiskers.

Their women are handsome, and well shaped; and, according to my author, want no charms in their persons or conversation: but all fine clothes with silver or gold, jewels or lace, are prohibited both sexes. In the town of Bazil, though situate on the frontiers of France, and some other parts of the country, they still retain their ruffs, and old Swiss dress: but generally those who border upon France follow the French in their dress, as well as language; and those who lie on the

confines of Germany, the modes of that country, as far as their sumptuary laws will admit. Those who travel, easily conform themselves to the manners of the people where they reside; inasmuch, that it may be discerned by the air and dress of a Swiss officer in what country he serves. Those who reside in France wear gay clothes, are forward in their behaviour, and full of words in conversation: while those who serve in Holland affect a plain dress, and are reserved in discourse.

The same judicious author, already cited, divides the Swiss into three classes; namely, 1. The peasants. 2. The gentry and vassals. And, 3. The citizens. The first he looks upon to be an honest, robust, and laborious people, whom necessity has taught to be excellent husbandmen, and to make the most of a bad soil, who by their industry often grow rich; and though they are affectionate to their Sovereigns, yet having been always used to live in a state of liberty, and little acquainted with taxes, would not easily bear new impositions; but this is to be understood chiefly of the peasants in the German country, for the natives of the Pais de Vaud, or the French country, are accused both of laziness and theft. By the gentry and vassals, are intended such of the better sort as are not citizens of the capital of any Canton, and consequently are excluded from all beneficial employments in their own country. These our author looks upon as the most unhappy among the natives of Switzerland; for although they have lands and lordships, which they enjoy in great security, and pay scarce any taxes to their Sovereigns, yet being disabled to hold any places of profit or trust, and living in a country where there is no trade or profession they can get any thing by, it is as much as they can do to support their families suitable to their rank. And indeed the rich yeomanry in most countries seem to have the better of the poor gentry. 3. The citizens, which in those Cantons where the government is aristocratical, our author subdivides into three classes: 1. The merchants and tradesmen. 2. The pen-men. And, 3. The military men. The tradesmen are generally proud and lazy, which proceeds from their privileges of being chosen into the magistracy by virtue of their burghership, and of excluding all but themselves from exercising any trade in their cities; from whence it proceeds that their goods are bad, and yet very dear.

2. Their pen-men are those that have never been in any military service abroad, nor have exercised any trade at home; these have no hopes of raising their fortunes in the Cantons, where there is little trade, except by their bailliages, and therefore all their thoughts are turned towards getting into the great council, after which they are sure of a bailliage sooner or later; and in the mean time they either live upon their rents, or the profits they gain in the inferior magistracies of the city, in which they are usually employed.

3. The military men are those who have served in the troops of some foreign Prince or State; who are in most esteem, not only because they are usually the most polite, but chiefly because the trade of arms is deemed the most honourable employment. These usually remain in foreign services till they are very old, unless they are of the great council, and then after they have gained a tolerable fortune they return home, and endeavour to procure a bailliage. And 'tis observed, that

CHAP.  
IV.Their ge-  
nius and  
temper.



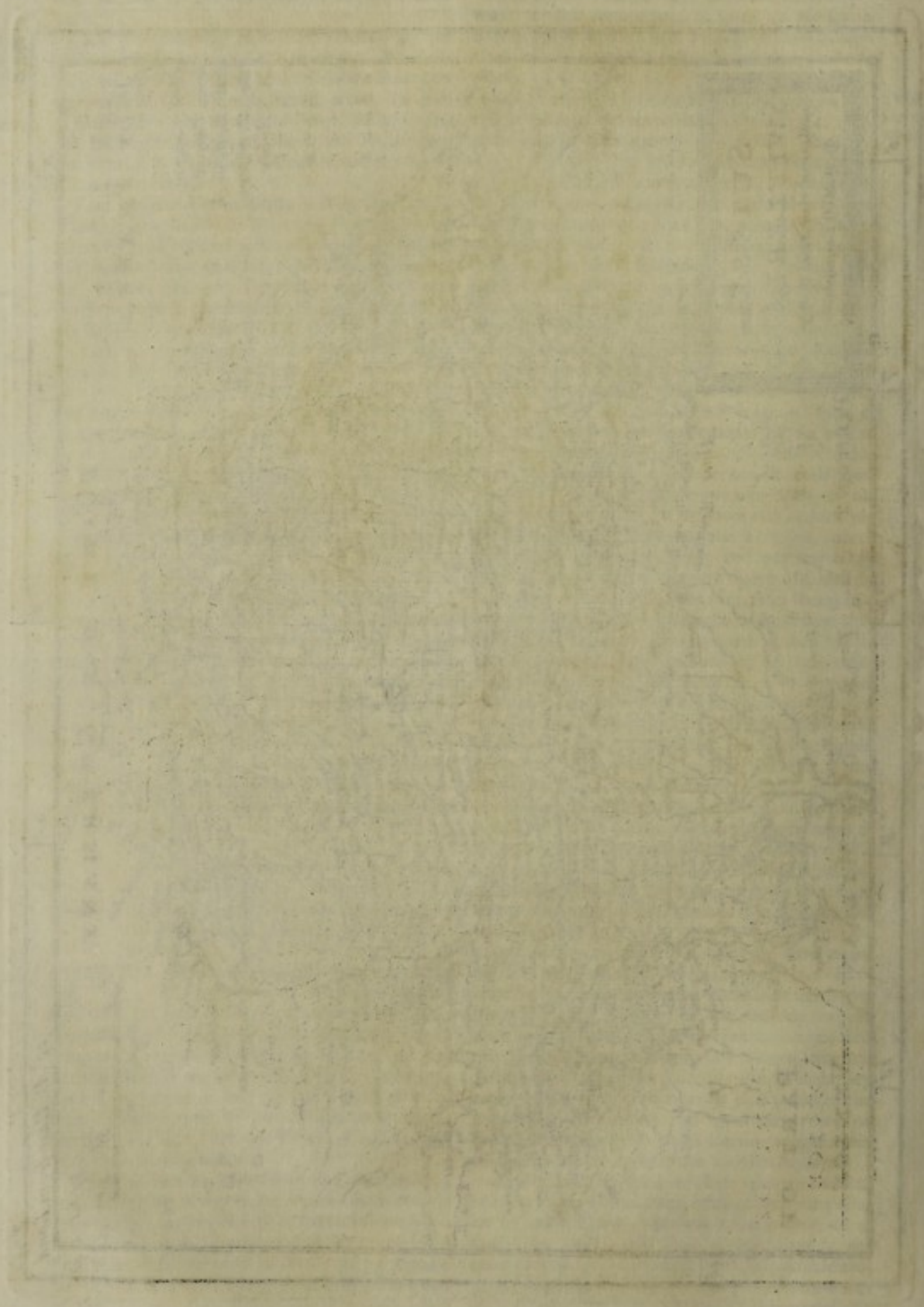


**SUISSE**  
or  
**SWITZERLAND**  
Together with their Allies & Subjects &c.  
By H. Moll Geographer

0 5 10 20 30 40  
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that the greatest fortunes which have been made in Switzerland, have been raised by military service.

And now we are treating of the military men, it may be proper to inquire into the valour of the Switzers, for which they are so much famed. This is a quality, says my author, universally allowed them; even in former ages, wherever the Helvetians are mentioned, their courage is applauded. Nor are they less remarkable for their fidelity than for their courage, into whatsoever service they enter. But as I have formerly intimated, possibly we are as much obliged to our education, as to our natural temper for this good quality. There are many more instances of an acquired than a native courage. Nay, there is scarce an instance where troops have served an apprenticeship to the trade of war, and are become veteran foldiers, but they may be depended on, let them come from what country they will. Where troops are equally disciplined, it is nothing else but the size of the men and horses that gives them the superiority. Now the Switzers, it appears, are of as large a bulk as any people of Europe; they have the advantage also of a very rough education, being enured to hardships, and taught the use of arms from their cradles. They follow their game over mountains and precipices, till dangers are become familiar to them. And, lastly, their troops being continually in foreign service, they can never want good officers and foldiers; they must of necessity therefore be fitter for military service, than the troops of any other nation who have not had the like advantages, though their native courage should not exceed that of their neighbours.

But as my author observes, the Switzers are generally charged with that barbarous custom of letting out their troops for hire to serve any cause; nay, to furnish nations that are enemies with separate bodies; whereby it comes to pass, that the nearest relations, father and son, brother and brother, are frequently engaged against each other, and beat out one another's brains as it were in sport, when they have no manner of concern in the quarrel. But this, the same gentleman assures us, is a very groundless charge; for, 1. They never grant their troops to any Prince or State, but by virtue of some preceding alliance. 2. They grant troops only for the defence of the nation they are given to, and not to act offensively; so that the Swiss troops in the French service are never suffered to invade the Empire, or Holland; nor, on the contrary, the Swiss who are in the service of those two powers, to invade France. And, 3. The sovereign never receives any subsidy or perquisite from the Prince or State to whom their troops are granted, contenting themselves with procuring a beneficial service to their subjects, without reserving any profit to themselves. But then he admits that what he offers on this subject ought to be restrained chiefly to the Protestant Cantons; for he acknowledges that the conduct of the Catholick Cantons, and especially those called the petty ones, have too often given occasion for drawing reproaches on the whole nation, from those who do not distinguish between one and the other: so that it seems the charge is true in part, though not universally.

And indeed, whoever has been in the service in the Low Countries, either in the first war in the reign of King WILLIAM, or the latter in the reign of Queen ANNE, must have found Switzers

engaged on both sides. Whether they were hired to act defensively only, or otherwise, I cannot tell; but certain it is, they were frequently upon the offensive, and drawn up against each other. And we find the Dutch do not only employ them in offensive wars in their own service, but sometimes let them out again to other Princes, as they have done more than once to the King of Great Britain, and they have served here accordingly. So that notwithstanding what our author hath advanced in their favour, it seems evident to me, that the Swiss are not altogether innocent in this particular; and it may still be difficult entirely to wipe off that aspersions of sacrificing their people for any cause, and letting their troops to any power that will pay them.

The Switzers also have been long aspersed as a dull heavy generation, especially by the French; but those who have resided among them, and know them best, give us quite another character of them; they assure us, that there is no where to be found men of clearer judgments, or greater dexterity in the management of affairs, or of a more lively conversation, with true wit and genuine humour, than are to be met with here among those who have had a good education improved by travel. Indeed among the peasants upon the mountains, who converse chiefly with their cattle, it is no wonder if we meet with some as stupid as the shepherds and husbandmen of other countries; but no considering man will take an estimate of a people from this class. There are not many of the Switzers, 'tis true apply themselves to learning; the poverty of the country, and the straitsness of their fortunes, oblige them to turn their thoughts another way. There are few of them, my author observes, that are free enough from domestick cares to employ their time in speculation. There are however many learned men amongst them in the two great professions of divinity and law, especially in the universities of Bern, Basil, Zurich, and Laufanne.

As to the honesty and simplicity of the Switzers, for which they have been so generally applauded heretofore, late writers assure us, they very little deserve any such character at this day; even their courts of justice and magistracy are not free from corruption, but the best purse usually carries the cause. On the other hand, though they are generally charged with the vice of drunkenness, I do not find they are more addicted to it than their neighbours. The Swiss peasants indeed are many of them given to tipping, as the lower rank of people are in most places; but among people of condition the practice is very rare. They have their publick feasts, wherein some excesses are committed, but their ordinary way of life is very sober; inasmuch that our author affirms of the Switzers in general, that they are the least given to drinking of any people sprung from the German stock; and at last sums up their character in these words:

'The Switzers are a people equally brave in arms, and faithful to their engagements; who have more esteem for the military virtues than the civil ones; yet are desirous to live in perpetual peace themselves, and to make war for others. They are perfectly able, when united, to defend themselves against any invader; but not in a condition to make conquests on their neighbours. Their country is crowded with people, which generally makes the riches of other nations, but for want of trade increases the

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the poverty of this. It produces none of the superfluities of life, and not enough of the necessities; yet by the advantage of their situation, both are supplied them by their neighbours at reasonable rates. It happens to be placed almost in the center of Europe, without being thoroughly known: and they are courted for their valour by some of their neighbours, who scarce allow them any other good quality. But one may say of these republicks as of private men, viz. that they are placed in a certain mediocrity of fortune, which puts them below envy, and above contempt. One finds among them none of the gaudy pleasures of courts, but a great deal of the satisfaction which proceeds from a quiet easy life. In short, they have more wit, and perhaps less sincerity, than the world allows them; and seem to conceal some of the subtleties of the Italian under the frankness of the German. Their virtues are natural to them, and their vices chiefly owing to the temptations which men struggling with difficulties are apt to fall under.

## CHAP. V.

*Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of Switzerland.*

The history of Switzerland.

**JULIUS CÆSAR** first mentions the Helvetians as a nation, and relates, that this people having made an incursion into Burgundy during his government of Gaul, with a design to transplant themselves into that desirable country, to take away from their people all thoughts of returning to their antient seats, set fire to their dwellings, burning no less than twelve great cities, and four hundred villages. They then began their march with their families, amounting to near four hundred thousand souls, whereof about a fourth of them were able to bear arms. Their first design was to have penetrated into Savoy; but not daring to pass the Rhone in the face of his army, they altered their march, and entered Franche Compté, where CÆSAR having cut off many of them in several engagements, compelled the rest to return home; and having reduced them under the Roman power, annexed this country to that part of his government called *Gallia Celtica*.

The Helvetians remained subject to the Romans till the destruction of that empire by the northern nations, when new kingdoms and states being erected out of its ruins, Switzerland was comprehended in that of Burgundy, about the beginning of the fifth century. This kingdom not lasting above an hundred years, Switzerland upon the fall of it was united to the crown of France, to whose Kings it remained subject till the beginning of the ninth century. About the year 870, two new kingdoms of Burgundy were erected, called *Burgundia Cisjurana*, and *Burgundia Transjurana*; but the former was united to the latter about the year 926, and of this kingdom of *Burgundia Transjurana*, Switzerland continued a part till 1032, when **RODOLPH** the third and last King of Burgundy, dying without issue, transferred his kingdom to the Emperor **CONRAD II**, called the Salick, whose successors enjoyed it near two hundred years; when this kingdom being neglected by the Emperors, several petty sovereignties were formed out of it. In the thirteenth century the Counts of Hapsburg, from whom the

house of Austria is descended, to whom several fiefs in this country had been granted by the Emperor **BARBAROSSA**, begun to take the government of this people upon them, and particularly of their cities, on their voluntary submission to him; for it seems their nobility used them in so barbarous and tyrannical a manner, that they found themselves under a necessity of imploring the protection of some potent neighbouring Prince. They agreed therefore that **RODOLPH** should send Bailiffs or Governors amongst them, with power of administering the *Haute Justice*, or judging in criminal causes; but with an express reservation (if my author be not mistaken) of their rights and liberties, which were very extensive. But **RODOLPH** was so engaged in other places, that he could not afford these cities the protection they expected from him; whereupon not being able any longer to endure the tyranny and insults of the nobility, they had recourse to arms; demolished the castles of the lords, and after a twelve years war, compelled many of them to leave the country.

**RODOLPH** being now advanced to the Imperial dignity, the nobility applied themselves to the Emperor, charging the commons of Switzerland with rebellion; but the Emperor having heard the contending parties, declared himself in favour of the people; and governed them with great mildness and goodness while he lived, confirming their antient privileges, and granting them several new ones. But upon the death of this Emperor, his son, the Emperor **ALBERT**, entered into very opposite measures, determined to make himself absolute in this country, which he endeavoured to accomplish first by caresses and persuasions only; but when he found those arts would not avail him, he appointed other governors with positive orders to reduce them to his obedience, either by corrupting their leading men, or, if that failed, by force of arms; and accordingly, when the first method was found ineffectual, they openly invaded their privileges. Whereupon the people sent a deputation to the Emperor, to complain of the violation of their rights and liberties; but instead of a redress, they met with only threats of the utmost vengeance if they refused an absolute submission to his pleasure. And at their return home, they found their governors still exercising the most notorious acts of tyranny, by oppressing, imprisoning, and impoverishing the subject. They deprived the people of their estates, says my author, by arbitrary sentences, imposed extravagant fines for trivial offences, and tortured others on a pretence of conspiracies against the government; till the exasperated people at length entered into a real conspiracy, which proved fatal to their Sovereign. The three principal men who first formed the design, were **ARNOLD MELCHDAL** of Underwald, **WERNER STOUFFACHER** of Switz, and **WALTER FURST** of Ury, who were rather substantial yeomen than gentlemen. These having been alike ill-treated by their respective governors, had entered into a very strict friendship, and were contriving to free themselves and their country from the oppressions they laboured under. Each of them afterwards engaged three of their friends to assist them with their advice; and these twelve became the principal managers of the plot, who meeting at Grutli in the canton of Ury, laid a scheme for promoting a general insurrection, binding themselves by the most solemn oaths not to discover the

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the design: And the first of January 1308, being fixed for their rising, an accident happened in the mean time, which gave them fresh provocation, and had like to have occasioned an insurrection sooner than was intended. For it seems, among other pieces of arbitrary and whimsical tyranny, GRIESLER, Governor of the Canton of Ury, had ordered his cap to be set upon a post in the market-place of Altorf, the capital of Ury, requiring every person who passed by to pull off his hat to it on pain of death; which most people complied with, till WILLIAM TELL, a bold resolute fellow, and one of the conspirators, took an opportunity of frequently passing by without shewing any manner of respect to the cap; whereupon he was apprehended by the guards that were placed to see the order put in execution, and brought before the Governor; who, by way of punishment, commanded him to set an apple upon his son's head, and shoot at it with an arrow, declaring that if he missed it he should be hanged. The father rather than run the hazard of being accessory to his son's death, desired they would take away his own life without further ceremony; but the Governor would not indulge him so far, declaring that if he refused to shoot at the apple immediately, he would hang up his son before his face, and himself afterwards. Whereupon old TELL promised to make the attempt in the market-place in the presence of the Governor, imagining probably that his fellow-conspirators would have taken this opportunity of assembling, and rescued him before he had made the experiment; but nothing of this happening, the old man took two arrows out of his quiver, and drawing his bow with all the anguish that can be imagined in so tender a case, providentially struck the apple off his son's head without giving him the least wound; upon which the people gave a general shout, to the great mortification of the Governor; who proceeding to inquire of TELL, what he meant by taking two arrows out of his quiver, assuring him he would forgive him, whatever his design was; TELL boldly answered, that the second arrow was designed for the Governor, in case he had been so unhappy as to have killed his son. Whereupon the Governor answered, though he would spare his life according to his promise, yet he looked upon him to be so dangerous a man, that he ought however to be shut up in some dark prison: and accordingly ordered him to be put in irons, and carried on board a vessel to be transported to the castle of Cassenach on the lake Lucerne: and to prevent his escaping, went on board the vessel himself to see his sentence put in execution. When they came about the middle of the lake, as the story goes, there arose so violent a storm, that they were in the utmost danger of sinking; when the Governor's servants knowing TELL the prisoner to be an excellent pilot, proposed the taking off his chains, and letting him manage the helm, as the only expedient for saving all their lives; which being consented to, TELL with a great deal of difficulty steered the boat into smooth water under the shore, when he jumped out upon a piece of a rock, and made his escape; and the Governor, despairing of overtaking him, sailed on to the next town, called Brunen, from whence he proposed to go to the castle of Cassenach by land. TELL having notice of the day he was to go, concealed himself in a wood on the side of a hollow way, by which he knew the Governor must pass, and meeting with a favourable

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opportunity, shot him through the heart with an arrow, and made off, while the company remained in the utmost confusion. In memory of which exploits, a chapel was built on the spot of ground where the Governor lost his life; and another upon the rock from whence TELL made his escape, which are still to be seen. But though this relation may be true in the main, I find the circumstances frequently varied according to the genius or humour of the person who relates it.

On new-year's-day, 1308, the time prefixed by the conspirators for a general insurrection, some of the most resolute of them resorted to the castles, where the Governor and Commanders of the Imperial troops resided, under pretence of carrying the usual presents; and having concealed arms under their cloathes, fell upon the guards as they entered the gates, and had the good fortune to reduce every fortress they attempted. The Governor LANDENBURG and his forces were in such consternation, that they fled without making any manner of resistance, but were surrounded afterwards, and made prisoners by the country people, who only required an oath from them, that they would never return into the country again, and then give them their liberty to retire wherever they saw fit.

Thus, says the honourable writer above-cited, was the foundation of the Helvetic liberty laid by three plain countrymen, without the advantages of birth or riches, which are usually thought necessary towards the execution of such popular enterprizes; and in honour of their memories a festival is annually held, where the company are entertained with songs, containing the history of their deliverance from Austrian tyranny.

The Emperor ALBERT hearing of this defection, was about assembling an army to have reduced them to obedience; but being killed soon after as he passed the river Rufs, these Cantons had a favourable opportunity of establishing themselves, while the Empire remained in confusion. About seven years after, Archduke LEOPOLD, the son of ALBERT, marched into the Canton of Switz with twenty thousand men, threatening utter destruction to the confederated provinces. The Switzers made little resistance, till the Austrian army was advanced into a narrow valley, between two mountains, near Morgarten, where rolling great stones from the tops of the hills, they put the Austrian calvary in confusion; and at the same time attacking them in front with fifteen hundred men, they obtained a complete victory, which they pursued with such diligence, that they drove the enemy entirely out of the country.

Upon the victory of Morgarten, the three Cantons entered into a perpetual league, which was at first made for ten years only, and took an oath for the due observation of it, from whence they were called *Eydgnossen*, a German word, signifying parties to the same oath; and the battle being fought in the Canton of Switz, which first gave them any credit in the world, the name of this little province was afterwards communicated to the rest, as they entered into the league, and even to their allies.

The house of Austria made several attempts afterwards to reduce the Cantons of Switz, Unterwald, and Ury, to their obedience; but were so far from effecting it, that they lost several more of their provinces, which from time to time en-

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The revolt of the Switzers from the house of Austria.



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tered into the league with them; of which the first was the Canton of Lucerne, who came into the confederacy of the three Cantons in the year 1332, although this province was the proper dominion of the Austrian family. The Canton of Zurich was the next which entered into the confederacy, in the year 1351, and, upon account of its extent, was allowed the first place in their general assemblies, though it was the fifth which came into the alliance. This was a free Imperial city, and no part of the dominion of the house of Austria; however, their confederating with the revolted provinces occasioned a new war between the allies and the house of Austria; in which the Switzers made themselves masters of the Canton of Glaris, which the same year, 1351, was received into their alliance. In the following year, 1352, they took the province of Zug from the enemy, and added it to the number of the Cantons: and in the latter end of the same year, the Imperial city of Bern came into the alliance, and constituted the eighth Canton. And as these eight Cantons continued in alliance upwards of an hundred and twenty years without increasing their number, they obtained the name of the eight old Cantons, upon the addition of the rest.

In the year 1481, Friburg, part of the demesnes of the house of Austria, and purchased by them of the Counts of Kybourg, was received into the number of the Cantons; as was Soleure, an Imperial city, the same year. In 1501, Bazil and Schaffhausen, two other Imperial cities, came into the alliance; and the country of Appenzel was added to them in the year 1513, having purchased their liberty of the Abbot of St Gall, their then Sovereign, and this completed the number of the thirteen Cantons. But the house of Austria, far from relinquishing their pretensions to these countries, still exercised them with perpetual wars, by whom they were not more distressed than by their own nobility, who constantly joined with the house of Austria, in all its attempts upon the confederated Cantons; but the nobility being at length driven out of the country, or reduced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Cantons, the Switzers were declared a free people, independent of the Empire and the house of Austria, by the treaty of Munster, anno 1648, at the same time, as my author rightly observes, as the United Provinces were declared independent by Spain.

Since the peace of Munster they have not engaged much in foreign wars, but several warm disputes have happened among themselves on account of religion; and particularly in the year 1712, when a war broke out between the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern, and the five Catholick Cantons of Lucerne, Ury, Switz, Zug, and Underwald, wherein the former defeated the five Roman Catholick Cantons in two general battles, and took from them the country of Baden, and many other large territories. But the breach was at length made up by the mediation of the French Ambassador at Arraw, on the following terms; viz. That the country of Baden, with the town, and those of Keyserthal, Klingnau, Bremgarten, and Mellingen, should remain in full propriety to Bern and Zurich, provided that the Roman Catholicks in those towns, and their dependencies, should have the free exercise of their religion. That the Catholick Cantons should admit the Canton of Bern into the government of the common bailiwicks of Turgow, Rhintal, and Sargantz; and should yield for ever to the

two Cantons aforesaid, the town of Rapperfweil, the bridge on the lake of Zurich, and the village of Harden, with its appurtenances and dependencies; of which the neutral Cantons became guaranties. But the five Popish Cantons aforesaid have never had a good understanding with the Cantons of Zurich and Bern, since their yielding up these territories. On the contrary, they seem ready to call in the French, or any other power, to assist them, to be revenged of their enemies, without regarding what the consequences may be to their country.

## CHAP. VI.

*Treats of the government of the Switzers.*

THE general Dyet, which represents the Helvetick Body, consists of two Deputies from each Canton; besides which, the Abbot of St Gall, and the cities of St Gall, and of Bienne, send Deputies as allies; and a General Dyet is usually held at Baden, on the feast of St JOHN BAPTIST annually, which seldom lasts longer than a month. The first Deputy of the Canton of Zurich presides at these Dyets, proposing the matters to be debated, and collecting the votes, and performing all other acts proper for the President of an assembly. The Canton of Zurich also hath the privilege of convoking the Dyets by circular letters, wherein the reasons for assembling them are contained: And the Deputies of this Canton from the Abscheid, or result of their deliberations at the conclusion of the Dyet, which are sent to every Canton; and these gentlemen are always the speakers when the Deputies of the Cantons are sent to compliment or treat with a foreign minister.

The matters considered of at a General Dyet are either the accounts of the Governors of their common bailliages, or appeals from the sentences of such Governors in civil and criminal cases, the redressing the grievances of their common subjects, or composing the differences which may have arisen between the Cantons, and every thing else which may contribute to their mutual interest. And to this Dyet the ministers of foreign Princes usually apply themselves, either by way of audience or memorial. The French Ambassador particularly never fails to attend the Dyet, though he hath nothing more than compliment to offer. But besides this Midsummer Dyet, which meets of course, any one Canton may summon a Dyet upon an extraordinary occasion; as may the minister of a foreign Prince, if he apprehends his master's affairs require it, and he will defray the charges of the Deputies; and there is seldom a year passes without one extraordinary Dyet or more.

Besides these General Dyets, their differences in religion have since the Reformation occasioned particular Dyets. The mutual confidence between the Cantons seems in some measure lost through the zeal of each party for their particular opinions. This enters more or less into all their publick actions; and though their General Dyets are still continued to regulate the affairs of their common bailliages, all other matters of importance are treated of at particular Dyets of the respective religions; that of the Protestants being held at Arraw, and that of the Roman Catholicks at Lucerne; which being the most potent Catholick Canton, acts as their head; as that of Zurich does

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as the head of the Protestants. These Dyets are summoned whenever either of the parties please; and our author rightly observes, that the thirteen Cantons do not make one commonwealth, but are so many independent States, united together by strict alliances for their mutual defence.

The first  
alliance of  
the Swit-  
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writing.

The first league amongst them reduced to writing was made between the three Cantons of Switz, Ury, and Underwald, after the victory of Morgarten abovementioned, in the year 1351, by which each party stipulated to assist each other with all their force, against every power that should attack them; that none of them should enter into any treaty or alliance without the consent of the other; and that if any difference should arise between two of them, the third should decide it.

Second al-  
liance.

About the year 1481, the eight old Cantons entered into another alliance, to assist each other in defensive, but not in offensive wars; and it was agreed, that the auxiliary troops should be maintained by the respective Cantons which sent them; but if a siege was undertaken for the service of a particular Canton, such Canton should defray the particular charge of it: That no auxiliary Canton should be obliged to send their troops beyond the limits of Switzerland: That upon a difference between two Cantons, they should each of them chuse two arbitrators, who might elect an umpire to decide the matter, if they could not agree, and his sentence should be executed by all the Cantons. The five first Cantons also obliged themselves not to enter into any alliance without the consent of all five; but the three others reserved to themselves the liberty of entering into separate treaties, provided they were not prejudicial to the former alliance. Afterwards the eight old Cantons obliged themselves to assist each other in the support of their respective forms of government, and agreed upon a body of military laws to be observed by the whole nation; since which there has been no new alliance formed between them, though there are five other Cantons added to the old ones. Nor is there any act or instrument, according to the above-cited honourable author, whereby they are all incorporated into one body; no common civil judicature, which hath a right of obliging all the Cantons by its decisions; no common coin or treasure; but every Canton have these things distinct: each hath now a right of making particular treaties with foreign powers, and of sending and receiving publick ministers, and of doing all other acts of sovereignty separately from the other. And when the thirteen Cantons send Ambassadors to a foreign State, they never chuse one or two to represent them all, but each Canton sends its particular ministers, to shew its right of sovereignty. I proceed now to inquire into the several forms of government in the respective Cantons.

Forms of  
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tons.

And first my author observes, that the government in some of the Cantons is aristocratical, and in others democratical. The seven aristocratical Cantons are those of Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Basil, Friburg, Soleure, and Schaffhausen; the other six are democratical. And this difference in their respective forms of government he conjectures to be the effect of the state each of them happened to be in, when they were erected into Cantons; for as each of the first kind consisted of one city, with very little territory belonging to it, the government naturally came to be lodged in the citizens only, and afterwards continued so, notwithstanding a large acquisition of country to their

respective dominions: whereas the six democratical Cantons having no cities, but being divided into little communities, which had equal pretence to the sovereign power, they could scarce avoid falling into a popular frame. There is this farther distinction to be made among the Cantons, which he denominates aristocratical, (though they are all equally so in relation to their subjects) namely, that the capital cities of some of the Cantons have the form of a democracy, as Zurich, Basil, and Schaffhausen, where the ordinary tradesmen, who are divided into tribes, have their share in the government, and may be elected by their tribes into the Sovereign Council; whereas in the cities of Bern, Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, the Lesser Council, consisting of twenty-seven, joined with a smaller number of the Greater Council, have the sole right of filling up vacancies in the Sovereign Council; and these always chusing their friends and relations to fill these vacancies, the ordinary citizens have no share in the government.

In the Canton of Bern, which is much the most considerable, the legislative authority is lodged in the Great Council, consisting of two hundred and ninety-nine persons, when compleat; but as about ninety odd are usually absent on their respective governments, or other avocations, it is generally stiled the Council of two hundred. Out of the members of this Council is elected another called the Senate, or Lesser Council, consisting of twenty-seven Members, with their two Avoyers, who preside in both Councils annually by turns; and the two youngest of this assembly have also the title of Secret Counsellors; who, according to my author, resemble the Tribunes of the people in the Roman commonwealth, and summon the Great Council, whenever they apprehend any thing designed, which may be prejudicial to the liberties of the people, or upon any other emergency.

Form of  
govern-  
ment in  
the Canton  
of Bern.

This Senate has the executive power, and meets every day of the week, except Sundays. The Great Council assemble but twice a week, unless upon extraordinary occasions. Peace and war, alliances, the publick treasure, and all civil employments of importance, are in the disposal of the Great Council; and all ecclesiastical employments, and some inferior civil offices, are in the gift of the Senate. When the Great Council assemble, the Senate constitute a part of it, or rather is lost in the Great Council, having no existence while that is assembled.

The vacancies in the Great Council are filled up by the Senate, and sixteen Members of the Great Council, called Seizeniers from their number, who are chosen out of the old Bailiffs, that is, such as have enjoyed a government or Bailliage the whole term of six years. But for the better understanding of this office of Seizenier, it is necessary to premise, that in the city of Bern there are twelve companies, or abbies, as they are called, viz. four greater, and eight less; and in one of these companies, every citizen, whether gentleman or tradesman, is obliged to enroll himself, that he may be qualified to be a member of the Council of two hundred, or to enjoy any other place of trust in the government; and the head or chief of any of these companies is called the Seizenier; the great companies having each of them two, and the lesser one, which makes the number sixteen. When a new Seizenier is to be elected, all the old Bailiffs, who are out of office, meet



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meet in their respective abbeys, and the matter is determined by lot; for as many balls are put into a bag as there are candidates for the office, one of them of gold, and the rest of silver, and he that happens upon the golden ball is the Seizenier. And these Seizeniers are usually chosen a little before the vacancies in the Great Council are filled up, and continue in their office till another promotion is made, which is seldom above once in nine or ten years. These Seizeniers take care of the affairs of their respective companies, and see that nothing be transacted to their prejudice. They represent the grievances of the citizens to the Council, propose the making or repealing of laws, and in conjunction with the four Banderets, or Standard-bearers, (of whom hereafter) are empowered for three days before Easter annually, when all other employments in the State are suspended, to inquire into the behaviour of every minister and officer in the government, and to deprive him of his employment or place in the Great or Lesser Council. But in case of an expulsion of any member from the Great Council, the sentence must be confirmed by that Council, though they may expel a member of the Senate or Lesser Council absolutely, there being no appeal in that case. Having thus explained the office of a Seizenier, my author continues to relate the manner of filling up the vacancies in the Great Council, which is seldom done till there are fourscore or an hundred vacant places; the reasons of which delay is said to be, that they may have an opportunity at the same time of satisfying a great number of persons; but indeed that the remaining members of the Great Council may have the fewer competitors for bailliages and places of trust, for which none but the members of that Council are qualified. Those who are entitled to chuse members of the Great Council, as hath been observed already, being the Senate, or Lesser Council, and the sixteen Seizeniers, every one of whom has the privilege of naming a member, and the two Avoyers, or Presidents, two a-piece; great court is made to them by the candidates. The Chancellor and Greffier also are allowed each of them to name one: and the Commissary-General, and some other great officers, claim a right of being elected, as they usually are; so that there are always about fifty who have some assurance of being elected. The rest of the candidates are chosen by a plurality of voices; and the only qualification required is, that he be a member of one of the aforesaid companies, and entered into the thirty-third year of his age.

Nothing is more common than for an Elector to name his eldest son, if he be qualified; and if he be not, he has an opportunity of marrying his daughter well, by giving his vote for her lover, which is sometimes her only portion, and not a bad one, as it entitles the son-in-law to a bailliage. It is very merry upon this occasion, as my author observes, to see numbers of passionate lovers starting up in three or four days time, and pretending all the devotion imaginable for their mistresses, whom they have scarce ever seen; for there is not three days difference between the choice of the Seizeniers, and the election of the members of the Great Council; and till the Seizeniers are appointed, they can't tell to whom to apply to. The first visits therefore which a Seizenier receives after his election, are from persons who pretend to be passionately smitten with his fair daughter, if he have no son, and the match is almost as soon con-

cluded as proposed, when the father meets with a man to his mind, which he seldom misses of: for as it is necessary towards the making a man's fortune in this republick, that he be a member of the Great Council, those of the wealthiest and best families frequently attempt to come into it this way, when others fail. Thus 'tis evident, that the vacancies in the Great Council are constantly filled up with the relations and friends of the remaining members; and consequently the government is lodged in some few great families, the ordinary citizens being excluded from any share in it, unless they have the good fortune to be chosen by a majority, after the relations and dependants of the Great Council are provided for, which is but a remote prospect. And as they are excluded from this assembly, so are they by consequence from all places of profit and trust in the government; these being reserved only for the members of this great body, as hath been intimated already.

The members of the Senate, or Lesser Council, are upon a vacancy elected by the Great Council out of their own body, with this restriction, that neither the father and son, nor two brothers, can be of the Senate at the same time: and these vacancies in the Senate, are filled up as soon as the deceased Senator is buried; but in the great one, as hath been observed, they wait till there be fourscore or an hundred vacancies, which is usually nine or ten years.

The great officers of state in this republick are, 1. The two Avoyers, as the French stile them, or Schultheissen, as the Germans call them, whose employments are for life, but they exercise them by turns annually. The person in office, who is called the Reigning Avoyer, presides both in the greater and lesser Council, proposes the matters to be debated there, and keeps the seals which are put to all acts of state, and to him all persons apply, who have any business to transact in either Council; and the Avoyer out of office only takes place as first Senator till the year is expired, when he takes the seals and resumes his authority in his turn: and though these are very honourable posts, and they have a great influence on all affairs of State, the profits of them are but small, not amounting to three hundred pounds a year. The next great officers are the Banderets, or Standard-Bearers of the city, which being divided into four wards, the citizens rendezvous under their colours in their respective precincts; and their places are for life, but the profits do not yield each of them more than an hundred pounds per annum. Their authority was formerly much greater, when with the Seizeniers they had the election of the members of the Great Council, but this privilege they are now deprived of. The next great officers are the two treasurers; one called the Treasurer of the German country, and the other of the Pais de Vaud or Roman, who receive the revenues of their respective districts, and continue in their office for six years; these are the most profitable employments in the State, and, as my author observes, those who have the management of the publick money, will always find means to enrich themselves in spite of the best regulations. The next great officer is the Superintendent of the publick buildings: and these nine are always given to Senators, as a reward of their faithful services to the publick. The other offices of any importance, such as Chancellor, Greffier, Commissary, &c. are enjoyed by members of the Great Council, and

Great  
officers of  
State.



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And thus having treated of the government and magistracy in the city of Bern, our author proceeds to those of the country; where he observes, that the whole Canton is divided into seventy-two baillages, governed by as many Bailiffs, who are members of the Great Council, and changed every six years. These Bailiffs are invested with the civil as well as the military power in their respective districts; being generals of the militia, and supreme magistrates in civil and criminal causes, and though they have their associates in the courts of justice, the bailiff only has the authority of pronouncing sentence. In civil causes indeed, where the thing in dispute is of consequence, there lies an appeal to the courts of appeal at Bern, where one is established for the German country, and the other for the Pais de Vaud, and in capital cases the sentence must be ratified by the Great Council. And from the court of appeals for the German country there still lies an appeal to the Great Council; but those of the Pais de Vaud, 'tis said, are deprived of this privilege, as being naturally so litigious, that there would be no end of their contentions, if they were indulged in it.

These baillages are so profitable, that the Bailiff may make a tolerable figure during his six years government, and in some of them lay up five or six thousand pounds, which in a country where all superfluities in equipage and clothing are retrenched, and every thing husbanded to the greatest advantage, is a considerable sum, as my author observes; and as these are the principal employments by which they hope to make their fortunes, all their views are turned that way; and while the election to them was determined by open votes, all manner of corruption and servile compliances were practised in order to obtain them; which being found to have an ill effect on the publick affairs, the way of balloting for them was introduced, till they found a way of discovering, who voted for them and who against them, notwithstanding this caution; and consequently the same dependance on the leading men, and the same enmities among themselves were observed as before: whereupon it was agreed in the year 1710, that all employments should be disposed of by lot; and accordingly as many balls are put into a bag as there are competitors, one of which being gilt, he that draws it hath the baillage. But the posts of Avoyer, Bandaret, Treasurer, and Senator, are still disposed of by ballot; it being ridiculous, as my author observes, to leave the appointment of the chief officers in the State to mere chance. No bachelor can be a candidate for any baillage or place of profit, nor can a man's own relations, or his wife's to the degree of second cousins inclusive, give a suffrage for him in any case. The members of the Great Council and Senate, as well as the two Avoyers and four Bandarets, have their places for life, as has been intimated already; unless they have been guilty of some notorious crime, or committed an act of bankruptcy; in which cases they may be degraded. The rest of the publick employments are held for six years, except those of Secretaries to the Council, and some other posts, where long experience is required, which the possessors seldom leave but for some good baillage; and the Chancellor's employment is of late limited to twelve years, but in lieu of it he

hath the choice of any baillage. Formerly when a person had enjoyed a good baillage for his term of six years, he would immediately lay in for another, by which means some few of the leading men engrossed all the valuable baillages in their families; whereof in the new regulation for disposing of them by lot, it was provided, that the baillages should be divided into five classes, according to their reputed value; and any person, who hath enjoyed a baillage, is disabled standing for another baillage, but in the two lowest classes, and that there should be an interval of seven years between his quitting one baillage and his being promoted to another; and even then he must waive his pretensions, if any of the Great Council, who have never had one, pretend to it. There is very little profit arises to the members of the Great Council, some small allowances of corn and wood only for the use of their families, but it is coveted however as the only road to preferment. The salary of a senator is about three hundred crowns per ann. including his perquisites; and yet they serve the publick with that diligence and fidelity, that their whole time is taken up in the discharge of their offices.

Altho' the executive power be in a great measure lodged in the Senate, there are however councils appointed for several branches of business, who are all members of the Great Council; the most considerable of which, is that of the Secret Council, consisting of the Avoyer out of office, who is President, the four Bandarets, the two Treasurers, and the two Secret Counsellors; to whom all matters of state which require secrecy are referred, and they are empowered to act in many cases for the publick good without communicating the affair to the Great Council, tho' when the danger is over their determinations must be ratified by it.

The Chamber of Bandarets is the next council, where the accounts of the bailiffs and all other officers of state are examined, and consists only of the four Bandarets, and the two treasurers, who preside by turns. Besides these there is a consistory, consisting of more of the laity than of the clergy; for the laity are supreme here, as in many other states, in causes ecclesiastical. This court takes cognizance of matrimonial contracts, adultery, fornication, and other offences against good manners; but as the adulterer was formerly punished with death for the first fact, it must now be the third before they proceed capitally against him; and for the first and second he is only punished by fine and imprisonment, and made incapable of any publick employment.

Another chamber or council is appointed to see the sumptuary laws put in execution, in which they are very severe; not only because it is of great consequence to the state to have these laws duly observed, but because the fines come into the judges pockets, as my author observes. And there is a court of justice in the city of Bern, where both civil and criminal causes are tryed in the first instance, besides the two courts of appeals already mentioned; an officer is President of this ordinary court, called by the Germans the *Gross Weibel* and by the French the *Gros Santier*, to whom the preservation of the publick peace is committed, and who is empowered to punish all offences against it. These are the standing councils in Bern, the members of all which are members of the Great Council, except the clergy of the consistory: And besides these, upon any great emergency, a particular council or committee is appointed



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pointed to enquire into the matter, which is dissolved as soon as the business referred to them is at an end.

The form of government in the Cantons of Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, differs little from that of Bern, only the Great Council at Lucerne consists but of an hundred members, and the Senate of thirty-five. As to the three cities of Zurich, Basil, and Schaffhausen, the capitals of the three Cantons, to which they communicate their names; the citizens of each are divided into twelve or more tribes, and each of these tribes hath it's quota of members both in the Great Council and in the Senate: In Zurich particularly each tribe hath twelve members in the Great Council, and four in the Senate, or Lesser Council, which numbers are always compleat, the vacancies being immediately filled up when there are any; not by a new choice of the tribe the deceased member was of, but by the remaining fifteen representatives of that tribe; by which means the body of the people have now very little share in chusing their representatives either in the Great Council or the Senate; but this is said to be an encroachment on their privileges. There is still another difference between the form of government in these three Cantons, and that of Bern, namely, that the Senate in each of these cities consists of fifty persons, besides the two *Avoyers*, or *Burghermasters*, whereas that of Bern has but twenty-five members besides the two *Avoyers*; though but half of these, 'tis true, are in office at one time, for each of them govern their six months by turns, unless in cases of judicature, when all the fifty are assembled. Here our author takes an opportunity of considering some of those maxims which are most in vogue in Switzerland, and other popular governments: As, a well regulated militia, in opposition to a standing army of mercenary troops: Equal agrarian laws, that one or a few families may not so far exceed the other in riches and power, as to endanger the publick liberty: and lastly, an equal rotation of magistracy, that each may have his share of the power and profits of the government in his turn; which are all observed in the seven Cantons already mentioned. But of the first, the militia, I shall speak in another place. As to the second, an equal agrarian law, it appears that all their children, both male and female, by their constitution, inherit an equal part of their ancestor's substance, only the father hath a power of disposing by his will, of one third part of his estate to which of his sons he pleases; so that the greatest estates are soon split into small parcels, and thereby an equality of power, in some measure, preserved among the people. And there cannot be a more equal rotation among the magistrates, who are most of them changed every six years: from whence my author infers, that the Sovereigns of these Cantons have little reason to apprehend any intestine division among themselves. But then, as the supreme councils have gradually deprived their fellow-citizens of many privileges, and the principal families still endeavour to engross the government to themselves; they are in danger of insurrections from the people, and have felt them more than once in some of their cities; nor is there any way to satisfy the body of the citizens, as the same gentleman apprehends, but by taking a greater number of them into the administration. In relation to their subjects, it is observed, that the government of these seven Cantons is very un-

qual, for the sovereign power is lodged only in the citizens of the capital city of each Canton, out of whom the members of the Great Council are chosen, and these only are qualified for places of profit or trust, so that the rest of the Canton are excluded from all possibility of sharing in the government; and this was not unreasonable at the first establishment of these commonwealths, who had then little or no territory beyond the walls of their cities: but now their dominions are so far extended, and comprehend many good towns and villages, if the inhabitants of these are not indulged with some share in the administration, it is apprehended they may one day endeavour to set up for themselves, or transfer their allegiance to some neighbouring Prince or State. This inequality is most visible in the Canton of Bern, which makes above a third part of Switzerland, where about fourscore families have engrossed the whole government to themselves. I have seen, says the same honourable writer, within the space of eight years, civil commotions in Geneva, Lucerne, and Zurich, occasioned by the discontents of the citizens with their governors, for retrenching their privileges and engrossing the power to themselves, which have generally ended in a redress of their grievances. And it is observed of late years, that the citizens of these cities generally gain ground of the government, and compel them to re-instate them in such privileges as they have taken from them: and if these discontents arise in the capitals of these little states, where the subject does not lie under such incapacities and disadvantages as in the countries under their dominion; our author infers, they may more justly be apprehended in the country, where the inequality of the government is still greater, as the extent of the territory is so. But in this I must take the liberty to differ from him; for people who have never enjoyed any share in the government, are not so liable to mutiny at being kept out of the administration, as those who have been deprived of their part in it: nor are they so capable of fomenting an insurrection in the country where they lie dispersed, as in cities, where a multitude of malecontents may assemble in a moment, and get to a head before the government can be prepared to suppress them; especially in places where there is no standing army, and the mob are as good soldiers as the militia; or rather, where the militia are formed out of the mob. But what is looked upon as a great security to the government of the Cantons is, that they impose very moderate taxes on their subjects, which are frequently the source of popular discontents. And a further security to them is, that all the Cantons are mutually obliged to assist each other in the support of their respective forms of government. But our author inclines to think, that neither of these securities can be much relied on: For, first he observed, that the subjects thought no mildness of the government could make them amends for being excluded any share in it: And as to mutual assistance, it is not only a dangerous experiment to call in strangers to pacify domestic commotions, but it happens in this case, that the Protestants and Papists have so little affection for each other, that they would do but very little for the preservation of those of a different persuasion in religion: And they are in general so jealous of the overgrown power of the Canton of Bern, that they would be glad to see it weakened.

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I proceed now to inquire into the form of government in those six Cantons, where there are no great cities, viz Switz, Underwald, Ury, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel; and these, it seems, are all of them democratical: for each of these Cantons being divided into districts, according to their extent, some twelve, others six, and others four; each district, or community, in some respects, appears to be an independent sovereignty; for in these they have both civil and criminal judicatories, in which the rest of the Canton cannot interpose, and from whence there lies no appeal. But in the management of the publick affairs, every district having chosen a deputy or representative, they assemble at some certain place, and form a standing council of the Canton; and where the matter to be debated is of great importance, they send each of them two or three representatives, but still they have but a limited authority; for, according to my author, the supreme legislative power remains in the diffusive body of the people; every male in the country upwards of sixteen years of age, and every servant as well as his master, having an equal share in the sovereignty. But these assemblies do not usually meet more than once or twice a year to chuse their magistrates, and their representatives to be sent to the general dyets; tho' they may be convoked at other times, as there is occasion to give their consents to such acts as require their concurrence. The first officer in these Cantons is called Land-Aman, and is chosen in a full assembly of the people, who always express their consent by holding up their hands. His office resembles that of an Avoyer, or Burgher-master; but is changed in some of these Cantons every year, and in others every two years. He is President both of their standing Council and General Assemblies, and hath the chief direction of all publick affairs, with the advice of the council. So soon as the Land-Aman is chosen, the people elect him a deputy, who is called Stat-Halter, and acts in the absence of the other. They proceed also to chuse Treasurers, Secretaries, and other officers of state, in the same manner, who continue in their posts a longer or shorter time, according to the customs of the respective Cantons; but though every member of the Canton seems to have an equal share in the government of it, it appears they are generally governed in their determinations by the gentry, to whom they pay a particular regard. On the other hand, if they apprehend they have been led into schemes that are destructive to their country by designing men, they never fail to punish the authors of such advice with the utmost severity.

I shall conclude this head with some of Mr ADDISON's remarks on the government of the Switzers. He observes, that their constitution is extremely well adapted to the poverty and barrenness of their climate: That the misery of being subject to a despotic Prince, in a country composed of rocks and mountains, is sufficiently evident from the governments in their neighbourhood, where, notwithstanding their lands are much better than those of the Swiss, the people are in greater want of the necessaries and conveniences of life. A Prince's court, he remarks, eats too far into the income of a poor state, and introduces various kinds of luxury, which are not consistent with a narrow fortune. If the vanity of dress, balls, and entertainments were as common in the Cantons as they are in France, their mili-

tary roughness would soon be lost, their tempers grow too soft for their climate, and their expences out-run their revenues; and as the materials for their luxury must be imported from abroad, their country, which has few commodities to export against them, and but very little treasure to answer the balance, would infallibly be ruined. (What follows is as applicable to a mixed government as to a republick: I could wish the words were written with a sun-beam, and never out of my countrymen's view, who seem to be plunging themselves into the greatest excesses of all kinds that ever any people were guilty of, and which must naturally draw on them inevitable destruction, if not suddenly remedied.) The words are these: 'Luxury wounds a republick in it's very vitals, as it's natural consequences are rapine, avarice, and injustice; for the more money a man spends, the more must he endeavour to augment his stock; which at last sets the liberty and votes of a commonwealth to sale, if they find any foreign power (or ambitious native) that is able to pay the price of them.' ADDISON'S Travels, p. 384. It is no wonder therefore he adds, that the poor commonwealths of Switzerland endeavour to suppress every thing that may introduce vanity and luxury; that they prohibit gaming, balls, and all extravagancies of dress; and that their magistrates in their publick assemblies appear in the plainest garb imaginable, to set an example to the rest. Persons of different qualities indeed are distinguished by their ornaments, but they are such as may be purchased at a very moderate price: a great officer, for example, is known by the depth of his hat-crown; and their holiday-cloaths, which have an appearance of finery, go from father to son, being seldom worn out in two or three generations. 'Tis an ordinary thing to see a man of substance wear the breeches and doublet of his great-grandfather; and their peasants are clothed in a coarse kind of canvass, the manufacture of the country.

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*Treats of their revenues and forces.*

AS neither the product or trade of Switzerland are considerable, the publick revenues are not large, if compared with those of other kingdoms and states: but if we compare their income with their expences, as my author observes, some of these republicks cannot be esteemed poor; for tho' their annual revenue be small, the charges of the government is less, and they lay up something every year, which in a long tract of time furnishes them with a considerable treasure: and it is observed to be one advantage that the commonwealth has of a monarchy, that the former are generally better husbands of their treasure, not throwing it away upon their pleasures or passions as Princes usually do, and saving the expences of courts and guards, and other glittering fopperies, stiled by some the embroidered part of the government. The little popular Cantons indeed have scarce any publick revenues, but tax themselves voluntarily, according to the exigency of their affairs; and if they happen at any time to have a thousand pounds in their treasure, they will agree to divide it among the several communities the Canton is composed of, if the publick has no present occasion for it: though at the same time they protest against the practice for the future.

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future. But the commonwealths in Switzerland which may be esteemed rich, are those which have cities for their capitals, and among these the revenues of the Protestant Cantons exceed those of the Catholick republicks, being possessed of the church-lands, which they seized at the Reformation, the profits whereof are appropriated to the service of the government, except a small part of them which are reserved for the maintenance of the clergy. The revenues of the Catholick Cantons with cities, viz. of Lucerne, Soleure, and Friburg, are so inconsiderable, that after the annual expences of the government are defrayed, there remains but a very small sum to be laid up in the publick treasury; even the little Cantons of Bazil and Schaffhausen, though of a much smaller extent, are richer than these three Catholick Cantons, and always have a considerable sum in their treasury. But the two wealthiest Cantons are those of Zurich and Bern, the former of which, by the advantage of its trade, is the richer, in proportion to the extent of its territories; but Bern is so much larger, that the revenues of this Canton are supposed to amount to as much more as the former.

The several branches of the publick revenue in the Canton of Bern, are, 1. The profits of the demefin lands which belong to the State. 2. The tenths of the produce of all the lands in the country. 3. A certain tax upon lands which are not the property of the gentry, called in French, *Cenfes Foncières*. 4. Customs and duties on merchandize. And, 5. the revenue arising from the sale of salt. From the first of these branches arise great quantities of corn and wine, which the State lays up in magazines in the several bailiages, and sells to the people in times of scarcity. From the second, consisting of the tenths of the fruits of the earth, they raise considerable sums in so large an extent of country as this Canton contains, none being exempted, except some few seigneuries of the gentry. From the third, which is a tax on such lands as are not in the possession of the gentry, they levy about twenty pence an acre. From the fourth branch, consisting of duties on merchandize, they raise but little, the duties being very moderate, and their trade but inconsiderable: but from the fifth branch, arising by the sale of salt, they raise great sums, for the States alone retail it to the subject, and impose what price they please. There is another casual tax arising from the sale of all estates, the Sovereign being entitled to a sixth part of the value upon every alienation. What may be the just amount of all these taxes my author does not attempt to determine; only observes, that as their revenues consist chiefly in the sale of corn and wine, these are more or less, according to the price such things bear; and as the State sells none in plentiful seasons, it may happen that several years together little or no money is laid up in the treasury: and on the other hand, they may lay up in one year the increase of many. Our author relates, that when he resided amongst them, namely, about the year 1712, the Canton of Bern, had three hundred thousand pounds out at interest, which, he was credibly informed, did not amount to a sixth part of what then remained in their treasury. That those who pretended to guess at the annual revenues of Bern and Zurich, lay the first at three hundred thousand crowns per annum, and the other at an hundred and fifty, whereof they compute about two

thirds are expended in the ordinary and extraordinary charges of the government, by which computation Bern lays up an hundred thousand crowns a year, and Zurich fifty: but this he observes is meer conjecture, and chuses therefore to leave the amount of their revenues undetermined. As to the three Catholick Cantons with cities, namely, those of Lucerne, Soleure, and Friburg, though their revenues will do little more than discharge the necessary expences of the government, yet that little overplus it seems puts them in a condition of maintaining a small number of troops every year for three or four months: but the two small Cantons of Bazil and Schaffhausen are better provided with treasure than any of the three Catholick Cantons. And it is very necessary that these republicks should always have some money in bank, for they have no extraordinary ways and means of raising money upon an emergency, as other States have: the imposing new taxes on the breaking out of a war, are impracticable here, the greater part of the subjects on whom they should be levied, being employed in their militia. And though the people might be willing to contribute what is in their power for their necessary defence, they would not be able to maintain a war of any long continuance; and especially the little Cantons, who have no treasure in bank when the war breaks out, cannot expect that their militia should long remain together at their own expence.

Standing forces have ever been thought inconsistent with the welfare of these republicks since their first institution; but there is no where in Europe a better-regulated militia: with these they have from time to time maintained their liberty against all the attempts of the house of Austria and France; and during the long wars they had with those powers, were esteemed excellent soldiers, though they never kept the field the year round, but when the campaign was ended used to return to their respective dwellings. The Cantons having continued now upwards of two hundred years in peace with all their neighbours, and having had no wars but among themselves on account of religion, which have not been very frequent, their troops are not esteemed equal to what they were formerly. Almost the only religious disputes which have occasioned a rupture amongst them, are those in 1531, in 1656, and in 1712. In the two former of which the Catholick Cantons gained great advantages of the Protestants; but in the third, which lasted but four months, the Protestants broke the power of the Catholick Cantons, and would have made an entire conquest of them, if the Catholick Princes in their neighbourhood had not threatened to interpose in the quarrel. My author is of opinion, that the present Switzers are not at all degenerated from their ancestors in point of bravery, the troops of that nation in foreign service having behaved to the satisfaction of every power that employed them in the late war; and that the charge of their being degenerated amounts to no more than this, That the forces which are newly raised amongst them, and have not been exercised with constant war, as their ancestors were, require some time to discipline them before they can be a match for veteran troops. The reasons usually given by these people against maintaining a body of standing forces, are, 1. That it would endanger their liberties. 2. That very few of the Cantons are able to maintain such a



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Every male from sixteen to sixty is enrolled, and about one third of them regimented under the titles of Fuzileers and Electionaries; and out of the other two thirds these are from time to time recruited. The Fuzileers are all unmarried men of a good size, and in the flower of their age, always ready to march at an hour's warning. The Electionaries are married men, but of an age and size fit for service. Every regiment of Fuzileers consists of ten companies, and every regiment of Electionaries of twelve, besides Staff-officers; there being in each company of Fuzileers an hundred and ten men, and in a company of Electionaries two hundred and eighteen, including officers of all kinds. Every soldier provides his own arms, but all are of one make, and of the newest fashion, there being an officer called the Commissioner of arms, who inspects their arms and mounting, and punishes those who are not conformable to the standard. They have also of late introduced an uniformity of cloathing, being all grey cloth, with facings of different colours to distinguish the regiments: and having found that horse are of little use in this mountainous country, they have converted all their horse into dragoons, except that in the Canton of Bern they have one regiment of Cuirassiers, which their vassals maintain at their own expence. There are ten troops in every regiment of dragoons of sixty men each, and the horses as well as arms are of the soldiers providing, none being admitted into the dragoons but substantial farmers, who are always furnished with horses for their husbandry. And tho' neither horse nor foot receive pay while they remain at home, yet as soon as they take the field, their pay is settled after the following manner, double pay being allowed to the officers the first month, to enable them to provide their equipage.

The pay of the Field and Staff-Officers per month.

	French Livres.
A Colonel per month	240
A Lieutenant-Colonel	180
Major	165
Aid Major	75
Adjutant	48
Chaplain	75
Surgeon	48
Clerk	24
Prevot	18

Total 873

The pay of a company per month.

	French Livres.
A Captain per month	120
A Captain-Lieutenant	90

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	French Livres.	CHAP. VII.
Lieutenant	75	
Second Lieutenant	60	
Ensign	48	
Serjeant	15	
Each under officer.	12	
Each Corporal	8	
Each Drum and Fife	7	
Each Appointee	7	
Each Soldier	6	

There is only this difference between the pay of the Fuzileers, Electionaries, and Dragoons, namely that the Dragoon-Officers are supplied with forage *gratis*, and the Foot-Officers pay for it; and the private dragoon has six-pence a day and ammunition-bread, while the foot-soldier hath two-pence a day deducted out of the six-pence for his ammunition-bread. Every Field-Officer in both hath two servants paid by the State on the foot of common soldiers, and the Staff-Officers one. The State also provides tents, kettles, and hatchets for their soldiers, five men being allotted to one tent; and these things are laid up in the arsenal when the service is over.

In the magazine of Bern there is always an entire new set of arms for all the militia of the Canton, besides those that are in common use; and there is a third set for the militia of every bailliage, kept in the castle where the Bailiff or Governor resides; where there is also laid up a sum amounting to three months pay for the whole militia of the bailliage, which money was raised upon the several communities for this purpose many years since, and is still reserved for any pressing occasion, not having being touched by the State during the last war, nor cannot be disposed of without the consent of the several communities, since the chief of each has a key of this little treasury, and the Bailiff another.

The Canton of Bern have also a very fine train of artillery in their capital, ready to march upon the shortest warning; besides a great number of cannon in the castles where their Bailiffs reside; and for the service of their artillery they have three companies of cannoneers, and one of bombardeers, consisting of an hundred men each, with proper officers, who are in constant pay, and commanded by the Waggon-Master-General. Every community is taxed to furnish the necessary horses and waggons for the use of the train and army, and know the proportion which they are to send, getting them ready upon the least notice. There belongs also to the train an hundred and twenty men of several trades, as carpenters, smiths, wheelwrights, &c. and to these is added a company of guides, actually listed, with their Captain, Lieutenant, and other officers, who have a perfect knowledge of the country.

They have no General or Commander in chief in time of peace; the principal military officer in the Canton of Bern is the President of the council of war. Nor do they fill up the posts of Secretary of war, Commissioners of victualling, Treasurer, Quarter-masters, Grand Prevot, and others, till the army is ready to take the field. And whenever a General is appointed for any expedition, there are several deputies of the Statesmen of the greatest rank and experience appointed to accompany him, and be a check upon him, who can undertake nothing of consequence without their consent; but the General, with these deputies, disposes of all military employments



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in the field, which in time of peace are in the gift of the Great Council.

For the better disciplining of these troops in the Canton of Bern, which is divided into eight districts, there is an officer called the Grand Major in every one of them, who takes care that all the militia, as well those that are regimented as others, be in a constant readiness to march; and that their arms, ammunition, and cloathing, be in a good condition: for which end he often takes his rounds, visiting both officers and soldiers, and drawing them out at least once a year for a general review. He hath also an officer under him in every bailliage, who rides from one community to another, and exercises the soldiers every Sunday and Holiday after divine service, and sees that their arms and accoutrements be in order, and punishes the neglect of them. There are also butts erected in every community, where on certain days of the year they meet to shoot at a mark; and the cannoneers do the same with their great guns and mortars.

And for the readier assembling of their militia, there are signals in the most conspicuous places of every bailliage, which consists of wood and straw, with which they make fires in the night-time, or a smoke in the day; and at every one of these signals is a Corporal, with a constant guard of six men, who set fire to the combustible matters on the approach of an enemy, or whenever they observe any other signals lighted, whereupon the whole body of the militia run to their arms, and march to the appointed rendezvous. And what renders them much better disciplined than the militia of other nations, is, the custom of the young fellows to serve three or four years in the Swiss troops abroad, after which their officers are obliged to permit them to return home; so that a good part of their militia have actually been in some foreign service, and may therefore well be looked upon as regular troops, who being intermixed with the rest, soon make them as expert as themselves. What number of forces these republicks can raise, my author does not determine; but observes, that in the late war between the Protestant and the Popish Cantons, the Canton of Bern had forty thousand men in the field, and the Canton of Zurich twenty thousand, though only the regimented troops were raised; and these, as hath been intimated already, make but a third part of their militia. The same establishment which is observed in the Canton of Bern, is generally practised in all the other Protestant Cantons; but those of the Catholics are not always in a condition to furnish their magazines with corn and other necessities proper for an army when it takes the field.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Treats of their trade and manufactures.*

Trade.

THE Swissers export scarce any merchandize to foreign countries, except horses, black cattle, butter, and cheese. The French take off great numbers of their horses in time of war for remounting their cavalry, insomuch, that my author assures us, he has known ten thousand horses bought in this country, by the French in the space of a year for the use of their army. And the King of Sardinia in the late wars had Swiss horses for his dragoons and artillery, but those of Ger-

many for remounting his cavalry. Great numbers are also sold into the Milanese, and other parts of Lombardy, for their coaches. They dispose of great numbers of their black cattle in Italy, and their cheeses in most countries of Europe. These commodities are common to all the Cantons; but the towns where manufactures may be said to flourish, if compared with the rest, are those of Zurich, Basil, Schaffhausen, and St Gall. Zurich is considerable for a manufacture of crape, which they have brought to some perfection, and export in great quantities. The town of St Gall is as famous for its linnen, which, though much inferior to that of Holland, is afforded cheaper, and worn by the gentry as well as common people. Basil and Schaffhausen are not distinguished for any particular kind of manufacture, but lie mighty convenient for a foreign trade, as they are situated upon the frontiers of the Empire; for here they have the opportunity of exchanging the merchandizes of France, Italy, and Germany, which brings no small profit to the inhabitants, many of whom are considerable merchants. The rest of the towns of Switzerland enjoy only a little retail trade.

As to their importations, having neither corn or wine sufficient of their own growth, to supply their necessities, they are forced to be obliged to their neighbours for them, and are supplied chiefly from Suabia and the Milanese. Their salt is imported from Tyrol, Franche Compté, and Bavaria, with which countries the Sovereigns of each Canton enter into treaties to be supplied at a certain price, and make great advantages by retailing it out again to their subjects. A salt-pit indeed has lately been discovered in the Canton of Bern, but it does not yet afford any thing considerable. And as there are scarce any manufactures of silk, wool, or hair, in Switzerland, all their clothing of these kinds is also imported from abroad, except a very coarse sort of woollen stuffs, which their peasants wear. Their mechanicks also are such bunglers, that the better sort of people usually send for their common utensils from other countries. From all which it is evident, that their importations much exceed their exportations, and their country consequently grows poorer every day. According to my author, the species of gold and silver are scarce seen in publick commerce, which proceeds in some measure, as he observes, from the coin being hoarded up by those Cantons who have publick treasuries, which for want of circulation is lost to the country, and for want of securities to place their money out at interest upon, which obliges them to send it to foreign banks, when they have any, whereby the country is deprived of the use of it. The balance of trade therefore being much against the Swissers, their governors, to prevent the consumption of foreign goods as much as possible, have endeavoured to retrench all superfluities in clothing and furniture by sumptuary laws, which prohibit the wearing of gold, silver, jewels, silks, and thread-lace, and whatever else is more chargeable than useful in dress; only the women are a little indulged in the wearing silks at weddings and on festivals, and on some other solemn occasions: but although this hinders the mischief from increasing, it is by no means a compleat remedy. Nothing, as my author observes, can prevent the exportation of their coin, but the establishing manufactures in their country, which may serve

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at least for their own consumption; and though they have no good wool or silk of their own growth, they may however be supplied with these on moderate terms by their neighbours. When the French Refugees left their country upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz, it seems many of them retired into Switzerland, and endeavoured to establish several manufactures there; but not being encouraged or protected by the government, and persecuted by the natives, who would not suffer a foreigner to exercise any trade in their cities, the French Protestants found themselves under a necessity of removing into other countries; whereby, as my author observes, the Protestant Cantons lost the best opportunity they are ever like to have of erecting profitable manufactures in their country: as long as their citizens have the privilege of hindering foreigners from exercising trades amongst them, and are such indifferent artists themselves, there is very little hopes of seeing manufactures flourish among them, or a foreign trade carried on to any advantage.

## CHAP. IX.

*Treats of the religion of the Switzers.*

## Religion.

THE Swiss Cantons, as hath been observed already, are divided into Popish and Protestant, both of them exceeding zealous in their way: the clergy, according to my author, taking more pains to raise the aversion and horror of the people against the religion of their adversaries than in countries where there is but one religion professed. The Protestant Cantons are rigid Calvinists, and the rest had followed their example at the Reformation, says the same gentleman, if the Catholics, not trusting their cause to the force of argument, had not had recourse to arms, and made war upon such as embraced the new opinions: in which the Protestants were defeated at the battle of Cappel, anno 1531, whereby the progress of the Reformation, received some check in this country, many were reduced by force to the Romish persuasion who had deserted it, and others confirmed in it that were wavering. Other battles were afterwards fought, in one of which ZUINGLIUS, one of the fathers of the Reformation, was killed; but at length a treaty of pacification was proposed between the contending parties anno 1531, whereby it was agreed, That each Canton should regulate religious matters in their respective territories, and not molest their neighbours on those accounts; which restored peace to the Cantons at that time: and though there have since been some skirmishes amongst them on account of religion, they have not been of any long continuance. In the year 1566, a Synod of the Protestant clergy of Switzerland was assembled, where the articles of their faith were drawn up, and entitled, *The Helvetic Confession*: in which they adhere to the doctrines of CALVIN, as to grace, free-will, election, and predestination, condemning the tenets of ARMINIUS; inasmuch that they oblige all their clergy, on their admission into Holy Orders, to swear that they will defend and maintain the Reformed Religion as it is contained in the Helvetic Confession, and oppose Arminianism, and all other doctrines contrary to the said confession, to the utmost of their power. And notwithstanding both Popery and Calvinism are tolerated in their common bailiages, or governments, there is no toleration in

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the Cantons themselves, every one who does not profess the religion established, is banished the country; even Lutherans, and every other denomination of Protestants: but the disciples of CALVIN are liable to the same pains and disabilities as the Papists are in the Protestant Cantons, who look upon themselves as extremely moderate, that they only banish their brethren of a different sect, and permit them to sell their estates.

By these wholesome severities the Swiss Calvinists glory, that they have maintained almost a constant uniformity in their worship ever since the Reformation, though they have not been totally free from sectaries; for in the Canton of Bern two sects arose, the one called Pietists, and the other Anabaptists. The first did not advance any particular doctrines which were not professed by the established Church; but pretended to a greater sanctity of life, and purity of manners than their neighbours, and distinguished themselves by absenting from the publick worship, either on pretence of their unworthiness to approach the house of God, or that they could not edify by the discourses of worldly-minded men, whose lives were a contradiction to their doctrines. They make a covenant with all their senses not to indulge them in any pleasure, even to shun the smell of a rose or violet, and to turn away their eyes from every beautiful object: to avoid as much as possible what the world calls innocent pleasures, lest their affections should be tainted by any sensuality, and diverted from the love of him, who is the only hope and comfort of their beings. But their enemies, it seems, charged them with spiritual pride, fraud, and insincerity in their dealings; and that they made use of the mask of religion, only to surprize and impose on credulous people; and if any of them were found endeavouring to propagate their opinions, and make disciples, they were banished by the government. As to the Anabaptists, their opinions were propagated in the Canton of Bern but very lately. These, 'tis observed, scruple to acknowledge the power of the magistrate, or to take oaths of allegiance to the government they live under; but that which rendered them most obnoxious in Switzerland, is their holding it unlawful to bear arms, even in defence of their country; for here being no standing forces kept on foot, but the sovereign relying entirely upon the militia, if this opinion of the unlawfulness of bearing arms, should prevail, they must necessarily become a prey to the first invader. The government therefore observing, that their peasants who were enrolled in the militia, began to excuse themselves when they were commanded into the service, on scruples of conscience; thought it high time to punish the followers of this sect, with the utmost severity; fining and imprisoning some, and banishing others, and their banished teachers who returned into the country they hanged. At length they came to a resolution of banishing all Anabaptists in general; and above three hundred of them became refugees in Holland only, about the year 1710. But the same reasons the Swiss Presbyterians assign for persecuting their brethren that differ from them, for aught I see, may be urged by any other Protestant government: for instance, they urge, 1. That should they tolerate sectaries, these would infallibly join with their Roman Catholick neighbours against the established Church. 2. That no controversies are managed with more heat and unchristian malice,



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malice, than those which concern religion. And, 3. That these disputes ever have an influence on the state, and frequently endanger the subversion of the government; but if these be of any weight in Switzerland, and can justify persecution there, I cannot see why they would not excuse any other government in requiring uniformity in religion. But to proceed: The Swiss Clergy in some of their cities have a great influence, and take the liberty of teaching politics instead of divinity in their pulpits, endeavouring to work up the passions of their auditors to their own pitch: but in the Canton of Bern the government confines them to religious subjects, and keeps them in an entire dependance on the state.

## CHAP. X.

*Treats of the allies of the Switzers.*

Allies of  
the Switz-  
ers.

The Gri-  
sons.  
Three  
leagues.

Their si-  
tuation  
and ex-  
tent.

Chief  
towns of  
the Grison  
league.  
Ilantz, &c.

Chief  
towns of  
the league  
of the  
house of  
God.  
Coire, &c.

THE allies of the Switzers are, 1. The Grisons. 2. The town and county of Neuchâtel. 3. The Abbot and City of St Gall. 4. The Valtelians. 5. The republick of Geneva. And, 6. The towns of Malhausen and Bienne. The most considerable of whom are the Grisons. The country of the Grisons, antiently part of the Roman *Rætia*, consists of three provinces, united for their common defence. The first is stiled, the Grison, or Grey League, and communicates it's name to the whole country. The second is called, The league of the house of God, from the Bishop of Coire's residing in it. And the third, The league of the ten jurisdictions, as it comprehended that number of communities.

These three leagues, including the countries they have acquired by grant or conquest, viz. the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, are bounded by the circle of Suabia on the north; by the county of Tyrol on the east; by the states of Milan and Venice towards the south; and by the Cantons of Ury, Glaris, and Appenzel towards the west; being about an hundred miles in length, and sixty in breadth. In the Grison league are twenty-seven communities, in that of the House of God twenty-two, and in that of the Ten Jurisdictions fourteen.

The chief towns in the Grison league, are Ilantz, Disentis, Flintz, and Splagen. Ilantz is a little town, situate on the Rhine, about fifteen miles south-west of Chur, or Coire, where the assemblies of the three leagues meet.

The chief towns in the league of the House of God (which is stiled sometimes Caddee, and by the Germans, Gotthuspant) are Chur, or Coire, the capital of the three leagues, Cassaccia, Vespurn, and Bergon. Coire, the most considerable town of the Grison country, is situated at the foot of two mountains, on the banks of the river Plesur, little more than a mile from the Rhine, and about sixty to the southward of Constance, and was a free Imperial city till the year 1498, when it entered into the Grison league. The Bishop of Coire had some kind of jurisdiction in this city till the Reformation, and hath still a palace here, a cathedral, and some houses for the Cantons about it; but his revenues are at this day very mean, though he be a Prince of the Empire. The buildings are tolerable, considering the country, and the town is encompassed with a wall and fortifications, most of the inhabitants being Protestants.

The only town mentioned in the league of the Ten Jurisdictions, is that of Davas, or Tafas, situate among the mountains, two leagues to the eastward of Coire, of which I meet with nothing remarkable.

The manners and customs of the Grisons differ but little from those of the Switzers, any more than their soil and climate, and therefore do not need a particular description. They were formerly subject to a variety of Princes; some of them to petty Sovereigns, others to the Bishop of Coire, and more of them to the house of Austria. Those subject to the first, purchased their liberty, or became free by the extinction of the families of their lords. The Bishops of Coire were deprived of their power at the Reformation, and have now no share or influence in the government of that city, or the territories belonging to it. And the house of Austria have at several times fold all their dominions in this country, except the little lordship of Retzuns, of which the Grisons are the immediate sovereigns. And thus by degrees the Grisons becoming an independent and free people, erected themselves into a commonwealth, the sovereign power whereof is vested in the people; for every male of sixteen years of age and upwards, has a vote in matters of state, as in the petty Cantons of Switzerland. But then they have a better method of collecting their votes; for the people of every community first elect one to represent them in a Council or Dyet, and then the persons so elected, amounting to the number sixty-three, that is, one for every community, meet and debate of their affairs; and in these assemblies all resolutions are determined by a majority, as their elections are by a majority of each community, every one of which are governed by their particular laws and customs, chuse their own magistrates, and are indeed so many petty states. The several communities of each league also have their particular Dyets, where they are represented by their deputies, and chuse their chief and other officers annually. There are four other kinds of Dyets, composed of the representatives of the three leagues: the first is called the general Dyet, consisting of a deputy from every community, besides the three chiefs, which is held once a year in each of the three leagues by turns, the chief of the league where the Dyet is held being President. These meet the latter end of August, and having considered extraordinary affairs, proceed to settle the publick accounts, and determine controversies between the communities, which usually takes up about three weeks. The second Dyet consists of half the number of deputies, (two communities sending one by turns) these have no fixed times of meeting, but are convoked whenever their affairs require it. The third Dyet, denominated a congress, consists only of three deputies from each league, besides the three chiefs, and meets annually in the beginning of March at Coire, being held for the ordinary affairs of the government. The fourth is a meeting of the three chiefs only, who assemble a little before the general Dyet, to prepare matters for them. And every one of these assemblies may be summoned as often as the affairs of the government require it, or any foreign minister hath business to propose to them: but in all of them the deputies are so limited by their instructions, that they cannot take a final resolution on any matter in debate, but must resort to

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Chief  
town of  
the third  
league,  
Davas.

Govern-  
ment of  
the Gri-  
sons.



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the communities that sent them, to have it confirmed.

The subjects of the three leagues are a mixture of Protestants and Papists; but the Protestants making two thirds of the people, and all things being determined by a plurality of voices, my author looks upon this republic as a Protestant state; especially as they are allied only to the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern. There are only the two baillies of Meyenfeld and Malants within the three leagues, the Governors whereof are removed every two years: but they have eight or nine governments more in the Valteline, and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, which three provinces were formerly part of the duchy of Milan, and yielded to the Grisons by the Sforza's, Dukes of Milan, in consideration of their services in the wars. And notwithstanding these provinces are subject to the Grisons, the Roman Catholick religion only is tolerated here; for in all the treaties between the Sovereigns of Milan and the Grisons, it is stipulated, that no Protestant shall remain there more than six weeks in one year, during which time he shall not exercise his religion; nor are their Protestant Governors allowed to keep a Chaplain in their houses.

The Valteline.

The Valteline consists of one large valley, about ten leagues in length, abounding in corn, wine, and oil, and the most delicious fruits. The two other counties of Chiavenna and Bormio, are very fruitful, but not in so great a degree as the Valteline, which is as valuable for being a pass between Germany and Italy, as for its fertility; I shall therefore be a little more particular in describing the situation of this country: and I find that the Valteline is bounded by the country of the Grisons on the north; by Tyrol towards the east; by the territories of Venice on the south; and by the duchy of Milan towards the west; the chief towns whereof are Tirano, Sondrio, and Morbegno. Tirano, the capital of the province, is situated on the banks of the river Adda, about six miles to the northwards of the territories of Venice, and fifty south-west of Coire. Sondrio stands upon the Adda, forty miles south of Coire, and is a place of the greatest strength in the Valteline, and the residence of the Governor.

The situation and extent.

Chief towns. Tirano.

Sondrio.

Chiavenna, the situation.

Chiavenna town.

Pleury town.

Bormio county.

Bormio city.

The county of Chiavenna is of a small extent, and bounded by the country of the Grisons on the north and west; by the Valteline on the east; and by the four governments of Italy on the south; the chief towns whereof are Chiavenna and Pleury.

Chiavenna is a little town pleasantly situated at the foot of the mountains, upon the river Maira, which near this place falls into the lake of Como. It was antiently a large place, but had the misfortune, great part of it, to be buried by a mountain which hung over the town. And the like accident happened to the town of Pleury on the 25th of August 1618.

The county of Bormio is bounded by the country of the Grisons on the north; by the bishoprick of Trent on the east; by the Valteline towards the west; and by the Venetian territories on the south; being surrounded by inaccessible mountains: the chief town whereof is Bormio, situate on the Adda, three miles from its source.

The baillies in the Valteline, as well as those in Chiavenna and Bormio, are disposed of by each community of the Grisons by turns, and sold

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to the best bidder, who is always made Bailiff or Governor, and must be guilty of great exactions on the poor people under his power, before he can reimburse himself. The stated publick revenues of the Grison leagues are very inconsiderable; and therefore upon a war breaking out, or any other emergency, they tax themselves in proportion to their abilities, and the necessity of the service. The duties arising from goods carried through the country, constitute the principal part of the publick revenues, if we except the pensions paid them by foreign Princes, which are divided among the common people as well as the magistrates: though it may be difficult to distinguish one from the other, when they are not in the execution of their offices; for their Senators do not think it beneath them to keep inns for the entertainment of travellers, or to exercise other mean employments; and, in short, the Grisons may well be reckoned the refuse of Switzerland. What renders them most considerable is, the passes through their country between Germany and Italy, of which there are four only by which their country is accessible; and even these may be defended by a very small force. The first by the lake of Como, which preserves their communication with Italy. The second by the valley of Comonica, which gives them an entrance into the territories of Venice. The third by the value of the Inn, which lets them into Tyrol. And the fourth, by a bridge over the Rhine near Coire, they have a communication with Suabia and the Cantons of Switzerland.

The counties of Neuchâtel and Vallengin also are allies of the Switzers: they are subject to the same Prince, and form together a little sovereignty, bounded by the bishoprick of Basil and the territory of Biel towards the north; by the lake of Neuchâtel towards the east; by the Canton of Bern on the south, and by Franche Compté or Burgundy on the west; being about twelve leagues in length from north to south, and six in breadth from east to west. The air of this country near the lake is temperate; but very sharp in the mountainous parts of it. The soil is stony, but produces the best wine in Switzerland, by the sale whereof to foreigners the natives make great advantages. Their language is French, and they resemble that nation more in their manners and customs than the Germans, having more vivacity than the rest of the Switzers, with a good share of vanity.

They are in a manner a free independent people, notwithstanding they have always had a Prince for their head; for nothing is determined but by the three estates. They have also the privilege of chusing their own magistrates and standard-bearer, and are subject to no taxes but what they lay upon themselves; and the whole country is of the Reformed Religion, except the two villages of Cresier and Landeron, the inhabitants whereof are Roman Catholicks. Upon the death of the dukes of Nemours, the last Countess of Neuchâtel, as heiress of the house of Longueville, the States of the country were inclined to submit themselves to the late King of Prussia, as heir by his mother to the house of Orange, which derived its title to Neuchâtel from the marriage of one of its Princes with the heiress of the house of Chalons, the direct Sovereign of those two counties. Several competitors also arose at the same time, who claimed as heirs in blood to the house of Longueville; but the States rejected their claim, and adjudged it to the heirs of the house

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Neuchâtel and Vallengin.



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Chief  
towns.  
Neufcha-  
tel.

of Chalons; and the King of Prussia accordingly took possession of it. The chief towns in the county of Neufchatel, are, 1. Neufchatel, the capital; and, 2. Landeron.

1. Neufchatel, called by the Germans, *New-burg*, is situated at the north-east end of the lake to which it communicates its name; about twenty miles north-west of Bern, and fifteen north-west of Friburg. The town is well built, and adorned with several handsome fountains. It is governed by a Council of sixty Burghers, and enjoys large privileges; among which the most considerable is, that they are comburghers or fellow-citizens with the Canton of Bern, which is not only their protector, but umpire of all the differences between them and their Sovereign; and this Canton supported them in their religious and civil rights, while they were under the dominion of Popish Princes. The Counts of Neufchatel were formerly allied to the Cantons of Bern, Lucerne, Soleure, and Friburg; but since the investiture of the King of Prussia, the Popish States do not seem fond of renewing the alliance, and they may be looked upon now as allied only to Bern.

Landeron. 2. Landeron, situate near the lake of Biel, remarkable for the strength of its situation, and a noble castle, the residence of the Prince.

Vallengin county. The county of Vallengin lies about a league to the northward of Neufchatel, the chief town whereof is of the same name. It is situated near the foot of Mount Jura, which separates it from Burgundy, and is divided into five vallies, which contain about forty villages, the inhabitants whereof are generally Calvinists.

St Gall, Abbot, his territories. The Abbot and city of St Gall are also allies of the Switzers. The Abbot is Sovereign of a country called the Patrimony of St Gall, lying between the Canton of Zurich and the lake of Constance, as also of the county of Tockenbourg contiguous to it; extending about thirty-six miles in length, and twelve in breadth. He assumes the title of a Prince of the Empire, which is merely titular, having neither vote or session in it. He was also formerly Sovereign of the city of St Gall, and of good part of the Canton of Appenzel; but they have both of them purchased their liberty, and have now no dependance on him.

St Gall city. The city of St Gall is situated in the Turgow, about five miles south-west of the lake of Constance, and ten north-west of Appenzel, and forms a little commonwealth at present, without any territory belonging to it. The government consists of a Great and Little Council, as in other cities of Switzerland, and is of the aristocratical kind. Both the Abbot and town of St Gall have the privilege of sending Deputies to the General Dyets of the Swiss Cantons, who have session, but no votes there. It is one of the best towns of trade in the country, and particularly remarkable for its linnen manufacture, which employs the inhabitants of all ages and conditions. The whole country about them furnishes them with vast quantities of flax, out of which 'tis computed they make annually forty thousand pieces of linnen, of two hundred ells to the piece, which they send into Italy, Germany, and the adjacent countries, in packs carried by mules; by which traffick the natives are so enriched, that there is no place where there are found more wealthy Burghers in proportion to the extent of it; or where there are so few poor people. In the town of St Gall 'tis computed there are about ten thousand souls; the

government resembling that of the other cities of Switzerland. The abbey and the town are mortal enemies to each other, and every little offence on either side works them up into a flame. It is not long since, that a Monk, in one of their processions, carrying his cross erected through the town, with three or four thousand peasants attending him, occasioned a tumult among the citizens, who looked upon it as an unpardonable insult on their religion, and running to their arms, drew down four pieces of cannon to the gates of the abbey, vowing to be revenged for the affront; but the Catholics who attended the procession, being let out of the convent by a back way which led into the Abbot's territories, escaped their fury. The Abbot however was so exasperated that he raised an army, and blocked up that side of the town which faces his dominions, prohibiting his subjects to furnish the citizens with any manner of provisions: when they were just upon the point of entering into a war, the Cantons, their protectors, compromised the matter; ordering, that the townsmen, who had been too rash in taking up arms, should pay a fine of two thousand crowns; and on the other hand, that no priest should carry his cross through their town erected for the future, but let it hang about his neck, without touching it with either hand till he came within the precincts of the abbey. Neither the publick buildings of the town, the abbey, or the abbey-church, are very magnificent; but a collection of the inscriptions on the walls of this and other Popish churches, Mr ADDISON is of opinion, would give us a good idea of the Roman Catholick religion, and sufficiently expose the pride, vanity, and self-interestedness of the convents, the abuse of indulgencies, and, in a word, the superstition, credulity, and childishness of that religion. The town and abbey of St Gall have a Bear for their arms; and the Catholics, according to Mr ADDISON, have an uncommon veneration for the memory of that bear which was the occasion of it; of which one of the Monks of this abbey gave him the following relation, with tears of affection in his eyes. He related, that St GALL, whom they stile the great Apostle of Germany, found this country little better than a vast desert, occasioned, I presume, by its being over-run with bears and other beasts of prey; meeting therefore with a bear in his way on a very cold day, he commanded the brute to bring him a bundle of wood and make a fire, which the beast having performed, he commanded him to retire into the centre of the wood, and there continue the remainder of his life, which the bear readily obeyed, and neither he nor his relations ever molested mankind for the future: from whence their disciples are taught to believe, that their saints can restrain the rage of the fiercest animals, and alter their very natures.

The privileges claimed by the inhabitants of the county of Tockenbourg, having not long since been the occasion of a bloody war between the Protestant and Popish Cantons of Switzerland, the honourable writer above-mentioned, gives us the following account of the differences between the Abbot and that people. He relates, that the last Count of Tockenbourg having no children, granted such privileges to his subjects before he died, that he made them in a manner a free people: for he indulged them in making their own laws, and in choosing their own magistrates, and of entering into an alliance or comburghership with the Canton of Glaris, for supporting their rights; where-

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by the power of the Sovereign was so lessened, that the successor found little more left him than the right of collecting his revenues: all which was however ratified by Count RAREN, who succeeded as heir to this principality; who having enjoyed it about thirty years, sold it to the Abbot of St Gall, with an express reservation of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants; to which the Abbot also consented, and ratified them afresh, though he afterwards endeavoured to abolish their new privileges, and particularly the com-burghership with Glaris, which was their great support; which at length he found means to do, by insinuating himself so far into the good opinion of the magistrates of Glaris, that they withdrew their protection from the Tockenburghers, and suffered their Abbot to tyrannize over them at pleasure. Whereupon they had afterwards recourse to the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern, who, for reasons of state, as well as religion, espoused their cause, and sent a solemn deputation to the Abbot, requiring him to permit them to enjoy their religious and civil rights; which he refusing, the Deputies of the two Cantons went into the county of Tockenbourg, and saw them reinstalled in their antient privileges. But religion being concerned in the dispute, the Catholick Cantons of Lucerne, Ury, Switz, Underwald, and Zug, took part with the Abbot; as the Protestant Cantons of Bern and Zurich did with the Tockenburghers; and after several attempts to accommodate matters by treaty in vain, a war broke out in the year 1712, wherein the Protestants defeated the forces of the Popish Cantons in two pitched battles, taking from them the county of Baden, and several other territories: and the Popish Cantons being no longer able to keep the field against their victorious enemies, a treaty was again set on foot by the mediation of the French Ambassador, and a peace concluded at Arraw, on the terms above-recited in the chapter containing the modern history of this country. But still the Cantons of Zurich and Bern, kept possession of the abbey of St Gall, and other places, which they had taken from that Abbot, he refusing to restore the Tockenburghers to their privileges: for the Abbot styling himself a Prince of the Empire, though he hath neither vote or session in the Dyets of the Empire, appealed to the Emperor as his Sovereign, alledging that Tockenbourg was a fief of the Empire, and if there was any dispute between him and his subjects, it ought to be determined in the Empire, and not by the neighbouring Cantons: and this was a doctrine so extremely pleasing to the Emperor, that he gave the Abbot some hopes of assisting him against the Protestant Cantons, if they refused to abide by his determination of the matter, at the same time offered his mediation to compose their differences. But the Cantons of Bern and Zurich, refused to accept it; alledging, that they were a free people, and had no dependance on the Empire; and if they should submit their disputes to the Emperor, this would give him a handle to renew his pretensions to their whole country. And in this state, things remained till the year 1718, when the old Abbot being dead, and another of a more pacifick temper succeeding him, the Protestant Cantons, to avoid the intermeddling of any foreign powers in their affairs, agreed to restore all the territories that had been taken from the Abbot, and to acquiesce in more moderate terms for their allies the Tockenburghers, than

they had at first insisted on: particularly, it was agreed, that the Tockenburghers should acknowledge the Abbot for their Sovereign, and do him homage accordingly. That the Council of Regency should consist of sixty persons, chosen out of the several districts of the country by the Commons, whereof one half should be Calvinists, and the other Catholicks, and no member be changed as long as he was capable of serving, and behaved well. That this council should elect the President, his Vicar, and a Treasurer. That the Vicar du Banderet and his officers should be alternately of the religions above mentioned. That the Secretaries, Commissaries, and Sautiers, should be as many of the one religion as of the other. That this Council should assemble once a year at least. That the judiciary of the county, should consist of a President and twenty-four Judges; the President always to be the Bailiff of Tockenbourg, who with the Judges, should be appointed by the Abbot, and consist of an equal number of each religion. This court to take cognizance of all criminal causes, and all fines and confiscations to belong to the Abbot. The court of appeals to be composed of an equal number of each religion, one half to be appointed by the Abbot, and the other by the Council of Regency. That there should be only the two religions above-mentioned tolerated in the county; and the ministers of the Reformed should be allowed to exercise discipline, and not be subject to the visitation of those of another religion. That if any dispute should arise for the future, between the Abbot and his subjects, each party should chuse three persons out of the Cantons, who should determine the matters in difference.

The republick of Valais is another allie of the Switzers, which takes its name from a valley, inhabited by the subjects of this little commonwealth; which extends from the lake of Geneva to the mountain called La Fourche, where the Rhone hath its source, and is divided into two parts by that river, which runs through the middle of it, and frequently overflows great part of the country. This county is called by the Germans *Wallisserand* and *Valinza*; and is bounded by Switzerland on the north and east; by the Milanese and the duchy of Aoust on the south; and by Savoy on the west; and is about eighty miles in length, and from ten to twenty in breadth. It is separated from the Canton of Bern and Savoy by mountains of a prodigious height, which are always covered with snow; and is usually divided into the Upper and Lower Valais: the Upper Valais is again subdivided into seven independent communities, resembling those of the Grisons, and the Lower into six. Their mountains afford pasture for numerous herds of cattle in the summer, and the valley produces corn and wine; and a great variety of delicious fruits; but it is to the industry of the inhabitants, that this fertility of the low lands is in a great measure to be ascribed, who with incredible labour, convey the water from the rocks and mountains, by wooden troughs, or channels, for two miles together in some places, being obliged to cut a passage through the rocks to lay them in. The harvest continues in this country from May to October, being sooner or later, according to the situation of the place. In the compass of one day's travelling we find a variety of seasons, winter on one side a mountain, and summer on the other; while the spring appears in all its beauty in a third place. 'Tis said, there are

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mines of silver, copper, iron, and lead in some of their hills; but, I presume, scarce worth the working, or the poor Swis, would have been masters of more treasure than we find they are. The chief towns are Syon the capital, Martinach, and St Maurice.

Syon, the *Sedunum* of the antients, a town of *Gallia Narbonensis*, called by the Germans *Sitte*, stands upon the river Sitte, which a little below falls into the Rhone, being about fifty miles to the southward of Bern, and sixty to the eastward of Geneva. It is the seat of the Bishop, who is a Prince of the Empire, and was formerly Sovereign of great part of the country; but his power is much diminished of late, and the government changed into a republick, though the Bishop still presides in their councils as their head, and hath a considerable influence on their affairs. The seven communities of the Upper Valais (to which the Lower is subject) send Deputies to their Dyets in the same manner as the Grisons do, and their commonwealth is governed in the same manner. The Valesians were antiently allied to the Canton of Bern, but are now much more nearly allied to the Catholick Cantons, both by interest and inclination, as they are themselves of the Catholick religion.

The next allie of the Switzers I shall mention is the city of Geneva, which stands at the south-west end of the lake Lemman, or Geneva, in the latitude of forty-six degrees, twenty-five minutes, thirty miles south-west of Lausanne, and seventy south-west of Bern, being divided in two parts by the river Rhone, the south part of which is much the larger, and stands upon a hill; the other, which belongs to the country of Gex, is called Gervais, and stands upon a flat. There is a communication between them, by three wooden bridges; travellers take particular notice of two handsome streets, the one extending along the banks of the river and lake, and the other ascending the hill. The houses lately built, are generally of hewn stone, but the rest make no extraordinary figure; the most remarkable of their publick buildings are. 1. The Church of St PETER, formerly the cathedral, a handsome pile, wherein is the tomb of HENRY II, Duke of Rohan. 2. The town-house. And, 3. The publick library; but these don't seem to merit a particular description. In short, the town is not to be admired so much for it's beauty, as for the water, the fine walks and prospects about it, which render it a pleasant abode. The walls are upwards of two miles in circumference, and the fortifications sufficient to prevent a sudden surprize, but would not be able to endure a long siege. It's greatest security consists in the protection of it's allies, the Cantons of Bern and Zurich, and in it's being the interest of France, to prevent Savoy's taking possession of it, and of Savoy, that it should not fall into the hands of France. Otherwise, either of these powers, whose territories are almost contiguous to the walls of their city, might soon reduce the place. The inhabitants, 'tis computed, amount to about thirty thousand men, of whom, five thousand may be able to bear arms; though in their arsenal, which is kept in admirable order, there are arms for twelve thousand men; and here they still preserve the scaling-ladders and arms they took from the Savoyards, when they attempted to surprize the city. The lower rank of people are a clownish generation, conversing with their cattle all the summer, whom they drive up the mountains about the middle of

May, living in huts, and managing the business of the dairy till the winter returns, and then they come back to their dwellings in the town. The people of condition are esteemed polite, many French and Italians of the Calvinistical strain, residing amongst them, and several other nations making it their road to Italy. This town was antiently under the dominion of the Romans, and afterwards of the Burgundians. It was once also an Imperial town, and the Dukes of Savoy have had the sovereignty of it. The Counts and Bishops of Geneva, seem for some time to have had a mixed jurisdiction in the place; but at the Reformation their Bishop was their Sovereign in temporals as well as spirituals. In the year 1533, the people expelled their Bishop, and erected a form of government, resembling that of the neighbouring cities of Switzerland; for they have a Great Council of two hundred, in whom the legislative power is lodged, and another chosen out of it, consisting of five and twenty members, who have the executive power: these, however, advise with a third Council, called the Council of State, consisting of sixty members, taken out of the Great Council. Sixteen of the members of the Great Council, are always of the degree of Burghermasters, or Syndicks, four of whom are in office every year; the first presiding in matters of State: the second hath the direction of the hospitals: the third has the care of the militia: and the fourth is called the Burghermaster of the Reformation, who sees all orders and acts of their Synod and State put in execution. They have also their Treasurer, and other officers of State, as in other Swis republicks. Causes are heard in the first instance, before five members of the Lesser Council, and others associated with them. The government is of the aristocratical kind; but of late years the common people have proved mutinous, and compelled their superiors to part with something of their power; alledging that they had formerly a greater share in the administration, and have been unjustly deprived of their rights and privileges by the leading men. Their Church is true Presbyterian, having been formed by JOHN CALVIN in person, about the year 1535. It is now governed by their city clergy, who are fifteen in number, and the Burghermaster for Reformation, with six others elected out of the Great Council, and this assembly is called the Consistory; but their decrees are of no force, till they are ratified by the Great Council. Their people in the neighbouring country, make thirteen congregations, whose pastors at certain times of the year assemble with the city clergy, and form a synod, making acts for the government of the Church within their little territory, which are also ratified by the Great Council. They take care to keep their clergy humble in this State, by allowing them moderate salaries, of fifty or three-score pounds a year a-piece, though as every thing is cheap, this will preserve them from extreme want. The Presbyterians here are in some instances, as rigid as their brethren in this part of the world. They will allow of neither cards, drinking, or dancing; but then they are not near so strict in keeping the sabbath, as the English and Scotch Presbyterians, for they allow and even authorize all manly exercises on Sundays, after divine service; the gravest of them go to bowls, and their militia are then exercised by an act of State.

The ground about Geneva is not unfruitful, consisting of gardens, vineyards, meadows, and rich pastures

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tures on the neighbouring hills; but their territories are very small, being hemmed in by the dominions of France or Savoy, and the lake on three sides, and on the fourth, their lands scarce extend four miles in length. The lake, it hath been observed already, is about sixty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; and produces a great variety of good fish, especially trouts, which weigh forty and fifty pounds a fish; and 'tis said, in some places, not to be less than four or five hundred fathoms deep. The town has a good trade, which would be much better, if the Rhone was navigable from hence into France; but about ten miles below the city, there is such a cataract, or water-fall, that no vessels can pass it, after which the river takes it's course under ground, rising again at Seyffel; from whence it is navigable to the mouth. Their principal manufactures are those of gold and silver lace, silks, and shammy leather. And there is an university here, but no salaries settled on the Professors, whose gain arises chiefly from their pupils and disciples. The language of the common people, is the Savoyard, or a very bad dialect of the French tongue, but people of condition speak it in greater purity. This republick was antiently allied to the Catholick, as well as Protestant Cantons, but since they have adhered to the doctrine of CALVIN, the Catholicks seem to have dropped their alliance with this city.

Mr ADDISON gives an elegant description of the city and lake of Geneva, and the neighbouring country, though his description of the town is but partial. The greatest part of the city, he observes, stands upon a hill, having it's views bounded on all sides by several ranges of mountains, at a considerable distance, which leave open a wonderful variety of beautiful prospects. These mountains cover it from all winds, except the south and north, to the last of which, the natives of Geneva ascribe the healthfulness of the air: for as the Alps surround them on all sides, they form a vast basin, where there would be a constant stagnation of vapours in this watery country, did not the north wind put them in motion, and scatter them from time to time. Another effect the Alps have on Geneva is, that the sun rises later here, and sets sooner, than it does in other places of the same latitude, the sun gilding the tops of the neighbouring mountains, half an hour after it is down with them. These mountains also add much to the summer-heats, and form an horizon that hath something in it very singular and agreeable. On one side lie a long tract of hills, that go under the name of Mount Jura, covered with vineyards and pasturage; on the other, huge precipices of naked rocks, rising up in a thousand odd figures, and cleft in some places, so as to discover high mountains of snow, which lie several leagues behind them. Towards the south, the hills rise more insensibly, and leave the eye a vast uninterrupted prospect of many miles: but the most beautiful view is the lake, and the borders of it, which lie north of the town. This lake resembles a sea, in the colour of it's waters, and the storms that are raised in it, and in summer hath something like an ebb and flow, which arises from the melted snow that falls into it more plentifully at noon, than at other times of the day. It is encompassed by the dominions of five different powers, namely, those of France, Savoy, Bern, the bishoprick of Sion, or the Valais, and the republick of Geneva. The right side of the lake going from Geneva belongs to the Duke of Savoy, and is extremely well cultivated:

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here the traveller is entertained with a variety of prospects, consisting of woods, vineyards, meadows, and corn-fields, which lie on the borders of it, and run up the sides of the Alps. The nearer we approach the east end of the lake, the mountains on both sides grow thicker and higher, till at length they almost meet, and we often see on the tops of the mountains several sharp rocks, which stand above the rest; for the soil, which originally covered these mountains, and rendered them much higher than they are at present, having been washed away by the rains, has left the veins of stone bare, which supported them. The natural histories of Switzerland contain various accounts of the fall of such rocks, and the mischief they have done, when their foundations have mouldered away with age, or been rent by an earthquake. Those vast receptacles of snow, which are found on the mountain tops, and in the hollows of the Alps, the ingenious Mr ADDISON is of opinion, are the occasion of those periodical fountains that are found in Switzerland, and flow only at certain hours of the day; for as these mountains cast their shadows upon one another, they hinder the sun's shining on several places at certain times, and consequently prevent the sun's melting the snow that covers them some hours every day. Whenever it happens therefore, that a fountain takes it's rise from these reservoirs of snow, it will naturally begin to flow on such hours of the day, as the snow begins to melt; but as soon as the sun leaves it again to freeze and harden, the fountain dries up, and receives no more supplies, till about the same time the next day, when the heat of the sun again sets the snows a running, that fall into the same little conduits and canals, and consequently break out, and discover themselves always in the same place. But to return to the lake of Geneva: at the east end the river Rhone falls into it, bringing with it a prodigious quantity of water in the summer; for the snows melting at this season, both lakes and rivers are then much higher than in the winter: but the Rhone does not preserve it's water unmixed with those of the lake, as some writers have reported; there is indeed a stream discernable for about a quarter of a mile from it's entrance, but it is afterwards wholly mixed and lost with the waters of the lake; nor is there any manner of current to be perceived till we come within a quarter of a mile of Geneva. The greatest town on the lake next to Geneva, is Lausanne, which sometimes communicates it's name to it; but the town of Morges, between this place and Geneva, is looked upon as the best port, and has some appearance of trade. There is a noble prospect of Geneva from the lake, which as we approach the town grows narrower gradually, till at length it changes it's name into the Rhone, turning a great number of mills in it's passage through the town, and is extremely rapid, though it's waters are very deep.

Geneva is much the politest town in Switzerland, according to Mr ADDISON, and may be looked upon as the court of the Alps. Hither the Protestant Cantons frequently send their children for education: but notwithstanding some think that the Genevois have been of late refined by the conversation of the French Protestants, who make up one third of it's inhabitants; others are of opinion, they are rather corrupted than polished, having forgot the advice given them in their Great Council by Father CALVIN, who there recommended to them above all things, an exemplary modesty

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modesty and humility, and as great a simplicity in their manners as in their religion; and their endeavouring to make a more splendid figure at this day, 'tis thought, will not turn much to their advantage. 'Tis well, says my author, if the great riches they are proud of being thought masters of, do not one day tempt the French King to reduce this wealthy town; for they are pleased to boast that some of their merchants are worth four hundred thousand pounds a man, who do not however spend five hundred pounds a year. But there is one thing very commendable in this, as well as in other Swiss republicks, and that is their laying up corn in their publick granaries in plentiful years, and retailing it out to the common people at a moderate price when it is scarce. At Geneva three of the little Council are deputed for this office, who are obliged to store up grain sufficient to serve the people at least two years in case of a famine; but none of these three directors are allowed to furnish the granaries from their own stock, that they may have no temptation to impose on the publick, either in the price or goodness of the commodity; nor may they buy any corn, within twelve miles of Geneva. All publick-houses are obliged to buy their corn of the State; so that it is changed every two years, and is not in danger of spoiling by being kept too long. And this is one of the most considerable branches of the publick revenue, such corn being sold out much dearer than it is bought.

Bienne.

The little town of Bienne, or Biel, allied to the Canton of Bern, is situated at the head of the lake of Bienne, ten miles south-west of Soleure, and fifteen north-east of Neufchatel; the Bishop of Bazil, or Porentru, hath some kind of sovereignty of it, but so limited, that they are generally esteemed a free people, for they elect their own magistrates, and are governed by their own laws, only they are obliged to serve him in his wars, where the Canton of Bern are not parties; for they are comburghers and fellow-citizens with that Canton, which protects them in their religious and civil rights, being of the same persuasion in religious matters.

Mulhausen.

The last allie of the Switzers I meet with, is the city of Mulhausen, situate near Bazil, upon the river Ill in the Upper Alsatia, which is indeed, beyond the limits of Switzerland. It is a petty republick, of a very small extent, which embraced the Reformation, at the same time the city of Bazil did, on which account these two cities concluded a treaty of comburghership; by which means Mulhausen became a member of the Helvetic body, but most strictly allied to the Protestant Cantons: for whatever alliances may have been made between the Protestant and Catholick States of Switzerland, little benefit is to be expected from them; each member infallibly adheres to those of the same religion, let the controversy be what it will.

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*Treats of the interest of Switzerland.*

The interest of the Switzers.

THE Switzers we find situated in the heart of Europe: Their country surrounded by inaccessible mountains, a hardy race of people, able to defend themselves against all the world, if they were united, but much more formidable before religion divided them into parties and factions, than they are at present. The Protestants are

much the stronger indeed, if no foreigner was to interpose in their quarrels; but as they are encompassed by Catholick Princes and States, who are always ready to assist their brethren against hereticks, the Protestant Cantons have no reason to look upon themselves to be in a state of perfect security. They were successful indeed in the war 1712, and still retain what they conquered of the Popish Cantons, but seem to have irritated them to that degree, that it is a question now, whether the restoration of those territories would reconcile them; for those of the Popish communion frequently threaten the Protestants to call in some foreign power, and even to submit themselves to a strange dominion, rather than not be compleatly revenged of their enemies. It is true, it cannot be the interest of the Germans, to stand by and see the French possessed of Switzerland; and yet, if France should espouse the cause of the Popish Cantons, it would be very dangerous for the Protestants to fly to the Emperor's protection, who to this day pretends a title to their country. They would in these circumstances be reduced to a very hard Dilemma, namely, whether they would take the French or Germans to be their masters; for nothing is more evident than that if the French, or German, was to join either party, the other would not be able to stand its ground without foreign assistance. On the other hand, if the Swiss were united, they need not fear all the forces of their neighbours. On the contrary, they would be courted by the nations that surround them; for they are exceeding populous, and most of their able men enrolled in their militia, which, for the reasons abovementioned, are very near as good as veteran troops; and consequently in any contests between France and the Empire, they would be able to turn the scale to which-ever side they inclined. There is no doubt therefore, that it is abundantly the interest of this people more than any other to be unanimous, which they can't but be sensible of; and yet such are their misunderstandings, or rather implacable malice against each other, that it does not require the gift of prophecy to foretel, that they will never be united again. Religious feuds which happen between people of the same country, where their passions are perpetually whetted by opposition, are seldom appeased but by the utter ruin of the one or the other party. The weaker side will rather run the hazard of being conquered and enslaved by foreigners, than be tyrannized over by a domestick faction of a different communion. The neighbouring powers indeed condemn their folly, and do not court their alliance as formerly: Instead of paying every Canton a pension to purchase their friendship, they have nothing to do at present, but to play the one against the other, and offer their protection to the weaker side, which will as surely engage them in their interest as a stipend used to do. This is the case of the Popish Cantons, who will in a few years possibly become a province of France; whose Prince they already look upon as their protector. There is no nation courts them more, or takes off more of their troops, which is esteemed the greatest favour that can be done to a Swiss republick; because it is a provision for many of their leading men, who are at the same time trained up in the art of war, on which account they are at their return more respected than any class of men in their country.

The reason the French employ more of the Swiss than any other nation does, is, because their own



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own foot are not of a size able to stand the shock of the German and Dutch infantry (and it would be the same with their horse and dragoons, if they were not all of them pick'd men). The Confederates in the late wars, 'tis true, had some Swiss among their troops, but the bulk of their mercenaries came from Germany and Denmark, whose troops are very little, if at all inferior to those of the Swiss. These the French could not have, because in a different interest, and therefore were under a necessity of entertaining greater numbers of Swiss than the Allies did. And I believe the Dutch value the Swiss more than any other troops, because they raise them in the Protestant Cantons, who are of the same sect, and can rely on their fidelity, more than on the troops of any neighbouring Prince or State, whose Sovereigns are more likely to be in an opposite interest: Nay, it seems the Dutch retain several Swiss regiments in their service, in time of peace, though their pay is higher than that of their own soldiers, and at the same time disband their national troops. And here I can't avoid making one observation on the disciples of CALVIN, or the reformed churches in general, which is, That let them be never so far distant from each other, and separated by seas or inaccessible mountains, still they maintain a constant correspondence, and promote their common interest with all their might. The King of Prussia and the Hollander, whenever they have the least intimation that those of their communion are in danger of being oppressed, leave no stone unturned to relieve them; and particularly, interest themselves in the affairs of their Swiss brethren, whenever they find them threatened by any neighbouring power. And perhaps the Protestant Cantons, relying upon the mediation of such mighty supporters, are the less solicitous of cultivating a friendship with the Cantons of a different persuasion, imagining that by the countenance of such powerful allies, they shall be able to maintain their ground against their enemies of the Popish religion, both at home and abroad; not considering that if the Cantons of the Roman communion should unite their arms either with France or the Emperor, they might be dispossessed of their country before any of their distant friends could be apprized of their distress. And though they are sure to have the Emperor for them whenever they are attacked by France, and on the contrary, the French for them if they are attacked by the Emperor; yet it is highly probable, that which side soever remains conqueror, their privileges would be at least retrenched, if they were not made a province to the one or the other. There is scarce an instance where different factions have called in foreigners to their assistance, but the constitution of that kingdom has undergone very great alterations, if it has not been entirely destroyed. In every view therefore, it must be of the last importance to the Swiss to remain united, they can never otherwise make the figure in the world they have done, or indeed hope long to remain a nation.

'Tis true, the disciples of each communion, where they happen to be intermingled, as in some of the lesser Cantons, and in many of their common bailliages, can scarce avoid giving daily provocations to each other: the very rites and ceremonies of one religion are offensive to the people of the other, and every solemn procession proves a fresh occasion of a quarrel; while the Priests of each religion, out of an indiscreet zeal, march

as it were in triumph upon these occasions, and cannot forbear insulting their opponents. The many arts that are used in making proselytes, administer also fuel to the flame, and a private conversation sometimes arms the whole country. The Protestants relate, that a Popish Priest having applied himself to one of their disciples, in order to reconcile him to the Romish Church, and finding no other arguments would prevail, threatened that the devil would fetch him on a certain day, if he remained obstinate to the offers of grace. The fellow being apprehensive that some trick would be played him, procured two of his comrades to keep him company at the time appointed; and while he was thrashing in his barn, a figure appeared to him in so monstrous a shape, that his companions imagined Satan was come for him in good earnest, and immediately took to their heels; but whether the countryman had more courage than his friends, or was frightened to that degree he could not tell what he did, does not appear: however, certain it is, he fell upon the pretended phantom with his flail, and finding it to be composed of flesh and bones, did not leave off thrashing till he had beat his brains out; and coming to examine him more narrowly, found that this was the very Priest who had threatened him with this apparition, which he did not scruple proclaiming in the neighbourhood. Whereupon the Catholics immediately assembled, and drew up a charge against the husbandman for murdering one of the fathers of their church: and such was the fury of both parties, that nothing could appease them till they had recourse to arms, and had engaged almost the whole country of Switzerland in the quarrel, which lasted a great while before it was made up. Every little trespass also is ready to throw them into a state of war: some young Students of Geneva, it seems, going out a shooting, and having just passed the territories of the republick, happened to shoot a fowl which belonged to the Duke of Savoy's subjects: this occasioned an insurrection of the mob in each country, and some on both sides were killed in the fray: nor did it end here, but the Duke of Savoy demanded an hundred thousand crowns of the city of Geneva, for every fowl that was killed, and that the offenders should be delivered up to his mercy: nor could the republick pacify him till it had cost them considerable sums.

Another occasion of frequent misunderstandings I find is, an agreement that both the Switzers and Grisons entered into with the State of Milan, and other Catholick powers, above an hundred years since, for the security of the Catholick religion in the countries granted to them; wherein it was particularly stipulated, That no Protestant should be suffered to settle there: which article not being much attended to at first, there happens to be several Protestant families in those countries which have continued there these hundred years. Of this the Popish Powers now complain, requiring that they may be banished the country, in pursuance of the above-mentioned treaties. The Protestants, on the other hand, thinking it unreasonable that their brethren should be driven from their dwellings after so long a settlement, refuse to comply with the demand. Nor are these differences like to be composed in haste, especially in the Valteline, the Emperor refusing to renew his alliance with the Grisons, unless all the Protestants are expelled the country. From these instances



CHAP.  
XI.

stances it appears, how unhappy it is to have two different religions established in one country, the disciples of each perpetually struggling for dominion, or to be revenged on their opponents for every injury or affront they conceive to be offered to them by the votaries of a different communion. Much happier are the Dutch republicks, who, notwithstanding they tolerate all opinions in religion, suffer only the disciples of one to have any share in the government: nor will they bear an occasional conformist amongst them; but if a magistrate goes to a conventicle or place of divine worship which is only tolerated, and whose rites are not conformable to those of the national church, he is ever after rendered incapable of any place of profit or trust in the state: though, 'tis true, there are other kingdoms and states whose governors countenance every faction, and dread nothing more than an union among their subjects, lest they should come to consider their common interests, which are too often opposite to those of their respective courts.

Mr ADDI-  
SON'S Re-  
marks on  
part of  
Switzer-  
land.  
Lausanne.

I shall conclude the description of Switzerland with some of Mr ADDISON'S observations in his travels through this country. At Lausanne, the largest town on the Lemman lake next to that of Geneva, this gentleman took a view of the wall of the cathedral church, which was opened by an earthquake, and closed again some years after by another: the crack indeed was but just discernable when he saw it, but there were several people in the town then living, who had formerly passed through the breach. The country between Lausanne and Geneva, he observes, is the most fruitful and best cultivated of any among the Alps. 'Twas formerly under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy, but taken from him by the Canton of Bern, and confirmed to that Canton by the treaty of St Julian. About five miles from Nyon, they still shew the ruins of CÆSAR'S wall, which extended eighteen miles in length, viz. from Mount Jura, to the banks of the lake of Geneva, as CÆSAR has described it in the first book of his Commentaries.

The coun-  
try of  
Vaud.Cæsar's  
wall.

Friburg.

From Lausanne my author travelled to Friburg, the capital of one of the largest Popish Cantons, the situation whereof is so irregular among rocks and precipices, that they are forced to climb up to several parts of it by stair-cases of a prodigious ascent. The college of Jesuits here is said to be the finest in Switzerland, from whence there are several beautiful prospects: and they have a collection of pictures, representing most of the fathers of their order, among whom are some natives of England, by us stiled Rebels, and by them Martyrs. The inscription under HENRY GARNET relates, that when the Heretics could not prevail on him, either by force or promises to change his religion, they hanged and quartered him. Two leagues from Friburg there is a little hermitage, esteemed one of the greatest curiosities in Switzerland. It lies in the prettiest solitude imaginable, among woods and rocks, which at first view incline one to be serious. The hermit had lived here five and twenty years, and with his own hands wrought out of the rock a pretty chapel, a sacristy, a chamber, kitchen, cellar, and other conveniences. His chimney

A remark-  
able her-  
mitage.

is carried up through the whole rock, notwithstanding the rooms lie very deep; and he has cut the side of the rock into a level for a garden, to which he brings the earth he finds in the neighbouring parts, and has made such a spot of ground of it, as furnishes out a kind of luxury for a hermit; and as he observed the drops of water distilling from several parts of the rock, by following the veins of them he has made himself two or three fountains in the bowels of the mountain, which serve his table, and water his little garden.

CHAP.  
XI.

The ways from Friburg to Bern are very bad, High-ways. great part of them through woods of fir-trees, of which they have such great quantities, that they mend their high-ways in this country with wood instead of stone. The publick walks by the great church at Bern are worth the viewing: they are raised extremely high, and that their weight might not break the walls and pilasters which surround them, they are built upon arches and vaults. These walks afford the noblest summer's prospect in the world, for here you have the full view of a huge range of mountains that lie in the country of the Grisons, and are covered with snow. They are about fourscore miles distance from Bern, but their height and colour make them seem much nearer. The cathedral stands on one side of these walks, and is esteemed the most magnificent Protestant church in Europe, out of England. The town of Bern is well supplied with water, there being a great variety of beautiful fountains at equal distances, from one end of their streets to the other.

Bern,

Soleure, or Solothurn, our author looks upon as Soleure. the politest town in this country. The French King, LEWIS XIV, advanced large sums towards the building of the Jesuits Church here, which is esteemed the finest modern building in Switzerland; and the whole fortifications round the town are faced with marble.

Here, and in all other parts of Switzerland, the wine that grows in the Pais de Vaud on the banks of the lake of Geneva, is very cheap, notwithstanding the great distance between the vineyards and the places where the wine is sold; for their navigable rivers lie so commodiously, that after half a day's land-carriage from the lake, they are embarked on those rivers, and carried down the stream to Bern, Soleure, and all the richest parts of Switzerland.

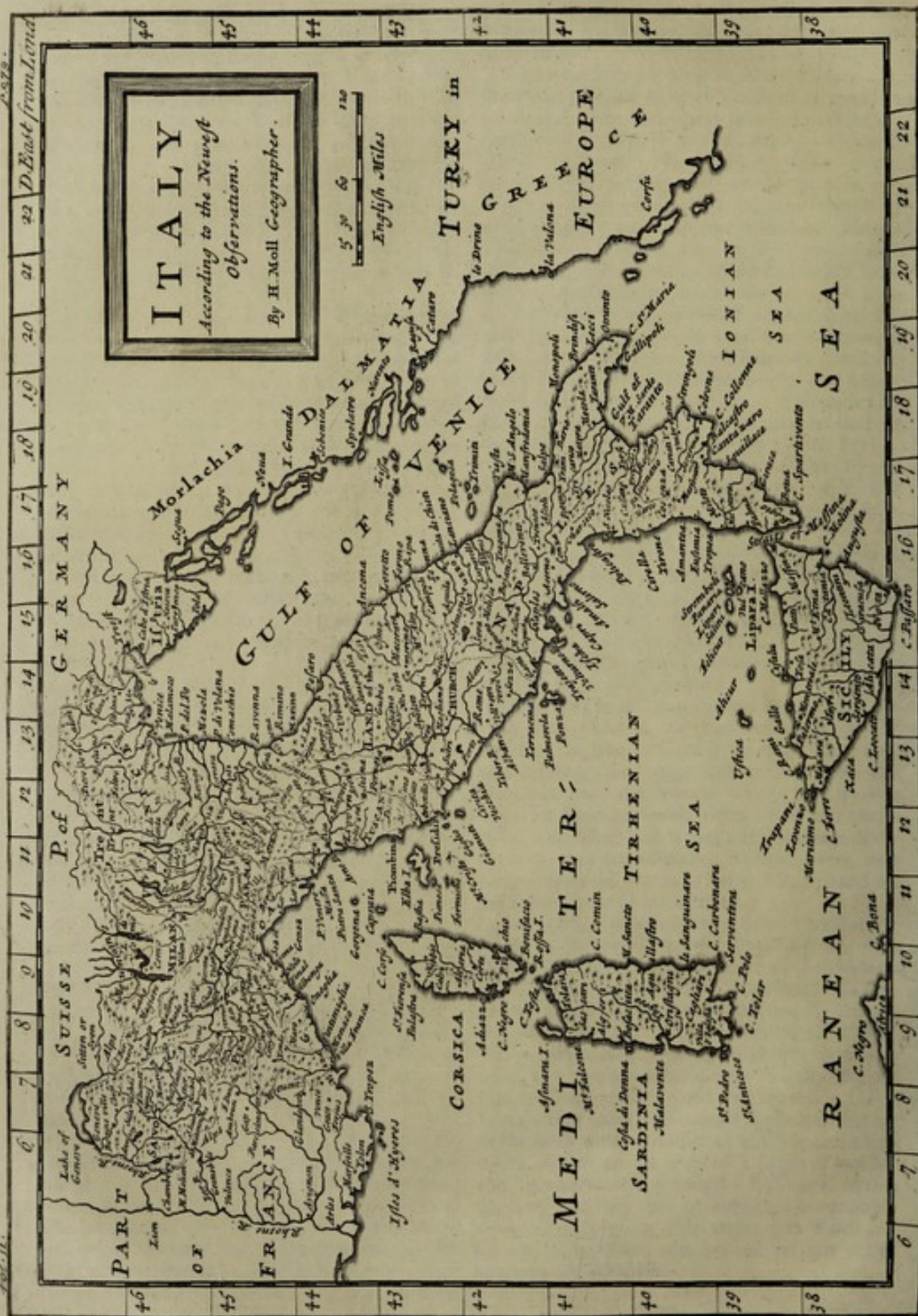
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water-car-  
riage.

Our author travelled from Soleure to Zurich, Zurich. which he observes is prettily situated on the lake of the same name, and is one of the handsomest towns in the country. The town-house is a fine pile of building, and has in the frontispiece pillars of a beautiful black marble streaked with white, which is dug in the neighbouring mountains, and the whole building is so well designed, that it would make a good figure even in Italy; though they have in a manner spoiled the beauty of the walls with abundance of childish Latin sentences, which consist often of a jingle of words: and 'tis observable, by several inscriptions, of this country, that their men of learning are extremely delighted in playing little tricks with words and figures. The Swiss wits are not yet got out of anagram and acrostick.











# THE PRESENT STATE OF ITALY.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of Italy. Of the air, seas, lakes, rivers, springs, mountains, and woods; and contains some general remarks on the modern inhabitants.*

### CHAP. I.

Name of Italy.

Shape, situation, and extent.

Boundaries.

The air.

**A**S to the name of this celebrated country, I meet with nothing certain, or even probable, in those writers who have pretended to shew us the reason of it's being called Italy; and therefore chuse to omit all random guesses of this nature. Nor was it antiently comprehended under any one common name; but as it was cantoned out into several little sovereignties, each of them had a name appropriated to it, as will appear in the description of the respective provinces or divisions.

Italy, according to the common observation, resembles a boot, or leg with part of the thigh, and extends in length from the north-west to the south-east, that is, from the foot of Mount St Bernard (a mountain of the Alps) to the city of Otranto, six hundred miles in a direct line; or if allowances are made for the winding of the roads, and the several ascents and descents of the Apennine mountains, we may reckon it seven hundred miles in length; if we turn aside to the right, and travel to Reggio, the most southern part of it, which lies upon the straits between Italy and Sicily, we shall find the whole extent to be eight hundred miles. The breadth is very unequal, for if we measure the boot-top under the Alps, it is at least four hundred English miles; in the calf of the leg about an hundred and twenty; and towards the instep about eighty in breadth; extending from thirty-eight degrees twenty minutes, to forty-six degrees northern latitude; and from the seventh to the nineteenth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; and is bounded by the Alps, which separate it from France, Switzerland, and Germany, towards the north and north-west; by the gulph of Venice or the Adriatick Sea and the county of Trent towards the east; by the Ionian Sea and streight of Messina towards the south; and by the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian Sea towards the west.

The air of Italy is very different according to the situation of the respective places: upon the Apennine mountains it is exceeding cold; on

the south-side of them the heats are troublesome, and from June to September in the Campania about Rome very unhealthful; tho' hither it was the great men of antient Rome used to retire in summer for the benefit of the air; whereas the modern Romans fly the country at this season, and chuse the city as much more healthful: the reason of which difference it is supposed proceeds from the country's being in a manner unpeopled and uncultivated, and the waters suffered to stagnate, which their ancestors used to drain off; for no countries are more unhealthful than those that are both hot and moist. The north side of the Apennine is more healthful as well as cooler, than the provinces on the south; but here also are some unhealthful spots, as will appear when we come to give a particular description of the respective states.

The seas which encompass Italy on three sides, are, the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice; the Ionian; and the Tuscan, or Tyrrhenian sea; as hath been intimated already. There are also abundance of fine lakes, of which the principal are, the lakes Major, Lugano, Como, Iseo, and Garda, in the duchy of Milan; the lakes of Trasimene or Perugia, Vulsin, and Bracciano, in Tuscany; and those of Fucin, Fundi, Castello-Gandolpho and Calano in the Campania of Rome.

Their chief rivers are, 1. The Po, which rises in the Alps, between Dauphiné and the marquise of Salusses, called antiently *Eridanus*, and celebrated by the poets for the fall of *Phaeton* into it. The Po having crossed Piedmont, the Montferat, Milanese, and Mantuan, and in it's passage visited Turin, Casal, Plaisance, and Cremona, enters the duchy of Ferrara, and having been much enlarged by the Adda, the Tesin, and several other rivers which fall into it, discharges itself by several mouths into the sea at Venice. 2. The Tesin, which rises in Mount Adala, one of the mountains of the Alps, having traversed the lake of Major, passes by Pavia and

### CHAP. I.

Name of Italy.

Shape, situation, and extent.

Boundaries.

The air.



## CHAP.

## I.

Adda.

Oglio.

Mincio.

Tanaro.

Adige.

Arno.

Tiber.

Aque-

ducts.

Moun-

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falls into the Po. 3. The Adda, which having crossed the lake of Como, discharges itself into the Po at Cremonia. 4. The Oglio, which issuing out of the lake Isco, joins the Po near Mantua. 5. The Mincio, which running through the lake Garda, passes by Mantua, and afterwards falls into the Po. 6. Tanaro, which rises in Piedmont, and falls into the Po at Bassignano. 7. The Adige, which having its source in the mountains of Tyrol, runs by Trent and Verona, and falls into the Adriatick to the southward of Venice. 8. The Arno, which rising in the Apennine mountains, passes by Florence and Pisa, and afterwards falls into the Tuscan sea. And lastly, The Tiber, which having its source also in the Apennine mountains, runs through Romania and Florence, and having passed by Rome, falls into the Tuscan sea at Ostia. Besides which, there are a multitude of lesser streams, which having their source in the Apennines, fall either into the Tuscan or Adriatick seas: but their waters are generally foul and bad, scarce fit to drink; which is supposed to proceed from their impetuous course; for the Apennine, where they rise, being a very high mountain, they rush down the sides of it, carrying abundance of soil and filth along with them, and running but a very little way before they discharge themselves into the sea, continue muddy all along. The antient Romans therefore, as well as some publick-spirited Popes of late years, have taken the aqueducts under their particular care, and it is with a vast expence and labour they have collected the little springs which rise in the mountains forty or fifty miles from Rome, and conveyed through aqueducts of brick or stone to that capital.

The chief mountains of Italy are, the Alps, the Apennine, and Mount Vesuvius. The Alps are the northern boundary of it, of which I have treated already. The Apennine are a chain of hills which run the whole length of the country, and divide the north-east from the south-west provinces. Vesuvius is about six miles to the eastward of Naples, and famous for its volcano's and eruptions, which will be particularly taken notice of in the description of that kingdom. The Apennine mountains are generally well covered with woods and pleasant groves, as appears from a passage in LUCAN, of which Mr ADDISON has given us the following translation:

In pomp the shady Apennines arise,  
And lift th' aspiring nation to the skies.  
No land like Italy erects the sight  
By such a vast ascent, or swells to such a height.  
Her numerous states the tow'ring hills divide,  
And see the billows rise on every side.  
At Pisa here the range of mountains ends,  
And here to high Ancona's shores extends.  
In their dark womb a thousand rivers lie,  
That with continu'd streams the double sea supply.

And SILIUS ITALICUS, in his relation of HANNIBAL's march over the Apennine, gives the following description of it, which the same writer esteems very just, viz.

From steep to steep the troops advanc'd with pain,  
In hopes at last the topmost cliff to gain:  
But still by new ascents the mountain grew,  
And a fresh toil presented to their view.

I shall conclude this chapter with some general remarks on the customs and manners of the Italians, and cannot but observe, that most travellers who set out from hence, seem prejudiced against them on account of religion. The Italians, says a judicious writer, excel in a complaisant obliging behaviour, observing a medium between the lightness of the French, and the starch'd gravity of the Spaniard, and are by far the soberest people that are to be found in the Christian world, though they abound in plenty of the choicest wines; nor is there any thing like luxury to be seen at the tables of the great. They are generally men of wit, and have a genius for arts and sciences; nor do they want application. Musick, poetry, painting, sculpture, and architecture, are their favourite studies; there are no people on the face of the earth that have brought them to greater perfection. Their enemies indeed charge them with being too much addicted to pleasure and idleness, and affirm that they are generally insincere and perfidious; such masters in the art of dissimulation, that they can conceal their resentments till they meet with a favourable opportunity to revenge themselves, and then they never fail to strike home. But we may be assured that there are as many men of honour and probity in Italy, in proportion to the extent of the country, as in any other part of the world; and must not believe that murders and assassinations are so frequent here as some authors pretend. 'Tis true, they are of an amorous disposition, and too jealous of the fair sex; and some have pushed their resentment beyond the ordinary bounds, when they have imagined themselves abused; but these instances are not common. Travellers perhaps expect the same freedom with their women they are used to in cooler climates; but they should consider every nation is governed by its peculiar customs; that our notions of honour are given us in our education, from which we very difficultly recede: and we ought no more to expect that the conduct of the Italians should be conformable to ours, than that their air and climate should be the same. If there be some things which we cannot admire in them, there seems to be a great many more which deserve our imitation. But to proceed in their character: The nobility and gentry are in nothing so profuse as in their buildings and furniture, and in making collections of pictures, statues, hangings, and other ornaments: they are fond also of splendid equipages, and great trains of servants, and make a figure at least equal to their fortunes. They apprehend it derogates from their dignity to be born in the country, and therefore usually send their wives to some considerable city to lie-in, if they happen to be out of town. The marrying with plebeians, or the lower rank of people also debases their quality to that degree, that they are rendered incapable of some posts of honour and profit by it: those therefore who have not fortunes equal to their quality, rather than marry an heiress to a wealthy merchant or tradesman, will chuse to go into a convent. There are academies, or societies of virtuosi, in every town almost, who spend their time in improving the language of their country, which they admire above all others, and at their publick meetings entertain each other with rhetorical, moral, or philosophical discourses, for which the clemency of the air, and their temperance, abundantly qualify them. They are sententious in their writings, and much delighted with

## CHAP.

## I.

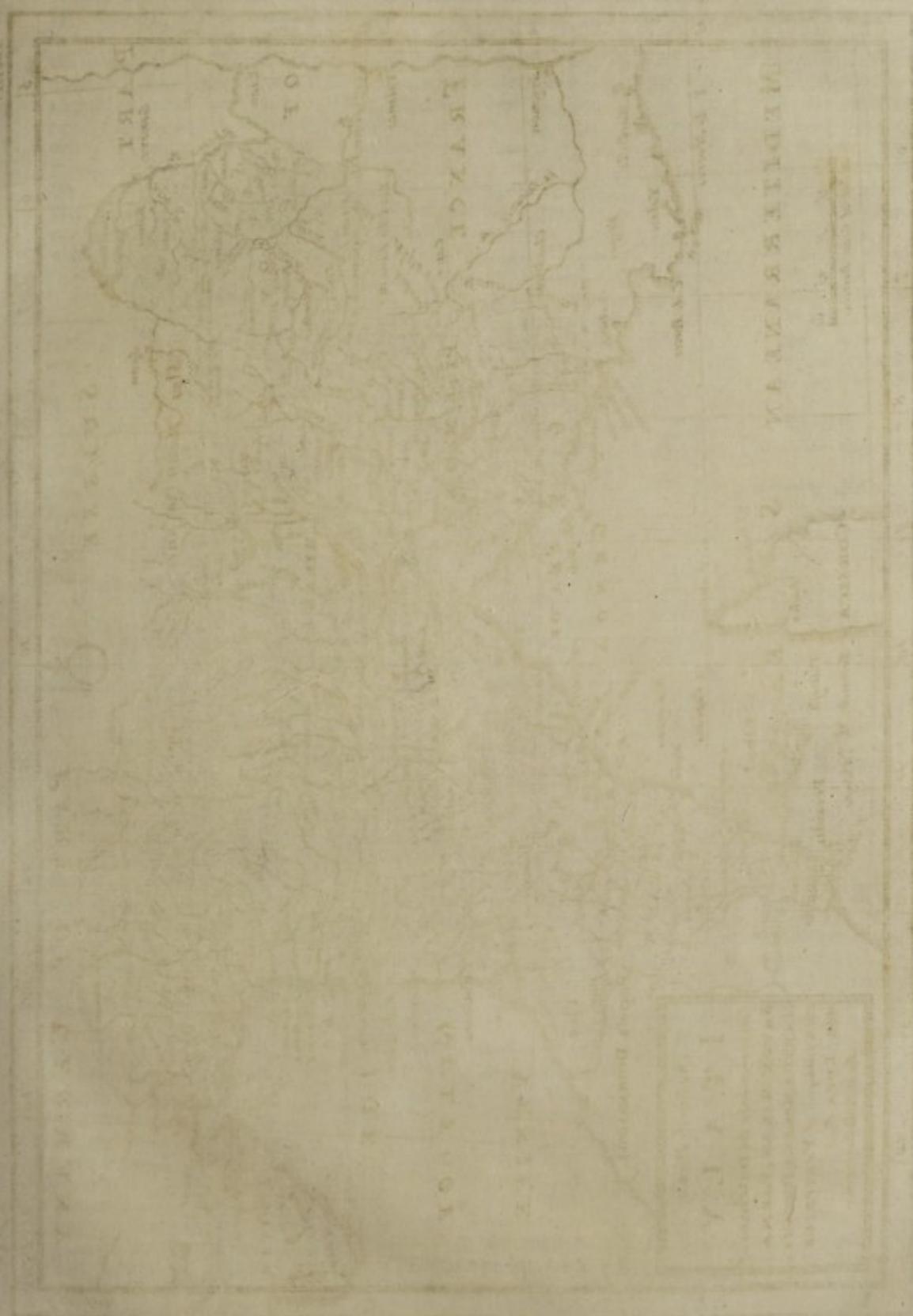
Genius

and tem-

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natives.











CHAP. I. with thoughts and expressions out of the common road. The lowest of the people are strangely taken with sounding words and lofty phrases, even above their capacity.

As to their persons, they are of an agreeable stature, well proportioned, and their features very engaging. Their complexions are not the best, but it is become a proverbial saying among the women, that if Heaven has given them a good shape and features, they will take care to make themselves good complexions. Their hair is generally black, and those that have light hair, travellers tell us, take a great deal of pains to turn it yellow in some places, especially at Genoa. The Spanish or French mode prevails in their dress, as they happen to be affected to the one or the other nation; and black seems to be more worn than any other colour.

## CHAP. II.

*Shows the several divisions and subdivisions of Italy, and treats particularly of Savoy.*

Grand division of Italy. I SHALL consider Italy under three grand divisions: I. Upper Italy, the most northern part of it, containing, 1. The principality of Piedmont (to which I shall add Savoy, tho' it be on this side of the Alps). 2. The duchy of Montferat. 3. The territories of Genoa. 4. The duchy of Milan. 5. The duchy of Parma. 6. The duchy of Modena. 7. The duchy of Mantua. And, 8. The territories of Venice.

Middle Italy. II. Middle Italy, containing the dominions of the Pope, and of the Great duke of Tuscany, in which I comprehend the territories of Luca.

Lower Italy. III. The Lower or southern part of Italy, consisting of the kingdom of Naples.

## S A V O Y.

I SHALL first enter upon the description of Savoy and Piedmont, and the rest of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Upper Italy, which extend in length from the lake of Geneva to the port of Nice in the Mediterranean, about an hundred and fourscore miles: the breadth being very unequal, in some places an hundred miles over, and in others scarce forty.

Situation and extent. Savoy is bounded by the lake and territories of Geneva towards the north; by Piedmont, from which it is separated by the Alps, towards the east and south; and by Dauphiné and Lionois in France, towards the west. This province lying on the French side of the Alps, is usually reckoned to be out of Italy, but being contiguous to Piedmont, and the rest of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy, it may not be amiss to describe it here.

Provinces. Savoy is divided into seven provinces; 1. The duchy of Savoy, properly so called. 2. The county of Geneva. 3. The duchy of Chablais. 4. The barony of Fossigny. 5. The county of Tarantaise. 6. The county of Maurienne. And, 7. The duchy of Aoste, or Aosta.

Savoy Proper. 1. The duchy of Savoy, properly so called, is bounded by the county of Geneva towards the north, by the Tarantaise and Maurienne on the east; by Dauphiné towards the south; and by Bugey and the river Rhone towards the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Chamberry.

2. Montmelian. 3. Bourget. 4. Aix. 5. Hautecombe. 6. Yenne. 7. Les Echelle. 8. Mions. And, 9. Conflans.

1. Chamberry, the capital, is situated on a plain, at the confluence of the two little rivers Laiffe and Albans, about fifty miles south of Geneva, and twelve to the northward of Montmelian, antiently the residence of the Dukes of Savoy, and here the Parliament of the province still assembles; but it has lost much of its antient grandeur. 2. Montmelian, a little town, situate on the river Isere, twelve miles south-east of Chamberry, strongly fortified, and defended by a citadel built upon a rock, which made it looked upon formerly as impregnable, but it was taken more than once in the late wars. The other towns do not require a particular description.

2. The county of Geneva, bounded by Gex and Chablais on the north; by Fossigny on the east; by Savoy Proper on the south; and by La Bresse on the west. The chief towns are, 1. Annecy. 2. Alby. And, 3. La Roche.

Annecy, the capital of the county, is situated at the north end of a lake of the same name, thirty miles north of Chamberry. It is a large neat town, and the residence of the Bishop of Geneva, since his expulsion from that city by the Protestants.

3. The duchy of Chablais, bounded by the lake of Geneva on the north; by the Valais on the east; and by the territories of Geneva towards the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Thonon. 2. Ripaille. And, 3. Evian.

Thonon is situated at the mouth of the river Drame, where it falls into the lake of Geneva, about eighteen miles to the northward of the city of Geneva; a pleasant well-built town, and inhabited by people of condition.

Ripaille is a little distance from Thonon, and, according to Mr ADDISON, deserves to be taken notice of for its convent of Carthusians, who have a large forest cut out into walks that are extremely thick and gloomy, and very suitable to the genius of the inhabitants. The vistas are of great length, and terminate upon the lake of Geneva: On one side of the walks there is a near prospect of the Alps, which are broken into so many steps and precipices, that they fill the mind with an agreeable kind of horror, and form one of the most irregular mis-shapen scenes in the world. The convent belonged formerly to the Hermits of St MAURICE, and is famous for the retreat of the Antipope who stiled himself FÆLIX the fifth. He had been Duke of Savoy, and after a glorious reign took upon him the habit of an hermit, and retired to this solitary spot of his dominions, where he had not been above half a year, when he was chosen Pope by the council of Basil. But his election being contested, he chose for the peace of the Church, to retire again to his hermitage, and leave his competitor in the quiet possession of the keys. But some say, he chose, this charming solitude that he might spend his time in ease and luxury; from whence the Italians to this day use the proverb, *Andare a Ripaglia*; and the French, *Faire Ripaille*, to express a delightful kind of life.

4. The barony of Fossigny is bounded by Chablais on the north; by the Valais and the duchy of Aoste on the east; by the Tarantaise on the south; and by the county of Geneva on the west: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Bonneville. 2. Cluse. 3. Salanches. 4. Paffy. And, 5. Toninga.

CHAP. II. Savoy.

Chamberry.

Montmelian.

County of Geneva.

Chief towns.

Annecy.

Duchy of Chablais.

Chief towns.

Thonon.

Ripaille.

Barony of Fossigny.

Chief towns.

Bonneville



## CHAP.

## II.

Savoy.  
Bonneville.County of  
Tarentaise.Chief  
towns.

Montfrier.

County of  
Maurienne.Chief  
towns.St John de  
Maurienne.The  
duchy of  
Aouste.Chief  
towns.

Aouste.

The air of  
Savoy.

Rivers.

Moun-  
tains.

Bonneville is situate on a rising ground near the river Arve, about twenty miles south-east of Geneva; but I don't meet with any thing in this, or the other four towns, that require a particular description.

5. The country of Tarentaise is bounded by Fossigny on the north; by Aouste on the east; by the county of Maurienne on the south and west: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Montfrier. 2. Brianconnet. And, 3. St Maurice.

Montfrier is situated in a valley on the river Here, forty miles south-east of Chambery, and is the See of an Archbishop, whose palace is the only publick building mentioned by travellers as worth the seeing.

6. The county of Maurienne is bounded by the Tarentaise on the north, and Dauphiné on the south, lying between the Alps and the river Here, and consisting of one valley near fifty miles in length: the chief towns are, 1. St John de Maurienne. 2. La Chambre. 3. St Michael. 4. Tencignon. And, 5. Lanebourg.

St John de Maurienne is situated in a pleasant valley on the river Arche, twenty miles south-west of Montfrier, and is a populous well-built town, considering the country, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Vienne in Dauphiné.

7. The duchy of Aouste is bounded by the Valais on the north; by the Vercellois and the vallies of Sefia on the east; by Maurienne on the south: and by Savoy on the west: and is by some geographers placed in Savoy, and by others in Italy: and consists of eight large vallies, being about fifteen leagues in length from east to west, and ten in breadth from north to south. The chief towns are, 1. Aouste. 2. Morges. 3. La Tuille. 4. Avise. 5. Court Major. 6. St Remi. 7. Donas. 8. Chatillon. And, 9. Bart.

The city of Aouste is situated in the middle of a valley of the same name, upon a little river, fifty miles north of Turin: it is the See of a Bishop, whose palace, with the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre, are all the publick buildings which travellers mention as worth the viewing.

The air of Savoy is much colder than that of Italy, being situated on the north side of the Alps, or rather upon them. The general distemper of the country, as in other mountainous places, is that of swelled throats or wens, from which few of them are free, supposed to proceed from their drinking snow-water. Their chief rivers are the Here, the Arche, and the Arve; and their lakes, those of Bourget and Annecy. The principal mountain is that of Mount Cenis, supposed to be the highest of all the Alps, which has a road over it, and divides Savoy from Piedmont. The antients called this hill, or chain of hills, *Alpes Cottiae*. A modern traveller relates, that the ascent is very troublesome, and in several places dangerous on account of the narrow passages on the brinks of high precipices, where if the beast the traveller rides happens to stumble, he falls half a mile at least before he reaches the bottom; but the mules which are used in crossing these hills are generally very sure-footed. On the top of this mountain is a plain about two leagues over, at the end whereof, on the entrance into Piedmont, is an inn and a little chapel, called the Transis, where they bury people that are frozen to death, or smothered in the snow. The Romans stiled all nations who inhabited the northern side of the Alps, *Transalpini* and *Bar-*

*baria*, and looked upon them as a barbarous uncivilized people; and the present Italians, it seems, stiled them *Tramontani*, and have but a mean opinion either of the Savoyards, or any other people on this side; infomuch that if a man be guilty of any egregious blunder, they immediately call him a *Tramontano*.

The nobility and gentry of Savoy are as complaisant and obliging as their neighbours of Italy, and not altogether so formal and precise. The common people are generally good-natured, honest, sober, and laborious, but exceeding poor; which does not proceed so much from the barrenness of the country, being more fruitful in many parts of it than Switzerland, but from the despotick power of the Prince and great Lords, whose vassals the peasants are, being not allowed a subsistence out of the lands they manure. So great is the scarcity of corn in some of their villages, that travellers relate, it is a rarity to meet with a piece of bread, and that they have been forced to content themselves with a glass of wine and a few chesnuts, the usual food of the natives, at their inns upon the great road. Their poverty therefore obliges many of the natives to go abroad: We find Savoyard chimney-sweepers, pedlars, and raree-show-men, in every part of Europe, who are used to live so frugally at home, that they often return to their own country with a good round sum of money. A modern traveller assures us, that he knew one of them that kept a shop at Turin, who had brought three hundred guineas out of England, which he had got by his raree-show. The country however produces wine, and some corn, apples, pears, and other fruits. They have also large herds of black cattle, goats, hogs, venison, and wild fowl in the woods and mountains, and plenty of fish in their lakes and rivers: Their hares and partridges, as well as bears and foxes, on the tops of the Alps, are frequently white, as they are in the north of Russia and Greenland. Here are large woods of fir-trees, which afford masts, pitch, and tar, for shipping, and they have some oak-timber: their woods also abound in walnuts and chesnuts, which make a great part of the food of the peasants, as well as of their hogs. Here are also some marble and stone quarries, and coal-pits, and in several places mineral waters, and hot baths, of which those at Aix near Chambery are most resorted to. They have also several salt-pits, especially in the Tarentaise, and some salt-fountains, which furnish them with good white salt. In Fossigny there are allum mines, and the valley of Aouste affords a good sand for making crystal glasses.

## P I E D M O N T.

## CHAP. III.

Contains a description of Piedmont.

THE principality of Piedmont, so named from its lying at the foot of the Alps, is bounded by the valley of Aouste, and part of the duchy of Milan towards the north; by another part of Milan, and the Montferat on the east; by the territories of Geneva, and the county of Nice on the south; and by Dauphiné and Savoy on the west; extending an hundred miles in length from north to south, and about seventy miles in breadth from

## CHAP.

## II.

Savoy.

Manners  
of the Sa-  
voyards.Produce  
of the  
country.natural  
protectionSituation  
and extent.



CHAP. III. from east to west, and is generally computed to be three hundred miles and upwards in circumference. It may be divided into eight parts, or provinces, viz. 1. Piedmont Proper. 2. The marquisate of Suza. 3. The marquisate of Saluzzes, or Saluzzo. 4. The county of Asti. 5. The lordship of Verceil. 6. The principality of Masserano. 7. The marquisate of Ivrea. And, 8. The valleys of the Vaudois.

Piedmont Proper is bounded by the marquisate of Suza on the north; by the Montferat towards the east; by the territories of Geneva, and the county of Nice on the south; and by the marquisate of Saluzzo on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Turin. 2. Brandis. 3. Chivas. 4. Montcalier. 5. Carignan. 6. Quieras, or Quierasco. 7. Mondovi. 8. Coni. 9. Fossano. 10. Savillano. 11. Pignerol. 12. Marfalia. And, 13. Rivoli. The principal whereof are,

Turin. 1. Turin, the capital of this principality, and of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy; the *Augusta Taurinum*, or *Taurania*, of the ancients, situate in the latitude of forty-four degrees fifty minutes; nine degrees to the eastward of London, near the confluence of the rivers Doira and Po; from the last of which it is about three hundred paces distant. The town is of a square figure, about three miles in circumference; and admired for its spacious squares, piazzas, broad streets, lofty and magnificent buildings, and particularly the King's palace, which for the beauty of the several apartments, the richness of the furniture, the paintings, the cabinets of curiosities, and the library, is scarce to be paralleled. The palace of the Prince of Carignan, the cathedral and the Jesuits chapel, are also much admired. The chapel of the Holy Handkerchief, lately built of black marble, is a pretty piece of architecture. This handkerchief according to tradition, was presented to our Saviour by a compassionate virgin, as he was carrying his cross to the place of crucifixion, who having wiped his face, returned it back to her with his picture imprinted on the linnen in the most lively colours; but 'tis said, there are some other places which pretend to be in possession of this precious relique.

The Holy Handkerchief.

The fortifications of the place are as fine as the nature of the ground will permit, and the citadel a regular pentagon: nor were the French able to take either the one or the other after a most furious siege of ten weeks continuance in the year 1706; but had it not been relieved in a very critical hour by the arms of the allies, commanded by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, it could not have held out many days longer; for the enemy was master of the outworks, and the besieged had scarce powder left to salute their Prince when he made his triumphant entry into his capital city, which he found little better than a heap of rubbish, the French King having given particular orders not to leave a house standing that their bombs or red-hot bullets could reach; but it is now for the most part rebuilt to great advantage. Nor did the Grand Monarch's resentment rest here: the plantations of olives, the vines, the groves, the walks, and all the fine avenues to this charming city, which stood in one of the pleasantest plains in Europe, were ordered to be destroyed; a loss not so easily to be repaired as the buildings, which the Duke afterwards endeavoured to retaliate, when he marched into France to the siege of Thoulon.

Turin is the See of an Archbishop; and a Uni-

VOL. II.

versity was erected here about the year 1405; besides which, there are academies for riding, dancing, and martial exercises; and the court is said to be as polite as any in Europe: the people in general also are much in the favour of our modern travellers, who seem better pleased with their reception here than in many other cities of Italy. The natives have not that stiffness and insincerity, which they insinuate are inseparable from the Italians, who live more to the southward. And one convenience Mr ADDISON mentions in this town, which is not to be met with in others, and that is, a rivulet on the upper side of the city, which is turned into the streets every night, and clears them of all manner of filth, serving also to lay the dust in summer, which otherwise in this populous place would be intolerable; but among all the conveniences and beauties of Turin, their tattered paper windows are no small disgrace to it: Nothing sets off our buildings in this part of the world like our noble sash-windows of crown-glass; whereas in this, and the rest of the cities of Italy, they content themselves with paper lights, and these frequently torn and out of repair, which makes their most magnificent palaces have a scandalous aspect.

Without the town, the Capuchins cloyster, which stands upon a lovely mount, and affords a prospect of the whole city and the neighbouring country, is much admired; as are the royal palace of La Venerie, about three miles out of town, and that of Valentin, situate on the banks of the Po, about a mile distant from the city. The barbarous ravages committed here, and in the rest of the Duke of Savoy's territories by the French in the two last wars, have justly created the utmost abhorrence and detestation of that nation among the common people.

Chivas, or Chivazzo, is a strong fortress, situate on the Po, about twelve miles to the northward of Turin, taken by the French in the year 1705, after a brave defence; but surrendered to the Duke of Savoy again the year following on the raising of the siege of Turin.

Chivas.

Mondovi is situated upon an eminence at the foot of the Apennine mountains, about forty miles to the southward of Turin, a large, beautiful, and well-peopled city, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Turin. It is defended by a citadel, and esteemed a place of strength, and the second city of Piedmont.

Mondovi.

Coni lies about thirty miles to the southward of Turin, is reckoned a strong place, and hath a citadel built without the town, upon a neighbouring hill.

Coni.

Fossano, which derives its name from the multitude of fountains about it, is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Turin, and is defended by a castle. This place lies about fifteen miles north-east of Coni.

Fossano.

Pignerol, situated on the river Chiese, about sixteen miles south-west of Turin, a strong fortress on the frontiers towards Dauphiné, and for a considerable time in the possession of the French King, who being obliged to restore it to the Duke of Savoy in the year 1696, demolished the fortifications; but the Duke being at liberty to fortify his frontier places by the treaty of Utrecht, has since put this and the rest in a posture of defence. The situation of the rest of the towns of Piedmont will be found in the map bound up with this volume, but do not seem to merit a particular description.

Pignerol.



CHAP.

III.

Piedmont.

Marquise of  
Susa.

Susa city.

Marquise of  
Saluzzo.Saluzzo  
city.Asti  
county.

Asti town.

Verue.

Ceve.

Vercell  
barony.Vercell  
city.Bielle city  
and coun-  
ty.

The marquise of Susa lies at the foot of Mount Cenis, and is bounded by Dauphiné, a province of France, on the west; and by Piedmont Proper on the east; being about forty miles in length from north to south, and ten in breadth; the only considerable town whereof is,

Susa, situate on the river Doira, twenty miles north-west of Turin, a town of the utmost importance to the King of Sardinia, lying on a pass out of France into his country. The French demolished the citadel on their taking it in 1704; but being yielded to the Duke of Savoy at the treaty of Utrecht, he was left at liberty to repair the fortifications of this and his other frontier garisons.

The marquise of Saluzzes, or Saluzzo, is bounded by Piedmont Proper towards the north and east; by the counties of Nice and Tende on the south; and by Dauphiné and Barcelonette on the west; extending about thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south, in which district rises the river Po, at the foot of mount Vesulo: The chief towns whereof are Saluzzo and Carmagnola.

Saluzzo stands on an eminence at the foot of the Alps, about a mile from the banks of the Po, and twenty south-west of Turin. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Turin, though he pretends to depend immediately on the Pope. The cathedral is a magnificent structure, and there is an old castle, but of no great strength.

The county of Asti is bounded on the north, east, and south, by Montferat; and by Piedmont Proper on the west; extending about thirty miles in length from north to south, and about twenty miles in breadth: The chief towns whereof are, Asti, Verue, and Ceve.

The city of Asti stands on the river Tanaro, about twenty-five miles to the eastward of Turin; 'tis a large populous place, well fortified, and defended by a citadel and castle, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Milan; and for the number and beauty of it's palaces and publick buildings is said to equal most towns in Lombardy.

Verue is a strong fortress, situate on a rock close to the river Po. It held out a siege of six months against all the efforts of France in the year 1705, nor did the Governor surrender 'till the place was become one heap of rubbish; but it is since re-edified, and the works repaired.

Ceve is the capital of a marquise, a small but very pretty town, situate on the Tanaro, about seven miles south-east of Mondovi.

The lordship of Vercell is bounded by the duchy of Milan, and the vallies of Sesia on the north and east, and by Montferat on the south; extending in length about thirty miles from east to west; and twenty from north to south: the chief town whereof is Vercell.

The city of Vercell, or Vercelli, is situate on the river Sesia, near the frontiers of Milan, fifteen miles to the northward of Casal, and near forty north-east of Turin. It is a large fortified town, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan, and the cathedral a handsome Gothic structure. It was taken by the French in the year 1705, but quitted by them the next year, on the raising the siege of Turin, after they had demolished the fortifications.

The city of Bielle, the capital of a small territory, to which it communicates it's name, stands on the river Cervo, fifteen miles to the westward

of Vercell, of which I meet with nothing particular.

The principality of Masserano lies to the northward of Vercell; the chief town whereof is of the same name; sixteen miles north-west of Vercell, but I do not meet with any particular description of it.

The marquise of Ivrea lies to the southward of the valley of Aouste; the chief town whereof is of the same name, situate on the river Doira, about twenty-five miles north-west of Vercell, a large populous place, but not admired for the elegance of it's buildings: it is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Turin, and had the reputation of a strong town till the French took it in the year 1704, and demolished the fortifications.

The vallies of the Vaudois are five, viz. 1. Those of Pragelas, or Cluson. 2. Perouse. 3. St Martin. 4. Angrogne. And, 5. Lucerne. Bounded by Piedmont Proper on the east, west, and north, and by the marquise of Saluzzo on the south. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Lucerne. 2. St Martin. And, 3. Perouse, or Perusa.

The town of Lucerne, or Lucerna, the capital of these vallies, stands about six miles to the southward of Pignerol, and communicates it's name to all of them, being as often called the vallies of Lucerne as of the Vaudois.

St Martin's is the chief town of another of these vallies, and lies to the northward of Proper Lucerne.

Perusa, the chief of a third fruitful valley, lies about four miles to the northward of Pignerol. The natives were called Waldenses and Vaudois, from one PETER WALDO, or VAUD, a merchant of Lyons, who, about the year 1610, began to exclaim against the errors of the Church of Rome, and having gained a multitude of profelytes to his opinions, was expelled the territories of France with his disciples, and settled in these vallies, where they remained in quiet for some years; but the late Princes of the house of Savoy have left no means unattempted to bring them over to the Church of Rome, and indeed used them so rigorously, that many of them were forced to fly for refuge into Switzerland, where about four thousand of these people having taken arms, and formed themselves into regiments, ventured to return into their country again in a hostile manner, being commanded by ARNAUD, one of their celebrated preachers, and TUREL, a Mason by trade, who forced their way into Savoy, defeating several detachments of the French and Savoyard troops; and their Prince, at the intercession of King WILLIAM, gave the rest of them liberty to return and enjoy the free exercise of their religion; till the Duke having made a separate treaty with France, in the year 1696, that crown insisted on his banishing them again, or compelling them to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, which occasioned a fresh persecution. This prince however breaking with France in the year 1703, took the Vaudois again into his favour, and employed them in the defence of their country against France, in which they did him good service at first, but some of them afterwards put themselves under the protection of the French.

The principal rivers of Piedmont are the Po, the Tanaro, the Stura, and the Doira, or Duria. This country lies between the Alps on one side, and the Apennine hills on the other; but is not encumbered with barren rocks and mountains, as it's

CHAP.

III.

Piedmont.

Massera-  
no.Ivrea mar-  
quise and  
city.Vallies of  
the Vau-  
dois.

Lucerna.

St Mar-  
tin's.

Perusa.

Rivers.

Moun-  
tains.

it's



CHAP. IV. **Piedmont.** its neighbours of Savoy and the State of Genoa are. On the contrary, there is not a more desirable climate, a pleasanter or more fruitful province in Italy, abounding in corn, wine, fruits, rice, cattle, and fowls of all kinds, wild and tame; excellent cheese, silk, flax, hemp, and minerals; but the crop is sometimes destroyed by storms of hail, which are called the Plague of Piedmont, when it is almost ready for the sickle. In plentiful years they export great quantities of corn and rice, as well as cattle, silk, linnen cloth, wrought iron, and paper; infomuch that no country of it's dimensions yields so great a revenue to it's Prince; what they want most is a large breed of horses, with which they are supplied from Germany.

I proceed next to the dominions of the King of Sardinia which lie to the southward of Piedmont; and these are, 1. The county of Nice. 2. The county of Tende. 3. The county of Broglio, or Bueil. 4. The principality of Oneglia. And, 5. The principality or valley of Barcelonette. But this last was yielded to France by the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713.

## CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the counties of Nice, Tende, &c.*

**County of Nice.** **Situation and extent.** THE county of Nice is bounded by the marquisate of Saluzzo on the north; by the county of Tende and the territories of Genoa on the east; by the Mediterranean on the south; and by the county of Broglio, or Bueil, and Provence, on the west. The country produces plenty of oil and wine, and but little corn, being very mountainous. It is divided into four vicariats, which contain thirty towns and upwards, the chief whereof are Nice and Villa Franca.

**Nice city.** The city of Nice, or Nizza, stands on the Mediterranean shore, in a pleasant plain, at the foot of the Alps, ten miles to the northward of Antibes, and sixty to the southward of Pignerol, and is defended by a strong castle situate on a rock, which commands both the town and the harbour. The Prince's palace, the Jesuit's chapel, and the cathedral, are said to be pretty structures. The private houses are lofty, and the streets regular, but the place suffered very much in the late wars, being several times taken and retaken, and the fortifications were demolished by the French, when they found they should not be able to keep it; however, it was yielded to the King of Sardinia by the peace of Utrecht, who was left at liberty to repair the fortifications again by that treaty.

**Villa Franca city.** Villa Franca is situated on the same shore, about five miles to the eastward of Nice. It seems to have a better harbour, and is defended by two forts. This town was also taken by the French in the late wars, but surrendered to the King of Sardinia, the then Duke of Savoy, by the ensuing Peace.

**County of Tende and town.** The county of Tende is bounded by Piedmont on the north, by the territories of Genoa on the east, and by the county of Nice, on the south and west; the chief town whereof is Tende, situate at the foot of the Apennine, about thirty miles to the northward of Villa Franca, and hath a castle for it's defence.

**Broglio county and town.** The country of Broglio, or Bueil, sometimes reckoned part of the county of Nice, is bounded by the valley of Barcelonette on the north, by

the county of Nice towards the east, and by Provence in France on the south and west; the chief town whereof is Broglio, situate on the frontiers of Provence, about thirty miles to the northward of Nice.

The principality of Oneglia lies on the Mediterranean, encompassed on three sides by the territories of Genoa, being about twenty-five miles in length, and eight in breadth; the chief town whereof is Oneglia, situate on the sea, about seventy miles south-east of Turin. 'Tis said to be a populous trading place, and the country about it to abound in oil and fruits.

The principality or valley of Barcelonette is bounded by the marquisate of Saluzzo on the north, by the county of Nice on the east, by Broglio on the south, and by Provence on the west; extending thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south; the chief town whereof bears the name of the province, and stands about fifty miles north-west of Nice. This principality, as it was formerly dependent on Provence, the French King insisted should be restored, and confirmed to him by the peace of Utrecht, which was accordingly granted him. And here it is very fit to give an abstract of that treaty, as far as it relates to the boundaries between France and the dominions of the King of Sardinia. By this treaty his most Christian Majesty yielded and transferred to his Royal Highness of Savoy (the late King of Sardinia) the valley of Pragelas, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and the vallies of Oulx, Sezane, Bardouche, and Chateau-Dauphin, and all about the water, which comes from the Alps on the side of Piedmont, which his most Christian Majesty had possessed himself of during the war. Reciprocally his Royal Highness yielded to his most Christian Majesty the valley of Barcelonette and it's dependances; so that the summit of the Alps and the mountain, were to serve for boundaries between France, Piedmont, and the county of Nice, in such manner that the plains upon the said summits and the heights should be divided; and half the river flowing from the side of Dauphiné and Provence, should belong to his most Christian Majesty, and those on the side of Piedmont and the county of Nice should belong to his Royal Highness of Savoy. And for the greater validity of the said cessions, they were ratified and reciprocally registered in the courts of Parliament and Chambers of accounts of Paris and of Dauphiné; as also in the Senate and Chamber of accounts of Turin, and the Senate of Nice. I proceed now to describe the King of Sardinia's dominions which lie to the eastward of Piedmont; and these are the duchy of Montferat, the Alexandrin, the Vigevano, and the Lomelin in the Milanese.

## CHAP. V.

*Treats of the duchy of Montferat, &c.*

THE duchy of Montferat is bounded by the lordship of Verceil on the north, by the Alexandrin on the east; by the territories of Genoa on the south; and by the county of Asti on the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Casal. 2. Chief Pontea. 3. Lucedia. 4. Acqui. 5. Nice de la Paille. 6. Trino. 7. Albe or Alba.

1. Casal, the capital of Montferat, sometimes called St Vas, situate on the banks of the Po, in a fine



CHAP.  
V.  
Piedmont.

Acqui.

Trino.

Albe.

The Alex-  
andrin.

Alexan-  
dria city.

The Vige-  
vano.

Vigevano  
town.

The Lo-  
melin.

Valenza.

Sessia  
vallies

Soil and  
produce of  
Montfe-  
rat, &c.

Trans-  
ferred to the  
King of  
Sardinia.

Govern-  
ment of  
Savoy, Pi-  
edmont,  
Nice, &c.

a fine plain, thirty miles to the eastward of Turin, and fifteen to the southward of Verceil, a strong town, but frequently taken and re-taken in the late wars. It is a well-built populous city, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Archbishop of Milan.

2. Acqui, the *Aque Statellæ* of the Romans, which receives its name from its mineral waters, being much resorted to at present, as well as antiently on that account, and lies about twenty miles to the southward of Casal. It is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan.

3. Trino, situate near the Po, six miles to the westward of Casal, remarkable for little but the defeat of the Duke of Savoy by the French, in the year 1703.

4. Albe, the *Alba Pompeia* of the Romans, the capital of the district called the Albefan, situate on the Tanaro, twenty miles to the westward of Acqui.

The Alexandrin lies between the territories of Genoa and Milan on the south and east, and Montferat on the north-west; the chief towns whereof are Alexandria and Bosco.

Alexandria is situated ten miles south-east of Casal, and forty south-west of Milan, being divided in two parts by the river Tanaro, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Archbishop of Milan.

The Vigevano lies between Novara on the north, Milan on the east, and the Lomelin on the south; the chief towns whereof are Vigevano and Mortara.

Vigevano is pleasantly situated on the river Tesin, twenty miles south-west of Milan, defended by a castle built upon a rock, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan.

The Lomelin lies to the southward of Vigevano, the chief towns whereof are Valencia, or Valenza, Lumello and Frescarolo.

Valenza is situate near the Po, on the confines of Montferat, twelve miles to the eastward of Casal; a little fortified town, which travellers do not think worth a particular description.

The vallies of Sessia lie between the river of the same name, and the lake Major.

The duchy of Montferat, the Alexandrin, the Vigevano, and Lomelin, are pleasant fruitful countries, watered by the river Po, yielding corn, wine, and oil; and as they are contiguous to Piedmont, are a very valuable addition to the King of Sardinia's dominions. Formerly the Montferat was divided between this Prince and the Duke of Mantua; but upon the death of that Duke without issue, anno 1708, the Emperor transferred the Duke of Mantua's part to his Sardinian Majesty. Afterwards the Alexandrin, and the rest of the territories in the Milanese, above-mentioned, were granted to his Royal Highness with the island of Sardinia, in lieu of Sicily, which he was obliged to quit to the Emperor; not that these are an equivalent, but the powers of Europe were pleased to have it so. And even in the Montferat the Emperor gave him a great deal of disturbance, by exempting several lordships from his jurisdiction, which occasioned a misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Turin for a considerable time.

The administration of the government in Savoy and Piedmont, the county of Nice, Montferat, and the rest of the dominions of the King of Sardinia, is committed to a Council of State, in

which his Majesty presides; next him sit the Princes of the Blood, and below them six Counsellors of State, the Principal Secretary, the Clerk of the Council, and other officers. There is also a Council of Finances, or Court of Exchequer, for each province, consisting of two Presidents, a Comptroller, Secretary, and other requisite officers: and a Chamber of Accounts consisting of three Presidents, three Chevaliers of accounts, sixteen Masters of accounts, a Treasurer-General, two Secretaries, a Comptroller, &c.

Justice is regularly administered in all cases where the government is not concerned. There are three Senates to which appeals are made from inferior tribunals; the first for Savoy, the second for Piedmont, and the third for Nice and its dependancies. The Senate of Savoy is held at Chambery, and consists of four Presidents, sixteen Senators, of whom the Abbot of Hautecombe is always one, the Advocate-General, the Attorney-General, two Clerks of the Senate, and two Secretaries. The Senate of Piedmont sits at Turin, and consists of four Presidents, two Knights, eighteen other Senators, an Advocate-General, an Attorney-General, a Clerk, and other necessary officers. The Senate of Nice is held in the capital city, and is composed of two Presidents, six Counsellors, an Advocate, an Attorney-General, Clerk, &c.

As the King of Sardinia is absolute in his dominions, these Senates or Parliaments are subject to his controul; and though common matters are referred to them, yet where the government is concerned, like the Parliaments of Paris and other cities of France, they serve only to record the decrees and edicts of the Prince.

## CHAP. VI.

*Contains an abstract of the history of Savoy and Piedmont, with an account of his present Sardinian Majesty's family, revenues, forces, titles, interests, and pretensions.*

SAVOY was antiently possessed by the Allobroges, the Centrones, Nantuates, Garocelli, and other barbarous people, as the Romans styled them. TERENTIUS VARRO reduced part of them to the obedience of Rome, and AUGUSTUS the rest, forming them into a province. When the Empire was over-run by the northern nations, Savoy underwent the common fate, and was subject sometimes to one, and sometimes to another. The Burgundians incorporated it with the kingdom they established in part of Gallia Celtica and Gallia Narbonensis. After the destruction of the Burgundian kingdom, it came into the hands of BEROLD, the son of HUGH Duke of Saxony, who going into Italy with his uncle the Emperor OTHO III, about the year 999, had the government of this country conferred upon him, and at length acquired the sovereignty of it. But my business being chiefly with modern history, I shall only give the names of his immediate successors, unless I meet with something remarkable in their respective administrations.

HUMBERT I, succeeded his father BEROLD, anno 1027.

AMADEUS I, son of HUMBERT, 1048.

ODO, brother of AMADEUS, 1050.

AMADEUS II, son of ODO, 1080.

HUMBERT II, his son, 1095.

AMADEUS III, his son, 1103.

HUMBERT III, his son, 1149.

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THOMAS, his son, 1186.

AMADEUS IV, his son, 1233.

BONIFACE, his son, 1253.

PETER, the seventh son of Count THOMAS, in prejudice of the sons of his eldest brother, succeeded, anno 1263.

PHILIP, his brother, the eighth son of Count THOMAS, succeeded, 1276.

AMADEUS V, son of THOMAS, succeeded in prejudice of his elder brother PHILIP's children, 1284.

EDWARD, his son, 1323.

AIMON, his brother, 1329.

AMADEUS VI, his son, 1343.

AMADEUS VII, his son, 1383.

Duke of  
Savoy suc-  
ceeds to  
Piedmont.

AMADEUS VIII, his son, made a Duke by the Emperor SIGISMUND; and LEWIS of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, dying without issue, he succeeded to his dominions, 1391.

LEWIS, his son, succeeded on his father's resignation, who retired into the priory of Ripailles, on the lake of Geneva, where being chosen Pope by the name of FELIX V, and governed nine years, for the peace of the church he resigned the popedom to his competitor, and retired again to the monastery of Ripailles, 1434.

AMADEUS IX, his son, 1465.

PHILIBERT I, his son, 1477.

CHARLES I, his brother, succeeded his aunt, Queen CHARLOTTE, in the Kingdom of Cyprus, 1482.

CHARLES-JOHN-AMADEUS, his son, 1490.

PHILIP II, son to LEWIS, 1496.

PHILIBERT II, his son, 1497.

CHARLES III, son to PHILIP II, 1504.

EMANUEL-PHILIBERT, his son, 1553.

CHARLES-EMANUEL, his son, 1580.

VICTOR-AMADEUS I, his son, 1630.

FRANCIS-HYACINTHUS, his son, 1637.

CHARLES-EMANUEL II, his brother, 1638.

VICTOR-AMADEUS II, his son, the present Sovereign of Savoy, Piedmont, &c. succeeded his father CHARLES-EMANUEL, on the 12th of June, 1675, during his minority. He was born on the 14th of May, 1666, and married ANNE-MARY of Valois, daughter to PHILIP Duke of ORLEANS, and HENRIETTA daughter of CHARLES I, King of England, anno 1684, by whom he had issue MARY-ADELAIDE, mother to the present French King, and MARY-LOUISA-GABRIELLA, married to PHILIP V, the present King of Spain; who is since dead, as well as the rest of the King of Sardinia's children, except CHARLES-EMANUEL-VICTOR, the present Prince of Piedmont, who married the Princess Palatine of Sultzbach, sister to the Prince of Sultzbach, heir to the Elector Palatine, in the year 1722, who the same year being brought to bed of a Prince, died in child-bed; nor did her son survive her much above two years: so that the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy, are in danger of going to another branch of his family, viz. that of Carignan, if the Prince of Piedmont has no male issue. The Salique Law, it seems, is in force here, neither the females, or their issue, can inherit the dominions of Savoy or Piedmont. Of the branch of Carignan there are several males still living, besides the present Prince of that name. The celebrated Prince EUGENE is of this house, but there are several before him in the succession.

The Duke of Savoy entered into the grand alliance in the year 1690, and the Confederates  
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sent him a good body of troops, and large remittances of money, to enable him to make head against the French: but he was generally unfortunate in this war; and particularly in the year 1693, when the French obtained a complete victory, and Duke SCHOMBERG, General of the English auxiliaries, was mortally wounded in the field of battle. His Royal Highness made a separate peace with France in the year 1696, in consideration of their restoring all the towns they had taken from him during the war, except Pignerol, and their paying him four millions of livres, (400,000 l.) It was also agreed that the Duke of Burgundy should marry his daughter, as hath been intimated already. On the other hand, the Duke agreed to banish all the French Refugees in his territories, and prohibit the Vaudois from conversing with his other subjects.

Upon the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain, he joined the French, and in concert with them endeavoured to prevent the Germans, under Prince EUGENE, penetrating into Italy. But after the Germans had passed the Alps, and got footing in that country, he began to listen to the proposals that were made him by the allies; and of this LEWIS XIV having received some intimation, ordered his Generals to make his troops prisoners: whereupon the Duke arrested the Ambassadors of France and Spain, with all the French at Turin, and a regiment of horse of the same nation, that lay in the neighbourhood. About which time his Royal Highness received the following short letter from the most Christian King, viz.

‘ Monsieur,

‘ SINCE religion, honour, alliance, treaties, and your own hand, are of no force between you and me, I have sent my cousin, the Duke of Vendosme, to explain my mind to you, and he will give you four and twenty hours to consider what you have to do.’

The Duke, notwithstanding he had married one daughter to the heir of the crown of France, and another to the King of Spain, remained unmoved in his resolution of adhering to the allies. Whether they offered him better terms than France, or whether he observed that they were an over-match for LEWIS XIV, and that this conduct would turn to his advantage in the end, whatever he might suffer for the present; he bravely resolved to venture all, though he had at that time no forces able to make head against France. Prince EUGENE indeed who commanded the Emperor's army in Lombardy, sent him from time to time such small detachments as he could spare, and these served to form a flying camp, and harass the French army, while they laid siege to his towns, but could not prevent the taking them one after another. Vercell, Suza, and Ivrea, were forced to surrender in the year 1704; and Verue, after a six months siege, in the year 1705, underwent the same fate: but all his fortresses were so well defended, that the French lost the flower of their troops before them, and he gained time thereby till the Confederates could march to his assistance; for the French laying siege to Turin on the 3d of June, 1706, Prince EUGENE joined the Duke of Savoy with the body of the Imperial army on the 28th of August following, and on the seventh of September they attacked the enemy before Turin with their

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their united forces, and gained a compleat victory. The same day the Duke entered his capital city in triumph, which was reduced to the last extremity, having endured a siege of three months, and spent all their powder. In this engagement the Duke of Orleans and the Marshal MARSH, who commanded the French, were both wounded, and MARSH died of his wounds three days after. The allies took an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, fifty mortars, and seven thousand prisoners, with all the enemy's tents, ammunition, and baggage, and made a prodigious slaughter amongst them; whereupon not only the towns in Savoy and Piedmont which the French had taken were immediately reduced to the obedience of their Sovereign the Duke of Savoy, but the Imperialists made themselves masters of the Milanese, and drove the French entirely out of Lombardy. The following year, 1707, Count TAUN, the Imperial General, marched with a detachment of fifteen thousand men into the kingdom of Naples, in reducing whereof he met with but little opposition. The Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE at the same time marched into France with forty thousand men, and in conjunction with the confederate fleet, commanded by Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, laid siege to Thoulon; but having lain before that city about a month, the taking of it was found impracticable, and the Duke marched back again into Italy, the French being in no condition to oppose his return; or if they were, did not think fit to hazard a battle in their own country, where a defeat might have been fatal to them. The Duke, by way of retaliation for the havoc the French had been guilty of in Piedmont, destroyed all the olive-trees about Thoulon, and in the country through which he marched. And this was the last considerable enterprize his Royal Highness was concerned in during the war; there happening to be a misunderstanding between the Emperor and him, concerning some fiefs in the Montferat: however, at the peace concluded in the year 1713, the services the Duke of Savoy had performed, and the hazards he had run in the confederate cause, induced the high allies to confer on him the kingdom of Sicily; to which the King of Spain consented, on condition of his Sicilian Majesty's entering into a strict alliance with him.

The Spaniards invade Sicily.

In the month of August 1717, the King of Spain commanded the Marquis de Lede to make a descent on the island of Sardinia with six or seven thousand men, and made himself master of the island, notwithstanding it was yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht. The following year, 1718, the same General invaded Sicily with seventeen or eighteen thousand men, and most of the towns opened their gates to him, and submitted to King PHILIP. Whereupon the Emperor, Great Britain, and France, entered into an alliance, which, upon the States-General coming into it, obtained the name of the Quadruple Alliance, whereby they engaged to see the peace of Utrecht performed in all it's articles, except such as they should consent to alter: and in one of the said articles it was stipulated, That whereas the cession of Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht to the house of Savoy was solely made for rendering that peace more solid and lasting, and not on the account of any right the King of Sicily had thereto, which had not produced the desired effect; the Princes who made the said treaty of Utrecht therefore, for the repose of Italy, had thought it lawful for them, even without the consent of the

parties concerned, to abrogate that article of the said treaty which regarded the kingdom of Sicily, and to require that the King of Sicily should restore to his Imperial Majesty the said island and kingdom, with all it's dependencies. In return whereof his Imperial Majesty should yield to the said King of Sicily the island and kingdom of Sardinia, in the same manner he possessed Sicily: on condition nevertheless, that the reversion of the said kingdom of Sardinia should be reserved to the crown of Spain, whenever the house of Savoy should fail of heirs male. His Imperial Majesty also confirmed to the King of Sardinia all the cessions made to him of the Montferat, and of the provinces, towns, and places transferred to him in the Milanese; and acknowledged the right of the said King of Sicily to succeed to the crown of Spain, on failure of male issue of King PHILIP and his posterity; provided that no Prince of the house of Savoy, who should succeed to the kingdom of Spain, should possess at the same time any part of the continent of Italy. To which alliance the King of Sicily acceded, and agreed to take upon him the title of King of Sardinia, instead of King of Sicily.

The King of Spain also being over-powered by the Imperialists and their allies, agreed to evacuate the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, to acknowledge the Emperor's title to one, and the King of Sardinia's to the other; and, in short, to accede to the quadruple alliance: though it is highly probable, that neither his Sardinian or Catholick Majesty were perfectly satisfied with the terms of it. His Sardinian Majesty's dominions having enjoy'd a profound peace ever since the year 1720, that Prince has applied himself to correct such abuses, as had crept into the administration during the late wars, and to encourage trade and manufactures. He has also ordered the laws to be reviewed, which were grown too voluminous, and reduced them to a narrower compass, and abridged and shortened the proceedings in courts of justice, to the great satisfaction of his subjects.

His present titles are VICTOR-AMADEUS, by the grace of God, King of Sardinia, Duke of Savoy, Chablais, Aouste, Genevois, and Montferat; Prince of Piedmont, Achaia, Morea, and Oneglia; Marquis of Salusses and Suza; Earl of Asti, Geneva, Nice, Tende, and Romont; Baron of Vaud; Lord of Verceil, Friburg, Marro, Piella, Novella; Prince and perpetual Vicar of the holy Roman Empire in Italy, and King of Cyprus, &c.

As the King of Sardinia is a member of the Empire, he has a session in their Dyets amongst the Princes of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, and contributes his quota to a war against the Turks; but I don't find he is subject to the laws and constitutions of the Empire in other respects, unless it be that he receives the investiture of such territories as he enjoys in the Montferat and Milanese from the Emperor.

The ordinary revenues of this Prince are usually computed at five hundred thousand pounds sterling per ann. but this seems to be no more than an uncertain guess: however, as he is possessed of several rich and fertile provinces, they must be very considerable; and as he is absolute in his dominions, he can augment them at his pleasure. What he has to consider is, that he does not too much oppress his subjects by laying on them duties greater than they can bear, and thereby discourage them from cultivating and improving

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proving their lands to the best advantage, which would in the end redound to his own loss. And as he is surrounded by Princes more potent than himself, he must take care also not to give his people too great provocations, lest they should be induced to change their masters, as we find some of the Vaudois did in the last war, putting themselves under the protection of the French.

Forces.

He is always obliged to have a good body of troops in time of peace, to garrison his frontier towns against France and the Milanese; but he does not seem to be governed by the German principle, of keeping up twice as many forces as he can maintain. It is with reluctance that he is ever drawn into a war either by France or the Empire; and when he finds it unavoidable, and that he must declare for the one party or the other, he takes care to make an advantageous bargain: to have such sums advanced, and pensions annually paid him, that he has little occasion to burthen his subjects with extraordinary taxes. In all that long and terrible war he was engaged in for thirty years, till the peace of Utrecht, I question whether he paid ten thousand men with his own money; and though his country suffered very much, he was at last amply rewarded by an addition of several fine countries to his former territories, and placed in the rank of Kings. The taking Sicily from him again by the same powers who had conferred that kingdom on him, without any provocation on his part, must be a very great mortification; but as it is, he has been no great sufferer by his adherence to the allies: had he been biased indeed by considerations of blood or natural affection, it might have been expected that he should have declared for France and Spain, his two grandsons being heirs to those two kingdoms; but kindred or friendship, seldom determine Princes or States in forming their alliances. He might be apprehensive, that if France and Spain had success in the war, as their territories lay contiguous to his own, they would put what terms they pleased upon him, and he must become a vassal to LEWIS le Grand. Whereas by taking part with the Confederates, he might enlarge his dominions, and make a greater figure in Europe than any of his ancestors had done; and the success has shewn the wisdom of his choice. And here give me leave to observe, that no Prince has discovered a greater reach in politicks than the King of Sardinia, in defending his small territories for so many years against the most powerful and ambitious Prince in Europe, who lay contiguous to him, and attacked him with the utmost fury. In the first war, though he had lost the best part of his country, he had the address to get every place restored him, except Pignerol, by a treaty to marry one daughter to the heir of France, and another to the King of Spain, and to procure large sums of money from France to reimburse the charges of the war. In the second war, though he joined the French, and admitted their troops into his country, when he changed hands, and came over to the Confederates, he so contrived matters, that the French had not an opportunity of surprizing any of his towns, but every one of them defended themselves to the last extremity, and gave his new allies an opportunity of relieving him. To say what his interest would be in case of a rupture between the allies of Vienna and Hanover, would be presumption in me; but if we may judge at his future conduct by the past, we may conclude he will not be in haste to de-

clare for either; and when he does, the powers that offer him the greatest advantages will have him. Should he take the Vienna side, no doubt but the maritime powers will soon deprive him of his kingdom of Sardinia; but this is a loss which the Imperialists can easily make him amends for, by enlarging his Italian territories, and may perhaps erect him another kingdom in Lombardy, if they should stand very much in need of him.

The republicks of Geneva and Genoa are as much inferior in strength to his Sardinian Majesty, and as apprehensive of his designs against them, as he is of France or the Emperor; and were they not protected by their respective allies, would be in danger of falling under his power. Nor does he want a pretence to attack Geneva, if he should meet with a favourable opportunity, his ancestors having been Sovereigns of that city, as they were also of the neighbouring country of Vaud, which the Switzers made themselves masters of, and still keep by a strong hand. He is not yet indeed in a condition to recover either. But none of these States would willingly see his Sardinian Majesty more powerful than he is, being well assured he would revive his antiquated claims on their respective countries, if he knew how to support them by his arms.

## G E N O A.

## CHAP. VII.

*Treats of the territories and coast of Genoa, the antient Liguria.*

THIS country is properly called, *The coast of Genoa*; extending along the Mediterranean Sea, from the river Var to the Magra, an hundred and fifty miles in length, and not being above twenty in breadth, and in some places scarce ten. It is bounded on the land side by the Alps and Apennine hills, which separate the Genoese from the county of Nice, Piedmont, Montferat, the Milanese, and Parma on the west, north, and north-east; it is bounded by the Duchy of Florence towards the east; and by the Mediterranean, or the Riviere de Genoa on the south.

The country lying thus open to the south sun, and the rocks and mountains covering it from the northern winds, the air is much warmer than in the neighbouring country of Piedmont, and in summer it is excessive hot. The tops of the mountains are perfectly bare, having neither wood nor herbage upon them; but the bottom and south side of the mountains are well planted with vines, olives, mulberries, and other fruit-trees, and in some places with palm-trees, the last of which are rarely found in other parts of Italy; but the soil yields scarce any corn, nor have they great plenty of fish in their seas; or rather, as some relate, these seas are so tempestuous, that the fish are not easily taken here. Some travellers indeed assure us, that they have seen large shoals of fish upon this coast in fine weather, which may easily be reconciled with the former accounts; for let there be ever so great a plenty of fish in a calm, they always disappear in stormy weather, which this coast is very subject to.

The Genoese, as Mr ADDISON observes, are generally esteemed a cunning industrious people, and more enured to hardship than the rest of the Italians, which was the character of their ancestors,

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flores, the antient Ligurians. As the barrenness of the country continues, no wonder, says my author, that their manners are the same; for nothing makes men's wits sharper than want. But there may be this further reason given for their sagacity and dexterity in business, namely, that all their nobility and gentry apply themselves to trade, and are better acquainted with the mysteries of over-reaching and cozening those they deal with, than the gentry of other countries. It is very rare to find a tradesman above the little arts of tricking and deceiving his customers, either in the price or goodness of what he sells; and those that have been bred up in such practices, are seldom observed to have that spirit and generosity which is so natural to gentlemen. Let an overgrown tradesman come and settle in the country, you shall see him practising all the little arts in the neighbourhood he lives in he was used to in his shop, as often as he meets with an opportunity: if he is guilty of a charitable or benevolent act, it is usually by his last will and testament, which is not to take place till after he is dead, and this by way of composition with heaven perhaps for the extortion and knavery of his youth.

Habits.

The quality in Genoa are usually clothed in black, and wear no swords; but throw a cloak over them when they got out, notwithstanding the heat of the country. As for the poorer sort of people, such as labourers, husbandmen, &c. they scarce wear any cloaths at all, nor have occasion for any, the weather is so warm. The people of a middle rank follow some the Spanish and others the French modes, according as they are affected. The womens petticoats, who are pleased with the Spanish fashions, are stuffed out with farthingals; while the men wear broad hats, long-waisted doublets with hanging sleeves, and strait breeches, buckling themselves up with broad leathern belts.

Towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Genoa, the capital. 2. Gavi. 3. Coghereto. 4. Varragio. 5. Noli. 6. Albenga. 7. St Lorenzo. 8. Taggia. 9. St Remo. 10. Vintimiglia. 11. Oneglia. 12. Final. 13. Sarzana. 14. Lerice. 15. Spezza. 16. Porto Venere. 17. Monterosso. 18. Sestri. 19. Lavagne. 20. Rapallo. 21. Porto Fino. 22. Brugnato. 23. Torriglia. 24. Vergagny. And, 25. Chivari.

Genoa city.

The city of Genoa lies upon the sea, embracing the harbour in form of a crescent, in forty-four degrees thirty minutes north latitude; part of it is on a flat, close to the shore, the other part rises gradually with the hill. The houses are lofty, and beautifully painted on the outside, and afford one of the finest prospects in the world to those who approach it from the sea. The harbour is large and deep, but lies open to the south-west, the most troublesome wind that blows in these seas. They have built a mole, which secures their galleys and small vessels from storms as well as enemies, but the larger lie exposed to both: nor could they protect the town itself from a bombardment, when the French fleet came before it in the year 1684, the heart of the town was almost destroyed; but it is since rebuilt to great advantage: nor did the finest palaces which stood towards the outside of the town receive any great damage. The Genoese have since built another mole and several forts, which they have provided with long guns to secure them against the like misfortune; but whether it will answer their ex-

pectations or not, I find is much questioned. Most of the streets are very narrow, and the houses built six or seven stories high, which occasions the lower rooms to be dark, but defends them from the scorching heat of the sun. The buildings are of brick or stone, the walls generally plastered over and painted, and the roofs flat. The new street, according to Mr ADDISON, is a double range of palaces from one end to the other, built with an excellent fancy, and fit for the greatest Princes to inhabit. They are richly adorned with marble, and the fronts of four or five of them entirely of that kind of stone; but these are all the marble houses in Genoa, though, according to the accounts of many travellers, one would be inclined to think the whole town was built with it. Five or six of the streets are of a great breadth, and the houses very magnificent; as they are also in the suburb of St Pietro D'Arena. There are a great many beautiful palaces standing along the sea-shore, which makes the town appear much larger than it is to those who sail by it; but the circumference of the city is not above six miles. It is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and at a little distance there is a second wall, which takes in the hills that command the place. The streets being too narrow for coaches to pass, chairs and litters are chiefly used by the quality instead of them.

There are in the place about thirty parish-churches, twenty colleges, and as many convents and religious houses; the steeples and towers whereof are no small ornament to the city, and may be seen at a great distance at sea. But what seems peculiar to this town is their gardens of flowers and greens on the roofs of their houses, and in their balconies, where the foundation will bear them. The principal publick buildings are, 1. The cathedral, dedicated to St LAWRENCE, a large edifice, but not so beautiful as many other Italian churches. The things most remarkable on the inside are the marble pillars which support the roof, and a marble statue of St JOHN the Evangelist. The ashes of St JOHN the Baptist are said to be preserved in this church in a silver vessel, which stands upon four porphyry pillars. They shew also a large dish made of one single emerald, which, according to tradition, was presented to SOLOMON by the Queen of Sheba, and is the same which our Saviour eat the paschal lamb out of. The church of the Annunciation is the finest in Genoa, built at the sole charge of the family of LOMELLINI: the roof is gloriously gilded, the pillars that support it are of marble, and the walls covered with the most exquisite paintings; the altars are magnificent, and adorned with fine pictures done by RUBENS, and other great masters. The churches of St CYR, St MATTHEW, and St MARY of Carignan, are also well worth viewing.

The Duke of DORIA's palace has the best appearance on the outside of any in Genoa: it takes up all the ground from the sea-shore to the top of the hill; in the lower part of it is a magnificent gallery, paved with black and white marble, and supported by pillars of the same stone, being an hundred and twenty paces long, and stands in full view of the port. Beyond this is a fine garden, adorned with fountains and statues, amongst which one of them represents ANDREW DORIA, the head of the family, under the figure of NEPTUNE, much larger than the life. As the palace rises higher upon the ascent of the hill, the apartments are still more magnificent; nor can any thing

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thing be richer than the furniture; the very bedsteads are of silver, and nothing is to be seen but tables of jasper, alabaster, agate, or silver; among which there is one of silver, said to weigh twenty-four thousand crowns. One room, Mr ADDISON observes, is hung with tapestry, in which are wrought, the figures of the great persons that family has produced; nor can any house in Europe show a longer line of heroes, who have preferred the good of their country to all other views. There is another statue erected to the memory of ANDREW DORIA at the entrance of the Doge's palace, with the title of, *The deliverer of his country*. But to return to the palace of DORIA; it is filled with statues, busts, bas-reliefs, and the most exquisite paintings; the hall through which we enter is built in form of a portico, and covered with pictures drawn by the best hands. Beyond this part of the palace is a beautiful summer-house in the middle of a fine garden, which reaches to the top of the hill, adorned with grotto's, fountains, and statues; and among other curiosities, there is a tomb and epitaph of a dog, that had a legacy of five hundred pounds per annum left him for his maintenance.

The palaces of Durazzo, Palavicino, Spinola, Baldi, Grimaldi, Lomellini, and Turfis, also are deservedly admired. But Mr ADDISON seems to prefer the Villa Imperiale, a mile out of town, to any of them. The Doge's palace is a large building, where are chambers for the great and little Council, and for the colleges, as also lodgings for the Doge, and some of the Senators and their families; but this is much inferior to the private palaces of the nobility, both in point of architecture and materials. It is not to be conceived, says a French writer, how many beauties may be discovered with the single cast of an eye in the new street of Genoa: all is enchanting! all astonishing! When we have viewed one of these palaces, we are apt to think that nothing can excel it, and yet the beauty of the next, will make us forget what we just before so much admired. The Jesuits church may also well be ranked among the Genoese palaces, if we regard the materials, the architecture, or the painting with which it is adorned. Mr ADDISON complains, that there are but few antiquities to be met with in this city: he saw no other than the rostrum of an old Roman ship, which is made of iron, and ends in a boar's head: this was found in the harbour of Genoa as they were cleaning it. In the arsenal, where 'tis pretended there are arms for forty thousand men, they shew several pieces of armour, which, according to tradition, were worn by certain Genoese ladies, in a croisade against the Turks, in which they distinguished themselves by their bravery.

This city has been the See of an Archbishop ever since the year 1132, and though it be not an university, here is an academy of wits, who spend their time in composing orations, poems, and other ingenious studies: for as the Italians are perfectly ignorant in the art of drinking and smoking away the best part of their day, the principal amusement of the quality, in some countries to the northward of them; it is necessary they should introduce some amusements, in the room of those elegant entertainments. When a foreigner arrives at Genoa, I perceive his baggage is strictly searched, and he is severely treated if the custom-house officers find any foreign coin. A dagger, or a sharp pointed knife also is seized

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as an unlawful weapon, and incurs a forfeiture; but fire-arms are only taken away, and secured till the traveller leaves the town, and they require a fee for taking care of them. It is the same in other towns of Italy; so that a person pays more than the price of his pistols before he has passed through many of them.

VERIYARD relates, that the day he arrived at Genoa, as he passed through one of the great streets, he observed a woman mounted on a stage, hung round with spheres, globes, schemes, and mathematical instruments: she was tall of stature, of a swarthy complexion, and a fierce masculine countenance, and was haranguing the croud, magnifying her skill in judicial astrology, and telling of fortunes, with a thousand ridiculous gestures and odd grimaces; after which she invited the people to attend at her chamber, where they might have an account of their whole lives, past and to come, at a reasonable rate: and as a proof of her art, she whispered several of the mob, through a kind of speaking-trumpet twelve feet long, applying the small end of it to the ear of the person she spoke to, so that none of the standers-by could hear what she said. Among others, she pitched upon our traveller to make an experiment upon; and having applied the machine to his ear, she told him, he was troubled with an itch of rambling, that he had gone through many dangers to gratify his curiosity, and been five years out of his own country; which a little surprized him, every tittle of it being literally true: and as he was but just come into the town, and had conversed with none of the inhabitants, he seemed to suspect she had received her intelligence from the devil. But as to his being a traveller, she might easily collect this from his garb, and the time he had been abroad, was probably a meer guess; people are so willing upon one lucky guess to ascribe every thing to some supernatural power, and to make allowances where the pretended conjurer happens to be mistaken, that 'tis no difficult matter, for the professors of this science, to establish a reputation wherever they come. I proceed now to describe the situation of the rest of the towns of any consequence upon the Genoese coast; viz.

2. Cogereito, a little port-town, fifteen miles south-west of Genoa, which would scarce have been worth mentioning, but that it is said to be the place where the famous COLUMBUS, who discovered America, was born; though some make him a native of the city of Genoa.

3. Savona, at the bottom of a bay, about thirty miles south-west of Genoa, one of the largest towns in the Genoese territories, to which the King of Sardinia sometimes sets up a claim. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Milan, and remarkable for the birth of three Popes, viz. GREGORY VII, JULIUS II, and SIXTUS IV.

4. Noli, situate on the same coast, ten miles south-west of Savona, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Genoa; an independent state, till the fifteenth century, when it was incorporated with the republick of Genoa.

5. Final, about five miles south-west of Noli, and forty from Genoa, the capital of a marquise, bounded by two mountains on the east and west, by the duchy of Montferat on the north, and by the sea of Genoa towards the south; governed by it's own Lords, 'till about the year 1600, when ANDREAS SFORZA, the last Marquis, sold it to the Spaniards, who yielded it to the Imperialists

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when they evacuated the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy, in the year 1707, and was by the Imperialists sold to the republick of Genoa, who are now in possession of it. The town is defended by a castle and two forts, and may be reckoned a tolerable harbour on a coast where none are good.

Albenga.

6. Albenga, situate on the same coast, about twenty miles to the southward of Final, at the mouth of a small river, formerly esteemed a considerable city, and a pretty good harbour, and is still the See of a Bishop suffragan to Genoa.

Oneglia.

7. Oneglia, the capital of a territory of the same name, about sixty miles south-west of Genoa, and forty to the westward of Nice, belonging to the King of Sardinia, and already described with the rest of that Prince's territories.

St Remo.

8. St Remo, fifteen miles to the westward of Oneglia, pleasantly situated, partly in a plain by the sea-side, and partly on the ascent of a hill, the country about it abounding in oranges, lemons, and other delicious fruits, which has occasioned it to be called the paradise of Italy. Mr ADDISON being driven into this harbour by contrary winds, observed that there were several plantations of palm-trees in the neighbouring fields, which are not found in any other part of Italy.

Vintimiglia.

9. Vintimiglia, a port-town, situate at the mouth of the river Rota, thirty miles and upwards to the westward of Oneglia, remarkable for little but its antient castle, and it's being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan.

Monaco.

10. Monaco, the capital of a little principality, belonging to the family of Grimaldi, about ten miles long and three broad. The town lies about ten miles to the westward of Vintimiglia, and eight to the eastward of Nice, and is supposed to be the *Herculis Monaci Portus* of the antients. It is fortified and defended by a castle, and has a harbour belonging to it. The Spaniards were in possession of it till the year 1641, when the Prince expelled them, and received a French garrison, under whose protection it has been almost ever since. The Prince is a Peer of France.

Rapallo.

The towns situate to the eastward of Genoa, are, 1. Rapallo, which lies on a little bay of the same name, sixteen miles south-east of Genoa, famous for the excellent oil produced in the country about it.

Lavagne.

2. Lavagne, situate at the mouth of a river of the same name, twenty-five miles south-east of Genoa.

Borgheto.

3. Borgheto, the capital of a marquisate, a little to the eastward of Lavagne, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Genoa.

Sarzana.

4. Sarzana, situate about sixty miles south-east of Genoa, about three miles from the mouth of the river Magra, the eastern boundary of the state of Genoa, a large populous town, with a pretty good trade, and the See of a Bishop suffragan to Rome.

Porto Venere.

And, 5. Porto Venere, about seven miles to the southward of Sarzana, upon the gulph of Spezza, esteemed a good harbour, and defended by a fort.

The legislative authority in the republick of Genoa is lodged in the Great Council or Senate. The administration of the government is committed to the Doge, or Duke, with the following councils, 1. The council called the Signiory. 2. The council called the College. 3. An assembly stiled the Council. And, 4. An assembly composed of the Signiory and College united in one.

The Great Council, or Senate, consists of the

Signiory and College, and four hundred noblemen and principal citizens, annually elected out of the freemen, who must be twenty five years of age, and who have been registred citizens four years at least, and have not been of this council before; three hundred of whom, with the members of the Signiory and College, make a Quorum. Four parts in five of this Senate must agree to the enacting new laws, and levying of taxes; and they have also some of the principal offices in their disposal.

The Signiory consists of the Duke and twelve other members, who have been free twelve years, and hold their places two years, but are not capable of being elected again under five years after their quitting them. By these, audience is given to Ambassadors, dispatches to and from foreign courts sent and received, letters-patent granted, and orders issued for the payment of the publick money: And where the matter is of difficulty, and they cannot agree, they call the College to their assistance, and sometimes the Council also, and the matter is determined by plurality of voices.

The College is composed of eight members stiled Procurators, together with all such as have enjoyed the office of Dukes, the latter being Procurators for life, but the former chosen once in two years. These manage the revenue, farm out the lands of the state, buy and sell for the republick, and in case any dispute arise, call the Signiory to their assistance.

The assembly called the Council, consists of the Signiory, the College, and one hundred members more, chosen out of the Great Council or Senate. These are the last resort in civil causes, and receive all appeals from inferior judicatories, and assist the Signiory and College in difficult points, as hath been observed already.

The Signiory and College united, have a power of granting pardons in ordinary cases, but in parricide, high-treason, and other enormous crimes, they are obliged to call the Council to their assistance. The Signiory and College also treat of war and peace, and forming alliances; and in all their councils, matters are determined by ballot. Besides the five councils above-mentioned, there is another assembly of five persons, whose office it is to see the laws put in execution.

The Doge is obliged to reside in the palace the two years he is in office, with two of the Signiory, and their families. He must be an inhabitant of the city, fifty years of age, no bastard, and one that hath an estate to support his dignity. He proposes all matters to be debated in the Senate and Council, which are of a publick concern; and after he has served two years retires to his own house, where he remains in private for eight days till his administration is examined, and either approved or condemned. In the first case he is made Procurator during life; but in the other, proceeded against as a criminal.

When the Doge is elected, they place a crown of gold upon his head, and a scepter in his hand, on account of the island and kingdom of Corsica, of which they are Sovereigns; but this is but a shadow of royalty, the authority being lodged in the Senate: He hath however his guards, and his habit is not inferior to that of other crowned heads, his temporary Majesty being clothed in robes of crimson velvet, and complimented with the title of His Serenity. The Senators are stiled Their Excellencies, and the Nobility illustrious; as indeed every man is in Italy, who makes any

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any thing of a figure. The nobility derive their titles from such lands or signories as they possess in Milan or Naples, or have purchased them of the King of Spain or the Emperor, who now possesses the Spanish territories in Italy. And though the ancient and modern nobility enjoy the same privileges, yet those families which are of an hundred or two years standing, mightily despise those who are lately made, as is usual in other countries. This republick has suffered very much by permitting her subjects to purchase honours and estates of foreign Princes; for this has in a manner rendered the most considerable families amongst them subjects to another jurisdiction. While the Spaniard was possessed of Milan and Naples, they were obliged to be governed by Spanish councils, as they are now by the Imperialists; which has sometimes drawn upon them the resentment of the French, who have bombarded their capital city and other towns upon the coast, and given a great shock to their trade. As to their naval strength, it is dwindled to nothing: Their fleet, which formerly obtained so many glorious victories over the Venetians, Turks, Spaniards, &c. and settled so many colonies in Asia, is now reduced to six galleys; and when they would have made an addition to them of four more, the French King ordered them to desist at their peril. Their forces at land in time of peace may be about four or five thousand men, and in case of a war they might raise twenty thousand, and find taxes sufficient to maintain them, for many of their subjects are still very rich. The ordinary revenue indeed is not computed to amount to two hundred thousand pounds per annum, but upon an extraordinary occasion the great men must submit to be taxed in proportion to their wealth; though as they compose the legislature, no doubt they will avoid charging their own estates 'till there is an absolute necessity for it. As for what they possess in the Emperor's territories in Naples and Milan, they are usually taxed higher than the natives, and these duties add nothing to the publick revenue of their own state; and whatever extortions are practised upon them abroad, they have no remedy for them. It has always been the maxim of the Spaniards, as I suppose it is now of the Imperialists, not to suffer the Genoeſe to sell their estates in Naples, &c. to any but their own countrymen, that the great men of Genoa may always be dependent on those powers. There is a bank at Genoa, whose fund is part of the publick duties, which are appropriated to pay off the debts of the republick; from whence it is natural to think the projectors of our Sinking Fund took the hint.

The crown of Spain remains still vastly indebted to this republick for the money borrowed by PHILIP II, towards fitting out the Invincible Armada against England, and other sums taken up since; for which that kingdom pays them part of the interest sometimes, and probably they never expect the principal, especially since the Spaniards have so little to do in Italy at this day. One piece of oeconomy the Genoeſe are justly commended for, considering the barrenness of their country; and that is, the keeping always two or three years provision of corn, wine, and oil, before-hand in their store-houses, for the use of the publick. In plentiful years, when these things are cheap, they buy up enough to serve the city three or four years; and if there happens to be a bad year, they live upon the old store. The necessaries of life by this means are never at an extravagant price,

the state contenting itself with a very moderate profit. All retailers of corn and wine, bakers, vintners, &c. are obliged to take them of the publick, and have a certain gain allowed them, which they may not exceed upon the severest penalties. The wine-cellars are fixed in several quarters of the town as conveniently as may be, and every cellar has its intendant or officer, who is answerable to the state for his conduct. The Genoeſe boast that these wines are never adulterated, and that here only pure natural wine is drunk; for should the officers or their servants be concerned in the mixing them, they would infallibly be sent to the galleys. The chief manufactures in Genoa, are silks, taffeta's, velvets, brocades, and other rich stuffs, which they export to other countries, together with wine, oil, citrons, lemons, anchovies, dried sweet-meats, Parmesan cheese, and several kinds of drugs used in physick and painting; but their trade seems to be very much upon the decline.

From history we learn, that this country, the ancient Liguria, with the rest of Italy, fell under the dominion of the Romans; and that MAGO, the brother of HANNIBAL, having taken and destroyed their capital city of Genoa, the Romans sent LUCRETIVS to rebuild it, during the consulate of C. N. SERVILIUS SCIPIO, and C. SERVILIUS NEPOS. Upon the fall of the Roman empire it became subject to the Lombards; after which, they erected governments of their own, but were so tumultuous and unsteady in their choice, that no state has ever suffered greater or more frequent revolutions. Sometimes the people chose them a head on whom they conferred the sovereignty; soon after, the nobility deposed him, and assumed the government themselves. To-day they put themselves under the protection of some neighbouring Prince; and not many days after renounced his authority. They were successively subject to the Archbishop of Milan, the French, the Marquis of Montferat, the Duke of Milan, and again to the French: and in the intervals of these foreign governments they chose Counts, Consuls, and Captains, of their own. At length ANDREW DORIA, about the year 1518, settled their republick in the form we find it at present; of which event a late writer gives the following relation:

The Genoeſe putting themselves sometimes under the protection of the Spaniards, and sometimes under that of the French, according as they could procure the most advantageous terms from the one or the other, as hath been hinted already; the abovementioned ANDREAS DORIA, a native of this republick, who was one of the greatest Admirals and Generals of his time, and had served alternately in the French and Spanish armies, had the address to play one of these powers against the other so successfully, that he entirely disengaged his country from a dependance on either of them, and then erected a free state according to the aboveſaid model, notwithstanding the Genoeſe offered to make him their hereditary Prince, without putting any limitations upon him; and so jealous was he of their losing their liberty again, that he procured an act of state, that neither he nor any of his descendants, nor any other family that should grow rich and powerful in the commonwealth, should be admitted to any office or share in the government, lest they should usurp the sovereign power. But all his caution was very near being eluded even in his life-time; for about the year 1547, a popular citizen named FIESCO, had obtained

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obtained such an influence over the people by his benevolence to the poor and necessitous, and a pretended zeal for the publick good, that he carried all before him: He prevailed with the citizens to imprison the principal Senators, under pretence of male-administration; and created an ill opinion in the people also of their once-admired Prince DORIA, the only person he apprehended able to frustrate his designs; and afterwards found but little difficulty in making himself master of the capital city. But going the same day as it were in triumph to take possession of the fleet of the republick, which lay at anchor in the harbour, and walking over a plank from one vessel to another, he dropped into the sea loaded with his armour, and sunk downright; whereupon his party being in confusion, the aged Prince DORIA took advantage of it, set upon the rebels, and dispersed them; and by these means became a second time the founder of their commonwealth. FIESCO's body being afterwards found, the Senate decreed that it should be carried several leagues to sea, and with ignominious ceremonies thrown into it; that his estate should be confiscated, his palace demolished, and no house ever be built in the place where it stood, that the ruins might remain a monument of his treachery, as they do to this day: While, on the contrary, the fine marble statues of Prince DORIA, and of his nephew who was killed in opposing the usurper, stand on each side of the stairs as we ascend the senate-house, in memory of their virtue. The nobility of Genoa, the same author observes, converse freely with foreigners as well as with their fellow-citizens; while the Venetian nobility are reserved, wearing a distinguishing habit, and it seems dangerous entering into too free a conversation with them. But to return to the Genoise: After this second deliverance by Prince ANDREW DORIA, they caused a register to be made of all their free citizens; and found five hundred twenty-four antient families of noble extraction, and four hundred eighty-seven other families of considerable citizens; and these two classes only were denominated free citizens; in whom and their descendants, taking up their freedoms and registering themselves, not being infamous, or having exercised any mechanical trade within three years before their election, the government is lodged. The rest of the inhabitants, either of the city or in the territories belonging to the republick, are stiled unfree, and have no share of the government. Out of the former only the members of the Senate and of all the other Councils are elected. But it is provided, That if any free citizen shall, through infamy, or his exercising any mechanical employment, be disabled to exercise any office or place in the administration; yet his legitimate male issue, being men of reputation, and not exercising any mean trade, shall be restored to the privileges of their ancestors. It is also provided, That the buying and selling as merchants, or the going to sea and negotiating such kind of business, without keeping open shop, shall not disqualify a freeman. And the Signiory, the College and Council in conjunction, have a power of electing annually in January out of the citizens that are not free, any number not exceeding ten, to be registered and added to the number of free citizens. The inhabitants who are not free are eligible also to many beneficial offices.

## M I L A N.

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## CHAP. VIII.

*Contains a description of the duchy of Milan.*

THE duchy of Milan is bounded by Switzerland and the country of the Grisons on the north; by the territories of Venice and the duchies of Mantua and Parma towards the east; by the Apennine mountains, which separate it from the territories of Genoa on the south; and by Montferat and the King of Sardinia's other dominions on the west, being about eighty miles in length from north to south, and sixty in breadth from east to west, and three hundred miles in circumference. It is extremely well watered with rivers and lakes: the chief rivers are the Po, the Tefin, the Adda, and the Sessia; the lakes are those of Maggiore, Lugano, and Como. The air and climate are very desirable, and the whole country almost one fruitful plain, adorned with a great variety of fine towns, palaces, and convents. This country, says Dr BURNET, is equal to the loveliest spots in England or France, hath all the sweetness of Holland and Flanders, but with a warmer sun and better air. The neighbourhood of the mountains causes a freshness of air here, that makes it the most desirable place to live in that can be found.

Situation  
and extent  
of the du-  
chy of  
Milan.

Rivers and  
lakes.

The air.

Soil.

This duchy is divided into thirteen parts, viz. 1. The Milanese Proper. 2. The Pavese. 3. The Lodofan. 4. The Cremonese. 5. The Comasco. 6. The county of Anghiera. 7. The vallies of Sessia. 8. The Novarese. 9. The Vigevanois. 10. The Lomelline. 11. The Alexandrin. 12. The Tortonese. And, 13. The territory of Bobbio.

Subdivi-  
on.

Milanese Proper is bounded by Comasco on the north, by the Lodofan on the east, by the Pavese on the south, and by the Novarese on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Milan, the capital of the duchy. 2. Marignano. 3. Agnadel. And, 4. Cassano.

Milanese  
Proper.

1. Milan, stiled *The Great*, and that very justly, if we consider it's demensions, the multitude of it's inhabitants, the magnificence of it's temples and palaces, or it's manufactures and commerce. It is situated in the latitude of forty-five degrees twenty-five minutes; nine degrees thirty minutes to the eastward of London, about two hundred and fifty miles north-west of Rome, and eighty-five to the eastward of Turin. It stands upon the little river Olana, and has the advantage of two navigable canals, by which it hath a communication with the rivers Adda and Tefin. The city is of a round form, and encompassed by a wall, in which there are ten gates, being about ten miles in circumference, too large to admit of a regular fortification; but the citadel, which is a large hexagon and commands the place, is looked upon as one of the strongest fortresses in Italy. The streets of the town are broad and clean, the squares spacious, the houses lofty, but the contrivance of them, or their beauty, not so much admired as those in some other Italian cities. It contains two hundred and thirty churches, of which eighty are parochial, and eleven collegiate. There are also forty convents of men, and fifty of women, with some other fraternities, and the suburbs are very large. The vastness of the town,

The city  
of Milan.

the



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the nobleness of the buildings, and above all, the surprising riches of the churches and convents, says Dr BURNET, are signs of great wealth. It is supposed to contain three hundred thousand souls, amongst whom are great numbers of nobility and gentry, as well as merchants. Their principal manufactures are those of silk-brocade, and other rich stuffs: their steel and iron-ware, and fine crystal-works, are also much admired, especially the last; and their artificers of every kind are such exquisite artists, that they have engrossed the trade of this part of Italy. The nobility here affect to make a grand appearance, as is evident from their clothes, their coaches, and numerous retinues of servants; and the women go abroad and enjoy more freedom here than in many other towns in Italy.

The publick buildings most taken notice of, are, 1. The cathedral, a vast Gothick structure, about five hundred feet in length, and two hundred in breadth: the pavements, the walls, inside and out, with the roof, according to Dr BURNET, are all marble. The roof is supported by an hundred and sixty white marble pillars, standing in four rows, each of them three fathoms round, and valued at ten thousand crowns a pillar: though this church is so full of statues, says the same reverend writer, that one would be inclined to think every saint hath it's statue here; it is said there are several thousands still wanting to finish the design. Those of St BARTHOLOMEW fleeced, alive, and ADAM and EVE, are admirable pieces. Here are two noble brazen pulpits in the church, each of them running round a large pillar like a gallery, and supported by huge figures of the same metal. The choir is wainscoted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, says my author, that I never saw passion so well expressed in wood. It contains sixty stalls, and they have almost all the histories of the gospel represented in them. Just under the cupola lies St CARLO's body, (CHARLES BORROMEO once Archbishop of this See) in a great crystal case of an immense price. The plate and other presents made to this saint are of a prodigious value; some services for the altar are all of gold, very massive, and set with jewels; others are so finely wrought, that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the metal; and indeed the riches of the churches of Milan, says my author, strike one with amazement.

The church of St AMBROSE is in great esteem on account of the corps of that saint, which is interred here; and his denying the Emperor THEODOSIUS entrance into the same church, for having barbarously massacred seven thousand of the inhabitants of Theffalonica. Here is also shewn a brazen serpent upon a high marble pillar, said to be the same that MOSES erected in the desert, though the scripture assures us, it was beaten to powder some thousand years ago.

The other buildings best worth viewing are the palace of the Archbishop, the Viceroy's, and that of the Marquis of Homodeo's; the seminary also is a fine building, erected by CHARLES BORROMEO; and the college of the Jesuits, the town-house, and the great hospital deserve our attention. The last is a magnificent structure, wherein are entertained four thousand infirm people, having a revenue of seventy thousand crowns per annum, and upwards. The closet of Signior MANFIEDO SETTALA, being a vast collection of natural and artificial rarities, is also said to be well worth the

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viewing. As for the Ambrosian library, so much admired by some, Mr ADDISON observes, that they have laid out more money in pictures than in books, according to the Italian genius. About two miles from Milan, as the same writer relates, stands a building that would have been a masterpiece in it's kind, had the architect designed it for an artificial echo. Here he discharged a pistol, and the sound was returned six and fifty times, though the air was very thick and foggy. The first repetitions follow very thick, but are heard more distinctly in proportion as they decay. There are two parallel walls which beat the sound back on each other, till the undulation is quite worn out. Other travellers relate, that they have heard the echo repeated in this place an hundred times. At Milan, as in several other cities of Italy, the natives are inclined to imitate the French in their mien and garb; but there is a kind of awkwardness in the Italians, which easily discovers the airs they give themselves not to be natural.

The civil government of Milan is lodged in the senate, consisting of prelates, doctors of law, and gentlemen of the country, who are however subject to the controul of the Emperor's Vicar-General, who is at present the celebrated Prince EUGENE of Savoy, to whom the Viceroys of Naples and Sicily, and the Governors of all the rest of the Italian territories subject to the Emperor are accountable. The Vicar-General also appoints the president of the senate, magistrates, commissaries, officers of the treasury, &c. The governor of the town and citadel of Milan are independent of each other. The several cities, districts, and chatellanies of Milan are governed in civil matters by their respective magistrates. In each city there are twelve Seniors or Aldermen, who are chosen out of the common council, consisting generally of sixty members, and the governors of the several places are appointed by the Vicar-General, and accountable to him, as are all the generals and military officers. The city of Milan is an Archbishop's See, and according to tradition, their first prelate was St BARNABAS, colleague to St PAUL. Here, as in other towns, is an academy, or club of Wits, who stile themselves *Nasceffi*, that is, hidden, or secret. At their publick meetings they entertain each other with rhetorical, moral, or philosophical discourses, and sometimes with politicks; for travellers relate, that there is no place where the common people inquire into state-affairs, and entertain one another with political remarks more than in this country. They always had an aversion to the French, but the barbarous and insolent treatment they met with from them in the last war, has confirmed them in their aversion to that nation; this induced them so readily to submit to the Austrian dominion after the victory of Turin in the year 1706.

The second subdivision of the Milanese, is the Pavese, which lies to the southward of Milanese Proper; the soil whereof affords such plenty of corn, wine, and the most delicious fruits, that it is called the garden of the Milanese: The chief towns whereof are Pavia, Certosa, and Voghera.

The city of Pavia is situated in a plain on the banks of the river Tesin, four miles north of the Po, and twenty to the southward of Milan, and was the capital of the kingdom of the Lombards, till that monarchy was destroyed by the Emperor CHARLEMAGNE, who took DIDIER their last King prisoner in this city. The streets

CHAP.  
VIII.  
Milan.The go-  
vernment.Academy  
of Wits.The Pa-  
vese.The city  
of Pavia.



CHAP.  
VIII.  
Milan.

are straight and large; but the buildings generally inferior to the other towns of Italy. There are some buildings indeed very well worth viewing, particularly two colleges of their university, which consists of seven in all; the one was founded by Pope PIUS V. and the other by Cardinal BORROMEO. The church of St PETER, with the monastery adjoining to it, are noble structures; in the last of which the corps of St AUSTIN is said to be interred in a tomb of white marble, and is visited to this day with abundance of devotion. The church of the Dominicans also is well worth a traveller's curiosity, as well for the beauty of its architecture, as for its rich moveables and admirable paintings. In the square before the cathedral is a brazen statue on horse-back of MARCUS ANTONINUS, which the people call CHARLES V. and some learned men have taken for CONSTANTINE the Great. The cathedral itself is a heavy old Gothick building, and has little to recommend it. The church and convent of the Carthusians are beautiful structures; the choir of the church particularly is exceeding fine, all the walls are lined with marble, and adorned with pillars of the same stone of different colours, and the figures about the high altar are incomparable. As to the convent, some travellers affirm, that there is nothing equal to it, if we regard either the grandeur or conveniences, the court being surrounded with a portico a mile in circumference, sustained by an infinite number of pillars, under which are the cells of the Monks. But notwithstanding there are some churches and religious houses that deserve our attention here, the place is at this day very much impoverished and run to ruin, nor are its fortifications of any great consequence. It is still however the See of a Bishop, one of the richest in Italy, and depends immediately on the Pope.

The Lodetan.

The third subdivision of Milan is the Lodetan, which abounds in rich pasture and large herds of cattle, and is famous for its cheese. The chief towns whereof are Lodi, and Lodi Vecchio.

The city of Lodi.

The city of Lodi stands on a hill near the banks of the river Adda, twenty miles south-east of Milan, being a large well-built town, and a Bishop's See; but travellers do not give us a particular description of it.

The Cremonese.

The Cremonese is a small province to the eastward of the Lodetan, from which it is separated by the river Adda, and abounds in corn, wine, flax, and fruits. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Cremona. 2. Casal Maggiore. And, 3. Soncino.

The city of Cremona.

The city of Cremona stands in a plain on the north side of the Po, a canal cut from this river to the Oglio running through the city, and is about forty-five miles south-east of Milan. It is a large well-built town, five miles in circumference, the streets wide and straight, and the squares spacious; but neither populous nor rich. It is defended by a castle and other fortifications, and being in possession of the French in the year 1702, Prince EUGENE of Savoy, the Imperial General, entered the place by a subterraneous passage, and surprized Marshal VILLEROY, who commanded the French garrison, in his bed; but the Prince was forced to retire with his prisoner, some Irish regiments in garrison making a brave defence, and the detachment which should have supported the Germans, missing their way, and not coming up in time. This town however, with the rest of Milan, was evacuated by the French in the year 1707, and the Imperialists

have been in possession of it ever since. The cathedral, the Bishop's palace and the town-house, are said to be handsome structures; and there are several fine hospitals well endowed. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan, and hath an university very little frequented at present.

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VIII.  
Milan.

Comasco, the fifth subdivision of the Milanese, lies north of Milanese Proper; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Como. 2. Lecco. 3. Bellamo. And, 4. Fort de Fuentes.

The Colomafco.

Como is situated at the south end of the lake to which it communicates its name, about twenty-five miles to the northward of Milan; 'tis a populous town, and a place of some strength, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan. Here PLINY the younger was born. The neighbouring lake is about thirty miles in length and three in breadth; the river Adda runs through it.

The city of Como.

The sixth subdivision of the Milanese is Anghiera, situate on each side of the south part of the lake Maggiore; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Anghiera. 2. Arona. 3. Orta. 4. Palanza. 5. Canobio. 6. Ugonia. And, 7. Domo d'Ocella.

Anghiera.

The town of Anghiera stands on the east side of the lake Maggiore, about thirty miles north-west of Milan; but I meet with no particular description of this, or of any of the rest of the towns in this district.

The town of Anghiera.

The eighth subdivision of the Milanese are the vallies of Sessia, which lie to the westward of Anghiera: but these having been yielded to his Sardinian Majesty by the Emperor, have been mentioned already.

The vallies of Sessia.

The little province of the Novarese is bounded by the district of Anghiera on the north; by the Milanese Proper on the east; and by the King of Sardinia's territories on the south and west: the chief town whereof is,

The Novarese.

Novara, about thirty miles to the eastward of Milan, a fortified town, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan.

The city of Novara.

The Vigevano, or Vigevanasco, situate on the river Tesin, having been granted to his Sardinian Majesty by the Emperor, has been already described.

Vigevano.

The Lomelline, or Laumelline, to the southward of Vigevano, having been granted also to the King of Sardinia by his Imperial Majesty, hath been already described.

The Lomelline.

The Alexandrin also, which lies to the southward of the Po, having been yielded to his Sardinian Majesty, hath been treated of already.

The Alexandrin.

The Tortonese lies to the eastward of the Alexandrin, the chief town whereof is Tortona, about twelve miles east of Alexandrin, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan.

The Tortonese. Town of Tortona.

The district of Bobbio lies between the Pavese on the north; and the Apennine hills, which separate it from the territories of Genoa, on the south; the chief town whereof is Bobbio, situate in a pleasant plain, about thirty miles south-east of Tortona, being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Genoa.

Town and territory of Bobbio.

The duchy of Milan, the north part of the ancient Liguria, was inhabited by the Insabres when it fell under the dominion of the Romans. Upon the decline of the Roman Empire it was possessed by the Goths, who were expelled by the Longobardi, or Lombards, a people of Germany, about the year 572. Milan constituted the best part of the kingdom of Lombardy, which continued about two hundred years, when DIDIER the last

King



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VIII.  
Milan.

King being taken prisoner, and the monarchy destroyed by CHARLEMAGNE, the Emperors of Germany afterwards appointed the governors of the Milanese, who at length assumed the sovereignty of this country stiling themselves Lords of Milan. JOHN GALEAS was first honoured with the title of Duke, about the year 1395, and being succeeded by his two sons, who died without any legitimate issue, several Princes laid claim to the Duchy, particularly the Emperor FREDERICK IV, ALPHONSUS King of Naples, LEWIS Duke of Savoy, CHARLES Duke of Orleans, and the Republick of Venice: whereupon the Milanese for some time took the government into their own hands; but about the year 1468, submitted themselves to FRANCIS SFORZA, one of the greatest Generals of his time, who had married the base daughter of their last Duke, LEWIS XII, King of France, son to the Duke of Orleans, and great-grandson of Duke JOHN GALEAS, reviving his pretensions to the Milanese, marched an army thither, and reduced it to his obedience in less than a month; obliging the Duke, surnamed LEWIS the Black, to fly for refuge into Germany. His subjects growing weary of the French insolence, soon after recalled him; but being betrayed by a mercenary Swiss soldier in his service, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, and died in captivity. MAXIMILIAN, the son of Duke LEWIS, assisted by the Swiss, defeated the French in his turn, and drove them out of the country. But FRANCIS I, reinforcing his troops, obtained a signal victory over the Milanese and Swiss, obliging MAXIMILIAN to quit the government, and accept a pension of thirty thousand ducats *per annum*. FRANCIS SFORZA, the son of MAXIMILIAN, being assisted by the Emperor and the Pope, was restored to his duchy about the year 1521; and at the treaty of Cambray, *anno* 1529, the French King relinquished his claim to the Milanese. Upon the death of FRANCIS SFORZA II, *anno* 1536, the Emperor CHARLES V, granted the investiture of the duchy to his own son PHILIP II, King of Spain; whose successors enjoyed it till the year 1706, when the French and Spaniards evacuated the Milanese, and the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy; which, by the following treaty of peace in the year 1714, were yielded to the Emperor, who still remains sovereign of them.

The constant revenues of the duchy of Milan are computed at three hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, and the compliment of forces for this duchy are about thirty thousand men; though there are scarce half so many in actual service, the officers putting great part of the pay in their pockets, which is assigned for that service; at least this was the case while they were under the dominion of Spain; possibly the present Vicar-General, Prince EUGENE, may have put things upon a better foot.

## MANTUA.

### CHAP. IX.

*Contains a description of the duchy of Mantua.*

Situation  
and extent.

THE duchy of Mantua is bounded by the Brescian and Veronese, part of the territories of Venice, on the north; by another part of the Venetian dominions and the Ferrarese on the east;

by the duchies of Modena and Mirandola on the south; and by the Cremonese in the duchy of Milan towards the west; being divided into, 1. The duchy of Mantua proper. 2. The duchy of Guastalla. 3. The county of Novellara. 4. The duchy of Sabionetta. 5. The principality of Bozolo. 6. The principality of Castiglione de la Stivere. And, 7. The principality of Solferino. But not finding their exact boundaries, I shall content myself with a general description of the whole duchy; which is about fifty miles in length, but of a very unequal breadth, in some places upwards of thirty miles, and in others not seven miles over. The chief towns are, 1. Man-

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IX.  
Mantua.  
Subdivi-  
sion.

Chief  
towns.

Mantua  
city.

Trade.

The city of Mantua stands in the middle of a lake, or as some call it, a morass, formed by the river Mincio, about fourscore miles to the eastward of Milan, and as many south-west of Venice, the situation rendering it very unhealthy in the hot season. It is joined to the continent by a cause-way three hundred paces long on the side of Cremona, and by two others five or six hundred paces long towards the north, with forts and draw-bridges for their defence. It is between four and five miles in circumference, and supposed to contain fifty thousand inhabitants. The walls and fortifications are but indifferent, the lake being it's best defence; the streets are large, and the squares spacious. There are about eighteen parish-churches in it, and forty convents: the cathedral, the Jesuits church, that of St BARNABAS, the town-house, the theatre, and the ducal palace, are the principal publick buildings; but I do not find any of them much admired by travellers: indeed one writer acquaints us, that several of the streets have piazza's with marble pillars, and that the palaces of the nobility and persons of quality are very numerous; but I presume they have nothing extraordinary in their structure, others having passed over them in silence. The town however is a place of good trade, their silk manufacture particularly has a great reputation all over Europe; it is from this city those glorious Italian silks, called Mantua's take their name, which our countrymen find more difficulty in imitating than any other. The late Duke had several palaces, or pleasure-houses, as they are called, in the neighbouring country, of which the principal were Marmerola and La Favorita. TASSO the poet was born in Mantua, and the celebrated VIRGIL at the village of Andes, within two or three miles of it. It is in the cathedral of this city the Catholics pretend to have preserved two or three drops of our Saviour's blood. This bishoprick is immediately subject to the Holy See, and acknowledges no other superior.

Luzara, fifteen miles south of Mantua, is not remarkable for any thing but a great battle fought near it, between the Imperialists on one side, and the French and Spaniards on the other, in the year 1702, when both sides claimed the victory.

The town of Guastalla is the capital of a duchy of the same name, and lies about twenty miles south of Mantua.

Sabionetta also is the capital of a duchy, and lies about twenty miles south-west of Mantua; but does not require a particular description, any more than the other towns above-mentioned.

The



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IX.  
Mantua.  
History of  
Mantua.

The duchy of Mantua generally followed the fortune of the rest of Lombardy, till about the eleventh century, when the leading men of the country erected a government of their own, and became independent of any foreign power. Some time after they lost their liberty again, and were subject to several tyrants, as they are stiled, till LEWIS DE GONZAGA, from whom the late Duke derived his pedigree, deposed the last tyrant in the year 1328, and obtained the sovereignty of the Mantuan, as Vicar of the Empire. His successors enjoyed the titles of lords of Mantua, till the year 1435, when the Emperor honoured them with the title of Marquis; and CHARLES V. afterwards conferred that of Duke on FREDERICK II. The duchy continued in this branch till the year 1627, when VINCENT II, dying without issue, his cousin CHARLES GONZAGA, Duke of Nevers in France, by the assistance of LEWIS XIII, obtained the sovereignty of this duchy. His grandson, FERDINAND CHARLES IV, the last Duke, adhering to the French King in the late war, was proscribed by the Emperor, who seiz'd the duchy as a forfeited fee; and the Duke dying in the year 1708 without issue, his Imperial Majesty still keeps possession of it. The country of Mantua abounds in corn, fruits, flax, silk, and excellent pasture, but has little good wine. The annual revenue of the late Duke, is computed to amount to three hundred thousand crowns and upwards, besides what he drew from the Monteferrat. The other branches of the family of GONZAGA are the Princes of Guastalla, Bozolo, Castiglione, and the Earl of Novellara; but these seem at present contented with the Emperor's government, and have not yet thought fit to lay claim to the duchy of Mantua.

## M O D E N A.

### CHAP. X.

*Contains a description of the duchies of Modena, Mirandola, Reggio, and other small states dependent on Modena.*

Subdivi-  
sion.

Chief  
towns.

Modena  
city.

UNDER the name of the Modenese, I comprehend the duchy of Modena, the duchy of Mirandola, the duchy of Reggio, the marquissate of Scandiano, the principality of Correggio, and the principality of Carpi; bounded by the Mantuan towards the north; by the Bolognese on the east, by the Apennine hills, which separate it from Tuscany, towards the south; and by the Parmesan on the west: extending about sixty miles in length from north to south, and fifty in breadth from east to west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Modena. 2. Bostia. 3. Final de Modena. 4. Frignano. 5. Casagnano. 6. Mirandola. 7. Concordia. 8. Reggio. 9. Rubiera. 10. Berfello. 11. Scandiano. 12. Correggio. 13. Carpi. 14. Sassuolo. 15. St Martin de Este.

The city of Modena stands upon a canal, in a pleasant fruitful plain, about forty miles to the southward of Mantua, and twenty north-west of Bologna, built out of the ruins of the ancient Mutina, which stood near this place. It is surrounded by a wall, and some antique fortifications of no great strength; the buildings are not fine, considering they are in Italy, the streets generally narrow and dark, with little low Piazza's before the houses, which are no great ornament to the place:

the cathedral and the Duke's palace are the only things mentioned by travellers as worth the viewing. The soil about Modena, says Mr ADDISON, is very rich, and well cultivated, and the Prince's palace magnificent. The subject might live in great plenty here, if the taxes and impositions were not so exorbitant; but the Court is too splendid for the small territories which lie about it. One cannot but be amazed to see such a profusion of wealth laid out in coaches, trappings, tables, cabinets, and such precious toys, in which, few Princes in Europe can equal these petty sovereigns; though at the same time they neglect to make bridges over their rivers for the convenience of travellers, who are forced to pay unreasonable exactions at every ferry, upon the least rising of the waters. It happens very unfortunately, adds the same author, that these little Italian Princes will still be endeavouring, at their subjects cost, to equal the pomp and grandeur of the greatest monarchs, as well as to outvie those of their own rank. The town of Modena, is neither large nor populous, nor has it any great trade, though it stands in a country abounding in corn, wine, rich pastures, cattle, and all manner of delicious fruits. But notwithstanding the people are not generally rich, with Mr ADDISON's leave, they cannot be very miserable, in the midst of so much plenty; especially in so warm a climate, where the poor have little or no occasion, either for clothes or firing, the want of which occasions the greatest hardships the poor endure in these northern countries. But our travellers of the Whig strain, out of an unaccountable prejudice to Monarchy and the Popish religion, unanimously cry out of the miseries and oppressions the subjects of the Italian Princes undergo; and yet none of them pretend to tell us, wherein that misery consists, unless it be, that there are not so many overgrown tradesmen as there are in other countries; which I am apt to think is not to the disadvantage of the inferior rank of people, who suffer less by monopolies where trade is more equally divided. Modena is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Bologna, and the residence of the Duke.

Frignano is the capital of a little country of the same name, situate at the foot of a mountain on the river Panaro, twenty miles south of Modena.

Mirandola, the capital of a duchy of the same name, is pleasantly situated in a fruitful country, twenty miles to the northward of Modena, formerly under the dominion of its own Prince, of the family of PIC, but purchased of the Emperor by the Duke of Modena, with Concordia, about the year 1711. The revenues of the duchy of Mirandola, were computed to amount to two thousand pounds per annum.

Reggio is the capital of a duchy, and stands about fifteen miles north-east of Modena; a populous trading town, better built than Modena, and subject to the same Prince. The natives admire their churches and publick buildings, which would make a good appearance in any other part of the world, but it seems are not comparable to many others in Italy. Reggio is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Bologna.

Correggio is the capital of a principality of the same name, and stands about ten miles north-east of Reggio, but is not considerable enough to require a particular description.

Carpi also is the capital of a principality, situate in a fine plain, on a canal filled by the river Secchia,

CHAP.  
X.  
Modena.

Miran-  
dola.

Reggio.

Correggio.

Carpi.



CHAP. X. Secchia, ten miles north-west of Modena, defended by a citadel and other works, and esteemed a place of some strength, taken by the Germans in the year 1702, after they had obtained a victory over the French near this place; subject at present to the Duke of Modena.

History of Modena. Modena became a Roman colony soon after the establishment of that State, but was destroyed by MARCUS ANTONINUS. The Lombards rebuilt the city and made it a part of their kingdom. It was afterwards a free State, under the protection of the Empire, till it became annexed to the marquisate of Ferrara. It has been since possessed alternately by the Pope and by the family of D'ESTE, being at this day subject to the latter. The present Duke is REGINAULD, Duke of Modena,

The present Duke's family. Reggio, and Mirandola; Prince of Carpi and Corregio; Lord of Frignano, Carfagnano, Corregio, &c. born in 1655, and made Cardinal Deacon in 1686: after his brother's death however he threw off the purple, and about the year 1696 married CHARLOTTA, the daughter of JOHN FREDERICK Duke of Hanover, by whom he had BENEDICTA-ERNESTINA-MARY, born anno 1697, and married to Prince ANTHONY of Parma in the year 1715. 2. FRANCIS-MARY, hereditary Prince of Modena, born in 1698, who married the second daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, by whom he hath had two sons. 3. AMELIA-JOSEPHA, born anno 1699. And, 4. JOHN-FREDERICK-ERNEST, born anno 1700. The Duke is absolute in his dominions, and appoints the Governors of the several towns and fortresses, and podesta's or judges in criminal and civil affairs, determining all appeals however himself. His revenues are computed to amount to an hundred thousand pounds per annum; but his forces not being sufficient to defend his country against the neighbouring powers, he relies chiefly upon his alliance with the Emperor, whose party he espoused in the late war: and though his country was ravaged by the French, and great part of it taken from him on that account, it was afterwards recovered by the Emperor, and restored him with advantage. And in the year 1726, his Imperial Majesty granted the Duke of Modena a principality in Hungary, in consideration of his Highness's resigning his pretensions to Commachio, which the Emperor a little before yielded to the Pope.

His revenues.

Commachio surrendered to the Pope.

MARY Queen of England of this family.

MARY-ELEANOR-BEATRIX, Sister of the Duke of Modena, was married to JAMES Duke of York (afterwards King of England) anno 1673, to which match some are apt to ascribe that Prince's misfortunes: but however this be, it appears from hence that the Chevalier de St GEORGE is nephew to the Duke of Modena, and first cousin to the duchess of Parma his daughter, to whom the Chevalier lately made that visit which the British court so much resented, as to command the Duke of Parma's Minister out of the kingdom.

## P A R M A.

Situation and extent.

THE duchy of Parma, (in which I include the Plaisantin, or duchy of Piacenza, the States of Bassetto and Landi, being all subject to the same Prince) is bounded by the Cremonese and Lodofan on the north; by the duchy of Reggio towards the east; by the territories of Genoa and Modena on the south; and by the Pavese and Bobbion

on the west: extending sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Parma. 2. Castel Guelpho. 3. Fornovo. 4. Corneglio. 5. Piacenza. 6. Nibiano. 7. Borgo St Domino. 8. Florenzola. 9. Corte Maggiore. 10. Buffeto. 11. Borgo de Val de Taro. 12. Bardi. And, 13. Compagno.

CHAP. X. Parma. Chief towns.

The city of Parma, the capital, is pleasantly situated on a river of the same name, which divides it in two parts, having a communication with each other by three bridges; the form of it is almost round, and the walls about three miles in circumference: it is defended by a citadel and other fortifications, and esteemed a place of some strength: the streets are wide and strait, and the buildings regular, but low, having no piazza's before them, as at Modena. It stands about sixty miles north-east of Genoa, and thirty north-west of Modena. The publick buildings best worth the viewing are, the Cathedral, a magnificent pile, surrounded on the out-side by several ranges of pillars, and the cupola exquisitely painted by the celebrated CORREGIO. The church of St JOHN is a beautiful piece of architecture, and adorned with the paintings of the same CORREGIO and PARMEGIANA. In the church of the Capuchins is the tomb of that famous General ALEXANDER FARNESE. The Duke's palace, that part of it which is lately built, is an elegant structure, but most admired for the theatre and fine gallery. The theatre, Mr ADDISON observed, was the most spacious in Europe, and so admirably contrived, that from the depth of the stage the lowest found may be heard distinctly to the furthest part of the audience; and let the voice be raised never so high, there is nothing like an echo to cause the least confusion. There are no boxes in it, only benches rising gradually as in an amphitheatre, and the pit between the benches and the stage is sometimes filled with water three foot deep, into which are brought little gilded boats, that with the lights and glasses that surround it from a very agreeable scene. The gallery is hung with a numerous collection of pictures, done by the most celebrated hands, and on the side of it is a large room adorned with inlaid tables, cabinets, works of amber and crystal, and other pieces admired for their value and contrivance; adjoining to this is another large room furnished with antient inscriptions, idols, busts, medals, and other antiquities. Amongst the medals the scarcest is that of PESCENIUS NIGER, (coined at Antioch, where that Emperor trifled away his time, till he lost his life and empire) on the reverse a *Dea Salus*. There are also two of OTHO, two of MESSALINA and POPPEA, two of PERTINAX, and another of GORDIANUS AFRICANUS. The gardens of the palace also are admired for the grotto's, fountains, cascades, fine walks, statues, and other embellishments. The University here was founded in the year 1509, in which there is a large college appropriated to the nobility, where all manner of exercises are taught as well as the sciences. The academy of wits here stile themselves *Innominati*, or *Anonymous*, and spend their time as the members of other Italian academies usually do. Parma is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Bologna, and a place of good trade, especially in cheese, which they send to every country in Europe.

Piacenza, or Plaifance, is situated about thirty miles north-west of Parma, in a fruitful plain, watered with rivulets, about half a mile from the



CHAP.  
X.  
Parma.

Po, being rather larger than Parma, and defended by a wall, a citadel, and other fortifications. The Duke of Parma has a palace here. The streets and squares are spacious, and the buildings regular, but they seem to be excelled by so many other places of Italy, that travellers have not thought them worth a particular description. A fountain erected by AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and an equestrian statue of ALEXANDER I, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, however are mentioned by every traveller as worth the viewing. Piacenza is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Bologna, and has an University but of no great fame. The trade of this place consists chiefly in their cheese, as at Parma: these cities being surrounded with the richest pasture-grounds in Italy.

Buffeto.

Buffeto is the capital of a country, of the same name, about sixteen miles to the north-east of Piacenza, taken notice of for little but it's desirable situation.

Borgo di  
Val di  
Taro.

Borgo di Val di Taro is a small city, on the river Taro, capital of the State of Landi, purchased by the Duke of Parma in 1682, of the family of LANDI.

Borgo St  
Domino.

Borgo St Domino, the antient *Julia Fidentia*, about sixteen miles south-east of Piacenza, situate in the State of Buffeto, is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Bologna, but does not require a particular description.

Air, soil,  
animals,  
and pro-  
duce.

The duchies of Parma and Piacenza are allowed to be blessed with a fine air and fruitful soil. They abound also in cattle of all kinds, and the wool of their sheep is not inferior to any in Italy. Their excellent cheese has been taken notice of already, and they have plenty of the best oil, wine, rice, corn, and fruits; truffles, a delicious root without stems or plants, also are found here, and they have some mines of copper and silver. The Tuscans inhabited this country antiently; and the Romans sent a colony hither above an hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. Upon the declension of the Roman Empire it fell under the power of the barbarous nations that invaded Italy, and afterwards became a free State. It was successively subject to the western Emperors, the Pope, the Venetians, Milanese, and French. Pope JULIUS II, reduced it again under the power of the See of Rome. Pope PAUL III created his natural son, PETER LEWIS FARNESE, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, about the year 1545; but the Emperor disputed his title, till his son OCTAVIO FARNESE married MARGARET of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter, which confirmed this duchy in the Farnesian family, though the Emperor still looks upon it as a fief of the Empire, and revertible to him on failure of male issue. The Pope on the contrary claims it as a fee of the holy See, and actually receives ten thousand crowns per annum of this Prince.

The fami-  
ly of Far-  
nese.

And here it is necessary to be a little more particular in treating of the family of FARNESE than of any Italian Prince, in order to the clearing up a considerable piece of modern history. It seems ODOUARDO, or EDWARD FARNESE, Duke of Parma, in the year 1690, married DOROTHY-SOPHIA of Newburgh, sister to the Elector Palatine, and the Empress-mother, and to the Queen Dowager of Spain, and afterwards died in the year 1693; having had issue by his Princess a son named ALEXANDER, who died soon after his

birth, and a daughter named ELIZABETH born in the year 1692, and married to PHILIP V, the present King of Spain, anno 1714. Prince FRANCIS FARNESE succeeded his brother ODOUARDO or EDWARD in the duchy of Parma, and in 1695, married his widow, the Princess DOROTHY-SOPHIA, mother to the present Queen of Spain, at which every body was amazed on account of the proximity of blood, Prince EDWARD his eldest brother having had children by her; but the Pope granted a dispensation, which removed all scruples.

In the year 1718, the Emperor, the Kings of Great Britain and France, and the States-General, entered into an alliance, which from the number of the parties, obtained the name of the quadruple alliance, wherein it was stipulated, that for preventing a war in Italy, in case the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Duke of Parma and Placentia, or their successors, should die without heirs male, the states and duchies possessed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Duke of Parma being fiefs of the Empire, should go to the first-born son of the said Queen of Spain, and his male issue lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, to the second, and other younger sons of the said Queen in like manner: provided that none of the aforesaid duchies or dominions should ever be possessed by a Prince who at the same time held the kingdom of Spain; nor any King of Spain be guardian to the Prince who should succeed to the said duchies and dominions. And for the securing the said succession to the son of the Queen of Spain, it was farther agreed, that garrisons of Swiss troops should immediately be put into the towns of Parma and Placentia, Leghorn and Porto Ferraro, in the isle of Elba, to be paid by the contracting powers: (but this last part of the agreement was never put in execution.)

The Duke of Tuscany died in the year 1723, and was succeeded by his son JOHN GASTON DE MEDICIS the present Duke, who was born May 24, 1671, and married to ANNE-MARIA-FRANCES, daughter of JULIUS-FRANCIS, Duke of SAX-LAWENBURG, and Widow of PHILIP-WILLIAM, Count Palatine of the Rhine, by whom he has no children, nor is ever like to have any; and being the last heir male of the family of MEDICIS, is to be succeeded in that duchy by DON CARLOS, eldest son of the present Queen of Spain, according to the aforesaid treaty: but more of this in the description of Tuscany.

By another treaty, anno 1725, between the Emperor and King of Spain, the said duchies of Parma and Tuscany are confirmed to the eldest son of the said Queen of Spain, and his male descendants, on failure of heirs male of the said two houses of Parma and Tuscany; but the Duke of Parma dying on the 25th of February 1726-7, and being succeeded by his brother ANTHONY FARNESE, who the same year married AMELIA-JOSEPHA, the third daughter of the Duke of Modena, if there be any male issue of this marriage, the settlement upon the eldest son of the Queen of Spain cannot take effect as to Parma.

The annual revenue of this duchy is computed at an hundred thousand pounds; but this Prince also owes his security more to the jealousies his neighbours entertain of each other, than to the forces he can raise.

TUSCANY.

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X.  
Parma.

The pre-  
sent Queen  
of Spain.

The rever-  
sion of the  
duchies of  
Parma and  
Tuscany  
settled on  
her son by  
the qua-  
druple al-  
liance.

Anthony  
Farnese  
the present  
Duke.



*Contains a description of the duchy of Tuscany, or Florence, and the republic of Lucca.*

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

**T**HE duchy of Tuscany, or Florence, is bounded by the territories of the Pope on the north, east, and south-east; by the Tuscan sea on the south-west; and by the territories of Genoa and Modena on the north-west: extending an hundred miles in length, and about as many in breadth, being pretty near square. As great part of this country is taken up by the Apennine mountains, and that the barrenest part of them, it cannot be said in general to be either fruitful or pleasant; the air also is so exceeding sharp on these hills, that they are generally destitute of towns and inhabitants; but then there are some vallies, and those large ones, that are the very reverse, and when viewed from the neighbouring hills appear a perfect paradise; where the air is not only more agreeable, but ripens the fruits of the earth sooner, and brings them to a much greater perfection than on the north side of the Apennine. There is a plain particularly, which runs quite cross the country from east to west, namely, from Arezzo to Pisa; extending fourscore miles in length, and watered by the river Arno; which abounds in corn, wine, oil, oranges, citrons, figs, and all manner of delicious fruits; and as for mulberry trees, the food of their silk-worms, and chesnuts, no country is better stocked with them. There are also several little hills between the vallies and the barren Apennines, where they enjoy a happy medium, being neither subject to the cold blasts of the one, or the scorching heats of the other, and that are well covered with trees and herbage, which make them very delightful retirements in the summer. The chief rivers are the Arno, and Ombro, which rising in the Apennine mountains, run to the south-west, and fall into the Tuscan sea, the one near Pisa, and the other over against the island of Elba. This country is usually divided into three parts, viz. the Pisan, the Florentin, or Florenza, and the Siennese.

Air and  
soil.

Produce.

Rivers.

Division.

The Pisan.

Pisa city.

The Pisan is bounded by the Florentin and the republic of Lucca on the north and east; by the Siennese on the south-east; and the Tuscan sea on the south-west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Pisa. 2. Leghorn. And, 3. Volterra.

The city of Pisa stands in a fruitful plain on the river Arno, but in an unhealthful air; thirty-six miles to the westward of Florence; fifty north-west of Sienna, and about six from the Tuscan sea. It is the largest town in Tuscany next to Florence; and defended by a good wall, a citadel, and other fortifications; being divided almost into two equal parts by the river Arno, which is of a good breadth here: there are three handsome bridges, by which they have an easy communication, one of them being built with marble. The sides of the river, lined with a sloping wall, form a mighty commodious quay, where ships of burthen formerly unladed their merchandize; but the mouth of the river being now choaked up, it is only navigable for smaller vessels. The streets are broad and strait, paved with large stones; the houses well built, the squares spacious, and the

publick buildings magnificent; of which the domo or cathedral, dedicated to St MARY, is esteemed the chief, very advantageously situated in the middle of a large piazza, and built out of a great heap of wrought marble, such as pillars, pedestals, capitals, cornishes, and architraves, part of the spoils which the Pisans took in their eastern expeditions, when the republic was in a flourishing condition. The roof is supported by seventy-six tall marble pillars of different colours, and finely gilt. The choir is painted by the greatest masters, and the floor inlaid with marble. The brazen doors are exquisitely wrought, containing the annunciation, incarnation, nativity, life, and passion, of our Saviour, and consequently could never have belonged to SOLOMON'S temple, according to the tradition of the place. In the same area with the domo, stands the baptistery, a round fabrick supported by stately pillars; and near it the burying-place, called the *Campo Santo*, the earth which covers it, having been brought from the Holy Land; and this is surrounded with a cloyster, adorned with admirable paintings. Adjoining to it is the leaning tower, in form of a cylinder, built with marble, and beautified with pillars on the outside an hundred and eighty-eight feet in height, which, some travellers relate, was built on purpose leaning, to shew the skill of the architect; others, that it only deceives the sight, and is really upright: but Mr MISSON assures us, the foundation is sunk, which occasions it's bending forward, as he discovered by a line and plummet let down from the top.

The palace of the Knights of St STEPHEN, an order instituted by COSMUS DE MEDICIS, in memory of a victory obtained over the Turks that day, with the church adjoining to it, adorned with the trophies taken from the infidels, are worth the viewing. And here is a famous aqueduct mentioned by travellers, consisting of five thousand arches, that conveys the best water in Italy to this city, which is drank by the Great Duke and Court of Florence.

Pisa is an archbishoprick and university, and was once the metropolis of a flourishing republick, maintaining powerful fleets upon the Mediterranean, and disputing the sovereignty of those seas with the Genoese and Venetians. They made a conquest also of the islands of Sardinia and the Balears, reduced the city of Carthage, and were of great service to the Christian Princes in their wars against the Infidels in the Holy Land: but being subdued by the Florentines, and the seat of the government removed, their river became unnavigable for large vessels; their trade lost, and carried to Leghorn; the town is almost deserted; the buildings decayed; nor does it seem to be in the power of the Great Duke to restore it to it's former happy state, though this has been attempted by sometimes making it the residence of the Court, and granted extraordinary privileges to the citizens.

Leghorn, *Livorno*, is situated in a low ground on the Tuscan sea, sixteen miles to the southward of Pisa, being one of the best harbours in Italy, and surrounded with a wall and other fortifications for it's defence. The town is not large, but the buildings are regular, and painted on the outside; the streets broad and straight, and the great square one of the largest and most beautiful in Tuscany. Leghorn was an inconsiderable village, till Duke FERDINAND I. enlarged and beautified it; and granted such privileges to the place,

Leghorn.



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as invited foreign merchants from all countries hither. Mr ADDISON observes however, that they are at a constant expence in cleansing the harbour, and keeping it from being choaked up; which is done by the help of engines, that are always at work, and employ many of the Great Duke's slaves, and with the soil and sand taken out of the harbour, they fill and dry up the marshy ground about the place, whereby it is become more healthful than formerly. It is not to be conceived what great profits the Duke reaps from this single town, notwithstanding it has the reputation of being a free port; and may very well be reckoned so, if compared with some others. 'Tis true, foreigners pay little or no duties directly, but out of every thing they purchase, there goes a large gabel, or tax, to the government. The very ice-merchant here pays above a thousand pounds per annum to the government, for his privilege of selling it; and the tobacco-merchant ten thousand. The ground also is sold at a prodigious high rate by the Great Duke, on which new houses are erected every day. All merchandize which is sent up into the country, of which there are great quantities, are clogged with impositions, as soon as they leave Leghorn. And all the wines, oils, and silks, which come from the fruitful vallies above-mentioned, must make their way through a variety of duties, before they reach the port; and though this must enhance the price of them to the foreign merchant, yet the labouring oar lies altogether on the natives. Here is none of the trouble of entring their goods, either upon importation, or exportation, which is the plague and vexation of other ports, and sometimes a great hinderance to the voyage. The canal, which runs from the sea to the Arno, affords a mighty convenient carriage, for all goods imported, or exported: and because the Great Duke reaps such advantages from this free port, several Princes and States of Italy, have been upon the same project; particularly the Pope, who was about to enlarge the harbour of Civita Vecchia, and grant it the same privileges, but was diverted from this project, by the management of the Great Duke. The Genoese are attempting the same thing, but their road is too dangerous, to invite foreign merchants from Leghorn thither; and they will not make any of their other ports free, for fear of drawing the trade from their capital. After what has been observed already of Leghorn, the reader will naturally conclude it to be a place of good trade, and very populous in proportion to the extent, as it really is; particularly the Jews, who never fail to frequent such towns, are computed to amount to no less than ten thousand; and, as the English factors complain, have in a manner engrossed the trade of our country. Besides the trade we have directly with Leghorn the ships of England, France, and Holland, touch here frequently in their voyage to, or from Turkey, bartering the goods of one country for another; and in this port, there are frequently small barks laden with wine from Languedoc, Sardinia, and Corsica, which sell their liquor on board by retale, making taverns of their vessels, because they are not allowed to land it, without paying custom.

The marble statue of FERDINAND I, on the quay, with four brazen figures at his feet, representing so many Turkish slaves, who endeavoured to run away with a galley, and were executed in this place, are reckoned an extraordinary piece of workmanship. The galley-slaves here are used with

much more humanity than in other places, of which there are two forts; the one called *Forzatti*, who are either Turks or Moors, who are taken at sea, or natives condemned to the galleys for their crimes: the other are called *Bona Voglia*, a rascally sort of people, who make themselves slaves for money, and have their liberty, when the time bargained for is expired. The Turks and Moors are allowed to go abroad with a single iron on their leg, and some without any, because they are easily known, and it is difficult for them to escape; but those who are condemned for any criminal matter, go coupled together with a long chain, and have always a guard following them; and for the greater security, they sometimes chain a Turk and a Christian together. Great part of these slaves, when the galleys are laid up, follow their respective trades and business, and those who have none, sell wine and other provisions; insomuch, that there have been found Turkish slaves here worth a thousand crowns a man, who would not have their liberty if it was offered them; for, it seems, they have little mosques allowed them, to worship God in their own way, and if they have any money to present their Captain, he will excuse their going to sea, and provide others in their room.

Volterra is an antient city, built upon a hill near the river Cecinna, situate in a fruitful country, in which are several fine stone-quarries, and springs of mineral waters. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome, but travellers have not thought it worth a particular description. About sixteen miles to the westward of this city, are the *Aque Volaterrane*, now called, *Il Bagno al Merbo*, which are small lakes of a prodigious depth, from which, 'tis said, the water perpetually bubbles up like a copper of boiling liquor, and sends forth such sulphureous steams, that they kill the birds which fly over them, and are so excessive hot, that they boil a piece of flesh sooner than water heated by culinary fires.

The Florentin, or duchy of Florence, properly so called, is bounded by the Bolognois and Romagna towards the north; the duchy of Urbino and Ancona towards the east; by the Siennese on the south; and by the Pisan and the republick of Luca towards the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Florence. 2. Fiesoli. 3. Pratolino. 4. San Martino. 5. Scarperia. 6. Fiorenzola. 7. Pietra Mala. 8. Pistoia. 9. Prato. 10. Poggio Imperiale. 11. Empoli. 12. St Miniato al Toderca. 13. Barbarino. 14. Colle. 15. Pongibond. 16. Monte Pulciano. 17. Marciano. 18. Cortona. 19. Arezzo. 20. Burgo San Sepulchro. 21. Val Ombrosa. And, 22. Ancisa.

The city of Florence lies in a fruitful valley on the river Arno, in forty-three degrees forty minutes north latitude, thirty-six miles to the eastward of Pisa, and about as many to the northward of Sienna, and an hundred and twenty north of Rome; in a most desirable situation, encompassed with beautiful hills on three sides, full of villages, country-seats, gardens, groves, and woods of olives rising gradually, till they join the highest mountains of the Apennine. And towards the west, lies that rich valley watered by the river Arno, which extends as far as Pisa, abounding in corn, wine, and oil, and all manner of delicious fruits. The town is of a round form, about six miles in circumference, encompassed with walls and other fortifications, and defended by three citadels. The river Arno divides it in two parts, which



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which have a communication by four bridges, of which two, the old and the new, are admired for their structure. The streets are strait and well paved, in imitation of the old Roman high-ways, with great flat stones, larger than our common pavement-stones, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their joinings, that the horses find fastening for their feet. There are a great many statues and fountains in the streets, and we meet with agreeable objects, which way soever we turn our eyes. Their private buildings are tall and fair, their palaces numerous and exquisitely contrived, their churches but little inferior to those of Rome, and there are no less than seventeen spacious squares; inasmuch that this city has obtained the title of *Florence the Fair*, which all travellers agree it well deserves. In two things only they think it defective; the first, that they have no glass in their windows, but their finest palaces are often disgraced with tattered paper; and in the second place, the streets and courts in their palaces, are too narrow for the loftiness of their buildings: which are objections made to many other towns of Italy; and the only answer we meet with is, that neither glass nor wide streets are convenient in so warm a climate: as it is, one side of the streets always casts a shade upon the other; and by their paper windows, they avoid the scorching heat of the sun, whose rays would be contracted and heightened by the crown glass used here, as by a burning-glass.

As Tuscan pillars and rustick work, owe their original to this country, says Mr ADDISON, the architect always takes care to give them a place in the great edifices that are raised in Tuscany; though the Dorick, the Ionick, and Corinthian orders are not excluded. The Duke's new palace, called the palace of Pitti, according to the same gentleman, is a noble pile, built after this manner, which makes it look extremely solid and majestic. [This architecture *a la maniera rustica*, as the Italians call it, is where great rough stones are set jutting out beyond the plain superficies; which has been imitated by several English noblemen, particularly by the present Duke of Newcastle, in the pillars before his house in Great Lincoln-Fields.] This palace is in the form of a Roman H, with double rooms on all sides. From the street there is an easy ascent to it, on which front is a range of two and twenty large windows in each story, with fine stone pillars on the sides of them; but the smallness of the court in the middle of the palace, is by some travellers esteemed an unpardonable fault: for though the height of the building to the cornice of the third order is an hundred and twenty-two feet, the court is but an hundred and sixty feet long, and an hundred and forty broad; inasmuch that there is no part of it where we can stand to view the building, without lifting up one's head in a very troublesome manner. From the back court we ascend to a large plot of ground, encompassed with a semicircle of stone-seats six rows deep, in form of an amphitheatre, on which people sit to see the sports that are still exhibited to them. The gardens are beautified with a multitude of pleasant walks, fountains, grotto's, and statues of an inestimable value. The furniture of the Grand Duke's apartments is rich beyond expression, and the paintings exquisite. In one room we see described the history of SELEUCUS, giving his beloved wife STRATONICE to his only son SELEUCUS, who languished

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for her. In another, a collection of pictures, all originals, done by the best hands, as TITIAN's, RAPHAEL's, MICHAEL ANGELO's, &c. one of the best of which is RAPHAEL's, drawn by his own hand. But it would be endless to enumerate all the beauties of these apartments; I shall only observe further, that upon setting open the doors, you see through sixteen large rooms at once, all upon a floor. Let us pass on from hence through the long close gallery, which runs from the new palace to the old, over the river and over the tops of the houses, with many turnings and windings for the space of half a mile: being arrived at the old palace, the first thing shewn to travellers is that famous gallery, so replenished with statues and pictures by the best hands, that it is the admiration of all that see it; on the left is one continued window, and on the other a set of pictures of the Medicean family. Under the window, and also under the pictures on each side, are a range of marble statues of the Roman Emperors and other antient heroes: above the window is another range of pictures of the most famous men for learning; and on the right side over the pictures already mentioned, are those of the most celebrated Generals and military men. The number of the statues are near an hundred: among the busts of the Emperors and Empreſſes that are most scarce, and some of them almost singular in their kind, Mr ADDISON observes, are those of CALIGULA, OTHO, NERVA, ÆLIUS VERUS, PERTINAX, GETA, DIDIUS JULIANUS, ALBINUS, and AGRIPPA, extremely well wrought, and, what is very uncommon, in alabaster. He places AGRIPPA among the Emperors, because he is generally ranged so in sets of medals; as he does some of the other sex of an inferior rank among the Empreſſes, because they are usually found in their company, viz. DOMITIA, AGRIPPINA wife of GERMANICUS, ANTONIA MATIDIA, PLOTINA, MALLIA, and SCANTILLA. Among the busts of such Emperors as are common, the following ought to be taken notice of for the excellence of the sculpture, viz. those of AUGUSTUS, VESPASIAN, ADRIAN, MARCUS AURELIUS, LUCIUS VERUS, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, and GETA. In the same gallery there is a beautiful bust of ALEXANDER the Great, casting up his face to heaven with a noble air of grief or discontent, whereby my author conceives the sculptor intended to express the conqueror's concern for want of new worlds. There is also in porphyry the head of a Faun, and of the god PAN; and among the entire figures, a vestal virgin with the fire burning before her, and her hair full grown and gathered under her veil; which my author thinks may determine that notable controversy among antiquaries, whether the vestals after the first tonsure suffered their hair to grow again. There is in the same gallery the Gladiator, the NARCISSUS, the CUPID and PSYCHE, and FLORA; and one of MORPHEUS, lying with his head upon a pillow of touch-stone; which god is usually represented by antient statuary under the figure of a boy asleep, with a bundle of poppies in his hand. The same gentleman observes, that he scarce ever saw any figure of sleep, which was not of black marble, having probably some relation to night, the proper season for rest. But to return to the gallery: Those that shew it, desire you to take particular notice of a brazen one, cloathed in an antique dress,

The Great  
Duke's  
gallery.



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supposed to be SCIPIO's; of LEDA receiving JUPITER's embraces, expressing pleasure mixed with shame; the antique BACCHUS, with a copy of it by MICHAEL ANGELO; the JULIA, daughter of AUGUSTUS; the VENUS, the DIANA, the APOLLO, and the Peasant striking a boar. Among the pictures of celebrated Generals are those of HANNIBAL, the terror of Rome, of SCIPIO, who took Carthage, of PYRRHUS, of ALEXANDER FARNESE, who never lost a battle, &c. And among the men of learning, PETRARCH, ARIOSTO, MACHIAVEL, GUICCIARDIN, PAULO JOVIO, BOCCACIO, MICHAEL ANGELO, RAPHAEL URBIN, GALILEO, &c.

After the traveller has surveyed the gallery, he is led into seven or eight chambers of curiosities which stand on the side of it. In the first is a cabinet of antiquities, consisting chiefly of idols, talismans, sepulchral lamps, hieroglyphicks, medals, stones, and minerals. The second has nothing but paintings. The third, called the chamber of the mathematicks, has a globe and sphere each of them seven feet in diameter. The fourth is hung with an excellent collection of pictures; and in it is an ebony cabinet, containing many curiosities in amber, ivory, and precious stones; a great rough emerald, rooted in it's rock; and the ground-plot of Leghorn, described on a table of lapis lazuli. In the fifth chamber are pictures of several Generals and other men of figure in the last age, particularly OLIVER CROMWELL and General MONK. The sixth contains the pictures of the most famous painters, drawn by themselves. But the most valuable things are in an octagonal room, twenty foot in diameter, covered with an arched dome, lined with mother of pearl, the floor inlaid with marble of various colours, and the sides hung with pictures, done by the greatest masters. Here is kept the great diamond, weighing an hundred and thirty-nine carats and an half, of a very fine form, but the water a little upon the citron colour. Here also is the head of JULIUS CÆSAR, of one entire turquoise stone of the old rock, as big as a hen's egg; a cabinet full of vessels of agate, lapis lazuli, cornelian, and crystal of the rock; a large table of inlaid work, composed of oriental jasper, chalcedony, rubies, topazes, and other precious stones admirably wrought; six Grecian statues of extraordinary beauty; the two wrestlers; the Roman slave, whetting his knife, and listening to CATILINE's conspiracy; a FAUNUS; a sleeping CUPID; and lastly, the celebrated VENUS OF MEDICIS, which, as Mr ADDISON observes, seems much less than the life, being perfectly naked, and in company with others of a larger make; but is however five feet high, as big as the ordinary size of a woman, as is evident from the measure he took of her wrist: for from the size of any one part, says my author, it is easy to guess at all the rest, in a figure of such nice proportions. The softness of the flesh, the delicacy of the shape, the air and posture, and correctness of design in this statue, is inexpressible: thus far Mr ADDISON. Another traveller inform us, that this is the most charming body, and the finest piece of workmanship in the world: the head is turned a little towards the left shoulder, and she holds her right hand before her breast at some distance, the other hand she holds before what all the sex conceal; and bowing down a little, advances her right knee, as if she would hide herself better if she could:

that decent bashfulness, which is so becoming an ornament in the fair, as imprinted on her face, accompanied with that sweetness, beauty, delicacy, and bloom of youth, which are beyond description. This figure of VENUS, says Mr ADDISON, puts me in mind of a speech she makes in one of the Greek Epigrams, which he thus renders into English:

ANCHISES, PARIS, and ADONIS too,  
Have seen me naked and expos'd to view:  
All these I frankly own without denying?  
But where has this PRAXITELES been prying?

I proceed now to the description of the sacred buildings; of which the domo or cathedral, called Santa Maria Florida, is one of the most magnificent in Europe, being covered on the outside, as well as paved with marble of various colours. The architecture is *à la rustica*, and admirable in it's kind: the pillars which support the church are so slender, and stand at such a distance, that one has a view of the whole church at once, which is four hundred and eighty feet long, and three hundred and eighty feet high to the top of the cross, covered with a cupola, the design of BRUNELLESCHI, being the first of the kind, and the pattern of St PETER's in Rome, and all other cupola's of a later date. The painting of it, which represents the resurrection, is much admired by some; but critics find fault with it, because the rising bodies are cloathed, and of different ages. The statues of God the father, of a dead Christ, and an Angel supporting him, on the same altar, done by BANDINELLO, are admirable pieces, as are the ADAM and EVE behind the altar. The choir is round, and perpendicularly under the cupola, being of the same dimensions. The steeple, or square tower where the bells hang, is a little distance from the church: it is an hundred and eighty foot high, and overlaid with square pieces of white, red, and black marble, and adorned with statues. The baptistery stands before the dome, and is of an octagonal figure, covered with marble, as the church is; the three brazen gates, containing pieces of sacred history in bas-relief, one of which is so exquisitely wrought, that MICHAEL ANGELO used to say it would serve for one of the gates of paradise. The body of the baptistery was antiently an heathen temple dedicated to MARS.

The collegiate church of St LAURENCE, the design of BRUNELLESCHI, is an admirable structure, adorned with excellent statues, paintings, and other rich ornaments; but our countryman, Dr BURNET, it seems, was much scandalized, that some of the statues appeared with nudities, which he had never observed in any other church. The chapel of St LAURENCE adjoining to it, the mausoleum of the Medicean family, is universally allowed to be the finest edifice of the kind in the world. It is of an octagonal figure, [Misson says a hexagon] vaulted on the top in form of a cupola, the walls incrustated and covered with porphyry, jasper, agate, touch-stone, lapis lazuli, oriental alabaster, and other rich workmanship, which sets it beyond all parallel. Round the chapel are the tombs of the Great Dukes, composed of porphyry, oriental granite, and the most precious kinds of marble; on each tomb is a great pillar of jasper, enriched with various sorts of jewels, and on each pillar a ducal crown, which

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The cathedral of Florence.

The fine chapel of St Laurence.



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is still a great deal richer. In the middle of each face of the octagon rises a double pilaster of jasper, with a double chapter of brads gilt, the base being of the same metal. On the pedestal of each pilaster, are several emblematical figures, composed of precious stones, joined together with all the art imaginable: over the tombs are the statues of the Great Dukes at full length, all of brads gilt, and placed in niches round the chapel. In a word, says a late traveller, on which side soever we cast our eyes we were amazed; if we looked down, we saw the pavement of the choicest marble; if we viewed the walls, our eyes were even dazzled with the piercing lustre of the precious stones; if we looked up, we were ravished with the beauty of the roof, vaulted with lapis lazuli, the brightest blue, and intermixed with stars and veins of gold, which represented the face of heaven very naturally. This work has been already above an hundred years begun, wherein a great many millions sterling have been expended, and still it remains unfinished. The great altar, whose riches and workmanship is equal to such a chapel, is not yet set up, as I can learn, but kept still in the Great Duke's jewel-office. The crystal pillars of this altar, according to one that saw it, are a full ell long, and finely wrought, having chapters of pure gold; the pictures composed of inlaid precious stones, which form the antependium of the altar: the neat contexture of others of different colours and lustre, with the variety of rich cameo's, which are set here and there, render the beauty of it inexpressible. And among the statues designed to adorn this chapel, says Dr BURNET, there is one of the virgin, made by MICHAEL ANGELO, which represents her grief at the passion of her blessed son, that hath the most life in it of all the statues I ever saw. But the famous library, which belongs to the convent of St LAURENCE, we are to believe, took up more of our author's time, than all the other curiosities in Florence; for here is a collection of many manuscripts, most of them Greek, which were gathered together by Pope CLEMENT VII, and given to his country: there are but few printed books mixed with them, and those so rare, that they are almost as valuable as the manuscripts; and here also he saw some of VIRGIL's poems in old capitals. Mr ADDISON viewed the same, and observes that they want the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. and the two and twenty lines in the second Æneid, beginning at *Jamque adeo super unum eram*, which he always thought left out with a great deal of judgment by TULLIA and VARIUS, as it contradicts a part of the sixth Æneid, and represents the hero in a passion not becoming his character.

The churches of the Annunciata, St MARK's, the Holy-Cross, and St MARIA Novella, are all buildings of exquisite beauty and immense riches; but the curiosities of Florence, have already had their share in a work of this nature, and forbids my enlarging further upon them: I shall only observe in general, that the town is supposed to contain eight thousand houses, which at seven to a house, makes the number of inhabitants to amount to fifty-six thousand; an hundred and fifty collegiate and parochial churches, ninety monasteries and nunneries, two and twenty hospitals, of which that for orphans maintains nine hundred persons; eighteen halls belonging to merchants and tradesmen, and an hundred and sixty publick statues, besides what are found in palaces.

The principal trade of this city, besides wine, oil, fruits, and other produce of the country, consists in wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, and some say they have a woollen manufacture: (but this last must be inconsiderable.) The nobility and gentry do not think it beneath them to apply themselves to trade; and the Great Duke himself is said to be one of the most considerable merchants in Europe: Nay, the gentry sell their own wines by retale out of doors, though not in their houses, and even hang out a broken flask for a sign at their court-gates. Their customers come no further than the cellar-window however, where they take and return the flasks to the butler, without disturbing the house; at the same time they look upon it as a great disparagement, to educate their children in the profession of physick: so various are the notions of honour in different countries, physick being esteemed with us one of the most creditable professions, and on the contrary, a retale trade of liquors the most ignominious.

The women, we are told by most travellers, are in no part of Italy, more confined than they are at Florence; and yet LASSEL assures us, the quality invite one another to play at cards on winters evenings at their houses, whither the married ladies come richly dressed, and are attended by an equal number of cavaliers; that they find the rooms all open, and well lighted with candles, where the ladies and gentlemen sit down at the same tables promiscuously, having wine and other liquors prepared for them, and usually in a great room below; at the entrance of the palace is a long table, where gamesters resort, who play deep, the rest coming purely for diversion. In the time of the carnival, masquerading and all manner of liberties are taken, so that methinks the restraint of the married women in Italy, is not so terrible as it is usually represented (as to virgins indeed, they are sent to nunneries for education, at eight or ten years of age, and seldom come out till they are married). There are also frequently balls at court, opera's and plays, where the ladies are not excluded; but what many of our travellers are offended at, is, that the women are not seen commonly in the streets, or ever ride in coaches with the gentlemen; and 'tis true, a woman would not be looked upon much better than a prostitute, that should suffer herself to be placed among fellows in a coach, tho' with us it is esteemed no reflection upon their modesty. Another diversion at Florence, as I have hinted already, is the combat of wild beasts, which the court exhibits to the people, as those of lions, leopards, tygers, wild boars, bears, and wolves, which are let out of their dens into a spacious court surrounded by high walls, above which the spectators sit on benches gradually rising as in a theatre; and when the sport is over, they drive the fierce animals back into their dens by a terrible wooden machine, made in the form of a great green dragon, which a person within rolls upon wheels, holding two lighted torches through the eyes to terrify the creatures, who seldom dare stand the shock of this monstrous engine. Another of their sports is horse-racing, without riders in the long street, which from hence is called the *Curso*. They throw a broad piece of leather over each horse, in which they fasten sharp-pointed irons like the rowels of a spur, that strike against the horse's sides as he moves; and four or five of them starting at the same time, they run with all the speed they can make

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sions.



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make to the end of the course. But besides these races, on the 24th of June annually, the ancient Roman races are imitated in the piazza di Santa Maria novella, with magnificent open chariots drawn by a pair of horses each, at which the Great Duke assists. There being two fine marble obelisks erected in the square, they drive four times round them with all the speed imaginable, and sometimes overturn each other; and he that performs the course soonest, gains the victory. The reward is usually a fine piece of brocade. In this square also during the carnival is performed another diversion, called the *Calcio*, which our travellers resemble to foot-ball, only it is performed by persons of quality: the two parties each of them chuse their Prince, who keeps his court like a real sovereign, and is always one of the first rank, who is able to make a figure. The two parties magnificently dressed, but with marks of distinction, with each of them their Prince at their head, are ranged in order of battle between the barriers, when the ball being thrown into the middle, they use their utmost endeavours to receive it at the first rebound, and after a great deal of struggling, they that kick it beyond the barrier of the opposite party, gain the prize.

In the square called *Loggia de Pisani*, on the 23d of June annually (where is erected the statue of JUDITH in brass, and the rape of the Sabines is represented) the Grand Duke comes in his robes of state, attended by all his court, to receive the homage of his officers and vassals under his jurisdiction, each of them passing before his throne on horseback with their heads uncovered, and bowing their bodies, make some present, as a tribute or mark of their submission.

Fiesoli  
city.

2. The city of Fiesoli, to which Florence owes it's original, is situated on a hill, three miles to the northward of it, and was one of the twelve great cities of the Etrurians, and the residence of their augurs; but is remarkable for little at present but the cathedral, being still the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Florence.

Pratolino.

3. Pratolino, two miles north of Fiesoli, considerable for a palace of the Great Duke's situated here. It is a majestick square structure, encompassed with mountains, and the gardens suitable to the magnificence of the palace. The fountains, cascades, and grotto's, all admirable in their kind; and what are most taken notice of by travellers, are certain statues playing upon musical instruments, others working at a forge, water-organs, birds chirping, frogs croaking, statues walking, and all put in motion by water. As for the concealed spouts, or fountains as they are called, with which they take the liberty of half drowning the common people who come to see the gardens, they scarce deserve the mentioning: we find some of our quality imitating them in this piece of ill-nature.

Fiorenzola.

4. Fiorenzola, is a large town, situate in a valley, about thirty miles to the northward of Florence, considerable on account of it's trade.

Pietra  
Mala.

5. Pietra Mala, twenty-five miles north of Florence; is a village much talked of by travellers, on account of a light which is seen in the fields near it, like a globe of pure fire, almost every evening.

Pistoia.

6. Pistoia, stands twenty miles north-west of Florence, and as many south-east of Luca, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Florence, a very poor town at present, though situate in the richest part of Tuscany. It was antiently a flourishing

commonwealth, and submitted to the Great Duke upon the taking of Pisa.

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Poggio  
Imperiale.

7. Poggio Imperiale, is considerable for another of the Great Duke's palaces, about a mile from Florence, adorned with a collection of some of the finest pictures in Italy. The gardens also are very artificially disposed, and furnished with exotick as well as domestick plants. Among the statues, that of ADONIS, done by MICHAEL ANGELO, is most admired.

8. Empoli, eighteen miles south-west of Empoli. Florence, the See of a Bishop.

9. St Miniato al Toderico also is a Bishop's See, but considerable for little else.

St Miniato  
al Toderico.  
Colle.

10. Colle, situate on a mountain, twenty-five miles south of Florence, is only mentioned as a Bishop's See.

11. Pongibond, or Poggio Bonzi, two and twenty miles south of Florence, is a town of some trade.

Pongibond.

12. Monte Pulciano is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome, and lies twenty seven miles south-east of Sienna.

Monte  
Pulciano.

13. Cortona, fifty miles south-east of Florence, is pleasantly situated on a mountain, planted with vines and fruit-trees, said to be more antient than Rome, and is at present the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Florence.

Cortona.

14. Arezzo, is situated on a hill, about forty miles to the eastward of Florence, a well-built town, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Florence, but thinly inhabited at present.

Arezzo.

15. Borgo San Sepulchro, lies near the Tiber, forty-five miles to the eastward of Florence, and is the See of a Bishop, but no otherwise considerable.

Borgo San  
Sepulchro.

The Siennese, or duchy of Sienna, is bounded by Florence Proper towards the north; by the territories of the Pope on the south and east; and by the Tuscan sea on the south-west, being about sixty miles in length, and as many in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Sienna. 2. Massa. 3. Castiglione. 4. Buriano. 5. Grossetto. 6. Monte Alcino. 7. Pienza. 8. Sanquiriti. 9. Savona. 10. Radicofani. And, 11. Chiufi.

The Siennese.

The city of Sienna stands in a healthful air, thirty-six miles to the southward of Florence, pleasantly situated on an eminence in an exceeding fruitful country, being about four miles in circumference, and of a triangular figure, encompassed with a ruinous wall, and commanded by a citadel, intended more to awe the natives than for it's defence: in it are still remaining several square towers, the most of them are fallen to decay, which were built heretofore, as 'tis said, to commemorate the great actions of particular citizens when it was a republick. The streets are neatly paved with bricks, the great square in the middle of the city is surrounded with a piazza, where they run races annually on the 2d of July. Fourteen horses are brought from as many parishes by riders richly dressed in different colours, with the arms of the parish each of them belong to on their respective habits: the horses splendidly accoutred, and their very hoofs gilt. When they are all ready, they start at the sound of several instruments, and having run four times about the square, the horse that comes first in gains the prize, which consists of a rich brocade, to which every parish contributes: they run also with machines in the form of triumphal chariots drawn each by a pair of horses, and driven by persons of quality with incredible swiftness, as at Florence,

Sienna city.



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Florence, where the honour of the victory is passionately contended for with no small hazard to the drivers, who are sometimes overturned by their competitors, and come off with broken limbs. The town is thinly peopled, vineyards and gardens lie here and there interspersed within the walls. The public buildings are magnificent, and the private houses have many of them an air of grandeur, but every thing seems to be upon the decline.

The domo, or cathedral, however, is still one of the proudest structures in Italy of the Gothick architecture: the walls are covered within and without with marble of different colours; the roof is azure intermixed with stars of gold; the heads of an hundred and seventy Popes in alabaster adorn the walls; the frontispiece is finely carved and set thick with excellent statues; the floor is inlaid with marble of various colours, forming lights and shades, and composing all together a kind of Mosaick work, representing the history of ABRAHAM sacrificing his son, the passage of the Israelites through the Red-Sea, MOSES striking the rock, and many other parts of sacred history. This beautiful pavement is covered with a boarded floor, part of which is removed to satisfy the curiosity of strangers when they come to view it. The principal statues are those of Pope ALEXANDER III, PIUS II, and ALEXANDER VII, who were natives of this city. The painting of the library belonging to this church, representing the great actions of PIUS II, is much admired by the most judicious travellers, which remains as fresh and lively as at first, though done near three hundred years ago. The other curiosities usually shewn to foreigners, are, the great hospital, the house of PIUS II, the pillar with a brazen wolf upon it, supposed, erroneously, to be the arms of the city; probably first set up by the Romans, who erected such pillars in many of their colonies, perhaps in memory of the wolf, which, according to tradition, suckled ROMULUS and REMUS, the founders of their city; which is not however more incredible than some later traditions concerning St CATHERINE, the Saint of the town: they still shew several places here made famous by her devotions; as the room where she received the five wounds, now converted into a chapel; the apartment where she lived in the church of the Dominicans; here they have preserved her head and one of her fingers, but her body, it seems, is removed to the church of the Dominicans at Rome. They relate, that she was not only visited by our Saviour in person at Sienna, but formally married to him; and that the blessed Virgin, St PETER, St JOHN and St DOMINICK, were at the wedding: but the great use her friends make of her, is, a revelation which they pretend she received, that the Virgin was conceived in sin as well as other mortals; which was introduced in opposition to a contrary revelation of St BRIDGET's, confirming the immaculate conception. Thus do these bigotted people make sport for those who are atheistically inclined, and by their counterfeit visions and revelations, render those that are real, suspected. Sienna is an Archbishop's See and University, where young gentlemen are instructed in all manly exercises, as well as the sciences. Here also is an academy of Wits, as in other Italian cities. The purity of their language is much commended, being equal in that respect to Florence, and their pronunciation as good as at Rome; which, with

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the other advantages of the place above-mentioned, in point of air and situation, make it frequently the residence of foreigners who intend to learn Italian. The magistracy of this city consists of a Governour and Senate composed of twelve of the principal inhabitants; the sovereignty being lodged in the Great Duke, under whose dominion they have been ever since the year 1555; before which time they were a flourishing republick, and often disputed with the Florentines for Empire.

2. Massa, situated on the side of a hill near the coast of Tuscany, about thirty-five miles to the westward of Sienna, to whom it's Bishop is suffragan.

3. Grossetto, a small town, about forty miles south-west of Sienna, near a bay of the Tuscan Sea, defended by a castle, whose Bishop also is suffragan to Sienna.

4. Monte Alcino, famous for it's wine, lies twenty miles south-west of Sienna, and is the See of a Bishop.

5. Pienza, twenty-five miles south-east of Sienna, which has the honour of being a bishoprick.

6. Savona, a Bishop's See, fifty miles south of Sienna.

7. Chiusi, a Bishop's See, thirty-six miles south of Sienna; but travellers have not thought any of them deserve a particular description.

8. Radicofani, a little town, defended by a castle upon a hill, formerly looked upon as impregnable, lies upon the Pope's frontiers, about forty miles from Sienna in the road to Rome.

9. Castiglione, a small town, situate on the frontiers of the Pope's territories, on a lake to which it communicates it's name, forty-five miles south-east of Sienna.

This country which now goes under the name of Tuscany, was antiently called by the several names of Ombria, Tyrrhenia, and Etruria, and divided into twelve small principalities, each of them governed by their respective sovereigns, till it fell under the dominion of the Romans with the rest of Italy, and afterwards followed the fortune of that Empire, being over-run and pillaged by the Goths and other northern people: Florence, the capital city, particularly was destroyed by those barbarians, and rebuilt by CHARLES the Great about two hundred and fifty years after. It remained under the power of the Emperors of the west for some time; but during the struggles for dominion between them and the Pope of Rome, the principal cities of Italy, such as Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, withdrew themselves from the subjection of both, and erected such governments in their respective territories as they saw fit, seldom remaining long under any one form, but altering their several constitutions as the people or the nobility prevailed, till some of the most popular noblemen in Florence assumed the government of that city, and reduced it to the form of a monarchy. These were frequently deposed by other aspiring citizens, but at length the house of Medicis had the good fortune to fix the government in their family, and now remain Sovereigns of the greatest part of Tuscany, having reduced the republicks of Pisa and Sienna under their dominion. It was JOHN DE MEDICIS, who by flattery the populace, and pretending to defend them against the oppressions of the nobility, about the year 1410, first procured the sovereign power to be put into his hands; but his descendants did not become absolute as they are at present till many years

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Monte Al-  
cino.

Pienza.

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Radicofa-  
ni.

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lione.

Abstract  
of the his-  
tory.



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years after; this was obtained by slow degrees, and by the most refined policy. Pope PIUS V. first conferred the title of Great Duke on COSMO DE MEDICIS, in the year 1570, crowned him with his own hands at Rome; and the Pontiffs have ever since looked upon these Princes as their vassals; while the Emperor on the other hand claims Tuscany as a fief of the Empire, with a power of disposing of it whenever male issue shall be wanting of the Medicean family; which was the occasion of the treaties above-mentioned in the description of Parma, for the preventing a war in Italy. The Pope seemed highly to resent this proceeding of the powers of Europe, in taking upon them to dispose of the territories of Tuscany, exclaiming against it at the courts of Vienna, Madrid, &c. But they still seem determined that DON CARLOS, son of the Queen of Spain, shall succeed if he dies without issue. The present Grand Duke is JOHN GASTON DE MEDICIS, the son of COSMO III. and MARGARETA LOUISA, daughter of GASTON JOHN BAPTIST Duke of Orleans. He succeeded his father in the year 1723, having been married to ANNE MARY FRANCES of Sax-Lawenburg, widow to PHILIP WILLIAM Count Palatine of the Rhine, by whom he has had no issue, and probably despairs of having any now: however, as there are some branches of the family of MEDICIS left in Naples, particularly the Princes of OTTAJONO and SARNE, whom the Great Duke has acknowledged to be of the same blood, neither the Florentines or the Pope will contentedly acquiesce in the determination of the Empire and Spain for the succession of DON CARLOS; nor will France and England, who were parties to the quadruple alliance, probably insist on this disposition, since the misunderstanding which hath happened between the allies of Hanover and Vienna, unless this matter be farther confirmed at the congress of Soissons.

Govern-  
ment.

The Great Duke, as hath been intimated already, is arbitrary in his dominions, nor hath he so much as a privy council, in whose name proclamations and other acts of state are issued, as is practised in the courts of other monarchs, but all things of this nature are executed as the sole effect of his will and pleasure. The Florentines indeed retain the shadow of their antient government, having a senate composed of forty of the nobility and great officers, who serve to record the decrees of the Prince. There are also a great variety of courts of Justice, a council called the *Rota*, who determine appeals from them, with many other councils which superintend the treasure, forces, publick buildings, &c. Governors and other officers are appointed by the Great Duke throughout his territories, and preferred and displaced as he sees fit. His annual revenues are computed to amount to five hundred thousand pounds, arising from the tenths of the yearly value of every house, the tenth of all lands and houses that are sold, the ground-rents of the houses in Leghorn and other places, where he sells the land to the builders; eight *per cent.* on the portions of all women who are married; two *per cent.* on law-suits; five shillings for every heifer that is sold; an excise upon bread, tobacco, eggs, and almost all manner of provisions; besides which, these Princes have a prodigious treasure in bank, with part of which they traffick as merchants: and were they only to lay up the surplus of their expences, which do not amount to half their in-

Revenues  
and forces.

come, it is not to be conceived what immense sums they must have heaped together since this family have had the government in their hands, there being no Court in Europe which lives so frugally as this, keeping the servants at board-wages, and being at a set rate with their cooks, bakers, &c. They are only extravagant in their buildings, furniture, gardens, collections of antiquities, and other curiosities of art and nature, which are the amusements of the Italian nobility in general.

As to their forces, this Prince has only some galleys at sea, and two or three troops of guards; but 'tis said he has some thousands of Militia enrolled, who are suffered to live at their respective dwellings, and follow their trades; I do not find they have been brought into actual service of late years. The Italian Princes chuse to employ Swiss and other mercenaries in their service, rather than national troops; and of these few Princes are able to maintain more, whose dominions are of so small an extent as the Duke of Tuscany's. But the genius of these petty Sovereigns does not seem to lie this way at present; in which they differ pretty much from their ancestors, who carried their arms into every part of the habitable world: as they do from the Germans, who still impoverish themselves and their subjects by keeping three times as many forces on foot as they can maintain. I shall only add, that besides the territories of the Duke of Tuscany already mentioned, he is possessed of part of the island of Elba, the marquisate of Scanzano, the Citta del Sole in Romania, and some other small places, which will be described in treating of the countries where they are situated. I proceed now to the description of the rest of Tuscany which belongs to other Princes and States, namely, 1. The territories possessed by the republick of Luca. 2. The State delli Presidii, possessed by the Spaniards. 3. The Principality of Piombino. 4. The domain of the house of Cibo. And lastly, the marquisate De Fos di Novo.

The territories of the republick of Luca are bounded by Modena on the north; Pistoia on the east, the Pisan on the south; and by the Tuscan Sea and the republick of Genoa towards the west; being about five and twenty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Luca. 2. Via Reggio. 3. Coreglia. And, 4. Castiglione.

The city of Luca is situated in the middle of a fruitful plain, about fifteen miles over, near the river Secchia, ten miles to the northward of Pisa, and twelve miles to the eastward of the Tuscan Sea, being of an oblong form, three miles in circumference, and encompassed with a wall, defended by eleven bastions, and other fortifications. The walls are very wide, and faced with brick, and so well planted with trees, that they cover the whole town, except the steeple of the cathedral, which only can be seen as we approach the place. The streets are moderately wide and straight, the squares large, the private houses equal to those of other Italian cities; and among their publick buildings is the cathedral dedicated to St MARTIN, a large handsome fabric, most remarkable for a crucifix of our Blessed Saviour, according to tradition, begun by NICODEMUS, and finished by a divine hand. This crucifix is of cedar, and as others are usually naked, this is richly cloathed, with a crown upon it's

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The terri-  
tories of  
Luca.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

Chief  
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Luca city.



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ment.

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gio.

its head, adorned with precious stones. In the church of St FREIDAN is a tomb, which they called St RICHARD's, a quondam King of England, but our histories do not furnish us with an account of any King of England of that name who died in Italy. The palace of the republick might make a noble figure in another country, but there are so many finer in Italy, that it is not thought worth a particular description. This republick is of about three hundred years standing. The legislative authority is lodged in the senate composed of about two hundred and twenty noblemen, as they are called, or thereabouts, but these are generally noblemen without titles, or any honours to distinguish them from gentlemen, and most of these apply themselves to trade and merchandize: which inclines me to think that we have many citizens of London who much better deserve the character of noblemen than those who go under that denomination in some Italian republicks. This senate is divided in two equal parts, who sit alternately every six months. The executive power is lodged in the Gonfalonier, or standard-bearer, the chief officer of the state and a council consisting of nine members, called the Signoria, who with the Gonfalonier are changed every two months, and incapable of serving in the same posts for six years afterwards, to prevent their having any ambitious views. The Signoria while they are in office live in the palace, where their expences are borne by the state, but this is all the reward they receive from the state for their trouble. The Gonfalonier is no more in effect than President of the Council, unless it be that he wears a robe of crimson velvet, and has the title of His Excellence, and a guard of sixty Switzers. All elections of officers are made by balloting in the senate, of which the Signoria compose a part. They have a Podesta, or Judge of criminal matters, and four other judges for civil causes, from whence the parties may appeal to the Gonfalonier and Signoria, who are the last resort.

The revenues of this republick are computed at about thirty thousand pounds per annum, and 'tis said, they can raise ten or twelve thousand men upon occasion; but their greatest security from their more potent neighbours is in the Emperor's protection, especially now he is master of the best part of Italy. They keep guard constantly at their gates as in time of war, and admit no travellers but at one particular port, taking their arms from them before they enter the city, not so much as suffering any man to wear a sword in their streets. This city is the See of a Bishop, subject immediately to the Pope, who officiates in the vestments of an Archbishop, and the canons in the choir are habited like Cardinals. Here are as many ecclesiasticks in proportion, as in any other town of Italy, unless Jesuits; and 'tis said, they will not admit any of this order amongst them.

The diligence of the people of this place has given it the name of *Luca the industrious*: their manufactures consist chiefly in silk, and gold and silver stuffs. The olives and oil produced in their territories are very much esteemed: they have also plenty of wine, but not corn sufficient for their subsistence; the common people eat chestnuts frequently instead of bread, as they do in many other parts of Italy. Of the rest of the towns of this republick I meet with no particular description, unless it be, that Viareggio is a little port

which preserves their communication with the Tuscan sea, and lies about ten or twelve miles to the westward of the city of Luca.

The state delli Presidii, subject to the Spaniard, is extended about thirty miles along the coast of Tuscany, having the Siennese on the east, and is about fifteen miles broad. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Orbitello. 2. Porto Hercole. 3. Porto Sancti Stephani. 4. Talamone Vecchio. And, 5. Talamene.

Orbitello is situated on the Tuscan shore, at the foot of mount Argentario, thirty miles north-west of Civita Vecchia, and about as many to the eastward of the island of Elba, and fifty to the southward of Sienna; a well-fortified town, and belonged to the republick of Sienna, till that state was brought under the dominion of the Florentines; for about the same time the Spaniards made themselves masters of Orbitello, Porto Hercole, and the other towns in this district, putting garrisons into all of them, which occasioned the adjoining country to be called *Il Stato delli Presidii*, or the country of garrisons.

Porto Hercole is a large town and harbour on the Tuscan sea, six miles to the southward of Orbitello, defended by a strong castle. The other places do not require a particular description.

The principality of Piombino lies along the coast of the Tuscan Sea, between the Siennese and the Pisan, being about twenty miles long, and ten broad: the chief town whereof is Piombino, about thirty-five miles south-east of Leghorn, a strong fortress and harbour, subject to the Spaniard.

The Domain of the house of Cibo lies between the territories of Genoa on the west; and Val de Main on the east, being ten miles in length, and about as much in breadth; formerly governed by it's own Prince, but now subject to Tuscany. The chief towns are, 1. Massa. And, 2. Carara.

Massa is situated on the little river Lavenza, about four miles from the Tuscan Sea, and twenty north-west of Luca; a little well-built town, formerly the residence of the Prince.

Carara is situated five miles north-west of Massa, near which is dug that fine white marble, esteemed the best in Europe; but I meet with no farther description of the town.

The marquise De Fos di Novo is a small territory north-west of Massa, belonging to the family of MALESPINA, the only considerable town being of the same name, and situate about eight miles to the northward of Carara.

## V E N I C E.

## CHAP. XII.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the territories of the republick of Venice in Italy, of the air and climate, seas, rivers, soil and produce.*

THE Venetian dominions in Italy, are bounded by the country of the Grisons, Trent, and Tyrol, towards the north; by Carniola and the gulph of Venice on the east; by Mantua and Ferrara on the south; and the duchy of Milan on the west; being about an hundred and eighty miles in length from east to west, and an hundred in breadth towards the east end, but scarce half so broad

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Tuscany.The Span-  
ish towns  
on the  
coast of  
Tuscany.

Orbitello.

Porto  
Hercole.Piombino  
Princi-  
pality and  
town.The Do-  
main of  
Cibo.Massa  
city.

Carara.

Fos di  
Novo  
town and  
territory.Situation  
and ex-  
tent.



CHAP.  
XII.  
Venice.

The air.  
Sea.

Rivers.

Lakes.

Soil and  
produce.

Cattle.

Wool.

Fish and  
fowl.

broad on the west part of it, and of a very irregular figure, which makes it necessary to refer my reader to the map of Italy in this volume, for the form of it. As the territories of Venice in Italy are a part of the antient Lombardy, I have already observed, there cannot be a happier climate or a better air, if we except the coasts. The only sea which belongs to it is the Adriatick, now generally known by the name of the Gulph of Venice, that city lying at the bottom of it. The tide flows regularly twice in four and twenty hours, and ebbs as often, rising about four feet at high water, and is governed by the moon as with us: Nor are they at all apprehensive of the sea's abandoning their shores, if we may credit Mr ADDISON, who enquired particularly after this matter at Venice; tho' Dr BURNET and some other travellers insinuate, that Venice is in danger of being joined to the continent in another age. Of all the seas about Italy, there are none that abound in fish like this gulph. The chief rivers are the Po, the Piava, the Adige, the Sila, the Livenza, the Tagliamento and the Brenta, all which fall into the Adriatick. This country is also well watered with lakes, of which the principal are the lake de Garda, being about thirty-five miles long, and twelve broad; and the Ilseo, fifteen miles in length, and three in breadth.

The country is generally level, and as fruitful as any in Italy, abounding in excellent arable and pasture, vineyards, and plantations of mulberries. The road between Verona and Padua is extremely pleasant, being planted thick with white mulberry-trees in squares, which do not only furnish food for great quantities of silk-worms with their leaves, and feed their swine and poultry with their fruit, but serve as so many stays for the vines, which hang all along like garlands from tree to tree; and within the several squares are fields of corn, which in these hot countries ripens much better in the shade of the mulberry-trees, than if it were exposed to the sun: On the other hand, it is too cold for their oranges and citrons in the winter, when they are forced to cover them; whereas to the southward of the Apennine they have no occasion to use such precautions. There is also plenty of cattle of all kinds in the Venetian territories, which travellers observe are either grey or white, but that their hogs are usually black, and their flesh much better than in France or England; which is supposed to proceed from their food, living much upon truffles, (a delicious root) the husks of the pressed grapes, chefnuts, mulberries, &c. The sheep of the Paduan afford a good sort of wool, little inferior to that of England; and there is no where a greater plenty of fish and fowl, and all manner of game, than in the territories of Venice; and yet travellers complain much of their ill diet, which I presume proceeds from the manner of ordering and dressing it: but this is different in almost every country, and seldom approved by strangers. No wonder also if at inns upon the road, they do not study the palate of their guests any more than in other countries; but in all great towns people may have their food dressed after their own way: therefore when travellers complain so much of bad diet, where there is plenty of every thing that a man can desire to eat or drink, they are not to be much regarded. Husbandmen and poor people eat a coarse sort of bread in Italy, as they do in most countries of Europe; but people of condition may have fine flour, and cooks to order it as they

see fit, if the manner of making bread and baking it here be not suitable to their palates, as Dr BURNET seems to complain very sensibly; tho' 'tis possible he might have seen as bad in his own country.

CHAP.  
XII.  
Venice.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Contains a description of the provinces and chief towns subject to the Venetians in Italy.*

THE territories of the Venetians in Italy are usually divided into thirteen provinces, viz. 1. The Dogado, or duchy of Venice Proper. 2. The Padouano. 3. The Polesino de Rovigo. 4. The Veronese. 5. The Brescian. 6. The Bergamasco. 7. The Cremasco. 8. The Vicentin. 9. The Trevisana. 10. The Feltrino. 11. The Bellunese. 12. The Cadorino. And, 13. Part of Friuli.

The Venetian provinces in Italy.

The Dogado, or duchy of Venice, properly so called, contains almost all the Venetian sea-coast in Italy, with the islands, lakes, and marshes, of Venice, extending in length from the mouth of the Adige in the south, to the province of Friuli in the north, about fourscore miles in length, but is not in any place above eight or ten miles in breadth, being bounded by the Adriatick on the east, and the Padouan and Trevisin on the west: the chief places whereof are, 1. The city of Venice. 2. Murano. 3. Torcello. 4. Caorle. 5. Grado. 6. Malamocco. 7. Chioggia. 8. Brondolo. 9. Loredo. 10. Fusine. 11. Marghera. And, 12. Mestre.

The duchy of Venice Proper.

The chief towns and islands.

Venice, the capital city of this State, is situated in 45 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, in the Lagunes, as they are called, five miles from the continent. These Lagunes are supposed to have been originally marshy grounds, which the sea encroached upon, leaving here and there some little islands, or spots of ground uncovered, on which the fishermen of Padua built their huts, and first inhabited them; and that in the fifth century, when the Goths and Vandals over-run Italy, several considerable families of Padua, Aquileia, and other neighbouring cities, observing the advantageous situation of these islands, that they could neither be approached by sea or land by an enemy, retired hither with their effects, and laid the foundation of this great city. But my design being to describe the situation, and not to enter upon the history of Venice in this place, I shall only observe further, that the water of these Lagunes is so very shallow, that it will not admit of vessels but in certain channels, which are marked out with stakes, and which the government are at great charges in keeping clear by mills and other engines. On the side towards the Adriatick there is a long bank of earth, called the Lido, extending forty or fifty miles in length, which breaks the fury of the sea, and makes these waters calmer in blowing weather than they would otherwise be: nor are there more than two or three passages by which the city can be approached that way; and these so difficult, that if the buoys and other sea-marks were removed, their own pilots would find a difficulty in entering them. But were it otherwise, the islands which command those streights might easily be put into such a posture of defence, as to bid defiance to the greatest naval powers. And in fact it appears, that no enemy has ever been able to bring a fleet of men of war before the city since it was founded, and those who have endeavoured

Venice city. Situation.

The Lagunes.



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Venice.

endeavoured it, have perished in the attempt. They have this farther advantage against a land-army, that their waters are never frozen hard enough in winter to bear a considerable weight; so that if any place in Europe may be stiled impregnable, it is this: and if we should suppose an enemy strong enough, to block them up by sea and land, it would be difficult to starve them, there being shoals of fish continually passing through their very streets. Nor is Venice more admired for its strength than beauty: To see one of the finest towns in the universe rising out of the waters, its magnificent palaces and lofty towers appearing in full view, on which side soever you approach it; no trees, or even walls, to interrupt the sight, but the houses on the outside of the town, washed with the flood at least four feet deep, affords a most delightful and amazing prospect. As for the city's standing upon seventy-two islands, which is the received opinion, whether there were at first that number of small islands, confederated together for their common defence, which might give occasion to this surmise, or whatever other foundation it might have, it is evident, that at present there are not less than two hundred islands in Venice, if every part of the town is esteemed such, which is divided from the rest by canals. The town is of an irregular figure, rather long than broad, and divided in two parts by the grand canal, which runs the whole length of it, in the form of an S. The circumference is by some said to be five, and by others about eight miles, and both of them possibly in the right; for it may be eight miles, if we take in all the windings of the buildings, though I am satisfied it is but five, if we leave them out. The number of the people is no less controverted, than the dimensions of the place; some making them 130,000, and others 300,000; the first seem to come nearest the truth.

Canals and  
bridges.

The canals are so numerous, that one may go to almost any part of the city by water, as well as by land; and there are no less than four hundred and fifty bridges, all of them built of stone, by which the several parts of the town have an easy communication. The principal bridge, called the Rialto, lies over the middle of the grand canal, and is composed of one arch, which makes one third of a circle, there being ninety feet from one extremity of the arch to the other, and consequently the arch is near twenty-four feet in height. It is very solidly built of large square stones, being a coarse sort of white marble, and has rails on each side: there are two rows of shops in the middle, which divide it into three streets, the broadest in the middle, and the other two between the rails and the back-sides of the shops. The rest of the bridges have no rails, and being built with a white stone, hard and slippery, makes the passage of them very unsafe; at least, says Mr ADDISON, it would be so to a people less sober than the Italians. There are not keys on each side of every canal where people may walk, but frequently the canal takes up all the space from one side of the street to the other. The streets which have no canals in them are very narrow and crooked, which makes it extremely difficult for a stranger to find his way to any part of the town by land. The piazza of St MARK is esteemed the glory of Venice, as well for its extent, as for the magnificence of the buildings about it. The fine church of St MARK fronts one part of it, and that of St GEMINIAN the other; and the procuraties, where the lawyers

Streets.

The pi-  
azza of St  
MARK.

reside, being uniform stately fabricks, adorned with large marble portico's and bas-reliefs, run on each side of it. The length of this square is two hundred and fourscore paces, and the breadth an hundred and ten. And on the right hand, going up towards St MARK's, is another square, extending as far as the sea, two hundred and fifty paces long, and eighty broad; the palace of the Doge lies on one side of it, and the procuraties are continued on the other. This is called the Broglio, where the nobility and senators meet and walk every day, before they assemble in their respective councils. They sometimes chuse one side of the square, and sometimes the other, according as the weather serves; but which part soever they take up, none of an inferior rank are permitted to come on the same side. These piazza's also serve as an Exchange, where the merchants of the several nations here transact their affairs. The houses which make the best appearance are upon the grand canal, as the palaces of Morosini, Loredano, Grimani, Cornaro, Vandramino, &c. These are noble lofty structures, the fronts of marble, or other hewn stone, and adorned with pillars of the several orders of architecture. But notwithstanding they have so beautiful an outside, the nice Dr BURNET did not at all approve their contrivance; he says, they have nothing convenient, the architecture is almost all the same, one stair-case, a hall that runs along the body of the house, and chambers on both hands; but there are no apartments, no closets, or back stairs; so that in houses of an excessive costliness, they have yet no sort of convenience. The flooring, according to Mr ADDISON, is a kind of red plaister, made of brick ground to powder, and afterwards worked into mortar; it is rubbed with oil, and makes a smooth shining and beautiful surface. The furniture is not commonly very rich, if we except the pictures, which are here in greater plenty than in any other place of Europe, done by the best masters, such as TITIAN, PAUL VERONESE, and TINTORET, the last of whom is of greater esteem at Venice, than in other parts of Italy. The rooms are generally hung with gilt leather, which they cover with tapestry on extraordinary occasions, or with other hangings of greater value. Their bedsteads are of iron, to prevent the vermin lodging in them, and the bottoms of boards, on which they lay so many mattresses, that it is a large step up to them. The streets are paved with brick or free stone, and kept very neat, there being no horses or carriages, or so much as a chair that passes thro' them; they have almost every where the convenience of the water, and go by gondola's or boats from one place to another. In the middle of the vessel the passengers sit covered, as in a coach, with glasses on every side: the gondolier rows standing, with his face the same way he goes. All the gondola's are painted black, and the cabin in the middle covered with black cloth or stuff, by an order of the State; except those of foreigners, and particularly the gondola's of Ambassadors, which are very large, and finely painted, carved, and gilded; in these they make their publick entries, and they are esteemed equal to so many coaches and six. The common gondola's may be hired by the hour, or from place to place, and a good one may be had for five or six shillings a day. It is computed there are not less than ten or twelve thousand of them plying upon the canals of Venice, besides

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Venice.The Brog-  
lio.

Buildings.

Furniture.

Gondola's



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which, all the nobility and people of condition have two or three a-piece of their own, every one of them large enough to hold five or six persons at least. This city is said to contain seventy parishes, thirty monasteries, and about as many nunneries; two hundred palaces fit for the entertainment of Princes, a great many statues of brads and marble, and several publick fountains; but their water is generally bad, they are furnished with what they drink, from the continent, or from their cisterns of rain-water.

Bad water.

Publick  
buildings.

St MARK's  
church.

The publick buildings most admired are, first, the church of St MARK, which is properly the Doge's chapel: it is built after the Greek fashion, almost square, and covered by several domes or cupola's, of which the largest is in the middle, the whole supported by thirty-six marble pillars, three foot diameter each. The outside and inside also are of excellent marble, and the frontispiece adorned with pillars of porphyry and jasper. There are four brazen horses over the gate of exquisite workmanship, said to have belonged antiently to the chariot of the sun, and an ornament to a triumphal arch, which the Senate of Rome erected for NERO, after his victory over the Parthians. This church is not lofty, and something too dark; but the vast quantity of mosaick work, with which both the roof and pavement are adorned, render it one of the greatest curiosities in Italy. This mosaick work consists of pictures formed with little inlaid pieces of wood, stone, ivory, enamel, or any other matter, in which they will imitate nature to a miracle. They shew here a red stone, on which the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA laid his head, when Pope ALEXANDER III, trod on his neck, with this inscription, viz. *Super Aspidem Et Basiliscum ambulabis*. A late writer observes, that the mosaick work on the walls has lasted more than six hundred years, without the least diminution of it's beauty: and in the pavement several large pieces remain entire, which are composed of little pieces of jasper, porphyry, serpentine, and marble of several colours.

Mosaick  
work de-  
scribed.

The trea-  
sury.

From this church strangers are led into the treasury belonging to it, which is never opened but in the presence of one of the procurators of St MARK, who are the guardians of it. They are first shewn abundance of precious relicks; such as pieces of the cross, the hair and milk of the virgin, &c. And in another room abundance of real treasure, great part of which was brought from Constantinople, when the Venetians were masters of that city: as the crowns of Candia and Cyprus, set thick with precious stones; armour of beaten gold, enriched with jewels of a prodigious value; vessels of agate, crystal, and entire emeralds; four carbuncles, the least weighing six ounces, and a sapphire of ten ounces; a picture of St JEROME in fine mosaick; a mitre with a great carbuncle on the top of it, which belonged to CONSTANTINE, and innumerable other valuable curiosities; insomuch that Dr BURNET says, he never saw so great a treasure amassed together in any other place.

The  
Doge's  
palace.

After this, foreigners are shewn the duke's palace, which has a very magnificent front, beautified with a multitude of marble pillars of the several orders; and if the other three sides were answerable to it, 'tis said, there would not be a finer fabrick in Europe; but these have a mean appearance. In the chamber of the college there is admirably painted on the roof, JUPITER darting thunderbolts, by PAUL VERONESE. In an-

other room, a description of all the cities the Venetians possess on Terra firma, and eleven fine statues of Emperors. In the great council chamber, which is an hundred and fifty foot long, and seventy-three broad, PAUL VERONESE and TINTORET have exercised their utmost skill. The principal pieces are, the battles of the Venetians; the siege of Constantinople; their wars with the State of Genoa; the history of Pope ALEXANDER III, treading on the neck of the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, and a representation of Paradise, esteemed the best picture in Venice.

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Venice.

The patriarchal church is dedicated to St PETER DI CASTELLO; but travellers have not thought fit to give us a particular description of it any further than to acquaint us, that it is large, and the front deserves to be taken notice of for it's beautiful simplicity; that the great altar was erected by the Senate, in pursuance of a vow they made, during a war with the Turks, anno 1649, and is dedicated to the blessed LORENZO, whose body lies near it, in a noble marble tomb, supported by angels and apostles. What seems particular to the city of Venice, is, their dedicating their churches to saints who lived before the Christian dispensation; as to St JOB, St MOSES, SAMUEL, JEREMY, and DANIEL. The churches most admired for their architecture, are, those of St GEORGE and Della Salute, which far exceed St MARK's, as well as the cathedral, in this respect.

The ca-  
thedral  
and other  
churches.

The arsenal of Venice is another curiosity, which travellers seem to think can never be sufficiently admired: they relate, that there are arms for an hundred thousand foot, and twenty-five thousand horse, with other necessary accoutrements for them, two thousand four hundred pieces of cannon, &c. which I find far exceeds the truth. Mr ADDISON gives another account of it: he says, the arsenal is an island of three miles in circumference, which contains all the stores and provisions of war, which are not actually employed; and here are the docks for their galleys and men of war, most of them full, as well as work-houses for all land and naval preparations: that the magazine of arms makes a great show, and was indeed very extraordinary about an hundred years ago; but at present a great part of it's furniture is grown useless. There seem to be almost as many suits of armour as there are guns; the swords are old-fashioned and unwieldy in a very great number; and the fire arms fitted with locks of little convenience, in comparison of those that are now in use. The Venetians pretend they can set out, in case of great necessity, thirty men of war, a hundred galleys, and ten galleasses; but he could not conceive how they could man a fleet of half that number.

The arse-  
nal.

The Venetian nobility and gentry are admired, as well for their persons, as genteel behaviour. When I came from France to Venice, says a certain traveller, I came from boys to men: here I saw walking upon the piazza of St MARK every day, five hundred gentlemen at least; proper handsome men, with gravity and wisdom in their looks, any of them fit to act the part of an Ambassador. They wear a little light cap, turned up with a kind of black fringe, and a long black gown of Paduan cloth, as their laws require (tho' I am very well assured they procure English cloth if they can clandestinely) and under their gowns, which fly open in summer, they have handsome black

Persons  
and habits  
of the men



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Venice.Of the  
women.

black silk suits; their shoes and stockings are extremely neat; they wear long perukes, and usually carry their caps in their hands; they line their gowns with furs in the winter, and girt them close about them.

The women are well-shaped and beautiful, witty, and of an agreeable conversation, and endeavour to improve their complexions with washes and paint. Those of quality are so immoderately fond of being tall, that some of them wear shoes with the heels above a foot high; inasmuch that they are forced to have two people to support them when they walk, and appear much taller than their husbands, whenever they do appear, but that is mighty seldom, most commonly at church, where they are so veiled that very little of their faces are seen. In the gondola's they are shut up close, and have always two old women to attend them. Those of an inferior rank also are covered with a veil or scarf, when they go abroad, and open no more of it than to see their way: nor do these go out often, the men buying in all provisions, and doing whatever is to be done without doors. As for virgins, they are sent to nunneries in their infancy, and never come out till they are married, or take the veil. They seldom see the man they are to have till the hour they are married; and their friends concern themselves about nothing more than the wealth and quality of the person they are to marry.

Concubinage al-  
lowed  
here.

The use of concubines is so much countenanced here, that the wife generally lives in a good correspondence with them. The ladies are so indulgent to their sons, that as soon as they observe in any of them an inclination for the fair sex, they bargain with some of their poor neighbours for one of their daughters to be his bed-fellow: whereby they prevent his marrying to disadvantage, or contracting a nauseous distemper by cohabiting with common women. The friends and relations of the girl who is to be the young gentleman's mistress, come frequently to wish her joy upon the occasion, as if she was really married to him. They contract for a month, a year, or more, as they can agree; and you shall hear a mother swear by God, and upon her salvation, that she cannot afford to take less for her daughter than she asks. This commerce is taken to be so little criminal here, that they scarce ever mention it in confession; and if they do, the priest tells them he will not be troubled with such trifles. A late writer adds, that those who cannot afford to keep a mistress for their particular use, join with two or three friends, and have one in common amongst them. That there are whole streets of wenches who receive all comers; and as the habits of other people are black and dismal, these dress in the gayest colours, with their breasts open, and their faces painted enough to mire a horse, in the phrase of a certain poet, standing by dozens, at the doors and windows, to invite their customers.

As to the wives of Venice, if we are to credit Dr BURNET, they are bred up in so much ignorance, and converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition of holy-days, in which they stay in the churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little liberty they have of going abroad on those days, as children do their hours of play. They are not employed in domestick affairs, and generally understand no sort of work, but are the insipidest creatures imaginable: which does not seem to agree with what

other travellers relate of the wit and sprightly conversation of the Venetian women; unless we are to understand it wholly of common women, whom the Doctor perhaps would insinuate, have ingrossed all good sense. But he surely does not speak this from his own experience, any more than what follows, namely, That the married women do not wait the usual forms of courtship, but descend at once to downright lewdness with their gallants; the first step with them, without any preamble or preparative, is consummation.

As to the entertainments and diversions of the men, Mr ADDISON observes, that though they live in a very moist air, drinking is not at all in fashion with them; nor have they any such amusements as bowling, hunting, walking, riding, or other exercises to employ them without doors. At the carnival, a time devoted to pleasure, the great diversion of the place, as at all other times of rejoicing, is masquerading: the Venetians, who are naturally grave, however give in to the follies and extravagancies of such seasons, disguised in a false personage. They are indeed under a necessity of finding out diversions that may agree with the nature of the place, and make amends for the loss of several pleasures which may be met with on the continent. These disguises give occasion to abundance of love-adventures; for according to my author, there is something more intriguing in the amours of Venice than in those of other countries. Opera's are another principal entertainment at this season; but the poetry of them is generally as bad as the musick is exquisitely good: the subject is generally some celebrated action of the ancient Greeks or Romans, which often looks ridiculous enough, as when you hear one of the rough old Romans squeaking through the mouth of an eunuch. But the Italian poets, besides the celebrated smoothness of their language, have a particular advantage above the writers of other nations, in the difference of their poetical and prose language; for they have not only some phrases and sentences peculiar to poets, as in other countries, but a multitude of words never used in common discourse: they have such a different turn and polishing for poetical use, that they drop several of their letters, and appear in another form when they come to be ranged in verse. For this reason the Italian opera seldom sinks into a poorness of language; but amidst all the meanness and familiarity of the thoughts, has something beautiful and sonorous in the expression. Without this natural advantage of the tongue, their present poetry would appear wretchedly low and vulgar, notwithstanding the many strained allegories that are so much in use among the writers of this nation. The comedies my author saw at Venice, he tells us, were very indifferent, and more lewd than those of other countries. Their poets have no notion of genteel comedy, and fall into the most filthy double meanings imaginable, when they would make the audience merry: four standing characters enter into every piece that comes upon the stage; the Doctor, Harlequin, Pantaloon, and Coviello. The Doctor's character comprehends the whole extent of a pedant, that with a deep voice and a magisterial air breaks in upon conversation, and bears down all before him; every thing he says is backed with quotations out of GALEN, HIPPOCRATES, PLATO, VIRGIL, or any author that rises uppermost, and all answers from his companions are looked upon as impertinencies and interruptions. Harlequin's part is made up of blunders, he mistakes one name for

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Venice.Diversi-  
ons.



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Venice.

for another, forgets his errand, stumbles over Queens, runs his head against every post in his way, all which is attended with something so comical in the voice and gesture, that a man who is sensible of the folly of the part, can hardly forbear being pleased with it. Pantaloon is generally an old cully, and Coviello a sharper: all four of them appear in masks; which custom the Italians and French probably derived from the Romans; but as my author well observes, a mask can never suit with the variety of passions that are incident to every single person in the whole course of a play, where the turns and motions of the face are often as agreeable as any part of the action: the grimace may be proper on some occasions, but is too steady to agree with all. The mob indeed are generally pleased at the first entry of a disguise, but the jest grows cold even with them, when it comes on the stage in the second scene. Among other shows exhibited to the Venetians, one is peculiar to them; where a set of artificers, by the help of several poles, which they lay cross each other's shoulders, build themselves up into a kind of pyramid, so that you see a pile of men in the air of four or five stories rising one above another: the weight is so equally distributed, that every man is able to bear his part of it, the stories growing less and less as they advance higher and higher; a little boy represents the point of the pyramid, who after a short space leaps off with a great deal of dexterity into the arms of one that catches him at bottom, and in the same manner the whole building falls to pieces.

Another diversion during the carnival, is gaming in places, called the *Ridotti*, which are apartments in the noblemen's houses, where none but noblemen keep the bank; they dismiss the gamblers when they please, and always come off winners. There are usually ten or twelve chambers on a floor with gaming-tables in them, and very great crowds of people; a profound silence however is observed, and none are admitted without masks; here you meet ladies of pleasure, and married women of quality, who under the protection of a mask enjoy all the diversions of the carnival, but are usually attended by the husband, or his spies. Besides these gaming-rooms, there are others for conversation, where wine, lemonade, and sweatmeats are sold: here the gentlemen are at liberty to rally and address the ladies, but must take care to keep within the bounds of decency, or they may meet with a severe resentment from the injured husbands, who too often employ bravoos or assassins to procure them satisfaction, as 'tis called, for affronts of this kind; but these practices are not so common as formerly, the State having in a manner extirpated this race of villains. The crowd of masqueraders is often so great in the piazza of St MARK, that there is no passing; a man may take upon himself what character he pleases, so he be qualified to act the part he assumes. The Harlequins frequently meet, and are exceedingly witty upon one another; the Doctors dispute; and thus every man endeavours to support the character he has taken upon him. Those who only desire to be spectators, take the habit of Noblemen. The common people divert themselves chiefly with the rope-dancers, jugglers, fortune-tellers, &c. who have their several stages in the square; there are also bull-baitings, races of gondola's, and a multitude of other diversions, too tedious to enumerate.

Inconven-  
iencies of  
Venice.

Among the inconveniencies of Venice, the want of good cellars for their wine is one, which occa-

sions it's turning sour; the badness of their water is a second; and the stench of some of their canals in the heat of summer a third; from whence it is easy to conclude the air is none of the best. Firing also is scarce; and they have hardly earth enough to bury their dead; consequently they have few fine gardens, courts, or squares, which are so great an ornament to other cities.

The island of Murano is situated about two miles north-east of Venice, and is one of the largest and pleasantest islands in the Lagoon; the chief town is of the same name. Here was the famous manufacture of Venice glass, which brought in a considerable profit to the republic, before other nations learnt the art; but they are now equalled, if not excelled, by the English, French, and Dutch, who used to take it off their hands.

Malamocco is an island two miles from Venice, considerable for it's harbour, and for lying upon one of the narrow channels, which leads from the Adriatick sea to Venice; it has a town of the same name, formerly the See of a Bishop, but having been removed by earthquakes and inundations, the See was removed to Chioggia.

Chioggia, or Chioggia, is situated in a little island on the coast of the Dogado, about fourteen miles south of Venice, remarkable for little but it's being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Venice, and for a battle fought near it between the Genoese and Venetians.

Torcello is a small city, on an island of the same name, six or seven miles north of Venice, considerable for little else but the being a Bishop's See.

Caorle, olim *Caprule*, is a little city, in an island of the same name, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Venice, in a very bad air, as most of these islands are upon this coast.

The city of Grado stands upon an island of the same name, about forty-five miles north-east of Venice, and ten miles south of Aquileia, called *New Aquileia*, on the destruction of that city by the goths, and was for a considerable time the seat of the Patriarch of Aquileia, but the Bishop of this See is now suffragan to Venice.

Fusine is a little town on the continent, five miles to the westward of Venice, where people take water to go to that city.

The second province I proposed to describe was the Paduan, antiently inhabited by the *Venetii*, being bounded by the Trevisan on the north; by the Dogado or duchy of Venice towards the east; by the Polesin on the south; and by the Vicentin towards the west; being about thirty-five miles in length and thirty in breadth. This country, on account of it's fertility, and delightful situation, has obtained the name of the garden of Italy, and the terrestrial paradise. It's chief towns are, 1. Padua. 2. Abano. 3. Arquà. 4. Montefelice. 5. Este. 6. Anguilura. 7. Campo St Pietro. And, 8. Citadella.

The city of Padua, olim *Patavium*, stands in a pleasant plain, watered by the rivers Brent and Bachelio, about two and twenty miles to the westward of Venice; the form almost circular, held to be a town of great antiquity, and according to tradition, built above four hundred years before the city of Rome: it has been one of the most flourishing cities of Italy, but at present half the ground within the walls is not built upon, and great part of the houses that are left are uninhabited; though the walls, 'tis true, take up the same ground they did in the time of the Romans,

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The island  
and town  
of Mura-  
no.

Malamoc-  
co town  
and island.

Chioggia  
city and  
island.

Torcello  
city and  
island.

Caorle  
city and  
island.

Grado city  
and island.

Fusine.

The Pa-  
duan.

Chief  
towns, &c.

Padua  
city.

Romans,



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Romans, when, as their historians relate, this city was able to raise an hundred thousand men; at this day all the souls in the place scarce amount to thirty thousand. The air is good, and there is plenty of every thing; and the falling palaces are sufficient indications of it's antient grandeur. What does Dr BURNET, and other travellers mean, therefore, in crying up the mild and happy government of the Venetians, when under all the natural advantages imaginable, the people subject to them are reduced to the extremest poverty, and the finest cities in their territories are fallen to decay, during a long uninterrupted peace; when no general calamity, either war, plague, or famine, has afflicted them for many years? These writers do to a man lament the miseries of these unhappy people, and yet are perpetually commending the wisdom and lenity of the administration they live under, which to me seems a manifest contradiction; nor can I assign any other reason for it, but that having laid it down as an incontestable maxim, that a republican form of government is much the happiest, and most beneficial to mankind; and the Venetian being a republick, if they should acknowledge the tyranny and oppression of that State, it would bear hard upon their favourite maxim, and induce people to have better thoughts of monarchy: for they themselves can't but acknowledge that at Turin, at Milan, and even at Rome itself, where the government is monarchical, there is a much greater appearance of wealth and prosperity. But to be a little more particular in the description of Padua; the streets are narrow, and the buildings being lofty, the lower rooms are consequently dark: a double piazza runs along most of the streets, and there are abundance of magnificent palaces, inhabited by a numerous, but half-ruined nobility; occasioned, 'tis said, in a great measure by pursuing their revenge against each other from generation to generation. For as there are continual quarrels and factions amongst them, and sometimes persons killed in these unnatural disputes, the government punishes those who were concerned in them with the confiscation of part of their estates, raising thereby considerable sums; while they impoverish their unhappy subjects, without endeavouring to suppress these feuds entirely, as well on account of the profit which arises from them to the State, as because they are less apprehensive of a revolt, while the nobility of the conquered provinces remain at variance. But how wise soever this conduct may seem in the Venetians, it is surely very barbarous; nor am I perfectly convinced of the wisdom of it, since these destructions have occasioned many of the trading and most wealthy inhabitants to leave the place. For the like reasons, 'tis said, the Venetians encourage the scholars of the University to insult and abuse the townsmen here, and even to murder them in the streets in the night-time. These young gentlemen, to shew they are superior to all laws and magistrates, arm themselves every evening, attacking those they meet with in the streets, wounding some, and killing others; and sometimes when two parties of them have met, they have fired at each other from piazza to piazza, till many of them have lost their lives: and the University has in a manner lost it's reputation by these disorders; for of ten colleges that it consisted of, there is not now above one left, the other nine being appropriated to other uses; which has had this one good effect however, that the streets are not so dangerous in

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an evening as they were formerly: the *Qui va li*, or, Who goes there? in which words they used to challenge the townsmen, is very little dreaded at present.

The manufacture of cloth here brought in a great revenue to the State formerly, and is not inconsiderable at this time; but the English finding means to furnish the quality of Venice with better cloth clandestinely, few of the nobility wear any thing else, notwithstanding the magistrate of the pomps is obliged by his office to see that no body wears the cloth of a foreign country. The fields about Padua afford the best corn in Italy, and the neighbouring hills the best oil and wine, with a vast variety of delicious fruits; the air and water, as hath been observed, is equally good; and yet all this affluence cannot render the people happy: they are still miserable, through the tyranny of the government, which is here administered by a Podesta and Capitaneo, the former having the civil, and the other the military power committed to him. The Bishop has the ecclesiastical government, who is suffragan to the Patriarch of Aquileia.

The publick buildings best worth seeing at Padua are, 1. The town-hall, where their courts of justice are held, the dimensions whereof are said to be equal to those of Westminster-Hall, but with this advantage, that the roof is finely painted with astronomical figures: in it are several magnificent tombs, and among them one erected to the memory of the celebrated LIVY the historian, who was a native of this place; but whether he was buried in this city is very uncertain; all the evidence they have for it, is an old leaden coffin, which was dug up in the year 1413, without any inscription on it, the people were pleased to think it the remains of LIVY, and in honour to him built the above-mentioned tomb. There is another monument in this hall taken notice of by travellers, as equally worth observation, and that is the tomb of the Marchioness of Obizzi, esteemed a second LUCRETIA. It seems a gentleman of Padua being passionately in love with her, found means to get into her chamber when she was a-bed, and the Marquis her husband absent; and having, as 'tis presumed, first tried what courtship would do before he proceeded to acts of violence, at length enraged at her refusal to comply, stabbed the young lady to the heart. When she was first surprized by the murderer, her only son, of about five years old, was in bed with her, but the child was afterwards found in an adjoining chamber, whither 'tis supposed he carried him before he perpetrated this piece of villany. The lady being found dead, the gentleman was apprehended, it being known that he had an inclination for her, and one of the buttons of his sleeve found in the bed, the Marchioness's young son also confirmed his having been in the room with his mother: upon which strong presumptions, he was put to the torture both ordinary and extraordinary; still he persisted to deny the fact; and after fifteen years imprisonment his friends procured his liberty; but it was not many months after that the young Marquis (the child who was in the room when the murderer surprized his mother) shot him through the head with a pistol, and then went into the Emperor's service, where he continued so lately as the year 1712.

The church of St ANTHONY of Padua, (or rather of Lisbon, for he was a Franciscan Monk of that city) is a very large structure, adorned

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with

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with several fine pieces of painting and sculpture, and many beautiful monuments. The painting in Fresco in the chapel of St FÆLIX is inimitable, done by the famous GIOTTO, who excelled in that kind of work. But what is most remarkable in this church, is the the chapel of St ANTHONY, the protector of Padua, whom by way of eminence they stile *Il Santo*. His body lies under the altar, which is exceeding rich, and the whole chapel is lined with bas-reliefs of white marble, representing the principal miracles of St ANTHONY; and nine and thirty large silver lamps burn night and day round the altar. There are abundance of inscriptions and pictures hung up by his votaries in the church, his aid being more implored in Lombardy than that of any other Saint in their distresses, and if they happen to escape the evil they dreaded, they hang up some inscription or picture to commemorate the deliverance, esteeming it to be miraculous. Thus the beauty of some Popish churches is spoiled, the walls being hung with wretched daubings and impertinent inscriptions, or with legs and arms of wax, &c. resembling the part affected and offered to the Saint. Among the stories we find in bas-relief in the chapel of St ANTHONY, the most remarkable is his preaching to an assembly of fishes, which he had drawn together towards the sea-shore to hear him, which is a very edifying discourse, but a little too long to be inserted in this place; I shall only observe, that at the conclusion of it the grateful fishes, as if they had been endowed with reason, bowed their heads with the most profound humility and devotion, seeming to approve the sermon; which miracle occasioned the conversion of many obstinate hereticks, that nothing could prevail on before; whereupon the Saint gave his benediction to the fishes, and dismissed them. This puts me in mind of the sermon that was preached by one of our sectaries to a flock of sheep, for which he apprehended he had a sufficient warrant from that command of our Saviour's, requiring his disciples to preach to every creature.

The church of St JUSTINA, designed by the celebrated PALLADIO, is, according to Mr ADDISON, the handsomest, the most luminous, and disincumbred building on the inside, that is to be met with, and esteemed by artists one of the finest pieces of architecture in Italy. The long Nef consists of a row of five cupola's, the cross one has on each side a single cupola, deeper and broader than the others. The martyrdom of St JUSTINA, which hangs over the altar, was done by the famous PAUL VERONESE, and is an exquisite piece of workmanship; and there are besides, twenty-four other fine marble altars; but they will not suffer any monuments to be erected here, which might spoil the beauty of the whole. The basso-relievo in the choir is admirable, representing the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to our Saviour, with their accomplishment in the New. The monastery to which this church belongs is one of the finest in Italy, where they pretend to have an image of the virgin, which flew from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks. The university, to which physicians chiefly resort, is very much upon the decline, as has been observed already. Here are two societies of Virtuosi, as in other Italian cities, who employ themselves in the improvement of their language, and other ingenious studies. There are the ruins of an amphitheatre here, which appears

to have been larger than that of Verona. And it would be esteemed an unpardonable fault by some, if I should conclude the description of Padua, without taking notice of the tradition, that this city was founded by ANTENOR and a colony of his Trojans.

Abano, is a village about five miles south-west of Padua, famous for it's hot and medicinal waters, which are so hot that the natives scald their hogs in them. They are full of white salt, which coagulates upon the surface, and are used for bathing as well as drinking.

Este is an ancient town, at the foot of the Este mountains, about twelve miles south of Padua, from whence the family of D'ESTE, now Dukes, of Modena, take their name. The rest of the towns in the Paduan do not require a particular description.

The Polesin de Rovigo is bounded by the Paduan on the north, the Dogado of Venice on the east, the duchy of Ferrara on the south, and the Veronese on the west; and is about fifty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south: a country fruitful in corn and pasture, and watered by the rivers Po, Adige, and Adigesto; the chief towns whereof are Rovigo and Adria.

Rovigo is a well-built little town, situated on the Adigesto; twenty miles to the southward of Padua, the residence of the Bishop of Adria; but not considerable, as I can learn, on any other account.

Adria, or Hadria, twelve miles to the eastward of Rovigo, and as much to the westward of the gulph of Venice, once a famous city, and a colony of the Tuscans, and gave name, as 'tis said, to the Adriatick Sea, being a commodious harbour when PLINY wrote, but now a miserable village, almost under water, and inhabited only by fishermen.

The Veronese is bounded by the Trentin to the north; by the Paduan and Vicentin towards the east; by the Mantuan on the south; and by the Brescian on the west; being about forty miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. It is well watered by the Adige and the lake de Garda, which supply them with excellent fish; and the country abounds in corn, wine, oil, silk, wool, and cattle; and they have some quarries of marble, with an agreeable variety of hills and vallies, plains and enclosures. The air is healthful, but the neighbourhood of the mountains renders it very sharp in the winter. The chief towns are, 1. Verona. 2. Peschiera. And, 3. Garda.

Verona, the capital city, is pleasantly situated, partly on a hill and partly in a plain, on the river Adige, which divides it in two parts, being fifty miles to the westward of Padua, and twenty-five to the northward of Mantua. It is fortified after the modern way, and defended by three forts, two upon the hill, and one by the river-side; and is about six miles in circumference, besides the suburbs, which are very large. Both parts of the town have a communication by four stone bridges over the Adige, one of which is much admired for it's beauty. There are several noble palaces, publick buildings, and antiquities, which well deserve a traveller's attention here; but the generality of the houses are low, the streets some of them unpaved, and not very cleanly; neither is the town rich or populous, having but an indifferent trade. The cathedral has little

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Abano.

The Polesin de Rovigo.

Chief towns.

Rovigo city.

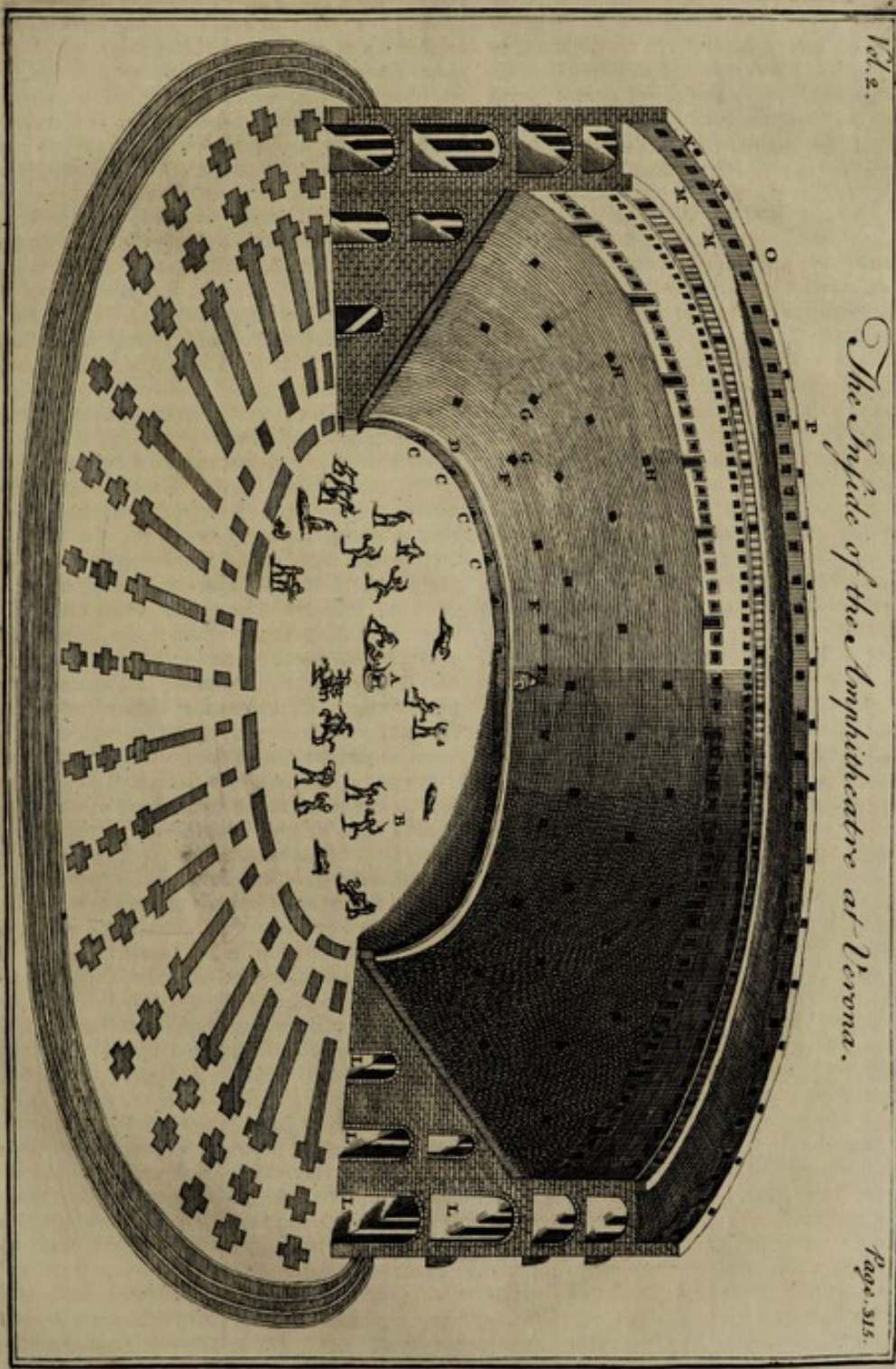
Adria.

The Veronese.

Verona.



*The Inside of the Amphitheatre at Verona.*



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The amphitheatre.

to recommend it, unless the tomb of Pope Lucius III, whose epitaph is no more than this, *Osse Lucii III. Roma pulsus invidia*. For it seems he was driven from Rome, and died here in the year 1185. There are however several magnificent churches in the place, travellers acquainted, but have not taken the pains to describe them; particularly that famous piece of antiquity, the amphitheatre, seems to have ingrossed their whole attention, all the seats whereof are still entire, but the high wall and corridors that went round it, are almost ruined, and the area is quite filled up to the lower seat, which was formerly deep enough to let the spectators see in safety the combats of the wild beasts and gladiators. There are in all four and forty benches, in the highest round of which, Misson says, he counted five hundred and thirty of his paces, and in the lowest two hundred and fifty; and it is generally agreed, that they would hold about four and twenty thousand spectators. The longest diameter of the area, or arena, as 'tis called, is two hundred and thirty-three French feet, and the breadth or shortest diameter, an hundred and thirty-six feet eight inches. Every step or seat is near a foot and half high, and about twenty-six inches broad, of the same measure; tho' Dr BURNET, after his careless and cursory way of examining and recording things, makes every seat an English foot and half in breadth, and just as much in height, of which he pretends to have been an eye-witness, as he was no doubt of many facts in his posthumous history, which are equally true. Dr BROWN observes, that when this fabrick was entire, the outside was no less splendid than the inside, being all of marble an hundred and twenty feet high, and consisted of three rows of pillars and arches, one above another, which opened into spacious walks and portico's within, quite round the building; and above these three rows of arches there was a handsome wall, with windows over each arch, and pilasters over every pillar beneath: that each row consisted of seventy-two arches, and as many pillars of a great height, the upper-row supposed to be adorned with statues.

These magnificent structures were raised by the Romans for the diversion of the people, who were here entertained with combats, either between men and men, men and beasts, or beasts and beasts. Those between beasts and beasts are still continued by the gentlemen of Verona in this amphitheatre; but these sports were pursued with much more zeal by the antient Romans, who procured savage creatures from all parts of the known world to fight in these places. The engagements between men and beasts were usually performed by slaves, prisoners, or condemned criminals, though persons of condition would sometimes enter the lists. The combats between men and men were of various kinds, sometimes they fought on horseback, sometimes in chariots, and sometimes in boats, when either the area was filled with water, or a building was provided for that purpose, called *Naumachia*. The naval engagement exhibited by the Emperor CLAUDIUS on the lake Fucinus is famous in history, where both fleets saluted the Emperor with an *Ave Caesar, Morituri te salutant*: but the most usual fights in the amphitheatres, were between the gladiators on foot; and these of various kinds, as, 1. The Retiarii, who fought with a trident in one hand and a net in the other, endeavouring to ensnare their enemies: if they failed in the

attempt, they retreated suddenly, till they could recover themselves and renew the engagement. These gladiators fighting without any other armour than a short coat of mail, and barefaced, the people were much delighted in observing the convulsions in their limbs, and the alteration of their colour and features in their dying agonies. These Retiarii, who acknowledged NEPTUNE for their patron, usually engaged the Secutores, who were followers of VENUS, and guarded themselves with a shield, which they carried high to defend their heads against the enemies nets, and were armed also with a spear and a long sword. Five Retiarii having thrown down their arms, and yielded to as many Secutores, the Emperor CALIGULA commanded the Secutores to kill them, which they did to the last man, who out of despair taking up his trident, killed all the five Secutores. A third sort of gladiators were the Thraces, who were armed with a little Thracian shield, and a strong broad sword, bending back like a Turkish cymetar. Another sort were the Myrmillones, who fought after the manner of the Gauls, covering themselves with an oval shield, and armed with a helmet with a fish for their crest, and pointed swords, with which they pushed the enemy with great activity. These frequently engaged the Thraces, and sometimes the Retiarii, who coming up to them with their nets, would sing, *Non te peto, piscem peto, quid me fugis, Galle?* Another sort of gladiators were the Samnites, armed with shields flat and broad, a breast-plate, a helmet with a feather on the crest, and a boot on their left leg, with offensive arms, as described by LIVY. The Dimacheri fought with two swords, and the Laquearii with sword and halter. The Meridiani were desperate fellows, who coming in about noon, when the spectators were dismissed, fought without any order, art, or armour. Nor were the fair sex exempted from these rough encounters: they made choice of the handsomest young women they could find, who were taught to fight by the gladiators; and when one of these girls fought in the arena, with her golden shield and plume of feathers in her crest, the Emperor himself would sometimes cry out, *Well played, fair lady*. The Emperor DOMITIAN made the gladiators fight in the night-time, and would command even his dwarfs to engage each other. Thus far from Dr BROWN. And I am so far from begging the reader's pardon for this digression on amphitheatres, if it be one, that I am of opinion he will be infinitely pleased with the relation, as I was when I met with it; and intend in this volume to give the plan of an amphitheatre, and describe every particular part of it.

There is still at Verona also the remains of a triumphal arch, which was erected in honour of MARIUS, on his victory over the Cimbri, in the territories of Verona; and the ruins of a magnificent temple dedicated to JUPITER, with abundance of other valuable antiquities. But nothing seems to be more admired than the cabinet of the Count DE MOSCARDO, consisting of a gallery and six other rooms, all filled with antiquities, and the greatest curiosities in art and nature; as Pagan idols, instruments and utensils for their sacrifices, sepulchral urns, busts, lamps, inscriptions, the barks of several trees which the antients used to write on before paper came up, two trees of black coral, pearls, amethysts, sapphires, and a great variety of other precious stones;

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stones; fossils, plants, fruits, minerals, and monstrous productions, with numberless medals, and ancient coins: here is also a vast collection of the finest paintings by the best hands.

Verona underwent the fate of the rest of the cities of Italy on the decline of the Roman Empire, having been taken by the Goths and Lombards. It afterwards fell under the dominion of the emperors of the west, and since that was subject to the family of the SCALIGERS, several tombs of these Princes being still to be seen here. The Venetians made themselves masters of it about the year 1403, but it was taken from them by the Imperialists in 1509. The Venetians recovered it again in 1516, and have ever since kept the possession it, governing it by a Podesta and Capitano, assisted by three Councils, and other subordinate magistrates; and in ecclesiastical affairs it is subject to the Bishop, who is suffragan to the Patriarch of Aquileia. Besides PLINY the historian, already mentioned, the Poet CATULLUS, and PLINY the Naturalist, were born here; as were CORNELIUS NEPOS, and VITRUVIUS the famous architect.

Peschiera. 2. Peschiera, *olim Piscaria*, and *Ardelica*, a little fortified town, situate on a little island formed by the river Menzo, which flows out of the lake de Garda, and is about fourteen miles north of Verona, taken from the Duke of Mantua by the Venetians about the year 1441.

Garda. 3. Garda, a small city, lying on the east-side of the lake de Garda, fifteen miles to the eastward of Verona. The neighbouring lake is as rough as the sea itself when a storm happens upon it, which is very frequently occasioned by the gusts which come from the adjoining mountains.

Brescia Province. The next province I am to describe is the Brescian, bounded by the country of the Grisons towards the north; by the Veronese on the east; by the Cremonese on the south; and by the Bergamasco on the west: extending about sixty miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. The country has plenty of corn, wine, and oil, but is most remarkable for its iron mines and works, its plantations of flax, and linnen manufacture. It extends to the sides of the Alps, and consists of hills and vallies, not being so level as the rest of Lombardy. The chief towns are, 1. Brescia. 2. Desenzano. 3. Salo. 4. Guagnano. 5. Idro. 6. Sabio. 7. Tavernola. 8. Gardone. 9. Isco. 10. Palazuolo. 11. Chiari. 12. Pontevico. 13. Menerbio. And, 14. Calcinato.

Brescia city. The city of Brescia, or Brixia, is situated in a plain at the foot of a mountain, on the rivers Mela and Garzo, whose branches run through most of the streets, being about thirty miles to the westward of Verona, and thirty-five north-west of Mantua. It is a populous trading town, defended by a wall and other fortifications, three miles in circumference; and has also a citadel built upon a rock, which commands it. The streets are neat, the buildings good, and amongst them several beautiful palaces and churches. Their trade consists in linnen, cheese, and iron-work, particularly swords and fire-arms, which employ abundance of armourers, held to be the best artists in Italy. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan, who has the title of Duke, Marquis, and Viscount. The women have more liberty here than in the neighbouring cities, appearing frequently in the streets and shops. The people of this town and province are better used by the

C. H. A. P. XIII. Venice. Venetians than the rest of their subjects; for having been once a part of the Milanese, and a frontier province, they might think of returning to their old masters if they were hardly dealt with. The Governor here is both Podesta and Captain-General, but in other Venetian cities the civil and military power is usually lodged in different hands.

2. The Isco, situate on a lake to which it communicates its name, a considerable town of great antiquity: The neighbouring lake is about fifteen miles in length and three in breadth, the river Oglio running through it. The rest of the towns of this province do not merit a particular description.

The Bergamasco is bounded by the territories of the Grisons on the north; by the Brescian on the east; and by Cremasco and the Milanese on the south and west; being about forty-five miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. It is for the most part a mountainous rocky country, but lying on the south-side of the Alps moderately warm, and being watered with a multitude of little rivulets which fall from thence, the country is fruitful in many places. The chief towns are, 1. Bergamo. 2. Caleppio. And, 3. Cluson.

Bergamo is a large city, strongly situated on a hill, and defended by a castle, lying thirty miles to the westward of Brescia, and as many to the northward of Milan, and is the See of a Bishop suffragan to Milan. The town is populous and a place of good trade, the merchants of Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, resorting thither to their annual fair with the product of their several countries. The natives are the most clownish in the Venetian dominions, and their dialect the worst; but frequently make clever fellows when they meet with good education. This town has often changed its masters: It was a republic till the year 1300, about which time some of their leading men assumed the government, and it became monarchical. In 1419 it was taken by PHILIP Duke of Milan, and in 1447 they put themselves under the protection of the Venetians, who have been in possession of this town and province ever since, except that the French had it in their hands seven years in the reign of LEWIS XII. Here, as in all other mountainous countries upon and near the Alps, the natives are troubled with great wens or swellings on their throats, occasioned, as 'tis said, by their drinking snow-water.

The Cremasco is bounded by the Brescian on the north; by the Cremonese on the east; and by other parts of the Milanese on the south and west: extending about fifteen miles in length from north to south, and seven in breadth from east to west. It is a well-watered fruitful country: The only town of any note is Crema, from whence this little territory takes its name, situate on the river Serio, in a pleasant fruitful plain, about twenty miles south-west of Brescia, and twenty north-west of Cremona. It is a place of some strength, well-built, and populous, and the See of a Bishop suffragan to Bologna. Their principal manufacture is that of fine linnen. It formerly belonged to the duchy of Milan.

The Vincentin is bounded by the country of Trent on the north; by the Trevisin and Paduan towards the east and south; and by the Cremonese on the south-west; being about forty miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. As this province is contiguous to the Paduan, it is equally fruitful and



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Vicenza  
city.

Trevigiana  
marquisate.

Treviſo  
city.

The Fel-  
trin.

Feltri  
city.

The Bel-  
luneſe.

Belluno  
city.

The Ca-  
dore.

Pieve de  
Cadore.

and pleaſant; the ſoil and face of the country much the ſame, and therefore needs no further deſcription here. The chief towns are Vicenza, and Marafſica.

The city of Vicenza, or Vincenza, is pleaſantly ſituated at the confluence of ſeveral ſmall rivers, of which the chief are the Bacchiglione and the Rerone, about twenty miles north-weſt of Padua; a populous trading city, about four miles in circumference, and conſiſting of fifteen pariſhes; the buildings beautiful, the ſquares and piazzas ſpacious; there is particularly a modern theatre built in imitation of the Roman theatres, by the famous PALLADIO, and a triumphal arch by the ſame artiſt; a magnificent town-hall, the ruins of an antient theatre, and ſome other antiquities which demonſtrate it's antient grandeur. This town coming voluntarily under the protection of the Venetians about three hundred years ago, and not by conqueſt, enjoys greater privileges than many other cities; having three councils conſiſting of the natives, who have ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration; tho' here alſo is a Podoſta and Captain-General, as in the reſt of the Venetian governments. The chief manufacture of the place is ſilk. The gardens of Count VALARANO, according to Dr BURNET, are as well worth ſeeing as any thing in the town, wherein he ſeems to be mightily pleaſed with a noble alley of oranges and citrons, ſome as big as a man's body, but affords us no further deſcription of them. It is a Biſhop's ſee, ſuffragan of Aquileia.

I come now to the marquiſate of Treviſana or Trevigiano, bounded by the Feltrin and Belluneſe on the north; by Friuli and the duchy of Venice on the eaſt; by the Paduan on the ſouth; and the Vicentin on the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Treviſo. 2. Caſtel Franco. 3. Coalto. 4. Conegliano. 5. Cenada. And, 6. Saravalle.

Treviſo, or Trevigno, is ſituated on a riſing ground, in a large plain near the river Sile, fifteen miles north-weſt of Venice; a well-built populous place; and formerly the reſidence of the Marquiſſes of Lombardy, from whence it obtained the name of the Marquiſate.

The Feltrin is ſometimes reckoned part of the marquiſate, and lies to the northward of Treviſana Proper. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Feltri. 2. Romegno. And, 3. Vedana.

Feltri, or Feltro, is ſituated on the river Aſo, twenty-five miles north-weſt of Treviſo; and is the See of a Biſhop, ſuffragan of Aquileia. The Venetians have been in the poſſeſſion of it above three hundred years.

The Belluneſe is alſo frequently deemed part of the marquiſate, being a little diſtrict to the northward of the Feltrin, and conquered about the ſame time by the Venetians: The chief town whereof is Belluno, or Bellano, a ſmall city, fifteen miles north-eaſt of Feltri, and the See of a Biſhop, ſuffragan of Aquileia. Theſe three laſt diſtricts of the Treviſin, Feltrin, and Belluneſe, have a ſufficient quantity of corn and wine for their uſe; but what they are moſt remarkable for is their timber, fire-wood, and iron mines, which are of great advantage to the republick of Venice.

The Cadore is a ſmall province, bounded by the biſhoprick of Brixen on the north; by Friuli on the eaſt; the Belluneſe on the ſouth; and by the Trentin on the weſt. The chief town is Pieve de Cadore, about twenty miles north of Belluna.

The province of Friuli is bounded by the Alps, which ſeparate it from Carinthia on the north; by Carniola, another province of Germany, on the eaſt; by the gulph of Venice on the ſouth; and the marquiſate of Treviſana, and another part of the Alps, upon the weſt; being about fifty miles in length, and as many in breadth; ſome part whereof is ſubject to the Emperor, on which account it is frequently made a part of Germany, and the reſt to the Venetians, as will appear in the deſcription of the ſeveral towns; which are, 1. Aquileia. 2. Palma Nova. 3. Udene. 4. Ciudad de Friuli. 5. Goritia. 6. Gradisca. 7. Idria. And, 8. Pontafel.

Aquileia is ſituated on a ſmall river near the Adriatick ſea, about fifty miles north-eaſt of Venice, antiently a city of great ſtrength and fame, made the metropolis of Italy by the weſtern Emperors, and ſtill gives a title to the Patriarch of Aquileia, to whom moſt of the neighbouring Biſhops are ſubject; but the town is dwindled to a poor village, inhabited by fiſhermen, and there remain ſcarce any footſteps of it's antient grandeur. It is at preſent under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria.

Palma Nova is a large fortified town, twelve miles north-weſt of Aquileia, built by the Venetians as a frontier againſt Germany in the year 1594, and has a communication with the Adriatick ſea by a canal cut from thence, and is ſtill under the dominion of Venice.

Udene, or Udina, is a large populous town, above four miles in circumference, twelve miles north-weſt of Palma Nova, and ſubject to the Venetians.

Goritz, or Goritia, the capital of a county of the ſame name, ſituate about ten miles north-eaſt of Palma Nova, ſubject to the Emperor; but this town has already been deſcribed in Germany. The natives uſe a barbarous dialect, neither Italian or German, and are ſcarce underſtood by either.

Ciudad de Friuli, lies about ten miles north of Palma Nova, and is ſubject to the Venetians.

Idria is ſituated in the mountains, about twenty miles north-eaſt of Goritia; remarkable for it's mines of quick-ſilver. It is ſubject to the Emperor.

Pontafel ſtands about twenty miles north-weſt of Ciudad de Friuli, a frontier town between the Empire and the Venetian territories, but now ſubject to the latter.

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*Treats of the Venetian dominions in Iſtria, Morlachia, and Dalmatia.*

I STRIA is frequently deſcribed among their Italian provinces, but as it lies on the eaſtern ſide of the Adriatick Sea, it ſeems more properly to belong to Germany. It is a peninſula, bounded by Carniola on the north, and encompassed by the Adriatick Sea on the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt; being about ſixty miles in length, and fifty in breadth; a woody mountainous country, and chiefly valuable to the Venetians on account of the ſtone and timber which they bring from hence. The chief towns are, 1. Capo d'Iſtria. 2. Pirano. 3. Cita Novo. 4. Parenzo. 5. Oſero. 6. Pola. And, 7. St Veit en Flaum.

Capo d'Iſtria is ſituated on a ſmall iſland in the gulph of Trieſte, having a communication with



- CHAP. XIV. Venice.** with the continent by a bridge, and stands about ten miles south-east of Trieste: It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Aquileia, and the seat of the Venetian Governor, antiently called *Agida* and *Justinopolis*, having been built by the Emperor JUSTIN.
- Cita Novo.** Cita Novo, antiently *Amonia*, stands at the mouth of the river Quitto, twenty miles south-east of Capo d'Istria; in a very bad air, and thinly inhabited, tho' it hath an harbour, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Patriarch of Aquileia.
- Parenzo.** Parenzo is situated on the Adriatick, six miles to the southward of Cita Novo, and hath a good harbour: It is the See of a Bishop, also suffragan to Aquileia; but lying in a very bad air, does not abound with people any more than the former.
- Pola.** Pola, *olim Pata*, forty-five miles southward of Capo d'Istria, a strong town, situate on a mountain near the sea, under which there is a good harbour.
- St Veit.** The town of St Veit, situate at the mouth of the river Flaum, belonging to the Emperor, has already been described in Germany.
- Trieste.** The Port of Trieste, thirty miles east of Aquileia, belonging to the Emperor, has also been already described in this volume.
- Morlachia.** Morlachia is bounded by Croatia and Bosnia towards the north; by Dalmatia on the east; by the gulph of Venice towards the south; and by Istria towards the west; being about eighty miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth; a part of the antient *Liburnia*. The Turks laid claim to it as a dependant on Hungary, whereupon they put themselves under the Emperor's protection, as it remains at present, only some towns on the coast are subject to the Venetians, the chief whereof are Zeny and Novigrad.
- Segna.** Zeny, or Segna, is situated on the sea-coast, about forty miles south-east of St Veit, a pretty town, with a castle and harbour; being a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Spalatto.
- Novigrad.** Novigrad stands near a bay of the sea, above sixty miles south-east of Segna, of which I meet with no further description.
- Dalmatia.** Dalmatia, the eastern part of the antient *Illyricum*, stretches along the coast of the Adriatick Sea, near two hundred miles in length, and is generally about thirty miles in breadth; bounded by Bosnia and Servia towards the north; by Albania on the east; by the gulph of Venice on the south-west; and by Morlachia on the north-west; the sea-coast, except the territories of Ragusa, belonging to the Venetians, and the inland part of it to the Turks. The Venetian Dalmatia is divided into the continent and islands; the chief towns on the continent are, 1. Zara. 2. Nona. 3. Scardone. 4. Sebenico. 5. St Nicholas. 6. Salona. 7. Trau. 8. Spalatto. 9. Clissa. 10. Ciclut. 11. Rifano. 12. Castel Novo. 13. Cataro. And, 14. Budua.
- Zara city and district.** Zara, *olim Jadera*, is situated on the coast of the Adriatick sea near two hundred miles south-east of Venice, and an hundred and thirty south-east of Trieste, formerly the capital of Liburnia, a province of Illyricum. It was purchased together with Novigrad by the Venetians of LADISLAUS King of Hungary, about the year 1409, and is now the capital of the Venetian Dalmatia, and of a district to which it communicates its name; and is an Archbishop's See. The sea surrounds the place, which is joined to the continent by a bridge, and defended by a castle.
- Nona, olim Aenona,** situate about eighteen miles north-west of Zara, upon a promontory almost encompassed with the sea. It is a fortified town, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Zara.
- Scardone** stands at the mouth of the river Kirka, thirty-five miles south-east of Zara; and is defended by a castle, and other fortifications, frequently taken and retaken in the wars between the Venetians and the Turks. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Spalatto.
- Sebenico** is a fortress, situate on the same coast, about forty miles south-east of Zara; the castle stands on a steep rock, near the mouth of the Kirka. The Bishop is suffragan to Zara.
- Trau.** Trau, the antient *Tragurium*, a little town and harbour, about thirty miles south-east of Sebenico, encompassed with the sea, and joined to the continent by a bridge, a Bishop's See, suffragan to Spalatto.
- Spalatto.** Spalatto stands on the same coast, about sixty miles south-east of Zara, and ten to the eastward of Trau: It is a place of strength, a large and populous town; and hath one of the best harbours upon the coast, and is an Archbishop's See; hither the Emperor DIOCLESIAN retired when he was driven from his throne.
- Castel Novo** is situated on a bay of the sea, a little to the eastward of the territories of Ragusa, defended by a strong castle, among inaccessible rocks.
- Cataro.** Cataro, situate on the same bay, about thirty miles to the eastward of Ragusa, defended by a strong castle, and is a Bishop's See.
- Budua.** Budua, a little town, the See of a Bishop, twenty miles to the southward of Cataro, almost surrounded by the Turkish territories. The chief towns in Dalmatia belonging to the Turks, are Trebigna, Narenza, and Antivari.
- Narenza, or Narenta, olim Naro, and Narona,** stands on the river Naro, about sixty miles to the eastward of Spalatto, and forty to the northward of Ragusa; antiently a large and flourishing city, but has little to recommend it at present.
- Trebigna** is situated forty miles south-east of Narenza, which is all the description I meet with of it.
- Antivari** stands on the confines of Albania, between Budua and Dulcigno, and was an Archiepiscopal See, till taken by the Turks.
- Ragusa republick.** As for that part of Dalmatia which belongs to the republick of Ragusa, tributary to the Turk, this has been described already in Turkey (in Vol. I.); the chief towns whereof are Ragusa, Stagno, and Sabioncello.
- Venetian islands.** The Venetian islands on the coast of Morlachia and Dalmatia, are, 1. Cherfo. 2. Ofera. 3. Veglia. 4. Pago. 5. Arbe. 6. Grossa. 7. La Coronata. 8. La Lissa. 9. Lezina. And, 10. Corzola.
- Cherfo.** Cherfo, *olim Crexa*, lies on the coast of Istria and Morlachia, ten miles to the southward of St Veit, an hundred and twenty miles in circumference; the capital city is of the same name, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Zara.
- Ofera.** Ofera is joined to Cherfo by a bridge, the chief town being of the same name, a Bishop's See, and Suffragan to Zara.
- Veglia.** Veglia, or Curitta, lies between Cherfo and the coast of Morlachia, being about sixty miles in circumference; its capital also is of the same name, and a Bishop's See suffragan of Zara.
- Pago.** Pago, or Gliffa, is about fifty miles in circumference, and lies within two miles of the coast of Morlachia; its chief town is of the same name, and has a tolerable good harbour.
- Arbe**



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Arbe lies between Pago and Veglia, it's chief town of the same name, and a Bishop's See suffragan of Zara.

Arbe.  
Grossa, or  
Longa.

Grossa, or Longa, about thirty-five miles south-east of Osiera, and ten from the coast of Dalmatia, is about thirty miles in length, and six in breadth. It's chief town is of the same name, defended by a castle.

Lezina.

Lezina lies near the south coast of Dalmatia, being about fifty miles in length, and ten in breadth; it's capital is of the same name, and lies towards the north-west end of the island, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Spalatto.

Corzola.

Corzola lies about six miles to the westward of the territories of Ragusa, and is the best peopled of the Dalmatian islands; it's chief town is of the same name, being a Bishop's See, suffragan of Ragusa.

The lesser Venetian islands on this coast do not require a particular description, but are laid down in the maps bound up with this work.

The Venetian islands which lie without the Adriatick sea upon the coast of Epirus and Morea, are, 1. Corfu. 2. St Moura. 3. Cephalonia. And, 4. Zante.

Corfu.

Corfu, *olim Corcyra*, lies near the coast of Epirus, being about fifty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; it is a populous island, containing two cities, and near a hundred villages; and produces oil, honey, wax, oranges, lemons, and a great variety of other fruits. The chief towns are Corfu and Cassiope.

Corfu  
city.

Corfu lies about the middle of the east side of the island, in a peninsula, strongly fortified, and hath a good harbour: It is the See of a Latin Archbishop, though the Greeks have also their churches here.

Cassiope.

Cassiope is situated on the same side of the island, fifteen miles north-west of Corfu; a little trading town, with a good harbour, about six miles from the coast of Epirus.

St Moura  
island and  
city.

The island of St Moura, *olim Leucadia*, is almost of a circular figure, and lies about forty-five miles south-east of Corfu, being separated from the coast of Achaia by a channel not more than half a league broad: It is about twenty miles over either way; the chief town of the same name, which stands on the north-east part of the island, being strongly fortified, and the See of an Archbishop.

Cephalonia.

Cephalonia lies seven or eight miles to the southward of St Moura; about twenty miles to the westward of the gulph of Lepanto; being fifty miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth, being a mountainous uneven soil; but produces however wine, oil, silk, wool, honey, and wax; with which the natives carry on a tolerable trade. It has a town of the same name, situate near a bay on the west side of the island, being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Corfu. And there are three other towns mentioned by geographers, viz. St Nicholas, Catano, and Asio; but I meet with no particular description of them.

St Nicholas,  
&c.  
Zante  
island and  
city.

The island of Zante, *olim Zacynthus* and *Illyra*, lies about twelve miles to the southward of Cephalonia, and as much to the westward of the Morea, being twenty-four miles in length, and twelve in breadth, most considerable for the little grapes called currants, or corinths, from their being first cultivated about the city of Corinth, where there are now scarce any; France and England, and the rest of the countries of Europe, being supplied with this kind of fruit from hence,

and consequently this island hath a very great trade. The natives of Cephalonia and Zante are generally Greeks, but the Venetians have also introduced the Roman Catholick religion. The chief town is Zante, situate on the east side of the island, fortified and defended by a castle, being of the last importance to the Venetians. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Corfu, and the residence of the Governor, who is always a noble Venetian of the first rank. There are some other small islands belonging to the Venetians in these seas, but of no great consequence.

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The Morea was taken from them by the Turks in one campaign, anno 1715, to compensate which loss they made themselves masters of the towns of Previsa and Vosnia in Epirus; but these are far from being an equivalent for that fine country: They bid fair indeed for taking Dulcigno in Albania, anno 1718, but the peace which was concluded while they lay before it, put an end to that enterprize.

Morea.

Previsa.  
Vosnia.

## CHAP. XV.

### *Treats of the Venetian government.*

THE Venetians boast that their government has lasted upwards of thirteen hundred years; but then it must be remembered that their State has undergone various changes and revolutions during that time. The islands on which Venice stands, and those in the neighbourhood of it, were antiently subject to Padua, and received a Governor from thence, but were then only inhabited by fishermen, mariners, and other poor people. About the year 420, the Goths and other barbarous nations over-running Italy, and destroying the cities of Parma, Aquileia, and many more upon the continent, the inhabitants fled with their effects to these islands, and laid the foundation of the city of Venice. They were at first under the government of the consuls or magistrates of Padua, to whom the soil belonged; but when they began to increase in wealth and numbers, and Refugees from all parts of Italy flocked in to them, a deputy or representative from every island was elected, in whom the legislative power was lodged. Whether this was brought about by force, or the consent of the Paduans, at this distance of time does not appear: But this form did not endure long, some of the most powerful and popular men of the republic procured the sovereign power to be conferred on him, with the title of Duke, or Doge; making the representatives of the people only his council, whose advice he took or refused as he saw fit. No Princes were more absolute than these Doges for a considerable time, till at length the leading men of the republic encroached upon the prerogatives of their Doges, as the antient Doges had on the liberties of the people, and the sovereign power became vested in the most substantial citizens; the Doge retained no more than the shadow of his antient authority. About the year 1325, the great council, which was then composed of the chief citizens, passed an act for reducing their number, and vesting the sovereign authority in certain families and their male issue, who at the age of five and twenty, and proof of their legitimacy, without any previous election, were to be introduced into this assembly; and this body of men have long since assumed the title of *Noble Venetians*, who, according to Mr Addison, look upon

Venetian  
govern-  
ment.

The sove-  
reign  
power ve-  
sted in the  
nobility.



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upon themselves to be equal at least to the Electors of the Empire, and but one degree below Kings; for which reason they seldom travel into foreign countries, where they must undergo the mortification of being treated like private gentlemen. It is observed, that they discharge themselves with a great deal of dexterity in such embassies and treaties as they are concerned in, for their whole lives are employed in intrigues of state, and they naturally give themselves airs of Kings and Princes, of which the Ministers of other nations are only the representatives. About three or four score years ago, it was computed there were about five and twenty hundred of these noble Venetians who had voices in the Great Council; but there are not at present more than fifteen hundred, notwithstanding the addition of many new families: for during the war with the Turks in Candia, when their treasury began to be exhausted, and on other exigencies of the State, they have permitted merchants and overgrown citizens, and even some foreigners, to purchase this honour, and consequently a seat in the Great Council of the republick for them and their heirs. And tho' there be but one order of nobles at Venice, yet they look upon themselves to be more or less honourable, according to the antiquity of their families. They are generally divided into four classes by our voyage-writers: 1. Those twelve families which were really noble before the constitution of their commonwealth. 2. Such as were registered when the members of the Great Council were limited to certain families. 3. Such as have purchased their nobility of the State. And, 4. Those who have been created noble Venetians on account of their merit. But to be a little more particular in describing the constitution of their present government; it consists, 1. Of the Doge, or Duke. 2. The Great Council. 3. The Council of Ten, or Seignory. 4. The Senate, or Council of Pregadi. 5. The Council of the Savi, or Sages. And, 6. The Council called the College.

The Doge, if he be not in reality a monarch, yet he represents one in his habit and state. He is clothed in a purple robe, and his head covered with a cap resembling a mitre, which he never takes off but when the Host is elevated. All subjects appear bare-headed and standing before him, and he rises up to none. His name is on the coin, publick letters and instruments of State; and all laws and decrees are published in his name; and the letters of foreign Princes are directed to him, tho' he delivers them unopened to the Council. Ambassadors address themselves to him, but he delivers no other answer than what is agreed on in council. He cannot go out of the city without the leave of the State; and whenever he sets his foot on the continent his authority ceases, and he is considered only as a noble Venetian. When he is elected, all his relations leave their posts, though they continue members of the Great Council: he is as subject to the laws as the meanest person; and the State-inquisition is levelled chiefly against his power. He has a double voice in the Great Council, and the appointment of the servants and officers of the palace, and the nominating of the Dean and Canons of St MARK, and is called His Serenity. He continues in his office for life, unless he commits some offence against the State, or happens to be superannuated, or otherwise rendered incapable of discharging his trust. He presides in the Great

Council, and other courts, and sees that the magistrates perform their duty, and summons them before the college on their neglect. He is elected in the Great Council by balloting, after a manner too tedious to relate here; only I shall observe, that such precautions are used, that 'tis impossible the Electors should be biased or over-awed in their choice by any great man: and in the same manner their Admirals, Governors of towns and provinces, and all other officers of state are appointed.

The Great Council is composed of the Doge and all the noble Venetians who are in town; but more than half of them being absent on their governments, or at their country-seats on the continent, this assembly seldom consists of more than five or six hundred: nor is the Great Duke's presence absolutely necessary, it being frequently held without him. In this Council the legislative authority is lodged, as well as the choice of the Doge, and of most of the great officers of state, as hath been observed already, for which purpose they meet on Sundays and some other holy-days.

The Seignory consists of the Duke, six other members chosen by the Great Council, and the three chief judges of their principal courts of judicature, making ten in all, from whence they are usually called the Council of Ten. In these the executive power seems to be lodged, and this Council elect three of their own number every three months, who may be called Inquisitors of State. These receive all accusations and informations against persons suspected to have any designs against the government; imprison, and even proceed capitally against them, without allowing them to make any defence, either in person or by their advocates, if they all agree; if not, the matter is laid before the Council of Ten.

The Senate, or Pregadi, consists of an hundred and twenty of the members of the Great Council, chosen annually by that Council, assisted by a like number of other counsellors, magistrates, and officers, who have not a power of voting, but only of proposing matters in this Council. All laws are last debated in this Council, and brought by them to the Great Council for their sanction, who have no power of altering any act propounded to them, but only of assenting to it or rejecting it. The making peace and war, the sending and receiving Ambassadors, and all other matters of state, (except such as require secrecy, and are referred to the Council of Ten on that account) are, after they have been prepared and debated by the college, brought hither for their approbation. In the Senate also is the choice of many of the inferior officers of state, and commanders by sea and land.

The Council called the Savi, or Sages, consists of sixteen persons: six called the Savi Grande, who have both the sea and land under their care; five others, who consult and debate only of land-affairs; and five more, who take only the transactions at sea under their deliberation.

The College is esteemed the most useful Council of State, consisting of the Seignory and Savi in conjunction, twenty-six in number. They meet severally every morning at a certain hour in their respective council-rooms, where having spent some time in debating the several businesses appropriated to each, the Savi go to the room where the Seignory sits, and joining with them form that Council called the College. From whence it appears that matters of State (except what

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The Great Council.

The Seignory, or Council of Ten.

The Senate or Pregadi.

The Savi.

The College.



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what requires an extraordinary secrecy) are debated, 1. By the Savi and Seignory in their several rooms distinctly. 2. By these two jointly, who constitute the college. 3. By the Senate, who when they have considered and altered the matters proposed as they see fit, bring all to the Great Council, who have a power of affirming or rejecting, but none of debating or altering the laws proposed.

From hence it appears, says my author, that Venice is one of the best constituted republicks that ever was established. But methinks their State-inquisition, which they stile the basis of their government, has a terrible aspect, notwithstanding it may have frustrated some conspiracies and attempts against the state: for surely nothing can reconcile people to such an arbitrary bloody tribunal, who have ever known what liberty and property means; a tribunal that must make every subject and every senator tremble. How can the greatest amongst them enjoy his fortune with any tolerable tranquillity, while he is liable every day to be thrown into a dungeon, to be tortured, condemned, and executed upon the crazy suggestions and insinuations of his enemies, without being suffered to know either his accusers or his accusation, or to offer any thing in vindication of his innocence? And in fact, we find several persons have suffered by this accursed court, who have afterwards appeared innocent. It would amaze one therefore to see some men, who cannot bear to live under even a limited monarchy, ever crying up this part of the Venetian constitution. In some instances indeed, the subjects of Venice enjoy an unbounded liberty; they may be as leud and wicked as they please, so their crimes do not affect the State; and in this the republicks in Holland perfectly agree with them. There they have their musick-houses, whether the votaries of VENUS resort by publick authority; and here are whole streets assigned to the same purposes, though the carnival is the time when they indulge this humour most; then a croud of cavaliers resort hither from the neighbouring countries, where they meet an equal number of the other sex, that come to make their fortunes upon these occasions. Another instance of Dutch and Venetian liberty, is, that they suffer all manner of sects and persuasions in religion, provided there is no tendency in them to disturb the State. Neither the clergy of Holland or Venice are suffered to hold synods or ecclesiastical courts, or to frame laws for the government of the church, without the approbation of the State; and every man has an unlimited freedom to believe and practise as he sees fit; neither the laws of religion or mortality are enforced by the government; every one may do what is right in his own eyes, so he lets the administration alone. These are some of the glorious liberties that the subject enjoys under most republicks; but in other respects they are as great slaves to their Sovereigns as the people are in France or Turkey. Should a man complain of the oppressions of the nobility, or presume to censure the conduct of the ministry; nay, if any thing of this kind should be suggested against him by his enemies, though never so falsely, he shall be first racked and tortured into a confession, and afterwards executed as a malefactor, his estate confiscated, and his family reduced to beggary. And if these are the charms of a republican form of government, who would not make it part of his litany to be delivered from it? But to proceed:

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The nobility themselves, though they have the legislative authority in their hands, stand so much in awe of this State-Inquisition which they have established, that they dare not enter into any familiar conversation with foreigners, or even with their own order, for fear of being charged with designs against the State: nay, 'tis held criminal to talk of publick affairs, when they are not assembled in the Broglio, or in their Councils. And now I am speaking of the nobility, I shall take an opportunity of mentioning some other rules they are subject to: they are not permitted to carry any arms about them, or to wear silver or gold lace, or fringe on their clothes, except the Procurators of St MARK, and some few others, or to keep above a certain number of servants; even the Doge himself is under the government of his six Counsellors, who may visit his closet, and all his retirements at any hour of the night or day, and he is not at liberty to go abroad without them.

The most honourable among the nobility are the Procurators of St MARK, who are appointed by the Great Council, and have the guardianship and administration of the revenues, treasure, gifts, and legacies belonging to the church of St MARK, with very handsome annual pensions for life. They are five and twenty in number; and formerly consisted only of those who had been concerned in foreign embassies, or had otherwise highly merited of the State; but some have been allowed to purchase this honour of late years, when the State wanted money. It is out of these that the Doge, and his Council of ten, are generally chosen.

Besides the nobility, there are three orders of Knighthood; 1. That of the Golden Star, which is conferred only on those of the first quality, who have merited of the government; they wear a star bordered with gold-lace. 2. The Knights of St MARK, which honour is usually conferred on the officers in the sea or land service, who have behaved well, to which is annexed a pension of a thousand ducats per annum. They wear a medal with the figure of St MARK on one side, and some other device of the Senate's appointing upon the reverse. 3. The Doge's Knights, as they are called, on account of their being created by him, which is bestowed on foreign officers in their service.

There are still several orders of nobility, as Counts, Marquisses, &c. on the Terra Firma in the Venetian territories, who are not at all esteemed for their titles at Venice; and these are the heirs and descendants of such noblemen as were created by foreign Princes before these provinces were conquered by the republick, who have lost their privileges, and now enjoy no more than the titles of their ancestors. These the Venetians endeavour to humble and distress by all the ways imaginable, that they may render them incapable of carrying on any designs against their government. They create other noblemen with the like titles, of whose fidelity they are assured, in order to balance their power; and are perpetually fomenting and encouraging their private quarrels, that they may be diverted from any practices against the State. Another piece of their accursed policy, is to discountenance all that are eminent and remarkable for their virtues of any kind whatever: a brave man is sure to be brow-beaten; and if a person is a little more hospitable or charitable than his neighbours, he is in danger of the State-Inquisition, lest these virtues, or the appearance of them,



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them, should render him popular, and the government be endanger'd thereby. But among the liberties of Venice, there is one I had pass'd over when I was upon that subject, which ought not to be forgot. This, says my author, is perhaps the only city in Europe, where young painters may best study the beauties of nature; for there are two academies, where there are always naked people of both sexes to be drawn, who are often upon the stage together, in what posture they please to put them; and any man for the value of six-pence or a shilling may come in and take a view of them: nor is it to be conceiv'd with what assurance these young creatures will suffer themselves to be gaz'd on by all the world.

Ecclesiastical government and religion.

I shall conclude this head with some account of their ecclesiastical government and clergy. The Patriarchs of Aquileia and Venice share the government of this church between them; if that may be called a government, which can only be exercis'd at the pleasure of another, namely, the temporal power. The republick of Venice is as supreme and arbitrary in all causes, and over all persons ecclesiastical and civil in their territories, as the States of Holland are in theirs. The Pope is look'd upon as little more than a temporal Prince at Venice, and the Patriarch a cypher: the Patriarch of Aquileia, whose province is upon the Terra Firma, seems something more independent of the State, and is better supported in his spiritual authority by the Pope. He is also the eldest Patriarch, and has the largest extent of jurisdiction: for his province comprehends Friuli, Istria, and several other hereditary provinces of the Empire, with the Venetian territories in Lombardy, except Bergamo, Crema, and Brescia, whose Bishops are suffragans to Milan. The Patriarch of Aquileia is nominated by the republick, who oblige him to chuse a noble Venetian for his coadjutor, lest the nomination should return to the Emperor; who, on the other hand, detains the temporal revenues of the Patriarch in his dominions, and will not suffer him to reside at Aquileia, and therefore his seat is at present at Udina.

The Patriarch of Venice is always a noble Venetian, nominated by the State, and confirm'd by the Pope, and has a limited jurisdiction over the Archbishop of Candia, the Archbishop of Corfu, and the Bishops of Chioggia, Torcello, and Canale. The church of St MARK at Venice is a peculiar; the Premicerio, or Dean, has no superior, and is always a noble Venetian; to which church there belongs twenty-six Canons, and a seminary of young lads, besides an adjoining abbey. There is also at Venice a court of Inquisition, consisting of the Nuntio, the Patriarch, the Father Inquisitor, and two Senators, without whose assent they can transact nothing, or put any sentence in execution, being as much subject to the Senate as any other tribunal. The parishes elect their own curates, or parish-priests, in which they are generally influenced by the nobility, whom they dread above all things, and consequently love them very little; not so much, 'tis said, on account of the oppressions they suffer, as that lofty supercilious behaviour, which the quality of Venice are distinguish'd for, and which indeed the State requires of them: for should they give themselves any familiar popular airs, and seem to court the vulgar, the State-Inquisition would look upon them as dangerous persons. But to return to the clergy: the Venetians, says my author, suffer

themselves to be govern'd neither by Priests nor Monks: men of this profession may wear masks during the carnival, keep their concubines, sing on the stages, and take what other liberties they please, so as they do not meddle with the government. And notwithstanding the worshipping of images and relics is encouraged here, as well as in other Popish countries, among the vulgar, the wits of Venice trouble themselves very little about these matters. But the Italians of all degrees are infinitely fond of musick in their churches; and perhaps there are the best entertainments of this kind in Italy, that are to be met with in the world. Vocal musick is usually perform'd by eunuchs: a good voice is a provision for a son; upon which account the poor people frequently castrate a boy or two of the family, who are notwithstanding admitted afterwards into priests orders. 'Tis true, this religion, as well as that of the Jews, requires a perfect man to administer in holy things; and it is necessary for the eunuch to produce these testimonials of his manhood, before they will permit him to officiate as a Priest in any church, (for a eunuch is known by his complexion;) but then if he have them dried in his pocket, it is deem'd sufficient to satisfy the intent of the Canon in this particular; and thus a happy expedient is found out in favour of vocal musick. Instrumental musick also is very much encouraged; insomuch, that if a strange violin comes and performs to the satisfaction of the audience in any of their great churches, they will immediately collect him a handsome gratuity.

Church-musick.

The nuns of Venice have not a much better reputation than the clergy, particularly those of St ZACHARY and St LAURENCE, where only noble Venetians are admitted, and where they do not so much as pretend to retire for devotion; but the nobility send their daughters thither to save their estates, it being the easiest provision they can make for them. These, according to Dr BURNET, are not veil'd, neither do they cover their necks or breasts, and receive variety of company; though he acknowledges, that those he saw used the same precautions they do in other nunneries, and had grates in their parlours, beyond which their male friends were not admitted to come. They talk'd much, he observ'd, loud and very ungracefully, and allow'd themselves a liberty in rallying, that other places could not bear. The Patriarch intended to have restrain'd the liberties of these houses, and begun with the nuns of St LAURENCE; but they told him plainly, they were noble Venetians, who had chosen that way of life as most convenient for them, but would not be subject to his regulations; and upon his attempting to shut up their house, they were about to set fire to it; whereupon the Senate interposed, and required the Patriarch to desist. Mr ADDISON relates also, that the Venetian nuns are famous for their liberties; that they have opera's within their own walls, and often go out of their bounds to meet their admirers, (if they are not misrepresented) and their lovers converse with them daily at the grate of their parlour.

Nuns.



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## CHAP. XVI.

*Treats of their revenues, forces, views, and interests; with some account of their trade and manufactures.*Revenues  
and forces.

THE publick revenues of this State are computed to amount to above twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, and as the government is arbitrary, may be advanc'd in time of war, according to the exigency of their affairs. Their forces by sea and land may amount to four and twenty thousand; and in case of necessity, as has been intimated already, it is pretended they can man and equip out thirty men of war, an hundred gallies, and ten galeasses; but this calculation seems to be of the largest. A noble Venetian is always Generalissimo at sea, who has the command of the islands, ports, and maritime places subject to them, as well as of the fleet; and there is constantly a Provveditor-General of the sea, who commands the fleet when there is no Generalissimo; he is chang'd every two years, and during his office is always attended by two noble Venetians, without whose concurrence he can undertake no enterprize. There is also a General of the Gulph, that commands the galeasses and gallies, clears that sea of pyrates, and takes care that the customs be duly paid. For the land-service they usually make choice of a foreign General, who is attended by some few Senators, whose advice he is obliged to take upon all occasions. The inferior Generals and Officers are also foreigners; the noble Venetians, who look upon themselves as Princes and Legislators, don't care to be commanded by those they look upon as their inferiors. The common soldiers are usually Slavonians, Morlachians, and Albanians on the frontiers of Turkey; and in Italy they chuse to hire Germans, Swiss, or any other foreign troops, rather than put arms into the hands of their own subjects, on whose fidelity they cannot depend. Their fortifications are usually in a ruinous condition, both on the side of Italy and Turkey; and the garrisons weak and ill paid, or the Turk could never have made himself master of the Morea in one campaign: though 'tis true, the disaffection of their subjects in the conquer'd countries, whom they treat with intolerable insolence, might contribute also to that revolution.

Their interest.

The interest of this republick is certainly to live at peace with all their neighbours, if possible; especially with the Emperor and the Turk, who are either of them too powerful for this State to grapple with. 'Tis true, the Emperor, the Pope, and the rest of the Italian Princes would infallibly join the Venetians if they were attack'd, so as to prevent the Infidels getting footing in Italy; but we see the Emperor suffer'd the Turks to wrest the Morea from them in the last war, anno 1715; and if he assists them in a future war, possibly it will be on such terms as are not very agreeable to them: he will either insist on their surrendering some of the provinces dismember'd from the Milanese, or their sharing the dominion of the Adriatick Sea with him, which they have hitherto been so jealous of. And no doubt but the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian Powers heartily wish that the Emperor, as well as the Infidels, were further remov'd from their frontiers. They seem to be in a very uneasy and

precarious situation at present: were it not the interest of France to prevent the Imperialists being entire masters of Italy, those little States would soon be swallow'd up; but if ever the Emperor should attempt this, his most Christian Majesty would infallibly make a powerful diversion in their favour; they will certainly therefore cultivate a good understanding with the Court of France. As to the Spaniards, since they have been driven out of their Italian territories, they are neither capable of assisting or annoying them, and were much less dangerous neighbours when they were in possession of Naples and the Milanese than the Imperialists are. But, as Mr Addison observ'd on another occasion, among all these difficulties this republick will maintain itself, if policy can prevail upon force: Were they as rich as formerly, they would find no great difficulty in supporting themselves, at a time when every thing is carried in all the Courts of Europe by the force of money; but their trade is miserably declin'd, and their treasure exhausted by their wars with the Turks.

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As the trade of Venice formerly consisted in transporting the merchandize of Asia from Alexandria, and other ports of Turkey to the kingdoms of Europe, so it does still, in a much lower degree, since the navigation about the Cape of Good Hope has been found out. Their manufactures and produce of their dominions also furnish them with merchandize to traffick with other countries; as their raw and wrought silks of various kinds, brocades, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, velvets, wine, oil, fruits, particularly currants or corinths, almost peculiar to the island of Zant, alum, sulphur, Venetian-steel, iron, copper, woolen-cloth, glass, marble, soap, rice, essences, turpentine, cream-tartar, snuff, and many other small articles. Great part of the goods they brought from Turkey used to be taken off by the Germans; but if the Emperor succeeds in his project of establishing a trade in the gulph of Venice, this branch of business will be entirely lost to the Venetians.

I must not conclude the description of Venice without taking notice of the ceremony of the Doge's espousing the sea annually, every Ascension-day, when he is attended by three or four hundred of the nobility, and embarks on board the Bucentaur, a noble galeasse finely carved and gilded, followed by a vast number of gallies, barges, and gondola's, magnificently adorn'd, with trumpets and musick playing. The Captain of the Bucentaur always takes an oath on this occasion, that he will bring her back safe and sound, in spite of waves and tempests; and indeed he takes care to run as little hazard as possible, for he does not go above a mile or two out to sea in the calmest season of the year; and if the wind blow never so little, the ceremony is deferr'd. When they are come to a proper place, the Doge receives a gold-ring from the master of the ceremonies, which he throws into the sea, over the stern, saying at the same time, *We espouse thee, O Sea, as a mark of our true and perpetual dominion over thee.* It was about the year 1174, that Pope ALEXANDER III, conferred the dominion of the Adriatick sea on the republick, instituting this annual ceremony of espousing it by a ring; and this in gratitude for their assistance against his great enemy the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, who had driven his Holiness from Rome; but was afterwards compell'd to submit to this haughty Pope, and



CHAP. XVI. and suffer him to tread on his neck in the city of Venice, of which they still retain the memory in some exquisite paintings.

Pope's  
Dom-  
inions.

### The POPE'S DOMINIONS.

#### CHAP. XVII.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the Pope's dominions, particularly of the Campania of Rome, and the principal cities and towns comprehended in that province.*

Their si-  
tuation  
and ex-  
tent.

THE Pope's dominions are bounded by the territories of Venice towards the north; by the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice, on the north-east; by the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; by the Tuscan sea on the south-west; and by the duchy of Tuscany on the north-west; encompassing the duchy of Tuscany on three sides, and is of a very irregular figure: extending in length from north to south about two hundred and forty miles, and in it's greatest breadth from east to west an hundred and forty; though in some places, as between the duchy of Tuscany and the gulph of Venice, it is scarce twenty miles broad. To give the reader a just idea of the form of it, I must refer him to the map of Italy bound up with this volume. The Pope's dominions are usually divided into seven provinces. 1. The Campania of Rome. 2. The patrimony of St PETER, comprehending the duchy of Castro, the territory of Orvieto, and the county of Ronciglione. 3. The province of Sabina. 4. Ombria, or the duchy of Spoleto, in which are included the territories of Perugia, and the Contado di Citta de Castello. 5. The marquise of Ancona. 6. The duchy of Urbino. And, 7. Romania, or Roman-diola, comprehending Romania Proper, the Bolognese, and the duchy of Ferrara.

Provinces.

The Cam-  
pania of  
Rome.

The Campania of Rome, containing the greatest part of the antient Latium, inhabited by the Latini, Equi, Hernici, Rutuli, and Volsci, is bounded by the patrimony of St PETER and Sabina towards the north; by the provinces of Abruzzo, and Terra de Lavarò, in the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; and by the Tuscan sea on the south-west: being about seventy miles in length from the north-west to the south-east; and forty-five in breadth from the north-east to the south-west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Rome. 2. Tivoli. 3. Paliistrina. 4. Zagarola. 5. Colonna. 6. Fregcati. 7. Marino. 8. Castell Gandolpho. 9. Albano. 10. Velitri. 11. Cisternæ. 12. Sermoneta. 13. Paleano. 14. Anagni. 15. Ferentini. 16. Alatri. 17. Veroli. 18. Frasillone. 19. Maenza. 20. Piperno. 21. Fossa Nova. 22. Terracina. 23. Netuno. 24. Anzio. 25. Ardash. 26. Paterno. And, 27. Ostia.

Chief  
towns.

Rome, it's  
name and  
antiquity.

Rome, the metropolis of the Pope's dominions, and antiently of the Roman Empire, derived it's name, according to some, from ROMA, a Trojan Lady, and according to others, from ROMULUS the founder; there are those also that affirm it was called Roma before the days of ROMULUS; and maintain that he only enlarged the town, and was called by it's name, as Princes and Great Men are at this day called by the names of their seats in some countries. Others again reject the story of ROMULUS and REMUS entirely as a fable:

and indeed I meet with nothing satisfactory on this head, any more than I do as to the time of it's foundation; some affirming it was founded about the year of the world 3301, 753 years before the coming of Christ; and others again in the year of the world 3198.

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inions.

Situation.

Rome is situated on the river Tiber, about sixteen miles north-east of the Tuscan Sea, in forty-one degrees forty-five minutes north latitude, thirteen degrees odd minutes to the eastward of London. It stood antiently on seven mounts or eminencies of easy ascent, and was of a square figure, but now comprehends twelve little hills, viz. Monte Capitolino, Palatino, Aventino, Celio, Esquilino, Viminale, Quirinale, or Monte Cavallo, Janiculo, Pincino, Vaticano, Citorio, and Giordano. It is of an irregular figure, and the walls, which take in the same ground with those which AURELIAN built, are about twelve miles in circumference, all the turnings and windings included; otherwise the compass is not, or ever was, more than six or seven miles; though some have made it fifty miles about. How far the suburbs antiently extended, is very uncertain; if the town, with all it's suburbs and adjacent villages, contained half the number of souls which some authors of very great reputation have asserted, and all these were looked upon as part of the city (as the villages within the weekly bills are sometimes reckoned part of London) the circumference must have been very large: and there is room to believe that the villages towards the sea were deemed part of Rome, because 'tis said, that some of the Roman Emperors had a design of extending the walls as far as the Tuscan Sea; which is twelve or fifteen miles distant from the present city. Another way of accounting for that vast number of Roman citizens, which we find upon record in some writers, is by taking into the account all those who had the privileges of Roman citizens in the Empire; and then the highest account we meet with will not appear incredible, for the citizens of a multitude of great cities had this privilege. But to return to modern Rome; there is not above a third part of the ground within the walls built upon, but taken up with, gardens and vineyards, and other void spaces; and consequently is but thinly inhabited. The natives are usually computed at 120,000. That part of the town which stands on the west side of the river, and is called Trastevere, is not above a sixth part of the whole; the course of the river through it is from north to south; it rises so high, and runs with such an impetuous torrent, at the time of the melting of the snows, or on violent rains, that the lower part of the town frequently suffers very much by inundations. There are five bridges over the river, twenty gates in the walls, and three hundred towers still remaining; the castle of St ANGELO was designed rather as a bridge for the inhabitants, than for their defence. Rome is too large to be of any great strength, and would hardly be able to sustain a regular siege. Though the Italians excel in architecture, they apply themselves very little to fortifications and engineering, unless the King of Sardinia, who lying next two such potent neighbours as France and the Empire, is under a necessity of fortifying his towns after a better manner. It is computed that modern Rome stands fourteen or fifteen feet higher than the old city, being built upon the ruins of the former. The ingenious Mr ADDISON observes farther, that the violent rains, which have happened in so long a tract



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tract of time, must have washed down great part of the hills into the vallies, and very much altered the face of it, and that the town is much more upon a level therefore than it was formerly; what confirms this conjecture is, that the Tarpeian rock, which was once a terrible precipice, from whence malefactors were thrown, is not now above twenty feet high; but then as those parts of the town are higher which are built in the vallies, consequently those which stand upon the hills are proportionably lower. The town is generally well built, the streets strait, and adorned with a vast number of palaces, monasteries, and churches; of the last of which there are not less than three hundred. The triumphal arches, pillars, obelisks, statues, and fountains, all exquisite in their kind, are no small addition to it's beauty. On each hand, says Dr BURNET, as I entered Rome by the gate Del Populo, I observed a long vista of streets; but there is not a town in these parts of the world, where the churches, convents, and palaces are so noble, and the other buildings so mean. Before I give a particular account of these, I shall enquire into the character of the modern inhabitants; and, according to the last mentioned author, there is an universal civility reigns among all sorts of people at Rome, which he conceives flows in a great measure from the nature of their government, where every man being capable of all preferments, the meanest ecclesiastick may be a Cardinal, and even Pope; which makes every one behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect, no man knowing what another may arrive at: but this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much upon them.

The politeness, affability, and officious civility, says a more modern traveller, which I experienced among the Romans in two journies I made to Italy, seemed to me charms sufficient to induce any, who have a taste for what is valuable, to come thither from all parts of the world, to view the treasures of curiosities contained in this city. I have here seen noblemen of the first rank, both secular and ecclesiastick, who upon hearing a traveller at their gate desirous of seeing what was in their palaces, would themselves take a pleasure in shewing them; and if they were busy, order their domesticks to do it for them, and even leave their cabinets to give them the liberty to see what was worth seeing in them. But I found not at first all the Italians so civil, complaisant, and polite, but more reserved: they generally study a stranger's humour and temper before they admit him into their company and familiarity. As for the persons of any consideration, they are ambitious of passing for virtuoso's, admirers of pictures, statues, musick, architecture, medals, and other pieces of antiquity; and no people have more command of their temper, or are more careful in avoiding to give offence, or bear more before they take it, especially from a stranger, than the Italians in general. I shall conclude their character with a passage in MISSON, where he says, the people of this country are not at all possessed with a spirit of hatred or persecution against strangers, of what religion soever: and I must do them the justice to acknowledge, that in our travels through Italy, and even at Rome and Loretto, we were never in the least molested by those adorers of relics and images.

Rome, according to Mr RAY, is well supplied  
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with provisions, though not so cheap as at Florence or Naples, which may be occasioned by the multitude of foreigners resorting to this city, who seldom study frugality much in their travels. Their beef is not inferior to that in England, except the flesh of the buffalo, which is only eaten by the poor Jews and common people, and they hunt or bait it all before they kill it. Their veal is the best in Europe, and their kid and pork are excellent, but the mutton is tough and dry. Tame fowls are plentiful and good, as turkeys, hens, capons, tame pigeons, &c. Geese indeed are scarce, but wild fowl is very cheap, and that of the best sort, as partridges, woodcocks, snipes, duck, mallard, teal, quails, plover, larks, and all manner of small birds; besides which, they eat several sorts that we never touch here, as kites, buzzards, sparrowhawks, jays, magpies, and almost every fowl that flies. They are also pretty well supplied with sea and river fish, but dearer than flesh. The fresh-water fish are, pike, carp, tench, trout, eels, barbel, chevin, and dace. Their sea-fish *mullus antiquorum*, now called *triglia*, and with us surmullet, mugil or mullets, sole, plaice, and others of the flat kind, hake sturgeon, dolphin, and the *lupus marinus*, not known in England. Wild boar and other venison is to be had every day in the market, but their deer are not comparable to the wild hog. Oranges and lemons are cheap, but apples and pears are dear, being sold by weight; however, they are exceeding good. The bread is good and cheap, and very light, tho' made without yeast; what they use in the room of it, I can't learn. And they have greater variety of wines here than in any town in Italy, as the Greco, Lachryma Christi, Languedoc, wine of Syracuse and Augusta in Sicily, Orvietano, Jansano, Monte Pulciano, Monte Fiascone, Castelli Romano, and Albano, the last of which is most usually drank. Their wines are generally sweet, and so strong bodied that they will bear half water. Their rough wines are none of them so harsh as the French Claret, or Florence, which may also be had here, and are generally better liked by foreigners than the sweet wines, which are not fit to sit by. The Romans, who only take a single glass now and then, or mix them with water, prefer their own wines to the French; and we find their antient poets very lavish in the praises of them. Their olives are small but very sweet and good, as is the oil consequently that is drawn from them, and eaten generally instead of butter all over Italy. They have plenty of peaches, apricots, walnuts, small nuts, almonds, chestnuts, and other fruits which grow in our climate in great perfection. The water of the Tyber is thick and muddy, and not fit to drink till it has stood a considerable time; but they are abundantly supplied with good water by their aqueducts, some of which bring the water from fountains thirty or forty miles distant from Rome, as will be observed more particularly hereafter.

Rome affords so vast a variety of agreeable objects, that one knows not where to begin, much less where to end, when we have entered upon the description of them. The most valuable curiosities however may be reduced under the following heads, viz. 1. Theatres and amphitheatres. 2. Pagan temples. 3. Triumphal arches. 4. Columns. 5. Baths. 6. Aqueducts and fountains. 7. Catacombs. 8. Obelisks. 9. Sepulchres. 10. Cirques or Circus's. 11. Bridges. 12. Churches.

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Theatres  
and am-  
phithe-  
atres.

13. Palaces, with the statues and paintings which adorn them. 14. Piazza's and squares. 15. Colleges. And, 16. Hospitals.

Of all the theatres and amphitheatres that were in old Rome, there are only the ruins of three now remaining, viz. some small footsteps of the amphitheatre of STATILIUS TAURUS, near the church of St CROCE. Some part of the walls of the theatre of MARCELLUS, on which the palace of the Savelli stands. And part of the amphitheatre of TITUS, now called the Coliseo, of which there are very large ruins. It appears to have been of a round form without, and of an oval figure within; and, as 'tis said, was capable of holding eighty-five thousand persons. This structure was famous antiently, as well for the beauty of it's architecture, as the martyrdom of many thousand Christians, who, like other condemned persons, were frequently obliged to fight with wild beasts here. The Romans do not seem to have had certain punishments fixed for every crime, but the Emperors, their Viceroys and Judges, ordered them to be put to Death often in what manner they saw fit; and upon their coming off victorious in their combats with men or beasts, frequently granted the prisoner his pardon. This probably was St PAUL's case, who lived to tell us he had fought with beasts at Ephesus.

Pagan  
temples.

The chief pagan temples remaining, are, 1. The Pantheon, or temple of the gods, usually called the Rotunda, from it's circular figure, and now dedicated to the Virgin MARY and All Saints: it is an hundred and forty-four feet in height, and as many in breadth; the roof vaulted in form of a cupola, and receives all it's light from a hole in the top of it, nine feet diameter. It's portico consisted of sixteen tall pillars of speckled marble, called oriental granite, each pillar being but one stone, of which there are only now thirteen remaining: they are all of the Corinthian order, and about fifteen English feet in circumference, some a few inches more and some less. The door is forty feet high, and about twenty-five broad, the side-posts and cross-pieces composed of five pieces of granite, and not of one, as some have related. Upon the architrave of the portico are these words, inscribed in large capitals, viz. *M. Agrippa L. F. Cos. Tertium fecit.* This temple was covered with copper, till Pope URBAN VIII removed it; with which he made those four admirable wreathed pillars, which support the canopy of the high altar in St PETER's church; and with the *clavi trabales*, or nails which fastened the copper plates of the portico, and weighed two thousand eight hundred pounds, he cast a great cannon, which still remains in the castle of St ANGELO, with this inscription, *Ex clavis trabalibus porticus Agrippæ*, and the form of one if the nails is engraven on it. The body of this temple remains entire, having only been deprived of it's statues and some other ornaments, amongst which was the famous MINERVA of PHIDIAS. Antiently this temple was ascended by seven steps, which surrounded the whole building, and now there is a descent of eleven steps to go into it, which shows how far old Rome is buried in rubbish. In the church is the tomb of that exquisite painter and architect RAPHAEL URBIN, with the following inscription, viz.

*Hic situs est Raphael, timuit quo sospite Vinci,  
Rerum magna parent, & moriente mori.*

2. The temple of FORTUNE, was given by PIUS IV to the Armenians, where they still celebrate divine worship. It is at present called St MARIA ÆGYPTIACA, and is an entire piece of antiquity, surrounded with pillars of the Ionick order, mixed with the Corinthian and Dorick, which serve for a model to the modern architects.

3. The temple of the SUN, or of VESTA, which stands not far from the former, on the banks of the Tyber near the broken bridge, and is now a Christian church, called La Madonna del Sole; being a small round structure, with a gallery of strait pillars round it, receiving the light in the same manner as the Pantheon, by a round hole in the top.

4. The temple of DIANA AVENTINE, now called St SABINA, a large building, supported by twelve pillars on each side, which divide the nave from the isles.

5. The temple of HERCULES AVENTINE, now dedicated to St ALEXIS and BONIFACE, and stands on the top of Mount Aventine.

6. The temple of JANUS, in the market for beasts, being a building exactly square, with four fronts, resembling a triumphal arch more than a temple: on each front are twelve niches for as many statues, representing the months of the year, which JANUS was held to govern.

7. The temple of CONCORD, or rather the remains of it, there being only the portico left, sustained by eight great marble pillars of one stone each, and standing on the ascent from the Forum Romanum to the Capitol.

8. The temple of SATURN, now a Christian church, dedicated to St ADRIAN; the frontispiece only whereof is part of the antient temple. Here the Romans kept the Tabulæ Elephantinæ which contained the names of the thirty-five tribes of the city: it stands at the foot of the Capitol near the arch of SEVERUS.

9. The temple of ANTONINE and FAUSTINA, which stands in the Forum Romanum, whereof are left good part of the walls, and the pillars of the portico, said to consist of a kind of marble, which will cleave like wood, the grain lying one way.

10. The temple of ROMULUS and REMUS, since dedicated to St COSMO and DAMIANO, but very little of the antient temple left.

11. The temple of ISIS and SERAPIS, or of the SUN and MOON, now New St MARY's: the small ruins of the antient temple which remain are behind the cloyster, the present church not standing exactly on the same ground.

12. The temple of PEACE, in the Campo Vaccino, begun by CLAUDIUS, and finished by VESPASIAN, in which were laid up the rich spoils found in SOLOMON's temple, on the taking of Jerusalem, till this city was plundered in it's turn by ALARIC, King of the Goths. This exceeded all the other temples in Rome in it's dimensions, as may still be discerned by the vast ruins of the foundation. There is very little standing of it at present, besides part of three arches, the rest having been burnt down in the reign of COMMODUS by a fire, which, 'tis said, broke out with an earthquake; tho' there is a tradition which says it fell of itself, at the birth of our Saviour. The great marble pillar which stands before the church of St MARY MAGGIORE, and is the largest in Rome of one entire stone, was taken from hence, being one of the

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nions.

13. The temple of JUPITER STATOR, in the Campo Vaccino, of which there now remains no more than three marble pillars, was built under the Consuls, as 'tis pretended, in compliance with a vow made by ROMULUS, who finding his troops give way in an engagement with the Sabines, promised to build a temple to the honour of JUPITER, if they stood their ground: and this temple was accordingly afterwards erected, and dedicated to JUPITER STATOR, *à stando*, from the Romans standing their ground.

14. The temple of JUPITER TONANS, or the thunderer, erected near the Capitol by AUGUSTUS, 'tis said, on his being preserved from a flash of lightning which fell on his litter and killed his servant, of which there remains no more at present than three pillars of the Dorick order, half buried in the ruins.

15. The temple of FAUNUS, now a Christian church, called St STEPHANO ROTUNDO, from it's circular figure, situate on mount Celius: it is a large edifice, sustained by two concentric circles of pillars, the outermost, which are forty-four in number, are the least, and the innermost are exactly half that number, and stand at the same distance from each other as those of the outer circle.

16. The temple of HERCULES CALLAICUS, now Galuzo, of a diagonal figure, the roof consisting of a cupola, little less than the Pantheon, having two doors directly opposite to each other.

17. The temple of BACCHUS, now the church of St CONSTANTIA, without the walls, of a round figure, sustained by twelve large pillars without, and a concentric circle of twelve pillars of a less circumference within, containing an antient monument of porphyry, called the tomb of BACCHUS, which resembles a large chest finely engraved, with branches of trees, boys treading of grapes, birds, and other animals; several parts of the roof also is beautified with bunches of grapes, and other things belonging to a vintage in Mosaick work; but the freshness of the colours, and the rudeness of the figures, have made some judicious travellers suspect that it is not of Roman workmanship.

18. Another temple of ROMULUS and REMUS, now dedicated to St THEODORE, of a circular figure, into which there is a descent of several steps, as into the Pantheon.

Trium-  
phal  
arches.

The triumphal arches still remaining, are five; 1. That of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. 2. That of CONSTANTINE the Great. 3. That in the Via Sacra, erected to the honour of VESPASIAN, and his son TITUS. 4. That of GALIENUS. And, 5. Another to the honour of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, and his son.

1. The triumphal arch of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS stands at the foot of the Capitol, being of marble, and still entire, tho' something sunk under the present surface of the ground. On each side are represented in bas-relief the victories of this Emperor; and on the inside the vault is finely wrought with flowers, of which no two are of the same shape. It was erected to the honour of SEVERUS, in memory of his Parthian conquests; but being under a great concern at the civil discords he met with on his return to Rome, he feigned himself ill of the gout, and deputed his son to triumph in his stead. The inscription on the arch is as follows in large Roman cha-

acters, viz. IMP. CAES. LVCIO SEPTIMIO. M. FIL. SEVERO. PIO. PERTINACI AVG. PATRI PATRIAE. PARTHICO. ARABICO. ET PARTHICO ADIABENICO. PONTIFICI MAXIMO TRIBUNIC. POTES. XI. COS. III. PROCOS. ET IMP. CAES. M. AURELIO. I. FIL. ANTONINO AVG. PIO. FELICI TRIBUNIC. POTES. VI. COS. PROCOS. P. P. OPTIMIS FORTVNATISSIMISQVE. PRINCIPIBUS. OB. REMP. RESTITVTAM. IMPERIVMQVE POPVLI ROMANI PROPAGATAM. INSIGNIBVS. VIRTVTIBVS EORVM DOMI FORISQVE. S. P. Q. R.

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nions.

2. CONSTANTINE's arch, which is not only the noblest in Rome, but in the whole world, according to Mr ADDISON. It stands near the amphitheatre of NERO, and was erected by the Senate, as 'tis said, in one day's time, while the armies of CONSTANTINE and MAXENTIVS were engaged at Ponte Molle, with an intention to inscribe it to him that should come off victorious; and CONSTANTINE defeating his competitor, it was accordingly dedicated to him; being beautified with several excellent statues and bas-reliefs, relating to the most remarkable actions of his life. The statues have many of them lost their heads; which, 'tis said, the Duke of Tuscany, LAURENCE DE MEDICIS, stole and carried to Florence. The bas-reliefs on this arch are not equally fine, which makes it supposed that some of them were taken from more antient monuments to adorn this. Mr ADDISON says, he searched narrowly for some representation of the apparition which is said to have preceded the victory; but there are not the least traces of it to be met with; the reason whereof, he conceives, is, that the greatest part of the ornaments were taken from TRAJAN's arch, and set up to the new conqueror, in very great haste, by the Senate and people of Rome, who were then most of them heathens. There is however, he observes, something in the inscription which is as old as the arch itself, which seems to hint at the Emperor's vision, viz. IMPERATORI CAESARI FLAVIO CONSTANTINO MAXIMO AVGVSTO QVO INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FAC-TIONE uno tempore IVSTIS REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS ARCUM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT S. P. Q. R. LIBERATORI VRBIS.

FVNDATORI QUIETIS.

3. The triumphal arch in the Via Sacra, erected in honour of VESPASIAN and his son TITUS, on their conquest of Jerusalem and Judea, is composed also of marble, on which is represented VESPASIAN riding in triumph with the spoils of SOLOMON's temple; namely, the table of shew-bread, the seven golden candlesticks, the tables of the commandments, the trumpets of the great Jubilee, and several vessels used by the Jews in their sacrifices. But Mr ADDISON says, he was much disappointed in not finding the figure of the temple of Jerusalem on it; tho' some are of opinion, that the composite pillars of this arch were made in imitation of the pillars of SOLOMON's temple, and observe that these are the most antient of any that are found of that order. The inscription on it is as follows, SENATVS POPVLVSQVE

RO.



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SIANI F. VESPASIANO, AVGVSTO.

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nions.

4. the arch of GALIENUS, usually called the arch of St VITO, is of Tiburtine stone, and was erected in honour of the Emperor GALIENUS and SALONINA, as appears by the following inscription, viz GALIENO CLEMENTISSIMO PRINCIPI CIVIS INVICTA VIRTVS SOLA PIETATE SVPERATA EST ET SALONINAE SANCTISSIMAE. AVG. M. AVRELIVS VICTOR DEDICATISSIMVS NVMINI MAIESTATIQUE EORVM.

5. Another arch erected to SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS by the goldsmiths and graziers of the city, the inscription whereof differs but little from that on the other arch of SEPTIMIUS.

Baths.

The *Thermae*, or baths of antient Rome, were esteemed some of the most magnificent buildings in the city, of which there are still considerable ruins remaining, particularly of ANTONINE's bath, which lies at the foot of mount Aventine, and appears more like a great town than a single fabrick. The walls are still vastly thick and high; and it contained sixteen hundred seats of polished marble, for as many persons to sit and bathe in separately; some of these bathing-places were floor'd with silver, and the pipes which brought in the water were of the same metal; the walls being adorned with statues, pictures, and precious stones.

2. The baths of DIOCLESIAN, which had seats for three thousand people, who might bathe without seeing one another, the ruins whereof are seen at St MARIA DE ANGELIS, and the Carthusian church is composed of part of this bath, particularly eight noble marble pillars of this church, with their cornices of composite work, exquisitely wrought, which serve as a model of that order to the present architects.

3. The baths of CONSTANTINE, built before his conversion, which stood at the foot of Monte Cavallo, a third part whereof are still remaining. There are also some small ruins of those of NERO, near the church of St EUSTACHIUS; of those of PAULUS EMILIUS near St DOMINICK's; and of AGRIPPA's near the Pantheon.

Columns.

Of columns, there are four remaining, besides those which belong to temples. 1. The column of TRAJAN. 2. The column of ANTONINUS. 3. The Columna Milliaria. And, 4. The Columna Rostrata.

1. The Columna Trajana, an hundred and twenty foot high, besides the pedestal, which is twelve: It is composed of twenty-four entire pieces of white marble, hollow within, and set one upon another, with little windows to let in the light, and is ascended up an hundred and twenty-three steps. It is adorned with bas-reliefs, ascending in a spiral line from the base to the chapter, representing the wars and memorable actions of this prince; and served also as a mausoleum for his ashes, which were placed in a golden urn on the top of it, for TRAJAN never lived to see this pillar, dying of the flux as he returned from his Parthian expedition. The statue of St PETER of brass gilt, was afterwards placed on the top of this pillar in the room of the urn by Pope SIXTUS V. The pedestal, which was buried in the ground, was laid open again by Pope PAUL III, on which is the following inscription, IMP. CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F. NERVAE TRAIANO AVGVSTO GERMANICO DACICO PONT. MAXIMO TRIB.

POT. XVII. IMP. VI. COS. VI. P. P. AD DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITVDINIS MONS ET LOCVS TANTIS OPERIBVS SIT EGESTVS.

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2. The column of ANTONINUS PIUS in the piazza Colonna, which is an hundred and forty-five feet in height, English measure, ascended by two hundred and six steps; and composed of twenty-eight entire pieces of marble, having fifty six small windows in it. The statue of the Emperor was placed on the top, where that of St PAUL's brass gilt now stands: Among other historical pieces in bas-relief, is the figure of JUPITER FLUVIUS sending down rain the on the fainting army of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, and thunderbolts on his enemies; which, as Mr ADDISON observes, is the greatest confirmation imaginable of the story of the Christian legion. The army of ANTONINUS, it seems, being surrounded by the enemy, and ready to perish for want of water, the Christian legion by their prayers obtained a plentiful shower of rain, which wonderfully refreshed their troops, while the other army was destroyed by a dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning; which extraordinary event the Pagan Romans ascribed to JUPITER, and the Christians to our Saviour. The inscriptions are all modern, and three of them relate to the repairing the column, and dedicating it to St PAUL by SIXTUS V.

3. The Columna Rostrata, which antiently stood in the Forum Romanum, and was erected to the memory of CAIUS DULLIUS on the victory he obtained over the Carthaginians at sea, above two hundred and fifty years before the birth of our Saviour, is now placed in the wall at the foot of the stairs ascending to the rooms of the Capitol, and is not more than twelve foot high; the antient inscription not being legible, is supplied by antiquaries.

4. The Columna Milliaria, from whence 'tis said the antient Romans reckoned their miles and distances from the city to all parts of Italy, is removed from the Forum Romanum in the center of the city to the Capitol. It is marked with the numeral letter I. as the second stone at the first mile's end was with II. and so on; so that *ad secundum lapidem* signified one mile's distance from this pillar; *ad tertium* two, and so on upon all the great roads in Italy. This column is of white marble, eight foot and a half high, and on the chapter there is a brass globe, about two foot in diameter; but Mr MISSON is of opinion, that this is not the pillar from whence they reckoned their miles, because some antient writers say, it was brass gilt, and the names of the great roads and the distances of towns were engraved upon it, which they are not on this; besides, as the number I. is engraved upon it, he conceives it as rather one of those which stood upon some road a mile distant from the city: but I don't think it worth the while to take up the reader's time longer in this controversy, in which Mr MISSON contradicts the notions of most of those travellers who have gone before him.

As to the column erected before the church of St MARY MAGGIORE, that has been taken notice of already; but it seems there is a new column discovered not many years ago, the body whereof between the basis and the chapter is sixty-seven Roman palms, and the pedestal, which is one entire piece, eighteen Roman palms in height, (a Roman palm is about eight inches and a half

A new pillar discovered of Antoninus Pius.



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inions.

half English.) Upon one of the faces is the following inscription: DIVO ANTONINO AVGVSTO PIO. ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS ET VERVS AVGVSTI FILII. And on the opposite side several bas-reliefs, among which there is a winged genius of ANTONINVS and FAUSTINA deified.

Aqueducts  
and foun-  
tains.

There is nothing, says Dr BURNET, that delights a stranger more in Rome, than to see the great fountains of water that are in every corner of it. That old aqueduct which PAUL V restored, comes from a collection of sources five and thirty miles distant from Rome, which runs all the way thro' a vaulted channel, equal to a river, and breaks out in five several fountains, of which some give water above a foot square. That of SIXTUS V, the *aqua felice*, is brought twenty miles to Rome, and dischargeth a prodigious quantity of water. The glorious fountain in the Piazza Navona hath an air of greatness that surprizeth one. The fountain in the piazza de Spagna, those before St PETER's and the Palazzo Farnese, with many others, furnish Rome so plentifully, that almost every private house hath a fountain which runs continually. Among the antient aqueducts there are only four that have any thing remaining of them now, viz. the Aqua Marcia, conducted thirty-seven miles; the Aqua Claudia, brought thirty-five; the Aqua Appia, and the Aqua Virginis, both brought eight miles; the last of which being repaired by Pope NICHOLAS V, is still in use, and known by the name of Fonte de Trivio. There are inscriptions on the Porta Maggiore, shewing who built and repaired the aqueduct called Aqua Claudia, in the following words, viz.

TIT. CLAVDIVS DRVSI. F. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS. PONT. MAX. TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE. XII. COS. V. IMPERATOR XVII. PATER PATRIAE. AQVAM CLAVDIAM EX FONTIBVS QVI VOCABANTVR CAERVLEVS ET CVRTIVS, A MILLIARIO XXXV. ITEM ANENEM NOVAM A MILLIARIO LXII. SVA IMPENSA IN VRBEM PERDV-CENDAS CVRAVIT.

IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVGVST. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. IM. VI. COS. III. DESIG. IV. P. P. AQVAS CVRTIAM ET CAERVLEAM PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO, ET POSTEA INTERMISSAS DILAPSASQVE PER ANNOS NOVEM SVA IMPENSA VRBI RESTITVIT.

IMP. TIT. CAES. DIVI. F. VESPASIANVS AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVN. POTESTATE X. IMPERATOR XVII. PATER PATRIAE. CENSOR. COS. VIII. AQUAS CVRTIAM ET CAERVLEAM PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO. ET POSTEA A DIVO VESPASIANO PATRE SVO. VRBE. RESTITVTAS CVM A CAPITAE AQVARVM. A SOLA VETVSTATE DILAPSAE ESSENT. NOVA FORMA REDVCENDAS SVA IMPENSA CVRAVIT.

Others relating to the Aqua Marcia, are on the gate of St LORENZO, as follow.

IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI IVLII F. AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX. MAX. CONS. XII. V O L. II.

TRIBVN. POTEST. XIX. IMP. XIII. RI-VOS AQVARVM OMNIVM REFECIT.

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IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS PIVS FAELIX AVG. PARTH. MAX. BRIT. MAXIMVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS AQVAM MARCIAM VARIIS CASIBVS IMPEDITAM PVRGATO FONTE EXCISIS ET PERFORATIS MONTIBVS RESTITVTA FORMA ADQVISITO ETIAM FONTE NOVO ANTONINIAN. IN SACRAM VRBEM SVAM PERDV-CENDAM CVRAVIT.

IMP. TITVS CAESAR DIVI. F. VESPASIANVS AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIBVNIT. POTESTAT. IX. IMP. XV. CENS. COS. VII. DESIG. II. RIVVM AQVAE MARCIAE VETVSTATE DILAPSVM REFECIT ET AQVAM QVAE IN VSV ESSE DESIDERAT REDVXIT.

Among the antiquities of Rome, those which go under the name of Catacombs are not the least surprizing. These are narrow subterraneous vaults, with a variety of windings and turnings in the nature like a labyrinth, by which the suburbs of antient Rome were in a manner undermined. They are generally about five feet and a half high, and wide enough for two men to go a-breast, but in some places the dimensions are larger. On each side of these passages are two or three rows of Loculi, or graves, cut out of the rock, or sand (as the nature of the ground is) like troughs, each of them capable of receiving a body, and had a square stone or tile set up before the mouth of them, with an inscription shewing that some martyr or confessor, or other person, was interred there. In some of them are found bones, but most of them are empty, the bodies, or what remained of them, having been removed to several churches, and kept as reliques of martyrs; for it was generally believed in the last age, That these caverns were dug by Christians, who in the times of persecution performed divine service in them: That these burying-places were peculiar to Christians, and never used by Heathens; and that a great number of saints and martyrs were interred here. But Dr BURNET says, nothing seem'd more evident to him, than that these were the common burying-places of the antient Heathens; for one enters into them without the walls of the town, according to the laws of the twelve tables; though 'tis true, in some places they run under it, which they could not avoid before they had the use of the compass, when they were engaged far under ground: Nor is it to be conceived how the Christians in the primitive times could be able to carry on such a work without the notice of their governors, when such mountains of rubbish must have been brought out, and such a multitude of hands employed in it. My author also observes, that it is absurd to think they could hold their assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption, for he found the streams so strong, that though he was as little subject to vapours as most men, yet he had all the day long after he was in them, which was not an hour, a confusion, and as it were, a boiling in his head that disordered him extremely; and if there is now so much stagnating air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner, while there were vast numbers of bodies rotten in those niches. Be-

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combs.



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sides, according to his calculation, the number of Christians in those days at Rome could not amount to above fifty thousand; of whom, excluding the women, old men, and children, there were not more than twelve thousand fit for labour, and it is not credible that so vast a work could have been accomplished by them. My author acknowledges indeed, that it does not appear when these caverns were dug, but observes, that when the laws of the twelve tables were made, sepulture was in use, and Rome being grown to a vast bigness, he takes it for granted that they had repositories for their dead; and none of the Roman authors mentioning any such work, he thinks it not unreasonable to imagine, that these vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the city, and therefore later authors had no occasion to take notice of them. And though it is certain, that burning came to be in use among the Romans again, yet they returned back to their first custom of burying bodies long before CONSTANTINE's time; so that it was not the Christian religion that produced this change. Our modern writers seem to agree, that the change was made in the times of the ANTONINES; yet there being no law made concerning it, and no mention in an age so full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying-places, it is probable that the custom of burning wore out by degrees: And since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, says this writer, that the slaves and the meaner sort of people were still buried, that being a less expensive and more simple way of disposing of their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already burying-places prepared, it is much easier to imagine how the custom of burying grew universal, without any law made concerning it. But to return to the catacombs: Though the inferior people among the Pagan Romans, and their slaves might be buried here, it is evident from the many genuine inscriptions that have been found in the catacombs, which bear the dates of the consuls, that these were also the common burying-places of the Christians of the fourth and fifth century, but this reverend Divine does not remember any of an antient date.

The Roman Catholics, as has been observed already, do not only firmly believe that the catacombs were the works of the primitive Christians, but adore the bones and ashes that are found there. They assure us also, that several of the antient Roman Bishops held their synods and resided here, administered the sacraments, preached, &c. that LIBERIUS baptized above four thousand persons in these regions of darkness on an Easter-Sunday, and that there are several large grotto's in these burial-places adorned with painting and Mosaic work, which might very well serve for chapels, but that they are generally in the remotest and most intricate parts of the labyrinth, and the rubbish in many places fallen in, that travellers seldom or never visit them. While the Protestants universally maintain, that these are only the burying-places of the Roman slaves, which the Christians might afterwards apply to the same uses; but that it is impossible they could ever assemble and perform divine service in these nauseous subterranean vaults. Notwithstanding both sides seem to be very positive in their respective opinions, I believe all impartial men must say, the matter still wants to be cleared up. If

these catacombs are as old as the city, according as Dr BURNET, and some other Protestant writers affirm, or indeed if they were known publick burying-places for any number of years while Rome continued Pagan, it is very unaccountable that they should never be particularly described by any Roman writer. As for a passage or two which these gentlemen have cited in relation to the burying of their slaves, they may relate to any other common burying-place as well as these, and do not seem at all conclusive. On the other hand, how the Christians should be able to undermine almost all the suburbs of Rome, dispose of the earth that came out of these cells, constantly perform their worship in them, and bury their dead, without being discovered by one false brother, appears to me very incredible. How it came to pass afterwards that the memory of these catacombs was perfectly lost, and they should lie undiscovered for many hundred years, is equally surprising. Surely the slaughter of the Romans must be very great, when the barbarous nations destroyed this city, that there should be none left alive that could tell what antient Rome was; one would think that there had been a general massacre, and Italy entirely new peopled by the northern nations, or such a night of ignorance could never have over-spread the face of the country, as we find there did on the declension of the Roman Empire; which inclines me to believe, that however the modern inhabitants may have assumed the names of the antient Romans, they are really most of them of Gothic extraction; and when no other probable account could be given of the forming of these catacombs, it is no wonder to find them ascribed by a politic court to the primitive Christians, whereby they are furnished with an inexhaustible fund of relics.

Of the antient tombs, or Mausolea in Rome, there are still the traces of four, viz.

1. Moles Adriani, now the castle of St Angelo, which was the mausoleum of the Emperor ADRIAN, and beautified antiently with statues and marble pillars, which were taken from it to adorn some of the modern churches and palaces, after it had been defaced by the Goths; but it still retains the antient inscription, viz. L. HÆLIO. CAES. DIVI HADRIANI AVGVST. COS II. F.

Pope BONIFACE converted it into a fortress, and it has been improved by succeeding Popes; ALEXANDER VI built a long close gallery from the palace of the Vatican to this castle, through which he might retire on any tumult or insurrection in the city. It is said to have taken the name of Angelo, from an angel that appeared at the top of it sheathing a bloody sword, while St GREGORY was conducting a procession through the streets, and praying against a raging pestilence, which had taken off a multitude of the inhabitants, but ceased from the time of this procession. In this castle is the magazine of arms, ammunition and stores of war, as well as the Pope's treasury; and here also prisoners of state are confined.

2. The Mausoleum of AUGUSTUS, which was built of white marble, of a round figure, encompassed by three circular walls; the circumference of the outermost being the largest, and joined to that in the middle by a circular plain, and that to the innermost by another; so that the fabrick consisted of three stories, or walks, lessening

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Moles A-  
driani, the  
castle of St  
Angelo.



sening gradually as they advanced in height, and planted with ever-greens, whose lasting verdure was supposed to represent eternal life: it was adorned also with many fine statues, pillars, and obelisks, and stood near the church of St ROCH, whereof little more remains at present than the ruins; from which however the design of the ancient structure may still be discerned.

3. The tomb of CAIUS CESTIUS, which stands in the wall near St PAUL's gate; is a square pyramid, ending in a sharp point, being an hundred and twenty foot high, and ninety-four foot broad at the base; the body of it is of brick, but covered over with square pieces of white marble; being repaired by ALEXANDER VII, in the year 1673, and almost restored to it's original beauty. The entrance into this Mausoleum is by a low narrow passage to the middle of the building, where there is a little arched room, nineteen foot long, thirteen broad, and fourteen foot high, plaistered over with a sort of white polished mortar, on which are still several pieces of painting, representing women, flowers, vessels, and other ornaments. The inscription on a pedestal near the pyramid, on which the statue of CESTIUS is supposed to have stood, is as follows, viz. CAIVS. CESTIVS. L. PVB. F. EPVLO. TR. PL. VII. VIR. EPVLONVM. OPVS ABSOLVTVM EX TESTAMENTO. DIEBVS CXXX. ARBITRATV. PONTI. P. F. CLAMELAE. HEREDIS. ET PROTHI L. But tho' this be inscribed to CESTIUS, the general opinion is, that it was the common sepulchre of the Epulones, who were seven in number, and to whom belonged the management of all sacrifices, feasts, and banquets that were celebrated in honour of the gods.

4. The tomb of METELLA, the wife of CRASSUS, stands in the Via Appia near St SEBASTIAN, being vulgarly called the *Capo de bove*, from the heads of oxen carved on the walls. It is a round building, formed like an old tower, the walls whereof are twenty-four foot thick. At the funeral exequies of this lady were two great sacrifices performed, consisting of an hundred oxen each.

Obelisks.

Of fifty obelisks which were in antient Rome, there are not more than ten or eleven yet dug out of the rubbish. They were all of them brought from Egypt, and were of granite, being a red and white marble, so hard and durable, that it will even resist the fire for a considerable time: They are of a quadrangular figure, broad at the base, and narrow towards the top, representing the rays of the sun, adored by the Egyptians under the name of OSIRIS, and deemed by them the residence of Beings, Genius's, and the Soul of the Universe. They do not terminate in a point, but are a kind of obtuse pyramid.

1. The fairest obelisk now in Rome, stands in the piazza before St PETER's church, formerly dedicated to AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, and was brought hither from the Circus of NERO. It is one entire piece of granite, seventy-two foot high, twelve foot square at the base, and eight at the top; and weighed nine hundred and fifty-six thousand one hundred forty-eight pounds; and is now about four thousand years old. It lay many years buried in the ruins of the abovesaid Circus; and after it was found, it's immense weight deterred several architects from attempting to erect it, till DOMINICO FONTANA, by the encouragement of SIXTUS V, set it on a pedestal thirty-eight foot in height, to the astonishment

of all that saw it. The Pope dedicated it to the Holy Cross, as appears by the modern inscriptions. There are no hieroglyphicks on it; but the antient Roman inscription on the obelisk is in the following words, viz. DIVO. CAESARI DIVI. IVLII. F. AVGVSTO. TIBERIO CAESARI. DIVI AVGVSTI F. AVGVSTO SACRVM.

2. The obelisk of St JOHN DE LATERAN has three rows of hieroglyphicks on each face of it, and is the largest in Rome; being an hundred and eight feet in height, without the pedestal or cross, nine feet and a half at the base one way, and eight the other. It was antiently consecrated to the sun in the city of Thebes, about twelve hundred years before our Saviour; sent to Rome by the son of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, and set up in the Circus Maximus, where it was found not many years since, covered with rubbish, and broken in three pieces; cemented together and erected again before the church of St JOHN DE LATERAN by the abovementioned FONTANA.

3. The obelisk in the piazza del Popolo, which was brought from Heliopolis in Egypt by AUGUSTUS, and dedicated to the sun in the Circus Maximus, where it lay a long time broken in pieces, and was set together, and erected again in the place where it now stands by the abovesaid FONTANA, at the expence of SIXTUS V, having the following antient inscription, IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS IMP. XII. COS. XI. TRIB POT. XIV AEGYPTO IN POTESTATEM POPVLI ROMANI REDACT. SOLI DONVM DEDIT.

4. The obelisk near the church of St MARIA MAGGIORE was set up in the mausoleum of AUGUSTUS by the Emperor CLAUDIUS. It is less than any of the three former, and is without hieroglyphicks.

5. That in the Piazza Navona was taken from the Circus of CARACALLA, and set up here, with four marble statues, and a fountain breaking out under it's base, by INNOCENT X.

6. That which stands by the Jesuits church, and those in the gardens of MEDICIS and MATTHO's are of a smaller size, and seem to be only the tops of obelisks broken off; but the hieroglyphicks upon them sufficiently demonstrate their antiquity. Some are of opinion, that the hieroglyphicks on these obelisks relate the memorable actions of the Egyptian Kings; others imagine they contain the secrets of their divinity, astrology, metaphysics, magick, and other sciences that were cultivated by the Egyptians; but I could never meet with any writers who pretended to decypher them, which might have been done if they made use of an alphabet, and each character had been a letter. I am inclined to believe therefore, that every character was a word, or syllable at least, as we find the case to be in the Chinese writing, which is possibly of an equal antiquity.

The Circi, or Cirques, where spacious structures, of an oval or semicircular figure, with large areas, where the Romans run races in chariots, or on horseback, round a Meta, which stood in the middle. There are only some small remains of that of ANTONINUS CARACALLA without the walls, and of the Circus Maximus the form may just be discerned. Of the Circus Agonalis, now the piazza of Navona, the Circus of NERO in the Campo Vaticano, and the Circus Flaminius,



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no traces are left. The Circus Maximus, 'tis said, would contain an hundred and sixty thousand spectators, who might sit conveniently in the three open galleries; one of which was for the senators, a second for the gentlemen, and a third for the common people. Those two obelisks which are before the Porto del Popolo and St JOHN de Lateran, formerly stood here, as has been intimated already.

Bridges.

There were antiently eight bridges over the Tiber, of which five are still left, viz. 1. Ponte di St Angelo, formerly called the *Pons Ælius*, near the castle, on which are the statues of St PETER and St PAUL, and twelve angels holding the instruments of our Saviour's passion. 2. Ponte St Bartolomeo, antiently *Pons Cestius* or *Esquilinus*. 3. Ponte Sisto, heretofore *Aurelius Janiculumis*. 4. Ponte di Santa Maria, *olim Palatinus* and *Senatorijs*. And, 5. Ponte de Quattro Capi, the antient *Pons Tarpeius*, or *Fabricius*, on which there is still the following inscription, viz. L. FABRICIVS. G. F. M. CVR. VICAR. FACIENDVM CVRAVIT. Q. LEPI M. F. M. COLLIVS M. F. COS. PROBAVERVNT DD. NN. IMP. CAES. FLA. VALENTINIANVS PIVS FAELIX MAX. VICTOR ET TRIVMPHATOR. SEMPER AVGVSTVS. PONT. MAX. GERM. MAX. ALEM. MAX. FRANC. MAX. GOTH. MAX. TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. VI. COS. II. P. PP. ET FLA. VALENS PIVS FAELIX MAX. VICTOR AC TRIVMPH. SEMPER AVG. VI. PONT. MAX. GERMANIC. MAX. TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. VII. COS. II. P. PP. ET FLA. GRATIANVS PIVS FAELIX. MAX. VICTOR AC TRIVMPH. SEMPER AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. III. IMP. II. COS. PRIMVM. P. PP. PONTEM FAELICIS. NOMINIS GRATIANI. IN VSVM SENATVS AC POPVLI ROM. CONSTITVI DEDICARIQVE IVSSERVNT.

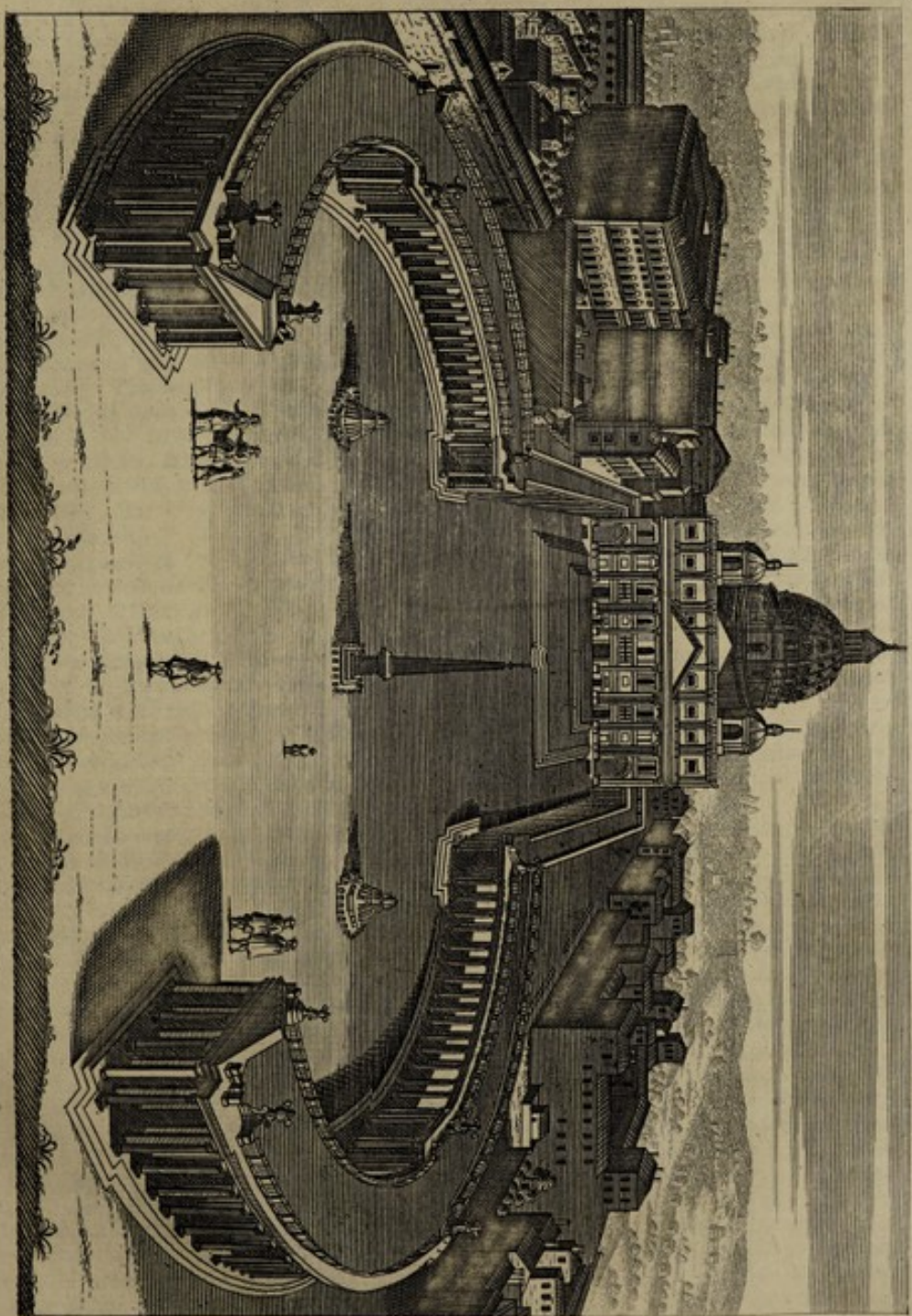
Churches.  
St Peter's.

I come next to the description of the churches in Rome, of which St PETER's, situate on the west side of the river in Trastivere, is the most admired both for it's dimensions and architecture; and as I am speaking to Englishmen I cannot give them a juster idea of this noble fabrick, than by telling them that St PAUL's in London is built after the same model. The length on the outside, including the portico, is seven hundred and twenty-two English feet: the length within, not taking in the portico, or the thickness of the walls, is five hundred and ninety-four feet. The breadth of it from the north-side of the cross to the south-side, or from the north to the south door on the outside, is four hundred and ninety feet: the breadth from the north to the south door within is four hundred and thirty-eight feet; the breadth of the body of the church is eighty-six feet eight inches. The height of the body of the church is an hundred and forty-four feet. The outward circumference of the dome or cupola is six hundred and twenty feet; the diameter of the dome within, an hundred and forty-three feet. The breadth of the front of the church four hundred feet; the height from the pavement to the top of the cross which is over the ball, four hundred thirty two feet: the diameter of the ball, eight feet four inches. The height of the statues which are on the cornice of the front, eighteen feet. The body of the church, as well as the cupola, is sustained by large square

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pillars, like those in St PAUL's, and have the advantage of being incrustated or overlaid with marble, as well as the walls, which is however so tarnished by the smoke of the lamps and candles, that the plain stone of St PAUL's looks full as well. The great altar is directly under the cupola, being a kind of pavilion supported by four wreathed brazen pillars, adorned with foliages and strewed with bees, which were the arms of Pope URBAN VIII, over every column of the altar is an angel, brass gilt, seventeen feet high, with the figures of children playing and walking on the cornice, the height of the whole being ninety feet; and about the altar are an hundred silver lamps perpetually burning. The inside of the cupola is adorned with Mosaick work representing paradise, the eternal Father, and many other figures; and in the corners below are the four Evangelists of the same work, admirably well done: on the inside of the four square pillars that support the cupola are erected gigantic statues of St VERONICA, St HELENA, St LONGINUS, and St ANDREW; and under the pedestal of each statue is an altar with a beautiful picture of each saint. These statues and pictures are placed here in regard to certain relics which are kept in the vestries belonging to these altars or chapels, as they are called; as, 1. The handkerchief which, according to tradition, St VERONICA lent our Saviour as he was carrying his cross to mount Calvary, and still retains the print of his face. (One of these handkerchiefs the reader will remember we met with at Turin; which is the right, I shall not take upon me to determine.) 2. A piece of the real cross of Christ. 3. The top of the lance wherewith LONGINUS pierced our Saviour's side, sent as a present by BAJAZET, Emperor of the Turks, to Pope INNOCENT VIII. And, 4. The head of St ANDREW. Under the high altar there is a pair of stairs which leads to the chapel, where 'tis said, part of St PETER's body is kept, and to the other holy places in the vaults of this church. An old wooden chair, supposed to be St PETER's, enclosed in brass, and supported by four Doctors of the Latin church, whose Colossian statues are of brass gilt, is not one of the least ornaments of St PETER's; the chair, with all it's furniture, having cost seven thousand five hundred and fifty Roman crowns. The riches and beauty of the chapels and altars round the walls of this church can never be expressed; the gilding, carving, emboss'd work, statues of brass and marble are all disposed by so wise and happy a contrivance, according to a late traveller, that the abundance does not cause the least confusion. Among other admirable pieces, the dead Christ of alabaster by MICHAEL ANGELO is said to be a stupendous work; the two wreathed pillars of alabaster brought from Jerusalem by HELEN, the mother of CONSTANTINE, and erected at a side-altar, are much admired; the altar-piece representing St MICHAEL in Mosaick work shews such a vivacity of colours and exact proportions of all the parts and lineaments of the body, that it passes for a wonder of it's kind; the martyrdom of St SEBASTIAN, the visitation of the blessed Virgin, the crucifixion of St PETER, the fall of SIMON MAGUS, and a thousand other historical pieces, are exquisite performances. There are also a great number of tombs of Popes, Cardinals, and other persons of distinction; particularly those of the Emperor OTHO II, CHARLOTTE Queen of





*The West end of St PETER'S at ROME*







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of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia, and of A-  
DRIAN IV, the only English Pope. The tomb  
of St PETER serves for an altar to say mass on;  
the tombs URBAN VIII, PAUL III, ALEXAN-  
DER III, the Countess MATHILDA, who gave  
her estate to the church, are works of a finish'd  
beauty and magnificence: Nor does the tomb of  
CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden, who voluntarily  
abandoned the glories of a crown for a religi-  
ous retirement, fall short of the rest. I shall  
conclude the description of the inside of St PE-  
TER's with the general account of it given us  
by DE LA MOTRAYE. It is adorned, says that  
gentleman, with above an hundred columns of  
the finest, and for the most part antique marble,  
with some of brass: twenty-nine altars exqui-  
sately designed; with several incomparable sta-  
tues, especially the brazen ones which support St  
PETER's chair: there are also two statues which  
adorn the glorious tomb of PAUL III, which are  
esteemed some of the most valuable remains of  
antient Rome; especially that of the young wo-  
man representing justice. Here are also an infi-  
nite number of excellent paintings, the master-  
pieces of the most celebrated pencils, with se-  
veral other curiosities of art and nature, which  
can never be too much admired or applauded for  
their magnificence. The sacristy of this church  
and that of the Pope's contain also a vast variety  
of sacred utensils in gold and silver, enriched with  
precious stones, as crosses, shrines, chalices, por-  
tifical tiara's, mitres, priestly habits and ornaments  
that are inestimable. But if we look upon the  
building only, exclusive of the rich materials  
and furniture, the church of St PAUL's in Lon-  
don, according to modern travellers, is very little  
inferior to that of St PETER's: Nay, there  
are some that say St PAUL's is to be preferred  
to it; not being encumbered with chapels on the  
sides, as that of St PETER's is, which tho'  
they contain abundance of rich furniture and ex-  
quisite paintings, hinder and obscure the prospect  
of the whole. That spacious court in the front  
of St PETER's indeed, surrounded by a piazza  
of two hundred and eighty-six fine marble columns,  
adorned with a prodigious number of statues, gives  
it some advantage of St PAUL's. Here also is  
that obelisk already mentioned, erected by SIX-  
TUS V, and two fine fountains playing in the  
middle of the area, which are no small addition  
to the beauty of it; from whence we ascend to  
a lofty portico before the church by four and  
twenty steps, and from this porch the church is  
entered by five doors, one of which, called the  
*Porta Sancta*, is opened only in the jubilee year.  
On the other hand, as the palace of the Vati-  
can is contiguous to St PETER's much of the  
beauty of the building is lost to those who view  
it on the outside. But to be a little more par-  
ticular in describing the magnificent porch: In  
the front it is eighty-five foot high, and sup-  
ported by pillars three fathoms in circumference,  
the vaulted roof gilded and beautified with Stucco  
work, and on the architrave is the following in-  
scription, viz. *In honorem principis Apostolorum,  
Paulus Quintus Burgbesius Romanus, Summus Pon-  
tifex Anno 1612.* Over the porch are the statues  
of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles; and in a  
balcony here the Popes are crowned in the view  
of all the people. The two principal doors of  
the church are above forty foot high and covered  
with brass, on which are represented our Saviour,

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the Virgin MARY, the crucifixion of St PE-  
TER, the decollation of St PAUL, the coro-  
nation of the Emperor SIGISMUND by EUGE-  
NIUS IV, and the re-union of the Greek and  
Roman Churches.

There is one thing related by VERYARD of  
this church, which I don't meet with in any other  
writer; and that is, that, contrary to all others,  
it opens to the east: which was occasioned, he  
apprehends, from it's situation; for had it been  
otherwise built, the back part would have looked  
towards the city. This is a fact which some  
who have resided at Rome could not satisfy me  
in; but I shall make a further enquiry into it  
before I leave Italy, that the reader may not re-  
main in the same suspense I do at present. This  
church stands in the same place where the Em-  
peror CONSTANTINE the Great erected one in  
the year 324, with the materials of the Circus  
built by CALIGULA and NERO; and dedicated  
it to the honour of St PETER, upon a tradition  
that this Apostle and many other saints suffered  
martyrdom here by the command of NERO.  
Here also 'tis said stood the little subterraneous  
chapel or oratory of CLITUS, the first Bishop of  
Rome, concealed from the Pagans till the reign of  
CONSTANTINE. The church built by CON-  
STANTINE, which was a most magnificent fabrick,  
falling to decay about the year 1450, Pope  
NICHOLAS V, formed a design of rebuilding it  
from the ground, which his death preventing, his  
successor Pope JULIUS II. had the honour of be-  
ginning it, the plan being laid by that famous ar-  
chitect BRAMANTE LAZARI, and continued  
by MICHAEL ANGELO under the pontificate  
of PAUL III, nor was it finished till the time of  
Pope PAUL V, so that it was an hundred years in  
completing.

2. The church of St JOHN DE LATERAN, St John de  
thought inferior to St PETER's in it's dimensions  
and architecture, is indeed the metropolitan church  
of Rome: It was built by CONSTANTINE af-  
ter his conversion to the Christian faith, and by  
him stiled the first or head of all the churches  
in the world, *Mater Orbis & Urbis*. The Em-  
perors aptiently received their crowns here: and  
here the Pope still takes possession of his digni-  
ty, and confers all ecclesiastical characters and  
orders. The fabrick of this church hath been  
much enlarged since the time of CONSTANTINE,  
and is very beautiful. It has five doors, one of  
which is called the *Porta Sancta*, which is only  
opened in the year of Jubilee (every twenty-fifth  
year). The body of the church is long and large,  
supported by two rows of pillars on each side;  
the roof is gilt, and the pavement curiously in-  
laid with the finest marble: The number of it's  
precious shrines, rich ornaments, and utensils, are  
very great; but nothing is more valued on ac-  
count of it's holiness, than a plain tin chalice,  
which, 'tis said, was used by St PETER, and a  
portable wooden altar, inclosed in the great one;  
whereupon, according to the Roman tradition, that  
Apostle and his immediate successors said mass.  
The tabernacle of the high altar is a beautiful  
piece; and amongst a great number of columns  
that are placed in the most exact order for the  
symmetry and construction of this church, there  
are twenty-four of Verd Antico, and four others  
of hollow brass of the Corinthian order, fifteen  
feet high, said to be brought from Jerusalem; but  
according to others, were taken from the temple

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of

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of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS. The little church adjoining to this, dedicated to St JOHN Baptist, is much admired also on account of it's fine columns, it's old brazen doors, and the font, where, according to tradition, CONSTANTINE was baptized. The piazza of St John de Lateran, with the noble obelisk and fountain in the middle of it, and the fine buildings which surround the cathedral, form all together a very delightful scene.

St Mary  
Maggiore.

3. The church of St MARY MAGGIORE, though it's dimensions are not large, is esteemed one of the most beautiful in Rome; the body of it is supported by fine marble pillars of the Ionick order, the roof gilt, and the walls adorned with Mosaick work; but the greatest curiosity is the chapel of PAUL V; the altar whereof is prodigiously rich and splendid, the back of it being one entire piece of Lapis Lazuli, sixteen feet in height, and twelve in breadth, with a space in the middle containing an antient picture of the blessed Virgin, covered almost with jewels of an immense value, said to have been drawn by St LUKE himself. The marble walls of the chapel are adorned with bas-reliefs, representing the principal actions of PAUL V, and CLEMENT VIII, whose statues are likewise here. Over against this chapel is that of SIXTUS V, the building and adorning whereof is said to have cost eight hundred thousand crowns; here also in bas-relief are represented the great actions of SIXTUS V, and in it is kept the manger, where, 'tis said, our Saviour was laid in the stable of Bethlehem.

St Paul.

4. The church of St PAUL, about a mile out of the city, built by CONSTANTINE, and enlarged and beautified by several Popes, is in the form of a cross, seven hundred and eighty feet in length, and two hundred and sixty in breadth, supported by an hundred stately marble pillars, taken from the baths of ANTONINUS, one half of them being of striate marble, with capitals of the Corinthian order finely wrought: the high altar is a noble piece of architecture, supported by pillars of jasper, and, according to tradition, contains the cross which spoke to St BRIDGET, with half the bodies of St PETER and St PAUL, the other half remaining in St PETER's. The roof is adorned with mosaick work of twelve hundred years standing; as is the pavement, which passes for one of the greatest curiosities in Rome. On the altar of St STEPHEN is a beautiful picture of the stoning of that martyr, done by that ingenious female LAVINIA FONTANA. The doors of this church are of brass, exquisitely wrought, containing several pieces of sacred history in bas-relief.

St Laurence.

5. The church of St LAURENCE without the walls, built also by CONSTANTINE: it is supported by thirty-two fair marble pillars, and the pavement beautified with mosaick work. The high altar is adorned with pillars of jasper; and under it are reposed, as it is said, the bodies of St STEPHEN the Proto-Martyr, St LAURENCE and St JUSTIN. From this church there is a passage into the catacomb of St CYRIACUS.

St Sebastian.

6. The church of St SEBASTIAN without the walls, on the *Via Appia*, was also founded by CONSTANTINE: but it is not remarkable for any thing, unless a beautiful altar, the tomb of St SEBASTIAN, and the print of our Saviour's foot, which, according to tradition, was left upon one of the stones that is shewn in this church, when he ascended into heaven. From hence is a passage into the catacomb of St CALIXTUS.

7. The church of St CROCE in Gierusalemme, built also by CONSTANTINE, at the request of his mother HELENA, as it is said, out of the ruins of the temple of VENUS and CUPID. The most remarkable things here are, 1. The high altar. 2. The pavement of Mosaick work. 3. The roof of the choir, whereon is represented the finding of the cross by St HELENA, which, it is said, was distinguished from those of the two thieves by sick peoples being cured by the touch of it. 4. A chapel under ground, where only the Pope says mass. And, 5. Some of the pieces of silver, for which JUDAS betrayed his master. These are the seven churches usually visited by pilgrims; besides which, there are others equal to several of them; as the churches of the Jesuits, that of St AGNES in the piazza Navona; the church dedicated to St MARY DELLA MINERVA, and the three noble churches in the piazza del Popolo, each of them dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

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nions.

St Croce.

I shall conclude the description of the Roman churches with a tradition concerning that called Ara Coeli, which stands in the place where the temple of JUPITER FERETRIUS once did. The Emperor AUGUSTUS, it is said, consulting the Cumean Sibyl on some future events, and amongst other questions, demanding if any one should hereafter be born greater than himself; she shewed him the Virgin MARY with our Saviour in her arms, in a circle about the sun, telling him that child should be greater; whereupon the Emperor from that day renouncing all his august titles, and owning himself a mortal man, while he was worshipped as a god by the people, erected a temple and altar in this place, calling it Ara Coeli. The most remarkable thing in this church is the tomb of St HELENA. It belongs to the Franciscan Fryars, whose General usually resides in the adjoining convent. There are above an hundred white marble steps ascending from the street to this church.

Ara Coeli.

Next to the churches their hospitals come naturally to be treated of; and these are no less than forty in number; some for the old and infirm, others for orphans, for fools and madmen, for pilgrims, for women unhappily married, for decayed gentlemen, for leud women who have left their ill courses, and a very large one for infants exposed in the streets by their wretched parents. The chief hospital is that of St Spirito, near the Vatican, erected by INNOCENT III, above five hundred years ago, for exposed infants, on his finding great numbers of them at the bottom of the Tiber: it has been much enlarged by succeeding Popes, and appears now like a little town. Besides children, they receive here above a thousand sick and infirm persons; and have apartments for poor gentlemen, where they are treated in a better manner than in common hospitals. It is under the government of a Cardinal, who hath his palace within the walls of it. The revenues amounting to near forty thousand pounds per annum, and they have apothecaries shops well furnished within the house, with physicians and surgeons who also reside here. As to the foundling children, their parents, or any other person for them, carry them to a back wall of the hospital, where a place is made to receive them, and ringing a bell, a servant comes and takes the child, asking no other question, but whether it be baptized. The boys are educated by monks, and the girls by nuns, in different apartments, and are provided for when they grow up.

Hospitals.

St Spirito.

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inions.

Every nation in Europe, where the Roman Catholick religion is professed, have their hospitals for pilgrims in this city, but this of the Trinity receives all indifferently; insomuch, that it hath lodged and fed at one time fifteen thousand persons, besides their ordinary quota. The manner of receiving and treating of the pilgrims is thus: every evening those who are newly arrived present themselves before the officers of the house, and producing their certificates, are entered on the register, each person receiving a medal, or ticket of his admission: after this they are led into a large room, where a priest having read prayers, washes all their feet, and dresses such as are hurt with travelling: after which they are brought into the refectory, where having supped, they are shewn the common dormitory, and each man having his bed assigned him, the priest after some short exhortations and prayers leaves them to take their rest.

The Paz-  
zarella.

Pazzarella, or hospital for mad people, pretty much resembles Bedlam in its institution, unless it be that the charity is more extensive, and provides for persons of all countries who are disordered in their senses, as appears from a story related by a traveller of reputation. He says he was walking in this mad-house with another English gentleman, who had resided several years at Rome, who took that opportunity of acquainting him with an adventure of two English Quakers, who were merchants in Italy, and had learnt the language. These gentlemen, it seems, in the abundance of their zeal, looked upon it as a meritorious undertaking to endeavour the conversion of his Holiness the Pope, and accordingly applied themselves to his domesticks for an audience; nor were they at all backward in declaring their business in their usual cant and phrases. They were laughed at, at first, as people that were disposed to be merry; but continuing their solicitations from day to day with great earnestness, they were at length taken for madmen, and the Pope's officers, in meer charity, sent them to Bedlam, or the Pazzarella, as it is called. The Governor of the house taking their zeal and unusual transports for certain symptoms of a disordered brain, shut them up in a dungeon, and treated them with the utmost rigour: the physicians also purged them off their legs, repeating and strengthening their doses, as they observed their flights and extasies increase; but all proving ineffectual, they were at length neglected as insatuated persons, past all cure, and permitted to walk about the house among the harmless lunatics; till the above-mentioned gentleman coming to see the hospital with some friends, and meeting these Quakers, after a little discourse with them, understanding the bottom of the matter, procured them to be dismissed, and sent to England; where no doubt they acquainted their friends with the success of their adventure, which probably deterred their brethren from making any further attempts of this nature. But to return to the charitable institutions at Rome: besides many other publick hospitals, almost every company or body of artificers have their hospitals among themselves, and provide for such of the fraternity as are infirm, or otherwise distressed, till they can procure them admission into the greater hospitals. In the church of the twelve Apostles are chosen annually, twelve noblemen, and one Prelate, called their Prior, who make it their business to search every corner of the city, to find out poor

men in want who are ashamed to beg, and relieve their necessities. Even the lawyers of Rome, the colleges of advocates and attornies, 'tis said, assign one day in a week for accommodating poor men's suits, or bringing them to an issue at their own charge.

There are hospitals also founded for poor maids, who are educated and provided for till they come to women's estate, when they have their choice of a married life or a nunnery; to three hundred of whom the Pope annually distributes a purse of money, as their portion; and the Cardinals, and other charitable people do the same for others: and some Monks and Friars in the religious houses make it their business to teach grammar to the children of poor people gratis, to fit them for the university; which brings me to enquire after the education of lads in their seminaries and colleges.

The university and publick schools here, called Colleges; the Sapienza, were founded by Pope EUGENIUS IV, enlarged and beautified by URBAN VIII and ALEXANDER VII. The structure is magnificent, and the schools of all the faculties extremely commodious; and there are no less than forty Professors, who have good salaries; but they have very little business since the erecting the Jesuits college, who seem to have engrossed the education of youth here, and in most Roman Catholick countries. A modern traveller relates, that at his being at Rome, all the readers of this university together, except those of law and physick, had not forty auditors, besides some strangers who accidentally came in, and whose presence seemed very acceptable: the Professors being obliged to read lectures at their stated hours, though nobody attended them. Every nation almost has its particular seminary or college in Rome, who send their students however twice a day to the Roman college of Jesuits, which was founded for divinity, philosophy, and mathematicks, by GREGORY XIII: it is a large and noble building, with a magnificent new church, esteemed equal to any in Rome, except St PETER'S. The English college was formerly an hospital for pilgrims of this nation, and converted into a college by GREGORY XIII. Cardinal HOWARD much enlarged and beautified it, and built himself a palace adjoining to it. The superiors of this college are Jesuits, but the students of the secular clergy, and seldom exceed eighteen or twenty, though the foundation be for fifty or more. Every one who is admitted to study here, after six months probation, is obliged to take a vow to enter into orders after having completed his studies, to serve so many years as a missionary in England, and not to enter into any order of regulars.

The palaces in Rome are very numerous, the nobility of Italy chusing to reside most part of the year in towns: and as architecture is one of their favourite amusements, and they are furnished with greater variety of rich materials from the ruins of the old city, and their own quarries, than are to be met with elsewhere; it is no wonder if the beauty of their houses in general exceeds that of other cities; for we are not to imagine but there are palaces in Europe which equal, and even surpass any that we meet with in Rome, particularly some of the French King's; and as to those of private noblemen, that of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, and some others in England, do not fall short of the best in Italy.

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The Va-  
tican.

The palace of the Vatican, near St PETER's church at Rome, where the Pope usually resides in winter, is large and commodious, but far from a regular building. It is, according to a late writer, a heap of good pieces ill joined together, as Princes houses generally are; advantageously situated on an eminence, to which we ascend from St PETER's church by a good number of stairs, which lead into the great hall, or Sala Regia, where the Pope gives audience to Ambassadors; much admired, for the exquisite paintings with which it is adorned, as the Pope's condemnation of heresy, his return from Avignon after he had been driven from Rome, the subdued Emperor FREDERICK's kissing his toe, St LEO in his pontifical habit meeting ATTILA King of the Huns, the circumcision of St PETER and the conversion of St PAUL by MICHAEL ANGELO, the victory over the Turks at Lepanto, &c. The parts of this palace most admired, are the great stair-case, the apartment where the Conclave is held, the Pope's apartment on the east side, the Clementine hall, that in which they preach in Lent to the Papal family; but above all, the building which contains the Vatican library, which is so beautiful a fabric, that, according to a late traveller, it will admit of no addition: nor is the library itself inferior to the case, being the richest in the world, both in printed books and manuscripts; and indeed, it is not a single library, but a collection of some of the best in Europe, as the Elector Palatine's, the Duke of Urbino's, &c. with nineteen hundred scarce manuscripts, presented by CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden. Dr BURNET in his description of this library says, the case is great, but that which is lodged in it much greater; for here is a collection of books which fills a man's eye. There is first a great hall, and at the end of it there run two galleries, of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnished with books, yet one would hope there is room left for more new books than the world will ever produce. When it appeared I was come from England, says the same writer, King HENRY VIII's book of the Seven Sacraments was shewn me, with an inscription upon it with his own hand to LEO X; together with a collection of some letters which he wrote to ANNA BULLEN, of which some are English, and some are French; 'I that knew his hand well, saw clearly they were no forgeries.' A copy of one of these is given us by Mr ADDISON, and is as follows:

THE cause of my writing at this time, is to hear of your health and prosperity, of which I would be as glad as in manner of my own; praying God, that it be his pleasure to send us shortly together; for I promise I long for it, howbeit, I trust it shall not be long too: and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do than send her some flesh, prognosticating that hereafter thou must have some of mine; which if he please, I would have now. As touching your sister's mother, I have consigned WALTER WELSH to write to my Lord MAUWRING my mind therein, whereby I trust he shall not have power to displease her; for surely, whatever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take his natural daughter in her extreme necessity. No more to you at this time, my own darling, but that with a whistle I wish we were together one evening by the hand of yours

HENRY.

These letters are shewn to every Englishman who visits the Vatican library. The manuscripts of greatest antiquity, if they are genuine, are a VIRGIL and TERENCE above fourteen hundred years old; the gospels, written by the hand of St CHRYSOSTOM; an antient Hebrew bible, written on pieces of parchment fastened together in length, and rolled up, from whence comes the word *volumen*, signifying a book. There are also several antient bibles in all the oriental languages; Chinese and Japonian books, antient Roman table-books, &c. The library, as well as the rest of the palace, is adorned with excellent paintings; among the rest there is a representation of all the general councils, antient libraries, and learned men, who have contributed to the advancement of arts and sciences. These paintings and inscriptions make ADAM, instructed by God, the first inventor of sciences and letters; the sons of SETH of astronomy; ABRAHAM the author of the Syriac and Chaldean; and MOSES of the antient Hebrew; and ESDRAS of the modern. In the same pieces JESUS CHRIST is represented as the sovereign teacher of the heavenly doctrine, and the Pope his Vicar, under the form of SIXTUS V, said to be the best resemblance of that Pope. And, lastly, the Emperor is represented as defender of the church and the catholic faith. In the same manner the General Councils are embellished with what was most remarkable in them. In the Council of Nice is represented the condemnation of ARIUS, for denying that CHRIST was of the same substance with the Father. In that of Ephesus is the condemnation of NESTORIUS, for having separated the two natures of CHRIST, and denying the Virgin MARY to be the mother of God. In that of Trent the condemnation of the Lutherans and other Protestants called hereticks; and so of the rest. There are three galleries over one another in the Vatican, filled with the paintings of the greatest masters, which must not be forgot: one of them is covered with pieces of sacred history, done by the celebrated RAPHAEL. The chapel of SIXTUS V, adjoining to the Sala Regia, is admired for its structure, as well as a representation of the Last Judgment by MICHAEL ANGELO, held to be inimitable: the paintings in the Capella Paulina over-against it are equally admired. In another part of the palace the victory of CONSTANTINE over MAXENTIUS, the resignation and renunciation made by CONSTANTINE to St SYLVESTER by putting the plan of Rome into his hands, the coronation of CHARLEMAGNE, and many other admirable pieces of painting are shewn, which would be too tedious to enumerate. From the palace strangers are led to the adjoining garden of Belvidere, so called from its delightful situation: it is divided into three parts, or rather is three entire gardens, the first travellers denominate the Privy-Garden, full of pleasant walks, fountains, and cascades; and here lies the famous pine-apple of gilt brass, which antiently stood on the Moles Adriani, and contained the ashes of that Emperor, being three fathom in circumference; and by it are two large peacocks of the same metal, taken from the tomb of SCIPIO AFRICANUS. The second garden is remarkable for a great variety of antique statues; among which is that of LAOCOON with his two children, and serpents twining about them, of one entire piece of marble; a dying CLEOPATRA, APOLLO, PYTHIAS, VENUS coming out of a bath, with the representations of Nile and Tiber in cumbent postures, and

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and many others, all of marble, and so exquisitely wrought, that they are esteemed some of the best pieces of antiquity. The third enclosure is admired for it's fine walks, fountains, grotto's, and exotick trees. I shall leave the palace of the Vatican with observing, that most travellers relate it contains above twelve thousand rooms, which, considering the largeness of many of them, seems incredible; I believe most of our writers take this fact from others, as little acquainted with the matter as themselves; and indeed I am so far of Misson's mind, that it is not worth any man's while to number them, if he had leisure and opportunity of doing it: it is sufficient that we acknowledge it to be vastly large, and equal to the grandeur of it's master, who wears the triple crown, and claims the sovereignty of all the Princes and States upon earth.

The  
palace of  
Monte  
Cavallo or  
the Qui-  
rinal.

The second of the Pope's palaces is that of Monte Cavallo, or the Quirinal, situate on the Mons Quirinalis, where the Pope usually resides in the heat of summer; said to take it's name from two gigantick statues of ALEXANDER with their Bacephali, erected before the gate, the works of PHIDIAS and PRAXITILES, and presented by TYRIDATES King of Armenia to NERO, according to tradition. This place, tho' much less than the Vatican, containing but seventeen hundred rooms, is fit to receive the greatest monarch in the world. Here also are an infinite number of exquisite paintings, and it's furniture is answerable to the magnificence of the building: but what travellers most admire are it's gardens, where the walks are planted with myrtle, laurel, and orange-trees, and adorned with near two hundred fountains, which continually discharge large sources of water; and here is a grotto where organs are played by water, accompanied with the notes of birds, which make a very agreeable harmony. Among a great number of antique statues placed here, those of APOLLO and JUPITER the Thunderer are preferred to the rest.

The Ca-  
pitol.

The third of the Pope's palaces is the Capitol, a modern structure built upon the ruins of the ancient Capitol, admired for it's agreeable situation and the antiquities it contains, as the two lions of Egyptian marble, which throw up vast floods of water; the two Colossus's called CASTOR and POLLUX, and two horses of the finest marble, with the trophies of MARIUS and TRAJAN; the equestrian statue of MARCUS AURELIUS brass gilt, with the celebrated fountain of Aqua Felice, in the middle of the square; the statue of ADRIAN, in the habit of a Priest going to sacrifice; that of FAUSTINA ANTIQUA on the stair-case, and those of JUNO and AGRIPPINA; the lion devouring a horse; the busts of TRAJAN and ANTONINUS PIUS; the brazen tables whereon the ancient law is engraven in golden characters. Among the modern curiosities are the marble busts of URBAN VIII, LEO X, ALEXANDER FARNESE, and other Generals of the church; the brazen Colossus's of INNOCENT XI and SIXTUS V; the marble statue of Queen CHRISTINA, with a Latin inscription, purporting, that having triumphed over herself, preferring a religious retirement to the throne of her ancestors, and submitted herself to the apostolick See, she ascended the Capitol, where admiring the old Roman grandeur in it's majestick ruins, she conferred regal honours on the Senate and Consuls assembled there. The antiquities in the chamber of the Festus Consulares are also much admired; the heads of SOCRATES, DIOGENES,

and PLATO; the representation of the ancient magistrates in marble, the head of MITHRIDATES, the statues of SILENCE, CYBELE, and CERES, that of HERCULES in brass, and that of the Courier's taking a thorn out of his foot, ROMULUS and REMUS suckled by a wolf, HERCULES, BRUTUS, and other ancient heroes. Among the historical pieces in the great hall are, the rape of the Sabines, the fight between the HORATII and CURATII, HORATIUS COCLES defending the bridge against the army of TARQUIN, and the bold action of MUTIUS SCÆVOLA. From the Capitol strangers are led to the Tarpeian rock, from whence traitors used to be precipitated; of whom TITUS MANILIUS was the first, a person who had received six crowns for having distinguished himself as often in his country's service, and thirty-seven rich presents as marks of the republick's gratitude and affection: he had also received three and thirty wounds in the fore-part of his body, and obtained the surname of CAPITOLINUS from his defending the Capitol against the Gauls; yet for his aspiring to the sovereignty, and endeavouring to render himself master of the city, was condemned to be thrown from this rock: which would not have been looked upon as a very severe sentence, if it had been no higher than it is at this day, when travellers tell us it is but an ordinary leap; so much is the face of the ground altered.

The next palace I shall mention is the apostolick chancery, which, according to DE LA MOTTAÏE, may be ranked among the finest palaces of Rome, if we regard the regularity of it's architecture, the disposition of it's apartments, and the happy distribution of the paintings and statues which adorn it; of which the best judges prefer the two CHRISTs by RAPHAEL, the blessed Virgin by GUIDO RHENI, and the ADONIS by SPAGNOLETTO. This palace was built out of the ruins of VESPASIAN's amphitheatre, and the triumphal arch of GORDIANUS.

The  
palace of  
the chan-  
cery.

The palace of Farnese, belonging to the Duke of Parma, and built by Pope PAUL III, is a square fabrick, and one of the most magnificent in Rome, admired by travellers for the piazza and fountains before it, and for it's beautiful front, an hundred and eighty foot in breadth, and ninety in height; for the statue of HERCULES FARNESE in the court with his club and lion's skin, that of AUGUSTUS in the gallery; but chiefly for that of DIRCE fastened to the horns of a bull by her hair, with the figures of the persons who bound her, endeavouring to throw both the bull and her into the sea, all as large as the life, of one entire piece of marble, even to the rope, which is admirably imitated: but 'tis scarce credible, that the Venetians should offer the weight in gold for this piece, admitting it to be as exquisitely wrought as it's greatest admirers can feign. In the hall is a fine statue of ALEXANDER FARNESE Duke of Parma, the King of Spain's successful General in the Netherlands, trampling upon two prostrate statues, representing Heresy and Rebellion, while he is crowned by a Fame. All these figures are of white marble, and of one entire stone: round the hall also stand a great number of statues, representing gladiators with their swords in their hands upon their guard in various postures. The ceiling of the gallery, according to Dr BURNET, is one of the best pieces of painting extant; and among the great number of heads of the Greek philosophers and poets that are here, the two

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that struck him most were those of SOCRATES and HOMER, but chiefly the former; which, as it is really antique, carries in it all the characters which PLATO and XENOPHON give of SOCRATES, as the flat nose, the broad face, the simplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great philosopher made. In the library are several admirable pieces of painting, amongst which, the Last Judgment by MICHAEL ANGELO is one.

The  
palace of  
Giusti-  
niani.

The palace Giustiniani near the Pantheon, is held to contain the greatest number of antiquities and excellent paintings of any in Rome: one is struck, says MOTRAYE, at the very entrance of the court with the bas-reliefs and statues which adorn it, especially that of MARCIANA, representing the goddess of health, that of SCIPIO AFRICANUS, CERES, &c. and on ascending the steps to the house, one is agreeably detained by those of GALIENUS, ANTONINUS, TITUS VESPASIAN, and many more; and on the top of the steps with the busts of AGRIPPINA, JUPITER, MAXIMILIAN, BERENICE in her hair, with an excellent bas-relief of JUPITER sitting on mount Olympus, and drinking the milk of the goat Amalthea out of a horn, while a little Satyr dances and plays on an instrument before him.

The  
palace of  
Barberini.

The palace of Barberini alle Fontane, according to the same author, is incomparably magnificent, very large, and an invaluable treasury of antiquities, adorned with the finest paintings and richest furniture. The palaces of Altieri, Colonna, Chigi, Mazarini, Pamfili, Altemps, Gaitani, and many others, would afford infinite satisfaction to those who are judges in architecture, sculpture, and painting; but it would be endless to enumerate all the beauties and curiosities of this nature in Rome. No city whatever, according to this writer, can shew either within it's walls, or in it's neighbourhood, so many fine palaces, adorned with so many different pieces of antiquity, and such pleasant gardens, where nature and art have each of them contributed their joint endeavours to beautify and enrich them; and of which whatever we see noble of that kind in other parts of Europe are but imitations; at least, one can no where meet with so great a number of columns, statues, and other curiosities, of such different sorts of marble, as oriental, Egyptian, serpentine, gial antico, verd antico, jasper, &c. nor are there any where so many ingenious architects and carvers as in Rome and Italy, and who come so near to the perfection of the antients, and even surpass them in architecture. As for sculpture, neither the modern statuary or engravers have been yet able to arrive at the art of giving their works so much life and spirit as the antients.

But notwithstanding all these high flights in regard to the Roman architecture, MISON, in one of his letters, desires his friend to lay aside that partial opinion he had entertained of it: the Romans, says he, have no secret knowledge, or infused gifts, about this matter, beyond other men. And notwithstanding all the eulogies that have been given to the palace of Farnese, no Prince in Europe would at this day build him a palace exactly upon that model; and to affirm there is nothing in the world comparable to it, is only the effect of a prejudiced understanding. Without going out of England I shall always be in a condition to demonstrate, that Chatworth in Derbyshire is preferable to the palace of Farnese; and that the

skilful Mr TALMAN, the architect of Chatworth, who has made use of the knowledge of all the celebrated restorers of that art, had acquired a degree of capacity that exceeds perhaps that which MICHAEL ANGELO was master of in his time. It is not the materials of the palace of Farnese, which is built with brick, and plastered over, except the door-cases and corner pieces; nor it's three rows of windows without pillars, like an hospital; nor the disposition of the apartments, which are built now after a much more agreeable and convenient manner, than can be boasted of in this, or any other Roman palace; but it is the famous antique statues, pillars, and excellent paintings, that are to be admired in and about this house, which are foreign to, and no part of it. Nor is MISON the only traveller who is of this opinion. The contrivance of the Romans in their palaces, says Dr BURNET, is not to be admired; there are a great many things in them that offend the sight, the doors are generally mean, and the locks meaner; the floors of brick bear no proportion to the rest of the room, which creates a sensible dislike. There is indeed a great series of noble rooms one within another, of which their apartments are composed; but there is not at the end of the apartments where the bed-chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for back-stairs, dressing-rooms, closets, servants rooms, and other conveniences, as are necessary for accommodating an apartment; so that, notwithstanding all the riches of their palaces, it cannot be said they are well lodged in them. Nor are their gardens kept up as they ought: indeed no people lay out so much wealth at once as the Italians do in building and finishing their palaces and gardens, and afterwards bestow so little in preserving them. As to furniture, the publick apartments of their palaces are all covered with pictures, but those where they lodge are hung either with red velvet or damask, with a broad gold galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold fringe at top and bottom; there is not much tapestry in Italy. But to return to their buildings; their palaces are usually built about a square court, like that of Somerset-house, having a piazza below, and galleries above; and sometimes a colonade and fountains before them, as well as in their courts and gardens. Give me leave to add a word or two out of the judicious Mr ADDISON, in relation to the materials their antique pillars are composed of: Several of these pillars, says that gentleman, are certainly rated at a much lower price now than they were of old; for not to mention what a huge column of granite, serpentine, or porphyry, must have cost in the quarry, or in it's carriage from Egypt to Rome, we may only consider the great difficulty of hewing it into any form, and of giving it the due turn, proportion, and polish. It is well known how these sorts of marble resist the impression of such instruments as are now in use. There is indeed a Milanois at Rome who works in them; but his advances are so very slow that he scarce lives by it. He showed me a piece of porphyry worked into an ordinary salver, which cost him four months continual application before he could bring it into that form. The antients had probably some secret to harden the edges of their tools, without recurring to those extravagant opinions of their having an art to mollify the stone, or that it was naturally softer at it's first cutting from the rock, or what is still more absurd, that it was an artificial composition, and not the natural product of mines and quarries.

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The most valuable pillars about Rome for the marble of which they are made, are the four columns of oriental jasper in St PAULINA's chapel at St MARIA MAGGIORE; two of oriental granite in St PUDENZIANA; one of transparent oriental jasper in the Vatican library; four of nero bianco in St CECILIA TRANSTEVERE; two of brocatella, and two of oriental agate in Don LIVIO's palace; two of giallo antico in St JOHN DE LATERAN's; and two of verdi antique in the Villa Pamphilia. These are all entire and solid pillars; and made of such kinds of marble as are no where to be found but among antiquities, whether it be that the veins of it are undiscovered, or that they are quite exhausted upon the antient buildings. Amongst these old pillars, there is great part of an alabaster column found in the ruins of LIVIA's portico, of the colour of fire, which is now placed over the high altar of St MARIA in Campitello, having been cut in two pieces, and fixed in the shape of a cross, in a hole in the wall made on purpose to receive it; so that the light passing through it from without, makes it appear to those who are in the church like a huge transparent cross of amber. As to the workmanship of the old Roman pillars, it is observed, that the antients have not kept to the nicety of proportion, and the rules of art, so much as the moderns; for which the workmen of Egypt and other nations are sometimes blamed, who sent most of the antient pillars ready shaped to Rome. Others are of opinion, that the antients knowing architecture was chiefly designed to please the eye, only took care to avoid such disproportions, as were gross enough to be observed by the sight, without minding whether or no they approached to a mathematical exactness. Others again imagine it to be an effect of art, and of what the Italians call the gusto grande, rather than of any negligence in the architect; for that the antients always considered the situation of a building, whether it was high or low, in an open square or in a narrow street, and more or less deviated from the rules of art, to comply with the several distances and elevations from which their works might be viewed.

Piazza's or  
squares.

There are also some noble piazza's in Rome called, by the French, Places, and by the English squares, let them be of what form they will, several of which have obelisks or pillars, and fountains in the middle of them. The chief whereof are, 1. The antient Forum Romanum, now the Campo Vaccino, where formerly stood the Rostra, made of the stems of ships. Here causes were heard, and orators harangued the people, and here the decrees of the Senate were published. The head of CICERO, who had often honoured this place with his eloquent orations, was set upon a pike here by the command of MARK ANTHONY, against whom it was supposed his Philippicks were written. Here also travellers are shewn the place, where, according to tradition, there was a gulph or lake, which had swallowed up several houses, and infected the whole city with a pestilential air; which the people having long in vain endeavoured to fill up, and consulting the oracle about it, were told nothing would avail, unless the most precious thing in Rome were thrown into it. After having cast in great quantities of silver, gold, and jewels, without success, MARCUS CURTIUS, a noble Roman, imagining nothing could be more precious than the life of a young man, threw himself well armed and mounted into the pit; whereup-

on the gulph closed, and the contagion immediately ceased. 2. The piazzadi Pasquino, so called from an old broken statue, standing against the wall at the corner of one of the streets which opens into this square, on which are fastened all lampoons and libels, from thence called Pasquinades; which are answered by others fixed to an old statue, in another part of Rome, called MARPHORIO. 3. The piazza Colonna. 4. The piazza Navona. 5. The piazza Farnese. 6. The piazza de Spagna. And, 7. The piazza del Popolo; where most of the principal streets meet, before the gate del Popolo, antiently the Flaminian gate, through which several great roads lie to other cities of Italy. And this naturally brings me to the antient Roman highways, the remains whereof are not the least instance of their grandeur. The chief of them were the Via Flaminia and the Via Appia; though there was scarce a single city that had not a way paved to it, on which travellers and carriages might go in the depth of winter, as well as in summer. The Via Flaminia, so called from the noble Roman who projected it, led to Ariminum, now Rimini, and was begun to be paved in the year of Rome 533. It was afterwards carried by the Emperor VESPASIAN over the Apennine, as far as the Adriatick sea; extending above two hundred miles, several other ways branching out from it. The Via Appia, so called from blind APPIUS the Senator, who directed the work, led from the Porta Capena or Appia, to Capua and Brundisium; extending three hundred and fifty miles and upwards, and was paved in the year of Rome 442, from whence also several other ways were branched out to the cities in the south-west parts of Italy. We travelled, says Mr RAY, a whole afternoon along the Tiber upon the Via Flaminia, which reaches quite cross Italy from Rome to Rimini: it is paved with broad flints and pebbles, having on each side a border of stone, and in that border, at every second or third pace, a stone standing above the level of the border. The Via Appia, according to Dr BURNET, is still in a good condition in many places between Rome and Naples. This highway is twelve foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blue, generally a foot and a half large on all sides. The strength of this causeway appears in it's long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years, and is in most places for several miles together as entire as when it was first made: and the botches that have been made in mending such places as have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the antient and modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides; whereas so much weight as those stones carry should have sunk the ground under them by it's pressure: besides, that the earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase, chiefly by the dust which the winds or rains carry down from the hills, both which reasons should make a more sensible difference between those ways and the soil on both sides, which makes me apt to believe, that antiently those ways were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many ages hath brought them to an equality. They seem chiefly designed for those who go on foot; for as nothing is more pleasant than to walk along them, so nothing can be more inconvenient for horses, and all sorts of carriage; mules seem to be the only beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this road, which beat all horses after they have gone

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highways.



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inions.

gone it a little while. Thus far the reverend doctor. But why these ways should be more inconvenient for wheel-carriages than the paved streets in London, I cannot apprehend, though one would not chuse to ride either on the one or the other, but to avoid deep ways.

### CHAP. XVIII.

*Contains an abstract of the history of Ancient Rome.*

Italy peo-  
pled from  
Greece  
and Asia  
Minor.

AS sacred history informs us that paradise was seated between the Tigris and Euphrates, and that the posterity of Noah after the flood descended from the mountains of Armenia, and first planted themselves in Assyria and Mesopotamia (the present Turcomania and Diarbeck) upon the banks of those rivers; it is observable that prophane history and tradition so far agree with the penmen of holy writ, as to make Assyria the first scene of action, and the first monarchy upon earth, from whence the rest of the world was gradually peopled. Those detachments which travelled westward, soon came to the shores of the Mediterranean, and planted colonies in the Lesser Asia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt; and as these increased, they extended themselves to Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and Africk, as far as the straits of Gibraltar upon the great Western or Atlantick Ocean. But to come to the point: As Italy lay next in their way from the Lesser Asia and Greece, we have all the reason in the world thus far to agree with the general tradition, that this country was planted by colonies from thence; especially when we find the southern part of Italy actually called *Magna Græcia*, and the whole country sometimes so denominated from thence: and as every fiction almost hath some foundation in history, the fable of *ÆNEAS* and his Trojans settling themselves on the shores of Latium, may possibly have some mixture of truth blended with it. That there was such a people as the Trojans in the Lesser Asia, and that they were driven from thence by a confederacy of the neighbouring powers, and afterwards planted themselves in Italy, is not in the least incredible, though most of the circumstances which *VIRGIL* and others have invented to cast a lustre on the Roman State, as springing from so glorious an original as they have feigned, were admitted to be false. But to proceed in the story: Pious *ÆNEAS* soon after his landing addressing himself to *LATINUS*, then King of Latium, obtained his only daughter *LAVINIA* in marriage, and upon the death of his father-in-law succeeded him in the kingdom, removing the seat of his government from Laurentum to Lavinium, a city he built in honour of his Queen, and dying not long after, left his petty dominions to his son *ASCANIUS*. This Prince built the city of *ALBA*, and made it the capital of his territories, which his posterity enjoyed successively for eleven generations, till it came into the hands of *PROCAS*, who leaving two sons, viz. *NUMITOR* and *AMULIUS*, the younger found means to depose the elder brother, and in order to secure the crown to his posterity, made *RHEA SILVIA*, the only daughter of *NUMITOR*, take upon her the habit of a Vestal, and vow virginity: But *MARS*, or some other happy mortal, surprizing the fair Nun asleep, as it is said, made her the mother of two brave boys, who afterwards went by the names of *ROMULUS* and *RE-*

*ÆNEAS*  
and his  
Trojans  
land in La-  
tium.

The birth  
of *ROMU-  
LUS* and  
*RE-*

*MUS*. The usurper no sooner heard of it, but he locked up the mother, and ordered the two infants to be exposed: whereupon the person who was entrusted with the matter left them under a tree upon the banks of the Tiber; and being found there by *FAUSTULUS* the King's shepherd, who was not in the secret, he carried them home to his wife *FAUSTINA*, and bred them up with his own children. *FAUSTINA* having in her youth been a common prostitute, called in Latin *Lupa*, this 'tis said gave rise to the story of their being nursed and suckled by a she-wolf: though some still will have them to be nourished by a real wolf; while others again reject the whole as a fable. But to proceed; *ROMULUS* and *RE-*  
*MUS* being two enterprising young fellows, and acquainted with their relation to old *NUMITOR* their grandfather, who had been deposed, formed a conspiracy against *AMULIUS*, who was surprized by them, and *NUMITOR* restored to his throne; after which they left him to reign in peace at Alba, and either built or fortified a town on the banks of the Tiber, which has ever since been known by the name of Rome, from *ROMULUS* its founder; though others say the town was so called long before, and that *ROMULUS* making it the seat of his residence, received his name from the town, and not the town from him. But however that matter be, the two brothers, according to tradition, falling out about the building or fortifying it, *RE-*  
*MUS* had the misfortune to be killed in the skirmish, and left his brother *ROMULUS* in the sole possession of the place; whose inhabitants being for the most part a loose idle generation, who had been assembled by the two brothers, and subsisted chiefly by hunting or rapine, invited all people of the same disposition to join them, as well to defend what they had thus violently gotten from the neighbouring powers, who were exasperated at their ravages, as to enlarge their territories, which were at present too small to subsist any number of men. Historians generally ascribe several politick institutions to *ROMULUS*, as that he commanded that no child should be killed unless it was deformed; a barbarous custom then very common in Italy and Greece. That he ordered all the slaves in Rome should have their liberties, and the privileges of citizens, from whom afterwards descended many of the best families. Nor were the most considerable of those who were made prisoners of war suffered to be sold for slaves, as was the practice of other Italian States, but enrolled also among the number of Roman citizens, while he supplied their places in the conquered provinces with the poorest of his Romans, whereby he secured the obedience of the places he made himself master of. The expedient he took to provide his people with wives also, by carrying off great numbers of the Sabine virgins who were assembled to see their rural sports, must not be forgot; which perhaps was done with an intent to provoke that people to enter into a war with them, wherein they hoped to be gainers, as well as on the account of their want of women. *ROMULUS* is supposed to have begun his reign about the year of the world 3300, and to have reigned thirty-seven years and some odd months, being succeeded by *NUMA POMPILIUS*, who was a man of peace, and spent his time in reforming their barbarous customs, and the establishment of their priesthood and religious rites: and after a long reign of three and forty years, was succeeded by

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inions.

Kings of  
Rome.

*ROMU-  
LUS* began  
his reign  
A. M.  
3300.  
*NUMA*,  
3338.

*TULLIUS  
HOSTI-  
LIUS*, an.  
3381.



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Pope's  
Domini-  
nions.

ANCUS  
MARCI-  
US, 3412.

TAR-  
QUIN I,  
3437.

SERVIUS  
TULLUS,  
3475.

TAR-  
QUIN II,  
3521.

Consular  
govern-  
ment,  
3445.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS, anno 3381, who regulated their military discipline, and entirely ruined the city of Alba, the mother of Rome; during which war was that memorable engagement between the three HORATII in behalf of Rome, and the three CURIATII on the side of Alba; where two of the HORATII being killed, the other feigning a flight separated the CURIATII, and kill'd them all one after another. HOSTILIUS, 'tis said, was kill'd by a thunderbolt after he had reigned one and thirty years, and was succeeded by ANCUS MARCIUS, anno 3412, as guardian to the children of HOSTILIUS, but procured himself to be declared King; after which he subdued some tribes of the Latins, and incorporated them with the citizens of Rome. He was successful also against the Veientes, and extending his conquests as far as the Tuscan sea, built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber; and having reigned three and twenty years, was succeeded by TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, anno 3437, who is said to be the first of the Romans that wore a crown: he subdued part of Tuscany, beautified Rome, increased the number of the Senate to an hundred, and the Roman Knights to three hundred; appointed the Fasces to be carried before the magistrates, and the ornaments and badges of the several offices, to distinguish them from the common people. In his reign the Gauls made themselves masters of that part of Italy which lies on each side of the Po, and thereupon obtained the name of Gallia, but at present is known by the name of Lombardy. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and was succeeded by SERVIUS TULLUS, *A. M.* 3475; who having had great success against the Tusci and Veientes, enlarged the city, extended the walls, numbered the citizens, took an account of their estates, and divided them into thirty tribes, levying a tax on them every five years, which he call'd *Lustrum* or *Census*. He also enacted that only the most wealthy citizens should bear arms, from whom he expected the best service, as they fought in defence of their private rights, which those who have little to lose are not very solicitous about; and this gave the Roman soldiery, 'tis said, a vast superiority over the rabble the armies of their enemies were composed of. This Prince was kill'd by TARQUIN, surnamed *the Proud*, in the forty-sixth year of his reign, who afterwards usurped the crown, anno 3521. TARQUIN having reigned about four and twenty years, and committed many acts of oppression and violence, the people were so enraged against the usurper, that they took an occasion, from his son SEXTUS's ravishing LUCRETIA, to drive him out of the city, and alter the form of government, electing BRUTUS and COLATINUS for their consuls, or chief magistrates; the latter being the injured husband of LUCRETIA; so that it is computed the Kingly government lasted about two hundred and sixty years, and the Consular began about the year of the world 3545.

TARQUIN the usurper had however many friends in the city, who entered into a conspiracy for his restoration, and amongst the rest the two sons of BRUTUS, which being timely discovered, they were brought before the Consuls in order to be tried. BRUTUS sternly demanded of his sons what they had to say in their defence, who remaining silent, he immediately ordered them to be beheaded, and only staying to see this execution done, he left the rest of the

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conspirators to the mercy of his colleague; an act which has been applauded by some, as proceeding from an uncommon virtue, and censured by others as the effect of a cruel and unnatural temper; and surely most men must reflect upon it with horror. Had this rigour been used in defence of a lawful Prince, or any settled government whatever, there might have been some colour for this severity; but when it was only in support of another usurpation, and to subvert the ancient form of government, where could be the virtue of imbruing his hands in the blood of his own children? He could only propose to establish a new kind of tyranny; and such it seems it proved to the common people not long afterwards, much heavier than that of any of their Kings. But to proceed in the history; TARQUIN found many friends among the neighbouring Princes, who levied forces in his behalf, and laid siege to the city of Rome, the chief of whom was PORSENNA, the King of Etruria or Tuscany, who had actually taken the place if they had not purchased their peace with a sum of money, and given hostages not to forge any arms or iron-work, but what was necessary for their husbandry. The Roman historians indeed endeavour to cover the weakness of their ancestors, and tell us that it was the courage and resolution of the Romans, that induced PORSENNA to raise the siege, of which they give us such instances as can scarce be credited. The celebrated COCLES, 'tis said, when the Romans were driven back in an unfortunate sally, and the enemy upon the point of entering their gates, defended a bridge against their army by the assistance of two persons only, till his own party broke down the bridge behind him, and then throwing himself into the river, in his armour, swam over to the other side. A second instance they give is that of MUTIUS, who intending to assassinate PORSENNA, and mistaking another person for him, when he was brought before the King to be examined, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals which stood ready for the sacrifice, and burnt it off, to atone for his mistake, telling him that there were hundreds in Rome that had vowed to kill him as well as himself. At which the King was so astonished, that he dismissed him without punishment. A third instance is that of CLELIA, who being delivered as a hostage to the Tuscans, with several other noble Virgins, and obtaining leave to bathe in the Tiber, they all mounted on horseback and swam over to their friends, though the Consul it seems sent them back to the enemies camp! But whether the Romans purchased their peace with treasure, and by submitting to such ignominious terms as PORSENNA was pleased to impose upon them, or their obstinate courage was the principal inducement for his raising the siege, certain it is he withdrew his forces, and retired into Tuscany; which he had no sooner done, but the Sabines and Latins entered into a confederacy against the Romans.

As the Consuls who presided in the Senate were annually elected, I shall not tire the reader with a dry account of every consulate, but only touch upon such remarkable occurrences as happened while this form of government continued. It appears that the Sabines and Latins in their wars with Rome were extremely weakened by their own divisions, particularly when APPIUS CLAUDIUS deserted to the Romans, and carried over with him five thousand families at once; soon after

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nions.



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nions.

which, the Latins received a remarkable defeat from VALERIUS PUBLICOLA. The Equi and Volsci, the bravest of the Latins, still carried on the war with various success several years, but were at length entirely subdued by LUCIUS QUINCTIUS, the celebrated dictator, who was taken from the plough but a little before he obtained that signal victory. Still the Veii, who inhabited the capital city of Tuscany, contended many years with the Romans for empire; but losing several battles in the open field, and shutting themselves up within their own walls, after a siege of ten years were forced to surrender to CAMILLUS the Roman General. While the Romans were thus extending their conquests on one side of Tuscany, the Gauls made an irruption on the other, laying siege to the city of Clusium, whereupon the inhabitants sent to the Romans to interpose in their behalf. The Romans accordingly dispatched the three FABII, persons of the highest rank, to the Gauls as their ambassadors, who were received with all imaginable civility, but the Gauls could not however be prevailed on to raise the siege. The ambassadors thereupon retiring into the town, and encouraging the besieged to make a sally, one of them was discovered afterwards personally engaged in the action; which being looked upon as a breach of the law of nations, was resented in such a manner by the Gauls, that rising from before Clusium, they immediately marched towards Rome, and in their way entirely defeated the Roman army, about eleven miles from the city; which put the inhabitants into such a consternation, that most of them left the city, the rest retiring into the Capitol. The Gauls thereupon plundered and set fire to the town, and having laid siege to the Capitol, were very near surprizing it in the night-time, but were discovered by the noise of some geese; and the brave MANLIUS, who making a sally from the fort while CAMILLUS attacked them in the rear with an army of twenty thousand men, the Gauls were entirely defeated, and most of the stragglers cut off by the country people before they could reach their own country. This is the account most of the Roman historians give of this matter: but there are others that say, when the Capitol was reduced to the greatest extremity by famine, the Romans purchased their peace with a great sum of money: And as to the story of CAMILLUS coming to their relief just as they were telling over the money, and driving away the Gauls from before the place, this is by many writers looked upon as a fiction. However, certain it is the Romans had a very narrow escape, and the city was so miserably demolished, that upon the return of the inhabitants it was proposed to remove to Veii, which was ready built and provided with all things to their hands; but they were diverted from this design by an omen, whereupon they applied themselves with such diligence to the rebuilding their city, that it was finished within the year. Soon after the Equi, the Volsci, and other states of Latium, entered into a new confederacy against Rome, but were defeated by CAMILLUS. After these the Samnites being apprehensive of the growing power of this city, entered into a war with the Romans, which they maintained with various success for fifty years, when they were entirely subdued by PAPIRIUS CURSOR. The city of Tarentum on the Adriatick sea, with their confederates, were

A. M.  
3666.

the next that made trial of their strength; who being supported by PYRRHUS King of Epirus, and other foreign powers, frequently defeated the Romans, and once in a general battle, when their horse were put into disorder by the elephants which PYRRHUS brought with him, which were the first that had been seen in Italy; but being better provided to meet these monstrous animals in another battle, and happening to wound some of them in the beginning of the engagement, they turned upon their own troops and trod them down; so that the Romans gained an easy victory, and by it the entire conquest of the southern part of Italy, and of all of it indeed which was not possessed by the Gauls: and this is computed to have happened about four hundred and forty-seven years after the building of their city; though some date this event the four hundred seventy-sixth year after the building of Rome, A. M. 3777.

Not long after the conclusion of this war upon the continent, the city of Messina in Sicily implored the assistance of the Romans against the Carthaginians, who had made themselves masters of a great part of that island; which they afforded them so effectually, that in the space of two years the Romans retook no less than fifty cities; and in conclusion, drove the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily; at the same time making themselves masters of Sardinia and Corsica; after which the Romans under the command of REGULUS and MANLIUS their consuls, transported their forces into Africk, making that the seat of the war. Whereupon the Carthaginians applied themselves to XANTIPPUS King of Lacedemon, for assistance, who sent them such a reinforcement, that they defeated the Romans in a general battle, killing thirty thousand of them, and making fifteen thousand prisoners, together with REGULUS the consul; but the Romans not discouraged, recruited their forces, and carried on the war in Africk with tolerable success; and apprehending that the most effectual way to bring the Carthaginians to submission was to make themselves masters at sea, that people supporting themselves chiefly by their foreign trade, and the supplies they received from their confederates by sea; the Romans built and manned out a mighty fleet, and notwithstanding they were yet but little versed in maritime affairs, entirely defeated the grand fleet of the Carthaginians, destroying above a hundred of their ships, and taking almost as many more; in which battle thirty-two thousand of the Carthaginians were killed, and thirteen thousand made prisoners, which obliged Carthage to accept a peace on such terms as the Romans were pleased to prescribe. The Carthaginians, however, had no sooner recovered from their consternation, but they assembled an army of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse in Spain, under the command of the glorious HANNIBAL, who marched through France into Italy, passing the mountains of the Pyrenæes and Alps, which till that time were thought impassable for a body of troops; and having defeated the Romans in four general battles, the last of which was at Cannæ, wherein no less than forty thousand of them were killed, he marched almost to the gates of Rome; but being unprovided for a siege, and the Carthaginians being jealous of the ambitious designs of their General, neglected to send him any recruits or supplies, till the Romans reinforced their army, and straitened

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nions.

The Ro-  
mans con-  
quest of  
Italy.  
A. M.  
3777.

First Pa-  
nick war,  
A. M.  
3789.  
Rome  
488.

From the  
building  
of Rome,  
A. 531.  
Second  
Punic  
war.



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ons.

his quarters by cutting off all provisions; so that his army was in danger of famishing. In the mean time the celebrated *Scipio* was sent into Africa with a body of troops to make a diversion, which obliged the Carthaginians to recal their General; and this put an end to the war Italy. The two Generals having assembled all their troops in Africa, came to a general engagement there: After a most obstinate dispute the victory fell to the Romans, and Carthage was obliged thereupon to accept of an ignominious peace.

The Romans now making a great figure in the world, the Athenians, and several other Grecian cities that had been brought under the subjection of *Philip* of Macedon, implored the assistance of the Romans for the recovery of their liberties; which they afforded the Greeks so effectually, that *Philip* was obliged to abandon all his conquests, and become tributary to Rome. In the mean while *Hannibal*, who could not bear to see the rising glory of the Romans, procured a reinforcement from *Antiochus* King of Syria; but that Prince's Generals having been defeated by land, his fleet also, though commanded by *Hannibal* himself, was ruined by the Romans: whereupon *Antiochus* was glad to purchase his peace of this victorious nation. *Philip* King of Macedon dying soon after, his son *Perseus* confederating with the neighbouring States, who dreaded the growing power of the Romans, assembled a very numerous army, and marched against their allies; but the consul *Emilius* came so seasonably to their relief, that he defeated the whole power of *Perseus*, and made him prisoner; and lest Carthage should recover itself, and contend with them again for empire, they laid siege to that city upon some slight pretence; and having made themselves masters of it, after three years brave defence, they levelled it with the ground. And such a train of good fortune we find attending this people, that *Attalus* King of Pergamus dying without issue, left his extensive dominions, which contained the best part of the lesser Asia, to the Romans. They afterwards enlarged their conquests in Africa, where being opposed chiefly by King *Jugurtha*, they defeated his forces, and brought him in triumph prisoner to Rome. The Teutones and Cimbri making incursions into Italy about the same time; they repulsed their forces, and obliged them to retire. But after all this train of glorious success, civil wars now began to distract their Empire, *Marius* being at the head of one faction, and *Sylla* of the other. But the rise of these divisions may be traced as high as the first constitution of their republick, when the nobility assuming the government, and forming an Aristocracy upon the expulsion of *Tarquin*, grievously oppressed the lower rank of people, who, wearied with their exactions and insolent treatment, unanimously left the city, and could not be prevailed on to return, till the nobility, who, composed the Senate, consented to constitute Tribunes of the people, who might protect the commons against the encroachments of the nobility. These Tribunes, far from being contented with a power of defending their clients, insisted on a liberty of directing and controlling the Senate in almost all their acts: They extorted a law, that the Plebeians might marry with the nobility; they obliged the Senate to consent that one of the consuls should be chosen from among the Plebeians; and that no law should pass without their

consent. At length they took upon them to make laws themselves, and to exercise a kind of sovereign authority. In their contentions with the Senate they seldom wanted some ambitious nobleman to espouse their interests, who served his ends by encouraging the disaffection of the people. This was the state of Rome when *Sylla* was constituted General against *Mithridates* King of Pontus, who had encroached upon the Roman territories in Asia and Greece, and reduced several of their towns and provinces under his obedience: for *Sylla* had not marched out of Italy before *Sulpicius* the Tribune, who was of a contrary faction, proposed a law to recal *Sylla*, and confer the command upon his antagonist *Marius*: of which *Sylla* having intelligence, marched back with his army, defeated *Marius* and *Sulpicius* in a pitched battle, banished all his enemies from Rome, and then turned his arms against *Mithridates* the common enemy, whom having defeated in two general engagements, he compelled to beg a truce. In the mean time new consuls being chosen, *Marius* and his friends were recalled from banishment; and exercised all manner of cruelties on those who were in *Sylla*'s interest. *Sylla* therefore, as soon as the truce with *Mithridates* was signed, marched back with part of his army to Rome; where *Marius* being dead before his arrival, he was opposed by his two sons and the consuls, who had raised an army against him; but these being defeated, he entered the city, and restored his friends to their commands; procuring himself the title of Perpetual Dictator; by which he was invested with the sovereign power, and subject to no controul from the senate or people. An authority that had never been committed to any General but for a limited time, and on some very great emergency of the State. However, having regulated the government according to his mind, he laid down his command, and retiring from business died in peace.

*Mithridates* having broken the truce, and fallen upon the Roman provinces in Asia, was repulsed by *Lucullus*, and both his fleet and army defeated; but *Lucullus* being recalled, was succeeded in that command by *Pompey*, who defeated another army raised by *Mithridates*, drove him out of his dominions, and compelled him to fly for refuge to his father-in-law *Tigranes* King of Armenia, whither *Pompey* following him, *Tigranes* was so terrified at his approach, that he immediately submitted himself and his kingdom to the disposal of the Romans; on which success the Senate became apprehensive, lest *Pompey* should entertain ambitious views; but finding him dismiss his army on his landing in Italy, and return to the city with his ordinary attendants, they received him with all imaginable expressions of joy, and decreed him a Triumph. It was during *Pompey*'s expedition into Armenia that *Catiline*'s conspiracy was discovered. The Roman State was at this time under the influence of three great men, namely *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Crassus*. *Pompey* was most in the good graces of the Senate, and was pretty well beloved by the soldiery; *Cæsar* was the darling of the soldiers and the people, and *Crassus* had procured himself a considerable interest by his wealth. These three in the consulate of *Cæsar* entered into a kind of confederacy to promote their mutual interests,

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Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

R. 683.  
Third Pu-  
nick war.  
R. 602.

R. 644.

Civil war.  
R. 660.

Mithrida-  
tick war,  
R. 683.

Catiline's  
conspira-  
cy.

First Tri-  
umvirate,  
R. 696.



C H A P.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

R. 699.  
Second ci-  
vil War,  
R. 703.

Pompey  
killed, R.  
705.

interests, and indeed to govern the State as they saw fit; from whence they obtained the name of the Triumvirate. And first they procured themselves the government of the three best provinces of the Empire; POMPEY had Spain conferred upon him; CÆSAR, Gaul; and Asia was allotted to CRASSUS. CÆSAR and CRASSUS hereupon entered upon their commands; and CRASSUS had the misfortune not long after to be killed in an expedition against the Parthians. CÆSAR on the other hand met with incredible success against the Gauls: but POMPEY, to maintain his authority in the Senate, chose to reside at Rome, and commit the administration of his government in Spain to a deputy. CÆSAR, by his repeated victories in Gaul and Britain for nine years together, rendered himself exceeding popular, while the Senate on the other hand were so jealous of his ambitious designs, that when he petitioned for a second consulship, they commanded him to disband his army, and appear as a private person at the election; and notwithstanding CÆSAR's friends are apt to excuse his future conduct by surmising that it was not safe for him to come to Rome without a sufficient force to protect him against his great rival POMPEY, it is not to be doubted but he had long before this meditated the subversion of the State, and advancing himself to the supreme command; and if POMPEY had the same design when he returned in triumph from the Mithridatick war, and was in the height of his glory, he certainly committed a very great oversight in disbanding his army, at least in the opinion of CÆSAR, who finding himself at the head of the best body of veteran troops in the Empire, marched directly to Rome, in order to obtain that by force which he was never like to arrive at with the consent of the Senate, who being pretty well apprized of his intentions, a majority of them left the city and retired into Greece; whereupon CÆSAR entered Rome without opposition, and obliged those that were left behind to declare him Consul and perpetual Dictator. His next step was to fall upon POMPEY's forces in Spain, who either laying down their arms, or deserting over to him, he followed their General POMPEY into Greece, where he and the Senate had drawn together a very numerous army to oppose him. In the first engagement CÆSAR's troops happened to be defeated; but both parties afterwards assembling their whole force upon the plains of Pharsalia, CÆSAR obtained a compleat victory, and pursuing POMPEY to Egypt, found he had been killed by King PTOLEMY; after which CÆSAR having taken Alexandria, the capital city, he committed the government of Egypt to CLEOPATRA, the sister of PTOLEMY, who 'tis said had captivated the conqueror's heart; but not so fatally as afterwards she did MARK ANTHONY's, for the hero left her there, and still pursued his enemies in other parts of Africk, where he reduced SCIPIO and JUBA, the friends of the Senate; and afterwards POMPEY's two sons in Spain, in almost as short a time as he might have travelled through those countries: so that *all opposition falling before him*, in the modern phrase, he was received at Rome with general applause; at least, in appearance, and styled the Father of his country; for no other reason that I can learn, than the having subverted the constitution, and accomplished her destruction. Which the senate, who had before the sovereign authority, and were like to be the greatest suf-

ferers by the change, were so sensible of, that notwithstanding they gratified him with all the titles and honours he could ask, before he had reigned five months they publickly stabbed him in the Senate; of which number were BRUTUS and CASSIUS, two of his most intimate friends. Hereupon a civil war ensued, one party espousing the interest of BRUTUS and his associates, who had killed the usurper, and the other pretending to revenge his death. The last were headed by MARK ANTHONY the Consul, who had no other design but to follow CÆSAR's steps, and assume the supreme command; which the Senate were so apprehensive of, that they declared him any enemy to the State, and raised an army under the command of HIRTIUS and PANSA the new Consuls, and young OCTAVIUS (CÆSAR's heir) to oppose him; but ANTHONY being defeated, they plainly shewed they never intended that young OCTAVIUS should succeed his uncle: for they decreed BRUTUS and CASSIUS, the two heads of the conspiracy against CÆSAR, the two provinces of Syria and Macedonia, whither they had retired after CÆSAR's death, to avoid the rage of the populace. OCTAVIUS rightly judging from hence, that the Senate had no great regard to his interests, tho' they had made use of him to defeat MARK ANTHONY's ambitious designs, reconciled himself to ANTHONY, and with LEPIDUS, another General in the army, formed a second Triumvirate; and OCTAVIUS returning to Rome, by their united interest was chosen Consul, tho' under twenty years of age. All the members of the Senate whom they suspected to be in a different interest were banished; and they afterwards procured a law, that all who were concerned, in the death of CÆSAR should be proclaimed enemies to the common-wealth; and an army being assembled under the command of OCTAVIUS and ANTHONY, they marched into Macedonia, and defeated BRUTUS and CASSIUS at Philippi; who finding victory declare against them, killed themselves with their own hands. The Roman affairs continued to be managed by the Triumviri for ten years after this battle, when LEPIDUS attempting to render himself independent of his colleagues in Sicily, was defeated by OCTAVIUS, and compelled to relinquish his share in the government. Not long after there happened a misunderstanding between the other two; whereupon OCTAVIUS procured ANTHONY to be declared an enemy to the State, and having defeated him by sea and land, and reduced him to that despair, that he laid violent hands upon himself, OCTAVIUS assumed the supreme command, as his uncle JULIUS had done before him; but by his prudent and cunning behaviour so gained upon the affections of the Senate and people, that he had much fewer enemies. He even rejected the titles of King and Dictator, which he observed the people had a particular aversion to, tho' he rendered himself as arbitrary as his predecessor. His long reign of forty years, and his successes in Aquitania, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Germany, very much contributed to the establishment of the Empire.

TIBERIUS, who succeeded AUGUSTUS, proved an indolent Prince, famous, or infamous rather, for his retirement to the island Caprea, on the Neapolitan coast, where he led a most voluptuous life, abandoning the affairs of the Empire to that degree, that he neglected to send Governors to Spain and Syria for several years, and

C H A P.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

Cæsar  
killed,  
R. 707.

Second  
Triumvi-  
rate, R.  
799.

Empe-  
rors.  
Augustus  
came to  
the Em-  
pire about  
27 years  
before the  
birth of  
Christ.

Post Chri-  
stian.  
Tiberius.  
A. C. 14.



CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Dominions. Caligula, A.C. 37. and suffered the frontier provinces to be insulted and over-run by the barbarous nations. CALIGULA, his successor, was equally effeminate and cruel, and is taken notice of only for a mock expedition against Britain, when being arrived on the opposite shore, instead of embarking his troops, he ordered them to fill their helmets with cockle-shells, which he called the spoils of the Ocean: and returning to Rome, demanded a triumph for this glorious success; which being denied him, he became so monstrously cruel, that his own servants killed him, in the fourth year of his reign. Whereupon the Senate were about to return to their ancient form of government; but the army set up CLAUDIUS, the uncle of CALIGULA, for their Emperor, and compelled the Senate to confirm their election. The conquest of Britain was the most memorable occurrence of this reign. The cruelty of NERO's reign was insufferable, which continued however fourteen years; when to avoid the resentment of the people, he chose to die by his own hands; and was succeeded by GALBA, who is said to have restored their martial discipline; but was murdered by OTHO, after a reign of some few months. VITELLIUS being proclaimed Emperor by the German army, disputed the title with OTHO, who, despairing of success, killed himself before his affairs became desperate. VITELLIUS being detested of all mankind for his cruelties and voluptuous life, after a reign of eight months, was torn in pieces by his soldiers, and VESPASIAN proclaimed Emperor by the provincial armies in his room; who reformed the abuses of the State, added several provinces to the Roman Empire, and after a glorious reign was succeeded in the Empire by his son TITUS, styled, The Delight of Mankind, who after a short reign of three years was succeeded by his brother DOMITIAN, a Prince fortunate in his wars, but guilty of such acts of cruelty, that he was murdered by his nearest relations; and so detested by the Senate, that they pulled down his statues, and razed out all the pompous inscriptions his creatures had set up, who had flattered him with divine attributes. And this was the last of the blood of the Cæsars. Upon the death of DOMITIAN the Senate elected NERVA, an old General, who commanded the army in Gaul, who answered their expectations in the justice and prudence of his administration: but dying within two years, was succeeded by TRAJAN his adopted son, who is esteemed equal to any of the Roman Emperors. He mightily extended the limits of the Empire, reducing into the form of provinces the large countries of Dacia, Assyria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. He is still more admired for his conduct in times of peace, and his prudent administration of the civil government; for his justice, liberality, and other virtues that adorn a throne. This Prince, after a reign of about twenty years, was succeeded by his adopted son ADRIAN or HADRIAN, originally a Spaniard; he was more remarkable for his learning than martial exploits, though it is said he visited Britain, and the remotest part of the Empire in person, and built a wall between Newcastle and Carlisle, to keep the Scots within their bounds. After a reign of near twenty years he was succeeded by ANTONINUS PIUS, his adopted son, who was esteemed for his excellency of his morals, and the sweetness of his temper. He was of a peaceable disposition, and applied himself more to the reform-

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ing abuses in the state, and to see justice duly administered, than in extending the bounds of the Empire. He died in the twenty-third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his adopted son MARCUS AURELIUS, who associated with him in the Empire LUCIUS AELIUS VERUS; he is remarkable for his extraordinary learning and profession of the Stoick philosophy, from whence he obtained the name of *The Philosopher*; he was also successful in his wars. It was in one of his expeditions that the Christian Legion is said to have gained him a complete victory by their prayers, and a plentiful rain when his army was on the point of perishing by thirst. His associate LUCIUS dying not long after him, his son COMMODUS, who was as remarkable for his vices and extravagance as his father was for his virtues, succeeded to the Empire; and after a reign of twelve years, was murdered by one of his mistresses, who suspected he had the same design against her. PERTINAX, a General of sixty years of age, was on the death of COMMODUS elected Emperor by the soldiers; a man of mean extraction, who had raised himself by his merit, and endeavouring to reform some abuses in the discipline of the army, was murdered by the Prætorian guards in his palace, before he had reigned three months; after which the army plainly put up the empire to sale, and elected DIDIUS JULIAN, who happened to be the highest bidder: but he being unequal to so great a trust, and the Senate setting up SEVERUS against him, he retained the title of Emperor not above two months. SEVERUS revived and improved their military discipline, was successful against the Parthians, and defended the Britons against the incursions of the Picts and Scots. He died at York in the eighteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his two sons, CARACALLA and GETA: CARACALLA soon afterwards murdered his brother GETA, and became one of the greatest debauchees and tyrants that ever reigned. He was murdered by a Captain of his guards after a reign of six or seven years, and succeeded by OPILIUS MACRINUS; who abandoning himself to a voluptuous life, was murdered also by the soldiers in the second year of his reign. To whom succeeded HELIOGABALUS, a bastard son of the Emperor CARACALLA; one of the most cruel and voluptuous of the Roman Emperors; who after a whimsical and extravagant reign of two or three years, was murdered by his soldiers. To whom succeeded his adopted son ALEXANDER SEVERUS, who restored justice and discipline in the Empire, and was successful in his expeditions against the Persians; but was notwithstanding murdered by the soldiers in the fourteenth year of his reign.

MAXIMINUS CAIUS JULIUS succeeded SEVERUS, being elected by the army, who admired his prodigious strength; for he was a monster of a man, above eight foot high, and every way proportionable. He was at first but a common soldier, and a Goth by extraction, and being opposed by the Senate, he became exceeding barbarous and cruel: he marched into Italy to revenge himself of his enemies, but laying siege to Aquileia, which made an obstinate defence, he was murdered by the soldiers, together with his son, whom he had associated with him in the government in the second year of his reign, before he had seen Rome. PUPPIENUS and BALBINUS were thereupon elected by the Senate, Prin-

13 M

CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Dominions. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161.

Commodus, 181.

Pertinax, 194.

Didius, 194.

Septimius Severus, 195.

Caracalla, 211.

Macrinus, 218.

Helio-gabalus, 219.

Alexander Severus, 223.

Maximinus Caius Julius, 236.

Puppienus and Balbinus, 238.



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

Gordia-  
nus, 239.

Gordia-  
nus junior,  
239.  
Philip,  
245.

Decius,  
249.

Gallus,  
251.

Emilia-  
nus, 253.

Valerian,  
254.

Galienus,  
261.

Claudius  
II. 269.

Aurelia-  
nus, 271.

Tacitus,  
276.

Probus,  
276.

Carus,  
282.

ces of great merit, but murdered within the year by the soldiers, because they had no share in the election. GORDIANUS, a General of a good family and sufficient merit, was elected by part of the African Legions, being at that time four-score years of age, and their choice was confirmed by the Senate; but another part of the army opposing him, and defeating his son, who was killed in the field of battle, he laid violent hands upon himself, and was succeeded by GORDIANUS junior, his grand-son. This young Prince was esteemed a good Governor, but making PHILIP the Arabian his partner in the Empire, was treacherously murdered by his procurement in the seventh year of his reign; and PHILIP and his son, whom he associated with him, were also both of them murdered before they had enjoyed the fruits of their treachery much above four years. DECIVS was next advanced to the Empire by the Legions, and had at first good Success against the Scythians, but was killed in an engagement with them in the second year of his reign. GALLUS, the General of his army, was next elected by the army, and confirmed by the Senate; he meanly consented to pay an annual tribute to the Goths or Scythians, whereupon he was murdered by those who advanced him, in the second year of his reign. EMILIANUS, another General, was elected in his stead; who defeated the Scythians, making a terrible slaughter of them; but VALERIAN setting up against him, he was killed by his soldiers, to prevent a civil war. VALERIAN being betrayed by MACRINUS his General, in an expedition against the Persians, was taken prisoner by King SAPOR, who used him as a footstool to mount his horse, and afterwards slew him alive. His son GALIENUS succeeded him, but was such an indolent voluptuous Prince, that he became the contempt of mankind, and gave occasion to no less than thirty tyrants, as they were called, to usurp the sovereign authority in several parts of the Empire, whom he at length however suppressed, but lost many of the frontier provinces to the Goths and Germans, against whom CLAUDIUS II conspiring, he was murdered with his brothers and children, and CLAUDIUS advanced to the Imperial purple, who cleared the Empire of the Barbarians, and made an excellent Prince; but died in the second year of his reign. AURELIANUS, who from a private man by his merit had obtained the highest posts in the army, was next elected by the soldiers, and approved by the Senate and People. He was successful in his wars against the Barbarians, conquered the famous ZENOBIA, Queen of the East, as she styled herself, and took her capital city Palmyra. He was murdered in the seventh year of his reign, in an expedition against the Persians, by the treachery of his Captains, being succeeded by TACITUS, who was elected by the Senate. He was admired for his moderation and justice, but cut off by the soldiers before he had reigned seven months. PROBUS, who raised himself by his merit from a gardener to the chief commands in the army, was elected on the death of TACITUS. He had great success against the Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, and Persians, but was murdered by his soldiers in an expedition to Persia, in the seventh year of his reign. CARUS, who succeeded him, carried on the war with success in Persia, and was found dead in his tent in the second year of his reign, supposed to have been killed by a storm of thunder

and lightning. His two sons CARINUS and NUMERIAN, whom he had associated with him in the Empire, enjoyed the sovereign power some time after; but one of them being killed, the other gave way to the fortunate DIOCLESIAN, the most successful of the later Emperors, especially in Egypt, Persia, and Armenia. He raised a very severe persecution against the Christians, which was the tenth and last; and for which they seem to bear hard upon his memory, making him a devil incarnate in the latter part of his reign, which continued about twenty years. CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS succeeded him, and was successful in his wars against the Germans, having GALERIUS for his colleague. He died in peace at York in the second or third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son CONSTANTINE the Great. As to MAXIMIAN and SEVERUS, whom DIOCLESIAN associated with him in the Empire, I meet with nothing remarkable concerning them.

CONSTANTINE the Great, the son of CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS and HELENA, succeeded his father in the year 306, being with him at York when he died. But notwithstanding he was proclaimed Emperor by the army in Britain, the Pretorian guards at Rome set up MAXENTIUS the son of MAXIMIAN. CONSTANTINE, to avoid a civil war, proposed to associate MAXENTIUS with him in the government; which being refused, CONSTANTINE marched with his army towards Italy, and while he was preparing to pass the Alps, 'tis said he was favoured with the vision of a shining cross in the air, and an inscription under it, that *in that sign he should overcome*, whereupon he ordered the cross to be worked in his standards. CONSTANTINE having passed the Alps, defeated the troops of MAXENTIUS in several engagements; but the great and decisive battle was fought at Ponte Molle, within a mile of Rome; and while the victory was in suspense, the Senate caused that noble triumphal arch, of which there are still such large remains, to be erected, designing to dedicate it to the honour of the conqueror, let the victory fall on which side it would; and MAXENTIUS happening to be defeated and drowned in the Tiber, his rival entered the city in triumph on the twenty-fourth of September, 312, about six years after his election in Britain; and immediately published several edicts in favour of the Christians, having himself been initiated in the principles of that religion by his mother HELENA in his youth, though he was under a necessity of disguising his opinion for a considerable time. He erected several magnificent churches in Rome, and settled lands and revenues on the Bishops and clergy; and on his removing the seat of the Empire to Constantinople, 'tis said, conferred the city of Rome, and a considerable territory in Italy, on SYLVESTER, the Pope or Bishop of that See, and his successors. He died in peace, after having reigned thirty, and as some say, forty years, reckoning from the death of his father, and left his Empire among his three sons, viz. CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS, and CONSTANS. To CONSTANTINE's share fell Gaul, Spain, and Britain; to CONSTANS Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; and to CONSTANTIUS Greece, Thrace, Egypt, and all the eastern provinces. CONSTANTINE not being content with his share, and attempting to dispossess his brother CONSTANS of his part, was defeated and killed at Aquileia, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

Diocele-  
sian, 282.

Constanti-  
us Chlo-  
rus, 304.

Constanti-  
ne, 306.

Constanti-  
ne II.  
Constanti-  
us, and  
Constans,  
337.



CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Dominions. the third of his reign. **CONSTANS** was killed by **MAGNENTIUS**, who usurped his part of the Empire in the thirteenth year of his reign; whereupon **CONSTANTIUS** remained the sole Emperor, and died on his march against **MAGNENTIUS** the usurper in the forty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. **JULIAN**, the nephew of **CONSTANTINE** the Great succeeded him, and endeavouring to restore paganism, is generally stiled the Apostate. He was successful in his wars with the Persians, but mortally wounded in the last engagement with them in the second year of his reign: whereupon **JOVIAN** was elected by the army, and declared himself a Christian, but died in the eighth month of his reign, being succeeded by **VALENTINIAN** the son of a rope-maker, who raised himself in the army by his merit, and proved an excellent Prince. He assigned the eastern part of the Empire to his brother **VALENS**, and governed the west in person: he died in the twelfth year of his reign, and was succeeded by **VALENS** and **GRATIAN**. **VALENS** dying, **GRATIAN** associated **THEODOSIUS** with him in the Empire, who succeeded to it after his death. **THEODOSIUS** the Great was a native of Spain, he answered the expectation the world had conceived of him, and became a successful defender of the Empire against the barbarous nations in it's declining state. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, leaving the Empire of the east to his son **ARCADIUS**, and that of the west to his son **HONORIUS**. Under this Prince the state of the western Empire became desperate again, the barbarous nations attacking it on all sides. **ALARICK**, King of the Goths, having ravaged the greatest part of Italy, set fire to Rome itself, and plundered the city, while the Emperor remained at Ravenna, unable to relieve it. **VALENTINIAN III** succeeded him; in whose time **ATTILA** the Hun invaded Italy, and was repulsed by the Roman General **ÆTIUS**; but the Emperor having put **ÆTIUS** to death, the barbarous nations carried all before them, while **MAXIMUS**, in order to mount the throne, procured the murder of **VALENTINIAN**, and compelled his widow **EUDOXIA** to marry him; at which she was so exasperated, that she invited **GENSERICK** the Vandal into Italy, to deliver herself and the miserable inhabitants from his oppressions: but **GENSERICK**, contrary to his oath and promise, bringing a prodigious army with him, plundered the city of Rome, and carried many thousands of the inhabitants slaves to Africk. **AVITUS**, the General in Gaul, next assumed the title of Emperor, which he was forced to resign within eight months. To whom succeeded **MAJORIANUS**, a warlike Prince, who had some success against the Goths and Vandals, but was deposed and murdered by his General **RICIMIR**, in the fourth year of his reign, though others say he had the good fortune to die a natural death. To whom **SEVERUS**, and then **ANTHEMIUS** succeeded, who were both deposed and murdered also by **RICIMIR**. **OLYBRIUS** was afterwards sent from Constantinople with Imperial power, but died within seven months. After whom **GLYCERIUS** was elected by the soldiers, but deposed by **JULIUS NEPOS** in the second year of his reign, and afterwards made Bishop of Salona. **NEPOS**, who succeeded him, was also soon after deposed by **ORESTES** the General, who left the Empire to his son **AUGUSTULUS**; but **ODOACER**, King of the Heruli, a people near the mouth of

the Danube, deposed him in the first year of his reign, and put a period to the Roman Empire in the west, about the year of our Lord 475.

**THEODORICK**, King of the Eastern or Ostrogoths, who inhabited Dacia and Mæsia (the present Servia, Bulgaria, Walachia, and Moldavia) having been serviceable to the eastern Emperor **ZENO** in suppressing a rebellion, had his statue erected in Constantinople, and being a Christian, was adopted the Emperor's son. This Prince the Emperor prevailed with to march his army into Italy against **ODOACER**, about the year 491, who having defeated him in several engagements, it was agreed at a treaty to share Italy between them; but there afterwards happening to be a misunderstanding between these two Princes, and a war following thereupon, **ODOACER** was defeated and killed; whereupon **THEODORICK** became sole Sovereign of Italy, and dying in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, left the kingdom to his grandson **ATHALRICK** an infant, under the guardianship of his mother **AMALASUNTHA**: who dying in the eighth year of his reign, he was succeeded by **THEODOBAT** or **THEODAT**, the nephew of **THEODORICK**, who married **AMALASUNTHA**, but afterwards took away her life on suspicion of adultery; and was himself murdered by his subjects, who set **WITIGES**, one of his Generals, on the throne in his stead. **JUSTINIAN**, Emperor of the East, taking advantage of the divisions among the Goths in Italy, ordered his General **BELISARIUS** thither with an army, who defeated **WITIGES**, and sent him prisoner to Constantinople, and reunited part of Italy to the Empire; while the Goths set up **THEOBALD** and **ARARICK** in other parts of that country, who did not both of them reign two years; and were succeeded by **TOTTILA** about the year 547, who in some measure restored the declining state of the Goths, making himself master of several towns and provinces in the absence of **BELISARIUS**; and amongst the rest, of Rome, which he plundered in a most barbarous manner, and had entirely destroyed it, but for a letter he received from **BELISARIUS**, who dissuaded him from it, and returning to Rome soon after, so well repaired the walls, that **TOTTILA** investing the city a second time, was repulsed with loss. He continued however to ravage other parts of Italy, till he was defeated and killed by **NARSES**, another of **JUSTINIAN**'s Generals. The Goths afterwards set up **TEJAS**, who gained several advantages of his enemies, and took the city of Rome again, exposing it to the plunder of his soldiers for forty days, but was defeated by **NARSES** before he had reigned a year; which put an end to the kingdom of the Eastern or Ostrogoths in Italy, after they had been in possession of great part of it near an hundred years.

**NARSES**, the Imperial General, after all his services, being recalled and slighted by the Emperor at his return, was so provoked, that he invited the Lombards, a German people, into Italy, who remained masters of the north-west part of that country for near two hundred years; the eastern Emperors however keeping possession of another part of it, of which the city of Ravenna, where the Emperor's Viceroy or Exarch resided, was the capital.

The first King of the Lombards in Italy was **ALBOIN**, who began his reign anno 568, and was succeeded by one and twenty Princes, of whom I meet with little remarkable, unless it be that some

CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Dominions.

Theodorick the Goth, King of Italy, 493.

Athalrick, 526.

Theodobat, 534.

Witiges, 536.

Theobald Ararick.

Tottila, 547.

Tejas, 552.

Lombard Kings. Alboin, 568.



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

Lombard  
Kings.  
Alboin,  
568.  
Astolphus,  
755.

Didier.

Charle-  
magne puts  
an end to  
the king-  
dom of  
the Lom-  
bards.

Popes be-  
come So-  
vereigns  
of Rome,  
and of  
large ter-  
ritories in  
Italy.

some of them were esteemed orthodox Christians, and others Arians and Hereticks, and consequently sometimes friends, and at others enemies to the Pope. They were also in perpetual wars almost with the Gauls, and the Emperor's Exarch at Ravenna. ASTULPHUS, the last King of the Lombards but one, took the city of Ravenna, and put an end to the eastern Emperor's dominion in Italy about the year 755, and proceeded to lay siege to Rome; whereupon the Pope called in PEPIN King of France to his assistance, who compelled ASTULPHUS to surrender the exarchate of Ravenna, and the patrimony of the church, to the Pope: and ASTULPHUS being killed by a fall from his horse as he was hunting not long after, DIDIER was elected King of Lombardy in his room; who seizing on part of the patrimony of the Pope, CHARLEMAGNE, the son of PEPIN, marched into Italy to the Pope's assistance, and having taken him prisoner, confined him in a monastery at Liege, which put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards, after it had continued above two hundred years.

From the destruction of the kingdom of the Lombards we may date the Pope's sovereignty over the city of Rome and the territories thereto belonging, which now go under the name of *The Pope's Dominions*, or *The Ecclesiastical State*: tho' PUFFENDORF seems to go higher, or at least to date the first rise of his temporal power from the Emperor JUSTINIAN's making Italy a province of the Grecian Empire: for then he observes it was that the Papes took the opportunity of exempting themselves from the jurisdiction of these Emperors, whose authority was mightily diminished in Italy; partly by the ill conduct of their Viceroy at Ravenna, and partly by their own weakness and want of strength. One great inducement the Papes had to shake off the authority of the Grecian Emperors at this time, was, their declaring against the adoration of images; for LEO ISAUROS ordered them to be removed out of the churches, which was strenuously opposed by Pope GREGORY I; partly because the Roman See found this superstition very advantageous, and partly because the Pope took it amiss that the Emperor should undertake a reformation in matters of religion without his approbation; or perhaps he was glad of so fair an opportunity to shake off the jurisdiction of the Grecian Emperors. And in order to effect his design, he incited the Italians and Romans, who had hitherto been obedient to the Emperor, to refuse him his tribute; which his Viceroy endeavouring to levy, was killed in the tumult; after which indeed the Lombards seized Ravenna, and almost all the rest of Italy which belonged to the Emperor. But the Pope, as has been observed already, calling in PEPIN the French King to his assistance, defeated the Lombards, and procured the territories which belonged to the Emperor to be conferred upon him. Which PEPIN was the more ready to grant, in consideration of Pope ZACHARY's approving his proceeding in dethroning his lawful Sovereign CHILDERICK, and from Grand Marshal advancing himself to the dignity of King of France. A further reason of his interposing between the Pope and the Lombards is supposed to be the opportunity it gave him of making conquests in Italy, of which the French nation has always been ambitious. This donation of the Grecian Emperor's territories in Italy to the Pope by King PEPIN, was confirmed by his son CHARLEMAGNE, who established a new em-

pire in the west; of whose successors the reader will find an account in the state of Germany in this volume. But these Emperors reserved to themselves a power of confirming the election of future Papes, and granting the investiture of Sees to the Italian Bishops; and the Pope enjoyed these territories under the sovereign jurisdiction of the Emperor, who thereupon was styled *The Patron and Defender of the Church*; till the reign of the Emperor HENRY IV, when the Papes growing weary of their subjection to the Emperor, who sometimes refused to confirm their election, and at others turned them out of the chair, in order to exempt themselves from their jurisdiction, were perpetually embroiling their affairs in Germany and Italy, and inciting insurrections against them; the German Bishops also, who were weary of their dependance on their Sovereign, were very ready to assist the Pope in setting up an independent ecclesiastical authority, which the ill conduct of HENRY IV, and the discontents of the Princes and States of the Empire, gave them an opportunity of effecting. GREGORY VII, a proud resolute prelate, being in the chair, loudly exclaimed against the Emperor's mercenary temper, in setting bishopricks and other benefices to sale, and his putting persons into them before they had taken holy orders; and when the Emperor asserted his right of investing Bishops in their Sees, the Pope excommunicated him, and stirred up the Bishops and Princes of Germany against him, inasmuch that the Emperor was obliged to part with that branch of his prerogative. Nor did he only thus free himself and other ecclesiastics from the Emperor's jurisdiction, but even assumed an authority over him, summoned him before him to answer the complaints of his subjects, and declared he had forfeited his right to the Empire. And though his son, the Emperor Henry V, attempted the recovery of the Imperial prerogatives, and imprisoned Pope PASCHAL, whom he compelled to yield up the right of constituting Bishops, yet the clergy of Europe in general became so dissatisfied with it, that he was obliged to resign this power again into the Pope's hands. Succeeding Pope's pretended to a power over all temporal Princes, to judge of their actions whether they were good or bad, to admonish and correct them, and even command what they thought fit to be done. If Princes entered into a war, they looked upon themselves to be authorized to command a truce, and would require the contending parties to refer their differences to their decision, on pain of excommunication; and on their disobeying their decrees, would forbid the exercise of divine service, and the administration of the sacraments in their dominions. They gave out that they were empowered by their office, in order to obviate all publick scandal, to defend such as were oppressed, and to see justice done in the world. They received the complaints of all that applied themselves to them for a redress of such grievances as they suffered from their Princes, either by taxes laid upon them or otherwise, prohibiting the levying them upon pain of excommunication. Sometimes they declared the territories and possessions of those who stood excommunicated to be forfeited, releasing their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, under pretence that the government of Christians ought not to be entrusted to those who were rebels to the church. But I shall not enlarge here on the encroachments of the Bishops of this See, which will be seen in the following historical account of the Papes of Rome.

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

Charle-  
magne  
establishes  
a new em-  
pire in  
the west,  
and is  
very boun-  
tiful to  
the Pope.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XIX.

*Contains an abstract of the history of the Popes of Rome, with a chronological table of their respective reigns.*

## CHAP. XIX.

*The name Pope common to all priests anciently.*

THE word Pope, or rather *Papa* [Father] was anciently given to all Bishops, and indeed to every priest or ecclesiastick, as it is in the Greek church to this day, and was not appropriated to the Bishops of Rome till the latter end of the eleventh century; when GREGORY VII, in a Council held in this city, ordered that the name Pope should be peculiar to the Bishop of Rome. Nor did the ancient church allow any such distinguishing primacy in the Pope as is now claimed; as appears by St. CYPRIAN's epistles, in which he calls the Pope brother, and treats him as his equal, and declares himself, by virtue of his episcopal authority, accountable to none but God for the government of his diocese. FERMILIAN, Bishop of Cappadocia, also writing to Pope STEPHEN, uses him with great freedom, and reproves him severely, without giving him the least mark of any superiority. The Council of Carthage, held by St. CYPRIAN, reflect upon his stile of *Episcopus Episcoporum*, as an encroachment on the rest of the church. And from the canons of the second General Council of Constantinople it appears, that the precedency given to the Pope was on account of his residing in the capital city of the Empire, and not on account of his being the successor of St. PETER. The fourth General Council of Chalcedon, held in the fifth century, assigning the Bishop or Patriarch of Constantinople the limits of his jurisdiction, decree also by the twenty-eighth canon, that he should have equal privileges with the Bishop of Rome, because that Constantinople was then New Rome, dignified with a Senate, and the residence of the Emperor; of which the Pope's Legates complained indeed, and refused to be present at the passing the canon: But notwithstanding their opposition, it was read a second time, and unanimously carried by the fathers, and afterwards confirmed by the Emperor. BALUZIUS has demonstrated for the Gallican churches, that for eight hundred years the French synods never allowed of any appeals from their determinations to the Pope; they always ordained their own metropolitans, and strenuously resisted the encroachments of the Popes. And as to the Britannick church, it is evident that for six hundred years they never acknowledged any dependence on Rome. When AUSTIN the Monk came into England, and had a conference with the British Bishops, wherein he required their subjection to the Bishop of Rome, and a conformity to the Roman rites in the observation of Easter, and other things; they answered, that they owed no obedience to the Pope of Rome, but were under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who was their overseer under God. And as to the controversy about Easter, they were so far from paying any deference to the Roman custom, that they continued their ancient custom of observing Easter on a different Sunday from Rome for some ages after, for which reason they were treated as schismatics by that See.

This pretence of the Bishop of Rome's to an ecclesiastical sovereignty over the whole church, has been sufficiently exploded by the learned in the last age. They have shewn that he could

never derive it from St. PETER, because St. PETER never pretended to a superiority over the rest of the Apostles. That the church in her original establishment usually took the civil government for her model: as every city among the Greeks and Romans was under the immediate government of certain magistrates within its own body, commonly called the Senate or Common-Council, in which there was one chief or principal, whose power extended not only over the city, but all the adjacent territory, then called the suburbs, in which several lesser towns and villages were included. In the same manner the Apostles, in the first planting a church, wherever they found a civil magistracy settled in any place, there they endeavoured to settle an ecclesiastical magistracy, consisting of a Senate or Presbytery, a Common-Council of Presbyters, and one chief President among the rest, called the Apostle, Bishop, or Angel of the church, whose jurisdiction was not confined to a single congregation, but extended to the whole region or district belonging to the city, which was what we now call the diocese of the church.

The Roman Empire also was divided into provinces and larger dioceses. A province contained the cities of a whole region, which were subject to one chief magistrate, who resided in the metropolis or chief city of a province, and was usually a Prætor or Proconsul. A diocese was a larger district, comprehending several provinces, the Governor whereof was stiled Vicar of the Roman Empire, and from hence the church took her model when she constituted Metropolitans and Patriarchs: for as in every metropolis or chief city of each province there was a superior magistrate above the magistrates of every particular city, so in the same metropolis there was a Bishop whose power extended over the whole province, whence he was called the Metropolitan or Primate. And as the State had a Vicar in every capital city of each civil diocese, so the church in process of time came to have their Exarchs or Patriarchs in many, if not in all the capital cities of the Empire. This in the main was the state and division of the church in the latter end of the fourth century; but these things being only matters of conveniency and outward order, the church did not tie herself up to follow this model, but only so far as she judged it expedient and conducive to the ends of her own spiritual government and discipline, and therefore she did not imitate the State-model in all things; she never had one universal Bishop, in imitation of an universal Emperor, nor an eastern and western Pontificate in imitation of an eastern and western Empire, nor four grand spiritual Administrators answering to the four great ministers of State, the Præfecti Prætorio in the civil government. The church was at liberty to follow the model and divisions of the civil State or not, as she judged most expedient for herself; and when any alterations were made, they were generally done by the direction or consent of a Provincial or General Council. As to the Bishop of Rome in particular, whether he was only a Metropolitan according to some, or a Patriarch according to others, it is held by learned men, that his jurisdiction extended no farther than the ten provinces of the Roman diocese, which were subject to the Vicarius Urbis, viz. 1. Campania. 2. Tuscia and Umbria. 3. Picenum Suburbicarium. 4. Valeria. 5. Samnium. 6. Apulia and Calabria. 7. Lucania and Brutii. 8. Sicilia.

CHAP. XIX. Pope's dominions.

The church takes the state for her model.

The smaller dioceses.

Provinces.

Larger dioceses, or patriarchates.

No universal Bishop.

The extent of the Pope's jurisdiction originally.



CHAP. 8. Sicilia. 9. Sardinia. And, 10. Corsica. DUPIN, a Roman Catholick writer, makes no scruple to confess, that Germany, Spain, France, Britain, Africa, Illyricum, and seven of the Italic provinces, were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Patriarch in the first and primitive ages. How he afterwards enlarged his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, remains still to be enquired into.

PUFFENDORF has assigned several reasons as the occasion of the increase and establishment of the Pope's spiritual monarchy; and first the barbarity and ignorance which on the decay of the Roman Empire overspread the western part of the world; for bad wares, he observes, are ever best vended in the dark, or at least by a dim light. An ignorant person is sooner prevailed on to believe ridiculous stories, than a wise man versed in all sciences: but what gave them the best opportunity of advancing their pretensions, was the Emperor's removing from Rome; for the Bishops of Constantinople, who he supposes were equally ambitious, could never gain this point. A third thing which contributed to enlarge their power, was the respect the barbarous nations paid them, who conquered the Roman Empire, on account of their being converted to the Christian faith by the Romish church; this induced them no doubt to honour her, as the most considerable of the western churches. A further opportunity she had of claiming a superiority over the western parts of Europe in the fifth century, when the Bishops who lived on this side of the Alps, used to go to Rome to visit the sepulchres of St. PETER and St. PAUL, either out of devotion, or to testify their firm adherence to the Christian faith; which voluntary devotion was afterwards changed into a necessity, and such as neglected it severely rebuked: from hence it was easy for the Popes afterwards to pretend, that the Bishops ought to receive their confirmation from Rome. Besides, many Bishops and Churches, that were novices in comparison of the ancient Roman church, used to refer themselves to, and ask the advice of the church of Rome, concerning matters of consequence, and the true sense and interpretation of the canons; and when once they perceived at Rome, that their answers were taken as decisions, they began to send their decrees before they were demanded, under pretence that Rome being the first seat of the Christian Bishops, ought to take effectual care that the canons and ecclesiastical laws were duly put in execution. On the like pretence they made themselves judges of the differences between Bishops; and encroaching on the right of their Metropolitans, used to depose such Bishops as, in their opinion, had not a right ordination; and such as were charged with enormous crimes they suspended, and obliged to appear at Rome and plead their cause: and if any desired an exemption from the canons, they travelled to Rome, where they were kindly received, and encouraged in their demands; whereby the staple of dispensations and favours became established at Rome. If any one lost his cause before the ordinary Judge, he immediately appealed to Rome. According to the French historians, the Emperor HENRY having made the city of Arles the capital city over seven provinces, the Pope constituted the Archbishop of that city his Vicar in France, lest he should attempt to make himself Patriarch of that kingdom; and the Archbishop chose to have the inspection, though precariously, over seventeen provinces, into which

France was divided at that time, rather than to be head only of seven in his own right; and to add the greater authority to his commission, did all that lay in his power to establish the Pope's authority there. In the eighth century, when the clergy were become very debauched, WINIFRED, an English Friar, who afterwards went by the name of BONIFACE, took upon himself to reform the manners of the monks and clergy, and endeavoured to establish Christianity in Germany; and, to acquire the greater authority, entirely devoted himself to the Roman chair, and was honoured with a pall, and the title of Archbishop of Mayence: he was constituted also by Pope GREGORY III his Vicar, with authority to call Councils, and constitute Bishops in those places, which by his means had been converted to the Christian faith, with ample recommendations to those nations, and particularly to CHARLES MARTEL, the then Grand Master of France, desiring he would take him into his protection, which he very willingly did: and when afterwards his son CARLOMAN shewed an inclination to have the church-discipline regulated, BONIFACE took that office upon him, to the great advantage of the Roman See. At the request of this Prince also he called a Council in Germany; and in the reign of King PEPIN held several synods in France, where BONIFACE presided in quality of the Pope's Legate. In the first of these Councils the clergy signed a confession of faith, whereby they obliged themselves, not only to maintain the Catholick faith, but to remain in constant communion with the Romish church, and to be obedient to the successors of St. PETER. BONIFACE was the first who required the German Bishops to receive the episcopal pall from the Pope, and sent it to the Bishops of France unasked, in order to increase their obligation to the See of Rome; and these ornaments afterwards becoming customary, they were forced upon them as of absolute necessity, and the episcopal function forbidden to be exercised till they had received them. They assumed also an authority of licensing Bishops to remove from one See to another, and obliged them to receive their confirmation from Rome, for which a sum of money was exacted. They also made void the decisions of provincial synods, which reduced their authority to nothing. Pope GREGORY VII obliged the Bishops to take an oath of fealty to him; and decreed that none should dare to condemn any one who had appealed to the Pope. He sent Nuncios or Legates also to every court, who in the name of the Pope exercised that authority which formerly belonged to the respective Bishops, Metropolitans, and Provincial assemblies: and not contented with the liberality and charity of Princes and Great Men, who had been very bountiful to the church and clergy, contrived various artifices to empty the people's pockets, such as saying masses for the living and the dead, purgatory, indulgencies, dispensations, pilgrimages, jubilees, and other poperies; and his emissaries had always a watchful eye on such as were at the point of death, observing that men were then inclined to be most liberal. But nothing turned more to the Pope's advantage than the croisadoes, which were encouraged in the eleventh century; for in these expeditions, after people had received the sign of the cross, the Pope claimed the supreme command, and took the persons and estates of the adventurers under his protection, exempting them from the

How he enlarged his authority.

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the civil jurisdiction. The Pope's Legates also disposed of all the alms that were given for these expeditions, and levied the tenths on the clergy to support them, laying their commands on Kings and Princes to receive the cross themselves. This sacred militia were afterwards employed against such as they were pleased to declare hereticks or schismaticks, whose kingdoms and possessions they usually confiscated and bestowed on their most zealous sons.

The multiplying of monks and friars also very much advanced the strength and interest of the See of Rome; for these served not only to drain the purses of the laity, but to curb the Bishops and Clergy, for which reason the Pope supported them with all imaginable zeal in the tenth century, when they withdrew themselves from the jurisdiction of their Bishops, and submitted to the immediate authority of the Pope. These friars were a great grievance to the secular clergy, sharing with them in the legacies and burials of the rich, in the direction of their consciences, and the administration of the sacraments; from whence there arose perpetual feuds between the Bishops and their clergy, and the monks, but the latter being supported by the Pope, had generally the best of it. If a Bishop attempted any thing against the Pope's authority, the friars ran him down with clamour and noise, like so many hounds, and rendered him odious to the people, among whom they were in great veneration, on account of that outward appearance of sanctity they put on. And this was one of the principal reasons why the Bishops who opposed the Pope's encroachments, could never make a great party among the common people. Some of them, it is true, were very well satisfied with the advancement of the Pope's power, as participating of the grandeur of their supreme head, and thereby being exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, which was more dreadful to them than a foreign jurisdiction, exercised by those of their own order, from whom they had reason to expect more favour.

But surely nothing contributed more towards establishing the Pope's empire, than that opinion so industriously propagated by the Jesuits of his infallibility; for if he alone was infallible, what need could there be for the future of a General Council? unerring wisdom needed no advice, and ought not to be subject to the control of misguided mortals. All Princes and States therefore, who really believed him possessed of this divine attribute, readily submitted to his dictates: but there were some, it seems, that would never come into this notion of the Pope's infallibility, unless it were in conjunction with a Council; and the schisms and double elections, which frequently happened, gave a great shock to their pretended claim of infallibility; for at these times all their faults and failings were ripped up, and they excommunicated and reviled each other without mercy. They were sometimes also obliged to submit their infallible understandings to the Princes who gave them their assistance: at others, their Holinesses were defeated, imprisoned, and deposed, and forced to return to a private life. The first schism happened about the year 1130, (according to PUFFENDORF, but the reader will find several Anti-Popes before this in the following table) when INNOCENT II and ANACLETUS were both chosen Popes. After the death of ADRIAN IV, two Popes were again elected, viz. ALEXANDER III, and VICTOR IV, to the first France, England,

and Sicily adhered, and to the latter the Emperor FREDERICK I, Germany, and the Roman clergy; and after the death of VICTOR his party chose three Popes successively, all whom ALEXANDER out-lived. But the greatest schism was after the death of BENEDICT X, when two Popes being elected, one resided at Rome, and the other at Avignon, which lasted through several successions near forty years; when they did not only excommunicate each other, but exercised the greatest cruelties on their adversaries: Both parties pretending to have the Saints on their side, producing sham miracles and revelations to induce the people to believe they were approved by heaven, till at length they became the jest and contempt of Christendom; and instead of being deemed infallible, it was held that a Council might depose them for male-administration. Succeeding Popes however so insinuated themselves into the good graces of the Princes of Europe, and gained such an ascendant over the common people, that they were become as absolute as ever a little before the Reformation; when that scandalous practice of selling indulgencies, and permitting people to be as wicked as they pleased, who had money to purchase the Pope's favour, provoked LUTHER and some others, about the year 1517, to call their authority in question again: the consequence of which was, the utter abolishing of the Pope's supremacy in several of the kingdoms of Europe, which would probably have been universal, if the reformers had been conducted by any one chief, and had not split into so many sects and parties.

What deterred a great many prelates and ecclesiastics from joining with them, was their seizing and sequestering the lands and revenues of the church, and applying them to secular and profane uses; though on the other hand, it is said, that a view of seizing the benefices of the church was one great inducement to some temporal powers to embrace the Reformation. But however that matter be, it is evident the Pope in a little time regained his authority in those kingdoms, which were not fallen off to the reformed; and of late has rather got than lost ground, for which several reasons are assigned, as the Pope's treating sovereign Princes with more civility than formerly; his reforming the Bishops and Clergy, who do not now lead such scandalous lives as when LUTHER exclaimed against them, and made this one of the principal grounds of separating from their communion. They are also become more learned, and have many excellent books and preachers amongst them, which they were destitute of at the Reformation. The Jesuits particularly apply themselves to learning, and the education of youth, and furnish their disciples with specious arguments at least for their adhering to Popery. There is not a court of the Romish communion in Europe, where this crafty generation have not a mighty influence, and we see them daily drawing off one Prince or other from our communion. But I proceed to give a catalogue of the Popes, in which I shall take notice of some of the most remarkable events that have happened since they possessed the Roman See.

A. D.	Years.
43. St. Peter, according to tradition, reigned	24
67. St. Linus	11
78. St. Cletus	12
91. St. Clement I,	9
101. St. Anacletus	9
	110.

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Pope's do-  
minion.



## CHAP. A. D.

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Pope's do-  
minions.

110. St. Evaristus	9
119. St. Alexander	10
130. St. Sixtus I.	9
140. St. Telephorus	11
152. St. Higinus	3
It is said he first ordered the consecration of churches, and god-fathers at baptism.	
156. St. Pius I.	9
He first ordered the celebration of Easter on the first Sunday after the fourteenth of the moon of March.	
165. St. Anicetus	7
173. St. Soter	3
177. St. Eleutherus	15
192. St. Victor I.	9
He excommunicated the Bishops of Asia for celebrating Easter on the same day the Jews did, for which he was reprehended by several Bishops.	
201. St. Zephyrinus	18
He is said to be the first Bishop of Rome who did not die a martyr.	
219. St. Calixtus I.	5
224. St. Urban I.	6
231. St. Pontianus	4
235. St. Anterus	Some odd months
236. St. Fabian	15
The learned are not agreed exactly about the time of the choice and decease of the preceding Popes. It is held that some of the first reigned together, there being two Bishops, one of the converted Jews, and another of the Gentiles in some cities.	
251. St. Cornelius	2
Novatian, a Priest, was chosen at the same time by the practice of Novatus, the author of the Novatian heresy, and this is looked upon as the first schism in that church.	
253. St. Lucius	1
255. St. Stephen	2
257. St. Sixtus II.	1
258. St. Denys	12
270. St. Felix I.	4
275. St. Eutychianus	8
283. St. Gaius	12
296. St. Marcellinus	7
He apostatized in Dioclesian's persecution, but afterwards repented, and reprehended Dioclesian for his cruelties, for which he was put to death.	
304. St. Marcellus	4
309. St. Eusebius	2
311. St. Melebiades	2
314. St. Sylvester	22
He was compelled to leave Rome by Maxentius, but restored by Constantine the Great, and in his time the Council of Nice was held.	
336. St. Mark	Eight months.
336. St. Julius I.	15
352. Liberius	15
356. St. Felix II set up against him, which made another schism	1
365. St. Damasus I.	17
Ursinus a Deacon was set up in opposition to him, but banished by the Emperor Valentinian in the second year of his usurpation. This Pope held the second Council against the Arians.	
385. St. Siricius	13
He excommunicated the Manichees, and ordered priests who married a second time to be deprived.	
398. St. Anastasius	4

## Years. A. D.

402. St. Innocent I.	15
He defended St. Chrysostom against the Emperor Arcadius, and condemned the errors of Pelagius, Celestin, and Priscillian, and ordered every Saturday to be kept as a fast.	
417. St. Zozimus	1
This Pope also condemned the Pelagians.	
418. St. Boniface I.	4
He would not admit any one into Priests orders under thirty years of age. Eulalius the Archdeacon usurped the Papal chair in this reign, which occasioned the fourth schism; but the difference was decided in favour of Boniface by the Bishops of Italy, Gaul, and Africa.	
423. St. Celestine I.	8
He took the part of St. Augustin against Nestorius.	
432. St. Sixtus III.	7
He bequeathed all his goods to the poor.	
440. St. Leo I, surnamed the Great	20
He was sent for out of Gaul, and advanced to the papacy on account of his merit, as being the most able to defend the church in those distracted times against the Nestorians, Pelagians, and the barbarous nations. He so far insinuated himself into the favour of Attila the Hun, and Geserick King of the Vandals, that he preserved Rome from a total destruction.	
461. St. Hilary	5
He called a Council at Rome to restore ecclesiastical discipline, and confirmed the Councils of Nice, Ephesus and Chalcedon.	
467. St. Simplicius	15
He ordered church-benefices to be divided into four parts, the first for the incumbent, the second for other ecclesiasticks, the third for the repairs of the church, and the fourth for the poor.	
483. St. Felix III.	8
The dedication of churches, and the annual commemoration of such dedications, were first ordered in this pontificate.	
492. St. Gelasius	4
496. St. Anastasius II.	1
498. St. Symachus	15
He decreed that no Pope should be chosen until the See was vacant. Laurence the Archdeacon was set up against him, but Theodorick King of the Goths determined in favour of Symachus, who made Laurence, his rival, Bishop of Nocera. He excommunicated Anastasius the Emperor, who had opposed him, and incited the Bishops of the east to resist him.	
514. St. Hormisdas	9
523. St. John I.	2
Imprisoned by Theodorick the Goth for persecuting the Arians.	
526. St. Felix IV.	4
He succeeded by the interest of Theodorick King of the Goths: first ordered extreme unction, and excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople.	
530. St. Boniface II.	2
He ordered the people to be separated from the clergy during divine worship. Diocorus was set up against him, having obtained a great interest by his money, but he was excommunicated by Boniface, and died eighteen days afterwards: this occasioned the sixth schism in this church.	
532. John II, named Mercury	2
He condemned the Monks called Acemeta, who maintained the errors of Nestorius; but	

## Years. CHAP.

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Pope's do-  
minions.



## CHAP. A. D.

XIX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.

Years.  
were remarkable for devoting themselves to the service of God, singing psalms and anthems night and day, and scarce allowing themselves any sleep.

535. St. *Agapetus* I. Ten months.

The processions round churches on Sundays are ascribed to him.

536. St. *Silverus*

4

He was the son of Pope *Hormisdas*, and appointed by *Theodotus* the Goth, rather than elected by the clergy and people, who were many of them against him. The Empress *Theodora*, the wife of *Justinian*, procured his banishment, and set up *Vigilius* against him, who imprisoned *Silverus*, and starved him to death. This was the seventh schism.

540. *Vigilius*

15

This Pope resigned on the death of *Silverus*, and was re-elected, but died afterwards in banishment.

555. *Pelagius* I.

3

He was elected by the interest of the Emperor *Justinian*. He ordered hereticks to be punished by the temporal powers, and added the mass to the office for commemorating the dead.

559. St. *John* III, called *Catilius*

12

571. St. *Benedictus*, named *Bonofus*

4

577. *Pelagius* II.

12

In his time Italy was plundered by the Lombards, and the church distracted with schisms. He was at variance with *John* Bishop of Constantinople, on account of his assuming the title of Oecumenical.

590. St. *Gregory*, surnamed *the Great*

13

He was first a soldier, and by his merit raised himself to be Governor of Rome. He afterwards entered himself in a monastery, and became as eminent among the clergy, till at length he was elected Pope. He opposed the Bishop of Constantinople's taking upon him the title of Universal Bishop: and was the first who introduced the doctrines of purgatory, invocation of Saints, expiations by masses, processions, lustrations on the purification of the blessed Virgin, pilgrimages, &c. And prohibited the eating flesh, milk or eggs on fast-days. He ordered Priests also to put away their wives; but, it is said, upon finding great numbers of infants skulls in the Tiber, he revoked that decree. His compliance with *Phocas*, who murdered the Emperor his master, is highly censured.

604. *Sabinus*. Five months.

He first introduced the burning of lamps in churches.

606. *Boniface* III. Eight months.

He decreed, that those should be excommunicated who procured themselves to be advanced to the Papal chair by bribery and corruption. He decreed also, that Bishops should be elected by the clergy and people, and confirmed by the Pope and Civil Magistrate: and procured an order from the Emperor *Phocas*, that none but the Pope of Rome should be stiled Universal Bishop.

607. *Boniface* IV.

6

614. *Deus Dedit*.

617. *Boniface* V.

7

He decreed that the church should be a sanctuary for criminals.

626. *Honorius* I.

12

639. *Severinus*. Two months.

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Years.  
He condemned the exposition made by the Emperor *Heraclius* in favour of the Arians.

639. *John* IV.

Lent was first observed in England in his pontificate.

631. *Theodorus*

7

He instituted the ceremony of blessing the wax-candle on the Saturday before Easter, and condemned two patriarchs of Constantinople as Monothelites.

649. St. *Martin* I.

5

He condemned the Monothelites in a council at Rome, whereupon the Emperor *Constantius* brought him prisoner to Constantinople, and banished him to the Chersonesus, where he died.

655. *Eugenius* I.

Five months.

655. *Vitalianus*

13

He first ordered divine service to be performed in Latin, and introduced organs into churches.

669. *Adeodatus*

7

676. *Domnus*, or *Domnionus*

1

He reduced the church of Ravenna, the seat of the Emperor's Exarch or Vicar in Italy, under the subjection of the See of Rome.

671. St. *Agatho*

3

He ordered the decrees of the Roman See to be revered and obeyed as the decrees of St. *Peter*, and to be sealed with lead instead of wax.

683. St. *Leo* II.

Ten months.

He ordered baptism to be administered at all times in case of necessity.

684. St. *Benedict* II. Eight months.

In this pontificate the Emperor forgave the money paid him on confirming a Pope, and excused them from applying to him by his Vicar or Exarch at Ravenna.

685. *John* V.

1

686. *Conon*

1

Two usurpers in the interregnum, which made the eighth schism.

687. St. *Sergius* I.

13

His former name was *Bocco de Porco*, or Swine's Snout, which he changed on his advancement to the chair to *Sergius*, which introduced the custom of the Pope's changing their names on an election. He crowned *Lewis*, son to the Emperor *Lotharius* King of Italy.

701. *John* VI.

3

705. *John* VII.

2

He first introduced images into churches.

708. *Sisinius*. Twenty days.

708. *Constantine*

6

He was at variance with the Emperor because he prohibited the worship of images.

714. *Gregory* II.

16

*Leo Isaurus* Emperor of Constantinople, having convened a Synod which condemned the worship of images, praying to the Virgin and other Saints, and the adoration of reliques, ordered all images to be burnt both in the Greek and Latin churches, and all pictures to be defaced. Whereupon the Pope called a Synod, which approved the worship of images, censured the Emperor's decree, and excommunicated him. He also encouraged the Italians to deny him his taxes, in levying whereof the Emperor's Vicar or Exarch at Ravenna was killed.

731. *Gregory* III.

10

This Pontif also excommunicated the Emperor *Leo*, for prohibiting the worship of images,

13 O

but



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minions.

but was attacked by *Luitprand* King of the Lombards, who besieged him in Rome, and had taken the city, if *Charles Martel* Grand Master of France, the Pope's ally, had not interposed and prevented it.

741. *St. Zachary* 10  
He encouraged the French in deposing their King *Childerick*, and advancing *Pepin* the son of *Charles Martel* to the throne.

754. *Stephen II.* Four days.

754. *Stephen III.* 5  
He was compelled to abandon Rome by *Astulphus* King of Lombardy, but his ally King *Pepin* defeated the Lombards, recovered the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and conferred those territories on the Pope.

757. *Paul I.* 11  
He began to rebuild the church of *St. Peter's* in Rome; his election was disputed by *Theophylact* for some time, which occasioned the ninth schism. The writing the lives of Saints way very much in vogue in this pontificate.

768. *Stephen IV.* 3  
*Constantine* a lay-man was set up against *Stephen*, but was soon degraded, and his eyes put out; afterwards *Philip* a priest opposed *Stephen*, but submitted to him. This was the tenth schism.

772. *Adrian I.* 23  
He was attacked by *Didier*, or *Desiderius*, the last King of Lombardy; but *Charlemain* marched to his assistance, and having defeated *Didier*, and taken him prisoner, put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards: whereupon he acknowledged his right of appointing the Pope. *Charlemain*, on the other hand, confirmed his title to the territories which his father *Pepin* had conferred upon him; and had so great a respect for this Pope, that he wrote his epitaph, which still remains in *St. Peter's* church.

795. *Leo III.* 20  
He was opposed by a faction, and forced to fly to *Charlemain* in Germany, who confirmed him in the chair; whereupon *Leo* crowned his benefactor Emperor of the west, and acknowledged him his sovereign.

816. *Stephen V.* 1

817. *Pascal I.* 7  
He prevailed with the Emperor to give up his right of appointing a Pope; and excommunicated *Leo V*, Emperor of the East, for opposing the worship of images. He crowned *Lotharius* Emperor of the West.

824. *Eugenius II.* 3  
He was opposed by *Zizinius*, which occasioned the eleventh schism. The worship of relics being very much in vogue in this pontificate, he distributed great numbers of bones in France, Germany and England, said to belong to Saints and Martyrs.

827. *Valentinus* Forty days.  
He was poisoned forty days after his election.

827. *Gregory IV.* 15  
He refused to accept of the chair, it is said, till he had the Emperor's consent.

844. *Sergius II.* 3

847. *Leo IV.* 8  
He defeated the Saracen fleet, and defended Rome against them. He prohibited laymen to enter the church in time of divine service, it is said.

852. Some place Pope *Joan* here by the name of *John VIII.* It is said she was of English ex-

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traction; that she had her education at Athens, where having made a great progress in her studies, she went to Rome, and on *Leo's* death was advanced to the papal chair. But being with child, was delivered of a bastard as she was going to the church of *St. John de Lateran*. But I find the whole is looked upon as a fiction by many Protestants.

855. *Benedict III.* 2

*Anastasi*, an excommunicated Priest, opposed him, which occasioned the twelfth schism.

858. *Nicolas I.* surnamed *the Great.* 9

He was called *the Great* on account of his maintaining his authority against *Michael* Emperor of the east, and excommunicating *Photius*, whom the Emperor had made Patriarch of Constantinople, in the room of *Ignatius*, whom he had deposed.

867. *Adrian II.* 4

He was chosen without the consent of the Emperor, and ordered that neither the Emperor, nor any layman should be concerned in electing a Pope for the future.

872. *John VIII.* 10

He was made prisoner by the Marquis of *Tuscany*, but escaped into France, and returning to Italy, then infested by the Saracens, it is said, was forced to pay tribute to them. He was taken off by poison.

882. *Marin* or *Martin II.* 2

884. *Adrian III.* 1

885. *Stephen VI.* 6

He first appointed the sign of the cross.

890. *Formosus.* 6

He was opposed by *Sergius*, a Cardinal Deacon, which occasioned the thirteenth schism.

897. *Stephen VII.* 3

Opposed by *Boniface*, who is by some placed in the number of Popes; but was forced to quit the title in fifteen days.

901. *Theodorus II.* Twenty days.

901. *John IX.* 3

905. *Benedict IV.* Some few months.

906. *Leo V.* Forty days.

One of his domesticks usurped the See, and threw him into prison, where he died.

906. *Christopher* Seven months.

He governed tyrannically, and was imprisoned in a monastery.

907. *Sergius III.* 3

Having imprisoned his predecessor, he obtained the chair by force; after which he threw the corps of Pope *Formosus* into the Tiber, who had formerly been his competitor for the pope-dome. He cohabited with a Lady of quality, by whom he had a bastard, that afterwards came to be Pope by the name of *John X.*

910. *Anastasi* III. 2

912. *Landon* Some months.

913. *John X.* 15

He succeeded by the interest of his mother, who was concubine to *Sergius III*, but was deposed, and strangled in prison by the procurement of her daughter, to make room for *John XI*, her bastard son.

928. *Leo VI.* Six months.

929. *Stephen VIII.* 2

931. *John XI.* 4

936. *Leo VII.* 3

939. *Stephen IX.* 3

He was set up by the Emperor *Orto*, but opposed by the people, who assaulted him, and so dif-

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minions.



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disfigured his face that he could never appear in publick.

943. *Marin* or *Martin III.*

6

949. *Agapetus II.*

9

955. *John XII.*

9

He called the Emperor *Otbo* to assist him against the tyrant *Berengarius* and his son, and swore allegiance to him; but on some misunderstanding joined his enemies; whereupon *Otbo* procured him to be deposed, setting up *Leo* a Deacon, whom he maintained in the papal chair two years, which occasioned the fifteenth schism: But *John* was afterwards restored by the interest of the ladies, whose votary he had been. He was murdered by one with whose wife he had been too free.

962. *Leo VIII.* the usurper, is by some placed in the catalogue of Popes

2

964. *Benedict V.*

1

965. *John XIII.*

6

He was elected by the interest of the Emperor, but expelled by the Romans; and being afterwards restored, used his enemies barbarously. He first appointed the blessing of bells.

972. *Domnus* or *Donnion II.* Two months.

972. *Benedict VI.*

1

He was imprisoned and afterwards strangled by the procurement of *Boniface* the Cardinal Deacon, who usurped the papacy, and occasioned the sixteenth schism; but *Boniface* having plundered the church of *St. Peter's*, retired to Constantinople.

975. *Benedict VII.*

9

He attempted to reform the clergy, and was deposed.

984. *John XIV.*

1

He was imprisoned and starved to death by *Boniface* the Antipope, who returned to Rome and usurped the chair about four months; after which dying suddenly, he was dragged naked about the streets.

985. *John XV.*

10

He was at perpetual variance with his clergy; driven from Rome, and restored again by the Emperor; but at last was famished in the castle of *St. Angelo*, as it is said.

996. *Gregory V.*

2

He was the son of *Otbo* Duke of *Suabia*, and first created Elector in the Empire. *Crescentius*, a nobleman of Rome, set up *John* Bishop of *Piacenza* against him, who held the See sixteen months, which occasioned the eighteenth schism.

999. *Silvester II.*

4

1003. *John XVII.* Some fews months.1003. *John XVIII.*

5

He appointed the festival in commemoration of the dead.

1009. *Sergius IV.*

2

1012. *Benedict VIII.*

12

He defeated the Saracens who were then masters of part of Italy.

1024. *John XIX.*

9

1034. *Benedict IX.*

10

He procured the chair by force and bribery, and led a very scandalous life; he was several times deposed and restored again.

1044. *Gregory VI.*

2

He purchased the chair of *Benedict*, who resumed his pretensions notwithstanding. Two others also usurped the chair about this time, which occasioned the twentieth schism. *Gregory*

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bought out the other competitors, but was afterwards carried prisoner into Germany by the Emperor *Henry III.* where he died.

1046. *Clement II.* Nine months.

He was set up by the Emperor, but poisoned by *Bennet IX.* in the tenth month of his pontificate.

1048. *Damasus II.* Twenty-three days.

He was also set up by the Emperor, and poisoned by *Bennet IX.*

1049. *St. Leo IX.*

5

1054. *Viktor II.*

2

1057. *Stephen X.* Eight months.

He subjected the church of *Milan* to that of *Rome*, which till this time had disputed its supremacy. He was advanced to the chair by the interest of the Emperor, as three or four of his immediate predecessors had been. The faction that opposed him fell upon him, and so disfigured his face, that he could not appear in publick for some time.

1058. *Nicholas II.*

2

He directed that the Pope should be elected by the Cardinals and the Emperor. The Bishop of *Velitri* was his competitor, but obliged to relinquish his pretensions.

1061. *Alexander II.*

11

He was chosen by the Cardinals, but opposed by *Honorius* who was set up by the Emperor, between whom several bloody battles were fought: But *Honorius* was at length obliged to submit. This Pope assisted *William the Conqueror* in his enterprize against *England*.

1073. *Gregory VII.*

12

He was elected by the Cardinals without the Emperor's consent, and decreed that the investiture of Bishops, &c. should not belong to the Emperor. He excommunicated the Emperor *Henry IV.* cited him to appear at *Rome*, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and set up *Rodolphus* of *Suabia* against him; but the Emperor having defeated *Rodolph*, who was killed in the field of battle, marched into Italy, besieged and took *Rome*, compelling *Gregory* to fly to *Salerno*; whereupon he advanced *Clement* to the papal chair, which occasioned the twentieth schism, that lasted above twenty years.

1086. *Viktor III.* Ten months.

He was poisoned by his Subdeacon at the sacrament.

1087. *Urban II.*

11

He excommunicated the Emperor, and was obliged to fly into *France* for protection.

1099. *Pascal II.*

18

He excommunicated *Clement* the Antipope, and contested with the Emperor and the King of *England* about the investiture of the bishopricks, &c. The Emperor *Henry V.* imprisoned him, and made him relinquish the investiture, and confirm this agreement by taking the sacrament; but he afterwards promoted an insurrection against the Emperor in *Germany*, and obliged him to give up the right of investiture again. *Clement* the Antipope dying, *Paschal* ordered his corps to be dug up and treated ignominiously: after which four other Antipopes set up against him, which occasioned the twenty-fourth schism.

1118. *Gelasius II.*

1

He was obliged to leave *Rome* by the Emperor *Henry V.* (who set up *Gregory* against him) and to fly into *France*; whereupon happened the twenty-

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Pope's do-  
minions.



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Pope's do-  
minions.

Years.

- twenty-fifth schism, *Gregory* keeping possession of the See for three years.
1119. *Calixtus II.* 5  
He was of the blood royal of France, and succeeded on the death of *Gelasius*. He excommunicated the Emperor, and imprisoned *Gregory* the Antipope, and held the first General Council of Lateran, in order to accommodate matters with the Emperor.
1124. *Honorius II.* 4  
Being illegally chosen, he resigned, in order to be elected canonically, as he was.
1130. *Innocent II.* 13  
*Anaclete* was set up against him by the Italians, whereupon he was obliged to fly for refuge into France; but afterwards accommodated matters, and held the second General Council of Lateran.
1143. *Celestine II.* Five months.
1144. *Lucius II.* Eleven months.  
He persuaded the Emperor *Conrad* to undertake a croisado against the Saracens.
1145. *Eugenius III.* 8  
He was several times driven from Rome, but was at length successful against those who opposed him, and promoted a croisado.
1153. *Anastasiu IV.* 1
1154. *Adrian IV.* 4  
He was an Englishman, named *Nicholas Breakspere*, of Abbots Langley in Hertfordshire, his father a lay-brother of St. Albans. He travelled to Arles in France, and being admitted into the abbey of St. *Ruff*, became their Abbot. He afterwards travelled into Norway, and planted Christianity there; for which service he was made a Cardinal by Pope *Eugene III.* He excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, for not acknowledging the Empire to be a fee of the See of Rome, abolished the Roman Senate, and excommunicated the citizens. He was afterwards reconciled to the Emperor, and crowned him in St. *Peter's* church.
1159. *Alexander III.* 21  
He had continual wars with the Emperor *Barbarossa*, being supported by the Venetians and other powers. *Victor* was set up against him, and took him prisoner; but he made his escape into France, where he was forced to remain three years, which occasioned the twenty-seventh schism in the church. *Paschal* and *Calixtus* were set up against him after *Victor*; but he extricated himself out of all his difficulties, and compelled the Emperor to submit to him, who it is said was contented to let the Pope tread upon his neck, to procure the liberty of the Prince his son, who had been made prisoner by the enemy. The Pope on this occasion insolently made use of that passage of scripture, *Thou shalt tread on serpents and scorpions*. He held the third Lateran Council at Rome for the reformation of the clergy.
1181. *Lucius III.* 4  
He was driven from Rome upon his attempting to lay aside the Consuls and Patricii; but being assisted by the neighbouring powers, the Romans were obliged to submit to him. He also disputed the right of investiture with the Emperor.
1185. *Urban.* 1  
In this pontificate Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens.
1187. *Gregory VIII.* Two months.

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minions.

- He promoted a croisado for the recovery of the Holy Land.
1188. *Clement III.* 5  
He promoted the croisado's, prohibited the celebrating Mass with common bread or in wooden vessels.
1191. *Celestine III.* 6  
He took part with *Richard I.* King of England, against his Barons, and invited him to undertake a croisado. Upon his crowning the Emperor, he struck the crown off again with his foot, intimating that he had power to depose him, says my author.
1199. *Innocent III.* 18  
He first appointed auricular confession; excommunicated the Emperor *Otho*, and set up *Frederick II* against him; *John* King of England made his dominions tributary to the Pope in this pontificate.
1216. *Honorius III.* 10  
He ordered kneeling at the elevation of the Host, and excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick II.*
1227. *Gregory IX.* 14  
He was in continual wars with the Emperor *Frederick II*, excommunicated him and attempted to depose him; but the Emperor proving successful, it is said, broke the Pope's heart.
1241. *Celestine IV.* Twenty-eight days.  
He was poisoned.
1243. *Innocent IV.* 11  
He excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick II*, and defeated his army; but the Emperor afterwards getting an advantage of him, the Pope fled to France for refuge, where he remained till the Emperor's death, and then returned to Rome. He was the first who appointed the Cardinals to wear red hats.
1254. *Alexander IV.* 6  
In this pontificate Italy was distracted by the two factions of Guelphs and Gibelines, the first being espoused by the Pope, and the other by the Emperor.
1261. *Urban IV.* 3
1265. *Clement IV.* 3
1271. *Gregory X.* 4
1276. *Innocent V.* Five months.
1276. *Adrian V.* Twenty-nine days.
1276. *John XXI.* Nine months.
1277. *Nicholas III.* 2
1281. *Martin IV.* 3
1285. *Honorius IV.* 2
1287. *Nicholas IV.* 4  
After his death there was an interregnum of two years and three months.
1294. *St. Celestine V.* Five months.  
He was chosen out of an hermitage, and after a reign of five months, chose to resign and return to his hermitage again.
1295. *Boniface VIII.* 8  
He excommunicated *Philip* the French King, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and gave his kingdom to those who could recover it; whereupon *Philip*, in a Synod and Parliament of that kingdom, condemned the Pope for simony, murder, usury, atheism, adultery, and a confederacy with the Saracens, and sent an army into Italy, which took the Pope prisoner, and it is said he died raving mad in their hands.
1303. *Benedict X.* Nine months.



*The See removed from Rome to Avignon.*

1305. *Clement V.* 8  
He was a Frenchman, elected after a long vacancy, and crowned at Lyons. He resided at Avignon, as his successors did after him for seventy years, which the Romans called the Babylonish Captivity.
1316. *John XXII.* 18  
In this pontificate *Lewis* of Bavaria and *Frederick* of Austria being competitors for the Empire, *John* excommunicated *Lewis*, whereupon *Lewis* set up a *Cordelier* against the Pope under the name of *Nicholas V.*, which occasioned the twenty-eighth schism, which lasted two years; but *Nicholas* being defeated and taken prisoner, died in prison.
1334. *Benedict XII.* 7  
He was the son of a French miller; he excommunicated *Lewis* of Bavaria the Emperor.
1342. *Clement VI.* 10  
He ordered the Jubilee to be held once in fifty years.
1352. *Innocent VI.* 12  
He was a Frenchman also, and perpetually at war with one Prince or other. He burnt *Joannes de Rupe* for his interpretation of the Revelations, in which he called the Pope Antichrist.
1364. *Urban V.* 5  
He was the first who wore the triple crown, condemned pluralities and non-residency, and prohibited the Cardinals making their palaces sanctuaries for villains.
1370. *Gregory XI.* 1  
He went from Avignon and took up his residence at Rome, after the See had been removed seventy years.

*The See resettled at Rome.*

1378. *Urban VI.* 11  
The Romans threatened to set fire to the Conclave, unless an Italian was elected; whereupon *Urban* was elected; but the Cardinals afterwards set up *Clement VII* against him, which occasioned the twenty-ninth schism, that lasted thirty years.
1378. *Clement VII.* lived till 1394, but is reckoned by some among the Antipopes.
1389. *Boniface IX.* 14  
He was the first who assumed the absolute government of Rome, and took upon him to appoint all the magistrates. Before he could accomplish the design, he had several warm skirmishes with the citizens, in one of which he was driven out of Rome, and was very near being killed. He excommunicated several sovereign Princes for conferring benefices on Clerks without his approbation, and pronounced a sentence of deposition against the Emperor *Wenceslaus*.
1404. *Innocent VII.* 2  
He was elected on condition that he would quit the chair again, if *Bennet* the Antipope, who resided at Avignon, would do the like: But refusing afterwards, and being reprehended by the Romans for it, he caused several of them to be beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the streets; whereupon the citizens called in *Ladislaus* King of Naples to their assistance,

who drove him from Rome, but he returned thither afterwards and died there.

1406. *Gregory XII.* 2  
He was chosen also upon condition he should resign the pontificate if *Bennet* the Antipope did; which they refusing, the Cardinals met at Pisa, and resolved that both of them had forfeited the See, and elected *Alexander*.
1409. *Alexander V.* Ten months.  
He deposed King *Ladislaus* for invading the dominions of the church.
1410. *John XXIII.* 5  
He was elected on condition also that he should resign again, if *Gregory XII* and *Bennet* would do the same; but he refusing, a council was called by the Emperor at Constance anno 1415, and this Pope taken and sent prisoner to Heidelberg, after which the council deposed him and the other competitors, and elected *Martin V.* who afterwards upon *John's* submission, made him Dean of the Cardinals, and gave him the bishoprick of Frefcati.
1417. *Martin V.* 13  
He was chosen, as has been said, by a committee of the council of Constance, and made an excellent Governour. He repaired the city of Rome, which was almost destroyed during this schism, and reformed the manners of the Clergy and Laity, preferring none but men of merit, and was much lamented when he died.
1431. *Eugene IV.* 15  
He called a council at Basil, but afterwards revoked his letters of summons, and held a council at Ferrara. The council of Basil however met, and summoned the Pope before them, and on his refusing to appear, deposed him, and set up the Duke of Savoy, *Felix V.*, which schism lasted above nine years. *Eugene* however maintained himself at Rome till his death.
1447. *Nicholas V.* 8  
*Felix V* resigning his pretensions, put an end to the schism in this pontificate.
1455. *Calixtus III.* 3
1458. *Pius II.* 5  
He is esteemed one of the most learned men that ever was advanced to this See.
1464. *Paul III.* 6
1471. *Sixtus IV.* 13  
He endeavoured to ruin the Venetians and the house of Medicis, and even hired assassins to murder two of the Princes of Medicis at church, one of whom was killed, and the other escaped. He proceeded so far as to excommunicate the Venetian republic, but they maintained their liberties against all his thunder; which proved such a disappointment to him, that it is said it contributed to his death.
1484. *Innocent VIII.* 7  
He permitted the Norwegians to celebrate Mass without wine, upon their alledging that it was not sometimes to be had in their country. He is said to be remarkable for his incontinence, and enriching his base sons.
1492. *Alexander VI.* 11  
He obtained the chair by bribery, and it is said broke through all the Laws of God and man to advance his base son *Cesar Borgia*, besides whom he had several others. He and his son *Cesar* poisoned several of the Cardinals, and designed to have poisoned others at an entertainment, for which purpose a bottle of poisoned wine was provided, but by mistake the



*A. D.* servant gave a glass of the poison to the Pope, which killed him. The French King *Charles VIII* was provoked to enter into a war with him, and took Rome, and brought the Pope to terms.

1503. *Pius III.* Twenty-six days.

He was poisoned, as it is supposed, by his successor, before he had reigned a month.

1503. *Julius II.*

He entered into a war with the French, in which he was unsuccessful; and excommunicated several sovereign Princes who had opposed his election.

1513. *Leo X.*

A war with the Turks being resolved on in this pontificate, the Pope issued his indulgences in order to raise money to maintain it, which gave occasion to *Luther* to enquire into this and other errors of the church of Rome, and ended in the throwing off the Pope's authority in several kingdoms of Europe. He gave King *Henry VIII* of England, the title of *Defender of the Faith*, for writing against *Luther*.

1522. *Adrian VI.*

He endeavoured to drive the French out of Italy, but his councils being betrayed, he could not effect it, and was poisoned in the second year of his reign.

1523. *Clement VII.*

He insulted the Emperor *Charles V.*, who thereupon sent an army into Italy, besieged Rome, and took the Pope prisoner, obliging him to pay forty thousand crowns of gold for his ransom. But matters were afterwards accommodated between him and the Emperor. In this pontificate, *Henry VIII.*, King of England, divorced his Queen, without applying to the Pope; whereupon his Holiness excommunicated the King, and his Majesty on the other hand threw off the Pope's supremacy, which laid the foundation of the reformation in England.

1544. *Paul III.*

He convened the council of Trent, established the inquisition, and approved the order of *Jesuits*, but condemned the Interim which *Charles V.* had contrived, in order to accommodate matters with the Protestant Princes and States of Germany. He cited King *Henry VIII.* to appear at Rome, to answer the charge of adultery, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, which only confirmed them in their aversion to the See of Rome.

1550. *Julius III.*

1555. *Marcellus II.* Twenty-one days.

1555. *Paul IV.*

He treated the Ambassadors with great insolence, who came from King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, to beg absolution in the name of the people of England, and to desire a reconciliation with the See of Rome; the reason of which is supposed to be the ill treatment he met with from the Spaniards when they took Rome by storm. He joined with the French and Swiss also against Spain, and making Italy the seat of war, reduced it to great misery. He opposed the resignation of the Emperor *Charles V.*, and would never acknowledge *Ferdinand* the Emperor, because he was not consulted in it. He was a zealous promoter of the Inquisition, and recommended it on his death-bed as the principal support of the Papacy.

Years. *A. D.*

1559. *Pius IV.*

He put a conclusion to the council of Trent, ordered the antiquities in Rome to be preserved, and encouraged magnificent buildings.

1566. *Pius V.*

This Pope, with his confederates the Spaniards and Venetians, defeated the Turks in a great naval engagement near Lepanto. He assisted *Charles IX.*, of France, against his Protestant subjects; conferred the title of Great Duke of Tuscany on the family of Medici; excommunicated *Elizabeth* Queen of England, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and transferred her dominions to the King of Spain.

1572. *Gregory XIII.*

He encouraged fine buildings in Rome, and particularly caused a college to be built for the English, and reformed the Calendar, from hence called the *Gregorian Calendar*.

1585. *Sixtus V.*

He was the son of a cottager, and his first employment keeping of swine; but being taken into a monastery, he appeared an excellent genius, and had an education given him suitable to it, but would not have been advanced to the Papacy so soon, if he had not pretended to be more infirm and old than he really was: immediately after his election he appeared to be one of the most vigorous active men that had sat in that chair. He reformed the courts of justice, and entirely suppressed the banditti. He rebuilt the Vatican library, and adorned Rome with more magnificent structures than any of his predecessors, and recovered several obelisks, pillars, and other noble antiquities which had been long buried in rubbish, giving the city a perfect new face. He repaired the fortifications of the towns belonging to the church, and increased their garisons to twenty thousand men, and was dreaded both by the French and Spaniard. He encouraged the great attempt of the Spaniards against England with their Armada in 1588, designing, as it is said, at the same time to have surprized the kingdom of Naples. He laid new taxes on his subjects, and increased the revenues of the Roman See six hundred thousand crowns per annum, and at his death, it is said, left five millions of crowns behind him, of which he appropriated great part for the defence of the church, enjoining that it should not be touched on any other occasion: Among other acts of charity, he employed two hundred thousand crowns to prevent a scarcity in Rome, when the rest of Italy was grievously distressed by famine. He is supposed to have been poisoned by the Spaniards, who did not admire his conduct.

1590. *Urban VII.* Thirteen days.

1590. *Gregory XIV.* Ten months.

1591. *Innocent IX.* Two months.

1592. *Clement VIII.*

He united the duchy of Ferrara to the See of Rome; he corrected the Bible set out by *Sextus V.*, in two thousand places, and forbid confession by Letters.

1605. *Leo XI.* Twenty-five days.

1605. *Paul V.*

He excommunicated the Venetians, and laid their country under an interdict, for trying an ecclesiastick in the secular courts, and making statutes of Mortmain to prevent the Laity leaving

Years. CHAP.

XIX.

5 Pope's do-  
minions.

6

12

5

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15

5

4

13

15



## CHAP. A. D.

XIX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.

Years. leaving their lands to the church. The Venetians on the other hand expelled the Monks, Jesuits, and all religious orders, who refused to celebrate divine service. And the Pope found himself under a necessity at last to accommodate matters with the Venetians, and yield up every point he had insisted on. He condemned the oath of allegiance which the crown of England required of the subject, and declared no Catholic could take it with a safe conscience. In this pontificate arose the dispute between the Dominicans and Jesuits concerning the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. He equalled any of his predecessors in beautifying and adorning the city of Rome.

1621. Gregory XV.

2 He founded the congregation *de Propaganda Fide*.

1623. Urban VIII.

20 He was extremely devoted to the Angel St. Michael, whose image he erected in St. Peter's church, and his own in a posture of adoration before it, with this inscription, viz. *I worship thee morning and evening*. He solemnized a Jubilee in the year 1625, when the Spanish Ambassador, in a compliment, subjected all his master's dominions to him, as the Vicar of Christ, promising to defend the Holy See with all his power. He ordered the State of Venice to be treated with the same honours as crowned heads; condemned Galileo for affirming the sun stood still and the earth moved; and had an intention to have made one of his nephews King of Naples, but did not succeed in it. He put some persons to death for attempting his life by witchcraft, and forming an image of him in wax, which they wounded with pins and needles.

1644. Innocent X.

10 He is charged with cohabiting with his brother's wife Donna Olympia, and being governed by her. He protested against the treaty of Munster, because church-lands were yielded up, and transferred to temporal Princes, and others who had gotten possession of them at the Reformation; and because liberty of conscience was allowed to Protestants in many countries; and Monsieur Moulin suggests, that he promoted the murder of Charles I, King of England.

1655. Alexander VII.

12 The French King insulted him, and he made a very mean submission. He condemned the Jansenists, and determined the controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin in her favour.

1667. Clement IX.

2 In this pontificate the island of Candia was taken by the Turks, which, it is said, broke the old gentleman's heart.

1670. Clement X.

1676. Innocent XI.

13 He assigned Christina Queen of Sweden, who resided at Rome, a pension of twelve thousand crowns per annum. He had great disputes with the French King about disposing of benefices and church-lands, and his Holiness was so highly incensed against his most Christian Majesty on this account, that he entered into a confederacy with the Emperor, England, and Holland against him, who stipulated that they would not make peace with France, till the Pope had received satisfaction for the wrongs done to the

## A. D.

Years. Holy See by his most Christian Majesty; and from this alliance with the Protestant powers he obtained the name of the Protestant Pope.

1690. Alexander VIII.

1 He seemed to dread the French King's power as much as his predecessor, and therefore was no great enemy to the Confederates, tho' most of them were Protestants.

1691. Innocent XII.

9 He was of the noble family of Pignatelli in Naples, and having been Nuntio in the greatest courts of Europe, was extremely well qualified for a Governour when he was elected to the papacy. He declared against nepotism, and aggrandizing his relations, and acted accordingly. He built him a magnificent tomb in his lifetime, in which he was interred, only he ordered his Confessor to send his heart to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

Nov. 20, 1700. Clement XI.

20 It was three days before the Cardinals could persuade him to accept the chair; and then he declared he would not have done it, but to free himself from some scruples they had raised in his mind concerning the sin of refusing it.

He had indeed a very difficult part to act, the crown of Spain being in dispute during this pontificate. He was thought to be more inclined to the French than the Imperialists, but insulted however by both of them in their turns; his towns surprized, and soldiers quartered in his territories. The thunder of the Vatican had now lost its force; neither the Emperor or France would be terrified by his threats.

May 8, 1721. Innocent XIII.

2 He protested against the Emperor's granting the investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia to Don Carlos Prince of Spain, claiming them as fees of the church.

May 29, 1724. Benedict XIII.

Pope INNOCENT XIII dying on the seventh of March 1724, the Cardinals entered the conclave on the twentieth of the same month, where after having been shut up two months and nine days they resolved unanimously to chuse for Sovereign Pontiff his Eminence Cardinal VINCENTO MARIA ORSINI of the Dominican order, who thereupon took upon him the name of BENEDICT XIII. He was the first that had been chosen of a monastical order for near two hundred years. He is a Neapolitan by birth, and senior Cardinal of the sacred college, being in the seventy-fifth year of his age at the time of his election. He is said to have more humility and integrity than most of his predecessors, and is a person of extraordinary temperance. On his advancement he would not suffer his domesticks to wear any thing but coarse purple cloth without lace, and ordered all the rich hangings and furniture of the Vatican to be taken down, and plain to be put up in their room. He prohibited all ecclesiasticks wearing perukes; and as to his own person, is so mortified, that he wears nothing but woollen next him in the hottest weather. At the first consistory he held, several of the Cardinals and Prelates appeared with their bald pates without perukes, in conformity to the Pope's order, and the rest excused themselves on account of their health. An admirer of this Pope gives him the following character: He is, says this gentleman, the mildest, most friendly, and most engaging Pope.

## CHAP.

XIX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.The cha-  
racter of  
the present  
Pope.



CHAP.  
XIX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.

engaging person in the world, obligingly gracious to every body, of the most easy access, and exceeding affable, especially to the poor. Though he is nicely frugal as to himself, he is beneficent to others to a degree of magnificence. When he was Archbishop of Benevento he bestowed all the revenues of that See, and his own patrimony, which were very great, upon the publick. The monuments of his abundant charity must shine as long as the city of Benevento stands. When that town was in a manner destroyed by a terrible earthquake in June 1688, and sixteen hundred persons buried in its ruins, and the remaining inhabitants were about to abandon the place, and settle elsewhere, the good Archbishop prevented them by his liberality. He assisted them to repair their private houses, and rebuilt the cathedral, parish churches, hospitals, and religious houses at his own charge; insomuch that the city makes a much better figure than it did before that calamity happened. But by the account the Pope himself gives of his miraculous escape, he appears to have a pretty deal of superstition and enthusiasm in his composition.

The pre-  
sent Pope's  
escape  
from an  
earth-  
quake.

He relates, That on Saturday the fifth of June, 1688, at the hour of Vespers, being then with a gentleman in one of the uppermost rooms of his palace, the same was thrown down, together with the apartment underneath, and part of the main roof; so that he fell with the above-mentioned gentleman down into a vault of the cellar, where they were covered with the stones and beams of the shattered apartments. His friend was crushed to pieces, but he was preserved by means of some rafters, which fell in such a manner that they formed a kind of roof, and gave him room enough to breathe in; and, to his unspeakable comfort, "there fell also with him a chest of drawers, in which he kept the pictures of the principal actions of his glorious protector St. PHILIP of Neri, which though it was locked, burst open, and the pictures placed themselves round him; one of them particularly fell upon his head, which was the picture of the Saint praying and looking towards the blessed Virgin, who with her sacred hand supported the main beam of the church of Vallicella, which was split out of its place." He lay under these ruins an hour and a half, but did not think it had been above a quarter of an hour, when he was dug out by some of the Monks of his order. They carried him out of the gate of the city, wounded as he was, in his head, his right hand, and right foot, but he felt no pain, and the same night he preached to the people with the host in his hand. The favours he received from the abovesaid Saint, to whose intercession he ascribes his deliverance, he says, were not confined to his person, but extended to his whole family; for though his palace was entirely ruined, he did not lose one of his domesticks, or any officer of his court, except one footman: so that he could say, to the glory of that Saint, that he was pleased in his favour to renew the miracle which happened, anno 587, at Antioch, in a terrible earthquake, wherein sixty thousand persons lost their lives, and their Bishop GREGORY was preserved with all his family, though his palace, as well as that of Benevento, was entirely demolished. "The Saint also had preserved all the records and writings belonging to his church; and upon going to visit his heart, which lies in the church of the Fathers of the

Oratory at Naples, he continued his goodness so far, that he was cured of all his wounds before he had well got out of the chapel." And concludes as follows: "In order to perpetuate the memory of so great a miracle, which God, by the intercession of St. PHILIP of Neri, wrought for me a miserable sinner, and to augment the devotion of believers towards so distinguished a benefactor, and so amiable a protector, I cause this relation to be registered, and confirm it with my own subscription and seal, that none may doubt the truth of the facts it contains."

Done at Naples at my convent of St. CATHERINE DE FORMELLE, this present Tuesday the 22d of June, 1688.

F. VINCENT MARIA Card. ORSINI,  
Archbishop of Benevento.

From this Specimen of the present Pope's bigotry and superstition, notwithstanding his intended reformations in the church, and his permitting the bible to be translated, few people will believe him in danger of being infected with the northern heresy; though there were some wise men amongst us so sanguine as to believe him a Protestant in his heart, about the time of his accession to the triple crown. The pope indeed had been used to a retired monastick life, and did not seem to relish either the business or splendor of a court; nay, he would gladly have retired to his bishoprick of Benevento again, and left the administration of the government to the Cardinals, if he had not been dissuaded from this project by his relations; and yet he may not be less zealous for his religion than his predecessors. But some men are of opinion, that a Roman Catholic cannot be endued with any Christian or moral virtues, but immediately they suppose he is turning Protestant; as if virtue were confined to the people of that denomination, when God knows we may have as little of that kind to boast of at this day, as any persuasion whatever. But to proceed: The Pope considering the shortness of human life, decreed, that a great jubilee should for the future be celebrated every five and twenty years, instead of fifty, which it was formerly limited to; when the people should be entitled to plenary indulgences, upon condition nevertheless that every person should be obliged to visit four churches every year fifteen times on foot, between the beginning of Lent and the twenty-seventh of May. In pursuance of which new regulation, the Emperor, attended by his whole court, visited the four principal churches of Vienna lately, whither they went on foot over boards laid along the streets for that purpose. Nor does the Pope wholly neglect secular affairs; for they tell us he is about making Civita Vecchia and Ancona free ports, in order to promote a foreign trade in the ecclesiastical State.

Having thus given a catalogue of the Popes, and an abstract of their history, I shall here add a list of the Antipopes, and the years of their respective usurpations, though I find authors are not entirely agreed which were real Popes, and which Antipopes.

#### ANTIPOPEs and SCHISMS.

A. D.

251. *Novatian*, filed the Arch-heretick.

367. *Ursicinus*, or *Urcinus*.



CHAP.  
XIX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.

418. *Eulalius*, Archdeacon.  
498. *Laurence*, Archdeacon.  
530. *Dioscorus*.  
686. *Peter* and *Theodorus*.  
687. *Theodorus* and *Paschal*.  
757. *Theophylact*, Arch-priest.  
768. *Constantine*.  
824. *Zinzimus*.  
844. *John*, the Deacon.  
890. *Sergius* and *Boniface VI*.  
897. *Romanus Gallefinus*.  
962. *Leo VIII*.  
990. *John XVI*.  
1013. *Gregory*.  
1043. *Sylveſter III*. and *John XX*.  
1059. *John Minceus*, called *Benedict*.  
1061. *Cadulus*, called *Honorius II*.  
1080. *Guiders*, called *Clement III*.  
1118. *Maurice Burdin*, called *Gregory VIII*.  
1124. *Thibaut*, called *Calixtus III*.  
1130. *Peter de Leon*, called *Anacletus II*.  
1138. *Gregory*, called *Victor*.  
1159. *Oſtavian*, called *Victor IV*.  
1164. *Guy de Creme*, called *Paschal III*.  
1170. *John*, Abbot of *Strume*, called *Calixtus III*.  
1378. *Clement VII*, looked upon as Antipope.  
1394. *Peter de Lune*, called *Benedict XIII*.  
1424. *Gildas*, called *Clement VIII*.  
1439. *Amadeus VIII*, Duke of *Savoy*, called *Felix V*.

It is observable, that no Pope, unless *St. PETER*, has reigned four and twenty years: and it seems there is a prophetic tradition, that no Pope's reign shall ever extend beyond those limits. Some there are, it is true, which have come pretty near it; as *St. SILVESTER*, who died anno 336, in the twenty-third year of his pontificate: *ADRIAN I*, who died anno 795, in the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate: *LEO III*, who died anno 816, in the twenty-first year of his pontificate: *ALEXANDER III*, who died anno 1181, in the twenty-second year of his reign: *Pope URBAN VIII*, who died anno 1623, in the twenty-first or twenty-second year of his reign: And lastly, *Pope CLEMENT XI*, who died anno 1721, in the twenty-first year of his reign.

This tradition, that no Pope shall govern the See of Rome above four and twenty years, is so firmly believed in that court, that we find *Cardinal TANARA*, Sub-dean of the sacred college, when he complimented *Pope CLEMENT XI*, on the anniversary of his creation, anno 1720, on his entering into the twenty-first year of his pontificate, using this expression, *Sanctissime Pater, non superabis annos Petri*, Most holy Father, you shall not out-live the years of *St. PETER*; intimating, that as *St. PETER*, according to their tradition, was Pope of Rome four and twenty years, and none of his successors had reigned so long, he ought to prepare himself for his departure: which was but a melancholy compliment to the Pontiff, just recovering from a fit of sickness, and was by some thought to have had an ill effect upon his health; for he soon after relapsed, and died within three months. It may be thought strange, that no Pope of Rome should in the space of seventeen hundred years reign twenty-four, when we find Princes in every kingdom, who have sat upon their thrones forty, fifty, and some sixty years: but the wonder will abate, when we consider that they generally elect one of the eldest Cardinals in the sacred college, who have lived the ordinary age of men before they are advanced to that dig-

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nity, whereas other Princes are frequently crowned in their infancy: and perhaps rather than spoil the prophecy, That no Pope shall exceed the years of *St. PETER*, they may be induced to practise Italian arts upon him, if he presume to advance beyond those limits.

## CHAP. XX.

Contains an account of the ceremonies observed at the death of the Pope, and the election of his successor.

WHEN the Pope dies, notice is immediately given to the sacred college, to the nobility and courts of justice; and the same or the succeeding day, the Cardinal Chamberlain dressed in purple, and attended by the clerks of the chamber, and some members of the Council, comes and views the corps, and calls out to the deceased by his Christian name, OTTOBONI or PIGNATELLI as his name is, *ſei morto?* art thou dead? and after a short pause answers again, *Ottoboni e morto*, OTTOBONI is dead. Then taking the seal called *L'anello del piſcatore*, the fisherman's ring, he breaks it, and the great bell of the capitol, which is never moved but on this occasion, is ordered to be rung, to give notice to the citizens of Rome of the Pope's death; and Expresses are sent to all Roman Catholick Princes and States, and particularly to the absent Cardinals, to summon them to the election of another Pope. The Cardinal Chamberlain has the administration of the civil government during a vacancy, and even coins money, according to *MOTRAYE*, with his own arms on one side, and two cross keys on the reverse, and is attended by the guards of the deceased Pope. The Cardinals of his creation are dressed in violet-coloured serge during the vacancy, and those of his predecessors creating wear green habits faced with red; and the maces carried before the Cardinals on all solemn occasions are reversed. The corps being washed and embalmed, the next day is carried to *St. PAUL's* chapel in the Vatican, and dressed in the pontifical habit, from whence they attend it to *St. PETER's*, and place it in the chapel of *SIXTUS V*. on a magnificent bed of state, surrounded by a vast number of wax lights, which burn night and day; the Priests all the while praying for the repose of the deceased's soul: which surely must be unnecessary, for he who in his lifetime could give ease to all the souls in purgatory, can never want it himself. As the feet of the dead Pope are set close to the iron balustrade which opens into the chapel, multitudes of people crowd hither to kiss them, especially the women, not doubting but their paying this piece of respect to God's Vicar on earth, will exalt them to heavenly mansions. On the ninth day the corps is put into a coffin, or rather coffins, the first of cedar, and the second of lead, with sixty of the late Pope's coronation medals, twenty of gold, twenty of silver, and as many of brass; after which the funeral being solemnized, the corps is conveyed to a little old church, dedicated to *St. PETER* by *CONSTANTINE* the Great, where it is deposited till removed to the monument usually erected for it in the life-time of the deceased, when there is usually as magnificent a cavalcade as at the funeral.

During the first five centuries, according to *MAIMBOUR*, the clergy and people jointly, and sometimes the clergy alone, with consent of the people, elected the Pope by plurality of voices.

CHAP.  
XX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.  
Ceremo-  
nies on the  
death and  
election of  
a Pope.

The electi-  
on of the  
Pope.

13 Q

After



CHAP.  
XX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.

After the death of Pope SIMPLICIUS, ODOACER King of the Heruli, who had conquered Italy, decreed that no Pope should be chosen without his consent. This law was afterwards repealed by THEODORICK King of the Goths, in the fourth council of Rome, under the pontificate of Pope SYMACHUS; but this Prince turning Arian in the latter end of his reign, resumed the privilege of appointing a Pope, and accordingly placed FÉLIX IV in the chair. His successors, the Gothic Princes, allowed the Clergy to elect, but would not suffer the Pontiff to enter upon the exercise of his office till confirmed by them. The Emperor JUSTINIAN, who defeated the Goths, and put an end to their dominion in Italy, insisted on his privilege of confirming the Pope, as did his successors after him, requiring a sum of money of the Pope when he was confirmed by them: which sum was remitted by the Emperor CONSTANTINE POGONATUS; but still the Pope was not elected without the Emperor's or other Sovereign's consent till the French Emperor LEWIS the Debonaire, anno 824, and his successors LOTHARIUS I, and LEWIS II, about the year 864, relinquished all pretensions to the electing or confirmation of the Pope. In the eleventh century the Marquis of Hetruria, or Tuscany, and the Count DE TUSCANELLA, with the nobility of Rome, chose and deposed Popes at their pleasure; and after them OTHO the Great, his son, and grandson, did the like. HENRY Duke of Bavaria, who succeeded them, left the clergy and people of Rome at liberty to choose their Pope again, about the year 1014; but his grandson HENRY III, and HENRY IV, reassumed the power of choosing and deposing Popes, which occasioned frequent wars between them and the Emperor, the Emperor setting up Antipopes, which occasioned schism in the church, as hath been already observed; but after the difference between ANACLETE and VICTOR IV was ended, the Cardinals and principal Clergy of Rome chose Pope CELESTINE II, by their own authority, anno 1143; and the rest of the Clergy having resigned their pretensions, HONORIUS III, anno 1216, or, according to others, GREGORY X, anno 1274, ordered that the election should be made in the Conclave; since which time the Cardinals have been in possession of that privilege, and elected the Pope without the interposition of any other powers, unless by way of address or recommendation.

The Con-  
clave.

The Conclave is the place where the Cardinals meet for the election of a Pope, and the assembly of Cardinals who meet there are also called the Conclave. They are at liberty to appoint what place they please to meet in: However for some years a large gallery in the palace of the Vatican has been made use of for this purpose: There are prepared in this gallery as many cells or apartments made of deal-boards, as there are Cardinals, with lodgings and conveniences for servants, who shut themselves in to wait on the Cardinals, and are on that account called Conclavists, of whom no Cardinal is allowed more than two or three at most; and it must be on account of sickness, or their being Princes, if they are allowed three. People of good fashion frequently desire the office of a Conclavist, having thereby an opportunity of seeing all that passes, and being entitled to a considerable present, if their Cardinal happens to be chosen Pope: But it is however a post of some trouble, the Conclavist being obliged

to take in the meat, wait at table, and humour an old peevish fellow, sometimes for several months before the election is over, and are as strictly confined as their masters. The several apartments or cells are numbered, and the Cardinals draw lots for them. They are erected during the nine days which are taken up in the ceremony of the late Pope's funeral, when any person is at liberty to view the cells. Those Cardinals who are of the late Pope's creation hang their apartments on the outside and inside with violet-coloured cloth, and the rest hang them with green serge or camblet; and over each cell is placed the Cardinal's arms it belongs to. They have no other light than what they receive from the windows of the gallery.

The day after the Pope's funeral, which is always the ninth day after his death, the Cardinals meet in the cathedral, where a high mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated, and an oration or sermon made upon the occasion, they go in procession to the palace of the Vatican, and having sung the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and heard the usual prayers, in St. PAUL's chapel there, and sworn to observe certain articles for the better government of the church, they retire to their cells, when every body is ordered to quit the place, except the Conclavists, two masters of the ceremonies, a Secretary, a Confessor, a Physician, and Surgeon; and the Marshal locks up all the doors and passages into the Vatican, which are guarded by the militia of Rome, to prevent all intercourse with the people without doors; and a Master of the ceremonies inspects every dish that is brought in, to see that no letters are concealed in the meat, which is delivered in through a hole in the wall left for that purpose. The Cardinals, who arrive from time to time from distant countries, are admitted into the Conclave as they come, at any time before the election is made. They come out of their cells but once a day, to hear a mass of the Holy Ghost, and give their votes in the chapel. The election is performed either by scrutiny, access, or adoration: when it is by scrutiny, every Cardinal writes the name of the person he votes for on a piece of paper doubled down in five folds, on the first of which he writes, *Ego ego in summum Pontificem reverendissimum Dominum meum Cardinalem Del Giudice*, (as his name is) I elect for Pope the most reverend Lord Cardinal DEL GIUDICE: on the fourth the Cardinal writes his own name, and covers it with the fifth fold. Then they go to the chapel at the appointed hour, and having seated themselves in order with these billets in their hands, each Cardinal in his turn goes up to the altar, and after a short prayer upon his knees, puts the billet into a chalice that stands on the table. [Others say, the Master of the ceremonies goes round to all the Cardinals in the chapel, and receives their billets in a cup.] The Cardinals being returned to their places, the Cardinal-Bishop, who sits on the right side of the altar, puts out the billets on a plate, and gives them one by one to the Cardinal-Deacon, who sits on the other side of the altar, and reads them with an audible voice, the Cardinals in the mean time writing down how many voices every candidate hath; after which the Master of the ceremonies burns the billets in a little chimney prepared for the purpose: and this collection of votes is continued every day till two thirds of them agree on the same person, who is thereupon declared Pope. When the election is made by ac-

CHAP.  
XX.  
Pope's do-  
minions.



CHAP.  
XX.  
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cess, the Cardinals rise from their places, and going towards the person they design to chuse, each of them says, *Ego accedo ad reverendissimum Dominum*, &c. The election by adoration is in much the same manner, only the Cardinals approach him with a profound reverence. There is still a fourth way of chusing when the differences run high, and that is by referring the matter to three or five of their number, a majority of whom determine the election. The Pope being chosen, is clothed in the pontifical habit, and being placed before the altar, he receives the adoration or respects of the Cardinals, who kiss his feet, hands, and mouth; after which all the doors and gates of the Conclave are thrown open, and the Pope being led to the lodge of benediction, and shewing himself to the people, the first Cardinal Deacon says with a loud voice, I declare to you tidings of great joy, the most reverend Cardinal——— is elected Pope, and has chosen the name of——— adding *Vivat Clemens* or *Innocentius*, according to the name he chuses. Then the Pope putting on the robes he appears in at the greatest solemnities, and a mitre on his head, goes to St. PETER's, where he is seated on the high altar, and publicly adored by the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Canons of that church; which being over, he is attended to his apartment in the Vatican. Some days after is performed the ceremony of his coronation, before St. PETER's church, where a throne is erected for that purpose, when his mitre is taken off, and the tiara (a raised cap) encircled with three crowns one above another, and embellished with jewels, is put on his head. This triple crown, says my author, declares his sacerdotal and imperial dignity, and represents him as the supreme Judge and Legislator of all Christians. LEWIS I of France first sent the Pope a crown of gold adorned with jewels, he wearing till then only a mitre. BONIFACE VIII added the second crown, about the year 1296, after having asserted his dominion over the temporal powers; and BENEDICT XII added the third about the year 1340. There is a splendid cavalcade some time after the coronation, when the Pope goes to take possession of the cathedral church of St. JOHN de Lateran, as he is Bishop of Rome. At this solemnity the Cardinals march in order before him, and he is attended by all the foreign Ambassadors, Nobility, and persons of distinction, ecclesiastical and secular, in and about Rome. When he comes to the church he knocks three times at the door, which is thereupon opened by the Arch-priest, who presents him with two keys, one of gold and the other of silver, and afterwards, with the rest of the Canons, kisses his slipper. Then the Pope advances to the high altar, where he sits enthroned, and the Cardinals and the rest of the clergy are admitted also to kiss his slipper. After some other ceremonies his Holiness blesses the people, and returns to his palace in the same state he came.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Treats of the Pope's ecclesiastical power and government.*

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THOSE who have treated of the Pope's power and the constitution of the Papal State, constantly distinguish and divide them into ecclesiastical and temporal. The ecclesiastical is extended throughout the world, wherever the Roman Ca-

tholick religion has gained admittance: the temporal is confined to the Pope's territories in Italy. The motives made use of to procure a submission to his ecclesiastical sovereignty, are the strongest that the wit of man could devise: Some Princes, as PUFFENDORFF observes, have gained themselves and their government a great authority by pretending to be the offspring of the gods, and that their institutions were the dictates and commands of heaven, and on these accounts have been adored and placed among the gods after their deaths: but the Pope has gone farther, and persuaded the people that he is the Lieutenant of Christ, who has all power in heaven and earth, and can dispense the merits of our Saviour to whom he pleases; and those who refuse to acknowledge this prerogative are incapable of eternal salvation. And as nothing can so strongly enforce our obedience, and induce us to submit to all sorts of hardship as the fear of God's displeasure and eternal damnation, it is evident, that if the people once believe the Pontiff possessed of this power of saving and damning whom he pleases, they will readily conform to his dictates in every other instance; consequently his subjects are as numerous, and indeed the very same with those who acknowledge his vicarious power. Whatever ties and obligations they are under to the civil powers where they live, they will cancel them all, when their duty to the Pope comes in competition with that to their temporal Sovereigns: nay, when this article was more generally believed than it is indeed at present, the people were frequently spirited up to depose their natural Sovereigns, and transfer their allegiance to the Pope, or to whomsoever he was pleased to assign their kingdoms; consequently the Princes of that communion have but a very precarious title to their crowns, where this article is firmly believed. It is the apprehension of this independent jurisdiction also, the setting up an empire within their empires, that has deterred the Sovereigns of Japan, China, and Turkey, from encouraging the disciples of the Romish communion, and been an inconceivable prejudice to Christianity in general in those parts of the world. It is not the doctrine of a crucified Saviour, as the Jesuits suggest, that prevents the gospel's gaining ground in China; but the notions they infuse into the people, that the Pope is rather to be obeyed than the civil Magistrate, which sets all the Magistrates of the East against them, and has occasioned their being massacred and cut in pieces more than once. The Japonense, who apprehend that all Christians teach the same doctrine, will not suffer a Christian to set his foot on their shores, unless the Dutch, who are content to trample upon the cross, and renounce their Saviour, that they may engross this branch of trade.

And though of late years many temporal Princes, and their lay-subjects of that communion, have disputed the Pope's supremacy, yet the Monks and regular Clergy, if not the secular, in every country still remain entirely devoted to the Roman See, and are ready to oppose and distress the civil powers by all the ways imaginable, whenever the Pope's authority is called in question; and these, though exceeding numerous, amounting as it is computed to two millions of souls, are more formidable than any other militia of the like number would be; inasmuch as there is scarce a Prince's court, or great family in Europe, but they have a considerable influence on, and are all subsisted at the charge of the people, of those very people

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people to whom they preach this slavish doctrine, without being any burthen to their great ecclesiastical Sovereign or General. And that which renders them the more independent on their respective Princes and States where they reside, is the state of celibacy, which is strictly required of them all; for having none of those domestick pledges of their fidelity, a wife or children, as other subjects have, they are always disencumbered and at liberty to obey the Pope's orders, whenever he requires their service. They serve also to drain the several countries where they live of their wealth and treasure, and convey them from the impoverished natives to Rome, the seat of this spiritual Empire: and according to a late calculation, the stated constant revenues of the Romish clergy thus dependent on the Pope amounts to more than twenty millions sterling per ann. and the casual profits arising from offerings, and the superstitious bounty of the people, amounts to full as much: add to these the moveable ornaments and utensils in their churches, the gold and silver crosses, chalices, pattens, lamps, candlesticks, and shrines enriched with diamonds and other precious stones, especially those of St. PETER's and Loretto, and the treasure of the church will appear inestimable. And what may not be effected by a court of such refined politicks, as that of Rome, thus powerfully supported? It is observed that their missionaries gain ground every day, and not a year passes but some Sovereign Prince is reconciled to their communion. Nor can this be thought strange by those who reflect on the immense sums the church is possessed of, and with what address it is applied to promote her interests. Were it not that many of the best families in Europe have great part of their revenues out of the sequestered church-lands and tithes, and that the Protestants are in continual dread of the Inquisition, the Pope would soon unite the Christians of every denomination to the See of Rome; few, very few would stand out on principle, could he find a way to remove their fears of persecution and the loss of their estates, the most zealous opposers of his supremacy might be taken off, according to the modern phrase, and be induced to wave their clamours against Popery. It seems to be now as under the Jewish dispensation, the people are most effectually wrought upon by temporal motives; as the milk and honey, the wine and oil of the land of Canaan, had a much greater influence on that people, than the distant prospect of eternal rewards; and a temporal captivity was more dreaded by them than everlasting misery. In these respects there may be a pretty near resemblance between the ancient Jews and the Christians of the present age. But to proceed: Suitable to the power and grandeur of the Sovereign Pontiff are the honours and titles that are given him, the respect that is paid him, according to a late traveller, is greater than was ever paid to mortal man: those that approach him kneel three times, viz. at the entrance of the hall of audience, in the middle, and before his throne, where they kiss his slipper, or rather a little embroidered cross on the toe of it. The greatest Roman Catholick Princes are not exempted from this submission, and when they speak to him, they stile him Most Holy Father. Some of the principal prerogatives he assumes as God's Vicar on earth, are, 1. The canonization of those who have deserved well of the Holy See, placing them in the number of Saints, and decreeing them

those honours which they call Doulia, being prayed to and honoured afterwards as so many subordinate deities. 2. The making of Cardinals, to whom he says at their creation, 'My most beloved sons, You have received the greatest and highest honour; You are called into the Council of the Apostles; You shall be our Counsellors, and with us judge the universe and sit round the throne as successors to the Apostles.' 3. Excommunication, that spiritual thunder which hath formerly made the greatest Princes in Europe tremble, who after this sentence have been driven from their thrones, and their dominions transferred to others. On their subjects this power is frequently exercised by inferior Bishops and Priests, who holding in their hands lighted tapers till they are extinguished, fling them down and trample them under their feet, using at the same time the most terrible execrations against the party excommunicated that can be imagined, whereupon he is cut off from all communion with the church, and excluded from all society with men, assigned to the flames in this world, and to everlasting fire in the next. And from hence I very naturally proceed to enquire in what instances the Roman Catholick religion differs from that of the Church of England, or at least the most material points.

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#### C H A P. XXII.

*Contains and enquiry into the principal points wherein the church of Rome differs from the church of England.*

THE church of Rome has added so many articles to the primitive creeds, that she carries a very different face from the rest of the Christian world, of which the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is the most monstrous, and indeed the mother of all the rest: for admitting this one article, we must of course submit our judgment to whatever he is pleased to dictate. It would be the highest arrogance and folly to dispute with unerring wisdom. But the Roman Catholicks themselves, I find, are not agreed in infallibility whom this infallibility is lodged: Some hold that the Pope alone is possessed of it; others are of opinion it is in the Pope and a general council; and a third place it in a general council without the Pope: and accordingly, we find that the Council of Constance, held about the year 1415, deposed all the contending Popes, and placed MARTIN V in the chair, declaring that a general council lawfully called only was infallible, and had the supreme authority in the church next under Christ. Notwithstanding this decision, the Pope alone is held infallible at this day by many of that communion, and especially the Jesuits. But as there is no colour in Scripture or Antiquity to induce us to believe that the successors of the Bishop of Rome are more infallible in their judgments than the successors of any other primitive Bishop, and that the Roman Catholicks themselves are not agreed in whom this unerring wisdom resides, we may fairly suspend our belief of this article for the present: and there seems to be such a connexion between his supremacy and infallibility, that if we deny one, we shall not easily admit the other, the greatest motive to acknowledge his supremacy being a belief of his infallibility. A man will make but little scruple to obey him as God's Vicar

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Vicar on earth, who believes he is infallible and divinely inspired.

2. The second doctrine I shall mention is that of purgatory; supposed to be an unquenchable fire, where the souls of those who have been guilty of venial, or involuntary transgressions, burn till they are purified from their dross and guilt, not having had time or opportunity to perform the penances enjoined them on earth. Of which they produce just as much evidence as of the former.

3. The doctrine of indulgencies, which supposes that the Pope has power to remit the punishments due to sinners, and exempt them from the pains of hell and purgatory.

4. Limbo, or the confines of hell, in which they suppose the souls of infants who die without baptism are confined; and though they are not punished by fire, are however excluded from the beatific vision.

5. The doctrine of worshipping Saints and Angels, and begging their mediation and intercession with God, and the adoring their reliques and images.

6. The sacrifice of the Mass, which they hold to be a propitiatory sacrifice, both for the living and dead, which every Priest usually offers once a day, and twice on Christmas-day and other solemn occasions. If it be a Low Mass he is assisted by one or two laymen, called Respondents; and it is called a Low Mass from the being celebrated in a low voice, such as is used in common conversation. At High Mass he is assisted by Deacons and Subdeacons, and the service is sung or chanted aloud, from whence it is called High Mass. This service is performed in Latin, and after the Priest has used these words of consecration, *Hoc est enim Corpus meum*, For this is my body; the members of this church believe the body of Christ descends invisibly from heaven, and the bread is imperceptibly changed or transubstantiated into his flesh and blood in such a manner, that though the appearances and accidents continue to make the same impression upon all the senses after the pronouncing those words as before, yet there is none of their real substance remaining, but that the sole and natural body of Christ, with all its parts and blood, is as entire in the least particle of bread, as it was upon the cross before his death.

The words of consecration of the cup are the same as those used by our church; but this is never communicated to the Laity, because, say their Doctors, the body of Christ being entire in every particle, and there being no living body without blood, the cup is superfluous. But we might demand on this occasion, If the cup be superfluous, why do their Clergy drink of it? And why indeed was it instituted by our Saviour? These Masses, they give out, will shorten the pains of the souls in purgatory; for which reason their votaries usually give large legacies to the church at their deaths, to have Masses said for them; and some of them in their health settle lands in perpetuity, that the Priests may say Masses for themselves and families from generation to generation.

Tradition, is another doctrine of the church of Rome, which Protestants do not come into. This is an unwritten law, which some of the Roman Catholics prefer to the written law, or Scripture it self; for they alledge that these books have been corrupted by the several translators, either through design or ignorance; especially by

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the authors of heretical or schismatical sects. To prove which, they shew the several different versions and copies amongst them, the abridgments and omissions in some, and the additions in others. They alledge farther, that several parts of the written law which was owned as such at least by the primitive Christians, is entirely lost; and observe that the version of the Septuagint, makes the world fifteen hundred years older than the Hebrew text: and tradition, they say, is a kind of errata and supplement, which supplies whatever is imperfect or defective in Holy Writ. They dissuade their disciples therefore from reading those books; and the better to prevent it, keep them locked up in the dead languages; and lest those who understand them should be guided by their private judgments in the interpretation of the Scriptures, the inquisition was established to prevent all disputes, and to compel them to believe as the church believes.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Treats of the court of Rome, and the Pope's temporal government.*

THE Pope considered as a temporal Prince, is one of the most absolute Monarchs in Europe; he holds indeed a consistory of Cardinals frequently, who are his council in ecclesiastical affairs, but are not permitted to intermeddle in the civil government. They are seventy in number when complete, and their present title that of Eminence. Their election depends solely on the Pope's pleasure, and they look upon themselves equal to sovereign Princes of the second class at least. Six of them are Cardinal-Bishops, fifty Cardinal-Priests, and fourteen Cardinal-Deacons. The Pope has of late years been very cautious in electing persons of high birth, who are related to sovereign Princes, on account of the disturbances that have been occasioned sometimes by their too potent interests; and if such persons do obtain a Cardinal's cap, they seldom are advanced to the Papal chair, lest they should endeavour to fix it in their families. And the Popes having been Italians for several centuries, take care that there never want a great majority of the natives of Italy in that body to strengthen their interest against foreigners, who being advanced to the Papal See, would naturally be partial to their respective countries, and perhaps give up the prerogatives of the church in favour of their natural Sovereigns. Such Cardinals as have not a competent subsistence of their own, which seldom happens, are allowed, it is said, a stipend of seven thousand Roman crowns per annum, out of the Apostolick chamber.

The Pope's chief minister is the Cardinal-Patron, usually one of his nephews, or a nearer relation, to whom he gives an opportunity of amassing prodigious sums, if the Pontificate be of a long duration; and these nephews have been the founders of some of the greatest families in Italy. The second minister is the Pope's Vicar, who is always a Cardinal, and has the jurisdiction of the secular and regular Clergy, Lay communities, Hospitals and Jews, and has a Lieutenant of civil and another for criminal affairs, and a Bishop for his Vicegerent in matters belonging to his episcopal function. 3. The Chancellor, who is always a Cardinal also. 4. The Cardinal Chamberlain. 5. The Prefect of the signature of justice,

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rice, who is a Cardinal. 6. The General who commands the troops and fortified places of the State. 7. The Penitentiary. 8. The Master of the sacred Palace. 9. The Sacristan, or Vestry-keeper. 10. The Pope's Secretary, who is always a Cardinal, and frequently one of his nephews. There are besides twenty-four Secretaries for briefs. 11. The Governor of Rome, who has cognizance of civil and criminal causes in the city, with a power to stay the proceedings of other courts. 12. The Treasurer General. 13. The Marshal of Rome, who has the cognizance of causes between the citizens and strangers; he is always a foreigner, and wears a robe like an ancient Roman Senator in the execution of his office. 14. Four Masters of the ceremonies. 15. The Major Domo, or Steward of the household. 16. The Chamberlains of honour. 17. The Master of the stables. 18. The General of the Pope's guards.

The principal courts in Rome, next to the consistory of Cardinals, are, 1. The congregation of the Holy office, consisting of twelve Cardinals, and several Prelates and Doctors, who are the supreme courts of inquisition. 2. The Apostolical chamber, which consists of the Cardinal-Chamberlain, the Treasurer-General, and other inferior officers, who manage the revenues of the ecclesiastical state. 3. The court of Rota, consisting of twelve Prelates, who take cognizance of all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, relating to Clergymen, which come before them by way of appeal, the canonization of Saints, ceremonies of the church, disputes about precedence, &c. This court takes its name, it is said, from the pavement of the chamber where they sit, on which there is the resemblance of a wheel. 4. The court of Datary, which consists of a Datary, Subdatary and Prefect, who have the disposal of all vacant benefices, except those called Consistorial, or under four hundred ducats per annum, which are conferred without the Pope's knowledge; but the grants of benefices of a greater value must be signed by the Pope himself. 5. The court of the Penitentiary, which takes cognizance of all bulls and dispensations in cases of conscience, which are generally sealed up and sent to some confessor.

The Campania of Rome is under the immediate government of the Pope, the other provinces of the Ecclesiastical State are governed by Legates or Vice-legates, besides which there is a Commander in chief of the forces in every province, and every city hath its Governor deputed by the Pope; but as to the Podesta's, or Judges, and other inferior Officers, they are elected by the inhabitants. The great oppression complained of in the Pope's territories, is his engrossing all the corn in the country, obliging the owners and occupiers of lands to sell his agents their corn at a very low rate, and retailing it out again at double the price; insomuch that some gentlemen chuse to let their lands lie uncultivated, rather than manure them, the charges of ploughing and sowing exceeding the profits they make. But it can hardly be supposed that this is generally the case; for if the People were discouraged in this manner from ploughing their grounds, the Sovereign must lose the duty arising by corn, which is one of the best branches of his revenue: neither does he hold up the price of grain so very high as some suggest when he retails it out; for travellers all agree that bread-

corn is very reasonable at Rome; and tho' there have been some oppressors among the Roman Pontiffs, there have been others who have distributed great quantities of grain to the poor gratis; so that to say with some, that the government is mild, and with others, that it is oppressive, is ridiculous. It is by all allowed to be despotical, and varies according to the disposition and temper of the Pontiff who happens to be upon the throne. Only thus much is observed in general, that there is more liberty allowed in Rome to those of a different communion than in any other Roman Catholick city whatever.

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*Contains a description of the rest of the towns, and remarkable places in the Campania of Rome, and the other towns and provinces of the Pope's dominions.*

THE city of Tivoli, the ancient *Tibur*, said to be built by the Greeks, is situated on the brow of a hill near the river Anio, or Teverone, about twenty miles to the eastward of Rome. The hill is covered with olive-trees for five or six miles together, and adorned with beautiful villa's or palaces; from hence there is a glorious prospect over the Campania as far as Rome itself. In the time of the ancient Romans it was esteemed one of the most healthful, as well as pleasant situations in Italy: on which account they had their villa's, or summer's retirements here. HORACE was so pleased with the situation, that he wishes it might be the retreat of his old age. The Teverone forms a cascade, or rather cataract, near this town, falling from a rock; in one of the cavities whereof is said to be the grotto of *LEUCOTHEA*, the Tiburtin Sibyl, from whence she uttered her oracles. Here are also the ruins of an ancient round building surrounded with marble pillars, supposed to be the temple of *HERCULES SAXANUS*. One of the greatest modern curiosities is the palace belonging to the family of *ESTE* or *Modena*, admired for its architecture, sculpture, paintings, gardens and water-works. The gardens lie on the side of a hill, divided into four parts. The walks, labyrinths, grotto's, fountains and statues, admirably disposed; and there is a wilderness where artificial birds are made to fly and sing, being put in motion by a stream of water. The *Girandola*, representing a storm of thunder, hail and rain, surprizes all that view it. There is not a place in Italy which affords so great a variety of curiosities of this kind. Mr. ADDISON admires the prospect from the hill of Tivoli above all things, which opens, he observes, on one side into the Campania, where the eye loses itself in a smooth spacious plain. On the other side is a more broken and interrupted scene, made up of an infinite variety of inequalities and shadowings, that naturally arise from an agreeable mixture of hills, groves and valleys; but the most enlivening part of all is the river Teverone, which is seen at about a quarter of a mile distance, throwing it self down a precipice, and falling by several cascades from one rock to another, till after a turbulent noisy course of several miles, it gains the bottom of the valley, where the sight would be quite lost if it did not sometimes discover it self through the breaks and openings of the woods that grow about it; from hence

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hence it flows gently on till it falls into the Tiber. Tivoli is now reduced to a very little town, surrounded with an ordinary wall; but is still the See of a Bishop. Not far from it is the rivulet of Salforata, formerly *Albula*, from whose waters there arises a sulphureous stench, which may be smelt at a good distance. The little lake from whence this river issues, is one of the greatest natural curiosities about Rome: it lies in the very bottom of the Campania, and is the drain of these parts; the sides are covered with a kind of stony crust, and in it are several floating islands, twenty or thirty yards over, supposed to be formed originally by parcels of rarified sulphureous earth cast up by the water, which sticking to rushes and herbs have been augmented by degrees to this bigness. This lake is unfathomable, and yet not above a mile in compass at present; but Mr. Addison supposes the banks have grown over it in the same manner the islands have been formed in it, and that in time the whole surface will be crusted over, as the islands are enlarged, and the banks close in upon them; for all round the lake where the ground was dry, they discovered it to be hollow by the trampling of the horses feet. Near Tivoli also are the stone-quarries from whence they fetch that stone used in their buildings at Rome, called Tiburtine stone, of which great part of St. Peter's is built, not comparable to Portland stone, of which the churches in London are built.

**Palestrina.** Palestrina stands about nine miles to the eastward of Tivoli, and twenty-eight east of Rome; at the foot of the same mountain on which the ancient *Præneste* stood, famous for the Temple of Fortune, where the *Sortes Prænestinae* were kept; there are still great pillars of granite and other ruins of this ancient temple, but the most considerable remnant of it is a very beautiful Mosaic pavement, the finest, says Mr. Addison, that I have ever seen in marble; the parts are so well joined together, that the whole piece looks like a continued picture. In it are the figures of elephants, a rhinoceros, and several other animals, with little landscapes, which look very lively, and well painted, tho' they are made out of the natural colours and shadows of the marble.

**Frescati.** Frescati is a little town, situated on the brow of a hill, twelve miles to the eastward of Rome; the prospects from whence are not so delightful as formerly, when the Campania was set thick with towns, villa's, and plantations. The Tusculum of Cicero, called *Grotto Ferrata*, is about two miles from hence, though it is generally placed at Frescati. There are several houses of pleasure in it, of which the three principal are Monte Dracone, belonging to the Prince BORGHESE; Belvidere, belonging to the Prince PAMPHILIO; and the Villa Ludovisia, to the family of COLONNA. Mr. Addison is a great admirer of Frescati also. Here, says he, I had the satisfaction of seeing the first sketch of Versailles in the walks and water-works: but Misson, who is a native of France, despises them to the last degree, insinuating that there is no comparison between the one and the other. I am sorry, says Misson in one of his letters, that I cannot relate to you so many wonders of Tivoli and Frescati, as you seem to expect. They are indeed very pleasant places, and rather than give offence, I will venture to call them very fine. But if once this maxim be established, that when we consider things which are reputed beautiful, we ought to

proportion the esteem we have for them by comparing them one with another; I must sincerely acknowledge, that if we compare Frescati to Versailles, or to several other pleasant seats in France, which are not Royal houses, I dare positively affirm that the celebrated wonders not only of Frescati, but also of Tivoli, and all the most beautiful palaces about Rome, as to the gardens and water-works, deserve no higher title than that of Pretty Things. Monte Dracone is a pretty large house, situated on a rising ground, from whence we may see Rome and the whole extent of the plain; but the city is at too great a distance to be seen from hence with pleasure. The avenues to this house also are very difficult: nor are there at present fountains or gardens about it that merit a particular description. The situation of Belvidere is not unlike that of Monte Dracone: there is a pretty cascade in it, and a grotto, in which are the figures of APOLLO with the nine muses on Mount Parnassus, where the several statues play on instruments when the water-works are in order. The cascade at the Villa Ludovisia is the principal ornament of that garden also. The furniture of all the three houses was mean, and every thing about them appeared neglected when I was there in 1688. But whether things were put into a better condition when Misson visited them afterwards, or he was in a better humour than at first, he gives us a very different account of the Roman villa's within a very few pages. The Villa Borghese, says that gentleman, pag. 68. of the second volume, is in my opinion kept in better order than any that I have hitherto seen. 'Tis certainly a very pleasant place, and fit for a great Prince: the house is almost covered over on the outside with basso-reliefs, which are disposed in so natural an order, and with so much symmetry, that you would be tempted to think they had been purposely made to fill those places where they are now set. The principal statues, with which the apartments are replenished, are, the JUNO of porphyry, ROMULUS's she-wolf of fine red marble of Egypt; the busts of HANNIBAL, SENECA and PERTINAX, the hermaphrodite; the old SILENUS holding BACCHUS in his arms; but especially the Gladiator, of which there was a copy at the head of the canal in St. JAMES's Park, till the late King WILLIAM removed it. Here are also DAVID wounding GOLIATH with a stone; AENEAS with his father ANCHYSES on his back, and the transformation of DAPHNE. And my author is so exceeding indulgent to the Villa Borghese at this time, that he says, he cannot forbear repeating once more, *That it is a delicious place*: And if all the royal magnificence which adorns some other places (the French palaces he means) does not appear in this with so much splendor, yet it must be acknowledged, that it has beauties no less soft and charming, such tender and natural beauties as touch our hearts very sensibly, if they do not inspire us with some awe. Adding, that Rome being the source of antique statues and sculptures, some of which are reputed inimitable, all the world must yield the precedence in this point to a Roman Prince.

In the Villa Ludovisia there is also a prodigious multitude of ancient statues, among which the expiring Gladiator, known by the name of the dying MYRMILLO, is invaluable. The poor Prince to whom it belongs was once about mortgaging of it for fifteen thousand crowns. The

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groupe, call'd Concord, the statues of FULVIUS, ESCULAPIUS, ANTONINUS PIUS, the two APOLLO's, FAUNUS and VENUS, are admirable pieces. The gardens of the Villa Pamphilia, says the same Gentleman, would be the fairest that I have seen, if they were kept in order; for here is more design, more symmetry, and a more regular disposition of the parts than any where else. The house is adorn'd on the outside with fine antique basso-relievo's, like that of the Villa Borghese, and no less replenish'd within; but the best statues were much disorder'd by the following accident: A young Prince of this family having a Jesuit for the governor of his conscience, who exclaim'd loudly against the indecency of those naked marble figures which he kept in his palace, the poor young gentleman, to humour his confessor, caus'd all the statues with nudities to be plaister'd over; only little BACCHUS had the good fortune to escape this holy fury; but the Prince returning to a better mind, and preferring the conversation of a Princess to the society of the Jesuits, order'd these fine statues to be uncover'd again, when he found several parts of them had been broken by the workmen who were employ'd to cover them to make the clay stick the faster, to his irreparable damage. Fregati is a Bishop's See, who is suffragan of Rome, and usually possess'd by one of the six eldest Cardinals.

Castel  
Gandol-  
pho.

Castel Gandolpho stands about ten miles south-east of Rome, near a lake of the same name, and is most considerable for a Villa or palace of the Pope's, where he resides for some time in the Spring and Autumn.

Albano.

Albano, built out of the ruins of the ancient *Alba longa*, is situated twelve miles south-east of Rome, famous for its excellent wine, and the ruins of an ancient mausoleum, which according to the tradition of the place belong'd to ASCANIUS; but nothing is more remarkable at Albano than the prospect from the Capuchins garden, which for the extent and variety of pleasing incidents, Mr. ADDISON says, is one of the most delightful he ever saw. It takes in the whole Campania of Rome, and terminates in a full view of the Tuscan sea; you see at the same time part of the Alban lake, which lies close by it in an oval figure, about seven miles in circumference, and by reason of the high mountains which encompass it, looks like the area of some vast amphitheatre. This together with the several green hills and naked rocks within the neighbourhood, makes the most agreeable confusion imaginable. Not far from Albano lies Nemi, which takes its name from the *Nemus Diane*, the whole country about it being still overspread with woods and thickets. The lake of Nemi lies in a very deep bottom, so surrounded on all sides with mountains and groves, that the surface of it is never ruffled with the least breath of wind, which with the clearness of the waters, my author supposes, gain'd it the name of DIANA's Looking-Glass,

—*Speculumque Diane.* VIRG.

The places abovemention'd in the Campania were all of them formerly the cool retirements of the Romans, where, in my author's phrase, they used to hide themselves among the woods and mountains during the excessive heats of summer (as Baïæ was the general winter rendezvous) according to the Poet.

All shun the raging dog-star's sultry heat,  
And from the half unpeopled town retreat;  
Some hid in Nemi's gloomy forests lie,  
To Palestrina some for shelter fly:  
Others to catch a breeze of breathing air,  
To Tusculum or Algidu repair:  
Or in moist Tivoli's retirement find  
A cooling shade, and a refreshing wind.

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minions.

On the contrary, as Mr. ADDISON observes, Rome is never fuller of nobility than in summer, for the country towns are so infested with unwholesome vapours, that it is dangerous residing there during the heats; though the air of Campania no doubt would be as healthful as formerly, if there were as many fires burning in it, and as many inhabitants to manure the soil. Albano is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome, and held by one of the six eldest Cardinals.

Velitri is situated on a fruitful hill, eighteen miles south-east of Rome, anciently a considerable city of the Volsci, and is at this day a handsome little town, well inhabited, surrounded with a wall, and the See of a Bishop, who is also Bishop of Ostia. The great AUGUSTUS was nurs'd, if not born near this place, and the Romans had such a veneration for his memory, that they made it unlawful for any man to set his foot within the doors of that house.

Cisternæ is a castle between Velitri and Sermonia, near which are the three taverns mention'd by St. PAUL, where the primitive Christians, according to tradition, used to receive the communion.

Sermonia is a little town which gives title to a Duke of the family of CAJETANO, and is situated on a hill near the Palus Pontina, about thirty miles south-east of Rome.

Anagni, anciently the capital of the Hernici, is situated upon a hill about two and thirty miles south-east of Rome. It is now a ruinous place and ill inhabited, but is however a Bishop's See.

Ferentini, Alatri and Veroli, are only considerable for being the Sees of as many Bishops.

Piperno is situated in a fruitful country about thirty five miles from Rome, in the road to Naples.

Terracina, *olim Anxur*, stands about fifty miles south-east of Rome, and fifteen north-west of Gaeta, on the same road, near the sea, about two miles to the westward of the kingdom of Naples. The place is small, and but thinly inhabited on account of the badness of the air, occasion'd by the Palus Pontina which lies about it; but is still a Bishop's See.

Nettuno, the *Antium Navale* of the ancients, is situated on the Tuscan sea, about thirty miles to the southward of Rome, and formerly a good harbour; but is now almost deserted also on account of the badness of the air.

Ostia, situate at the mouth of the Tiber, twelve or fifteen miles to the westward of Rome; formerly a good port, but the harbour being choak'd up, it is now an inconsiderable place, and only remarkable for its being a Bishop's See united to Velitri.

The second province of the Pope's dominions, I proposed to describe, was that which goes by the name of the Patrimony of St. PETER, comprehending the duchy of Castro, and the territory of Orvieto, bounded by Tuscany and Umbria towards the north and east; by Sabina, and the Campania on the south-east, and by the Tuscan

The Patri-  
mony of  
St. Peter.





*Myrmillo expiring.*









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Pope's do-  
minions.  
Chief  
towns.

can sea towards the west. The chief towns where-  
of are, 1. Viterbo. 2. Montefiascone. 3. Bol-  
fena, or Volseno. 4. Vitorchiano. 5. Orta. 6.  
Citta Castellana. 7. Fiano. 8. Nepi. 9. Sutri.  
10. Corneto. 11. Civita Vecchia. 12. Braccia-  
no. 13. Bagni di Bracciano. 14. Ronciglione.  
15. Caprarola. 16. Castro. 17. Castel Farnese.  
18. Toscanella. 19. Montalto. 20. Orvieto.  
And, 21. Aquapendente.

Viterbo.

Viterbo, the capital of this province, anciently  
called Tetrapolis, as it consisted of three towns  
united in one, is situated at the foot of mount  
Cyminus, about forty miles to the northward of  
Rome. The town is moderately large, built for  
the most part of stone, and defended by a wall  
and some antique square towers of no great  
strength. It is beautified with several handsome  
fountains, among which some are medicinal. It  
is a Bishop's See, and hath been the residence of  
several Popes: the cathedral is a fine old church,  
but not equal to those already described. Near  
Viterbo stands the castle of Soriano on an emi-  
nence, esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in  
Italy.

Montefas-  
cone.

Montefiascone is situated on a little fruitful  
hill near the lake of Bolsena, about eight miles  
north-west of Viterbo, and taken notice of by  
most travellers for its excellent Muscatello-wine,  
which grows in the neighbourhood. They show  
the tomb of a Dutchman here who was so fond  
of this liquor, that he killed himself in a few hours  
with it, as appears by his epitaph.

Bolsena.

Bolsena, or Volseno, the ancient *Volturnum*, is  
situated on a lake of the same name, five miles  
north of Montefiascone. It was one of the twelve  
cities of Etruria, and, according to PLINY, re-  
duced to ashes by lightning. It is now a little  
inconsiderable place, most taken notice of for the  
neighbouring lake, which is of an oval figure,  
and near forty miles in circumference.

Citta Ca-  
stellana.

Civita, or Citta Castellana, is a little town  
situated fifteen mile, south-east of Viterbo; re-  
markable for little but its being a Bishop's See,  
suffragan to Rome.

Civita  
Vecchia.

Civita Vecchia is situated on the Tuscan sea,  
about thirty miles north-west of Rome, being the  
port of that city, and one of the best harbours  
on the coast; and the Pope, in order to draw  
the trade that way, has made it a free port. It  
is defended by a castle and other works, and is  
the station of the Pope's galleys. The great  
obstacle to the trade of this place was the want  
of good water, and the unhealthfulness of it  
on that account: but the government have been  
at the charge of conveying water thither by  
aqueducts of late; whether it will answer their  
expectations, time must discover; but the Duke  
of Florence seems to be apprehensive of its draw-  
ing the trade from Leghorn, and did what lay  
in his power to divert the Pope from making it  
a free port.

Bracciano.

Bracciano is the capital of a duchy to which  
it communicates its name, and belongs to the fa-  
mily of URSINI. It is situated on a hill near  
a lake of the same name, fifteen miles north-west  
of Rome. From this lake, which is of a circular  
figure, and about four miles over, issues the river  
Arone, which falls into the Tuscan sea.

Bagni di  
Bracciano.

Bagni di Bracciano is a little town situated on  
the same lake, famous for its baths, called by the  
ancients *Stiglianæ Therme*.

Roncigli-  
one.

Ronciglione is the capital of a territory of the  
same name, about twenty five-miles north of

Rome; a town of good trade, and one of the  
richest in this province: it belonged to the Duke  
of Parma till the year 1649, when Pope INNO-  
CENT X made himself master of it, and his suc-  
cessors have kept it ever since.

Caprarola is a little town situated on the brow  
of a hill, four miles to the northward of Ro-  
la. miglione, and belongs to the Duke of Parma, hav-  
ing one of the finest castles in Italy for its de-  
fence.

Castro is the capital of a duchy which be-  
longed to the Duke of Parma, till Pope INNO-  
CENT X deprived him of it in the year 1649,  
when he demolished the place, and removed the  
bishoprick to Aquapendente. It lies about forty  
miles north of Rome, on the confines of Tus-  
cany.

Castel Farnese is a little town two miles north-  
east of Castro.

Tuscanella, anciently called Tuscina and Tyr-  
rhenia, situate on the confines of Tuscany, and la-  
supposed to have communicated its name to that  
country.

Orvieto, the capital of a territory called the  
Orvietan, is a large strong city, situated on a  
high hill of a steep ascent, near the river Paglia,  
about five and forty miles to the northward of  
Rome, and fifteen north-east of Viterbo; the  
See of a Bishop suffragan of Rome, and has one  
of the finest cathedrals in Italy.

Aquapendente is a large well-built town, situ-  
ated on the top of a rock, from whence there  
falls a cascade of water, which is thought to be  
the occasion of its name. It was made a bishop-  
rick upon the destruction of Castro, but is still  
a poor place, considerable only for the earthen  
ware made there.

The province of Sabina is bounded by that of  
Umbria on the north-east; by the kingdom of  
Naples on the south-east; by the Campania of  
Rome on the south-west; and by the Patrimony  
on the north-west: being about twenty-five miles  
in length, and twenty in breadth, part of the  
ancient kingdom of the Sabins, and exceeding  
fruitful in wine and oil; the chief towns whereof  
are, 1. Magliano. 2. Vicovaro. And, 3. Correse.

Magliano, or Manliana, is situated on an emi-  
nence near the river Tiber, about twenty miles  
north-east of Rome; the capital of the province,  
and made the See of the Bishop of Sabina by A-  
LEXANDER VI, anno 1405, and is usually pos-  
sessed by one of the eldest Cardinals.

Vicavaro is situated on a mountain near the  
river Tiverone, not far from the confines of Na-  
ples, and gives the title of Duke to a branch of  
the family of URSINI.

Correse, *olim Quiris*, from whence the Romans  
were called *Quirites*, is at present a small place,  
situate on a rivulet, about twenty miles to the east-  
ward of Rome.

The province of Umbria, or duchy of Spoleto, The pro-  
vince of  
is bounded by the duchy of Urbino and the  
marquisate of Ancona on the north-east; by the  
kingdom of Naples on the south-east; and by the  
Patrimony of St. PETER and Sabina towards the  
west and north; being sixty miles and upwards  
in length from east to west, and forty in breadth  
from north to south, and had its name of Um-  
bria from the river UMBER. The country is di-  
versified with hills and plains, and produces wine,  
oil, fruits, and plenty of corn. The chief towns  
are, 1. Spoleto. 2. Trevi. 3. Foligno. 4. Ponte.  
5. Spello. 6. Assiso. 7. Bevagna. 8. Montefal-  
to.



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Pope's do-  
minions.  
Spoleto  
city.

co. 9. Todi. 10. Aqua Sparta. 11. Amelia.  
12. Otricoli. 13. Narni. 14. Cefis. 15. Terni.  
16. Rieti. 17. Norcia. 18. Perugia. 19. Cas-  
tiglione. And, 20. Passignano.

Spoleto is situated on the declivity of a hill, near the brook Tefino, about five and forty miles north-east of Rome, almost surrounded by rocks and mountains, on one of which stands the castle, of very difficult access, much stronger by nature than art, and anciently repulsed the victorious HANNIBAL, after he had defeated the Romans near the lake of Thrasimene, which great event is still commemorated by several inscriptions in the place. It is but a poor city at this day, indifferently built and thinly peopled, and of a very uneven situation. The cathedral is a noble old fabric, the front adorn'd with Mosaiick work on a golden ground, and the pavement inlaid. The chapel of the Madona of St. LUKE is very fine, and has some excellent marble statues in it. There are also some fragments of antiquity in the place, as part of a triumphal arch, and some remains of an amphitheatre; and there is an aqueduct three hundred and fifty paces in length, which joins the mountain of St. FRANCIS to that of Spoleto, lying seven hundred feet above the valley over which it runs. This town was terribly shaken by an earthquake in the year 1703.

Foligno.

Foligno, or Foligno, is situated ten miles north-east of Spoleto, in one of the most fruitful plains of Italy, built upon the ruins of the *Forum Flaminii*, the little river Tupino running through it. It is a populous trading place, their principal manufactures are cloth, silk, gold and silver lace.

Narni.

Narni is situated on the side of a mountain near the river Nera, surrounded almost with hills, and makes a pretty appearance as we approach it from Terni. On the top of the hill on which it is built stands the castle, the residence of the Governor. It is very troublesome walking in the city, people being obliged to go perpetually up or down hill. The houses also are indifferently built, and their tattered paper windows make them look still worse. On the other hand, it stands in a fruitful soil, and their fruits are excellent in their kind: they have also some mineral waters. It is the See of a Bishop, and the great altar in the cathedral is esteem'd a fine piece of workmanship. Near Narni are the ruins of a magnificent bridge, said to be built by AUGUSTUS, of large square pieces of marble, without any cement. Of four arches it consisted of, there remains but one entire, the top of the largest is broken off, which is computed to have been an hundred and fifty feet high, and two hundred broad, much larger than the famous arch of the Rialto in Venice.

Cefis.

Cefis, or Cæsium, eight miles north-east of Narni, remarkable for the cold winds that issue from the mountains in the neighbourhood, especially in summer. They lie between Gemini and Terni, and are a chain of hills about eight miles long from east to west, all huge rocks, wonderfully placed by nature one above another. The surface of these rocks is full of holes and chinks, from whence those cold blasts issue during the heat of summer, and at no other time; and the natives have a way by pipes and canals to convey it into their cellars, to cool their wines and preserve their fruits.

Terni.

Terni, olim *Interamnina*, is situated seven miles north east of Narni, in a fine fruitful plain, en-

compassed by two branches of the river Nera, CHAP. XXIV. from whence it derives its ancient name, and is Pope's do- said to have been founded not long after Rome. minions. It has a brisk trade in oil of olives, with which the country abounds, making, it is said, three hundred charges of oil every day for six months in the year, every charge weighing six hundred pounds. Near this place is the famous cascade, or water-fall from mount Marmore, where the river running with a prodigious swift current, throws it self down a steep rock three hundred feet high, and falls into the cavity of another rock, against which the water dashes with such violence, that it rises again like a cloud of water-dust, in Misson's phrase double the height of the fall, and falls again in a perpetual rain over all the adjacent parts. This pulverized water forms with the sun an infinite number of rainbows, which increase and diminish cross each other, and dance about according to the various spouting and reboundings of the water, and as the watry smok happens to be thicker or thinner. At length they fall into an abyss hollowed by their own weight, from whence they break forth again impetuously through the jaws and crevices of the rock, from whence they run murmuring on a little way, and then mingle with the river Nera, which they enlarge above two thirds. Terni is a well built populous town, and a Bishop's See, who is suffragan to Rome.

A remark-  
able na-  
tural cas-  
cade, or  
cataact.

Rieti, or Reate, is situated on the river Velino, about twenty miles to the eastward of Terni, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples. It is a place of some trade, but has a very bad air, occasioned by the neighbouring lakes and marshes. It was miserably shattered by an earthquake in the year 1703. The Bishop of this place is suffragan to Rome.

Rieti.

Norcia, or Norcera, anciently called *Conflantia Colonia*, is situated at the foot of the Apennine, sixteen miles north-east of Spoleto, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome. It suffered pretty much by the same earthquake in the year 1703.

Norcia.

Perusa, or Perugia, capital of the territory which goes by the name of the Perusin, or Perugin, a country which abounds with excellent corn and wine, is situated on a hill near the Tiber, on the confines of Tuscany, about thirty miles to the northward of Orvieto. It is a large well-peopled city, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome, and a University, and is defended by a citadel and other fortifications. About six miles from hence is the lake of Thrasimene seven leagues in circumference, near which the Romans were defeated by HANNIBAL.

Perugia.

Castiglione del Lago, the capital of a territory called *Il Contado di Castello*, is a fortified town on the frontiers of Tuscany, fourteen miles to the westward of Perugia.

Castigli-  
one.

The marquise of Ancona is bounded by the duchy of Urbino on the north; by the gulph of Venice on the north-east; by the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; by the province of Umbria or Spoleto on the south-west; and by Tuscany on the north-west; being about seventy miles in length from east to west, and fifty in breadth from north to south: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Ancona. 2. Loreto. 3. Osimo. 4. Recanati. 5. Macerata. 6. Fermo. 7. Ripa Transone. 8. Mont Alto. 9. Offida. 10. Ascoli. 11. Tolentino. 12. St. Severino. 13. Camerino. 14. Fabriano. 15. Sassoferrato. 16. Jesi. It is one of the most fruitful provinces of

Ancona  
marqui-  
sate.



CHAP. XXIV. of the Pope's dominions, producing plenty of corn, wine, flax, hemp and fruits.

Ancona stands on a promontory in the Adriatick sea, on two little steep hills, about an hundred and twenty miles to the eastward of Rome; and sixty south-east of Urbino, having a good harbour, and a citadel which commands both that and the town. It makes a tolerable figure at a distance, but the streets are narrow and uneven, and neither the publick or private buildings equal to those of other great towns in Italy. Their trade also is at a very low ebb, but possibly may revive again now the Pope has made it a free port, as well as Civita Vecchia. Provisions, travellers complain, are dear and scarce here, though the town stands in a plentiful country; one reason whereof may be, that it is a common thorough-fare from the north of Italy to Loretto, a place as much frequented by pilgrims and travellers as any in Europe, either out of devotion or curiosity. The harbour was made by the Emperor TRAJAN, on which account there was a triumphal arch erected to his honour by the sea-side, which still remains almost entire, and looks white and fresh, being exposed to the winds and salt sea-vapours, which by continual fretting it, in Mr. ADDISON's opinion, preserves it from that mouldy colour which others of the same materials have contracted. There was some distinction made by the Romans, my author thinks, between these honorary arches erected to Emperors, and those that were raised on account of some victory, and were properly triumphal arches; but he does not hint wherein the difference consisted; only commends the wisdom of the Romans, who to encourage their Emperors in their inclinations of doing good to their country, gave the same honours to the great actions of peace which turned to the advantage of the publick, as to those of war; and this, he observes, is very remarkable in the medals that were stamped on the same occasions. The medal struck for TRAJAN in memory of his beneficence to Ancona, is still very common, on the reverse whereof is a port with a chain running cross it, and a boat with this inscription, *S. P. Q. R. optimo Principi S. C.*

The habits of the people of Ancona, according to MISSEN, are very particular. He observed on one of their festivals, he says, when they were better dressed than usual, that the principal citizens wore black cloaks lined with green, blue stockings, shoes whited with chalk, and tied with coloured ribbon; their waistcoats were unbuttoned, and the facing of the sleeves embroidered; their shirts full, and hung over their fingers ends. The ordinary citizens wives and daughters had head-dresses with long fringes hanging over their faces; the body of their gowns of red and yellow silk, laced before and behind, and on both sides, and overlaid with galloon like a livery; their petticoats short, and of forty different colours. The Ladies of quality were dressed after the French mode, but so awkwardly, that they made a more ridiculous figure than their inferiors in their native dress, how fantastical soever it might appear to foreigners. The exchange where the merchants meet is a handfom square portico, in which is an equestrian statue of TRAJAN, and four other figures at the four corners, representing religion, faith, hope, and charity: but an earthquake which happened not many years since, has done considerable damage to these statues, by breaking or overturning them. Ancona

is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome. It is observable here that the tide does not rise above a foot, though it rises above four feet at Venice and the bottom of the gulph, and in that part of the gulph of Venice which lies next the Mediterranean there is no tide at all to be discerned.

The city of Loretto, *olim Lauretum*, taking its name from a grove of laurel there, is situated on an eminence three miles to the westward of the gulph of Venice, fifteen south of Ancona, and an hundred and forty-five to the eastward of Rome, in a pleasant fruitful soil; but there cannot be worse roads for the poor pilgrims to wade through, than there are near this celebrated place. The city is small, consisting only of one large street within the gate, and another without; and is defended by a wall and other fortifications, which may be sufficient to prevent a sudden surprize, but would not be able to hold out a long siege. Some have wondered, says Mr. ADDISON, that the Turk never attacks this place, where so vast a treasure is repositied, since it lies so near the sea-shore, and is so weakly defended: But besides that he has formerly attempted it without success, the Venetians keep too watchful an eye over him at present, to suffer him to enter the Adriatick. It would, as that gentleman observes farther, be an easy matter for a Christian Prince to possess himself of it, who has ships continually passing by; especially if he had a party in the town disguised like pilgrims: for it is computed there have been no less than an hundred thousand pilgrims in this place in the compass of a day's time; but it is probable that their veneration for the Holy House, and the horror of an action that would be resented by all Catholick Princes, will be as great a security to the place as the strongest fortification. And there is no doubt but the Pope would make use of these treasures in case of an unfortunate war with the Turk, or a powerful confederacy among the Protestants against the Holy See. The vast heaps of wealth amassed together here and in other religious places in Italy, may be looked upon as so many hidden reserves and magazines of the church, that she would open upon any pressing occasion for her last defence and preservation. But I proceed to give an account of the Holy House, which drew so great a treasure hither.

It is called here, *Sacratissimo Sacello. Gloriosa Cella. Domus Aurea. Domus Sapientie. Vas Insigne Devotionis. Sanctuarium Dei. Propitiatorium Altissimi. Civitas Refugii. Puteus Aquarum Viventium. Terror Demonum. Spes Desperantium. Gloria Jerusalem. Tabernaculum Fœderis. Solium Glorie Dei. Sacrarium Divinitatis. Sacrosancta Casa, &c.*

The history of the translation, or transportation, of this house from the Holy Land to Loretto, is hung up in the cathedral of Loretto in several languages; the substance whereof is as follows, viz. That this was the blessed Virgin's chamber near Jerusalem, in which she was born and saluted by the angel; that she conceived and brought up her son JESUS here till he was twelve years of age; that after the ascension of our Saviour, the Apostles consecrated it to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. LUKE drew a picture of her, which is preserved here to this day: that the natives apostatizing from the faith of Christ, and becoming the disciples of MAHOMET, the Angels carried it into Dalmatia, and placed

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placed it on a mountain there called Terfatto, near the Gulph of Venice; (but as to the time of this memorable event, they are not perfectly agreed, whether it was on the ninth, tenth, or the twelfth day of May 1291, or in the year 1294.) But the people of the country not expressing a due veneration for it here; three years and seven months after, the Angels transported it over the sea to a wood in the territory of Recanati (which is about three miles from Loretto) the territory belonging to a noble Lady named Loretto, from whence it obtained the name of *Our Lady of Loretto*. After it had remain'd here eight months, on account of the wickedness of the natives, it was remov'd a third time to the hill where it stands at present; but a controversy arising between two brothers to whom the ground belong'd, four months after it was remov'd a little farther into a highway; and here they built over it a magnificent church, the present cathedral, under the middle of the cupola whereof it now remains. They also erected four walls of white Parian marble, which surrounded the Holy Chamber at the distance of half a foot, the better to preserve it. Here, says my author, all the beauties of sculpture and architecture may be seen, the greatest artists in Italy having been employ'd in the work. It is of the Corinthian order, with excellent bas-reliefs, in which the history of the Virgin is represented; and there being two rows of niches one above another between the double columns, in the ten below are the statues of ten Prophets, and in those above the images of ten of the Sibyls, who prophesy'd of our Saviour's birth. There remains no more now of the Virgin's chamber than the four walls, composed of a reddish stone, which the legend says is no where to be found but near Nazareth. The roof has been remov'd to give light within, and a door made on each side; nor is there any of the foundation. The chamber is about forty foot long, twenty broad, and about twenty in height. My author says, he view'd the wall on the inside, which they were prevented from doing without by the marble enclosure; and whatever they may pretend, it appears to be built of brick. Misson also relates, that he has examin'd the matter, and that they have on purpose made choice of bricks of different shapes and unequal bigness, together with some flat greyish and reddish stones, which are common every where, and that the cement is common lime and sand, as in other ordinary houses, but ill join'd and fitted together; which seems to evince that the work was done in haste. But to go on with the tradition concerning this house, which the Roman Catholics believe as firmly as their creed: They say, that it was not known from whence it came till the blessed Virgin appeared to a devout man in his sleep, and declar'd the manner of its removal in the year 1296, who discovering it to the Governor and other considerable men of the province, they sent sixteen persons of good reputation to Nazareth, who measur'd the foundations from whence it was taken, and found them to be exactly of the same dimensions with the walls of the Holy House. They saw also an inscription on an adjoining wall, which signified that it had left that place; which demonstrated to them, that this was the chamber of the Virgin MARY: and it has been reverenc'd by Christians accordingly, and many miracles wrought there, says the legend. PAUL SILVA a hermit of great sanctity, who liv'd in the neighbourhood, also declar'd, that going there constant-

ly to mattins for ten years on the eighth of September annually, two hours before day, he saw a light descend from Heaven upon the Holy House, which was the blessed Virgin, who shew'd herself there on the day of her nativity. Another man of credit, named PAUL RENALDUCCI, attested, that his Grandfather saw the Angels convey it over the sea, and place it in the wood, where he had often visited it. One FRANCIS PRIOR also attested, that his Grandfather's Grandfather being an hundred and twenty years old, had much frequented it in the same place, and that in his time it was carried from thence to the mountain of the two brothers.

The Holy House is situated east and west. Towards the east is the little chimney of the chamber, and over it stands the Lady of Loretto, with a little Jesus on her right arm: the image of our Lady is said to be of cedar wood, the workmanship of St. LUKE, and brought hither with the house. It is about four foot high, and adorn'd with a particular kind of veil (of which they have several of various colours for change) all rich and glittering with precious stones; one of these, LASSELS relates, has six rows of diamonds down before, to the number of three thousand; and is wrought over with a kind of embroidery of little pearl, set thick every where, within the flowers, with great round pearl, to the number of twenty thousand pearls in all. Her triple crown, cover'd with precious stones, was the present of LEWIS XIII, King of France. The crown on the head of our Saviour, also is set with diamonds. Before the breast of the blessed Virgin hangs a royal toison or fleece of rich jewels; a collar of rubies, pearls and diamonds, and a rich cross hanging at it. And round the nich where the statue stands, is a close row of precious stones of several kinds and lustres of great bulk and value, forming a kind of rainbow of various colours. Before the image of our Lady hang twelve lamps of beaten gold, each as big as a man's head: all the rest of the chapel is loaden with the rich vows and presents of great Princes. The altar is of pure beaten silver, scarce any thing of less value is to be seen here. There is still remaining some ancient paintings, said to be done in the primitive times, particularly several pictures of the Virgin, with our Saviour in her arms. On each side of the Virgin's image are presses fill'd with her ancient ornaments, and on another in the south side they preserve some earthen dishes and household utensils, said to be used by the Virgin and her family, many of which are cover'd with gold plate. Over against the image of our Lady, at the end which looks westward, is the window at which, 'tis said, the Angel enter'd when he brought her the joyful tidings of being the mother of our Saviour; this window is about three foot high, and almost the same breadth; and according to tradition, the Virgin was telling over her beads when the Angel appear'd to her.

As for the old roof of the house, and the little steeple, with which it is painted in ancient pictures, they can give no account of them; the present vaulted roof they acknowledge to be a modern fabric, but the old bells they pretend to have, which are never used for fear of wearing them out: they add, that the altar made by the hands of the Apostles, and the stone on which St. PETER said his first mass, were transported hither with the house, which are now cover'd with silver. The pavement consists of square pieces of red and white marble; but this also is modern: for the old floor they

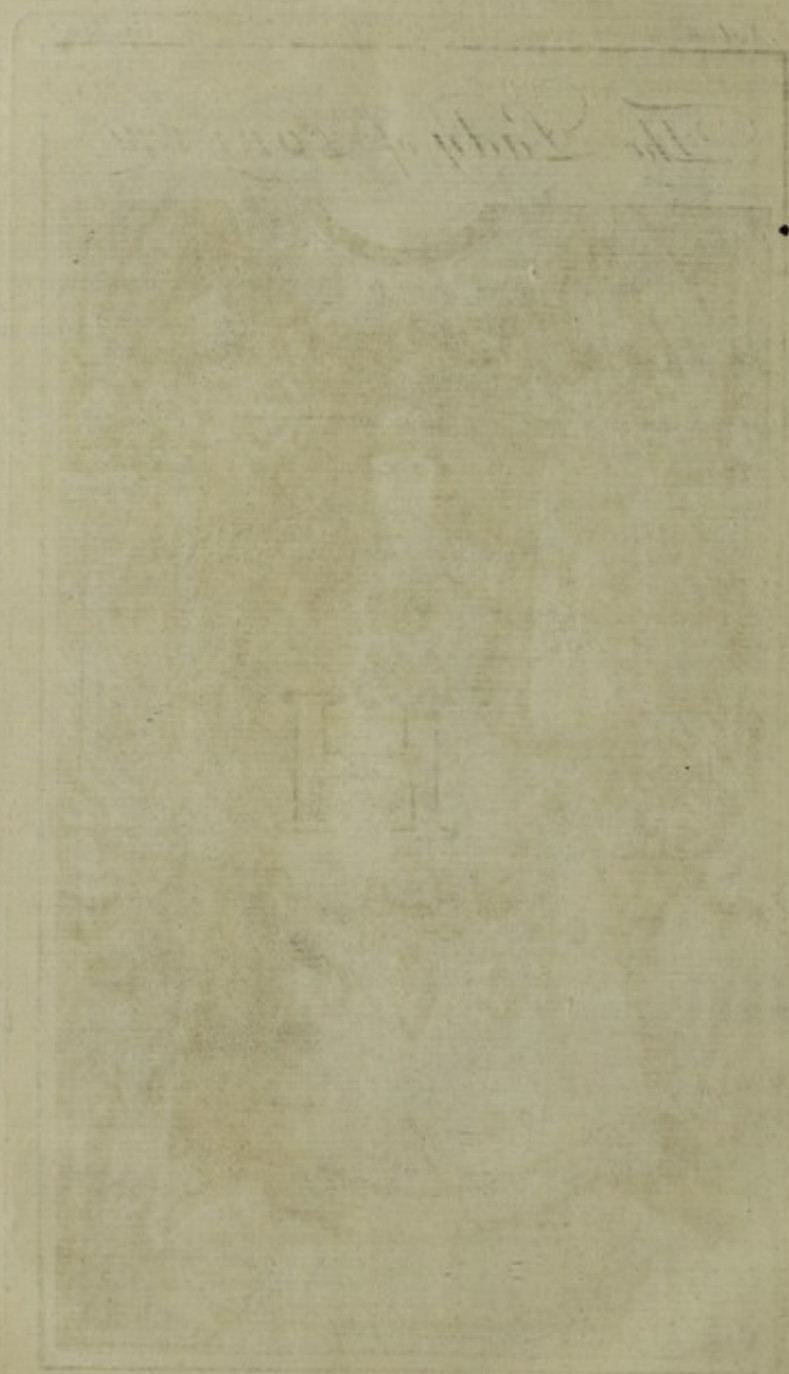
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they say was left at Nazareth with the foundation of the house. The entrance of this chapel is by three doors at present, viz. one on each side, and one behind the altar, though originally there was but one. The place between the altar and our Lady's shrine is called the sanctuary: upon this altar mass is celebrated from four in the morning to one in the afternoon; and before it hangs a lamp of gold as big as two men can carry; there are also all round the chapel lamps, statues, busts, and other figures of gold and silver, and particularly eight and twenty large silver candlesticks gilt. The last rich offering is always laid before the shrine of our Lady for some time, and then removed into the treasury. All round the walls that inclose the house are a great number of candlesticks and branches; and these walls the pilgrims surround on their knees, some five, some seven, and others twelve times, as they are disposed, saying over their Pater-Nosters and Ave-Marias, and telling their beads, all endeavouring to get as near the wall as they can; and as some surround it one way, and others the contrary, this occasions frequent jostling, and must not a little disturb their devotions; but this is never done when there are great numbers of Pilgrims assembled. From the Sancta Casa foreigners are led to view the treasury, in comparison of which, says Misson, all the riches of the Holy House are but of small value. It is a gallery with a rich vaulted roof, forty paces long, and fifteen broad, on one side of which are large presses with folding-doors, which serve instead of wainscoat when shut. The silver works are not thought worthy to be admitted into these presses, but are laid in heaps in other repositories, while the presses are filled with pure gold, rich jewels, or vessels and ornaments more precious than gold; being the votive donations of Emperors, Kings, Popes, Princes, and other persons of distinction, for several hundred years past. Here are whole services for the altar of amber, agate, lapis lazuli, coral and crystal, Priests vestments adorned with pearl and precious stones. A spread eagle covered with diamonds, several crowns of gold enriched with pearls and diamonds, a heart set with diamonds, and a great emerald in the middle of it of an excessive bigness. Several single diamonds of an immense value; images of our Saviour and the Samaritan woman in gold; a golden dove with two crowns above it covered with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones; a cup of Lapis Lazuli, with a lid of rock crystal, on the top whereof is an Angel in relievo, having a lilly set with diamonds in his hand: the border of this lid is adorned with four large diamonds, and as many rubies: the foot is oriental jasper and gold artfully intermixed and embellished with precious stones; three Satyrs of gold sitting upon it glittering with rubies and diamonds, intermixed with pearls; and there are three golden Syrens for the basis, holding each of them a child, with this distich,

*Ut quæ prole tua mundum Regina beasti,  
Et Regnum & Regem prole beare velis.*

This glorious cup HENRY III of France offered to our Lady for a successor. And here are two crowns in form of Tiara's, which LEWIS XIII of France offered on the same account.

These are both of gold embellished with diamonds and pearls, which, it is said, cost eighty thousand crowns. Another present the same

King offered after the birth of LEWIS XIV, being an Angel of silver with a young infant of gold in his arms, which he presents to the Virgin. Among the golden statues are those of the Duke of Savoy, with a royal mantle on his knees, and that of STANISLAUS King of Poland: and there is an altar-cloth presented by the Lady of the Great Chancellor of Poland, the jewels whereof are computed to be worth an hundred and fifty thousand crowns, with a multitude of other valuable presents; among which I must not forget one that Misson says was sent by King JAMES II's Queen in 1688, viz. an Angel of gold, holding a heart bigger than an egg covered with diamonds of great value, which, he says, she offered to the Virgin just before she became pregnant of the Chevalier. On the other side of the gallery is a range of windows, between every one of which are the plans of several great towns in bas-relief in silver. But not to weary the reader with a tedious enumeration of more particulars, I shall conclude the description of this treasure in the words of Mr. ADDISON: The riches in the Holy House and treasury, says that gentleman, are surprizingly great, and as much surpassed my expectation as other sights have fallen short of it: silver can scarce find admission, and gold itself looks but poorly among such an incredible number of precious stones. There will be in a few ages more the jewels of the greatest value in Europe, if the devotion of its Princes continues in its present fervour. The last offering (when he was there) was made by the Queen Dowager of Poland, and cost her eighteen thousand crowns.

The church, in which the Holy House stands, is a magnificent fabrick, built in the form of a cross, with a cupola in the middle, adorned with stucco work and exquisite paintings by the greatest hands; particularly in the chapel of the Annunciation, is the history of her visitation and marriage; and in the chapel of St. JOHN Baptist an incomparable picture of our Saviour's baptism. In the great square before the church is a vast marble fountain, with the brazen statue of Pope SIXTUS V; and four other statues representing the cardinal virtues. All the doors of the church are of brass, and have several histories engraven upon them. The cellars belonging to the house are very spacious, and replenished with variety of wine, not only for the service of the Bishop's palace, but for all those numerous bodies of Pilgrims which resort hither, to whom they are always open. After the cellar strangers are shewn the Apothecaries shop, where all pilgrims are furnished with such medicines as they want; but the pots which contain them are the greatest curiosity here, having been painted by the admired RAPHAEL URBIN, and containing several pieces of sacred and prophane history. The palace where the Governor, the Bishop, and Penitentiaries of all nations reside, is large and commodious; and here are apartments always ready for the reception of Princes, Cardinals, and other persons of distinction, whose devotion brings them hither. In the square of this palace is an octangular fountain of brass thirty foot high, consisting of three stories one above another: into the uppermost four Eagles throw the water; four Dragons pour it into the second; and four Tritons mounted on the backs of dolphins convey it to the third. The inhabitants of Loretto, notwithstanding the vast concourse of pilgrims hither, are not rich, most of them being main-

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tained by the charity of the house, and laying out but little money, unless it be in beads, crosses, and medals, the making whereof are the principal employment of the inhabitants. TURCELINUS, in his history of Loretto, relates, that in some years between Easter and Whitfuntide there have resorted hither five or six hundred thousand pilgrims; and in the space of two days in September, when they celebrate the feast of the Virgin's nativity, not less than two hundred thousand. These pilgrims set out in bodies from the several Catholick cities of Italy, and other parts of Europe, each body or society being distinguished by the arms of the city they come from, and by the colour of their clothes: they wear a kind of linen frock with a cowl, which quite covers their heads, leaving only three holes for their eyes and mouth; they have large chaplets of beads, girdles, pilgrims staves, and the arms of the society painted or embroidered before and behind, on the back and breast of every brother. The men usually ride on asses, probably in imitation of our Saviour, which animals, says my ludicrous author, on account of their frequent journeys to the Holy House, are supposed to have some smack of sanctity. They are very sure-footed, and travel better in that uneven country about Loretto than horses would. As to the female pilgrims, their habits are the richest they can procure, and they fasten to the body of their gowns a little pilgrim's staff of gold, silver or ivory, some of them set with pearls or precious stones; and these being about six inches long, says the same merry writer, give occasion for many pretty thoughts, serving for diversion for the company on the way. The Ladies usually ride in calashes and chaises, surrounded with a croud of gentlemen mounted on asses, and dressed in the manner above described, who show a thousand antick tricks, and sing merry songs for their diversion, which must make the women extremely fond of these expeditions in a country where they are never permitted to converse with the men but on such occasions; though there are few of them but have a governante, a brother, or some other relation near them, who serve as spies to see that they do not carry their gallantry too far. But to return to Loretto, besides the jewels, plate and ornaments already mentioned, it is supposed there are vast sums of ready cash laid up in the treasury of the Holy House, for no pilgrim scarce comes thither but gives something to the box; and to incite them to be liberal, they deliver out printed papers, wherein they suggest that the revenues of this church amount to but twenty seven thousand crowns per ann. and that in their charges in maintaining the clergy and officers which belong to the Holy House, and the pilgrims who resort hither, they annually expend above thirty eight thousand crowns, so that there is a deficiency of eleven thousand crowns every year; from which representation they endeavour to move the compassion of devout pilgrims; tho' it is supposed the lands and revenues appropriated to Loretto, are much beyond what they are pleased to discover. It is true, the numerous clergy who constantly attend here, must occasion a very great expence; there being above an hundred and twenty masses founded to be said every day in the church and chapel, besides casual ones celebrated for particular persons; for which purpose only they maintain near fourscore extraordinary Chaplains; and the Madona or Saint herself is continually served by twenty Canons, thirteen Ecclesi-

asticks, called Incumbents, twelve Clerks, and other inferior officers. SIXTUS V. first made Loretto a City and Bishoprick; and so great is the dignity of this place (say the Catholicks) so sublime is its majesty, that before all the holy places under heaven, the chapel of Loretto is to be preferred.

Osimo is a small city, about fifteen miles west of Loretto, remarkable only for being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome.

Recanati, the ancient *Helvia Recina*, united to the See of Loretto, is situated on the top of a hill, about three miles south-west of Loretto. In the territories of this city it was that the Holy House first rested on its transportation from Dalmatia.

Macerata is situated on a hill between Loretto and Tolentino, twenty miles south of Ancona. It is a Bishop's See, united to Tolentino, suffragan of Fermo, and has a little University.

Fermo is situated on a rising ground near the gulph of Venice, fifteen miles south of Loretto, a large place, and made an Archbishoprick by SIXTUS V. who had been Bishop of this city.

The cities of Ripa, Transone, Montalto, Ascoli, Tolentino, Camerino, and Jesi, are all Bishop's Sees; but do not deserve a particular description.

Fabriano, on the confines of the duchy of Urbino, is taken notice of for a manufactory of fine paper there.

The duchy of Urbino, including the Republic of St. Marino, is bounded by the province of Romania, and the gulph of Venice, towards the north and east; by the marquisate of Ancona towards the south; and by the duchy of Florence or Tuscany and Perugia towards the west: being about seventy miles in length from the south-east to the north-west, and of a very unequal breadth, in some places fifty, and in others scarce twenty, particularly that part of it which lies between Tuscany and the gulph of Venice is very narrow. The chief towns are, 1. Urbino. 2. St. Angelo. 3. Urbana. 4. Cagli. 5. Fombrone. 6. Fano. 7. San Leo. 8. Penna de Billi. 9. Gubbio. 10. Senigaglia. And, 11. Pesaro.

Urbino, the capital city, is situated on a hill near the river Foglia, about twenty miles south-west of the gulph of Venice, and an hundred north-east of Rome; a little well-peopled city, and hath some handfom buildings in it, particularly the Ducal Palace, Pope URBAN VIII. being an intimate friend of the last Duke's, and having, among other favours, given him an hundred thousand ducats, so entirely won the Duke's heart, that he bequeathed this city, and the whole duchy belonging to it, to the See of Rome about the year 1630, and it has ever since been part of the Ecclesiastical State. In this city the famous Painter RAPHAEL was born, from hence called RAPHAEL URBIN. It was made an Archbishoprick, by Pope PIUS IV. anno 1563.

Sinigaglia, or Senegallia, said to take its name from the Galli Senones, is a little pleasant town, situate in a plain near the gulph of Venice, about twenty miles north-east of Ancona, and has a harbour of no great consequence.

San Leo is a fortress situated on a mountain fifteen miles north of Urbino, capital of the county of Montefeltro, which has its name from its mountainous situation.

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Osimo.

Recanati.

Macerata.

Fermo.

Ripa,  
Transone,  
Montalto,  
Tolenti-  
no, &c.  
Fabriano.

Urbino  
duchy.

Urbino  
city.

Sinigag-  
lia.

Cita



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Cita de  
Castello.  
Fano.

Cita de Castello is the capital of a county of the same name, situated about twenty miles south-west of Urbino, a little fortified town, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome.

Fano is situated on the gulph of Venice, about twenty miles to the eastward of Urbino, anciently called *Fanum Fortunæ*, or the Temple of Fortune, on account of a temple erected to the honour of that Goddess here, of which there is nothing remaining but the ruins at present. There is also here a magnificent triumphal arch, pretty much defaced, consisting of three arches of marble, the loftiest that are to be met with any where, each of them, as it is said, being thirty cubits high; the plan of it, with all its inscriptions, is neatly cut upon the wall of a neighbouring building. In this, as in almost every other town in this part of Italy, is a beautiful marble fountain, where the water runs continually through several little spouts, which, my author observes, looks very refreshing in this hot country, and gives a coolness to the air about them.

Pesaro.

Pesaro is pleasantly situated also upon the gulph of Venice, about ten miles north-east of Fano; and was the capital of a territory, governed by its own Princes till the year 1631, when it came under the dominion of the See of Rome. It is one of the largest and best-peopled towns in the Pope's dominions; and has a very good trade; the churches and houses are for the most part modern and well built. Pope CLEMENT XI. who was a native of this place, built a magnificent cathedral here, whose Bishop is suffragan to Urbino. The country about Pesaro is exceeding fruitful, and every thing extremely cheap, but the air is bad in summer-time.

Gubio.

Gubio is the capital of a little mountainous territory, situate near the foot of the Apennine, about thirty miles south-west of Urbino, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of that city.

Fombrone.

Fombrone, or Fossombrone, is situated about ten miles south-east of Urbino, and about as much to the westward of Fano, and is the See of a Bishop, Suffragan of Urbino.

St. Angelo, &c.

St. Angelo, Urbaneæ, Cagli and Penna de Belli, are Bishops Sees, but remarkable for little else; and indeed every town of Italy almost of the bigness of an English market-town is a Bishop's See.

The republick of  
St. Marino.

The territories of the Republick of St. Marino are situated on the north part of the duchy of Urbino, near the confines of Romania. They consist of one mountain, and some neighbouring hillocks which lie scattered about the bottom of it, being about three miles over, and about ten in circumference, containing one little city of the same name, four or five villages, eight corn-mills, and two powder-mills, in which little State there are about six or seven thousand souls. There is not a spring or fountain, according to Mr. Addison, in their dominions, which defect is supplied by vast cisterns or reservoirs of rain-water. Their wine that grows towards the bottom of the mountain is the best on the north side of the Apennines.

St. Marino  
city.

The town of St. Marino stands on the top of the mountain, which is exceeding high and steep, it is generally hid among the clouds, and lay under snow, says Mr. Addison, when I saw it, though it was clear and warm weather in all the country about it. The city is walled on one side, and defended by a dreadful precipice on the other, on which stand three towers or castles on a line. The streets are narrow, and the houses but indifferently built: There are five churches and four convents

in their limits, but not considerable enough to deserve a particular description. There is a suburb at the foot of the hill, where they have a good weekly market, and four annual fairs, in which great herds of live cattle are bought and sold. Their principal fair is on the feast of St. BARTHOLOMEW, when all the natives that are fit for military service are under arms, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred. There are but two ascents from the suburbs to the city, by one of which, winding about, a coach may get up to the gate; the other is very steep; and there is a law that none shall enter the town by any other paths, lest new ones should be worn on the sides of the mountain, and foreigners find an access to it. The town stands about nine miles south of Rimini, twenty north of Urbino, and five or six west of the gulph of Venice. This little republick has continued twelve or thirteen hundred years; and was founded by St. MARINO, a hermit who retired hither, and practised such rigours and austerities upon himself, as gave the people of the neighbourhood a great opinion of his sanctity. It being given out at length that heaven had conferred on him a power of working miracles, the Princes of the country gave him the mountain he had chosen to erect his hermitage upon; and his reputation soon drew people enough thither to people it, who formed themselves into a republick, which has been ever since called by the name of their founder, whose statue stands on the high altar in their principal church, which is dedicated to him. He holds a mountain in his hands, crowned with three castles, which is the arms of the common-wealth. They attribute to his protection the long duration of their state, and esteem him the greatest Saint next to the blessed Virgin.

The sovereign power was originally lodged in the Arengo, or great council, wherein every house had its representative, but was afterwards devolved on the council of sixty, or rather forty, for it consists of no more at present, of which one half are of noble families, as they are called, and the other half plebeians, and all matters are decided in this assembly by ballotting. By these are all ministers and officers of the common-wealth appointed, and no sentence is executed which is not confirmed by two thirds of this council. The two principal officers of the common-wealth are stiled Capitaneo's, which our writers resemble to the Roman Consuls: these are elected every six months. The next officer is the Judge in civil and criminal matters, and because of the many alliances, friendships and intermarriages, as well as the personal feuds and animosities which must of necessity happen among so small a people, and might obstruct the course of justice, if one of their own number was possessed of this post, they always entrust a foreigner with the administration of justice, who is a Doctor of law, and has a reputation for his integrity; they change him every three years. The fourth man in this petty state is the Physician, who is also a foreigner, and maintained by a publick salary, and changed also every three years. A fifth officer, who makes no small figure in the republick, is the school-master, and the natives in general, it is said, have some smattering of learning. They are esteemed an honest well-meaning people, and according to some of our modern travellers, live much more happy and contented among their rocks and snows than any other Italians do in the most fruitful valleys. Nothing, says Mr. Addison, can be a greater instance of the natural love mankind have for

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for liberty, and of their aversion to an arbitrary government, than to see such a savage mountain cover'd with people, when the Campania of Rome (under a Monarch) in the same country, is destitute of inhabitants. From which and many other instances it is evident, that Mr. Addison preferr'd a republican form of government to any other, and insinuates, that no such thing as liberty can be expected under a monarchy. But it is to be observ'd, that these very people lie in the midst of the Pope's dominions, are under his protection, and so much in his power, that he might at any time put an end to their boasted liberties if he saw fit. And after all, why people should be happier under forty tyrants or governors than one, is not easy to be conceived. Nor does it proceed so much from the excellency of their constitution, as from the poverty of their country, and their cold uncomfortable situation, that they have so long remain'd a state. The richest and the happiest countries ever suffer the most frequent revolutions. Is it not worth any Prince's while to make a conquest of a mountain eternally cover'd with snow, tho' 'tis very natural for people to have an esteem and fondness for their native place, how miserable soever. At the island of St. Helena, which is but twenty miles in circumference, and above five hundred from any continent, where the natives are of British extraction, and subject to a Governor appointed by the East-India company, who acts as despotically as any Prince upon earth, the natives seem no less contented than these are represented to be at St. MARINO, and will tell you that they have very little inclination to remove to any other part of the world. They represent that their small fortunes that maintain them in necessities here, would probably be spent before they could fix themselves to any advantage elsewhere; that they and their families must run great hazards and suffer many hardships in the attempt: But what is more than all, they have such a fondness for the spot of earth where they were born and bred, that they cannot think of leaving it, any more than the mountaineers of Marino can of descending into the rich vales about them; not on account of the mildness of the government, but for some such reasons as keep the natives of St. Helena at home. And indeed, it is no easy matter for poor people to leave their country with their families and fix in other places, whatever the nature of the government may be, they live under, or whatever oppressions or hardships they may suffer from their Governors. And that the rest of the people of Italy are not less contented than those of Marino, how miserable soever some travellers may represent them, or they may in reality be in our opinion, appears from MOTRAYE, Vol. I. p. 74. The picture several travellers have drawn, says that gentleman, of the meanness and poverty of the Italian peasants, render'd so by their rich masters, is apt to make any one look upon them who bear the burthen to be as miserable as those who impose it seem to be happy; but as the felicity of people consists chiefly in being contented with their condition, or more in believing themselves happy than in being really so, they complain less themselves than travellers do for them; they are born for the most part with their chains, (as we denominate them) which grow habitual and light by education. *They are taught to expect a true happiness in the next world from the very sacrifice of riches and wealth in this; from their observance of religion, contributions to the church, and submission*

*to their superiors. And being born in great plenty of all things necessary to life, in the midst of so many sorts of delicious wines, they are always more sober by choice, more quiet, and better content with what is sufficient, than those of other nations, who in the midst of riches, even to a superfluity, are tyranniz'd over by the love of money, slaves to their ambition, never pleased, but always uneasy with their masters.* It is surprizing, says the same author, how much these people give to the church in proportion to what they have, and this very willingly, notwithstanding what they are obliged to pay to the temporal power, of which they complain but little. The peasant pays religiously tythes to his curate, and has masses said for his health, for the fertility of his lands, and for the souls of his deceased relations; nor does he refuse a part of his corn, wine and fruit to the Mendicant Fryars, though without making any vow of poverty, he lives poorer than they that do it. And though these people should be deem'd to have fallen into one extreme, both in their religion and politics, yet whether the contrary extreme, where people deny any subjection to the ecclesiastical or civil Magistrate, but when they act suitably to their own whimsies, be not the more troublesome and dangerous of the two, will scarce be made a question by any considering man. But 'tis time to proceed in the description of the rest of the Pope's dominions.

The province of Romania, or Romandiola, in which I include the Bolognese and Ferrarese, is bounded by the territories of Venice towards the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by the province of Urbino and Tuscany on the south; and by Modena and Mantua towards the west; being about fourscore miles in length from east to west, and near as much in breadth from north to south.

Romania Proper, call'd anciently *Æmia Regio*, and *Flaminia*, is bounded by the Ferrarese on the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by Urbino and Tuscany on the south; and by the Bolognese on the west; and is about sixty miles in length from east to west, and forty in breadth from north to south. It is diversified with hills, woods, arable, meadow and pasture, and abounds in corn, wine, oil, figs and other fruits: but the salt-pits are its principal riches. Here are also several good rivers, as the Savio, Santerna, Pisatello and Rubicon; the last of which will be remember'd as long as JULIUS CÆSAR, who by passing it with his army, manifested his design of subduing the Roman republick. This province was part of the ancient *Gallia Cispanada*, and said to be call'd Romania from its firm adherence to the Roman Empire, and not from its being in the neighbourhood of Rome, for it lies on the opposite side of Italy, at above an hundred and forty miles distance from that city. The chief towns are, 1. Ravenna. 2. Cervia. 3. Rimini. 4. Sarcina. 5. Sefena. 6. Bertinora. 7. Forlimpopoli. 8. Forli. 9. Faenza. 10. Castel Bolognese. And, 11. Imbola.

Ravenna is situated in a flat country, three miles west of the Adriatick sea; an hundred north-west of Ancona; and fourscore south of Venice, being encompass'd with two small rivers. Its ancient situation is said to have been like that of Venice, upon certain islands, when it was one of the best harbours the Romans had on this side; but the waters are retired above three miles from it, and these plains which formerly

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merly were under water, are now some of the most fruitful grounds in Italy. It was the residence of the Emperor HONORIUS, and of many of the Gothick Kings, and afterwards the capital of the eastern Emperors dominions in Italy, where their Viceroys or Exarchs held their courts from the year 568, to the year 728. It was taken by the Lombards in 752, and by PEPIN King of France, anno 756, who gave this city, with most of the territories belonging to the eastern Emperors in Italy, to the Pope; but it never suffer'd more than when it was storm'd by the French about the year 1512, ever since which it has been in a declining condition. The buildings are generally mean, the magnificent churches and palaces which it anciently contain'd, are now run to ruin, its trade lost, and the place but thinly peopled. Good water was always so scarce here, that it was preferred to wine, according to MAR. l. 5.

*Sit cisterna mihi quam vinea malo Ravennæ,*

*Cum possim multo vendere pluris aquam.*

Lodg'd at Ravenna, water sells so dear,

A cistern to a vineyard I prefer. ADDISON.

*Callidus imposuit nuper mihi caupo Ravennæ*

*Cum peterem mixtum vendidit ille merum.* Ibid.

By a Ravenna vintner once betray'd,

So much for wine and water mix'd I paid;

But when I thought the purchas'd liquor mine,

The rascal fobb'd me off with only wine. Ibid.

The place which is shewn for the haven is level with the town at present, and is supposed to have been fill'd up by sand and dirt brought thither by the sea; for all the soil on that side of Ravenna, it is observ'd, has been made by the sea discharging it self upon it for ages past. The ruins of the Pharos, or light-house, stand about three miles from the sea, and two from the town, the foundations whereof were cover'd several yards deep. It was a square tower, about twelve yards in breadth, as appears by that part of it which still remains entire. Without the town, on that side where the ancient harbour is supposed to have been, is the Mausoleum which Queen AMALASUNTHA erected for her father THEODORICK, King of the Ostrogoths, who kept his court at Ravenna. This building is now converted into a little church which they call the Rotunda; the most remarkable thing in it is the roof, which consists of one large stone, hollow'd almost into the form of a cupola, with a round hole to let in the light. Mr. Misson says, he measured this stone, and that it was thirty-eight feet in diameter, and fifteen in thickness; but I suppose he means that the cavity or cupola was fifteen feet deep, for Mr. ADDISON says, the stone is but four feet thick, so uncertain are the accounts we receive sometimes from those who pretend they have been eye-witnesses. On the out-side of this little cupola was placed the porphyry tomb of THEODORICK above-mention'd, surrounded by the statues of the twelve apostles, but it was broken in pieces by a cannon-ball when Lewis XII besieg'd it. The same shot, 'tis supposed, made a flaw in the cupola; though, according to the tradition of the place, it was crack'd by thunder. The cathedral is an ancient fabrick, the nave whereof is supported by fifty-six pillars of Grecian marble, which form a double row on each side of it, and the roof of the choir is inlaid with fine Mosaic work. Another curiosity in

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this church is the great door, which is made of the planks of vines, some of them twelve feet in length, and five in breadth. The soil which has been made by the sea is so agreeable to vines, that they grow to an incredible size here. In the church of the Theatins, travellers are shewn a little window over the high altar, with the figure of a white pigeon in the middle of it, which was placed there as a memorial, that after the death of St. APOLLINARIUS, the first Bishop of Ravenna, the Priests being assembled to chuse a successor, the Holy Ghost in form of a dove (as they say) came in at this window, and sat upon the head of him who was to be elected; and that the same thing happen'd afterwards at eleven elections successively. In the churches of St. VITALIS, St. APOLLINARIUS, St. ROMOALDUS, and St. ANDREW, are some very fine pieces of marble and porphyry, supposed to be brought from Greece during the time of the exarchate. In the church of St. CELSUS is a noble tomb of GALLA PLACIDIA, sister to the Emperors ARCADIVS and HONORIUS; and in the great square a fine brazen statue of Pope ALEXANDER VII. Upon two columns in the same square were set the patron and arms of Venice formerly, when Ravenna was in the possession of that state; but the Pope has since placed the statues of St. VICTOR and APOLLINARIS, the patrons of Ravenna, on the same pillars. This city is the See of an Archbishop, but is neither considerable for its bulk or fortifications at present.

Rimini, the ancient *Ariminum*, stands in a plain Rimini, near the coast of the Adriatick Sea, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, about four and twenty miles south-east of Ravenna, and twenty north-west of Pesaro. Between Ravenna and Rimini runs the famous river Rubicon, which some take to be the modern *Pisatello*, and others another small stream near it; but however that be, the Rubicon was the boundary between Gaul and Italy, and it was made treason either for the Roman officers or soldiers to pass this river in their military habits. This it was that made JULIUS CÆSAR halt here for some time in his march towards Rome, but having weigh'd the consequence, he cried out at length, *EATVR QVO DEORVM OSTENTA, ET INIMICORVM INIQUITAS VOCAT: IACTA EST ALEA.*

*Jam gelidas Cæsar cursu superaverat Alpes*

*Ingenteque animo motus, bellumque futurum*

*Cæperat ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas.*

LUCAN.

This river, says Mr. ADDISON, who takes it to be the modern *Pisatello*, is not so very contemptible as it is generally represented, and was much encreased by the melting of the snows when Cæsar pass'd it, according to the same Poet:

*Fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis*

*Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida conduit æstas,*

*Perque imas serpet valles, & Gallica certus*

*Limes ab ausonis determinat arva colonis.*

*Tunc vires præbebat hyems atque auxerat undas,*

*Tertia jam gravida pluvialis Cymbria cornu,*

*Et madidis Euri resolute flatibus Alpes.* LUCAN.

While summer lasts the streams of Rubicon From their spent source in a small current run, Hid in the winding vales they gently glide, And Italy from neighbouring Gaul divide. But now with winter storms increas'd they rose, By wat'ry moons produc'd and Alpine snows,

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That melting on the hoary mountains lay,  
And in warm eastern winds dissolv'd away.

ADDISON.

Rimini is in a declining condition at present, having neither trade nor harbour, for both which it was considerable anciently; but the sea is retired a mile from it, and, according to Mr. Addison, it has nothing modern to boast of. The antiquities are, 1. A marble bridge of five arches, built by AUGUSTUS, as appears by the inscription, viz. *Cesar. Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maxim. Cos. 14. Imp. XX. Tribunitia potest. XXVII. p. p.* On the other side, *Ti. Cesar Divi Augusti F. Divi Juli N. August. Pontif. Maxim. Cos. 4. Imp. 8. Trib. potest. 17. Deder.* 2. A triumphal arch erected by AUGUSTUS, which makes a noble gate to the town; on which is the following inscription, viz. *Cos. sept. Designat. Octavum V. Celebr. rimis Italiae Viris Consilio Senatus pop. Ta. CS. US. Nileis.* Here are also the ruins of an amphitheatre, and they pretend to shew the Suggestum on which JULIUS CÆSAR stood when he harangued his officers after he had passed the Rubicon. Rimini is a Bishop's See suffragan to Ravenna.

Cervia. Cervia, the ancient *Phocle*, stands in a morass near the sea, about ten miles to the southward of Ravenna; considerable on account of the salt-pits about it; and for its being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Ravenna: but is not very well peopled, on account of the badness of the air.

Faenza. Faenza is situated on the river Amone, about twenty miles west of Ravenna, a little neat town, and a Bishop's See suffragan to Ravenna, most considerable on account of its manufacture of earthen ware.

Sarcina, Bertinoro, Forlimpopoli, Forli and Imola, are only remarkable as they are the Sees of so many Bishops.

The province of Bologna, or the Bolognese, is bounded by the Ferrarese on the north; by Romania proper on the east; by Tuscany on the south; and by the Modenese on the west; being about forty miles in length from east to west, and five and twenty in breadth from north to south; and is watered by the rivers Reno, Saveno and Quadraro: being a fruitful country, abounding in corn, wine, oil, flax and fruits. It was anciently part of Lombardy, and afterwards of the exarchate of Ravenna, and given to the Pope by King PEPIN and CHARLEMAIN. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Bologna. 2. Budri. 3. Bentivoglio. 4. Fort Urbin. And, 5. Castel-Franco.

Bologna, or Bolonia, in Latin *Bononia*, and anciently *Felsina*, is usually surnamed the *Fat*, from its standing in one of the most fruitful plains in Italy. It is situated upon several little rivulets and a navigable canal, by which it has a communication with Ferrara, and a branch of the Po; lying about seven or eight miles to the northward of the Apennines, which in the way from Florence sink gradually into little mounts or eminences till we arrive at the plain in which Bologna stands. This city is about sixty miles north-west of Florence, and something more than two hundred north-west of Rome, thirty south-west of Ferrara, and an hundred and thirty south-east of Milan. The country between Florence and Bologna is as barren as the country on the side of Lombardy is fruitful, being one continued chain of the Apennine mountains, over which the road would be

intolerable if the Italians did not take more care of their highways than any nation in Europe, in which they imitate their ancestors the old Romans; but this road is still so incommodious for wheel-carriages, that those who travel between Bologna and Florence chuse either litters or mules to ride on, rather than calashes in which they travel in the plain country. Bologna is of a round figure, about five or six miles in circumference, surrounded with a single wall of very little strength; for it is said, when they put themselves under the Pope's protection about the year 1278, they stipulated particularly against citadels and fortifications, lest they should be used as a conquered people; and the Popes have religiously observed this part of the treaty to this day. The town is remarkable for its magnificent monasteries and churches, and the riches and fine paintings in them. The streets are tolerably wide, and have piazza's on each side: the private houses are not lofty, or comparable to those of Venice or Genoa, but are handfom and convenient enough; they are either built of stone or brick plastered over in imitation of stone. They have several fine squares with noble fountains in them; and all manner of provisions are extremely plentiful; but what they are most remarkable for are their hams and sausages, in which most towns in Europe endeavour to imitate them. The wealth of Bologna, says Dr. BURNET, appears in every corner of the town; there are many noble palaces all over it, and the churches and convents are incredibly rich. The inhabitants are computed to amount to seventy thousand souls. The place is much colder in winter than those towns to the southward of the Apennines, which, Mr. ADDISON supposes, is the reason that their wines are not so good; so sweet I suppose he means, for they have excellent white wine, and they do not lie so cold as France and some other countries, where we meet with the best of wines; and, according to Misson, the heats are almost as troublesome here in the summer, as they are to the southward, accordingly they use ice with their wine, and all manner of cooling liquors; the men also have fans as well as the women all over the country, and little machines at table to drive off the flies. Here Misson takes an opportunity to acquaint us, that they drive away the flies from the Pope's face (when he is carried in publick on men's shoulders, seated in a chair of state) in hot weather with an engine, called *Muscaria Pavonina*, being a kind of open fan, made with the feathers of a peacock, and fastened to the end of a gilt staff about six foot long, and adorned with several toys; two officers on each side hold these implements near his face to drive away the flies; they serve also instead of a fan, producing with a little motion a gentle gale of wind. But however this may be looked upon as an extravagant piece of state in Europe, it is no more than every gentleman and tradesman in the East-Indies has whenever he goes abroad; the East-India company's factors have their men to run by them and beat off the flies as they travel, and others with umbrellas to screen them from the sun; as Misson observes the Pope also has, upbraiding him that St. PETER, whom he pretends to succeed, was never thus attended. But to return to Bologna, their trade consists chiefly in silks and velvets, in which manufactures, and those of flax and hemp, it is said, there are not less than

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four hundred mills employed to put the machines in motion with which they are wrought. One of these kinds of mills, I am informed, is erected on a stream at Derby, which saves abundance of hands, and were they more general in England, our silks might be afforded much cheaper: the Italians, French and Dutch underwork us more by the machines they employ, than by their frugal living. Bologna is also most famous for its soap, snuff and perfumes; but there is one species of goods almost peculiar to this town, and that is Lap-dogs for Ladies, which it seems are very small, and sold at an excessive price here. One of these was presented to some of the Bishop of Rochester's family by the Chevalier's people, as it is said, and was an evidence of the Bishop's correspondence with that court. There is another thing almost peculiar to Bologna, and that is their boiling their wines, which I presume is in order to make them keep, for some of their wines grow sour as soon as small cyder: but I must not forget their olives, which are excellent in their kind, and bought up as much as their white wine. I proceed now to be a little more particular in the description of the public buildings in Bologna: To take a full prospect of the town, says my author, you must go a little out of it, to the convent of St. MICHAEL in Bosco, which stands upon a neighbouring hill, and is itself one of the most magnificent monasteries in Italy: there are few sovereign Princes whose Palaces are near so beautiful, nor are the monasteries of the Dominicans, and that of St. SAVIOUR inferior to this. In the church of the Dominicans is a glorious monument of St. DOMINICK their founder, of fine alabaster, beautified with bas-reliefs, containing the history of his life; and the picture of St. DOMINICK over the tomb, is an exquisite piece done by the famous GUIDO RHENI; but as for the inlaid work of the choir, so much admired by travellers, MISSON observes, that the modern performances of that kind are much better done, now they have found out the art of imprinting natural colours on wood. The church of St. PETRONIUS is the largest in the city, in which the most remarkable thing is CASSINI's meridian line, which is drawn on a copper-plate, set in the pavement two hundred and twenty two foot long; directly over the noon-point of this line is a little hole in the arched roof of the nave, at which a ray of the sun enters, and marks the solstices and equinoxes upon the line. At the Church of Corpus Domini they shew an embalmed body, which is black and dry like a mummy, and pretend that it is the body of a deceased Nun, called KATHERINE DE VIGRI, who died about the year 1463, which frequently works miracles; she sits in a chair clothed in a Nun's habit, a crown of gold on her head, rings on her fingers, a crucifix in her right hand, and a book of her own composing in her left; her hair and nails, as her votaries pretend, grow as when she was alive, and are often cut: Mr. MISSON says, she is a dismal spectacle, and cannot be looked upon without horror. At the church of St. SALVATOR, amongst abundance of exquisite paintings, the best are an assumption and a picture of our Saviour. At St. GIOVANNI del Monte is an admirable picture of St. CECILIA, a master-piece of the divine RAPHAEL, as he is called, and esteemed one of the greatest treasures of the city. The church of the Mendicants also abounds in fine paintings, the principal and most beauti-

ful pieces are the calling of St. MATTHEW, a dead Christ, and the re-establishment of JOB's fortunes. The Religious of this city have a profound veneration for an image of our Lady, which, according to tradition, was drawn by St. LUKE, and go in procession annually five miles out of town to the mount La Guardia to bring her hither; and they are making a kind of piazza, or covered way, from the city to the mount, that they may never be interrupted in their procession by the weather. When they have brought this image of our Lady into the city, they carry it about with all imaginable pomp: all the companies in the corporation, the fraternities, convents, parishes, Magistrates, Gonfalonier, and the Pope's Legate, all assist at the solemnity; and as the Madonna passes by, who is carried under a rich canopy, the spectators fall upon their knees, and express the utmost devotion. As to the palaces of Bologna, that of General CAPRARA is esteemed the finest in the city, where are shewn abundance of rich plunder which he took from the Turks. In the palace of the State, or the Pope's palace, in which are abundance of noble apartments richly furnished, the Cardinal Legate has one, and the Gonfalonier another; the counsellors of State also have their several apartments here. Over the gate is a brazen statue of Pope GREGORY XIII, which weighs eleven thousand pound, and is in great esteem for the workmanship; but the greatest curiosity in this palace is the cabinet of ULYSSES ALDROVANDUS, the prodigy of his time. It contains a multitude of natural and artificial curiosities, with two or three hundred great manuscripts of his own writing, fifteen of which are filled with the figures of beasts, birds, fishes and plants, all illustrated with their proper colours: and though one would imagine he had done nothing but write all his lifetime; his works sufficiently testify his great reading, profound science, and an immense progress both in ancient and in modern learning; which shews what may be done where a great genius and an indefatigable industry meet in the same person.

The University here is reckoned one of the best in Europe. It was founded by the Emperor THEODOSIUS in the year 425, and augmented by CHARLEMAIN and LOTHARIUS the French Emperors. The study of law is in the greatest reputation here. The learned Azo was a member of this University, whom they stile the light of Bologna, and oracle of the canon and civil law, in whose time the number of students amounted to ten thousand. The famous BARTOLUS commenced Doctor here, and taught publicly in this University. Here also ACCURSUS composed the Glossa, Pope GREGORY IX and BONIFACE VIII their Decretalia, and JOHN XXIII, the Clementinæ. The publick school is a magnificent structure, and has a noble portico before it, supported by a great number of marble pillars; the rooms and galleries within being adorned with admirable statues and paintings. Among the statues the most remarkable are those of ÆSCULAPIUS, APOLLO, and the famous physician and surgeon GABRIEL TAGLIACOTZO, or TALIAECOTIUS, who had an art, as it is said, of supplying people with artificial noses, lips, ears, and other members where their own happened to be mutilated or defaced, out of living human flesh; to which purpose he published his *Chirurgia Artiorum*, where he relates a story of a certain gentleman who lost his nose, and

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and had it supplied by him with a piece of flesh cut from another man's back-side, and so artificially shaped and joined, that every body took it to be natural, till unluckily the fellow whom it was taken from happened to die, and then the gentleman's nose rotted off by sympathy, according to the ingenious BUTLER, author of *Hudibras*.

—Learned TALIACTIUS from  
The brawny part of porter bum  
Cut supplemental noses, which  
Would last as long as parent breech;  
But when the date of nock was out,  
Off dropt the sympathetick snout.

The two towers of Afinelli and Garisendi, so named from their respective founders, are looked upon as great curiosities by travellers who visit this place; the former is 376 feet in height, and the latter 130. The leaning position of that of Garisendi, which bends like the tower of Pisa, is thought by some to have been so erected to shew the dexterity of the architect; but is more likely to have been disordered by some earthquake, or the sinking of one side of the foundation. Bologna is the See of an Archbishop, and esteemed the second city in the Pope's dominions, equal, if not superior to Florence in its riches, trade, and dimensions. It threw it self under the protection of the Pope about the year 1278, and procured very advantageous terms, which have not been infringed to this day; to which the flourishing of this city beyond any other in the Pope's territories is ascribed. They are allowed to appoint an Auditor of the Rota (the great Court which receives appeals from inferior Courts at Rome) and to have an Ambassador there to take care of their privileges: Civil causes are determined by the Magistrates of the city, and criminal by Judges of the Pope's appointing; but then their estates are not liable to be confiscated to the government for any offences whatever. As to the rest, the Pope's Legate is his Viceroy here, as in other provinces of the ecclesiastical state. The curiosities that pleased Mr. ADDISON most when he visited Bologna, he says, were an authentick silver medal of the young BRUTUS, in the hands of an eminent antiquary there; wherein he imagined he could see the character of the person in the features of the face, it was so exquisitely cut. On the reverse is the cap of Liberty, with a dagger on each side of it, subscribed, *Id. Mar.* for the Ides of March, the memorable date of CÆSAR's murder. The next was the picture of St. CECILIA, already mentioned, in which he says there is something wonderfully divine. The third thing he admired was a stair-case, where the easiness of the ascent within a small compass, the disposition of the lights, and the convenient landing-places are admirably contrived. And there is scarce a traveller but mentions the shining stones found about three miles from the city in the hill Paderni, which go by the name of Bologna Stones; but these, I find, after they have been taken some time out of the earth, lose their shining quality. The rest of the towns of Bologna do not merit a particular description.

The Fer-  
rarese.

The third subdivision of Romania is the Ferrarese, bounded by the Venetian territories on the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by Romania Proper and the Bolognese on the

south; and by the duchies of Modena and Mantua towards the west; being near seventy miles in length from east to west, but of a very unequal breadth, towards the gulph of Venice fifty, and in others scarce fifteen miles over. The country produces corn, flax and hemp, except that part of it next the sea, which is a perfect bog, and very unhealthful. This was part of the exarchate of Ravenna, and about the tenth century conferred on the Marquis of ESTE by the Emperor ORTO, and by an heiress of that family was given to the See of Rome about the year 1077. The Lords of a second branch of the family of ESTE held it as Vicars to the Pope, till the time of Pope PAUL II, who transferred it to NICHOLAS BORSO, another branch of the house of ESTE, and made him Duke of Ferrara; whose posterity failing about the year 1597, the Pope re-united it to the ecclesiastical State, but gave Modena and Reggio to CÆSAR DE ESTE, who also claimed a right to the Ferrarese, but wanted power to support his pretensions. The chief towns are, 1. Ferrara. 2. Francolino. 3. Buendino. 4. Cento. And, 5. Comachio.

The city of Ferrara stands in a plain, on a branch of the Po, called *Po Morto*, about four miles distant from the main stream, with which it has a communication by a navigable canal, and is about fourscore miles south-west of Venice, and fifty north-west of Ravenna, being four or five miles in circumference. It has a citadel, and something like a fortification (in the phrase of my author) round it; but the town is so large, that it would require more soldiers to defend it than the Pope has in his dominions. The streets are as beautiful as can be seen, as to their length, breadth, and regularity, but it is very thinly peopled, and can neither boast of its wealth or trade: formerly it was eminent for both. When Dr. BURNET travelled through it, he tells us it was almost deserted; that there were whole sides of streets without inhabitants; that the poverty of the place appeared signally in their churches, which were mean and poorly adorned; for the superstition of Italy is so ravenous, says that reverend author, and makes such a progress in this age, that one may justly take the measures of the wealth of any place from their churches: and yet the same writer tells us in other parts of his travels, that "Italy is in general exceeding poor, tho' their churches are vastly rich;" so consistent is he with himself. As to the miserable poverty of Ferrara, he is indeed supported by the concurrent relations of every person who writes of the state of Italy, and therefore we have no reason to doubt the fact. I could not, says the same reverend writer, but ask all I saw, how it came to pass that so rich a soil was so strangely abandoned? Some said the air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it are very short-lived: but it is well known, that fourscore years ago it was well peopled, and the ill air is occasioned by the want of inhabitants; for there not being people to drain the ground, and to keep the ditches clean, this occasions a great deal of water to lie on the ground and rot, which infects the air in the same manner as is observed in that vast and rich, but uninhabited Champaign of Rome; so that the ill air is the Effect, rather than the Cause, of dispeopling the Pope's dominions. "The true cause, (according to this author) is the severity of the government, and the heavy taxes and frequent confiscations;" by which the nephews of

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of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the families of Ferrara, so they have driven away many more. As I came down one of the branches of the Po from the Ferrara, says Mr. ADDISON, all the fields lay miserably incultivated till I came near Ravenna, where the soil is made extremely fruitful, and shews what the other might be, were there hands enough to manage it to the best advantage. From whence it appears, that there are some places in the Pope's territories in a flourishing condition, though others are thus wretchedly deserted. And though I do not doubt but *heavy taxes and a despotick government* contribute in a great measure to the impoverishing any place, yet there seems to remain some other hidden causes to be assigned, why these oppressions should have had a worse effect on the Ferrarese, than on any other province in the Pope's dominions. Trade once in an hundred years receives very great alterations in other countries as well as this; a city dwindles to a village, and a village improves into a city under the mildest administrations. The conveniency or inconveniency of land or water-carriage, the encouraging or discouraging a manufacture, and ten thousand accidents may advance and ruin trade, and consequently people or depopulate a place, besides the tyranny of the government: and yet I find our travellers in general agree, not to assign any other reason for the decay of any one Italian city, but the oppressions of the government. Should foreigners visit Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, and many of our inland as well as maritime corporations, and immediately conclude we were under a *Tyrannical Administration*, because these places are now in a miserable ruinous condition, which formerly made a figure in the world; should we not with reason look upon it as an ill-natured suggestion, and to be founded in ignorance as well as prejudice? And the same reflections no doubt the Italians frequently make on our unthinking voyage-writers. When Rome was empress of the world, and the Princes and great men of every nation had a dependance on her, no wonder that Italy was crowded with inhabitants, when Italy was almost the only country in Europe that had a manufacture of silk: And when the Venetians, Genoese, and other Italian states only furnished the rest of Europe with the rich productions of the East, with the merchandize of China, India and Turkey; it is no wonder if their country abounded more in wealth and inhabitants, that it was better drained and cultivated than it is at present. Nay, before the reformation, when all the Christian Princes of Europe, their clergy, and the rest of their subjects were on many occasions obliged to appeal to Rome, and to resort thither for a determination of their differences, and on many other occasions; it is very natural to suppose the ecclesiastical state was in a better condition than it is now, when the Protestants have all withdrawn their contributions and attendance; and those of the same communion are grown much cooler in their devotion than they were in those days of darkness. These are some of the reasons that occurred to me as the occasion of the decay of the Italian cities and states, besides the severity of their respective governments, when I was considering the miserable condition of the Ferrarese: this might have happened to them, let the administration of their respective governments have been never so mild. But to return to the description of this city:

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Their churches and palaces are not yet so despicable but they would make a figure out of Italy, though, it is true, they were miserably shattered by an earthquake which happened in the year 1570. The palace of the ancient Dukes, where the Pope's Legate keeps his court, is a stately old fabrick, to which belongs a good library, adorned with statues, painting, medals, and other antiquities, after the manner of Italy. The Domo, or Cathedral, says my author, is rather venerable than beautiful: in the piazza before it stands the statue of Pope ALEXANDER VII, and two others, which represent two Princes of the family D'ESTE, one on horseback, and the other in a sitting posture. In the church of St. BENEDICT is a monument erected to the memory of that celebrated Poet ARIOSTO, who like his brethren wanted necessaries in his life-time. The Carmelites church is famous for its exquisite paintings. The University of this place, which was founded about the year 1390, is dwindled to one college of Jesuits; but they have a philosophical academy here, as in other Italian cities, who stile themselves *Elevati*. Ferrara is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome.

Comachio is a little city in the middle of a morass, called the valley of Comachio, a town of some strength on account of its watery situation, and lies about thirty miles south-east of Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatick Sea, in a very unhealthy air. This town the Imperialists took possession of in the last war, and held for many years, as well to facilitate the march of their troops to and from the kingdom of Naples, as to compel the Pope to grant the investiture of the Spanish dominions to King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, but they have yielded it up to his Holiness again. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Ravenna, from whence it is about thirty miles distant. The rest of the towns of the Ferrarese are not very considerable. The description of such of the Pope's territories as lie in Naples, Tuscany, France, or any other foreign State, will be met with in the respective countries where they are situated. I proceed now to enquire into the State of the kingdom of Naples.

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## The KINGDOM of NAPLES.

### CHAP. XXV.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the kingdom of Naples; the air, seas, ports, lakes, rivers and mountains; and enquires into the genius and temper of the natives; and the several provinces it is divided into.*

THE kingdom of Naples is the south-east part of Italy, which being very properly resembled to a leg, Naples makes all that part of the leg and foot which is below the calf, and is a peninsula, bounded by the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice on the north-east; by the Ionian sea on the south-east; by the Tuscan sea on the south-west; and by the lands of the church, or the Pope's dominions on the north-west; extending two hundred and forty miles in length from the north-west to the south-east; an hundred and sixty in breadth in the broadest place, and eighty about the isthmus, or the narrowest part of it. If we consider the southerly situation of this country, we must conclude it to be excessive hot;

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and so indeed it is in many of their valleys, but as the Apennine mountains run the whole length of it, from whence there fall innumerable cooling streams, and it is well watered with lakes, and as the sea almost surrounds it, from whence they seldom want refreshing breezes, the air is exceeding healthful and pleasant, and more pure and serene than in any of our northern countries which lie near the Ocean. Their seas, as I have intimated already, are the Adriatick, the Ionian, and the Tuscan sea: on which their principal ports are those of Naples, Baya, Maremonte, Gaeta, Trani, Brindisi, and Tarento. The most considerable lakes are Agnano, Averno, Lucrino, Patria, Lefina, Varano, Focino, Andronico, Ansfanto, Vignola, Perito, and Baccino. Their chief rivers, the Volturno, Garigliano, Tronto, Piscara, Sangro, Tortore, Candeloro, Ufente, Vafento, Acifino, Sarno, and Riofredo; besides which, they reckon up an hundred and forty more: but it is true, as their course is short and steep, falling chiefly from the Apennine into one or other of the seas above-mentioned, which are not far distant from their source, scarce any of them are navigable, though they enrich the soil prodigiously in this warm climate, and produce an inconceivable abundance of the most delicious fruits and wines, scarce equalled in this respect by any country in the known world, being stiled the garden of Italy, as that is of Europe. The principal mountains are those of the Apennine, Vesuvius, Pausilippo, and Falerno.

As to the character of the Neapolitans, it differs but little from that of their neighbours, except it be that they are charged with being more lazy, more inclined to venereal pleasures, and more given to change their masters than any other State in Italy; and they have actually changed them very often: but this may be ascribed rather to the amiableness of their situation, and the fertility of the soil, which invites the neighbouring powers to contend for it, than to the fickleness or discontents of the people. It is an infallible sign that it is worth the conquest, because it has been so often conquered; and it is very reasonable also to believe, that where people live in so agreeable a soil and climate, they will naturally be dissolved in pleasures, and consequently seldom be in a condition to defend themselves against a foreign force, and on that account are apt to become a prey to every invader. Mr. Addison, and some other travellers also relate, that this people are of a litigious temper: it is incredible, says that gentleman, how great a multitude of retainers to the law there are at Naples. It is said that when INNOCENT XI had desired the Marquis of Carpio to furnish him with thirty thousand head of swine; the Marquis answered him, that for his swine he could not spare them, but if his Holiness had occasion for thirty thousand lawyers, he had them at his service. These gentlemen find continual employment for the fiery temper of the Neapolitans, and prevent their uniting into such common friendships and alliances as are observed in other places. There are very few persons of consideration who have not a cause depending: for when a Neapolitan Cavalier, says my author, has nothing else to do, he gravely shuts himself up in his closet and falls a tumbling over his papers to see if he can start a law-suit, and plague any of his neighbours. Which is very different from the character of the natives anciently, according to the Poet,

*Nulla fore rabies aut strisla jurgia legis,  
Morum jura viris solum & sine fastibus equum.*

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Rendered into English thus by Mr. ADDISON,

By love of right and native justice led,  
In the strait paths of equity they tread;  
Nor know the bar, nor fear the judge's frown,  
Unpractis'd in the wranglings of the gown.  
But the inhabitants of Naples, as that gentleman truly observes, have been always remarkable for leading a life of laziness and pleasure; which he conceives arises partly out of the wonderful plenty of their country, that does not make labour so necessary to them; and partly out of the temper of the climate, that relaxes the fibres of their bodies, and disposes the people to such an idle and indolent humour,

*Et in otia natam*

*Partbenopen*—— OVID. Met. L. 15.

*Otiola Neapolis*—— HOR. Ep. 5.

PARTHENOPE, for idle hours design'd,

To luxury and ease unbends the mind.

Another passage out of SILIUS the same author renders into English thus,

Here wanton Naples crowns the happy shore,

Nor vainly rich, nor despicably poor;

The town in soft solemnities delights,

And gentle Poets to her arms invites.

The people free from cares, serene and gay,

Pass all their mild untroubled hours away.

PARTHENOPE the rising city nam'd,

A Siren for her songs and beauty fam'd,

That oft had drown'd among the neighb'ring seas,

The listning wretch, and made destruction please.

The kingdom of Naples is usually divided into four large portions, viz. 1. The Terra di Lavoro. 2. Abruzzo. 3. Apuglia. And, 4. Calabria. Grand division of Naples.

1. The Terra di Lavoro is subdivided into, 1. The Terra di Lavoro Proper. 2. The Principato Citerior. And, 3. The Principato Ulterior. Subdivision.

2. The Abruzzo is subdivided into, 1. The Abruzzo Citerior. 2. The Abruzzo Ulterior. And, 3. The county of Molisa.

3. Apuglia is subdivided into, 1. Apuglia Capitana. 2. The Terra de Barri. And, 3. The Terra di Otranto.

4. Calabria is subdivided into, 1. The Basilicate. 2. Calabria Citerior. And, 3. Calabria Ulterior. And these I shall endeavour to describe in their order.

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*Treats of the first grand division, the Terra di Lavoro, with the subdivisions or provinces comprehended in it, and their respective chief towns; and particularly of the city of Naples, the capital of the kingdom.*

THE Terra di Lavoro, the first grand division, stretches itself along the coast of Tuscany from the Campania of Rome to Calabria, being about an hundred and forty miles in length, and five and thirty in breadth. CHAP. XXVI. The Terra di Lavoro.

Lavoro Proper is bounded by Abruzzo and the Campania of Rome on the north; by the county of Molisa and the Principato Ulterior towards the east; by the Principato Citerior towards the south; and by the Tuscan sea, or sea of Naples, towards the south-west; extending about seventy miles in length. The chief towns whereof are, Lavoro Proper. Chief towns.

1. Naples,



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1. Naples, the capital. 2. Puzzoli. 3. Baia. 4. Cuma. 5. Procita. 6. Ischia. 7. Carniola. 8. Sefia. 9. Mola. 10. Gaeta. 11. Itri. 12. Fondi. 13. Aquino. 14. Arce. 15. Sora. 16. Arpino. 17. Monte Cassino. 18. St. Germano. 19. La Cervera. 20. Venafrò. 21. Prezenzano. 22. Tiano. 23. Alifi. 24. Cerrito. 25. Cajazze. 26. Calvi. 27. Capua. 28. St. Mary. 29. Caferta. 30. Matalon. 31. Averfa. 32. Acerra. 33. Nola. 34. Avella. 35. Castella Mare de Strabia. 36. Vico. 37. Sorrento. 38. Massa And. 39. Capri.

Naples  
city.

The city of Naples, Neapolis, the ancient Parthenope, was so named, according to tradition, from PARTHENOPE, a sea nymph or siren, whose charms ULYSSES and company very narrowly escaped. The name of Neapolis was given it by AUGUSTUS, according to some; while others hold that the Greeks, who rebuilt and beautified it, called it Neapolis. But these are trifles not worth searching after; and therefore I proceed to the description of the city itself, leaving people of more leisure to contend about the name.

Naples is situated on the declivity of a hill, and on one of the finest bays that ever the sea formed. The bay is of a circular figure, about thirty miles in diameter, three parts of it sheltered with a noble circuit of woods and mountains, the island Capræa standing as a vast mole, which seems to have been planted there on purpose to break the violence of the waves that run into the bay, and stretches it self in a line almost parallel to Naples. This bay was called the Crater by ancient Philosophers, which Mr. ADDISON thinks might proceed from its resemblance to a round bowl half filled with liquor; and that VIRGIL, who composed great part of his *Æneids* here, took his first plan of the beautiful harbour described in the first book from hence, which description Mr. DRYDEN thus renders into English:

Within a long recess there lies a bay,  
An island shades it from the rolling sea,  
And forms a port secure for ships to ride,  
Broke by the jetting land on either side,  
In double streams the briny water glide.

Between two rows of rocks a sylvan scene  
Appears above, and groves for ever green.

And as Naples lies on the bosom of this charming bay in form of a crescent towards the south, there are on the north little fruitful hills, which rise insensibly into the Campania Felice. On the east is a large plain, which leads towards Mount Vesuvius, and on the west is a high hill, on which the castle of St. ELMO and the Carthusian monastery are situated, from whence the prospect is inexpressibly fine. It is scarce ever cold in winter, and in summer they have refreshing breezes both from the mountains and the sea, which is not subject to storms, and has so bold a shore, that vessels of burthen may lie close to the keys. Wine and oil, and all manner of provisions excellent in their kind, are exceeding plentiful. The air is pure, serene and healthful; the buildings beautiful beyond comparison, inhabited by people of distinction, remarkable for their parts and education, as well as their quality, in so much that we can scarce frame an idea of a more desirable abode. But every thing has a dark as well as a bright side; and as this city is remarkably happy in many respects beyond any other town, perhaps in the universe, it has its allays and inconveniences also to such a degree, that no considering man, who had any other place

to live in, would chuse to reside in it; the principal of which are the frequent earthquakes and eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, the apprehensions of which must spoil all the pleasures and beauties already enumerated. The litigious temper of the inhabitants is another great objection to the place; and if they are as wicked as some of our travellers would make them, particularly BURNET and MISSON (whose relations I do not entirely credit in this particular) few people will be inclined to leave their native country and transplant themselves to Naples. But to be a little more particular in the description of this city.

Naples is situated in forty-one degrees of north latitude, fifteen degrees to the eastward of London, and about an hundred and forty miles south-east of Rome, being seven or eight miles in circumference within the walls, and as much more including all the suburbs, and is supposed to contain about three hundred thousand inhabitants. It has three castles, which serve rather to bridle the inhabitants than for its defence, and indeed the town takes up too great an extent of ground to be defended by any thing less than an army. Accordingly we find the Spanish Viceroy quitted it without striking a stroke, and threw himself into Gaeta, that was, more tenable, when the Imperialists last invaded this kingdom. The streets are generally broad and straight, and paved with stones about a foot square. The buildings are of stone, lofty and uniform, with flat roofs, surrounded with battlements or balustrades, on which the inhabitants take the air in an evening. And as the houses in Naples are generally large and well built, without any mixture of mean ones, there are great numbers of them which well deserve the name of Palaces; scarce a great family in the kingdom but has one here. The fountains in the streets, and the many fine gardens about it, are no small addition to its beauty. The Viceroy's palace stands in a large open square, with a regular front, composed of three orders of architecture, and is near four hundred feet in length. The three castles, the academies, hospitals, arsenal and magazines, are noble edifices; but what is most extraordinary, is the number and magnificence of their churches and convents, which are not to be paralleled. Some reckon up and hundred and twenty convents, forty nunneries, and three hundred churches, every one of which are remarkable for their architecture, sculpture, painting or ornaments. The Domo, or cathedral, dedicated to St. JANUARIUS, is a magnificent old fabrick, and hath a little modern chapel, esteemed one of the finest in Europe, adorned with brazen statues, and the most exquisite paintings. In this chapel is the tomb of St. JANUARIUS, Bishop of Benevento, whose blood being kept in a glass and congealed, grows liquid, as the people are taught to believe, on the approach of the Saint's head. Mr. ADDISON relates, that he had twice an opportunity of seeing the operation of this pretended miracle, which was one of the most bungling tricks that ever he saw. The Jesuits church is esteemed the best that society has in Italy; all parts of it are beautified with the richest ornaments from the pavement to the roof. The same may be said of that of St. MARY's della Annunciata, which belongs to the famous hospital of that name, which entertains two thousand infirm people, and above eight hundred orphans, having a revenue of two hundred thousand crowns per annum,

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num, and upwards. The churches of St. PHILIP of Neri, Santa MARIA la Nova, St. SEVERIUS, St. PAUL's, St. DOMINICK's, and St. MARIA della Sanitate, are all surprizingly rich and beautiful. The frontispieces, the gates, the chapels, the tombs, the sculpture, painting, gilded roofs, Mosaick-work, and bas-reliefs are exquisite pieces of workmanship. The vessels of gold, silver, jasper and porphyry, are innumerable. The plate alone in the churches of Naples, upon a moderate estimate, says Dr. BURNET, amounts to eight millions of crowns; and the gildings and paintings in some of the churches above mention'd, according to the same writer, have cost millions. The great convent of the Carthusians on St. MARTIN's hill, near the castle of St. ELMO, is a most glorious fabrick, and immensely rich. The Monks relate, that in one priorate there was laid out five hundred thousand ducats in silver-plate, pictures and sculptures alone. Their church is not large, but nothing, says my author, can be added to the value of the matter, or the excellence of the workmanship. The nativity of Christ by GUIDO is an inestimable piece; and there are four pictures of the Lord's supper done by the greatest hands. The cloyster is an hundred paces square, built and paved with marble, the four galleries supported by sixty fine white marble pillars, each of them of one entire piece. Every Monk here has his chamber, closet, library, and a pretty garden to himself, and the Prior a palace fit to entertain a Prince. Among other rarities, they pretend to have a crucifix drawn from the life, as they call it, by MICHAEL ANGELO, who having hired a peasant to let him tie him to a cross, that he might the better describe the dying agonies, stabbed the fellow to the heart: but this story does not meet with universal credit. Here is also a St. LAURENCE by TITIAN, some designs by RUBENS and ALBERT DURER, which they set a great value upon. And there cannot be a greater variety of glorious prospects than are to be seen from hence, as has been intimated already; for here you have a view of the sea and several islands, among which is that of Capræa, whither TIBERIUS retired with his court. Here also we have a distinct view of the city of Naples, its castles, harbour, mole and pharos, and the gardens and fruitful hills which surround it. On the other side you have a prospect of the sea-coast, with its little bays and capes, set thick with pretty villages and houses of pleasure. A little further you discern the air darkned with the smoak of Mount Vesuvius, which must strike a damp to all their enjoyments, if they reflect on the many eruptions and earthquakes that have happened within a few years past, some of which it may be proper to give the reader an abstract of, after having described the situation of this mouth of hell, as it is called.

Mount Vefuvius described.

Mount Vefuvius, according to Mr. ADDISON, stands about six English miles to the eastward of Naples, (Misson says eight) tho' its height makes it appear much nearer to those who survey it from the town. The first part of the way lies upon a level, through several good villages along the sea-coast; afterwards we begin to ascend till we come within a mile and half of the top, when we are obliged to quit our horses, the hill grows so steep, and covered thick with the burnt earth as small as dust, which makes it very difficult ascending it, even on foot. In our way to

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Vesuvius, says Mr. ADDISON, we passed by what was one of those rivers of burning matter that run from it in a late eruption. It looks at a distance like a new-ploughed land, but as you come nearer it you see nothing but a long heap of heavy disjointed clods, lying one upon another. There are innumerable cavities and interstices among the several pieces, so that the surface is all broken and irregular. Sometimes a great fragment stands like a rock above the rest, sometimes the whole heap lies in a kind of channel, and in other places has nothing like banks to confine it, but rises four or five foot high above the surface, without spreading on either side. This, says my author, is demonstration to me, that these rivers were not, as they are usually represented, so many streams of running matter; for how could a liquid that lay hardening by degrees, settle in such a furrowed uncompact surface? Were the river a confusion of never so many different bodies, if they had been all actually dissolved, they would at least have formed one continued crust, as we see the scorium of metals always gathers into a solid piece, let it be compounded of never so many heterogeneous parts. I am apt to think therefore, that these huge unweildy lumps that now lie one upon another, as if thrown together by accident, remained in the melted matter rigid and unliquified, floating in it like cakes of ice in a river; and that as the fire and ferment gradually abated, they adjusted themselves together as well as their irregular figures would permit, and by this means fell into such an interrupted and disorderly heap as we now find it: what was the melted matter, lies at the bottom out of sight. After having quitted the side of this long heap, says Mr. ADDISON, which was once a stream of fire, we came to the foot of the mountain, and had a very troublesome march to gain the top of it. It is covered on all sides with a kind of burnt earth, very dry, and crumbled into powder, as if it had been artificially sifted. It is very hot under foot, and mixed with several burnt stones and cakes of cinders, which have been thrown out at different times. One sinks almost a foot into the earth, and generally loses half a step by sliding backwards. When we had climbed this mountain, we discovered the top of it to be a wide naked plain, smoaking with sulphur in several places, and probably undermined with fire, for we concluded it to be hollow by the sound it made under our feet. In the midst of this plain stands a high hill in the shape of a sugar-loaf, so very steep that there would be no mounting or descending it, were it not made up of such a loose crumbled earth as is already described. The air of this place must be very much impregnated with salt-petre, as appears by the specks of it on the sides of the mountain, where one can scarce find a stone that has not the top white with it. After we had with great labour gained the top of this hill, we saw in the midst of it the present mouth of Vefuvio, which goes shelving down on all sides above an hundred yards deep, and is about three or four hundred in the diameter, for it seems a perfect round. This vast hollow is generally filled with smoak, but by the advantage of a wind that blew from us we had a very clear and distinct sight of it. The sides of it appear all over stained with mixtures of white, green, red, and yellow, and have several locks standing out of them that look like pure brimstone. The bottom was entirely covered, and



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though we looked very narrowly, we could see nothing like a hole in it, the smoak breaking through several imperceptible cracks in many places. The very middle was firm ground, when we saw it, as we concluded from the stones we flung upon it; and I question not but one might then have crossed the bottom and have gone up on the other side of it with very little danger, unless from some accidental breath of wind. In the late eruptions this great hollow was like a vast cauldron, filled with glowing and melted matter, which as it boiled over in any part, ran down the sides of the mountain, and made five such rivers as are above mentioned. In proportion as the heat slackned, this burning matter must have subsided within the bowels of the mountain, and as it sunk very leisurely, had time to cake together and form the bottom, which covers the mouth of that dreadful vault that lies underneath it. The next eruption or earthquake will probably break in pieces this false bottom, and quite change the present face of things. This whole mountain, shaped like a sugar-loaf, has been made at several times, by the prodigious quantities of earth and cinders which have been flung up out of the mouth that lies in the midst of them; so that it increases in bulk at every eruption, the ashes still falling down the sides of it like the sand in an hour-glass. A gentleman of Naples relates, that in his memory it had gained twenty foot in thickness; and I question not but in length of time it will cover the whole plain, and make one mountain with that on which it now stands. In those parts of the sea which are not far from the foot of this mountain they find sometimes a very fragrant oil, which is sold very dear, and makes a rich perfume: The surface of the sea is for a little space covered with its bubbles during the time it rises, which they skim off into their boats, and afterward set a separating in pots and jars. They say its sources never run but in calm warm weather. Thus far Mr. ADDISON, who visited this mountain in the year 1702. Several ancient authors relate, that the roaring noise of this mountain at an eruption has been heard as far as Rome; that the thickness of the smoak has in a manner eclipsed the sun, and made it dark at noon-day; that streams of brimstone have run down from it into the sea, and that the sea it self hath swelled and boiled with heat. I proceed now to give an account of some of those earthquakes and eruptions that have happened at Mount Vesuvius and Naples.

Eruptions  
of Mount  
Vesuvius.

The  
earth-  
quake in  
1688.

Before the reign of AUGUSTUS historians have not recorded above five eruptions of this burning mount, though we can reckon up more than that number within forty years last past; particularly in the years 1688, 89, 94, 96, 1701, 1707, and 1727. The earthquake which happened the fifth and sixth of June 1688, overturned several of their churches and religious houses, particularly the fine church of the Jesuits, with a third part of the city, and destroyed several ships in the harbour, of which we meet with the following account from a person who was then on the spot, viz. A little after four in the afternoon we were put into such a confusion as cannot be expressed, we perceived the houses stoop and recover again, to part from one another, and in some places to fall; soon after a more violent earthquake succeeded, and a subterraneous noise surpassing that of thunder was heard, while our household goods at the same time clatter'd about our ears, the bells rung in the steeples, the reservoirs and cisterns threw out their waters, many houses fell, and others stood stooping just ready to fall; where-

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upon were heard the most hideous shrieks from all parts of the town, some embraced and took an eternal farewell of their friends; others threw themselves headlong out of the windows, not knowing what they did; but before the third shock, people being a little recovered from their consternation, began to consider how to save themselves by flight. When the earthquake was over, those who had run out into the fields and gardens returned to see what was become of their houses and acquaintance they left behind; but the next morning their consternation was renewed by the thunder, lightning and storms which lasted for two or three days. The streets were filled with processions of penitents, women, children, old men, ecclesiastics, and other, clothed in sackcloth, and crowned with thorns, with ropes about their necks, and their feet chained, whipping themselves, and often sinking under the burthens of crosses, great stones, and other things, with which they had loaded themselves to atone the wrath of heaven; some of them were perfectly naked, covering only what decency required, their bodies discoloured with blood and dirt, weeping and lamenting themselves, and redoubling their blows and cries when they passed by any ruins occasioned by the earthquake. The Archbishop Cardinal PIGNATELLI in the mean time sat in a balcony of his palace, where he spent three whole days in distributing his blessings among the people, his arms relieving each other, which were wearied with making the sign of the cross. He authorized all the Priests in the city to confess and absolve all sins without distinction; so that every where people were seen upon their knees confessing in the streets, that they might take the advantage of so general an absolution. The Monks and Priests themselves having ashes upon their heads, and halters about their necks, preached to the people from the shops and stalls in every street of the town. As I was passing by the pyramid of St. JANUARIUS, says the writer of this relation, a Capuchin was preaching there with a croud about him, when on a sudden a woman, whose brains were still turning, cried out she saw the pyramid shake, whereupon another without examining the truth of it, cried out, *Misericordia!* Whereupon the *Misericordia* went round, and occasioned such confusion, that the whole assembly dispersed in a minute; while the poor Monk, with his cord about his neck, and his feet chained, swooned for fear, and was with difficulty brought to himself again. These subterraneous attacks, which thus disturb us here, we look upon to be the effects of the rage of Mount Vesuvius, when the fires are pent up and cannot find a vent at the mouth of it.

On the sixth of April 1694, there was a terrible irruption, the mountain was on fire the greatest part of the month, and threw out the burning matter with that force, that some of it reached Benevento, above thirty miles distant; but what was most extraordinary, was the prodigious quantity of melted minerals mixt with other matter, which it poured out at several places, and which run for the space of three miles slowly like melted tallow, which begins to cool, but at the same time carried every thing before it which lay in its way. One of these slow floods running over a great rock fell down a precipice with such violence, and occasioned so great a smoak, that every one began to think there had been a new opening. The Viceroy set great numbers of men to clear the way for these rivers of melted minerals to prevent their

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over-



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overflowing their banks, which at length congealed and raised themselves into little hills, but the matter they were composed of was good for nothing, not so much as to make cannon-bullets of; some people attempted to make little cups, and other things of it, but it was as brittle as earthen ware.

Another relation I have before me of this irruption says, that the people were at first alarmed with roaring subterranean noises, attended with rolling flames intermixed with smoak, which broke forth from the mountain; that the breadth of those torrents of melted matter above mentioned, was about fifty fathom, and that the fire raised itself above two and twenty fathom; that the wind coming about to the east, the streets and houses in Naples were covered with cinders; that the stone and pieces of rock which lay in the way of these fiery rivers, were presently kindled and calcined, and afterwards floated upon the torrent.

In the year 1707, when they were in the midst of their rejoicings for the success of the Imperialists in reducing the kingdom of Naples, they were interrupted by a dreadful eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which began on the 29th of July to send out vast streams of flame and smoak, and throw out stones. On the third of August it raged with greater violence, throwing out such quantities of cinders and ashes that it was dark at noon-day, and they were forced to light up candles. When the Archbishop happily carrying St. JANUARIUS, the Saint of the place, in procession, attended by all the nobility and people, the eruption ceased in a few hours, which confirmed them in their devotion for their Patron. They immediately therefore solemnized a thanksgiving, and illuminated the streets for three nights successively, which sufficiently shews the dread the natives have of these eruptions, and with a great deal of reason, as they sometimes carry whole towns and villages before them, and will probably in time lay this fine city in ashes. In 1727, they had a violent shock of an earthquake; the sea swelled in an extraordinary manner, and flames of fire issued from Mount Vesuvius, which terrified the bravest of them, and brought them upon their knees before the head of St. JANUARIUS their Patron. Mr. MISON I find has other objections to the town of Naples, beside the danger of earthquakes and fiery eruptions. There are many things, says that gentleman, which are not suitable to its beauty, and cloud the pleasant countenance it would otherwise have; among which, the keeping up their women, and not suffering them to appear in the streets, or the company of men, he esteems none of the least: *They hide the fairest part of the creation from the world*, which he looks upon as an insupportable grievance. Then the habits and equipages of the people of Naples are generally black and dismal; they are prohibited wearing gold and silver, or silk upon silk; nor is a person of the greatest quality allowed more than two footmen: Their coaches also are drawn by slow-footed mules, with odd kind of harnesses; and the stiff Spanish dress is generally worn. The Viceroy seldom appears, and his court has a very dull air in the eyes of those that have seen other courts. But were there no other objections against Naples, than these last mentioned, most men would esteem it a very desirable place, I believe, however it may appear in the eyes of that reverend gentleman. The

Other Ob-  
jections to  
Naples be-  
sides earth-  
quakes,  
&c.

Wine sold  
by retail  
by the  
Clergy.

wines of Naples, it has been already observed, are the best in Italy; and the clergy it seems are the greatest wine-merchants in this city. The wine-

cellar belonging to the Jesuits, if we may credit Dr. BURNET, is a vast vault, that contains above a thousand hogheads, and the best wine is sold by them; tho' they do not retail it out in so scandalous a manner as they do who live in the great square, and sell it in the same manner our publick houses do. It is true, the people of the town are no great drinkers; they do not set tipping for hours together, as they do with us, but only go in for a draught now and then, when they are thirsty, and then go about their business; however, the fathers grow very rich by this retail trade. The people here, from the highest to the lowest, drink no wine or other liquors, not so much as water, if it has not lain some time in snow, which they use instead of ice, and affirm that it cools any liquor much sooner; and a scarcity of snow, according to Mr. ADDISON, would raise a mutiny at Naples as soon as a dearth of corn or provisions in another country. To prevent which the government has sold the monopoly of it to certain persons, who have contracted to furnish the city with it at so much per pound. There is a high mountain about eighteen miles from Naples, in which several pits are dug; and here labourers are employed at proper seasons to roll in vast balls of snow, which they ram close together, and cover from the sun; and out of these reservoirs of snow they cut great lumps as they have occasion, and send them on asses to the sea-side where they are received into boats and carried to Naples, and distributed to the several shops which deal in it at a settled price.

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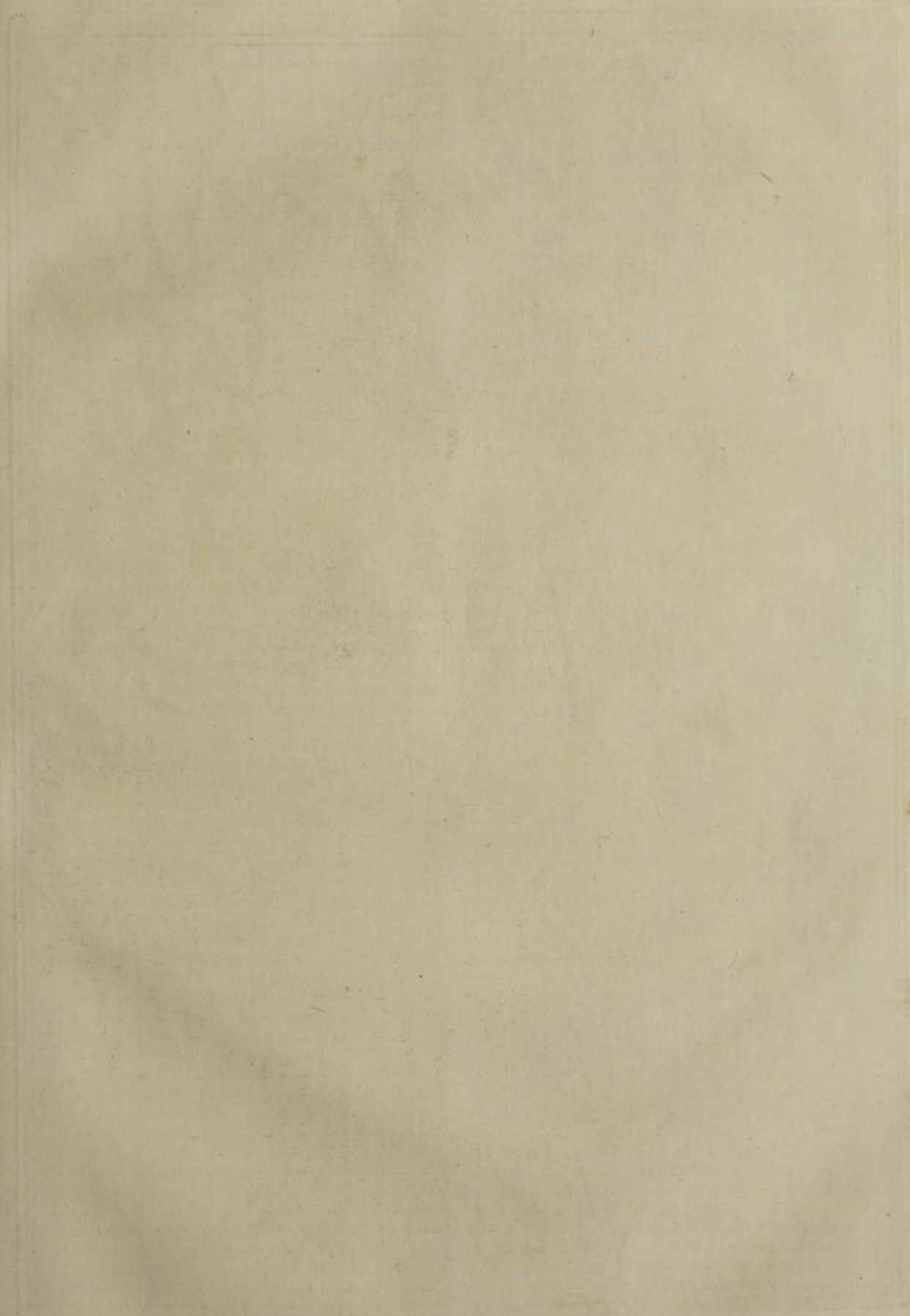
Cool'd in  
snow.

Without the city towards the church and hospital of St. GENNARO are the catacombs, which are of much larger dimensions than those of Rome. They are, according to Dr. BURNET, vast long galleries cut out of the rock, three stories of them one above another. These galleries are generally about twenty foot broad, and fifteen foot high, noble spacious places; and as my author was informed on the spot, went into the rock eight or nine miles; but he had no mind to go so far under ground to satisfy his curiosity, though he walked a great way in them, and saw galleries going off on all hands without end. And whereas in the catacombs of Rome there are not above three or four rows of niches cut out of the rock one above another, into which the dead bodies were laid; in those of Naples there are generally six or seven rows of those niches, and they are both larger and higher: but this reverend writer could see no marks of a cover or facing to shut up the niches when the dead bodies were laid in them; from whence he concludes they were monstrous unwholesome places, where thousands of bodies lay rotting without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell; for the niches shew plainly that the bodies were laid in them wrapped only in their burying-clothes, they being too low for coffins. But as to the niches being open, and not shut up when dead bodies were put in them, this reverend divine seems abundantly confuted by Mr. ADDISON. The catacombs, says this gentleman, must have been full of stench and loathsomeness, if the dead bodies that lay in them were left to rot in open niches; as an eminent author of our own country imagines. But upon examining them I find, they were each of them stopped up (without doubt as soon as the corps was laid in it) for at the mouth of the nich one always finds the rock cut into little channels to fasten the board or marble that

The cata-  
combs, which  
are of much  
larger dimen-  
sions than those  
of Rome.

was







See p. iv



**HIC JACENT**  
*Puteolorum Bajarum,  
 Miseni Cumarium,  
 Rudera vix dignoscenda  
 Imperia VERULANÆ Levitas,  
 Sacra Profanis impie miscens,  
 Delubra Numinum,  
 Principumque Domas,  
 Statuas, Atria, Sepulchra,  
 Arcus Arcus Theatra Thermas  
 Lucas, Vireta,  
 Regina quondam Italix,  
 Decus Deliciasque  
 Nefando perdidit.  
 Neque (Ferox) ipsis Elyforum  
 Beatis Sedibus indulsit*

SCCVRA ANSVST GNRSA ACVZS  
 . . . . .

*The present Map of this most fertile and beautiful Bay of Naples, is the work of the late Mr. J. K. Lewis, who was the first to give a correct and complete description of the Bay of Naples, and the surrounding country. He was the first to give a correct and complete description of the Bay of Naples, and the surrounding country. He was the first to give a correct and complete description of the Bay of Naples, and the surrounding country.*

*Two common Italian Miles.*



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was to close it up: and I think I did not see one which had not still some mortar sticking in it. In some I found pieces of tiles that exactly tallied with the channel, and in others a little wall of bricks, that sometimes stopped up above a quarter of the nich, the rest having been broken down. St. PROCULUS's sepulchre seems to have a kind of Mosaic work on its covering; for I observed at one end of it several little pieces of marble ranged together after that manner. Mr. ADDISON thinks it is probable they were adorned more or less, according to the quality of the dead. One would indeed wonder, he says, to find such a multitude of niches unstopped; and he cannot imagine any body should take the pains to do it who was not in quest of some supposed treasure. From this, and a multitude of other instances, it is evident that Dr. BURNET did not see many things and places he pretends to have viewed personally; or that he did not make use of his senses in examining them: or, lastly, that he concealed or disguised things he was acquainted with when they would not serve an opinion he had advanced; for instance, he brings the stench and noisomeness of the catacombs where so many carcases lay open and putrifying, as an undeniable argument, that the primitive Christians never could assemble in those places for divine worship. Whereas Mr. ADDISON produces very good proof, that all those places were so close walled and shut up, that there could arise no greater inconvenience from them than there does from dead bodies buried in the vault of a church.

Statues  
and anti-  
quities.

Statues and other pieces of antiquity, Mr. ADDISON observes, are not so common at Naples as might be expected in so ancient a city of Italy, their Viceroy having sent almost every thing that is valuable of this kind into Spain: or, as Mr. MISSON observes, it has been demolished and plundered so often, that great part of its antiquities probably lie buried in its ruins. The front of St. PAUL Major however is supposed to be the old frontispiece of the temple of APOLLO. The portico was supported by eight channelled pillars of the Corinthian order, and on the base were some basso-relievo's, which represented heathen deities; but this portico was thrown down by the earthquake in 1688. There are also some remains of an amphitheatre; an ancient statue of the Nile leaning against a crocodile; and the neck of a large brazen horse, that stood formerly in one of the squares of the city. The two finest modern statues are those of APOLLO and MINERVA on each side of SANNAZARIUS's tomb, who at his own expence at the foot of Mount Pausilippus erected a temple to the memory of the Blessed Virgin, whom he thus invokes at the beginning of his *De partu Virginis*:

Thou bright celestial Goddess, if to thee  
An acceptable temple I erect,  
With fairest flow'rs, and richest garlands deck'd;  
On tow'ring rocks whence MERGILLINE spies  
The ruffled deep in storms and tempests rise:  
Guide thou the pious poet, nor refuse  
Thine own propitious aid to his unpractis'd muse.

University  
and soci-  
eties of  
Virtuosi.

The city of Naples is the seat of the Viceroy, and an Archbishop's See; it has also a university founded by FREDERICK II, which is not so much admired by our modern travellers as the Philosophical Academy of Virtuosi, at whose meetings our countryman Mr. RAY says he was present, and was not a little surprized to find such a company of learned men in a place where he was

taught to believe they would scarce allow a reasonable latitude of judgment. They were not only well acquainted, he observed, with the best and most refined authors of the preceding age, such as GALILÆUS A GALILÆO, DES CARTES, GASSENDUS, HARVEY, VERULAM, &c. but also with BOYLE, Dr. WILLIS, WHARTON, HÖECK, PERQUET, &c. Dr. BURNET, who will not allow the clergy of Naples any great share of learning, observes however, that there are societies of men in this city of freer thoughts than can be found in any other part of Italy. The Greek learning flourishes there, and the new philosophy is much studied; he instances in one assembly (that had a vast collection of well chosen books) and was composed of men that had a right taste of true learning and good sense; tho' indeed they were represented as a set of Atheists by the clergy: but he had the honour of meeting twice or thrice with a good number of them, and could not observe they deserved such a charge. Few clergymen however came into this attempt for reviving learning among them: on the contrary they dreaded nothing more. Some physicians in Naples also lay under the scandal of Atheism when he was there; and certain it is, says this reverend writer, that in Italy men of searching understandings, who have no other idea of the Christian religion but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; finding such cheats in many parts of their religion, they are thereby induced to question the whole.

Puzzoli, anciently called *Puteoli*, and more anciently *Dicæarebia*, and *Delos Minor*, on account of a temple here dedicated to APOLLO, is situated on the sea-coast, about nine miles to the westward of Naples, and was in the time of the Romans the most considerable harbour on that coast, and still between this town and Baia the sea forms a noble bay. The city is almost dwindled to nothing, but is still a Bishop's See, suffragan to Naples, and there are some noble ruins about it, which still afford us an idea of the Roman grandeur. The cathedral is built on the place where JUPITER's temple stood, and there are some other churches and houses which do not make a despicable figure.

Baia, the ancient *Baie*, stands also by the sea-shore, on the other side of the Bay, about three miles to the westward of Puzzoli, and is now but a small village, whose principal ornament is an inconsiderable castle.

There is a noble scene of antiquities, as Mr. ADDISON observes, about Naples, Puzzoli and Baia, visited by every traveller almost. The first they mention in the way from Naples to Puzzoli, is the grotto of PAUSILIPPUS. This is a little steep hill, which lies about four miles to the westward of Naples, by the sea-side, through which the Romans dug a highway large enough for carriages to pass. To form a just idea of this place, we must fancy, says the gentleman above-mentioned, a rock undermined from one end to the other, and a way running through it as long and as broad as the Mall in St. JAMES's park; that is, according to others, half a mile in length, and eighteen feet in breadth. The entrance at both ends is higher than the middle parts of it, and sinks by degrees to fling in more light upon the rest; and towards the middle are two large funnels bored through the roof of the grotto to let in light and fresh air: and still

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Puzzoli.

Baia.

The anti-  
quities and  
natural  
curiosities  
about Puz-  
zoli and  
Baia.  
The grot-  
to of Pau-  
silippus.



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it is scarce possible to discern the way thro' it, as well on account of the clouds of dust that are raised by the carriages, as the want of windows to this subterraneous passage; insomuch that when two companies meet, they cry out, *To the mountain, or, To the sea*, to give notice on which side they are of, that they may not fall foul of one another. SENECA complains of the dust and darkness of this passage as well as the moderns, and with more reason it is thought, it having been enlarged at each end since his time.

Virgil's  
tomb.

Over the entrance of the grotto, as we go from Naples, is an ancient little monument in form of a pyramid half destroyed, called the tomb of VIRGIL. It is certain, says Mr. ADDISON, this Poet was buried near Naples, but I think it is almost as certain that his tomb stood on the other side of the town which looks towards Mount Vesuvius. The common people of Naples believe that VIRGIL was a magician, and that he made this grotto by the assistance of some infernal powers. The hill of PAUSILIPPUS stands mighty pleasantly on the sea-side, and is beautified with fine houses, gardens and vineyards, where the quality of Naples spend their time part of the year.

The lakes  
of Agna-  
no, Lu-  
crine, and  
Avernus.

A little beyond the cave of PAUSILIPPUS, in the way to Puzzoli, lies the lake of Agnano, between two little hills, about a mile in circumference, the water whereof is clear, and has no ill taste at present, and produces fish in abundance. Neither this, the Lucrine lake, or Avernus, which lie a little distance from each other, have any thing remarkable in them now, though anciently, it is said, the poisonous steams would kill the birds that flew over Avernus. Near the lake of Agnano is the grotto del Cane, a little cave at the foot of a hill, about ten foot long, five broad, and five in height, famous for the suffocating or poisonous steams, which float within a foot of its surface. The sides of the grotto are marked with green as high as the malignity of the vapour reaches. The common experiments made here are these: a dog that has his nose held in the vapour, loses all signs of life in a very little time; but if he is carried into the open air, or thrown into the neighbouring lake, he immediately recovers, if he is not quite gone. A torch with the snuff goes out in a moment, if dipped into the vapour; nor will a pistol take fire in it. Dr. CONNOR made a discourse in one of the academies at Rome upon the subject of this grotto, which was printed in England, and he attributes the death of animals and the extinction of lights, to a great rarefaction of the air, caused by the heat and eruption of the steams. But how is it possible for these steams, says Mr. ADDISON, though in never so great quantity, to resist the pressure of the whole atmosphere? and as for the heat, that is but very inconsiderable. And though this vapour is generally supposed to be sulphureous, I can see no reason for such a supposition, says the same author; for if a man dips his hand in it, he finds no smell that it leaves upon it; and if you put a whole bundle of lighted brimstone matches to the smoak, they will all go out in an instant, as if immersed in water. The experiment has been made upon other animals, and even upon men, on whom the vapour has the same effect: but it is called the grotto *del Cane*, from the experiment being usually tried on dogs, to satisfy the curiosity of strangers: and the dogs in the neighbourhood have been so tormented with this custom, that they no sooner see a stranger, but

they get out of the way and hide themselves. CHAP. XXVI. Kingdom of Naples. The Viceroy Don PEDRO DE TOLEDO made the experiment on two slaves, who both died: and there is an account of one Tournon, a traveller, who stooping down in the grotto to take up a stone, was seized with the vapour, and immediately lost all signs of life; being carried into the lake, he recovered his spirits a little, but died a few minutes after: one may walk however safely in any part of the grotto, so that he keeps his head above a foot from the ground, for the vapour never rises higher. Those who suppose this to be a sulphureous vapour, have this to support their opinion, That all the adjacent country is nothing but brimstone.

The baths of St. Germain, which lie near this grotto, smell strong of brimstone, and before you have entered them three steps, you fall into a violent sweat. They are frequented for many distempers, but principally for the gout, rheumatism and venereal diseases. It would be endless, says Mr. ADDISON, to reckon up the different baths to be met with in a country that so much abounds in sulphur. There is scarce a disease that has not one adapted to it. The mountains of Secco and Solfatara are full of brimstone and allum; here smoak and flame issue through the cracked earth with noise and stench continually. On Solfatara, the surface of which is yellow and white, burnt and worn by its own fires, they prepare rock-allum, making their cauldrons boil without any other fire than what issues out of the crevices of the earth. The top of the hill is worn into a kind of oval basin, about twelve hundred foot long, and a thousand broad. The fumes which issue from it are often smelt at Naples, and so taint the waters in the neighbourhood, that the Capuchins, who have a cloyster here, are forced to raise their cisterns high upon pillars, to prevent their water's being spoiled. Mr. ADDISON, and all our travellers observe, that the country about Puzzoli and Baia has been miserably torn to pieces by subterraneous fires and earthquakes, and the whole face of it entirely changed from what it was formerly. The sea has drowned a multitude of palaces, the ruins whereof may be seen at the bottom of the water in a calm day. Mount Gaurus, from one of the fruitfulest parts of Italy, is now become the most barren. The fields which were in the time of the old Romans laid out in beautiful groves and gardens, are now naked plains, smoaking with sulphur, or encumbered with hills, thrown up by eruptions of fire. The works of art lie in no less disorder than those of nature. This, which was once the most beautiful spot in Italy, covered with temples and palaces, embellished by many of the Roman Emperors, and celebrated by the best of their Poets, has now nothing to shew, says Mr. ADDISON, but the ruins of its ancient splendor, and a great magnificence in confusion.

The baths  
of St. Ger-  
main.

Solfatara,  
and other  
burning  
hills.

The Mole of Puteoli, or Puzzoli, the same gentleman observes, having been built upon arches, is usually mistaken for CALIGULA's bridge, between Puzzoli and Baia; whereas that bridge, it is evident from ancient authors, was made of boats. Of all the scenes of noble objects that present themselves in the bay of Puzzoli, says Dr. BURNET, the remains of CALIGULA's bridge are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten pillars that supported the arches, and of some of the arches the half is yet entire, the furthest

The Mole  
of Puzzoli.



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furthest of them on the Puzzoli side standing seven fathom deep in water, and on the other side he supposes them to stand twenty fathom deep in water. *This was a noble monument of the profuse and extravagant expence of a brutal tyrant, who made one of the vastest bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of sea, merely to sacrifice so great a treasure to his vanity.* But notwithstanding this grave censure of the doctor's, these arches were only made to support a mole for the defence and conveniency of the harbour, as Mr. ADDISON and some late travellers have demonstrated, for CALIGULA's bridge was a bridge of boats. But to proceed: Besides the antiquities already mentioned, we find the ruins of a theatre near Puzzoli, the area whereof was an hundred and seventy-two foot long, and eighty-two broad: and between the city and theatre are the ruins of a temple, said to be consecrated to DIANA. The sea sometimes throws up several rich ornaments of the ancient palaces, which stood hereabouts, consisting of jasper, agate, amethysts, cornelians, &c. This bay, it is said, was anciently called *Venerum*, from the lewdness practised in their baths, over which they built magnificent edifices, and near them temples dedicated to VENUS and other deities, whom they imagined pleased with such actions. But however that be, 'tis evident, as Mr. ADDISON observes, that Baia was the winter retreat of the Romans, that being the proper season to enjoy the *Baiani Soles*, and the *Mollis Lucrinus*; as on the contrary, Tivoli, Tusculum, Alba, Fregati, Anxur, &c. were their retirements during the heats of summer. (Dr. BURNET forgets himself therefore, when he makes the Romans reside at Baia in summer.) To confirm which, Mr. ADDISON gives us a passage in MART. L. 1. Ep. 116. which he thus translates;

While near the Lucrine lake consum'd to death  
I draw the sultry air and gasp for breath,  
Where steams of sulphur raise a stifling heat,  
And thro' the pores of the warm pumice sweat,  
You taste the cooler breeze, where nearer home  
The twentieth pillar marks the mile from Rome.  
And now the sun to the bright lion turns,  
And Baia with redoubled fury burns;  
Then briny seas and tasteful springs farewell,  
Where fountain Nymphs confus'd with Nereids  
In winter you may all the world despise, [dwell,  
But now 'tis Tivoli that bears the prize.

Near the lake of Lucrine is another road wrought through a rock, like that of PAUSILIPPUS, and in it some grotto's, which they call the apartment of the Cumæan Sibyl. They shew also the ruins of buildings about Baia, which they call the palaces of CÆSAR, POMPEY, CICERO, and other Romans of distinction; but the face of this country has been so altered by earthquakes, that there is very little to be depended on of this kind, particularly on the 19th of September 1538, at night there happened an earthquake, which produced the Monto Nuovo, or the new mountain, which is four hundred fathoms high, and three thousand paces in circumference; at which time, says my author, the neighbouring sea retired, the Lucrine lake was almost filled up, churches and houses were set on fire and swallowed up, great numbers of men and beasts perished, and there was a general consternation through all the country; but this mountain has never thrown out fire or smoke, or occasioned any disorder since that time. That little spot of ground called the Elysiac Fields, lies about a mile

The Elysiac Fields.

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from Baia, and has not much to render it admired at present. Two miles to the westward of Baia are the ruins of the ancient *Misenum*, on a promontory which runs into the sea, and still retains the name. Here, it is said, LUCULLUS had his country seat, and is supposed to have dug the many grotto's and caves in the rocks which are upon this coast. Near this place also is the *Piscina Mirabilis*, built upon arches supported by forty-eight square pillars, supposed to be the work of the same LUCULLUS: and not far off lies Bauli, the seat of AGRIPPINA, NERO's mother, with that of HORTENSIVS, and the ruins of his famous fish-ponds. But not to enumerate more particulars, I shall refer the reader to the map of Puzzoli and Baia, bound up with this volume, where he will find the situation of most of the remarkable places in the neighbourhood of that city, mentioned by the Classics.

Cuma, or rather the ruins of it, lie two miles to the northward of Baia, partly on a mountain, and partly on the sea-shore, and formerly gave name to the bay, now called the bay or gulph of Naples. From this place one of the Sibyls was denominated the Cumæan Sibyl.

Capua is situated in the Campania Felix, on the river Volturnus, about two miles from the ancient Capua, in a pleasant plain, sixteen miles to the northward of Naples, and above an hundred and twenty south of Rome. The town is in a declining condition at present, and remarkable for little but being the See of an Archbishop. Here the famous HANNIBAL wasted his time and his army, while the Romans recovered from their consternation after their defeat at Cannæ, and not long afterwards compelled him to quit Italy.

Carinola stands about ten miles north-west of Capua, a poor ruinous city, in an unhealthful air, considerable only for being a Bishop's See, and for the Mount Falernum in its neighbourhood, which produces that delicious wine so much admired by HORACE.

Gaieta is situated on a rock, near a bay of the sea to which it communicates its name, about fifty miles north-west of Naples, and eight south-east of Rome. The harbour is one of the best in the kingdom, and is defended by two castles. It was almost the only town that made any defence when the Imperialists invaded Naples in the year 1707, when it was taken by storm, and the garrison retiring into the castles, was obliged to surrender at discretion; whereby the Viceroy, the Duke of ESCALONA, and all the Grandees in the Spanish interest who had shut themselves up in Gaieta, were made prisoners.

Fondi is situated about ten miles to the northward of Gaieta, and gives name to a neighbouring lake and morass, which makes this a very unhealthful country. It is now a poor place, and only considerable for its being a Bishop's See.

Aquino stands on the river Garigliano, about fifteen miles north-east of Gaieta, on the confines of the Ecclesiastical State, and is a Bishop's See, but remarkable for little, unless the birth of the famous THOMAS AQUINAS, who first saw the Light here.

Sora is situated on the Garigliano, fifteen miles to the northward of Aquino, and is a pretty little town, and the See of an Archbishop.

Monte Cassino lies three miles to the eastward of Aquino, and is remarkable for the fine abbey of Benedictines, their founder St. BENNET being interred here about the year 543. The church



C H A P. XXVI. belonging to the convent is one of the most magnificent fabricks in Italy.

Kingdom of Naples. St. Mary's is a large town near the ruins of old Capua, remarkable on account of the antiquities which still remain there, particularly the ruins of two amphitheatres, several Pagan temples, columns, and one of the gates of the ancient city.

Venafro. Venafro, Tiano, Alifi, Cerrito, Cajazze, Calvi, Caferta, Averfa, Nola, Castella Mare de Strabia, Vica and Sorrento, are all Bishops Sees, but not considerable enough to deserve a particular description.

The Principato Citerior, or the hither principality, is bounded by the Terra di Lavoro and the Principato Ulterior towards the north; by the Basilicata on the east; by Calabria towards the south-east; and by the Tuscan sea towards the south-west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Salerno. 2. Cava. 3. Minuri. 4. Amalfi. 5. Scala. 6. Lettere. 7. Nocera. 8. Sarno. 9. Campagna. 10. Evoli. 11. Cangiano. 12. Satriano. 13. Marfico. 14. Policaastro. 15. Castella Mare della Bruc. 16. Acerno; and, 17. Capaccio.

Salerno. Salerno, the capital, stands at the bottom of a bay of the Tuscan sea, from hence called the bay of Salerno, twenty seven miles south-east of Naples: the town has a good harbour, and is an Archbishop's See; they have also a university, where physick was chiefly studied; but I don't find it is a town of any great consequence at present.

Amalfi. Amalfi is situated on the same bay, about ten miles to the westward of Salerno: It is an Archbishop's See, and is a tolerable harbour. Here, it is said, FLAVIUS BLONDUS was born, who invented the seaman's compass; and, according to the tradition of the place, the corpse of St. ANDREW the Apostle lies buried here.

Policaastro. Policaastro lies at the bottom of a bay, to which it communicates its name, about fifty-five miles south-east of Salerno; being a Bishop's See, but a very inconsiderable town at present.

Scala, &c. Scala, Lettere, Nocera, Sarno, Campagna, Satriano, Marfico, Acerno and Capaccio, are all Bishops Sees, but too inconsiderable to deserve a particular description.

The Principato Ulterior, or further principality, is bounded by the Molise and Capitanata on the north-east; by the Basilicata on the east; by the hither principality towards the south; and by the Terra di Lavoro towards the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Benevento. 2. Montefoscato. 3. Ariano. 4. Trevico. 5. Cedogna. 6. Bifaccia. 7. Monte Verde. 8. St. Angelo de Lombardy. 9. Friventi. 10. Lusco. 11. Conza. 12. Avellino. 13. Volturara. 14. St. Agatha di Goti. 15. Monte Marano; and 16. Trimaldi.

Benevento. Benevento, anciently a colony of the Samnites, is situated at the conflux of the rivers Sabato and Colore, about an hundred and thirty miles south-east of Rome, and thirty-four north-east of Naples. It was given with the territory belonging to it to Pope Leo IX, by the Emperor HENRY III, in exchange for Bamberg in Germany. The earthquakes and eruptions of Mount Vesuvius have been more fatal to this city than to Naples. The same earthquake which shook Naples so terribly in the year 1688, made this a heap of rubbish; and the present Pope, who was then Archbishop of Benevento, for some time lay buried under the ruins of his palace, as has been already related at large. This city is an Archbishop's

See, and generally possessed by a Cardinal: The revenues being very large, and the city belonging to the Pope, his Holiness having in a manner rebuilt the city since the earthquake, and conferred many privileges upon the place; it is now in a very flourishing condition, and the cardinals find some difficulty in persuading the Pope not to make it the place of his residence.

Montefoscato. Montefoscato is a small city, five miles south-east of Benevento; the residence of the Governor of the province, and on that account esteemed the capital.

Conza. Conza is situated on the river Ofanto, about twenty-five miles to the southward of Benevento, the See of an Archbishop; but almost ruined by an earthquake in the year 1694. Ariano, Trevico, Cedogna, Bifaccia, Monte Verde, St. Angelo de Lombardy, Lusco, Avellino, Volturara, St. Agatha di Goti and Monte Marano, are all Bishops Sees, but not remarkable upon any other account.

The Abruzzo. The Abruzzo is bounded by the Pope's dominions on the north-west; by the gulph of Venice on the north-east; by Capitanata in Apulia on the south-east; and by the Terra di Lavoro on the south-west; being about an hundred miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, and about fifty miles in breadth, divided into three parts, viz. the Abruzzo Citerior, the Abruzzo Ulterior, and the county of Molise.

The Abruzzo Citerior, or the hither Abruzzo, is bounded by Abruzzo Ulterior towards the north-west; by the gulph of Venice on the north-east; by the county of Molise on the south-east; and by the Terra di Lavoro on the south-west; being about fifty miles in length, and forty in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Civita di Chieti. 2. Lanciano Anxanum. 3. Sulmona; and 4. Ortona de Mare.

Civita di Chieti. Civita de Chieti, the capital of the province, stands about ten miles to the westward of the gulph of Venice, and is a large populous place, and the See of an Archbishop; it was anciently called *Theatea*, and gave name to the *Theatin Monks*, as it is said, for JOHN PETER CARAFFA their founder was Archbishop of this place, and afterwards advanced to the pontificate by the name of PAUL V.

Lanciano. Lanciano is situated on the gulph of Venice, about fourteen miles south-east of Civita di Chieti; a large populous place, and an Archbishop's See, considerable for its trade, especially at their Fairs, when it is frequented by merchants from both sides the gulph of Venice.

Sulmona. Sulmona stands about twenty miles south-west of Civita Chieti; and is considerable only as it is a Bishop's See, and the town where OVID was born.

Ortona. Ortona is situated on the sea coast, about twelve miles to the east-ward of Civita di Chieti: It has a tolerable harbour, and is the See of a Bishop.

The Abruzzo Ulterior, or the further Abruzzo, is bounded by the Pope's dominions on the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by Abruzzo Citerior towards the south-east; and by the Campania of Rome towards the west; being about sixty miles in length from east to west, and forty in breadth, the middle of it a mountainous country, but the rest abounds in corn, cattle, saffron and fruits. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Chief towns, di Penna. 2. Terano. 3. Atri; and, 4. Civita di Penna.

Aquila

C H A P. XXVI. Kingdom of Naples.

Montefoscato.

The Abruzzo.

The Abruzzo Citerior.

Chief towns.

Civita de Chieti.

Theatea.

Lanciano.

Sulmona.

Ortona.

Abruzzo Ulterior.

Chief towns.



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XXVI.  
Kingdom  
of Naples.  
Aquila.

Aquila is situated at the foot of the Apennines on the river Pescara, about eighty miles north-east of Naples, and twenty-five to the west-ward of Civita di Chieti; being the capital of the province, and an Archbishop's See, but miserably destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1703, together with several other towns in the neighbourhood. In the Pope's dominions at the same time several towns were destroyed, and fifteen thousand people perished; Rome itself was also terribly shaken by the same earthquake, abundance of houses and buildings in that city shattered and damaged, particularly the churches of St. PAUL, St. CARLO, and St. GREGORY. This happened on the fourteenth of February in the night-time; and it was observed that the sun had not shone out in two months time before. The Pope on this occasion proclaimed a jubilee, with plenary indulgence to all who confessed their sins, and visited the three principal churches in Rome; all orders and societies thereupon went in procession, tearing their flesh with whips and cords; the Pope and Cardinals supplied the place of confessors themselves, and administered the sacrament of repentance. And what increased the general consternation, was a pack of villians who had dispersed themselves all over the city in order to plunder the houses of the affrighted inhabitants: they knocked at every door almost, crying out, that the Pope had just received a revelation that the town would be suddenly swallowed up by another earthquake; whereupon the people fled half-naked into the fields and gardens, leaving their houses to be plundered by these fellows. And it was a considerable time before they were undeceived, by the Pope's ordering his guards to patrol along the streets, and declare that he had no such revelation.

Terano.

Terano stands twenty miles north-east of Aquila; it is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Civita Chieti, but not remarkable on any other account.

Atri.

Atri, or Atria, the town where the Emperor HADRIAN was born, is situated four miles west of the gulph of Venice, and ten south-east of Terano, and is a Bishop's See, united to that of

La Penna.

La Penna, a small town five miles south-west of Atri, which belongs to the Duke of Parma.

The county  
of Mo-  
lisa.

The County of Molise, or Molisa, is bounded by the Abruzzo Citerior and the gulph of Venice on the north and east; by Apulia on the south; and by the Terra di Lavoro towards the west; and is about forty miles in length, and thirty in breadth; fruitful in corn and wine, and produces great quantities of silk: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Isernia. 2. Molisa. 3. Trivento. 4. Garda Alferez. 5. Larina; and, 6. Boiano.

Chief  
towns.

Isernia.

Isernia is situated on the confines of the Terra di Lavoro, thirty miles to the northward of Capua; and is a populous place, the See of a Bishop, and capital of the county.

Molisa.

Molisa is a little fortified town, in a ruinous condition, twelve miles to the eastward of Isernia. Trivento, Garda, Alferez and Boiano, are all Bishops Sees, but considerable for little else.

Trivento,  
&c.

Apulia or  
la Puglia.

La Puglia, or Apulia, is bounded by the Abruzzo towards the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by the Ionian sea on the south-east; and by Calabria and the Terra di Lavoro on the west; being near two hundred miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, sixty in breadth in some places and in others scarce twenty; and is divided into, 1. The Ca-

pitana. 2. The Terra di Barri; and, 3. The Terra di Otranto.

The Capitanata is bounded by the Molise and the gulph of Venice on the north and east; by the Terra di Barri on the south-east; and by the Terra di Lavoro towards the west; being about seventy miles in length, and fifty in breadth, abounding in corn and pasturage. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Manfredonia. 2. Mont St. Angelo. 3. Bieste. 4. Lefina. 5. Termine. 6. Dragonara. 7. San Severo. 8. Troja. 9. Bovino. 10. St. Marco; and, 11. Salpe.

Manfredonia, the ancient *Sipontum*, is situated on a Bay in the Adriatick sea, about fourscore miles to the eastward of Naples; and had its modern name from MANFRED Son of the Emperor FREDERICK II. who repaired and beautified it. It was taken and almost demolished by the Turks in the year 1620, but has pretty well recovered itself, and has a tolerable harbour, a castle, and some other fortifications for its defence, and is still an Archbishop's See.

Mont St. Angelo is situated on the top of Mont Gargano, about eight miles to the east-ward of Manfredonia, a populous place, and much frequented by pilgrims, on account of St. MICHAEL, who, according to tradition, appeared here in the fifth century, and to whom they have dedicated a fine church in this place.

Lefina stands on a lake of the same name, near the Adriatick sea, about twenty miles to the north-ward of Mont St. Angelo; and was a considerable town before it was destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1627.

Bieste, Termine, Dragonara, or Tragonara, San Bieste, &c. Severo, Troja, Bovino and Salpe, are all of them Bishops Sees, but not considerable on any other account.

The Terra di Barri is bounded by the Capitanata and the gulph of Venice on the north and east; and by the Terra di Otranto and the Basilicate on the south and west; extending about seventy miles in length, and thirty in breadth;

producing corn, wine, saffron, and fruits, but wants water in many places, and is troubled with that dangerous insect, among many others, called the Tarantula. The chief towns are, 1. Barri. 2. Giavonazza. 3. Molfetta. 4. Biseglia. 5. Trani. 6. Barletta. 7. Canosa. 8. Cannæ. 9. Andria. 10. Altamura. 11. Bittetto. 12. Conversano. 13. Polignano. 14. Monopoli.

Barri, the capital, is situated on the gulph of Venice, in a very pleasant country, an hundred and twenty miles to the eastward of Naples, and forty south of Manfredonia; a pretty well-built town, and an Archbishop's See; but most remarkable for the Relicks of St. NICOLAS Bishop of Mira, brought hither out of Lycia.

Trani is situated on the same coast, about twenty miles north-west of Barri, anciently called *Trojanum*, having been built by the Emperor TRAJAN; it had once a good harbour, but is most considerable at present for being the See of an Archbishop.

Cannæ, or rather the remains of Cannæ, where the Romans received that memorable defeat by the Carthaginians, losing forty thousand men on the field of battle, lies about twenty miles south-west of Trani. The rest of the towns above mentioned are only remarkable on account of their being the Sees of so many Bishops, and do not deserve a particular description.

The



CHAP.  
XXVI.  
Kingdom  
of Naples.

Otranto  
Territory.  
Chief  
towns.

Otranto  
city.

Leccie.

Brindisi.

Taranto.

Gallipoli.

Ostuni,  
&c.

Calabria.

The Terra di Otranto is a peninsula, encompassed on every side by the Adriatick or Ionian seas, except on the north-west, where it is bounded by the Terra di Barri, and the Basilicate; being about an hundred miles in length, and from twenty to thirty in breadth; the chief produce whereof is olives, figs, and other fruits. The chief towns are, 1. Otranto. 2. Leccie. 3. Brindisi. 4. Ostuni. 5. Oria. 6. Tarento. 7. Nardo. 8. Gallipoli. 9. Alessano; and, 10. Maria di Luca.

Otranto lies on the gulph of Venice, in the most eastern part of Italy, about two hundred miles south-east of Naples, and was anciently called *Hydruntum*; It was destroyed by the Turks in the year 1480, but has been rebuilt and fortified since, and is defended by a castle built upon a rock. It is the See of an Archbishop, whose revenues are very great; from hence the Italians usually take shipping for Greece, it lying over against that country.

Leccie is situated fifteen miles to the northward of Otranto, and is a populous trading town, the capital of the province, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Otranto.

Brindisi, the ancient *Brundisium*, is situated on the gulph of Venice, about thirty miles to the northward of Otranto; a large well-built populous town, and an Archbishop's See, and has one of the best harbours on the Adriatick. Here it was that *CÆSAR* embarked his troops when he followed *POMPEY* to the plains of *Pharsalia*; and here, it is said, *VIRGIL* died when he went to meet *AUGUSTUS* in his return from the east.

Taranto, or Tarentum, is situated on a bay of the Ionian sea, to which it communicates its name; being about sixty miles north-west of Otranto, and sixty to the southward of Barri; a town of great antiquity, supposed to have been built by the Lacedæmonians. It was the head of a powerful republick anciently, which contended with the Romans for empire; now but a small city, their harbour almost choaked up, and consequently their trade upon the decline: It is however an Archbishop's See, and the capital of a little principality. The spiders, called Tarantula's, being most commonly met with here, received their name from hence.

Gallipoli is situated on the Ionian sea, about twenty miles to the westward of Otranto; it stands on a steep rock, surrounded by the sea, and joined to the continent by a stone bridge; said to be one of the strongest and best towns in the kingdom of Naples, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Otranto.

Ostuni, Oria, Nardo, Alessano, and St. Mary de Luca, are only considerable on account of their being Bishops Sees.

Calabria, so called from the Calabri, a Grecian people, is bounded by Apulia on the north-east; by the Ionian sea on the south-east; and by the Tuscan sea and the straits of Messina towards the west; being about an hundred and fifty miles in length from the north-east to the south-west, and about sixty in breadth, but in many places it is very narrow: It was anciently called *Magna Græcia* by the Greeks, who settled here. Then the Romans possessed it, and after them the eastern Emperors, till the Saracens made a conquest of it in the ninth century. These infidels were expelled by *ROBERT DE GUISEARD* in the eleventh century, who took upon him the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria: one of whose pos-

terity bequeathed it to *ROGER II.*, King of Naples and Sicily, about the year 1106; since when it has been deemed part of the kingdom of Naples, and is divided into the Basilicate, Calabria Citerior and Calabria Ulterior.

The Basilicate is bounded by the Capitanata towards the north, by the Terra di Barri and

Otranto on the east; by the bay of Taranto and Calabria Citerior on the south; and by Lavello Citerior on the west; being about seventy miles in length from north to south, and forty-five in breadth from east to west; and produces corn, wine, oil, saffron, cotton, wax, and the most delicious fruits. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Cosenza, or Acerenza. 2. Venosa. 3. Laviello. 4. Melfi. 5. Rapolla. 6. Murai. 7. Tricarico. 8. Monte Pilosa. 9. Potenza; and, 10. Turfis, or Turfina.

Cosenza, the capital of the province, is situated about fourscore miles south-east of Naples, and forty to the westward of Barri, a small city, and not in a very flourishing condition; but is however an Archbishop's See. Venosa stands about ten miles north-west of Cosenza, and is a Bishop's See, supposed by some to be the place where *HORACE* was born. Turfis is situated about ten miles north-west of the bay of Taranto, and forty south-east of Cosenza. It gives title to a Genoese Prince of the Family of *DORIA*, and is a Bishop's See.

Laviello, Melfi, Rapolla, Atura, Tricarico, Monte Pilosa and Potenza, are also Bishop's Sees; but I don't find they are remarkable on any other account. Calabria Citerior, or the hither Calabria, is bounded by the Basilicate and the Ionian sea on the north and east; and by the same sea, Calabria Ulterior, and the Tuscan sea on the south and west; being about sixty miles in length, and as many in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Cosenza. 2. Corenza. 3. Strongoli. 4. Umbriatico. 5. Cariati Novo. 6. Rossano. 7. Cassano. 8. Bissignano. 9. Amantea, or Adamantia. 10. Cosenza, the capital of both the Calabria's, is situated about twenty miles to the eastward of the Tuscan sea; a large well-built town, but has suffered pretty much by earthquakes: It is the See of an Archbishop, and has a good castle, from whence there is a fine prospect of the neighbouring country. *ALARIC* King of the Visigoths died in this city.

Strongoli is a little city, situated on a mountain two or three miles from the Ionian sea, and thirty south-east of Cosenza, a Bishop's See, suffragan to St. Severina.

Corenza, Umbriatico, Cariati Novo, Rossano, Cassano, Bissignano and Amantea, are all Bishops Sees, but travellers do not think them worth a particular description.

Calabria Ulterior lies between the Tuscan and the Ionian seas, and is joined to the continent only on the north-east, where it borders on the hither Calabria; being about eighty miles in length, and fifty in breadth in some places, and in others scarce twenty. Besides the other produce of this country, they are remarkable for fine Horses. The chief towns are, 1. Rhegio. 2. St. Severina. 3. Cotrone. 4. Isola. 5. Belcastro. 6. Nicotera. 7. Taverno. 8. Nicastro. 9. Monte Leone. 10. Seminara. 11. Squillaci. 12. Melito. 13. Oppido. 14. Bova; and, 15. Givina.

Rhegio, or Rhegium, stands on the straits of Messina, almost opposite to that city, and is the common

Calabria Citerior.

Calabria Ulterior.

Chief towns.

Chief towns.

Chief towns.

Chief towns.



CHAP. XXVI. common passage from Italy to Sicily, this freight being about fifteen miles over here. It is a pretty good town, and the See of an Archbishop.

St. Severino stands on the confines of Calabria Citerior, not far from the Ionian sea, a little well-built city, and the See of an Archbishop. The rest of the towns of this province are only remarkable as they are the Sees of so many Bishops, and have most of them suffered pretty much by earthquakes.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Contains an abstract of the ancient and modern history of Naples, with an account of their nobility and present constitution; the produce of the soil, their trade, manufactures, revenues, forces and interests.*

CHAP. XXVII.

An abstract of the history of Naples.

THE countries of which the kingdom of Naples is composed, anciently called *Sammium*, *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Magna Græcia*, were planted by colonies from Greece at least; these are the first inhabitants we have an account of in history, and, according to tradition, the city of Naples was built by *HERCULES*. When the Romans began to enlarge their limits, part of this kingdom they subdued by force of arms, but the city of Naples and the territories belonging to it early submitted to the Roman power without compulsion, and was numbered among their free confederated cities, and according to *LIVY*, always remained firm to the Roman interest; even in their great distress during the Carthaginian war, Naples is applauded for her fidelity, when *Capua* and many other cities in the neighbourhood revolted to *HANNIBAL*. On the declension of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the Goths possessed themselves of this part of Italy, and though they were driven from thence by *BELISARIUS*, the Emperor *JUSTINIAN*'s General, who entered Naples by the aqueducts, and other subterraneous passages, about the year 537; the Goths under *TOTILUS* retook it again anno 543, but were dispossessed by the Lombards some few years after, who remained masters of it till *CHARLEMAIN* having taken *DIDIER* the last King of the Lombards prisoner in the eighth century, shared this country, which now goes under the name of the kingdom of Naples, with the Greeks, who were possessed of several free cities and states in it. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Saracens invaded this country, and made themselves masters of great part of it, from whence they were driven with some difficulty by the Normans and the Pope in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In which *TANCRED* the Norman and his twelve sons having been very instrumental, had large territories assigned them: *ROBERT* the son of *TANCRED* was created Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria* by the Emperor, and *ROGER* the son of *ROBERT* was advanced to the dignity of King of Naples and Sicily, or rather of the two Sicilies, for Naples was then called Sicily on this side the Pharo (or the strait of *Messina*) and the island of Sicily beyond the Pharo. *ROGER* was succeeded by his son *WILLIAM* anno 1135, to whom succeeded his son *WILLIAM II*, about the year 1166; who left both Naples and Sicily to *TANCRED* his base son, who was opposed by the Pope, possibly on account of his refusing to hold his dominions of his Holiness, who claimed a right to them, as be-

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ing principally concerned in expelling the Saracens: and *HENRY VI*, son to the Emperor *FREDERICK I*, Duke of *Swabia*, was set up against him; and to strengthen *HENRY*'s title, the Pope persuaded him to marry *CONSTANTIA*, whom he brought out of a nunnery, pretending that she was heiress to the kingdom. The Pope however upon some disgust to the Swabian family, afterwards introduced the Earl of *Anjou*, and the French, who were sovereigns of this kingdom till the year 1267, or according to others 1282, when the Sicilians apprehending themselves to be oppressed, formed a conspiracy against their masters; and on Easter-Eve that year, when the bells rung for prayers, they set upon the French throughout the island, and left scarce any of them alive; and this memorable massacre thereupon obtained the name of the Sicilian Vespers. At the same time *PETER* of *Aragon*, who supported the conspirators, having obtained a victory at sea over *CHARLES II*, of *Anjou*, and made him prisoner, compelled him to resign his pretensions to Sicily and *Sardinia*, which then constituted part of the kingdom of Naples. Whereupon the French remained masters only of that part of the kingdom which lay on the continent, and which we call Naples at this day. I shall not trouble the reader with the successions of all the French and Spanish Princes who were Sovereigns of Naples and Sicily, or their wars, which lasted two or three hundred years; only observe that the *Aragonians*, or *Spaniards*, entirely expelled the French from Naples and Sicily about the year 1504, and enjoyed those countries till the year 1700, when the Duke of *Anjou*, the present King of *Spain*, took possession of Naples and Sicily, with the rest of the Spanish dominions, by virtue of the will of *CHARLES II*, the late King of *Spain*, which was one occasion of the last war between the Imperialists and their confederates on the one side, and the French and Spaniards on the other. In the course of which war, the Imperialists having driven the French and Spaniards out of the *Milanese*, detached fifteen thousand men under the command of Count *THAUN* to Naples, who entered that kingdom without opposition; and on the sixth of July 1707, the capital city submitted to them without striking a stroke, the castles of Naples surrendering the sixteenth of the same month. And on the twenty-ninth of September following, Count *THAUN* took *Gaieta* by storm, with the Viceroy, and all the nobility in the French interest, which was the only place that made any defence; and the Imperialists have remained in the quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples ever since, paying the usual acknowledgment of a Spanish pension and seven thousand ducats annually to the Pope on St. *PETER*'s Eve, for the investiture; the Pope looking upon Naples as a fee of the ecclesiastical state, on account of the share he had in driving the Saracens from thence.

The dignified clergy and nobility of this kingdom are very numerous, some reckon up twenty-five Archbishops, an hundred and twenty-five Bishops, near three hundred Princes, Dukes, Marquesses and Earls, above a thousand baronies, and twelve or fifteen hundred castles; but as a Neapolitan barony, and an English manor were originally much the same, so these castles are no more than the country seats of the quality, with a single wall and ditch about them, at most like the Chateau's or gentlemen's seats in *Flanders*, sufficient

CHAP. XXVII. Kingdom of Naples.

A numerous clergy and nobility.



CHAP.  
XXVII.  
Kingdom  
of Naples.

The king-  
dom divid-  
ed into  
four clas-  
ses.

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Kingdom  
of Naples.

sufficient to secure them and their families against a troop of Banditti or Turkish rovers, but by no means capable of resisting an army. The better to understand the present constitution of the kingdom of Naples, it may be proper to divide the people into four classes, 1. The Clergy. 2. The Nobility and Gentry. 3. Tradesmen and Mechanicks: And, 4. Peasants.

The Clergy are possessed of one third of the lands of the whole kingdom, (Dr. BURNET says half) and in tythes, offerings and legacies, they have a great deal more. The crown, the nobility and gentry possess almost all the rest of the lands. The tradesmen and peasants have scarce any they can call their own: they are no better than tenants at will in a literal sense. The peasants are subjects and vassals to their lords, as they were formerly in England, and most other countries in Europe. They manure the Lord's lands, plant and prune his vines and olives, and are allowed no more than a bare subsistence for their poor families. They come for justice also to the courts of their respective Lords in all cases that are not capital or highly criminal, and are in every respect subject to these petty Sovereigns. The King's tenants are used much the best, it seems, and those of the nobility better than the vassals of the clergy, if we may credit some of our Protestant travellers; and they give this reason for it, that the clergy having no children to succeed to their estates, rack their tenants and get all they can in their life-time, allowing them nothing towards bettering or improving their grounds, because their posterity can reap no advantage by it. As the crown-lands pay no taxes, so neither do those of the clergy, but with their own consent; and consequently the charges of the government are born chiefly by the nobility and gentry. Dr. BURNET assures us that the Jesuits and other orders of the clergy sold their wine themselves by retail, as well as wholesale, when he was at Naples, for which they paid no duty to the crown. Their corn, oil, silk and fruits, they sell in the like manner, and what is not consumed at home, is transported by foreign merchants, for there are few merchants among the Neapolitans. Their corn is sent to Spain by English or Dutch ships; their oil is a great deal of it taken off by us. The nobility as well as the clergy sell the produce of their estates directly to foreigners; but with this disadvantage, that they pay a duty to the crown out of their crops, whereas the clergy pay little or nothing. The nobility and gentry therefore are the people that, in Dr. BURNET's phrase, are oppressed by the government, if there be any, for they bear the whole burthen of it: their lands, or the produce of them, must answer all the exigencies of the State. As to the tradesmen and mechanicks, they manufacture little more of their silks at home than will serve their own people; and as they wear chiefly black or dark colours, and after the Spanish mode, seldom alter their fashions, their home consumption is but small, and consequently the government can raise but little from thence. And as to the peasants or farmers, who are tenants to the crown, the nobility or clergy, and are their subjects or vassals, whatever they have is the property of their respective Lords; and if these poor people are oppressed, they are oppressed by their masters, and not by the government. Nay, it is observed, that the tenants and vassals of the crown are much better used than those who belong either

The pro-  
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to the clergy or nobility; inasmuch, that if the crown is about to sell or alienate the farms to which they belong, they unanimously petition against it, apprehending much severer usage from the clergy and nobility than from the government. Dr. BURNET, and some other travellers, ascribe the misery and poverty of the Neapolitans sometimes to laziness and sloth, as well as to the tyranny of the government: but I presume the lords of the soil, the nobility and clergy, take care that their vassals shall not be idle: if some of the lands of the nobility lie uncultivated, as he observes they do, it must be either because they want hands, or because the duties are so high upon the produce, that it is not worth their while to manure them. As to the miserable inhabitants of their towns, which the Doctor saw walking in tattered cloaks in the market-places, this is not to be wondered at, if we consider they have scarce any manufactures amongst them, and that the proprietors of lands are the only merchants of the country, if they may be called such, who vend no more than the produce of their own farms to foreigners; almost the only manufactures, besides that of silk already mentioned, are their soap, knit waistcoats and stockings, snuffs and perfumes, which are not like to fill their towns with treasures: besides, as these people have been long under the Spanish government, and are many of them of Spanish extraction, the same pride that reigns in Spain, is no stranger here. The most ordinary mechanicks, who are not in a state of vassalage or slavery, will have their cloaks and swords, and had rather starve in freedom than serve any lord in the country.

The forces of this kingdom have been unaccountably magnified by some writers, or they have mistaken the ordinary militia of the kingdom for standing troops. As the nobility and gentry hold their lands here by feudal tenures, as they did formerly with us, and according to the value or extent of their lands were obliged to bring a certain number of horse and foot into the field, these might amount to an hundred thousand horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand foot, anciently, as some have calculated; but most of these military services are now turned into rents, and the Sovereign chuses to rely upon foreign troops rather than natives. And notwithstanding the Emperor may well be apprehensive of having his title to Naples disputed one day, I question whether he maintains more than fifteen or twenty thousand regular troops in that kingdom at present. As to their naval force, it consisted of no more than a man of war or two, and some few armed galleys, while they were under the dominion of the Spaniards; but since the Emperor has been Sovereign of this kingdom, they have applied themselves so diligently to the building of ships, that we see a list handed about of near thirty sail of frigates, or small men of war, which his Imperial Majesty has in these seas: And why they should not build merchant-ships as well as men of war, when there are so many fine ports in Sicily and Naples, and export the produce of their own country themselves, I can't conceive; unless it be that the nobility, who are the proprietors of the lands and staple commodities of the kingdom, have no inclination or encouragement to turn merchants, and the citizens have no stocks to carry on a foreign commerce; and if so, it is not the Emperor's declaring his

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harbours free ports that will bring any considerable trade to his Italian dominions. There must be some other regulations of their commerce, before we need be apprehensive of their taking from us any branch of the Levant-trade.

The publick revenues in the kingdom of Naples, are supposed to amount to near a million sterling; which arises, 1. From a tax or composition with the Barons and other feudatories, in lieu of their personal services. 2. From a duty on houses, which pay usually fifteen Carolines (or sixpences) for every hearth. Besides which, there are duties laid on wine, oil, tobacco and meat; and as the meat is taxed equally by the pound, this duty, Mr. Addison observes, lies heaviest on the coarsest sorts, beef paying a third part of the value, when veal does not pay a tenth of the price to the government. There is scarce any thing that is eaten or worn but has a duty laid upon it, unless fruits, fowls and game. It was a tax on fruits, which the common people live much upon, that occasioned the rebellion by MASSANIELLO, and his brethren the fishermen and other poor people, who were very near subverting the government, and striking out a new constitution; for no Prince ever reigned more absolutely, or had a greater body of men at his command, than MASSANIELLO had for twelve or fifteen days; but since that insurrection, the government have not thought fit to lay any duty upon fruits, unless they have done it very lately. The crown, it is said, frequently farms out the several branches of the revenue to some of the most powerful and wealthy natives, of whom considerable sums have been borrowed for the exigences of the state; whereby the odium of collecting them falls upon the Neapolitans themselves, and they secure the farmers in their interest, according to a maxim in vogue at the revolution here, *The more money you borrow, the more friends you make.* The people will not be very forward for a change of government when they are like to be losers by it. Those who are most oppressed by taxes and impositions, I find, are the Genoese and other foreigners who have purchased honours and estates in Naples, who are pretty numerous; for these the government have no apprehensions of. They are not afraid of their inciting an insurrection, as the native nobility and clergy might: And indeed the Sovereign seems to be in more danger from the clergy, than any set of men in the kingdom, as they are possessed of great part of the lands and treasure, and are supported by the Pope, whose dominions are contiguous. The Pope may well be supposed also to receive a larger revenue from this kingdom, and to have a greater interest here, considering the wealth and numbers of the Neapolitan clergy and religious orders, than the Imperialists themselves. If the Pope should at any time happen to be disgusted with the Emperor, and imagine he could find his account in restoring the Spaniard, as the clergy can command their vassals and very much influence the rest of the nation in his favour, a revolution might be easily effected: But then his Holiness must take care that he is well supported by the French and Spaniards, or the Emperor may make reprisals in the ecclesiastical State, and perhaps a conquest of it. The long possession the Emperor had of Comacchio, one of the Pope's cities, in the last war, shews what the Imperialists would do if they met with any treacherous underhand dealings from the Holy See; and therefore it is presumed,

his Holiness will keep as even a hand as possible amongst the Catholick Princes of Europe, and not shew too great partiality where it may be attended with fatal consequences. The greatest misfortune which attends both Naples and Sicily, is their having been for many ages under the dominion of foreigners, who instead of endeavouring to advance the trade, or improve the soil of these countries, are perpetually contriving ways and means how to drain and fleece the natives of the little treasure they have: from whence it comes to pass that two of the most fertile kingdoms in Europe, that abound in corn, wine, oil, silk and fruits; that have a great number of fine ports, and are the most advantageously situated in point of trade of any countries in the world; are really poor, and make a very contemptible figure. The Sovereign taxes and oppresses the nobility and gentry; these again rack and plunder their vassals and tenants; the clergy ravage all, heaping up vast sums, which never circulate in these kingdoms, and the publick interest is neglected by all orders and degrees of men: whereas had they a King of their own, who had no foreign views, he would immediately release the commons from the oppressions of the nobility, and put them into a way to improve the rich product of their soil, to manufacture their own silks, to encrease their shipping, and apply themselves to foreign commerce; and not let the Dutch and other nations run away with all their gains. Then would the estates of the nobility and gentry be doubled in their value, and the commons get a handsom livelihood, whether they applied themselves to trade or husbandry. But while the ministry are only busied in projecting new taxes and impositions, and framing every year new pretences for levying them, not only with a view of filling their own pockets, but to keep the people in a state of poverty and dependence, that they may not be in a condition to resent the injuries they suffer, how miserable must be the condition even of these kingdoms, where nature has been so exceeding lavish in her productions!

But among the inconveniences to be met with in Naples, we may add to those already enumerated the swarms of flies and insects with which they are plagued in summer, especially in Apulia; inasmuch that it is become a proverb, *If any one would have a foretaste of hell-torments, let him spend a summer in Apulia.* The most dangerous insect is the Tarantula, which some resemble to a scorpion, which carries a sting in the tail; and others to a spider. According to the best information I can get, it is that insect which resembles the spider that is the true Tarantula, and this neither bites nor stings, but drops its poison like water on the part it wounds. The other is a real scorpion, an insect not so long as a man's finger, nor so large; of a greenish yellow, which carries its tail with the sting in it coiled up upon its back, and moves so slowly that it is very easy to get away from it. The cure for the one and the other, according to some travellers, is musick; but in India, where scorpions are common, the cure is an oil drawn from the insect, or the bruising him upon the place. The effect of his sting is a most exquisite pain, which makes a man almost distracted, so that he runs about like a madman for twelve hours, when the pain begins to abate, and is usually removed within twelve hours more; but I never heard of the party's

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party's dancing or being affected by musick in India, as those are who are wounded by the true Tarantula. One who happened to be stung by a scorpion in India, told me the pain he suffered was as great as if a hot iron had been applied to the part for twelve hours; but it is very seldom any person dies of the sting of a house-scorpion. There is, I am informed, a black wood-scorpion, whose sting is mortal. But let us hear what our voyage-writers say of the Tarantula which they resemble to a spider. Misson says, that the party wounded by it makes a thousand different gestures in a moment; he weeps, dances, vomits, trembles, laughs, grows pale, cries, swoons away, and after a few days torment expires, if he be not assisted in time: that he may find some relief from sweating antidotes, but musick is the great and only remedy. VERYARD acquaints us, that the Tarantula is a small animal or insect resembling a spider, found chiefly about the city of Taranto, so strangely venomous, that those who are bitten by it infallibly die, unless some speedy means be used to expel the poison; and though they seem to be cured, there usually lurks a remaining ferment in the blood, which shews it self by several odd symptoms during the hot months of every summer, as long as they live. It stupifies the senses of some, and makes them drowsy; others become apish and extravagant in their actions; others rave, and are as unruly as madmen. There is no remedy against the venom, he says, but musick; nor will all kinds of harmony do the feat, but when the patient hears a tune that suits with his humour, he immediately expresses the utmost satisfaction, and falls a dancing with all his might till his strength fails him, and the same dance is repeated three or four days together till the poison is expelled. I know, says VERYARD, that several eminent men have questioned the truth of this, as I did till I was put out of all doubt of it by several persons of unquestionable worth and credit, who had been eye-witnesses of what I here write.

I proceed next to the description of the Italian islands.

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*Treats of the Italian islands, and particularly of the island of Sicily.*

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islands.

THE Italian islands which lie in the gulph of Venice, have been already described: I come now to those which lie south-west of Italy in the Tuscan sea; which are, 1. Sicily, with the Lipari islands, and those of Lavanza, Maritima and Favagnana belonging to it. 2. The islands of Capri, Ischia, Procida, Ponza, &c. on the coast of Naples. 3. The islands of Elba, Capraia, Gorgona, &c. on the coast of Tuscany. 4. The islands of Sardinia: And, 5. The island of Corsica.

Sicily.

I begin with Sicily, not only because it is the largest, and in many other respects the most considerable, but because it has the same Sovereign with Naples, the kingdom last described.

The name.

Sicily, anciently called *Trinacria*, from its triangular figure, and *Eibinea* by the Poets, from the famous Mount Etna, is said to have obtained the name of Sicily, from the Siculi, an Italian people who planted part of this island, which is situated between 37 and 38 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 12th and 16th degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meri-

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and extent

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dian of London, being about 170 miles in length from east to west, and 100 in breadth from north to south in the broadest part. It lies in a very warm climate, but healthful air, being refreshed with cool breezes from the seas and mountains, having the Tuscan sea on the north, which is much the longest side of the triangle; the Faro, or streight of Messina, and the Ionian sea towards the east; and another part of the Mediterranean sea on the south-west, distant from the shores of Calabria, the south-west part of Italy, about seven miles. There is not a country in Europe whose hill and plains are more fruitful, which occasioned its being stiled the granary of Rome. There are also plenty of springs and rivers, but few of their rivers navigable, because they fall into one sea or other at a little distance from their source. The principal are, 1. That of Thermini, which falls into the bay of Salanto, in the north part of the island. 2. The Chantera, which rises about Mount Etna, and falls into the eastern sea near Taormina. 3. The Laretta, which has its source about the middle of the island, and discharges it self into the bay of Catanea on the east part of the island: And, 4. The river Salta, which rises in the north part of the island, runs almost cross it, and falls into the sea to the southwards of the island. The principal mountains are those of Mount Etna or Gibello, Madoni, and Afdonis. Their best harbours are Messina and Syracuse on the east part of the island, Melazzo on the north, Palermo on the north-west, and Trapano on the west.

Springs  
and Ri-  
vers.

Moun-  
tains.

Harbours.

Sicily is usually divided into three parts, or provinces, which take their names from so many fine valleys, viz. 1. The valley of Demona. 2. The valley of Mazara: And, 3. The valley of Noto.

The valley of Demona is bounded by the Tuscan sea on the north; by the streights of Messina and the Ionian sea towards the east; by the valley of Noto on the south; and by the valley of Mazara towards the west. The chief towns are, 1. Messina. 2. Diveto. 3. Melazzo. 4. Tindari. 5. Patti. 6. St. Marco. 7. Cefaledi. 8. Nicosia. 9. Catanea; and, 10. Taormina.

Chief  
towns.

Messina, is situated on the sea-coast at the north east part of the island, from whence the neighbouring streight, which divides Italy from Sicily, is denominated the streight of Faro or Messina. It has a large secure harbour, along one side of which the town stretches it self between the mountains and the sea, lying about 12 or 14 miles to the westward of Rhegio in Calabria, and about as many to the southward of Cape Faro, in 38 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, 15 degrees 40 minutes to the eastward of London. The town is of a great length, and makes a fine appearance towards the sea; the houses being lofty, and built of stone, but it does not answer a traveller's expectation however when he comes into it, for the streets are narrow, and ill-paved, and consequently dusty: The Italian proverb says, *They have dust, fleas, and robbers in abundance.* And I presume they give the same reason for building narrow streets here, as they do in some towns of Italy, namely, to shade them from the scorching sun. The city is not strong, as appears by the poor defence it made in the late war; but there is a castle and some forts which held out a considerable time after the town was taken. It is a populous trading place, and continues to furnish Italy with corn, as it did in the time of the Romans; great quantities



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lands.

ties also are exported to Spain and other parts in foreign bottoms: They have also a good trade in silk, oil, and fruits; and indeed, they want nothing but shipping, and a Prince of their own to render them considerable. They have large privileges, and the civil government is committed to their own magistrates; subject however to the controul of the Emperor's Viceroy and officers, who are in possession of the castles, which command the town; and tho' they might be indulged before their last revolt to the Spaniards, the Imperialists probably will keep a strict hand over them for the future, since they have been obliged by their disaffection in a manner to make a new conquest of the island.

An earth-  
quake.

There happened an earthquake in this city in January 1693, which overturned 24 palaces, and shook the rest of the town; whereupon the people fled in the utmost consternation, some to the fields, and others to the churches to prayers, especially to the cathedral, where the Archbishop preached, and gave absolution, as the Priests did in all parts of the city. They apprehended their last hour was approaching; and surely nothing could be more terrible, for not only the earth shook and threatened to lay their city in ruins, but the thunder and lightning which happened at the same time was equally dreadful, the air being all in a flame: however, they escaped much better than the rest of the great towns on the same side of the island, as Syracuse, Augusta, Catanea, &c. which were in a manner totally destroyed.

Melazzo.

Melazzo is situated on the Tuscan sea, about twenty-five miles north-west of Messina, and has a good harbour. The Imperialists looked upon this town to be of such consequence, that they made it a place of arms in the last war, and defended it with great vigour against the Marquis de Lede the Spanish General, after he had taken the castles of Messina; tho' some are of opinion, that it cost both sides a great deal more than it was worth; however, here the Imperialists maintained their ground till such reinforcements joined them from Italy as made them masters of the field in the year 1719.

Patti.

Patti is a port-town on the same coast, about five and twenty miles to the westward of Melazzo, a pretty good harbour, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to Messina.

Cifalu.

Cifalu, or Cefaleddi, situate on a cape or promontory fifty miles to the westward of Patti, is said to have a secure harbour, defended by a castle, and a very good trade, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Messina.

Nicosia.

Nicosia is a large town, situate on a mountain forty miles to the southward of Cifalu, but I meet with no further description of it.

Taormina

Taormina is a little fortified town, situated on the sea-coast, thirty miles to the southward of Messina, supposed to be the ancient *Tauromenium*.

Franca  
Villa.

To the eastward of this place lies Franca Villa, remarkable for an obstinate battle fought near it, on the twentieth of June 1719, where the Spaniards being strongly entrenched, maintained their posts against the Imperialists, and sung *Te Deum* for the victory: the Imperialists, on the other hand, laying siege to Messina after the battle in the face of the Spaniards, affirmed that victory was on their side. Certain it is, there were a great many men killed and wounded on both sides; and among the rest, Count MERCI, General of the Imperialists, was dangerously wounded with a

musket-ball; as was also Mr. BYNG, the English Admiral's son, who was a volunteer in this engagement: but both of them recovered.

Catanea stands on a bay to which it communicates its name, about thirty miles south-west of Taormina, near the foot of Mount Etna, by eruptions from whence and earthquakes it has suffered very much, especially in the years 1669 and 1693, but is still a town of some consequence. At the beginning of the earthquake, which happened in January 1693, the sea retired from the shore above two miles, whereupon the people run to the cathedral in the greatest consternation, to deprecate the wrath of heaven; but the church and city was however overturned in a moment, and not less than eighteen thousand people perished in the ruins, besides the maimed and wounded, who were dug out of the rubbish: but it is said, one of the Canons of that church, who carried about the reliques of St. AGATHA, the patroness of the city, happened to be saved by a partition-wall that was left standing, wherein the reliques of that Saint were kept; which was looked upon by the devout people of the place as a miracle. In September following there happened another earthquake at Catanea, and in the neighbouring country, which did not do much damage; but it was observed, that during the most violent shocks, the top of Mount Etna was considerably sunk, whereupon the Vicar-General, the Duke of Canastra, who was then at Catanea, sent people to view it, who perceived that the top was fallen in near six hundred foot, and that all the earth was tumbled down into the gaping chasm about it, which was near six miles in circumference. At the same time all the fountains about Taormina were dried up, and the earth gaped at the foot of a hill about a mile distant, and out of the overture broke forth five or six torrents of sulphureous water of different colours, which put the island in general in a great consternation.

Catanea is rendered famous by the two pious brothers, as they are called, AMPHINOMUS and ANAPIUS, natives of this place, who seeing a torrent of fire breaking out from Mount Etna, and finding their aged parents unable to shift for themselves, took them on their backs and fled; and when the sulphureous stream had in a manner overtaken them, on a sudden it divided itself into two branches, and left them room to escape: in memory whereof the citizens of Catanea erected a magnificent monument, and ordered an anniversary festival to be kept, that their names might be transmitted to posterity, as SENECA, PAUSANIAS, and other ancient authors relate.

From Catanea to the top of Mount Etna there are two ways, the shortest and steepest being about twenty miles, and the other thirty: the first ten miles of the way is full of towns and villages, vineyards and plantations, which are rendered fruitful by the burnt matter thrown out of the mount, that is dissolved by the rain. The next ten miles is exceeding pleasant, planted with vines and fruit-trees, intermixed with corn and pasture grounds, with little rivulets running down the mountain: the upper part is planted with fir-trees, pines and beech, which seem to reach the sky, and is almost unpassable; and in some places there are clefts and cracks in the earth, from whence there issues smoke, with several little hillocks which have been raised by



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Beyond this the mountain is surrounded with a circle of snow till you come to the grand Volcano on the top, which continually sends forth smoke and flames, and is sometimes four, sometimes six miles in circumference, more or less; according as the eruptions have been, hills are raised at one time, and at another sunk, so that the face of it seldom continues many years the same. Those that pretend to have seen this terrible cavern, relate, that the sides of it are encrusted with sulphur, that sometimes there issues a pure flame, and at others a mixture of smoke and ashes, and that the noise of this burning pit is inconceivably dreadful. As this hill is much larger than that of Mount Vesuvius, being three or four score miles in circumference at the bottom, so the eruptions seem to have been more frequent and much more dreadful.

The valley of Mazara.

Chief towns.

Palermo.

The second division of Sicily is the valley of Mazara, which has the Tuscan sea on the north; the valleys of Demona and Noto on the east; and the Mediterranean on the south and west; being about ninety miles in length, and seventy in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Palermo. 2. Montreal. 3. Mazara. 4. Gergenti. 5. Marfala. 6. Trapani: And, 7. Castella Mare.

Palermo is situated on the sea-coast, on the north-west part of the island, about an hundred and fifty miles to the westward of Messina, in a most fruitful country, and has the advantage of a good harbour, and a brisk trade; the town is also well built, and the usual seat of the Viceroy, and the See of an Archbishop. When the Spaniards under the Marquis de Lede invaded Sicily in July 1718, Count MAFFEI, Viceroy of the King of Sicily, did not think fit to make any defence here, but quitted the city and retired to Messina; whereupon the magistrates offered their keys to the Spanish General, and a few days after the castle surrendered; from whence it is evident, that Palermo is a place of no great strength. The Imperialists afterwards took possession of this city in the year 1720, upon the treaty of convention with the Spaniards for their evacuation of Sicily, and are still in possession of it.

An earthquake at Palermo, an. 1726.

On the second of September 1726, between ten and eleven at night, some shocks of an earthquake were felt here, which at first were not very violent, but soon after increasing, it continued with great violence for the space of twenty-four or twenty-five minutes; by which most of the churches in the city, and a fourth part of the houses were overturned and entirely ruined. In the ward of St. CLARA a whole street gaped on a sudden with a dreadful noise, from whence broke out flames mixed with calcined stones, and a torrent of burning sulphur, which in less than half an hour reduced the whole ward to ashes. The Governor used his utmost endeavours to spirit up the people, and to stop the inhabitants who hurried into the fields instead of helping to quench the fire; but seeing it was to no purpose, and that even the garison were astonished, he let them go. Those who lived along the coast betook themselves to the ships that lay in the port; and it is computed that six thousand persons were buried in the ruins, besides those who perished in the ward of St. CLARA. It was observed, that the same day the air was extreme sultry, and overcast with thick and dark clouds, and that between five and six in the afternoon a very hot south wind began to blow, followed by a great shower, which did not at all abate the

wind: the storm seemed something calmed in the dusk of the evening; but between nine and ten the wind grew fiercer, and the shower fell heavier, which was soon followed by this terrible earthquake. For several days after the earthquake, the people seemed to be wonderfully reformed, exceeding humble and penitent, going in procession every hour of the day with scourges in their hands disciplining themselves; the Ladies dressed in mourning, wore crowns of thorns, and lashed themselves till the blood followed; and it was generally apprehended, that this calamity was a mark of God's wrath and vengeance for the extravagance of the inhabitants, because no other part of the kingdom suffered ten miles distant from the city.

Mont-real, *Mons Regalis*, is a little well-built town, situated on a hill, about five miles south-east of Palermo.

Mazara, or Mazara, is situated on the sea-coast, in the south-west part of the island, about fifty miles south-west of Palermo; is a large handsome trading town, and has a good harbour, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Palermo.

Gergentum, or Agrigentum, is situated on the same coast, fifty miles south-east of Mazara; a large handsome town, and See of a Bishop, suffragan of Palermo, and one of the ancientest in the island, said to be the capital city of the tyrant PHALARIS, who tortured PERILLUS in the brazen bull he had contrived to torment others.

Trapano is a port-town, with a good harbour, in the west part of the island, about thirty miles south-west of Palermo. It was anciently one of the most considerable places in the island, and long defended by the Carthaginians against the Romans; near it lies Mount Erya, now Monte Trapano, where, according to tradition, ANCHISES was buried.

The valley of Noto, the third division of Sicily, is bounded by the valley of Demona on the north; by the Ionian sea towards the east; by another part of the Mediterranean on the south; and by the valley of Mazara on the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Noto. 2. Syracusa. 3. Augusta.

Noto is situated on the top of a mountain, surrounded with high rocks, near the south-east part of the island, about seven miles from the sea, twenty-five to the southward of Syracusa, and twelve north-west of Cape Passaro; and is a large populous place, from whence this province or division takes its name.

Syracusa is situated at the east end of the island, on a neck of land in the Ionian sea, about forty miles to the southward of Catania; once the capital of a flourishing state, of a vast extent, rich and populous; but was demolished in the ninth century by the Saracens, and afterwards almost ruined by the same earthquake in 1693, which overturned Catania; and several other towns upon this coast. In the first Punic war it held out a siege of three years against the Romans, by the direction of that eminent mathematician ARCHIMEDES, who was killed at the storming the town, contrary to the intention of MARCELLUS the Roman General, who had generously given orders to save his life. Here in the time of the Greeks reigned AGATHOCLES, and after him several Kings or Tyrants, as they were called, by the name of DIONYSIUS. One of the principal curiosities shewn to travellers is a grotto, said to be cut out of a rock by one of their tyrants

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Mont-real

Mazara.

Gergentum.

Trapano.

The valley of Noto.

Noto town.

Syracusa.



CHAP. XXVIII. of a man's ear, so artfully contrived, that he could hear the least whisper in a room he had over it. In this grotto therefore he used to confine those he thought disaffected to his government, and thereby discover their plots against him. The place is about forty foot in height, and twenty in length. The town is so well situated for trade, and has so excellent a harbour, that people have been induced to resort thither again, and build some part of it, and it is still a Bishop's See, but there is very little appearance of its ancient splendor. As to the produce of the island of Sicily, it is the same with that of Naples, only there is every thing here in a much greater abundance; particularly corn, wine, oil, fruits and silk, in which they have a good trade, tho' they lose great part of the profit of this rich product by suffering it to be exported in foreign bottoms, and not improving their commerce abroad.

Augusta. Augusta was a strong fortress, situate on a peninsula, five and twenty miles to the northward of Syracuse, inhabited by the Knights of St. JOHN of Jerusalem, after their expulsion from Rhodes by the Turks, till the Emperor CHARLES V. gave them the island of Malta, about the year 1530. It was a place of trade, and had a good harbour, but was miserably destroyed by the earthquake and eruptions from Mount Etna, at the same time with Catania and Syracuse, in the year 1693.

Lipari islands. The islands of Lipari, which belong to Sicily, called by the ancients *Æolie* and *Vulcania*, and by the Poets feigned to be the seats of *ÆOLUS* and *VULCAN*, lie about thirty or forty miles to the northward of it; and are, 1. Lipari. 2. Hiera. 3. Rotto. 4. Strombolo. 5. Panaria. 6. Didima. 7. Felicur: And, 8. Alicur. Lipari, which gives name to the rest, is the largest, being about twenty miles in circumference, and has a good town in the middle of it of the same name. The situation of this and the rest of the islands will be seen in the map bound up with this volume. They have nothing considerable in them that deserves a particular notice, unless it be that Strombolo and Hiera have fiery Vulcano's issuing out of them, whose flames are seen a great way at sea. The islands of Levanzo, Maritima and Favagnana, lie at the west end of Sicily, but have nothing in them that merits a particular description.

An abstract of the history of Sicily. The first inhabitants of Sicily are said to be the Cyclopes and Lestrigones, a gigantic and savage race of men. After these, the Iberi from Spain settled here under the conduct of their General SICANUS. Then the Siculi, from Sicily in Italy, came over hither, from whom, it is said, to have received its name. After these, colonies of Phœnicians from Tyre and Sidon planted themselves on the coast, but were driven from thence by the Greeks, who introduced their laws and language, and in a manner new-peopled it. The Carthaginians afterwards made themselves masters of part of the island, till the Mamertines, or people of Messina, called in the Romans to assist them against HIERO, King of Syracuse, and his allies the Carthaginians. This produced a long and bloody war between the Roman and Carthaginian States, which ended in an entire conquest of this island by the Romans, who reduced it into the form of a province, it having never been under the dominion of any one power before,

but was divided into several little kingdoms and states. Upon the declension of the Roman Empire, it followed the fortune of the kingdom of Naples, till the famous Sicilian Vespers in the year 1282, when it came into the hands of the Spaniards, who enjoyed almost an uninterrupted possession of the island till the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713, when it was agreed by all the parties to that treaty, that it should be conferred on the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King of Sicily; but the King of Spain, under pretence that the Emperor had not acknowledged his title to Spain and the West-Indies, as the confederates had engaged he should, first invaded Sardinia, and made himself master of it in the year 1717, and the next year invaded Sicily, landing 17000 men near Palermo, under the command of the Marquis de Lede, on the first of July; whereupon the Viceroy for the Duke of Savoy quitted Palermo, and retired to Messina. On the 17th of the same month, the Spanish fleet, with most of their infantry on board, sailed from Palermo, and appearing before the fort or tower of Faro on the 22d, the Piedmontese quitted it, and the Spaniards landed and took possession of the fort, and having joined their cavalry, advanced to Messina, while their fleet came into the Faro, or channel, and detached some men of war and galleys to block up the harbour. The same day the Piedmontese troops quitted the town, and retired into the citadel and fort of St. SALVADORE; whereupon the magistrates waited on the Marquis de Lede the 24th, and delivered him the keys of the town, of which he immediately took possession. Upon the first of August N. S. the British fleet under Sir GEORGE BYNG arrived at Naples, having been detached thither, as was given out, in order to see the peace of Utrecht preserved; and the 10th of the same month, or the 30th of July, O. S. the British Admiral came before Messina, whereupon the Spanish fleet made to the southward, and were pursued and defeated by Sir GEORGE; of which action he sent the following account to England by his son the honourable PATTEE BYNG, who came express with it, which I chuse to insert verbatim, because so great a stress seems to be laid upon the circumstances of the engagement at this time, some affirming that the British fleet were the aggressors, and others that the Spaniards began the fight.

From on board the *Barfleur* off of Syracuse, 6 August O. S. 1718.

‘ Early in the morning on the 30th of July, as we were standing in for Messina, we saw two scouts of the Spanish fleet in the Faro very near us; and at the same time a Felucca (a small vessel) coming off from the Calabrian shore, assured us they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by: upon which the Admiral stood through the Faro (or streight) after the scouts, judging they would lead us to their fleet, which they did, for before noon we had a fair sight of all their ships as they were drawing into a line of battle, their fleet consisting of 26 men of war, great and small, 2 fire-ships, 4 bomb-vessels, 7 galleys, and several ships with stores and provisions. The Admiral ordered the *Kent*, *Superbe*, *Grafton*, and *Orford*, being the best sailers in the fleet, to make what sail they could to come up with the Spaniards, and that the ship which could get headmost and nearest to them, should carry the lights usually worn by the Admiral, that he might not lose sight of them in the night, and

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The sea-fight between the British and Spanish fleets.



he made what sail he could with the rest of the fleet to keep up with them. It being little wind, the Spanish galleys towed their heaviest sailers all night. The 31st in the morning as soon as it was day, they finding us pretty near up with their fleet, the galleys and smaller ships, with the fire-ships, bomb-vessels and store-ships, separated from the Admiral and bigger ships, and stood in for the shore; after whom the Admiral sent Captain WALTON in the Canterbury, with the Argyle and six ships more. As those ships were coming up with them, one of the Spaniards fired a broad-side at the Argyle: The Admiral seeing those ships engaged with the Spanish which were making towards the shore, sent orders to Captain WALTON to rendezvous after the action at Syracuse, where the Viceroy for the King of Sicily was with a garison. The like orders he dispatched to the flags, and to as many ships as were within his reach, that place being defended against the Spaniards, and being the most proper port on that coast for the fleet to gather together again. We held on our chase after the Spanish Admiral, with three of his Rear-Admirals, and the biggest ships, which staid by their flags, till we came near them. The Captains of the Kent, Superbe, Grafton, and Orford, having orders to make what sail they could to place themselves by the four headmost ships, were the first that came up with them. The Spaniards began by firing their stern-chace at them, but they having orders not to fire, unless the Spanish ships repeated their firing, made no return at first; but the Spaniards firing again, the Orford attacked the Santa Rosa, which some time after she took. The St. Charles struck next without much opposition, and the Kent took possession of her. The Grafton attacked the Prince of Asturia's, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral CHACON; but the Breda and Captain coming up, she left that ship for them to take, which they soon did, and stretched a-head after another 60 gun ship, which was on her starboard-

bow while she was engaging the Prince of Asturia's, and kept firing her stern-chace into the Grafton. About one o'clock the Kent and Superbe engaged the Spanish Admiral, which with two ships more fired on them, and made a running fight till about three, when the Kent bearing down upon her, and under her stern, gave her a broad-side, and went away to the leeward of her; when the Superbe put for it, and laid the Spanish Admiral on board, falling on her weather-quarter; but the Spanish Admiral shifting her helm and avoiding her, the Superbe ranged up under her lee-quarter, on which she struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur being within shot of the said Spanish Admiral astern, inclining on her weather-quarter, one of their Rear-Admirals and another 60 gun ship, which were to the windward of the Barfleur, bore down and gave her their broad-sides, and then clapped upon a wind, standing in for the land. The Admiral in the Barfleur stood after them till it was almost night; but it being little wind, and they galing from him out of reach, he left pursuing them, and stood away to the fleet again, which he joined two hours after night. The Essex took the Juno; the Montague and Rupert took the Volante. Vice-Admiral CORNWALL followed the Grafton to support her, but it being very little wind, and the night coming on, the Spaniards galed away from the Grafton. Rear-Admiral DELAVALL, with the Royal Oak, chased two ships that went away more leewardly than the rest, (one of them said to be Rear-Admiral CAMMOCK) but we not having seen them since, know not the success. The ship that suffered most with us was the Grafton, the Captain of which, though he had not the fortune to take any particular ship, yet was engaged with several, behaved himself very much like an officer and a seaman, and bid fair for stopping the way of those four ships that he pursued; who got away not through his fault, but failure of wind, and his own sails and rigging were much shattered.

## A list of the Spanish ships taken and destroyed off Cape Passaro.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.
1. St. Philip the Royal.	74	650	Vice-Admiral CASTAGNETA.
2. Prince of Asturias	70	550	Rear-Admiral CHACON.
3. Royal	60	400	Rear-Admiral Marquis DE MARI.
4. St. Charles	60	400	Prince CHALAY.
5. St. Isabella	60	400	Don AND. REZIO.
6. Santa Rosa	56	400	Don ANT. GONZALES.
7. St. Isidoro	46	300	Don MANUEL VILIVICENTIA.
8. Anna Volante	44	300	Don ANT. ESCUDERA.
9. Surprize	44	250	MICH. SADAY, Knight of Malta.
10. Juno	36	250	Don PEDRO MOYANA.
11. Eagle	24	240	Don LUCAS MASNATA.
12. Tyger	26	240	MONTIER CAVAIGNE.

## Burnt and destroyed.

1. Esperance	46	300	Don JUAN DELFINO and BLANDINA.
2. Hermione	44	300	Don RODERIGO DE TORRES.
3. Porcupine	44	250	A Frenchman.
4. Pearl.	50	300	Don GABRIEL ALDERETE.

Burnt also two fire-ships, two Bomb-vessels, and one fattee.

Another ship of thirty or forty guns was taken, and twelve escaped, besides a bomb-vessel and seven galleys, of which the Spanish fleet was composed.

The English fleet consisted of the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, of 90 guns and 730 men; nine 70 gun ships; one 80 gun ship; seven 60 gun ships; two 50 gun ships; and one 40 gun ship; in all 21: besides 2 fire-ships, 4 bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship.

After this engagement the English Admiral sailed to Syracuse, the place appointed for the rendezvous, where he was joined by the rest of the fleet, and from thence he went to Rhegio in Calabria, leaving Admiral CORNWALL with ten men of war at Syracuse, to convoy the ships taken.



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ken. In the mean time the Germans embarked a thousand men at Rhegio, and threw them into the castle of Messina, which could not however prevent its being taken, that fortrefs surrendering to the Marquis de Lede the 29th of September, and the garison was transported to Rhegio. The Imperialists and Piedmontese still kept possession of Syracusa and Melazzo, waiting for reinforcements from Italy to enable them to act offensively. But before we proceed farther in the relation of the Sicilian war, it is but just to see what account the Spaniards give of this enterprize of the British fleet, and how that court resented it.

The Spanish account of the engagement at sea.

The Spanish relation says, That on the 9th of August N. S. in the morning, the English squadron was discovered near the tower of Faro, and lay by towards night off of Cape de la Martelle, over against the said tower. The Spanish squadron was then in the Streight or Faro of Messina; and as the intention of the English in coming so near was not known, the Admirals of the Spanish squadron resolved to go out of the Streight, and join together near cape Spartivento, (the most southerly cape of Calabria) carrying the transports laden with provisions with them, that they might the better penetrate into the designs of the English; and the rather, because the officer whom Sir GEORGE BYNG had sent to the Marquis de Lede, to propose a suspension of arms for two months, was not returned; to whom the Marquis answered, That he could not consent to it without orders from his court. And though it was believed that the alternative was taken of sending a courier to Madrid with the said proposal, yet the English squadron took the opportunity of the night to surprize the Spanish squadron, and to improve those advantages which were owing to dissimulation.

The English squadron on the tenth advanced farther into the Faro, and was saluted by all the Spanish ships and vessels that were there. And it is to be observed, that Admiral BYNG having convoyed some transport-vessels from Naples as far as Rixoles in Calabria, with the Archduke's (the Emperor's) troops, the officer he sent to the Marquis de Lede, declared, that it was not to commit any act of hostility, but only that those transports might be secured from insults under his protection. The Spanish squadron sent two light frigates to get intelligence of the English squadron, and though they saw that the English made all the sail they could (their intention being not known) to approach the Spanish squadron, whose Admiral knew not then whether the English came as friends or enemies, yet the Spaniards being two leagues from the English, resolved to retire towards Cape Passaro, but without making much sail, that it might not be thought they suspected any hostilities.

During this a calm happened, by which the ships of both squadrons fell in one among another, and the Spanish Admiral perceiving this accident, caused the ships of the line to be tow'd, in order to separate them from the English, and join them in one body, without permitting the galleys to begin any act of hostility, which they might have done to their advantage during the calm. The weather changed when the Marquis of Mari was near land, and by consequence separated from the rest, making the rear-guard with several frigates and other transport-vessels, which made up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to join the main body of the Spanish squadron, while

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the English held on their way (their dissimulation filling their sails) to gain the wind, and cut off the said division of the Marquis de Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they attacked him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from the rest of the squadron, and to make towards the coast, where they stood it against seven ships of the line; till being no longer able to resist, the Marquis de Mari saved his men by running his ships a-ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and others taken by the enemy. 17 ships of the line, the remainder of the English squadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturia's, &c. (mentioned in the English account) which continued making towards Cape Passaro; and as they retired in a line, because of the inequality of their strength, the English attacked those that composed the rear guard with four or five ships and took them, and this happened successively to the others, which notwithstanding all the sail they made, could not avoid been beaten: inso much that every Spanish ship being attacked separately by five, six, or seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate fight they made themselves masters at last of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturia's, &c.

Immediately after the fight, a Captain of the English squadron came in the name of Admiral BYNG to make a compliment of excuse to the Marquis de Lede, giving him to understand, that the Spaniards had been the aggressors, and that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, because the English did not take it as such. To which it was answered, That Spain on the contrary would reckon it a formal rupture, and would act against the English in a hostile manner, and do them all the damage imaginable, by giving orders to make reprisals, &c.

Upon the arrival of the news of the defeat of the Spanish fleet at London, Mr. CRAGGS, Secretary of State, sent the following letter to the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador here, dated August 28.

*May it please your Excellency,*

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint you, that he hath received certain advice of the defeat of the Spanish fleet on the coast of Italy by his Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG. Nothing could have moved his Majesty to this step, but the strict regard he bears to treaties, by which his Majesty was obliged to preserve the peace and neutrality of Italy. I am further commanded to assure your Excellency, *That this proceeding would have been entirely disagreeable to the sentiments of his Majesty, had not the King of Spain made it absolutely necessary, by his rejecting all offers of accommodation, and committing hostilities on the dominions of a Prince in peace with the whole world.* That his Majesty is firmly determined, by the blessing of God and the assistance of his allies, to establish the peace of Europe on such a footing, as to put it out of the power of any one Prince or Potentate to disturb it hereafter.

To which the Spanish Ambassador answered, That after such an unexpected hostility, he could not act in any affair till he had received further instructions, and acquainted the court of Spain with the purport of the letter he had received from Mr. Secretary CRAGGS, and the answer he had given to it. Whereupon Cardinal ALBERONI, the prime Minister of Spain, sent the Marquis of Monteleone the following letter.

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Mr.  
Craggs's  
letter to  
the Spanish  
Ambassador.



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Alberoni's  
letter to  
the Spanish  
Ambassa-  
dor at Lon-  
don on the  
sea-fight.

**SIR,**  
**JUST** as I was computing your Excellency might be informed of the unworthy action committed by Admiral BYNG against the King's Squadron, I received the copy of the letter your Excellency wrote upon that subject to Mr. Secretary CRAGGS, to let him know, that after such an unexpected hostility you were obliged to refrain from the functions of your pacifick ministry, and that to maintain the King's honour, and that of your character, you must avoid all manner of intercourse. Having delivered the said copy to his Majesty, he very much approved what your Excellency had written, and the justness of the expressions you made use of to expose the breach of faith of that ministry, in relation to the over-hasty proceedings of Admiral BYNG, when nothing was pretended to but a mediation to facilitate the project of peace, or at most to defend the territories actually in the possession of the Archduke in Italy, when my Lord STANHOPE was in Spain at a small distance from court, to propose projects of peace and a suspension of arms. And lastly, in the very instant when the King our master, to give new proofs of his royal circumspection, had ordered the effects of the English brought to Cadiz in the last Flota which arrived there from the Indies, not to be touched, but that every man of that nation should have what respectively belonged to him.

In truth, no impartial man can hear without surprize, that the fleet of his Britannick Majesty, commanded by Sir GEORGE BYNG, did, without any provocation, necessity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of Peaceful Mediator, which his master assumes to himself, together with the interests of Great Britain, attack the fleet of Spain, only to frustrate the expedition against Sicily; after having been at Naples to concert with Count THAUN so base an action; *received great sums of money by way of supposed arrears*; and finally, having come near Messina, and sent trusty officers to confer with the commanders of the King's army, and to assure them that he would commit no act of hostility.

The greatest part of Europe is impatient to hear how the British Ministry can justify themselves to the world after so rash a violence. If they recur to the feeble argument, to say that Admiral BYNG's instructions were to maintain the neutrality of Italy, who is ignorant at this time of day, that that neutrality hath long been at an end? And that the Princes who guaranty the treaties of Utrecht, are entirely free and discharged from their guarantee? Every body knows that the guaranty of the suspension of arms in Italy was revoked and annulled, not only by the scandalous breaches which the Austrians made in the ill-performed evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, and by other subsequent outrages, but also by reason that the said guaranty, taken in its literal sense, was no longer binding than till the peace was made with France, and the Princes guarantees ought no otherwise to maintain it than by their mutual good offices. Upon these grounds every one may make his own reflections. What will the world say, to see that after the said neutrality had, for the reasons above alledged, lain dormant for four years, the ministry of London would fain revive and support it, not by the employment of a friendly mediation, but by open force, and the scandalous artifice of abusing our security and confidence?

This is so certain and indubitable, and Admiral BYNG found himself so perplexed with the remorse of his injurious conduct, that in the account he gives of this naval fight, knowing that he had no motive or reasonable pretence to fall foul on the Spaniards, he betakes himself to the shift of supposing, quite contrary to truth, that the King's ships first ranged themselves in line of battle, and fired upon the English. But that which is most surprizing is, that he lays it down for fact, that he sent orders to his ships not to fire upon the Spaniards. If he had no design to attack them, if he had a mind to treat them as friends, why did he pursue them from the Straights of the Faro to the height of Syracusa? Why did he send four of the best sailers in his fleet in all haste, with orders to come up with the Spaniards? And why, lastly, did he follow them with the rest, after having given them his own lights, unless it was not to lose sight of the Spanish fleet during the night? This step, which is so extraordinary, was not certainly taken with the view only of saluting the Spanish fleet in so nice and critical a juncture, after having conveyed to Rioxles in Calabria a considerable part of the Austrian infantry.

The remainder of this letter ascribes this enterprize to the ministry, and seems to excuse both his British Majesty and the nation in general from promoting it; but concludes however with recalling the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis de Monteleone.

In a second letter of Cardinal ALBERONI to the Marquis of Monteleone, he says, men are universally surprized at the arrival of the first Minister of Great Britain (Earl STANHOPE) at the court of the Catholick King, there to make proposals of peace and of suspension of arms, at the same time that the naval force of the Potentate who should have been mediator, was performing the actions of an open rupture. It does not suffice to say, that a rupture might and must be predicted by the demand which the Lord STANHOPE made of a pass for the security of his person in his Majesty's dominions, and it is needless to repeat what passed between the Marquis de Lede and Sir GEORGE BYNG while he was in Sicily about a suspension of arms, because no body is ignorant that the Marquis de Lede was not authorized to treat, and that his instructions required nothing else of him than to recover that kingdom, without impowering him to enter into a negotiation of peace; and it is very customary to demand passes to secure one's self against accidents, and to shew the mutual respect that nations have for each other: but it is no where to be found in history, nor is it compatible with good faith, neither have the most barbarous people yet learnt the maxim of sending a Minister from one court to another with the character of Mediator, there to treat of peace, and executing at the same time the utmost rigours of war.

It is observable, that among other inducements to prevail with the King of Spain to come into the Quadruple Alliance, before Sir GEORGE BYNG engaged the Spanish fleet, the King of France had promised to obtain for the King of Spain the restitution of Gibraltar; but whether France had any encouragement from the British ministry to make this offer, is left to every man's judgment.

It is observable also, that though Sir GEORGE BYNG justifies his engaging the Spanish fleet, by affirming that they fired first at him, Secretary CRAGGS

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CRAIGS in his letter to the Marquis of Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador at London, makes no such apology for this hostility; but plainly tells that Minister, that the King of Spain had made it absolutely necessary, by his rejecting all offers of accommodation, and committing hostilities on the dominions of a Prince (Sicily) at peace with all the world. The declaration of war against Spain also, proclaimed the 17th of December 1718, at London, does not suppose the Spanish fleet to begin the engagement, but justifies the Admiral's falling upon them, for the same reasons mentioned in Mr. CRAIGS's letter.

I proceed now to enquire into the progress of this war in Sicily. We left the Spaniards in possession of Palermo, Messina, and indeed of the whole island almost, except Syracuse, Trepano and Melazzo, which held out for the Piedmontese and Imperialists till November 1718, when Sir GEORGE BYNG in a letter to the government from Naples relates, that he had conveyed over so many of the Imperial troops from Italy to Melazzo, that the troops there amounted to 16000 men, for which and other important services, we find the Emperor soon after sent that Admiral his picture set in diamonds of great value.

In May 1719, the British Admiral conveyed over another strong detachment of the Imperial forces from Naples to Melazzo, whereupon the Spaniards were obliged to raise the blockade of that place, and retire thirty miles into the country to Franca Villa, where they strongly entrenched themselves. The first action the Imperialists entered upon was the reducing of the Lipari islands, which they soon effected. On the 20th of June N. S. they attacked the Spanish intrenchments at Franca Villa, but the Spaniards defended themselves so well, that they could not drive them from their posts; in which engagement the Imperial General Count MERCI, and Mr. GEORGE BYNG, now Colonel BYNG, another son of the Admiral's, were dangerously wounded. The Germans did not think fit to renew the attack of the Spanish trenches at Franca Villa after this repulse, but marched forward and laid siege to Messina about the latter end of July, while Sir GEORGE BYNG with the British fleet blocked up the harbour. In the mean time three or four thousand Sicilian peasants armed themselves and fell upon part of the German troops that were quartered in the country, at a distance from their main army, and defeated them, which the Spaniards magnified as a great victory. The city of Messina was however obliged to surrender on the 9th of August. About the latter end of September, Sir GEORGE BYNG conveyed another body of Imperial troops from Genoa, consisting of six or seven thousand men, and being arrived at Messina the 9th of October N. S. advised General MERCI to raise a battery against the Spanish men of war in the Mole, whereby five of them were sunk and the rest disabled; and on the 18th of October the citadel of Messina surrendered, whereupon the Imperialists transported seven or eight thousand men to Trepano, at the west end of the island, in order to reduce Palermo. In January following, Sir GEORGE BYNG conveyed another detachment of the Imperialists to Trepano; but the King of Spain soon after acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, there afterwards happened no considerable action between the Imperialists and Spaniards in Sicily; and on the 6th of May N. S. 1720, the

Imperial General MERCI, Admiral BYNG, and the Marquis de Lede, signed a convention for a suspension of arms, and the evacuation of Sicily, by which the Spanish troops in this island were to be conveyed by the British Admiral to Spain. His Catholick Majesty by the Quadruple Alliance renounces all rights and claims whatsoever upon the Kingdoms and provinces possessed by his Imperial Majesty in Italy, and his right of reversion to Sicily, which was reserved to him by the treaty of Utrecht. And by the treaty of Vienna, entered into by his Imperial Majesty, his Catholick Majesty, and other Powers, the cession of Sicily is confirmed to the Emperor; Sardinia, with some places in Lombardy having been given to the King of Sicily in lieu of it, and his title changed to that of King of Sardinia. But I refer the reader to the former part of this volume for the particulars, where he will find an abstract of the treaty of Vienna.

The next island I shall describe is Capri, or Caprea, or Caprea, situate at the entrance of the gulph of Naples, three miles to the westward of the continent, and about twenty to the southward of the city of Naples. This island, says Mr. Addison, I was very desirous to see, having been the retirement of AUGUSTUS for some time, and the residence of TIBERIUS for several years. It is about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. The west end of it for about two miles is a continued rock, vastly high and inaccessible by sea, in which part however is the largest town in the island, called *Ano Caprea*, and is covered in several places with a very fruitful soil. The east end of the island rises up in precipices very near as high, but between the eastern and western mountains lies a slip of lower ground, which runs across the island, and is one of the pleasantest spots that can be seen. It is hid with vines, figs, oranges, almonds, olives, myrtles and fields of corn, which look extremely fresh and beautiful, and make up the most delightful little landscape imaginable, when they are surveyed from the tops of the neighbouring mountains. Here stands the town of Caprea, the Bishop's palace, and two or three convents. In the middle of this fruitful tract of land, rises a hill that was probably covered with buildings in TIBERIUS's time. There are still several ruins on the sides of it, and about the top are found two or three dark galleries, low built, and covered with mason's work, tho' at present they appear over-grown with grass. But the most considerable ruin is that which stands at the very extremity of the eastern promontory, where there are still some apartments left very high, and arched at the top. These rooms stand deep in the earth, and have nothing like windows or chimneys; from whence it is conjectured they were either bathing-places or reservoirs of water, and here are often found medals and pipes of lead as they dig among the rubbish. Not many years ago they discovered a paved road running under-ground from the top of a mountain to the sea-side. There is a very noble prospect from this place. On the one side lies a vast extent of seas that runs farther than the eye can reach, and opposite to it, is the green promontory of Surrentum (or Sorrento,) and on the other side the whole prospect of the bay of Naples, which must still have been more pleasant when that bay was encompassed with so long a range of buildings, that it appeared to those who looked

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at it at a distance but as one continued city. One still sees on the bendings of the mountains of Caprea the marks of several ancient scales of stairs, by which they used to ascend them. The whole island is so unequal, that there were but few diversions to be found in it without doors; but what recommended it most to TIBERIUS, was its wholesome air, which is warm in winter and cold in summer; and its inaccessible coasts, which are generally so very steep, that a handful of men might defend them against a powerful army. TIBERIUS, it is conjectured, had his different residences here, according to the seasons of the year, and his different sets of pleasure required. SÆTONIUS says, *Duodecim villas totidem nominibus ornavit*. The whole island was probably cut into several easy ascents, adorned with palaces, and planted with as great a variety of groves and gardens as the situation of the place would admit. The works under ground were however more extraordinary than those above it, for the rocks were all undermined with highways, grotto's, galleries, bagnio's, and subterraneous retirements, that suited with the brutal pleasures of the Emperor, which were after his death demolished by the Romans, in detestation of the unnatural and lascivious scenes which had been acted there; the beauties of the island were ordered to be defaced by an army of pioneers.

—*Quem rupes Caprearum terra latebit  
Inceſto poſſeſſa Seni?* CL. de 4to Conf. Hon.  
Who has not heard of Caprea's guilty shore,  
Polluted by the rank old Emperor?

This island is most remarkable at present for the multitude of quails that are taken there twice a year.

Ischia.

The island of Ischia is situated about three miles to the westward of the Cape or Promontory of Misenum, and 12 or 14 to the westward of the city of Naples; being about 20 miles in circumference, and was called by the ancient Poets *Inarime*, having laid TYPHOEUS under it, on account of the eruptions of fire which formerly happened here, tho' there have been none for 300 years past. The last was a very terrible one, and destroyed a whole city. There are scarce any signs of subterraneous fires at present, the earth being covered with herbage, except where it is rocky. There issues indeed a constant smoke through some crevices of the earth, which is occasioned, my author conceives, by the warm springs that feed the many baths, with which this island is replenished. On the north end of the island stands the town and castle on an exceeding high rock, divided from the body of the island by a channel, and inaccessible to an enemy on all sides; on which account FERDINAND II, King of Naples, retired hither when CHARLES VIII of France, overrun that kingdom.

Procita.

Procita is an island of much less dimensions than the last, but abundantly more fruitful, and is situated between Ischia and Cape Misenum; being three or four miles in circumference; the most considerable place upon it is the abbey of St. MICHAEL.

Ponza.

Ponza, *olim Pontia*, situated about 14 miles to the southward of the promontory of Circeo, or Circello, and 30 to the westward of Gaeta; deemed a part of the kingdom of Naples, but subject at present to the Duke of Parma. Hither the Romans anciently banished criminals of figure. It is an island of very little consequence, and yields but a poor revenue to the Sovereign. There

are some other small islands belonging to Naples and Sicily, which will be found in the map bound up with this volume; but they do not merit a particular description.

The principal islands upon the coast of Tuscany, are, 1. Giglio. 2. Elba. 3. Pianosa. 4. Formica. 5. Monte Christo. 6. Capraria. 7. Maloria; and, 8. Gorgona.

Giglio is situated about 12 miles from the Sienese in Tuscany, and is about 25 miles in circumference; subject to the Great Duke in temporals, and to the Abbot TREFONTANA in spirituals.

The island of Elba, or Athalia, is situated about 15 miles to the westward of the coast of Tuscany, stretching from east to west, much longer than broad, and about 40 miles in circumference. The chief places upon it are, 1. Porto Longone, a small town near the east end of the island, with a good harbour, and defended by a fort on a rock, now in the possession of the King of Spain. 2. Porto Feraio, situate on the north side of the island, which has also a good harbour, and is defended by a citadel, under the dominion of the Duke of Tuscany.

Pianosa lies 4 or 5 miles to the southward of Elba, and is subject to the Duke of Tuscany; but is a barren uncultivated island, from whence he reaps little profit.

Capraria, so called from the multitude of goats which were found here anciently, is situated between Corsica and Tuscany, a mountainous island, about 20 miles in circumference, and subject to the republick of Genoa, who have a fortress upon it. The number of the inhabitants is not computed to be more than 600.

Gorgona, or Urgo, lies in the same sea, to the northward of Capraria, about 25 miles to the westward of Leghorn, and 10 miles in circumference, subject to the great Duke of Tuscany.

Maloria is a little island between Gorgona and Leghorn, subject to the same Prince. The rest of the islands on this coast are inconsiderable, but their situations are described in the map of Italy.

When I was speaking of the strait or Faro of Messina, between Calabria, and Sicily, I should have remembered the famous Scylla and Charybdis there, so much dreaded by the mariners of old; but ships passing them now frequently with the greatest security, I hardly thought them worth the mentioning. Navigation was but in its infancy when the poets represented these places as fatal to sea-faring men. There seems to be nothing more than a strong current and eddy of the waters here, which is frequently observed in other places.

Sardinia is an island of an oblong form, stretching from north to south in the Tuscan sea, bounded by the strait, which divides it from Corsica towards the north; by the Tuscan sea which separates it from Italy, from which it is about 50 leagues distant, towards the east; and by the same sea on the south and west; lying about 40 leagues north-west of Sicily, between the 39th and 41st degrees of north latitude, and is 140 miles in length, and sixty in breadth. The air in summer is hot and sultry, and reckoned very unhealthy. The soil is fruitful where it is manured, producing corn, wine and oil in abundance; but is not cultivated as it ought to be, the natives seeming to have little inclination to husbandry, choosing rather to live upon what the earth produces spontaneously than to improve their grounds. They have great plenty of cattle, wild

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Giglio.

Elba.

Porto Lon-  
gone.

Porto.  
Feraio.

Pianosa.

Capraria.

Gorgona.

Maloria.

Scylla and  
Charyb-  
dis.

Sardinia,  
the situa-  
tion, ex-  
tent, &c.

Cattle.  
beasts



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beasts and game, and are so far from having any want of corn, though great part of their lands are uncultivated, that some years, it is said, they export 8 or 900000 bushels, of which the greatest part is carried to Spain. There is a variety of hills and plains, and the mountains on the north are exceeding high. Their chief rivers are, 1. The Sacer, which rises in the north-east part of the island, and falls into a bay on the south-west near Oristagni. 2. The Coquinas, which rises in the middle of the island, and discharges it self into the sea on the north near Castel Arragonefe. 3. The Sepus, which rises in the middle of the island, and falls into a bay towards the south-east. And, 4. The river Sepro, which runs from north to south, and falls into the bay of Cagliari on the south-east part of the island.

Division. It is usually divided into two parts; 1. The southern, called Cape Cagliari, from the capital city, which stands in this part of the island. And 2. The northern, called Cape Logadori, from a cape of that name in the north. The chief towns are, 1. Cagliari. 2. Oristagni. 3. Villa D'Iglesia. 4. Saffari. 5. Castel Arragonefe. 6. Algeri; and, 7. Bofa.

Cagliari city. Cagliari or Calaris, the capital, is situated on the declivity of a hill near a bay of the sea to which it communicates its name, on the south-east part of the island, and is a large handsome populous place, with a tolerable harbour, and pretty brisk trade, considering the country it stands in; and is a University, the See of an Archbishop, and the seat of the Viceroy: It does not seem to be a place of any great strength, making but a very mean defence when it was taken by the English in the year 1708, and afterwards by the Spaniards in the year 1717; nor did the castle hold out much longer, tho' some have given it the name of a strong citadel.

Oristagni. Oristagni, or Oristan, is situated on a bay of the same name, on the south-west part of the island, about 45 miles north-west of Cagliari: It is a handsome well-built town, the see of an Archbishop and the capital of a marquisate.

Villa D'Iglesia. Villa D'Iglesia stands on a bay of the sea at the south-west corner of the island, 30 miles to the westward of Cagliari, defended by a castle, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Cagliari.

Saffari. Saffari, or Safferi, is situated in a plain on the north-west part of the island, about 10 miles from the sea, a pretty large town, defended by a castle, and the See of an Archbishop.

Castel Arragonefe. Castel Arragonefe is a little fortified town, in the north-west part of the island, with a pretty good harbour, about 25 miles north-east of Saffari, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Saffari.

Algeri. Algeri, or Algeri, is a fortified town, situated on a bay of the sea, on the north-west part of the island, 16 miles south of Saffari, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Saffari.

Bofa. Bofa stands at the mouth of a river of the same name, on the west part of the island, 20 miles south of Algeri, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Saffari.

Their history. There are very few towns more of any consequence upon the island. It is but thinly peopled, and the natives are an unpolish'd generation, who having long been a province to some distant kingdom, have been pretty much neglected, and neither their soil or traffick improved as they would have been if they had been blessed with a Prince of their own.

The first colonies planted here came from Greece, Phœnicia, and other eastern countries,

who erected little states and principalities in this island, as they had done in Italy and Sicily. The Carthaginian state was the first power that had the dominion of the whole island, who were dispossessed of it by the Romans. The Saracens made a conquest of it about the same time they ravaged Naples and Sicily. The republics of Genoa and Pisa attacked the Saracens, and recovered part of the island from them; but Pope BONIFACE VIII. was pleased to make a grant of it to JAMES II, King of Arragon, in the 13th century, who with great difficulty drove the Genoese and Pisans from thence, with the rest of the powers then in possession of the island, who had confederated together against him, and it was afterwards united to the crown of Spain, till the English fleet under Sir JOHN LEAKE reduced it to the obedience of King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, in the year 1708; and it was confirmed by the several parties to the treaty of Utrecht (except Spain) to the house of Austria, Spain seeming to acquiesce in this disposition: but King PHILIP under pretence that the Emperor had not evacuated Catalonia in the manner he had stipulated to do it, but had put the Catalans into possession of Barcelona, which ought to have been delivered up to him, equipped a fleet of men of war in the year 1717, putting 7 or 8000 land-forces on board, under the command of the Marquis de Lede to recover Sardinia to the crown of Spain. On the 22d of August the dispositions being made for a descent near Cagliari, the Marquis de Lede sent an officer to the Marquis de Rubi Viceroy of Sardinia for the Emperor to summon him to surrender Cagliari, and the rest of the island to the King of Spain; and the officer returning with a refusal, the Spanish troops landed without opposition. The Imperialists thereupon retired into the Suburbs of Cagliari without firing a shot, and from thence with-drew into the town; but it seems the whole garison did not amount to more than 400 regular foot, and 200 horse, besides militia, for at this time the Emperor was engaged in a war against the Turks, and had drawn most of the regular forces out of the island. On the 17th of September, the Spaniards having advanced their trenches within pistol-shot of the walls of Cagliari, the Marquis de Rubi left the town with 150 horse, and retired to Alguero or Algeri, leaving the command of the place to the Marquis de la Guardia, who was obliged to surrender the 3d of October following; and no supplies coming to the assistance of the Germans, the Viceroy quitted the island and retired to Genoa: whereupon the Spaniards became entire masters of Sardinia, which they held till the year 1720, when they were obliged to yield it to the Duke of Savoy by treaty; to whom it was assigned in lieu of Sicily, with the title of King of Sardinia, and this Prince remains in possession of it at this day.

The island of Corsica lies also in the Tuscan sea, a little to the northward of Sardinia, 90 miles to the southward of the coast of Genoa, and 80 to the westward of the coast of Tuscany, between the 41st and 43d degrees of north latitude; extending about 30 leagues in length from north to south, and about 13 leagues in breadth from east to west about the middle; but being near an oval figure, is much narrower at each end. It is surrounded almost with rocks and mountains, which makes it of difficult access, and the

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Corsica  
island, sit-  
uation  
and extent

The face  
of the  
country  
inland and soil.



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inland part is pretty mountainous, though there are some plains which produce plenty of corn, as the hills do wine, oil, and fruits; however, the soil is not so fruitful as that of Sardinia, nor the air so unhealthful: It is pretty well watered with springs and rivers, but as the last run but a little way before they fall into the sea, they cannot be very large. They have plenty of black cattle and sheep, and a little sprightly breed of horses. Here are some iron mines, and others of allum, with some salt-pits. The natives are said to be a clownish people, rough in their manners, like the element they chiefly converse with, and were so much given to piracy and pilfering formerly, that it is said, the name of Corsair, which signifies a rover or pirate, was derived from hence. It is usually divided into Corsica Citerior and Ulterior; the former is the northern part next Genoa, and the other the southern next Sardinia. The chief towns are, 1. Bastia. 2. Fiorenza. 3. Nebio, or Nebbio. 4. Calvi. 5. Sagona. 6. Corte. 7. Aleria. 8. Accia. 9. Mariana. 10. Ajazzo. 11. Bonifacio; and 12. Porto Vecchio.

Chief  
towns.

Bastia.

Calvi.

Corte.

Ajazzo.

Bonifacio.

Porto Vecchio.

Bastia, the capital, is situated on a bay of the sea, at the north-east part of the island, and has a pretty good harbour, defended by a castle, the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Genoa, and the seat of the Viceroy.

Calvi, situated on the bay of the same name, on the north-west part of the island, defended by a castle on a steep rock, 40 miles south-west of Bastia.

Corte is an inland town, about the middle of the island, 40 miles to the southward of Bastia, defended by a castle, situate on an inaccessible rock.

Ajazzo stands on a bay of the same name, on the south-west part of the island, a pretty large town, with a good harbour, defended by a fort, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Pisa.

Bonifacio, stands on the south point of the island, on the streight which divides it from Sardinia: It has a good harbour, and a tolerable trade, being esteemed the best town in the island.

Porto Vecchio stands near the sea on the south-east part of the island, about 16 miles to the northward of Bonifacio, and is a large town, with a tolerable harbour.

This island was planted also by colonies from Greece, and other countries of the Levant; and having been subdued by the Carthaginians, was afterwards taken from them by the Romans: The Saracens possessed themselves of it when they invaded Sicily and Sardinia, and were driven from thence by the Pisans and Genoese; and this last state having driven out the other, remain sole masters of it, and send their Viceroy hither, who is the governor of it. The Doge of Genoa is crowned at his accession with a royal crown, as Sovereign of Corsica, which was anciently reputed a kingdom; but this does not however give this state the precedence of Venice.

Malta I-  
land.

Among the Italian islands I shall take in Malta, it being nearer Sicily than any other shore, and formerly under the same Sovereign that Naples and Sicily were.

The situa-  
tion and  
extent.

This island of Malta or Maltha, *olim Melita*, is situated 60 miles to the southward of Cape Passaro, the most southerly promontory of Sicily, 200 miles to the eastward of Tunis in Africa, and almost as much south-west of Cape Spartivento, the most southerly promontory of Italy, so that it lies almost in the midway between

Africa and Europe; but as it is rather nearer to the latter, it may properly enough be reckoned among the European islands, tho' it be sometimes by geographers placed in Africa. It lies in 35 degrees some odd minutes north latitude, and is of an oval figure, or pretty near it, being 20 miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, and 10 or 12 in breadth, about the middle of the island.

The air is generally clear and healthful, but excessive hot, when it is not refreshed with cool breezes from the sea. The island is all a white soft rock, covered with a foot of earth, or thereabouts; moderately fruitful, producing corn and grapes; they make no wine however, nor have they corn sufficient for the inhabitants; not but that it would bear corn enough, says a late traveller, but their cotton and other plants are more profitable, and they furnish themselves with corn and wine upon very easy terms from Sicily. The corn the island produces is barley and buck-wheat, they have also olives, figs, and other fruits, and great plenty of cummin-seed, anniseed, and cotton, of which they export large quantities, as they do also of indigo. They have lemons and oranges all the year round, and plenty of peas and beans, and other pulse and garden stuff; in so much that my author thinks it very well deserves the epithet of Fertile Malta, still given it by the poets. Their mutton and lamb is excellently good, and they have store of game, and fowls wild and tame: The superstitious are of opinion that no venomous creature will live here, since St. PAUL blessed the island with his presence. Roses, thyme and fennel grow wild in every part of it, and their honey is esteemed the best in Europe. There are several good springs in the island, but no rivers; what they seem to want most is wood, there being scarce any other trees than fruit-trees upon the place; but as they have very good stone for building, and the country is warm, they want it the less.

The natives are of very tawny complexions, especially the peasants, who are not half clothed. The better sort of people who live in towns, follow the French or Spanish modes; in keeping their women concealed, they imitate the Spaniards and Italians. The island is pretty well stocked with women of pleasure however from Greece, who resort hither to accommodate the unmarried Knights, and others who despise the chains of a conjugal life. The language of the common people is the Moreisco, a sort of barbarous Arabick, spoken on the coast of Africa, and the rest use a dialect of the Italian, which they speak pretty roughly.

The chief places are, the city of Malta, or La Valette, the Cite, the Bourg, and the Isle, with the castles of St. Elmo and St. Augé, Civita Vecchia, and Il Bochero.

The Cite, the Bourg, and the Isle, all of them Malta compose the town of Malta, but are, according to my author, so many distinct cities separated from each other by channels of the sea, which form so many peninsula's, consisting of rocks, which rise a great height out of the sea, and have secure harbours belonging to them capable of receiving whole fleets. On approaching of Malta, two of these ports appear distinguished by a high point of land, on which are built the new city and the castle of St. Elmo. That on the right hand is called Marsamouchet, where vessels put in for refreshments; the other is the great harbour,

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bour, defended by the castle of St. Elmo, the fort of Terra della Bocca, and the castle of St. Auge. The fortifications are regular, and very strong by art as well as nature. The streets are broad, and the houses well built with white hewn stone, with which their rocks furnish them upon the spot. They are flat-roofed, surrounded with rails or balusters, and make a very good appearance. The water they drink is brought by an aqueduct four miles to Malta, besides which they have cisterns and reservoirs of rain-water. The new town called Valetta, consists of 20 streets that lie parallel to each other, but they are uneven, having no other pavement than the rock on which they are built. It has but two gates, one on the land-side and the other towards the harbour. The out-works take in a good space of ground, for the security of the country people in case of an invasion. Among their public buildings, the church of St. JOHN is esteemed equal to most in Italy, adorned on the out-side with a noble piazza and fountains. It is large and lofty, and paved with marble of various colours, beautified with several rich chapels and altars, and the tombs of the Grand Masters: and here among their reliques, they shew the right hand of St. JOHN Baptist; but it is most admired for the Evangelical History, exquisitely painted by one of the Knights. The palace of the Grand Master is a magnificent building, besides which there are many other palaces that make no mean figure. The magazine, in which there are arms for 30000 men, the treasury, and hospital, are all noble buildings, and deserve a traveller's attention. In the hospital all infirm people are received, and served by the younger Knights in silver, and every Friday by the Grand Master and the Great Crosses, or chiefs of the respective nations, to which it seems they are obliged by their constitution. Malta is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Palermo. The old city of Melita, now called Città Notabile and Civita Vecchia, lies in the middle of the island, anciently a large populous place, and contains at present about 5 or 600 houses. Near it is the summer palace of the Grand Master, called Il Bochetto, fortified like a castle, but extremely well situated, having a prospect over a great part of the island. Its gardens and natural orange-groves, says my author, are delicious, beautifully intermingled with fruit-trees, and parterres of flowers. There are besides in the island 26 parishes, and between 30 and 40 villages equal to towns, containing about 50000 souls, of which one half are military men and unmarried. Five miles to the westward lies the island of Goza, being about 12 miles long and 6 broad, and containing about 500 houses. Near it is the isle of Comino, 5 miles in circumference, with some lesser islands that are subject to Malta. And I must not forget the Catakombs of Malta, which some call a subterranean town, hewn out of the solid rock; but by the description they seem to resemble those of Rome and Naples, and therefore were probably put to the same use at Malta.

Goza I-  
land.

Comino.

History of  
Malta.

The first inhabitants of this island were the Phenicians and Carthaginians, after which it fell under the dominion of the Romans, and generally followed the fate of Sicily, till CHARLES V gave it to the Knights of St. JOHN of Jerusalem, anno 1530. Of the original of these Knights or Hospitallers of St. JOHN of Jerusalem we meet with this account. Some time be-

fore the expedition of GODFREY of Bouillon to the Holy Land, some Neapolitan merchants who traded in the Levant obtained leave of the Caliph of Egypt to build a house there, for the entertainment of those of their nation who came in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, for which they agreed to pay an annual tribute. They afterwards built two churches near their house, and entertained the pilgrims who resorted thither with great charity, and taking several others into their society, who thought they should merit much by joining in so pious an undertaking, they founded a church in honour of St. JOHN Baptist, and an hospital for infirm people, from whence they obtained the name of Hospitallers. GODFREY of Bouillon having taken Jerusalem about the year 1099, we find them a little after distinguished by black habits, and a cross with eight points; and besides their former vows, they took another to defend pilgrims; and thus their order became military, into which several sons of figure entered themselves, changing their title of Hospitallers to that of Knights Hospitallers. After Jerusalem was taken, these Knights retired to Margat, and from thence to Acre in Palestine, which they bravely defended in the year 1290; after which they were entertained by JOHN King of Cyprus, who assigned them Limasson in his dominions, where they remained till 1310, when they took Rhodes under their Grand Master FOULQUES DE VILLARET, a Frenchman; and next year repulsed a great army of Saracens, being commanded by their Great Master AMADEUS Duke of Savoy, whose successors afterwards used the following Letters for their device, viz. *F. E. R. T. i. e. Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, and those of the order were from thence called Knights of Rhodes. They afterwards defended the island against several attacks of the Turks, but it was taken at last by SOLYMAN in the year 1522, when they retired to Candia, and from thence to Sicily. The Emperor CHARLES the Fifth gave them this island of Malta in the year 1530, looking on it as a good frontier against the Turks, and they accepted of it with the consent of the other Princes, in whose territories their lands lay. In 1566, SOLYMAN attacked them vigorously in Malta, destroying the whole island except two or three castles, which he was forced to abandon after a siege of four months, having lost 15000 soldiers and 8000 seamen in the expedition. JOHN DE LA VALETTE PARISOT was at this time Grand Master, and gained abundance of honour in the defence he made. He afterwards built that part of the town which has the name of La Valette. The Knights formerly consisted of eight different people, viz. 1. Of those of Provence, whose Chief was the grand commendator of religion, 2. Of Auvergne, whose Chief was Marechal of the order, 3. Of France in general, whose Chief was Grand Hospitaller, 4. Of Italy, whose Chief was Admiral, 5. Of Arragon, whose Chief was Grand Conservator, 6. Of Germany, whose Chief was Grand Bailiff of the order, 7. Of Castile, whose Chief was Grand Chancellor, And, 8. Those of the English, whose Chief was Commander of the cavalry: but the English having withdrawn themselves, there are now only seven Chiefs.

Those who enter into this order, are obliged to prove their legitimacy as well as nobility by father and mother for four descents, except the natural sons of Kings and Princes. Amongst the Knights, only those styled the Grand Crosses can

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The  
Knights of  
several  
nations  
or  
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ges.

stand



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stand candidates for Grand Master. The Grand Crosses are the Chiefs of the several nations, who are now seven in number, and have their respective colleges and halls in Malta, forming so many several societies, the head of each house being at this day called the Grand Prior of his nation, who is a member of the council of state, and distinguished by a large white cross embroidered on his breast. Those of this order never marry: They consist of three degrees or states, as they are called, viz. Knights, Chaplains, and Servants at Arms. There are also priests of obedience, who officiate in churches; friar-servants, who assist at the offices; and donnes, or demi-crosses: but these are not reckoned as constituent parts of the body. This division was made in 1130. The Chaplains or Conventual Priests are of noble extraction, and the ecclesiastical dignities in Malta are reserved for them, several of whom have been Cardinals. The servants at Arms are also of noble extraction, but it is not necessary they should be so for four generations. The government is mixed, partly monarchical, and partly aristocratical. The Grand Master, who is Sovereign, coins money, pardons criminals, and bestows the places of Grand Priors, Bailiffs, Commendators and Knights; and these are obliged to obey him in whatever is not contrary to the statutes of their order. In the great or sacred council however, where matters of the highest importance are debated, the Grand Master has but two voices. The ordinary Council is composed of the Grand Master and the Grand Crosses, but in a full Council two of the eldest Knights of each nation attend. Every nation, as has been intimated already, has its several Grand Prior, and every Grand Prior a certain number of Commanderies. The Knights are received into this order, either by undergoing the trials required by the statutes, or by dispensation. Dispensations are either obtained by the Pope's Brief, or from a general chapel of the order, and are granted in case of some defect in their nobility or pedigree on the mother's side. The Knights are received either as of age, under minority, or as pages to the Grand Master. According to the statutes they must be 16 years of age complete before they are received, enter into the novitiate at 17, and make profession at 18. And they must present themselves either to the grand chapter, or to the provincial assembly of the Grand Priory in which they are born. The proofs of their nobility by four descents on both sides are made by the arms of the families, and an exact enquiry into registers, signed by the Grand Prior and sent to Malta, where they undergo another examination by the Knights of that particular nation, who sometimes reject them; and if they pass, the standing of the Knight is reckoned from that day, when he pays 250 crowns of gold to the treasurer of the order. They make a particular enquiry whether any of the candidates predecessors have during those four generations, derogated from their nobility by merchandize, traffick, or being bankers, except those of Genoa and Sienna, in whom these things are esteemed no objection. They sometimes admit minors of a year old, but then 4000 Livres must be paid down by their guardians for this privilege, which are never returned. The Grand Master hath 16 pages, who serve him from 12 to 16 years of age, and then are succeeded by others. Those who are chaplains, conventual clerks, or servants at arms, cannot be admitted into the order of Knights; nor any who are ecclesiasticks, tho' they have all other requisites.

The churchmen, who make the second state, are received as deacons, or clerks conventuals, to serve in the church of Malta from 10 to 15 years of age. The deacons are obliged to prove that they have been legally baptized, and that their parents are a degree above the common people, and the charge of their admission is 100 crowns in gold, and the chaplains pay twice as much, besides the duties to their respective nations; and the servants at arms pay the like. The priests of the obedience are received without any formalities, and are so called because they obey the Grand Prior, who appoints them to officiate in the cures belonging to the order. They wear a white cross upon their cloaks, and enjoy the privileges of the religion: and of these some are gentlemen. The servants of the office are those who are employed in the hospital or other necessary occasions. There are also donnes, or demi-crosses, who marry, and wear a golden cross of three branches, those of the Knights having four, as have also those of the servants and chaplains; but they must not wear them without a particular licence from the Grand Master. All the Knights, of what rank or quality soever, are obliged, after making their vows, to wear on the left side of their cloaks a cross of white waxed cloth with eight points, which is their true badge, that of gold being only an ornament. When they go to war against the Turks, they wear over all a red coat, with a great white cross before and behind without points, which are the arms of the religious. The ordinary habit of the Grand Master is a kind of cassock of tabby or cloth, open before and tied about him with a girdle, at which hangs a great purse, signifying, says my author, charity to the poor, according to the first institution of the order; and over this he wears a velvet gown, or long cloak, when he goes to church on solemn festivals, and on the left side a white cross with eight points, or cross-patee. The rest of the Knights give him the title of Eminence, and his subjects call him his Highness. Some say the Knights at their admission vow to God, the Virgin MARY and St. JOHN Baptist, obedience, poverty and chastity. They are obliged to take care of the sick and strangers, and receive none into their order but such as are of sound robust bodies. The Priors chuse the Grand Master, who is only subject to the Pope in spirituals, but has a dependance on those secular Princes where their lands and revenues lie. If the suffrages at the election be equal, they chuse an umpire who determines the matter. The annual revenue of the Grand Master is 10000 ducats, besides some thousands of ducats out of the common treasury. Their galleys usually carry 500 men each, and 16 pieces of cannon. They are obliged to suppress pirates by their agreement with CHARLES V, and think themselves bound by their profession to be engaged in a perpetual war with the Turks, as the Algerines and Corsairs of Barbary are with the Christian States and Princes. When the Knights of Malta, says MOTRAYS, are professed, a carpet is spread upon the ground, on which is set a piece of bread, a glass of water, and a sword, and they are told, *This is what religion gives you, you must procure yourselves the rest with your sword.* And accordingly this order have been in a perpetual state of hostility with the Mahometans for several hundred years, and consequently are very good soldiers, tho' I can't call them good Christians; for surely that religion teaches peace and good-will to all mankind, of what sect or persuasion soever they be.

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The disciples of MAHOMET indeed are obliged by their great Prophet to make no peace with the rest of the world till they have beaten them into the same religion with themselves; and we find them for many years after their first institution refusing to enter into any other treaty with Christians than for a suspension of arms, and that each party should keep what they respectively possessed, but necessity has at length reduced them to better manners, and they have been obliged to yield up their finest towns, and very large territories, rather than run the hazard of being taken by storm, particularly Temeswaer and Belgrade, which were both surrendered by the Turks to the Imperialists in the last war; when according to the principles of their religion, they ought to have fought it out to a man, rather than have given up these places to the Christians. And as the Turks by principle ought to be always in a state of hostility with the Christians, so we find some Christian Princes and States besides the Maltese, engaged in a continual war with them, particularly the Pope and the most Christian King of Spain. I do not remember that ever either of these powers entered into any formal treaty with the Mahometans, but the rule seems to be on both sides, to do each other what mischief they can. Indeed it happens that the dominions of these perpetual enemies are not contiguous, or else they would find themselves under a necessity of treating sometimes as well as the Imperialists and the Turks. But I think the Christians have no manner of reason to cry out on the piracies and depredations of the Algerines, Sally-men, &c. when they themselves do the very same things; taking and plundering all Turkish vessels they meet with, and carrying the miserable people into captivity: nor are their hostilities confined to the sea, but they land on the shores of Barbary, and carry whole towns and villages into captivity, when they have an opportunity; which kind of visits the natives of Barbary frequently return, landing on the Christian shores, and plundering and destroying all within their reach. Malta indeed stands as a frontier garison against the Infidels, and is so strong by art as well as nature, that the Turkish rovers can do them but little hurt; whereas their galleys take prizes almost every day, and the commanders grow rich by the spoils of their enemies, whom for that reason they never desire to be at peace with. But what brings them in as much profit as any one article, is their prisoners, which either serve them as slaves, or are ransomed at very high rates. But surely these practices will never induce the Infidels to believe that peace and love, and a universal benevolence are the grand characteristicks of our religion: They will rather think that we are animated by the same spirit the disciples of MAHOMET are, whatever we may pretend, and consequently that they have reason to return us the usual title we give them, of Barbarians.

I shall now add some remarks on Italy which have been omitted or lightly touched upon before.

Poor entertainment at their inns.

Between Rome and Naples, tho' it be one of the richest countries in the world, all our travellers agree, that there is the worst accommodation and entertainment in this road that can be met with any where, and that a man must really undergo a great deal of hardship in the four days journey between those two cities, if he does not take his provisions with him. The flesh of buffalo's, crows and magpies, such, as we should throw to the dunghill, here often makes the best part of the ordinary; and tho'

they have a variety of wines in Italy, the best are scarce, especially at their inns; partridges, hares, and other game, and wild-fowl are not often met with, except quails, and these they have in great abundance, especially in the spring, when they arrive in vast flocks from Africa, and even cover the country; they are frequently so wearied in their flight cross the Mediterranean, that they drop into ships as they are under sail, and may be taken in heaps when they first come on shore, but so extremely lean, that they are very indifferent food till they are fatted. But to make some amends for the ill provisions travellers meet with on the road, they travel in great security; there have scarce been any banditti or troops of robbers in the Ecclesiastical State since the Pontificate of SIXTUS V, who was very severe upon them, and other Princes following his example, they have pretty well cleared Italy of robbers, as they have also of bravo's or assassins. Gentlemen are permitted to ride with pistols, and even fuzees in the country for their defence; but in several of their cities they will not allow a traveller to wear any arms, particularly at Genoa and Lucca, where they take away both swords and pistols when you enter the gates, and return them again when you leave the town on paying a certain sum, so that you will sometimes pay treble the price of your arms in travelling through Italy. The bayonet and stiletto are unlawful weapons, and prohibited almost in every city.

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My author further observes, that tho' the women are permitted to come to church and hear sermons in Lent, they are enclosed in a tall pew near the pulpit, where they can neither see or be seen; for the Italians cannot bear their women should be prophaned by common eyes, nor can they comprehend how a man can be devout while he is staring them in the face, as in our protestant churches. When they go to prayers and kneel near the men, they are so veiled, that no part of their faces can be seen, and so carefully watched by their relations or governantes, that they seldom have an opportunity of going astray; and indeed, it is said, they seldom fail of complying with the first motion. They look upon themselves to be unjustly restrained of their liberty, and make no scruple to break from their tyrannical keepers as often as they have opportunity, who allow themselves all manner of liberties, tho' they will permit the women to take none.

Their women concealed.

On the north side of the Apennine, they are not only forced to cover their orange and lemon-trees in the winter to preserve them from the cold, but also their pomegranate-trees, olives, myrtles, caper-trees, and many others; the plane-tree is very common in Italy, as are the cypress, fena, lentisk, cork-tree, carob and scarlet oak, and the highways are frequently bordered with white mulberry trees, with the leaves whereof they feed their silk-worms; and almost all manner of medicinal herbs and simples are to be had on the Apennine mountains and the Alps. Spunges are found on the sea side near Terracina: Pumice-stones grow on a little island over against the promontory of Misenum, when the sea is stormy it loosens them from the rocks, and carries them over in small pieces to the opposite shore of Pozzoli and Baia; they are not to be met with about Vesuvius, or any other burning mountain, as some have related, those stones being of a very different nature.

Spunges and pumice stones.

The Italian mountains, and especially the Apennine, are rich in metals, and other minerals, as crystal, agate, alabaster, and several kinds of marble; the white marble of Carara is esteemed the finest,

Minerals.



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Contri-  
vances to  
moderate  
the heats  
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Rules of  
health.

Earthen  
dishes and  
vessels  
chiefly u-  
sed.  
Their day  
begins at  
sun-set.

Summer  
the best  
season to  
visit Italy.

Conveni-  
ences of  
travelling

Servants at  
Rome.

but the Grecian marble in the Archipelago has much brighter colours than the Italian.

In the summer they use all manner of stratagems to render the heats tolerable at Rome, men of quality have apartments at the bottom of their houses, where the sun never enters; these are furnished with fountains and water-spouts, and floored with marble, and the doors so contrived as to draw in a cool refreshing breeze when they want it. To preserve them from flies and gnats when they sleep, their beds are enclosed with curtains of gauze: when they sleep after dinner, as they usually do about two hours, they loll in easy chairs, whose backs are made to let down as low as they please. The Serain, or evening-dew in the Campania of Rome, is reckoned fatal to those that sleep in it for three months in summer, on which account, it is said, travellers chuse to lie 15 or 20 miles short of Rome, if they can't reach the city before night. My author says, he found an inscription over a door in Rome, importing that the air of this town is fatal to strangers, and troublesome to the natives: that if a man would preserve his health here, he must take physick the seventh day after his arrival, avoid nauseous smells, use moderate exercise, guard himself against colds and heats, abstain from fruit and women, and never quench his thirst with cold water.

They use very little tin or pewter in this country, but generally earthen-ware, resembling Delft or coarser, for all kinds of vessels. They begin their day at sun-set, and count one o'clock an hour after, and so on to 24, and do not divide the day into twice twelve hours as we do here; the hours consequently are perpetually varying, their day beginning sooner or later as the sun sets, whereas it is always six o'clock with us six hours before or after noon, and twelve at noon and midnight. If the sun sets at six o'clock in Italy, the next day at noon they reckon 18; and if it sets at seven, they reckon 17 the next day at noon and so on.

Though people are apt to imagine there is little winter in Italy, my author says, he found the winter very sharp there, and he thinks travellers in the wrong in chusing that season to travel through it, as they generally do, for in winter the ways are uneasy and dangerous, especially in the mountains, on account of the snow and ice; the days also are short, and a traveller comes late to his lodging, and is often forced to rise before day; besides, the country looks dismal, nature is in a manner half dead, and neither fruits or flowers to be seen. On the contrary, in summer we have none of these inconveniences, and though it is very hot, it is only the reposing one's self during the heat of the day, and the cold of the winter sufficiently counterbalances the heats of the summer.

In many parts of Italy, as in Tuscany, Parma and Modena, the traveller may have horses or calashes, called Cambiatura, the rates of which are fixed, and the conveniency of this way of travelling is, that he may stop where he pleases, and change his horses or calash at every Cambiatura, without being obliged to pay for their return; he may also take what time he pleases to satisfy his curiosity. There is room for two people in a calash, and my author prefers it to travelling on horseback, because one has the advantage of being screened from the sun and weather, and the traveller is permitted to carry a portmanteau fastened to it of two hundred weight.

When the traveller comes to Rome, he will be immediately surrounded by a multitude of lackeys,

who come to offer their service, but my author advises him to be cautious how he trusts them, for they are generally a pack of knaves; it is most advisable when a person wants them to take those who belong to the town, or to the country at least, because they give security to perform their duty, and are best acquainted with the people and customs of the place. People of quality usually carry some spare liveries with them to clothe them with. The ordinary allowance of these Staffieri, as they are called, is two and a half, or three Julio's a day, (a Julio is about six pence) when they are at board wages; and for ten or twelve pistoles a month, a gentleman may have a handsome coach and a pair of horses; except it be in Lent, or about Easter, when the concourse is very great at Rome, and then they will ask fourteen pistoles a month for a coach and pair of horses. A licence may easily be obtained here to eat flesh in Lent, and the inn-keepers on the road will furnish you with it if you desire it, privately, that they be not exposed to the censures of the church. The lean-days, as they call their fasts, however very well deserve that name, for it is scarce possible for a foreigner to dispense with those exceeding lean dinners.

A skilful antiquary is a very necessary dependant, which a man of quality must retain when he arrives at Rome, and will cost him three or four pistoles a month; and he is advised to take a particular view of every thing that is remarkable himself, without trusting to the report of others; and a gentleman will chuse to view the curiosities of Rome in the company of other strangers rather than alone, because he will hear their opinions of them: he ought to be provided with maps, measures, prospective-glasses, a mariner's compass and quadrant, and to be able to take the dimensions of things himself.

A Roman palm (or a span and a half) makes thirteen inches English measure, the Roman foot is shorter by six lines than that of England, and eight Roman feet make a Roman Cane. A Brasse of Florence is 22 inches and a half English.

A complete set of prints of all the antiquities and remarkable things that are to be found in Rome may be had there, but they will cost near 100 pistoles, according to Misson; and he advises gentlemen not to be too parsimonious in their travels, for if they are, he tells them, they must expect to meet with trouble and vexation instead of pleasure; whereas a liberal hand gains admission every where, and procures great advantages; and as it is but once in their lives, and in order to accomplish themselves, they will not find their account in being over-penurious, such a management only renders them contemptible wherever they come.

Gentlemen who travel in company from Rome to Naples usually hire both calashes and horses, that they may ride one way or the other by turns, as they see fit, and every passenger pays the person who lets them 15 piasters, on condition he shall spend five days in going thither, wait for him five days at Naples, and lend his horses to Vesuvius and Puzzoli, and return to Rome in five days more; so that the whole journey is performed in 15 days. They may very easily go from Rome to Naples in four days, only they are supposed to spend some time in viewing the country, or the curiosities in the way thither. (A piafter is about the value of 6 s. 8 d. or 7 s.) But as Naples well deserves more than five days to view it, my author advises the traveller to go by the Procacciaio, or ordinary

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measures.

The way  
of travel-  
ling be-  
tween  
Rome and  
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The proper  
times for view-  
ing the  
great ci-  
ties of Ita-  
ly.

Some  
things pe-  
culiar to  
several  
towns.

dinary stage, because he is at liberty then to return when he pleases.

He advises all gentlemen that travel to Italy also to contrive their affairs so, as to see the last days of the carnival at Venice, the Holy week at Rome, and the octave of the Sacrament at Bologna; and to avoid being at Rome during the heats. He says, a person will do well to consider what company he travels with also, or it may be better to have none; some, as he observes, are curious in examining every thing, and will expose themselves to a shower of rain, or hazard losing a dinner to make a discovery of any importance, while others travel post thro' a country as it were, and take care of nothing else but the providing a good bed, a dish of meat, or a glass of the best wine. A large company is by no means proper to travel with in Italy, where we meet with such wretched inns, that they can seldom find beds or provisions for a tolerable company.

Every town almost in Italy affords some things which are either peculiar to it, or done in greater perfection than in other places; as at Rome you meet with fine prints of palaces, churches, gardens, statues, fountains, ornaments of architecture, pictures of Popes, Princes, Cardinals, and other illustrious men, maps, plans of towns, &c. They are famous also for their perfumes, such as bergamot, limetta, imperial oil and millefiori, and all sorts of quintessences, balsams and pomatums. The fruit bergamot is like a lemon, and the perfume drawn from it is incomparably better than what we meet with in other places. The perfumers of Rome have either an art, or ingredients that their neighbours want, for perfuming skins, of which they make gloves, fans, purses, and other things. And this is the proper place to furnish one's self with fine medals; tho' if a man has not some judgment in them, he will be imposed upon.

Naples is remarkable for its silk stockings, waistcoats, breeches and caps, perfumed soap, snuff-boxes made of shells inlaid with silver, and Spanish snuff.

Venice is taken notice of for its points, works in glass, crystal and steel, snuff-boxes, silk stuffs, and fine scarlet.

At Milan we meet with works of rock crystal, swords, heads of canes, snuff-boxes, and steel toys.

Florence also is famous for its essences, balsams, pomatums, and other perfumes; but their bergamot is inferior to that of Rome. Here are also inlaid works, with the stones called Dendrites, and others called Ruins of Florence, which are found in Monte Limagio.

At Genoa we meet with silk stuffs, velvets, points, dry sweetmeats, soap and wash-balls.

At Bologna shining stones, or phosphorus's, several kinds of snuff and wash-balls, and their lapdogs were formerly in much esteem; one of them made a mighty stir in England not many years ago.

Brescia has been remarkable for its fire-arms.

The Nuns of Tortona for their works in straw, of which they make boxes, flowers, birds, caskets and toilets, or any little implement of the like nature.

The knives of Searperia, sixteen or seventeen miles from Florence, are much cried up, not so much for the goodness of the metal, as for their contrivance of putting several blades to one hilt, as they will ten or a dozen at a time, if 'tis desired.

At Loretto the devout traveller furnishes himself with beads, crucifixes, Agnus Dei's, and other holy utensils; and their beads are thought to have an extraordinary sanctity by being touch'd or rubb'd on the Madona or image of the Blessed Virgin there.

The Nuns of Gaieta pretend to have the best essence of oranges: but Misson does not approve of it; he says, it is too strong and sharp.

The masks of Modena are said to be well contrived, and the spurs of Reggio in as much esteem in Italy, as those of Rippon are here.

The milled gloves, the sweet snuff of Millefiori, and the Rosa Solis of Turin, are also in esteem with our travellers.

In the year 1726, the Viceroy of Sicily received orders from the Imperial court to publish a Bando, or proclamation, prohibiting the importation of several English manufactures, such as duroys, calmancoes, camblets, druggets, and other stuffs proper for a warm country, in order to encourage those of Germany, which are design'd to be brought into Sicily and Naples by the new company established at Trieste: whereupon the English Consul Mr. CHAMBERLAYNE on the 10th of June that year, by the advice of the English factory at Messina, presented the following memorial to the Viceroy of Sicily, viz.

*Most excellent Lord,*

WILLIAM CHAMBERLAYNE, his Britannick Majesty's Consul-General in this kingdom, and the English merchants settled and residing in the city of Messina, do humbly represent that they are informed, the Royal Patrimonial Council by your Excellency's direction, upon what motives your memorialists know not, are about to prohibit the importation into this city and kingdom of divers sorts of English woollen manufactures and stuffs. That before such a resolution pass, they offer to your Excellency's consideration, the prejudice which would manifestly arise from it to the publick commerce, to the income of the royal treasury, and to the general interest not only of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty's subjects, but likewise of foreigners concerned in traffick with this city. For this would be an abolition of the establishment of a Scala Franca, or staple granted by the most serene King CHARLES II, who engaged his Royal word to permit the importing hither of all manner of merchandize and manufactures from what part of the world soever. It would also be a direct violation of the treaty of commerce concluded between the most serene Kings of Spain and England in the year 1667, which was ratified by King CHARLES II, of blessed memory, the same year, and confirmed by his present Imperial and Catholick Majesty anno 1709, at Barcelona; by which treaty entire liberty was granted to the subjects of Great Britain to import and bring into all the territories, kingdoms and dominions of the King of Spain, all sorts of merchandize, cloths, manufactures, and things of the Kingdom of England, there to sell, barter, or otherwise convert and dispose of the same, as will more fully appear to your Excellency by the inclosed copies of the article of the Scala Franca, and the seventh article of the aforesaid treaty concluded and confirmed as above. Wherefore the memorialists have judged it proper by way of prevention to make application to your Excellency, a Prince zealous for justice, and a lover of the publick good, to induce you to suspend so important a resolution till some deputy of theirs be permitted to lay before you the solid and weighty reasons they have to urge against this novelty, which is not only prejudicial to the publick commerce, the promoting whereof your Excellency has so much at heart, but to the general interest of the natives and foreigners who are concerned in, and do contribute to and carry on the trade of this city and kingdom, and also to

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Some species of English goods prohibited lately in Sicily.

Some species of English goods prohibited lately in Sicily.

Some species of English goods prohibited lately in Sicily.



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the royal duties, which must inevitably diminish in proportion as commerce lessens. But in case your Excellency in your great wisdom shall determine otherwise, they beseech you at least to give sufficient allowance of time before such prohibition takes place; because the memorialists under the sanction of the publick faith, and relying on the royal promises, have some time ago sent commissions to their correspondents in England for large quantities of such several sorts of goods as they used to provide every year against the fair in August, which by this time are not only bought up, but actually embarked and on the way hither, to the end that within the time limited they may vend and dispose of them. Upon which concession from your Excellency as a just Prince, the memorialists do securely depend.

The answer to which memorial was, That the orders from the court of Vienna on this affair being uncontrollable, the publishing them could not be deferred.

*A list of the Imperial navy.*

The Imperial navy in the port of Italy and the Ocean.

In the gulph.	Guns.		Guns.
The St. Barbara.	68	St. Ottila	48
St. Leopard	62	St. Nepomucence	48
St. Charles	58	St. Joseph	36
St. Elizabeth	50	St. Anthony	30
St. January	42	St. Anne	42
St. Lucia	46	St. Baltazar	40

Besides eight frigates and fourteen galleys.

In the Ocean	Guns		Guns
The Charles	40	Lyon	28
Empress Elizabeth	36	Tyger	32
Austria	34	Eagle	32
Prince Eugene	32	Force	30
Marquis Visconti	30	Peace	32
Marquis de Prie	30	Concord	34
Union	28	Blessing	32
Hope	30	And three advice-ships.	

This list being taken only from the publick papers, I cannot be answerable for the exactness of it; but it is surprizing if the Emperor have a fleet already any thing near so powerful as this is represented to be.

The fruits of the earth destroyed in Italy in 1727.

Tempests and unseasonable weather proved almost as destructive to Italy in the year 1727, as any earthquake that has happened there in our memory; for they relate, that on the 7th of October this year, there arose such a dreadful hurricane at Naples, that the like was never known. The storm begun by furious jarring winds, attended with continual lightning and dreadful thunder-claps, which were soon followed with such heavy rains mixed with hail, that all the gardens in that city and neighbourhood were overflowed; the trees, vineyards, &c. which were upon the hills round the city were torn up by the roots and washed away by the torrent; their kitchen-gardens were covered with sand, and in the lower part of the city the flood forced open the strongest gates, threw down several walls and houses, and destroyed abundance of people: the great reservoirs which furnish the city with water, with their wells and fountains, were choked up. The borough of Pianura, which lies very low, was so suddenly overflowed, that of 500 inhabitants, six only escaped; the borough of Panecoli was entirely sunk, and there arose such a thick vapour and poisonous stench out of this gulph, that all that came near it swooned away, or died on the spot. No words can express the desolation which happened both in city and country, with the loss of their corn, wine, cattle, and other provi-

sions. This calamity was ascribed to a violent shock of an earthquake they felt the night before, which terrified them extremely; the sea swelled also in an extraordinary manner, and from Vesuvius issued a mighty flame: whereupon the head of St. JANUARIUS was exposed, the miraculous image of the crucifix uncovered, before which the Viceroy, Nobility and people prostrated themselves to avert the wrath of heaven.

At Venice the same month they had terrible storms of rain and hail, and in January following they relate, that the tempestuous winds and rains continued at Naples; that the air was sometimes so close they could hardly breathe, which with the frequent eruptions of Mount Vesuvius occasioned a general consternation, and bred distempers in the country: that they had for three days successively such furious storms of rain attended with dreadful thunder and lightning, that the flat country was all under water, and appeared like a general deluge, and that the damage occasioned by it was not to be expressed. From Florence the same month they write, that the Sacrament had been exposed for three days in the metropolitan church, and publick prayers put up throughout the duchy to obtain from the Almighty a cessation of rain. A plenary indulgence was published in form of a Jubilee in all the churches of that city, and the Grand Duke forbid the usual diversions of the Carnival; and in the Venetian territories several little towns were swept away by the overflowing of rivers.

At Notto in Sicily in the year 1727-8, there happened a terrible earthquake, which lasted from the 5th of January to the 9th, and threw down several churches, monasteries and private houses; the same was felt at Augusta, Syracuse, Catania, Messina and Palermo, and almost throughout the kingdom, but few or no people perished in it.

The Emperor and the other parties to the Quadruple Alliance looking upon the duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia as Fiefs of the Empire, and agreeing that on failure of issue of those Princes the said duchies should be conferred on Don CARLOS, son to the present Queen of Spain; this proceeding was highly resented by the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma, as well as by the Pope, who pretends that these duchies are Fiefs of the Holy See.

The Duke of Tuscany in a memorial endeavours to shew that the state of Florence has been entirely independent on the Empire ever since it had a being; that it has always been governed by its own laws and magistrates; that the Great Dukes of Tuscany are absolute masters and sovereigns in that State; that all the rights of Majesty belong to them; and that they only differ from the Kings of France and Spain in the extent of their dominions, as not having such large territories under their jurisdiction.

To which the Imperialists reply, That it is notorious that the city and territory of Florence made a part of the kingdom of Italy, and that when the German Emperors became masters of that kingdom, Tuscany, and the city of Florence in particular, was as much subject to them as the rest of Italy; that it continued under the Dukes or Marquises of Tuscany, who were the Emperors feudatories from the time of RODOLPHUS I, tho' it was governed by its own magistrates, as the cities of the Empire are at this day, yet it always acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor, till the time of MAXIMILIAN I, who for a sum of money confirmed its privileges: That the Emperor CHARLES V, in the year 1530, commanded his troops to besiege the city of Florence, to reduce them to their duty

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Memorials of the Italian Princes against the Quadruple Alliance.



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duty to the Empire, which they then seemed to dispute; that the city having been obliged to surrender, the Emperor declared he had a right, after depriving it of all those privileges which it had received of his predecessors, to dispose both of the city and territory according to his pleasure, as of an estate of inheritance devolved to the Empire; but upon the intercession of the Pope, and by advice of the States of the Empire, he had been pleased to pardon it, and to confirm all its privileges, rights and liberties obtained of the Roman Kings or Emperors. But whether the duchies of Tuscany and Parma are Fiefs of the Empire or not, since the Diet of the Empire have declared them to be so; and the greatest powers of Europe, who were parties to the Quadruple Alliance, have determined they shall be deemed such, and are in a condition to constitute DON CARLOS Sovereign of these duchies if they see fit, the matter of right will be little attended to. The Princes of this age apprehend themselves vested with authority to set up and depose Kings at their pleasure, as is evident from their disposal of Sicily and Sardinia twice in a few years, without so much as enquiring into the laws and constitutions of the respective countries: These, it is held, ought to be dormant when the general good of the world comes in competition with that of any single State; or, when the chief Powers of Europe are pleased to think so. They themselves seem to rely more upon a confederacy, or guaranty of their neighbours for the establishment of their thrones, than either upon the constitution of their respective governments, or the affections of the people they are to govern. The civil power does not only truckle to the military in most of the kingdoms of Europe; but where national troops are not so ready as it is expected, to oppress and harass their fellow-subjects, foreigners are call'd in, who are supposed to have less remorse, to finish the ruin of the unhappy people. But to return to the eventual succession, as it was called, of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, which the parties to the Quadruple Alliance had conferred on DON CARLOS Prince of Spain: The last Pope INNOCENT XIII, loudly protested against it, declaring those duchies Fiefs of the Holy See, and in the instrument to be sent to the Plenipotentiaries at Cambray on this head, he has these expressions: 'Can Christian Princes flatter themselves with the hopes of concluding a lasting peace, when the depriving the Holy See, and the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, of their undeniable rights, is made the foundation of it? Can they promise themselves long to enjoy what they violently seize against all manner of justice, and invade the indisputable right of an uninterrupted succession, which has been acknowledged for several ages by all the nations of Europe.' The present Pope BENNET XIII also, upon the conclusion of the Vienna alliance between the Emperor and Spain, wherein the disposal of the duchies of Parma and Tuscany are confirmed, sent a circular letter to his Nuncio's in the several courts of Europe, wherein he tells them, he could not delay acquainting them with his sorrow for those unjust conditions in the treaty. That he abhorred and disowned them, and solemnly protested against the same, and would leave no stone unturned to provide a remedy against them; concluding as follows: 'Venerable Brethren, We will apply ourselves to pious pray-

ers, which are powerful weapons with God, that the Lord would please to call his eyes upon his inheritance; and not suffer us to receive damage from those to whose protection he hath recommended the defence and support of the interests of the Holy Church.'

The Duke of Parma looked upon himself also to have had great injustice done by the disposal of his dominions by foreign powers, without consulting him, and protested against it: but I don't find that any of the parties to the Quadruple Alliance took any notice of the opposition that was made either by the Pope, or the Dukes of Tuscany or Parma. The misunderstanding however which has happened since between the allies of Vienna and Hanover may effect that for them, which all their own care and foresight could not, unless a speedy peace should reunite these powers again, and the Quadruple Alliance be made the foundation of another treaty.

Having omitted to describe the manner of balloting for a Doge of Venice, I shall take the opportunity of doing it here.

The obsequies of the deceased Doge are no sooner over, but all the nobility above 30 years of age meet in the Grand Council, where they elect five collectors, who are to correct the *Ducal Promissione*, i. e. the statutes, to the observation of which the Doge is to swear immediately after his election. And these Noblemen have a power to add or abstract whatever they shall deem requisite for the good of the State.

The Grand Council being afterwards assembled in the hall of St. MARK's palace, the door is shut, and the number of the members present being counted, they throw into a basin, or urn, an equal number of balls all white, except thirty which are gilt, and when they are well mixed, every gentleman takes out one: after which, the 30 who happen upon the gilt balls meet in a little room, where there are prepared 30 other balls, of which nine are gilt; those of the 30 which draw the nine gilt balls chuse 40 members, who are reduced to 12 by lot, and these 12 elect 25, the first chusing three, and the rest two a-piece; these are by lot reduced to nine, and those nine chuse 45, by naming five a-piece, who are again reduced by lot to eleven, and these chuse 41 members; who elect the Doge, if they are approved by the Grand Council; and if they be not, the same method must be repeated. And by this tedious way of balloting they prevent all possible corruption or influence in the choice of a Doge. When the 41 electors are approved by the Grand Council, they are shut up in the palace of St. MARK, and not suffered to stir out till they have elected a Doge, and there must be 25 of the number concur in the choice. When the suffrage is declared, the Doge elect is carried on mens shoulders from the church round the square of St. MARK in a machine, in which he is attended by two or three noblemen, his friends, and sometimes by the boy who drew the ball that determined his election; and being crowned by the Procurator Treasurer, he usually makes a speech to the people, after which he gives a ball; the streets are illuminated, and masquerades and other entertainments are continued for three nights successively; bread and wine being in the mean time distributed to the multitude.

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The manner of balloting in the Great Council at Venice.



Adria 12 miles from Venice.	Palestrina 10 from Tivoli, 28 from Rome.
Albano 14 from Rome, 8 from Fiescati, and 7 from Vellitri.	Parma 50 from Bologna, 60 from Genoa, 30 from Modena.
Alexandria 18 from Casal, 10 from Tortona, 40 from Turin.	Pavia 20 from Milan, 35 from Placentia.
Ancona 15 from Loreto, 20 from Senegallia.	Perusa Valley 4 from Pignerol.
Aveste 50 from Turin.	Perugia 30 from Orvieto.
Aquapendente 9 from Bolsena.	Pesaro 10 from Fano, 20 from Rimini.
Aquileia 50 from Venice.	Pignerol 16 from Turin.
Asti 25 from Turin.	Piperno 35 from Rome, 10 from Terracina.
Bergamo 30 from Brescia.	Pisa 42 from Florence, 16 from Leghorn.
Bolsena 16 from Viterbo, 8 from Montefiascone.	Pistoia 20 from Florence.
Bologna 58 from Florence, 30 from Ferrara, 150 from Loreto, 210 from Rome.	Placentia 20 from Cremona.
Brescia 60 from Milan, 40 from Verona.	Radicefani 42 from Viterbo 40 from Sienna.
Capua 16 from Naples.	Ravenna 50 from Ferrara.
Carignan 8 from Turin.	Reggio 15 from Modena, 15 from Parma.
Casal 30 from Turin.	Rimini 70 from Bologna, 30 from Ravenna, 25 from Urbino.
Civita Vecchia 30 from Rome.	Rome 210 from Bologna, 30 from Civita Vecchia, 152 from Florence, 150 from Loreto, 140 from Naples, 300 from Venice.
Comacchio 16 from Ravenna.	Ronciglione 25 from Rome, 17 from Montefiascone.
Como 28 from Milan.	Roveredo 30 from Verona, 11 from Trent.
Cortona 50 from Florence.	Rovigo 20 from Padua.
Crema 20 from Cremona.	Sabionetta 20 from Mantua.
Cremona 48 from Milan, 40 from Mantua.	Salerno 28 from Naples.
Chiufi 36 from Sienna.	Savona 30 from Genoa, 16 from Final.
Fano 8 from Pesaro, 15 from Senegallia.	Scarperia 7 from Florence.
Feltro 33 from Vicenza.	Senegallia 20 from Ancona.
Final 40 from Genoa.	Sermonietta 30 from Rome, 15 from Vellitri.
Ferrara 30 from Bologna, 50 from Mantua, 45 from Padua.	Sienna 35 from Florence, 60 from Leghorn.
Florence 58 from Bologna, 140 from Rome.	Spoletto 45 from Rome, 15 from Terni.
Fondi 10 from Terracina, 10 from Gaeta.	Suza 23 from Turin.
Fiescati 30 from Rome.	Terni 7 from Narni, 85 from Urbino.
Fuligno 12 from Spoleto.	Terracina 55 from Rome, 10 from Piperno.
Fusina 5 from Venice, 20 from Padua.	Tivoli 20 from Rome, 16 from Fiescati.
Gaeta 50 from Naples, 5 from Mola, 65 from Rome.	Todi 24 from Spoleto, 14 from Orvieto.
Garda 15 from Verona.	Tolentino 10 from Macerata.
Genoa 84 from Milan, 30 from Savona, 84 from Turin, 46 from Final.	Tortona 46 from Milan.
Gualtalla 8 from Sabionetta, 20 from Mantua.	Tuscanella 10 from Montefiascone.
Itri 6 from Fondi.	Trent 60 from Brescia, 60 from Mantua, 80 from Venice.
Ivrea 25 from Turin.	Treviso 15 from Venice.
Leghorn 120 from Genoa, 16 from Pisa.	Turin 84 from Genoa, 350 from Rome, 85 from Milan, 120 from Geneva, 250 from Venice.
Loreto 150 from Rome, 15 from Ancona, 15 from Fermo, 150 from Bologna.	Valenza 32 from Milan, 12 from Casal.
Lucca 24 from Massa, 10 from Pisa.	Udina 12 from Palma Nova.
Macerata 20 from Ancona.	Vellitri 20 from Rome, 9 from Fiescati.
Mantua 88 from Milan, 40 from Cremona, 42 from Modena.	Venice 80 from Ferrara, 300 from Rome, 350 from Turin, 170 from Milan, 80 from Mantua.
Massa 76 from Genoa, 29 from Pisa.	Vercell 40 from Turin, 15 from Casal, 45 from Milan.
Milan 85 from Turin, 250 from Rome, 75 from Parma.	Verona 25 from Mantua, 50 from Padua.
Mirandola 20 from Modena, 30 from Bologna.	Verue 20 from Turin, 15 from Casal.
Modena 40 from Mantua, 30 from Parma, 100 from Milan.	Vicenza 20 from Padua, 40 from Venice.
Montefiascone 20 from Civita Vecchia, 8 from Viterbo.	Vintimiglia 30 from Oneglia, 15 from Nice.
Monte Alcino 20 from Sienna.	Viterbo 40 from Rome, 8 from Montefiascone.
Monte Pulciano 27 from Sienna.	Vogliera 16 from Pavia.
Naples 140 from Rome, 16 from Capua.	Volaterra 30 from Sienna.
Narni 8 from Otricoli, 7 from Terni.	Urbino 120 from Rome, 20 from Fano, 34 from Rimini.
Nettuno 30 from Rome.	Yvrea, or Ivrea, 25 from Turin, 25 from Vercell.
Nice 40 from Oneglia, 60 from Pignerol.	
Novara 30 from Milan, 10 from Vercell.	
Noli 10 from Savona.	
Oneglia 60 from Genoa, 40 from Final.	
Orbitello 30 from Civita Vecchia.	
Orvieto 45 from Rome, 20 from Chiufi.	
Ostia 12 from Rome.	
Otricoli 8 from Narni.	
Padua 22 from Venice, 54 from Mantua.	

This alphabetical table will give the reader a general notion of the distances of the great towns in Italy from each other; and if he finds them differ two or three miles in twenty from other accounts, he must not complain for want of exactness, for scarce any two travellers come nearer: Some measure the distances in a direct line on the map, while others take in all the turnings and windings, &c.

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Rome, according to baron POLLNITZ, is still one of the finest cities in the world, though it has lost much of its ancient beauty and grandeur. Nothing is equal to its church, its fountains, and some of its palaces. He proceeds to give a particular description of them; but having dwelt pretty much on these particulars in the former edition of MODERN HISTORY, I shall only take notice of such things as were omitted there.

Tho' every thing in St. PETER's church, says the baron, is worthy of the particular observation of a curious traveller, I think nothing deserves it more than the noble pictures of Mosaic work, wherewith the altars are decorated; than which there can be nothing more complete; for it surpasses any thing that ever was done by the ancients. It is but a few years that the artists have arrived to the perfection we now discover in works of this kind. One of these pictures, which is just finished, represents the story of St. PETRONELLA, St. PETER's sister, so excellently designed, and so nicely coloured and polished, that nothing in the art of man can out-do it. One would swear 'twas a picture behind a glass; yet it consists only of little glass-squares, exactly cemented together by a certain gum that is extremely astringent. It is a piece of work of the more value, because it is proof against the injuries of weather, and nothing can damage it. They design to remove out of this church all the pictures painted in oil, which grow mouldy by time and moisture, and to put pictures of Mosaic work in their place. If this project, which is in a good forwardness, and carried on apace, be ever finished, St. PETER's church will be possessed of a treasure the more precious, because there will be none like it.

The baron proceeds to give an account of those unfortunate Princes, who are there called King and Queen of England (meaning the Pretender and his Wife.) Perhaps (says he) you will not dislike to know what they are doing, and on what foot they stand here. That unfortunate Prince, which is a title I think no body can envy him, lives a very melancholy life; and I question whether the pension which the Pope allows him, twelve thousand crowns, is enough to make him easy under his afflictions. He lodges in the palace of the marquis Monti, and has a great number of domesticks, but few in his service that are persons of quality. My lord DUNBAR is the chief man at his court, since Mr. HAYES, to whom the Pretender gave the title of my lord Inverness, retired to Avignon: this gentleman is intrusted with the education of the young Princes, who are stiled here the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, and as lovely children they both are, as one shall see.

The Pretender is complimented with the stile of Majesty by the Pope, and by all that have access to him. He never goes to an audience of the holy Father in publick, but always by the back-stairs; and the Pope not only gives him an arm chair, but all the honours are paid to him, that are due to a King who keeps incognito. When the Cardinals visit him he gives them the tabouret or little stool; but the Imperial Cardinals never go to see him; nor did they think fit to do it, even at the time when the Emperor seemed to be more embroiled with the King of Great Britain than ever, whereas the French Cardinals go to him every day, and are always with him, notwithstanding the strict

alliance between the King their master, and the King of Great Britain. When the eldest Prince, who is here stiled the Prince of Wales, goes to wait on the Pope, he is treated as the presumptive heir of a crown; he has a chair set for him with a back to it, and takes place of the Cardinals. As to the younger son, the pretended Duke of York, his rank is not yet settled, nor has he yet made a visit to the Pope.

The Pretender is of a middling stature, but a mere skeleton; and, if I may venture to say it, has nothing in his looks of an impostor. He is prodigiously like the pictures I have seen of the late King JAMES II. only his aspect is something more melancholy; but he is so far from it in his natural temper, that he is a lover of pleasures, and would indulge himself in gallantry, if he was not so strictly watched by the priests; for if the scandalous chronicle does not belie him, Mrs. HAYES, alias lady Inverness, had for a while the honour of obliging him. If one may guess at the heart by external appearances, he is sincerely attached to the religion which he professes, yet without being such a bigot as some will have him to be; for he causes his children to be educated by protestants, and every sunday a church of England minister preaches in English in the protestant chapel of his palace: he is extremely reserved at first to those with whom he is not acquainted, but it wears off by degrees; and when once he knows people, he is very courteous and civil to them. I have the honour to be often at his table, and I am bound to acknowledge his favours to me.

His table, which is commonly laid for a dozen guests, is served with what is grand and delicate. People are seated at his table without any distinction of rank, and he sits himself between the two Princes, his sons: he talks a great deal at his meals, but the tone of his voice is not the most agreeable: his conversation runs generally upon common topics, and falls very naturally upon his misfortunes. All this Prince's time is regularly divided; he rises early, devotes the morning to his business, hears mass before noon, when he goes to dinner, and after sitting an hour and an half, or two hours at table, takes a nap; and then, unless it be a saint's day, when he goes to vespers, he walks out for the air in some garden or other without Rome, where he exercises himself on horseback, or else diverts himself at mall with his sons and his gentlemen. In the evening he returns to his palace, and receives visits from the Cardinals; at ten o'clock he goes to supper, and at midnight to bed. During the carnival, he was almost every day at the opera, where his box being very large, he used to sup with the gentlemen and ladies of his court.

The baron, giving an account of the carnival at Rome, says, it lasted but one week, according to an established custom; and during all that time, from two o'clock in the afternoon till sunset, all the streets were full of masquers, some on foot, and some in open chaises: the former say a thousand silly things, and the latter throw flower in one another's eyes by handfuls, but the best on it is, that either by their clothes, or their equipage, every body is known. Besides, the pageantry of the Romans is always the same even in masquerades; they dress up their domesticks like harlequins, and make them follow them with their faces bare. They thus take the air, gravely, in open chariots, made like



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like gondola's. Their horses are adorned with plumes of feathers, and loaded with little bells, like ours in the sled races. In the evening, the coaches range themselves in two rows in the street del Corso; which is, besides, pretty narrow; and there they see the race of barbs, which are five or six horses, that are suffered to run loose without a rider, from the gate del Popoli, to a place beyond the Venetian palace. The poor beasts gallop through the shouts and cries of the populace, and are often crippled by striking themselves against the coaches. The first of these horses that reaches the goal wins a prize for his master, which generally consists of a piece of cloth of gold; and at sunset every body retires. Mean time, a Roman will tell you, that the carnival of Rome is the finest in the world.

But the thing of which they brag most, and which they believe is no where to be paralleled for magnificence, is their balls, of which you shall now be judge. Several gentlemen having clubbed this winter for the hire of the palace Barberini, near the Mount of Piety, and caused it to be furnished by the Jew Brokers, when the day was fixed for the ball they invited all the ladies; and as to the gentlemen, they had the liberty of appearing there masked, provided they made themselves known at the door: all the rooms were small, and but poorly lighted: there were several pieces of dancing to the musick of five or six violins: the room designed for the principal nobility was encompassed with forms, and the place for the dancers was an oval space railed in. A gentleman of the company, that gave the ball, stood at the entrance of the oval: they gave him the title of master of the hall, and it was he that called out the dancers. All the ladies were masked at this ball, which was called a feast, but I know not why; for there were glasses, indeed, but there was nothing to eat or drink. The ladies were all gay, and some of them in court dresses. I have been twice at these pretended entertainments, but was so tired, and in such danger of being pressed to death, that I do not care to go again; for which reason, the Romans say I have not an elegant taste.

Neither am I very well reconciled to their plays, of which, indeed, here are none all the year, except during the carnival; but then we had two opera-theatres, and four or five for comedy. Of all these theatres there is but one that is good for any thing, and that is the ladies theatre, commonly called the theatre of Aliberti, because it was built by order of one count ALIBERTI. The room is excessive large, so that the voices are lost in it. It has seven rows of boxes, so low and little, that it makes the room look like a hen-roost; the pit will hold nine hundred persons with ease: the stage is spacious, very high, and finely decorated; but they do not shift the scenes with that dexterity as they do at our play-houses; yet when the whole is put together, the place is not to be despised: the habits of the three principal actors are magnificent, but those of the rest are horrible. Their voices are good, and so are their instruments, for the most part; but their dances are too bad to behold, and you cannot imagine any thing more hideous: the women are in the disguise of men, out of a ridiculous scruple, if I may venture to call it so, which they have here, that women should

not be seen at the theatres. This is the reason that the opera's at Rome are vastly inferior to the other opera's of Italy. There is not, perhaps, a more ridiculous sight than to see these creatures, who are but half men, play the parts of women; yet though they have neither air nor gracefulness, they are applauded here as much as the best actresses are elsewhere. Though I am passionately fond of the Italian musick, yet I own to you, that I am disgusted with their opera's, when I see those eunuchs play the part of a ROLAND, a HERCULES, or some such hero; and I have not patience to see no more than half a dozen actors, no machines, and no dances, except in the interludes. In my opinion such an opera rather deserves the name of a concert. Good voices here are very scarce, and there are actually but five or six men, and three women, that have the reputation of singing well. The case is the very same with the composers; they have just lost one of the ablest men of that class, viz. LEONARD VINCI, who, they say, was poisoned at Naples; but there are still remaining Mr. HASS, commonly called the Saxon, and signior PURPORA, of whom the former is a German, who married the famous signora FAUSTINA.

While I am giving you an account of the pleasures of Rome, I ought not to omit the inundations of the square Navona, which are performed on the four sundays in the month of August. Two thirds of the square being then laid under water, it forms a lake, in which the coaches make a ring. The adjacent windows are full of spectators, and the fronts of the houses are crowded by the populace, who make hideous shouts and outcries, when a coach happens to take in a little water, or when one overturns, which sometimes is the case. The oddest thing of all, to my mind, is, that while the people were intent upon seeing the coaches pass, and paying a thousand pranks, a jesuit, mounted upon a rail, at the other end of the square, bawled out in vain for an audience of penitents; and tho' very few, if any body heard him, yet he went on haranguing; and it was not his fault, that every body did not forsake all to hear him. About twenty paces from the preacher was a mountebank, who by the comical jests, and actions of his merry-andrew, drew a much greater audience to him than the jesuit had.

Are not these very enchanting pleasures? Yet a Roman, who never passed the Ponte Mole, as there are a great many who have not, will tell you, there is none like those of Rome. But I affirm, that the Romans do not know what diversion is; for in those parties of pleasure, where reigns the greatest freedom, there is always an air of constraint, which one does not see elsewhere: nor does a free deportment become them; insomuch, that when they assume such a carriage, they naturally forget politeness; which, besides, is not what they are much used to; for they know how to be respectful much more than to be polite. The way to be acquainted with them thoroughly, is to visit them at their country-seats, where they are more frank, less ceremonious, and more sociable, and where they live much better than they do at Rome; at least they feed better: and I will even venture to say, that they there spend high, but they get not the credit by such living which

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they ought, because they do not set it off to the best advantage; and if I am not too much prejudiced, it seems to me that they grudge the expence. The most sumptuous article of their repasts is deserts. They have excellent cooks and butlers, they pretend; but as for us, Ultramontains, we are not quite so well used to their method of cookery.

Every nation in Europe where the Roman catholick religion is professed, have their hospitals for pilgrims in this city, but that of the Trinity receives all indifferently; inasmuch, that it had lodged and fed at one time fifteen thousand persons, besides their ordinary quota.

The university and publick schools, here called the Sapienza, were founded by Pope EUGENIUS IV. enlarged and beautified by URBAN VIII. and ALEXANDER VII. The structure is magnificent, and the schools of all the faculties extremely commodious; and there are no less than forty professors, who have good salaries; but they have very little business since the erecting the Jesuits colleges, who seem to have engrossed the education of youth here, and in most Roman catholick countries.

The palaces in Rome are very numerous, the nobility of Italy chusing to reside most part of the year in towns: and architecture is one of their favourite amusements, and they are furnished with greater variety of rich materials from the ruins of the old city, and their own quarries, than are to be met with elsewhere.

The chief of the Pope's palaces are the Vatican, Monte Cavallo, and the Capitol. As to the palaces of the nobility, those of Farnese, Borghese, Colonna, Palavicini, and Barberini, are most admired; but we are not to imagine that the whole town consists of palaces: even at the grand entrance of the gate del Popoli, there are as mean buildings on the right and left, as are to be seen in any town whatever, while those in the front are surprizingly magnificent.

The Pope, considered as a temporal Prince, is one of the most absolute monarchs in Europe: he holds, indeed, a consistory of cardinals frequently, who are his council in ecclesiastical affairs, but are not permitted to intermeddle in the civil government. The Pope has of late years been very cautious in electing persons of high birth, who are related to sovereign princes, on account of the disturbances that have been occasioned sometimes by their too powerful interests; and if such persons do obtain a cardinal's cap, they seldom are advanced to the papal chair, lest they should endeavour to fix it in their families. And the Popes having been Italians for several centuries, take care that there never want a great majority of the natives of Italy in that body, to strengthen their interest against foreigners, who being advanced to the papal see, would naturally be partial to their respective countries, and, perhaps, give up the prerogatives of the church in favour of their natural Sovereigns. Such cardinals as have not a competent subsistence of their own, which seldom happens, are allowed, it is said, a stipend of seven thousand Roman crowns per annum, out of the apostolick chamber.

The Pope's chief minister is the cardinal patron, usually one of the nephews, or a nearer relation, to whom he gives an opportunity of amassing prodigious sums, if the pontificate be of a long duration; and these nephews have been the founders of some of the greatest families in

Italy. The second minister is the Pope's vicar, who is always a cardinal, and has the jurisdiction of the secular and regular clergy, lay communities, hospitals, and Jews; and has a lieutenant for civil, and another for criminal affairs, and a bishop for his vicegerent in matters belonging to his episcopal function.

Baron POLLNITZ, giving a character of Rome, and its modern inhabitants, says, I cannot conceive what motives, except devotion or curiosity, can bring any man to Rome, than which there is hardly a more melancholy city in the world: yet I know some foreigners, and particularly certain Englishmen, who are fond of Rome to a degree of enthusiasm.

The people here rise late and go to bed late: the first thing which they do, is to drink chocolate; then they hear mass in their domestick chapel, of which almost every house has one: they afterwards make some visits, return home at dinner-time, undress, and dine frugally with their families. After their meal they get between the sheets, and sleep for an hour or two, and after that loiter away as much in doing nothing at all; but then they dress, and go to the ring, which is without the gate del Popoli; from thence to the Ponte Mole: there's a walk which is very forcibly paved, between two walls and some pitiful houses; and there is no air, but dust enough to choke one. When the sun is upon its decline, the beau monde repair to the square, or place d'Espagne, where I think I have already told you how they amuse themselves: from the square they go and make their visits of ceremony: at two o'clock at night, which in the long summer days is about ten with us, they fall into assemblies. These may be divided into three classes: the great companies, for gaming; the private companies, where they also play; and the societies, in which they only converse.

They play at such games as we Ultramontains know no more of than magick, viz. such as tarot, pazzica, premiere and milchiades. As to the last of these, I take it to be like languages, which it is difficult to be master of, unless people begin to learn them when they are young. It would take up a man's whole life to learn to know the cards, whereof at one game they play with 99, which are painted too with very extraordinary figures, of popes, devils, &c. and it often happens that the devil takes up the pope. During the conclave they play at pharo; but the Pope has prohibited all games of hazard.

The private assemblies differ only from the publick ones, in that they have not so much company. There is generally the mistress of the house, and a dozen petits-colets, who really are the petit-maitres of this place, supposing them to be Italians; for you are not to imagine that these gentlemen will suffer a poor Ultramontain abbé to put in a word, because they think he has neither sense nor merit. As this is a country of priests, you shall see ten sparks of the band to one of the sword. It is true, that the abbé wears the same habit as the gentlemen of the gown, and as all others do, who are not able to lay out much money in clothes; so that when you see a petit-colet come out of any suspicious place, you must beware of mistakes; for they are not always priests, nor even clergymen.

A gentleman that lives beyond the mountains will here be apt to forget the good manners he has contracted in France, or elsewhere; the generality



nerality of the Romans know nothing more than ceremony, because they are ignorant of good manners; and there is scarce one of them in a thousand that has the air of a man of quality. To be judge of this, one must see them at table, and in what a very slovenly manner they behave at their meals, which is owing to their eating generally alone; for they then loll so much upon the table, that when they dine in company they are at a loss what to do. They are not only nasty in their manner of eating, but in their clothes; for I believe there is not above one out of thirty that puts on fresh linnen every day.

The Italians are in general accused of being jealous; but I really think it wrong, for there is no nation where the ladies have more freedom than here. It is possible, that some of the leaven of the ancient jealousy may still remain among the citizens; but as to the people of quality, I do not think them any more liable to that imputation than our people are; I wish I could say as much in their vindication as to their avarice; but the fact is too well known, and it is the original sin of almost all the Italians, particularly of the Romans, from the highest to the lowest; and it is undoubtedly this avaricious temper, which makes them so sober as they are; for when they are at other folks tables they are intemperate enough; yet I never saw the better sort drunk, and the common people but very seldom. They are accused also of being revengeful, which may be true enough; but really they are cried out against upon that score much more than they deserve; for I have known some that have received affronts, so good-natured as to forget them. It is true, that the populace are very apt to make use of the stileto; but this is owing to the too great indulgence of the magistrate. A man convicted of murder for the first time, is condemned to the galleys; though in some cases indeed, he is only banished from the city, and the ecclesiastical state, and then, after two or three years absence, he pays fifty crowns, and returns to Rome. They who have committed a murder and are not apprehended, generally compound the matter with the government, by paying a certain sum of money. If justice were no stricter in our part of the world, and if our churches were sanctuaries, as they are here, we should have more crimes perhaps committed among us than there are at Rome, where, when all is said and done, we don't hear of robberies; nor of murders committed for the sake of robberies; and though there are no lanthorns, nor watchmen, nor patrols here in the night, I should make no scruple to go from one end of the city to the other with my purse in my hand. What I should be most afraid of, would be the being assassinated by mistake; but even murders of this kind are much oftner committed among the dregs of the people, than among persons of condition; for since I have been here, I have not heard of such an accident to any person of note.

The Campania of Rome is under the immediate government of the Pope; the other provinces of the ecclesiastical state, are governed by legates, or vice-legates; besides which, there is a commander in chief of the forces in every province, and every city hath its governor deputed by the Pope; but as to the podestats or judges, and other interior officers, they are elected by the inhabitants. The great oppression complained of

in the Pope's territories, is his ingrossing all the corn in the country, obliging the owners and occupiers of lands to sell his agents their corn at a very low rate, and retailing it out again at double the price; insomuch that some gentlemen chuse to let their lands lie uncultivated, rather than manure them, the charges of ploughing and sowing exceeding the profits they make. But it can hardly be supposed, that this is generally the case; for if the people were discouraged in this manner from ploughing their grounds, the Sovereign must lose the duty arising by corn, which is one of the best branches of his revenue: neither does he hold up the price of grain so very high, as some suggest, when he retails it out; for travellers all agree, that bread corn is very reasonable at Rome; and tho' there have been some oppressors among the Roman Pontiffs, there have been others, who have distributed great quantities of grain to the poor gratis. So that to say with some, that the government is mild, and with others, it is oppressive, is ridiculous: it is by all allowed to be despotical, and varies according to the disposition and temper of the Pontiff who happens to be upon the throne. Only thus much is observed in general, that there is more liberty allowed at Rome to those of a different communion, than in any other Roman catholic city whatever. As to the Roman villa's:

Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, said to be built by the Greeks, is situated on the brow of a hill, near the river Anio or Teverone, about twenty miles to the eastward of Rome. The hill is covered with olive-trees for five or six miles together, and adorned with beautiful villa's, or palaces: from hence there is a glorious prospect over the Campania, as far as Rome itself. In the time of the ancient Romans, it was esteemed one of the most healthful, as well as pleasant situations in Italy; on which account they had their summer retirements here. HORACE was so well pleased with the situation, that he wished it might be the retreat of his old age. The Teverone forms a cascade, or rather cataraet, near this town, falling from a rock, in one of the cavities whereof is said to be the grotto of LEUCOTHEA, the Tiburtin sibyl, from whence she uttered her oracles. Here are also the ruins of an ancient round building, surrounded with marble pillars, supposed to be the temple of HERCULES SAXANUS. One of the greatest modern curiosities, is the palace belonging to the family of ESTE, or Modena, admired for its architecture, sculpture, paintings, gardens, and water-works.

Tivoli is now reduced to a very little town, surrounded with an ordinary wall; but is still the see of a bishop. Not far from it is the rivulet of Salforata, formerly Albula, from whose waters there arises a sulphureous stench, which may be smelt at a good distance. The little lake from whence this river issues, is one of the greatest natural curiosities about Rome: it lies in the very bottom of the Campania, and is the drain of these parts; the sides are covered with a kind of stony crust, and in it are several floating islands, twenty or thirty yards over, supposed to be formed originally by parcels of rarified sulphureous earth, cast up by the water, which, sticking to rushes and herbs, have been augmented by degrees to this bigness. This lake is unfathomable, and yet not above a mile in compass at present: but Mr. ANDERSON supposes the banks have grown over it in the same manner the islands have been formed in it; and that in time the whole surface will be crusted

Villa's  
Tivoli.



crusted over, as the islands are enlarged, and the banks close in upon them; for all round the lake, where the ground was dry, they discovered it to be hollow by the trampling of the horses' feet. Near Tivoli also are the stone quarries, from whence they fetch that stone used in their buildings at Rome, called Tiburtine-stone, of which great part of St. PETER'S is built, not comparable to Portland-stone, of which the churches in London are built.

As to the great outcry in our part of the world, against the luxury of the cardinals, says the Baron, I really think it unjust; for I cannot see wherein it consists. Their household is not over and above numerous. Their domesticks are generally a *maitre de chambre*, an officer, who, they say, is tantamount to the great chamberlain of our electors; a cup-bearer, a train-bearer, one or two gentlemen, two or three priests, as many valets de chambre, eight or ten lackeys, three coachmen, eight horses, and three coaches. Their furniture is red damask, very plain. They keep so frugal a table, that they commonly allow their cook but one or two testoons a day to defray the expence of it, exclusive of the wine, bread, and fruit; for they always eat alone. None but the cardinal ministers keep an open table at any time.

The Princes of Italy every where give them the upper-hand; and a cardinal takes so much state upon himself, that he refuses the precedence in his own house to a Sovereign Prince of Italy. Our Princes, on the other side of the mountains, are, perhaps, as staunch Catholics, and as much devoted to the holy see as the Italian Princes are; yet they don't pay this homage to the cardinals.

When one cardinal makes a visit to another, the latter receives the visitant at the coach-door, and conducts him into the chamber of audience, where they both place themselves in arm-chairs, under a canopy; and after having been a few minutes by themselves, the gentlemen of the cardinal that receives the visit bring them ice, chocolate and sweetmeats. When the stranger goes away, the other waits on him to the coach, lends him a hand to put him into it, and even shuts the coach-door. They give one another the title of eminency; but in all their interviews there is a great air of constraint.

The complete number of cardinals is seventy. They are the Pope's counsellors in ordinary, and have the right of electing him. They are distinguished into three orders, viz. six cardinal bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons. Their number was fixed by Pope SIXTUS V. The first cardinal bishop is stiled dean of the sacred college. This dean, the first cardinal priest, and the first cardinal deacon, are stiled chiefs of the order; and, as such, they have the prerogative of giving audience to ambassadors, and to the magistrates of the ecclesiastical state, during the vacancy of the holy see. INNOCENT IV. while the council was held at Lyons, made a rule, that the cardinal's hat should be red, to denote, that they were always ready to shed their blood for the liberties of the church. BONIFACE VIII. ordered, that they should wear scarlet robes. PAUL III. required, that their bonnets should be of the same colour. And URBAN VIII. granted them the title of eminency, which before that was only given to the ecclesiastical Electors of the empire, and to the Grand Master of Malta. The council of Trent owned it to be the right of all nations to put in for the dignity of cardinal;

but those who push for it with the greatest success, are the kindred of the reigning Pope, the nuncios in Germany, France, and Spain, the auditors of the rota, the clerks of the chamber, and, in fine, many of the Pope's great officers.

The Pope claims a power of deposing cardinals, which they on the other hand deny he hath; and certain it is, that cardinal Coscia, who so richly deserved it, was not degraded, though a sentence was passed upon him, and ratified, whereby he was declared excommunicate, and out of a possibility of being absolved, but by the Pope, even in articulo mortis; he is also to be confined in a fortress, deprived of the power of speaking or voting, &c. But as omnia venalia Rome, even more now than in JACURTHA'S time, the cardinal DEL GIUDICI, who is a friend of his eminency COSCIA gave him to understand, that the Pope was resolved to treat him as a grand vizir in disgrace; that he must absolutely refund, and that all his sins should be blotted out. Consequently his eminency submitted to implore his Highness's clemency; on condition of paying well for it; and, in fine, his pardon has been taxed at thirty thousand ducats. He has clamoured against it not a little; but the holy father would not bate an ace of it, and the cardinal was forced to acquiesce: however, as he always watches for the death of the Pope, he desired to pay it at several terms; and, upon depositing ten thousand crowns down, he immediately received absolution, his guards were taken off, and he had liberty granted him to walk about in the castle of St. Angelo, and to converse there with his brother, the bishop of Targa. He pleads poverty, and shuffles off his payment from one time to another, in constant expectation that the gout will rise in the Pope's stomach, and take him out of the way. At length, in 1734, he paid down ten thousand crowns more. But a collector of taxes, from whom he formerly received a great present, to procure him an acquittance from the chamber, to which he owed seventy thousand crowns, died lately insolvent, and without making good the fraud; and as CÆSAR, they say, loses nothing, the chamber comes upon cardinal COSCIA, who is condemned to pay this deficiency too; and the Pope won't hear any talk of compounding it.

There are in Rome certain persons stiled Roman Princes, who for the most part are only beholden for this princely dignity, to the happiness of their families, in having one of them a Pope; for many of them are scarce so much as gentlemen. They are complimented with the stile of excellency; but this title extends only to the first-born of the family. They require a vast deal of homage from their domesticks; and all affect to have canopies and chambers of audience in their palaces. They expect that a gentleman should come to their houses without sending word beforehand, and wait in their antichamber till they are pleased to see him. You will think that they must be very necessitous gentlemen, who will submit to this rule, and that their excellencies antichambers are only frequented by their own domesticks. When they receive visits from one another in ceremony, they seat themselves under a canopy, like the cardinals; then they go abroad in state, and have two coaches to follow their body-coach, in which his excellency sits forward by himself, and his gentlemen ride backward; and at the boots of the coach a footman carries an umbrella



la before them, as is done before the cardinals, which is a signal of respect, that requires all coaches, except those of the cardinals or priests, to give them the way, and even to stop while they pass by.

The princesses formerly did not use to give the right-hand to the ladies of quality, at their own houses; but since the honours annexed to nepotism have been abolished, they have been obliged to humble themselves, and to treat the ladies as their equals; yet for all this, they correspond together very little. Heretofore too, the Pope's nieces did not give precedence to any body, not even to the princesses; and all ladies in general were obliged to be in a full dress when they paid them a visit; nor did the nieces go to any body's house, but enjoyed all the honours of sovereigns. But all this is over now; for the nieces of the present Pope not only give the right-hand to ladies of the lowest rank, but also return their visits.

The thing which puffs up this gentry to such a degree, is, that gentlemen of good families make no scruple to wait on them; the poverty among the nobility being very great, and there being but a very indifferent chance for gentlemen of the sword, because the greatest part of the Roman gentry are so much degenerated from their ancestors, that they have no taste for arms, while their fondness for Rome, and the notion they have, that there is not such a delightful place in the world, hinders them from going abroad, and puts them under a necessity of being slaves to people who are very often inferiors in birth.

Nor do the Roman princes distinguish themselves either by their air, or their manner of living. They have a great number of footmen indeed, some no less than two dozen; but they live very meanly; so that not one of them keeps an open table, or has any thing to treat with but ice, and at most a dish of chocolate. The evening is the time to converse with them; for as soon as the Angelus has sounded, all ceremonies at Rome are over; the abbots and priests go in the lay habit to the cardinals, and all compliments at meeting are set aside.

The princesses have the privilege of being lighted to the publick spectacles by eight flambeaux of white wax; but I have known some of them, who, for saving their wax, never burnt any till they came within four or five hundred paces of the theatre, when they stopped to give their lacqueys time to light their flambeaux in order that they might arrive at the opera in pomp; and when they went out they stopped at the very same place for their lacqueys to put out their flambeaux, from which place all the light the princesses had to go home by, was no more than a couple of little dark lanterns, which are here made use of commonly. This way of going with eight flambeaux, puts me in mind of a certain English dutchess, who having travelled in that manner at Rome, would fain have introduced the fashion at Paris too; but she was forbid to make that parade there, because the first two or three times that she went abroad with so much splendor, every body fell on their knees, and thought the holy sacrament was carrying to some sick person.

Most of the ladies, as well as princesses, have very magnificent coaches, but seldom make use of them. The marquiss SUDARINI, who has lately matched his son, has made his daughter-in-law a present of a coach, for which he gave seven thousand Roman crowns, and there are many

others that cost more money; but these coaches are terrible machines, and it is as much as a pair of horses can do to drag them along. Besides, these stately portable houses have an attendance on them which is by no means suitable; they are generally accompanied by half a score or a dozen shabby footmen, who, with the swords that they wear, look more like catchpoles than footmen; their liveries in general are scare-crows, and I do not think that there are any in the world more fantastical. The lacqueys are for the most part old, dirty, unshapeable fellows, because when once a poor wretch has a livery put upon his back, he never throws it off, and does not so much as attain the honour of being a valet de chambre: when he is past his service his master jubilees him, that is to say, puts him upon half-pay, and he serves no longer. The appearance, or neatness of a servant, are things that are not regarded here, and provided they have but the number, what matters it, say they, how they look?

This humour of keeping so many lacqueys, has infected even the citizens; they who are in such mean circumstances, that they cannot afford to maintain them the whole year round, covenant with them only for sundays and saints days. Thus a journeyman shoemaker, or a chimney-sweeper, who has but that very day put a scrub livery on his back, and that often borrowed of a tallyman, shall walk gravely before young master or pretty miss to and from church, with his greasy hair turned up behind his ears, and a long sword by his side. For it would be reckoned indecent here, to see a woman, or a miss, go abroad alone, and the most abandoned prostitutes are always attended with a matron.

They have but two sorts of punishments at Rome, viz. the strappa corda, and the gibbet. The first, tho' it is not mortal, seems to my mind more terrible than death itself: the malefactor being tied with his two hands together to a rope, by which he is hoisted fifteen or sixteen feet from the ground, and then let fall on a sudden, so that he generally becomes a cripple for life. When a man is to be hanged they talk of it a week before-hand, as if it was the finest holy-day in the world. The night before the execution, several prelates, princes, and others of quality, admitted into the confraternity of comforters, repair at midnight to the prison. When they come near the dungeon they make a great noise, and with a loud voice, ask the gaoler, Where is such a one? naming the criminal that is to be condemned. Here he is, says the man, loud enough to be heard by the criminal. Open the doors to us, say the comforters; he is in a bad state there, we will remove him to a place where he shall be better. The turnkey opens the dungeon, and lets in the comforters, who exhort the criminal to go along with them; and being guarded by a company of the Sbirri, they put him in the middle, and carry him thro' several galleries and turnings towards the door of a chapel, before which is hung a piece of black cloth. Just as the criminal is preparing to enter it, the fiscal, calling him by his name, says to him, You—there is your sentence; and at the same time throws him a paper, in which the sentence is written. The criminal reads it, or else one of the comforters does that office for him: that very moment the Sbirri withdraw, and the comforters remain alone with the criminal: then the cloth hung before



before the chapel door is lifted up, and the patient is led to the altar at the end of it, with a crucifix upon it, in the middle of six lighted wax candles; where the question is put to him, If he is willing to confess? If he says Yes, as very few Italians die willingly without confession, a confessor is allotted him, who gives him the best advice he can.

After the criminal has confessed, he receives the sacraments, and the comforters continue with him till the next day. At ten o'clock, which is the hour of execution, he is conveyed in a cart to the gallows, to which he rides backwards, attended by two priests, and two comforters: when they are come to the fatal place, they set him down out of the cart before a chapel to say his prayers, and then they make him walk backwards to the foot of the ladder, which he also mounts with his back to it; when the hangman, who is at the top of it, fastens the rope about his neck, and then leans with all his weight upon his shoulders to put him out of his pain. After he is expired, masses are said in all the churches, and even in the Pope's chapel, for the repose of his soul; and for this end a collection is made, to which the poorest people contribute something: at length, after he has hung four or five hours, he is buried like another man.

I shall conclude, says the baron, with a remark I have made upon the Romans in particular, and the Italians in general; I mean as to the reciprocal hatred of the inhabitants of the different states of Italy. I cannot imagine that they should be so blind as not to see the prejudice it does them; for, in short, it is not barely the hatred of one province to another, but it diffuses its poison to the towns that are subject to one and the same sovereign. These people do not consider, that they form one and the same nation; and that if they did but unite together, they would be both rich and powerful; but being jealous of one another, they only seek to ruin each other, and by that means deprive themselves of the most solid support of their liberty.

The former edition of the MODERN HISTORY of Italy, left Pope BENEDICT XIII. in the chair, exceeding weak and infirm: however, the pious Pontiff could not be persuaded by his physicians, to omit his accustomed devotions; and in the month of October 1729, as he was celebrating mass, and going to drink out of the chalice, his hands shook to that degree, that he spilt all the wine and water that was in it upon his vestment and the ground, at which the Pontiff was in a great consternation, and it was thought proper to burn the garment, to plain the foot of the altar, and burn the shavings.

His favourite cardinal COSCIA, having been accused about the same time of intolerable extortion and oppression, of which his Holiness would never believe him guilty; to secure his eminence against future enquiries, he signed an instrument of indemnity, importing, that this cardinal should never be made accountable for his administration, or for any money that passed through his hands, by any future proceedings against him; and that whatever he acquired, his Holiness made him a free gift of it.

But the cardinal soon after lost his patron and protector; the Pope was taken ill of a fever on the 14th of February 1729-30, and died on the 21st of the same month, being then fourscore

years of age, and some few days more; for he was born on the second of February 1650. He was the eldest son of Don FERDINAND ORSINI, or URSINI, Duke of Gravina, and was made cardinal by Pope CLEMENT X. on the 22d of February 1672. He was the oldest cardinal of the college when he was elected Pope, on the 29th of May 1724, and then took the name of BENEDICT XIII.

The Pope was no sooner dead, but cardinal ALBANI, chamberlain of the holy see, caused the effects of cardinal COSCIA to be seized, and the principal agents of his extortions to be imprisoned; particularly his steward, and the farmer of the revenues arising by fish, who were in great danger of being pulled in pieces by the mob, as well as the cardinal himself; but he had the good fortune to save himself by a timely retreat: however, the cardinals assembling soon after, for the election of a new Pope, cardinal COSCIA found means privately to get into the conclave, where he made loud complaints of the seizing his effects, but could get none of them restored.

After a conclave of four months, the choice fell upon cardinal LAURENCE CORSINI, who was declared duly elected on the 12th of July 1730, taking upon him the name of CLEMENT XII. He was born at Florence April 7, 1652, and consequently within two years of fourscore at the time of his election, being of the noble family of the CORSINI's in Tuscany.

I proceed now to give some account of the wars that happened in Italy, during the pontificate of CLEMENT XII. which may be in a great measure ascribed to the treaty concluded at Seville, between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1729, to which France and the States General also became parties; for by this treaty, it was agreed, that the contracting parties should introduce six thousand Spaniards into the dutchy of Tuscany, to secure the succession of Don CARLOS, Prince of Spain, to that dutchy, after the death of the then reigning Duke: which the Emperor appeared extremely averse to, and ordered great bodies of his troops to march into Italy, in the year 1730, to oppose the Spaniards and their confederates, if they should attempt to put that article of the treaty in execution, which prevented the transporting the Spaniards to Italy that year: but the Emperor, finding that they would be assisted by the fleet and land forces of Great Britain the following year, if he did not come into the measures prescribed by the treaty of Seville, he consented, at length, very unwillingly, that if Great Britain, and her allies, would guarantee his hereditary dominions to himself, and his heirs female, he would submit to the introduction of six thousand Spaniards into Tuscany; and they were accordingly conveyed to Italy in the year 1731, by the united fleets of Great Britain and Spain; and took possession of the dutchy of Tuscany; which proved, as the Emperor expected, the ruin of his affairs on that side; for the Queen of Spain, whose ambition, probably, will never be satisfied, till she sees her son, Don CARLOS, sovereign of all the Spanish territories in Italy, having thus got footing there, entered into a confederacy with the King of France, to drive the Emperor out of all the Italian provinces which formerly belonged to the crown of Spain, and prevailed on the King of Sardinia



to come into this scheme, contrary to his most solemn treaties and engagements with the Emperor; Spain offering to augment his dominions with the duchy of Milan, or the greatest part of it. The grand motive which prevailed on France to come into this confederacy, was the weakening the Emperor, whom she ever looked upon as her most formidable rival in power. The confederates laid hold of the slightest pretence imaginable for putting their designs in execution; namely, the Emperor's making interest to get the Elector of Saxony advanced to the throne of Poland: and observing, that his Imperial Majesty, relying on the guarantee of the maritime powers, for the security of his Italian territories, had withdrawn most of his troops from Italy; in this favourable juncture, they united their forces that were in garrison in Tuscany, with those of the King of Sardinia, and invaded Milan the latter end of the year 1733, and being supported by another body of troops from France, under the command of marshal VILLARS, reduced almost all that duchy within the space of a few months; while another army, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, was ordered to pass the Rhine, and invade the frontiers of Germany, as has been related already.

The following year, the Spaniards having transported another army of twenty thousand men to Italy, Don CARLOS invaded the kingdom of Naples; and being arrived at Averla, three leagues from the city of Naples, on the ninth of April 1734, deputies came from thence, and made their submission to this Prince, delivering him the keys of the city. While the King remained in the neighbourhood of Naples, the count de Montemar, the Spanish general, was ordered to pursue the Imperialists; who, to the number of six or seven thousand men, commanded by general VISCONTI, retired to a camp of difficult access near the town of Bitonto, where they were attacked on the 25th of May by the Spanish army, which were three times their number, and totally defeated; for which victory, Don CARLOS caused Te Deum to be sung in the cathedral of Naples, and created count de Montemar duke of Bitonto, being the place where he gained that memorable victory, which rendered Don CARLOS master of that kingdom.

After this victory the Spaniards laid siege to Gaeta, which surrendered on the fifth of August, and then made preparations for the invasion of Sicily, and landed twenty thousand men there, under the command of the duke of Bitonto, in the beginning of September 1734, whereupon the whole island revolted to them, except the citadel of Messina, and the fortresses of Syracuse and Trepani. The Spaniards afterwards laying siege to the citadel of Messina, that fortress surrendered on the 22d of February 1734-5, on the taking whereof, the Infante Don CARLOS, now stiled King of Naples and Sicily, embarked for that island, where he landed on the ninth of March; and, on the second of June, the town of Syracuse surrendered, and immediately after the fortrefs of Trepani, which had been blocked up ever since the Spaniards landed in the island: and now the Spaniards, being entire masters of Sicily, Don CARLOS made a triumphant entry into the capital city of Palermo, on the thirtieth of June 1734, and

on the third of July following was crowned King.

The town of Capua having been closely blocked up ever since the arrival of the Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples, surrendered on the 21st of November 1734; and soon after the duke of Bitonto reduced Orbitello, and Porto Ercole, and the rest of the fortresses the Imperialists were possessed of on the coast of Tuscany: after which, he detached part of his army to the assistance of the confederates in Lombardy; whereupon the Emperor was obliged to abandon all the places he was possessed of in Italy, except the city of Mantua, as has been related already; and the following year 1735, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Emperor on one side, and the Spaniards and their confederates on the other; whereby the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were confirmed to Don CARLOS; and on the other hand, Milan and Mantua (except some few places assigned to the King of Sardinia) were yielded to the Emperor, and Tuscany to the Duke of Lorraine (after the death of the then Duke) as has been related already in the history of Germany.

But to give a more particular account of the late war in the north of Italy; although the Emperor was surprised at the beginning of the war, and lost most of the towns in Milan within the space of a few months, for want of garisons to defend them: he afterwards reinforced his army in the Mantuan, and disputed the ground by inches with the French and their confederates, maintaining the remainder of his Italian territories with great obstinacy, till the confederates were joined by the victorious army from Naples; and then the Imperialists, finding it impossible to resist the united power of the confederates, retired out of Italy, as has been said, in the year 1735.

During this war, the most considerable actions were, first, that of Parma, of which we received the following account from Mantua, viz. On the 27th of June 1734, count MERCI passed the Parma with his army: the same day he received advice, that the marshal DE COIGNY had likewise ordered his army to march. The 29th, count MERCI advanced towards the village of Croceta: he found that the enemy had already begun to intrench themselves under the walls of Parma, and that they had possessed themselves of two castles. That general, at the head of five companies of grenadiers, supported by five or six battalions, attacked the enemy about eleven o'clock with so much vigour, that he took one of the castles, and six pieces of cannon, which he immediately turned upon the French; but he being unfortunately killed soon after with a cannon ball, and his troops not being timely supported, the enemy obliged them to abandon the castle: the fight continued, nevertheless, with a great deal of vigour till night, without any considerable advantage on either side. The Prince of Wirtemberg, who took upon him the command of the army, as soon as he heard that count MERCI was killed, behaved very gallantly: he received two wounds, and had several horses shot under him: there was only the right wing of our army engaged, that is to say, eighteen battalions, with a regiment of horse, and another of dragoons, the left wing not having fired a shot. We had about four thousand men killed and wounded upon the field of battle.

Among



Among those killed the 29th, besides count MERCI, were the Prince of Culmbach, counts NICHOLAS PALFI and HARRACH, general DE VINK, colonels FORMENTINI and SECKENDORF, counts DAUN, NESSELROTH, SCHEFFENBURG, the marquis D'ESTE, the young prince of Lowenstein, &c. Among the wounded were prince LEWIS of Wirtemberg, the Count DE CASTELBARCO, M. DE DISSBACH, M. DE WACHTENDONCK, M. DE RESTONI, &c. General DE LA TOUR was likewise wounded, and taken prisoner.

On the other hand, the French acknowledged they had three or four thousand men killed and wounded in this action, which they observed lasted longer, and was more bloody than any in the memory of man. It seems to have been a drawn battle, both sides claiming the victory, and very probably, had not count MERCI, the German general, been killed in the beginning of the action, the Germans had obtained a complete victory.

The next considerable action was on the 15th of September, when count KONIGSECK, the Imperial general, passed the river Secchia in the night, surprised marshal BROGLIO, the French general, in his quarters, took great part of his baggage, and made between two and three thousand prisoners, the general having but just time to make his escape in his shirt; and four days after, viz. on the 19th of September, another obstinate battle was fought under the walls of GUASTALLA, where neither party would acknowledge themselves beaten, but lost four or five thousand men each; and among the German officers was killed Prince LEWIS of Wirtemberg.

The celebrated marshal VILLARS commanded the French army in Italy, in the beginning of the year 1733; but his memory and judgment failing him, he became troublesome to the army, and he would have endangered all, if the King of Sardinia had not prevailed on the King of France to recall him. He fell sick at Turin in his way home, and died there on the 17th of June 1734, in the 84th year of his age. He was page to LEWIS XIV, but went very young into the army, and soon distinguishing himself, owed his advancement more to his merit than his fortune. The French looked upon him as the restorer of their reputation in Flanders the last war, and the greatest general in his time: he was to the last a man of uncommon gaiety and gallantry; for whether fighting or dancing, he appeared with the same vivacity and good humour, and seemed an enemy to none except the Jesuits. What did not consist well with such a temper was his love of money; he enriched himself too much

by the spoils of war, and the contributions he used to raise for safe-guards.

The war in the Netherlands being finished by the peace of Utrecht, the marshal DE VILLARS had again the command of the army in Germany. When he took his leave of the King, he said to him, I most humbly intreat your Majesty to consider, that I leave you in the midst of my enemies, whilst I am going to fight yours. During the campaign, his enemies told the King, in hopes his Majesty would censure him for it, that he laid out the sum of eighteen millions of livres in the purchase of an estate. The King asking him one day at dinner, if it was true, that he had made such a purchase; Yes, Sir, replied the marshal, who suspected, that those who told the King of it were then at the table, I have bought an estate which cost me eighteen millions of livres, and if the war continues, and your Majesty trusts me with the command of your army, I hope to purchase a more considerable one next year at the expence of your enemies.

Before I leave Italy, it may be proper to take notice of the abdication of VICTOR AMADEUS, King of Sardinia, and of his attempts to re-ascend that throne, of which baron POLINITZ has given us the following particulars, viz.

VICTOR AMADEUS, King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy, after the death of the Queen his wife, who was daughter of PHILIP of France, duke of Orleans, by HENRIETTA of England, fell in love with the marchioness of St. Sebastian, lady of honour to the prince of Piedmont. The virtue of madame de St. Sebastian, and the King's devotion for her, induced him to marry this favourite. But not thinking it honourable for a King to place a subject on his throne, he took a resolution to resign his crown before he contracted so unequal a match. He imparted his design to madame de St. Sebastian, who did all she could to prevail with VICTOR to continue upon the throne; but finding he was resolved not to make her a Queen, she consented to his abdication, still thinking herself highly honoured, to become the wife of a Prince who had worn a crown. King VICTOR consulted with his chief favourites, about his abdication, who all advised him not to leave the throne. His son, King CHARLES, conjured him to keep possession of it. I protest to your Majesty, said this Prince, I never once indulged a wish to govern, and think myself exceeding happy to be your Majesty's first subject. But all his remonstrances were of no effect; and the 4th of September, 1730, was fixed for the day of abdication. Upon that day all the chief persons in the government, and the senate, met in the great hall of the palace. There the King appeared, without any marks of

\* The Prince had a kindness for mademoiselle DE CUMIANE, before she was married to the count de St. Sebastian, when she was maid of honour to madame royale. She was afterwards a lady of honour to the Dutchess of Savoy, and at last tirewoman to the Princess of Piedmont, late Queen of Sardinia. She was left a widow ann. 1723. While she was married to the count de St. Sebastian, she still preserved the King's friendship and esteem, and was always in great credit with him. When she became a widow, the old flames of love broke out again; the King gave her an apartment at court, where he could see her without been seen; and he took care of her family.

† It is said, that the real motive of this abdication was his perplexity on account of the succession of Parma and Tuscany, and the introduction of DON CARLOS in Italy. They say, he entered into engagements relating to this, first with the court of Vienna, and afterwards with Spain, and it not being possible for him to satisfy either of these courts, without exposing himself to the resentment of the other, he resolved to abdicate, at least for a time, because he knew of no other way to extricate himself from the dilemma.

‡ The abdication was performed the 3d of September, in the castle of Rivoli. The declared motives were, the fatigues of a reign of fifty years, the infirmities of old age, and the necessity of some interval of retirement between a throne and a tomb.



royalty, accompanied by the Prince of Piedmont, and declared to the assembly, that he was resolved to yield the throne to his son; and that, from that moment, he exempted them, as he did all his subjects, from the oath of allegiance they had taken to him. He exhorted them at the same time to acknowledge his son CHARLES, Prince of Piedmont, for their King; and desired them to be as loyal to their new Sovereign as they had been to him. Then the act of abdication was audibly read by the marquis DEL BORGIO, secretary of state, and CHARLES was recognized for King.

After the ceremony was over, King VICTOR, with the marchioness of St. Sebastian, whom he had married on condition \* that she should wear no other title, set out for Chamberry, which he had chose for the place of his retirement. But scarce a month was past, ere he began to repent of having given the reins out of his hands, though the King, his son, behaved as dutifully to him as if he had been still his subject. When King VICTOR resigned, he advised his son to cause the lands of the nobility and gentry to be surveyed, and to impose a tax on them in proportion to the number of acres. This scheme, tho' it had a view to the encrease of the King's revenues, tended to the ruin of the nobility; for which reason CHARLES, when he came to the crown, did not think proper to put it in execution. VICTOR being incensed at it, wrote about it to his son, rather in the stile of his lord and master than his father; and perceiving that CHARLES was still averse to his counsel, he entertained a thought of re-ascending the throne. † To this end, he secretly felt the pulse of the people, and found them all faithful subjects to CHARLES: yet all this did not discourage him; he relied upon the troops, which he knew had an esteem for him, and he thought they would also be his friends; for most of the officers having been preferred by him, he did not doubt but they were still attached to him; and he flattered himself with their concurrence to his designs. He wrote to the marshal RHEBINDER, in general terms indeed, but in a stile that was very soothing and tempting. This general, who was commander in chief of the forces, being sensible of what consequence it was to deprive King VICTOR of the least hopes of re-ascending the throne, returned him answer, that he owned he was obliged to him for his estate, honours, and every thing. "Your Majesty, said the marshal in his letter, has made me all that I am. I am under no obligation to King CHARLES, but my engagements to your Majesty are inexpressible; though of all the favours which you have heaped upon me, the honour of your esteem was always to me the dearest. Give me leave therefore, sir, to preserve that esteem, which I presume to say, I have acquired by the blood I have spilt for your service; whereas, sir, I should forfeit it, were I to be so unhappy as to be guilty of perjury to the King you have given me, and to whom you have enjoined my obedience. I shall be as true to him as I

"was to your Majesty, and will spend the last drop of my blood to maintain him on the throne. I am, however, always ready to give your Majesty the most sincere marks of my respect for your person, being fully persuaded, sir, that your Majesty will lay no commands on me, but such as are agreeable to that justice which ever accompanied all your actions, &c."

This answer was not sufficient to cool King VICTOR's ambition to resume the government. He wrote a second time to the marshal DE RHEBINDER, and to other general officers. He assumed an imperious stile, and signified that he knew how to punish those that refused to obey him. All these letters were carried to King CHARLES; who being concerned to see his father so uneasy, said to those who brought them, What would you have me do? He is my father; I depend upon your fidelity, and resign myself to Providence!

The King was still in hopes that he should be able to make VICTOR easy, and was willing to have an interview with him, and for that purpose he went with his Queen to Evian, and from thence to Chamberry, where CHARLES paid his father a visit; but found him very much out of temper. The Prince, however, bore all with the dutifulness of a son. But when he took leave of VICTOR, he paid a visit to madame de St. Sebastian, with whom he had a long conference. He desired this lady to pacify King VICTOR, and to dissuade him from concerning himself any farther with state affairs. He hath made me a King, said CHARLES, and a King I will be. You can do any thing with him; therefore make him easy. If he does not like this, let him chuse any other castle or place in my dominions that he likes better, of which he shall have the entire disposal. They say CHARLES dropt a hint in this conversation, that he was inclined to yield his father a province in sovereignty: however he promised great advantages to madame de St. Sebastian, not only for herself, but for the son she had by a former marriage, and for her brothers. This lady promised the King all that he desired, but kept her word very ill; for her ambition to be Queen prompted her to make King VICTOR every day more and more uneasy.

VICTOR after this observed no measures, and said publicly, that he would re-ascend the throne. To this end, he thought it necessary for him to be nearer Turin. He therefore wrote to the King, his son, that the air of Chamberry was bad for his health, and desired him to let him go and reside at the castle of Montcallier. CHARLES was returned to Turin when he received this letter; but before he had time to answer it, he understood that the King his father, and madame de St. Sebastian, were already come to Montcallier. He was not at all sorry for it; because, as he knew King VICTOR's designs, he could better observe his motions when so near him: and King VICTOR, on his part, was glad that he was at Montcallier, in hopes that the neighbourhood of

\* The King was not married to the countess of St. Sebastian till he came to Chamberry, where she met him; for he set out from Turin without her. When he married her, he gave her one hundred thousand crowns, with which she purchased the marquisate of Spigo for her children, and then exchanged her title of countess of St. Sebastian for that of marchioness of Spigo.

† VICTOR AMADEUS took it into his head to re-ascend the throne as soon as he heard of the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna, by which the Emperor consented to the Introduction of the Spaniards, he then let the marchioness del Spigo into the true motives of his abdication, and into the measures he intended to take for re-ascending the throne. This ambitious woman encouraged him; and being withal a very cunning intriguing person, she left no stone unturned, to bring a project to bear which would set her on the throne; and she engaged all her friends and relations in the affair, of whom some betrayed her.



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Turin might give him a better opportunity of tampering with the garison, and the commanding officer of the place. He did all that was in his power to gain them, and gave such publick \* proofs of his intention to re-ascend the throne, that CHARLES's ministers, † fearing lest he should call in foreigners to his assistance, unanimously advised the King to confine him. The young Prince exclaimed several times against this proposition. What, said he, make my father a prisoner? No; I can never consent to that. And indeed it was a long time ere he could agree to it; but at length he was prevailed on by the strenuous solicitations of his council; though, when he signed the order for confining him, his hand shook to such a degree, that the secretary of state was obliged to guide it.

The count DE LA PEROUSE, lieutenant general of his forces, was charged with the execution of the warrant for arresting King VICTOR, and had a detachment given him of three thousand men, drawn out of the garisons of Turin, and other neighbouring places, to support him in the undertaking. They all marched out at the same hour from their quarters, without knowing whither they were to go; and at two o'clock next morning they all arrived at the place appointed, at Montcallier. The count DE LA PEROUSE, attended by the chevalier DE SOLARE, lieutenant governor, at the head of a detachment of grenadiers, with their bayonets screwed to their muskets, went up the great stair-case of the palace, which led to King VICTOR's apartment, while the marquis d'ORMEA, secretary of state, who carried the order signed by King CHARLES, secured the back-stairs with another detachment of grenadiers. M. DE LA PEROUSE finding the apartment shut, broke open the door, and after seizing a page in waiting, that was asleep in the first antichamber, he made his way farther, and forced open all the doors till he came to the chamber where the King was a-bed with madame de St. SEBASTIAN. This lady hearing a noise arose immediately, and having only time to slip on a night-gown, ran to the door, when seeing so many armed men, she cried out, Oh, sir, we are betrayed! They gave her no time to say more; but two officers carried her into the next chamber, where they caused her to be dressed, and afterwards conducted her to Ceve, a fortress of Piedmont.

Neither the outcry of madame de St. SEBASTIAN, nor all the noise that was made, had awaked King VICTOR, who always slept sound. The chevalier DE SOLARE seized the King's sword, which he saw lying on a table, and the count DE LA PEROUSE went to the bed-side, and opened the curtains. Upon that the King started out of his sleep, and asked, what was the matter? The count DE LA PEROUSE said to him, that he had orders from the King to arrest him. What King do you mean, said VICTOR? it is I that am your King and master, you ought to acknowledge no other. Your Majesty has been so, replied the count, but you are so no longer; and since it has pleased you to give us King CHARLES for our lord and master, and to command us to obey

him, I hope your self will set us an example of such obedience. The King was in a violent passion, threatened the officers, and refused to rise. The chevalier DE SOLARE, coming too near the bed, the King punched him with his elbow in the belly, and commanded him in wrath to withdraw. As he still continued obstinate in his refusal to rise, the officers lifted him up, and dressed him. The King was heard to say, in the mean time, that he only wished to sit two hours on the throne, that he might hang up the rascals that had misled his son; and he named the principal lords of the court.

As soon as he was dressed the officers surrounded him, and conducted him down the great stair-case to his coach, that waited for him in the yard. The King seeing the anti-chamber full of grenadiers, seemed surprised at it; and the soldiers, who as yet knew not on what errand they were sent, seemed no less surprised, when they saw their old King was to be carried off a prisoner. What? our King! said they softly to each other. What has he done? What is the matter? The count DE LA PEROUSE fearing a mutiny, called out, Silence, in the King's name, on pain of death. The old King found drawn up in the court-yard, a regiment of dragoons, which he had always valued above the rest of his troops. The sight of it affected him; and he would have spoke to it, but no time was allowed him, and he was obliged to go into the coach. The count DE LA PEROUSE, and the chevalier DE SOLARE, asked his leave to sit with him; but the King answered, he would not suffer it. So they mounted their horses, rode by the sides of the coach, which was surrounded by the soldiers, and conducted him to Rivoli. I had almost forgot to tell you, that when he went from Montcallier, he asked for three things; his wife, his papers, and his snuff-box, the last of which was all he obtained.

The day after he came to Rivoli, as they were clapping iron bars and double shutters to the windows of his apartment, the King asked the glazier, what he was going to do? I am going, said the man, to put on double shutters to your windows, that you may not catch cold this winter. How now, varlet! said the King, do you think I shall spend all the winter here? Ah by my faith, replied the glazier, you will pass this winter here, I believe, and many more.

This prince was attended with care, and treated with all the respect due to his person; and they say he began to be composed. The chevalier DE SOLARE, and two captains of the guards, were appointed to take care of him, with whom he sometimes played at billiards. They had orders to treat him with all manner of respect, but to give no answer to any of his complaints §

In the whole course of this affair, it is fortunate for King CHARLES, that not one of his subjects failed in his allegiance to him; he has not been obliged to stain his government by any bloody execution, nor has he caused above three persons to be apprehended, among whom were King VICTOR's two physicians that carried his letters, but they are lately set at liberty.

\* These proofs were his sending for the marquis DEL BORGO to Montcallier, demanding the instrument of abdication from him, giving him but twelve hours time to fetch it, and his appearing before the citadel of Turin, with a view of getting into it, and of animating the garison to assist him in his enterprise.

† These were all privy counsellors and great men; who, being assembled by order of the King, and consulted on the imminent danger of his being dethroned, were all of opinion for putting VICTOR AMADEUS and his consort under an arrest.

§ He died October 31. 1732.



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They say, that madame de St. SEBASTIAN fell into a deep melancholy, and lived intirely upon broth of her own making. After her disgrace, her son, who was an ensign in the guards, was no longer seen at court. The young King missing him, ordered the marquis d'ORMEA, minister and secretary of state, to acquaint him, that he might come to court and continue in his employment, and that his Majesty assured him, he did not intend he should be a sufferer for any crime whatsoever, which madame de St. SEBASTIAN had committed, and that he would take care of his fortune.

The Piedmontese are charmed with their new King; and indeed he is a Prince, says the baron, that has the qualities of a good monarch. He is humane, compassionate, generous, and beneficent. He is a little under size in stature, but very well shaped; dances well, loves pleasures, and particularly hunting. Without flattery, one may say, he is endowed with a great many virtues; and that if he has faults, it is only owing to human nature, with which intire perfection is incompatible.

His first Queen was of the family of Hesse Rhinfels. She brought the King two princes\* and a princess; but dying in 1736, his Sardinian Majesty is lately married to the eldest princess of Bavaria.

The death of JOHN GASTON DE MEDICIS, Duke of Tuscany, happening in the month of June 1737, the Duke of Lorrain, in pursuance of the late treaty between the Emperor and France, and her allies, took possession of that dutchy, as has been intimated already; and on his return to Vienna, appointed the princess ANNA-MARIA-LOUISA, sister of the late Duke, to be regent of Tuscany in his absence. The Duke of Parma, ANTHONY FARNESE, father-in-law to the present Queen of Spain, died some years before him without issue, viz. in the month of January 1731.

What is most remarkable in the MODERN HISTORY of GENOA, is, the rebellion of their subjects in the island of Corsica, which could never have subsisted so many years, if it was not fomented by some foreign powers; but who they are is yet a secret; and we know as little of THEODORE, who styles himself their King; but he will probably be laid aside, or forced to abdicate by the French, who under pretence of making themselves umpires between the Genoese and their subjects, have introduced a body of troops into that island, and will probably give law to both.

The war  
in Corsica  
revived.

There was however a cessation of hostilities for some time, after the arrival of the French in the island of Corsica; but the natives apprehending they were too partial to their masters the Genoese, the war was revived, and the Corsicans renewed their allegiance to King THEODORE by a declaration of the following tenor, viz.

WE declare and make known to the whole world our will and positive intention, that by reason of the intolerable oppressions, which we have suffered for a long while under the tyranny of the Genoese, we did some years ago chuse Lord THEODORE, Baron of Neuhoft, King of the island of Corsica; that to him we now submit and do intend for ever hereafter to submit to his person,

whom God preserve, as also to his descendants. And moreover, that when we gave hostages, and appointed certain deputies with full powers, we never had it in our view or thoughts to retract the inviolable election of his said Majesty, but only to demonstrate to all crowned heads, and particularly the King of France, the oppressions which we have suffered from the Genoese, and the validity of the election of our King THEODORE, the most Christian King having not perhaps been duly informed of the misery of the people of Corsica. And to the end that the said monarch, if he ever formed a design to reduce the kingdom of Corsica under the Genoese tyranny, might know, that all the inhabitants had rather, with a salvo to their religion, deliver themselves into the hands of the Turks, than the Genoese; the massacre of seven hundred of the principal Corsicans, which happened three years after the zealous resentment of SAMPIERE the Corsican, and this too after having obtained the guarantee of France, being still fresh in their memory: For this reason we declare, that the hostages and deputies have made an ill use of their commissions, contrary to their former election and submission. And that by this solemne act, the nation does now and for ever confirm the election of the said Baron de Neuhoft for King of Corsica, and the island Caprara, with their dependencies. And that we do cheerfully and unanimously declare the said Baron to be our lawful King and Sovereign; and in consequence submit our persons, lives and fortunes to the disposal of our King THEODORE, whom God preserve. Done in the great square of the convent of Tavignia, where we are all assembled, Friday January 16, in the year of Grace 1739.

Ratified in the name of all the people by us, who are appointed Generals and Commanders,

HIACINTHO DE PAULI,  
DON LEWIS GIAFFERI.

The Corsicans, not long after the publishing this declaration, defeated several parties of the Genoese, and their French allies; whereupon a further reinforcement of French troops embarked for that island, under the command of Marshal Mallebois, who soon compelled the malecontents to submit or quit the island, which most of their chiefs did; King THEODORE being absent at that time soliciting the protection of foreign powers, or providing arms and ammunition for the service of his new subjects. He arrived the latter end of the last year at Naples with three Dutch ships, laden with arms and other provisions of war, which were seized there, as well as his person; but his Sicilian Majesty thought fit to give THEODORE his liberty, tho' he detained his effects and sold them to the Genoese.

In the mean time a war commencing between Great Britain and Spain, his Sicilian Majesty declared he would stand neuter, assuring the British merchants that they might continue their commerce with all freedom and security. He applied himself also to improve the manufactures and commerce of his dominions, suppressed sanctuaries in a great measure, and would not suffer criminals to be protected in religious houses or churches as they used to be, let their crimes be of never so high a nature.

And as Naples had declared for a neutrality between Great Britain and Spain, it appears the

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Naples  
&c. de-  
clare for a  
neutrality  
in the Ita-  
lian war.

\* There is now but one prince, the youngest being dead; but three princesses.



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1740.  
Jews in-  
vited to  
settle in  
Naples.

Com-  
merce be-  
tween Si-  
cily and  
Turkey.

An earth-  
quake in  
Sicily.

Great Duke of Tuscany followed the example, as did almost all the Italian Princes, viz. The Pope, the Genoese, the Venetians and Modenese; though few of them seem to have observed that neutrality very strictly, but have in a clandestine manner supplied and assisted the respective parties they most favour.

The Neapolitan Court continuing to encourage every project that might tend to the improvement of trade, among others invited the Jews to come and settle in that kingdom, from whence they had been banished upwards of two hundred years, under the following restrictions:

They are permitted to reside there fifty years, and if they are not ordered to depart then, fifty years more: They are also permitted to purchase lands, provided they are not fiefs to which a jurisdiction is annexed, and to sell their lands and goods if they are ordered to depart: That they may establish schools, and their rabbies shall have jurisdiction over their people in all cases not capital: They shall have the free exercise of their religion, but not build temples: They shall not be confined to one quarter, or wear badges of distinction, but dwell in any town where they please: Those who have studied physick may take a Doctor's degree, and prescribe to their patients: They may entertain Christian servants, provided the men be 35, and the women 23 years old, and they be not permitted to remain in their masters houses all night without leave from the Bishop.

The ecclesiastics preached violently against admitting the Jews on these terms, but they were silenced by the government, and a great many Jews actually resorted to Naples and Sicily from Turkey and several parts of Christendom.

The King of the two Sicilies also concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with the Turks this year; for such has been the folly and superstition of the Spaniards and Sicilians hitherto, that they would have no commerce or friendly correspondence with Jews or Turks, either in their Spanish or Italian dominions, but have been in a perpetual state of war with both of them, making prize of all such Turkish ships and merchandize as fell in their way, and putting to death all who professed Judaism, and confiscating their effects, as they do to this day in Spain and Portugal.

By the articles of commerce with the Turks, it was agreed that the goods of the Neapolitans should pay a duty of three per cent. in Turkey, and the Turks should pay the same duty at Naples.

That their Ministers, Consuls and domesticks should enjoy the same privileges as those of any other friendly power.

The King of the two Sicilies concluded a like treaty with Tripoli by the recommendation of the Grand Signior; but the Algerines could not be prevailed on by the Porte to conclude articles of peace and commerce with the two Sicilies; so that their Turkey trade remains very precarious.

This year, on the 5th of March, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Salini near Palermo in Sicily. The Capuchins of that town hearing a great noise under their cloyster, ordered some bricklayers to search whether their house had not received damage by it. The workmen having examined it declared they did not apprehend any danger: however the Capuchins were so heartily frightened, that they thought fit to remain in their church the next night, and at five in the morning hearing the like noise they had done before, they

ran out into the fields, and there saw their convent and garden overturned with a terrible noise, and so buried, that nothing remained above ground but the tops of two cypress trees.

The Pope dying on the 29th of January this year, in the 88th year of his age, and the tenth of his reign, his obsequies were begun on the 4th of February. His corps was laid upon a magnificent bed of state in St. PETER's church, which was illuminated with a thousand pound weight of wax-candles and flambeaux. On the 6th a funeral oration was made, and the next day the Cardinals went into the conclave, where sixty-eight being assembled, they proceeded to elect another Pope, but did not effect it till the 17th of August, when Cardinal PROSPER LAMBERTINI, having 34 votes, was chosen, and took upon him the name of BENEDICT XIV.

He is of one of the noblest families in Bologna, and was Archbishop of that city, where he gained the love of all men by his charity and affability. As he is but sixty five years of age, and of a strong constitution, a long reign is expected, as well as a good one.

The Spaniards this year, on the third of November, assembled a fleet of two hundred sail of transports at Barcelona, on which they embarked fifteen thousand men in order to invade the Austrian dominions in Italy, in which they were not opposed by HADDOCK the British Admiral; tho' one principal design of sending him to the Mediterranean was supposed to be to prevent any such embarkation. It was said in his excuse, that since the French had joined the Spanish fleet in that sea, and taken them into their protection, his force was then much inferior to the united fleets, and he thought it more prudent to retire into Port-Mahon, and preserve the men of war under his command than hazard the loss of them in an unequal fight. But however that was, the combined fleets meeting with no other obstructions than a storm, in which they were no great sufferers, landed the forces that were on board at the Spanish port of Orbitello on the coast of Tuscany, from whence they were to march to Bologna, and be joined by the forces of the King of the two Sicilies. The Austrians in the Milanese and Mantuan thereupon made preparations to stop their progress, but no action happened this year in Italy between the contending parties.

In the beginning of the year following a second embarkation of Spanish troops arrived in Italy, and marched thro' the Ecclesiastical State, towards Lombardy. And the French demanded a passage for a body of fifteen thousand more thro' the King of Sardinia's territories, but that Prince did not think fit to comply with the motion: On the contrary he declared he should be an enemy to any power that should disturb the peace of Italy; and the Duke of Modena discovering an inclination to join the Spaniards, the forces of the King of Sardinia and the Queen of Hungary invested Mirandola, and threatened Modena with a bombardment. In the mean time the Duke of MONTENAPOLÉ, the Spanish General, advanced into the Bolognese with twenty thousand men, where he waited the arrival of the Sicilian auxiliaries. And Don PHILIP made preparations for invading the duchy of Savoy, on the side of Dauphine.

The Duke of Modena finding the King of Sardinia persisted in his demands of having Modena and Mirandola delivered up to him, abandoned his dominions, but ordered the governor of those cities

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The Pope  
dies.

Benedict  
XIV cho-  
sen.

1741.  
Spain  
transports  
15000  
men to I-  
taly.

1742.

Modena  
possessed  
by the  
Austrians.



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Don PHILIP  
invades Sa-  
voy.

The Brit-  
ish squa-  
dron be-  
fore Na-  
ples.

cities to defend them to the last extremity: how-  
ever both Mirandola and Modena surrendered in  
the month of July, and the garison of Modena,  
consisting of three thousand men, submitted to  
be made prisoners of war.

On the other hand, Don PHILIP invaded Savoy,  
and penetrated as far as the capital city of Cham-  
bery. He published his manifesto on the 26th of  
August, declaring that the King of Sardinia hav-  
ing opposed the claims of his Catholick Majesty  
to Lombardy, he had therefore caused his forces  
to invade the territories of the King of Sardinia,  
by way of retaliation, and issued his orders to the  
people of Savoy to send deputies from their towns  
to take the oaths of allegiance to him (PHILIP)  
and settle their contributions.

This success of the Spaniards in Savoy obliged  
the King of Sardinia to separate his forces from  
Count Traun, the Austrian General, and return  
to Piedmont to defend his frontiers. And now  
the Austrian and Spanish armies in the Bolognese  
were pretty near equal: for as the King of Sardinia  
was obliged to return with his forces to Pied-  
mont; so the King of the two Sicilies was com-  
pelled to withdraw his forces from his Spanish al-  
lies by the British fleet, of which Mr. ALLEN, the  
British Consul at Naples, sent the Duke of New-  
castle the following account, viz.

On Sunday morning, the 19th of August, N. S. a  
squadron of his Majesty's ships, and four  
bomb vessels commanded by Commodore MAR-  
TIN, appeared in the bay of Naples. And some  
hours before they came to an anchor before  
the town (which was about four o'clock in  
the afternoon) the Duke of Montecallegre sent  
to his Majesty's Consul to desire him to go on  
board the Commodore, to know whether they  
came as friends or enemies, the appearance seem-  
ing hostile, but that his Sicilian Majesty would  
be glad to receive them as friends, desiring nothing  
more than the amity of his Britannick Majesty.  
The Consul thereupon went on board the Com-  
modore, who communicated to him the purport  
of the order he had received from Vice Admiral  
MATTHEWS, and a message to be delivered in the  
King's name to his Sicilian Majesty (namely)  
That his Britannick Majesty being in alliance with  
the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia,  
and the King of the two Sicilies having joined his  
forces with those of Spain to invade the Queen of  
Hungary's dominions, contrary to all treaties, he,  
the Commodore, was sent to demand that the King  
of the two Sicilies should not only forthwith with-  
draw his troops from acting in conjunction with  
those of Spain, but that his Sicilian Majesty  
should promise not to give them any farther as-  
sistance of any kind whatever. Captain de LAN-  
GLE of the Dursley galley was charged with this  
message, and the Commodore desired the Consul  
to accompany the Captain and be his interpreter.  
They went to the Secretary's office at five o'clock,  
the King was then at church, and was not to re-  
turn till six; but the Duke of Montecallegre receiv-  
ed the message, and told them when the King re-  
turned he would give an answer. Accordingly  
about eight the Duke of Montecallegre came down  
from the King in council, and told them the de-  
mand would be complied with, and in writing as  
required, but desired some answer also in writing,  
importing, that upon the said compliance no hos-  
tilities should be committed on their side. They  
then returned on board with General BOURKE,  
who was sent from his Sicilian Majesty to desire

this of the Commodore; but he said his orders  
were absolute, and did not authorise him to give  
any answer, but that he expected a compliance in  
half an hour's time, or at furthest an hour, after  
the Captain and Consul's being on shore. The  
Duke of Montecallegre then desired that he might  
insert in his letter, That upon the Consul and  
Captain's assurances by word of mouth, that no  
hostilities should be committed, his Sicilian Ma-  
jesty did promise, &c. Captain DE LANGLE desired  
the Consul to tell the Duke, that he apprehended  
the Commodore would not be satisfied  
with that condition; upon which the Duke desired  
the Consul to assure the Commodore, that if he  
objected to it, it should be left out, and that the  
substance of the letter being fully what was requir-  
ed, he hoped it would be sufficient for that night.  
It was two hours past midnight when the Consul  
returned on board, and the Commodore was so  
far satisfied as to promise he would not commence  
any hostilities upon the assurances given him by  
the Consul, that any thing he objected to in the  
form would be altered: And accordingly in the  
morning another letter was wrote in the exact  
words required, and upon the receipt of it the  
Commodore ordered all the ships to prepare for  
sailing, and they were under sail before night, and  
out of sight the next morning (the 21st N. S.)  
having been only 24 hours at anchor in the bay.  
The whole city was in the greatest consternation  
imaginable, during this negotiation.

The letter written by the Duke of Montecallegre to  
Commodore MARTIN.

SIR,

August 20th N. S.  
THE King had already resolved and given  
orders that his troops, which are joined with  
those of Spain, should withdraw in order to the de-  
fence of his own dominions. His Majesty commands  
me to promise you in his name, that he will forth-  
with repeat his orders, that his troops withdraw-  
ing from the Romania, where they are at present,  
shall immediately return into the kingdom, and  
that he will not in any manner whatsoever either  
aid or assist those of Spain any more in the present  
war in Italy.

Signed

The Marquis of SALAS,  
Duke of MONTEALLEGRE.

To Capt. WILLIAM MARTIN  
Commander of the English  
squadron.

The court of Spain it seems were so ill satisfied  
with the Duke of MONTENAR's conduct, who com-  
manded their army in Lombardy at this time, that  
he was recalled, and succeeded in that command  
by the Count DE GAGES an Irish nobleman in the  
Spanish service.

The King of Sardinia advancing as far as Mont-  
melian to oppose the Spaniards, who had already  
penetrated into the heart of Savoy, received in-  
telligence on the 7th of December, that the ene-  
my had formed a design to attack him the next  
morning; whereupon he drew up his army in or-  
der of battle, and expected their approach; but  
while the Marquis de MINAS the Spanish Gen-  
eral faced the King of Sardinia with the gros of  
his army, he detached a body of four thousand  
men through the mountains of Dauphine, and at-  
tacked the castle of Appremont, which com-  
manded an important pass, and made himself mas-  
ter of it after battering the walls 48 hours, tho'

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it is said the little garison made a brave defence, and did not surrender till they saw their walls tumbling down.

On the loss of this post the King of Sardinia found himself obliged to abandon his camp at Mians on the 17th of December, and retire to Montmelian, from whence he marched the 18th with his army towards St. John de Maurienne and the Tarentaise, in order to retire into Piedmont, which he did without much loss, though pursued by the Spaniards. But the poor Savoyards being thus abandoned, were soon made sensible of all the miseries of war. Their houses were burnt and plundered, men, women and children murdered in cold blood, and a general desolation among the villages about Chamberry. Upon this retreat, the King of Sardinia wrote the following letter to the King of Great Britain.

S I R, my brother,

YOU have already been acquainted, by my Minister at your court, with the reasons which obliged me to withdraw my army from Savoy, and to cause it to return to Piedmont. Your Majesty ought to have been informed, at the same time, that I did not take this step till I was reduced to the last extremity, and till after it was impossible for me to support myself against an enemy greatly superior to me in strength. Those persons, who are desirous of rendering suspicious the most faithful exactness in fulfilling engagements, will not fail of endeavouring to cause this retreat to be attributed to other motives, than those which are actually the true ones. Evil-minded people will not fail too, according to their accustomed manner, to use their utmost artifices to give a colour to their suggestions, which are as false as they are malicious, by insinuating, that propositions have been made me. But I expect, from the penetration of your Majesty, that you will easily discern the truth, and not suffer yourself to be imposed upon by such illusive insinuations, but will be more than ever persuaded of my unshaken fidelity to the engagements which I have entered into, not only with your Majesty, but likewise with the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, for the mutual defence of our dominions in Italy. I also flatter myself that your Majesty, by your Ministers residing at the court of that Princess, will at a proper time use your utmost endeavours to cause to be performed the particular engagements which are understood and couched in those which induced me to take up arms, and was the occasion of our troops joining.

Your good brother and ally,

CHARLES EMANUEL.

1743. The Austrians victorious in Italy.

To make some amends for the loss of Savoy, the Austrian and Sardinian forces, commanded by Count TRAU, obtained a victory over the Spanish forces in Lombardy, commanded by the Count de GAGE. The Spaniards it seems passed the Panaro in the evening of the 8th of February, N. S. and attacked the Austrians at ten at night, in hopes of surprising them before their forces were joined, but found their whole army ready to receive them; whereupon an obstinate battle ensued, wherein both sides claimed the victory; but it was evidently on the side of the Austrians, the Spaniards retreating over the Panaro at four the next morning, and retiring to their old quarters at Bologna. In this action the Spaniards had

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upwards of three thousand men killed, and two thousand wounded. And the Austrians twelve hundred killed, and four hundred wounded. Count BYERSBERG, Lieutenant Field Marshal of the Queen of Hungary's armies, received two and twenty wounds in the battle, of which he died soon after. Count APREMONT, a General of the King of Sardinia's, also died of his wounds.

Count de GAGE retiring into the Pope's territories, and being followed by the Austrians, the Pope's subjects were obliged to furnish both parties with provisions for a considerable time, which almost ruined the country, and occasioned lamentable complaints from his Holiness to the respective powers, who made so free with the lands of the Church; but they both represented the necessity they were under to supply their troops with provisions, and the plundered inhabitants met with no redress.

This summer the plague was brought into Sicily from Turkey, and the city of Messina almost depopulated by it. It was afterwards carried over into Calabria in Naples, so that the Italians were afflicted with war and pestilence at the same time.

DON PHILIP made several attempts this campaign to penetrate into Piedmont through the passes of the Alps, but was constantly repulsed, and lost a great many men in the attempt. And at the same time the Count de GAGE continued to retreat before the Austrians, and fortified his camp, not being in a condition to act offensively.

In the mean while, it was agreed at a treaty between the Ministers of his British Majesty, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary, that the town and territory of Final in Genoa should be transferred to the King of Sardinia, tho' the Genoese lately purchased it of the house of Austria, at which that Republick was greatly alarmed, and prepared to defend their possession.

*Some conjectures why Naples is so subject to earthquakes and fiery eruptions: by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Naples, founded by DON CARLOS, the present King of the two Sicilies.*

THE kingdom of Naples in most places abounds with vast quantities of strong minerals, especially such as are most subject to inflammation, and most capable to preserve a long time the heat they have once contracted; to this cause it is owing that these provinces in all ages have been so subject to natural accensions, or conflagrations.

That there is plenty of sulphur, bitumen, nitre, allum, vitriol, and salts of every kind, as well as minerals of a more exalted quality, is evident from the mineral springs that frequently occur, and the innumerable places where these minerals appear on the surface of the earth, either by mere chance, or by the easy industry of the inhabitants, who make a profit of their discovery.

The Neapolitans say it is to the fiery quality of the soil they are indebted for the prodigious fertility of their lands, the purity and wholesomeness of their air and water, the virtue and efficacy, as well as the variety of those remedies their mineral springs and baths; and for all those advantages that have given Naples the reputation of the most agreeable and healthy country in Europe.

Be this as it will, it is easy to imagine, how such inflammable materials as these, scattered and hid beneath the soil, have increased and amassed themselves in some particular place, where by the

14 K assistance

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The plague in Sicily.

Final proposed to be given to the King of Sardinia.

The soil of Naples replenished with sulphur and nitre.

The source of their health and fertility.



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assistance of some internal motion they have caught fire; and of consequence this fire has split the upper stratum that confined it, to give vent to its rage, with all those violent phenomena that usually attend the eruptions of volcano's.

In imitation of this operation of nature it is, that the chemists have contrived their aurum fulminans. This artificial composition not only kindles at the least approach of any thing hot, but it breaks out, thunders, bursts the vessels in which it is inclosed, and produces all those violent effects that have given it so terrible a name.

In the same manner, the celebrated Lemery made an artificial volcano, by a paste composed of two equal parts of sulphur and steel-dust mixt up with a little water. This he buried in the earth at a proper depth, and in about nine hours the ground began to swell and open in several places, from which issued a hot and sulphureous smoke, which in a few minutes was succeeded by flames. These chemical experiments, with others of the same nature, are sufficient to explain what has been said with regard to the natural disposition of the soil.

Hence it appears that the sources of fire have been ever found in this country. Many of them have been forgot, either because their force has been exhausted ages ago, or because they were too weak to be of long duration, or for other reasons which cannot at present be assigned.

As we now behold on the rising grounds that lie about Naples to the west, north and east, vast quantities of burnt stones, ashes, and other bodies that bear visibly the marks of fire, it has given occasion to some authors to think, that formerly these places have suffered a conflagration, the memory of which time has effaced; whereas the case is quite different with Vesuvius, whose fire has preserved itself unextinguished from time immemorial.

The Dominican Fathers, a few years ago, having occasion to dig a well in their convent of Notre Dame de l'Arc, the workmen at the depth of thirty feet, discovered the vestigia of an old torrent; continuing to dig they were stopped again by a second, and then a third, and in short, in less than an hundred foot they found four strata, all resembling the petrified torrents which are daily to be seen near the southern declivities of this mountain.

If the igneous matter is either generated or increased by internal mutations in the subterraneous caverns, a volcano may suddenly break out in a place where it is least suspected, as by the same rule an ancient volcano may as unexpectedly be extinguished for want of proper fuel. Natural history affords us examples of each kind.

The first memorable eruption of Vesuvius, of which we have any distinct account, is that which happened in the reign of Titus, A. D. 79. Of this PLINY the younger, whose uncle perished by his curiosity on this occasion, has given us a particular relation in two letters. DION in the life of Titus, as well as the historians of that age, mention it; and the Poets speak of it in a very expressive manner. It is highly probable that on this occasion the face of Vesuvius underwent some remarkable change.

Since that time to the present there have happened several successive eruptions, of which modern authors have given us a detail. If there be some little variation in their accounts, it is because some have placed in their catalogue, eruptions of little

note, which others have neglected to particularize.

As to the rest, these successive conflagrations have been quite uncertain as to their seasons, intervals, violence, and duration, all which have been regulated by the caprice of nature. We shall only observe that the eruption in 1630 was one of the most dreadful ever happened, and has left behind it marks of its fury, which are visible to the present age. The red hot stones, and other fiery substances which it threw out on this occasion, burnt up trees, destroyed all the neighbouring villages, and set the country in a flame. Seven villages were entirely ruined by the torrent of liquified fire, and near ten thousand (some reduce the loss to five thousand) persons perished either by the ashes or the flames.

However, the eruption of 1730 deserves our notice, not only on account of its fury, but because it made a sensible alteration in the summit of the volcano, for a great quantity of combustible and liquid matter, settling near the mouth of the volcano, rendered the top much higher and more pointed than it was before.

Another particularity remarkable in the same eruption was, that the flames were much brighter and livelier than usual, and rose into the air to a prodigious height. The fiery torrent which descended on the slope of the mountain, made no great progress, but on the side, where the southern borders of the volcano were sheltered by the rocky circuit of Mount Somma, a horrid inundation of fire covered all the bottom of the plain called the valley of Atria.

The chief damage sustained arose from the burning cinders, that set fire to a large wood in the district of Ottajano, which would have been entirely consumed, if, by cutting down the trees that lay in the way, a stop had not been put to the progress of the flames.

*An account of the great eruption of Vesuvius, in 1737.*

EVER since the eruption of 1730 to 1737, the ancient basin of Vesuvius has constantly emitted smoke, often intermingled with flames, so that every day gave new tokens of the conflagration spreading within, and seemed to warn the neighbourhood of an approaching eruption. These marks or symptoms for three or four months preceding the event, became still more violent. An unintermitted smoke with bright flames daily increased. This is no new object to the people of Naples. A long series of years has made it familiar, and the vulgar are so far from being alarmed at it, that they look on it as a favourable sign, believing that the better these subterraneous fires vent themselves, they have less cause to apprehend violent eruptions or earthquakes, which many imagine to proceed from one and the same cause.

Whatever truth there is in this popular notion, with respect to the danger of eruptions, the last shewed it was not to be depended on; for towards the end of April and beginning of May 1737, even when the volcano discharged itself in clouds of smoke, the conflagration began.

On the 14th and 15th of May the flames and smoke increased to that degree, that on the night of the 15th the volcano threw out red-hot stones, at the same time a torrent of liquified matter, descending from the mouth, seemed to threaten Bosco, a village situated at the foot of the mountain to the east.

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The eruption of 1630.

The eruption of 1737.

The first eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

Pliny the younger.



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On the 17th and 18th of the same month the flames increased violently, and the smoke augmented in proportion; and what gave new force to the inflammation was, that the cavity of the volcano was at that time almost covered with sulphur, which had been incruited there for a long tract of time.

Sunday, May 19th, the conflagration spread with new rage. The thick and black smoke that issued, formed clouds of darkness that covered the air, and by the force of the flames were carried to a surprizing height. The mountain made a roaring noise, which was echo'd from the hills adjacent. Then first a panic appeared in every face, and the terror of the people hourly increased at so dreadful a spectacle. Such it really was, to behold through so gloomy a smoke a prodigious quantity of stones and rocky substances red-hot hurled in the air to an amazing height, and falling down with incredible noise along the sides of the mountain. This terrible scene continued till the next day, the eruption still gaining new strength.

On Monday, May 20, at eight in the morning, the storm of burning stones and cinders became more furious than ever, and the inflammation rose to that degree, that in spite of the sun, the flames were visibly observed through the smoke of the volcano, as bright as rockets in a dark night.

Towards the evening the tempest grew more outrageous, and was attended with an inundation of burnt stones, pumice, and ashes. The smoke changed its dark colour to a clear brown, but the circles it made in the air were larger than ever. In the mean time the fire of the summit plainly spread, as every moment some part of the cavity fell into the gulph beneath. Filled with horror, and dreading the worst, the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages began to retire with their effects.

The same day, about two o'clock, the mountain gave a peal astonishing beyond the loudest thunder. Some attributed this to a large rent made in the side, the effects of which did not appear till about seven o'clock the same evening.

This rent or crack was made in the lower part of the S. W. side of Vesuvius, properly so called. The first thing observable was, that it flamed violently even when the top of the volcano seemed itself inflamed the most; and as the smoke of the upper part now received a new additional supply, so it had certainly obscured all the W. coast of Naples, if the brisk southerly winds had not stopt its progress, and dissipated it.

During this time the noise of the volcano was no less horrible than uninterrupted. About 8<sup>h</sup>. 22<sup>m</sup>. the mountain was all covered with a thick cloud, thro' which every moment the flames darted like lightning. They are indeed a sort of lightning which are peculiar to this volcano in its eruptions, and much resemble the rockets used in fireworks.

Soon after a fiery torrent appeared from this new opening, taking its course along the descent with a visible rapidity towards the village of Refina; but about 9<sup>h</sup>. 25<sup>m</sup>. it seemed to deaden in its progress, and lose its fiery aspect. Just the same thing happened to another stream of the same sort, that issuing from the mouth of the volcano bent its way towards Bosco. Many from hence concluded these Lavangi, or torrents of liquified matter, were in reality extinguished, and that there was no more to fear.

In the mean time all the symptoms of the eruption, such as the smoke, flames, stones, &c. continued strong as ever, the noise no way decreased,

and the air seemed tormented with unabated fury.

Thus matters continued till 11<sup>h</sup>. 22<sup>m</sup>. at night, when the new aperture broke out afresh, with a storm more violent than before, even throwing out stones of a large size, which it had not done hitherto since the first eruption. At the same time the fiery torrent issuing from it, renewed its course with greater impetuosity. The whole mountain seemed on fire, both on account of the flames, and their reverberation from the darkness with which they were by the smoke surrounded. In one moment the whole mountain gave a crack as if it was falling into ruin; and this noise continued some moments without intermission. The earthquakes that accompanied it were as violent as frequent, so that all who had as yet the courage to stay in their houses, were now obliged to quit them. Nothing could be seen but crowds of people flying on all sides for a place of safety.

Immediately after, the torrent of fire filled up a great part of that flat called Terra-plana, which lies opposite to the new aperture, and which we have described as the basis of Vesuvius, making an inundation of about 500 foot in length, and 300 in breadth, where it settled from 11<sup>h</sup>. 22<sup>m</sup>. the night of the 20th till three o'clock in the morning on the 21st.

Scarce had the next day, May 22 begun, or about half an hour after one that morning, when the Lavangi, or torrent that had issued from the summit extending towards Bosco appeared totally extinct. A second stream from the same source still crept to the westward, but very slowly. The last, which issued from the new breach, and which without dispute was the largest, after forming a lake in the bottom, as we observed, being continually pushed forward by new supplies, fell into the adjacent vallies, dividing itself into several branches, according to the situation of the grounds it passed through.

The first of these branches took its way towards Refina, but by the way broke into a valley where several improved grounds, planted with trees, were the prey of its consuming heat. In the eruption of 1698, which also fell out in May, this same valley met with the like fate.

It appeared that the first branch was the most considerable of all, its front extending near 30 foot in breadth. It stopped at length, but had it continued its progress in the same direction, it had probably fallen on the Greek tower, by the convent of the Capuchins.

From the extremity of this branch, a fiery rivulet detached itself, which, though inconsiderable, did some damage in the low grounds adjacent.

The violence of another branch of this torrent was more considerable. It penetrated into a valley, through which it made its way in a body to a place called the White Ditch [fossa bianco] where spreading into two arms, that on the right ruined some fields, the left made little progress, and did no great mischief. This White Ditch had been infested before with a torrent from Vesuvius in the eruption of September, 1696.

Notwithstanding this second branch of the torrent from the aperture seemed thus stopped, yet on Tuesday May 22 it resumed its course, not by either of the arms beforementioned, but by an intermediate channel, falling first into some vineyards, where it formed a kind of burning lake. Though this seemed to exhaust a great part of the fiery liquified matter, yet it still continued its course, till after destroying some country-seats, it fell

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fell towards the west side of the Greek tower. Here it destroyed a bridge which had been erected to carry on the King's road over a narrow valley about twenty five foot deep, between the chapel of purgatory, and the Carmelite monastery; and having crossed this valley, it proceeded towards the sea.

These two divisions of the second branch, thus falling into the highway, were about twenty three foot each in front, and took six hours to complete their course, i. e. from seven o'clock on Tuesday morning to some minutes after one the same day.

Another rivulet exhausted its fury on some inclosed grounds, where it stopped: all the rest were done at half an hour past one, except a small branch, which bending slowly towards the shore, determined its course at four in the afternoon.

During all this time, till May 23, the summit of Vesuvius ejected violent flames, accompanied with showers of burnt stones and cinders. On the 24th, after a long explosion of lightnings usual on these occasions, the fire at top seemed to abate a little of its rage, but the smok and ashes still continued to be ejected as before.

The 27th the flames sensibly subsided, though the smok was whirled out with as much impetuosity and as high as ever, but its blackness was considerably lightened and decreased.

On the 28th the fire of the summit was reduced almost to nothing; and on the 29th and following days, totally disappeared.

May 30 and 31st and from the 1st to the 5th of June, there still issued a great quantity of smoke, but of a pale and whitish colour.

June 5 and 6, there fell a great deal of rain, which occasioned the Lavangi, or fiery torrent extinct, to exhale a great smoke, so thick as to prevent the distinguishing of objects near them: that especially near the Greek tower cast a strong sulphureous smell, which had never been observed there while it continued its course. This noxious vapour infected the ground for about six hundred foot in circumference, withering the leaves of the trees and blasting the young fruits.

After some days interval, a second rain occasioned the torrent to smoke as before, but this new exhalation had no sulphureous odour, but one much more offensive to the head. It was the more remarkable as it had no resemblance with any known smells, and it continued to be felt in that place for a long time after.

As to the fire of the torrent, it preserved its fierceness outwardly till May 25th, when, the surface being exposed to the air, began to cool, the heat retiring to the heart of the Lavangi, where it continued about a month so intense, that when it was opened half a foot, and a stick introduced through the aperture, it took fire instantly.

The build-  
ings of  
Naples  
shaken  
without an  
Earth-  
quake.

The most remarkable thing in the last eruption, was, the thundering noise heard from the bottom of the volcano, especially on Monday May 21, at which time, not only the strongest edifices in Naples felt the shock in a sensible manner, but the effects of it extended to the distance of 15 miles or further. That this phenomenon did not proceed from the shaking of the mountain, or that of the adjacent parts, it seems reasonable to believe. To what then could it be ascribed? To the agitation the air sustained, by the successive torrents of flame; so gunpowder, thrown on a plate of metal red-hot, sparkles and cracks with double impetuosity.

The thunder that followed the lightnings of the volcano, differed from the common in this, that

it consisted of one clap, without either echo or prolongation, as happens to the former, from the repercussion of air through the sinosity of the clouds, or the obstruction of other bodies. The noise of the Vesuvian thunder was momentaneous, like the discharge of a cannon fired at sea at a small distance.

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Among the various appearances that attend the eruption of Vesuvius, the first place is due to those fiery streams of liquified matter called Lavangi. The excessive hardness they contract, in losing their heat, leaves them to the view, as eternal monuments of the force of that furnace, that is able to dissolve them, and give them such a fatal fluidity.

We do not find in the most ancient writers any distinct account of these Vesuvian torrents, but we know that in 1630, they forced a passage from the summit of the mountain to the sea. The dreadful conflagration of Aetna in 1669, left, near the city of Catania, a monument yet more remarkable, for the stream of fire penetrated so far into the sea, as to form a mole or key, whose harbour was capable of receiving vessels of good burthen. It will not here be amiss to observe the use to which the stones of those ancient petrified torrents have been for many years employed by the people of Naples: they hew into large squares that consolidated rock, which once was a stream of fiery liquified matter, and pave their streets with them.

The length of the principal Lavangi proceeding from the lower aperture, and ending near the sea, was found to be about 3350 Neapolitan canes. (The Neapolitan cane is 8 palms, a Neapolitan palm is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Paris foot; so that six of their palms equal five feet French measure. This makes the length of the torrent 134,000 French feet.) For the first 750 canes (or rods) reckoning from the source of the torrent, its breadth was the same, and its depth eight palms. For the last 2800 canes, estimating it at a medium taken from observations in ten several places, the breadth was 188 palms, the depth 30. As to the streams that are branched from it, the one which fell into the vineyard was found to be 1150 canes in its whole length, of which, by a like computation, 1050 were 250 palms broad, and 10 deep, and the rest about 100 palms broad. The other stream, which extended towards the Capuchins, was 1800 canes long, its breadth 548 palms, its depth 20.

So that from the preceding calculation it follows, that the total quantity of the fiery liquified matter, ejected by the volcano in the last eruption, amounts to 595,948,000 cubic feet, excluding the stones and ashes thrown out, as well as the torrents that issued from the summit, and which made no considerable progress.

It is one thing to consider these torrents in their fluid state, and another to regard them when or fiery they have been consolidated by the impression of the external air.

Lavangi  
fluid state,  
or when  
they have  
been  
consolidated  
by the  
impression  
of the  
external  
air.

In the first case, a Lavange shews but three remarkable qualities, 1. Its state of fluidity, by which it flows like other liquid bodies. 2. Its red or fiery colour. 3. Its consuming heat.

These torrents, beheld at a distance in the dark, give a light, not like that of a bright flame, but more dull and faint, such as bodies heated in a furnace red-hot. When you approach them pretty near, you presently are sensible of their violent heat, which is fatally destructive to houses, trees, or whatever else lies near their passage.



As soon as the rage of this fire begins to abate, the torrent losing its fluidity, congeals into a hard and brittle stone, it next loses its fiery colour, and lastly its heat, which it retains longer than all the rest of its qualities.

The fluidity of the Vefuvian torrents resembles that of melted pitch, or rather of glass in its state of liquefaction. However it is neither equal in all the torrents, nor even in different parts of the same torrent; for besides the diversity arising from the mixture of heterogeneous bodies, more or less susceptible of fusion, the degree of fire has certainly a great influence in giving a proportional degree of fluidity.

Hence it is easy to account, why in the last eruption the torrent that issued from the new aperture at the foot of the volcano, was much more liquid than those that flowed from the summit, as was apparent from their motion; no doubt it was owing to the activity of the fire, which was greater at that part of the mountain than at the top. The same rule also proves, why the torrents are always more fluid towards their source, and in proportion to the length of their course grow less and less liquid.

If the melted substances that compose the Lavangi are not equally liquid in all eruptions, or if their fluidity appears stronger or weaker in various parts of the same torrent, the inequality is the same with respect to the external surface, and the inside of the same streams; for several have remarked, that in striking with a stick the outside of a Lavange, yet running, they found it hard, sometimes to that degree as to give a hollow sound, while the inside was certainly fluid, otherwise it could not have held on its course.

These Vefuvian torrents are composed either of metals, or inflammable minerals, or stones, or other bodies subject to fusion, or similar substances, or rather, perhaps produced by a mixture of all these together.

That these fluids are wholly metallic is contrary to experience, for we know all metals are malleable bodies, i. e. subject to bend under the hammer without breaking, a property not to be found in the fragments of the Lavangi, for chuse what piece you will, it will fly in pieces, rather than yield to the most violent blow.

If these torrents are not purely a composition of metals, much less are they an intire mixture of salts, sulphur, bitumen, and other inflammable minerals; for neither the excessive hardness, nor the prodigious heaviness of the Vefuvian torrents agree with the nature of such a mixture.

The appearances of the masses that constitute our Lavangi are innumerable varied. Nothing can be more confused; but then nothing is more easy, on a closer view, than to distinguish them from each other than their principles. Every one may conceive, how by the excessive action of such a subterraneous fire, and by the mixture of a hundred various bodies, things must change their aspect in so violent an operation. We may even doubt if they may not be so metamorphosed as to lose their natural figure, and assume a delusive appearance. Willing therefore, to keep close to truth in our enquiry, we shall only speak of those minerals that are most visible, and in greatest quantity, viz. salts, sulphur, and a certain fat and bituminous substance, which we may call petroleum or rock-oil.

Of the last this volcano seems to contain an inexhaustible fund, as appears from great quantities.

ties of this oily or unctuous matter, which constantly floats on the sea, near the coasts of the bay. But in all the eruptions sulphur has the preponderancy, the volcano itself is quite lined with sulphureous concretions; lastly, the third mineral abounding in the Vefuvian fluids is salt, which, by the observations and experiments made on it, is judged by some to be sal-armoniac.

The stones thrown up seem not to be original substances formed in the cavities of the mountain, but rather concretions arising from masses formerly melted down and lodged in the cavities of the volcano.

The Italian architects highly value these spongy, perforated stones (the pumice stones) for the building of vaults or arches, not only on account of their lightness, but because they closely receive the mortar, two points that greatly contribute to the solidity of architecture. Vitruvius praises these stones and the mortar of Puzzoli for their great usefulness in the perfection and strength of architecture.

It is observable that the Mofetti, or pestilential exhalations always attend the conflagrations of the volcano.

*Of the state of Vesuvius since the last great eruption, A. D. 1737.*

**B**EFORE the eruption, the southern summit of Vesuvius, from whence the flames proceed, was both higher and more piked or sharp than at present.

The inside of the volcano, or its gulf, has also changed its aspect, as appears from this, that the smoke which continually exhales from thence is no longer united in one body as formerly, when it proceeded from one aperture, but is divided into five or six streams springing from so many funnels separate from each other, as may be easily seen before sun-rise, when the air is clear and calm; and if the smoke sometimes whirls out as if from one vent, it is owing to the quantity of the vapour or to the briskness of the wind.

Thus much is visible from Naples, but it is necessary to give the reader a nearer view taken on the spot, in which were observed the following particulars.

1. The perimeter or circuit of the base of Vesuvius in its utmost extent, is near forty Italian miles, but its nearest circuit does not exceed thirty; by the nearest circuit is meant, the place where it begins to rise above the plain.

2. The height of the northern summit, measured from the level of the sea, is about 720 Neapolitan canes, that of the southern point, or volcano, 646.

3. The new aperture, which is broke out on the declivity of the southern summit, from whence issued the principal torrent of fire, is 552 canes above the water-level.

4. The two summits are distant from each other at their points 340 canes, at their base 150; that is to say, in the place whence the two divisions of the mountain rise, called the Val d' Atrio.

5. The top of the southern summit is hollow, and presents to the eye a gulph of a circular figure, whose largest diameter, called its bason, lies from E. to W. and is 350 canes over.

6. This bason or cavity is edged with a border or bank, which projects to the inside, like a precipice, and nearly resembles the banks of a river hanging over, whose earth the floods have carried away.

14 L

7. This

The form of Vesuvius altered by the last eruption.



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7. This border is pretty equal round all the gulph, only to the W. it is interrupted by the advance of some fragments of rock exceeding hard, and which seem to be of the same substance with the internal matter of the Lavangi.

8. On the east side, where this bank is smoothest, is a sloping descent which leads to the bottom of the gulph, so that one may go down it though with much difficulty.

9. All this opening, such as now described, is the mouth of an abyss that pierces the intrails of the mountain in form of a truncated cone, of which the circumference of the opening makes the base.

10. The sides of this bason are all covered with cinders towards the east, unless where some pieces of rock appear through, near which lie several unperceived vents, from whence exhales the smoke; and about them are found various concretions of salts and sulphur. This is the side, which affords the easiest descent to the bottom of the bason.

11. Towards the south, the declivity appears much steeper, though naturally laid with great ranges of stone. The thickest smoke arises from this quarter, (at least during the time these observations were made) which is without doubt the cause that the mineral salts and sulphur are here found in greater quantities than towards the eastern side.

12. On the W. and N. the sides are almost perpendicular, formed of vast stones, some of which project out, and are as it were varnished or coated over with sulphur, the effect of the prodigious smoke which issues on that side.

13. The bottom of the bason lengthens a little between the north and south, its smallest breadth is about 50 canes.

14. When these observations were made on the internal state of the volcano, there was towards the south-side a small collection of rain-water, which covered near half the bottom of the bason.

15. The water was blackish and warm. It appeared frothy towards the edges, and had a bad taste of salt and sulphur. Its depth did not appear to exceed two palms, or thereabouts, as was judged from several stones, which the observers threw in.

16. This lake of rain-water was closed on one side by a bank of ashes, on which were observed the traces of several streams, that had run over into the empty part of the bason, but now lost and dried up.

17. The dry part of the bason appeared extremely rough and uneven, full of holes and breaks, and covered with salts and yellowish sulphur, ending like the hollow of a sea-shell between the north and west, and from this cavity, which was deeper than the lake, arose the thickest smoke.

18. It was impossible to measure the depth of this part of the bason, for want of a proper place to fix the instruments necessary for such an operation. The observers, however, willing to examine this matter as well as the situation of things would permit, took the following method; they chose that part of the north side of the rock where the precipice was steepest and least interrupted, so that by casting in stones, from hence, had hopes they would meet with least obstacles in the descent. They threw very large stones five or six times, while persons, placed on the other side the bason, measured the time of their fall by the beating of the pulse. The pulsations each time exceeded forty, so that taking each for a second, and suppos-

ing the stone to fall to the bottom with the same degree of velocity, the depth must be 84 canes. But as the man whose pulse was examined was much fatigued with climbing the mountain, and as the air was no doubt heated by the quantity of hot and sulphureous vapours, as well as by the weather, it being the heat of summer, no doubt the pulsations were too quick for an estimation of them at a second each: on the other hand, they supposed the degree of velocity in the fall of the stone to be equal, excluding the acceleration of it, as well as the obstacles it might meet in the descent, and believe their calculation not far from truth.

Such was the state of this volcano, at the time of the examination of it. I shall here add the opinion of some concerning this lake; which though the rains had been great, yet in September it took up but the half of the cavity of this bason.

They think then, that from hence they may account for the origin of those mineral springs that abound at the foot of the mountain in different places, and whose waters are impregnated with a salutary virtue.

By the former measures it is computed, that the mouth of the volcano, taken in breadth and length, contains 6,160,000 square palms. Now the rain that falls in the territory of Naples for the course of a year, amounts to about three palms in depth. By this computation it follows, that the cavity or bason of Vesuvius receives about 18,480,000 cubic palms of rain water annually: It is said about this quantity, because it is doubted whether the quantity be so great, for at the top of the mountain the rain falls always in less quantity than on the plain. This is known by the convergence of the drops in their descent from the clouds.

Now though a great part of this water is evaporated by the subterranean heat, yet it may be supposed there remains sufficient to supply perpetually the wells and rivulets adjacent to the foot of the mountain. This quantity is also decreased by what the surface of Vesuvius drinks in, which falling or sinking through its cavities, forms a new supply to the springs beneath.

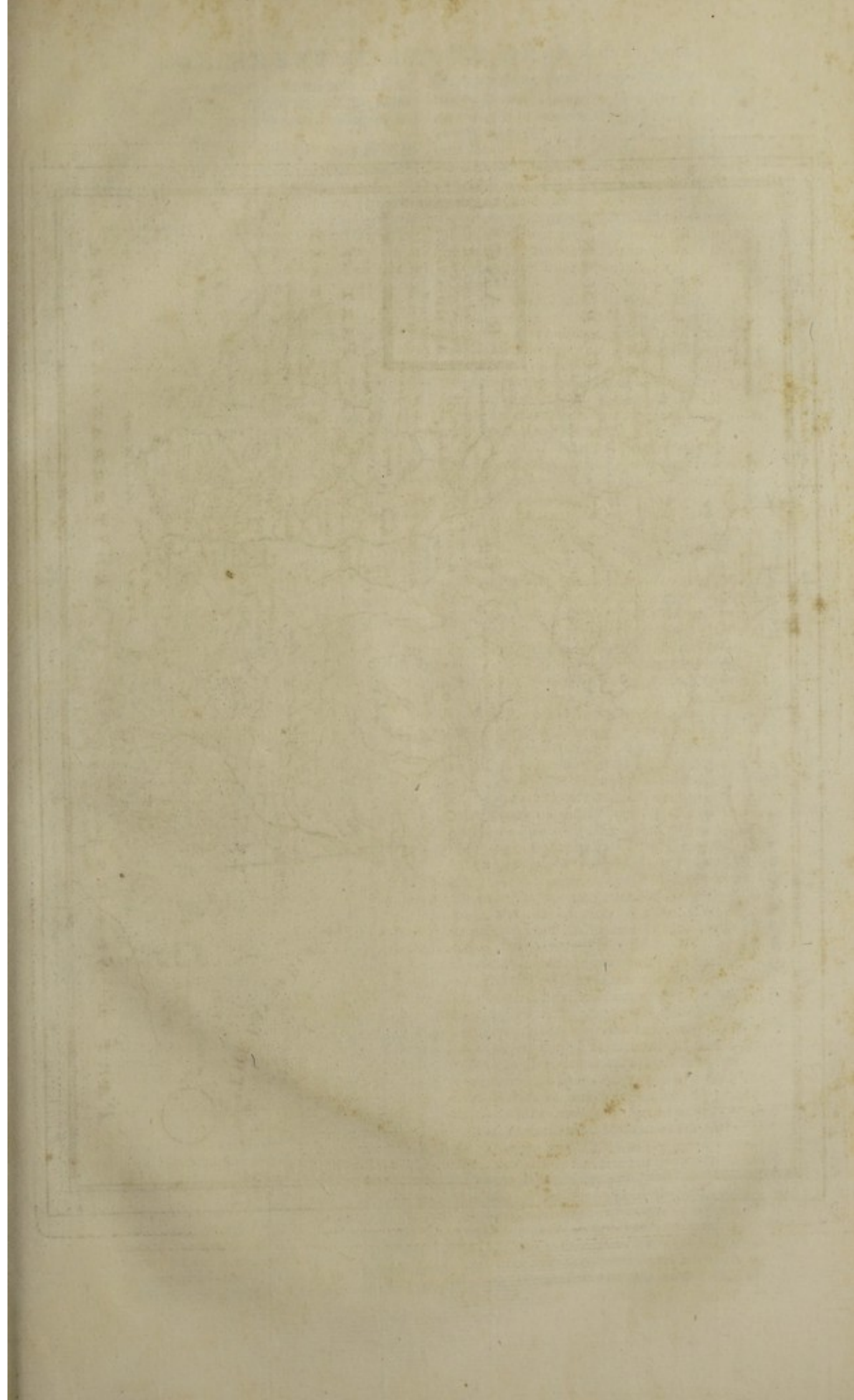
Hence it is easy to judge that the springs which rise at its foot become impregnated deeply with several minerals, especially those of the saline and sulphureous kind. And hence may proceed their diuretic quality, and that they are gently purgative and softening in several indispositions; of this there is a remarkable instance in the baths of Piscarielli, which rise behind the Solfatara near the lake of Agnano, and very probably do proceed from the snow and rains, which fall in the cavities of the volcano.

As the bason of Vesuvius is only a plain sunk in the middle, the water can find no issue but by passing through the cavities of the Solfatara, where it takes a strong tincture of sulphur and allum, and springs out very hot at the foot of one of those rocks that form the basis of the mountain.

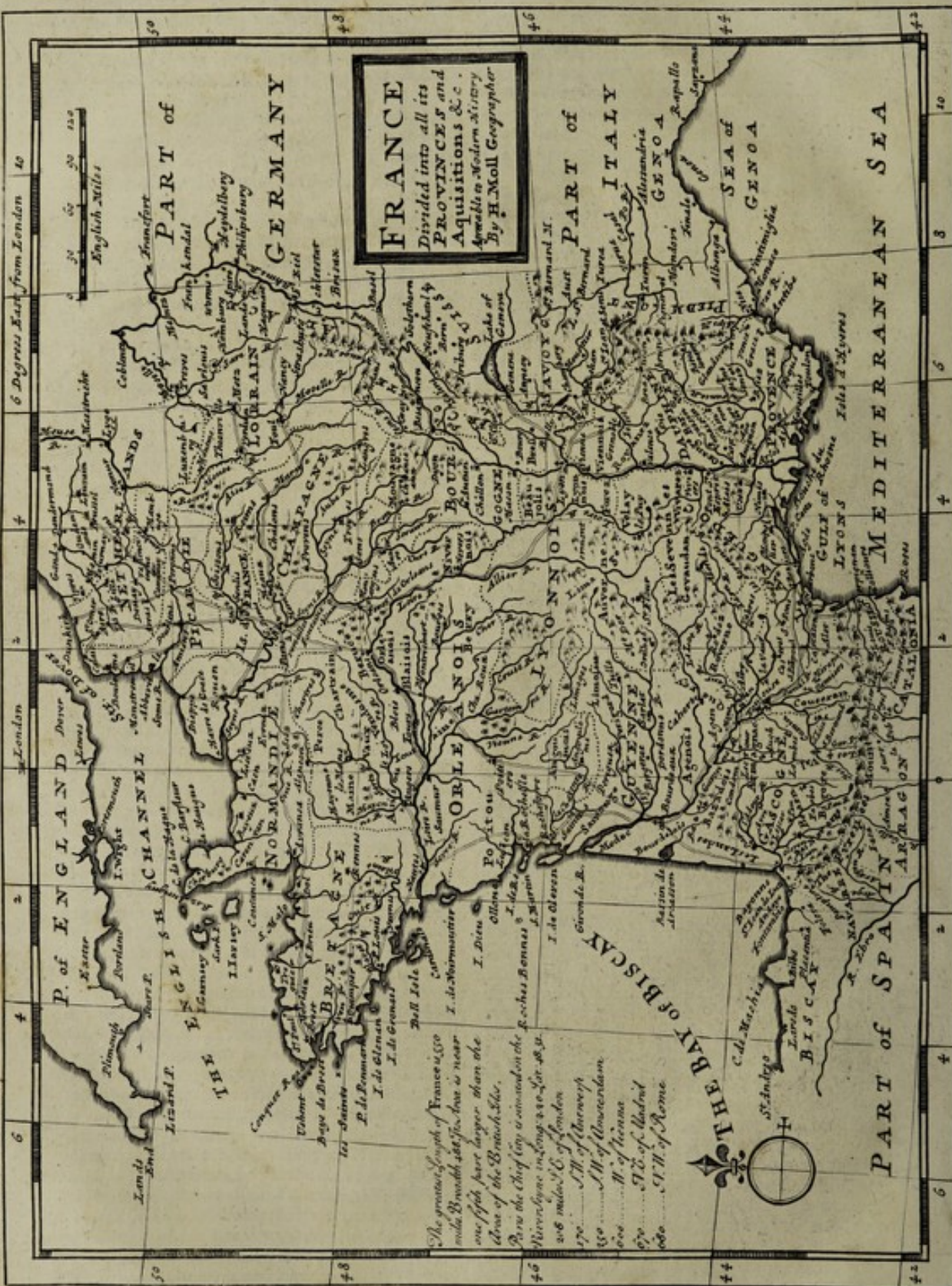
Amongst the changes produced by the last eruption, may be reckoned the impediment of the high road near the E. side of the Greek tower, for the way is there yet interrupted by the vast torrent which advanced near the sea-side. A prodigious bank was raised by it, which would have prevented all passage, if the labourers had not wrought to clear a way through this Vesuvian mound, and carried off the largest of the stones; it is still a little troublesome to cross the remains. The rest of the torrents did little damage.

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The republick of Geneva also has been in some confusion lately, by an insurrection of the populace, and made France umpire of their differences; but all is quiet again there.

As to the republick of Venice, they seem to have remained in a state of indolence of late years,

studying nothing more than to be at peace with all their neighbours; however, they happened to give some disgust to the court of Great Britain, by the honours they paid the son of the Chevalier St. George, and their minister at the British court was thereupon commanded home.

# THE PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the name, situation, extent and boundaries of this kingdom; and of the air, seas, rivers and mountains.*

CHAP.  
I.

The  
name.

**M**ODERN France contains a medley of nations, which in their turns have had the sovereignty of this country; as the Gauls, Romans, Franks, Goths, Burgundians, Normans, &c. but the Franks, a German people who inhabited the banks of the rivers Maine and Salii, (which province is at this day called Franconia) had the honour of communicating their name to this desirable country; and this name it hath retained ever since the fifth century. It is true the learned generally agree that the name of Franken, or free people, was not appropriated to any one class or tribe of Germans, but to all those powers that confederated themselves against the Romans in defence of their liberties: it is not however improbable that the inhabitants of Franconia might first propose the entering into this alliance, and lay the foundation of it, which might occasion their country to be called by way of eminence Frankeland.

Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

The kingdom of France is bounded by the British channel and the Netherlands towards the north; by Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, and Italy on the east; by the Mediterranean and Spain on the south, and by the Atlantick or western ocean on the west; extending from the 42d to the 51st degree of north latitude, and taking up above eleven degrees of longitude, the most easterly part of Provence, lying seven degrees to the eastward of London, and the most westerly part of Bretagne, four degrees odd minutes to the westward of London. Were it not for the province of Bretagne, which stretches itself above an hundred miles farther into the ocean than any other part of the kingdom, the form would be almost square, and the breadth and length pretty near equal, viz. about five hundred and forty miles; but making allowances for hills and valleys, and the winding of the roads, it must be above six hundred miles over either way in a traveller's account; and was exceeding populous till persecution, war, and famine lessened their numbers: scarce a country in Europe

that is not crouded with French servants, or French refugees; and their armies, which in the last war consisted of four or five hundred thousand men, could not but contribute to depopulate the kingdom: the famine which happened at the same time also in Paris only, swept away about an hundred thousand people, and more in proportion in the rest of the kingdom; so that if there was ever any colour for those high calculations of their numbers which some of their writers have made, computing the souls in France at nineteen millions and upwards; those who now estimate them at five or six millions, possibly come much nearer the truth.

The air is temperate, equally exempted, say the French writers, from the extremities of heat and cold, and on that account France is preferable to Germany and the northern countries on one hand, as it is to Spain and Italy on the other; and this happy situation occasions a great plenty of all things desirable in life, as corn, wine, oil, flax, &c. But I propose to give an account of the soil and produce in the description of the respective provinces, and return to the temperature of the air, which the natives so much boast of. Certain it is, that the northern provinces of France, and even the neighbourhood of Paris, is much colder in winter than England; as we are surrounded by the sea, we are not so subject to continued frosts, nor are we so sensible of the cold, because we are much better supplied with firing. The poor people in France often undergo much greater hardships in a severe season than they do in England, or more northern situations; I must confess, that clear settled weather, which we usually meet with on the continent, both in winter and summer, is preferable to that perpetual change which islanders are subject to, provided there is no want of fuel: but the northern people in this respect seem to have the better of the French, whose bodies are not only better prepar'd to endure cold, but have furs to clothe them when they go abroad, and stoves to lie in at night, so that they are in no danger of perishing by

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by the severity of the winter, as the common people in France sometimes are: and as the summers in France are hotter, this may probably be one reason they are more sensible of cold weather in winter than their northern neighbours are. But to conclude this head, every country has its conveniences and inconveniences, and whenever we hear a foreigner boasting of the clemency of the air, the beauty or fertility of his native place, we may safely conclude there are allays to be met with which may possibly counterpoise the happiness he boasts of: and on the contrary, how cold and comfortless soever some places may be represented, the natives still find something to render their condition tolerable, and in their opinion perhaps preferable to their southern neighbours.

**The seas.** In one respect indeed we must allow, that France has the advantage of any kingdom of Europe, and that is in the seas which border upon it, which afford them an easy communication with the rest of the world; the British channel washes all its northern shores, the Atlantick ocean the western coasts, and the Mediterranean the south; no country therefore can be better situated for the advancement of trade and navigation, of which however they do not make the advantages they might, as will appear hereafter.

**Rivers.** It is also extremely well watered with navigable rivers, of which the chief are the Loire, the Rhone, the Garonne, and the Seine. Of these the Loire is the largest; it rises in the mountains of the Se-  
**The Loire.** vennes in Languedoc, and taking its course north and north-west, runs by Nevers to Orleans, and from thence directly west by Tours, Angers and Nantz in Bretagne, and falls into the ocean forty miles below Nantz, receiving in its course the Aller, the Cher, the Indre, the Vienne, Sarta, the Mayenne, and several other rivers, and communicates with the Seine by the canals of Briare and Orleans; the whole course, with all its windings from the source to the sea, is computed to be about five hundred miles. 2. The Rhone, which  
**The Rhone.** rising in the mountain La Fourche in Switzerland, runs westward through the country called the Valais, dividing it into two parts; after which it passes thro' the lake of Geneva, and having visited that city, becomes navigable at Seissel, four or five leagues below Geneva, which it is not before, on account of the falls and cataracts that are met with in it: afterwards it flows on south-west to Lyons, where it joins the Soan, and then runs on due south till it falls into the Mediterranean by three several channels, having received the Isere at Valence, and the Durance at Avignon, and passed by the city of Arles. 3. The Garonne, or Gironne, which rising in the Pyrenean mountains, takes its course first north-east to the city of Thoulouse, and afterwards north-west to Bourdeaux, and fifteen leagues below that city falls into the ocean near the tower of Corduan by two channels, having received in its course the Auriege, the Sare, the Tara, the Lot, the Dordonne, and several other lesser streams, and has a communication with the Mediterranean by the royal canal, the work of  
**The Garonne.** Lewis XIV. 4. The Seine, which rises near Dijon in Burgundy, and runs to the north-west, visiting Troyes, Paris and Rouen in its way, and falls into the British channel near Havre de Grace: it begins to be navigable at Troyes, the capital of Campagne, and receives in its course the Yonne, the Loing, the Marne, the Oise, and the Eure, and several other less considerable streams. The highest  
**The Seine.** mountains are the Alps, which separate France from

Mountains

Italy; the Pyrenees, which divide it from Spain; and the Cevennes, which run through the Lower Languedoc to Auvergne.

## CHAP. II.

*Treats of the persons and habits of the French, of their genius and temper, diet, exercises and diversions.*

**T**HERE being such a multitude of French families in London, and other parts of England, it may seem unnecessary to say any thing on the heads enumerated in the title of this chapter; many will be apt to say they are perfectly acquainted with the persons and manners of this people, and that I cannot give them a truer notion of the French than they have already, and this may be true in a great many instances: I shall however, for the sake of those who have not had the opportunity of conversing so familiarly with them, attempt a character of the French according to the best of my judgment.

The French then as to their persons are generally of a lower stature than their neighbours of Germany or Holland, and of a much slighter make, but nimble, active and well proportioned, their hair and eyes are for the most part black, and their complexions brown; the northern people it must be owned have an advantage of them in this respect, as well as in point of stature, their features also are small and not very engaging, at least to an English eye: I must confess however, that I have seen some tall personable men of good complexions, and several beautiful females amongst them; and there is no reason to suppose that those provinces of France which border upon Flanders and Germany, and intermarry with the natives of those countries, should not equal them in these respects: nay, I am apt to think that the breed must be much mended on both sides, where a tall phlegmatick Dutchman happens to join issue with a little airy French lady. It is observable also, those of the French who come over hither very young and remain long amongst us, have more florid complexions than those who have been bred up in France; and another observation I believe all that have been acquainted with this people must make is, that both men and women wear very ill, and that as they grow into years, their features appear very harsh and shocking.

As to their habits we may see them imitated by our gentry all over England, tho' it must not be thought that the same dress is ever in fashion at Paris at the same time it is at London, for by that time it has got over hither, the French are infallibly in a new mode; and if a gentleman should go over to France in clothes that were made here by the best French taylor in town, he would probably find himself under a necessity of making several alterations on his arrival there; and therefore an Italian painter, when he was directed to draw a Frenchman, drew him with a pair of shears and a piece of cloth, intimating, that he was ever cutting out something new; and of all the bubbles in Europe, no nation follows their foppery so closely as the English: the Italians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, who are their nearest neighbours, despise their levity, and do not alter the fashion of their clothes once in an age.

As to the temper of the French, they are a merry sprightly generation, who seldom lay any thing to heart, familiar and acquainted at first sight, but excessively vain and talkative. If a native of  
**Their temper and genius.**

CHAP.  
II.

The persons of the French.



CHAP.  
II.

France speaks of his country, he tells you in the phrase of one of their authors who now lies before me, that it is the most ancient and illustrious kingdom in the world; that the fertility of the soil and clemency of the air is no where to be paralleled; that their religion, laws and government are the best that ever were instituted, and their prince the greatest monarch in the universe; and that arts and sciences never arrived at such a pitch as in this glorious kingdom; even the Hugonots, who fled from thence on account of the persecution, will subscribe to every part of this description, unless it be the point of religion.

The vain-glory and obsequious flattery so natural to the French, is sufficiently evident from the inscriptions on some of their royal palaces and statues, which I shall have occasion hereafter to recite in the description of them, and shall here only give a specimen or two of them; and first on the Louvre we meet with an inscription which tells us, that their King, their nation, and that palace, are the three wonders of the world, and that God only excels their King, as heaven does this house.

Under the statue of Lewis XIV. in the place of Victory is another modest inscription, viz. *Viro immortalis*, to the immortal man: and there they tell us also that their grand monarch gives laws to the whole world, which never was truer perhaps than at this day. Nor is it only at court that flattery is predominant, but in imitation of their superiors the lowest class of men seem to reverence, and even adore those who are a degree above them, and by this fawning insinuating behaviour many of that nation have raised their fortunes amongst us, and been on a sudden metamorphosed from lackeys into gentlemen; they have that wisdom where there is a prospect of advancement to suffer themselves tamely to be trod upon, and not only to put up all ill usage, but even to seem pleased and contented with it, and as they see the silly animals they serve delighted with the worship that's paid them, never fail to let them have their fill of it. But as this people are so exceeding humble while they are in a state of dependance, they are no less imperious when their fortunes happen to mend; they expect the same homage from their inferiors, which they were used to pay to those above them. To proceed in their character; they have a genius, says PUFFENDORF, fit to undertake any thing, whether it be in learning, trade, or manufactures, especially those things which depend more upon ingenuity and dexterity, than hard labour. Another author rightly observes, that they have generally quick and ready apprehensions, but too often run away with a superficial knowledge of things, not having patience to dive to the bottom of them: they are much commended by some for their hospitality to strangers, but I am really at a loss to discover wherein it consists, unless it be in formal compliments and ceremony, which they are ready enough to afford foreigners, or one another, but are not much given to make entertainments, or relieve the distressed; our refugees scarce meet with so good entertainment there, as the French do here. They are more extravagant in their dress, than in eating and drinking: it has been observed in Flanders, that a French officer covered with gold lace shall dine upon a roll and a few raisins, or perhaps a dish of soup and herbs, when an English officer of the same rank shall spend three or four shillings at and ordinary; and this brings me to enquire into their diet. It is very certain that the French do not eat that quantity of flesh that we do, nor do they often dress it

Their diet.

in the same manner; soups, fricassees, ragouts and hashes, disguised with onions, herbs, and spices, are preferred before whole joints boiled or roasted, and what they do boil or roast, has scarce a drop of gravy left in it; they chuse to hang up their meat also before it is dressed, till it is so very tender, that an Englishman would think it fit for nothing but the dunghill, and were it not for the high seasoning and herbs they use with it, would scarce be eatable: but if the French eat less meat than we do, they are perfect devourers of bread, of which they usually eat twice the quantity, and their bread is generally exceeding light and good.

They have also a great variety of wines which are their ordinary drink, and are supposed to contribute to that sprightliness and vivacity, so conspicuous in the French; those people that use malt liquors, and eat great quantities of flesh, may well be supposed to be heavier and slower of apprehension, tho' they may be of a larger size and better fitted for laborious employments: cyder is pretty much drank in the northern provinces of France, which yield little or no wine; and we are not to imagine that they commonly drink in the other parts of France, such good old generous wines as they transport abroad: no, they content themselves usually with those poor thin wines which will not keep, and are but a degree better than cyder, and send their best to market; inasmuch that it is the opinion of many, that there is more good old wine drank in London, if we may take Portugal and Spanish wines into the account, than there is in Paris. It is within our memory that port bore an equal price with French wine here, nor was the ordinary French valued without a mixture of port, or some such strong wine; it was the high duty laid upon it that contributed chiefly to that mighty esteem we have for it at this day; the vanity also of being able to drink a wine that our neighbours pockets can't reach, may have had some share in the setting such an unreasonable value upon it. A native of France tells me, that they have several sorts of wine that will not bear the bringing over, and must be drank at such certain seasons, or they are good for nothing, a month sooner or later makes a great alteration in them; but I shall have occasion to treat farther of their wines when I come to enquire into the produce of the country. I proceed now in the character of the people. It is observed that they allow their women all imaginable freedoms, and are seldom troubled with jealousy; a Frenchman will suffer you almost to court his wife before his face, and will even take it amiss if you do not admire her person; and by the freedom the lady takes in company, it is difficult sometimes to distinguish which is the husband and which is the stranger; nor are they much surprized if you find them doing the offices of nature; an English woman would sneak and put herself to great inconveniences, rather than a man should see her going towards the place where those things are usually done; whereas a French woman would not be out of countenance, or avoid you if she was actually about it; and to say no more of them on this head, all that have had any conversation with them must allow, that they are not the cleanliest people in the world.

Their women.

Another observation made of the French is, that they are a very litigious people, and ready to people. commence a suit of law upon every trifle. Some have carried it so far as to say, there are more lawyers and law-suits in France, than in all the king-



CHAP.  
II.Given to  
duelling.Esteemed  
good sub-  
jects.

doms of Europe, and these indeed find business for the several parliaments of the kingdom, who are the last resort in civil causes where the crown does not think fit to interpose. Another instance of their peevish querulous temper is, their being so much addicted to duelling, which cost LEWIS XIV. more pains to break them of, than any one transaction of his reign. This was really a noble attempt, and reflects true glory on that monarch, and is a thing that could never have been effected but by a despotick prince, who would admit of no evasions of his decrees. Whatever stated laws are made may be eluded, but if this Prince or his judges believed the party guilty but of designing or intending a challenge, they were sure to be punished with the loss of their lives and estates, and consequently the entire ruin of their families: not that I am an admirer of such arbitrary proceedings, but am observing that it would have been exceeding difficult to suppress this itch of duelling, in a government where the judges were not vested with such arbitrary powers. We see amongst our selves that the pretence of a sudden quarrel, and the fact being done in the heat of blood, renders all our laws ineffectual against this species of murder: if a formal settled malice is not proved beforehand, or there be not some extraordinary aggravations of the offence, the criminal ever escapes.

The French are commended much for their ready obedience to their governors, and the uncommon veneration they pay their prince; but very late histories will inform us it was not always thus, rebellions and civil wars have been as frequent in France as in any other country, while the people had any thing left to contend with the crown for; but now as the king is entirely master of their fortunes, and dispenses to them all temporal blessings, no wonder that they adore him as a god; upon his frowns or smiles their happiness or misery depends. They have the name of cities and possessions, but are really no more than tenants at will, vassals and factors for him. Their lands are taxed at that rate, that they will scarce afford the proprietor a subsistence who has not a place: and it is true, there is scarce a considerable family in the kingdom that has not some preferment in the church, the court, or the army, which are all in a manner in the disposal of the crown, and consequently the surest way to advance their fortunes is, by expressing an unlimited devotion for their Prince. In Russia they say, God and the Great Duke knows every thing, and does every thing; and so it is in France, God and the Prince are equally adored, as the subjects look upon themselves to be equally in their power. What would all their struggling for their ancient privileges avail them now, against such numerous armies of regular troops paid with their own money? They have neither forces or treasure to oppose against them; it is their wisdom therefore to make a virtue of necessity, and pretend to be contented with what they cannot remedy: nay, they do well to seem to be moved by a principle of love and affection for their Prince, because on his approbation depends their own and their families welfare.

It is observed of the nobility and gentry of France, that they never apply themselves to trade or merchandize, and that they lose their quality whenever they do; but if this was not the case, it is no wonder that they decline this way of making their fortunes, when there are so many other more suitable to their genius. A French gentleman seems naturally cut out for a courtier or an officer,

and if he happens to be of a melancholy disposition, or a man of letters, here are always convents and numerous preferments to be met with in the church; and the court having given great encouragement the last hundred years to the liberal arts, France has produced many learned men in most arts and sciences: for tho' people may be inclin'd themselves to ingenious studies, they seldom make those advances as when they are morally sure their labours will be rewarded with honours and preferments.

As to their military virtues, it must be acknowledged that the French have brought the art of war to great perfection; there are no people who attack or defend a place better than they do, or are better versed in fortification: their horse also, especially their gendarmerie, were deservedly esteemed as good as any troops in Europe, till the battle at Hockstet, when they were miserably broke: by the continuance of a long war they had taught their enemies to equal them, if not surpass them. There is no wonder that the French had some advantage of us in the beginning of the war, their King having during a long reign made it his business to establish a good body of horse, and the nobility and gentry of France being fond of this service, and perpetually qualifying themselves for it; and it was to his superiority in cavalry, that his successes at the beginning of the war were principally owing. Their foot are also exceeding well disciplined, but unless they were assisted by Swiss or Bavarians, they were liable to be born down by the weight of the Dutch and German infantry, who are generally much larger bodies of men, for which reason they were seldom successful where they had not a superiority in point of number, after the confederates came to be equally disciplin'd: for to suppose that the courage of the French or the confederates gave them any advantage over their enemies is very idle; war is become a trade, and any people who have been seven years in constant service will be good soldiers: if there be any advantages to be expected, it must be from the conduct of the general, or the weight and superiority of his troops; horses and men of a small size will never be a match for those of a larger bulk, and that side which hath the greatest weight and numbers, will infallibly carry their point, if there be not a very great disparity in the skill and conduct of the generals. It was indeed a profane saying of LUXEMBURGH, that give him a superiority of ten thousand men, and he would give providence leave to take the enemies side; but this we may say in regard to the courage of any people, that let the contrary party out-number them by ten thousand men in an hundred thousand, and they will run a great hazard of being defeated, let their natural or acquired courage be never so great.

As to their exercises, there are few French gentlemen that do not learn to dance, to fence, and ride the great horse; hunting also after their way is pretty much used, but we must not think they often ride a fox chase: when a French gentleman goes a hunting, he equips himself with a heavy pair of jack-boots, a huge war saddle, and a monstrous curb bridle, that you would think he was going to charge an enemy, rather than ride after a timorous hare or deer, but these gentlemen go rather to see the game killed than hunted; this is the business of the huntsmen, who only call their Lords to see the game destroyed, which they have brought into the toils, or direct them to proper stations where they may take a view of the chase now and then. Their other diversions are much the same with ours, or rather

CHAP.  
II.Military  
virtues.Their ex-  
ercises and  
diversions.



CHAP. II. rather we have introduced almost every French game amongst us, we follow them as closely here, as we do in the fashion of our clothes; nothing will go down with us that is not French, and therefore it is perfectly unnecessary to enlarge upon this head. I proceed in the next place to a description of the several provinces.

## CHAP. III.

*Shows the several provinces, or general governments the kingdom of France is divided into, and treats particularly of the government of Paris.*

General division of France.

36 general governments.

FRANCE, when the three estates of the kingdom, the clergy, nobility and commons used to assemble in parliament, and give their consent to such laws as were enacted, was divided into twelve provinces, from whence they used to be summoned, viz. from Normandy, Picardy, the Isle of France, Champagne, Bretagne, Orleanois, Burgundy, Lyonois, Guienne, Languedoc, Dauphine and Provence: but these parliaments having been discontinued ever since 1614, there is now no foundation for this division. The kingdom is at present actually divided into thirty-six provinces, or general governments, which ordinarily go under the name of generalities, viz. 1. The general government of Paris. 2. Of the isle of France. 3. Picardy. 4. Champagne. 5. Burgundy. 6. Dauphiné. 7. Provence. 8. Languedoc. 9. The government Du Foix. 10. Navarre and Bearne. 11. Guyenne and Gascony. 12. Saintonge and Angomais. 13. D'Aunis. 14. Poitou. 15. Bretagne. 16. Normandy. 17. Havre de Grace. 18. Du Maine and Perche. 19. Orleanois. 20. Nivernois. 21. Bourbonnois. 22. Lyonois. 23. D'Auvergne. 24. Du Limosin. 25. De la Marche. 26. The government of Berry. 27. Touraine. 28. Anjou. 29. Saumur. 30. Flanders. 31. Dunkirk. 32. Metz and Verdun. 33. Toul. 34. Alsace. 35. Franche Compté. And, 36. Roussillon. These I shall endeavour to describe in their order; but because the limits of the governments of Paris and the isle of France are not exactly settled by any of their writers, I shall throw them both together.

The Isle of France.

The isle of France, so named from its being encompassed with rivers, is bounded by Picardy on the north, by Champagne on the east, by la Beausse and Orleanois on the south, and by Normandy on the west, and is near fifty French leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, and is divided into the following districts, viz. 1. The isle of France proper, or the Paris. 2. La Brie Francoise. 3. Le Hurepois. 4. The Beauvaisis. 5. The Valois. 6. The Soissonois. 7. The Laonnois. 8. The Noyonois. 9. The Vexin Francoise. 10. The Gatenois. 11. The Mantois; and 12. The county of Senlis. And the principal rivers are the Seine, the Marne, and the Oise.

The Isle of France proper.

The Isle of France properly so called, in which Paris stands, is not above fifteen French leagues in length, and nine in breadth; this district alone was anciently called France, and afterwards communicated its name to the whole monarchy; the most remarkable places in it are, 1. Paris. 2. The forest of Vincennes. 3. Montmorency. 4. Dammartin. 5. Charenton; and 6. St. Dennis.

Chief places.

Paris city, the name.

The city of Paris was anciently called Lutetia, from its miry situation according to most writers, but this etymology some modern French authors

seem very much ashamed of, they cannot conceive that the metropolis of this glorious kingdom should ever have so filthy an epithet belonging to it as dirty, the *dirty town*: they object, that it was called Lutetia before the time of the Romans, and that it is strange, the Gauls, who were unacquainted with their language, should give it a Roman name; but still they do not give any other account of the original of the name which is more satisfactory. However certain it is, that this town being the capital of a people, called Parisiens, at the time it was conquered by the Romans, from them afterwards obtained the modern name of Paris, but took up no more ground then than the little islands enclosed by the branches of the Seine, which is scarce a twentieth part of the whole town at this day. But to proceed; modern Paris is of a circular form, encompassed with a wall, and divided by the river Seine, almost into two equal parts, being situated in 48 degrees 50 minutes north latitude, two degrees some odd minutes to the eastward of London, from which it is about two hundred miles distant, an hundred and twenty-eight to the southward of Calais, near six hundred north-east of Madrid, and as much to the westward of Vienna, and about seven hundred miles north-west of Rome.

Those who describe this city, usually divide it into three principal parts. 1. The town, which is the largest, situate on the north-side the river, containing the suburbs of St. Anthony, the temples St. Martin and St. Dennis, with the palaces of the Louvre, the Tuilleries, the royal palace, the place royal, the Bastile, and the arsenal. 2. The city, which is much the least, but the most ancient, consisting of three little islands in the middle of the Seine, called the Palais, the isle of Notre Dame, and the Louviers, which have a communication with the rest of the town, and with each other by several bridges. And, 3. The university, which lies on the south-side of the river, and comprehends besides the colleges, the suburbs of St. Germain, St. Michael, St. James, St. Marcellus, and St. Victor: and these, as well as those on the other side the water, are denominated suburbs, not because they are without the present walls, but because they were all built since that part of the town which stands upon the little islands and the river, and is still called by way of eminence the city. I shall take an opportunity to observe farther, that all that part of the town, which stands on the north-side of the river, and to which the name of Town is appropriated, lies upon a perfect flat, and was heretofore a morass; the city also lies low, but that part which lies on the south-side of the river, and has obtained the name of the University, has several rising grounds and eminencies in it. The air of Paris is something gross, but generally esteemed healthful; the hills, which lie to the southward, abound in pleasant springs, and the adjacent country is full of stone quarries, from whence they fetch their materials for building; and there are some pleasant groves on the banks of the Seine and Marne. The hills in the neighbouring country also afford excellent wine, as the plains to the southward do corn: all the country about Paris is watered with innumerable little streams, which fall into the Seine and Marne; and several of their springs are medicinal. Having thus given a pretty exact description of the situation of Paris, I shall next proceed to give an account of the quarters it is at

CHAP. III.

The form and situation.

General division of the city.

The air and country about



C H A P.  
III.Paris di-  
vided into  
20 wards,  
or quar-  
ters.Of the ex-  
tent of Pa-  
ris, and  
the num-  
bers in it.

present divided into, and of the most celebrated palaces and publick buildings in them. About the year 1702, there passed an act of their council of state, for dividing the whole town into twenty several quarters or wards, as follows, viz. 1. The city, containing fifty-three streets, 2. St. James's of the shambles, containing fifty-five streets. 3. St. Oportune, thirty-four streets. 5. The Louvre quarter, comprehending St. Germain, l'Auxerrois, and containing twenty-five streets. 5. That of the palace royal, or St. Honorius, containing forty-nine streets. 6. Mont Martre, containing forty-one streets. 7. St. Eustace, containing twenty-nine streets. 8. The halls, containing twenty-seven streets. 9. St. Dennis, containing fifty-five streets. 10. St. Martin's, containing fifty-four streets. 11. The Greve, containing thirty-eight streets. 12. St. Paul's, or the Mortellerie, containing twenty-seven streets. 13. St. Avoye, or the Verrerie, containing nineteen streets. 14. The temples, or Du Marais, containing fifty-two streets, 15. St. Antony's, containing sixty-eight streets. 16. The place Maubert, containing eighty-one streets. 17. St. Bennet's, containing sixty streets. 18. St. Andrew's, containing fifty-one streets. 12. The quarter of Luxemburg, containing sixty-two streets. And, 20. St. Germain de Prez, containing fifty-five streets.

According to the author of the late description of Paris, written in French, the whole town is about two common French leagues in the diameter, and six in the circumference; but notwithstanding most of the French writers boast, that it takes up more ground than any town in Europe, and especially London, all foreigners who have viewed both, and some of their own authors, do agree, that it is not so large as London. And it is easily demonstrated, that it is not so populous from the bills of mortality of each city, those of London exceeding the other one third usually: and though it be objected, that we take in some of the adjacent villages about London into the weekly bills; it is certain, that these are not equivalent to the numbers which belong to the shipping, and are annually sent from London to the plantations, and other foreign countries who die abroad: and it being generally agreed, that London is one of the most healthful towns in the world, it cannot be supposed, that there die greater numbers in proportion here, than there do in Paris; therefore, when the French writers talk of their being eight or nine hundred thousand souls in Paris, they are certainly under a very great mistake, the bills of mortality in London seldom amount to more in one year than seven or eight and twenty thousand people of both sexes, and supposing that one in thirty dies, which is the general estimate, as one in forty is for country places, and we multiply 28 by 30000, this makes but eight hundred and forty thousand. And as the bills at Paris are at least a third less, if we allow there are six hundred thousand souls in that city, we certainly over-do it: notwithstanding which, the French author above cited says, he can boldly affirm, that the city of Paris contains more inhabitants than any city in Europe, and that they amount to eight hundred thousand at least. Nay, before the late war, and the famine which happened in the year 1709, that they amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand more. He supports his assertion by another calculation, perhaps as wide as this; namely, the numbers of oxen, sheep,

and other animals consumed annually in this city, CH A P.  
III. telling us, that they do not kill less than seventy thousand oxen, seven hundred thousand sheep, &c. but this is a very uncertain way of computing, for an ox or sheep of one country, may be three times as large as those of another. We find here, that those of Lincolnshire far exceed the cattle of Wales and Scotland; and so no doubt they do the cattle in many of the provinces of France. He adds, that they use no less than twenty thousand coaches, and an hundred thousand horses; and yet gentlemen who have visited Paris, don't observe that there appear to be more there, than there are in London; and I believe every body, at first view, must admit, that this would be a very extravagant estimate even for London. He tells us farther, that there are twenty-four thousand houses in Paris, that they are generally seven or eight stories high, and filled from top to bottom, there being frequently several families in one house: now, if we allow, that there are one with another four families in every house, and six people in every family, that is, twenty-four in each house, which is a very large allowance, the number of inhabitants will not this way (multiplying 24000 by 24) amount to more than five hundred and seventy-six thousand men: but tho' some of the meaner tradesmens houses may be crowded with several families, it is to be observed, that the royal palaces, noblemens houses, colleges and monasteries, with the gardens belonging to them, take up a considerable part of Paris, and the inhabitants in these parts are but very thin. Can any one think, that when all the space between Temple-bar and Westminster was taken up with noblemens houses, gardens and monasteries, there were a fortieth part of the inhabitants there are now in the Strand, and the adjacent streets which have been built in the room of them? And this is the case at Paris at this day, there is scarce a French nobleman but has his hotel and gardens in that city, which take up an extent of ground equal to some streets; besides the royal palaces of the Louvre, and others, which may be some miles in circumference; so that put all things together, I believe it will be easily admitted, that Paris is neither so large or so populous as London is. I might observe farther, the vast resort of ships to the port of London, which Paris wants, that must contribute to fill our streets and houses with people; but whether London or Paris be the largest or the finest city, I must confess is not worth while to contend; much less would a writer render his veracity suspected, by making untrue or extravagant calculations in favour of his native place: it is school-boy like, thus to be ever magnifying the town or society we happen to be of, and despising every thing that is foreign. By the encomiums the French are ever giving their country and their prince, they would have us I presume applaud their happiness, and imagine, that some uncommon privileges are derived to them beyond the rest of mankind: but some will be apt to retort upon them; if this be true, how come we to find so many of you in all the kingdoms of Europe, who voluntarily banish yourselves from this desirable place? Those who are forced out of France on account of religion, are not so many as those who leave it out of pure necessity and want, and who are content to submit to a state of servitude in Spain, Italy, Germany, England and Holland, in popish as well as protestant countries, rather than remain in your own, which you have represented in



CHAP. III. in such beautiful colours, suitable to the inscription on the Louvre;

*Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ullam,  
Urbisve domum, dominum nec domus ulla parem.*

The buildings of Paris.

The houses in Paris are generally built of hewn stone, five or six stories high, with sash windows; there are abundance of spacious streets and squares in it, and the royal palaces and those of the nobility are many of them exquisite pieces of architecture, much beyond any thing we can pretend to in or about London: but then they have no streets of tradesmen, which make an appearance comparable to those of Cornhill, Cheapside, Fleet-street, and the Strand, for near two miles together; and tho' some of their writers have been so vain to boast of the rich merchants that are found in Paris, I may modestly say, there are many more to be met with in London; that our rich companies and banks are not to be paralleled there. And lastly, which I am very sorry to observe, the taxes raised in London, tho' our government is not commonly thought arbitrary, I doubt exceed those of Paris, if we reckon the customs, excise, land-tax, &c. And I am informed, that Paris does not pay less than three millions sterling per annum to the crown. But to be a little more particular, the things which best deserve a traveller's attention at Paris, are, their palaces, their churches and abbeys, their university, academies, libraries, hospitals, squares, statues, gates and bridges.

Palaces in Paris. The royal palaces are four in number. 1. The old palace which gives name to the island on which that quarter of the town stands, which is called the city. 2. The Louvre. 3. The Tuilleries. 4. The palace royal; to which I shall add the palace of Luxembourg or Orleans, the Bastille, and the Hotel de Ville or town-house, tho' not properly royal palaces.

The old palace. 1. The palace situate at the east end of the island of that name, which was the constant residence of the Kings of France, till the reign of LEWIS XII. who assigned it to the use of the parliament and courts of justice; it is a spacious old edifice, particularly the great hall, which is arched with stone, and supported with pillars, and serves like Westminster-hall for a kind of Exchange, where milliners, perfumers, booksellers, &c. keep their shops, as well as to accommodate the courts of justice. The great chamber of this palace is the place where the King holds his bed of justice, as it is called, and the Peers of France have their session; here also are the court of requests, the court of aids, &c.

The Louvre. 2. The Louvre, said to have been anciently a hunting-seat of the Kings of France, standing then out of the town, and the wolf being their principal game, from thence obtained the name of Lupara, and afterwards by corruption that of Louvre, according to the French writers: it is situated in that part of Paris called the town, on the north-west bank of the river Seine, but was never finished according to the original design, consisting at present only of two piles of building three stories high, the first adorned with the Corinthian order, the second with the Composite, and the third with the Attick. LEWIS XIII. finished the west front, and built a large pavilion in form of a dome, in the middle over the gate, which is supported by two rows of large pillars of the Ionick order. LEWIS XIV. expended immense sums on the east front, in the middle whereof is the principal gate

of the palace, being in length fourscore and seven toises and an half, or a hundred and seventy-five yards; the beauty of the architecture, sculpture, incrustations of marble, paintings, and other rich ornaments, says an English gentleman who viewed it, are surprising, and had it been finished according to its first design, would have been one of the most glorious palaces in the world; but this it is never like to be, now Versailles is built, whither most of the fine statues and paintings which adorned the Louvre have been carried. The reader may form a tolerable idea of the east front of this celebrated palace, if he has ever seen the hospital of Bethlehem in London, which was built after the same model, tho' it falls much short of it in the value of the materials and ornaments, as well as in the situation, the Louvre standing on the banks of a fine river.

The Tuilleries is another fine palace, or as some will have it part of the Louvre, because it is joined to it by a long gallery, which fronts the river Seine, and stands within that circuit of ground that was at first laid out for the Louvre. The front of the Tuilleries is an hundred and sixty-eight toises and an half in length, or twice so many yards, having four great square pavilions, with pillars of the Composite order, and a fifth pavilion covered with a dome in the middle, under which is the great hall and stair-case, which leads to the apartments. It was begun by CATHERINE de Medicis, and finished by LEWIS XIV. having on one side three fine courts, and on the other beautiful gardens, which, if completed according to the first design, it is said, would fall little short of those of Versailles; and here it is the quality walk in fine evenings, as they do in the Mall at London. The terrace, which runs parallel to the river, is esteemed one of the greatest ornaments to these gardens, being two hundred and eighty-six toises long, and fourteen broad, and planted with trees, from whence there is an admirable prospect both of the town, the river, and the adjacent country: the long gallery is also much admired, which runs from the Louvre to the Tuilleries, being two hundred and twenty-seven toises long, and four toises five feet broad, in which the painting and sculpture is admirable. Under this gallery is the royal printing-house, and the apartments of several ingenious artificers, employed and encouraged by the crown, as engravers, painters, watch-makers, goldsmiths, cabinet-makers, &c.

The Palace Royal stands not far from the Louvre, having been built by Cardinal RICHELIEU, and given by him to LEWIS XIII. in his life-time, on condition it should never be alienated from the crown; it consists of several large piles of buildings, separated from each other by spacious courts, of which the two largest are in the middle, the outside makes no great shew, but is exceeding plain, tho' the apartments within are very noble. It is said, the Cardinal avoided the making too great an appearance without, lest it should create him the envy of the nobility; and as it was, he thought it his wisest way to make a gift of it to the crown at last. What is most admired in this palace is a gallery, wherein most of the illustrious personages that France has produced, are drawn by the greatest hands. The gardens are small, but admirably well designed.

The palace of Orleans, generally called the palace of Luxembourg, from its being erected on the ruins of the Hotel de Luxembourg, is situated on



CHAP. III. an eminence in that part of the town called the University, and was built by Queen MARY of Medicis, the dowager of HENRY IV. who laid the foundations of it about the year 1615, and having finished it in six years, left it by her last will to her second son JOHN GASTON, Duke of Orleans. This palace consists of one large court,

at the end whereof is the principal building, having five pavilions or advanced works, two at each end, and one in the middle; in the last whereof is the stair-case and passage to the garden, and before it is a terrace the whole breadth of the court paved with marble. The outward building, by which we enter the court, consists of an open gallery or terrace, with a pavilion in the middle covered by a dome, adorned with pillars and statues, and at the end of each gallery on the right and left, is a large square pavilion which jets out, and is advanced beyond the rest of the front: the court is terminated on the right and left with galleries and piazza's, both fronts of the principal building are adorned with double pilasters. The orders observed chiefly here, are the Tuscan and the Dorick with the Attick above them; and they have also added the Ionick to the pavilions, which renders them more lofty than the rest. But there is nothing more admired in this palace than the great gallery on the right, painted by the celebrated RUBENS; containing the history of MARY of Medicis, from her nativity to her death, in twenty large pieces, ten foot in height each, and placed between the windows.

The Bastile. The Bastile is an antique fortification, consisting of an ordinary wall and eight towers, encompassed with a ditch, and serves chiefly at present for the confinement of state prisoners; near it is the Arsenal, furnished with arms and old armour, not unlike the armoury in the Tower of London.

The town-house. Their town-house or guild-hall makes no great appearance; it stands upon the Greve, a void space by the river-side, where the people assemble on festivals and rejoicing days; and here also criminals are executed.

Notre Dame cathedral. The great church or cathedral of Notre Dame, is situated on a little island of the Seine, to which it communicates its name, and is joined to the larger island of La Palais and the rest of the town by several bridges. The church is a majestic old Gothick structure, sixty-five toises or fathoms long, and four and twenty broad, and its height seventeen toises or fathoms: it is supported by an hundred and twenty large pillars, and the front admired for its sculpture, on which are the statues of eight and twenty of their Kings; the last being that of PHILIP AUGUSTUS. Here are forty-five chapels built without, but opening into the body of the church, and two square towers in the front thirty-two toises in height, with galleries about them on the outside. But the greatest curiosity in this church, is the high altar, begun by LEWIS XIII. and finished by LEWIS XIV. composed of the finest Egyptian marble: at the upper end of the choir where the altar stands, is an image of the virgin, in a sitting posture, at the foot of the cross, with a dead Christ upon her knees. On the right hand is the figure of LEWIS XII. upon his knees, clothed in his royal robes, offering his crown and scepter to the virgin; and on the other LEWIS XIV. in the same posture. Six angels guilt, large as the life, carrying the several instruments of our Saviour's passion, are placed three on each side. The principal altar stands a little farther advanced in the

middle of the sanctuary, an angel of a large size in the posture of adoration being placed without the rails at each end of it: the whole choir is beautified in an extraordinary manner, scarce inferior in the richness of the materials, the carving or workmanship, to any in Italy. The other churches and chapels in Paris, which make the best figure, belong generally to the abbies and convents, as the church belonging to the abbey of St. Genevieve, that belonging to the ancient abbey of St. Germain, and the church in the nunnery of Val de Grace, founded by Queen ANNE, upon the miraculous birth, as it is called, of LEWIS XIV. after she had been married two and twenty years without children. The cupola and high altar here are mightily admired, but nothing renders it more remarkable than the inscription over the portal, viz. *Jesu nascenti Virginique matri*: To the infant Jesus, and to his virgin mother.

The university. The university, which gives name to that part of the town that is situated on the south-side the river Seine, the Parisians pretend is one of the most ancient in Europe, and that it formerly consisted of an hundred colleges, though there are but fifty-four houses at present that bear that name, and of these not more than ten where exercises are performed; these are the colleges of, 1. Navarre. 2. Du Plessis, which prepares the students for the Sorbonne. 3. The college of Harcourt. 4. The college of Beavois. 5. The college of the Cardinal Moine. 6. The college De la March. 7. The college de Liseux. 8. The college de Montagu. 9. The college de Grassins. And, 10. The college of the four nations. It is needless, says my French author, to name the rest, where no lectures are read: in this university are professed divinity, law, physick, and the liberal arts, comprehending humanity, languages and philosophy: the Sorbonne and the college of Navarre, are appropriated chiefly to divinity; the schools for law are in the college of Cambray, and in the street Beavais; and the physicians have a noble anatomical theatre in the street de Boucherie, and a hall where they read lectures. The Sorbonne, esteemed one of the finest colleges in Europe, not only on account of its buildings, but the learned doctors who inhabit it, received its name from ROBERT de Sorbonne its founder, and made but a very mean appearance till Cardinal RICHLIEU rebuilt and beautified it; the church is a very elegant structure, having this inscription over the portal, viz. *DEO OPT. MAX. ARMANDVS CARDINALIS DE RICHLIEV*. It has a dome and four towers, and on the side of the court next the house, is a handsome portico ascended by sixteen steps, where we read another inscription, viz. *Armandus Joannes, Card. Dux de Richlieu, Sorbone Provisor, edificavit domum & exultavit templum sanctum Domino 1642*. The inside of the church is adorned with pilasters of the Corinthian order, between which are niches filled with statues of angels and apostles; the dome is finely painted, and the high altar adorned with six marble pillars of the Corinthian order; their bases and chapters brass gilt, and on it a fine crucifix of white marble is placed, esteemed an admirable piece of workmanship. The tomb of the Cardinal is in the middle of the choir, on which he is represented in an almost emblematique posture, supported by religion, and the afflicted sciences weeping at his feet: the library is a handsome fabrick, extremely well furnished with manuscripts as well as printed books, having the Car-



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dinal's picture at one end of the room, and his bust in brass at the other, the fathers and school-divines are regularly placed one after another, with their respective annotators under them; the college contains apartments for thirty-six doctors, those who are admitted amongst them before they have obtained their doctor's degree, are only said to be of the hospitality of Sorbon, and not of the society; such is the reputation of this college, that the whole university is sometimes denominated the Sorbon. After the students have attended public lectures three years, they are qualified for the degree of bachelors, and wear lambkins and tippets two years; afterwards they are advanced to the degree of licentiates, when they are generally made opponents to those who come for their doctor's degree; transubstantiation, the trinity and incarnation, are frequently the topics they dispute of; and in these debates my author observes, they take as much liberty almost as they would in protestant countries. The university of Paris, according to their own writers, was founded about the latter end of the eleventh century, their first statutes were instituted anno 1215, by ROBERT CORCEON, legate of the holy see, in which there is no mention made of any other faculties, but arts, philosophy and divinity. INNOCENT III. introduced the canon law about the year 1216. And it appears by a bull of Pope GREGORY's, anno 1231, that there were physicians then members of this university: canon law only was read in the university till the last century, when lectures were instituted for the civil law, and the common law of the nation, their schools being first founded for the liberal arts only. The head of the university, who is called rector, is always elected from that body, and never of the other faculties. He has the precedence in the university of all persons who are not princes of the blood; his habit of ceremony is a violet-coloured gown with a mantle of ermins; he is elected every three months. The faculty of arts is distributed among the four nations. 1. The nation of France. 2. The nation of Picardy. 3. The nation of Normandy. And, 4. The German nation, which comprehends all foreign nations, as German, English, Irish, Italian, &c. The head of each nation is called the procurator, and is of the rector's council, without whom he transacts nothing of consequence. The usual titles given to the four nations are, *Honoranda Gallorum Natio* for France; *Fidelissima Picardorum Natio* for Picardy; *Veneranda Normanorum Natio* for that of Normandy; and *Constantissima Germanorum Natio* for that of Germany: the other three faculties also have their titles, as *Sacra Theologie Facultas*, for that of divinity; *Consultissima Decretorum Facultas*, for law; and *Saluberrima Medicorum Facultas*, for that of physick. Before a person is admitted a graduate in the university of Paris, he ought to continue his studies five years, namely, two in philosophy, and three in divinity, law, or physick.

This university had formerly civil jurisdiction, and if any of its members had committed a crime, he was not answerable for it in other courts; but the case is far otherwise now, they have lost most of their privileges, and other colleges, academies and societies for improving arts and sciences, have been erected of late years by the royal licence and encouragement, in opposition as it were to the university, which have no dependance on it; to which the university made a strenuous opposition, but could not prevent it.

The revenues of the university which arose from a grant of the letter-office were resumed by the government, and only a pension of forty thousand livres allowed to the ten colleges where exercises were held, till the year 1619, when the duke of Orleans by letters patent raised it to an hundred and twenty thousand livres and upwards, which may amount to eleven thousand pound per annum sterling. But I do not perceive the colleges are endowed with any estate in lands, but lie wholly at the mercy of the government; and whenever the court have extraordinary occasion for money again, probably the university will have their pension reduced. What contributes most to make arts flourish in this university at present, is that emulation that is between them and the other colleges and academies set up against them, and an apprehension that they may one day be judged useless by the state, if they do not exert their talents.

The colleges which have no dependance on the university are, 1. The college royal, founded by FRANCIS I. about the year 1531, for philosophy, eloquence, mathematicks, physick, the eastern languages, &c. situate near the college of Cambray. 2. The Jesuits college, on the front of which is written in capitals, *Collegium Ludovici Magni*; besides which, the Jesuits have another college or two, wherein they observe their own discipline; but the students cannot take their degrees, unless admitted of some college in the university.

Their academies are, 1. The academy Francois, which was at first only a society of ingenious men, who met once a week at their respective lodgings for conversation, who being encouraged by Cardinal RICHELIEU, attempted the improving and polishing the French language, and in 1635 the academy was established by a royal edict; LEWIS XIV. appointed them an apartment in the Louvre, for holding their assemblies.

The royal academy of sciences was established by Mr. COLBERT, about the year 1666, and is composed of the most celebrated philosophers, mathematicians, &c. for whose use the King built the royal observatory in St. James's suburb, their institution being much of the same kind as that of the royal society in London.

There was also a royal academy established for painting and sculpture by LEWIS XIII. and another for architecture by LEWIS XIV. and the Gobelins was erected by royal authority, wherein all mechanic arts are exercised and improved, as the manufacture of tapestry, mosaick work, wrought plate, hard ware, or works of iron, steel, copper or brass, embroidery, &c.

The principal libraries in Paris are, 1. The royal library, containing according to the French account sixteen thousand volumes of valuable manuscripts in the Oriental, Greek, Latin, French, and other living and dead languages; and about eighty thousand printed volumes: and in the year 1720, it was ordered by an arret of the council of state, that the books, medals, and rarities which were in the king's cabinet at the castle of Versailles, should be conveyed to Paris to be kept in his Majesty's library there; that no book or medal should be lent out on any pretence, but by the King's express order; but that all persons, as well foreigners as others, should be admitted to peruse the books, &c. and accommodated with conveniences for their studies.

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The library of St. Victor, famous for its manuscripts, and a great number of excellent books, is open to the publick three days in a week.

The library of Cardinal MAZARIN also has been publick ever since the year 1688.

The library of M. RIVONFONDS, advocate of the parliament of Paris, was left to the order of advocates, on condition it should be publick.

The library of the fathers of the christian doctrine near the gate St. Marnel, has been made publick since the year 1718.

There are several other excellent libraries, which are only open to the respective societies to which they belong, as the library of St. Martins in the Fields, the library of St. Genevieve, that of the Sorbon, the Jesuits, &c.

Hospitals

I come now to the hospitals of Paris, which are about thirty in number, some founded for poor old infirm persons, some for foundlings, or children whose unhappy parents know not how to provide for them, whether legitimate or not; others for orphans, mad people, blind, vagrants, and incurables; of which the four chief are those called, the Hospital General, the Hotel Dieu, the Hospital of Charity, and the Hotel Royal des Invalides. The Hospital General is a vast pile of building, containing six distinct houses, one whereof is for poor old women and girls: another for poor families and foundling children, the others for poor women sent hither to lie-in: beggars, vagrants, &c. in all the six, it is said, there are frequently ten thousand people who are made to work when they are well, and taken care of when they are sick: it was finished by Cardinal MAZARIN, anno 1657. The Hotel Dieu is the most ancient hospital in Paris, and entertains all people who are brought thither, whether natives or foreigners; whereupon it is often too much crowded: the sick are attended here by the nuns of St. Austin with great tenderness, and the danger and trouble of this office making it esteemed meritorious here, the ladies of the first quality have sometimes undertaken it; the Dutches of Nemours being among these heroic ladies thus charitably employed, took the small pox and died of it: the number usually taken care of here amounts to about two thousand.

In the Hospital of Charity, the friars of St. John perform the same offices as the nuns do in the former.

The Hotel Royal des Invalides, or the royal hospital for wounded and infirm soldiers, is much the most magnificent; it is composed of five handfom quadrangles built of hewn stone, of which the largest stands in the middle of the rest, the squares being surrounded with piazzas and galleries above them make a very splendid appearance. In the refectories where the soldiers eat, are all the famous battles and sieges painted which have been fought of late years; the apothecary's shop is extremely well contrived, and furnished with drugs, and the sick are attended by the sisters of St. Lazarus. Our countryman Dr. NORTHLEIGH is of opinion, that Paris is the best school in the world for young physicians and surgeons, on account of the freedom allowed to strangers to be present at their operations performed in all their hospitals, the advantage of their chymical lectures, physick-garden, and frequent practice of anatomy. There are usually entertained in the hospital of Invalides two hundred officers, and three thousand common soldiers; the officers lie two in a chamber, and the private men six or seven in a room, but every one has a bed to himself, and may follow what busi-

ness he thinks fit: they eat in common, but every man has his portion of meat served up to him, and they are permitted to go out and negotiate their affairs two days in a week.

The Jardin Royal, or physick-garden, in the suburb of St. Marcel, is well stored with all kinds of plants, and committed to the care of one of the King's physicians, being maintained at his Majesty's charge; and here botanick lectures are held during the best season for plants: it is something longer, but not broader than that of Oxford, there belongs to it also a good anatomy-school well provided with skeletons. In the King's laboratory every body is admitted to see the operations; and the medicines made here are bestowed on the poor.

The Observatory already mentioned stands in St. James's suburb, and was built by LEWIS XIV. for astronomical observations; it is a vaulted fabrick without either wood or iron work, three stories high, and you descend from it into a cave with little alleys two hundred steps, from whence one may see quite through the top of the house to the sky: by this contrivance they proposed to observe the motion of the stars in the day-time, but it does not answer expectation, no stars being seen from hence, for none they say pass through the Zenith of Paris; but this defect might have been foreseen by the learned, as my author observes, before they had given themselves the trouble of digging this subterraneous apartment.

As to the places or squares in Paris, some reckon up near fourscore, of which the principal are, Le Place de Louis le Grand, or of conquest, Le Place de Victoires, Le Place Royal, the Greve, the Place Dauphine, and the Place Maubert; the square called the Place of Lewis the Great, or des Conquetes, is a large octagon, open towards the street of St. Honore, capable of containing ten thousand men, and surrounded with glorious buildings; but the greatest ornament is the fine equestrian statue of the late King LEWIS XIV. in the middle of it, twenty foot in height, and made of brass, said to be run at one cast; it stands on a marble pedestal filled with inscriptions, containing the great actions of this prince's reign.

The Place de Victoires is not of a great extent, but of an oval figure, and encompassed with uniform magnificent buildings; in the middle of it is an admirable statue of the late King, brass gilt, and thirteen feet in height, dressed in his robes, with a Victory standing behind him of the same size and metal crowning him, and under his feet is a three-headed Cerberus: the whole was cast at once, and weighs thirty thousand pounds and upwards, exceeding, say the French, any thing that ever was done of this kind, either by the Greeks or Romans; under the statue is that inscription already mentioned: *Viro immortalis, to the immortal man.* The pedestal is of white marble twenty foot high, having at the corners the figures of four slaves in brass, much larger than the life: the pedestal also is adorned with bass-reliefs and inscriptions, shewing the most memorable events of his reign. This proud monument was erected by the Duke de la Feuillade, to his master's glory in the year 1686. The tenour of the grand inscription is as follows, viz. *Ludovico Magno, Patri Exercituum & Duftori, semper Felici, domitis Hostibus, protectis Sociis, adjectis Imperio fortissimis populis, extructis ad Tutelam Finitum firmissimis Arcibus. Oceano & Mediterraneo inter se junctis, praedari Vetitis toto mari piratis: Emendatis legibus. Deleta Calviniana Impietate; Compulsis ad Reverentiam*

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servatory.Places or  
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The Place Royal. The Place Royal is perfectly square, and one of the largest in Paris, about the same dimensions as Lincoln's-inn-fields in London; it has a piazza on every side, and the buildings are magnificent and uniform; in the middle of it is an equestrian statue of LEWIS XIII. erected by Cardinal RICHELIEU, with several inscriptions, expressing the most remarkable events of his reign.

The Greve. The Place of the Greve, I have observed already, lies by the river side, and is the place where the people assemble on rejoicing days, and here also offenders are executed for capital crimes.

The Place Maubert. The Place Maubert serves for the holding one of the greatest markets in Paris, on Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, and lies near the keys de Tournelle and St. Bernard.

The gates. The principal gates are those of St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Antony and St. Bernard, which are not unlike that of Temple-Bar in London.

The port of St. Denis. The port of St. Denis was the design of the Sieur BLONDEL, master of mathematicks to the late Dauphin; it is seventy two foot broad and of the same height, being built after the model of an ancient triumphal arch; there are two little portals on the sides of the great one, the largest is twenty four foot in height, and on it are bas-reliefs, representing the French armies passing the Rhine, Waal, &c. with the following Inscription, viz.

*Ludovico Magno quod Diebus vix sexaginta Rhenum Wabalim Mosam Isalam superavit, subegit Provincias tres, cepit Urbes munitas quadraginta, Emendator male memori Batavorum gente. Præfektus & Ediles P. CC. Anno Dom. M.DC.LXXII.*

And indeed the rapidity of his conquests surprised all Europe, the Dutch were unprovided of forces, and quarrelling about a Stadtholder; some of their towns would not admit of the States troops to defend them, and others were probably corrupted with French money, insomuch that many of them surrendered to the French King without giving him the trouble of sitting down before them. But this inscription ought to have informed us also, that when the Dutch were recovered from their consternation, and their allies marched to their assistance, this mighty conqueror left all his boasted acquisitions, and retreated with almost as much precipitation as he advanced, scarce retaining any one town he had made himself master of.

The port of St. Martin. The gate of St. Martin was built in the year 1674, after the same model as that of St. Denis, resembling a triumphal arch, having three overtures, one great one, fifty foot in height, and as

many in breadth in the middle, with a little portal on each side, and this inscription, *Ludovico Magno, Vespotione Sequanisque Bis Captis, Et Fraetis Germanorum Hispanorum & Batavorum exercitibus. Præf. & Edil. P. CC. Anno R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.* And on the other side the following inscription, viz. *Ludovico Magno quod Limburgo Capto impotentes Hostium minas ubique repressit. Præf. & Edil. P. CC. Anno 1674.*

The gates of St. Antony and St. Bernard, are also both of them built after the model of a triumphal Arch; that of St. Bernard's is adorned with bas-reliefs on one side, representing the King distributing the wealth brought into this city by navigation with this inscription, *Ludovico Magno Abundantia parva, Præf. & Edil. P. CC. Anno R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.* On the other side we see a god steering a ship under full sail, with the following inscription, *Ludovici Magni Providentia, Præf. & Edil. P. CC. Anno R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.* And in fact most of the principal gates are so many triumphal arches, designed to eternize the memory of LEWIS XIV. the vainest King of the vainest people upon earth. But I must not here forget the great and little Chatelet, which were the gates of Paris when the city was confined to the island of the palace surrounded by the branches of the Seine.

The great Chatelet, or gate of Paris, according to tradition, was built by CÆSAR, of which there remains now no more than some antique towers, all the rest having been built since the year 1684; here the courts of justice are held for the provostship and viscounty of Paris, and it serves for a prison for criminals.

The little Chatelet also is an antique fortress and a prison for criminals, and generally pretty well stocked with them; and having a large overture in the middle, served for a gate to the city.

As Paris is divided by the Seine into three parts, there are not less than ten or twelve bridges over the several branches of it, of which the three principal are the Pont Royal, the Pont Notre Dame, and the Pont Neuf.

The Pont Royal is a plain stone bridge of five arches, built cross the united stream of the Seine, over-against the Tuilleries, about the year 1685, in the room of a wooden bridge which was broken by the floods. LEWIS XIV. to perpetuate his name, lodged in the stone-work of this bridge several cedar boxes adorned with the arms of France, in which he inclosed twelve copper medals, twelve of gold, and twelve of silver, one of which had for its motto, *Germania Servata*; another *Iussit Quiescere*; a third *Rhenus Batavique una Superavit*; and on a fourth, JUPITER is represented with this motto, *Vibrata in Superbos Fulmina*; and underneath, *Gemma emendata*. This bridge is seventy-two fathoms long, and eight fathoms four feet broad.

The Pont Notre Dame, or Our Lady's Bridge, so called from its lying over that part of the Seine which runs between the island of Notre Dame and the south part of the town, is also built of stone, and hath houses on each side as London-Bridge, but is much shorter; it was built by LEWIS XII. about the year 1507, in the room of a wooden bridge which was carried away by the stream.

The Pont Neuf, or New Bridge, is a handsome piece of architecture, and lies over both branches of the Seine, and the west end of the island of la Palais: it is an hundred and seventy fathoms long and twelve broad, raised on each side for foot people to walk on, in which respect it is more com-



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modious than London-Bridge, but is not near so large and substantial, nor indeed is there any occasion it should, the water not running with that force it does at London, and there being no manner of tide here. This bridge was begun by HENRY III. anno 1578, and finished by HENRY IV. in 1604. On it is an equestrian statue of this last Prince, much larger than the life, set upon a pedestal of white marble, with four slaves at the four corners, and the inscriptions and bas-reliefs shew the most memorable transactions of his reign. And thus I have given such an account of the palaces and publick buildings of Paris, as is consistent with the work I am upon.

A general  
account of  
Paris.

I shall only add what the late author of the description of Paris says of this city in general, namely, that there are in it twenty two thousand houses, many of which are seven stories high, fifty two parishes, an hundred and thirty four monasteries, of which fifty six are for friars and seventy eight for nuns, and nine hundred seventy nine streets; more than fourteen thousand coaches, and seven or eight hundred thousand persons, in which he is more modest than many of his countrymen. The conventual and parochial churches and chapels amount to two hundred and upwards.

Paris an  
archbishi-  
shoprick.

Paris was a bishoprick suffragan to the archbishop of Sens, till Pope GREGORY XI. erected it into an archbishoprick, at the request of LEWIS XIII. anno 1622. the suffragans whereof are Chartres, Meaux, Orleans and Blois; and in the year 1674 the archbishops of Paris were made perpetual dukes and peers of France by LEWIS XIV. This archbishop exercises a civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the lands belonging to his see: his revenue is computed at an hundred thousand livres per annum, which amounts to between nine and ten thousand pounds a year English money. As to the ecclesiastical government of Paris and the rest of the kingdom, I reserve a chapter particularly for it.

The civil  
govern-  
ment of  
Paris.

The civil government of Paris is distributed amongst several courts of justice, of which the highest is the parliament, that extends over several of the neighbouring provinces, and is the last resort in all causes where the court does not interpose, as will appear in the chapter set apart for treating of the civil government of France. The parliament of Paris consists at this day of the chief president, nine presidents a mortier, one and twenty presidents by commission, two hundred and fourteen counsellors, with the necessary officers, as attorney and solicitor general, register, &c. and is divided into nine chambers or houses that have their respective branches of business assigned them, on which I shall enlarge hereafter in treating of the civil government of the kingdom in general. The other courts in Paris are the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, the court des monoyes, which regards the coinage, weights and measures, the court of the treasury, the court of the waters and forests, the court of the constable and marshals, the court of admiralty, the Chatelet, or the ordinary court of justice for the civil government of the city, of which the provost or mayor, with the four eschevins or aldermen, and twenty six counsellors are judges: the court of the Hotel de Ville, or Guild-Hall, which takes an account of the city rents, and of the taxes on all provisions brought into Paris; and the court of the consuls, which takes cognizance of all things relating to commerce; in which courts the provost (by himself or his lieutenant) presides, who is nominated by the King.

And there is a military, as well as a civil government in Paris, which in this and in every other province is independent if not superior to the civil power: the courts above-mentioned are suffered to go on without interruption where the crown is not concerned, and while they obey the dictates of the ministry; but should they presume to dispute the King's pleasure, they would soon be made sensible of their error by a military force; Paris being in reality subject to a lieutenant general. The captains of the castles or palaces of the Louvre and Tuilleries receive orders also immediately from the King; and the governors of the Bastille and the Hotel des Invalides are accountable only to his Majesty.

CHAP.  
III.The mili-  
tary go-  
vernment.

The manufactures of Paris, and her trade with the neighbouring provinces, are very considerable, beyond estimation say the French.

Their principal manufactures are gold and silver stuffs, wrought silks, velvet, gold and silver lace, ribbands, tapestry, linen and glass; not to mention their wines and other provisions consumed there; and there are two great fairs annually held here, viz. one in the suburb of St. Germain, which begins on the 3d of February and lasts a fortnight, and till passion week by the royal licence; and the other at St. Laurence's, which begins on the festival of that saint, and ends the seventh of September. There are in this city six principal bodies or companies of tradesmen, out of which the consuls who have the regulation of trade are chosen, viz. the drapers, the grocers and apothecaries, the mercers and jewellers, the skippers, the hatters, and the goldsmiths: besides which, there are the booksellers, the vintners and wine-merchants, the wool-merchants and timber-merchants, who have equal privileges, and are in a capacity of being elected consuls.

Trade of  
Paris.

## CHAP. IV.

*Contains an account of the principal places in the isle of France.*

THE most considerable places in the isle of France proper, or the Paris isle, are, 1. Vincennes on the east-side of Paris, remarkable chiefly for its park or forest, as it is called, where the citizens go to take the air; in it is an antique castle or palace, in which some of their Princes formerly resided, and was repaired and beautified by the late King LEWIS XIV. 2. St. DENIS situate near the Seine, in a fine plain about four miles to the northward of Paris, said to have received its name from St. DENIS the Areopagite, who first planted religion in this kingdom, and is supposed by some to have been the first bishop of Paris: but I find the generality of their writers agree, that St. DENIS the Areopagite never was at Paris, and that the christian religion was not planted in France till the third century, when another St. DENIS preached the gospel here, and was constituted the first bishop of this city. But however that be, there is a magnificent abbey at St. DENIS founded by DAGOBERT I. about the year 636, in the place where one of the saints of this name was buried, who is generally accounted the patron of France, and in it are several magnificent tombs and monuments of the Kings and Princes of the blood royal of France, of which the chief are those of FRANCIS I. and LEWIS XI. Here also is a tomb erected to the memory of the celebrated Marshal TURENNE, by LEWIS XIV. in an elegant marble chapel built for

CHAP.  
IV.Places in  
the neigh-  
bourhood  
of Paris,  
Vincen-  
nes.  
St. Denis.



**CHAP. IV.** for that purpose: the great altar of this abbey is plated with silver, and has a cross of massy gold over it seven foot high, set with pearls and diamonds: the abbot kept the Regalia used at the coronation of the King, and was vested with great privileges; but I find that in the year 1692, the title of Abbot of St. DENIS was suppressed, and his revenue given to the nuns of St. Cyr, by a bull of Pope INNOCENT XII. 3. Montmorency, a little town situate on a hill twelve miles north-west of Paris, which gives name to a pleasant valley about it, beautified with the country seats of the nobility and gentry, and gave a title to one of the most ancient families in the kingdom: it was erected into a dutchy and peerage by HENRY II. anno 1551, in honour of—de Montmorency constable of France, who being put to death by LEWIS XIII. he conferred that honour on HENRY de Bourbon Prince of Conde, with the title of Enguien instead of Montmorency, and it belongs at present to his highness the duke of Bourbon. 4. Dammartin is an ancient town and castle, twenty miles north-east of Paris, formerly the capital of a country. 5. Charenton, situate a little above Paris, at the conflux of the Seine and Marne, remarkable chiefly for a fine church, which the Hugonots had here before the repeal of the edict of Nantz, in the year 1685. Hither the Protestants of Paris used to resort to divine service, and as they generally went by water, would in the view and hearing of their enemies set a psalm or hymn, and sing all the way up the river, whereby they highly provok'd the Roman catholicks; and this is thought to be one occasion of drawing the resentment of the government upon them; for I find their conduct in this particular very much censur'd even by their friends. The protestant church was demolished on reverting the said edict, and a nunnery erected in the same place in the year 1703. Had that church been a heathen temple, the catholicks would have made no scruple of converting it into a christian oratory; but such was their hatred and detestation of the Calvinists, that no new consecration could be supposed sufficient to purify a place defiled by this sect. Thus we find it frequently happens among sects of the same religion, who have usually a greater aversion for each other, than for those of a different faith, which probably proceeds from the daily insults and provocations they give and receive.

**District of Brie Francoise.** In the district called the Brie Francoise the chief places are, 1. Lagny. 2. Brie Count Robert. 1. Lagny, the capital of the Brie Francoise, is situated on the Marne five or six leagues above Paris; it is a little town, and scarce remarkable for any thing but a convent of Benedictines, founded by St. FURSI a North-Briton. 2. Brie Count Robert, a little town six leagues south-east of Paris, considerable only for its market, and a convent.

**Hurepois district.** In the district of Hurepois the chief places are, 1. Melun. 2. Dourdan. 3. Monthery. 4. Chartres. 5. Corbeil.

**Melan.** Melun, *Melodunum*, is situated on the river Seine, ten leagues to the southward of Paris, a large ancient town, the form and situation whereof exactly resemble that capital, the river Seine forming an island in the middle, and dividing it into three parts, which have a communication by bridges: here are the ruins of an ancient temple dedicated to the goddesses *ISIS*, several handfom churches, an abbey dedicated to St. PETER, and other religious houses. It has a good trade in corn, flower, wine and cheese, which they send to Paris by the river Seine.

Dourdan stands about thirteen leagues south-west of Paris, it is a little town, considerable chiefly for its manufacture of silk stockings.

Corbeil is a pleasant little town, situated at the conflux of the Seine and the Juynes, seven leagues to the southward of Paris, and was anciently, according to tradition, a Roman colony; the principal trade of the place is in hides and tanned leather. The rest of the towns in this district do not require a particular description.

In the district of Gatenois the chief places are, 1. Nemours. 2. Courtenay. 3. Fontainebleau. 4. Moret.

Nemours, *Nemofium*, situate between two little hills on the river Loing, eighteen leagues to the southward of Paris, from whence the noble family of Nemours took their title, but not considerable on any other account.

Courtenay is a little town, situated on the river Clairy, between Montargis and Sens, about five leagues from either, and gave name to several French princes celebrated in the histories of Constantinople, of which they were some time sovereigns.

Fontainebleau is situated in the middle of a forest, fourteen leagues south-east of Paris, and is considerable chiefly for the royal castle or palace there, from whence it received its name, the palace being so denominated from a noble fountain in one of the courts: this palace has long been a hunting-seat of the Kings of France; and tho' it contains some magnificent piles of building, is a very irregular piece, having been built at several times, without any order or symmetry, containing as it is said nine hundred rooms. There are some fine paintings in the galleries, and the gardens are adorned with statues, fountains, fine walks, canals, grotto's, and every thing that can render a place pleasant in the summer. The forest of Fontainebleau was anciently called the forest of Bierre, and contains six and twenty thousand acres and upwards; it is of a round form, the palace standing in the center.

In the district of Mantois the chief places are, 1. Mante. 2. Monfort. 3. St. Germain en Laye. 4. Versailles. 5. Trianon. 6. Marly. 7. Meudon. 8. St. Cloud. 9. Madrid. 10. Anet. 11. Poissy. 12. Dreux.

Mante, *Medunta*, is situated on the Seine, twelve leagues north-west of Paris, remarkable for a handfom stone bridge over the Seine of thirty-nine arches, and a convent of Celestins, which hath a little hill within its bounds that produces the best wine in France. The river Seine forms abundance of little islands hereabouts.

Montfort is a little town situate on an eminence, at the foot whereof there runs a rivulet, ten leagues from Paris, and has the additional name of D'Amauri, from several lords of that name who have possessed it. The trade of this place consists in corn, wine, cyder, fruit and wood, of which the last is the most considerable bearing a great price at Paris.

St. Germain en Laye stands four leagues to the westward of Paris, and one from Versailles; it is most remarkable for the royal castle or palace there, situate on a hill near the Seine, begun by CHARLES V. and enlarged and beautified by succeeding Princes, but by none more than by LEWIS XIV. who seems to have had the best taste for building of any Prince of the last age: he added particularly the terrace of above three thousand paces in length, the grand parterre, and the valley garden, as it is called

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Dourdan.  
Corbeil.

Nemours.

Courtenay.

The Man-  
tois.

Mante  
city.

Montfort.

St. Ger-  
main en  
Laye.



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IV.

called, and cut most of the ridings thro' the neighbouring forest. The water-works here are very fine; in one of the grotto's is a virgin playing on the organs, and her eyes so artfully moved, that she seems to be alive: in others, artificial birds singing and chirping; and in another, the representation of ORPHEUS playing on a lute and keeping time, while the beasts, birds, woods and rocks seem to follow him, with several representations of the like nature, all put in motion by water. This palace is built in the form of a castle, and surrounded with a dry ditch, a magnificent stone gallery runs round the middle of the whole structure, which is of an oval figure, and the roof is covered with thin flat free stone instead of tiles. The prospect from this castle is admirable, especially towards the river and the plains, having Paris, St. Denis and Marli within view of it. It stands in a healthful air, and the neighbouring forest contains five thousand acres and upwards, and is cut thro' with an infinite number of large ridings, well replenished with wild beasts and game, which makes it a most agreeable situation for hunting. Here the late King of England, JAMES II. resided with his court during his exile, being hospitably entertained by his old ally, LEWIS XIV. till his death, which happened in the year 1701. His corps was afterwards interred in the convent of the English Benedictines in Paris.

Verfailles. Verfailles is situated about eleven English miles to the westward of Paris, on an eminence in the middle of the valley, encompassed with little hills at an agreeable distance. Before the reign of LEWIS XIV. neither the town or palace had any thing extraordinary to recommend them, unless their being situated in a country fit for hunting, which occasioned LEWIS the Thirteenth's building a hunting seat here in form of a castle. There are now three noble avenues to the palace leading from so many several towns, consisting each of three beautiful walks of trees, which terminate on a kind of parade, being a large void space at a proper distance from the buildings. The middle walk of the grand avenue is fifty yards wide, and each of those on the side of it twenty, the town of Verfailles stands on the right and left of it; that on the left is the old town, which the King hath enlarged and beautified; and that on the right is perfectly new, consisting of elegant uniform buildings, erected on purpose to grace the royal palace. At the upper end of the grand avenue, on the right and left, are the stables in form of a crescent, so magnificently built and adorned, that few royal houses excel them, in which the King has five hundred horses, the finest that the world can furnish him with for the coach or saddle. From the parade we pass into the first court thro' an iron palisade set upon a low wall; this court is flanked with four large pavilions, where are the apartments of the secretaries of state, comptroller-general of the finances, and other persons of distinction: from hence we ascend by three steps thro' another iron gate adorned with trophies into the second court, which is separated from the first by an iron palisade also, and is something less than the former, there being a noble fountain in the middle of it, and magnificent buildings on each wing. From the second court we pass into a third still less than the former, paved with black and white marble, to which we ascend by five steps; this court has a marble basin and fountain in the middle, adorned with statues, copper gilt, and is terminated by a noble pile of building, which with the wings constitute the

royal apartments. In the front of the palace is a glorious portico with three iron doors richly gilt and wrought, which gives an entrance into the hall and salons adorned with marble pillars, statues and paintings done by the greatest hands. The principal stair-case is above ten yards wide, and consists of the finest marble that could be procured, and is beautified with admirable sculptures and paintings. The grand apartment consists of a long succession of large lofty rooms exquisitely furnished, where the very bedsteads and tables are of massy silver, or more valuable materials. The cabinet of rarities is of an octagonal figure, and receives its light from the vaulted roof, being in the form of a dome or cupola. Here are an infinite number of curiosities in agate, crystal, jewels, and precious stones, medals, coins, and other antiquities, with several admirable paintings. The gallery, esteemed the finest in Europe, is seventy-two yards long and fourteen broad, having seventy windows towards the gardens, from whence there is a most delightful prospect: between the windows are pannels of looking-glass and marble pilasters, with a great variety of busts and statues, ancient and modern; the painted ceiling contains the battles, and other memorable occurrences of the late King's reign.

The finest front is next the gardens, on which side there is a magnificent portico, supported by marble pillars, and floored with marble an hundred yards in length: and the gardens themselves are not to be paralleled; all the beautiful models that Italy or the world affords, were considered in order to render them the most perfect of any thing of that kind, the water-works especially are inimitable: here marble and copper statues spout up water in different forms, which fall into basins of excellent workmanship; the fountain of the pyramid, the cascades, the water alley, the water parterre, the triumphal arch, the pavilion fountain, the water bower, the theatre and APOLLO's basin, require a more artful hand to describe them, and perhaps nothing but an actual view can furnish us with an adequate idea of their various beauties. The groves, grotto's, labyrinth and orangery also are exquisitely contrived. The great canal is sixteen hundred yards long and sixty-four broad, on which there are several yachts and galleys, in which the court sometimes divert themselves. Towards the middle of the grand canal is another which crosses it; at one end whereof is the menagerie, well stocked with all manner of wild beasts, and other exotic animals; and at the other end is the beautiful little palace of Trianon. The water which supplies these gardens is brought from the Seine, which is a league and a half distant from Verfailles, being carried to an aqueduct of thirty-six arches, which stands on the top of a hill, by a prodigious machine, which costs the King five and twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum to keep in repair; from this reservoir the water is conveyed by large iron pipes to the fountains and canals, in the gardens of Verfailles and Marli. The fountains do not play but upon some extraordinary occasions, and when they do, it is no small expence: it is a common observation, that if the King had chosen a proper situation where there was plenty of water, these works would not have cost him a tenth part of the money they did; but it was to shew his grandeur, or rather his vanity, that he made choice of a place which had no water near it, to erect the finest water-works in the world, and which nothing but a boundless treasure could have effected.

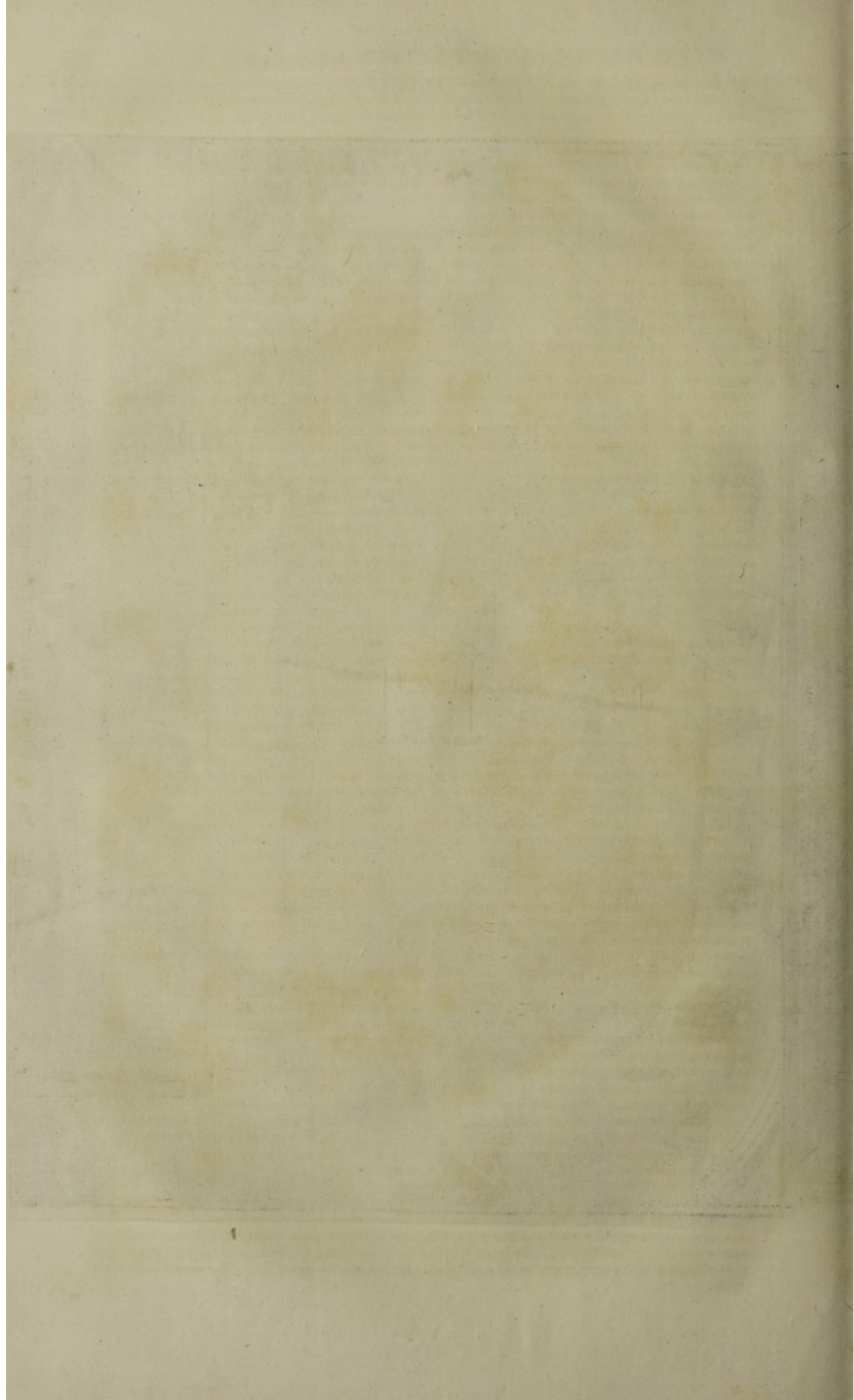
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And











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And thus it was, this Prince by the most extravagant expences at home, and unnecessary wars abroad, propoſed to eternize his memory, and acquire a reputation equal to any of the ancient Greeks or Romans. But poſterity ought to know, that to effect all this, he beggared his ſubjects, and depopulated his country; that he brought his people low by exceſſive taxes, and then enſlaved them; that the nobility and gentry were forced to depend on the court for their bread, and that many of them, becauſe the King's duties exceeded the profits of their lands, choſe to let them lie uncultivated. And this is too frequently the caſe, where a people happen to be governed by heroes, or glorious monarchs, as the world are pleaſed to call the great oppreſſors of mankind.

Trianon.

The palace of Trianon already mentioned, is of an oval figure, the architecture and ornaments not inferior to Verſailles, only the building is much leſs; both the outſide and inſide are adorned with the fineſt porcelain or china, even the floors are laid with it, and the ſides of the rooms lined with china inſtead of wainſcot, but this is rather looked upon as a ſummer-houſe to the gardens of Verſailles, than a diſtinct palace.

Marli.

Marli is another palace built by Lewis XIV. between Verſailles and St. Germain, containing one large pavilion and twelve little ones, ſix on each ſide. The ſituation is lofty and extremely pleaſant, but the buildings are not comparable to thoſe of the palace laſt mentioned. The water-works are very beautiful, being ſupplied from the ſame reſervoir that furniſhes Verſailles, and the grand Cascade reſembles a river tumbling from a precipice; the baſins below it are adorned with groups of figures, and the gardens afford a vaſt variety of pleaſing objects; inſomuch that the late King and Madam MAINTENON choſe to ſpend a great part of their leiſure hours here.

Meudon.

The palace of Meudon was the reſidence of the late Dauphin, and ſtands on an eminence in the middle of a foreſt; there is a noble avenue that leads to it three quarters of a mile in length; on the right of which is a convent belonging to the Capuchins, and on the left the vineyards of Meudon. At the entrance of the court of the palace there is a large pile of building on the right, and another on the left, which open in form of a ſemi-circle, but are diſjoined from the body of the houſe. In the middle of the front is a lofty advanced building with a portico, entered by three doors; above it runs an order of architecture, conſiſting of arches and pillars finely deſigned, and above them another order accompanied with pilasters; over all is a fronton containing two ſtatues in a cumbent poſture, admirably well done; the wings are not ſo high as the principal building, and each of them terminated by a ſquare pavilion. The inſide of this palace was adorned with the richeſt furniture, and a fine collection of ſtatues, paintings, medals, and other antiquities, in the life of the late Dauphin, which have been ſince removed. The front towards the garden alſo conſiſts of a lofty advanced building, with wings conſiderably lower, which terminate on the right and left in two pavilions of the ſame height with the body of the building. The gardens of this palace are much admired for their fine walks, parterres, canals and water-works; and adjoining to them is a ſpacious park encompassed with a brick wall, and adorned with woods, baſins and reſervoirs of water; the woods being cut thro' and divided by beautiful ridings, among which there is one diſtinguiſhed by

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the name of the Dauphin, which leads to the gates of Paris. The town of Meudon is not conſiderable for any thing, unleſs it be a pleaſant garden belonging to the Capuchins cloyſter, and ſome excellent ſtone quarries.

St. Cloud is a large open town upon the Seine, St. Cloud. about two leagues weſt of Paris, as populous as moſt in France, which is occaſioned by the great reſort of the citizens of Paris, who come hither by water on Sundays and Holidays to divert themſelves. This town was erected into a duchy and peerage, in the year 1674, when FRANCIS DE HARLEY archbiſhop of Paris, and his ſucceſſors were created perpetual Dukes and Peers of France, with the title of St. Cloud. The royal palace here belongs to the Dukes of Orleans, and is ſituated at the ſide of a mountain, at the foot of which the river Seine runs. The avenue to the palace is upon the declivity of the hill, adorned with three fine walks of trees having the town on the right, and the park on the left, and terminates at the baſe court, from whence we proceed to the grand court at one of the angles, on account of the irregularity of the ground. The palace conſiſts of a large advanced building in the middle of the front, and two wings, each of them flanked with a pavilion; nothing can be conceived more rich and beautiful, ſays my French author, than this palace is within: the gallery and the ſalon are eſteemed the beſt pieces of MIGNARD, the King's chief painter; and the orangery behind the body of the building is an excellent piece: notwithstanding the gardens are irregular, they are exceeding pleaſant, having terraces one above another with an unbounded proſpect, the caſcade is one of the fineſt in France; and the neighbouring park has every thing that can render it agreeable. The town of St. Cloud is moſt remarkable for the fine earthen ware made there, which the French after their way of magnifying every thing their country produces, are pleaſed to compare to china, of which they ſay it falls ſhort but very little; there is a ſtone bridge over the river Seine here, conſiſting of fourteen arches.

Madrid is another royal palace, ſituate at a little diſtance from Paris, built by FRANCIS I. It has the river Seine on one ſide, and a wood on the other, and conſiſts of one large pile of building of three ſtories beſides the ground-floor, and is flanked by two grand pavilions; but it ſeems to have been neglected, being neither finiſhed or furniſhed; the reſt of the places in the Mantois, do not require a particular deſcription.

In the Vexin Francois, the principal places are, The Vex.  
1. Pontoife. 2. Cheaumont. 3. L'Iſle Adam. in Fran-  
4. Magny. 5. The caſtle of Rocheguyon. cois.

Pontoife, *Pons ad Aſiam*, is ſituated on the river Oyſe, ſix leagues to the northward of Paris, upon the deſcent of a hill, which extends to the banks of the river. It has a caſtle which commands the town, in the outer court whereof ſtands a collegiate church; it conſiſts of two pariſhes only, and has a ſtone bridge over the Oyſe of fourteen arches, from whence it takes its name: the principal trade of the place is in corn, which is brought hither from Picardy by the river; the reſt of the towns in the Vexin Francois do not merit a particular deſcription.

The county of Beauvais, or the Beauvaiſis, is a little country between the river Oyſe and the province of Normandy, being bounded by Picardy Proper on the north; by the county of Senlis on the eaſt; by the Vexin Francois on the ſouth; and



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Beauvais.

by the Vexin Norman on the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Beauvais. 2. Clermont. 3. Gerberoy. 4. Bulles. And, 5. Merlou.

Beauvais, *olim Bellovacum* and *Cesaromagus*, is situated on the river Therin, sixteen leagues north of Paris, almost surrounded with hills. CÆSAR having besieged and taken this town, it is said, gave it the name of *Cesaromagus*. It is memorable also for the English besieging it in vain, anno 1443; and its making a brave defence afterwards against CHARLES Duke of Burgundy, in 1472, when the women signalized their courage under the conduct of that heroine JOAN HATCHET, whose picture they preserve in the town-house. And in memory of this action also, the women are allowed to march first in a procession they observe annually on the tenth of July. It is the see of a bishop suffragan of Rheims, whose revenue is computed to be fifty thousand livres per annum. The cathedral dedicated to St. PETER is a magnificent building; it is a fortified town, but of no great strength, being commanded by the neighbouring mountains. Here is a pretty good manufacture both of linen and woollen; the adjacent country abounds in corn, good pasture and fruits, and affords some of the best mutton in France.

Clermont.

Clermont is situated on a hill near the river Breche, five leagues from Beauvais, and as many from Senlis, and formerly gave the title of Count to the family of Bourbon. The devotion of the neighbouring country for their patron St. GENCON, brings a great concourse of people hither annually on the eleventh of May.

Gerberoy.

Gerberoy is a little town strongly situated on a mountain, the foot whereof is washed by the river Therin, five leagues north-west of Beauvais; it was besieged by the English under the command of the Earl of Arundel, who lost his life before it, and the field where he received the mortal wound, is still called the valley of Arundel; it was taken by the English in the year 1437, who kept it till 1449, when it was retaken by the French.

Bulles.

Bulles is a very pretty town, four leagues to the eastward of Beauvais, in the neighbourhood whereof grows excellent flax, of which they make cambricks and the finest linens.

Valois  
dutchy.

The dutchy of Valois is situated between three great rivers, viz. the Seine, the Marne and the Oyse, extending fourteen leagues in length and seven in breadth; the late King LEWIS XIV. erected it into a dutchy, and peerage, and conferred it on PHILIP Duke of Orleans his brother: the chief places in it are, 1. Crespy or Crepi. 2. La Ferte Milon. 3. Villers Cotrets. 4. Senlis. 5. Creil. 6. Pont St. Maxence. 7. Compeigne. 8. Bithify. 9. Chantilly.

Crespi.

Crespi, the capital of the dutchy of Valois, is situated thirteen leagues north-east of Paris, on a peninsula almost surrounded by rivulets; it is a pretty good town, and at the end of it stands an old castle. The shrine of St. ALBIN draws a great concourse of people hither, for they believe the intercession of this saint goes a great way in preventing or abating the plague, and other contagious distempers. The church dedicated to St. ALBIN is collegiate and a royal foundation; and the church of St. DENIS is said to have one of the finest choirs in France.

La Ferte  
Milon.

La Ferte Milon is situated sixteen leagues north-east of Paris, on the river Ourques, which divides it into the high and low town; it is a pretty large place, and defended by a castle.

Senlis.

Senlis is situated ten leagues to the northward

of Paris, on the side of a hill, at the foot whereof runs the little river Nonete. It is of an oval figure, encompassed with a wall, a ditch, and other fortifications, the bastions and half moons some of them faced with stone. It was anciently called *Sylvanectum*, *Augustomagus* and *Silviacum*, and is a bishop's see suffragan of Rheims, having in it seven parochial and two collegiate churches; and here are the ruins of an old castle and some other buildings, which they conjecture were the works of the ancient Romans.

Creil, *Creolium*, is a little walled town situate on the Oyse, two leagues north of Senlis; and has an old castle said to be built by CHARLES V.

Pont Sainte Maxence, *Pons Sanctæ Maxentia*, is a little trading town, situate also on the Oyse, three leagues north-east of Senlis.

Compeigne stands on the river Oyse, seven leagues north-east of Senlis, and seventeen north-east of Paris, fortified with a wall, half-moons and bastions, and defended by a castle, which is looked upon to be one of the most ancient palaces of the Kings of France. It was repaired and beautified by the late King LEWIS XIV. The abbey of St. Bennet here was founded by CHARLES the Bald, but united to the nunnery of Val de Grace in Paris about the year 1656. The Jesuits also have a college in the place. The town does not consist of more than two parishes. It was here that the famous JOAN of Arc, or maid of Orleans, was taken prisoner by the English in the year 1430, in a sally she made out of the town, and our wife ancestors were pleased to burn her for a witch. The neighbouring forest, which takes its name from the town, contains near thirty thousand acres, and affords variety of game.

The Soissonois, which receives its name from Soissons, the only considerable city in it, is bounded on the north by the Laonois, on the east by the Rhemois, on the south by the Brie, and on the west by the Valois; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Soissons. 2. Brenne. And, 3. Veilly.

Soissons, *Augusta Sueffionum*, supposed to be the *Noviodunum* of CÆSAR, is situated in a pleasant fruitful valley on the river Aisne, two and twenty leagues north-east of Paris, and was the capital of the kingdom under the first race of their Kings. It is a large populous place, encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and has a good trade in corn. The castle is an antique building, flank'd with great round towers; the walks by the river extremely pleasant. It is a bishop's see, suffragan to Rheims, and famous for several councils held here; as it will be hereafter probably for the congress of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries from all the powers of Europe, who attended here to receive their doom from the French. This nation have by their dexterity obtained the umpirage of all their differences, and thereby rendered themselves much more considerable than ever they did by their arms, even in the reign of LEWIS le Grand: and it is well if some of these wise powers don't find themselves shortly in the condition of the ass that hunted with the lion.

The Laonois is bounded by Picardy on the north, by champagne on the east, and by the Soissonois on the south and west; the chief places whereof are Laon and Liefie.

Laon, *Laudunum*, is pleasantly situated on the top of a hill, in a healthful air, about twenty miles north-east of Soissons. It is strong by its situation, but has no modern fortifications. It is well built, the streets spacious, and supplied with water.

CHAP.  
IV.The Soif-  
sonois.

Soiffons.

The Lao-  
nois.

Laon.



**CHAP. IV.** water by wells, which do not lie very deep. They lay up great magazines of corn here, with which they supply Picardy and Hainault in scarce years. It is the see of a bishop, suffragan to Rheims, who is also a Duke and Peer of France, and carries the sacred phial, called the St. Ampoule, at the consecration of their Kings.

**Lieffe.** Lieffe is a little town, about four miles to the northward of Laon, consisting only of one street, but considerable on account of the perpetual pilgrimages made to the church of Notre Dame, and the image of the blessed Virgin there, which, according to tradition, was miraculously made and brought hither from the Holy Land. The French King himself comes hither in pilgrimage soon after his coronation, till when his touch for the evil, it is said, is of no virtue.

**The Noyonois.** The Noyonois is bounded by Picardy on the north, and by the Soissonois and Beauvaisis on the south; the chief places whereof are Noyon, Chauny and Premontre.

**Noyon.** Noyon, *Noviodunum Belgarum*, stands two and twenty leagues north-east of Paris, on the little river Verfe, which a little below falls into the Oyse. It is an ancient town, tolerably large, and advantageously situated for trade. It is the see of a bishop, suffragan of Rheims, who is also a Peer of France; but more memorable for the birth of JOHN CALVIN, who was born here the 10th of July 1509, and died at Geneva the 27th of May, 1564; about whose character the Papists and Presbyterians will never agree, the one looking upon him as an infamous heretick, and the other adore him as equal, if not superior to any of the Apostles.

**Chauny.** Chauny is a little town situate on the Oyse, nine or ten miles to the eastward of Noyon, where the river begins to be navigable. It has a chate-lany belonging to it; but I don't find it considerable on any other account.

**Premontre.** Premontre, *Præmonstratum*, is only taken notice of for a great abbey of canons regular of St. Austin's called *Præmonstratenses*, three leagues from Soissons.

**The military government of the Isle of France.** These are the principal places in the isle of France, the military government whereof is committed to a governor general, and lieutenant general, and four other lieutenants, who have their respective commands; one in the Vexin Francois, the second in the Beauvaisis, the third in the counties of Senlis, Soissons, Noyonois, Laonois, and that part of this government which extends beyond the Marne and the Seine as far as Champagne and Picardy; and the fourth commands in the remainder of the isle of France, which lies on the left of the Seine; besides which, every great town has its particular governor. The trade and produce of this government has been already taken notice of in the description of the particular towns and districts.

## CHAP. V.

*Contains a description of Picardy.*

**CHAP. V.** THE province or general government of Picardy, is bounded by Hainault, Artois, and the Straights of Calais, towards the north; by Champagne and the Netherlands, on the east; by the Isle of France, on the south; and by the English channel and Normandy, on the west; being a long narrow province, usually resembled to a bent arm, and in this winding figure may be about an hundred and fifty miles in length, but not more than forty in breadth, and in many places not half so broad. It is generally a plain

open country, without mountains or woods; neither does the country produce wine, but abounds in corn, pasture, and fruits of all kinds. The wood of Creci, near Amiens, is the largest they have in the country; and indeed firing is so scarce amongst them, that they generally burn stinking turf. They pretend to have something like a coal-mine; but it is inconsiderable, and not comparable to the Newcastle coal. The chief rivers are the Oyse, the Somme, the Canche, and the Authia.

The Oyse, *Oesia*, *Isara*, has its source in Picardy on the confines of Hainault, and takes its course thro' the generalities of Soissons and Paris, receiving the Verre, the Delette, the Aisne, the Terrein, the Aronde, and many other lesser streams, becoming navigable at La Fere, and falls into the Seine a little below Conflans Sainte Honorine.

The Somme, *Somona*, or *Samara*, rises in the Vermandois, two leagues below St. Quentin, and runs to the westward by Abbeville, almost the whole length of Picardy, till it falls into the British channel between Valery and Crotoy. It begins to be navigable at Brug, and is very deep, most of the merchandize from England and Holland being brought up this river.

The Canche, *Cancius*, or *Quentia*, rises in Artois, six leagues above Hesdin, and runs westward to Montreuil, where it becomes navigable, and afterwards falls into the British channel below Estaples.

The Authie, *Authia*, *Ætilia*, has its source on the confines of Picardy and Artois, a little above the castle of Authie, and running westward, falls into the British channel between the mouths of the Somme and the Canche.

Picardy is usually divided into the Higher, the Middle, and the Lower Picardy. The Higher includes the Vermandois and the Thierache; the Middle comprehends the county of Amiens, and the country of Santerre; and the Lower consists of the Bolonois, the Reconquered Country, and the county of Ponthieu and Vimen.

The Vermandois, *Ager Veromandensis*, is bounded by the Cambresis on the north; by the Thierache on the east; by the isle of France on the south; and Santerre on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. St. Quentin, 2. Ham, 3. Catelet.

St. Quentin, *Quintinopolis*, or *Fanum Quintini*, is situate on a rising ground, near the head of the Somme, having the river on one side, and a precipice on the other, lying about fifteen miles to the westward of Guise, and as many to the northward of La Fere. The collegiate church is a handsome pile of buildings; and there are several other fine churches and monasteries in the place. They have a prodigious manufacture of fine linen, of which, it is said, they make in the town and neighbourhood no less than sixty thousand pieces annually.

Ham is a little fortified town, situate in a plain on the river Somme, four leagues to the westward of St. Quentin, defended by a castle.

The Thierache is the most eastern part of Picardy, lying between Hainault, Champagne, Vermandois and Laonois; the chief towns whereof are, 1. La Fere, 2. La Capelle, 3. Guise, 4. Marie, 5. Vervins.

La Fere is situated on the confines of the Isle of France, in a morass near the river Oyse, naturally strong, and defended by a castle; but most



**C H A P. V.** of the fortifications have been demolished. In the neighbouring forest, to which this town communicates its name, is abundance of glass made of all kinds, which occasions a pretty brisk trade here.

**Vervins.** Vervins stands upon an eminence near the river Serre, not far from Laon, famous for a treaty of peace concluded there between France and Spain, anno 1598. They have a pretty good trade in corn.

**Guise.** Guise, *Guiffa*, *Guiffum Castrum*, is situated on the river Oyle, fifteen miles north-east of La Fere, a fortified town, defended by a castle and other works, and was erected into a duchy and peerage by FRANCIS I. which title was conferred on CLAUD, the youngest son of the Duke of Lorraine, whose grandson HENRY, Duke of Guise, was head of the catholick league, and fomented a rebellion against HENRY III. and HENRY IV. of France for several years. He was near advancing himself to the throne, but was at length reduced by HENRY IV. and peace restored to the kingdom.

**Middle-Picardy.** Middle Picardy comprehends the county of Amiens, and the country of Santerre. The county of Amiens, *Ager Ambionensis*, is bounded by Artois, on the north; by Santerre, on the east; by Beauvaisis, on the south; and by the country of Caux, on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Amiens. 2. Dourlans. 3. Corbie. 4. Conti. 5. Pecquigny. 6. Poix. And, 7. Ligniers.

**Amiens city.** Amiens, *Ambianum*, a large city, the capital of Picardy, pleasantly situated on the river Somme, which here divides itself into three channels, and having run through the town, unites its streams again. It stands about twenty-eight leagues north of Paris, and as many to the southward of Calais. The houses are well built, the streets spacious, and it is adorned with some handsome squares. It is a Bishop's see, suffragan of Rheims. The cathedral is esteemed one of the largest and finest in France, and boasts much of its valuable reliques. CÆSAR having taken this town, convened a general assembly of the Gauls here. The Emperors Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Constantin, Constant, Julian, and several others, resided here a considerable time; and here King EDWARD III. did homage to PHILIP de Valois, King of France, for the duchy of Guienne. It is encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and the ramparts pleasantly planted with trees. They have lately erected societies of men of wit and learning in this and several other great towns of France, in imitation of the cities of Italy.

**Corbie.** Corbie is a little fortified town on the Somme, six miles north-east of Amiens, most remarkable for its abbey founded by BETHILDA, Queen of France, anno 662, the abbot whereof is lord of the place and of the adjacent country.

**Conti.** Conti is a little town situate on the Selle, five leagues south-west of Amiens, considerable only for giving title to a prince of the house of Bourbon.

**Santerre district.** The district of Santerre is bounded by Vermandois on the east, and the county of Amiens on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Montdidier. 2. Roye. 3. Peronne. 4. Ancre. 5. Nefly. 6. Chaunes. 7. Halluin. 8. Morevil. 9. Crevecoeur.

**Montdidier.** Montdidier, *Mons Desiderii*, a little strong town situate on a hill five leagues to the southward of Amiens, containing five parishes and several convents, besides the priory of Notre Dame.

**Peronne.** Peronne is situated in a morass on the river

Somme, twenty-five miles to the eastward of Amiens, and esteemed a very strong town. The country about it is famous for the linen manufacture. The other towns of this part of Picardy do not merit a particular description.

The Lower Picardy, as has been observed, comprehends the Boulonois, the Reconquer'd Country, the county of Ponthieu and the Vimen.

The Boulonois, *Comitatus Boloniensis*, lies between Artois, the county of Ponthieu, the Reconquer'd Country and streights of Calais; being about twelve leagues long and eight broad; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Boulogne. 2. Ambleteuse. 3. Monthulin. 4. Estaples.

Boulogne, supposed to be the *Icius Portus* of CÆSAR by some, and *Getoraicum* by others, is situated on the sea-coast at the mouth of the little river Liane, about fifteen miles south-west of Calais; it was formerly very considerable on account of its trade, but the harbour is spoiled, and will not admit of vessels of burden. It is divided into the upper and lower town, the whole encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a citadel. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Rheims, and has a cathedral, two parochial churches, an abbey, and several other monasteries within its walls. King HENRY VIII. of England took this town, but restored it by a treaty afterwards for eight hundred thousand crowns; the English ministry being of opinion, it seems, that it would cost more keeping than it was worth.

Ambleteuse is a little town situated on the sea, about seven miles to the northward of Boulogne, where, it is said, a good harbour might be made for receiving men of war of forty guns; but the French, though they begun it in the last war, did not proceed in this work, which inclines me to believe that they did not find it feasible.

Estaples, *Stapule*, is situated at the mouth of the river Canche, four leagues to the southward of Boulogne, a little fortified town, but upon the decline at present.

The Reconquer'd Country obtained its name from its being retaken from the English, and contains the counties of Guines and Oye, lying to the northward of the Boulonois. The county of Guines is about four leagues long and as many broad, the chief towns whereof are Guines and Ardres.

Guines is a small town situate in a marsh, four miles south of Calais, and about six distant from the sea. The English possessed themselves of it, and it was confirmed to them by treaty in the year 1360, and they kept possession of it near two hundred years.

Ardres is a little town situate also in a morass, four miles south-east of Guines.

The county of Oye is contiguous to that of Guines, the chief town whereof is Calais, *Cale-tum*, situate in a flat marshy country upon the sea-coast, about ten miles to the westward of Graveling, and twenty-four south east of Dover.

The figure of the place taking in the citadel is an oblong square, of which the two longest sides are about twelve hundred yards, and the shortest five hundred. It extends itself along the sea-coast, on which side it is fortified as well as towards the land, and is surrounded with a good covered way. The fort Nieulai, which stands at one end, is looked upon as an excellent piece of fortification, and the citadel is advantageously situated, so as to command the town, the harbour, and the adjacent country; and there are sluices by which they can



**CHAP. V.** can overflow the country on the land-side. The harbour is choaked up, and will not admit of vessels of burthen. There is but one parish and four convents in the place, and yet the French compute the inhabitants to be about five thousand. King EDWARD III. of England took this town in the year 1347, after eleven months siege, and peopled it with English, who held it till 1558, being two hundred years and upwards, when it was taken by the Duke of Guise, during that weak and unfortunate reign of Queen MARY I. There is a noble canal at Calais, by which the town has a communication with St. Omers, Graveling, Dunkirk, Bergues and Ypres.

Ponthieu county.

The county of Ponthieu lies between the rivers Somme and Canche, and takes its name from the great number of bridges laid over the several rivers and marshes, with which the country abounds; the chief towns are, 1. Abbeville. 2. Crecy. 3. Montrevil. 4. Pont de Reny. 5. Rue. And, 6. St. Riquier.

**Abbeville.** Abbeville, *Abbatis Villa*, the capital of Ponthieu, forty miles south of Boulogne, is situated on the river Somme, which divides it into two parts, in a marshy dirty country, and consists of twelve parishes, besides several monasteries of both sexes. Here is a considerable manufacture of coarse linen, and a pretty good trade, the town being but fourteen or fifteen miles distant from the English channel, with which it has a communication by the river Somme.

**Crecy.** Crecy, or Cressy, is a little town situate on the river Authie, three leagues to the northward of Abbeville, remarkable for the victory which the English obtained over the French, the 24th of August, 1346, under the conduct of King EDWARD III.

**Montrevil.** Montrevil, *Monasteriolum*, is a fortified town situated on a hill, the foot whereof is washed by the river Canche, being about three leagues to the eastward of the British channel, from whence boats of good burthen come up to the town; it contains eight parishes, besides several monasteries.

**The Vemen.** The Vemen is a little district, sometimes reckoned part of Ponthieu, the chief towns whereof are St. Valeri, Gamaches, and Crotot.

**St. Valeri.** St. Valeri, *Favum Sancti Valerici*, is situated at the mouth of the river Somme, four leagues below Abbeville, and is a place of some trade. Picardy lying upon the sea, and abounding in navigable rivers and canals, with several good manufactures both of linen and woollen, is one of the most considerable provinces for trade in the kingdom.

**The military government of Picardy.** The governor of Picardy has under him three lieutenants-general, viz. one for Picardy; a second for Santerre; and a third for Artois, which last, notwithstanding it is one of the provinces of the Low Countries (and was described amongst them) yet since it has been conquered and yielded to France, is included in the general government of Picardy. The towns within the government of the lieutenant-general of Picardy are, Calais, Ardres, Boulogne, the town of Montreville, St. Valeri on the Somme; Abbeville, of which the mayor and aldermen have the government, only in time of war the King sends them a commander; Dourlans, the town and citadel of Amiens, St. Quentin, the town and castle of Ham, Guise, La Fere, Rebemont and Marle. The general lieutenancy of Santerre comprehends Peronne, Roy and Montdidier. And in the general lieutenancy of Artois are the towns of St. Omers, Aire, Fort St. Francis, Hesdin, the town and citadel

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of Arras, and Bethune, which are all fortified towns, and most of them very strong places. It is to be observed also, that in time of war, the inhabitants of the Boulonois are all obliged to be under arms, and signalized themselves in the late wars; they consist of ten regiments of infantry, of ten companies each, the officers are named by the governor, and have the King's commission as regular troops; the cavalry is composed of five regiments, of four troops each, besides which they have a troop of carabineers, and two troops of dragoons, making in the whole a body of three thousand men.

## CHAP. IV.

*Contains the description of Champagne.*

**CHAP. VI.** Champagne obtained its name from the face of the country, consisting chiefly of wide fields and plains, and is bounded by Picardy and the Low Countries, on the north; by Lorraine, on the east; by Burgundy, on the south; and by the Isle of France, on the west; extending fifty-four leagues in length from north to south, and forty-six in breadth from east to west: but tho' the middle of the country is plain and open, the extreme parts are covered with woods, mountains and little fruitful hills, producing corn, and excellent wine and fruits. It was the feat of the Rhemi, so often mentioned by Cæsar, who were divided into the Tricasses, Lingones, Catalauni, Meldæ and Senones. The principal rivers are the Maese or Meuse, the Seine, the Marne, the Aube, and the Aisne, which have already been described. They have also some excellent mineral waters, and the air is temperate and healthful, which occasions the natives, according to my author, to be of a mild sweet disposition, but soft and simple even to a proverb.

It is usually divided into eight almost equal parts, viz. 1. Champagne proper. 2. The Reims. 3. The Perthois. 4. The Rhetelois. 5. The Vallage. 6. Boffigny. 7. The Senonois. And, 8. The Brie Champenoise.

Champagne Proper, is situated about the middle of the country, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Troyes. 2. Chalons. 3. St. Menchoud. 4. Verlus. 5. Espernay. 6. Pont sur Seine. 7. Méry. 8. Rameru. 9. Plaucy. 10. Ai. And, 11. Dormans.

Troyes, *Augustomana* and *Civitas Tricassium*, is supposed to have taken its name from three castles anciently erected here. It is the capital of the province, and situated on the river Seine, about fourscore miles south-east of Paris, in a fruitful country, being surrounded with a wall and other fortifications, and contains two collegiate, six parochial churches, and three abbeys, besides the cathedral, for it is a bishop's see, suffragan of Sens. The principal trade is in linen, and it was once computed to contain fifty thousand souls, but so much declined, that there are not fifteen thousand people in it at present.

Chalons, *Catalaunum*, is situated in a pleasant fruitful plain on the river Marne, by which it is divided into three parts that have a communication by bridges, being fifty miles to the northward of Troyes, and eighty east of Paris. It is encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and contains twelve parishes, three abbeys, and several other monasteries; the streets and publick places are neat and spacious, and make the better

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appearance



CHAP.  
VI.

appearance on account of the houses being built with white stone; it is a bishop's see, suffragan of Rheims, the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN is remarkable only for its high tower. This city was anciently governed by Counts, who transferring their right to the bishop, he was dignified with the title of Count and Peer of France. The plains about this city being exceeding large, the French writers are of opinion, that these were the fields where that memorable battle was fought between MEROVEE, King of the Franks, THEODORICK King of the Goths, and ÆTIUS the Roman general, on one side; and ATTILA the Hun, on the other; wherein, according to tradition, the Huns lost two hundred thousand men. This town has a pretty good trade in linen and woollen cloth, and corn, which they transport to Paris by the Marne. The parliament of Paris was adjourned hither during the rebellion of the Guises and the League.

Pons sur  
Seine.

Pons sur Seine, *Pons ad Sequanam*, is a little town situate on the Seine, seven leagues below Troyes, remarkable for a magnificent castle or palace built here, by Monsier CHAVIGNY, secretary of state to the French King, and for its beautiful gardens.

The Rhe-  
mois.

The Rhemois lies on the north-west part of Champagne, on the confines of the Isle of France; the chief towns whereof are, Rheims, Fimes, and Chateau Portien.

Chief  
towns

Rheims.

Rheims, *Civitas Rhemorum* and *Durocortorum*, is situated in a fine plain on the river Vesle, about seventy miles north of Troyes, and as much north-east of Paris, encompassed with a wall a league in circumference, being one of the most elegant cities in France. The houses are well-built, the streets and squares spacious, the churches magnificent and beautiful, especially the cathedral dedicated to the VIRGIN MARY, built by CLOTILDIS, the wife of CLOVIS, the first christian King of France. It is a vast Gothick building, but admirably well designed; in the front whereof is abundance of good sculpture, containing part of the sacred history; besides which, there are four abbeyes, several convents, and a university established by CHARLES Cardinal of Lorraine, formerly archbishop of this see. This city is held to be very ancient, three of the gates still bearing the name of so many heathen Gods; as the gate of the SUN, and the gates of MARS and CERES. In the year 1677, a triumphal arch was dug up, which was formerly the northern gate, supposed to be erected to the honour of CÆSAR, or, according to others, of JULIAN the apostate, when after the conquest of the Germans, he passed by Rheims in his way to Paris. It is composed of three arches of the Corinthian order, that in the middle being thirty-five foot high and twelve broad; the bass-reliefs whereof represent a woman with a Cornucopia, to shew the fertility of the country; and that on the right, hath RHEMUS and ROMULUS sucking a wolf, with the shepherd FAUSTULUS and LAURENTIA his wife standing by them. On the third arch, LEDA is seen in JUPITER'S embraces, metamorphos'd into a swan, and CUPID holding a lighted torch in his hand. Near this arch are the remains of an ancient Roman castle, and about two hundred paces from the town, the ruins of an amphitheatre, and of another triumphal arch. The abbey of St. Remy is a spacious building, and in the church belonging to it are the tombs of King LEWIS de Outremer, LOTHAIRE and LEWIS V.

who were of the line of CHARLEMAIN. In the CHAP. VI. treasury they have abundance of precious reliques, and among the rest the holy phial, which contains the oil used at the consecration of their Kings, and the pastoral staff of St. Remi, whose tomb is beautifully adorned with sculptures, pillars and statues, and in the middle of them the bust of LEWIS XIII. in his robes of state. The holy oil, according to tradition, was brought from heaven by a white dove, at the consecration of CLOVIS I. The Archbishop of this see, ever since the reign of LEWIS VII. has been deemed to have right to consecrate the Kings of France, being the first Duke and ecclesiastical Peer of the realm; besides whom, that Prince appointed eleven more to assist at this ceremony, viz. The Bishops of Laon and Langres, who are also Dukes and Peers; the Bishops of Beauvais, Noyon and Chalons, who are Counts and Peers, and six of the lay nobility, viz. the Dukes of Burgundy, Guienne, and Normandy, and the counts of Thoulouze, Champagne, and Flanders; the ceremony being always performed in the metropolitan church of this city, if nothing extraordinary happen to prevent it, as the plague, civil wars, or the like.

The Perthois lies on the frontiers of Lorraine, The Perthois, chief towns. between the rivers Marne and Ornay, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Vitry le Francois, And, 2. St. Disier.

Vitry Francois, *Vitloriacum Francium*, is a fortified town situated in a fine plain on the river Marne, seven leagues south-east of Chalons, and received its name from FRANCIS I. The principal trade of the place is in grain.

St. Disier, *Fanum Sanctum Desiderii*, is situated also on the Marne, seven leagues above Vitry; the forges in the neighbourhood occasion its having a pretty good trade in iron ware.

The Rhetelois is the most northerly part of the The Rhetelois. province of Champagne, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Rhetel. 2. Mesieres. 3. Charleville. 4. Doncheri. 5. Ronoy. 6. Sedan. 7. Roncourt. And, 8. Monfan.

Rhetel is situated on the Aisne, about twenty miles north of Rheims, and is the capital of a Dutchy, remarkable for little but a victory obtained near it by the French over the Spaniards, in the year 1650.

Mesieres, *Maderiacum*, situate on the Meuse, thirty miles north-east of Rheims, strongly fortified and defended by a citadel, being a pass towards Luxemburg.

Charleville, *Carolopolis*, stands also on the Meuse, five miles north-west of Meziers, esteemed one of the prettiest towns of France; and on the opposite side of the river lies the fortress of Mount Olympius.

Rocroy, *Rupes Regia*, is a little fortified town advantageously situated on the Frontiers of Hainault, so encompassed with woods that it is of very difficult access, remarkable chiefly for a victory obtained by the French, commanded by the Duke of Anguien, afterwards Prince of Conde, over the Spaniards, anno 1643.

Sedan is situated on the Meuse, fifteen miles south-east of Charleville, and twenty-five west of Luxemburg, and gives title to a little principality. It is a small town, but well fortified and defended by a castle, where the famous Marshal Turenne was born, being descended from the family of DE LA TOUR, formerly Princes of Sedan.

The Vallage is a little country which takes its name from its valleys, and lies between the Perthois and Bassigny; the chief places whereof are, Chief towns. Joinville, The Val-  
lage.



- CHAP. VI.** Joinville, Vassé, Escaron, Briene, Vignoris, Bar sur Aube, Clairvaux and Chateau-Villain.
- Joinville.** Joinville is situated on the Marne, at the foot of a mountain six leagues south of St. Disier. It is a small town, and most remarkable for the holy league being formed here an. 1552, which occasioned such distractions in France.
- Bar sur Aube.** Bar sur Aube, situate on the river Aube, twenty-five miles east of Troyes, is remarkable for its excellent wine.
- Bassigny.** Bassigny is situated on the south-east part of Champagne, the chief towns whereof are, Langres, Chaumont, Montigni le Roy, and Bourbonne les Bains.
- Langres.** Langres, *Civitas Lingonum*, is a fortified town, situate on a hill near the confines of Lorrain and Franche Comte, thirty miles to the southward of Joinville. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Lyons, the bishop being one of the Dukes and Peers of France, and temporal as well as ecclesiastical Lord of this city. The town of Bourbonne, famous for its baths, lies about six leagues from hence.
- Bourbonne.** Chaumont is situated on the top of a high mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river Marne, thirteen miles north-west of Langres.
- Chau-  
mont.** The Senonois is the south-west part of Champagne, the ancient inhabitants whereof made great conquests in Italy, giving their name to the town of Senigallia, *Senonum Gallia*, Sienna, &c. The chief towns are Sens, Pont sur Yonne, St. Florentin, Tonerre, Brais, Chablais, and Nogent sur Seine.
- The Seno-  
nois.** Sens, *Civitas Senonum*, is situated on the river Yonne, twenty-six leagues south-east of Paris, and fifteen to the westward of Troyes. It is a large well-built town, and the see of an Archbishop (who calls himself primate of the Gauls and Germans) the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN is a magnificent structure; at the altar whereof is a golden table enriched with precious stones, and upon it in bas-relief the four Evangelists, with St. STEPHEN on his knees in the middle of them.
- Chief  
towns.** Chably, about thirty miles south-east of Sens on the frontiers of Burgundy, is a good town, and remarkable for its excellent wines growing in the neighbourhood.
- Sens.** The Brie Champagnoise lies on the north of the Senonois, between the rivers Seine and Marne, and abounds in pasture, corn and fruits; the chief towns whereof are Meaux, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Colomiers, Sezanne, and Montereau-faut-Yonne.
- Chably.** Meaux, *Meldarum Urbs*, is situated on the river Marne, ten leagues to the eastward of Paris, a well-built flourishing populous city, divided into two parts by the river; it is the see of a bishop, suffragan of Paris, the cathedral is dedicated to St. STEPHEN, besides which there are several collegiate and parochial churches and monasteries in the place. Here CALVIN's doctrine was first preached in the kingdom, for adhering to which, several of the inhabitants were executed in the year 1525. The English took this town in the year 1421, after a three months siege. The adjacent country produces corn, wine, and wool; but their wine is not the best.
- The Brie.** Provins is situated on the little river Vouse, about thirty miles to the southward of Meaux, not considerable for any thing at present, unless the Provins roses, which this town has communicated its name to.
- Chief  
towns.** Chateau-Thierry is a strong town with a castle pleasantly situated on the Marne, about thirty miles to the eastward of Meaux, being the ca-

pital of a dutchy and peerage; the adjacent country abounds in corn and wine, which they transport to Paris.

Montereau is situated at the conflux of the Seine and Yonne, twelve leagues south of Meaux, most remarkable in history for the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, an. 1419, in the presence of the DAUPHIN, afterwards King of France, by the name of CHARLES VII. Whereupon PHILIP, Duke of Burgundy, his son, introduced the English into France, and caused the spilling of more blood in the kingdom, than in any of their former wars. The rest of the towns in Champagne do not require a particular description.

CÆSAR found Champagne inhabited by the Rhemi, Tricasses, Lingones, Catalauni, Meldæ and Senones, being so many petty principalities or states, of whom the Rhemi were the most powerful. It afterwards constituted part of Celtick and part of Belgick Gaul. In the division, which the sons of CLOVIS I. and CLOTAIRE I. made of their dominions, Champagne made part of the kingdom of Austrasia, of which Metz was the capital. These Princes established Dukes and Counts in this country, with a limited authority, who at length however assumed the absolute sovereignty of the province, and became so potent, that they maintained wars against the Kings of France and Burgundy. The French historians relate, that ROBERT the Son of HERBERT II. was the first hereditary Count, whose posterity took the title of Palatins, about the year 958. This country continued to be governed by Counts upwards of three hundred years, but that they were vassals or feudatories of France is evident, say the French historians, because they were Peers of that kingdom, and carried the royal banner at the consecration of their Kings; and possibly they might be as much subject to France, as the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia are at this day to the Emperor, who have their respective offices at the coronation of the Emperor, and the titles of Electors and Princes of the empire. But however that be, the Counts of Champagne had a power of assembling their states, by directing their writs of summons to the seven Counts, who were their subjects, and to enact laws without asking leave of the French King. The last Count of Champagne was HENRY I. King of Navarre, who leaving issue one only daughter named JANE, that married PHILIP the Fair, King of France, about the year 1285, this province thereby became united to the kingdom of France.

The province of Champagne produces corn, wine, wool, iron, wood, cattle and good pasture; their principal manufactures are those of linen, woollen and iron ware. The wine of Champagne which they export has a mighty reputation, but there is a great deal of wine spent in the country that is very indifferent, the best goes to market.

The government of Champagne is one of the most considerable in the kingdom; besides the governor-general, and his lieutenant-general, there are four other lieutenant-generals, who have each of them their separate divisions; one of them commands in the baillage of Rheims; a second the baillages of Vitry and Chamont; a third the baillages of Troyes, Langres and Sens; and a fourth the Brie Champenois. Of all the fortified towns, there were in this province before the late King extended his conquests beyond it, there are not more than three of any strength at present, viz. Mezieres, Rocroy and Sedan; but several other towns however

The ancient state of Champagne.

The produce and manufactures of Champagne.

The military government of Champagne.

Fortified towns.



however still retain their respective governors, as Troyes, Chalvas, Menchead, Vitry, Langres, Chaumont, St. Dizier, Espernay, Bar sur Aube, Vaucouleurs, Sefanne, Fimes, Vassy, Sens and Meaux. The city of Rheims has no governor, only a captain of the gates.

## CHAP. VII.

*Contains a description of the Dutchy of Burgundy.*

## CHAP. VII.

**T**HE government of Burgundy comprehends the Dutchy of Burgundy, the Bresse, Bugey, and the Baillage of Gex; and is bounded by Champagne, on the north; by Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy, on the east; by Lyonois, on the south; and by the Bourbonnois and Nivernois, on the west; extending about five and forty leagues in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west.

**Rivers.** The rivers which water this province are the Seine, the Saone, the Armaucon, the Dehune, the Brebince, the Ouche, the Tille, and the Aine. The Saone rises in Lorrain, and runs the whole length of this province from north to south, uniting its streams with the Rhone at Lyons, and is much the most considerable of the above-mentioned rivers.

**Subdivi-  
on.** The French geographers divide the government of Burgundy into thirteen districts, or subdivisions, viz. 1. The Dijonois. 2. The Autunois. 3. The Chalonois. 4. The Baillage of the Mountains. 5. The county or Baillage of Auxerre. 6. The Auxois. 7. The County of Chalons. 8. The Brienois. 9. The Masconois. 10. The Bresse. 11. The Principality of Dombes. 12. The Bugey. And, 13. The country of Gex.

**The Dijonois.** The Dijonois lies between Champagne, Franche Comte, the Auxois and the Autunois; the chief towns are Dijon, Nuits, Beaume, St. John de Laune and Aulsonne.

**Dijon city** Dijon, *Divio*, capital of the dutchy, is situated between two small rivers which surround it, namely, the Ouche and the Suzon, about sixty miles south of Troyes in Champagne, and about an hundred and forty south-east of Paris. It is an hour's walk in circumference, fortified after the antique way, and defended by a castle flank'd with great round towers. There are in it seven parishes, two abbeys, and several other convents and hospitals; the Jesuits college is one of the finest in France, and there is a large ancient palace of the Dukes of Burgundy; but neither this or the town-house have any thing very remarkable in them. The rest of the towns in this district do not require a particular description.

**The Auto-  
nois.** The Autunois lies south-west of the Dijonois, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Autun. 2. Bourbon Lancy. And, 3. Montcennis.

**Autun city** Autun, *Bibraete*, *Augustodunum*, is situated on the river Aroux, at the foot of three great mountains; one whereof is so replenished with springs, that it supplies every part of the town with water. It is about a quarter of a league in length, and as much in breadth, a bishop's see, contains besides the cathedral church eight parishes, and several convents and hospitals, and is a place of very great antiquity. In the middle of the town is an open space, called the Field of Mars, and there are still the remains of three Pagan temples, one of them dedicated to J A N U S, and another to D I A N A. Here are also the ruins of a theatre, a cirque and a pyramid; which last to all appearance hath been

a tomb. There are also two ancient gates of excellent workmanship, which some have taken for triumphal arches.

**Bourbon Lancy**, *Borbonium Anselmum*, is situated on the side of a mountain, twelve leagues south-west of Autun, near the river Loire. It is divided into three parts, and defended by an old castle, and other antique fortifications, and contains three parishes; but what it has been famous for ever since the time of the ancient Romans, is its hot baths and mineral waters, which are in good esteem at this day.

The Chalonois is bounded by the Dijonois, on the north; Franche Comte, on the east; La Bresse, on the south; and the Charolois, on the west; being about fifteen leagues long and ten broad; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Chalon. 2. Verdun. 3. Seurre. And, 4. Lohans.

**Chalon**, *Cabillonum*, is pleasantly situated on the river Saone, in a large fruitful plain, thirty miles south of Dijon. It is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a castle, a bishop's see, suffragan of Lyons, the cathedral a magnificent structure; besides which, there are several convents of both sexes; it is also a place of good trade.

The Baillage of the Mountains is bounded on the north and east, by Champagne; on the south, by the Dijonois; and on the west, by another part of Champagne. The chief towns are, 1. Chatillon. 2. Bar sur Seine. 3. Mussy-l'Eveque. 4. Aisey le Duc. And, 5. Val des Choux.

**Chatillon** sur Seine, *Castellio ad Sequanam*, is situated on the river Seine, partly on a hill, and partly in a bottom, resembling an amphitheatre. It consists but of one parish, besides which there are several collegiate and conventual churches, and an hospital for the entertainment of poor travellers, with a college for teaching humanity.

The Country or Baillage of Auxerre, is bounded by Champagne, on the north and east; and by Nivernois, on the south-west. The chief towns are, 1. Auxerre. 2. Crevant. And, 3. Coulange.

**Auxerre**, *Autissiodorum*, is situated on the river Yonne, eighteen leagues north-west of Dijon. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Sens, and contains eight parishes, besides several convents and a college for Jesuits.

The Auxois lies between the Dijonois, the Autunois, and the Auxerrois. The chief towns are, 1. Semur. 2. Flavigny. 3. Montbard. 4. Noyers. 5. Avalon. 6. Arnay le Duc. 7. Saulien. And, 8. Tanlay.

**Semur** is situated on the river Armancon, thirty miles north-west of Dijon, the greatest part of it on a steep rock, and is about two thousand four hundred paces in circumference, besides the suburbs, being surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a castle.

The county of Charolois hath the Chalonois on the north, and the Masconois on the east, being twelve leagues in length and seven in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Charolles. 2. Paray le Monial. And, 3. Toulon.

**Charolles** is a little town situate on the Recouse, thirty miles south-west of Chalons; it is a pleasant place, but not remarkable for any thing but the remains of an ancient castle which belonged to the Counts of Charolois.

The Brienois is a little baillage, not above four leagues over, on the south-west confines of Burgundy, and hath in it only one little town called



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called Semur, situate about half a league from the river Loyre.

**Semur.** The Mafconois is divided from Bresse by the river Saone, and contains the towns of, 1. Mafcon. 2. Tournus. 3. Clugny. 4. St. Geugoux. And, 5. Mercigny.

**Mafcon.** Mafcon is situated on the west side of the river Saone, which separates it from La Bresse, but has a communication with it by a fine stone bridge; the town extends it self in form of a crescent, and is about three thousand paces in circumference, containing about six thousand people, but the streets are narrow and ill paved, and there are scarce any squares or open places; it is a bishop's see, suffragan of Lyons, the cathedral a dark old building, besides which there are several convents of both sexes, and hospitals.

**Clugny.** Clugny is situated in a valley between two hills upon the little river Grosne, about three leagues south-west of Mafcon, and is of a larger extent, but not so populous, famous chiefly for its fine abbey, which depends immediately on the Pope. The church whereof is one of the largest in the kingdom, and great numbers of illustrious persons have been interred there, particularly Cardinal BOUILLON, who erected a most magnificent mausoleum here for himself and his family. This abbey was possessed anciently of a prodigious treasure, which the Catholics complain they were plundered of by the Calvinists in the civil wars, as they were of their library, which contained abundance of valuable manuscripts.

**La Bresse.** La Bresse is situated to the eastward of the Mafconois and the river Saone, being about sixteen leagues in length from north to south, and nine in breadth from east to west. The chief towns are, 1. Bourg. 2. Pont de Vaux. 3. Pont de Vesse. 4. Montluel. 5. Chastillon. And, 6. Beauge.

**Bourg.** Bourg, the capital of La Bresse, is situated in a flat country on the river Refouffe, twenty miles south-east of Mafcon, and is about two thousand six hundred paces in circumference, being divided into seven quarters or wards. The church of Notre Dame is both collegiate and parochial; besides which there are convents of Cordeliers, Jacobites, Capuchins, Jesuits, and several nunneries, which have their respective churches or chapels. All the trade of the place consists in horses, black cattle and skins; their horses are in great esteem. The Dukes of Savoy were heretofore possessed of this town and country; and in the beautiful church of St. Brou, which stands about a mile to the eastward of the town, are still several noble monuments of that family, particularly the tomb of PHILIBERT II. Duke of Savoy, and of MARGARET of Austria his widow which stand in the choir, and are esteemed admirable pieces of workmanship.

**The principality of Dombes.** The principality of Dombes, formerly a part of Bresse, is bounded by the Mafconois on the north, by La Bresse on the north-east, and by Lyonois and Dauphine on the south and west, being about nine leagues in length, and as many in breadth, a pleasant fruitful country, and divided into twelve chatellanies. The chief towns are, 1. Trevoux. 2. Thoissey. And, 3. Montmerle.

**Trevoux.** Trevoux, *Trivotium*, is situated on an eminence near the river Saone, twenty-five miles south-west of Bourg, and is said to have taken its name from its situation on one of the highways which AGRIPPA made into Gaul, and here divides into three branches. It is the capital of the principality of Dombes,

which belongs to the Dukes of Maine, who have built a handsome palace for the parliament and courts of justice held here, a palace for the governor, a mint, a printing-house, and other publick edifices; besides which, there are several convents, and an hospital founded by ANNE-MARY-LOUISE of Orleans, late sovereign of Dombes.

The district of Bugey is bounded by Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy and Gex on the north; by Savoy, from which it is separated by the Rhone, on the east; by Dauphiné, from which it is also separated by the Rhone on the south, and by La Bresse on the west, being sixteen leagues in length and ten in breadth; the Savoyards were anciently lords of this country also, which they yielded to the French in 1601. The chief towns are, 1. Belley. 2. Nantua. 3. Seiffel. And, 4. St. Rambert.

Belley, *Bellica*, is situated at the south-east part of the country, not far from the Rhone, about thirty miles south-east of Trevoux, being two thousand paces in circumference. It is a bishop's see, who is both spiritual and temporal Lord of the place, and while it belonged to the empire claimed a seat in the diet. The cathedral is dedicated to St. JOHN BAPTIST; besides which, there is but one parish church and some convents of both sexes.

Seiffel is a large town situate on the river Rhone, by which it is divided in two parts that have a communication by a bridge, being about twenty miles to the northward of Belley, and fifteen to the westward of Annecy in Savoy. Here the Rhone first begins to be navigable, and here they unload all the salt that is carried into Savoy and Switzerland. The church of Notre Dame is the only parochial church; besides which there are several convents in the place.

The country of Gex is bounded by the country of Vaux in Switzerland towards the north; by the lake and town of Geneva on the east; by the Rhone and the Genevois, a county of Savoy, on the south, and by the mountains of St. Claude a Jura, and the Franche Comte toward the west, being about seven leagues in length and three in breadth. This country, as well as La Bresse, was yielded to France by the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1601. The only considerable town whereof is Gex, situate at the foot of mount St. Claud, which divides it from Franche Comte, being twelve miles north-west of Geneva. The church of St. Peter and St. Paul is the only parish church in the place; besides which, there are three convents of friars, and one of nuns; which last gives entertainment chiefly to such as are new converts to the catholic faith, of whom they pretend to have a great many from the neighbouring country of Switzerland and Geneva.

The Burgundians, according to the best historians, were comprehended under the general name of Vandals, in the reigns of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, who after having remained some time in that part of Poland called the Arch-bishoprick of Gnesna, advanced into Germany and possessed the Palatinate; from whence they proceeded along the banks of the Rhine, in the time of VALENTINIAN, and entered Gaul about the year 408, settling themselves in Switzerland and part of Franche Comte, from whence they extended themselves insensibly to the Rhone and Saone, and at length established their first kingdom, which lasted an hundred and twenty years under six kings, who reigned here successively. This kingdom was united to the monarchy of France by CLOTHAIRE I.



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and possessed by his descendants under the title of the kingdom of Burgundy. It was afterwards divided into Burgundy Trans-Jurana, and Burgundy Cis-Jurana, on account of mount Jura, at present mount Claud, which separated the one from the other. The Lower Burgundy called the Dutchy, which we have now described, was given by CHARLEMAIN to HUGH his natural son, surnamed the Great, and CHARLES the Bald confirmed that grant to ROBERT, who married the only daughter of the said HUGH. This dutchy continued to be possessed by the Dukes of Burgundy of the line of France, till the year 1361, when Duke PHILIP dying at fifteen years of age without issue, it was united to the crown of France. King JOHN granted it afterwards to PHILIP the Hardy his fourth son, on condition to revert to the crown on default of heirs males, which happened not long after, on the death of CHARLES IV. Duke of Burgundy, whose only daughter married the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN I. afterwards Emperor; but the Emperor however kept possession of the county of Burgundy.

The dutchy of Burgundy is the first Peerage of the kingdom, and the ducal coronet was enriched with the like ornaments as the royal crown, on account of their being the successors of the ancient Kings of Burgundy. And by a decree of the council of Constance 26 May 1433, the Dukes of Burgundy were ordered to sit next the King in all christian assemblies. It is now the title of the Dauphin's eldest son.

Produce of  
the coun-  
try.

This province does not only abound in grain, good pasture, fruits, cattle and game, but produces the most excellent wine in France, which from the place of its growth has obtained the name of Burgundy; the places most celebrated for it are Nuis, Chamberlin, Beze, Coulange, Chassagne, Beaune and Volenai.

The mili-  
tary go-  
vernment  
and forti-  
fied towns.

As to the military government of this province, it has a governor general, who is usually a person of the first rank; the Dukes of Bourbon, of the branch of Bourbon-Condé, have of late been governors of it, under whom is a lieutenant general, besides six lieutenants general who have their particular commands; the first commands the Baillages of Dijon, of the mountains, and that of Bar sur Sein; the second, the Autunois, the Auxerrois, and the Auxois; the third commands in the Chalonnois; the fourth, the Mâconnois; the fifth, the Charolois; and the sixth takes in the Bresse, Bugey, the valley of Romey, and the country of Gex; besides which, most of the towns have their respective governors. They don't reckon there are above five places well fortified in the dutchy of Burgundy, and those are, 1. Dijon. 2. Auxonne. 3. Chalon upon the Saone. 4. Bourg in Bresse. And, 5. Pierre Châtel.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Contains a description of Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy.*

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VIII.

FRanche Comte is bounded by Lorraine on the north; by Switzerland on the east; by La Bresse on the south; and by the dutchy of Burgundy and Champagne on the west.

It was a woody country till the last century, when it came into the hands of France; since when, great part of the woods have been destroyed to supply their iron-works. It is very mountainous, especially on the sides of Switzerland and Lor-

rain, mount Jura runs along all the eastern boundaries and separates it from Switzerland. The chief rivers of this country are, 1. The Saone. 2. The Lougnon. 3. The Dou. 4. The Louve. And, 5. The Dain.

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Rivers.

It is usually divided into four baillages, viz. 1. Subdivisi-  
Befançon. 2. Amont. 3. Dole. And, 4. That  
of Aval.

The Baillage of Befançon was constituted by LEWIS XIV. a little after the conquest of this country, an. 1674. the capital whereof and of the whole province is the city of Befançon or *Vesantium*, called by some historians Chrysopolis: it is an ancient town, and according to the tradition of the natives founded some hundred of years before Rome; it is situated in 47 deg. 10 min. north lat. about 150 miles south-east of Paris, and 70 north of Geneva, on the river Dou or Doux, which divides it into two parts, of which one is called the high and the other the lower town. It is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a citadel which stands on a steep rock, and is an oblong square flanked with four irregular bastions, the ground here and about the town being too uneven to admit of regular works. It is a bishop's see, and the cathedral dedicated to St. JOHN, stands at the foot of mount St. Stephen, anciently called mount Cælius. There are in the town also seven parish churches, two chapters, two abbeys of men and two of nuns, a seminary, a college of Jesuits, seven convents of friars and five of nuns, an hospital for the education of poor children, an hospital for foundling or expos'd children, and another general hospital; and the town is supposed to contain eleven thousand inhabitants and upwards. The town-house, the governor's palace, and that of Granville are the most remarkable buildings in the place; the last of which is furnished with a great variety of excellent statues and pictures, and a library containing abundance of valuable books and manuscripts. There are also five noble fountains in the town embellished with statues and other ornaments. Befançon was a free imperial city till the peace of Munster, when the Emperor exchanged it with the King of Spain for Frankendal (which his Catholick Majesty was then possessed of) but it continued however to be governed as a Republick by its own magistrates, till the French King possessing himself of it in the year 1674, altered the form of government and constituted a Baillage, of which this was made the capital, as hath been intimated already. In the neighbourhood of Befançon there are several places, the names of which shew that the ancient Romans were possessed of this town, as mount Jovot, *Mons Jovis*; Mercurio, *Mons Mercurii*; mont Delie, *Mons Delii*; Cham Vacho, *Campus Bacchi*; Chamuse, *Campus Musarum*. There are still to be seen also the ruins of an amphitheatre, an hundred and twenty feet in diameter, and of some Pagan temples, and a triumphal arch dedicated to the Emperor AURELIAN, in whose time this town is supposed chiefly to have flourish'd, it being then the capital of the Sequani. But I must not forget the holy handkerchief, a precious relique, which draws multitudes of devout people hither annually at Easter. They don't pretend however to have more than a piece of it here, tho' at Turin, and I think at Rome, they assure us they have the whole; for which I refer to the description of those cities. The rest of the towns of this baillage, tho' very numerous, their writers have not thought fit to give us a particular description of.

The



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VIII.Amont  
Baillage.Gray  
town.The Bail-  
lage of  
Dole.

Dole city.

The Bail-  
lage of  
Aval.  
Salins.The ancient  
state of  
Franche  
Comte.

The Baillage of Amont or Gray lies north-west of that of Besançon; the chief towns whereof are Gray, Vesoul, Marnay, Beaume, Jonvill, Dampierre, Amance, Belvoir, Bouilans, Faucogney, Lure, Montbelliard and Pesme.

Gray is a pretty trading town, situate on the Saone, about ten miles north-west of Besançon, and was well fortified till taken by LEWIS XIV, who demolished the works. Here they embark great quantities of corn, iron, and other merchandizes, which they transport to Lyons. The place consists but of one parish, five convents, a collegiate church, and a college of Jesuits. The inhabitants are computed to amount to about four thousand.

The Baillage of Dole lies south-west of Besançon, and is much less than either of the former, the chief towns whereof are Dole, Quingey and Ornans.

Dole, *Dola Sequanorum*, is situated on the river Doux, about fifteen miles south-west of Besançon, in a pleasant fruitful country, and was anciently the capital of Franche Comte, and the residence of the sovereign. The French King demolished the fortifications when he took it in 1674, but it is still a pretty town, the streets spacious, and the houses tolerably well built. The public edifices best worth the viewing, are the church of our Lady, the Jesuits college, and the palace where their parliament was held. There is also a university in the place, founded by PHILIP the Good, and eleven convents of both sexes. The inhabitants are computed to amount to between four or five thousand. Here are still the ruins of several Roman antiquities, particularly of two aqueducts. Their great highway also from Lyons to the Rhine lies thro' this town. The French were confirmed in the possession of this place and the rest of Franche Comte by the treaty of Ryswick.

Sampans. The village of Sampans, two miles from Dole, is remarkable for its fine quarries of jasper and other marble.

The Baillage of Aval is the most southern part of Franche Comte: the chief towns are, 1. Salins. 2. Arbois. 3. St. Claude. And, 4. Poligny.

*Salines Villa*, and *Puteus Salinarum*, so called from an excellent salt-spring, which yields the crown a great revenue, is pleasantly situated on a rivulet between two mountains, twenty miles south of Besançon. It is a long town, consisting chiefly of one street, in which are four parishes, and nine or ten convents. The churches have nothing extraordinary in their fabrick; but the hall in which they have their magazine of salt, and where their courts of justice are held, is a magnificent building. It is defended by a wall, and some forts, and was formerly reckoned a very strong place. It contains at present between five and six thousand inhabitants.

Franche Comte, or the country of Burgundy, was inhabited by the Sequani, who were more anciently comprehended under the name of Helvetians. They implored CÆSAR's protection against ARIOVISTUS, a German monarch who invaded them: CÆSAR having driven him beyond the Rhine, put his army into winter quarters in this province, which afterwards continued faithful to the Romans. The Burgundians made themselves masters of it in the time of the Emperor HONORIUS, and united it to their kingdom of Burgundy. CLOVIS having conquered that kingdom this part of it remained under the power of THIERRY King of Austrasia, who had married the daughter of SIGISMOND, King of Burgundy; and THEOBALD

the son of THIERRY dying without issue, CLOTHAIRE reunited it to the crown. A considerable time afterwards, LEWIS the Debonaire granted it to LOTHAIRE his eldest son, to whom succeeded CHARLES the Bald. But not to tire the reader with a long dry pedigree of the Princes of this house, I shall pass them over till we come to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN of Austria, afterwards Emperor, who having married MARY the only daughter of CHARLES Duke of Burgundy, became possessed of this province by virtue of that marriage, (tho' the French King seiz'd the dutchy of Burgundy, as reverted to him.) His grandson CHARLES the Fifth uniting it with the Netherlands, constituted the tenth circle of the empire, under the title of the circle of Burgundy; and the Kings of Spain of the house of Austria enjoyed it till the year 1668, when LEWIS XIV. made himself master of it under pretence that it was devolv'd on his Queen, but was forced to restore it by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. He made a second conquest of it in the year 1674, and it was confirmed to him by the peace of Ryswick, anno 1697, being since new modelled, and reduced into the form of a French province.

This country abounds in corn, wine and cattle, Produce of and the mountainous part of it, it is said, produces the coun- better pasture than the valleys. Their wine will try. keep five or six years, and about that age it is admirably good: those of them who can afford to keep stocks by them, usually get estates by it.

There are several iron-mines and works in this country, that have consumed abundance of the wood with which this province was replenished when the French conquered it. There are no less than thirty forges or furnaces along the banks of the rivers Doux, Saone and Lougnon, where they make bombs, grenades, and bullets for the artillery. There are also abundance of good armourers, cutlers, and artificers in hard-ware at Besançon, especially gun-smiths; the French being about to establish a magazine of arms at Besançon, which lies conveniently for supplying the garisons on the frontiers of Germany and Italy with arms. They cut also masts for shipping on the mountains of this country, and breed a prodigious number of oxen and cows, with which, and the cheese and butter they produce, they drive a great trade. Their breed of horses also brings a great deal of money into this country, for they sell one year with another five thousand colts, besides full-grown horses, of which some serve for draught, and others to remount the cavalry and dragoons. In the campaign of 1696, it is said, there were not less than four thousand horses bought up here for the King's service. The inhabitants of the mountains have also a considerable trade in hogs; but the country is not proper for sheep, and the wooll of those they have is not good, which is the reason they have no woollen manufactures in the country. Their quarries of alabaster are exceeding white and clear, and there are others of jasper about Salins, of which the blocks are so large that they will make pillars of twelve or fifteen foot in length; and in some pits they find a black marble. But scarce any thing brings so considerable a revenue to the crown as the salt-works in Franche Comte, and particularly those of Salins. They make also, as 'tis said, annually, twelve hundred thousand weight of salt-petre.

As to the military government of this province, The mili- it hath a governor general, who is also governor of tary go- Besançon, and hath under him one lieutenant ge- vernment- neral, and forti- fications.

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neral, and as many particular governors as there are fortified places; viz. the governor of the citadel of Belançon, the governor of fort Grifson, of Salins, of fort St. Andrew, of the fort de Blin, of the castle of Joux, and the castle of Blamont.

### CHAP. IX.

*Contains a description of Dauphiné.*

#### CHAP. IX.

Dauphiné, its situation and extent.

Face of the country.

Rivers.

**D**AUPHINÉ is almost of a triangular figure, each side of the triangle near an hundred English miles in length, being bounded by La Bresse and part of Savoy on the north, by another part of Savoy and Piedmont on the east, by Provence on the south, and by the river Rhone, which separates it from Languedoc, on the west. It is a very mountainous country, especially towards the east, being separated from Piedmont by the Alps. The chief rivers are the Rhone, the Durance, the Isère and the Drome.

The Rhone, which has been already described, washes the west side of the triangle.

The Isère has its source in mount Iseran in Savoy, from whence it runs south-west to Grenoble, and so on till it falls into the Rhone about a league and half from Valeure, receiving in its passage the rivers Aire, Drap, Vence and Gie, and begins first to be navigable for small boats at Montmelian, and for larger at Grenoble.

The Drome rises in the valley of Drome, near the village of Bastie, and running first north-west and afterwards west, falls into the Rhone four or five leagues below the Isère.

Division.

This province is usually divided into high and low Dauphiné; the higher and more barren lies to the eastward, and the lower and fruitful part of the country to the westward, near the banks of the Rhone. The higher is again subdivided into six districts, viz. 1. The Graivaudan. 2. The Briançonois. 3. The Ambrunois. 4. The Gapençois. 5. The Royanez. And, 6. The Baroniens. The lower comprehends, 1. The Viennois. 2. The Valentinois. 3. The Diois. 4. The Tricastra. And, 5. The Principality of Orange.

Subdivision.

The Graivaudan.

The Graivaudan, *Gratianopolitanus Ager*, lies between the rivers Isère and Drap, on the confines of Savoy, the capital whereof is Grenoble. The other places of any note are the great Chartreuse, Les Eschelles, and fort Barraux.

Grenoble.

Grenoble, *Cularo, Gratianopolis*, is pleasantly situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Isère, which divides it in two unequal parts, of which the largest is much the finest. The streets are wide and well paved, and it contains several handsome public buildings; as the cathedral dedicated to our Lady, the collegiate church of St. Andrew, the hospital general, the palace where the parliament meets, the hotel de Lesdeguieres, the arsenal, and the governor's house. It consists of two parishes only, and nine or ten monasteries, and is about a mile in length. The Bishop is suffragan to the Archbishop of Vienne.

Fort Barraux.

Fort Barraux is situated at the entrance of the valley of Graivaudan, two leagues from Montmelian, and is esteemed the strongest fortress on the confines of Savoy.

Chartreuse.

The grand Chartreuse, which is the mother of all the convents of the same denomination, is situated seven miles north-east of Grenoble, upon a high rock, to which we ascend by a very strait passage for above a league, and it is surrounded by

an almost impenetrable forest of fir-trees. It is a magnificent building, and endowed with large revenues. The general meeting of the order by deputies from all other countries assemble in this convent, there being about two hundred monasteries under its direction; and travellers who come to view the place are entertained with abundance of humanity. The monks are not allowed to speak to strangers, or to one another, but at certain hours, and in certain places. In the way to this convent, the monks have a house where they follow all manner of mechanick arts. They spin the wool of which their gowns are made; they do joiners work, cutlers work, &c. and their store-houses and cellars are well worth the viewing. On Sundays and holidays they are allowed to walk out for their diversion, and as soon as they have passed the courts of the convent, are permitted to open their mouths, and pay their compliments to each other; which is certainly no small refreshment to a Frenchman, who has had the mortification to have silence imposed upon him for several days before.

The Briançonois is bounded by the Graivaudan on the north-west, and Piedmont on the south-east; a very mountainous country, about eighteen leagues long and sixteen broad, and was anciently the seat of the Brigantes; in which a way being cut through the rocks to facilitate the passage from Italy to Gaul, some suppose this to be the work of HANNIBAL, others of CÆSAR, and some ascribe it to COTTIUS, a Prince of the Gauls, whose dominions lay in this part of the country; and tho' they were but small, their situation enabled him to defend himself so well against the Romans, that they thought it more expedient to receive him into their alliance than to attempt the conquest of it. From this Prince it is supposed that these mountains obtained the name of Alps Cottiani. The chief places are, 1. Briançon. 2. Exilles. 3. Fenestrelles. 4. Oux. And, 5. Queyras.

Briançon, *Virgantia Brigantum*, is situated on the side of a steep rock, on the top whereof stands a castle; this is supposed to be the highest part of the Alps, and consequently the highest ground in Europe, being about seven leagues to the westward of Suza in Piedmont, and as much north-east of Ambrun in Dauphiné. Two small rivers, the Dura and the Ancre, unite their streams a little below this town, and form the river Durance. It is a town naturally very strong, and the fortifications no doubt improved, since France has been obliged to yield the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, on the frontiers of Piedmont, to the King of Sardinia. Upon one of the old gates is this inscription, *D. Cæsari Augusto Dedicata, Salutate eam*, over which 'tis supposed the statue of CÆSAR was placed.

Exilles, *olim Ocellum*, is situated on the river Doire, five leagues north-east of Briançon, and two to the westward of Suza, defended by a strong castle which stands upon a pass between France and Piedmont; it was taken from the French by the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1708, and confirmed to him by the peace of Utrecht.

Fenestrelles is a strong fort on the confines of Dauphiné and Piedmont, which was taken by the Duke of Savoy in the year 1708, and confirmed to him by the peace of Utrecht; Pignerol being also then surrendered to him, he has thereby obtained a pretty good barrier against France.

Oux or Oux, formerly Admartis, from a temple here dedicated to MARS, is situated on the river Doire, about three leagues to the westward of Suza.

The



CHAP. IX. The Ambrunois is bounded by the Briançonois on the north; by Piedmont on the east; by Provence on the south; and by Gapençois on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Ambrun. 2. Gillestre. 3. St. Crespin. 4. Mont Dauphin. 5. Chorges. And, 6. Savius.

Ambrun. Ambrun, *Embrun, Ebroadunum*, which in the Celtick language signified a fruitful mountain, is an ancient town situated on a steep rock, at the foot whereof runs the river Durance, and is about twenty miles south of Briançon. It is a strong place both by art and nature, an Archbishop's see, who is metropolitan of the Maritime Alps, and stiled Prince of Ambrun; besides the cathedral, it contains five parish-churches and several monasteries; the archiepiscopal palace is a magnificent structure, standing in the highest part of the town.

The Gapençois, a mountainous country, lies to the westward of the Ambrunois, being about eighteen leagues long and fourteen broad. The chief towns are, 1. Gap. 2. Tallard. 3. Veines. 4. Lefdeguières. And, 5. Aspres.

Gap. Gap, *Civitas Vappincensium*, is situated at the foot of a mountain about fifteen miles south-west of Ambrun; it is a bishop's see, but neither the cathedral nor the other buildings deserve a particular description, nor are the fortifications considerable: about a league from hence is a church and image of the Virgin, called Notre Dame du Lait, which occasions a great concourse of the country people from all parts, who come hither in pilgrimage; the church is a handsome edifice built with a kind of marble.

Tallard. Tallard is a little town two leagues to the southward of Gap; most remarkable for giving a title to Marshal Tallard General of the French, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Hochstet, anno 1704, and remained prisoner in England till the peace of Utrecht.

The Royanez. The Royanez is a little country about six leagues in length and four in breadth (which received its name from a town called Pont de Royance) formerly a principality, but at present a marquissate.

The Baronies. The Baronies are the most southern part of Dauphiné, and lie on the confines of Provence, being about sixteen leagues in length and seven in breadth, being so called from the several Baronies into which it is divided. It is a country that produces good wine, olives, oranges, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits. The chief towns are Buis and Nions.

Buis. Buis is a little town on the river Oreze near the borders of Provence, of which the French geographers have not thought fit to give a further description.

Nions. Nions is a little town situate in a valley on the river Aigues, the bridge whereof according to tradition was the work of the Romans: near this town is a mountain from whence issues a cold wind that refreshes the country, which would otherwise be excessive hot.

Lower Dauphiné. The Lower Dauphiné consists of the western part of the country next the Rhone, and comprehends, 1. The Viennois, the most north-west part of Dauphiné, being almost surrounded by the Rhone and the Isère, about twenty four leagues in length and eighteen in breadth, and was anciently part of the country of the Allobroges. The chief towns are, 1. Vienne. 2. St. Saphoria. 3. Pont de Beauvoisin. 4. St. Rambert. 5. St. Vallier. 6. Tain. 7. Romans. 8. St. Anthony. And, 9. La Tour du Pin.

Vienne. Vienne, *Vienna Allobrogum*, is situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Rhone, about forty

miles north-west of Grenoble, and sixteen south of Lyons; it was the capital of the Allobroges, afterwards a Roman colony, the metropolis of *Gallia Narbonensis secunda*, and the first of their conquests on this side the Alps. JULIUS CÆSAR resided a considerable time here, and here are still the remains of an amphitheatre and other Roman buildings. The Burgundians took it from the Romans and made it the capital of their kingdom; it is much less than it was anciently, being now but one league and a half in circumference. The Archbishop of this see, it is said, disputes the primacy of France with the Archbishop of Lyons, the cathedral is a magnificent Gothick structure and stands on an eminence, to which we ascend by twenty steps and upwards; there are besides in Vienne several beautiful collegiate churches, abbeys and convents, and a college of Jesuits. The fifteenth general council was held here in the year 1311. The situation of the town is not pleasant, being almost covered with the mountain, the streets narrow, uneven and ill paved. On the other hand the neighbouring fields on the sides of Avignon, and the banks of the Rhone, are exceeding beautiful: the most considerable manufactures here are sword-blades, and other iron and steel wares, and paper.

The church of St. Severus, according to tradition, is built in the place where formerly grew a tree, under which the Pagans sacrificed to an hundred Gods, which St. Severus ordering to be pulled up, to remove the superstition the people had for it, found under the root a man's skull filled with gold and silver enough to erect this church, and a pillar with the following inscription, viz. *Arberem Deos Severus evertit Centum Deorum*. The chapel of St. Maria de la Vie was the Roman *Prætorium*, over the door of which is a stone ball with this inscription, *Hoc est Pomum Sceptri Pilati*; and they pretend to shew the house where PONTIUS PILATE lived during his banishment, the tower where he was imprisoned, and the lake where he drowned himself, to which they have given his name.

St. Saphoria lies two leagues to the northward of St. Saphoria. Vienne in the road to Lyons; but I don't find it remarkable for any thing but the post-ales which go from hence to Lyons, and perform their stage as well as horses, but are not to be driven beyond it by any means whatever.

Pont Beauvoisin is situated on the river Gier near Pont Beauvoisin. the frontiers of Savoy, about thirty miles to the eastward of Vienne, and is one of the most considerable passes between France and Savoy.

Taine or Theine is a little town situated near the Taine.

Rhone, about twenty-five miles to the southward of Vienne, remarkable chiefly for that excellent wine called hermitage wine.

Romans is situated on the river Isère, over which it has a bridge, thirty miles to the southward of Vienne; the situation of this town is said to resemble that of Jerusalem, having a hill in it with buildings not unlike those on mount Calvary, by which name the convent is called that is built upon it.

The Valentinois lies to the southward of the Viennois, from which it is divided by the river Isère. It was anciently a county, and has been three times erected into a duchy. The chief towns are, 1. Valence. 2. Montelimart. 3. Livron. 4. Pierre Late. And, 5. St. Marcellin.

Valence, *Valentia, Croitas Valentinarum*, is situated on the Rhone, a little below its confluence



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with the Isère, thirty-five miles to the southward of Vienne. It was once a Roman colony, and is still a pretty large well-built town, and the see of a bishop suffragan to Vienne; the cathedral is a noble structure, besides which there is a collegiate church, the fine abbey of St. Rolf, with several other convents, and it has an university in which the civil and canon laws are chiefly studied, founded by LEWIS XI. anno 1452. In the church of the Jacobins they shew the bones of a gaint of a prodigious size; for according to the dimensions of those we saw, says my author, the whole body must have been sixteen foot long. The neighbourhood of this place is extremely pleasant, the hills lying about it in form of a crescent on the one side, and the Rhone with its beautiful meadows open to it on the other.

Monteli-  
mart.

Montelimart is situated on the river Robion, about a league from the Rhone in a fruitful plain about thirty miles to the southward of Valence. It is a little populous place, remarkable for several councils held here against the Albigenes in the 13th century; and it was, says my French author, one of the first towns that followed the errors of CALVIN; but since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, they have been very faithful to God and their King: that is, the government has put it out of their power to dispute its commands. It suffered very much on occasion of its adhering to the Hugonots in the civil wars. The learned CHAUCIER, so celebrated among the French Protestants, was minister of this place,

The Diois

The Diois lies to the eastward of the Valentinois, being eighteen leagues in length and sixteen in breadth, and is the most mountainous part of the Lower Dauphiné. The chief places are, 1. Die. 2. Crest. 3. Bourdeaux. 4. Chastillon. 5. Valdrone. 6. Saillans. 7. Luc.

Chief  
towns.

Die.

Die, *Dea Vacentiorum*, and *Dea Augusta*, is situated at the foot of the mountains on the river Drone, thirty miles to the southward of Grenoble. It is the see of a Bishop, who has also the title of Count of the place. The Protestants had a university here before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and were very numerous in this city; but it suffered very much in the civil wars, the castle and several of its churches being demolished.

The Tri-  
castin.

The Tricastin is bounded by the Valentinois on the north, and the Venaissin on the south, a district of a small extent; the only considerable town whereof is,

St. Paul 3  
Chateaux.

St. Paul trois Chateaux, known anciently by the name of *Augusta Tricastinorum*, situated on a rising ground about a league to the westward of the Rhone, and four to the southward of Montelimart. It is the see of a Bishop suffragan of Arles, who is also styled Count.

The prin-  
cipality of  
Orange.

The principality of Orange was always esteemed a part of Provence till the year 1714, when an edict passed for annexing it to the government of Dauphiné; it is bounded by the county of Venaissin or Avignon on the north, east and south; and by the river Rhone, which divides it from Languedoc, on the west. It was governed by a Prince of its own for many years, the last of whom was WILLIAM III. of England; for the King of Prussia, who pretends to be heir to that Prince, exchanged it with the last French King LEWIS XIV. at the treaty of Utrecht for part of Guelderland, which the French King had possessed himself of during the war; his Prussian Majesty still retaining the title of Prince of Orange. It is a very small district, being no more than four leagues in

length and three in breadth, and the Prince's revenue amounted to about five thousand pounds per annum. The chief towns are, 1. Orange. 2. Courtezon. 3. Jonquieres. And, 4. Gigondos.

Orange, *Aurasso*, is situated in a fine large plain watered with abundance of little rivulets, about three miles to the westward of the Rhone, and eighteen north of Avignon. It has been of much larger extent than it is at present, and was a town that made a considerable figure in the time of the Romans, as appears by the remains of part of a cirque, an ampitheatre and a triumphal arch almost entire. MAURICE of Nassau, its sovereign, also built a regular fortress, consisting of eleven bastions, on a neighbouring eminence, in the year 1622, which LEWIS le Grand demolished in the year 1660, with all the other fortifications about it. It is still a university and a bishop's see, suffragan of Arles; and there have been three councils held in this city.

The province of Dauphiné was part of the country of the Allobroges, who joining with HANNIBAL, were subdued by the Romans about an hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. Upon the declension of the Roman Empire, they fell under the dominion of the Goths and other barbarous nations that ravaged Italy and Gaul; after which Dauphiné became part of the kingdom of the Burgundians. The Counts of Albon made themselves masters of the country, (in the reign of RODOLPH the slothful) whose successors reigned here under the title of Dauphins of Vienne. The name of Dauphin was the christian name of GUY, the eighth Count of Albon, who governed this province in the year 1130; his successors made it a name of dignity, and annexed it to the province. Dauphiné has twice fallen to the females for want of male issue: the first time in the year 1184, by the death of GUIGUES IX, who leaving only one daughter named BEATRIX, she married to HUGH III, Duke of Burgundy, who was the founder of the second race of the Dauphins of Vienne. The second was after the death of GUY X, who leaving issue an only daughter named ANNE, she was married in the year 1282 to HUMBERT, Lord Tour Dupin. This Prince begun the third race of Dauphins, which ended with HUMBERT the Second, a weak Prince, who becoming inconsolable for the loss of his only son, whom he let fall into the river Isère as he was playing with him at a window in his palace at Grenoble, he transferred his dominions to CHARLES Duke of Normandy, the grandson of PHILIP de Valois, King of France, upon condition that the eldest son of France should always bear the name of Dauphin, and his arms be quartered with those of France. And the King on his part promised the Dauphin an hundred and twenty thousand gold florins; which treaty was executed the sixteenth of July, 1349. HUMBERT the next day shut himself up in a cloyster, and Dauphiné has ever since been annexed to the crown of France.

The soil of this country in some parts is tolerably fruitful, producing corn, wine, olive, salt, silk and hemp, besides which they have some mines of copper, iron and lead; but two thirds of the province is so barren, occasioned by the high mountains which encumber it, that the natives are many of them obliged to remove their habitation one part of the year, to get a livelihood elsewhere, and to enable them to pay their taxes. Their mountains however produce a great variety of beautiful flowers, simples, timber, precious stones and minerals.

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cient state of  
Dauphiné.Dauphins  
of Vienne.Dauphiné  
transferred  
to the  
house of  
Valois.The soil  
and pro-  
duce.



**CHAP. IX.** There are also upon them abundance of deer, game, wild goats called Chamois, bears, and wolves. Their goats, particularly on the mountains of Diois, are red in summer and grey in winter. There are also on the Alps in this province great numbers of white hares, and partridges, eagles, goshawks, pheasants, &c. And in the duchy of Tallard are several salt-springs. Two leagues from Die is a hill called the inaccessible mountain, being in form of a pyramid reversed; but some people have however found means to ascend it, and report that there is a plain on the top of it a quarter of a league in length, on which they found herds of the wild goats call'd Chamois, tho' it is not to be conceived how they climbed up thither. They tell us also of a kind of manna which is found in the district of Briançon, upon the leaves of a tree called Meleze, resembling a pine, which falls as soon as the sun comes upon it, and is never so plentiful as in excessive hot weather. There are reported to be abundance of other merveilles, or strange productions in Dauphiné, as a burning fountain, an unfathomable gulph, &c. which I find their best writers do not give much credit to.

**Military government.** It was one of the privileges of Dauphiné anciently to have their governor and lieutenant general natives; but this is now frequently broke through. Besides the governor and lieutenant general, the King has four other lieutenants general of particular districts, and governors of the fortified towns.

**Strong towns.** The fortified places are Grenoble, Valence, Die, Montelimart, Gap, Ambrun, Mont Dauphin, Guillestre, Chateau de Queyras, Briançon, Exilles, Barrault and L'Ecluse.

## CHAP. X.

*Contains a description of Provence.*

**CHAP. X.** After the Romans had made themselves masters of the country of the Salii, Cavari, Desuviati, &c. they gave it the name of Provincia, the province, being the first they conquered on this side the Alps, and it retains the same name to this day, having only changed the letter i for an e, and instead of Province is call'd Provence. It is bounded by Dauphiné on the north, by the river Var and the Alps, which separate it from Piedmont and the county of Nice, on the east; by the Mediterranean on the south, and by the Rhone, which divides it from Languedoc, on the west; being about forty leagues in length from east to west, and thirty in breadth from north to south.

**The air.** The air is temperate in the mountainous part of this province, but in the valleys excessive hot, unless on the sea-coast, where they have usually refreshing breezes, which blow from nine or ten in the morning until the evening; and whenever the wind sits north east, it brings cool weather along with it.

**Rivers.** The chief rivers are the Rhone, the Var, the Durance, the Verdon, the Argens, the Sorgue and the Larc.

**The Rhone.** The Rhone has been already described, which washes the western boundaries of this province.

**The Var.** The Var hath its source on the mountains, on the north-east part of Provence, and running to the southward, falls into the Mediterranean between Nice and Antibes, dividing Italy from France.

**The Durance.** The Durance rises in the eastern part of Dauphiné, and running above an hundred miles to the

south-west, joins its streams with the river Verdon; after which it takes its course to the westward, till it falls into the Rhone near Avignon. The river Argens, so called from the pureness of its waters, rises in the south-west part of the country, and taking its course almost directly east, falls into the Mediterranean near Frejus.

The Sorgue has its whole course thro' the county of Venaissin, where it rises, and running south-west, falls into the Rhone two leagues above Avignon. The springs where it rises throw out the water so plentifully, that it bears the name of a river from its very source, and immediately carries small boats.

The Larc is a little river, or rather a dangerous torrent, which rising in the south part of this province, takes its course to the westward of Aix, from whence it runs on south-west till it falls into a bay of the Mediterranean sea near Berre.

There are also mineral-waters and salt-springs in several parts of the country.

The most considerable roads and harbours on the coast of Provence are those of Marseilles, Toulon, Hieres, Grimaud and Lerins, which will be described hereafter in treating of those places.

The country is very mountainous towards the north and east, being taken up by the Alps, which divide it from the Duke of Savoy's dominions in Italy. The rest of the province next the sea and the river Rhone, is for the most part plain and even. Neither the one nor the other abounds in wood, tho' few countries are better stocked with fruits, as will appear when I come to treat of the soil and produce of the country.

The French geographers divide Provence into 15 parts or dioceses, besides the islands, which make a sixteenth: 1. The diocese of Aix. 2. The diocese of Riez. 3. That of Senes. 4. The diocese of Digne. 5. The Archbishoprick of Arles. 6. The diocese of Marseilles. 7. The diocese of Toulon. 8. The diocese of Frejus. 9. The diocese of Grasse. 10. The diocese of Vence. 11. The diocese of Glandèves. 12. The diocese of Sisteron. 13. The diocese of Apt. 14. The county of Venaissin, or Avignon. 15. The valley of Barcelonnette. And, 16. The islands.

The diocese of Aix extends itself along the banks of the river Durance; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Aix. 2. St. Maximin. 3. Brignole. And, 4. Lambesc.

Aix, *Aque Sextie*, called *Aque* on account of its baths, and *Sextie* as it was enlarged and beautified by *SEXTIUS CALVINUS*, a Roman consul. It is situated in a plain, at the foot of the hill St. Eutropius, and about a musket-shot from the little river Arc, in the latitude of 43 degrees 30 minutes, twenty miles to the northward of Marseilles, and thirty-five south-east of Avignon. It is a large well-built city, and, according to my French author, resembles Paris the most of any town in the kingdom, in the magnificence of its buildings, the politeness of its inhabitants, its spacious squares and beautiful fountains. The Courfe consisting of three fine walks of trees of a great length, with elegant uniform buildings on each side of it, and embellished with fountains, is very much admired by travellers, as are the baths and mineral waters. The principal publick buildings are the palace where the parliament and courts of justice are held, the town-house, the cathedral, the church of the fathers of the oratory, and the Jesuits church. Aix is an Archbishop's see, and a university founded by Pope ALEXANDER V, anno



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1409, where the students enjoy equal privileges with those of the university of Paris.

St. Maximin.

St. Maximin is situated to the eastward of Aix, and consists of one parish only; but is famous for a convent of Dominicans, where, according to the tradition of the place, they have preserv'd the head of MARY MAGDALEN, and a phial containing the drops of blood which she collected at the foot of our Saviour's cross; with many other reliques of that saint, which draws a great concourse of superstitious people thither.

Riez  
diocese.

The diocese of Riez lies on the river Verdon, north-east of that of Aix; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Riez. 2. Monstiers. And, 3. Val-fole.

Riez city.

Riez, called by the Latins *Alaboece Reiorum Apollinarium*, because the inhabitants had a particular devotion for APOLLO, is situated about forty miles north-east of Aix, being a handsom little town, and a bishop's see, suffragan of Aix. The county about it yields the best wine in Provence.

Senez  
diocese.

The diocese of Senez lies along the river Verdon, to the north-east of Riez. The chief towns are, 1. Senez. 2. Castellane. And, 3. Colmars.

Senez city.

Senez, *Sanitium*, or *Sanecium*, situated about twenty miles north-east of Riez, is now reduced to a very small city, or rather a village, but remains however a bishop's see, suffragan to Ambrun.

Castellane.

Castellane is a handsom town, situate at the foot of a mountain on the river Verdon, where the Bishop of Senez usually resides.

Digne  
diocese.

The diocese of Digne lies to the northward of Senez; the only town of any note is,

Digne  
city.

Digne, *Dinia*, situated at the foot of the mountains; five or six leagues north of Senez, is the see of a bishop, suffragan of Ambrun, formerly the capital of the Senii, but of no great consequence at present.

Arles  
diocese.

The diocese, or Archbishoprick of Arles, lies in the south-west part of Provence, having the Mediterranean on the south, and the river Rhone on the west, and is about eighteen leagues in length, and fourteen in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Arles. 2. Salon. 3. Berre. 4. Les Beaux. And, 5. Troies Maries.

Arles city.

Arles, *Arelatum*, by PLINY called *Arelate Sextanorum*, because the Romans sent a colony of the sixth legion hither, is situated on the east bank of the Rhone, upon very uneven ground, and almost surrounded by a morass, which renders the air thick and unhealthful. They have a bridge of boats over the Rhone, that preserves their communication with Languedoc, on which side CONSTANTINE the great built great part of the town, but there is scarce any thing remaining of it at present. This Prince it seems was mightily taken with the situation of the place, and made it the seat of the Roman Empire in Gaul, giving it the name of *Constantium*. Among the antiquities that remain here is an obelisk of granite marble, all one entire stone, fifty two foot high, and seven feet in diameter at the base, like those of Rome, says my French author, only there are no hieroglyphicks upon it; but 'tis perfectly plain, and thus happily reserv'd, as he observes, to record the actions of LEWIS le Grand, who caused it to be dug out of the ruins and set upon a pedestal in the year 1676. The town consecrated this monument to the glory of his Majesty, placing an azure globe on the top of it, strewed with golden flowers de lys, and a sun, which was this Prince's device. The four angles of the pedestal were adorn'd with four lions in marble, and the several faces contained inscriptions

pointing out the most remarkable events of his reign.

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There are also the ruins of an amphitheatre, which the French writers are confident was built by JULIUS CÆSAR. It is of an oval form, and an hundred and ninety four fathoms in circumference; the longest diameter of the area seventy one fathoms, and the shortest fifty two. The portico's are three stories high, built with free stone of a prodigious size; every story contains sixty arches, which still remain. The walls are of a surprising thickness, but very much battered and defaced.

The more modern publick buildings are the cathedral, a vast Gothick structure, the front whereof is charged with an infinite number of figures. The high altar is adorned with a fine tabernacle of silver, representing the martyrdom of St. STEPHEN, to whom the church is dedicated, which is an admirable piece.

The town-house is an elegant regular building, and finely situated. It is of a square figure, built with white stone, and adorned with three orders of architecture one above another. The portico is magnificent, and embellished with the busts of the Counts of Provence, and the roof sustained by twenty double pillars.

There is a territory of thirty miles extent depending on this city, which contains the islands made by the three branches of the Rhone, called Camargne and the Cran, the *Campi Lapidei* of STRABO and PLINY, which is a large country covered with stones, extending to the sea of Martigne from the banks of the Rhone; which notwithstanding the stony surface, according to the French writers, makes excellent pasture for sheep, who turning up the stones, find an herb underneath that fats them.

Berre is situated on a bay of the Mediterranean, Berre. most considerable for the great quantities of salt that are made here. But good Catholics, I find, have a mighty veneration for the place, on account of the present reliques that are preserv'd here, as the hair and milk of the blessed Virgin, some of her clothes, the bones of St. LAURENCE, and the finger of St. GERMAIN. It stands in a very unhealthful air.

The diocese of Marseilles lies along the coast of the Mediterranean, to the eastward of the diocese of Arles. The chief towns are, 1. Marseilles. 2. Roquevaire. 3. Ambaigue. 4. Avriol. 5. La Ciotat. 6. La Sainte Beaume. And, 7. Gemenos.

Marseilles  
diocese.

Marseilles, *Maffilia*, is situated on the Mediterranean, twenty miles south of Aix, and thirty north-west of Toulon, being divided into the old and new town. The old stands on an eminence above the fort, the streets whereof are narrow and dirty, and the houses very indifferent. On the other hand, the new town is perfectly well built, particularly the street called the Course, which is one of the finest in Europe, the houses on each side being uniform and magnificent, and a noble walk of trees between them. The cathedral is said to have been the temple of DIANA, and the ancientest in France. On the land-side there is one of the most beautiful plains in the world, in which there are no less than eight hundred country-seats of the citizens, with their gardens and vineyards, whither they retire from the noise of the town; for, says my author, the multitude of slaves in the streets, with their rattling chains, would make one think he was in the confines of hell: some of

Marseilles  
city.



CHAP. X. of them serve as porters; and others have little shops and huts, where they are allowed to work at their trades.

The abbey of St. Victor is a beautiful edifice; the Hotel de Ville, or town-house, has a noble front; the hospital and the arsenal are well worth the viewing, and there are abundance of fine convents in the place. The town is fortified and defended by a castle and two citadels; the harbour one of the safest and most commodious in Europe, where the French King lays up his galleys, but it will not admit of ships of above five or six hundred tons. It is a populous city, the natives being computed at an hundred thousand souls and upwards before the last plague, which happened anno 1720, and swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. It has as brisk a trade as most towns in the Mediterranean, and several beneficial manufactures, particularly their silk-manufacture is in good esteem, and those which relate to their shipping; their magazines of arms and warlike stores are said to be equal to any in Europe. This city is held to be of great antiquity, generally said to be founded by the Phocians, a people of Ionia in the Lesser Asia. It was celebrated for a fine academy anciently, whither the Romans, Greeks, and Gauls resorted for education; inasmuch, that it obtained the title of the learned city. They were also considerable on account of the brave defence they made against the Roman power, who thereupon entered into an alliance with them, but afterwards deprived them of their privileges, and used them as a conquered people.

St. Beaume St. Beaume is situated on a rocky mountain, almost inaccessible, between Aix, Marseilles and Toulon; where, according to tradition, MARY MAGDALEN did penance thirty years. The grott, where this Saint is supposed to have resided, is enclosed with an iron grate, having abundance of flambeaux burning day and night before it. On the side of it is a fountain which cures many diseases, and runs on every side of the rock except the place where the Saint reposed herself, where there never was seen a single drop. Near this grott they have built a pretty little church and a convent of Jacobins; from hence devout people ascend to the holy pillar, whither, according to the same tradition, the Saint was lifted up seven times a day by Angels.

Toulon diocese. The diocese of Toulon lies south-east of that of Marseilles; the chief towns are, 1. Toulon. 2. Hieres. 3. Sixfours. 4. Olioules. And, 5. Cuers.

Toulon city. Toulon, *Tolonium*, is situated in a bottom, almost encompassed with hills on the land-side, and on a bay of the Mediterranean sea, which forms a secure and commodious harbour, in the latitude of 43 degrees 8 min. six degrees to the eastward of London, four hundred miles almost south-east of Paris, and fourscore south-west of Nice. The town is not large or beautiful, tho' there are some fine buildings in it, especially the magazines and offices, which the late King erected for the use of the navy: for here the French lay up their largest men of war, and have the finest docks and yards in the kingdom for fitting out a royal fleet; such as, in the strain of the French writers, are not to be paralleled in the world: but those that have seen Portsmouth and Chatham, or the Dutch magazines and yards in Holland, possibly may be of another opinion. I shall however give a short abstract of what the French say of their naval magazine and works at Toulon. They tell us,

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that there is a covered rope yard of a surprizing length, that a man cannot see from one end to the other; and over it is an infinite number of workmen employed in sorting of hemp and spinning, &c. That they have schools for the marine guards, where they are taught navigation, and their exercises. That the hall of arms is a noble fabrick, where they make muskets, pistols, halberds, &c. That in another magazine, they have all manner of utensils for cannoners and bombardiers; that the offices where the smiths, carpenters and coopers work are of a vast extent; that the park where the cannon, bombs, and bullets are piled up in a regular manner, and the vast number of anchors, astonishes a man; that the storehouse, where the sails and rigging for the men of war are laid up, is of a prodigious length; that the foundery, where all manner of cannon and mortars are cast, requires our attention; and the royal bake-house, with its numerous ovens, is admirably contrived; that the machine for putting masts into ships at the old dock is the admiration of all that see it; and lastly, that there have been found in Toulon at one time near six hundred brass cannon, upwards of three thousand iron guns, sixteen first rates, eight second rates, twenty-four third rates, and six fourth rates, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, fire-ships, &c. There were not less in the place, they assure us, when the allies came before it in the year 1707, the miscarriage of which attempt was partly occasioned by the perverseness of some of the confederates, and partly by some unavoidable accidents: for though the town be as well fortified as the nature of the ground will admit, yet there being two hills which command it, the place could not have held out long against such a force as was at first designed for this expedition. The first false step that was made therefore in this great attempt, was the detaching fifteen thousand men from that army to Naples, which would have fallen into our hands of it self, if we had been once masters of Toulon, and as it was, cost but very little blood-shed; but the confederate army was so much weakened by making this detachment, that when they came before Toulon, they found the enemy almost as numerous as themselves, and possessed of all the heights about it; for on two sides of the city, as has been observed, lie steep, and almost inaccessible hills, viz. that of St. Anne, on the north-east, and mount St. Catharine, on the south-east; and as the hill of St. Anne perfectly commands the town, so the possession of it secures it against any attack; therefore the French general, Marshal Theffe, having made a very expeditious march, and entrenched himself on this hill before the confederates arrived, did thereby in a good measure frustrate their design. The hill of St. Catharine, which the allies possessed, is more to the eastward, and on the south-east is the hill of Maigne, between which and the town there is a morass. Over the mouth of the harbour lay a boom, between which and a little neck of land there was a deep passage defended by a great tower, on which were thirty guns mounted. This was the tower the confederate fleet attacked, and was in a fair way of taking it, if an unlucky shot had not blown up the magazine of gunpowder in Fort St. Laurence, which they had taken before, and thereby deprived them of the shelter they had gained from the shot of the great tower, &c. after which they found it impracticable to carry on their attacks against it. The army at land also not being able to dislodge



**CHAP. X.** the enemy from St. Anne's hill, and intelligence being brought of the French troops marching towards them from all parts, which would have been superior to the allies in a very short time, it was thought advisable to draw off their forces, and return to Italy the same way they came, as they did without any disturbance from the French, having destroyed several men of war in the harbour, and set fire to part of the town with their bombs. Had this design succeeded, the French would have suffered a prodigious loss in their shipping and naval stores; such a one as they could not have recovered in an age, tho' the confederates had been obliged to quit the town again. But as the allies were masters at sea, and could have poured in fresh supplies from time to time, it might have been difficult for the French to have retaken it; tho' I must confess I never desire to see England carry on a war at such a distance, where every man and horse must stand us in seven times the expence it does the enemy, as it actually did in many instances during the last war.

The first account we have of Toulon is, that it was a castle built by the Marfilians, to defend the coast against pyrates; and that **TELO MARTIUS** the tribune settled a colony here, calling it by his own name. Upon the decline of the Roman Empire, it underwent the same revolutions as the rest of Gaul, and was afterwards governed by Sovereigns of its own, till the heirs of this district transferred it to the Counts of Provence, since which it has had the same Princes. The Kings of France finding it a commodious harbour, enlarged and fortified it, and made it the station of the royal navy; but none of them improved it so much as the late King **LEWIS XIV.** to whom it owes all those fine docks, yards, founderies, &c. above-mentioned; and indeed before his reign the French had scarce any royal navy. It was he that laid the foundation of their greatness at sea, and built more men of war than any Prince or State in Europe was master of; tho' it is true, he could never half man them with sailors, for want of a proportionable foreign trade.

**Hieres.** Hieres is a pretty little town situate near the sea, about three leagues to the eastward of Toulon, which gives its name to the islands that lie opposite to it in the Mediterranean. This was also a colony of the Marfilians, and here pilgrims anciently used to embark for the Holy Land. It is considerable at present on account of the excellent salt which is made here, both from the seawater and salt-pools. Here also are some of the finest gardens in France, which are no less profitable to the natives than pleasant; some one of them having yielded more than ten thousand livres a year to the proprietor, before the hard winter in 1709, which destroyed most of their fruits and plants. This misfortune probably they have pretty well recovered by this time; but with all their advantages, it seems, they are situated in a very unhealthy air.

**Sixfours.** Sixfours is a borough situate on a mountain to the westward of Toulon, whose founder the natives pretend was **SEXTUS FORIUS**, upon account of some inscriptions found there. Its inhabitants are said to be of a larger size, and considerably taller than their neighbours; on which account anciently they had a law amongst them which prohibited their marrying with any but their own people, that they might not lessen the breed.

**Frejus diocese.** The diocese of Frejus lies on the sea-coast, north-east of that of Toulon. The chief towns

are, 1. Frejus. 2. Barjols. 3. Draguignan. 4. **CHAP. X.** Bargemon. 5. Favos. 6. Pignans. And, 7. St. Tropez.

Frejus, *Forum Julium, Colonia Orlavannorum*, is Frejus a fortified town situate forty miles north-east of city. Toulon, on the river Argens, about half a league from the sea. It was the naval arsenal of **AUGUSTUS**, where he laid up his fleet; and here, it is said, the celebrated **AGRICOLA** was born. There still remain several monuments of its antiquity; though the French writers do not think fit to enter into a particular description of them. It is at present a bishop's see, who is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place, and suffragan of Aix.

The diocese of Grasse or Grace, lies on the Grasse coast of the Mediterranean north-east of Frejus, diocese. being bounded towards the east by the river Var, which separates it from the King of Sardinia's territories. The chief towns are, 1. Grasse. 2. Antibes.

Grasse or Grace, is situated on a hill two leagues from the sea, about twenty miles north-east of Frejus, and fifteen south-west of Nice. The cathedral and parish church are the same; besides which there are a great number of convents, and the town is said to be rich and populous, but not very large. There is a fine prospect from it over one of the pleasantest parts of Provence; the episcopal seat was removed from Antibes thither, on account of the unhealthfulness of Antibes, and the frequent visits of the corsairs of Barbary, and other pirates.

Antibes, *Antipolis*, is one of the ancientest towns in Provence, situate on the sea-coast, about three leagues south-west of Nice, considerable on account of its port and the antiquities that are found here; it has also a pretty strong citadel for its defence. **Antibes.**

The diocese of Vence lies north of Grasse, being bounded by the King of Sardinia's territories towards the east. The chief towns are, 1. Vence. And, 2. St. Paul. **Vence diocese.**

Vence, *Civitas Vincienfium*, is situated on the Maritime Alps, about five miles to the westward of the river Var, and twelve north-east of Grasse; the city is not large, tho' it was anciently a Roman colony, and celebrated for a temple dedicated to **MARS**. It is at present a bishop's see, suffragan of Ambrun. **Vence.**

The diocese of Glandèves, or Glandeves, extends along the banks of the river Var to the northward of that of Vence. The chief towns are, 1. Glandèves. 2. Guillaume. And, 3. Entrevaux. **Glandeves diocese.**

Glandèves, *Glanateva*, stood near the banks of the Var, but being destroyed by the inundations of that river several hundred years ago, the inhabitants removed to Entrevaux, a little town on the confines of Savoy and Nice, where the bishop now resides; and there remains nothing of Glandèves at present, but a little fortress erected on an eminence. **Glandeves**

Guillaume, which lies about four or five leagues to the northward of Glandèves, is a good town, the most considerable in this diocese. **Guilleaume.**

The diocese of Sisteron lies in the north part of Provence to the westward of Digne. The chief towns are, 1. Sisteron. 2. Forcalquier. And, 3. Monosque. **Sisteron diocese.**

Sisteron, *Segufterorum Urbs*, is strongly situated on the river Durance, at the foot of a rock, and defended by a castle, being about fifty miles to the northward of Aix, and twelve north-west of Digne, the bishop whereof is suffragan of Ambrun. **Sisteron city.**

The



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X.

Apt diocese.  
Apt.

The diocese of Apt is situated to the westward of the Venaissin; the chief town whereof is of the same name.

Apt, *Civitas Aptensium*, is situated near the mountains on the river Caleron, about twenty-four miles to the northward of Aix, and as many to the eastward of Avignon: this was one of the most considerable cities of the Celtæ, and the capital of the *Vulgentes* in the time of the Romans; the Bishop is first suffragan of Aix, and styled Prince of Apt. There still remain several monuments of its antiquity, and good catholicks esteem the place for the precious reliques found in the cathedral and monasteries here, among the rest the reliques of St. ANNE, the mother of the Blessed Virgin.

Venaissin  
country.

The county of Venaissin is bounded on the north by Dauphiné; on the east, by the diocese of Apt; on the south, by the river Durance, which separates it from Arles; and on the west, by the river Rhone, which divides it from Languedoc. It does not derive its name from *Venatione*, a country fit for hunting, as some have suggested, but from *Venasque*, heretofore an imperial city, and the chief of the country. It is not at present under the dominion of France, but of the Pope; for RAYMOND VI. Count de Thoulouse, who was sovereign of it, taking part with the Vaudois and Albigenes, the French King and the Pope, about the year 1210, invaded his territories, and divided them between them. The King seized all those on the west-side the Rhone, and the Pope held those on the east-side of the river, which consisted of the country of Venaissin. RAYMOND VII. however was re-established in his father's dominions; but he marrying JANE, the daughter of ALPHONSUS, Count of Poitiers, and leaving no issue, Pope GREGORY X. after some struggles got possession of the Venaissin again, which the holy see have held ever since. The city of Avignon indeed was not formerly deemed part of the county, but was sold to Pope CLEMENT V. by JANE Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence, about the year 1348, for eighty thousand gold florins.

Chief  
towns.

Notwithstanding this little state is under the dominion of the Pope, yet the natives are not deemed aliens in France, but are allowed the privileges of natives of the kingdom, by the edicts of several of their Kings; and the university of Avignon enjoys the same privileges as other French universities. The chief towns are, 1. Avignon. 2. Tarascon. 3. St. Remy. 4. Cavaillon. 5. Carpentras. 6. Vaillon. 7. Venasque. 8. Pont de Sorgue. 9. Lisle. And, 10. Perues.

Avignon.

Avignon, *Avenio*, is situated on the river Rhone, about twenty miles north of Arles, and near as many south of Orange. It is surrounded with a stone-wall, rather beautiful than strong, and contains some magnificent churches and palaces, particularly the cathedral dedicated to the VIRGIN MARY; in which are the tombs of Pope BENNET XII. and JOHN XXII. besides those of several archbishops and bishops. The high altar is exceeding fine, and the treasury of the sacristy rich. The Hugonots, who make it another Babylon, on account of the Pope's residing here, observe, that it has seven parishes, seven monasteries, seven colleges, seven markets, and seven gates. The palace of the vice-legat was the residence of the Pope when the see was at Avignon; that of the archbishop's is a handsom structure, from whence there is an admirable prospect over

the neighbouring country; there was a stone-bridge over the river, but being decayed, it is rebuilt with wood. This city was erected into an Archbishoprick, in the year 1475, by Pope SIXTUS V. and the university was founded in the year 1303, by CHARLES II. King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and Count of Provence. There is also a court of inquisition here; the civil government is administered by the vice-legat, the viguer, or the rota. The viguer, who is an officer that resembles the provost of the merchants in other cities of France, or an English mayor, decides all causes finally, where the matter in contest is not of the value of four gold ducats. The police is under the direction of the consuls of the merchants and their assessors. From these courts there lies an appeal to the vice-legat, who refers them to the rota, being his council, and composed of five auditors; and from this tribunal the parties may appeal to Rome. Among the many fine churches at Avignon, that of the Celestins seems to have the preference, in the middle of the choir whereof is the tomb of Pope CLEMENT VII. Seven Popes successively resided in this city seventy years, viz. from 1307, to 1377.

The valley of Barcelonette is a little principality in the Maritime Alps, having the Ambu-  
netto val-  
nois, and part of Dauphiné, on the north;  
the county of Nice, on the east; and Provence,  
on the south and west; the only town of any  
consequence being so named.

Barcelonette situate on the river Hubaye, twen-  
ty miles south-east of Ambrun, built about the  
year 1230, by RAIMOND BERENGER, Count  
of Provence, who gave it that name in memory of  
his ancestors, who came from Barcelona in Ca-  
talonia. This principality was anciently a part  
of Provence, but the natives in the year 1388,  
revolted from the French, and recognized AMA-  
DEUS VII, Duke of Savoy, for their Sovereign.  
By the treaty of Utrecht, an. 1713, it was yielded  
to France; and by an arret of the council of  
state the following year, it was united again to  
Provence.

The islands of Provence are, 1. Those of St. Margaret and Honorat. 2. The Hieres. And, islands of  
3. Those of Marseilles. The isles of St. Marga-  
ret and Horet lie a little to the southward of  
Antibes; which, with Cape Garoupe, form a  
noble road, called the Gourjean, where there is  
excellent anchorage. The isle of St. Margaret lies  
three leagues south-east of Cannes, being a mile  
in length, and a quarter of one broad, defended  
by three forts, and was known to the ancients by  
the name of Lerus.

The island of St. Honorat, *olim* Lerina, is a  
little island separated from St. Margaret's by a  
channel a quarter of a league over, and is defended  
by a great tower.

The islands of Hieres lie south-east of Toulon, The  
and with the opposite shore form one of the finest  
roads in the Mediterranean, being about ten  
leagues long, and six broad, and is usually the  
place of rendezvous of the royal navy; these islands  
are three in number, viz. the Island of Porquerolle,  
the Island of Portecroz, and the Island of  
Levant. That of Porquerolle was called by the  
ancients Proten, and is about four miles in length,  
and one in breadth. The island of Portecroz,  
known to the ancients by the names of Pomponi-  
ana and Mefen, lies six miles to the eastward of  
Porquerolle, and has a castle of the same name  
situated on a rock.

The



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X.

The  
islands of  
Marseilles.

The island of the Levant, *olim* Hypæa, lies the most easterly of any of them, being four miles in length, and one in breadth.

The islands of Marseilles lie a little to the southward of that city, and are three in number, viz. If, Ratoneau, and Pomegues. CÆSAR called them the Massilian islands. The Isle of If took its name from the yew-trees which grew there, If being French for a yew-tree: it has a castle in the middle of it well furnished with artillery. The isle of Ratoneau is a dry barren rock, about a mile and a half in length, and half a one in breadth, having a fort on the top of it. The isle of Pomegues is almost as large as Ratoneau, and defended by a large tower.

The ancient  
state of  
Provence.

Provence, like the rest of France, before the Romans subdued it, was divided into several little principalities and states; of which the Cavares and Salii were most powerful. In the division of Gaul by AUGUSTUS, this was stiled *Gallia Narbonensis Secunda*. On the decline of the Roman Empire, about the year 416, the Goths possessed themselves of it; then it became part of the kingdom of Arles, or Burgundy; afterwards it was governed by its own Counts for above four hundred years; and about the year 1481, CHARLES the last Earl of Provence, left it by will to LEWIS XI. King of France, to which kingdom it has been ever since united.

Trade of  
Provence.

The trade of this province, according to the French writers, is exceeding great; and indeed in this, and in every other instance, where these people speak of themselves, some allowances must be made for their partiality. Nor is this species of folly confined to the French alone; every son of ADAM is apt to enlarge and magnify things beyond their due proportion, when they have any relation to himself. When a man treats of the power, wealth, or trade of the country where he was born or educated, he always makes the most of them; imagining, I presume, that it may reflect some honour upon himself, who is a subject or member of it. But notwithstanding allowances must be made for the partiality of the natives, certainly they are best qualified to give us a state of these things, and therefore we are obliged to have a regard to their estimates.

To Italy.

The French relate, that they export annually from the port of Marseilles to Italy, the value of three millions fifty thousand livres of the product and Manufactures of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, viz. six thousand bales of cloth, serges, and other woollen manufactures, being of the value of two millions of livres, (I presume they mean when they come to market, and not prime cost.) Of almonds, the value of two hundred thousand livres. Two hundred barrels of honey, amounting to fifty thousand livres; and as much in prunes and figs. The value of fourscore thousand livres in salted eels, olives, and anchovies. The value of twenty thousand livres in oil, grain and flour. Six thousand bales of cotton-wool made at Marseilles, of the value of three hundred and fifty thousand livres. Strong waters, the value of an hundred thousand livres. Cotton waistcoats and stockings, and thread and worsted stockings, the value of two hundred thousand livres. All which amounts to 3,050,000 livres, being about three hundred thousand pounds English money.

On the contrary, they import annually from Italy to Marseilles, six thousand quintals of the hemp of Piedmont, at six livres the quintal or hundred weight. As many quintals of rice from

the same country, by way of Nice and Onelia, at seven livres the quintal. Two thousand quintals of rice from Lombardy, by the way of Genoa and that coast, at the same price with that of Piedmont. Fifteen thousand charges of bread-corn from Venice and Ancona, at fourteen livres a charge, which I take to be about a quarter, or eight bushels English. A thousand charges or quarters from Sardinia and Sicily; and as much from Civita Vecchia, at the same price. Fifteen hundred quintals of sulphur or brimstone from Civita Vecchia and Ancona, at four livres ten sols the quintal. Two hundred quintals of anniseeds from the Pope's territories, at eighteen livres the quintal. Seven hundred and fifty chests of manna, which they gather in Sicily, the Pope's territories, and about mount St. Angelo in Calabria, (of which the last is the best) amounting to three hundred thousand livres. Two thousand six hundred bales of fine silk, of the growth of Savoy, Piedmont, the Milanois, Lombardy, Bologna, Ferrara, and Sicily, consisting of two quintals the bale, at nine hundred livres the quintal, which is brought into France by the way of Pont Beauvoisin. A thousand bales of fine silk of two quintals each, imported into Marseilles by sea. All which merchandizes, and some other small articles, amount to 3,335,350 livres.

The trade from Marseilles to Spain is much more considerable than that to Italy. They send to Spain annually the value of above twelve hundred thousand livres in linen of all sorts, stuffs of Tours, brocades, taffeta's, and other wrought silks. The value of thirty thousand livres in galloons and gold and silver lace; in counterfeit galloons, lace and pins. The value of ten thousand livres in box-combs and others, made at Marseilles and in the neighbourhood. But all this is nothing in comparison of the trade of gold and silver stuffs from Lyons, brocades, wrought silks, ribbands, Chaumont laces, Avignon taffeta's, hard ware, Puy laces, linen of Britany, Rouen, &c. the camlets of Lisle in Flanders, the serges and coarse woollen cloths of Nismes and Auvergne, with their fustians and dimities, which amount in the whole to the value of six millions two hundred and fourscore thousand livres. Other merchandize of Marseilles, consisting of hats, galls, paper, tobacco, prunes and thread, amounting to an hundred and fourscore thousand livres. Cotton-thread of Jerusalem, gum-arabick, galls of Aleppo, drugs of all kinds, saffron, &c. amounting to fifteen hundred thousand livres. The total of all which sums, is nine millions an hundred and seventy thousand livres.

On the contrary, they annually import from Spain the value of eight millions an hundred and fourscore thousand livres in cochineal, quinquina, indigo, Campechy-wood, wool of Segovia and other places, sarsaparilla, sugar, vermilion, silk, liquorice, pieces of eight, oil, dried raisins, &c.

As to their Turkey or Levant trade, they send annually to Constantinople twelve or fifteen sail, of which there are four or five ships, and the rest small barks. The merchandize they carry thither of their own growth or manufactures, or woollen cloths or serges, caps, paper, hard ware, clocks and watches. The goods they carry, which are the produce of other countries, are spice, cochineal, powdered sugars, indigo, sarsaparilla, quicksilver, arsenick, Brasil and Campechy-wood, white lead, tin-plates, wire, and other small articles.

The



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The goods imported from Constantinople to Marseilles, are sheeps wool, goats hair and goats wool, buffaloes hides, and other skins, yellow wax, allum, mastick, chagrin-skins, box-wood, cotton, and other small articles. The customs at the port of Constantinople do not amount to more than three per cent. on merchandizes inwards or outwards.

To the port of Smyrna, the French send annually seven or eight ships, and about as many small barks. The merchandizes exported thither, are much the same as those sent to Constantinople; only the French find a greater vent for their caps, which the Arminians and Greeks take off their hands.

The returns from Smyrna to Marseilles are made in cotton, cotton-linens, hempen yarn, sponges, goats, wool, camlets, Turkey carpets, goats hair, yarn, galls, drugs, mastick, and Scio-turpentine, which is esteemed the best in the Levant.

To Salonica, or Thessalonica, they export from Marseilles English cloth, or such as they make in imitation of it, paper, cochineal, spices, tin, wire, tin-plates. And they import from thence hides, wool, wax, silk, cotton-thread, allum, sponges, and tobacco.

The number of ships which go to Canea in the isle of Candia, are very uncertain, it depends upon the crop of corn and oil. Some years an hundred barks sail thither, carrying English-cloth, French-cloths, serges, caps, spices, and about an hundred thousand livres in silver; making their returns from thence in oil for the making of soap, wax, bread-corn, and some cheese.

They have some pedling trade also with the islands of the Archipelago; and there is a particular company of merchants at Marseilles, who trade to Satalia, a sea-port of Pamphylia in the Lesser Asia, who carry only silver thither, and bring back wool, goats hair, wax, cotton-thread, gum-dragant, opium, and corinths or currants.

They do not send above two or three ships in a year to Scanderoon, the port-town to Aleppo, which carry and bring back the same goods as those which trade to the other ports of Turkey above-mentioned. The trade thither was heretofore more considerable, but the excessive duties which the Bassa's lay on the caravans from Persia and India, occasions their travelling on to Smyrna, where the neighbourhood of the port prevents those extortions.

The trade to Tripoli and Sidon, in Syria, is inconsiderable, as is that to Cyprus.

To Alexandria, the port town to Grand Cairo in Egypt, they usually send from Marseilles ten or twelve ships, and four or five barks with merchandize and treasure. The goods are caps, paper, spices, drugs for painting, coral, wire, and other hard ware: for which they bring back in return, hides, flax, wool, cotton-thread, saffron, wax, dates, aloes, incense, coffee, myrrh, white plumes, herons feathers, elephants teeth, and gum lacque. The customs here also are three per cent. upon all merchandizes; but nothing is demanded for treasure.

The military government of Provence, and fortified towns.

As to the military government of Provence, they have a governor-general and a lieutenant-general; besides four other lieutenant-generals, who command in their respective districts; the first in Aix and its dependance; the second in Arles; the third at Marseilles; and the fourth at Grasse. The fortified towns in this province are very numerous, and are, Sisteron, Seyne, the castle of

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St. Vincent, Guillaume, Colmars, Entrevaux, Antibes, the islands of Lérins, which comprehend those of St. Margarets and St. Honorats, Grasse, St. Tropez, Hieres, Toulon and its forts, Marseilles and its citadel, the islands of Chateau d'If, Portegue and Rattonneau, Notre-dame de la Garde, Aix, Pertuis, Arles, Tarascon, Forcalquier, Apt, Brignoles, St. Maximin and Barjols.

## CHAP. XI.

*Contains a description of the province of Languedoc, olim Occitania, seu Volcarum Regio.*

Languedoc is supposed to have taken its name from the language of the country, where the people say *oc* instead of *oui*, yes; and that which renders this opinion the more probable is, that in some of their ancient records it is called *Lingua-doc*.

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Languedoc, the name.

This is the most southerly part of France, and is of a very irregular figure, large at both ends, and slender in the middle, like a wallet, being bounded by Lyonois and Guienne on the north; by the river Rhone, which divides it from Dauphiné and Provence on the east; by the gulph of Lyons and the Pyrenees, which separates it from Spain, on the south; and by Gascony, on the west; extending in length from east to west above seventy leagues, but is so indented about the middle by the province of Rouergne on the one hand, and the gulph of Lyons on the other, that it is not above ten or twelve leagues broad in that part, tho' it be thirty-two leagues broad towards the east, and almost as many on the west.

Situation and extent.

The north-east part of this country is very mountainous, being taken up by the Cevennes; but the western generally plain and low till we come towards Rouffillon and the Pyrenees. The air is for the most part extremely pleasant and healthful, insomuch, that the air about Montpellier is reckoned an infallible cure for a consumption, where the patient is not too far gone; and they are said to abound in medicinal herbs more than any country in Europe.

Face of the country.  
The air.

The principal rivers are the Rhone, the Garonne and the Loire, which have been already described. Here are also the Tarn, the Agout, the Allier, the Aude, and several other rivers.

The Tarn rising in the Gevaudan, takes its course westward, and passing by Alby, unites its streams with the Agout, and afterwards with the Aveson, and a little below falls into the Garonne. The Allier also rising in the Gevaudan, runs northward thro' the Lyonois till it discharges itself into the Loire. The Aude rises in the Pyrenees, and taking its course first northward, then turns about to the eastward, and falls into the gulph of Lyons to the eastward of Narbonne. The Agout rises in Rouergne, and running westward, unites its waters with the Tarn and some other streams, and afterwards falls into the Garonne.

But what is most admired in this country is the canal royal, upwards of an hundred miles in length, by means of which there is a communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean. It is related by some of their historians, that the Romans had a design to have effected this, and after them CHARLEMAIN and FRANCIS I; but in the reign of HENRY IV, anno 1598, it was actually examined into and adjudged to be feasible. The Constable MONTMORENCI ordered a view to be taken of the grounds thro' which the canal was to

Rivers.



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be conducted. Cardinal RICHLIEU also had determined to put this project in execution, but was prevented by other affairs. And according to the French writers, this glorious undertaking was happily reserved for LEWIS le Grand, whose conduct they can never sufficiently admire. He appointed commissioners to examine into it in the year 1664, and by the advice and direction of that celebrated engineer Monsieur RIQUET and his sons, it was begun in 1666 and finished in the year 1680, when the old engineer died before he had made any experiment of the success of his labours, his sons making the first essay the following year 1681. They found great difficulties in effecting this work: the unevenness of the ground, the mountains, rivers and torrents they met with in their way, seemed to render the execution of it impossible. but where the ground sunk, they raised the water by sluices, of which there are fifteen towards the Ocean, and forty-five on the side of the Mediterranean, reckoning from the highest ground where they began to work. When they met with any mountains, they either levelled them or pierced them through. The most considerable overture is that of Malpas, which they dug thro' two hundred and forty yards, to make a passage for the canal, though it was almost all rock. The canal here is eight yards broad, besides the banks on the side for horses to draw the boats. When they found rivers or torrents in their way, they laid bridges and aqueducts over them, and the rivers frequently run underneath the canal, and sometimes they diverted the current another way. There are abundance of large basins and reservoirs to supply the canal with water when there is occasion; the most considerable of which is at St. Ferreol, that being about two thousand fathoms in circumference, and near ninety foot deep, which receives the waters from the black mountains, that are kept up by a caufey and three strong walls. This reservoir lies upon the highest ground which the canal goes over, so that the water can be let out either towards the Ocean or the Mediterranean. The voyage between the one sea and the other by the way of the rivers Garonne, Lers, and this canal, may be performed in about fifteen days. But what renders it less advantageous than it would otherwise be, is the dangerous coast of Languedoc, there not being one port on that side where shipping can ride with any tolerable safety. There is not a more turbulent stormy sea in the Mediterranean than the gulph of Lyons, nor a worse shore for ships to come upon which require any depth of water, and this no doubt makes the merchants avoid it as much as they can; accordingly we find most of the produce and manufactures of Languedoc shipped at Marseilles in Provence.

There is no part of France which afford so many springs of mineral waters as Languedoc; but of these hereafter.

Division.

This province is usually divided into the higher and lower Languedoc; the higher Languedoc is again subdivided into, 1. Part of the diocese of Montauban. 2. The diocese of Alby. 3. Castres. 4. Lavaur. 5. Thoulouse. 6. Rieux. 7. St. Papoul. 8. Mirepoix. And, 9. Part of Cominges.

Subdivision.

The lower Languedoc comprehends, 1. The diocese of Alet. 2. Carcassone. 3. Narbonne. 4. St. Pons. 5. Beziers. 6. Ladeve. 7. Agde. 8. Montpellier. 9. Nismes. 10. Uzes. 11. Viers. 12. Alais. 13. Meude. And, 14. Pui.

Upper Languedoc.

There are not more than forty parishes of the diocese of Montauban in the province or govern-

ment of Languedoc; of which the chief are, 1. CHAP. Castle-Sarasin. 2. Montech. And, 3. Villemur. XI.

Castle-Sarasin, *Castrum Saracenum*, is a little town situated at the confluence of the rivers Aisn and the Garonne, four leagues from Montauban, considerable for little but the ruins of an ancient castle.

The diocese of Alby, *Albigensis Tractus*, is bounded by Rovergne on the north and east, and by the diocese of Thoulouse on the south-west. The natives of this country, the Albigenes, seem to have made the earliest and the most vigorous opposition to the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, particularly their doctrine of Transubstantiation, of any people in Christendom; and were frequently encouraged and supported by their own and other Princes. For instance, the Count of Thoulouse, the King of Arragon, the Counts of Foix, Cominges, Bearn, &c. who were also sovereign Princes, which occasioned the Pope's arming a Croisado against them, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and transferring their dominions to those that could conquer them. This gave the French King a handle to fall upon the Count of Thoulouse, and deprive him of his territories, which he united to the crown of France, assigning only the county of Venaissin to the Pope for his share of the plunder, as has been observed already in treating of the Venaissin. The chief towns in the diocese of Alby are, 1. Alby. 2. Gaillac. 3. Rabesteins. 4. Cardelins. And, 5. Realmont.

Alby, *Albiga*, is situated on an eminence near Alby city. the river Tarn, which encompasses the better half of it, about three hundred miles to the southward of Paris, and forty north-east of Thoulouse, admired for the fine prospect it affords of the neighbouring country, especially from a noble terrace beautifully planted with trees, upon which the citizens walk out in the evening. It has been an Archbishop's see ever since the year 1676, who is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place. The cathedral is dedicated to St. CECILIA, the choir whereof is one of the finest in the kingdom.

Gaillac is situated on the river Tarn three leagues below Alby, remarkable for an abbey of Benedictines, and for producing some of the best white wine in France. At this place the river Tarn begins to be navigable.

Rabesteins is situated also on the same river to the westward of Gaillac, and remarkable for its excellent wine.

Realmont is pleasantly situated on the river Agout, two leagues to the southward of Alby; it was one of the first towns that embraced the reformation, and became a place of arms for the Protestants during the civil wars of France.

The diocese of Castres lies to the southward of that of Alby, the chief town whereof is Castres, *Castrum Albigensum*, situated twenty miles south of Alby: It is a fair city; divided in two parts by the river Agout; a bishop's see, who is suffragan of Alby, and capital of a country, govern'd by its own Lords till the year 1518, when it was united to the crown of France.

The diocese of Lavaur lies between that of Alby and Thoulouse. The chief towns are, 1. Lavaur. 2. St. Paul. 3. Revel. 4. Sorreze.

Lavaur is situated on the river Agout, fifteen miles to the eastward of Thoulouse; it was one of the principal cities of the Albigenes, which occasioned the Catholics to call it, *Sedes Satane, atque erroris baretici primatia*. Pope JOHN XXII. established



CHAP. XI. established the episcopal see about the year 1318.

The diocese or archbishoprick of Thoulouse extends itself along the banks of the river Garonne, being bounded by the diocese of Alby on the north-east, the county of Foix on the south, and Languedoc on the west. The chief towns are, 1. Thoulouse. 2. Verfeuil. 3. Ville-franche. 4. Hauterive. 5. Montequiou. And, 6. Mongiscar.

Thoulouse, *Tolosæ Colonia, Civitas Tolosatum, Tectosagum*, the capital of Languedoc, is situated in a large plain on the river Garonne, in the latitude of 43 degrees 40 minutes near the confines of Gascony, about an hundred miles to the westward of the Mediterranean, and sixty north of the Pyrenees: it is one of the largest cities in the kingdom, and has a fine stone bridge over the Garonne; the houses are built of brick and make but a mean appearance generally, tho' there are some magnificent edifices. It is said to be extremely well situated for trade, lying almost in the midway between the Ocean and the Mediterranean, and near the west end of the royal canal, by which those seas have a communication; and yet the place is neither rich nor populous, there being not more than eighteen or nineteen thousand families in it. And indeed after all the boasts of this mighty canal, it seems there are so many sluices upon it, that the trouble and charge of the navigation make it very little used. The merchants chuse to send their goods by long sea, round about Spain in time of peace, rather than by the way of this canal; though it must be confessed that in time of war it is of use to the country, as they can transport their goods from one part of the country to the other, without hazarding their being taken at sea. The publick buildings most taken notice of are, the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN, the choir whereof is very fine, lofty and well enlightened, but the Nef or Nave is not answerable to it. The church of St. Sernim or Saturnin, first Bishop of Thoulouse, is a large magnificent edifice, but very dark; much valued however by good Catholics for its vast treasury of reliques, as the church of the Jacobins is for the shrine of THOMAS AQUINAS. The Dorade, the church of the Carmelites, that of the Dominicans, and the Dalbade are esteemed noble structures; besides which there are a great number of handfom colleges, but the university is in a manner abandoned. The college of the Jesuits is a large and beautiful edifice; but this does not belong to the university. The Charreufe also is well worth the viewing, as are the Archbishop's palace and the town-house. Along the Garonne there is a handfom quay or key, with a Course, consisting of a fine walk of trees, as they have in most of the great cities in France.

This town is of great antiquity, ancient histories speak of it as one of the most flourishing cities of the Gauls, and the capital of the Tectosages, who inhabited this province, and conquer'd several countries in Greece and the lesser Asia, and planted colonies there. It was afterwards the capital of a Roman colony, of the kingdom of the Visigoths and of Aquitain; and lastly, it was the seat of the Earls of Thoulouse, who were sovereigns of this country for several hundred years, till the French King and the Pope divided their territories between them, as has been mentioned already. Here are still the ruins of some Roman buildings, as of an amphitheatre, capitol, &c. And we must not forget the relation they give us of Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO's covetousness, who being consul in the 658th year of Rome, plundered their temples of

a great quantity of gold, and sent it to Marseilles, ordering the convoy to be cut in pieces, that he might engross all the treasure to himself, and not be accountable to the senate for it; which being discovered by the Romans, they confiscated his estate and applied it to publick uses, and the consul died in exile; whence came the proverb, *Aurum Tolosanum*, to signify an ill-gotten estate.

The diocese of Riez lies to the southward of that of Thoulouse, on the confines of Gascony, the only considerable town whereof is Riez, situate on the river Garonne, about five and twenty miles to the southward of Thoulouse: the cathedral has nothing remarkable, but the episcopal palace is a handfom structure; which is all the description the French writers give us of this city.

The diocese of St. Papoul lies to the southward of that of Alby; the chief towns whereof are St. Papoul, *Fanum Papuli*, situate at the foot of mount Moire, about thirty miles south-east of Thoulouse, considerable on account of its being a bishop's see. And,

Castelmandary, *Castellum Arinorum*, situate on a hill about a league to the westward of St. Papoul; the royal canal passes thro' this town, and on account of the steepness of the hill here, which would occasion too precipitate a flood of waters, they have erected five locks upon it with great sluices one above another, and large basins between each, whereby the water is retained, and the navigation continued.

The diocese of Mirepoix lies to the southward of that of St. Papoul. The chief towns are Mirepoix, Carlat, La Roque, and Fangeaux.

Mirepoix, *Mirapicium, Mirapicis Castrum*, is situated on the river Lers, about twenty miles south-west of St. Papoul.

Carlat lies about four leagues from Mirepoix, and is only remarkable for being the place of Monsieur BAYLE's nativity, who wrote that excellent critical dictionary which goes by his name, and many other valuable tracts. He was born in the year 1648, and died at Rotterdam the 28th of December 1706.

The diocese of Cominges is part of the province of Guienne, only eleven parishes of it belong to Languedoc, and are called Little Cominges; the chief parishes whereof are Valentine and St. Beat. But I shall give an account of this diocese in the description of Guienne.

In the Lower Languedoc lies, first, the diocese of Alet, south-east of that of Mirepoix; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Alet. 2. Limoux. 3. Quilla. 4. St. Paul. And, 5. Caudies.

Alet, *Elesta*, is situated at the foot of the Pyrenees, upon the river Aude, twenty miles south-east of Mirepoix.

The diocese of Carcassonne lies to the northward of Alet. The chief towns are, 1. Carcassonne. 2. Arebes. And, 3. Grace.

Carcassonne, *Carcaso*, is situated on the river Aude, twenty miles to the northward of Alet, and thirty west of Narbonne. It is divided into the high and low town by the river. The lower town is well built, and the streets spacious. It has a brisk trade, very populous, and esteemed one of the finest towns in Languedoc. The churches, convents and publick buildings all make a good appearance; and there are very beautiful walks of trees about it. The manufacture of cloth here is considerable. The castle is strongly situated, and commands the town.

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The diocese and city of Riez.

The diocese and city of St. Papoul.

Castelmandary.

The diocese and city of Mirepoix.

Carlat, where Mr. Bayle was born.

Part of the diocese of Cominges

Lower Languedoc.

The diocese and city of Alet.

The diocese and city of Carcassonne.



CHAP. XI. The diocese of Narbonne lies upon the gulph of Lyons, to the eastward of Carcassonne. The chief towns are, 1. Narbonne. 2. Capetan. 3. Bisan. 4. Caunes. 5. Peyriac. 6. Sigean. 7. Burban. And, 8. Tuchan.

The diocese of Narbonne city. Narbonne, *Narbo-Martius, Decumanorum Colonia*, is situated in a bottom, almost surrounded by mountains, on a canal which affords it a communication with the canal royal and the river Aude on the one side, and with the Mediterranean on the other; from which last it is about two leagues distant, and sixty from Montpellier to the west. It is a large town, and was strongly fortified, but their late Kings demolished the fortifications on account of their adhering to the Calvinists, leaving nothing standing but the ramparts. The cathedral is an old Gothick structure, which has very little in it to be admired, except the picture of the resurrection, and the raising LAZARUS from the dead. There are besides five parish-churches in the place, and several monasteries. They suffer great inconveniences when any heavy rains happen to fall, by the floods, which run down in torrents from the mountains; and the dampness of the country makes it very unhealthful, tho' anciently, when it was well drained, they had a very good air. The Romans esteemed it so much, that they made it the capital of their first colony in Gaul, and beautified it with a capitol and amphitheatre of marble, aqueducts, and other useful and magnificent edifices, the ruins whereof are still visible. It is at present the see of an Archbishop, who by virtue of his office is president of the States of Languedoc. The Archbishop's palace is a kind of fortress, encompass'd with large square towers. The other publick buildings have little remarkable in them.

The diocese of St. Pons. The diocese of St. Pons is situated to the northward of that of Narbonne, in a barren mountainous country, where the produce of the soil will scarce pay their taxes, but they have excellent marble in their quarries. The chief towns are St. Pons, Orlagues, Cessenon, and Oloufan.

St. Pons city. The little city of St. Pons stands among the mountains, about thirty miles to the northward of Narbonne, and was made a bishop's see in the year 1318; but I don't find it considerable on any other account.

The diocese of Beziers. The diocese of Beziers lies between that of Narbonne and the province of Rouergne, and is one of the most fruitful parts of Languedoc, producing corn, wine and oil in abundance. The chief towns are, 1. Beziers. 2. Celles. 3. Bec de Roux. 4. Colombiers. 5. Marviel. And, 6. Vendres.

Beziers city. Beziers, *Biteria*, is situated fifteen miles north-east of Narbonne and two miles north of the Mediterranean. It stands on a hill, at the foot whereof runs the river Orbe: the royal canal also passes by it. The prospect from the terrace or belvedere before the cathedral church, says my French author, is altogether enchanting, extending over the valley thro' which the river Orbe passes, and the hills beyond it rising insensibly, form a kind of amphitheatre covered with olives and vineyards. The town is large, but not proportionably populous. The cathedral has nothing remarkable in it. The Jesuits college is a very elegant building. The Romans made it a colony in the time of JULIUS CAESAR, sending the young soldiers of the seventh legion thither, which occasioned it to be called *Colonia Septimanorum Juniorum*; and here were two temples erected in honour of JULIUS and AUGUSTUS. It was governed by its particular Counts before it was united to the crown,

which happened about the year 1247. The famous engineer PAUL RIQUET, who made the royal canal, was a native of this city.

The diocese of Lodeva. The diocese of Lodeva is a dry barren country, bordering on the province of Rouergne and the Cevennes, which does not produce corn enough for the subsistence of the natives; but their trade in cattle, which they feed upon their mountains, and their manufactures of cloth and hats, brings a great deal of money into the country, and renders it one of the richest parts of the province. The chief towns are, 1. Lodeva. 2. Clermont. And, 3. Canet.

Lodeva, *Luteva, Forum Neronis*, is situated at the foot of the mountains of the Cevennes, thirty miles to the northward of Beziers and the Mediterranean, more remarkable for its antiquity than its present grandeur. The Bishop is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place, and assumes the title of Count of Montbrun, an adjacent castle.

Clermont. Clermont is a little town situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Lergue, near which is a royal manufactory, where they make most part of the cloth which is carried to the Levant.

The diocese of Agde lies upon the Mediterranean, and the royal canal, to the eastward of Beziers, and south of Lodeva. It is one of the richest countries in the kingdom, having a great trade in corn, wine, oil, silk and wool. The chief towns are, 1. Agde. 2. Pezenas. 3. St. Tiberi. 4. Brescon. 5. Sette. And, 6. Meze.

Agde, *Agatha*, is situated on the river Eraut, about half a league from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean, and stands fifteen miles to the eastward of Beziers. It is a little populous town, extending along the river Eraut, which forms a port for small barks, and is for the most part built of a black stone. There is a little fort at the mouth of the river for its defence. Most of the inhabitants are merchants or seamen. There is a chapel near this place dedicated to the blessed Virgin, which brings a great concourse of people hither, particularly seafaring men, who make their vows before her image for the success of their voyages, and resort hither with their offerings when they have had any remarkable escape.

Sette. Sette is a port-town, situate on the bay of Maguelonne, to the eastward of Agde, which the late King fortified for the protection of the trade of this coast.

Pezenas, *Piscene*, stands on an eminence near the river Peyne, three leagues north of Agde, esteemed one of the finest situations in Languedoc. There is in it a collegiate church, a college of the priests of the oratory, several convents and other handsome buildings.

The diocese of Montpellier. The diocese of Montpellier is a mighty agreeable country, being covered with olives and vines, and the air preferable to any in Europe. Tho' their lands are not the richest, they are so well cultivated that they yield all kinds of grain. It lies upon a bay of the Mediterranean sea called Maguelonne. The chief towns are, 1. Montpellier. 2. Gange. 3. Lunel. 4. Frontignan. 5. Agnana. 6. Montferand. And, 7. Barave.

Montpellier city. Montpellier, *Mons Pessulanus, Mons Puellarum*, is pleasantly situated on a hill, at the foot whereof runs the river Lez, two miles to the northward of the bay of Maguelonne, and sixty to the eastward of Narbonne. To the northward there is a prospect of a fine country, and to the southward they have



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have a near view of the Mediterranean. Nor does the agreeable situation more recommend it than the healthfulness of the air, which occasions foreigners of consumptive or weakly constitutions to resort hither from all parts. The city is not large, or generally well built, though there are some good houses in it. The inhabitants are computed to amount to between two and three thousand. There is a citadel which commands the place, erected to bridle the Protestants, who were masters of it in the civil wars, till LEWIS XIII. took it from them anno 1623. The principal buildings are the palace of justice, where their courts are held, the royal college, instituted for human learning, and the churches of St. Peter and St. Mary. But what this city is most considerable for, is its university, chiefly frequented by students in physick, who could not, says my author, have chosen a more agreeable or commodious situation in France, for the climate is extremely serene and temperate, and the country so abounds with vegetables, that it is but one large physick-garden. The number of apothecaries in this small city is incredible, some say near two hundred, who all live very well however on the many compositions they make, which from hence are distributed to all parts of Europe, as confection of alkermes, Hungary-water, oil of spike, capillary-syrup, essences, perfumes, treacle equal to that of Venice, &c. The King's physick-garden without the town is well stored with medicinal herbs, digested into several partitions, each having an inscription over the door, shewing what kinds it contains. The inhabitants are polite and sociable; their women the handsomest in France, and extremely free in conversation, insomuch that there is a French proverb that says, the women of Montpellier are so wise, that they have nothing to learn on their wedding-day. This town was called *Mons Puellarum* from a hermitage which stood here before the city was built, inhabited by two young women, of whose sanctity the people had a very great opinion.

An English physician who travelled to Montpellier, says he found several consumptive people there, who came from all parts of Europe, but especially from England, to breathe this air; and he observed the good effects of it upon bodies of a moist and phlegmatick temperament; but in dry and choleric constitutions the remedy rather exasperates it, and the patient soon breathes his last. One of the gates of this town is built after the model of a triumphal arch, on which there are several bas-reliefs and inscriptions expressing the glorious actions of LEWIS XIV. for this being a place to which foreigners resort from all parts of Europe, he could not gratify his vanity better than by erecting such a monument of it here. On one side we see religion trampling upon heresy with this inscription, *Extincta Hæresis*. On another part are represented the two seas joined by the royal canal, the inscription, *Junctis Oceano & Mediterraneo Mari*. The other side is adorned with trophies, towns and provinces conquered by France, with this inscription, *Sub Oculis Hostium, Belgii Arcibus Expugnatis*, and others of the like nature. The walks about the town are extremely pleasant, where the company who resort to this city divert themselves in the evening: and though the houses don't make a very grand appearance without, as has been observed already, yet they are most of them built with free stone, and very commodious. The principal manufactures besides those mentioned above, are those of silk and wax; the last of which

they employ a great many hands in refining and whitening, as they do others in making verdegrease, *Viride Aëris*; of which I shall give a further account hereafter.

Frontignan is situated on the bay of Maguelone, 4 leagues south-west of Montpellier, famous for the muscadine-wine which grows in a valley, and on the sides of the hills which surround it, and for the delicious raisins which are made of these grapes.

The diocese of Nîmes has the mountains of the Cevennes on the north; Provence, from which it is separated by the Rhone, on the east; the Mediterranean on the south, and the diocese of Montpellier on the west. It is generally a plain level country, abounding in corn, wine and oil, besides abundance of silk, which the natives work and improve to great advantage. The chief towns are, 1. Nîmes. 2. Sommieres. 3. Aymargues. And, 4. Beaucaire.

Nîmes, *Nemausus Metropolis, Civitas Nemausensis*, is situated in a fine plain, eight leagues to the eastward of Montpellier, and five leagues north-west of Arles, and is supposed to have taken its name from the woods which anciently surrounded it. It is a large town, containing about twelve thousand families, the streets are spacious, the houses well built, and travellers commend the gardens and fine walks about it. The cathedral and other publick buildings don't seem to have any thing remarkable in them. What Nîmes is most famous for, is the antiquities that are found here, particularly an amphitheatre, the most entire of any in Europe. It is of an oval figure, having two rows of arches which form two open galleries one over the other, consisting of sixty arches each, being an hundred and fourcore and fifteen fathoms in circumference. The entrance is by four doors, placed east, west, north, and south. The building consists of vast large stones, as durable as marble. The arena in the middle of the theatre, where their combats and shews were exhibited, is an hundred feet in diameter, filled up at present with little houses. On several of the stones are bas-reliefs, with the figures of ROMULUS and REMUS suckled by a wolf, combats of gladiators, bulls, &c. The seats of the spectators are demolished, and the dens of the wild beasts filled up, but the outside still makes a tolerable appearance. Here are also the ruins of a temple dedicated to DIANA, and another oblong square building, supposed to be a Roman temple, with antique statues, pillars, and the figures of Roman eagles finely wrought, which sufficiently shew its antiquity, as well as the numerous brass medals and inscriptions dug up here. From the medals our antiquaries conjecture that AUGUSTUS fixed a Roman colony here immediately after the battle of Actium.

The Pont du Gard is three leagues north of this city; it lies over the river Gardon, and is an amazing structure. It is indeed three bridges one upon another, and joins two mountains together: the uppermost serves to support an aqueduct which brought water to the city, and served to fill the arena of the theatre above mentioned when they had sea-fights represented upon it. This aqueduct taking in all its windings, is not less than nine leagues in length. The lowest bridge which lies over the river Gardon has six arches, each of them fifty eight foot wide, and is fourcore and three feet in height. The second bridge is supported by eleven arches, and is sixty seven foot in height. The third, which stands upon thirty five arches, and supports the aqueduct, is five hundred



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and fourscore feet and an half in length: and the whole height of the three bridges, an hundred fourscore and two feet. The water of the river Gardon was brought into the city by another aqueduct, of which there are still some remains. The aqueduct which was supported by the Pont du Gard, when it came near the city was divided into three branches, one of which brought the water to the theatre, as has been already observed; the second supplied a great fountain at Nîmes, and the third served several private houses.

Beaucaire.

Beaucaire is situated on the west bank of the Rhone, over-against Tarascon, four leagues to the eastward of Nîmes, in which is a collegiate church. But this place is chiefly considerable for the fair of St. Magdalen which is held here, to which merchants resort from all parts.

The diocese of Ufez.

The diocese of Ufez is one of the largest in Languedoc, extending from the mountains of the Cevennes to the Rhone. It produces corn, wine, oil and silk, and feeds great numbers of sheep. The chief towns are, 1. Ufez. 2. Vens. 3. St. Ambrose. 4. Pont St. Esprit. 5. Bagnols. And, 6. Roquemaure.

Ufez city.

Ufez is situated among the mountains, upon the little river Eyfeut, about twelve miles to the northward of Nîmes. It is but a small town, containing seven or eight hundred families. The cathedral is dedicated to St. THIERRY: the terrace on the side of it affords an admirable prospect of the neighbouring country. It is the capital of a Duchy as well as a Bishoprick, and here is the fountain d'Aure, which furnishes the water of the aqueduct of Pont du Gard. All over the town we see great numbers of stone arches, which, according to the natives, were erected to defend them from the heats of the sun in summer.

Pont Esprit.

Pont Esprit is a little town situated about twenty miles to the northward of Ufez, famous for a noble stone bridge over the Rhone, which here runs with incredible rapidity, and was a very dangerous passage while it continued a ferry. This bridge is eight hundred and forty yards long, and five yards sixteen inches wide, sustained by twenty-six arches. It was begun in the year 1265, and finished about the year 1309, being built with the offerings made by devout people at a church or chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and famous for many pretended miracles wrought there. Pope NICHOLAS V, in one of his bulls, which grants indulgencies to those who should visit the said chapel and hospital of the Holy Ghost, says, that God being touched with the misfortunes of his faithful servants who visited the church and hospital of the Holy Spirit, who were frequently shipwrecked at this passage of the Rhone, had sent his angel under the form of a shepherd, who had marked out the place where they should build a bridge; and the church, the hospital and bridge, have still a very good revenue for their support, arising from the charities of devout pilgrims, which the King has augmented by a duty laid on all salt that passes the bridge, amounting to eight or nine thousand livres per annum. There is a strong citadel also at the foot of it for its defence, it being a very important pass.

Bagnols.

Bagnols, or Baignols, *Balneolum*, is situated on the side of a hill near the river Cese, two leagues to the southward of St. Esprit. It is a little town, consisting of about nine hundred houses, inclosed with a wall, and fortified against the Camisars in the late civil wars. The great square in the middle of the town is one of the finest in Languedoc,

having a piazza on all sides under the houses which surround it. The river Cese, which passes by it, carries a gold sand.

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The diocese of Viviers comprehends the lower Vivarez and part of the higher, the residue whereof belongs to the Archbishoprick of Vienne. This country lies along the west bank of the Rhone, to the northward of the diocese of Ufez, and constitutes part of the Cevennes. In the Higher Vivarez the chief towns are Annonay Tournon, Crusol or Cursol. In the Lower Vivarez are Monlaur, Boulogne, Etrange, Privas, Poussin, Viviers, Andiol, Villeneuve and Berg.

Annonay is a small town, situated two miles to the westward of the Rhone, upon the confines of the Lioinois, the capital of a Marquisate belonging to the family of Ventadour, but not considerable on any other account.

Tournon, *Taurodunum*, *Turnonium*, is situated on the side of a mountain, the foot whereof is washed by the river Rhone, having a castle above it. It stands four leagues south of Annonay. The Jesuits have one of the finest colleges in the kingdom here, and there is a handsome convent; besides which, there are several other monasteries in the place. But the French writers do not give us any farther description of it.

Viviers, *Vivarium*, *Abba Helviorum*, the capital of the Vivarez, and the See of a Bishop who styles himself Count of Viviers, is situated among the rocks, a little distance from the Rhone, fifteen miles north of Pont Esprit, and seventy south of Lyons. It is a little ill-built town: the cathedral is a large edifice, and stands above it, but is not admired for its beauty.

The diocese of Mende comprehends the country of Gevaudan, and lies to the westward of the Vivarez; the ancient inhabitants were called Cavali, Gabales and Gabali, and is divided into the higher and lower. The higher is almost entirely inclosed by the mountains of Margarete and Aubrac; the lower makes part of the Cevennes, a barren mountainous country. The chief towns are Mende, Javoux and Marvejols.

Mende, *Mimatum Gabalorum*, or *Mimata*, is a small city of a triangular figure, standing in a valley surrounded with mountains, near the head of the river Lot, seventy miles north of Montpellier, and fifty to the westward of the Rhone. It is an ill-built dirty town, but well peopled, and admired for its excellent fountains. It is the See of a Bishop, who styles himself Count, and is joint Lord of the place with the King. Travellers mention no other publick buildings but the cathedral church and some few convents, which have nothing extraordinary in them. Near this place is an hermitage and chapel cut out of a rock, much frequented by the devout people of the country, who have a tradition that St. PRIVAT suffered martyrdom there.

Marvege is situated in a fine valley, watered by the river Colange, about twenty miles north-west of Mende. It is generally a regular well-built town, considering the country it stands in. It has four gates, at every one of which there is a church and a fountain. The principal square is large, adorned with a fountain and two basins. There are in the town about a thousand families, and they have a good trade, especially at their six annual fairs.

The diocese of Alais has that of Mende on the north-west, and Ufez on the south-east. The chief towns are Alais, Aguemortes and Anduze.

The diocese of Alais.



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Alais city.

Alais is situated on the river Gardon, about thirty miles to the northward of Montpellier. It is a large populous trading town, with seven gates. The cathedral is the only public building mentioned by the French writers, and this has nothing extraordinary in its structure. It is commanded by a fort, which was built here in the year 1689, to keep the people of the Cevennes within the bounds of their duty. A little below the fort is a noble terrace, which affords a fine prospect of the adjacent country.

Aguemortes.

Aguemortes, *Aqua Mariana*, stands about five miles to the southward of Nîmes, and one to the northward of the Mediterranean; though in the time of St. Lewis it was a port and stood close to the sea-shore, where he built a pharos or lighthouse for the direction of mariners; and here it was he embarked in his expeditions to Africa.

Anduze.

Anduze is situated on the river Gardon, south-west of Alais, and is a considerable place on account of its trade.

The diocese of Puy.

The diocese of Puy comprehends the country of Velais, the most northerly part of Languedoc, and consists altogether of mountains and rocks perpetually covered with snow. The chief towns are Puy, Montfalcon, St. Disier, St. Paulian, Solignac and Alegre.

Puy city.

Puy is situated on the mountain Anis, near the banks of the Loire, about forty miles to the northward of Mende. It is a large city, and has abundance of monasteries in it, but is most remarkable for the cathedral dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which they pretend to have a great many precious reliques, that draw multitudes of devout people hither, some of which a writer would be cautious of naming, lest it should render the Christian religion ridiculous. And indeed the Roman catholics are infinitely to blame, in giving occasion to men of loose principles to scoff at every thing that's sacred, by making such fooleries the subject of ignorant people's devotions.

The ancient state of Languedoc.

Languedoc was anciently possessed by the Volcæ and the Tectosages; the first inhabited the higher Languedoc, and the other the lower. The Romans made a conquest of it under the consulate of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, six hundred and thirty-six years after the foundation of Rome; after which it obtained the name of *Gallia Narbonensis*. It remained under their dominion till the reign of the Emperor *Honorius*, who finding the Vandals possessed of Spain, and making frequent excursions into Gaul, which was too far removed from the seat of the Empire, transferred both Gaul and Spain to the Goths, according to the French historians, under the following conditions: 1. That the ancient laws and privileges of the country should be preserved. And, 2. That the Emperor *Honorius* and his successors, notwithstanding a prescription of thirty years, should be at liberty to resume this grant, upon assigning other lands to the Goths. And it was by virtue of this grant that the Goths took possession of *Gallia Narbonensis* under the reign of *Adolphus*. This Prince took up his residence at the mouth of the Rhone, at a place anciently called the palace of the Goths, and Pons St. Giles's. The successors of *Adolphus* enjoyed *Gallia Narbonensis* near three hundred years, under the reigns of thirty of their Kings; the last of whom was killed in battle by the Saracens when they invaded Spain, about the year 714. The Saracens took the advantage of their victory and advanced into Languedoc, extending their conquests as far as Lyons; but

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marching on to Tours, they were encounter'd by *Charles Martel*, and entirely defeated, losing upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of their men, if we might credit the historians of those times: however, certain it is, they were totally routed and driven out of France by *Charles Martel* and his son King *Pepin*. *Charlemain*, upon the birth of his son *Lewis* the Debonaire, erected the kingdom of Aquitaine, to which he united Thoulouse and great part of the higher Languedoc. During his son's minority he appointed Dukes, Counts and Marquisses in the principal towns and districts, who were confirmed in their governments by *Lewis* the Debonaire. And tho' they had those commands at first only during pleasure, their posterity who succeeded them look'd on the territories they governed as their respective inheritances, and claimed the dominion of them: though the French historians alledge, that they always remained vassals to their Kings, and receiv'd the investiture of their territories from them. *Corson* or *Torson* being appointed Count of Thoulouse by *Charlemain*, was the head of that family, who by their alliances and intermarriages with other petty sovereigns of this province, became in time possessed of the greatest part of it, and so continued till the thirteenth century, when the Albigenes who oppos'd the errors of the church of Rome chose *Raymond VII.* Count of Thoulouse, for their general, which occasioned the Pope to publish a croisade against him; and after a tedious struggle of many years, the territories of the Counts of Thoulouse were divided between the Pope and the French King, as has been taken notice of already; but Languedoc was not expressly reunited to the crown of France till the year 1361. And the author of the new description of France says, their Kings now possess it by right of conquest, and wonders upon what foundation *Moreri* went, when he says that Provence was united to the crown of France upon three conditions: 1. That the governor of it should always be a Prince of the blood. 2. That the King should impose no taxes but by the consent of the States. And, 3. That this province should be governed by written laws, and not by will and pleasure.

The trade and produce of Languedoc is very considerable. The product of the soil and the merchandizes they export are, their wines, which they vend in Italy; oils, which they send to Germany and Switzerland; corn, which they send to Spain, when they happen to have plentiful crops: chestnuts and raisins, which they export to Tunis and Algier; woollen cloth, which they send to Germany, Switzerland and the Levant, and with which they clothe the King's troops: their silk-trade is also very great, tho' it has not been introduced into this province much above fourscore years. After this general account of the trade, my author proceeds to shew what is the proper product of every diocese and great town as follows:

The principal trade in the diocese of Thoulouse, consists in corn and woad used for dying, of which they have vendid formerly more than the value of a million of livres annually; but since the use of indigo has been introduced, the cultivation of woad has been neglected, tho' it dyes a much finer blue. The trade of the city of Thoulouse is inconsiderable in proportion to the extent of the town; it consists in Spanish wool, coarse hangings, and stuffs made of silk and wool, of small value. They search also the sands of the rivers Garonne and Ariège for gold dust, but it is scarce worth their trouble.

The trade and produce of Languedoc.

Trade of Thoulouse

That



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Of Montauban.

Of Alet.

Mirepoix.

Castle Mandu-  
ary.  
Castres.

Alby.

St. Pons.

Narbonne.

Carcassone

Beziers.

Lodeve.

Agde.

Trade and  
produce of  
Montpe-  
lier.

That part of the diocese of Montauban which is in Languedoc produces plenty of corn and wine, but they convert most of the latter into brandy. They have also a great deal of woad, and breed abundance of horses.

In the diocese of Alet, the district of Limoux produces excellent white wine, but it will not bear transporting. They have also a woollen manufacture, and a staple of iron here.

The diocese of Mirepoix produces all kinds of provision and cattle, but they send scarce any goods abroad, except box-combs that are vended in Spain and Italy.

The plains about Castle Manduary abound in corn.

The trade of the diocese of Castres consists in cattle and woollen stuffs, such as serges, bays, &c.

The diocese of Alby has plenty of corn, wine, saffron, cattle, prunes, woad and wool. They export great quantities of dried prunes, crapes, serges, bays, and their Gaillac-wines, which are the only wine of the province that will bear the sea; they carry them to Bourdeaux, where the English buy them up. They pretend also to some coal-pits, but these are not, I have reason to believe, so considerable as they make them.

The trade of the diocese of St. Pons is inconsiderable; what they have consists in corn and cattle, and some woollen manufactures, with the fine marble which their mountains produce.

The diocese of Narbonne produces plenty of corn, esteemed the best in the Kingdom, on which account there are considerable merchants at Narbonne that deal in nothing else. They have also a great deal of oil, but little wine. The salt-works of Periac furnish upper Languedoc with salt.

The diocese of Carcassone is so barren a country, that it does not produce sufficient food for the inhabitants; but they are abundantly supplied by the industry of the natives. The city of Carcassone, says my author, is but one great woollen manufactory, as well as the country about it. What wine they have is good, and they have some excellent quarries of marble of various colours: one is reserved solely for the King's use, which is a white marble with a vein of carnation.

The diocese of Beziers is the richest of the province, producing great plenty of corn, wine and oil. They have also quarries of marble and coal-pits. They make some fine druggets, which are exported to Germany; but the natives in general have not a genius for trade.

The diocese of Lodeve is a dry barren country, and yet one of the richest on account of their woollen manufactures, and that of hats.

The diocese of Agde is of a small extent, but one of the richest in the kingdom. Their wool is fine, and their country produces plenty of corn, wine, oil, silk and salt.

The soil in the diocese of Montpellier is not extremely rich, but is cover'd nevertheless with vines and olives. Most part of the trade of this district is carried on at the city of Montpellier, where they have some species of manufactures almost peculiar to themselves, as particularly that of Verd-de-gris, or Verdegreafe, *Viride Aris*, used in painting and surgery, which is made with copper-plates, and chiefly the business of the women. The copper-plates are about the size of a playing card, but something thicker. They first put two pints of wine at the bottom of an earthen pot, and over the wine lay little sticks across, on which they lay a layer of dried grapes, and upon them a layer of

copper-plates, and then grapes again, and so alternately plates and grapes till the pot is filled; and having covered it with a straw-cover, and left a passage for the vapour of the wine to ascend, they let it stand ten or twelve days. The strength of the wine at the bottom having occasioned a certain green matter to arise on the copper-plates, they take them out of the pots, and lay them in the air to dry, after which the women scrape off the green matter, and this is what we call verdegreafe. The same plates are put to the same use again for two or three years, till they are scraped so thin that they are forced to take others. The wine has the best effect on the copper in summer, when every pot will produce about a pound of verdegreafe. They make at Montpellier annually about two thousand quintals or hundred weight, and the ordinary price is twenty pence a pound. It is vended chiefly in Holland, Germany, England, and Italy.

The wool-trade is the most considerable which is carried on at Montpellier, they import their wool from Smyrna, Constantinople, Sally, Tunis and Spain, and either manufacture it themselves, or vend it unwrought in the neighbouring provinces. They also whiten great quantities of wax, which they bring from the Levant, amounting annually to an hundred thousand livres and upwards, which is in much greater esteem than that made in Holland.

The tanners of Montpellier and Ganges have a good trade in skins, amounting to the value of two hundred thousand livres and upwards. And their strong waters, brandy, cinnamon-waters, Hungary water and other distill'd liquors, are computed to bring them in five hundred thousand livres in time of peace. Salted pilchards is another article, which they vend in Roussillon, Liois and Dauphiné. Their vermilion and confection of alkermes also bring them in a great deal of money, the last of which they vend chiefly in Germany.

They do not make less than four thousand pieces of fustian annually here, at seventeen livres the piece, importing the cotton of which it is made from the Levant, which manufacture is exported chiefly to Spain.

The diocese of Nismes is generally a level country, and one of the richest in France, producing corn, wine, silk, and all manner of provisions in abundance. There are also a great variety of manufactures at the city of Nismes, the merchants whereof have engross'd most of the silk and woollen trade of the province.

The diocese of Uzez, the largest in Languedoc, produces corn, wine, oil, silk and wool, besides abundance of cattle.

In the Vivarez, the mountains called Boutieres are barren, producing little but chefnuts and hemp, and affording pasture for sheep. The mountains near Velay are well cultivated, and yield all manner of provisions but wine; and the country between those mountains and the Rhone is as fruitful as any in Languedoc.

The Gevaudan is a mountainous country, one part of it perfectly barren, and the other produces little but rye and chefnuts. The people are generally mechanicks, and have a good manufacture of serges and other woollen stuffs, which they export to Germany, Switzerland and the Levant, to the value of two millions of livres.

The diocese of Alais is part of the Cevennes, the principal riches whereof consist in woollen manufactures, such as druggets, serges, &c. which are reckon'd stronger and better than those of Gevaudan.

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Vivarez.

Gevaudan

Alais.

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The Velay is a little country in the mountains, covered with snow for half the year, and exceeding cold; notwithstanding which, they have more than corn sufficient for the inhabitants, and the cattle they feed brings a great deal of money into the country, as does their lace, which they vend in Spain, Germany, and other places.

The commerce of this province is chiefly transacted at fairs in the great towns, of which the most considerable are those of Pecenas, Montagnac and Beaucaire; at the last of which places there has been the value of six millions of livres returned, if I may credit my French author.

The chief springs of mineral waters in this province at Valhs in the Vivarez, five leagues west of the Rhone.

At Youfet and Peyret, in the diocese of Uzez, the last of which is not a quarter of a league from the city of Uzez.

Near Peroul, about a league from Montpellier, is a fountain where the water bubbles up as if it boiled; and if you dig a hole near it, and put water in it, it will bubble like the spring.

At Gabian, a day's journey from Montpellier, in the way to Beziers, is a spring of Petroleum, black, burning like oil, and of a strong pungent scent, issuing from the rocks all the year long, but chiefly in summer. They gather it with ladders, and putting it into a barrel, separate the water from the oil by letting out the first at a tap towards the bottom of the vessel.

The baths of Balleruch near Frontignan, about a quarter of a league from the road leading from Thoulouse to Montpellier, are in good esteem.

The mili-  
tary go-  
vernment  
of Lan-  
guedoc.

As to the military government of this province, it is subject to a governor-general, who has under him three lieutenant-generals that have their respective divisions assigned them: 1. The lieutenantancy of the Higher Languedoc, which comprehends the dioceses of Montauban, Alby, Castres, Lavaur, Carcassone, St. Papoul, Mirepoix, Rieux and Thoulouse. 2. That of Lower Languedoc takes in the dioceses of Alet, Limoux, Narbonne, St. Pons, Beziers, Agde, Montpellier and Lodeve. And, 3. The general lieutenantancy of the Cevennes, which extends over the dioceses of Nismes, Alais, Mende, Puy, Viviers and Uzez. Besides which, the King has nine lieutenants of particular places in Languedoc.

The Ce-  
vennes.

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*Treats of the province or general government of Foix.*

CHAP.  
XII.Province  
of Foix.  
Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

THE government of Foix is one of the least in the kingdom. It consists only of the county of Foix, and the county of Dounefan and Andorre, and is bounded by the Thoulousan and Lauragais, on the north; by Narbonne, on the east; by the pyrenees and Roussillon, on the south; and by Gascony, towards the west; the two chief rivers whereof are the Ariege and the Rize. It is generally a mountainous barren country.

Chief  
towns.

The chief towns are Pamiers, Foix, Mazeres, Tarascon, Saverdun, Ax, La Bastide de Feron, Varilles, Le Maz, D'Azil, Dounezan, Le Carlat, St. Ibars, Lezat and Montault.

Pamiers.

Pamiers, *Pamia* and *Apamia*, the capital of this province, is situated on the Ariege, about five and twenty miles south of Thoulouse. The town is moderately large, and a bishop's see. The only considerable buildings taken notice of however by the French writers, are, the castle,

the cathedral, the bishop's palace, and the Jesuits college, which make a good appearance. It is computed there are between four and five thousand inhabitants in the place.

CHAP.  
XII.

Foix, which gives name to this province, is also situated on the Ariege, seven or eight miles to the southward of Pamiers. It is defended by a castle situate on a rock, and has a handfom stone bridge over the river. It contains about three thousand inhabitants.

The county of Foix was governed by Counts of its own till 1062, when GASTON, Count of Foix, obtained the kingdom of Navarre, by his marriage with ELEANOR, the only daughter of JOHN King of Navarre; and their descendants possessed it till the reign of HENRY IV. who was King both of France and Navarre; whereby it became united to the crown of France.

The an-  
cient state of  
Foix.

The trade of the country consists in cattle, which are fed upon their mountains, in rosin, turpentine, pitch, marble and iron; but chiefly in iron, which they carry down the Ariege and the Garonne, and vend in Guienne and Languedoc.

Trade,

This province is commanded by a governor and lieutenant-general, besides which there is a distinct governor of the town and castle of Foix, and one of the King's lieutenants commands in the castle of Arfin.

Military  
govern-  
ment.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Treats of the province or general government of Roussillon.*

Roussillon, in which I comprehend Conflent and the French Cerdagne, is bounded by Languedoc, on the north; by the Mediterranean, on the east; by Catalonia, on the south, from which it is divided by the Pyrenean mountains; and by another part of Spain, on the west; extending about eighteen leagues from east to west, and twelve from north to south, and consists of a plain, surrounded with mountains on all sides, except towards the sea, which makes it excessive hot in summer. The natives have generally swarthy complexions and meagre visages. There is scarce any wood in the country, and no navigable rivers: the chief of them are the Tet, the Tec, and the Agly; which rising in the mountains, and falling suddenly into the Mediterranean, may be deemed rather torrents than rivers. The sea-coast hath no good road or harbour, and very indifferent anchorage. There are some hot baths in the country, particularly at the village which goes by the name of Bains, from the hot springs in the neighbourhood, and at Vernet.

CHAP.  
XIII.Roussillon,  
Situation,  
&c.

Rivers.

The chief towns are, 1. Perpignan. 2. Elne. 3. Arles. 4. Ville-Franche. 5. Mont Lewis.

Chief  
towns.

Perpignan, *Perpinianum*, the capital of Roussillon, is situated on the river Tet, thirty-five miles to the southward of Narbonne, and about three to the westward of the sea. It stands partly on a hill, and partly in a bottom, is strongly fortified, and defended by a citadel, being a frontier against Spain. It is a bishop's see, the cathedral dedicated to St. JOHN, a fine large old edifice, the choir whereof is inclosed with white marble. There are also several other churches, convents, and hospitals, two colleges of Jesuits, and a seminary in the place. The inhabitants are a mixture of French and Spaniards, and both languages spoken indifferently: for this was formerly a Spanish town, and not confirmed to the French till the

Perpignan



CHAP. XIII. Pyrenean treaty, anno 1659. There is a great scarcity of good water in this town.

Elne. *St. Helena*, is a little town, situate on a hill near the river Tec, about fifteen miles to the southward of Perpignan, said to have taken its name from the Empress HELENA; formerly a town of some consequence, but makes no great figure at present.

Ville Franche. Ville Franche, the capital of the district of Conflent, is situated among the mountains, twenty-five miles south-west of Perpignan, strongly fortified, and defended by a castle, being another frontier garison against Spain.

Mont Lewis. Mont Lewis, *Mons Ludovici*, the capital of the French Cerdagne, stands on the Pyrenean mountains, about thirty miles to the westward of Perpignan. It is a pretty little town, built and fortified by LEWIS XIV. in the year 1681, to which he added a fine citadel, and made it one of the strongest fortresses on the side of Spain.

The ancient state of Roussillon. This province was also governed anciently by its proper Counts, till the death of GUINARD the last Count, who dying without children, about the year 1178, gave it to ALPHONSUS, King of Arragon, whose successors continued Sovereigns of it, with some interruptions from the French, till the reign of LEWIS XIII, who made an absolute conquest of it; and it was confirmed to France by the Pyrenean treaty anno 1659, ever since which it has been united to that crown.

Military government. This province has a governor or captain-general, like the rest, with his lieutenant-general and King's lieutenant; besides which, there are distinct governors in several of the fortified towns.

Trade and produce. The plains of Roussillon are very fruitful, producing plenty of corn and wine, and some excellent pasture; but they have however very little trade. Olives are the greatest riches of the country, and oranges are as plentiful as apples and pears in England. They have little or no wood, except what is brought them over the mountains upon the backs of mules. They feed pretty large flocks of sheep, and have excellent mutton. On the other hand, black cattle and horses are very scarce. Mules are generally used for riding and carrying burthens, being much surer-footed and fitter for the mountainous country, which surrounds them. I don't find they have any manner of trade by sea; which is ascribed partly to the dangerous coast and want of harbours, and partly to the laziness of the inhabitants, who seem to have no genius or inclination for manufactures or commerce.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Treats of the province or general government of Navarre and Bearne.*

CHAP. XIV. THE Lower Navarre, which belongs to France, is but one of the six baillages of which the kingdom of Navarre was anciently composed, and is bounded by Lapourd, or Labourd, on the north; by the Pyrenees, which separate it from the Higher Navarre, on the south; and by Bearne, on the east; and is not more than eight leagues in length, and five in breadth. The other five baillages, which compose the Higher Navarre, belong to Spain.

The Lower Navarre is a barren mountainous country, which produces scarce any thing without a great deal of labour; but the little fruit they have is excellent. Their principal rivers are the

Nive and the Bidouze; the first rises in the mountains of Spain, and passing by St. John Pied de Port, enters the country of Labourd, and falls into the Adour at Bayonne. The Bidouze has its source in the mountains of the Lower Navarre, and passing by St. Palais and Bidache, discharges it self into the Adour below Giche.

The chief towns are, 1. St. John Pied de Port. Chief towns.

2. St. Palais. And, 3. The Bastide of Clarence. St. John Pied de Port, *Fanum S. Joannis Pedes Portuensis*, is situated on a hill near the river Nive, about twenty miles to the southward of Bayonne, and is a strong place both by art and nature. The citadel, which stands on an eminence, commands the passes from Spain.

Bearne lies to the eastward of the Lower Navarre, being about sixteen leagues in length and twelve in breadth, a dry mountainous country generally, but the valleys are tolerably fruitful. They sow very little but Indian Corn, which is the food of the natives. The soil also bears flax, which they manufacture themselves. Upon the lesser hills there are a great many vineyards, and the wine in some parts is excellent. In the mountains are found some mines of lead, copper and iron, and good store of fir-trees, which serve for masts and planks of ships; and there are several springs of mineral-water in the country, particularly near Escot and Oleron. The two principal rivers are the Gave de Bearnois, and the Gave de Oleron, both of which fall into the Adour.

The chief towns of Bearne are, 1. Pau. 2. Town. Lescar. 3. Navarreus. And, 4. Oleron.

Pau, *Palum*, is the capital of Bearne. It stands on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Gave-Bearnois, and is about thirty miles to the eastward of Bayonne. It is a very handsome little town, and has a castle at the end of it, where HENRY IV. of France was born, having been the ordinary residence of the princes of Bearne. The park and gardens, it is said, deserve a traveller's curiosity.

Oleron is situated on the Gave d'Oleron, four leagues to the westward of Pau. It is a populous place: the citizens, who are generally merchants, have a pretty brisk trade with the Spaniards, and particularly with those of Arragon.

The commerce of Bearne consists in wines, which the English and Dutch take off their hands, in linen, cattle, and a small breed of horses, which they vend in Spain; the last being very proper for that mountainous country. And many of the Bearnois go into Spain, to cultivate and manure their lands, by which they acquire considerable fortunes; for the Spaniards are generally lazy, and have no genius for husbandry.

Lower Navarre and Bearne have the same governor-general, lieutenant-general, and King's lieutenant. St. John Pied de Port is the only town which has a particular governor in Navarre, as that of Navarreus is in Bearne.

#### CHAP. XV.

*Treats of the province or general government of Guienne and Gascony.*

CHAP. XV. THE province of Guienne and Gascony, comprehending the generalities of Bourdeaux and Montauban, is bounded by Saintonge, Angoumois and Marche, on the north; by Auvergne and Languedoc, on the east; by the Pyrenean mountains, on the south; and by the Ocean, on the



**CHAP. XV.** the west; extending fourscore leagues in length from north to south, and near as much in breadth from east to west.

**Rivers.** The principal rivers are, 1. The Garonne above-mentioned; and, 2. The Dordonne, which having united their streams below Bourdeaux, obtain the name of the Gironne. 3. The Adour. 4. The Tarn. 5. The Aveyron. And, 6. The Lot.

**Garonne.** The tide comes up the Garonne as high as Langon and St. Maccaire, which are eight leagues above Bourdeaux, and thirty leagues from the mouth of the river: and the spring-tides go up the river Dordonne as high as Castillon, which is six or seven and twenty leagues from the mouth.

**Adour.** The Adour rises in the Pyrenean mountains, and taking its course first to the north, turns about to the westward, and having received the Gave d'Oleron, and several other small streams, falls into the sea a little below Bayonne, beginning to be navigable at Grenade in the Marfan.

**The Tarn.** The Tarn rises in the Gevaudan, and running westward through Languedoc, discharges itself into the Garonne on the confines of Guienne and Gascony.

**The Lot.** The river Lot also rises in the Gevaudan, and running westward, falls into the Garonne at Aiguillon. This river is of great service in transporting the wine, brandies, and other merchandize, of the inland country to Bourdeaux.

**Ports.** The ports and roads belonging to this government, are those of Cape Brecon, Old Boucat, Arachon and Socoa; of which Arachon is the most considerable, being a fine basin of eight leagues in circumference, but of a difficult entrance, there being no more than two fathom water upon the bar.

**Mineral waters.** They have several springs of mineral waters, as, 1. At Mier. 2. At Craufac, in the election of Ville Franche, to which there resort great numbers of people in May and September. 3. At Pont de Camarez. 4. At Vabrez. 5. At Barbazan. 6. At Encausse. 7. At Capbern.

**Baths.** The most remarkable hot baths are, 1. at Bag-niers, which takes its name from thence; and, 2. at Barege.

**Mines.** This government also affords mines of copper and iron, quarries of marble, and coal-pits; and they mention an extraordinary plant called Radoul, which is of great use both to the tanners and dyers,

The province of Guienne and Gascony is not near so extensive as the ancient Aquitain was, but is however the largest government in the kingdom, comprehending the districts hereafter mentioned, viz. 1. Guienne Proper. 2. Bazadois. 3. Agenois. 4. Querci. 5. Rovergne. 6. Perigord. 7. Armagnac. 8. Chalosse. 9. Condomois. 10. Landes. 11. The country of Labourd. 12. The Viscounty of Soule. 13. Bigorre. 14. Comenge. And, 15. Conserans.

**Guienne Proper.** Guienne Proper, or the Bourdelois, *Ager Burdigalensis*, is bounded by the river Gironne, which divides it from Saintonge, on the north; by the Agenois and Perigord, on the east; by the Bazadois and Landez, on the south; and by the Ocean, on the west. The chief places are, 1. Bourdeaux. 2. The Tower of Corduan. 3. Blaye. 4. Bourg. 5. Libourne. 6. Fronzac. 7. Coutras. And, 8. Cadillac.

**Bourdeaux** Bourdeaux is situated on the west-side of the river Garonne, fifty miles south of the mouth of that river, and nineteen south of Rochelle.

**CHAP. XV.** The town and suburbs lying in the form of a crescent about the river, make a capacious harbour for small ships. It is surrounded by an old wall and towers; but its principal defence consists in three strong forts, viz. the Trumpet Castle, the Castle of Hau, and Fort St. Lewis or St. Croix, which are all ancient castles, but enlarged and improved by Monsieur VAUBAN, in the reign of LEWIS XIV. for the defence of the town and harbour, which they entirely command.

Bourdeaux is one of the largest and richest towns in the kindom, there being five thousand houses in the city and suburbs, and upwards of forty thousand souls. The antiquity of it is evident from the remains of an amphitheatre and other Roman buildings. It is the See of an Archbishop, and the principal modern edifices are, the metropolitan church of St. ANDREW, esteemed one of the fairest in France; the archiepiscopal palace, a magnificent building; the church of St. MICHAEL, the Jesuits college, and the Chartreuse are elegant pieces of architecture; but the town in general is none of the most beautiful, the streets being narrow, and the building old; and the usual inconveniencies are met with here that are found in other sea-port towns, that is, a great deal of noise, hurry and insolence. As to its trade, this will be considered hereafter.

The tower of Corduan is situated on a rock at the mouth of the river Garonne or Gironne, and serves not only to defend the entrance of it, but as a pharos, or light-house, for mariners.

Blaye, *Blavium*, a little strong town situated on the river Garonne, about seven leagues to the northward of Bourdeaux, having a citadel and two strong forts; one of which is erected on an island in the middle of the river, and the other on the opposite shore, called Fort Medon, from its standing in a district of that name. These defend the passage of the river, and no ships can go up to Bourdeaux without their permission.

The Bazadois lies south-east of the Bourdelois; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Bazas. 2. Reole. 3. Casteljaloux. 4. Nérac. And 5. Langon.

Bazas, *Cessum Vasatum*, is an ancient town situated on a rock, two leagues and half to the westward of the Garonne, and thirty south of Bourdeaux. It is a bishop's see, but not considerable on any other account.

Reole is a little trading town situate on the Garonne, nine leagues to the southward of Bourdeaux, whither the parliament and courts of Bourdeaux were sometimes removed in the last reign to mortify that city.

Nérac, the capital of the dutchy of Albret, is situated two leagues to the westward of the Garonne, and is a town of good trade, said to be well replenished with Calvinists; but I presume, they mean those who are inclined that way, for none are permitted to profess themselves Protestants openly. Here is an old castle built by the English when they were sovereigns of this country.

The Agenois lies to the eastward of Bazadois, from which it is separated by the river Garonne; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Agen. 2. Clairac. 3. Villeneuve. 4. St. Foi. 5. Tonneus. 6. Monheurt. 7. Marmande. 8. Salvétat. And, 9. Aiguillon.

Agen, *Agennum Nitobrigum*, the capital of the Agen county, a town of great antiquity, is situated on the north shore of the river Garonne, about fifty miles south-east of Bourdeaux. It is a large place and



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and a bishop's see, and though it be well seated for trade, has very little, the natives having no genius for commerce.

Villeneuve de Agenois stands on the river Lot, and is one of the finest situations in the country.

St. Foi. St. Foi, *Fanum Sanctæ Fidei*, is situated on the river Dordogne, three leagues below Bergerac, and has a brisk trade in corn, wine and brandy.

Marmande. Marmande stands on the river Garonne, six leagues north-west of Agen, and twelve south-east of Bourdeaux. It is a pretty large town, and has a good trade.

Aiguillon. Aiguillon situate at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne, is a fortified town, the capital of a dutchy and peerage, and a place of good trade.

Querci district. The district of Querci lies to the eastward of the Agenois; the chief towns are, Souillac, Lantzerre, Martel, St. Cere, Gourdon, Roquemadour, Figeac, Capdenac, Cahors, Montauban, Moissac Negrepelisse, Caussade, Caylus, Montpezat, Molières, Realville la Francois, Burniquel, Montricons and Montclar.

Cahors. Cahors, *Divona Cadurcorum*, the capital of Querci, is situated on the river Lot, thirty miles north-east of Agen: a very ancient town, as appears by the ruins of several Roman buildings. It is at present the see of a bishop, suffragan of Bourdeaux, who styles himself Count, and contains about eight thousand souls; but is a poor place, and makes a very indifferent appearance.

Montauban. Montauban, *Mons Albanus*, is situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Tarn, over which there is a handsome stone-bridge that joins it to a suburb in the province of Languedoc, and stands about thirty miles to the southward of Cahors. It is a well-built populous town, and the see of a bishop, suffragan of Thoulouse. The things best worth the viewing here are the bishop's palace, the Griffon fountain, and the Falese, which is an agreeable walk on the banks of the Tarn. It is computed there are about eighteen thousand souls in the place.

Rovergne. Rovergne has Querci on the west, and the Cevennes and Gevaudan on the east; being about thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth; the chief towns whereof are Radez, Milhaud, Ville-Franche, and St. Antonin.

Rodez. Rodez, *Urbs Rutena*, the capital of Rovergne, is situated on a hill surrounded by mountains, between the river Aveyron and a little rivulet, sixteen leagues to the eastward of Cahors. It is a bishop's See, and has a fine cathedral of an octagonal figure, the tower whereof is admired for its extraordinary height. They preserve in the treasury here one of the Virgin MARY's shoes; tho' it be a question whether she wore any. The Jesuits have a fine college in this city, and the convents of the Cordeliers, Dominicans, Capuchins, and Chartreuse are handsome structures. Here are also the nunneries of the congregation of our Lady, the Urselines, and the abby of Monstier. It is computed there are about six thousand souls in the place.

Milhaud. Milhaud the capital of Upper Rovergne, is situated on the Tarn, ten leagues south-east of Rodez; the fortifications whereof were raz'd on account of their adhering to the Calvinists. It contains about three thousand souls; but the French writers do not think it merits a farther description.

Vabres. Vabres, situated on the river Dourdan to the southward of Milhaud, is no more than a little

village at present, and only mention'd on account of its being a bishop's See.

Ville-Franche, *Francopolis*, is situated on the river Aveyron, eight leagues to the westward of Rodez, remarkable chiefly for the copper-mines in the neighbourhood. It contains about six thousand souls; there are several fine convents and religious houses in the place.

Perigord lies to the northward of Agenois, from which it is divided by the river Dordogne, being about thirty-three leagues long, and twenty-four broad. The chief towns are, Perigueux, Bergerac, Sarlat and Castillon.

Perigueux, *Vesuna Petrocorum*, the capital of Perigord, is situated on the river L'Isle, fifty miles north-east of Bourdeaux, a populous town, and the See of a bishop, and is very ancient, as appears by the ruins of several Roman buildings, particularly of an amphitheatre and a round stone tower, which has neither doors nor windows, but is entered by two subterraneous passages, supposed to have been a temple dedicated to VENUS, for which they don't seem to have any other authority than its obscurity.

Bergerac is situated on the river Dordogne, five leagues south of Perigueux. It was fortified by the English in the fourteenth century, and was a place of importance, commanding a pass on the river above-named. It was often taken and retaken during the religious wars in France, and the fortifications at length razed on account of its adherence to the Calvinists, of which sect there were not less than forty thousand in this city and the neighbourhood, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It is still a populous wealthy town, being the center of trade between Lyons and Bourdeaux.

Sarlat is situated in a bottom surrounded by mountains, a league and a half from the river Dordogne, and ten south-east of Perigueux. It is a poor place, and scarce deserves mentioning, but upon account of its being a bishop's See.

Castillon, *Castilio*, situate on the Dordogne, two leagues to the westward of St. Foy, memorable chiefly for a bloody battle fought between the English and French, about the year 1453; wherein the famous JOHN TALBOT, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his son were killed, and all the province of Gascony lost soon after.

The district of Armagnac lies to the westward of the Thouloufan, from which it is separated by the river Garonne, being two and twenty leagues in length, and sixteen in breadth. The chief towns are, Auch, Lectoure, Nogaro, Mirande, Leyrac, Eauze, Vic, Fleurence, Castelnau, Verdun, and Grenade.

Auch, *Augusta Ausciorum*, the capital of Gascony, is situated on the side of a mountain near the river Gers, about thirty miles west of Thoulouse, and seventy south-east of Bourdeaux. It is the See of an Archbishop, one of the richest in France, the revenue being computed at an hundred thousand livres per ann. He has the joint sovereignty of the town with the Count of Armagnac, and styles himself Primate of Aquitain; the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, is one of the finest in France, where they pretend to have preserved a bottle of the Virgin's milk. The town is small, containing not above three thousand souls; and I don't find any building of consequence mentioned by the French writers besides the cathedral, unless it be the archiepiscopal palace, from whence there is an admirable prospect of the adjacent country.



- CHAP. XV.** *Lezouze, Lellera*, is situated on a mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river Gers, twenty-five miles north of Auch. It is surrounded by a triple wall, and defended by a castle, the see of a bishop, and computed to contain about four thousand inhabitants.
- Verdun.** Verdun, capital of a district, called the Verdunois, is situated five and twenty miles north-east of Auch, and contains between two and three thousand souls; which is all the description I meet with of it.
- The Chalosse, or Proper Gascony.** The Chalosse, or Proper Gascony, lies to the westward of Armagnac, and is about thirteen leagues over either way. The chief towns are St. Sever, Aire, Gabaret and Arzac.
- St. Sever.** St. Sever is situated on the river Adour, about thirth miles north-east of Bayonne, which some look upon to be the capital of the Gascon country. Here they put on board their wines to carry them to Dax and Bayonne.
- Aire.** Aire, *Adurium, Vicus Julii*, stands upon the Adour, about twelve miles to the westward of St. Sever, and tho' it be still a bishop's See, is dwindled into a village.
- The Condomois.** The Condomois lies to the northward of Armagnac, and is about twenty leagues in length from east to west, but extremely narrow. The chief towns are Condom, Gavaret, and Mont de Marfan.
- Condom.** Condom is situated on the river Gelise, twenty-five miles to the northward of Auch. It is the See of a bishop, but a poor town of no manner of trade. The Catholicks complain of the ravages committed here by the Hugonots in the civil wars, who plundered the cathedral, burnt six parochial churches and five monasteries.
- Mont Marfan.** Mont Marfan is only considerable for being the capital of the Viscounty of Marfan, which anciently belonged to the Princes of Bearn. It stands on the river Medouze, about four and twenty miles to the westward of Condom.
- The Landes.** The Landes, or Lannes, lies upon the Ocean to the southward of the Bourdelois. It is a barren sandy country, producing little but broom and heath. The chief towns are, Dax, Tartas, Albret, and Peyronrade.
- Chief towns.** Dax, *d'Aqu's, Aquæ Augustæ, Civitas Aquensis*, is situated on the river Adour, about sixteen miles to the northward of Bayonne, and takes its name from the hot spring in the middle of the town. It is defended by some antique fortifications and a castle, a populous trading town, and a bishop's See; there are also a great many convents and religious houses in the place.
- Tartas.** Tartas stands on the Medouze, seven or eight miles to the northward of Dax, considerable chiefly for its market.
- Labourd.** The county of Labourd lies upon the sea of Gascony to the southward of Landes, and was part of the country of Basques, a people originally of Cantabria. It formerly extended as far as St. Sebastian in Spain; but the Spaniards are now masters of all the country on the other side the river Bidassoa. The chief towns are Bayonne, St. John de Luz, Sibour, Ustarits, Andaye, Bidaçte, Guiche.
- Chief towns.** Bayonne, *Lapurdum*, situate on the rivers Nive and Adour, fifteen miles north of the confines of Spain, about an hundred to the westward of Thoulouse, and three to the eastward of the sea of Gascony. It received its name from the Basquish words Baia and Ona, which signify a good bay or harbour, and is divided into three parts by the rivers, strongly fortified in the late reign by that celebrated engineer Monsieur VAUBAN. The citadel commands the town, the harbour and the adjacent country; besides which, it has several other good forts for its defence. The town is tolerably large and populous, and is of consequence as well on account of its foreign trade, as its being one of the strongest frontier garisons on the side of Spain. It is a bishop's See; but neither the cathedral or the other publick or private buildings, have any thing in them that merits a particular description. The harbour is tolerably good, but of a difficult entrance.
- St. John de Luz.** St. John de Luz stands on a bay of the sea, ten miles south-west of Bayonne, and ten north-east of Fontarabia in Spain. It is a pretty large borough-town, but no city.
- The Isle of Pheasants.** The Isle of Pheasants ought not to be forgot in this place, which lies in the middle of the river Bidassoa, that divides France from Spain, and to which therefore both Princes have an equal claim, was pitched upon for a treaty of peace between these kingdoms in the year 1659; and from the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, was called the Pyrenean treaty. Here King CHARLES II. of England attended in person, to solicit the assistance of those powers, while he remained in exile; but was shamefully deserted by both of them: tho' the following year, when his subjects voluntarily sent for him and restored him to his throne, he was as much courted by these and the rest of the Princes of Europe, as he had been neglected in his distress.
- The Country or Valley of Soule.** The Country or Valley of Soule makes part of the country of Basques, and lies along the river Gave de Suzon, between Bearn on the east, and the Lower Navarre on the west, consisting of sixty-nine parishes, the only considerable town being that of Manleon Malleo, situate on the Gave de Suzon; and this the French writers do not give us any particular description of, only observe, that the celebrated HENRY SPONDE, bishop of Pamiers, was born here.
- The county of Bigorre.** The county of Bigorre lies south-east of Bearn, on the confines of Spain, being about eighteen leagues in length, and three in breadth. The chief towns are, Tarbes, Vic de Bigorre, Lourde, Bagneres, Barege, St. Sever de Ruitan, and Jor-nac.
- Tarbes.** Tarbes is situated on the river Adour, about thirty miles south-west of Auch, and twelve south-east of Pau, in one of the most pleasant fruitful valleys in the country. It is a pretty little town divided in four or five parts by the several branches of the river; a bishop's See, the cathedral whereof is dedicated to the Virgin, besides which there is only one parish-church and two monasteries. It is defended by the castle of Bigorre, which it is said gives name to the county.
- Bagueres.** Bagueres, *Aquæ Convenarum*, situate on the Adour, is considerable for its hot baths, which occasions a great resort of people hither.
- The county of Cominges.** The county of Cominges lies between the Thoulousan on the north-east, and Bigorre on the south-west, being about eighteen leagues in length, and six in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, St. Bertrand, Lombez, Muret, Montregean, St. Beat, St. Gaudens, and St. Martory.
- St. Bertrand.** St. Bertrand is a little town situate on a hill near the river Gironne, about thirty miles to the eastward of Pau, and as much south of Auch. At the foot of the hill whereon it stands, lay the ancient Cominges, *Lugdunum Convenarum*, which was a larger town than Thoulouse, as appears by



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the ruins of its walls. St. Bertrand is a bishop's See, and has a cathedral; but the inhabitants scarce amount to five hundred souls.

Lombes.

Lombes stands upon the little river Seve, about twenty miles to the northward of St. Bertrand, containing about two thousand five hundred inhabitants, only considerable on account of its being a bishop's See.

Muret.

Muret situate on the Garonne, about thirty miles north-east of St. Bertrand, where the Roman Catholics say, they obtained a miraculous victory over the Albigenses. They relate, that PETER, King of Arragon, the Count de Thoulouse, and many other sovereign Princes, having besieged Muret with an army of an hundred thousand men, in the year 1213, and that St. DOMINICK, with the bishop of Thoulouse, being shut up in the place, and calling to their assistance SIMON Earl of Montford, they sallied out upon the besiegers with fourteen thousand men, St. DOMINICK carrying a crucifix before them, and totally routed the King of Arragon's army, who was killed upon the spot. They pretend to have preserved St. DOMINICK's crucifix to this day at Thoulouse, with three arrows sticking in the wood of the cross, with the Christ untouched. And tho' we should not be much in the wrong to suspend our belief as to some circumstances in the story, yet we may observe from hence and other relations we have met with, that almost all South France, part of Italy and Spain, as well Princes as people, were very early united in a confederacy against the church of Rome and its superstitions, and maintained their ground for some ages, till a general croisade was proclaimed against them; and then it was with no small difficulty they were suppressed.

St. Beat.

St. Beat is situated on the Garonne, two or three leagues to the southward of St. Bertrand, so inclosed between two mountains, that there is only room for the buildings and the river between them; and tho' it be a very indifferent place in other respects, they can say what few others can, namely, that the whole town is built with marble, which is the only stone to be found in their neighbourhood.

St. Gaudens.

St. Gaudens is a little populous trading place on the Garonne, situated north-east of St. Bertrand, the best town in the Cominges, and the capital of the Nebouzan.

Conserans.

Conserans lies south-east of Cominges, adjoining to the Pyrenean Mountains; the only town

St. Lizier.

of any consequence is St. Lizier, *Fanum Sancti Licerii, Civitas Conseranorum*, situate on the river Salat, at the foot of the Pyrenees, fourteen or fifteen miles to the eastward of St. Bertrand. It is the See of a bishop, but not considerable on any other account.

The ancient state of Guienne and Gascony.

The government of Guienne and Gascony is part of the ancient Aquitain, so called *ab aquis*, from the great number of hot baths and mineral waters in it. In the Roman division of Gaul, it comprehended all that country which lies between the river Loire and the Pyrenean mountains, and was transferred to the Goths by the Emperor VALENTINIAN III. The Franks having made a conquest of it, CHARLES the Great erected it into a kingdom for his youngest son LEWIS, who afterwards succeeded him in the Empire. It falling to the Kings of France in the division of the Empire, they governed it by Counts and Dukes, who at length assumed an unlimited dominion, and made it hereditary in their families. ELEANOR

the heiress of WILLIAM, the ninth Duke of A-CHAP.  
quitain, married LEWIS VII, King of France, who  
XV. having divorced her, she afterwards married HEN-  
RY of Anjou, son to the Empress MAUD, and  
grandson of HENRY I, King of England; who  
succeeding his grandfather in the crown of England,  
enjoy'd the dutchy of Aquitain also in the right of  
ELEANOR his wife, whom he married about the  
year 1152, and his descendants enjoy'd it till  
1202, when the French King LEWIS VIII seizing  
some part of it, a war broke out between the  
two kingdoms of England and France; which ended  
in a treaty, wherein it was stipulated, that the  
English should enjoy the dutchy of Guienne, as it  
was bounded on the north by the river Charente,  
and on the south by the Pyrenean mountains;  
which tract of land was of a larger extent than the  
present province or government of Guienne and  
Gascony, tho' not so large as the ancient kingdom  
of Aquitain. This the English enjoyed for more  
than two hundred and fifty years afterwards,  
namely, till the fatal year 1453, when JOHN  
TALBOT Earl of Shrewsbury and his son were  
killed in a decisive battle near Castillon in Gas-  
cony, during the unfortunate reign of HENRY VI.  
This Prince had been crowned at Paris, and was  
once actually sovereign of the rest of France, as  
well as England, but saw himself deprived of both  
before his death, and the English have never since  
had any considerable footing in France.

The produce as well as trade of Guienne con- The trade  
sists chiefly in wine. In time of full peace, when and pro-  
their commerce is not interrupted, it is computed duce of  
that the foreign shipping which comes to Bour- Guienne  
deaux does not take off less than an hundred and Gas-  
cony.  
thousand tons annually: but these wines are not all of  
the growth of this province, great part of them  
are brought hither from Languedoc, &c. They  
have two great annual fairs at Bourdeaux of fifteen  
days continuance each, when foreigners chiefly re-  
sort hither; one begins the first of March, and  
the other the fifteenth of October; the last is  
much the most considerable, being after the vin-  
tage, when there is the greatest plenty of wine and  
fruit, and then we may sometimes see four or five  
hundred sail in the port of Bourdeaux, some of  
them of five hundred tons, whose cargoes consist of  
brandies, vinegar, prunes and fruit, as well as  
wine: and we may judge of the trade of Bour-  
deaux, says a French writer, by the customs paid  
there, which in some years amount to four mil-  
lions of livres.

Bayonne is the most considerable port on this  
coast next to Bourdeaux. Hither the Spaniards  
bring their wool over the mountains on mules,  
and take sugars in return: and from Bayonne the  
Spanish wool is distributed to all the provinces of  
France where there are woollen manufactures.  
Timber for shipping, as masts and yards, are also  
brought down the rivers in floats from the Pyre-  
nean mountains to Bayonne, and sent from thence  
to Brest and other ports, where the King's ships  
are built and repaired. The merchants of this  
town also fit out ships every year for the whale-  
fishery in Greenland, and pretend to have been  
the first who found out and were engaged in this  
branch of trade. True it is, their neighbours the  
Biscayners of Spain, were the first we are acquaint-  
ed with that followed the whale-fishery, and on  
account of their dexterity in that art, the English  
took several of them into their service when they  
first established the whale-fishery in the Greenland  
seas: and under the name of Biscayners it is highly  
probable



**C H A P. XV.** probable the mariners of Bayonne and other ports on this coast might be included. But it appears they followed this employment in more southern latitudes, and not in the seas of New Greenland, till they were carried thither by the English.

From Port Blaye on the Garonne, below Bourdeaux, they also export wine, and in plentiful years corn; and from the bay of Arcathon, pitch, tar and rosin.

That part of this province which is called the Election of Montauban, produces corn, wine, prunes, tobacco, saffron and silk, which are sent down the rivers Garonne and Tarn to Bourdeaux; and it is computed that the English and Dutch lay out annually in prunes only, above an hundred thousand crowns. Their saffron and silk are sent chiefly to Lyons.

This country also has some manufactures of linen and woollen, but not much of these to export. They abound in mules, which the Spaniards purchase of them, being very proper for carrying burthens, and travelling over the Pyrenean mountains.

Military government of Guienne and Gascony.

The governor general of Guienne has under him two lieutenant-generals, the one for Guienne, and the other for Gascony and Bigorre; besides which, the King constitutes lieutenants-general in every election, and in every fortified town, of which last there are a great number in this province.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Treats of the province or general government of Saintonge and Angoumois.*

**C H A P. XVI.** **T**HIS government comprehends almost all Saintonge and Angoumois. Saintonge is bounded by Poitou and Aunis on the north; by Angoumois and Perigord on the east; by the Bourdelois and the Gironde on the south; and by the Ocean on the west; being five and twenty leagues in length, and twelve in breadth.

Angoumois is bounded by Poitou on the north; by Limosin on the east; by Perigord on the south; and by Saintonge on the west; being eighteen leagues long and fifteen broad.

**Rivers.** The principal rivers of this government are the Charente and the Boutonne.

**Charente.** The Charente having its source in the Limosin, first takes its course north-west into Angoumois, and then turning about to the southward, visits Angoulesme; after which taking its course south-west again, it visits Saintes, discharging itself into the Ocean a league and half below Rochefort.

**Boutonne.** The Boutonne rising in Poitou, takes its course south-west till it falls into Charente at port Carillon. The other rivers of this province are but small, but it is observed that their waters make excellent paper.

**Face of the country.** The air of this country is esteemed hotter than that about Paris. The country is full of little hills, but has not one considerable mountain in it, unless that on which Angoulesme is situated. The soil produces corn, wine, saffron, and all manner of fruits in abundance. They have some good iron-mines, which afford a great quantity of that metal, but no others wrought. Those of Rancogne and Plancheminier are the most considerable.

**Chief towns.** The chief towns in Saintonge are Saintes, Marrennes, Arvert, Sanjon, Royan, Tallemont, Mortagne, Pons, Barbefieux, Chalais, St. John de Angeli, Tonnai-Charente, Taillebourg.

The chief towns of Angoumois are Angoulesme, Cognac, Jarnac, Rochefoucaut, Blanzac, Chateaufort, Bouteville, Ruffec and Vauguyon.

**Saintes, Mediolanum, Urbs Santonica,** a little ill-built city on the river Charente, sixty miles to the northward of Bourdeaux, and twenty to the eastward of the Ocean, is the capital of Saintonge, and a Bishop's See, but not very considerable on any other account at present, unless it be for the noble ruins found here, which sufficiently discover its antiquity; as a triumphal arch, supposed to be erected in the reign of TIBERIUS, the ruins of an amphitheatre, several aqueducts, and a capitol, the last of which edifices were only erected by the Romans in towns of the first magnitude.

St. John de Angeli, *Angeliacum*, stands on the river Boutonne, five leagues north-east of Saintes. It was anciently a magnificent castle, built in the middle of a forest named *Angeliacum*, where the Dukes of Aquitaine had their residence. It afterwards grew to be a considerable town, and was strongly fortified, but the inhabitants adhering to the Calvinists, it was besieged and taken by Lewis XIII, whereupon they were deprived of their privileges, and the fortifications demolished.

Angoulesme, the capital of Angoumois, *olim Incusima*, is situated on the top of a mountain surrounded with rocks, at the foot whereof runs the river Charente, thirty miles to the eastward of Saintes. It is a Bishop's See, the cathedral church dedicated to St. Ausonius, besides which there are eight churches and six convents in the place. It is supposed to contain eight thousand souls.

Cognac, situate on the Charente, seven leagues to the westward of Angoulesme, in one of the most desirable countries in the world, and remarkable for being the place of the nativity of FRANCIS I, but better known to us by the excellent wine and brandy it produces.

Rochefoucaut, *Rupes Fucaldi*, situate on the Touvre, four leagues to the eastward of Angoulesme, has the title of a duchy and peerage, but I do not meet with any particular description of it.

The principal trade of Saintonge is in salt, of which they make a surprizing quantity in their salt-marshes, much better than that of Bretagne, or any other part of France; but the duties are so much higher in this province than they are in Britany, that they make much less than they have done.

The Angoumois have a good trade in wine, brandy, paper and salt, but they are a lazy generation, pretty much addicted to pleasure, and do not make all the advantages they might of the fertility of their country. Their manufacture of paper is esteemed the best in Europe, which it seems has been discouraged of late, and is not equal to what it was.

The governor of this province hath a lieutenant-general under him in Saintonge and Angoumois, and a lieutenant of the King's in each of those cities, besides which the town of Cognac has its particular governor.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Treats of the province or government of Aunis.*

**T**HIS government comprehends the country of Aunis, the country of Brouageois, the isles of Re, Oleron, &c. and is bounded on the north and east by Poitou; by Saintonge on the south, and by the Ocean on the west.

The



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XVII.Rivers.  
Ports.Chief  
towns.

Rochelle.

Rochefort

The principal rivers which pass through this country are the Charente and the Seare. And tho' it be but a small government, it has the advantage of several good ports, of which the most considerable are Rochefort, Rochelle, Brouage, St. Martins in Re, Tremblade, and Tonnai-Charente. This country is generally dry, and yet produces good corn and wine. In the maritime parts, where there are large meadows, they feed abundance of cattle, and in their salt-marshes make the best salt in Europe.

The chief places in this government are Rochelle, Rochefort, Brouage, Marennes, Alvert, Tremblade, Saujon, Royan, and the isles of Re and Oleron.

Rochelle, *Rupella*, is situated on the sea-coast, twelve leagues north-west of Saintes, two south-east of the isle of Re, and four north-east of Oleron, is forty-six degrees twelve minutes north latitude, strongly fortified by that great Engineer VAUBAN. The town is of a square figure, and about three miles in circumference. Queen ELEANOR of Guienne brought it, with the rest of her territories, to HENRY II. King of England, about the year 1152; the French surprised it in 1224, but by the treaty of Britany, anno 1360, they were obliged to deliver it up to the English again. The town revolted ten years after, and put themselves under the protection of France. Upon the reformation they declared for the Protestants, who defended the place against the Kings of France from the year 1567, till 1628, being supported by the English; but the Duke of Buckingham, who was going to their relief with a powerful fleet, being stabbed by that assassin FELTON, the expedition miscarried, and they were forced to surrender, after having suffered a terrible famine, and all other miseries of a long siege, whereby two thirds of them were destroyed before the town was taken; after which the fortifications were demolished, and lay in ruins till the year 1689, as has been intimated already, when that famous Engineer Monsieur VAUBAN fortified it after the modern way, to prevent a descent of the English. It is at present a Bishop's See, and a place of very great foreign trade, as will appear under that head.

Rochefort, *Rupisfortium*, situate three or four leagues from the mouth of the Charente, and seven or eight to the southward of Rochelle, was but a little castle in the year 1665, when the French King LEWIS XIV. observing that the coasts on the Ocean were generally very dangerous and of difficult access, and that there was scarce a port or road except that of Brest, where the royal navy might ride with any security, he ordered several places to be founded, and discovered at length that a good port might be made in the mouth of the river Charente, and that there was depth sufficient in that river for the largest vessels, he purchas'd the above-mentioned castle of Rochefort, and ordered the plan of a town to be traced out of the bigness of Bourdeaux, and having surrounded it with a wall and other modern fortifications, erected an arsenal and magazines, and gave all manner of encouragement to his subjects to build and settle there; and it is now one of the finest towns, and the best provided to accommodate the royal navy of any upon the coast, except Brest and Port-Lewis. Here is a noble hospital also for disabled seamen: but the place is still very unhealthy in August, September and October, supposed to proceed from the badness of the water, and its being covered by the hills from the north wind. The entrance of the river

and the port is defended by several forts that render it inaccessible to an enemy by sea.

Brouage is situated on a bay of the sea about eight leagues south of Rochelle; it is surrounded by a salt-marsh where they make vast quantities of salt, as will appear under the article of trade; but the harbour is in a manner choaked up.

Soubize is situated on the river Charente two leagues from the sea, considerable chiefly for being the capital of a principality, and for its healthful air, whither the natives of Rochefort frequently retire for restoring their broken constitutions.

The isle of Re, *Rea Insula*, lies five or six miles to the westward of Rochelle, and is four or five leagues in length, and one and a half in breadth, producing plenty of wine and salt, tho' their wine is but indifferent, and serves chiefly to convert into brandy and strong waters. They have neither corn, grass or trees upon the island: it is however populous, and stands very advantageously for a foreign trade. The chief town is that of St. Martins, besides which there are five or six parishes upon it.

St. Martins is but an inconsiderable town in itself, but of great consequence on account of the fortifications about it, which were erected in the late reign by Monsieur VAUBAN. They consist of a good wall with six royal bastions and five half-moons, a ditch and covered way well lined, and a fine citadel which commands the town, the harbour and the adjacent country. The entry of the port is narrow and defended by a fort.

Fort Free stands on the north-west part of the island, and defends the entrance of the channel called Pertruis Breton. Fort Samblancan stands on the south-east point of the island, and defends the channel called Pertruis Antiole. Besides which, there is another fort on the coast called Fort Martray, raised by the above-mentioned celebrated engineer: so that it would be much more difficult to make a descent upon this island now, than when the Duke of Buckingham landed here in order to relieve Rochelle in the year 1627. It seems he was master of the whole island except Fort Free, which holding out against him, and the Rochellers stupidly refusing to admit him into the city, upon some foolish insinuations of their brethren the saints in England, he was forced to return home without effecting any thing; and being stabbed by FELTON while he was recruiting his troops in England in order to return to their relief, Rochelle was taken, and the inhabitants, as well as the rest of the Protestants of France, suffered sufficiently for their distrust and ingratitude towards the English court, who had done so much to support them.

The isle of Oleron, *Uliarus*, lies two or three leagues to the southward of Re, and as much to the westward of the continent; being about five leagues in length, two in breadth, and twelve in circumference; containing six parishes, and ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. It is defended by a castle situated on the east part of the island, and some other forts. The natives had formerly a mighty reputation for their skill in navigation; and in conformity to their customs it was, that Queen ELEANOR, Dutches of Guienne, made those constitutions in relation to sea-affairs, which obtained the title of the laws of Oleron, and became a model for all other maritime powers on the Ocean, as those of Rhodes were in the Mediterranean in the time of the Romans. Upon each of these islands of Re and Oleron there is a pharos or light-house for the direction of mariners in the night. The soil of Oleron

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Brouage.

Soubize.]

Isle of Re.

St. Mar-  
tins.

Fort Free.

Fort Mar-  
tray.Duke of  
Buck's  
expedition  
against  
Re and  
Rochelle,  
an. 1627.

Oleron.



**CHAP. XVII.** Oleron is very fruitful, producing corn and wine in abundance; besides which, the natives make great quantities of salt of the sea-water.

Trade and produce of the province of Aunis.

The great foreign trade which is driven at Rochelle enriches all the towns and villages of this little province. The Rochellers trade to St. Domingo, and the rest of the American islands; to Senegal, Canada, Mississippi, Cadiz, Portugal, the isles of Azores, Sweden, Denmark, Muscovy, England and Holland, whither they send great numbers of ships laden with wine and brandy, salt, paper and linen; and some say stuffs, ferges, and other woollen manufactures to the northern kingdoms. They send to the American islands almost all the necessaries of life; and in return bring back sugars, indigo, tobacco, skins, Brazil and Campechy-wood, cotton, and other lesser articles: and they receive from the side of Domingo cochineal, quinquina, cocoa nuts, vanilles, pearls, emeralds and dollars. Their colonies in North America furnish them with dried cod, stock-fish, salmon, salted eels, fish-oil, hides, masts, yards, and other naval stores. They import from Africa skins, wax, gums, and a small quantity of gold-dust. From Portugal they bring Brazil-tobacco and snuff, chocolate, dried citrons and oranges; and in time of war Lisbon was the staple of all the merchandizes of Spain, England and Holland.

The principal manufacture at Rochelle is that of refining and baking sugar, as that of linen is at Rochefort and Barbezieux: to which we may add the distilling brandy and strong waters here and in every other town of the country. But nothing turns to so much account as their salt, which is made by letting the sea at high water into shallow basins or pans, where the water being evaporated, the salt subsides, and they find a kind of crust of salt at the bottom. Then they let in the sea again, and so from time to time till the crust is come to the thickness they desire it, when they take it out and lay it on heaps, and then repeat the experiment again. This brings in a good revenue to the proprietors of the salt-marshes, but a much greater to the crown.

The military government of Aunis.

There is a governor-general of Aunis, Rochelle, Brouage, Re and Oleron, who has under him a lieutenant-general, the King's lieutenant, and several governors of particular places and forts: besides which there is a captain or general, who has the command of nine or ten thousand militia, to prevent any surprize or descent on the coasts in time of war.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Contains a description of the province or general government of Poitou.*

**CHAP. XVIII.**

Poitou province. Situation, &c.

Face of the country.

Rivers.

Vienne.

**T**HE province of Poitou, *Pictavia*, is bounded by the territories of Nants and Anjou on the north; by Touraine and Berry on the east; by Saintonge, Angoumois and Aunis on the south; and by the Ocean on the west; and is forty-eight leagues in length from east to west, and two and twenty in breadth from north to south.

This country is diversified with champain, woods and pasture grounds, (very little of it mountainous) and some few forests.

There are but two navigable rivers in it, which are those of Vienne and the Sevre Niortoise.

The Vienne rises in the Limosin, and running north west, falls into the Loire two or three leagues to the eastward of Saumur.

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The Sevre Niortoise, so called to distinguish it from the Sevre Nautois, hath its source in the east part of Poitou, and taking its course westward, passes by Niort, where it begins to be navigable, and continuing its course westerly, falls into a bay of the Ocean a little below Marans.

There is but one fountain of mineral waters of Miravilles, any consequence in the country, and that is at w<sup>a</sup>.

They reckon up nine ports on the coast of Poitou, but they are of little service to any vessels but fisherboats and small craft, except that of Sables d'Olonne, which it is said will admit vessels of an hundred and fifty tons.

Poitou is divided into the higher and lower, of which the higher is the largest division, and comprehends the towns of Poitiers, Thouars, Loudun, Chief Mirebeau, Châtelleraut, St. Maixent, Lusignan, Montmorillon, Chauvigny, Richelieu and Mortemar. And in the lower Poitou are Niort, Maillezais, Luçon, Fontenai le Compté, Parthenai and la Rochefuryon.

Poitiers, *Augustoritum Pictavium*, the capital of this province, is situated on an eminence near the little river Clain, fourscore miles to the eastward of the Ocean, and about as much north-east of Nantes. It is the largest town in France next to Paris, if we regard the extent of the walls; but then there is a great deal of ploughed lands, gardens and waste ground included within those bounds. The town however is not small, containing two and twenty parishes, nine convents of friars and twelve of nuns, besides several abbeys, two seminaries, and three hospitals; and is governed by a mayor, five and twenty aldermen, and sixty-five burgesses. They have a very little trade, which is ascribed to the lazy indolent temper of the inhabitants, who are nevertheless esteemed a polite and sociable people. Poitiers is a Bishop's See, and has a university of some credit; there are also the remains of several Roman edifices in the place, as of an amphitheatre, a triumphal arch, which still serves for one of the gates, and some aqueducts. In the middle of the town is a great round tower called the castle of Maubergeon: the black Prince, son to EDWARD III, King of England, took JOHN King of France and his son PHILIP prisoners, about two leagues from this city, anno 1357.

Thouars, *Toarcium*, situate on a little hill near the river Toue, ten leagues north-west of Poitiers, considerable chiefly for being the capital of a dutchy.

Loudun, *Castrum Losaunum*, stands eight leagues north-west of Poitiers, is a pretty town, and has a great number of convents and religious houses in it; but was much more remarkable in the last century for its attachment to the Protestants: here it seems they had one of their last synods in 1658.

Lusignan, *Liciniacum Castrum*, is a little town situated five leagues south-west of Poitiers, famous formerly for one of the strongest castles in France, which is now demolished, the Lords whereof were Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

Richelieu, an elegant town and castle, ten leagues north of Poitiers, enlarged and beautified by the celebrated Cardinal RICHELIEU, and made the capital of a Dutchy and Peerage; the Duke's palace or castle, with the park, gardens, &c. are esteemed equal to most in France.

Luçon is situated three and twenty leagues south-west of Poitiers, considerable only on account of its being a Bishop's see.

15 A

Fontenai



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XVIII.Fontenai  
le Comte.The archi-  
episcopal  
seat of  
Poitou.Trade and  
produce.Military  
govern-  
ment.Bretagne.  
The name,  
situation.Face of the  
country.

The air.

Fontenai le Comte, the capital of the lower Poitou, is situated twenty leagues south-west of Poitiers, and is a well-built town, consisting of three parishes and several convents; but the French writers do not give us any farther description of it. Poitou is part of Aquitania, and erected into a county by CHARLEMAIN in favour of ABSON, whose posterity were Dukes of Guienne for several generations; the last of them was WILLIAM the Ninth, whose only daughter and heiress marrying HENRY of Anjou, afterwards HENRY II. King of England, brought this province with Guienne and Gascony to the crown of England, as has been observed already, and which was possessed by the English with some interruptions from the French, till the unfortunate reign of HENRY VI. anno 1453.

The trade of Poitiers and the district belonging to it is inconsiderable, consisting only in worsted stockings, hats, and shammy leather. They sell also some wool and cattle at their fairs, and druggets, which are the manufacture of Parthenai.

The district of Chatelleraud is a pleasant fruitful country, the inhabitants esteemed witty and industrious, and to have a genius for trade. The town of Chatelleraud is famous for watches, clocks, knives, scissors, and other hard ware.

In the district of Maixent their trade consists chiefly in corn and cattle, which they vend to the merchants of Auvergne, Lions, Piedmont and Savoy; and in the town of Maixent they have a woollen manufacture.

In the district of Niort they vend great numbers of cattle, horses and mules; and at the town of Niort, their manufacture of woollen stuffs and shammy leather is considerable.

In the district of Fontenai they drive a good trade with their horses, mules and corn; and at the town of Fontenai they have a manufacture of woollen cloth, serges and stuffs. On the sea-coasts they make salt of the sea-water, as has been intimated already.

The governor-general of this province hath under him one lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants for the higher Poitou; and one lieutenant-general and two of the King's lieutenants for the lower: besides the governors of particular places, as those of Loudun, Poitiers, Chatelleraud, Lusignan, St. Maixent, Niort, Fontenai le Comte, and the castle of Chaune.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Contains a description of the general government or province of Bretagne or Brittany.*

**B**retagne, Britany, Little Britain, anciently called Armorica, i. e. *Ad mare sita*, from the situation on the sea, is a peninsula bounded on the north, south and west, by the Ocean, and on the east by Anjou, Maine and part of Normandy, being sixty leagues in length from east to west, and forty five in its greatest breadth, that is, from Nantz to St. Malo's; but grows less gradually as we proceed to the westward, so that in some places it is not half that breadth.

This country is pleasantly diversified with mountains and valleys, but the lower Britany is the most mountainous, a chain of hills called Mount Arre running cross it. There is also a happy variety of champain and woods. The trees in their forests are for the most part beech, oak or chestnuts. The air is generally healthful, but thick and moist to-

wards the sea-coasts. The principal rivers are the Loire, the Vilaine, the Oust, the Blavet and the Rance; of which the two first only are navigable. The Loire has been already described, which runs through this province from east to west, and falls into the Ocean ten leagues below Nantz. The Vilaine rises on the eastern confines of this province, and running south-west, falls into the ocean about twenty miles north-west of the mouth of the Loire. The rest of the rivers rise within the province, and running but a very short course before they discharge themselves into the Ocean, are not any of them navigable farther than the tide flows. There is no part of France abounds with so many good ports and roads as this; for here we find St. Malo's, Brest, Conquet, Port Lewis, Nantz, and several others, which I shall describe when I come to treat of those places.

Bretagne is usually divided into the higher and lower Britany: the higher lies towards the east, and the lower towards the west; but the latest French geographers chuse to describe the several dioceses it contains without regarding whether they stand in the higher or lower Britany; and these are nine in number, viz. 1. The diocese of Rennes. 2. That of Nantz. 3. Vannes. 4. Quimper. 5. Leon. 6. Triguier. 7. St. Brien. 8. St. Malo. And, 9. That of Dol.

The Bishoprick of Rennes is an inland country, having the diocese of Dol on the north, and the duchy of Maine towards the east; the chief towns whereof are Rennes, Fougères and Vitre.

Rennes, *Civitas Redonum*, the capital of the province, as it was anciently of Armorica, is situated on the river Vilaine, about fifty-five miles to the northward of Nantz, and forty-five south of St. Malo. It is divided by the river in two parts, which have a communication by three bridges; a large populous town, the See of a Bishop, and the place where the States or Parliament meets: it hath some fine squares in it, but the streets are generally narrow and the houses high, which makes them very dark. The cathedral and Jesuits college are the only buildings that travellers mention as worth the viewing.

The diocese of Nantz is bounded by that of Rennes on the north; by Anjou on the east; by Poitou on the south, and the Ocean on the west; being divided in two parts by the river Loire. The chief towns are Nantz, Chateaubriand, Gueraude, Croisic, Clisson, Ancenis, Machecoud and Paimbœuf.

Nantz, *Condivionum*, *Civitas Namnetum*, is situated on the Loire, about thirty miles to the eastward of the Ocean, and forty-five to the westward of Angers, in 47 degrees 15 minutes north latitude, a degree and half to the westward of London. It is a large, populous town, surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a castle. The suburbs are larger than the town. As to the trade, which is as considerable as that of any town of the kingdom, I shall speak of it under another head; only observe here, that no ships or vessels of any burthen can come up hither on account of the sands, tho' the tide runs up a great deal higher, but are forced to unload their merchandize into hoys and lighters at Paimbœuf, near the mouth of the river. There is a fine key along the river-side, on which stand the merchants houses, and a handsome bridge over the river. The principal buildings mentioned by the French writers are the cathedral, a magnificent Gothick structure, in which are the tombs of several of the ancient Dukes

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Rivers.

Ports.

Division  
of Britany.Rennes  
diocese.Nantz dio-  
cese.Chief  
towns.

Nantz city



**CHAP. XIX.** Dukes of Bretagne; the town-house, a modern building, and the episcopal palace. Near the city is a famous hermitage situated on a rock, from whence there is a fine prospect of the town, the Loire, and the adjacent country. Here the hermits have with their own hands hewn a handsome chapel out of the rock, cells for their lodging, and other conveniences, to which they have with great labour added a pretty garden. But this town is remarkable for nothing more than the famous edict of Nantz, so called from its being granted here by King HENRY IV. surnamed the Great, in the month of April, 1598, by which the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion: it was confirmed by his successor LEWIS XIII. and some say by LEWIS XIV. But however that be, certain it is that LEWIS XIV. revoked it in the year 1685, upon which followed that persecution which occasioned so many thousands of his subjects with their families to take refuge in other kingdoms, to the irreparable damage of his own. The principal inducement to which, seems to me rather an insatiable thirst to make himself absolute, than from any prejudice he had to the reformed religion; for this body of men ever joining with those who were for defending their civil rights, he could never hope to establish an absolute dominion over the lives and fortunes of his subjects till they were extirpated.

**Paimbœuf.** Paimbœuf is situated on the southern bank of the Loire near its mouth, and may very properly be stiled the port-town to Nantz; for here all merchandize are unloaded that go up thither, and here whatever they export is put on board, and the whole town consists only of inns and taverns for the reception of sea-faring men.

**Gueraude.** Gueraude is situated to the north-west of the mouth of the Loire, and is considerable for the salt-marshes about it, which yield vast quantities of salt.

**Bourgneuf** Bourgneuf lies to the southward of the mouth of the Loire on a large bay of the sea, where they also make abundance of salt, which they export to Holland and other countries.

**Vannes diocese.** The diocese of Vannes, or Vennes, lies on the sea-coast, north-west of that of Nantz. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Vannes. 2. Auray. 3. Hennebont. 4. Redon. 5. Port Lewis. 6. Pontray. 7. Malestroit. The peninsula of Rhins; and lastly, the island of Belle-Isle.

**Vannes city.** Vannes or Vennes, *olim Dariorigum* and *Civitas Venetum*, is situated on a canal through which the tide flows, two leagues from the sea, and twenty north-west of Nantz, and is looked upon as one of the most ancient towns of the province, and indeed of Old Gaul; it is still a Bishop's See, but the town is small, the streets narrow and ill-built; the suburbs are much larger than the town, where are their fairest buildings, as the college of the Jesuits, the grand hospital, and the Dominican convent.

**Auray.** Auray is a little trading town, situate on the sea-coast to the westward of Vennes, consisting only of a large key and one fine street.

**Port Lewis** Port Lewis is a considerable town situate on a bay of the sea at the mouth of the river Blavet, ten leagues north-west of Vennes. It has a good harbour that receives the largest ships, and here the India company have their store-houses and principal magazine; here also in time of war part of the royal navy are fitted out: but notwithstanding the seeming advantage of the situation, there are not many merchants resort hither, which my author supposes to proceed from their meeting with a bet-

ter and quicker market at Nantz, which is always ready to take off any cargo they export; and perhaps another reason may be, because it is one of the ports of the royal navy; for merchants seldom care to be under those restraints that are put upon them by the military power; arms and trade cannot flourish in the same place.

Pontivi is situated on the river Blavet, eight or nine leagues north-east of Port Lewis, and is the chief town of the duchy of Rohan, the Dukes whereof are said to be descended from the ancient Dukes of Britany: HENRY II, Duke of Rohan, was in great esteem among the French Protestants, being one of their generals, and died of the wounds he received at the battle of Rhinfield in the year 1638.

Belle-Isle, *olim Calanefus*, lies about six leagues south-west of the continent of Britany and ten from Vennes; it is almost encompassed with rocks, which make it of difficult access, and is six leagues in length and two in breadth. There is a pretty good road to the northward of the island, defended by forts and other works, in which there is always a good garison; and here the French fleet usually rendezvous before they put to sea. This island was erected into a marquise in the year 1573. The most remarkable places upon it are the parishes of Lauzon, Palais, Locmaria and Bangor.

The diocese of Quimper stretches it self along the coast of Britany to the north-west of that of Vennes; the chief towns whereof are, Quimper, Corentin, Quimperler, Concarneau, Carhaix, Chateaufort, Gourin, Rostrenin, Chateaulin, Faou, Audierne, Pont Croix, Pont l'Abbe, Bouarnez and Crozon.

Quimper, which in the British language is said to signify a place surrounded with walls, is situated on the river Oder, twelve or thirteen leagues north-west of Port Lewis, and two or three from the sea. It is the capital of a county to which the Britons who transported themselves from Great Britain to Armorica gave the name of Cornwal or Cornouaille, being the country from whence they are supposed to come. The town is tolerably large, a place of some trade, and the See of a Bishop, who also stiles himself Count. The cathedral is a noble old structure, and the Jesuits have a fine college here, which are the only considerable buildings mentioned by the French writers.

The diocese of Leon takes up the most westerly part of Britany, extending it self along the sea-coast from the harbour of Brest to the river of Morlaix, and forms a kind of peninsula, the sea encompassing it on three sides. The chief towns are St. Paul de Leon, Brest, Lesneven, St. Renaud, Landernau, Porfal, the isles of Ouessant or Ushant.

Leon, or St. Paul de Leon, so denominated from one of their first Bishops, who has the reputation of a saint, is situated near a bay of the sea in the north-west part of the province, an hundred miles north-west of Rennes, and thirty north-east of Brest. It is the See and residence of a Bishop, who is also a temporal Lord, and would not be very considerable upon any other account, were it not for the suburb of Roscof, which with the isle of Baz forms an excellent road or harbour, where their shipping usually touch which are bound to or from the English channel.

Brest is situated on an eminence on the north side of a fine bay, called Brest or Cameret Bay, in 48 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, four degrees odd minutes to the westward of London.

The



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The harbour, in the phrase of the French writers, is the finest in the world; seeming to have forgot that much finer of their own at Toulon, for their largest ships are always built and laid up at Toulon, because (as I presume) Brest will not easily admit of ships of that bulk. They have indeed a great number of men of war at Brest, but not one of the first rate, as I can learn; the entrance of the harbour is too shallow or too rocky to admit them: which is however a security against the fleet of an enemy. The town and the entrance of the harbour are fortified as well as the nature of the ground will admit; and the port, it is said, will contain five hundred sail of ships. The yards and magazines here are so considerable, if we may credit the French writers, that they can equip out seventy sail of men of war from this port; but they must certainly mean of the lesser sort, from what has been hinted already. Their small squadrons and privateers which sheltered themselves here used to be extremely troublesome to our merchant-men in the late wars; for which and other reasons it was thought proper by the confederates to make a descent here in the year 1694, in order to have taken the town and destroyed their shipping; but the attempt miscarried, having been so long discovered before the English fleet sailed from their ports, that the British government had intelligence that the design was betrayed, and yet were so sanguine as to proceed in the expedition, to the no small loss and disgrace of their fleet and forces: for there was an army more numerous than themselves ready to receive them, and batteries of guns planted on the sea-shore wherever there was any possibility of landing. Here the brave TALMASH, who commanded the land-forces, received his mortal wound as he was about disembarking the first six hundred men, who were most of them killed, wounded or made prisoners; the tide leaving the boats they were in upon the sand. This disappointment so discouraged us, that in the last two long wars we scarce ever made a descent upon the French coasts afterwards, though we were masters at sea, and might certainly have very much weakened their armies elsewhere by it, and distracted their affairs. I must say it was a brave and wise attempt of my countrymen to endeavour the destruction of the French shipping, and the only two harbours they have of any consequence, namely, Brest and Toulon; though neither of these enterprises succeeded according to expectation: for as the French in one reign increased their royal navy to such a degree as to dispute the empire of the sea with the united fleets of England and Holland more than once, what may we not dread if we should see another enterprising monarch at their head?

**Conquet.** Conquet is a little port-town in the most westerly part of Britany, near the entrance of the bay of Brest, the sea between which and the isles of Ushant has obtained the name of Conquet Road.

**Ushant isles.** The island of Ouessant or Ushant, *Uxantius*, lies four or five leagues to the westward of Conquet, and is about eight miles in circumference; there are some little villages upon it, and a castle for its defence. There are a great many other lesser islands near it, which from the larger have obtained the name of the isles of Ushant.

**Triguer diocese.** The diocese of Triguer extends it self along the northern coast of Britany, from the river of Morlaix to the town of St. Brieu. The chief towns whereof are Triguer, Morlaix, Guingamp, Lannion and Lanmur.

**Triguer city.** Triguer, *Lantriguet*, is situated on the sea-coast

thirty miles to the eastward of Leon, the cathedral is dedicated to St. TUDAL, said to be their first Bishop and an Englishman: the Bishop is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place, and stiled Count. The town stands almost in the midst of the water, and has a port for small vessels.

Morlaix, *Mons Relaxus*, stands on a little river, Morlaix. to which it communicates its name, two or three leagues to the southward of St. Paul de Leon, and will admit of small vessels. The road at the mouth of the river has good anchorage, and is much frequented.

The diocese of St. Brieu lies also upon the northern coast, between that of Triguer and St. Malo. The chief towns whereof are St. Brieu, Montcontour, Lambale and Quintin.

St. Brieu is situated ten leagues to the eastward of Triguer, in a bottom surrounded with mountains out of sight of the sea, tho' it be within half a league of it, where there is a tolerable port for small vessels. The churches, streets and squares make a good appearance, and there are several convents in the place, but neither wall or ditch about it: the Bishop is both temporal and spiritual Lord of the town.

The bishoprick of St. Malo lies between that of Brieu and Dol. The chief towns are St. Malo, Concale, Chateau-Neuf, Dinant, Tintiniac, Combourg, Montfort, Breal, Guer, Ploermel, Josselin, Trinity, and Comper.

St. Malo is situated on a rock called St. Aaron, surrounded by the Ocean, but joined to the continent by a causey; it lies about eight or nine leagues to the eastward of Brieu, and twelve north-west of Rennes. The town, especially that part of it contiguous to the causey, is strongly fortified. The harbour is said to be one of the best upon the coast, but of difficult access, and will not admit of very large vessels. The cathedral, the Bishop's palace and the town-house stand in the Place, as they call it; which I perceive is no more than a common market-place, though some writers have given it the elegant title of a square. They tell us also there are some other beautiful places and squares in it, though their best writers confess it is generally an ill-built town with narrow streets, a sea-port of the worst kind, being inhabited chiefly by people who have made their fortunes by privateering, or common mariners; though some will have it that it is become rich and populous by the West-India trade: this nest of privateers did us so much damage in the late wars, that our government were provoked to bombard them; but I question whether the damage they received, amounted to much more than the powder and shot that was spent upon them, their flats and sands keeping the fleet at such a distance. The garison of this town, it is said, turn their dogs out of the gates every night to prevent a surprize, in imitation of some of the ancients.

Dinant or Dinan is situated on a mountain, steep and almost inaccessible on every side, and is also defended by a wall and castle; it stands about five leagues south of St. Malo, and is the capital of a county to which it gives its name.

The bishoprick of Dol lies upon the coast between St. Malo and Normandy, and is the smallest in the province, not being more than five leagues in length, the only considerable town whereof is Dol.

Dol, *Dolum*, is situated in a marshy country two leagues from the sea, and four to the eastward

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diocese.

St. Malo.

Dinant.

Dol diocese.

Dol.  
of



CHAP. XX. of St. Malo; it is a little unhealthful town and poorly peopled, the Bishop is temporal Lord of the place.

The ancient state of Britany. This country, which, with part of Normandy, constituted the ancient Armorica, was divided into several little principalities and states, which were confederated together against the Romans when CÆSAR subdued them.

The account the French give of its being called Britany or little Britain, is as follows: they say, that part of the natives of the island of Great Britain being driven out of their country about the middle of the fifth century, in the reign of the Emperor VALENTINIAN, by the English or Anglo-Saxons, fled for refuge into Armorica, which thereupon began to be called *Britannia*, *Britannia Cismarina*, and *Britannia Minor*. And that the Romans who were then masters of Armorica, received them as friends and allies, who might assist them to resist the incursions of the barbarous nations, particularly the Visigoths, who then began to be very powerful about the Loire, that they committed the defence of this province to RIOTHAME, captain or general of the Britons, conferring on him at the same time the title of Count and General of the Empire. That CLOVIS King of France attempted to make a conquest of their country, but at length came to an accommodation with the Counts of Bretagne, and settled the limits of their respective dominions. That the Counts, Dukes, or Sovereigns of Bretagne, with some interruptions from the French, enjoyed their territories till the reign of FRANCIS II. the last Duke of Britany, whose daughter ANNE marrying CHARLES VIII. of France, brought with her the dutchy of Britany; but CHARLES dying without issue, and ANNE surviving him, it reverted to her again, and was afterwards united to France by another match, about the year 1532, till when it was under a different government and administration from the rest of the kingdom.

Neither the French or English historians are agreed either on the time or the occasion of the Britons transporting themselves in such numbers into Armorica as to obtain the dominion of it, give new names to the most considerable places as well as the country it self, and to introduce their own language, tho' these are facts not to be controverted. The British or Welch tongue is still spoken here, many places retain their British names, and their laws and constitutions were lately very different from the rest of France. Nor does it appear that the Franks, or any of the Kings of France were sovereigns of this country, till it was lately united to that crown by marriage of the heiress of Britany with one of those monarchs. But I shall enlarge on this head in their general history.

Trade and produce of Britany. The commerce of the province, both foreign and domestick, is indeed very great; the briskest and most considerable in the kingdom, according to the French writers, and is carried on chiefly at Nants and St. Malo. The merchants of Nants trade principally to America and the West-Indies, whither they send annually about fifty sail, from sixty to three hundred tons. Five and twenty or thirty of these vessels are bound to Martinico, eight or ten to Guardeloupe, as many more to St. Domingo, and three or four to Cayenne and other little ports. Their Cargoes consist of all manner of provisions and necessaries for the plantations, and by the way these vessels take in wines at Fyal and Madeira, which are strong-bodied and will

bear the sea. Other ships touch at the isles of Cape Verd, where they load themselves with salt and tortoises, which sell well in the islands of the West Indies. These ships usually set sail in November and December, and are five and forty or fifty days in their voyage outward bound. They make their returns from the West Indies and the continent in sugar, cocoa, ginger, cotton, wool, indigo, hides, tortoise-shells, and other small articles. They are not permitted to carry sugars unrefined out of the kingdom, but these are refined at the sugar-works at Nants, Saumur, Angers and Orleans. As for the rest of the merchandize imported, it is exported to Holland, Denmark, Hamburgh, Dantzick, Stockholm, &c. to great advantage.

In their fishery at Newfoundland and the Isle-royal they employ thirty sail of ships, which usually set out in July, August, December or January, and return in three or four months, most of them making two voyages every year. Their gains are proportionable to the shoals of cod-fish they meet with: sometimes a thousand cod will not make more than two hundred livres, and at other times they are sold for twelve hundred. Nants is as it were the staple for this kind of fish, the ships which go from Rochelle and Oleron to this fishery unloading their cargoes in the river Loire, and they are sent from Nants not only to all the towns on that river, but to Paris by the canal of Lyons, to Auvergne, and all over the kingdom.

The merchants of Nants also have a good foreign trade to Spain, particularly to Bilboa, St. Sebastian, Corunna, and all the coast of Galicia; but it is in small barks loaden with paper, linen, silk-stuffs, gold and silver lace, sugar, iron-wares and mercery. And they bring back in return, iron, wool, sheep-skins, oranges, citrons, and a great deal of specie. They have also a trade with Portugal, whither they send the same species of goods as to Spain, and bring back much the same merchandize. Most of the nations of Europe, and particularly the northern kingdoms, drive a great trade with Nants. The Dutch carry thither their cinnamon and other fine spices, starch, lead, copper, tobacco, pipe-staves, timber, deal-boards, masts, pitch, tar, cordage, hemp, wire, Russia-leather, tallow, oil, whalebone, and a great deal of iron or hard ware, and mercery or haberdashers wares; taking in return wine, brandy, paper and prunes; but chiefly salt, which they embark at the bay of Bourgneuf and Pouliguen.

The English bring to Nants lead, tin, copers and sea-coal; and take in return also, wine, brandy, paper, prunes and salt: but as the value of the goods they bring is not equal to what they take, they pay the difference in treasure.

Provisions from Ireland bear a good price at Nants, as barrelled butter, salt beef, tallow, herrings, hides, tanned leather, and wool, when they dare hazard the running of it.

The Hamburgers, Danes, Swedes and Dantzickers, bring steel, copper, planks, masts, pitch, cordage and hemp.

The city of Nants also has a very considerable trade with Flanders, and all the ports of their own kingdom; and the adjacent country feeds great herds of cattle, of which they make a considerable advantage.

The city of St. Malo also has as good a foreign trade as any town in the kingdom, with England, Holland, Spain, &c. To England they export the linens of Rouen, Laval, Quintin, Vitre, Pontorson



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Pontorson and Rennes; and the English give them in return, woollen-cloth, lead, tin, sea-coal, flax, copperas and galls: but as the goods they bring do not amount to half so much as they receive, the exchange is here also prodigiously against them, and they pay the difference in bills or specie.

The English in time of peace send a hundred ships to St. Malo one year with another, and the Dutch a great many; but the French traffick with Spain is the most considerable and profitable, and consists chiefly in linens, which they buy up in all parts of the kingdom; the fattins of Lyons and Tours, gold and silver-stuffs, the woollen manufactures of Amiens and Rheims, castors, &c. which are sent directly to Cadiz, and from thence to the Spanish plantations in America, the returns from whence are made in specie, rich merchandizes, hides, cochineal, indigo, Campechy wood and Spanish wool; but it is eighteen months or two years before the returns are made from New Spain, and then indeed they are very large, amounting sometimes to twelve millions of livres in specie, and never less than six or seven. And the French observe, there is no trade more advantageous, either to particular men, or the publick, as it furnishes them with most of their treasure.

The merchants of St. Malo also have a great dependance on the cod-fishery, to which they send annually abundance of ships, from a hundred to three hundred tons, selling their cargoes at their return at Bourdeaux, Bayonne and Bilboa, for wines, brandy, prunes, raisins, and other fruits. They also carry their fish to the coast of Provence and Italy, bringing back fruits, soap, oil, alum, &c.

Privateers  
of St.  
Malo.

When the late war interrupted their trade, the people of St. Malo in general applied themselves to privateering. They armed all the ships they had for that service; and as the English and Dutch, their enemies, have a much greater share of foreign trade than the French, they did them an inconceivable damage, and enriched themselves more by their piracies, than by all their foreign commerce in time of peace. They also bred up and entertained great numbers of mariners, which were of service to the state, say the French writers, and became a terror to all the maritime powers of Europe. And indeed the French King did the Confederates more mischief by this piratical war, than ever they could do his subjects or territories, tho' they were always masters at sea.

I shall conclude this head with an account of the produce and manufactures of the province. The diocese of Rennes yields wheat, rye, oats, and abundance of buck-wheat, or French-wheat, fitter to fat hogs with than to be the food of men; tho' use, it seems, will bring a man to like any thing, for I have heard some people admire the flower of buck-wheat. In Flanders, by way of derision, they say such a fellow lives on *Buck-a-de-cooks*, which are pancakes made of buck-wheat, and sold to the poorest people at the corners of the streets. They feed also a great many cattle in this diocese, and have excellent butter, with which they supply their neighbours of Nants and Anjou.

The manufacture of sail-cloth for shipping, and twisted thread is considerable. They dye their thread of all colours, and vend it at Paris, Rouen, and other great cities throughout the kingdom. It is exported also to England and Spain, and even to the Indies.

The diocese of Vannes produces abundance of corn, which they export to St. Sebastian, Portugal, Bayonne, and other places; and from Spain they

usually bring back specie in return. They salt up also great quantities of pilchards, congers, &c. which they vend at Bourdeaux, Rochelle, Nants and St. Malo. The town of Port-Lewis alone, it is said, vends four thousand hogheads of salted pilchards to the merchants of St. Malo, who export them to Spain and the Mediterranean. The Natives of Belle-Isle also drive a great trade with pilchards, the vessels employed in this fishery are not above two or three tons burthen a-piece, and are manned with about five hands every boat, carrying a dozen nets at least, of twenty or thirty fathoms in length. They salt them, barrel them up, and sell them to the merchants before they come on shore.

The diocese of Quimper abounds in corn and cattle, which they vend in Normandy; for which they receive money in return, as they do wine for the corn they carry into Gascony.

The principal trade of the bishoprick of Leon is in horses, paper and linen. They have not corn enough for their subsistence, which is therefore frequently imported from the north, as well as flax for their linen manufacture.

The bishoprick of Triguier on the contrary abounds in corn and cattle, with which they supply the sea-ports of Brest and St. Malo. Their hemp also turns to good account, the King purchasing of them the value of three millions of livres a year to supply his magazines at Brest.

Linen and thread are the principal manufactures in the diocese of Brieu; the soil also produces corn and fruits in abundance, particularly apples, of which they make cyder, the common beverage of the province, for there is no wine grows in the country.

The diocese of St. Malo also produces plenty of apples, which they convert into cyder; and abounds in corn and cattle.

The government-general of Bretagne has in it two general lieutenantcies, one of them consisting of the diocese of Nants only, and the other of the remaining eight dioceses; in each of which the King hath also a lieutenant: and as Britany is a peninsula encompassed almost on every side by the sea, there are abundance of castles and forts erected on the coasts for its defence; the strongest of which are the castle of Belle-Isle, the castle of Brest, the citadel of Port Lewis, the castles of St. Malo and of Nants, the castle of Torro, which defends the entrance of the river of Morlaix, and many others were erected during the late wars, when the confederate fleet frequently visited their country.

## CHAP. XX.

Contains a description of the province or general government of Normandy.

Normandy, known to the Romans by the name of the eleven confederated cities or provinces of Gaul, and afterwards by that of Neustria, or West France, of which kingdom it made a part, received its modern name from the Danes and other northern people, who went under the general name of Normans, and made a conquest of it about the year 912, under the conduct of ROLLO, or RAUL, as the French call him, their General or Prince, who is always looked upon as the first Duke of Normandy.

This province is bounded by the British channel on the north; by Picardy and the Isle of France on the East; by Beaufie, Perche and Maine, on the south; and by Bretagne on the west;

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XX.Normandy.  
The name.Situation,  
&c.



CH A P.  
XX

west; extending sixty leagues in length from east to west, and thirty in breadth from north to south; being one of the largest and most fruitful provinces of the kingdom. There are indeed scarce any vineyards; but then they abound in apples and pears, of which they make cyder and perry, the ordinary drink of the natives. The country has some hills in it, but no high mountains. It consists of an agreeable variety of arable, meadow, pasture-grounds and forests. The air is colder here than in any part of France, but not unhealthy. The principal rivers are the Seine, the Eure, the Aune, the Iton, the Audelle, the Rille, the Dive, the Touque, the Careutone, the Aute and the Orne.

Face of the  
country.

Air.

Rivers.

The Seine.

The Eure.

The Orne.

Ports.

Mines and  
mineral  
waters.

Division.

Caux di-  
strict.Chief  
towns.

Caudebec.

The Seine, already described, runs north-west through this province, and having visited Rouen, falls into the British channel near Havre de Grace.

The Eure rises in Perche, and taking its course first to the eastward, then turns to the north, and having crossed part of Normandy, discharges it self into the Seine near Pont de Larche.

The Orne rises near Sees, in the south of Normandy, and taking its course first to the westward, afterwards turns about to the north; and having visited Caen, falls into the British channel a little below that city.

The principal ports are those of Diepe, Havre de Grace, Honfleur, Cherbourg and Grandville; and some add St. Valery and la Hogue; but these scarce deserve the name of ports.

And as this country abounds in iron-mines, so it does in mineral waters, the chief whereof are those of Belesme, St. Paul de Rouen, Hebecrevon, Menitoue, Bourberouge, Pont Normand, Mont Bosque, and those of Forges; of which the last are in much the greatest reputation.

This province is usually divided into the Upper and Lower Normandy. The Upper Normandy comprehends, 1. The country of Caux. 2. The Roumois. 3. The Vexin Norman. 4. The country of Bray. 5. The country of Campagne. 6. The country of Ouche. And, 7. The Lieuvin. The Lower Normandy contains, 1. The country of Auge. 2. The district of Caen. 3. The Bessin. 4. The Cotentin. 5. The Avranchin. 6. The country of Bocage. And, 7. The Marches.

The country of Caux received its name, say the French writers, from the Caletes, its ancient inhabitants, tho' I must confess, I don't find any great resemblance in the two names. It extends from Rouen to Havre, and from Caudebec to Picardy. The land is generally high, but plain, having few valleys in it. The French look upon it as a very cold country, and inconvenient on account of the scarcity of good water; but the plenty of corn here makes them some amends. The chief towns are Caudebec, St. Valery, Diepe, Arques, Eu, Aumale, L'Isle-bonne, Yvetat and Longueville. 'Tis true, Havre de Grace, Montivilliers, Harfleur and Fescamp, are also in Normandy; but as these constitute another government by themselves, they will be considered in another chapter.

Caudebec, *Calidobecum*, is situated on the river Seine, at the foot of a mountain covered with woods, seven leagues north-west of Rouen, and eleven south-east of Havre, a little populous trading town, considerable formerly for its manufacture of hats, which were transported to other countries; but they don't make more than will supply their own at present.

Diepe, *Juliobona Caletorum*, obtained its modern name, according to the French, from its standing in a bottom. It is situated on the north-east coast of Normandy, fourteen leagues to the northward of Rouen, being of a triangular figure, and strongly fortified, tho' the works are very irregular, occasioned by the uneven situation of the ground. It is one of the most considerable ports upon this coast, but will not admit of men of war of the line, or merchant-ships of great burthen. During the war it was a nest of privateers, and did considerable damage to the British trade; whereupon the English Fleet bombarded it in the year 1694, since which it has been rebuilt to advantage, and some new works added to the fortifications, by Monsieur VAUBAN. The natives are most of them mariners. One of their own writers observes, that tho' the air here is very gross, and their bodies still grosser, it has produc'd several bright men, and excellent mechanicks. The town contains about thirty thousand souls.

Eu, *Ou, Auga*, is situated on the confines of Eu-Picardy, near the mouth of the river Breffle, six leagues north-east of Diepe, considerable chiefly for its being the capital of a county and peerage.

The Roumois lies between the rivers Seine and The Rou-Rille, and abounds in corn, fruit and cattle, but especially sheep. The chief towns are, Pont Audemer, Quillebeuf and Elbeuf.

Pont Audemer is situated on the Rille, twelve leagues from Rouen. LEWIS XIV. endeavour'd mer- to make it a port.

Elbeuf is situated on the Seine, four or five miles north-west of Pont de l'Arche, considerable for its woollen manufacture, and for its being erected into a dutchy and peerage.

The Vexin Norman lies on the north-east side of the Seine, and is a very fruitful country, comprehending the towns of Rouen, Gisors, Audely, and Ecomi.

Rouen, *Rotomagus*, the capital of Normandy, and formerly of the Velocassies, is situated in a bottom on the north bank of the Seine, encompassed on three sides with hills, and only open towards the river, being seventy miles north-west of Paris, and forty-five south-east of Havre de Grace and the British channel. It is surrounded by a wall, defended by round antique towers, but of no great strength in this age. As the town is very populous, containing sixty thousand souls, but not extremely large, the streets are narrow, and the people seem to be crowded together. It contains thirty-six parishes, several hospitals, thirty-five fountains, sixteen monasteries, nineteen nunneries, and a fine college of Jesuits. The cathedral, the churches of St. Owen and St. Maclou, in the phrase of my French author, are perfectly fine. In the cathedral are the tombs of several Kings, Princes, Prelates and Noblemen, particularly those of HENRY III. and RICHARD I. Kings of England, and Dukes of Normandy, on each side of the high altar in the choir, and that of CHARLES V. King of France, in the middle of the choir. They reckon up a great many publick places and squares in Rouen; seven of which the French esteem very fine ones; but several of them are no better than the market-places in our great towns, and put to the same uses. There was a handfom stone-bridge over the river between the city and suburbs, said to be built by the Empress MAUD; but this being broken down, the place is now supplied by a bridge of boats. The famous JOAN of Arce, or Maid of Orleans,

CH A P.  
XX.  
Diepe.



CHAP. XX. Orleans, was burnt here by the English for an impostor: but the French, when they became masters of the city, erected a statue to her memory, as she had been a means of turning the fortune of the war, and preserving their country from an entire conquest by the English.

Rouen, it is said, hath been burnt and rebuilt twelve or thirteen times, but stands so very advantageously for trade, upon the Seine, between Paris and the British channel, that it will never be deserted; and is at present looked upon as the center of the French trade on this side, on which I shall enlarge when I come to that head. It is the See of an Archbishop, and the place where the parliament of the province have their sessions. The corporation consists of a mayor and six aldermen, the mayor being elected every three years.

The neighbourhood of the city of Rouen is extremely fine. On every side of it are pleasant walks and beautiful country-seats; and at about a league distance stands the Charter-house, which is one of the most agreeable solitudes imaginable. The polite world will certainly have an opinion of the situation of Rouen, when they remember that the late Earl of Clarendon, grandfather of Queen ANNE, a gentleman of the most refined taste, chose to make it the place of his residence during his exile.

The country of Bray is bounded on the north and west, with the country of Caux; the Beauvoisis, on the east; and the Vexin Norman, on the south. This district is partly hilly, and partly marshy, fit for the feeding of cattle. The arable land also bears rye; and they have plenty of fruit, of which they make cyder and perry, but very little wheat. The chief towns are Neufchatel, Gournay, Le Ferte and Forges.

Neufchatel. Neufchatel is situated five or six leagues south-east of Diepe, and is a pleasant town, consisting of three parishes, the chief of this district, but not considerable upon any other account.

The country of Campagne lies south-west of the Seine; the chief towns whereof are, Pont de l'Arche, Louviers, Neubourg, Harcourt, Evreux, Gaillon, St. Andre, Nonancourt, Vernevil, Breteville and Concles.

Pont de l'Arche. Pont de l'Arche, *Pons Arcus*, takes its name from a stone-bridge of two and twenty arches, built over the Seine at this place, about four leagues south of Rouen. It is inclosed with a wall, and defended by a castle, which stands on an island in the river. There is one parish-church in the place, and two convents.

Evreux. Evreux, *Mediolanum Aulercorum*, is situated in a fruitful plain on the river Iton, eight or nine leagues south of Rouen, the capital of a county, to which it communicates its name, and a Bishop's See. It contains nine parishes, and several religious houses. The cathedral and the magnificent castle of Navarre near this town, are worth the viewing.

The district of Ouche. The district of Ouche lies to the westward of that of Campagne. The chief towns are Bernai, Beaumont le Roger, and L'Aigle; but none of them merit a particular description.

The country of Lieuvain. The country of Lieuvain lies to the northward of Ouche, and abounds in corn, flax, and good pasture. The chief towns are, Corneilles, Lieuvrai and Tiberville; none of which my French authors have thought worth describing.

The country of Auge. The country of Auge lies to the westward of the Roumois, and consists for the most part of

pasture-grounds. The chief towns are Lisieux, Honfleur and Pont l'Eveque.

Lisieux, *Civitas Lexeviorum*, is situated at the confluence of two small rivers, partly on a hill, and partly in a valley, eighteen leagues to the westward of Rouen. It is surrounded by a wall, and some antique towers of no great strength. The cathedral and bishop's palace are the only buildings mentioned as worth the viewing.

Honfleur, *Huneflotum*, is situated on the west bank of the river Seine near its mouth, three leagues south-west of Havre de Grace, and sixteen west of Rouen, a port-town, which the late King endeavoured to improve, by making a basin fit to receive shipping, and a large key about it. The town is supposed to contain about twelve thousand souls. Here they unload the salt which is brought from the bay of Brouage, and distribute it to all the towns on the Seine.

The country of Caen lies to the westward of that of Auge; the chief town whereof is Caen, *Cadomus*, situate at the confluence of the rivers Orne and Odon, in a valley between two large meadows, about two leagues south of the British channel, and eight to the westward of Lisieux. This city, which is the second of the province, consists of twelve parishes, two abbeys, eight monasteries and seven nunneries. The most remarkable publick buildings are the castle, the episcopal palace, the hotel, called the grand cheval, the office of the exchequer, the new buildings of the university, the town-house or guild-hall, and the buildings about the place-royal, where they erected a statue of their grand Monarch in the year 1685. The inhabitants of Caen are computed to amount to near forty thousand souls. They are a trading people, and have a communication with the sea by the little river Orne, by which they bring their merchandize up in boats; and their university is said to be in a flourishing condition. The Normans first made this town considerable, WILLIAM the Conqueror having laid the foundation of their castle, according to the tradition of the place. Certain it is, the Conqueror and his Queen built two abbeys here, of which some French historians give the following relation. They say, that this Prince having married MATILDA, the daughter of BALDWIN Earl of Flanders, who was nearly related to him, without a dispensation from the Pope, his Holiness, by way of penance, enjoined them to build these two abbeys; whereupon the Conqueror founded that of St. Stephen, in which he was afterwards interr'd; and his wife that of the Trinity, in which she was buried. The first is possessed by monks, and the other by nuns. Both the abbeys are of the order of St. Bennet, and richly endowed. The Conqueror, besides the lands he had granted to that of St. Stephen in France, gave several manors in England to the monks of that house by his last will.

The Bessin lies along the sea-coast to the west. The district of Caen; the chief towns whereof are Bayeux and St. Lo.

Bayeux, *Civitas Baiocassium*, is situated on the river Aure, a league and a half from the sea, and six to the westward of Caen. It is the See of a Bishop, and contains seventeen parishes; but is not populous. The cathedral church dedicated to the Virgin, is one of the finest of the province.

The Coutantin, or Costantin, is bounded on three sides by the British channel, and on the east by the Bessin, and is a hilly uneven country, but



CHAP. XX. but affords good pasture. The chief towns are, Coutance, St. Saviour, Cherbourg, Barfleur, Valogne, Carentan, Villedieu, Granville and La Hogue.

Coutance. Coutance, *Constantia*, *Cosedia*, pleasantly situated among the meadows and rivulets, about two leagues distant from the sea, and ten south-east of the isle of Jersey; the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Rouen, and has a magnificent cathedral, esteemed one of the finest pieces of Gothick architecture in Europe. There are also several convents and monasteries, and two parochial churches. It is not a place of any great trade, and the fortifications are demolished; but by the remains of a Roman aqueduct, and other ancient ruins, is held to be a place of great antiquity.

Cherbourg. Cherbourg, is situated on a bay of the sea, fifteen leagues north of Coutance. It is a small seaport, and fortified by LEWIS XIV. but he ordered the works to be demolished in the year 1689. This was one of the last towns the English possessed in Normandy.

Barfleur. Barfleur is situated on the sea-coast, four or five leagues to the eastward of Cherbourg. It was formerly one of the most considerable ports in Normandy; but the harbour is now filled up with sand, and there remains only a small basin. Here part of the French fleet was burnt by the English after the victory obtained near Cape la Hogue, in the year 1692.

La Hogue. La Hogue is a village from whence the most north-west cape or promontory of Normandy takes its name; remarkable chiefly for the victory obtained near it by Admiral RUSSEL commander of the English fleet, over the French commanded by Admiral TOURVILLE, on the 19th of May 1692, wherein no less than one and twenty of the largest French men of war were destroyed: the Rising-Sun particularly, the Admiral, was set on fire in sight of the French army on shore, who were making preparations to invade England.

The Avranchin. The Avranchin lies on the south of Coutantin. This country produces corn, cyder, flax, and hemp, but has very little pasture. The chief towns are Avranches, Pont Orson, St. James, Mount St. Michael and Mortain.

Avranches. Avranches, *Civitas Abrincatum*, is situated near the sea-coast on the top of a mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river See, being about eight leagues south of Coutance. It is a Bishop's See; the cathedral dedicated to St. ANDREW; besides which, there are three parochial churches, an abbey, and several monasteries. As the Normans and Britons were perpetually at variance, while they were subject to different Sovereigns, this was one of the most considerable frontier garisons of the Normans against Britany.

Mount St. Michael. Mount St. Michael is situated on a rock, in a bay of the sea, formed by the coasts of Normandy and Britany; the nearest of which is a league and half distant from it. The sea, twice in four and twenty hours at high water, covers all the strand between the rock and the continent; and consequently there is no coming at it by land, but at the tide of ebb. It stands about three leagues to the westward of Avranches, and to add to the strength of its situation has a castle for its defence. Here is also an abbey of Benedictines; the Prior whereof is governor of the place in time of peace, and has no other garison but the burgeses; tho' in time of war the King sends them a commander and regular troops. And as this is a place of great security, hither the government sometimes send

CHAP. XX. their state-prisoners, whom they immure in dungeons, at the bottom of this rock, when it is not convenient to punish them openly. The abbey is also famous for the crouds of pilgrims that annually resort hither, to adore the precious reliques they have in their custody.

The country of Bocage lies to the southward of The Boffin; the chief towns whereof are Torigny, Vire, and Conde sur Noireau, none of which deserve a particular description.

The Marches, which comprehend the Holme, The Mar is a little country, so called from its lying on the confines of Perche and Maine. The chief towns are Alençon, Seez, Argentan, Falaife and Domfront.

Alençon, *Alençon*, *Alencio*, is situated on the river Sarthe, near the borders of Perche. It is surrounded by a wall, flanked with antique towers, and a castle, which are rather an ornament than defence to the place at present. It consists but of one single parish, the church whereof is dedicated to the Virgin, in which are the tombs of the Dukes of Alençon, the last of whom, brother to the then French King, made his address to Queen ELIZABETH, and was long kept in suspense by her. It has been of late years erected again into a dutchy and peerage.

Seez is situated on the river Orne, five leagues north-east of Alençon. It has the honour of being a Bishop's See, but is a poor place, almost deserted. There are however besides the cathedral, four parish-churches, an abbey of Benedictines, and several convents; in one of which, they pretend to have a thorn of our Saviour's crown, which St. LEWIS made them a present of.

This great province, as has been hinted already, consisted of eleven confederated cities or communities, while it remained a part of the ancient Gaul, who were brought under the dominion of the Romans, by SABINUS the lieutenant of CÆSAR. Upon the decline of the Roman Empire, they underwent the fate of the rest of Gaul, till CLOVIS made a conquest of them. And the territories of this Prince being divided among his children after his death, this province made part of Neustria, or West France, sometimes denominated the kingdom of Soissons. The Danes, and other northern nations, who went under the general name of Normans, having ravaged the kingdom of France, in a terrible manner, established themselves at length in Neustria, in the ninth century, and three times besieged Paris itself; to which city they were become so terrible, that the people made it part of their litany to be delivered from the Normans; *Afuror Normannorum libera nos Domine*, were the words of the petition. And, say the French historians, CHARLES the Simple found himself under a necessity of yielding this part of Neustria to them, that he might enjoy the rest of his dominions in peace: but it was upon condition, they add, that their Prince should hold it as a fee of the crown of France. Neustria, in changing its masters, changed also its name for that of Normandy, the name of the people that had conquered it. CHARLES the Simple, when he surrendered Neustria to the Normans, in the year 912, gave his daughter GISELE or GISELLE in marriage to ROLLO or RAOUL, their Prince or Captain, the first Duke of Normandy, who thereupon embraced the Christian religion, and took upon him the name of ROBERT at his baptism. He was succeeded by the following Princes of his blood, Dukes of Normandy, viz.



12. WILLIAM, surnamed Longsword, An. 917
13. RICHARD I, siled Dreadnought, or the Old, ————— 943
14. RICHARD II, called the Undaunted, 996
15. RICHARD III, ————— 1026
16. ROBERT II, ————— 1028
17. WILLIAM the Conqueror, King of England, ————— 1035
18. ROBERT III. ————— 1087
19. WILLIAM II. called Rufus, King of England.
20. HENRY I, King of England, 1107
21. STEPHEN, King of England, 1135
22. The Empress MAUD. —————
23. GEOFFREY V, Earl of Anjou, and husband of MAUD. —————
24. HENRY II, King of England, 1154
25. HENRY the Younger, surnamed Courtmante, who died before his father.
26. RICHARD IV, surnamed Cœur de Lyon, 1189
27. JOHN, King of England, who lost Normandy to the French about the year 1202. It was afterwards reconquered by HENRY V, King of England, about the year 1420, and possessed by the English thirty years; but regained by the French during the unfortunate reign of HENRY VI, and was formally united to the crown of France, about the year 1464.

The account the French give of these Dukes of Normandy, who were Kings of England, being attended with some circumstances omitted by our English historians, may be acceptable to the reader. They relate that the Conqueror was the son of Duke ROBERT II. and of HERLEVE or HARLOT, the wife of a citizen of Falais. That ST. EDWARD (EDWARD the Confessor) being driven out of England by a faction, fled for refuge to ROBERT II, Duke of Normandy, and resided in his court and his son WILLIAM's a considerable time. That the Saint being restored to his dominions, by way of gratitude, appointed WILLIAM his successor: but the English not approving the choice, crowned HAROLD the Queen's brother. WILLIAM thereupon invaded England with a great army, and defeated HAROLD at the battle of Hastings, the 14th of October 1066, which victory made him master of England, WILLIAM the Conqueror dying in the year 1087, and leaving three sons, ROBERT, WILLIAM and HENRY, ROBERT suffered his brother WILLIAM RUFUS to supplant him in the kingdom of England first, and afterwards in his duchy of Normandy. And WILLIAM II. dying in the year 1100, ROBERT suffered himself a second time to be deprived of the crown of England, by his youngest brother HENRY I. ROBERT indeed made some attempts to prevent it; but HENRY having defeated him and taken him prisoner, put out his eyes. HENRY dying in the year 1135, the male line of the Dukes of Normandy failed, that duchy descending to MAUD or MATILDA his daughter, who married GEOFFREY, Earl of Anjou, by whom she had issue HENRY II, King of England and Duke of Normandy; who, by his marriage with ELEANOR, Duchess of Guienne, whom LEWIS the Younger had divorced; became master of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis; which, with Normandy, made a very considerable part of the kingdom of France. HENRY II, died anno 1189, leaving three sons, viz. RICHARD, GEOFFREY, and JOHN. RICHARD succeeded him, but was killed at the siege of Chalons, anno 1199; whereupon his brother JOHN possessed himself of the kingdom

of England, in prejudice of ARTHUR Duke of Britany, the son of GEOFFREY his eldest brother. Nor was he content with usurping his nephew's dominions, but killed him with his own hand; for which parricide or felony, he was cited to appear before the court of Peers in France, and by an edict deprived of the territories he possessed in that kingdom, in the year 1202; which PHILIP-AUGUSTUS so far put in execution, as to wrest Normandy from him; and this province was thereupon united to the crown, till the civil wars happened between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, about the year 1420, when the English did not only make themselves masters of Normandy again, but of almost all the kingdom of France, possessing this province particularly for near thirty years.

As to the trade of Normandy, especially of Rouen, and the country about it, it consists chiefly in their woollen and linen manufactures, leather, hats, combs, paper, playing-cards, pins, and abundance of other haberdashery-wares. The woollen manufacture employs several thousand hands, of which they vend the greatest part in France: they export scarce any woollen-cloth or stuffs. The manufacture of linen is much more advantageous to the kingdom, for the greatest part is sent abroad to Spain and other countries. And their linen or canvas, of which they make sails for ships, is valued in all the countries of Europe. They have also manufactures in glass, where they make glass-plates for looking-glasses and coaches, and all other glass-ware whatever.

Their fisheries for cod, herring, &c. employ abundance of hands, and bring them in a great deal of money, and they drive a great trade with their cattle, butter and cheese, which they vend in the southern provinces. Their butter is salted up, and sent to Paris and other great towns by the Seine.

And as there is no country abounds more in apples and pears, they make vast quantities of cyder and perry, the common drink of the country, and supply almost all the other provinces in France with it. Nay, they have such plenty of fruit, that they transport some years a great deal of it to England, and other foreign countries: but then they have little or no wine, but what is brought them from the southern provinces.

The government of Normandy being one of the Military most considerable in the kingdom, is always committed to a person of distinction. There are in it two lieutenant-generals, one for the Higher, and the other for the Lower Normandy; and the King has also a lieutenant in every baillage, which are seven in number. The fortified places in this province are, Cherbourg, La Hogue, Caen, Honfleur, Havre, (but this is a distinct government) Diepe, St. Valeri, and Treport, which have each of them a particular governor.

## CHAP. XXI.

Contains a description of the government of Havre de Grace.

THE government of Havre de Grace lies in the country of Caux, to the northward of the mouth of the Seine, comprehending the towns and districts of Fescamp, Montvilliers, Havre de Grace, and Harfleur. This little district is only separated from the rest of Normandy in respect of its military government; for as to the ecclesiastical



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cal and civil government, it is comprized under the general government of Normandy. The only town of any consequence is that of Havre de Grace. As to those of Fescamp, Montvilliers, and Harfleur, they do not deserve a particular description.

Havre de  
Grace.

Havre de Grace, *Franciscopolis, Portus Gratiae*, had its former name of Franciscopolis from FRANCIS its founder; but the French writers don't pretend to guess how it came by its present name of Havre de Grace. It is a small fortified town, situate in a flat country at the mouth of the river Seine, fourteen or fifteen leagues north-west of Rouen, and as many north-east of Caen. It is almost of a square figure, divided into two parts by the port, surrounded by a wall and other works, and defended by a citadel; of great consequence on account of its situation at the mouth of the Seine, its harbour and foreign trade, and is looked upon as one of the keys of the kingdom; which, I presume, is the reason it is made a distinct government from the rest of Normandy. In the religious wars in the year 1562, it was surprized by the French Protestants, and delivered up to the Queen of England, who sent the Earl of Warwick thither with a good garison; but the plague raging in the place, and carrying off most of his men, he was forced to surrender it again the following year. Here the French used to arm out their privateers and small squadrons in the late war, which occasioned its being bombarded by the confederate fleet in the year 1694.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Treats of the general government of Maine and Perche.*

CHAP.  
XXII.Maine and  
Perche.  
Situation  
of Maine.

THE government general of Maine and Perche, comprehends the district of Maine, with the county of Laval, and the greatest part of the county of Perche.

Maine is bounded by Normandy on the north; by Perche on the east; by Touraine and Vendomois on the south; and by Britany and Anjou on the west; being about five and thirty leagues in length from east to west, and more than twenty in breadth from north to south, and about ninety in circumference. In it we meet with arable lands, vineyards, meadows, agreeable little hills and forests, and abundance of rivers; the chief whereof are the Maienne, the Huifne, the Sart, and the Little Loire.

Rivers.

Maine,  
Sart, Huif-  
ne.

Loire.

The Maine and the Sart rise in the confines of Normandy, and having received the Huifne, run to the southward till they unite their streams near Angers.

The Little Loire rises on the eastern confines of Perche, and running westward, joins the above-mentioned rivers near Angers; two or three leagues below which city, these united streams fall into the great river Loire.

Iron mines  
and mine-  
ral waters.  
Marble  
quarries.

There are several iron mines in the parishes of Andouilly, Chasson, Silly and Bourgon; and the mineral waters of Baignols and Linieres are in some reputation. There are also some quarries of fine marble at St. Berthevin, Argentre, Bernai and Villedieu.

Perche.

Perche is bounded by Normandy on the north; by Timerais and the county of Chartrain on the east; and by Maine on the south and west. It is one of the least provinces in the kingdom, being not above fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in

breadth. It is a hilly uneven country. The higher grounds bear scarce any thing; nor are they cultivated indeed, but serve only for grazing sheep and cows. The valleys and flat country on the contrary bear all kinds of grain and hemp; and they abound in apples, of which they make cyder, the common drink of the country. As to their vines they have but few; and those produce such poor thin wines, that cyder is preferred before it. They have here also some iron mines and mineral waters. Their rivers, which are the Huifne and Loire, have been already described in Maine.

The chief towns of Maine are Mans, Laval, Maienne and Sable.

Mans, *Civitas Cenomannorum*, the capital of Maine, is situated on a hill, at the bottom whereof runs the river Sarte, which here unites its waters with the river Huifne, about ten leagues south of Alençon, thirteen north-west of Tours, and thirty-two south-west of Paris. In the city and suburbs are seventeen parishes, three thousand two hundred houses, and about fifteen thousand souls. It was anciently much more considerable than it is at present; however, it is still a Bishop's See, and besides, the cathedral dedicated to St. PETER, has several fine convents within its walls.

Laval is situated on the Maine, eight leagues to the westward of Mans, and is surrounded by a wall and other antique fortifications. It hath also an old castle of the same kind, but not capable of making any great defence, since the art of war has been improved. It contains three parishes, and several monasteries. This town was taken by escalade in the year 1446, by the famous TALBOT Earl of Shrewsbury, General of the English.

Maine, *Maduana*, is pleasantly situated on the river Maine, twelve leagues north-west of Mans. This place was anciently so strong, having a castle situated on the brow of a rock, besides its other fortifications, that it was esteemed almost impregnable. The English General, the Earl of Salisbury, however, took it in the year 1424. It was erected into a duchy and peerage anno 1573, and belongs now to the Duke of Mazarin, consisting of two parishes.

Sable is situated on the Sarte, nine or ten leagues south-west of Mans. It was formerly a strong place, but is only considerable at present on account of its being erected into a marquisate and peerage.

The chief towns in Perche are Mortaigne, Bellesme, Nogent and Chateaufort; none of which the French writers have thought fit to give a particular description of.

The province of Maine, like the rest of France, was subdued by the Romans, and afterwards by the Goths, Franks, &c. CHARLEMAIN established Counts here, who became hereditary, and after a long succession the heiress of Maine, about the year 1110, married FOULK Earl of Anjou, of which marriage was born GEOFFREY V. named PLANTAGENET, who married MAUD the Empress, and was father of HENRY II. King of England, Duke of Normandy, Earl of Maine, &c. and the Kings of England were sovereigns of this country till King JOHN lost it, together with Normandy, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was united to the crown of France, or became an appenage of some of the blood-royal. The Earls of Perche also were hereditary, like those of Maine, till the earldom became annexed to the crown.

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Trade.

As the province of Maine affords good arable and pasture land, and abounds in corn and cattle, the peasants furnish their neighbours both with the one and the other, which brings a great deal of money into their country; and in the towns they have both woollen and linen manufactures, those of woollen being serges, and other slight French stuffs. The whitening of linen and wax also employs a great many hands.

Perche also affords corn and cattle, but not in such abundance as Maine, tho' they have the advantage of lying nearer Paris, where they vend most of their cattle, corn, fowls, and other provisions. They make also some slight French stuffs, and have a manufacture of coarse linen. The woollen stuffs of Nogent are vended at Paris, and exported to other countries. There are several iron forges in the country, insomuch that they furnish Paris, and other great towns, with iron to the value of fifty thousand livres annually. The tanners trade once flourished here; but the French writers acknowledge that this is almost ruined, as well as their other manufactures, by the extreme poverty of the country, most people being reduced to wooden shoes, by the tyranny and oppression of the government.

Military  
govern-  
ment.

The military government of Maine and Perche comprehends all Maine, the county of Laval and Perche, except Perche Gouet, which belongs to the government of Orléans, and the Tineris, which is annexed to that of the Isle of France. The governor-general has under him one lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants, one for Maine, and the other for Perche. It being an inland country, there are scarce any towns fortified after the modern way: the old towers, and other antique fortifications are held sufficient here, where they can scarce ever expect to see an enemy.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Contains a description of the general government of Orléans.*

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Orléans  
division.  
Situation  
and extent

THIS government comprehends the Orléans Proper, the Pais Sologne, the Beauce or Beauce, the Blaisois, the greatest part of the Gatinois and the Perche Gouet; being bounded by Perche and the Isle of France, on the north; by another part of the Isle of France, Champagne and Nivernois, towards the east; by the government of Berry, towards the south; and by Maine and Touraine, towards the west; being about two and thirty leagues in length, from east to west, and twenty-eight in breadth from north to south.

Soil and  
face of the  
country.

It is an exceeding healthful pleasant country, divided by the river Loire in two parts, and watered by several other considerable streams, on the banks whereof are some of the best vineyards in France, with arable lands, forests and little hills, which form a most agreeable prospect, insomuch, that some have given it the name of the Enchanting Country; and others the Granary of Paris, from which the north-east part of it is not ten leagues distant.

Rivers and  
canals.

The principal rivers are the Loire, the Loiret, the Cher, the Laconia, the Ergle, and the Hyerus; besides which, there are two canals, by which the Loire and Seine have a communication; and the navigation is continued from the Ocean, to the British channel.

The Loire

The Loire has been already described, which,

after having visited the city of Orleans, takes its course to the westward, and discharges itself into the Ocean ten or twelve leagues below Nants. The merchants, who inhabit the towns on this river, have obtain'd a grant of the King for laying a duty on all goods passing and repassing it, towards cleansing this river, and preserving the navigation, which is of great consequence to the whole kingdom, but more immediately to them.

The Cher rises in the Lionois, and running northward till it reaches the eastern borders of this country, turns about to the west, and falls into the Loire between Tours and Saumur.

The Canal of Briare is so called from a little village on the Loire where it begins, and is carried on north-east to the river Loing, which falls into the Seine, near Moret, and was esteemed vastly advantageous, as it preserved a communication between Nants (and consequently the western Ocean) and Paris, and all the fine provinces situated on the Loire, the Seine, &c. But the canal of Orleans, which has been made since, is much more commodious, insomuch that the canal of Briare is very little used.

The canal of Orleans begins at the Loire, about two leagues above that city, and having travers'd the forest of Orleans, and the plain beyond it, joins the river Loing also about a league below Montargis, being about eighteen leagues in length, whereas that of Briare is not a fourth part of that length. The canal of Orleans was begun in the year 1682, and finished in the year 1692; and the trade is so great upon it, that the duties on goods passing and repassing in one year, have amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand livres. There are about thirty sluices upon it.

The forests of this country are those of Blois, Ruffy, Boulogne, Chambord, Montargis, Dourdans and Orleans; of which that of Orleans is much the most considerable, as well upon account of its extent, containing fourscore and fourteen thousand acres, as for the wood that grows in it, viz. oaks, elms, and aspen-trees; of which they cut as much as amounts to an hundred thousand livres annually.

Orléans-Propre is bounded by La Beausse towards the north; by Gatinois and Nivernois on the east; by Sologne on the south; and the Blaisois on the west. The chief towns are Orleans, Beaugency, Meun, Lorris, Sully, Gergeau and Pluviers.

Orléans, *Genabum, Aureliana Civitas*, stands on the river Loire, two and thirty leagues almost south of Paris; and if we may compare a small city with a great one, the situation resembles that of London: for it is on the north-side of the river, on the declivity of a hill, the buildings reaching down to the water-side, and the town winding with the river, is much longer than broad. The cross-streets are most of them narrow, and make a very indifferent figure; but there is one handfom broad street which runs the whole length of the town, and is the beauty of it, being above a thousand fathoms long: but then the buildings are old and ill-contrived, so that in this respect it can by no means be compar'd to London. There is a large handfom stone-bridge over the river to one of the suburbs, which stands upon an island. This bridge is an hundred and seventy fathoms long, and upon it is a brazen statue of the blessed Virgin, sitting at the foot of the cross, and holding in her arms a dead CHRIST. On one side of her is King CHARLES VII, in armour,

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Canal of  
Briare.

Canal of  
Orleans.

Forest of  
Orleans,  
&c.

Orléans  
Proper.

Orléans  
city.



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 mour, on his knees, and on the other JOAN of Arc, called the Maid of Orleans, in armour also, and on his knees, designed to perpetuate the story of the deliverance this city received by the address of that heroine, the Maid of Orleans, when it was closely besieged by the English, and on the point of surrendering, in the year 1429. And indeed it is an event that deserves to be commemorated. The English were at this time masters of Paris and of almost all the rest of France; when it is said JOAN of Arc, a poor shepherdess about eighteen years of age, presented herself to CHARLES the French King, styled by the English in derision King of Berry, having scarce another province left him, declaring, that she had received a revelation from heaven, that he should drive his enemies from Orleans, and shortly be crowned King of France at Rheims, the usual place where the Kings of France are crowned, and then in possession of the English, offering to lead his troops in person, and shew them the way to victory; and was so fortunate in the sallies she made, say the French, that she soon after raised the siege of Orleans, revived the courage of the French, and gave such a turn to their affairs, that the English were defeated in every encounter, and the French King, according to her prediction, was crowned at Rheims, which established her fame, and made her adored by the French as their tutelary Goddess: tho' most men, I believe, at this time of day, look upon this occurrence as a pure state-trick. The people were dispirited upon the repeated victories of the English, and the King's affairs become desperate; which put him upon counterfeiting a revelation from heaven in his favour, knowing how great things had been effected by such stratagems as these in all kingdoms of the world. When a people can once be brought to think, they are fighting the cause of God, and are supported by his almighty arm, all dangers are contemned; like the Turks or English Enthusiasts, they are confident of victory if they live, or if they die of going immediately to paradise. But this stratagem alone would not have restored the affairs of the French, especially when she so soon after suffered the disgrace of being defeated, made prisoner, and burnt by the English for an impostor, as she really was. There was a great many other concurring circumstances which contributed to the success of the French; as first, the English Generals having a misunderstanding with their great ally the Duke of Burgundy at this very time, which was the principal occasion of raising the siege of Orleans. 2. The minority of the King of England. 3. The York faction distressing his affairs. And, lastly, the disagreement among the English Governors and Generals. But I shall have occasion to consider these things more particularly in the history of France, and return now to the modern account of this city, which has in it four handsome publick places or squares. The cathedral is said to be one of the finest in the kingdom. Here is also a university; but as far as I can learn, law is the chief or only study attended to in it. The town contains two and twenty parishes, and is near four thousand common paces in circumference, being encompassed on the land-side with an old wall, flanked with antique towers, which are at this day rather an ornament than defence to the place. There is no city in France at such a distance from the sea which hath so brisk a trade, having an opportunity of exporting and importing all manner of mer-

chandize, by the way of Nants, and the western Ocean; and on the other hand, by the Seine and the Loire, they have a communication with most of the northern and southern provinces of France. Their commerce with Paris alone is very considerable. The city is very ancient: some will have it founded by the Druids; but certain it is, we find it mentioned by CÆSAR, under the name of *Genabum*. Its name of *Aurelianum*, it is supposed to have received from the Emperor AURELIAN, who enlarged and beautified it. It was since the capital of the kingdom called Orleanois, which fell to the share of CLODOMIR, the second son of CLOVIS, which kingdom lasted about fourscore years. Orleans is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Paris, and capital of a duchy, giving a title to the second son of France, who is called Monsieur the Duke of Orleans. The French tongue is said to be spoken in its greatest purity here and at Blois. The natives are witty, and extremely given to raillery and ill-natured reflections in their conversation, which has occasioned some of their neighbours to give them the character of a waspish generation. There have been several councils held at Orleans, particularly in the years 511, 533, 538, 541, and 549.

Beaugency is situated on a little hill, at the foot whereof runs the river Loire, over which there is a bridge of twenty-two arches. It has been a town of some consequence, but is now only considerable for being the capital of a county. It stands about five leagues south-west of Orleans.

Jargeau, or Gergeau, is situated on the Loire, four leagues above Orleans. It is a small town, but of some importance on account of its bridge over the Loire.

The Pais de Sologne lies south-east of Orleans, between the rivers Loire and Cher, and is a very barren soil, producing scarce any thing but rye. The inhabitants are chiefly husbandmen, and have but very little commerce with their neighbours; the chief town whereof is Sully.

Sully, *Solliacum*, is a little town situated on the Loire, seven leagues above Orleans, remarkable chiefly for being erected into a duchy and peerage.

The Beausse, or Beauce, comprehends, 1. Beausse Proper, or the Pais Chartrain; 2. The Dunois. And, 3. The Vendomois. Beginning about eight or ten leagues from Paris, and extending over vast fertile plains as far as the river Loire, abounding particularly in wheat, but has very few vineyards, woods mountains, rivers or fountains in it; and their wells are very deep, inasmuch, that the natives are obliged to preserve the rain-water in cisterns and reservoirs.

The Beausse Proper, or the Pais Chartrain, is the most northerly part of the Orleanois, being but a small district, and comprehends the towns of Chartres, Nogent le Roy, Gallerdon, Bonneval and Maintenon.

Chartres is situated on the river Eure, about fourteen leagues south-west of Paris. It is divided into two parts by the river; the largest of which stands upon an eminence. It is a Bishop's See, and has a noble cathedral; but the town is not beautiful, the streets being narrow and the building old. It contains ten parishes in the city and suburbs, and has been much larger, and is agreed by all to be a town of great antiquity, tho' not so ancient perhaps as the natives make it; who say, it was founded by a grandson of NOAH soon after the flood. They have another tradition of equal authority; namely, that the town was once possessed



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possession by the Druids, who built a temple, and dedicated it to the *Virgin of whom a child should be born*, and pretend to shew the place where it stood. Among other hospitals and charitable foundations, here is an hospital erected for an hundred and twenty blind people. The chief trade of the place is corn.

The Dunois.

The Dunois lies to the southward of the Pais Chartrain, or Beauce Proper, being ten leagues in length, and seven in breadth. The chief towns are Chateau-Dun, Marchenoir, Freteval, Patai and Puisseau.

Chateau-Dun.

Chateau-Dun stands on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the Little Loire, or Loirette, and is supposed to take its name from its situation; Dun, in the language of the Gauls (says my French author) signifying an eminence, which I will not vouch for: but certain it is, this word has that signification in more modern languages. There is in the town four parochial churches, and several convents, and a castle, which is at present most admired for its antiquity.

Vendomois.

The Vendomois lies south-west of the Dunois. The chief towns are Vendome, Montoire, Savigny, and St. Calz.

Vendome.

Vendome, is situated on the Loirette, about eight leagues to the westward of Orleans, and is the capital of a county; but the French writers do not think it worth a particular description. They only tell us that there is an old castle, a collegiate church, and several monasteries in the place, which I presume therefore is all that deserves mentioning.

The Blaisois.

The Blaisois is bounded by la Beauce on the north; by Orleanois Proper towards the east; by the government of Berry on the south; and by Touraine on the west. This is one of the finest countries in France, abounding in corn, wine, cattle, game and fish. The pastures about Blois are so rich, that the milk of their cattle, according to my French author, will restore a broken constitution, and produces the best butter in the kingdom. The chief places are Blois, Chambord, Mer, St. Die, Romorantin and Millancy.

Blois.

Blois, *Castrum Blesense*, the capital of the Blaisois, is situated on the Loire, in an admirable good air, ten leagues south-west of Orleans. The body of the town lies upon an easy ascent of a hill on the north side of the river, and is joined to a suburb on the other side by a bridge, being placed in the middle of one of the finest countries in France. It is a large handsome town, but the greatest beauty of it is the castle or palace, the residence of several of their Kings, with gardens, fountains, water-works and park, suitable to the magnificence of the buildings. In the grand court before the palace stands a collegiate church, one of the largest in France. The stair-case of the castle is much admired, as well as the gallery, which is an hundred fathoms long; and the equestrian statue of Lewis XII. over the great gate. Blois was erected into a bishoprick but in the year 1697, and is suffragan to Paris. It is observable, that there is an image of the Virgin over every gate of the town, set up in the year 1631, when they suffered pretty much by the plague, and were miraculously delivered from this calamity by the Queen of heaven, (as they stile the blessed Virgin) according to the tradition of the place. The parish-church of St. Solenne, the largest in Blois, having been destroyed by a tempest, was magnificently rebuilt by Lewis XIV. and converted into a cathedral. The Jesuits also have a beautiful college here, the front whereof is adorned with the Dorick, the Ionick

and the Corinthian orders of architecture. The other publick buildings mentioned by the French writers as worth the viewing, are the town house, and the palace where the courts of justice are held. Their fountains also are very spacious, being supplied by a noble aqueduct, supposed to be the work of the ancient Romans. The natives, remarkable for their good sense and genteel behaviour, as well as for their speaking French in perfection, supposed to proceed from the frequent residence of the court here. There is a fat sort of earth found about two leagues from this city used by their physicians, and esteemed equal to the *Terra Sigillata* brought from the Levant.

Chambord is a little hamlet, but considerable on account of a royal palace built there by Francis I, which the skilful in architecture say exceeds any Gothick building in France, and has such various beauties, that the greatest masters may learn something from it. Four large pavilions compose the body of the building, and the whole is surrounded with a wall of hewn stone flanked with towers, which give it a very magnificent appearance at a distance. So very large is this palace, according to some authors, that it would accommodate all the sovereign Princes in Europe; but I presume they speak by way of figure: this vast fabrick however was never finished. There is a winding staircase in it of two hundred and seventy-four steps, so extravagantly wide, according to the French writers, that a person would hazard his reputation who should repeat what they say of it. But I find it is two stair-cases united, one for ascending and the other for descending. The anti-chamber, chambers, halls, wardrobes, cabinets and galleries, are all of a most exquisite architecture, and the garden and park answerable to the buildings.

There are abundance of other royal palaces and noblemens seats at a little distance from Blois, which were probably erected when the court resided there, the chief whereof are those of Montfauit in the forest of Boulogne, a league from Chambord. The Montils, two leagues from Montfauit. Herbault, four leagues from Blois. Villefavin, at the same distance. Beauregard, in the forest of Ruffi, two leagues from Blois. Chiverny, Menards Nozieux, &c.

Romorantin, *Ricus Morentini*, is situated on a rivulet, seven or eight leagues south-east of Blois. It consists of one parish only, but is considerable on account of its woollen manufacture, which is esteemed one of the best in France.

The Gatinois or Orleanois hath the Isle of France on the north east, and Orleans Proper on the west. The chief towns are Montargis, Chateaufort, Milly, Chatillon-sur-Loing, Briare, Gien, Estampes, Blesneau, St. Fargeau and St. Amant.

Montargis, the capital, is situated on the river Loing, not far from the place where the canal of Orleans falls into it, five and twenty leagues south of Paris. The town is not large, but having been burnt down is handsomely rebuilt, and has a castle pleasantly situated on a hill, which commands the town and the neighbouring country. Here are also a great number of convents, especially nunneries; and besides the parish-church, there are ten chapels founded by the inhabitants. The rest of the towns in the Gatinois are of no great consequence.

The district of Perche Gouet, or Little Perche, lies on the north-east part of the Greater Perche, and contains the baronies of Autou, Bafocche, Montmirail, Alluye and Brou, but has no considerable town in it.

The



**CHAP. XXIII.** The traffick carried on by the river Loire, say the French writers, is certainly the most extensive of any in the kingdom; since it not only takes in all that is produced in the southern and western provinces of France, but also the merchandize of foreign countries. This commerce consists in corn, hay, wine, brandy and strong waters, silk, wool, sugar, hemp, oil, iron, steel, fresh and salted fish, fruit, cheese, timber, oak-planks, deals, fire-wood, sea-coal and charcoal, earthen-ware, leather, and other goods, of which the greatest part is sent to Paris. Almost all these species of merchandize are unloaden at Orleans, and from hence distributed to the several cities and provinces of France as they are called for. But the most considerable articles in their trade are those of wine, brandy, corn and grocery-ware.

The vineyards of Orleans, as has been observ'd, are some of the finest in the kingdom: it is computed that they produce annually an hundred thousand tons of wine. The corn arises chiefly in the Beaulieu. Their grocery-ware, come from Provence by the way of Lyons, or from the American plantations by the way of Nantz: and they have large sugar-works at Orleans where the sugars are refined, in great esteem with the merchants of Paris. Here is also a considerable manufacture of stockings, and another of shammy-leather.

The trade in the towns of Blois and Beaugency consists chiefly in wines and brandy. They have also a manufacture of ferges, and other light woollen stuffs; but those of Romartin are much more considerable. At Vendôme the drapers, tanners and glovers ingross most of the trade of the place.

**Military government of the Orleans.** The governor-general of Orleans hath under him three lieutenant-generals; one for the Orleansois, a second for the Pais Chartrain, and a third for the Blafois.

The general lieutenancy of Orleans comprehends the dutchy of Orleans, the Dunois and Vendomois.

The general lieutenancy of the Pais Chartrain comprehends that district, and the greatest part of the Gatinois.

The general lieutenancy of the Blafois takes in the country of that name; and in this and every one of the other general lieutenancies there is a lieutenant deputed by the King.

The towns which have particular governors of their own, are Chartres, Montargis, Gien, Jargeau, Pluviers and Beaugency.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Contains a description of the general government of Nivernois.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Nivernois, Situation, &c.

Soil.

Rivers.

**N**ivernois is bounded by the Gatinois on the north; by Burgundy on the east; by the Bourbonnois on the south; and by Berry on the west; being almost of a round figure, and about twenty leagues over either way. It produces corn, wine and fruit, except in the district of Morvant, which is a mountainous country, where there grows scarce grain enough for the subsistence of the inhabitants. They have also large woods, some pit-coal, and abundance of iron mines. The country is watered with a great many rivers, of which three are navigable, viz. the Loire, the Allier and the Yonne. The Loire runs from south to north along the western borders of this

country, receiving the Allier a league below Nevers. The Yonne rises in the south-east part of the Nivernois, and running northward, passes by Clamecy, Auxerre and Sens, and falls into the Seine at Montereau-faut-Yonne, beginning to be navigable at Clamecy in this province, the other streams only serve to render the country fruitful and pleasant. The mineral waters taken notice of here, are those of St. Parise and Pognes near Nevers, of which the latter are in the greatest reputation.

The Nivernois is usually subdivided into eight parts, viz. 1. The Vaux de Nevers. 2. The Amognes. 3. The valleys of Montenoison. 4. The valleys of Yonne. 5. The Morvant. 6. The Bazois. 7. The country between the Loire and the Allier. And, 8. The Donziois. But it not being consistent with a work of this nature, to enter into a particular description of every little district and subdivision, I shall proceed to specify the towns of this province, mention'd by the French writers, which are Nevers, La Charite, Chamleney, Montenoison, Premery Ville, Champalemand, Clamecy, Tannay, Domecy, Vezelay, Corbigny, Chateauchinon, Auroux, Moulins, Engilbert, Montrouillon, Cercy, Desize, St. Saulge, Chatillon, Luzy, St. Pierre le Moutier, la Ferte Chaderon, Donzy, Entrain, Dreve, St. Saviour, Corvon, Billy, Estais, Cosne sur Loire; the chief of which is,

Nevers, *Nivernum, Noviodunum, Eduorum*, the capital of the Nivernois, built in the form of an amphitheatre upon the banks of the Loire, thirty leagues south-east of Orleans. Here is a stone bridge of twenty arches, between which and the building, is a large space on the side of Moulins, which makes that part of the town look very magnificent, but the rest of the streets are narrow, and the ground uneven. The cathedral dedicated to St. Cyr is a fine structure; besides which there are eleven parochial churches, and a great many religious houses of both sexes. It is computed there are about eight thousand souls in the place. The French writers mention no other publick buildings but an old castle of the ancient Counts, which fronts a large square, consisting of fine houses, uniformly built. The fields about the town are exceeding pleasant, particularly the publick walks in the adjoining park. The principal manufactures are those of glass and earthen ware, in which they are said to excel the rest of the towns of this government, but do not deserve a particular description.

The trade of Nivernois consists chiefly in corn, hemp, and wood; and in the district of Morvant, it is said, they dig as much pit-coal annually as brought them in an hundred and twenty thousand livres. Their iron and tin wares which they send abroad, amounts to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and their glass and earthen ware is computed to produce two hundred thousand livres. Their manufacture of Cloth at Chateau-Chinon, says my French author, would be very considerable, were it not for the extreme poverty of the inhabitants, who are not able to purchase any great quantity of wool to work upon. Their manufactures of glass and earthen ware have been mentioned already; besides which, they traffick pretty much in hogs and fish. This government supplies the King's magazines with iron for guns, bullets, anchors, grenades, and other warlike and naval stores.

This province hath a governor-general, one lieutenant-general only, and one King's lieutenant,



## CHAP. XXV.

*Contains a description of the general government of Bourbonnois.*

CHAP. XXV.

Bourbonnois. Situation, &amp;c.

Soil and face of the country.

Air.

Rivers.

Mines and mineral waters.

Baths.

**T**HE Bourbonnois is bounded by Nivernois on the north; by the duchy of Burgundy on the east; by Auvergne on the south; and by Marche and Berry on the west; being about thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. It is generally a plain even country, and tolerably fruitful, chiefly in corn, and has some good pastures for feeding of cattle. They have abundance of game, and a pretty many woods and lakes. Here grows also very good wine, but it will not bear exporting, and is therefore spent in the country. The air is for the most part temperate, except in that part of the country which borders upon the mountains of Auvergne, where it is sometimes excessive cold, occasioned by the snows that cover them, and the frequent storms and tempests from that quarter, mixed with hail, which frequently destroy their harvest; and the torrents of melted snow so swell the river Allier, ordinarily about the month of July, that the floods do very considerable damage to the towns and countries which lie upon the banks of that river.

The three principal rivers of this province, are the same that were mentioned in the preceding, besides which there are a great many small rivulets peculiar to the country; both the Loire and the Allier run from south to north through this province, from whence they take their course into the Nivernois.

There are no mines in the Bourbonnois, unless some of pit-coal, which are inconsiderable; but scarce any country affords greater variety of mineral waters, as the mineral spring of Bardour near Moulins; the waters of Neris, a league from the town of Montlucon; of St. Pardeaux; of Tranliere; but the most celebrated are those of Bourbon-Archambaud, and Vichy: those of Bourbon-Archambaud are contained in three basins, which have different sources. Below these basins or reservoirs, is a great square-bath, called the poor-bath, and two or three paces from thence, a house in which there are three vaulted ground-rooms for bathing; one appropriated for men, a second for women, and the third is seldom used. The waters of the springs or basins above mentioned are clear and limpid, and so hot that there is no bearing one's hand a moment in them without scalding. These waters, it is said, partake of an equal quantity of nitre and sulphur, exactly mixed and incorporated, and are as good for drinking as bathing; and besides these hot wells they have a cold one, of an iron taste, which is supposed to contain some vitriol in it.

Near Vichy are six mineral springs, of which, that in the greatest reputation, is about three hundred paces from the town, called the grate-fountain, from its being inclosed with an iron grate; the water whereof is hot and limpid, and of a poignant taste, and abounds with salt, mix'd with earth. Fifteen paces from this spring, is another less limpid, but hotter, called the Capuchins fountain, from its neighbourhood to a Capuchin cloyster; this has more salt and less earth than the former. The King's house is between these two fountains, wherein are two baths, one of which receives its waters from the grate-fountain, and the other from the Capuchins: the salts they extract

from all the six fountains are of the same nature, namely, nitrous salts. CHAP. XXV.

They reckon up two and twenty great towns in the Bourbonnois, viz. Villeneuve, Moulins, Montlucon, Neris, Gannat, Bourbon-Archambaud, Vichy, Sovigny Billy, Varennes, St. Pourcain, Verneuil, Le Veudre, Jaligny, La Palice, Hericon, Montmeraut, Gonson, Huriel, Ville Franche, Le Monteraux, Moines, and St. Amand; the chief whereof are,

Moulins, *Moline*, the capital of the Bourbonnois, Moulins. situated in an agreeable fruitful plain, upon the river Allier, twelve leagues south of Nevers, and sixty-four south of Paris, said to have taken its name from the many mills in the neighbourhood. The palace built by the Princes of the house of Bourbon is much admired, and the town itself is one of the handsomest and most agreeable in France, but without wall or fortification, containing a great number of religious houses; among which the Chartreuse and the Nunnery called the Visitation, are the most magnificent; the last was built by Madam DE MONTMORENCY, who retired hither after her husband the last Duke of Montmorency was beheaded, in the year 1632, and died Superior of the convent, anno 1666. There are about eleven or twelve thousand inhabitants in the place. Here are fine walks of elms along the banks of the Allier, which the French call the Course. There is scarce a great town in France without something of this kind; but the neighbouring fields of Moulins in general are extremely pleasant.

Montlucon is situated on the river Cher, nine or ten leagues south-west of Moulins; it stands on the side of a hill, which gently descends to the river, over which there is a stone-bridge that joins it to a suburb on the other side. It is surrounded with an antique wall and towers, which serve rather for ornament than defence, and contains about three thousand souls. It is looked upon as the second town of the Bourbonnois.

Bourbon l'Archambaud is situated in a bottom, surrounded by four hills; on one of which is an old square castle, supposed to be built by one of the Archambauds, sovereigns of the country. The town stands about five leagues to the westward of Moulins; it is small, containing only one parish-church and some chapels and convents, but it is neatly built and much resorted to on account of its baths, and the walks about it are exceeding pleasant.

Vichy is a little town situated on the river Allier, most remarkable for its mineral waters and baths, which, with those of Bourbon, have been already described. This town lies about ten leagues south of Moulins, and contains but one parish; it is in one of the pleasantest countries in France, and has a pretty brisk trade occasioned by the numbers of people of quality that resort to the baths.

The Boii are generally held to be the ancient inhabitants of the Bourbonnois, who, with their allies the Aedui, were subdued by the Romans. On the decline of that empire it underwent the fate of the other Gallick provinces, till at length it was governed by a Prince of its own, the first of whom, call'd AIMA, liv'd about the year 921. The last male of this family was ARCHAMBAUD the IXth, who left only one daughter named AGNES, that married JOHN of Burgundy; the second son of JOHN IV, Duke of Burgundy, of which marriage was born BEATRIX of Burgundy, the wife of ROBERT of France, Count of Clermont, from whom descended the present French King LEWIS, XV.

Chief towns.

Montlucon.

Bourbon l'Archambaud.

The ancient state of the Bourbonnois.



XV, of whose pedigree I shall give a larger account in the general history of France.

Trade of Bourbonnois. The trade of this country consists in corn, wine, hemp, cattle, wood, fish and hard ware; and they vend of mineral waters only, it is computed, the value of an hundred and fifty thousand livres per annum.

Military government. The Bourbonnois hath a governor and lieutenant-governor, besides two of the King's lieutenants, one for the country between the Loire and Allier and the other for the towns of Bourbon, Montlucon, and the country to the left of the Allier.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Treats of the general government of the Lyonois.*

CHAP. XXVI. **U**nder the title of Lyonois it is not intended to describe the ancient government of Lyonois, which comprehended great part of Gallia Celtica, but only the three small districts of Lyonois Proper, Le Forez and Beaujolois, which constitute the modern Lyonois. and are bounded by Burgundy on the north; by Dauphiné and la Bresse on the east; by the Vivarez on the south, and by Auvergne and Velay on the west. Lyonois Proper is about twelve leagues in length and seven in breadth: Beaujolois is near the same extent; but Le Forez is something larger than both of them.

Soil. This country produces corn, wine and fruits, but abounds most in excellent chesnuts, and is watered by three large rivers already mentioned, viz. the Rhone, the Saone and the Loire, which are a great advantage to its commerce; and besides these there are abundance of other lesser streams and mineral waters, but the latter are not in such reputation as those of Bourbon.

Chief towns. The chief towns of the Lyonois Proper are Lyons, Tartara, Bresse, St. Chamond, Condieu and Ance.

Lyons. Lyons, *Lugdunum*, is situated at the confluence of the rivers Rhone and Saone, seventy-five leagues almost south-east of Paris, and fourteen west of Savoy. It stands partly on the hills of Tornir and St. Sebastian, and partly along the banks of the above-mentioned rivers. The body of the town lies between the Rhone and Saone, and a considerable part of it on the western shore of the Rhone, besides which there are four suburbs, viz. that of Veize on the road to Paris; that of the Red Cross on the side of Bresse; that of Guillotiere towards Dauphiné; and that of St. Justus, or Irenæus, on the way to Mombriçon. That of Guillotiere, the most considerable, belongs to Dauphiné. The whole town consists of eleven parishes, which are divided into thirty-five wards, containing ninety thousand souls, which is a pretty large calculation, if there be but four thousand houses in the place, as the same French writers inform us, making above two and twenty people in every house. The several parts of the town have a communication by four bridges, one over the Rhone, and three over the Saone. The first is of stone, and consists of twenty arches: but what seems particular in this and the Pont Esprit, is, that it is not built in a right line, but has an angle in the middle, the convex part whereof stands opposite to the stream, and is thus the better enabled to resist the violence of the current. It was also made so narrow at first, that not more than one carriage could pass the bridge at a time, which they have remedied by joining another bridge to it of the same dimensions as the former.

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One of the bridges over the Saone also is of stone, but it is the narrowest and most inconvenient: the other two are of wood, and one of them looked upon as a very bold piece of workmanship, as it consists but of one arch. The town hath six gates, and is about six miles in circumference.

The most eminent publick buildings are the cathedral church, formerly dedicated to St. STEPHEN, but now to St. JOHN. It is a large magnificent fabrick, and better enlightened than the Romish churches usually are. The high altar stands in the middle of the choir, and the front was adorned with abundance of fine statues and images, which the Calvinists defaced during their religious wars.

The parochial and collegiate church of St. Nizier is little inferior to that of St. John's, the choir whereof is filled with fine paintings, containing the history of our Saviour.

The church of St. Irenæus is the most ancient, where they pretend to shew part of the pillar Christ was tied to when he was scourged.

The hospital of Charity, which stands on the square of Lewis le Grand, is remarkable for its extent and the commodiousness of the building.

The Jesuits have two colleges in the town, the largest whereof is one of the most magnificent in the kingdom, and is dedicated to the most Holy Trinity. It consists of the four first orders of architecture, of which the Tuscan very naturally serves for the base: the Dorick order, with all its ornaments, is above that of the Tuscan; the Ionick is the third, and the Corinthian crowns the whole. But as some parts of the work are higher than the rest, in the most elevated they have added the ornaments of the Composite. And in every great town of the kingdom, it is observed the Jesuits college makes one of the principal ornaments in it. Besides these, there are abundance of other fine abbeys and convents at Lyons.

The square of Bellecourt, which in the year 1713 changed its name for that of Lewis le Grand, on the erecting an equestrian statue of that Prince in the middle of it, is of a vast extent, and surrounded by houses, in the phrase of my author, of admirable beauty. It is an oblong square, one end whereof terminates at the river Saone, and the other at the river Rhone, near which are planted twelve walks of chesnut-trees, which form an agreeable grove. The square of Terreaux also hath its beauties, of which the abbey of St. Peter, and the Guildhall of the city, which stand upon it, are the greatest ornaments. The last is one of the finest pieces of architecture of the kind in Europe. The paintings and ornaments within, are answerable to the building without; amongst which, those of the grand stair-case, where Lyons is represented in flames, are exquisitely fine. The exchange is less admired for its magnificence, than for the numbers of merchants that assemble there, who, in the language of the French, manage all the commerce of that kingdom and of foreign countries. No doubt the trade of this place is very great. The situation at the confluence of those great rivers the Rhone and Saone, and the neighbourhood of Italy and Switzerland, are such advantages as scarce any other town in France enjoys. Next to Paris it is esteemed a place of the greatest trade of the kingdom, though some except Rouen. It is the See of an Archbishop, who is stiled Primate of Gaul. The civil government is administered by a provost of the merchants and four aldermen; but I perceive the King takes the



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XXVI.

liberty of altering their form of government as often as he pleases, and has done it not many years since.

It is a town of very great antiquity, tho' authors, as usually, differ much about the original of it. Certain it is, that in the reign of AUGUSTUS it was enlarged and beautified, and the usual seat of the Roman governor. AUGUSTUS resided here some time, and CLAUDIUS CÆSAR was born here. It was entirely burnt down in NERO's reign, who contributed largely to the rebuilding it. SUETONIUS, in the life of CALIGULA, mentions an Athenæum, or publick school here, wherein orators disputed before an altar erected to AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and the person who had the worst of the argument, was obliged either to retract his opinion, or be tumbled headlong into the river. The abbey of Aisnay was built on the ruins of this academy, and bears the name of *Monasterium Alabanense*. Here are still visible the ruins of some Roman palaces, and of an ancient aqueduct: and every traveller mentions the tomb of the two lovers, erected on pillars near the gate of Vefey, which some suppose to belong to HEROD and HERODIAS, who, according to tradition, were starved to death here: and others, that it was a monument erected to a married couple, who had made vows of perpetual virginity. There have been two general councils held at Lyons, the first in the year 1245, and the other in the year 1274.

Le Forez.

Chief towns.

St. Estienne.

Montbrison.

Beaujolois.

Chief towns.

Villefranche.

The ancient state of the Lyonois.

The trade of the Lyonois.

The district of le Forez was anciently called the country of the Segusians, the chief towns whereof are Feurs, St. Estienne, St. Galmier, Montbrison, Rouane, St. Rambert and St. Bonnet.

St. Estienne is situated at the foot of a hill on the little river Furens, whose waters are said to be very proper for the tempering iron and steel, in which manufactures the natives are very expert, and particularly in fire-arms.

Montbrison is situated on a rivulet, thirty miles west of Lyons, esteemed the capital of the country, and was the residence of their ancient Counts. It is still a considerable town, consisting of several parishes besides convents; the inhabitants computed to amount to between four and five thousand.

The district of Beaujolois is a fruitful country; the chief towns whereof are Beaujeu, Villefranche, Belle Ville and Lay.

Villefranche is situated on the Morgou, in a fine fruitful plain, five leagues to the northward of Lyons, and is at present the capital of Beaujolois, in which there is little that deserves notice, unless it be the collegiate church.

The Lyonois was part of the ancient Gallia Celtica, and afterwards of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Orleans. Their Archbishops had for some time the sovereignty of it, or at least disputed it with their Counts, who pretended to the same dominion here as those officers did in other parts of France, till it came at length to be re-united to the crown about three hundred years ago.

The trade of the Lyonois Proper, Le Forez and Beaujolois, consists of chefnuts, paper, hard ware, great guns, fire-arms, and all manner of utensils of iron; but the commerce of the country, though very considerable, is a trifle compared with that of the city of Lyons, the merchants whereof have a great trade with Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, England, Holland, the northern kingdoms, &c. Their commerce with Spain is carried on by the Italians, and particularly the Genese, in which the Spaniards are but their factors and trustees in reality; and it is observed, very rarely falsify the trust reposed in them. The merchants of Lyons

send to Spain cloth, linen, fustians, saffron, paper, and other small articles: and import from thence wool, drugs for painting, dollars, ingots of gold and silver; which traffick, say the French writers, never flourishes to that degree as when France is at peace with Spain, and at war with England and Holland. They export from Lyons to Italy, cloth, linen, some silk-stuffs, gold and silver lace, haberdashery ware and alamoses: bringing back in return silks, velvets, damasks, brocades, satins and taffeta's, with rice, which comes from Piedmont and the Milanese. It is computed that the merchandizes exported annually from Lyons to Italy, amount to six or seven millions of livres; and that those imported from Italy thither, amount to ten millions; so that this commerce seems to be disadvantageous to the French: but as they manufacture some species of goods brought from Italy, and export them again, it may not be detrimental in the main.

They send to Switzerland coarse cloth, hats, saffron, wine, oil, soap, and haberdashery wares, which amount to about a million annually; in return for which, they receive cheese to the value of six hundred thousand livres, and in linen the value of fifteen hundred thousand livres; and in time of war they are furnished with horses from thence, which amount to a very considerable sum.

The great towns of Germany take off the same species of goods as those of Switzerland, together with gold and silver stuffs, amounting to more than fifteen hundred thousand livres per ann. for which the merchants at Lyons receive in return tin, copper and tin-plates, and the rest in silver; so that this trade is very advantageous to them, unless upon the breaking out of a war, when the Germans, to whom the French always give credit for their goods, make no conscience of running away with all the money they have in their hands belonging to the merchants of Lyons.

They export to Holland about the value of five hundred thousand livres annually in taffeta's and gold and silver-stuffs: for which they receive double the value in cloth, thread, fine linen and spices; but the greatest benefit the merchants of Lyons receive from the Dutch is by negotiating bills of exchange, both for natives and foreigners, which are frequently made payable at Amsterdam.

They export annually to England, according to their own account, the value of two or three millions in merchandize, for which they do not receive a fourth part in goods in return, and consequently the rest is paid in specie. The merchandize they receive from England consists in fine woollen cloth, serges, stockings, lead, tin, grocery and haberdashery wares, drugs for dying and Campechy wood, and sometimes silk of the Levant, when it is scarce at Marseilles.

They drive also a considerable trade with the other provinces of the kingdom; for example, they take off great quantities of oils and dried fruits of Provence; of the cloth, wine and brandy of Languedoc; of the saffron of Guienne; of the slight stuffs of Champagne; of the linen of Picardy, Maine, Normandy and Bretagne, and of the corn of Burgundy, &c.

These three small districts of the Lyonois Proper, Le Forez and Beaujolois have but one governor-general, one lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants; one of whom commands in the Lyonois and Beaujolois, and the other in Forez. The city of Lyons is the only fortified place in this government, which has three forts for its defence;

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fence; the first called the Chateau de Pierre en seize, the second the fort of St. John, and the third Fort St. Clare.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Contains a description of the general government of Auvergne.*

## CHAP. XXVII.

Auvergne.  
Situation,  
&c.

THE province of Auvergne is bounded by the Bourbonnois on the north; by Le Forez on the east; by Rouergne and the Cevennes on the south; and by Quercy, Limosin and La Marche on the west; extending forty leagues in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. It is divided into the Upper and Lower Auvergne. The lower, which is also called the Limagne, is one of the most beautiful and fruitful countries in the world; abounding in corn, wine, hemp, fruits, fine meadows which yield three crops annually, and arable lands so rich that they never lie fallow. Their fruits have a delicious taste, and there are such abundance of walnut-trees that they burn scarce any other wood. The mountains of the higher Auvergne are much less fruitful: however here they breed and fat great herds of cattle, and make abundance of good cheese.

**The air.** The air of the Lower Auvergne is serene and warm; whereas that of the mountainous country of the higher Auvergne is excessive cold, being covered with snow eight months of the year, and subject to continual storms.

**Rivers.** The principal rivers of this country are the Allier and the Dordogne, of which the former runs from south to north, and the latter from east to west, and have been already described.

**Mineral waters.** Here are a great many springs and mineral waters, of which the chief are those of St. Myon, whose waters are called vinous and eager; and the waters and baths of Mont d'Or, which are both hot and cold, and proper either for drinking or bathing; the latter of which it is evident were known to the Romans by the ruins of the baths which are still visible. These are not so hot as those of Bourbon and Vichy, for a person may bathe in the very spring head.

**Mountains.** The highest mountains of Auvergne are, 1. those of Le Puy de Dome, *Mons Dominans*, upon which the celebrated Mr. PASCAL made his experiments of the weight of the air. This mountain is sixteen hundred and twenty yards above the surface of the earth. 2. The mountain Cantal, which is nineteen hundred and sixty yards high. And, 3. The Mont D'Or, which is two thousand and sixty yards above the surface of the lower grounds.

**Chief towns.** The towns of the Lower Auvergne are Clermont, Montferrand, Riom, Volvic, Aignepèrse, Thiers, Ambert, Maringue, Pont du Chateau, Yffoire, Saucilanges, Brioude, Usson, St. German Lambron, Aulon, Cusset, Ebreville, Billon, Ardes, Vic le Comte, Langeac, St. Amant, Hermant, Artonne, Corpiere, Besse, Montaign, Chambon and Evaux.

**Clermont.** Clermont, *Nemossus, Augusta Nemetum*, the capital of Auvergne, is situated on a little eminence, between the rivers Artier and Bedar, twenty-six leagues west of Lyons. The streets are narrow and the houses dark, but it is esteemed a rich populous place. The cathedral is a vast structure, and resembles that of Notre-dame at Paris. The Jesuits college is an elegant building, as is the hall belonging to the court of aids,

and the Courfe or publick walks are finely painted.

Riom stands two leagues north of Clermont, and is much admired for its beautiful situation and its elegant buildings. It is also the capital of a duchy, but I do not find it considerable on any other account.

St. Flour, the capital of the Higher Auvergne, is situated on a steep rock, about twenty leagues south of Clermont. Its being a Bishop's See is the principal thing which makes it taken notice of.

Aurillac, or Orillac, is situated in a valley on the little river Jordan, twelve leagues south-west of St. Flour, and is one of the most populous and flourishing towns of Auvergne. It contains however but one parish, besides an abbey and some convents.

The people of Auvergne made a great figure among the ancient Gauls, and pretended to be descended from the Trojans as well as the Romans. CÆSAR and LIVY mention several of their Kings; as AMBIGATUS, LUKIUS, BITUITUS and VERCINGETORIX, the last of whom is said to have commanded four hundred thousand men against CÆSAR. But then this must be understood of a general confederacy of the rest of the Gaulish Princes under VERCINGETORIX, and not of the natives only of this province, which now goes under the name of Auvergne. This Prince being defeated and carried to Rome about the year 702, from the building of that city, Auvergne became a Roman province, and made a part of Aquitania. Upon the fall of the Roman Empire it underwent the same fate as the rest of the Gallick provinces, and like them came at length to be governed by its particular Count, and was reunited to the crown about three hundred years since.

Notwithstanding the French boast that the province of Auvergne is exceeding fruitful, I find they spend most of their corn and wine in the country, and export very little. Hemp is one of the most considerable articles they send abroad, and of this they vend large quantities at Brest, Rochefort, Havre, and other ports. Cattle and cheese are the chief articles of their trade in the lower Auvergne; and it seems there go a great many thousand people out of this province annually to work in Spain, either as mechanicks or husbandmen, by which they make their fortunes, and return into their own country in good circumstances. Here are also some woollen manufactures, in which they make serges and other slight French stuffs, but I don't find they are very considerable. Thread-lace is another manufacture here; and they make also some cutlers ware, with which they traffick in Spain. They furnish the neighbouring provinces with playing cards and excellent paper, but complain this manufacture is not encouraged. Of sea-coal and timber they are said to vend large quantities abroad: their coals are carried as far as Paris; and their timber, which consists of oak and fir, is cut in their mountains, and sent down the rivers in floats to the port-towns, and used in building of ships.

The governor-general of Auvergne has under him two lieutenants-general, and two of the King's lieutenants, one for the higher and the other for the lower Auvergne. But there is not one fortified town in the whole government: those that were there formerly were demolished, that they might afford no shelter for the malecontents of this country, and the Cevennes their neighbours.



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Contains a description of the general government of Limoufin.*

**CHAP. XXVIII.** **L**imoufin is bounded by Marche and Poitou on the north; by Auvergne on the east; by Quercy on the south; and by Perigord and Angoumois on the west; being about five and twenty leagues in length from north to south, and almost as many in breadth from east to west.

**The face of the country.** This province also is divided into the higher and lower, the first being mountainous and cold, and the other level, warm and pleasant. The country is almost covered with woods of chefnuts, which are the principal food of the inhabitants. Their arable lands are more fit for rye and buck-wheat than better grain. The wine of the higher Limoufin is scarce fit to drink, but that in the lower part of the country is better.

**Rivers.** The principal rivers are the Vienne, the Vezere, the Coureze and the Dordonne.

The Vienne has its source between the confines of the lower Limoufin and Marche, and crossing the north part of this country, passes by Limoges; after which, it takes its course north-west thro' Poitou.

The Vezere has its source not far from that of the Vienne, and taking its course south-west, falls into the Dordonne, which runs from east to west through this province.

**Mines.** The French about the year 1703 discover'd some mines of lead, copper, tin and steel near Limoges; but not any of them, it seems, would turn to account, to their great mortification, who stand very much in need of those metals.

**Chief towns.** The chief towns in the Higher Limoufin are Limoges, St. Junien, St. Leonard, Pierre Buffiere, St. Irrier and Chalus. The chief towns in the Lower are Tulle, Brive, Uzerche, Uffel, Bord, Neuvi and Turenne.

**Limoges.** Limoges, *Vicus Ratiensis*, the capital of the province, is situated on the river Vienne, partly on a hill and partly in a valley, by the river side, thirty leagues west of Clermont. The town is about a league and half in circumference, but ill-built, and has not one fine publick place or square in it. The houses are generally of wood, small and dark. The cathedral is a magnificent edifice, said to be built by the English, to whom, my French authors observe, their people ascribe most of their ancient structures that have an appearance of grandeur and magnificence. A false opinion, say they, with which all our provinces seem to be infatuated; as if our own architects were not capable of erecting a fine building. Here are three abbeys and several convents in the place; but their writers do not give us a particular description of them, or their other publick buildings.

**Tulle.** Tulle, *Tutela Lemovicum*, the capital of the lower Limoufin, is situated in a bottom on the river Coureze, fifteen leagues south of Limoges, being about half a league in circumference. It contains about twelve hundred houses, and five thousand people. It is the See of a Bishop, who has the title of Viscount of the place.

**Brive la Gaillarde.** Brive la Gaillarde is situated near the confluence of the Coureze and Vezere, seventeen leagues south of Limoges, and five west of Tulle, in a valley surrounded with little hills planted with vines and chefnuts, being a most beautiful situation. It is the only fine town of the province: the houses are elegantly built, and the walls about it ex-

ceeding pleasant. One finds in this place all the pleasures and conveniences of life. It contains about a thousand houses, and five thousand souls.

Limoufin was part of the ancient Aquitain, and followed the fortunes of that principality, being subdued by the Romans, Goths, Franks, &c. **ELEANOR** of Guienne brought this province with the rest of her dominions to **HENRY II.** King of England, and the English held it about three hundred years with some interruptions from the French, who regained the entire possession of it about the year 1429, in the reign of King **HENRY VI.** of England.

**The trade of the Limoufin** consists chiefly in Trade and cattle, which they sell to the neighbouring provinces, and send great droves of them as far as Paris. And though this country be at a great distance from any sea-port, and upon that account should seem very ill situated for traffick, yet we find it the center of trade between Paris and Thoulouse, and between Lyons and Bourdeaux, particularly for leather, cloth and paper; and their iron ware and fire-arms are in good esteem.

The governor-general of this province has Military under him one lieutenant-governor, and two of govern-ment, the King's lieutenants, one for the higher, and the other for the lower Limoufin. But being an inland country, and at a great distance from the frontiers, there is not one fortified place in it.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Contains a description of the general government of Marche.*

**THE** government of Marche is bounded by Berry on the north; by Auvergne on the east; by Limoufin on the south, and by Poitou on the west: being two and twenty leagues in length, and eight in breadth. It is divided into higher and lower, like Limoufin, and the soil and climate are much the same. There are vineyards about Bellac and Dorat, and the higher Marche yields corn.

The principal rivers are the Vienne, the Cher, the Creuse and the Gartempe.

The Creuse, so denominated for its depth, rises in the south-east confines of this province, and taking its course north west to Berry, falls into the Vienne.

The Gartempe rises at Gueret in this country, and taking its course through it from east to west, afterwards turns about to the northward, and falls into the Creuse.

The province of Marche, as hath been observ'd, is usually divided into the higher and lower. In the higher the chief towns are Gueret, Felletin, Jarnage, Aubusson, Ahun, Chenerailles. In the lower, Dorat and Bellac.

Gueret, *Varadicum*, situate near the head of the Gartempe, ten leagues north-east of Limoges, is the capital of the country, and the place where their courts of justice are held; but the French writers give us no farther description of it.

Aubusson is situated in a bottom on the Creuse, five leagues south-east of Gueret. It is a little town of an irregular figure, surrounded by rocks and mountains, but considerable on account of its woollen-manufacture.

Dorat is a little town situate near the Gartempe, ten leagues north-west of Limoges, containing about four hundred houses.

This county of Marche, or the Marquisate, is said to have taken its name from its situation on the

CHAP. XXVIII.

The ancient state of Limoufin.

Trade and produce.

Military government.

CHAP. XXIX.

Marche. Situation, &c.

Soil.

Rivers.

Chief towns.

Aubusson.

The ancient state of the Marche.



Trade.

the marches or confines between the territories of France and those of the English in Guienne and Poitou, and was possessed by one or the other as their arms met with success. Their trade consists chiefly in cattle, and in the woollen manufactures which are made at Aubusson and Felletin.

The military government.

It has one governor-general, one lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants, one for the higher and the other for the lower Marche. There is not one fortified place in the country.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Contains a description of the general government of Berry.*

CHAP.  
XXX.

The province of Berry. Situation, &amp;c. Air and soil.

THE province of Berry is bounded by Sologne on the north; by the Nivernois and Bourbonnois on the east; by La Marche on the south; and by Touraine on the west: extending thirty-six leagues in length from north to south, and twenty in breadth from east to west.

The air of this country is temperate, and the soil produces both corn and wine. Their wine in some places is not inferior to that of Burgundy, but in most is weak and ill-tasted. They abound in excellent fruits, and have good pastures for sheep, that are valued for the fineness of their wool. This Country also produces flax and hemp. They pretend to have some mines of silver and iron, but they are not wrought. Their stone-quarries on the contrary are of great advantage to them.

Rivers.

The chief rivers of Berry are the Creuse, the Cher, the Indre, the Orron, the Evre, the Aurette, the Moulon, the Soudre, and the Nerre; most of which have been already described, and the rest are but inconsiderable streams. The lake of Villiers, which lies about ten leagues from Bourges, is seven or eight leagues in circumference.

Berry is divided into High and Low; the Higher extends eastward from the Cher to the Loire; and the Lower is inclosed between the Cher and the Creuse.

Chief towns.

The chief towns in the higher Berry are Bourges, Dun-le-Roy, Chateaufort, Meun, Vierzon, Argens, Catillon sur Loire, Aubigni, Concoult, La Chapelle-dam-Gilon, Les Aix-dam-Gilon, Henrichemont, Sancerre and Montfaucon.

Bourges.

Bourges, *Avaricum Bituricum*, the capital of Berry, and the See of and Archbishop, is situated on a hill between the rivers Evre and Orron, to the banks of which it gradually descends; thirty-five leagues south of Paris, and seventeen almost south-east of Orleans. The two rivers above-mentioned encompass it on every side, except on that next the gate of Bourbonnoux. It is a large spacious town, containing sixteen parishes, but has nevertheless several void spaces within its walls, and the rest is not well peopled. We meet with a great many ecclesiasticks, gentlemen and scholars here; and it is computed there are in all about fifteen thousand souls, but not many of them tradesmen, the place having no other commerce than what is necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants. It is the privilege of Nobility which LEWIS XI. granted to the Mayor and Aldermen of this city, which occasioned such numbers of gentlemen resorting hither, and is the mother of that indolence for trade which is so conspicuous in the inhabitants. The cathedral church, dedicated to St. STEPHEN, is the finest Gothick building (says my French author) that I have ever seen, and is situated in the highest part of the town.

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The palace built by Prince JOHN of France, Duke of Berry, is a magnificent edifice; in one part whereof called the King's Apartment, the governor resides, and the other is taken up by their courts of justice. The great hall in the latter is esteemed one of the largest and finest in the kingdom; it hath no pillars to support it. Here the States of the province have their sessions; and here it was CHARLES VII. assembled the clergy of France, and established the Pragmatick Sanction. The town-house erected by JACQUES COEUR is one of the most elegant buildings that ever was undertaken by a private man, which was purchased by the celebrated COLBERT, prime minister of France, and given to the corporation of this city.

The square of Bourbon is the largest in Bourges, where anciently stood a Roman amphitheatre; the publick walks and the malls, without which no great town in France is thought to be complete, are much admired by the French writers; but a long description of their various beauties is scarce consistent with a work of this nature. The great number of religious houses are another considerable ornament to the place. CÆSAR took Bourges by storm, and destroyed near forty thousand of the natives, on account of some cruelties they had exercised on the Roman foldiers that had fallen into their hands. CHARLES VII. of France made this the place of his residence, when the English were masters of almost all the rest of the kingdom in the fifteenth century; which occasioned his being called King of Berry in derision by the English. It is at present a Bishop's See and University, instituted chiefly for the study of the law.

Yffoudun is situated on the little river Theol, eight leagues south-west of Bourges. It is a large town, containing the parochial and collegiate church of St. DENNIS and others, several parishes and convents, and about ten thousand inhabitants. The most remarkable thing in it is the castle, which commands the town; within the walls whereof are an antique tower, and the abbey of Notredame.

At the time when ancient Rome was governed by Kings, Gallia Celtica had theirs, and the citizens of Bourges elected a sovereign from among themselves. This form of Government continued till JULIUS CÆSAR subdued the Gauls, and took Bourges by storm. The dominions of the Romans lasted till the year 475, and then this city fell into the hands of the Visigoths, who were afterwards conquered by CLOVIS. Berry was governed by the Franks, as it had been by the Romans and Goths; namely by Counts, who at length obtained an hereditary dominion. Those of this province were stiled Counts of Bourges, as those of Landguedoc were Counts of Thoulouse. BOLLON or OLLON, is the most ancient of these Counts upon record. To these Counts succeeded Viscounts, of whom Berry had one for about an hundred and seventy years, reckoning from GEOFFREY, who lived about 917, to EUDES, who sold this province to PHILIP I. of France in 1100, when it was united to the crown. It afterwards became an appenage of some of the Princes of the blood, and was not long since the title of the Dauphin's third son, called Duke of Berry.

The trade of Berry consists chiefly in the sale of cattle and sheep; the latter also furnish their manufacture with wool, wherewith they make coarse cloths, serges and stockings. They sell also great quantities of hemp that grows in the country; but make no linen. The districts of Chateau-

Trade and produce of Berry.



roux and Blanc are as barren as any parts of France, and that of Chatre is no less fruitful. In some places their wine is not fit to drink; and in others they pretend it equals Burgundy: but in general, I find this country is not considerable, either for its commerce or the produce of its soil.

Military  
govern-  
ment.

Berry hath a governor-general, a lieutenant-general, and two lieutenants of the King's. There is not one fortified town in the country.

### CHAP. XXXI.

*Treats of the general government of Touraine.*

CHAP  
XXXI.  
Touraine.  
Situation,  
&c.

Air and  
soil.

Rivers.

Chief  
towns.

Tours.

**T**HIS province, which takes its name from an ancient people called Turones, lies upon the Loire, and is bounded by Maine and Beaulieu towards the north; by the Blaisois and Berry on the east; and by Poitou and Anjou on the south and west; being about four and twenty leagues in length from north to south, and two and twenty in breadth from east to west. The air is temperate, and the country generally pleasant and fruitful; insomuch that some have given it the title of, The Garden of France. The most considerable forests are those of Amboise, Loches and Chinon. It is watered with abundance of rivers; of which, the chief are the Loire, the Cher, the Vienne, the Indre, the Creuse, the Vendre, the Amasse, the Bren, the Choissille, the Braule, and the Cisse; most of which run from east to west through this country, and have been already described.

The chief towns are Tours, Langeai, Chateau-Regnaud, Amboise, Mont-Trichard, Loches, Chinon.

Tours, *Cæsarodunum*, *Civitas Turonum*, is situated in a plain on the south-side of the Loire, between that river and the Cher; thirty-six leagues south-west of Paris, and fifteen south-west of Orleans. It is built of fine white stone; the streets spacious and extremely clean, occasioned by several rivulets, which form six publick fountains. The cathedral dedicated to St. GATIEN has nothing remarkable in it; but there is another church dedicated to St. MARTIN, who is the favourite Saint of the place, and by whom they pretend many miracles have been wrought, that is one of the largest structures in the kingdom. The key upon the river is the most beautiful part of the town, and their mall, which is a thousand paces in length, passes for one of the finest in France. There are also abundance of handfom convents in the place, and the royal palace built by LEWIS XI. with the park and gardens, are well worth the viewing. One of their gates goes by the name of Hugon, in memory, as it is said, of one HUGON a very wicked Prince, once Earl of Tours, whom the superstitious will have to walk the streets at midnight to terrify the inhabitants; and that the Protestants were first called Hugonots, from their walking and assembling near this gate in the night-time: though some of the French Protestants tell us, it was for their adhering to the present royal family, who descended from HUGH CAPET, that they obtained the name of Hugonots; the other faction setting up the Duke of Guise, who descended from CHARLEMAIN. Tours is the See of an Archbishop, as well as the capital of a duchy, and has had the honour of seeing the States of the kingdom several times assembled here, particularly by LEWIS XI. anno 1470; by CHARLES VIII. in 1484; and by LEWIS XII. in 1506.

Amboise, *Ambacia*, is situated at the confluence of the Amasse and the Loire five leagues to the eastward of Tours. This town is not large, consisting only of two parishes and two streets; but has a fine castle, which is a great ornament to it. Here they pretended to shew the horns of a stag of a prodigious size, which being examined by the present King of Spain, and his brothers the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, in their passage to Spain; they discovered them to be the work of some artist, and not natural. LEWIS XI. instituted the order of St. MICHAEL in this castle anno 1469. There is little else, that deserves notice here unless the Course or publick walks, which the French writers observe are very fine, as they do of those of every other town.

Chinon, *Castrum Chinionis*, is situated on the Vienne, ten leagues south-west of Tours. It consists of four parishes and fifteen religious houses, containing about a thousand families. It was remarkable formerly for the residence of CHARLES VII. and the first publick appearance of JOAN of Arc, or the Maid of Orleans, before him, which gave such a turn to the affairs of France, when they were looked upon as desperate. The famous RABELAIS was a native of this town.

Touraine underwent the same fate as the rest of the Gallick provinces, and was, like them, at length governed by its proper Count. In the year 1044, it was conquered by GEOFFREY MARTEL Earl of Anjou, and passed to his descendants Earls of Anjou, and Kings of England, who held it till they lost their other territories on that side the water.

The principal manufactures of this province were those of cloth, leather and silk; of which the silk, though the last established, is the most considerable. As to the woollen manufacture, it is at present scarce followed any where but at Amboise, and here they only make slight French stufts. That of leather also is sunk to nothing; and the silk, which in the time of Cardinal RICHELIEU, employed above twenty thousand weavers in the city of Tours only, scarce employs sixty at this time: which loss of their trade the French ascribe to several causes: as first, their small foreign traffick. 2. Their expelling such numbers of workmen out of the kingdom. 3. The obliging the merchants of Tours to buy their Silk at Lyons. And, 4. The wearing calicoes and Indian silks. This, says my author, has destroyed the commerce of Touraine, which anciently brought them in more than ten millions of livres annually.

This province has a governor-general, a lieutenant-general, and a King's lieutenant. Besides which have their particular governors, as the towns of Amboise, Beaulieu and Chinon.

### CHAP. XXXII.

*Contains a description of the general government of Anjou.*

**T**HE province of Anjou is bounded by Le Maine on the north; by Touraine on the east; by Poitou on the south; and by Bretagne on the west: extending twenty-six leagues in length from east to west, and four and twenty in breadth from north to south.

The air is temperate, and the country agreeably diversified with hills and plains, but rather level than mountainous, except on the banks of the Loire, and in some parts of Mauges; and it is computed there are thirty-three forests all of oak and beech in it.

CHAP.  
XXXI.  
Amboise.

Chinon.

The an-  
cient state of  
it.

The trade  
of Tou-  
raine and  
the rest of  
France  
dwindled  
to nothing  
through  
the oppres-  
sion of the  
govern-  
ment.

Military  
govern-  
ment of  
Touraine.

CHAP.  
XXXII.  
Anjou.  
Situation,  
&c.

Air and  
face of the  
country.



## CHAP.

XXXII.

Soil.

Rivers.

Chief towns.

Angiers.

Chateaugontier.

La Fleche.

The soil produces white wines, wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, flax, hemp, nuts, chefnuts, and all manner of fruits: and their pastures feed great numbers of cattle and sheep, which are the greatest riches of the province. Here are also coal-pits, quarries of marble, and some iron-mines.

The chief rivers are the Loire, which divides Anjou almost in two equal parts; the Vienne, the Toue, which runs from south to north, and falls into the Loire at Saumur, the little Loire, the Sarthe and the Maine; all which run from north to south, and unite their streams at Angers, and a little after fall into the Loire. Besides which, there are abundance of other lesser streams that render the roads impassable sometimes for want of bridges.

The chief towns are Angiers, Chateaugontier, La Fleche, Le Pont de Se, Chateau-Ceaus, Dove, Craon, Montforeau, and Montrevil-Bellay.

Angiers, *Inliomagus Andigavorum*, the capital of Anjou, is situated a little above the place where the little Loire, and the Sarthe fall into the Maine, the last of which rivers divides the town into almost two equal parts: it lies fifteen leagues almost east of Nantz, and about fifty-three south-west of Paris. It was first enclosed with a wall by JOHN King of England, which was demolished by LEWIS VIII. ST. LEWIS his son rebuilt the wall in the manner we see it at this day. The town contains nine thousand houses, and about thirty-six thousand inhabitants, which are divided into sixteen parishes, twelve within the walls and four in the suburbs. Besides the parish-churches, there are eight collegiate, and a great number of convents. The cathedral church is a noble structure, the roof high and broad, and yet is not sustained by one pillar. The choir is also very fine, and its three lofty steeples are much admired for their architecture. Part of the town is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, and the rest in a bottom. The castle stands on a steep rock and commands the whole, being flank'd with antique round towers, which at present serve rather for ornament than defence. In this town is annually a great procession of all the clergy and inhabitants, to shew their detestation of the errors of their Arch-deacon BERENGUS, who in the year 1019 preached against their doctrine of transubstantiation; which opinion however they say he adjured afterwards at Rome before Pope GREGORY VII. They pretend to shew here one of the pots which held the water that our Saviour turned into wine at the marriage in Cana. This city is the capital of a dutchy, a Bishop's See, and a university chiefly for the study of the law; and LEWIS XIV established an academy here in 1685, upon the same foot with that of the royal academy at Paris. The fathers of the oratory also have a college here, wherein they instruct their disciples in divinity and philosophy, as in other great towns of France.

Chateaugontier is situated on the Maine, seven leagues north of Angiers. It is divided into two parts by the river, and consists of three parishes, fourteen hundred houses, and five or six thousand souls. Besides the parish-churches it hath a collegiate church and several monasteries.

La Fleche, *Flechia Castrum*, is pleasantly situated in a beautiful plain on the little Loire, eight leagues north-east of Angiers. It consists of one parish, but contains however six thousand inhabitants. HENRY IV, who was born here, enlarged and beautified it: he converted his castle or palace, which was very spacious, into a college for the Jesuits; and his heart lies buried under the steps

of the altar. The palace of the late Marquis of Vauvenne, a favourite of HENRY IV, is at present the greatest ornament of the town; the garden and water-works are suitable to the magnificence of the building. Among the illustrious persons who have been educated in the Jesuits college at La Fleche, the celebrated DESCARTES is one.

Pont de Se stands about a league and half to the eastward of Angiers upon the river Loire, which having broken its banks looks like a sea at this place, and is most considerable for its stone bridge, said to be a thousand paces long, and one of the most important passes on that river. The town consists of about four hundred houses, and has a castle for its defence, or rather ornament.

Doue or Doe, *Theotudum Castellum*, is situated half a league to the southward of the Loire, containing about four hundred houses, most remarkable for an amphitheatre cut out of a rock sixteen hundred feet in circumference, and capable of holding fifteen thousand people; which some are of opinion was the work of the ancient Romans, and others of the French. In this town also is one of the finest fountains in France.

Anjou, like other parts of Gaul, was conquer'd by CÆSAR; and on the decline of the Roman empire underwent the same revolutions as the neighbouring provinces, till it came to be govern'd by Counts of its own, of whom GEOFFREY III, surnamed PLANTAGENET, married MAUD the Empress, daughter and heiress of HENRY I, King of England, by whom he had issue HENRY II, who inherited both England and Anjou. This Prince left three sons, viz. RICHARD, GEOFFREY and JOHN. RICHARD succeeded him, who leaving no issue, and his second brother GEOFFREY being dead and leaving one son named ARTHUR, this Prince ought to have inherited both England and Anjou; but his uncle JOHN, his father's younger brother, usurped his dominions and murdered ARTHUR. Whereupon the French King cited JOHN the usurper before the Peers of France; and on his not appearing, adjudged him guilty of felony and murder; for which it was pretended all his French dominions were forfeited, and accordingly the French King seized Anjou and Normandy, and most of the territories the English had in France about the year 1202, except Guienne and Gascony, which the English remained possess'd of till (the reign of HENRY VI,) about the middle of the fifteenth century. Anjou was afterwards an appanage of some of the blood royal of France, and lately gave a title to the Dauphin's second son, the present King of Spain.

The trade and produce of Anjou consists in white wines, cattle, corn, fresh-water fish, hemp, flax, thread, linen, slight woollen stuffs, dried sweet-meats, game, saltpetre, brandy, vinegar, prunes, honey, refined sugar and white wax.

Anjou has a governor-general, a lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants; besides which, there are particular governors in La Fleche, Beaufort, Chateaugontier and Baugé.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

Contains a description of the government of Saumur.

ALTHOUGH Saumur be really in Anjou, it is nevertheless made a separate government, and comprehends part of Anjou which lies south of the Loire, and a part of the higher Poitou. The chief towns whereof are Saumur, Richelieu and Mirebeau. Saumur,

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Doue.

The ancient state of Anjou.

Trade and produce of Anjou.

Military government.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The government of Saumur.



CHAP.  
XXXIII.  
Saumur  
city.

Saumur, *Salens Murus*, and *Salmurum*, is pleasantly situated on the river Loire, seven or eight leagues to the eastward of Angiers. It is said to be called *Murus* from a rock under which it stands, that resembles a wall. The castle and fortifications might render it a strong place in the last age, but rather serve for ornament than defence at present. This was one of the cautionary towns given the Protestants, and here they had an academy, where JOHN CAMERON the Scot, whose disciples from him were called Cameronians, and many other celebrated saints of that class receiv'd their education; but being suppressed by LEWIS XIV, in the year 1684, and a liberty of their religion denied them, most of the inhabitants left their country. The three parishes do not contain above five or six thousand souls, tho' before the persecution they consisted of twice the number. The principal manufactures of Saumur are the refining of sugar, and those of hard ware and toys.

Military  
govern-  
ment of  
Saumur.

This little government has its governor-general, lieutenant-governor, and King's lieutenant, independent of the governor of Anjou. Richelieu and Mirebeau have their particular governors, which towns have been already mentioned in Poitou.

French  
Flanders,  
Dunkirk,  
Metz, &c.  
and Alsace  
described  
elsewhere.

The towns in the government of French Flanders have been already describ'd in treating of the Low Countries: as has the town of Dunkirk, which makes a distinct government in the French plan. The towns also in the government of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and those of Alsace having been already treated of in the description of Germany, are omitted here.

#### CHAP. XXXIV.

*Contains an abstract of the ancient history of France; together with the modern history of that kingdom.*

CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
An ab-  
stract of  
their an-  
cient history

THE limits of the ancient Gaul were far more extensive than those of the present kingdom of France; comprehending on one side all the north part of Italy, namely, the territories of the King of Sardinia, of the republick of Genoa, and Lombardy: and on the other, the Low Countries, and all that part of Germany which lies to the westward of the Rhine. That part of Gaul which lay to the eastward of the Alps was by the Romans called *Gallia Cisalpina*, on account of its situation in respect of Rome; and that part of Gaul to the westward of the Alps was for the like reason denominated *Gallia Transalpina*. It is the latter of these that is the subject of the present history, and even part of this is dismembered from modern France.

The Gauls

The first account we have of the Gauls which can be relied on, is from the Romans: it seems they were a brave people, had stormed even Rome itself, and were very near putting a period to that aspiring republick. Nor did the Romans think fit to attempt the conquest of them till they had reduced most of the other powers in the then known world under their dominion. FULVIVS FLACCUS the consul, about an hundred and thirty years before our Saviour, first invaded the Transalpine Gauls, and five years afterwards FABIVS MAXIMVS reduced *Gallia Narbonensis* into the form of a Roman province. CÆSAR, after a ten years war, brought all the powers of Transalpine Gaul under the dominion of the Romans about 48 years before Christ. He found the whole country divided into three principal parts, the first of which was inhabited by the Celtæ, the second by the

Conquer-  
ed by Cæ-  
sar.

The three  
principal  
nations of  
them.

Aquitains, and the third by the Belgæ. The Celtæ were the most considerable, their country extending from the Alps to the British channel. To the west of them lay the Aquitains, bordering on the Ocean and the Pyrenees; and to the north-east the Belgæ, who inhabited Picardy, Champagne, the Low Countries, and that part of Germany which lies to the westward of the Rhine. These great nations were again subdivided into a multitude of little principalities or states, who frequently united under some one head for their common defence against the Roman arms; of whom CÆSAR mentions between sixty and seventy: every great town and community he speaks of frequently as a distinct nation: as the Allobroges, the people of Savoy and Dauphiné; the Segusini, the inhabitants of the city of Segusium and the district belonging to it; the Datii, the inhabitants of the city of Dax and its territory; the Gabali, the people of Gevaudan; the Sueffiones, the inhabitants of Soissons and its district, &c.

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XXXIV.

The learned are not entirely agreed about the language of the Gauls, or their manners; accord-

Their lan-  
guage.

ing to CÆSAR, the Celtæ, Aquitani, and Belgæ had very little resemblance in either: while SIDI- NIUS is of opinion that their language was the same, and they had only different dialects. Their religion also is variously represented by these Roman authors: TULLY affirms they had none, while CÆSAR and LIVY say they worship'd a multitude of Gods; that the chief of them were MERCURY, whom they called Teutates; and JUPITER, whom they named Taranis or the Thunderer. They thought him best represented by the tallest oaks, the noblest productions of nature; for I don't perceive they had any images, which might occasion some of the Romans to apprehend they had no Gods. Their priests were the Druids, and as the mysteries of their religion as well as their morals and history were taught in songs; it was by the Bards, an inferior order of Druids, that their disciples were instructed. Their Vates or Eubages sacrificed animals, and foretold, or pretended to tell, future events by the disposition of their entrails; and some relate that upon extraordinary occasions they sacrificed men, to which I do not give entire credit; but if they did, it is no more than their politer neighbours the Romans did before them.

Religion.

The term Druid is said to be derived from the Celtick word *Deru*, which signified an oak: the mistletoe, which grew about the oak, was deemed sacred as well as the tree, and directions were given as to the time and manner of gathering it. The Druids seem to have presided in civil as well as religious matters; insomuch that a malefactor could not be executed but by their approbation; and the chief of the Druids, or the high priests, had an uncommon veneration paid him. A late French writer has pretended to collect some of the sacred rules and maxims given by the Druids to their disciples; and as they are agreeable to what we find in other authors, I shall take the liberty to recite the principal of them, though I will not vouch for their being genuine.

1. They directed that none should be instructed in the mysteries of their religion but in the sacred groves.

2. That mistletoe be gathered with reverence in the sixth moon, and cut with a golden bill.

3. That care be taken in the education of children, who are to be taught that every thing is derived from heaven.

4. That



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XXXIV.

4. That the Arcana of their religion and sciences be not committed to writing, but to memory.

5. They taught that the soul is immortal, and after death goes into some other body.

6. That the world will be destroyed by fire or water.

7. That upon extraordinary emergencies men are to be sacrificed; and as the body falls, or moves after it is fallen, and as the blood flows from the wound, future events may be foretold.

8. That prisoners of war are to be sacrificed on their altars.

9. That they who kill themselves to attend their friends in the next world, will enjoy their conversation there.

10. That the disobedient be outlawed and excluded the society of men.

11. That the heads of families have sovereign power in their own houses, and may put their wives, their children, and servants to death.

As to the government of the Gauls, they were divided into a multitude of little principalities and states, as has been observed already; every one of which had their captain or leader, who judged their affairs at home, and commanded their armies in the field; which officer or magistrate *LIVV* properly enough stiles their King, while others are very angry with him for giving him this title; because, say they, he was elective, and might be restrained in his power by the people, and even deposed for male-administration. But what the prerogatives of these Princes were, or what the privileges of their people, no one sure will be so arrogant to describe particularly at this day. What seems probable is, that in some of these states, the power of the Prince was more limited than in others; and perhaps in some he was under no limitations at all; as we find it is in several countries at this day, where there are a variety of little kingdoms and states.

Habits.

The cloathing of the Gauls seems to differ according to their situation: those who lived on the eastern side the Alps next the Romans were distinguished by the term *Togata*, as they wore gowns like the Romans; and next to them the inhabitants of Savoy, Dauphiné, and Languedoc were sometimes called *Bracata*, from their covering their loins, or wearing something in imitation of breeches. The *Celtæ* also were called *Comata*, from their wearing long hair; but I question whether they were much better clothed than the Britons, because the rest of the Gauls who lay nearer the Romans, seemed to be distinguished from them by their being clothed.

Houses.

Their houses were no better than round huts covered with straw, which they usually built in the woods, or on the banks of rivers; and their beds were the skins of beasts. Their fortifications consisted of little more than trees cut down and formed into a kind of wall with a trench about them. They eat bread and flesh, chiefly that which was taken in hunting; and those that bordered on Italy drank their wines: but I don't find there was any wine made in France when *JULIUS CÆSAR* came amongst them, though in some places they had malt liquors.

Gaul divided into provinces.

*AUGUSTUS CÆSAR* having restored peace to the empire, visited Gaul, which he divided into four provinces, viz. 1. *Gallia Narbonensis*, so denominated from the city of Narbon in Languedoc, which comprehended Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, and part of Savoy. 2. *Aquitania*, so called

from it's capital the city of *Aquæ Augustæ*, now *Acqu's* in Guienne. It contained Guienne, Gascony, Querci, Xantoigne, Poitou, Perigord, Limousin, Auvergne, Bourbonnois, and Berry; extending from the Pyrenees to the river Loire. 3. *Celtica*, to which he gave the name of *Lugdunensis*, from it's capital *Lugdunum*, now Lyons; which comprehended the Lyonnois and Orléannois in their largest dimensions, Tournois, Burgundy, part of Champagne, the isle of France, Britany, and Normandy. 4. *Belgica*, so named from the Belge, which contained all the north-east part of Gaul, viz. Picardy, the residue of Champagne, Franche Comte, the Netherlands, and all that part of Germany which lies to the westward of the Rhine. *CONSTANTINE* afterwards divided Gaul into seventeen provinces or governments, viz.

Provinces.	Capital cities.
1. <i>Narbonensis Prima</i>	Narbonne in Languedoc.
2. ——— <i>Secunda</i>	Aix in Provence.
3. <i>Viennensis</i>	Vienne in Dauphiné
4. <i>Alpes Graie &amp; Penina</i>	Monstriers in Savoy.
5. <i>Alpes Maritimæ</i>	Ambrun in Dauphiné.
6. <i>Lugdunensis Prima</i>	Lyons.
7. ——— <i>Secunda</i>	Roan in Normandy.
8. ——— <i>Tertia</i>	Tours.
9. ——— <i>Quarta</i>	Sens in Champagne.
10. <i>Sequania</i>	Besançon in Franc. Comte
11. <i>Aquitania Prima</i>	Bourges in Berry.
12. ——— <i>Secunda</i>	Bordeaux.
13. <i>Novem Populania</i>	Aux in Gascony.
14. <i>Germania Prima</i>	Mentz.
15. ——— <i>Secunda</i>	Cologne.
16. <i>Belgica Prima</i>	Triers.
17. ——— <i>Secunda</i>	Rheims.

The Romans having introduced their laws and customs, and civilized this people, continued to govern them about five hundred years. But in the reign of the Emperor *HONORIUS*, the Goths having first ravaged Italy, settled themselves there, and in France and Spain. The Burgundians and several other northern people followed their steps, till at length the Franks, a German nation, subdued or drove these powers out of Gaul, giving their name to the country, which it has ever since retained. This great event the generality of the French historians compute to have happened about the year of our Lord 420. Since that time the crown of France has been enjoyed by three several families, viz. the Merovingian, the Carolovignian, and the Capetive. *MEROVEE*, from whom the first line is denominated, according to most of their writers, was their third King, and *PHARAMOND* the first; but the judicious Father *DANIEL* justly rejects the history of their four first Kings, and seems to me to have made it very evident, that *CLOVIS* was the first King of the Franks who reigned in France; and that he founded this monarchy about the year 486, which is sixty-six years after the common account. But I shall first present the reader with the ordinary tables of their several Kings reigns, and then make my remarks on such of them as most require our attention.

The first line of their Kings.



## The Merovignian line.

Kings.	A. D.
1. PHARAMOND — — —	418
2. CLODION — — —	428
3. MEROVEE — — —	448
4. CHILDERICK — — —	458
5. CLOVIS — — —	481
6. CHILDEBERT — — —	511
7. CLOTAIRE — — —	558
8. CHARIBERT — — —	561
9. CHILPERICK — — —	570
10. CLOTAIRE II. — — —	584
11. DAGOBERT — — —	629
12. CLOVIS II. — — —	638
13. CLOTAIRE III. — — —	655
14. CHILDERICK II. — — —	670
15. THIERRY — — —	674
16. CLOVIS III. — — —	691
17. CHILDEBERT II. — — —	695
18. DAGOBERT II. — — —	711
19. CHILPERICK II. — — —	716
CLOTAIRE disputed. — — —	721
20. THIERRY II. — — —	722
An interregnum. — — —	
21. CHILDERICK III. — — —	743

## The Carolovignian line.

22. PEPIN the Short — — —	751
23. CHARLEMAGNE — — —	768
24. LEWIS the Pious — — —	814
25. CHARLES the Bald — — —	840
26. LEWIS II. — — —	877
27. { LEWIS III. } — — —	879
{ CARLOMAN } — — —	
28. CHARLES III. the Grofs — — —	884
29. EUDES — — —	888
30. CHARLES IV. the Simple — — —	893
ROBERT disputed — — —	922
31. RODOLPH — — —	923
32. LEWIS IV. — — —	936
33. LOTHAIRE — — —	954
34. LEWIS V. the Slothful — — —	986

## The Capetine line.

35. HUGH CAPET — — —	987
36. ROBERT — — —	996
37. HENRY I. — — —	1033
38. PHILIP — — —	1060
39. LEWIS VI. the Grofs — — —	1108
40. LEWIS VII. — — —	1137
41. PHILIP II. the Auguft — — —	1180
42. LEWIS VIII. the Lion — — —	1223
43. ST LEWIS IX. — — —	1226
44. PHILIP III. the Hardy — — —	1270
45. PHILIP IV. the Fair — — —	1286
46. LEWIS X. Hutin — — —	1314
47. PHILIP V. — — —	1317
48. CHARLES IV. the Fair — — —	1322
49. PHILIP VI. of Valois — — —	1328
50. JOHN the Good — — —	1350
51. CHARLES V. the Wife — — —	1364
52. CHARLES VI. — — —	1380
53. CHARLES VII. Victorious — — —	1412
54. LEWIS XI. — — —	1461
55. CHARLES VIII. — — —	1483
56. LEWIS XII. the Juft — — —	1498

57. FRANCIS I. the Great — — —	1515
58. HENRY II. — — —	1547
59. FRANCIS II. — — —	1559
60. CHARLES IX. — — —	1560
61. HENRY III. — — —	1574
62. HENRY IV. — — —	1589
63. LEWIS XIII. — — —	1610
64. LEWIS XIV. — — —	1643
65. LEWIS XV. — — —	1715

This table begins with PHARAMOND, to whom succeeded CLODION, MEROVEE, and CHILDERICK: but Father DANIEL shews that these Princes only made irruptions into Gaul out of Germany from time to time; that none of them fixed their residence in Gaul, but being content with plunder, or beaten back by the Romans, returned to their habitations on the other side of the Rhine, till CLOVIS passing this river at the head of a numerous army, laid the foundation of the French monarchy, in the fifth year of his reign, and the twentieth of his age, anno 486.

At the time of this expedition of CLOVIS, Gaul was divided between the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians. The Roman territories comprehended almost all the provinces which lie between the Rhine, the Ocean, and the Loire. The Burgundians possessed the countries between the Saone and the Rhone, and several towns on both sides those rivers, as Lyons, Vienne, Geneva. The Visigoths possessed all the rest of the country from the Alps to the Pyrenees, which lie to the southward of the Loire. THEODORICK, King of the Ostrogoths, or eastern Goths, was at this time King of Italy, and the Visigoths had the dominion of great part of Spain.

While the affairs of Europe were in this situation, CLOVIS passed the Rhine with a formidable army, bending his march directly for Soissons, the capital of the Roman territories in Gaul, where SIAGRIUS the Roman governor then resided. SIAGRIUS drew together all the forces he could assemble to oppose his march; but having the misfortune to be defeated, fled to ALARICK King of the Visigoths, or western Goths, for protection; who delivered him to CLOVIS, and he was not long after beheaded: whereupon most of the towns in the Roman government made their submission to the conqueror.

While CLOVIS was settling his new acquired dominions, the King of Thuringia fell upon his territories in Germany, and obliged him to repass the Rhine; but having defeated his enemies on that side, he returned to Soissons in triumph; after which he endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances, and married CLOTILDA, the niece of GOUDEBAND King of Burgundy; which Princess being a Christian, gave him a favourable opinion of that persuasion. However, they tell us, he deferred the declaring himself a Christian, till being engaged in a desperate battle with the Alemanni, who had invaded his country, he vowed he would become a Christian, if Heaven should grant him the victory: which happening to fall on his side, he made no delay to perform his vow, but was baptized at Rheims on his return, with three thousand of his officers and great men. But whatever was the occasion of his conversion, his professing Christianity procured him the affections of his new subjects the Gauls, who

CLOVIS.

The state of Gaul when the Franks conquered it.

The march of CLOVIS against the Romans.



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who were at this time generally Christians: and perhaps the reason that none of his predecessors could fix their thrones here, was the difference of religion between them and the Gauls; for the Germans were still pagans. As to the tradition of the St Ampouille, or holy bottle of oil used at the consecration of their Kings, being brought him by a dove at his baptism, with the royal standard called the Oriflamme, the reader will give it the weight it deserves; as well as that other tradition, of his having the gift of healing the King's Evil conferred upon him at the same time. But to proceed in his history; this King it seems, whose ambition was never satisfied, fell first upon **GOUDEBAND** King of Burgundy, and afterwards upon **ALARICK** King of the Visigoths; defeated both of them, and killed **ALARICK** with his own hand; but **THEODORICK** King of the Ostrogoths interposing, prevented **CLOVIS** making himself entire master of their countries. Whereupon, he bent his arms towards Bretagne, and obliged that Prince to lay aside the royal stile. He deprived also the Princes of the Alemanni in Germany, of the titles of Kings, appropriating that honour to himself; and from that time, it is said, they took upon them no other title than that of Duke. And those of his own family, who had erected themselves little kingdoms, and would not submit to this rule, he deposed, or put to death. Infomuch, that the French historians, who seem to worship him on other accounts, acknowledge that he left behind him the character of an ambitious cruel Prince; and suggest, that his benevolence to the clergy, and his religious foundations, were undertaken by way of atonement for the many barbarities he had committed.

**CLOVIS**  
dies, and  
is succeed-  
ed by his  
sons.

**CLOVIS** died at Paris in November 511, being the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign, leaving four sons behind him, viz. **THIERRY**, **CLODOMIR**, **CHILDEBERT**, and **CLOTAIRE**, who divided his dominions between them; **CHILDEBERT** was King of Paris, **CLODOMIR** of Orleans, **CLOTAIRE** of Soissons, and **THIERRY**, the eldest, who had the largest share, was King of Austrasia, or eastern France, between the Rhine and the Meuse, the capital whereof was Metz in Lorraine. He possessed also several other provinces of France, and all that belonged to the Franks in Germany, to the eastward of the Rhine. In the reign of these Princes, Gaul obtained the name of France. The Visigoths were at this time in the possession of Spain and South France, and their King **ALARICK** being a minor, **THEODORICK** King of the East Goths in Italy, took upon him the guardianship and protection of that Prince, who was the son of his daughter and of **ALARICK** their late King. This re-union of all the Gothick nations under one head, rendered them very formidable to France on the south, as the Danes and Normans now began to be towards the north.

**CLODOMIR** being killed in a battle against the Burgundians, his three brothers shared his kingdom of Orleans amongst them, and murdered his children. Soon afterwards **THEODORICK** the powerful King of the eastern Goths dying, the French Kings began to think of enlarging their dominions: **THIERRY** King of Austrasia entered into an alliance with his brother **CLOTAIRE** King of Soissons, and made a conquest of Thuringia, a part of the modern Saxony; while **CHILDEBERT** King of Paris, invaded the dominions of

the Goths, made himself master of great part of Languedoc, and killed **ALARICK** their King. The pretence for this last war was, that **ALARICK** having married **CLOTILDA**, sister to the French Kings, would compel her to become an Arian. And indeed, the history of the Church at this time informs us, that almost all the Christian world were hereticks of one denomination or other, and only the French Princes deemed true Catholics by Rome. But, notwithstanding, the pretended concern of these Princes for the Catholic Faith, we find them imbruing their hands in the blood of helpless orphans, their brother **CLODOMIR**'s children, and dividing their inheritance amongst them. The holy See therefore, has very little to be proud of, in these strenuous defenders of the purity of her faith. Another observation historians make is, that these French Princes made no scruple of having three or four, or half a dozen wives and concubines at a time; and would frequently take to their beds women that were already married to others; and were indulged in all these irregularities by the Church of Rome, so long as they continued protectors of the holy See. **THIERRY**, King of Austrasia, dying in the year 533, was succeeded by his son **THEODEBERT**, who with his two uncles, the Kings of Paris and Soissons, attacked Burgundy, and having defeated and killed King **GONDENOR**, divided that country amongst them. **VITIGES** King of the Ostrogoths, also yielded up Provence to the French Kings, in consideration of their assisting him in his wars against the Emperor **JUSTINIAN**. But these treacherous French Princes, instead of assisting either **VITIGES**, or **BELISARIUS**, the Emperor's General, with whom they were in alliance, marched a great army into Italy, and fell upon those powers, in hopes of wresting that country from both of them. They were however, soon after obliged to retire over the Alps again: and **BELISARIUS** having reduced great part of Italy to the Emperor's obedience again, carried **VITIGES** to Constantinople, where he was made a patrician, and had a fortune given him capable to satisfy the ambition of any private man, in my author's phrase, who had not been a King. This happened about the year 539.

The Goths still made further efforts for restoring their affairs in Italy upon **BELISARIUS**'s retiring to Constantinople, and having elected the famous **TOTILA** for their King, recovered great part of the country from the Romans: among the rest, Rome itself was twice stormed and taken. Hereupon, the Emperor sent his General **NARSES** into Italy, who defeated **TOTILA**, and killed him in the field of battle; and after him **TEIAS**, whom the Goths chose for King in his room: whereby he obliged them to abandon Italy, and promise never to return thither again. All the Goths however, did not leave the country, but called in the French to their assistance, who passing the Alps with a vast army, laid Italy waste from one end to the other, till they were met by **NARSES** the Imperial General, and entirely defeated. The plague happening among their forces at the same time, very few of the French lived to return home. In the mean time **THEODEBALD** King of Austrasia died without issue, and **CLOTAIRE** King of Soissons, his great uncle, seized upon his dominions, without suffering his brother **CHILDEBERT** to share any part of them with him, which occasioned a war between them: but

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XXXIV.The  
French  
Empire  
united in  
one head.Divided a-  
gain into  
four king-  
doms.

but CHILDEBERT King of Paris dying in the year 558, CLOTAIRE thereby became sole master of the French empire. He enjoyed it about a year, when a fever put an end to his life, in the fifty-first year of his reign, leaving four sons, viz. CHILPERICK, CHARIBERT, GONTRAN, and SIGEBERT.

CHILPERICK succeeded to the kingdom of Soissons; CHARIBERT to that of Paris; GONTRAN to Orleans with Burgundy, which thereupon obtained the name of the kingdom of Burgundy again; and SIGEBERT to Austrasia.

NARSES having driven both the Goths and the French out of Italy, governed that country in peace, till the death of the Emperor JUSTINIAN, which happened about the year 566, when being recalled by his successor the Emperor JUSTIN, and treated with indignity by the Empress SOPHIA, NARSES was so provoked by this usage, that in revenge he invited the Lombards, another tribe of the northern people, into Italy. ALBOIN their King, who had formerly served in Italy under NARSES, against the Goths, and was acquainted with the beauty and fertility of the country, very readily accepted the proposal; and being joined by a good body of Saxons, marched into the Milanese, making almost an entire conquest of Italy: after which he marched into Savoy and Dauphiné, and struck a terror into the Kings of France.

CHARIBERT King of Paris dying, his territories were divided amongst his three surviving brothers, but in a very odd manner, according to the custom of those times; for each brother had a share in almost every province, and in every city of his dominions; each of them had his share in the capital city of Paris itself: which occasioned frequent disputes and misunderstandings between them, and sometimes an open war, as it happened in the year 575, when SIGEBERT King of Austrasia, having beaten his brother CHILPERICK out of the field, and forced him to shut himself up in Tournay, was killed by an assassin as he was carrying on the siege of that town. CHILDEBERT, the son of SIGEBERT, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Austrasia, between whom, and his uncle CHILPERICK, King of Soissons, there were almost continual wars, till CHILPERICK was assassinated in his turn, and left his kingdom of Soissons to his son CLOTAIRE, an infant, whom his uncle GONTRAN, King of Burgundy, took under his protection: and clapping up a peace with his other nephew CHILDEBERT, King of Austrasia, the French Kings entered into a war with the Visigoths of Languedoc and Spain on the one hand, and with the Lombards of Italy on the other, with various success; tho' in the end, the French historians relate, that the Burgundians agreed to pay the French an annual tribute in acknowledgment of their dependance on them. These wars being ended, the French Kings lived at peace among themselves and with their neighbours about four years, when GONTRAN, King of Burgundy, died without issue, in March, 593, leaving the greatest part of his dominions to his nephew CHILDEBERT, King of Austrasia: so that at this time we find the French dominions divided between CLOTAIRE, King of Soissons and Neustria, and CHILDEBERT, King of Austrasia and Burgundy, the latter of which Princes had large dominions to the eastward of the Rhine, in Germany, Hungary, &c. The kingdom of

Paris was neither divided or long possessed by the one or the other, but occasioned several wars between these Princes and their successors, and the towns and territories frequently changed their masters, as the one or the other met with success.

CHILDEBERT King of Austrasia died in the year 596, leaving issue two sons, to the eldest of whom, named THEODEBERT, he left the kingdom of Austrasia, and to THIERRY, the youngest, that of Burgundy: the latter resided at Orleans, making this city the capital of his dominions. These two young Princes confederating together, took from CLOTAIRE, King of Neustria, great part of his territories, and afterwards carried their arms into Spain, making the Gasccons beyond the Pyrenees tributary to them. But falling out among themselves, THIERRY obtained a decisive victory over THEODEBERT, took him prisoner with his son, and put them to death; uniting thereby the kingdom of Austrasia to that of Burgundy: but dying soon after, and leaving four sons infants behind him, and his kingdoms in some distraction, CLOTAIRE, King of Soissons and Neustria, took advantage of the opportunity, seized upon his dominions, and murdered two of his sons; another of them escaped and was never heard of more; and of MEROVEE the fourth, it is said, he had some compassion, because he had stood godfather to him, and this young Prince lived a considerable time as a private man; so that now the French dominions were again united under one head. CLOTAIRE had the good fortune to die a natural death, and leave his dominions entire to his son DAGOBERT, whom he had before made viceroy, or, as some say, King of Austrasia. He left indeed another son named CHARIBERT, to whom his brother assigned the kingdom of Aquitaine: but he died soon after without issue, and DAGOBERT remained sole monarch of the French empire. He resided for the most part at his capital city of Paris, and was a Prince pretty much devoted to pleasure, having three wives at the same time, to whom he gave the title of Queens, and a numerous herd of concubines, who drew him into many extravagancies, and occasioned his oppressing his subjects with heavy taxes, tho' at the beginning of his reign, he was esteemed one of the best Princes that had sat upon the throne. While he was thus diverting himself with his women at Paris, his frontiers in Germany were attacked by the northern nations, and his forces defeated in several battles, with whom he was glad to clap up a peace on such terms as he could obtain. The Duke, or Count of Britany, also invaded his territories, but the differences between them were accommodated, and he died in peace in the year 638, leaving two sons minors, (viz.) CLOVIS II, to whom he gave the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy; and SIGEBERT II, whom he constituted King of Austrasia. In the reign of these infant Princes it was, that the Mayors of the palace, or prime ministers of the French, began to assume sovereign power, allowing their Kings little more than the name of Royalty. EGA was now Mayor of the palace to the King of Neustria, and PEPIN to the King of Austrasia, the grandfather of the famous PEPIN, who shewed his posterity the way to depose their sovereigns, and usurp their thrones, and from whom the second line of the French Kings descended, generally called the Carolovignian line, from CHARLEMAGNE, or CHARLES the Great.

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French  
empire  
united a-  
gain under  
one head  
in Clo-  
taire II.  
DAGO-  
BERT,  
638.The  
Mayors of  
the palace  
assume so-  
vereign  
power,  
638.

PEPIN



**CHAP. XXXIV.** PEPIN dying two years after DAGOBERT, his son GRIMOALD succeeded him in the office of Mayor of the palace in Austrasia. This gentleman had so much address, that he prevailed upon the young king to promise him that his son should succeed him in the throne if he had none of his own; and tho' the King lived a considerable time afterwards, and had a son, yet was he so weak as to commit him to the care of this GRIMOALD; which, in the words of my author, was to deliver him up to the discretion of an ambitious wretch, who had already a design upon the crown. SIGEBERT died about the year 655, of whom the French historians give us no other account than that he was a devout Prince, and founded several churches and monasteries, and had variety of women about him; which was scarce deemed a vice in those days. GRIMOALD; it seems, had not so much cruelty in his nature, as to murder his son DAGOBERT, but privately conveyed the infant into Scotland, where he hoped he never would be heard of more; after which he crowned his own son CHILDEBERT King of Austrasia, under pretence that the late King SIGEBERT had adopted him his successor.

CLOVIS, whom their historians also make an indolent Prince, did not long survive his brother: he left three sons behind him, viz. CLOTAIRE III, CHILDERICK, and THIERRY; of whom CLOTAIRE the eldest succeeded him in the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy; and the grandees in Austrasia refusing to be governed by the usurper CHILDEBERT the son of GRIMOALD, found means to depose him and place CHILDERICK the second son of CLOVIS upon the throne. GRIMOALD was taken and carried to Paris, where he died in prison. As to THIERRY the third son of CLOVIS II, I don't find he had any share assigned him in the French territories at first.

EBROIN,  
Mayor of  
the palace.

EBROIN was constituted Mayor of the palace, or prime minister, to CLOTAIRE III, King of Neustria; of whom the French historians give the following character, that he equally exposed to sale justice and injustice for a price, that he burthened the people with taxes, abused the nobility, and would condemn and banish persons of the highest quality for trifles. Of CLOTAIRE the French historians say very little more than that he died about the year 663, without issue, and that thereupon his dominions devolved upon CHILDERICK, King of Austrasia, and the French Empire became united again under one head. CHILDERICK behaving himself in an insolent tyrannical manner towards the nobility, was assassinated with his Queen, who was big with child, and one of their sons: the other escaped and shut himself up in a monastery for several years, tho' he afterwards found means to ascend the throne of his ancestors. Upon the death of CHILDERICK, THIERRY the third brother was declared King of Neustria and Burgundy; but EBROIN, formerly Mayor of the palace, repaired to Austrasia and set up an impostor against him, with whom he returned into Neustria at the head of a very great army, plundered Paris, and obliged THIERRY to make him Mayor of the palace again: whereupon he deserted the pretended King he had set up, and the Dukes PEPIN and MARTIN were constituted Dukes or Governors of the kingdom of Austrasia. MARTIN dying soon after, PEPIN became the sole Duke of Austrasia, being the same who in history is called PEPIN the Gros, on the account of his stature, being short and thick.

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EBROIN, Mayor of the palace to THIERRY, having tyrannized over the French nobility four or five and twenty years, so provoked some of them at length, that he was assassinated; after whose death THIERRY had several other Mayors, and particularly one named GISLEMAR, who made war upon Duke PEPIN in Austrasia, but not meeting with success, PEPIN soon after returned his visit, and entering Neustria, came before Paris, which city opened her gates to him, delivering up the King and Court into his hands: whereupon the regal power in Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia became vested in PEPIN, who governed them under the title of Mayor of the palace, leaving THIERRY no more than the empty name of King, the ensigns of authority, and a suitable equipage. PEPIN endeavoured to render himself popular by his wise regulations in Church and State, and defending the frontiers against the Spaniards and Saxons, in which he met with success beyond his expectations. In the mean time THIERRY died, which made little alteration in the state of affairs. He left two sons behind him, viz. CLOVIS and CHILDEBERT; PEPIN caused CLOVIS to be proclaimed King, who dying after a reign of five years, he gave CHILDEBERT the title, of whom the French historians say little more than that he lived sixteen or seventeen years after his brother; for neither the one or the other had any share in the administration, this was left entirely to the Mayor of the palace. PEPIN it seems had two sons of his own, DROGON and GRIMOALD; the first he made Duke of Burgundy, and the other Mayor of the palace to the King, reserving the duchy of Austrasia to himself, which he governed as an absolute sovereign, and not as viceroy to the French King; and in the same manner his son DROGON governed Burgundy. CHILDEBERT being dead, PEPIN thought fit to advance his son, DAGOBERT, to the throne, who made the same figure his predecessors had done. The French historians observe, that we hear no more of this line of their Kings for the last hundred years, than their advancement to the throne and their deaths. But these Mayors of the palace met with many mortifications before they could establish their usurpation, PEPIN saw both his sons, DROGON and GRIMOALD, murdered by the nobility, who could not bear to be tyrannized over by their fellow-subjects. Whereupon PEPIN made his grandson, THEOBALD, Mayor of the palace and governor of the King, tho' he was but an infant; but he died before he could accomplish his principal project of settling the crown in his family.

After the death of PEPIN, THEOBALD his grandson continued Mayor of the palace for some time, under the direction of PLECTRUDE his grandmother, PEPIN's relict; but an Empire of this extent could not be governed long by an old woman and an infant, who had neither of them any pretence to the crown. An insurrection was formed against them in Neustria, and they were driven from the palace, RAINFROY being made Mayor of the palace in the room of THEOBALD. In the mean time CHARLES MARTEL son of PEPIN, by a second venter, and who had been imprisoned by PLECTRUDE, made his escape into Austrasia, where he was joyfully received as their Duke and successor of PEPIN.

DAGOBERT III, having borne the name of King for about five years, died, whereupon the Neustrians set CHILPERICK II upon the throne. He was one of the sons of CHILDERICK II, who

PEPIN u-  
surps the  
sovereign  
power,  
ann. 663  
and leaves  
King on-  
ly his title.

CHARLES  
MARTEL  
Duke of  
Austrasia  
716.

CHILPE-  
RICK II  
King of  
Neustria,  
716.



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had escaped from the persons that were to have murdered him, as has been related above, and had been shut up in a monastery till now. This Prince the Neustrians thought fit to prefer to THIERRY the son of DAGOBERT, on account of THIERRY's being an infant, and probably they were not unacquainted with his abilities, and hoped he would rescue both himself and them from the tyranny of the Mayors of the palace, and bring things into their antient legal channel; for, says my author, the French Lords made RAINFROY the Mayor of the palace yield him the command of the army, where he always behaved himself with conduct and bravery becoming a Prince, till adverse fortune, and the violence of his enemy, deprived him of the liberty of acting: he ought not therefore to be reckoned in the number of their slothful indolent Kings. He made an alliance with the Duke of Frize, and invaded Austrasia, of which CHARLES MARTEL had assumed the government. The war was carried on for some time with various success, and several obstinate battles fought between the contending parties; but fortune did not favour CHILPERICK in the end, he was defeated and made prisoner by CHARLES MARTEL, who thereupon set THIERRY the son of DAGOBERT II, upon the throne, and constituted himself Mayor of the palace, in which station he took all occasions to make himself popular. He was now peaceably possessed of all the French dominions as Duke of Austrasia and mayor of the palace to THIERRY, and finding himself in this situation, he attacked the German nations who had shaken off the French yoke, and sent missionaries amongst them to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity; protecting Bishop BONIFACE, whom Pope GREGORY II had sent thither on the same design. In the mean time EUPES Duke of Aquitaine confederating with the Saracens, who had at this time possessed themselves of great part of Spain and Languedoc, marched into the heart of France with a prodigious army, threatening destruction not only to France, but to all Christendom. Whereupon CHARLES MARTEL assembled all the forces he could muster both in Austrasia and Neustria, and gave them battle, obtaining a compleat victory over the infidels, killing three hundred thousand of their men and upwards, according to the French historians; which made him esteemed the hero of the age, not only in France, but in all the neighbouring nations. The Pope especially, who had felt the fury of the Saracens in Italy, became his fast friend upon this great event, and looked upon him as the protector of Christendom. From this victory, 'tis said, he obtained the surname of MARTEL, having as it were with a hammer (Marteau) beaten the Saracens to pieces. While his fame was thus at the height, THIERRY, who had borne the name of King for some years, happened to die: whereupon CHARLES thinking himself established in his power, and at liberty to erect what sort of government he saw fit, took upon himself the title of Duke of All France, without supplying the vacant throne even with a nominal King. It appears however, notwithstanding the great defeat of the Saracens above-mentioned, that they continued in possession of part of Languedoc and Provence, and maintained the war against CHARLES MARTEL for several years afterwards, and that he was not able to take Narbonne from them at last; which would incline one to believe, that the victory above-mentioned was not so compleat as the French

CHARLES  
MARTEL  
makes  
himself  
Mayor  
of the pa-  
lace.Obtains a  
great vic-  
tory over  
the Sara-  
cens, ann.  
732.MARTEL  
siles him-  
self Duke  
of France,  
and go-  
verns it  
without a  
king, an.  
734.

writers pretend. Indeed there are frequent instances throughout their whole history, where according to their own accounts they have made an entire conquest of their enemies, and subdued their territories; and yet immediately after such relations we find them still in the possession of those Princes they pretend to have taken them from, even in the very same authors. If the French have a great deal of wit, they have certainly very little memory, or they would not write flat contradictions so often as they do. Another thing to be observed is, that they are very good at working up a novel; where they meet with a chasm in history, they never fail to supply it out of their own brains, adding and altering circumstances at their pleasure. Therefore as the history of the times we are speaking of, is in general extremely dark and confused, I look upon that of France less to be depended on than any other: where it is not supported by the concurrent testimony of other nations, it must be read with abundance of caution. But to proceed in our history.

The Pope having quarrelled with the Emperor LEO ISAUURIUS, on account of his breaking down the images of the Saints in churches, and prohibiting the adoration of them; and LUTPRAND King of the Lombards falling upon his Holiness at the same time, he had no other refuge to fly to but the heroick CHARLES MARTEL, to whom he sent a solemn embassy, inviting him into Italy, promising to proclaim him Consul and Sovereign of Rome, and to renounce his allegiance to the Emperor, whom he calls the author of the heresy of the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers, and a persecutor of the Catholics. But whilst CHARLES was preparing to enter Italy with a powerful army, he fell ill of a fever, and died in the fiftieth year of his age, anno 741; and the Pope and the Emperor it seems died the same year. CHARLES MARTEL used no other stile in all publick instruments, than that of Mayor of the palace, to which he added the epithet Illustrious, as the Kings of the first family had done. He permitted foreign Princes to stile him Viceroys and Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom. Historians sometimes call him Duke, and at others, Prince of France; also Consul and Patrician: and in his epitaph he is stiled King. He left three sons, two by his first wife, viz. CARLOMAN and PEPIN, and one by his second, called GRIFON; but he divided his territories between the two former. To CARLOMAN the eldest, he gave Austrasia and his German dominions; and to PEPIN, Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence. PEPIN, for what reason does not appear, was pleased to set up another cypher of a King named CHILDERICK, who was of the royal family, but of what branch remains uncertain. He was declared King only of PEPIN's part of the Empire, but not of Austrasia, which was governed by CARLOMAN, as Duke, in his own right. The two brothers soon found their frontiers attacked both on the side of Aquitaine and Germany; but uniting their forces, they were every where victorious, and became very terrible to their enemies. In the midst of this success CARLOMAN thought fit to relinquish the sovereignty of Austrasia, and retire into a monastery at Mount Soracte, whereby his brother PEPIN became possessed of the whole French Empire; but still he wanted the title of King, which he was ambitious of. To prepare his way to the throne, he courted the clergy, nobility, and people, and omitted nothing that might render him

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cian em-  
peror pro-  
hibits the  
worship of  
images.MARTEL  
dies, anno  
741.The go-  
vernment  
divided  
between  
CARLO-  
MAN and  
PEPIN the  
sons of  
MARTEL  
CHILDE-  
RICK set  
up for  
King, ann.  
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popular; but the principal stratagem, which removed all obstacles, was the getting Pope ZACHARY into his measures. He consulted him in all things relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and caused his determinations to be read in council, and received with the greatest deference. On the other hand, the Pope being every day harassed by the Lombards or Saracens, and detested by the Emperor CONSTANTINUS COPRONYMUS, who was as zealous against the worship of images, as his predecessor LEO ISAUURIUS, was very glad of PEPIN's friendship to support him against those powers, and ready to grant whatever he could ask. In this juncture, PEPIN resolved to communicate to him his design of assuming the title of King of France, and to desire his approbation of it. Nay, 'tis said, he sent a formal embassy to the Pope, and proposed it as a case of conscience, Whether considering the situation of affairs then in Europe, it was proper for the title of King to be separated from the royal power in the Empire of France, which alone was in a condition to protect religion? To which the Pope answered, That in regard to the state of affairs, he who was in possession of the power, might add the title of King to it. Which determination of his Holiness removed the objections of the most scrupulous of the French nation. Whereupon they unanimously agreed to depose King CHILDERICK, and make a Monk of him, and crown their favourite PEPIN. And to make the ceremony more solemn and significant, the famous Bishop BONIFACE, who had been employed in the conversion of the Saxons, and was esteemed the greatest Saint of the age, was pitched upon to consecrate the hero, and set the crown upon his head.

Pope ZACHARY dying soon after the coronation of PEPIN, was succeeded by STEPHEN III. About the same time ASTOLPHUS, King of Lombardy, took Ravenna from the Emperor, which was the capital of the Exarchate in Italy, and by virtue of this conquest claimed the sovereignty of Rome itself: whereupon the Pope retired into France, and put himself under the protection of King PEPIN; where, meeting with a favourable reception, he persuaded PEPIN to declare war against the King of the Lombards. And to encourage him in this enterprize, he again consecrated him with his own hands, conferring on him the title of, Protector and Defender of the Church. PEPIN hereupon marched with a great army into Italy, and having defeated ASTOLPHUS, and recovered the Exarchate of Ravenna out of his hands, he made a grant of it to the Pope, whereby he became a considerable temporal Prince. The rest of King PEPIN's reign was taken up with suppressing insurrections in Germany and France, in both which he was successful, and having entirely reduced the duchy of Aquitain, re-united it to the crown of France. Soon after which he was taken ill of a dropsy, and died on the 23d day of September, 768, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He left behind him two sons, viz. CHARLES, afterwards called CHARLEMAGNE, or CHARLES the Great, and CARLOMAN. To the first he gave the kingdom of Neustria, Burgundy, Aquitain, and that part of the kingdom of Austrasia, which lay to the westward of the Meuse; and to CARLOMAN the youngest, he gave the rest of Austrasia, and all his territories beyond the Rhine.

CHARLES at the beginning of his reign entered into an alliance with the King of Lombardy, and to cement it the stronger, married his daughter,

tho' he was before married to another woman, and this expressly against the consent of the Pope; so far was he from suing for a licence for it: nor was any thing more common among the French Princes at this time of day, than to put away one wife, and take another, whenever their interest or pleasure prompted them to it, without the ceremony of a formal divorce.

CARLOMAN, King of Austrasia, died in the year 771, leaving a widow and two sons. The Queen being apprehensive, that her brother CHARLES would seize her person and her children, and force them into a monastery, fled to DIDIER, King of Lombardy, for protection. Hither he pursued them, being encouraged by ADRIAN I, then Pope of Rome, who dreaded nothing more than the King of Lombardy. CHARLES, or CHARLEMAGNE, as I shall call him for the future, easily defeated DIDIER, and made a conquest of two thirds of Italy, leaving the Greek Emperor only in possession of Venice, Naples, and Sicily. As to DIDIER, he shaved his head and shut him up in a monastery, adding to his other titles that of King of Lombardy. He visited the Pope at Rome, where he was received in triumph; and, 'tis said, confirmed the grant of the Exarchate of Ravenna to his Holiness, which PEPIN had made the Holy See.

This Prince having settled his Affairs in Italy, was called into Germany by the revolts of the Saxons. According to the French, he gained numberless victories over that people, but was no sooner removed at a distance from their frontiers, than they renounced his authority, and had recourse to arms, defeating his forces in several encounters; which provoked him to that degree, that besides the many thousands he had destroyed of them in the field of battle, he ordered four thousand five hundred of the chief men of the country to be executed in cold blood, which served but to exasperate that people the more, who maintained the war against him for thirty years and upwards. However, by erecting fortresses, by destroying their country by fire and sword, and the terrible executions he made of the revolters, he compelled them to be quiet sometimes for a year or two, when he carried his arms into Bavaria, Hungary, and Slavonia on the one hand, and into Spain on the other, enlarging the bounds of his Empire on every side. He had at this time three sons, viz. PEPIN by a former Queen, who seems to have been in disgrace with his father; another PEPIN, and LEWIS by his present Queen, the first of whom he created King of Lombardy, and the last King of Aquitain; which so provoked the eldest PEPIN, that he entered into a conspiracy against his father, who was so fortunate however to discover it; and having executed his accomplices, imprisoned his son PEPIN the elder in a monastery. TUSSILON, Duke of Bavaria, also being condemned in a council at Franckfort for his revolts, and obliged to make a formal renunciation of that duchy, CHARLEMAGNE united it to his dominions. Still the Saxons gave him fresh disturbance; he refused to pardon them therefore but upon these two conditions, 1. That they should receive the Christian priests and missionaries amongst them whom they had expelled. And, 2. That one third of them should be transplanted to some distant country: to both which they were obliged to submit.

From Saxony CHARLEMAGNE went to Italy, to do justice to Pope LEO the third, who had been

CHARLES seizes the inheritance of his brother's children, and becomes sole King of France, anno 771. Conquers Lombardy.

His wars with the Saxons.

The Pope approves of the King's being deposed, and PEPIN's usurping the crown. PEPIN crowned anno 751.

He conquers the Exarchate of Ravenna, and gives it to the Pope, anno 755.

PEPIN leaves his dominions to his two sons. CHARLES and CARLOMAN.



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been deposed by PASCHAL and CAMNUTE, two nephews of the preceding Pope, and forced to fly into France; and, if we may credit the French historians, had his eyes and tongue pulled out. But as it is certain, that this Pope both saw and spoke afterwards, few people gave entire credit to the latter part of the relation. CHARLEMAGNE having examined into the insults that had been committed on his Holiness, whose enemies charged him with the most scandalous crimes, in order to justify their conduct, he condemned the late Pope's nephews to death, who were the authors of these outrages; but at the instance of Pope LEO, 'tis said, their punishment was turned into banishment.

CHARLE-  
MAGNE  
crowned  
Emperor  
of the Ro-  
mans, an-  
no 800.

The Pope, in gratitude to CHARLEMAGNE for restoring him to his See, determined to confer on him the title of Emperor, and without his knowledge, as the historians of those times affirm. While CHARLEMAGNE was on his knees at mass in St Peter's church at Rome on Christmas-day, anno 800, he placed a crown upon his head; whereupon the whole chapter and people cried out, as they had been taught no doubt, God bless CHARLES AUGUSTUS, crowned by the hand of God, life and victory to the grand and pacifick Emperor of the Romans! After which CHARLEMAGNE being placed on a throne, the Pope came and paid his reverences to him, saluting him as Emperor of Rome, and presenting him with the Imperial habit. And tho' CHARLEMAGNE pretended he knew nothing of the Pope's design of crowning him Emperor, it appears that he was very well pleased with the honour afterwards, and expected to be treated accordingly.

The King of Persia a little before this having made himself master of Jerusalem, granted it to CHARLEMAGNE; and a priest named ZACHARIAS, brought a banner and the keys of the city to that Prince, whereby he was ceremoniously put into possession of it, which gave occasion to the fabulous account of CHARLEMAGNE's march to the Holy-land, and his conquering Jerusalem. But to proceed: CHARLEMAGNE being now Emperor of the West, began to think of reducing the rest of Italy to his obedience, which was in the possession of the Greeks. This the Empress IRENE endeavoured to prevent; but despairing of defending it by force, she sent an embassy to CHARLEMAGNE to propose a marriage between them, by way of amusement, as 'tis generally thought.

IRENE  
usurps the  
Empire of  
the East.

This Empress had put out the eyes of her son CONSTANTINE, who dying soon after of the wounds, caused herself to be proclaimed Empress. CHARLEMAGNE however finding it an advantageous proposal, and that he might by closing with it unite the Empires of the East and West in his own person, received her Embassadors with all imaginable honours, and sent another embassy to Constantinople, with powers to conclude the match. The Pope, to whom the Emperor communicated the affair, readily came into it, and did all that was in his power to promote it, not doubting but by this means he should have had an opportunity of modelling the Greek Church, and making it conformable to the Latin. But the Grandees of Constantinople apprehending they should be looked upon as subjects and dependants of the Roman Empire, both in spirituals and temporals, deposed the Empress IRENE in that very instant, and proclaimed NICEPHORUS the Patriarch, Emperor. CHARLEMAGNE finding the

thing was become impracticable, and that the Germans were again in arms, and his presence required on that side, accepted of the proposals of peace that were made him by NICEPHORUS, and consented to settle the limits of their respective Empires in Italy.

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CHARLEMAGNE being arrived in Germany, and finding the Saxons were never to be tamed while they remained in a condition to disturb him, ordered ten thousand families of them to be transplanted to the westward of the Rhine, and brought other people to supply their places. He decreed also, that none of those who continued in Saxony, should for the future inherit the estates of their ancestors, if they were found disaffected to his government. And by this means, 'tis said, he entirely put an end to the revolts of that people.

And now finding himself peaceably established in his Empire, he called a general Dyet at Thionville in Luxemburg, where he divided his dominions between his three sons, CHARLES, PEPIN, and LEWIS, reserving however the supreme command in the whole to himself. PEPIN had Italy, LEWIS Aquitain, and CHARLES, who was generally near his father's person, had the superintendency of the rest. Each of these Princes had their hands full for the most part. The Greeks and the Saracens attacked PEPIN's territories in Italy; the Saracens of Spain were perpetually breaking in upon Aquitain; and the Danes and Normans entered Germany, defeated the Emperor's troops, and recovered great part of the country from him: and had not GODFREY King of Denmark been assassinated, CHARLEMAGNE would have found it very difficult to remove them; but upon the death of this Prince, the Danes re-embarked their troops and returned home.

CHARLE-  
MAGNE  
divides his  
Empire  
between  
his three  
sons, anno  
803.

PEPIN, King of Italy, dying in the year 810, left one son named BERNARD, and five daughters; whereupon the Emperor constituted his grandson BERNARD King of Italy: but we are to remember, that his territories consisted only of part of Italy; for the Emperor of the East was still master of Venice, Naples, Sicily, and part of Sardinia. In the year 812, the Emperor lost his eldest son CHARLES; and having only LEWIS, King of Aquitain left, of all the sons he designed should succeed to his dominions, he associated him with him in the Empire, and caused him to be crowned at Aix la Chapelle, the place of the Emperor's usual residence. The Emperor had many other sons, and some of them elder than any of those above-mentioned: but the French Sovereigns took the liberty in those days of appointing whom they pleased their successors. Sometimes they married women of an inferior rank; and this was thought reason sufficient to set aside their children. At others, a second, third, or fourth wife got the ascendant of the old doating Prince, made him divorce his former wife, and declare all his elder children incapable of inheriting; got them shaved and thrust into a monastery and perhaps assassinated.

CHARLEMAGNE died the latter end of January, 814, in the seventy-first year of his age, and forty-seventh of his reign, (as King) and fourteen after his being crowned Emperor. His piety and virtue are much cried up by the French historians, tho' at the same time the facts related of him by those very writers must give us an indifferent idea of this Prince. Even his planting the Christian religion in Saxony, which is esteemed so very meritorious, if we consider with what in-  
justice

CHARLE-  
MAGNE's  
death and  
character.



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justice and cruelty it was effected, will perfectly efface the merit of it. The Turks may have an equal claim to piety, who plant their religion wherever they come with their scymitars, and water it with the blood of the conquered.

LEWIS his  
son suc-  
ceeds him  
in the Em-  
pire, anno  
814.

LEWIS, surnamed the Godly, succeeded his father CHARLEMAGNE in the Empire, and his nephew BERNARD did homage to him for the kingdom of Italy. The Pope also made the Romans take an oath of fealty to the Emperor, and came into France to crown him and the Empress HERMINGARDE with his own hand. In the year 817 the Emperor associated his eldest son LOTHAIRE with him in the Empire: his second son PEPIN he constituted King of Aquitain; and LEWIS the youngest, King of Bavaria. At the same time his nephew BERNARD, King of Italy, raised a rebellion against him; but the Emperor took him prisoner and bored out his eyes, of which he died soon after, and Italy was re-united to the French Empire. This punishment of boring out the eyes of rival or rebellious princes was become very common in France about this time. They are supposed to have learned it of the Grecian Emperors, with whom they were pretty conversant.

The Saracens  
succeed against  
Christen-  
dom.

The Saracens in the year 828 were very successful against both the western and eastern Emperors dominions. From the French they took several places in Spain and South France, and from the Greeks the island of Sicily; but what distracted the affairs of the Emperor LEWIS most, was his marriage with a second wife by whom he had children; and as he had parcelled out all his dominions amongst his sons by the first venter, the present Empress was ever soliciting him to revoke what he had done, and make some provision for her issue. The old Emperor was ready to comply with her; but it coming to the ears of his sons by the first wife, they apprehended they should be disinherited, and immediately formed a conspiracy against their father, in which they met with such success, that they deposed the Emperor. He had the address however to create a misunderstanding among the brothers, and was restored to his throne; whereupon he assigned his son CHARLES by the second venter the kingdom of Neustria and the country of the Alemanni beyond the Rhine, and soon after the kingdom of Aquitain, upon the death of PEPIN, though he left two sons, named PEPIN and CHARLES. The old Emperor a little before his death, which happened anno 840, constituted the eldest son LOTHAIRE Emperor, and gave him all the rest of his territories, but those assigned to CHARLES and to LEWIS King of Bavaria, afterwards King of Germany. LEWIS the Godly was no sooner dead, but LOTHAIRE his son formed a design of making himself universal monarch, attacked the territories of his two brothers CHARLES and LEWIS, and made himself master of great part of them. But these Princes entering into a confederacy against LOTHAIRE, brought him to terms, and a new division of the dominions of France was agreed on between them.

Lo-  
THAIRE  
Emperor,  
anno 840.

The di-  
tracted  
condition  
of France.

During these intestine divisions, the enemies of France took an opportunity of attacking it on every side. The Normans entered the mouth of the Seine, took Rouen and Paris, and laid all the country waste on that side. The Saracens ravaged Italy with fire and sword, fixing themselves there; and the Duke of Bretagne enlarged his territories at the expence of the French, obliging them to give him the title of King, which he had lately

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assumed. The Normans also entered the Loire, plundered Nantz and all the fine towns upon that river without opposition.

LOTHAIRE the Emperor died the 29th of September, 855, leaving three sons, viz. LEWIS, LOTHAIRE, and CHARLES. LEWIS was appointed King of Italy, &c. and Emperor. LOTHAIRE had the countries lying between the Rhine and Meuse, and several other provinces to the southward, which from him were called the kingdom of Lotharingia, and afterwards Lorrain; tho' the modern Lorrain takes up but a small part of the country which anciently went under that name. CHARLES the youngest succeeded to Provence, Dauphiné, and Transjuran Burgundy, which division obtained the name of the kingdom of Provence.

I shall not trouble the reader with all the divisions and subdivisions made by the French Princes of their territories the next twenty years, but proceed to the reign of the Emperor CHARLES the Gros, in whom all their dominions were again united under one head, which happened about the year 884. This Prince, the French observe, was one of the most powerful of their monarchs, being Emperor and King of Italy, Sovereign of Germany, Pannonia, and all France, with a considerable part of Spain as far as the Ebro: he was the son of LEWIS of Bavaria King of Germany above mentioned; and though he was not very famous for his good sense, yet he shewed himself a true descendant of the French Kings by his treachery: GODEFROY, a Norman Prince to whom the French had given up Friizia and part of the Low-Countries, being at war with CHARLES the Gros, he invited the Norman to a treaty, where he procured him to be assassinated. To revenge which, the Normans poured into France, destroyed the country with fire and sword, and laid siege to Paris, which lasted two years, when the Emperor gave them a large sum of money to remove their quarters. This rendered him very contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, who dethroned him in the year 888, whereupon ARNULPH Duke of Carinthia, and bastard of CARLOMAN late King of Bavaria, procured himself to be chosen King of Germany; and Eudes Count of Paris, who had bravely defended that city against the Normans, was advanced to the throne of France, Italy, and the rest of the French territories, which had a abundance of pretenders to them, who vanished in a little time.

The kingdom of France was in a very indifferent state when Eudes had the name of King of it. Every Duke and Count looked upon himself as sovereign of the territories he governed, and made war upon each other without any regard to the French King, filling all places with blood and devastation; while the Normans, on the other hand, ravaged the country from one end to the other. The Lords indeed were obliged to assist the King with a certain number of troops when he demanded them; but if they were in a different interest they frequently disobeyed his summons. And this time we find them caballing and confederating against Eudes, whom they had but a little before elected their King, and setting up against him CHARLES the son of LEWIS the Stammerer, an infant, who shared the kingdom of France with Eudes till he died, which happened in the year 898, when CHARLES, surnamed the Simple, succeeded to the whole.

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Lewis II.  
Emperor.

The  
French  
Empire u-  
nited in  
CHARLES  
the Gros,  
anno 884.

Eudes  
King of  
France,  
888.

Abun-  
dant of  
petty so-  
vereigns  
here.

CHARLES  
the Sim-  
ple, 898.



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Neustria  
granted to  
the Nor-  
mans,  
911.The Ger-  
man Em-  
pire be-  
comes e-  
lective,  
and dis-  
tinct from  
France.ROBERT  
crown'd.RO-  
DOLPH  
crown'd.LEWIS  
IV  
crown'd,  
936.

The first remarkable thing in this reign is the cession of that part of Neustria now called Normandy, to ROLLO, a Prince or General of the Normans, whom the French stile the most powerful of all the Norman chiefs who had harassed their country. He kept them in perpetual alarms, marching his troops from province to province, till he became so formidable, that deputations were sent to the King from all parts, desiring him to purchase peace of ROLLO on any terms; and a treaty being set on foot, a peace was concluded upon the following conditions: 1. That the country now called Normandy should be granted to ROLLO and his heirs; and as it had been pretty much ruined by his troops, Bretagne also should be put into his hands till the country had recovered it self. 2. That ROLLO should become a Christian. And, 3. That the French King should give him his daughter GISELA in marriage. Which articles were duly performed in the years 911 and 912.

ARNULPH King of Germany had procured himself to be declared Emperor, which title he enjoyed three years; but leaving no legitimate issue, the German Princes elected CONRAD Duke of Franconia for their Emperor. From this time therefore we may look upon the Empire of Germany to be elective, and France a distinct kingdom. The succeeding Emperors may be found in the State of Germany. But to proceed in the history of France: CHARLES the Simple, it seems, was a soft good-natured Prince, and suffered his nobility to encroach on his prerogative, and impose upon him to that degree, that at length they dethroned him, and advanced Duke ROBERT to the crown, brother of the late King EUDES. ROBERT was killed in a pitched battle with CHARLES soon after: but HUGH the son of ROBERT, afterwards called HUGH the Great, maintained the fight against the King, and entirely routed his army. The French Lords hereupon offered the crown to HUGH, who for some reasons declined the honour himself, and recommended RODOLPH Duke of Burgundy, his sister's husband, for their sovereign, whom they accepted: while HERBERT Count of Vermandois, a treacherous courtier, who had been most instrumental in this revolution, kept the unfortunate King CHARLES prisoner at Chateau-Thierry.

RODOLPH had a reign of perpetual vexation; sometimes attacked by the Emperor of Germany; at others, by the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine; and the faithless HERBERT, Count of Vermandois, not thinking his treachery sufficiently rewarded, threatened to restore CHARLES to his throne, which gave him abundance of disquiet, till the death of that unfortunate Prince, which happened in the year 929. RODOLPH dying without issue in the year 935, the French Lords sent for LEWIS the son of CHARLES the Simple from England (whither his mother OGIVA, the sister of King ATHELSTAN, fled with him on the dethroning of her husband) and crowned him at Rheims. He had remained in exile thirteen years, and was about sixteen years of age at his advancement to the throne. HUGH the Great, already mentioned, took upon him the administration of affairs; at which the young King seemed impatient, dismissed HUGH from his employment, and sent for his mother OGIVA from England, to assist him with her advice: HUGH hereupon entered into a conspiracy with some other Lords, and maintained a rebellion for several years against his Sovereign. But these troubles were at length

accommodated by the mediation of the Duke of Normandy, who happening to die soon after he had performed this friendly office, the French King very basely seized upon his son, the heir of his dominions, with an intent to have deprived him of them. But the governor of the young Prince had some notice of it, and fled with him into Normandy, where he raised an army for his defence. The French King marched against him, and being drawn into the country under pretence of a treaty, was made prisoner in his turn, but was released from his confinement on confirming Normandy to the Duke, and releasing him of all future services on account of that duchy. The King was no sooner set at liberty in Normandy, but HUGH the Great made him a prisoner again: nor would he release him till he obliged that Prince to deliver up Laon, which was almost the only city he was master of. The rest of his reign he continued to be insulted by HUGH and his confederates, whom he sometimes revenged himself upon by the assistance of the Emperor OTHO, but could never entirely suppress the factions that were formed against him. He was killed by a fall from his horse as he was hunting, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-third of his age, anno 954, leaving behind him two sons, viz. LOTHAIRE and CHARLES, LOTHAIRE succeeding to all his dominions: whereas 'tis observed, that before this time the French Kings used to divide their territories among their sons.

LOTHAIRE was crowned, but HUGH the Great, as he was called, had the administration of the government: nothing was transacted at court without him. And tho' he was already Duke of France, Count of Paris and Orleans, and Duke of Burgundy, he would not be contented till he had procured a grant of the duchy of Aquitaine, to the prejudice of the Count of Poitiers, which if he had gotten possession of, would have made him master of the best part of France. The Count of Poitiers refusing to deliver up Aquitaine, HUGH obliged the King to make war upon him: but to the great satisfaction both of the King and the Count, HUGH died in June 955, whereby they were both delivered from his tyranny. Nor would his ambition have stopped here: it is not at all doubted but he had a design upon the crown, and only waited a proper opportunity to usurp it. He left four sons, the eldest of which was HUGH, surnamed CADET, afterwards King, to whom he left the counties of Paris and Orleans. The second was OTHO, who succeeded him in the duchy of Burgundy: and the other two, viz. EUDES and HENRY, were successively Dukes of Burgundy after the death of OTHO.

It is observed of King LOTHAIRE, that he was a Prince without territories: that many of his vassals had greater possessions than himself; for Laon was almost the only city he had a property in. During most of his reign he was but a spectator, and sometimes arbiter of the differences of the petty sovereigns, who gave him the title of King, while they plundered and pillaged each other's lands, took and retook cities, and sometimes came to a pitched battle, without any regard to him: and it was well if his own demesns did not sometimes suffer by their insults. And what was very unfortunate for the Kings of this second line was, that having very few cities or territories that depended immediately on themselves, and the royal armies being always composed of forces which belonged to

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XXXIV.Lo-  
THAIRE  
succeeds  
his father  
LEWIS,  
954.



CHAP. XXXIV. the great Lords, the King was often at their discretion, and forced to purchase their assistance on such terms as he could.

LOTHAIRE therefore to remedy these inconveniencies, considered how he might enlarge his territories. The most popular way he could think of was by driving the Normans out of the kingdom, and seizing the countries they possessed; which he attempted first by way of surprize; and that failing, he declared open war with RICHARD Duke of Normandy, who was so provoked at this usage, that he ravaged the rest of the kingdom of France in a most terrible manner, insomuch that the nobility and clergy begged of the King to clap up a peace, which the Duke at length yielded to, on condition that the French King would restore what he had taken, and confirm the grant of Normandy to him.

LOTHAIRE met with better success in another place: for ARNULPH, Count of Flanders, succeeding to that earldom, and being summoned to pay his homage, or, as some say, to furnish his quota of troops, and refusing to obey the summons, the King entered Flanders at the head of a powerful army, and seized upon the earldom as forfeited. He afterwards governed the kingdom of France in peace for many years, till a dispute about Lorrain with the Emperor ORTHO, engaged him in a new war, that was carried on with various success, and continued almost to his death, that happened in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign, anno 986. He had procured his eldest son LEWIS to be recognized King during his life-time, and at his death recommended him to the Lords, and particularly to HUGH CAPET, so little was he apprized of his ambitious

views. LEWIS reigned but a year and three months, supposed by some to be poisoned; and leaving no children, should have been succeeded by CHARLES Duke of Lorrain, his father's brother: but HUGH

HUGH CAPET usurps the throne 987.

CAPET stepped into the throne, and begun the third line of the Kings of France, from whom his present majesty LEWIS XV descended; of which event the French historians give the following account. There had been a dispute between the Emperor and the French about the duchy of Lorrain, as hath been observed already; and Prince CHARLES, brother of LEWIS the late King, had accepted it of the Emperor upon condition of becoming his vassal; which so provoked the French nobility, that they entertained an aversion to him. While, on the other hand, HUGH CAPET had so distinguished himself by his courage and prudence in the two last reigns, that he was become the darling of the people, and looked upon as the only man that could protect them against their enemies. True it is, this family had long been in the administration, and had the command of their armies, which gave them great opportunities of forming their interests, and opening a way to the crown, which they aimed at for several generations, and now found an opportunity of usurping, when the heir of the crown was at a distance, and sufficiently blackened, no doubt, by their artifices. But Prince CHARLES did not easily relinquish his pretensions; for he entered France with an army, and besieged Laon, one of the strongest and most important towns in the kingdom, and made himself master of the place. Whereupon HUGH, who had been proclaimed King by his party, came and besieged him. CHARLES did not only make a brave defence here, but sallied out with the best of his troops, forced the enemies trenches, and

cut their army in pieces; HUGH himself escaping with great difficulty. He afterwards over-run the Soissonois, took Rheims and several other towns, and probably had found means to ascend the throne of his ancestors, if he had not been betrayed by the villainous Bishop of Laon, who let the enemy into that city when they were not expected to be near it; and thus the unhappy CHARLES was made a prisoner, and probably soon after murdered, for he was never heard of more: whereupon HUGH CAPET governed for the future without a competitor. This was the glorious beginning of that house which the French seem to adore, and from whence the present King is descended. By the encomiums every where given to this and other usurpers by historians, one would be tempted to think, that murder and rebellion were virtues, and that killing or deposing an innocent Prince, and taking possession of his dominions, constituted a hero: for such are most of the heroes we meet with on record.

HUGH CAPET, 'tis observed, begun his reign with greater advantage than many of the former Kings, on account of his having larger demesns. He was in his own right possessed of the duchy of France, and the counties of Paris and Orleans; and the duchy of Burgundy he was secure of, as being in the hands of his brother: so that he could raise a considerable force without being obliged to his vassals, and was in a condition to keep the greatest of them in awe. Accordingly we are told that he made a greater figure than his predecessors, and settled his government so firmly, that during the ten years he reigned there was not one insurrection against him. But it seems he contented himself with restoring tranquillity to the distracted country, keeping the nobility within bounds, and cultivating the acts of peace, for which he is highly applauded by the French; and did not trouble himself about extending the bounds of his dominions; making good the old proverb, The worse title the better King. And true it is, usurpers are generally obliged to do abundance of popular things to obtain the affections of their new subjects; for where the people find themselves under an equitable and gentle administration, they don't much trouble themselves about the title of the Prince. On the other hand, where a usurper despairs of bringing the people into his interests, he is obliged to govern them with a rod of iron; by standing armies, grievous taxes, and other oppressions, that they may not be in a condition to contest his title.

HUGH CAPET was succeeded by his son ROBERT, who in the beginning of his reign met with some disturbance from the Pope. He had married a near relation, and refusing to part with her, his Holiness thought fit to excommunicate him. Nor would he be reconciled till he dismissed the lady; whereupon the King married another named CONSTANTIA, a turbulent woman, who gave him a great deal of uneasiness. The Pope also obliged King ROBERT to set the Archbishop of Rheims at liberty, whom his father had imprisoned; such an influence had the Pope over Christian Princes in this age. And as he found he should never enjoy his dominions in quiet without keeping in good terms with the Holy See, he proceeded to persecute, and even to condemn to the flames, a set of people whom the Church were pleased to denominate hereticks; though I perceive by their own writers, their principles were the same with the Albigenes; of whom the Protestant world

CHAP. XXXIV.

ROBERT succeeds his father HUGH CAPET, anno 996.

Persecutes the Albigenes.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.HENRY I,  
anno  
1031.WIL-  
LIAM  
Duke of  
Norman-  
dy defeats  
the French  
King.PHILIP I,  
anno  
1060.

have a very favourable opinion. There was little more remarkable in this reign, unless some wars between the vassal Princes; and a rebellion of two of the King's sons against him, by the instigation of their mother CONSTANTIA; which was suppressed without much blood-shed. This Prince died in the sixty-first year of his age, anno 1031. He had three sons, HUGH, HENRY, and ROBERT, (of whom, HUGH he associated with him in the kingdom, but he died before him) and a daughter named ALIX, or ADELA, married to RICHARD III, Duke of Normandy.

HENRY I, succeeded his father; against whom the Queen-mother CONSTANTIA entered into a confederacy with her younger son ROBERT, and obliged the King to fly to the Duke of Normandy for protection: but he was soon after restored to his throne by the assistance of that Prince; and his mother dying, he took his brother ROBERT into his favour, and either made or confirmed him Duke of Burgundy; and in gratitude to the Duke of Normandy, for the assistance he had given him in his distress, he transferred over to him the cities of Gisors, Chaumont, and Pontoise, with all the Vexin Norman. And that intimacy there appears to have been between these two Princes, that the Duke of Normandy chose to commit his son WILLIAM to the French King's care while he went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This was that WILLIAM afterwards surnamed the Conqueror, from his conquest of England. He was indeed illegitimate, but succeeded to Normandy by the donation of his father. The Princes of those times taking the liberty of disposing of their territories to whom they saw fit, especially if they had no legitimate issue. ROBERT Duke of Normandy happening to die in his return from the Holy Land, we find the French King acting a very odd part; sometimes in the interest of young Duke WILLIAM, and at others in an alliance with those who disputed his title, on account of their descent from former Dukes. However, Duke WILLIAM, having defeated King HENRY and his allies in a decisive battle, gained a mighty reputation, and enjoyed his dominions in peace till his expedition into England, which he conquered in the year 1066. There is little more remarkable in the reign of HENRY I, unless a rebellion formed against him by his brother EUDES, which he had the good fortune to suppress. Finding himself very ill, he associated with him his eldest son PHILIP, in the government in the year 1059, who was then about seven years of age, and died the following year, being the thirtieth of his reign.

PHILIP the first took all opportunities of lessening the power of the Duke of Normandy, and inciting the neighbouring Princes against him; sometimes he encouraged the Duke of Bretagne to renounce all dependance on Normandy, (for Bretagne as well as Normandy was granted to ROLLO,) sometimes he joined his forces with ROBERT the conqueror's son, who was in rebellion against his father, and after the death of the conqueror he kept up the divisions and misunderstandings among his children: but there happened an occurrence in his own family which had liked to have rendered him incapable of intermeddling with the affairs of his neighbours; PHILIP having fallen in love with BERTRADE the wife of the Earl of Anjou, took the liberty to divorce his first wife, by whom he had several children, and marry BERTRADE; whereupon he was excommunicated by the Pope, and begun to be contemned by his subjects; which put

him upon associating with him his son LEWIS in the government, who being a prudent and active Prince, kept the great Lords within the bounds of their duty, and restored the credit of his father's administration: but BERTRADE, who had children by the King, studied all means to destroy this young Prince and advance her own, and when nothing else would do fairly, gave him a dose of poison, which being timely discovered, his life was preserved with a great deal of difficulty; but his constitution appeared to be broken, and he always looked very pale afterwards. Notwithstanding this vile attempt, the poor old dotting King procured a reconciliation between his son LEWIS and this execrable woman, and had a licence of the Pope to retain her for his wife upon the death of his first Queen. But the most remarkable thing which happened in this reign was the setting on foot the crusado's: ALEXIS the Grecian Emperor had desired the assistance of the Pope and the Christian Princes of the west against the Mahometans, who were become masters of all the Lesser Asia, and advanced even to the shores of the Bosphorus over against Constantinople. The Pope and clergy immediately preached up the merit of defending christiandom against the infidels, and proposed the conquering even of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and rescuing the sepulchre of our blessed Saviour out of their impious hands; and this in so moving a manner, that all Europe seemed impatient to enter up that holy war.

An innumerable multitude of people of all conditions and sexes immediately took the cross for their badge: the most backward seem to have been the Kings of this part of the world, there was not one of this exalted dignity in the first expedition; but a great number of Princes and Lords, especially of the French, Flemings, and Germans: the chief of these were HUGH Count of Vermandois, the King's brother, ROBERT Duke of Normandy, son of the Conqueror, RAYMOND Count of Thoulouse, ROBERT Count of Flanders, STEPHEN Count of Blois and Chartres, and the celebrated GODFREY of Bouillon Duke of Lorraine, with EUSTACHIUS and BALDWIN his brothers; and an infinite number of Lords and gentlemen, that drew almost whole provinces after them. They began their march in the year 1096. Besides those who went as soldiers, there were old men, women, children, priests and monks, engaged in the enterprize, not less than seven or eight hundred thousand souls of all nations; most of whom had very little considered the length of the journey, or how they should subsist till they came into the enemies country; and, in fact, one half of them perished before they arrived; if perishing be a proper term where the people were infallibly sure of being received into Paradise as soon as they left this world.

As they observed very little discipline, many of them were destroyed even in the Christian countries through which they passed, by the sword, sickness, or famine; and those of them that arrived at Constantinople, and had procured vessels to transport them to the opposite shore, were many of them cut to-pieces as soon as they landed, for want of conduct; but these, 'tis true, were for the most part a confused multitude, the fore-runners of the army; the Princes and generals, who had been used to military exploits, marched with more caution. GODFREY of Bouillon, and other commanders, who observed an exact discipline, arrived at Constantinople with their troops

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XXXIV.Crusado's  
first set on  
foot.



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XXXIV.CHAP.  
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troops in petty good condition. And indeed they appeared so numerous upon their rendezvous, that they put the Grecian Emperor into the utmost consternation. He began to stand much more in fear of them than he did of the infidels, and instead of joining his arms with theirs, took all opportunities underhand to distress the forces engaged in the crusado: he durst not deny the generals shipping to transport their troops, 'tis true, lest they should make him sensible of their resentment; and perhaps he thought this the readiest way to get rid of them: but notwithstanding all their losses and difficulties, when they came to draw up their troops upon the Asiatick shore, they found they had still near an hundred thousand horse, and almost twice that number of foot; whereupon they immediately laid siege to Nice in Bythina, almost over-against Constantinople, and the usual place of Sultan SOLIMAN's residence. The Sultan marched to the relief of the town, but was defeated; whereupon the place capitulated, and was put into the Emperor's hands, as had been agreed on when he engaged to furnish them with shipping and provisions, and to join them with his forces.

Nice in  
Bythina  
taken  
from the  
Turks.Antioch  
taken.

From Nice, the Christian Princes advanced to besiege Antioch, and SOLIMAN opposing their march with an army of two hundred thousand men, they gained a complete victory, and had the plunder of his camp, which was very rich; after which they over-ran great part of the Lesser Asia, and having made themselves masters of Antioch, sent to the Emperor to join his forces with them as he had promised; instead of which he only sent them complaints, because Antioch was not delivered into his hands. Whereupon they resolved to have no concern with him, but to act independently of the Greeks for the future.

Jerusalem  
taken.

From Antioch these heroes marched to Jerusalem, which they invested; though it is said their numbers were so diminished, that they did not amount to fifty thousand men, and that the garrison in the town was as numerous. But it seems, a fleet of English, Normans, Flemmings, and Genoese, luckily arrived at this time with supplies, which gave fresh vigour to the Christian army; who making an assault upon the outward wall, carried it sword in hand. At another attack, which had lasted from break of day to noon, when the besiegers began to faint, and give way, the famous GODFREY of Bouillon encouraged them, with an assurance of success; pretending he had seen an horseman descending from the clouds, and that heaven fought on their side: which so animated the troops, that they carried all before them, and the town was taken by storm.

The celebrated GODFREY, who had distinguished himself by his conduct and bravery thro' the whole expedition, was by universal consent crowned King of Jerusalem, who afterwards made Ptolemais, Cesarea, Antipatris, Ascalon, and other cities, tributary to him: but did not live to enjoy his kingdom more than one year. He was succeeded by his brother BALDWIN: and fresh detachments of Christians arriving every day, who were encouraged to take the cross upon them by the news of the taking of Jerusalem, BALDWIN conquered several other cities and provinces, making a large addition to his dominions.

But to return to PHILIP King of France; the greatest advantage he and his successors made by these crusado's, seems to be the uniting some

fiefs to the crown; for several of the great Lords mortgaged or sold their territories to the King, to enable them to undertake the crusado; and we find ROBERT Duke of Normandy engaged his duchy to his brother the King of England, with the same view.

France enjoyed a perfect tranquillity during the last ten years of PHILIP's reign, who died in the 57th year of his age, anno 1108, leaving his dominions to his son LEWIS VI, surnamed the Gros.

The beginning of the reign of LEWIS VI, was disturbed by some insurrections and rebellions promoted by his mother-in-law, and her son, but he had the good fortune to suppress them. HENRY I, King of England, proved a much more formidable enemy; for having ascended the throne of England while his brother ROBERT was engaged in the crusado to the Holy-Land; he also deprived that Prince of the duchy of Normandy at his return, and made him prisoner: and having formed an alliance with the Duke of Bretagne, and Earl of Anjou, he attacked the frontiers of France, and took Gisors. The war between the English and French monarchs lasted many years, in which the English, according to their own writers, were generally victorious; and yet the French pretend, that upon the conclusion of the peace, the King of England submitted to do homage for the duchy of Normandy: which ought to be well proved before it is entirely credited. In these disputes between France and England, King LEWIS made great use of WILLIAM CLITO, as he was called, the son of ROBERT Duke of Normandy, to draw off the Norman Lords from their allegiance to King HENRY. He gave him the Vexin François upon the frontiers of Normandy, and afterwards the county of Flanders; but this unhappy Prince could never recover the inheritance of his father. He died of a slight wound in his hand, which happened to gangreen, according to the French writers. LEWIS VI, died in the year 1137, leaving five sons and one daughter, of whom LEWIS his eldest son succeeded him.

LEWIS  
VI, anno  
1108.LEWIS  
VII.  
1137.

The crown of England being disputed by MAUD the Empress, and STEPHEN of Bologne, France had time to breathe in the beginning of the reign of LEWIS VII, who found his dominions in a state of such tranquillity, that he thought it a proper season to undertake a crusado in person to the Holy-Land; and CONRAD the Emperor of Germany agreed to join with him in the enterprize.

Under-  
takes a  
crusado  
with the  
German  
Emperor.

The Christians, who had now been in possession of the Holy Land and the adjacent countries for forty years, had formed out of them four considerable states, viz. 1. That of Edeffa, which comprehended the countries on the banks of the Euphrates. 2. The district of Tripoli, which lay in the neighbourhood of the sea. 3. The district of Antioch. And, 4. The kingdom of Jerusalem. And had the Princes of these several territories been unanimous, they would have been able to have maintained their ground against the Mahometans: but falling out among themselves, SANGUIN, sultan of Aleppo, and afterwards NORADIN his son, made great advantages of their ill-timed disputes, and recovered most of the conquests they had made; which occasioned the King of Jerusalem and the Prince of Antioch to desire succours of the European Christians, and gave birth to this second crusado.



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The Emperor CONRAD was first ready, and began his march in Easter, 1147, with an army of an hundred thousand men, of whom seventy thousand were horse, armed back and breast. When he arrived on the frontiers of the Grecian Empire, he found but a very indifferent reception from the subjects of the Emperor MANUEL COMMENIUS: they cut off the stragglers of the army, and refused to furnish CONRAD's troops with provisions but at excessive rates: and in some places their disputes arose to such an height, that they were upon the point of coming to a general battle. And it must be confessed, that the Grecian Emperor, if he was not consulted in this affair, had reason to be upon his guard; and might very well entertain apprehensions, that these mighty preparations were designed against his dominions. The difference of religion also between the Greeks and Latins might contribute to heighten their aversion to each other. Nor was it at all improbable, if the Emperor CONRAD had met with success in this expedition, but he would have put what terms he pleased upon the Greeks; and the Pope and western Churches would have been for forming their Church after the model of their own, and reducing the whole Christian world under one spiritual head. We cannot therefore entirely blame the Grecian Emperors for discouraging these crusado's; tho' the treacherous part they acted in Asia afterwards, if the French and German accounts are to be credited, are never to be justified. To proceed therefore, the Emperor MANUEL having furnished CONRAD with vessels to transport his army, cross the Hellespont, supplied him also with treacherous guides, who led them into ambuscades, and in effect delivered up this fine army a prey to the Mahometans; insomuch that after they had traversed the greatest part of the Lesser Asia, and undergone inconceivable hardships, CONRAD found himself obliged to return to the Hellespont again, having lost more than three parts of his forces; where he had the satisfaction indeed of meeting with the French King at the head of much such an army as he had lost. The Emperor advised the French King to continue his march by the sea-coasts, to prevent his being surrounded by the Mahometans; which precaution he observed for some time, passing by Smyrna and Ephesus: but finding it very troublesome crossing the mouths of rivers, he altered his march, and turned off into the inland country, where the Turks being possessed of all the passes, destroyed most part of his army, and the King with a very few of his Lords escaped to Antioch, after which he proceeded to pay his devotions at Jerusalem, and returned to France. The Emperor CONRAD also found means to visit our Saviour's sepulchre privately, before he returned to Germany: and thus ended all these mighty preparations for subduing the infidels.

But I must not forget an adventure in this expedition, which afterwards had a considerable influence on the kingdoms of France and England. LEWIS had married ELEANOR, the heiress of Guienne and Gascony, frequently called the kingdom of Aquitaine, and thereby made a considerable addition to his dominions. She was a beautiful princess, of whom he was infinitely fond, which induced him to take her along with him to the Holy-Land: but unluckily at Antioch she engaged in an amour with the Prince of that territory, who was her Uncle. So open they were in the matter, that the King seemed fully convinced of their criminal correspondence, and was forced to make use

of a stratagem to bring her away with him. At his return he procured a divorce, tho' he had two children by her, and was forced to return her the territories she brought in marriage. HENRY Duke of Normandy, son of the Empress MAUD, finding the lady at liberty, struck up a match with her within six weeks after the divorce, by which means he added to his dominions Aquitaine, Maine, &c. and became as formidable to STEPHEN his competitor in England, as he was to LEWIS in France, who thereupon entered into a confederacy against him. But HENRY maintained his ground against both of them: and STEPHEN having buried his son EUSTACHIUS, and finding the English weary of the war, entered into a treaty with HENRY, wherein 'twas agreed, that STEPHEN should enjoy the crown of England during his life, and that HENRY should succeed him.

STEPHEN dying not long after, HENRY came with the title and equipage of a King, say the French historians, to do homage to LEWIS, who ought to have trembled when he received it, it being for Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, &c. that is, for the best part of the kingdom, which he was in effect absolute master of. THIERRY of Alfatia also making a journey to the Holy-Land, left the guardianship of his son PHILIP, Flanders, and all his other territories, to the care of King HENRY; so that LEWIS was hemmed in by him on every side. But the affair of THOMAS à BECKET, Archbishop of Canterbury, happening about the same time, gave the King of England so much vexation, that he had not an opportunity of making those advantages he might otherwise have reaped by the vast increase of his dominions.

Archbishop BECKET being assassinated by some who thought to do King HENRY good service, he was threatened with an excommunication by the Pope; whereupon the King caused his son HENRY to be proclaimed King, to prevent any ill consequences: but this step had near occasioned the loss of his crown, for young HENRY having the name of King, and none of the power, was incited by the Queen and the French King to raise a rebellion against his father, into which his brothers RICHARD and GEOFFREY were also drawn, with many of the French and English nobility. But the conduct and bravery of King HENRY was such, that he reduced his rebellious Queen and sons, defeated his enemies, and prescribed what terms of peace he saw fit to them. The two kingdoms being in full peace, King LEWIS, called LEWIS the Pious, desired leave of the King of England to come in pilgrimage to the tomb of THOMAS à BECKET at Canterbury, to perform his devotions for the health of his son PHILIP, which was complied with; and heaven, say the French historians, was pleased to hear the prayers of the devout King upon this occasion; his son's health was restored: so meritorious was the intercession of THOMAS à BECKET thought in a very few years. The following year, 1180, King LEWIS died at Paris in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign, being succeeded by his son PHILIP, surnamed AUGUSTUS by some of their historians; but this title was never given him during his reign.

PHILIP began his reign with banishing the Jews, and persecuting the Albigenes, whom the French writers call Hereticks. Next we find him inciting and encouraging RICHARD and JOHN, the sons of HENRY King of England, in their rebellion

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HENRY II, Duke of Normandy, adds Aquitaine to his other dominions, and succeeds to the crown of England.

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PHILIP AUGUSTUS, anno 1180.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.He en-  
gages in a  
crusade  
with Ri-  
chard  
King of  
England.

rebellion against their father; and after the death of HENRY, he became no less an enemy to his son RICHARD, who had been his ally; but the Pope persuaded them to lay aside their private quarrels, and join in a crusade for recovery of the Holy-Land, which was almost lost through the dissensions of the Christian Princes on that side.

The armies did not take the same rout as in the preceding wars; but were transported to Palestine by sea, and Sicily was appointed by the two Kings for the place of rendezvous. The French King embarked at Genoa, and RICHARD King of England at Marseilles; and finding the year pretty far advanced when their forces arrived in Sicily, it was thought convenient to winter there. Here arose a misunderstanding between the two Kings, which the French ascribe to King RICHARD's refusing to marry ALICE the French King's sister according to his engagements; but RICHARD making it appear, that this Princess had been faulty in her conduct, King PHILIP seemed to be satisfied. Some of the French writers go so far as to say, that this Princess had a child by King HENRY II, RICHARD's father; and the English historians suggest something of the same nature: but however that matter was, the two Kings were never afterwards heartily reconciled. In the following spring, they failed to Palestine, and assisted in the siege of Acon or Ptolemais, where there were perpetual misunderstandings between them. They agreed however to attack the place by turns; and when one of them was busied in carrying on the siege, the other defended the lines against Sultan SALADIN, who lay within a bow-shot of their camp. At length the town being taken, the two Kings divided it between them and had each their governor in it. The summer not being half spent, it was expected these Princes would have entered upon some further action; but the French King, who seems all along to have had some base treacherous views with regard to King RICHARD, resolved to return to Europe, leaving only a small body of troops in Palestine, under the command of Eudes of Burgundy. King RICHARD had that precaution indeed before he went, to make King PHILIP swear, that he would undertake nothing against his dominions in his absence; but there are not many instances in history, where the French Kings have kept their oaths or promises longer with the English, than they have found their interest in observing them; at least thus it happened on this occasion. The King of England remained a year after him in Palestine, and made some further conquests; he had continued there longer, if he had not received intelligence of the practices of King PHILIP and his brother JOHN against his dominions; and as he was hastening home to prevent the consequences of this confederacy, he was detained by LEOPOLD Duke of Austria, and put into the hands of HENRY VI, the German Emperor, with whom he remained a prisoner upwards of a year, by the artifices of PHILIP, who spared no treasure to prevent his returning to his kingdom. In the mean time he incited JOHN to mount the throne of England, and promised him his assistance in it, upon condition he would become his vassal. Accordingly JOHN paid his homage to him for his brother's territories in France; and some of the French writers affirm, for England also. JOHN went over to England, and gave out that his brother RICHARD was dead, demanding to be acknowledged their Sovereign; which some of the

The prac-  
tices of  
King  
PHILIP  
against  
King  
RICH-  
ARD.

Lords did, but most of them continued unshaken in their loyalty. PHILIP in the mean time did not only use his utmost endeavours to get King RICHARD put into his hands, but entered Normandy with an army, and seized on several towns and provinces belonging to the English. The Emperor having squeezed what money he could out of the French King, began to listen to the proposals which were made him by the English for the ransom of their Sovereign; and having worked them up to an immense sum, gave that Prince his liberty, without consulting PHILIP in the matter.

RICHARD being returned to England, and having drawn off his brother JOHN from PHILIP's interest, went over into Normandy, to revenge the treachery of his faithless ally. He defeated him in several battles, retook the towns he had lost, and had probably made him pay very dear for his breach of faith, but was unfortunately killed at the siege of the castle of Chalons. Indeed, the French writers relate extravagant stories of the conduct and bravery of their Prince, as that he gained a victory over the Emperor's troops at Bovines in Flanders, (who was become the King of England's ally,) when the numbers were three to one against him. But they all agree, that King RICHARD died in very good time for PHILIP; and that if he had lived much longer, their august Monarch would have run the hazard of being driven from his throne: whereas the sudden death of this Prince furnished him with glorious work, and gave him an opportunity of enlarging and establishing the French empire. I must confess his first attempt had a plausible appearance: he pretended to assert the rights of King ARTHUR against the usurpations of his uncle JOHN, who had ravished from him both his English and French dominions. But it appears pretty evident from the event, that PHILIP's real intention was to set one against the other, that he might enlarge his own territories at the expence of both of them; a game that the French have ever played, when the English have been divided into factions.

RICHARD was no sooner dead, but the hero PHILIP, as the French writers call him, had the courage to march into Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and the rest of the English provinces, burning and destroying the country with fire and sword, and possessing himself of all the defenceless places. JOHN, who had procured himself to be proclaimed King of England, having a defective title, and ill-beloved by his subjects, was not able to resist the torrent. He drew an army together however, defeated the forces of his nephew Prince ARTHUR, and made him prisoner; and if we may credit some French writers, he murdered him with own hand: certain it is, that Prince never obtained his liberty afterwards. This gave King PHILIP a handle to summon King JOHN before him and the Peers of France, to answer to a charge of felony and murder, in seizing his nephew Prince ARTHUR's territories, and afterwards taking away his life. And JOHN not appearing, the Peers, by the direction of PHILIP, adjudged him guilty of the charge, and that he had forfeited all his dominions in France. JOHN having his hands full in England, could not prevent the French King's making himself master of Normandy, and several other fine provinces, under pretence of that sentence; but the English retained however that part of France, which was called

The Eng-  
lish de-  
prived of  
Norman-  
dy. anno  
1202.

Aquitain,



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against the  
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ses, anno  
1208.

Aquitain, now Guienne and Gascony, with Rochelle, and the country contiguous to it.

The next remarkable thing in the reign of King PHILIP, was the Pope's publishing a crusade against the Albigenses, a people who opposed the idolatry and other errors of the Church of Rome. They were possessed of Languedoc and all South France, extending themselves into Piedmont in the east, and to Spain on the west. The Pope, it seems, thought them so considerable, that nothing less than a crusade could suppress them. He granted remission of sins therefore to all that would take up arms against them for forty days; so that these armies consisted of volunteers only, who chose the celebrated SIMON MONTFORT for their General, and not of troops paid or commanded by the King. And tho' these armies consisted frequently of three or fourscore thousand men, yet was it some hundred of years before these Hereticks, as the French call them, were entirely suppressed: for not only the people, but their Princes, the Count de Thoulouse, the Count de Foix, and other Sovereigns, were, in the Catholick phrase, infected with it; and we find the Pope depriving them of their territories, and granting them to Catholick Lords by the connivance of PHILIP.

The French writers in their relations of these wars, give incredible accounts of the miraculous victories the Catholicks obtained over the Hereticks, particularly that at the siege of Moret, SIMON MONTFORT made a sally from the town with eight or nine hundred men, and gained a compleat victory over the King of Arragon, and other chiefs of the Albigenses, who commanded an army of an hundred thousand forces; only fit to amuse women and children with. However, they admit, that their hero SIMON MONTFORT, was knocked on the head at last, by a stone thrown from the walls of one of the towns he besieged; and the posterity of the Count de Thoulouse found means to recover great part of the possessions of their ancestors. Nor were the Albigenses ever entirely suppressed, tho' the French King's son marched in person against them, exercised unheard-of cruelties on these poor people, and demolished most of the castles and fortified places of the country, to prevent their taking shelter in them.

The French King had no sooner broke the power of the Albigenses, but he turned his eyes towards England, endeavouring to pick a new quarrel with King JOHN; but the Pope saved him the labour: for King JOHN having insisted on his right of nominating the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Holiness, without any regard to the royal prerogative, appointed STEPHEN LANGTON to fill that See, whom the King refusing to acknowledge, the Pope excommunicated him, published a sentence of deposition against him, and gave his dominions to King PHILIP. Whereupon, PHILIP assembled a fleet of seventeen hundred ships, and a proportionable land-army, in order to invade England; and that he might leave no enemy behind him, first fell upon the Earl of Flanders, who was in alliance with King JOHN, and took the best part of his country from him. In the mean time, King JOHN and the Earl got together all the shipping they could, and attacking the French fleet, while they lay on the coast of Flanders, and in the mouth of the Scheld, destroyed almost every ship in the fleet.

The Pope  
gives En-  
gland to  
King  
PHILIP,  
an. 1213.

During these transactions, the Pope's Legate PANDULPHUS came to Dover, where he found King JOHN, and offered him, that if he would consent to hold his dominions of the Pope, he would oppose any further attempts of the French King. He accepted the proposal, and his Holiness immediately prohibited PHILIP to act any more in a hostile manner against England, for that it was become a fee of the Holy See. The French King, however, permitted his son LEWIS, to accept the invitation of the disaffected Lords in England, who actually proclaimed him King in London, and he maintained a war against King JOHN till he died; though the Pope excommunicated LEWIS and all his adherents.

It was generally expected, that the death of King JOHN would have fixed LEWIS upon the throne of England; but it was so far from it, that the English united themselves upon the death of this Prince, drove out the French, and proclaimed HENRY the son of JOHN their King; which put an end to the hopes the French had of adding England to their Empire.

After this the two nations lived in peace till the death of PHILIP AUGUSTUS, which happened in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age, anno 1223. The French writers make him the greatest Prince that ever sat on the throne of France, except CHARLEMAGNE; but the principal reason is, I find, because he added Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, to his dominions, which formerly belonged to England. But if these same writers would consider the base and treacherous artifices he made use of against the Kings of England in order to effect this, and that when he swallowed up these provinces there was scarce any power in the field to oppose him, they would surely cease to admire either his virtue or courage. Among common minds, it is true, success alone creates the hero; they seldom consider the honour or justice of the enterprize.

LEWIS VIII, being advanced to the throne on the death of his father PHILIP, the court of England demanded of him the restitution of Normandy, and the rest of the provinces in France belonging to the English, which had been taken from them in the last reign, in pursuance of the treaty made at London. (LEWIS, as has been intimated already was besieged in that city, and had no way of escaping the fury of the English, but by promising to deliver up those provinces when he should succeed to the crown.) LEWIS answered this demand with a complaint, that King HENRY had not attended in person at his coronation, as he ought to have done, for the territories he held of him in France, and suggested, that he had broke the treaty of London first, by not restoring his subjects their ancient privileges, as was promised on his part. But surely if the French King had been a Prince of any honour, he would not have hesitated to have yielded up those provinces, with which he ransomed his life and liberty. However, his refusal occasioned a war between the two nations, wherein the French made themselves masters of Rochelle. We find the English very backward in assisting either King JOHN, or his son HENRY, in maintaining their foreign dominions. They were taxed and harassed from time to time to carry on these wars, without reaping any manner of advantage from them: so early had the people of England learned, that foreign dominions and foreign wars were infinitely destructive

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French  
driven out  
of En-  
gland, an.  
1217.The death  
and cha-  
racter of  
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ses.LEWIS  
IX. 1226.The Em-  
peror  
FRED-  
ERICK de-  
posed by  
the Pope.

destructive to them. But we were never more sensible of this truth than at present, when our revenues are mortgaged for ages to come; the consequence of which must be eternal poverty and slavery, unless we are saved by a miracle. To proceed: The French writers assure us, that we had at this time infallibly lost Guienne and Gascony, as well as Rochelle, if their King had not been diverted from this war by another crusado, published by the Pope against the Albigenses; at the head of which King LEWIS marched in person, took Avignon, and many other cities, and would have extirpated those Hereticks, as they were called at this time, if he had not been unfortunately taken ill in the midst of his conquests. What his distemper was, none of them pretend to tell us, tho' they acquaint us with the recipe prescribed by his physicians, which was a very odd one: they let him know, that nothing but a young girl could save his life; and when his scruples would not suffer him to follow their advice, they took an opportunity of putting a virgin to bed to him, when he was asleep: the King waking and discovering the lady, called to one of his servants to take her away, pronouncing that noble sentence, says the Jesuit my author, That it was better to die than save his life by a mortal sin. He died therefore, according to the same writer, the most noble death that a Christian King could wish; a martyr to chastity, with his sword drawn in defence of religion against heresy, in the fourth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age; and was succeeded by his son LEWIS IX, an infant of twelve years of age, the Queen-mother BLANCHE of Castile, being appointed Regent. This Princess is highly applauded by the French historians for her administration during the minority of her son. She suppressed several dangerous rebellions of the vassal Princes; carried on the war against the Albigenses, till she brought the Count de Thoulouse to consent to marry his daughter JANE to ALPHONSO the King's brother; by which the territories of the Count were in the next generation united to the crown of France.

During the civil wars of France, in the King's minority, the English had a fair opportunity of recovering the provinces they had lost. The Duke of Britany, and several other disaffected Lords, invited the King of England to come over and join them; but he was engaged in a civil war with his Barons himself, which found him full employment at home; and the Count of Bretagne, and the rest of the malecontents, were forced to submit to such terms as the Court of France were pleased to impose upon them. And it being observed, that nothing had occasioned more distraction in France than the vassal Princes matching into the families of foreigners, they were prohibited to enter into any treaty of marriage with other powers, without the leave of the French King.

The Queen-mother did not quit the title of Regent of France till the King was full one and twenty years of age; tho', by the present constitution, the King takes the government upon him at fourteen. His Majesty also continued to be advised by her as long as she lived, this Princess being esteemed a perfect mistress in politics.

Pope GREGORY IX, taking upon him to excommunicate the Emperor FREDERICK in this reign, for not submitting to his usurpations in Italy, and proceeding to publish a sentence of deposition against him, made a present of his dominions to Prince ROBERT, the brother of King LEWIS.

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But as remarkable as the French King was for his respect to the Pope, it appears he did not at all approve of the precedent, any more than the other Princes of Europe; and tho' several succeeding Popes gave the Emperor a great deal of trouble, by interdicting his dominions, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance, he remained upon the throne till his death. But to return to France.

LEWIS IX, having been taught that the holy war was the surest way to Paradise, after three years preparation undertook a crusado in the year 1248, declaring Queen BLANCHE, his mother, Regent in his absence. The Queen-confort attended the King, with many other ladies of the first quality, and the fleet sailed first to the island of Cyprus, where the King had many large magazines.

At the undertaking of this crusado, the affairs of the Christians in Palestine were in a very desperate condition; and had not the Mahometan powers been engaged in civil wars among themselves, they would infallibly have been driven from thence. There were however still four Christian states remaining here, that had been formed by the Europeans, viz: 1. That of Acon or Ptolemais, which was defended by the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans. 2. Tyre and it's district. 3. Tripoli. And, 4. Antioch. Jerusalem had been wrested from them, and was in the hands of the infidels, who surrounded them on every side. The most formidable of the Mahometan powers at this time was the Sultan of Egypt, who had possessed himself of great part of Palestine as well as Jerusalem. At a council of war therefore that was held before LEWIS, in the island of Cyprus, it was thought proper first to invade Egypt; which, if the Christians could have made themselves masters of, Palestine would have fallen into their hands of course. In pursuance of this resolution, the King having assembled a fleet of eighteen hundred vessels great and small, embarked his land-forces, amounting to sixty thousand men and upwards; amongst which were twelve or thirteen thousand Knights, French, English, and Cypriots, and set sail with them for Egypt the beginning of June 1249; but a violent storm happening to disperse the fleet, the King was forced back to Cyprus with a very small number of his ships. He set sail again on Trinity-sunday, and having joined the best part of the scattered navy, they arrived in four days within sight of Damietta, then one of the strongest towns in Egypt, and situated at the mouth of the most eastern branch of the Nile. They found a great fleet of the infidels in that river, and a numerous army of them on shore ready to oppose their landing; but upon the first charge, both the one and the other thought fit to quit their stations, and suffer the Christians to land with very little opposition; and a rumour being spread in the Mahometain army, that their Sultan was dead, the garrison retired from Damietta without waiting to be besieged; whereupon King LEWIS immediately possessed himself of that important post. Here the French historians observe, that while the King was taken up with acts of piety and devotion, in his army, on the contrary, was seen nothing but revelling and lewdness. They had succeeded at first so much beyond their expectations, that they thought there was nothing more to do, but to march and possess themselves of the capital city of Cairo, and all would fall before them; but the Nile having overflowed the country, as usual at this time of

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to the  
Holy-  
Land.The  
Christians  
invade  
Egypt.



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The Christians defeated, and made prisoners, with the French King their General.

the year, they were obliged to wait in their camp near Damietta, till that river was fallen: where, as it has been observed, they spent their time in all manner of excesses and extravagance; the merit of taking up the cross they held to be sufficient to atone for all the crimes they had been, or could be, guilty of.

A new supply of forces being arrived from France, the King left the Queen with a good garrison at Damietta, and began his march towards Grand Cairo, with an army of twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; with whom the Infidels did not think fit to come to a general battle; but so harassed them, and cut off their provisions, that in three months time, the Christians were scarce able to advance forty miles; and the Mahometans taking an advantage of the King's army, when the van was separated at a great distance from the rear, and most of them in a bad state of health, they fell upon them and entirely routed the Christian army, making the King Prisoner, with all his forces that were not killed in the battle: and one could have expected no less from this barbarous people, as they are represented, than that they should have murdered every one of them, considering the provocations that had been given them. The Christians would certainly have requited the Saracens in this manner, had they confederated together, and invaded their country without any colour; for surely the difference of religion can never justify murder and rapine in the opinion of any considering man; tho' it seems, it was the opinion of the Roman Catholics then, as it is still, that dominion is founded in grace, and that the Pope could authorize the destruction of Infidels and Hereticks, who did not believe as the Church believes. Our English sectaries and enthusiasts therefore were not the authors of these accursed doctrines; they did but borrow them from the Papists. But to return to the King and the rest of the prisoners. It was debated, it seems, among the Emirs and Saracen Chiefs, whether they should not cut the throats of every one of them, whereby they might deter the Europeans for the future from undertaking these romantick expeditions again: but the prospect of enriching themselves immediately by the ransom of so many considerable men, prevailing above their revenge, or any political considerations, they agreed to give the King and his people their liberty, upon their delivering up Damietta, and paying an immense treasure for their ransom, such as the Sultan and his Emirs could never have expected to be masters of by any other means; and for the raising of which France was sufficiently fleeced. They had rejoiced indeed for the taking of Damietta, and many other imaginary successes, as the conquest of Grand Cairo, and Alexandria, and even for dethroning the Sultan: and we may easily believe they were sufficiently mortified, when they understood that the King with the Princes and Lords, and the best part of the army, lay at the mercy of the Infidels. But to proceed: The King having paid down a fourth part of their ransom, and left hostages for the rest, and delivered up the town of Damietta, withdrew the garrison, and embarked with his court for Acon, or Ptolemais, in Palestine; where he arrived the beginning of May 1250. The Pope and the Princes of Europe expressed abundance of concern for this unfortunate attempt upon Egypt. His Holiness sent Missionaries into every kingdom in

Europe, to preach up the crusade, in hopes to have supplied the French King with such a force, that he might have redeemed the credit of the Christian arms in Palestine before his return: but all men were so confounded and astonished at the disgrace so fine an army had met with, that nothing could induce them to run the like hazard again, while it was fresh in their memories; all that the Pope could do, was to send the French King such supplies as might enable him to put the places in the Holy-Land, which remained in the possession of the Christians, in such a posture, as they might not become an easy prey to the Infidels; which he effected during his stay in Palestine, where he continued four years; returning to France in July 1254, he found all things in peace and quietness at home, nor had there been any disturbance in his absence, unless what was occasioned by a parcel of Enthusiasts; who, on the news of his defeat in Egypt, immediately took into their heads, that God had on purpose confounded the designs of the great ones of the earth, to manifest his glory in delivering the Holy-Land out of the hands of the Infidels, by the meanest of the people. They took upon them the title of shepherds, and being encouraged in these whimsies by one JACOB an apostate Monk, increased to a prodigious number, and were joined by all the rogues and vagabonds in the kingdom, insomuch, that the government seemed to be in danger from them: but their leader JACOB, being killed, this mob was soon dispersed by the care of the Regent.

The French were mightily rejoiced on the return of their King; and he entered his capital city amidst the loud acclamations of his people, but seemed little affected with them. He lamented the ill state of the Christian world; ascribed the ill success in his last expedition to his sins; and by the negligence of his dress, and mournful aspect, sufficiently expressed his concern for the brave men he had lost in that unfortunate attempt. He continued to wear the cross upon his cloaths also, to shew that he had not quitted his design of returning to the assistance of the Christians in Palestine, which gave his subjects but a melancholy prospect.

Soon after King LEWIS's return to France, King HENRY III, of England, happening to visit his territories in Gascony, desired leave to return home thro' France, which the French King did not only agree to, but went to meet him a great way, and entertained him splendidly at Paris for eight or ten days. At a conference between the two Kings, LEWIS being a Prince of a very scrupulous conscience, proposed the restoring Normandy, &c. to the English, which had been taken from them in the last reign; but acquainted King HENRY at the same time, that he despaired of procuring the consent of his Peers and Barons to it, without which he could not alienate them. However, some time afterwards he prevailed with them to relinquish Limousin, Querci, Perigord, Agenois, and Xaintonge, to the English, upon condition that King HENRY should confirm Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, to France; which was agreed to; and the two Kings lived in perfect amity afterwards.

The pious LEWIS also proceeded to make such regulations at home, as might conduce to the peace and happiness of his dominions. He prohibited all wars between the vassal Lords, and put an end to that barbarous custom of clearing their innocence

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innocence by duelling. And as the King of Arragon had pretensions on some cities and territories in France, particularly to Besiers, Agde, Narbonne, the Gevaudan, Nismes, Thoulouse, and other places in Languedoc: and France laid claim to Catalonia, Roussillon, the Lampourdan, Cerdagne, &c. in Spain; he proposed to relinquish his right in all the Spanish places, upon condition the King of Arragon should give up his right to those abovementioned in France; which was complied with. In the mean time, the civil wars in England threatened the destruction of that kingdom. The Barons had gained some advantage of their King, and obliged him to submit to certain conditions at Oxford, which had in a manner deprived him of the regal power. Both parties however agreed to refer their differences to this pious Prince LEWIS, whose justice and wisdom, say the French writers, were acknowledged by all the Powers in Europe. Accordingly the King and Queen of England, with their Court and the Lords of their party; as also the confederated Barons, except their chief, the Earl of Leicester, resorted to Amiens in Picardy, the place appointed for deciding this famous cause between the King of England and his subjects, about the Feast of Epiphany 1264: and the French King coming thither soon after, and having heard the parties with great deliberation, declared, that the articles obtained by force at Oxford ought to be abolished, as innovations that were injurious to royal majesty; and that the King's oath, which he had taken to observe them, was void. He directed also, that the cautionary towns that had been put into the hands of the Barons for the observance of them, should be delivered up to the King. That he might dispose of the great offices of the kingdom as formerly; and admit whom he pleased into his councils. That in short, he ought to be restored to all his just rights which his predecessors had enjoyed; but that the charters which contained the liberties of the people should be observed.

His award  
between  
the King  
of Eng-  
land and  
his Barons.

The disaffected Lords refused to obey this award, how equitable soever. The Earl of Leicester drew his troops together again, defeated the King, and took him prisoner, with his eldest son Prince EDWARD, and his brother RICHARD. Prince EDWARD finding means to escape out of prison, raised another army, routed the Earl of Leicester, and killed him in the field of battle: whereupon the King was set at liberty, and restored to the throne. But I shall enlarge on this occurrence in the history of England, and return to France, where we find the Pope offering the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to CHARLES Count of Anjou (his Holiness having fallen out with MAINFROY, then Sovereign of those countries). But it was on the following conditions he made the proposal to the Count of Anjou: 1. That he should renounce for himself and his successors all pretensions to the city of Benevento in Naples, to Rome, Campania, the duchy of Spoleto, the marquisate of Ancona, the patrimony of St PETER, and the rest of the demesns of the Holy See. 2. That he should take an oath to become the Pope's vassal for Naples and Sicily (at that time called the two Sicilies, the one on this side, and the other beyond the Pharos). That the Count, or his successors, should never accept of the Empire, or the sovereignty of Lombardy or Tuscany; and if they did, they should relinquish the kingdom of Naples, to the end that no power

The Pope  
gives Na-  
ples and  
Sicily to  
the Earl of  
Anjou.

in Italy might be a match for the Pope; and that Naples being dependent on him, he might give laws to the Italian Princes.

The Pope, in order to enable the Count to invade the dominions of King MAINFROY, published a crusado in his favour, anno 1266, giving remission of sins to all that would list under his colours, and excusing them from their vows of visiting the Holy-Land; which brought an incredible number of people together, with whom the Count of Anjou entered the Kingdom of Naples defeated his rival in a general battle, and mounted his throne, MAINFROY happening to be killed in the fight; whereupon all the towns in Naples and Sicily submitted to the conqueror.

A crusado  
in his  
favour.

The old French King, whose heart was always with the Christians in the Holy-Land, receiving advice from time to time of their deplorable circumstances, could not die with any satisfaction till he had undertaken another crusado. Accordingly he prevailed with the Pope to send missionaries into his kingdom to preach up the merit of such an undertaking; and by his example and influence, his three eldest sons PHILIP, JOHN, and PETER, and many others of the French nobility, were induced to take the cross. And having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, and settled a regency during his absence, he set sail from France the first of July 1270; and being arrived at Cagliari in Sardinia, a council of war was held on board the fleet, wherein it was agreed to land at Tunis on the coast of Africa, where CHARLES King of Sicily had appointed to join them. The King of Tunis it seems had given old LEWIS great hopes of his turning Christian if he had an army to support him, which was the principal reason of carrying the war thither; tho' the cunning Mussulman, as appeared afterwards, had never any intention of altering his religion. Another reason given for this expedition against Tunis, was, that it would facilitate any future enterprise against the Holy-Land, inasmuch as the Sultan of Egypt was supplied with men and horses from thence. The fleet having weighed anchor, in pursuance of the determination of the council of war, came before Tunis and Carthage on the eighteenth of July. The next day they disembarked their troops; but in such disorder, that if the Saracens had not run away before the vessels approached the land, a very small body of men would have obliged them to retire to their ships. They found great difficulties on their first coming on shore, for want of water; but making themselves masters of the old castle of Carthage, they found good wells of water there in abundance. The infidels here behaved themselves in the same manner they had done in Egypt: they attacked the Christian army by parties from time to time, cut off their provisions, and kept them in perpetual alarms; but would never stand a charge, or come to a general engagement. As soon as they had discharged their arrows, they wheeled about and fled; and their motions were so very swift, that it was in vain for European troops to pursue them. In this condition the army remained, till the excessive heats had filled the camp with diseases; destroying most of the generals, as well as soldiers, and among the rest the King, who died in the crusado, according to his wishes, on the 25th of August, 1270, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. And had not the King of Sicily arrived before Tunis with a fresh supply of troops in the very instant, the whole

A crusado  
for the  
Holy-  
Land.

They  
make a  
descent  
near Tunis  
in Africa.



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army had infallibly become a prey to the infidels, it was so much weakened by sickness. After this new reinforcement from Sicily, and another from England commanded by Prince EDWARD, there happened some smart encounters between the Christians and infidels, in which the Christians met with success; whereupon the King of Tunis came to a treaty with them, and it was agreed the captives should be released on both sides; that the King of Tunis should pay the charges of the expedition, and a tribute to the King of Sicily: but the latter part of the agreement was ill performed. However, the winter coming on, the Christians were glad to accept such terms as they could get, and having embarked their army, arrived at Trapano in Sicily, where great part of their fleet and army which remained were destroyed by a storm; so unfortunate were these crusades, says my author, to the French nation, who were principally concerned in them: they lost an incredible number of brave men, and an immense treasure. In this last, the young King PHILIP lost the King his father, the Queen his wife, the Count of Nevers his brother, the King of Navarre his brother-in-law, and his uncle ALPHONSO, very hardly escaping with his own life; which repeated ill success had this good effect, that it pretty well weaned the Princes of Christendom from these romantick adventures.

PHILIP  
III. 1270.

PHILIP being returned to Paris, celebrated the obsequies of the King his father, and the rest of the nobility, who perished in the late expedition to Africa, with great magnificence. He assisted himself, 'tis said, in carrying the corps of St LEWIS to the abbey of St Dennis: and my author (DANIEL) observes, that in his time there were seven pyramids in the suburb of St Lawrence, which were erected by this Prince in the places where he rested with the corps.

The next thing he undertook was the humbling of some of the vaial Lords; particularly the Count de Foix, who presumed to enter into a war with his neighbours without his leave, and refused to be determined by the arbitration of the King. He made the Count prisoner, and kept him in chains a whole year, which so terrified the other Lords, that he had no more disturbances of this kind. But the most remarkable event we meet with in the reign of PHILIP III, was the Sicilian Vespers, and the war with the King of Arragon, which was the consequence of them. CHARLES Earl of Anjou, the French King's uncle, who by the assistance of the Pope had deposed MAINFROY the late king, and stepped into his throne, having behaved himself insolently in the island of Sicily, the people grew uneasy, and were ever endeavouring to throw off the yoke. They applied themselves at length to the King of Arragon, who had married CONSTANTIA, the daughter and heiress of MAINFROY, and to PALEOLOGUS the Grecian Emperor, who were both of them enemies to the King of Sicily; and these Princes promised to support them with all their power. It was thereupon agreed to massacre all the French that were in the island of Sicily, and at the same time the King of Arragon was to appear with a great fleet upon the coasts, and land Queen CONSTANTIA there with a good body of troops, to assert her right to that island. Easter-sunday in the evening, anno 1282, was appointed for the general massacre of the French, and the signal was the ringing the bells for vespers, from whence this tragical occurrence obtained the name of the Sicilian Vespers. At the

The Sicilian Vespers.

time appointed the natives fell upon the French in every part of the island, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and murdered them all by one means or other; sparing only one single gentleman, who had distinguished himself by his equity and moderation in the post he possessed. Soon after this, the King of Arragon's fleet defeated that of King CHARLES's, and made his son the Prince of Salernum prisoner; and the sea being open to them, they landed Queen CONSTANTIA with the King of Arragon's troops, and by that means secured the island against any attempts of the French. What is most admired is, that tho' this conspiracy was three years carrying on, and several foreign Princes concerned in it, the French had not the least intimation of it till it was executed, so detestable was the tyranny they exercised over the poor Sicilians.

The Pope hereupon thundered out his excommunications against the King of Arragon, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and took upon him to transfer the kingdom of Arragon to Prince CHARLES, one of the French king's sons; and even published a crusade, promising forgiveness of sins to all that would take the cross upon them, and list under the French King's colours. PHILIP being thus supported, and having assembled an army of an hundred thousand men, marched into Spain, where the nobility being terrified by the excommunications of the holy See, durst not join their Sovereign, or oppose the torrent, but for some time remained neuter. The King of Arragon, a Prince remarkable in his age for his courage and conduct, assembled however a flying army, with which he perpetually harrassed the French; and PHILIP sitting down before Gironne, one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, he cut off his provisions: and by the continual sallies from the town, and the attacks which the Spanish troops made from time to time on the French camp, their forces were so weakened, that when Gironne surrendered, King PHILIP found himself incapable of entering on any further action. A sickness also reigned in the camp, which carried off abundance of the French, and among the rest the King himself. In this distress the Arragonians fell upon the rear of the army as they were retiring through the passes of the mountains, so that very few of them returned home. Even the sick and wounded, and the heavy baggage which had been put on board the fleet, were met with by the King of Arragon's fleet, and entirely ruined: and thus ended the reign of PHILIP III. CHARLES King of Sicily died about the same time, and the King of Arragon survived him but a few months. The deaths of these Princes put an end to their quarrels, which were however revived by their posterity.

PHILIP IV, surnamed the Fair, succeeded his Father PHILIP III, and by his marriage with JANE of Navarre added that kingdom to his dominions. He entered into a war with EDWARD I, King of England, on a trifling pretence, surprizing several of his towns in Guienne, designing to have united that province also to the crown of France. But King EDWARD seems to have been an over-match for him; he was content to yield up the towns he had taken, to England again on a treaty of peace.

He had another quarred with Pope BONIFACE VIII, upon much juster grounds which was drawn out to a great length; but he succeeded at last. The Pope published a bull, prohibiting all the clergy

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clergy in Christendom to grant money to their respective Sovereigns, under whom they lived, either by way of loan, subsidy, or free gift, without the consent of the Holy See; which affected the King of France more than any other Prince at this time, as he was in great want of money to maintain the war he was engaged in with England. Whereupon the King made an ordinance, forbidding all his subjects to export out of the kingdom, either silver, gold, jewels, or any other valuable moveable; which was chiefly levelled at the Holy See, tho' not mentioned in the edict. Whereupon the Pope wrote to the King, charging him with folly, and imprudence, in pretending to lay any restraint upon the Ecclesiastics, over whom, neither the French King or any temporal Prince, could claim any authority. He told him also, that the disputes between France and England, ought to be determined by the Holy See, and if he refused to stand to his award, he threatened him with interdicts and excommunications.

The King, on the other hand, sent circular letters thro' his dominions, containing a protestation, that the government of his kingdom, as to temporal concerns, belonged to him alone: that he neither acknowledged, or had any superior in this respect; nor should be concerned at the censures of the Pope, any farther than they related to purely spiritual affairs. This quarrel was made up for a time, but broke out with greater fury than ever, on the Pope's reviving his prohibition to the clergy to grant the King any money. The King thereupon entertained the Lords of the house of Colonna, whom the Pope had driven out of Italy. He also imprisoned the Bishop of Paniez, the Pope's legate, who was a subject of France, and had threatened the King with an interdict and excommunication; which provoked his Holiness to such a degree, that he declared in a letter to King PHILIP, that as he was the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, God had given him power over the Kings and kingdoms of the earth; and, in the words of the prophet, to pluck up, destroy, and build: and advises him therefore not to suffer himself to be persuaded that he had no superior upon earth, and that he was not subject to the ecclesiastical hierarchy; for this was a mad and foolish thought, and he who obstinately persisted in that error, ceased to be of the number of the faithful.

The King thereupon held a great council of ecclesiastical and temporal peers, and lawyers, whom he found very ready to assert the liberties of the Gallican Church, and gave encouragement to some of the nobility, assisted by the Colonna's, to draw up a petition against the Pope, wherein they endeavoured to shew, that BONIFACE was not legally chosen to the Holy See; that he was guilty of heresy, simony, and the most notorious crimes; upon which, they request the King to use his endeavours with the Cardinals for calling a general council to elect another.

The Pope also called a council at Rome, wherein several of the French Bishops assisted, notwithstanding the King's prohibition; and a bull was published by this council, declaring, that all men were subject to the See of Rome, nor could they be saved without believing it. The Pope proceeded to excommunicate the King, and to prohibit the Clergy of France to celebrate Divine Service. But these Bulls were either not published, or not much regarded: however, the

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King was so provoked with this usage, that he employed the Colonna's and some others, to seize the Pope's person; which they effected when his Holiness was retired to a country-seat. He was rescued afterwards out of the Colonna's hands, but they used him so roughly, that he died in a little time; which put an end to the disputes between France and the Holy See.

King PHILIP being now at leisure to attack Flanders, and having by indirect means got the Count into his hands, with his three eldest sons, made them all prisoners, and seized his territories. Whereupon the Flemings had recourse to arms; and tho' they were not successful in their first attempts to throw off the French yoke, the insurrection became so general in the year 1303, that they raised an army of three-score thousand men, and gained an entire victory over the French, killing twenty thousand men, and amongst them many of the principal nobility. The King afterwards raised another army, and engaged the Flemings, between whom and the French an obstinate battle was fought again; but neither side had much reason to boast: whereupon, a treaty was set on foot, and it was agreed, that ROBERT, the son of the late Count, who was lately dead, should enjoy all Flanders, except Lille, Douay, and some other inconsiderable places, as the old Count had done; so that the French King got little by this war but the curses of his subjects, who were taxed at an extravagant rate to maintain it.

The King being in peace, applied himself to the conclave, who were now busy in choosing a Pope; and by his artifices got a French Bishop elected, on whom he had an influence. The Pontiff reversed every thing that BONIFACE had done to the prejudice of the King and kingdom; and, to oblige PHILIP, removed the See from Rome to Avignon, where it remained seventy years. He took upon him the name of CLEMENT VII.

Till this time, the city and territory of Lyons, had been an independent state; but the Archbishop, the present Sovereign, unadvisedly provoking the King, he raised an army, and set down before it, and compelled the Bishop to surrender the town to him upon his own terms: whereupon, PHILIP re-united it to the crown of France. Lyons once made part of the kingdom of Arles, afterwards of the kingdom of Burgundy; then it was subject to the empire; and by insensible degrees, the Archbishop had possessed himself of the temporal power.

The last considerable event in this reign, was the abolishing the order of Knights Templars, not only in France, but in all the kingdoms of Europe. These Knights of the Temple, or Templars, were a religious order, who besides the usual vows of celibacy, &c. obliged themselves to defend such pilgrims as resorted to the Holy-Land from the insults of the natives, and to guard the roads leading to Jerusalem. They were established about the year 1120, and were called Templars from a house that was given them by BALDWIN the second King of Jerusalem, which stood on, or near, the place where SOLOMON's temple did. All people seemed fond of entering into this order at first, so that they became exceeding numerous, and lands were settled on them in all countries in Europe, to enable them to perform the vows they had made of protecting pilgrims, &c. Their order in time became immensely rich, where-

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seizes  
Flanders.A French  
Pope re-  
moves the  
See to A-  
vignon.The order  
of Knights  
Templars  
abolished.The Pope  
asserts his  
power  
over tem-  
poral Prin-  
ces.



upon they grew lazy and indolent, and were as remarkable for their lewdness and immoralities, as they were at first for their virtue. Nay, the charge against them, which was fully proved by witnesses and their own confession, was such, that it could never have been credited if their convictions did not still remain upon record, and that they were so universally detested as to be extirpated in every Christian nation at one and the same instant. But notwithstanding they were grown the most impious of human race, the historians of that time observe, that their monstrous crimes were concealed from the world by the vows of secrecy, they imposed on all that entered into their society; and had it not been that two of the order had been thrown into prison and dealt very severely with by their superiors, their impieties might have remained a secret to the world much longer. These two prisoners made an offer to the French court, of laying open the whole matter, if they might be protected: with which the King being acquainted, he ordered they should be examined. They discovered matters of that atrocious nature, that the King thought fit to communicate the examination to the Pope; but finding him not inclined to prosecute them, as believing their crimes had been magnified only with an intention of seizing their estates, the King determined to act independently, and in one night, ordered all the Knights Templars to be seized throughout the kingdom, viz. on the 13th of October, 1307. The grand master himself was apprehended at the temple in Paris; their estates also were seized, and that the Pope might not take umbrage at it, they were sequestered into the hands of two Cardinals. The Pope afterwards examined seventy-two of the Knights himself, and was surprized to find them confess the principal part of the charge. An hundred and forty more of them were examined at Paris, who confessed the whole matter also.

1. They deposed, that at their admission into the order, they were obliged to renounce JESUS CHRIST, and the better to express their contempt of him, they were to spit three times upon a crucifix.

2. That upon their admission they kissed the mouth, the navel, the back, and anus, of the person who received them.

3. They promised to have no concern with women, but were permitted to commit sodomy with their brethren.

4. They obliged themselves to adore a wooden head with a great beard, partly gilded and partly silvered; which was exposed at their general chapters.

5. If any one of the Knights acquainted another of his brethren with any sin he had committed, and such brother should reveal it to the world, he should suffer the punishment the person deserved who had committed it.

6. GEOFFREY of Gouneville, who had been admitted in England, declared, that refusing to deny JESUS CHRIST, the superior said, this need not trouble him, it was a custom introduced by one of their grand masters, who obtained his deliverance from captivity in Turkey, by swearing he would introduce this usage in his order.

As to their drunkenness it was so very common, that it was become a proverb, to be as drunk as a Templar.

The Pope being satisfied of their guilt, issued his Bulls to England, Scotland, Germany, Spain,

Italy, &c. for abolishing the order, and seizing their estates; which were readily put in execution by their respective Princes, after the sentence against them had been confirmed by the council of Vienne, anno 1312; so that this order continued near two hundred years from their first institution. In France the lands of the Templars, it is said, were given to the knights of St JOHN of Jerusalem, now the knights of Malta, as they were in some other countries; but in others they were applied to the uses of the state.

While the King was thus expressing his detestation at the immoralities of the Templars, there broke out in his own family some scenes of lewdness, which gave him much more uneasiness: the wives of every one of the three Princes his sons were charged with being false to their husbands beds; and upon two of them it was sufficiently proved, viz. upon MARGARET daughter of ROBERT Duke of Burgundy, and wife of LEWIS King of Navarre, the King's eldest son; and upon BLANCHE the wife of Prince CHARLES: they were convicted of having been familiar with two gentlemen of the household, who were brothers, viz. PHILIP and GAUTIER LANNAY, who were seized alive, and hanged upon a gibbet; and the two Princesses were shut up in prison. So true it is, that people in the most exalted stations are often as unhappy in their families as their inferiors, and that crowned heads are not exempted from horns. Whether this melancholy discovery contributed to impair the King's health or not, I shall not pretend to say; but he was taken ill of a languishing distemper, that his physicians could not find a name for, and died on the 29th of November 1314, being succeeded by his eldest son LEWIS X, King of Navarre, who was surnamed HUTIN.

LEWIS X, named HUTIN from his hasty passionate temper, was hardly crowned when there happened an insurrection of the Barons against him, who had been grievously oppressed by taxes in the last reign; to appease whom, the Count de VALOIS, the King's uncle, proposed the sacrificing of EUGUERRAUD MARIGNI, who had been prime minister in the last reign, and supposed to be the author of that variety of impositions which had been made use of to raise money: but by destroying of this minister, he proposed more the gratifying his own revenge it seems, than the satisfaction of the nation; for they had not a very good understanding. MARIGNI therefore was seized and thrown into a dungeon, and articles drawn up against him; but he was not permitted to make his defence: his mercenary judges, by the direction of the court, condemned him without hearing him, and though he was a person of quality, he was hanged upon a gibbet, without the town, erected for exposing the bodies of the most notorious malefactors. He protested his innocence at his death, which was not then much regarded, but the King being convinced of the injustice of the sentence afterwards, considered his children in his will; and the Count de VALOIS himself, in a dangerous fit of sickness, when he thought he was going to give account of this barbarous prosecution, amongst his other sins, ordered a large sum of money to be distributed to the poor of Paris; and when any person received this alms, he who gave it was ordered to say, pray for the soul of my Lord EUGUERRAUD, (who had been executed) and for my Lord CHARLES of Valois, Which

LEWIS X.  
A prime minister sacrificed to the rage of the people.



CHAP. XXXIV. abundantly cleared up the reputation of that minister.

LEWIS being in as great straits for money as his father had been, several ways and means were proposed to him, among which he fixed upon two; one was the enfranchising the lower sort of people for a sum of money, who were yet in a state of villinage, and no better than slaves to their respective Lords; and the other by introducing the Jews, who had been banished in the last reign, for which they paid him a round sum: and having thus replenished his treasure, he was about entering into a war with the Count of Flanders, but died before he effected any thing, leaving a daughter by his first wife, and his second big with child: whereupon his brother PHILIP took the regency upon him. The Queen was afterwards brought to bed of a son named JOHN, who did not live a month; whereupon PHILIP changed his title of Regent for that of King: his nephew JOHN, tho' really King, is not reckoned among the number of their monarchs by the generality of the French historians.

JOHN,  
1315.  
PHILIP  
V, 1316.

When PHILIP V. ascended the throne, it was objected to his title, that JANE the daughter of the late King LEWIS X. was nearer in blood: but the nobility being assembled, they declared, that the crown of France could not descend to a female. Whereupon they all acquiesced in PHILIP the brother of LEWIS. The King's next care was to settle the peace between France and Flanders upon a lasting foot; for no nation had given his predecessors more uneasiness than that people; whereupon he married his daughter MARGARET to LEWIS the grandson of the Count of Flanders; and it was agreed that he should succeed to the county of Flanders before his father; also that Lille, Douay, and Orchies, should belong to France. And having settled all things at home, he began to make preparations for a crusade to the Holy-Land, which he had formerly vowed: but the Mahometan Princes hearing of it, we are told, hired the Jews, who had lately been hardly used, to poison all the wells and springs in France, hoping to prevent another invasion by the death or sickness of that people. The Jews, 'tis said, employed the Lepers in this affair, who were excluded the society of other people, (of whom there were then a great many in France,) and generally disaffected to the government, who had laid such restraints upon them. The wells were accordingly poisoned in some places, and people died with drinking the waters; but it being discovered before the calamity became general, several of the Jews and Lepers were burnt; and the Jews again for ever banished the kingdom: and according to my author, they have never been admitted into the kingdom by legal authority ever since, tho' they venture to reside there. The King however never performed his crusading vow, being taken ill with an aguish distemper and a dysentery, which carried him off in five days, not without suspicion of his being poisoned. He died in the 29th year of his age, and the sixth of his reign, anno 1322, leaving only three daughters; whereupon his brother CHARLES, surnamed the Fair, succeeded to the crown.

CHARLES  
IV, 1322.

CHARLES IV. would never be reconciled to his wife BLANCHE, who had been false to his bed, as has been mentioned already; but on his accession to the crown procured his marriage to be declared null by the Pope, for what cause it is not said; and thereupon married MARY the

daughter of the late Emperor HENRY of Luxemburg, who living with him not much above a year, he married JANE the daughter of the Count of Evreux his uncle.

About this time a war broke out between France and England, but all things were settled upon the old foot by the peace which succeeded; to conclude which, ISABELLA Queen of England, who was a daughter of France, came over to Paris with her son Prince EDWARD. The King of England, after they had remained some time at the French Court, by the advice of the two SPENCERS, father and son, sent for them over into England. The Queen answered, the SPENCERS were her enemies, and she could not return in safety while they were at the head of his council. But she concealed the true reason, says my French author, namely, that she might have an opportunity of enjoying her gallant ROGER MORTIMER with the greater freedom.

The  
Queen of  
England  
resides at  
Paris with  
MORTIMER.

Hereupon the English court applied to the King of France to send her and the Prince over; which King CHARLES seemed averse to at first; but, say the French historians, the SPENCERS distributed so much money among King CHARLES's ministers that he at length insisted on her going, and was determined to send her over by force: but the Queen did not think fit to wait till things came to this extremity, and therefore set forwards on her journey to England, at least she took the road that led thither, till she found an opportunity of getting to Valenciennes to the Count of Hainault, who had agreed to take her into his protection. To engage him to assist her the more heartily, she married the Prince of Wales to his second daughter. Here she raised a considerable body of troops, and the Count, who was Earl of Holland as well as Hainault, providing a fleet of ships to transport them, she landed at Harwich in England, where the disaffected Lords having joined her with their troops, she marched to London. The King and the SPENCERS retired before her till they came to Bristol, which the elder SPENCER pretended to defend, but was taken and hanged without any form of law. The younger SPENCER being taken soon after, underwent the same fate; and the King, who also fell into their hands was deposed by a parliament held in January 1327, and afterwards murdered in prison, as is supposed; but I shall enlarge upon these things when I come to the description of England, and only give such an account of these transactions at present as I meet with in the histories of France. EDWARD III. having ascended the throne of England, the court of France demanded that he should come over and do his homage in person, for the lands he held on that side the water. He first only desired to defer it, as the French historians tell us, on account of his affairs being unsettled at home: but certain it is, he afterwards absolutely refused it, and set up a title to the crown of France, as will appear hereafter. We meet with nothing more remarkable in the reign of CHARLES IV, unless it be an attempt he made to be elected Emperor of Germany, in which he did not succeed. He died on the first of February in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, anno 1327-8, leaving only one daughter by his first wife JANE, and his last big with child of a daughter, as it appeared afterwards; whereupon PHILIP of Valois, the son of CHARLES of Valois, cousin-german to the late King, took upon



CHAP.  
XXXIV.PHILIP  
VI. of  
Valois  
1328.  
EDWARD  
III. of  
England  
claims  
that  
crown.A war  
with Flan-  
ders.War be-  
tween  
France  
and Eng-  
land.  
1330.

upon him first the regency, and afterwards the title of King.

PHILIP VI., surnamed Valois, being of a collateral branch of the Royal family, viz. first cousin to the late King, whereas EDWARD King of England was lineally descended from PHILIP IV., King of France, by ISABEL his mother, daughter of the said PHILIP, and sister of the late King CHARLES, the King of England faintly urged his title to the crown of France; and 'tis probable he had never asserted it by arms, if he had not met with some foolish and unnecessary provocations from this haughty French monarch. PHILIP, at his accession, took that precaution to get the right of succession adjudged in him by the nobility of France, for which they were pleased to give the following reasons, 1. That King EDWARD could have no right to the crown, because his mother had none, by whom he claimed. 2. Because the sons of the daughters of France had never inherited that crown: for it seems King EDWARD had insisted, that tho' by the Salique Law no female could inherit the crown of France, yet the son of a female, lineally descended from the King of France, might, and ought, where he was next of blood.

The first considerable action King PHILIP entered upon, was the humbling the Flemmings, who were never heartily affected to the French, and had compelled their count to fly for refuge into France, chiefly for his attachment to that crown, and submitting to acknowledge himself a vassal of it; and in this expedition the French relate, that he obtained a signal victory over that people, and compelled them to accept the Count for their Sovereign.

The next year PHILIP summoned the King of England to do homage in person for Guienne and his other territories in France; which King EDWARD thought fit to promise, but when it came to the point, refused to perform any thing more than a general homage. This, with the state in which he came, out-shining the French court itself, that pretended to the sovereignty over him, occasioned PHILIP to treat him with some degree of insolence; and tho' they parted friends in outward appearance, yet at this interview, it is generally held, they began to entertain that animosity towards each other which afterwards broke out into a most destructive war, that with some intermissions continued upwards of an hundred years, to the utter ruin almost of both nations. France was destroyed from one end to the other by fire and sword, and England exhausted by taxes and standing armies to maintain their romantick conquests, which they were at last forced to abandon; inso-much that we never meet with such miserable complaints from the people as in these times, celebrated by some English historians as next to the golden age, on account of two or three victories they obtained over the French. But to be a little more particular in the history of this reign:

The next year, anno 1330, hostilities began between the French and English in Guienne; which of them were the aggressors is much disputed by their respective historians: but this is not very material; for it is generally agreed, that on either side they only waited for some plausible pretence to declare war; which can never be difficult to find, or make, between two powers whose territories lie contiguous. However, a peace was again patched up by the mediation of friends, and the places that had been taken were restored. This accommodation might have been lasting, in the

opinion of the French historians, if one ROBERT de Artoir, of the blood-royal of France, who was disgusted on account of a suit of law given against him, had not left the kingdom in disgust, and incited King EDWARD to revive the war. To which may be added the encouragement he received from the Flemmings, from whose assistance the King of England proposed great advantages. It was however eight or nine years after the treaty above-mentioned, before the parties entered into actual war. In July, 1338, the King of England with a fleet of five hundred ships sailed over to Flanders, from whence he went to Cologne, and had a conference with the Emperor of Germany his ally; after which he entered the French territories, and laid siege to Cambray. The French King thereupon marched to the relief of the town, and it was expected every day that they would come to a general battle. The two Kings however contented themselves with looking at one another, and then retired without coming to blows. The French King, 'tis said, did not care to hazard his crown upon the fortune of one day; and King EDWARD found himself much inferior in numbers. One reason, it seems, of this conduct on the part of the King of England was, that his parliament were weary of the charge of the war, and refused to grant him money to carry on the siege. The English parliament (in the words of the French historians) preferred the interest of the 'people before the glory of their Kings.' But there was another inducement for the King of England to make a drawn game of it this campaign, and that was the backwardness of the Flemmings to join him. They had been obliged by the French to submit to their Count, and renew their oaths of allegiance to him; and many of them made a scruple of engaging against him on this account. King EDWARD therefore the following winter having made D'ARTEVILLE, the most popular man amongst them, his friend, assembled the heads of them, and expostulated with them upon their backwardness to join his troops: whereupon D'ARTEVILLE told him, if he would take upon him the stile of King of France, and quarter the arms of that kingdom with those of England, so that as their Lord paramount he might discharge them from their oaths to the Count their immediate Prince, they would unanimously declare for him. And tho' (say the French historians) the King of England knew very well that his pretensions to the crown of France, were chimerical, and that he had authentically renounced them by the homage he had paid the King of France, his lawful Sovereign, for the duchy of Guienne and Ponthieu, and that for this reason the thing must appear extravagant to all Europe; yet he took the title and arms of the King of France, and received homage from the Flemmings as his vassals. He signed a treaty with them, by which he promised to recover Lisle, Douay, and other places in the hands of the French, and to re-unite them to the county of Flanders: and when he embarked for England, left his Queen at Ghent, and the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk at Ypres, to make incursions into the French territories during the winter.

King EDWARD, at his return to England, acquainted the parliament with his alliances with the Flemmings, assuring them that France would now be an easy conquest; whereupon they were induced to give him all the supplies he asked. The French King, in revenge for this defection, made incursions into Flanders in the winter destroying the

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ward  
III. takes  
the title  
and arms  
of France.



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French  
fleet de-  
feated.

the open country with fire and sword. The French also borrowed a great fleet of the Genoese and Spaniards, with which they blocked up the mouth of the Scheld, and pretended to prevent the English joining the Flemings: but King EDWARD commanding the royal navy of England in person the next year, fell upon the French near Sluys in Flanders; and both fleets having great land-armies on board, he ordered them to throw out their grapplings, and fasten their ships to those of the enemies, whereby they stood as firmly in the engagement as if they had fought upon land; and after an obstinate battle, which lasted from morning till night, the English obtained a compleat victory, destroying no less than thirty thousand of the French, according to the English historians, and ten thousand according to the French: however, both agree that King PHILIP's fleet was entirely destroyed; and the reason assigned for the great slaughter that was made, is, that no quarter was given. This was the greatest sea-fight which had happened for many ages; tho' this may be called rather a river than sea-engagement, being fought chiefly on the river Scheld.

After this victory King EDWARD landed his forces, and joining the Flemings and the rest of his allies, formed an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, according to the French accounts, with which he laid siege to Tournay, a town at that time extremely well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison; where the French King suffering him to throw away the best of his troops for ten weeks, came at length to the relief of the place. But when the two armies were upon the point of joining battle, King PHILIP's sister, JANE de Valois, mother-in-law to the King of England, who had retired into a nunnery, and obtained the reputation of a saint, offered her mediation, and obtained a truce for a year between the two nations; which 'tis said the King of England only consented to, to satisfy his allies, who began to grow weary of the war: after which King EDWARD and his court returned to England; and PHILIP, while he was on that side the water, found means to draw off both the Emperor and the Flemings from his alliance. But to make him some amends, the Duke of Bretagne dying about the same time, the succession of that duchy was contested by CHARLES de Blois and JOHN Count of Montfort; and the French court taking part with CHARLES, the Count of Montfort called in the English to his assistance. But before the English succours could arrive in Bretagne, King PHILIP sent his eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, with a fine army to support the interest of CHARLES de Blois, who besieged JOHN de Montfort in Nantz, took the town and made him prisoner, after which he was confined in the Louvre at Paris.

A war in  
Bretagne.

The Countess of Montfort, a lady of an heroic courage, nevertheless maintained the war against CHARLES de Blois, till reinforcements arrived from England under the command of ROBERT D'ARTOIS above-mentioned, who laid siege to Vannes and took it; but the town was soon after surprized by the French; and the Count D'ARTOIS being mortally wounded in the dispute, was carried over to England, where he died. Soon after the King of England arrived in Bretagne with a great army, and besieged several towns; the Duke of Normandy was sent with an equal force to oppose him, and great expectations there were of a battle: but the Pope's Nuncio found

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means to obtain a truce between the two nations again, and King EDWARD returned to England, glad to have escaped so well, say the French historians; for his fleet had been dispersed, and his provisions cut off, that his army must infallibly have perished, but for this timely negotiation.

About this time it was, (anno 1344,) that HUBERT, Count Dauphin of Vienne, transferred his dominions to PHILIP of France, the King's second son: but afterwards it was agreed they should be settled on CHARLES Duke of Normandy, the King's eldest son; ever since which time Dauphiné has belonged to the crown of France, and it has been the title of the King's eldest son. The King also purchased the lordship of Montpellier of PHILIP King of Majorca, which was thereupon united to the crown.

Dauphiné  
united to  
the crown  
of France.

The truce which had been made for a year was but ill observed, both in Bretagne and Guienne; but the French King taking upon him to execute several Bretagne and Norman gentlemen who were in the King of England's interest, without assigning any reason for it, this occasioned the war to break out afresh. The King of England sent a considerable force into Guienne, under the command of the Earl of Derby, a gentleman celebrated for his conduct and generous spirit. He made himself master of several towns: but what has established his fame in history, is his justice and contempt of wealth, of both which they give an instance in the storming of Bergerac, where he gave every soldier the house he should seize, and all the treasure in it. One of them having made himself master of a house where the bankers had agreed to deposit their cash, and finding an immense sum, acquainted the General with it, not imagining so much wealth could be intended for any one private man: but the General told him, the greatness of the treasure should not alter the case, let it amount to what it would it was all his own; he had passed his word and honour, and he scorned to revoke it.

A disinter-  
ested Ge-  
ral.

King PHILIP to maintain the war laid a tax upon his subjects which was never known in France before, namely, that of salt. He obliged all people to come and buy it at his magazines at such a price as he was pleased to lay upon it; which made King EDWARD his rival say, he did well to support his title by the Salique law. He raised the value of money also, obliging his subjects to take it for more than it was coined, which brought him in a great deal of treasure, but impoverished his country, and disposed his people for a rebellion, especially in Normandy. The Duke of Normandy being sent to oppose the Earl of Derby in Guienne, retook several places from the English. Whereupon the King of England assembled a great fleet and army to go to the assistance of his subjects on that side; but the wind proving contrary, a disaffected Norman Lord, named GEOFFREY of Harcom, who was on board the King's ship, proposed his invading Normandy, assuring him there were numbers of malecontents that would join him in that province: which being agreed to in a council of war, the descent was made near La Hogue, where he met with little opposition, King PHILIP expecting him in another part of the country. Upon the news of this invasion, the Duke of Normandy immediately marched his forces out of Guienne, and joining with those King PHILIP had assembled, endeavoured to stop the progress of the King of England; who in the mean time had made

A tax first  
laid on  
salt.Norman-  
dy invaded  
by the  
English.



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himself master of most of the towns in Normandy, and amongst the rest of Caen, a rich and populous city, the plunder whereof King EDWARD gave to his soldiers, reserving only one ship-load of the most valuable treasure and effects to be sent to England, which, says the French historian, was a bait for the English, and encouraged them to assist their triumphant Prince with all their might, in hopes of dividing the riches of that fine kingdom with their countrymen. He sent over also three hundred of the most wealthy citizens, who were to ransom their persons with their estates; together with the Constable of France, the Earl of Tancarville, and above threescore knights that were taken in an engagement under the walls of Caen.

Soon after, King PHILIP, and his son the Duke of Normandy, with the whole power of France, that was assembled in defence of their country, appeared in sight; of whose strength it seems the King of England was so apprehensive, that he thought of nothing but making his retreat by way of Flanders, where he had still a considerable party, which he hoped would join him. His difficulty was to pass the river Somme in view of so formidable an enemy; but by his frequent marches and countermarches having gained about a day's march of the French, and found out a ford that was practicable, he passed the river without much loss; and observing an advantageous spot of ground to encamp his army upon near the village of Cressi, he determined here to wait the approach of the French army, which overtook him the next day. King PHILIP finding his enemy so strongly posted, determined to defer the attack till his people had recovered the fatigue of so long a march: however, the van of his army being engaged without his knowledge, according to the French, he found himself under a necessity of supporting them, which brought on a general engagement, to the utter ruin of the French army. This defeat was occasioned, as 'tis said, by the cowardice of the Genoese, who were in the front, and run away upon the first discharge, which disordered the main body. Some of the French historians are so severe upon the memory of King PHILIP, as to affirm that it happened for want of conduct, and that King EDWARD was evidently the more accomplished General; for it is agreed that the French were at least double the number of the English, and that they lost thirty thousand common men, besides a vast number of their nobility and knights, and fourscore banners or colours, carried by as many Lords Bannerets, were taken.

After this victory, which the Prince of Wales has generally the honour of, the King of England laid siege to Calais; and as he found it to be a place of great strength, and defended by a numerous garrison, he determined to starve the town. Accordingly he blocked it up by his fleet towards the sea, and surrounded it on the land-side with his soldiers huts, that looked like another town, having streets and market-places, shops and taverns, and all manner of merchandizes brought hither from Flanders and England, as to some great mart. He continued in this situation about a year, when the town was obliged to surrender at discretion; whereupon King EDWARD removed all the old inhabitants, and peopled it with English. The French affairs went no better on the side of Guienne, where their enemies took one town after another, and quartered their troops in the fine countries upon the Loire. In Bretagne, CHARLES de Blois was taken prisoner

and sent to England. The French in the mean time had spirited up the Scots, as usual, to attack the English borders in the absence of their King: but they were entirely defeated by the Queen of England's army, and their King brought prisoner to London. The only consolation the French King had, was the Flemings changing sides and coming over to his interests: but as the English were now masters of Calais, they did not stand in so much need of them as formerly in their expeditions to France. And now King EDWARD was content to accept of the truce that had been long mediated, on condition that each party should continue in possession of what he was possessed of. This truce was prolonged at several times to the year 1350, when King PHILIP died, leaving two sons by his first wife, viz. JOHN Duke of Normandy, who succeeded him; and PHILIP Duke of Orleans and Count of Valois: and he left his second wife, BLANCHE of Navarre, big with child of a daughter.

The French had great expectations of King JOHN II. when he was advanced to the throne, being of a mature age, (about forty) educated in the mysteries of state, and having commanded the armies of France for a considerable time with success; and yet there is no reign wherein the kingdom suffered more by foreign enemies and intestine divisions. The King was crowned at Rheims on the 26th of September, 1350, when he made several knights, and amongst the rest CHARLES his eldest son the first, who bore the title of Dauphin on account of his being heir apparent to the crown. The rejoicings for the coronation were scarce over, when RAOUL Count d'Eu, Constable of France, returned from his imprisonment in England, having been taken at the storming of Caen. He was seized by the King's order when he came to court, and beheaded without any trial, being in a conspiracy with the King of England against the state, as was afterwards given out.

About the same time there was a battle between the French and English in Guienne, wherein the latter were victorious; after which a truce was made between the two nations, which the French complain was but ill observed, especially in Bretagne, where, among other enterprizes, a duel was fought between thirty knights of Bretagne and as many of England, and the Bretons came off conquerors, which they boast of to this day. During this truce also the King of England surprized Guines, having corrupted the governor: which, when the French complained of, they were answered that the surprizing of places was not prohibited by the truce, or they would not have attempted Calais; for CHARNI, governor of St Omers, had attempted to seize that city, having first bought the governor; but the conspiracy was discovered, and CHARNI with five or six hundred French knights made prisoners, besides a great many cut to pieces. The truce however was continued to the year 1355.

In the mean time the King of Navarre came to court, to whom the French chiefly ascribe the calamities which afterwards happened in the kingdom. He was the son of PHILIP Count of Evreux, a Prince of the blood, and of JANE of France, daughter of King LEWIS HUTIN. He had been educated at the French court, and was much admired there, as being a most accomplished young Prince. The avowed design of his waiting on the King at this time, was to desire his daughter

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XXXIV.JOHN II.  
1350.The battle  
of Cressi,  
1346.Calais besieged and  
taken,  
1347.The King  
of Navarre puts  
himself  
under the  
protection  
of the  
English.



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ter JANE in marriage, whom he obtained: but observing the perplexity the state was in on account of the conquests of the English, he took the opportunity of demanding the restitution of the counties of Champagne and Brie, and the duchy of Burgundy, of which his ancestors seem to have been unjustly deprived. The King however did not think fit to restore them, but on the contrary, gave some part of his territories in Normandy to his inveterate enemy CHARLES of Spain, then Constable of France; at which the King of Navarre was so exasperated, that he surprised the Constable and murdered him in his house; and expecting the King would resent the outrage, he put himself under the protection of the King of England. Such were the situation of King JOHN's affairs however at this time, that he durst not publicly express his displeasure: but the King of Navarre offering to return to his duty on condition he might obtain his pardon, he thought fit to agree to it. This Prince still renewed his conspiracies against the French court, keeping intelligence with the King of England, who was now come over to Calais upon the expiration of the truce, as the Prince of Wales was to Guienne; and it was expected every day that the King of Navarre would make an insurrection in Normandy, where he had large demesnes, and join the English. In this critical juncture King JOHN ordered his son the Dauphin to invite the King of Navarre to an entertainment at the castle of Rouen, (for there was a particular intimacy between those Princes) and while they were at dinner surrounding the castle with a detachment of his army, he made the King of Navarre prisoner, and cut off the heads of four of his ministers who were at dinner with him. Whereupon PHILIP, brother to the King of Navarre, being at liberty, joined the Duke of Lancaster, who was lately landed in Normandy, with a good body of troops. The English however were far from performing what was expected from them in Normandy this year, which we are told was occasioned by the backwardness of the parliament to give supplies. The Prince of Wales on the other hand made very rapid conquests with a handful of men on the side of Guienne, laying Auvergne, Limousin, and Berry, under contribution, and advancing as far as Bourges; which King JOHN having advice of, and foreseeing it would be difficult for the young Prince to make his retreat, assembled his troops and marched towards Berry with the utmost expedition. He came up with the Prince at Maupertuis, about two leagues from Poitiers, who finding his communication cut off from his own garrisons, chose an advantageous camp, and there resolved to attend the enemy. But having no provisions with him, and it being impossible almost for him to receive any, the French historians lament the rashness of their King in attacking him in a place almost inaccessible, and not endeavouring rather to starve the English, as he might have done in two or three days. The King's troops, according to their own writers, consisted of forty-eight thousand men, and the Prince of Wales's of twelve thousand; but then there was no way of coming at him but by one road, where four troopers could hardly march a breast, and where the English archers, who had lined the hedges and enclosures, took them off as they advanced, till they lay in heaps at the entrance of their camp. And the French being thus put into confusion in the front, a body

The battle  
of Poitiers.

of English horse wheeled about, and taking a circumstance, fell in upon the rear, which completed their defeat. The King with his son PHILIP, and several thousand more, were taken prisoners, and among the slain were no less than seventeen hundred lords and gentlemen.

The French relate, that the Pope's legate endeavoured to accommodate matters before the battle begun: that the Prince of Wales was so sensible of his distress, that he offered to relinquish all the conquests he had made this campaign, if King JOHN would give him leave to retire to Bourdeaux: but the King insisting that the Prince and an hundred knights should surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; and this resolution was crowned with success, much beyond his hopes. However, his troops were so few, and his prisoners so many and of such quality, that he did not think fit to enter upon any further action, but returned with them into Guienne, in order to secure them, with the rich plunder they were masters of; for they had not only pillaged a great many good towns, but rifled the French camp, which must yield them a considerable booty, the French King, the Dauphin, and his three brothers, with a numerous nobility, being in the field.

The Dauphin with his two brothers having retired out of the battle in good time, came to Paris, where the states acknowledged the Dauphin lieutenant of the kingdom during the King's absence. He was scarce twenty years of age at this time, and had a very perverse people to deal with, besides a victorious enemy, whom he might reasonably have expected at the gates of Paris in a short time: but the English of that age seem much better qualified to gain than to improve victories; they entirely lost the advantages they might have made of the confusion and ill temper the French were in, and suffered them by agreeing to a needless truce, to recover from their consternation, and reunite the several jarring parties in the kingdom: the reason of which conduct is generally ascribed to the unreasonable good husbandry of the English parliament, who refused to supply the King with money to maintain his conquests. But surely as he was master of so rich a country as France, it would have been no difficult matter to have subsisted his troops, and maintained them by the contributions he might have raised there. This, no doubt, was what the English parliament expected; they might justly be piqued, to see the demands of the court increase with their conquests, and the produce of so fine a country squandered away upon favourites or faithless allies, as was in some degree the case in a much later war with that nation. But to proceed: The Prince of Wales having brought the King of France and his son PHILIP prisoners to London, made his entry into that city upon a little black pad, while he had taken care to have the King mounted on a large fine horse with the richest furniture, appearing himself rather as an attendant on that monarch than his conqueror. This the French historians observe, was carrying his prisoner in triumph in a very different manner from that of the ancient Romans, who drew their captive Kings after them chained to their chariots. In this he shewed a much more elegant taste of glory, and which will ever be admired by the judicious beyond the most splendid of the Roman triumphs.

The Dauphin in the mean time found a faction in Paris, which rendered him very uneasy: they insisted on his having a council of citizens about him,

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Prince of  
Wales's  
entry into  
London  
with his  
prisoner  
the French  
King.France in  
a distract-  
ed state.



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him, without whose direction they would suffer him to transact nothing. They took upon them to displace several ministers, and supply their rooms with their own creatures; to which the Dauphin was obliged to submit: all the satisfaction he had was to observe the nobility well inclined to his person, who were exasperated at the commons for the insults they daily received at Paris, and in most of the cities of the kingdom, after their return from the battle of Poitiers, the people upbraiding them with cowardice and deserting of their King. Paris, says my author, was now become a garrison town, the tradesmen having formed themselves into troops and regiments; the nobility and peasants in the country had entered into a kind of war, in which thousands were slaughtered; armies of robbers were got together, who fell upon both parties without distinction, plundering all the open towns, and none durst stir out of the greater cities for fear of meeting them. In the mean time the common people continued their insults on the Dauphin at Paris; they let the King of Navarre out of prison, and placed him at their head, requiring the Dauphin to do him justice for the wrongs he had suffered, particularly to restore the places that had been taken from him in Normandy, and to repeal the attainder of those gentlemen who were taken prisoners with him at Rouen and had been executed; all which the Dauphin was obliged to grant. The Provost or Mayor of Paris, who was the head of the factious party, endeavoured to distinguish his people by ordering them to wear caps half red and half blue; but this soon ceased to be a distinction, for the rest of the people finding themselves in danger of being knocked on the head for want of such caps, immediately furnished themselves with them. At length the Mayor carried his insolence so far, that he came to the palace with several thousand armed men, to whom the Dauphin coming out and demanding what they wanted, he ordered some of his followers to seize upon two of the Marshals of France that attended the Dauphin, and murder them, which was executed before the Dauphin's face; and the Mayor made no other excuse for this outrage, but that he thought it for the publick good. Hereupon the rest of the courtiers fled, leaving the Dauphin alone. He asked the Mayor, whether they had any design upon his person. He said, no, my Lord; but that you may be safe, take my cap. The Prince took it, and gave him his own, which this fellow had the impudence to wear afterwards. And now he thought it a proper time to put his grand project in execution, which was to get the King of Navarre declared King of France; but tho' that Prince had ambition enough to aspire to the crown of France, and had a prior right to the King of England, if females were admitted into the succession, yet the fear of being abandoned by King EDWARD, who was his greatest support, made him very cautious of taking the title upon him. However, according to the French historians, measures were concerted between him and the Mayor of Paris, to let in a body of the King of Navarre's troops on a certain night, and to murder or expel all the Dauphin's party in the city; but the thing happening to take air, and some popular men in the Dauphin's interest, giving the citizens to understand, that the city was upon the point of being betrayed to the English, things took a new turn; the Mayor was cut in pieces, and the town appeared now entirely in the Dauphin's interest. The French writers do in-

The faction at Paris propose to proclaim the King of Navarre King of France.

deed suggest, that the party of the King of England and the King of Navarre was the same, and that notwithstanding the truce, the English were at the bottom of these attempts and conspiracies against the Dauphin; which, if true, may in some measure account for King EDWARD's consenting to a truce when he was victorious. He might hope to effect his designs by the King of Navarre's party and their civil dissensions, sooner than by an open war; tho' by the treaty he made with King JOHN afterwards, he does not seem to have any design upon the crown of France, but only to get the dominions which belonged to England on that side the water restored.

The truce being expired, hostilities were renewed, or rather continued, say the French writers; for they were the same troops which ravaged France before under the name of the King of Navarre, that now plundered it under the King of England's colours: but they were suspended for a while, by the coming over of the Archbishop of Sens, the Earl of Tancarville, and other Lords, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Poitiers, with a treaty of peace concluded between the two Kings; wherein it was agreed, that Normandy, Poitou, Anjou, and all the dominions which formerly belonged to England, together with Calais, the counties of Bologne, Guines, Ponthieu, and Montrevil, should be yielded up to England, to be held independently, without paying any homage or acknowledgment to the crown of France; and that the Duke of Bretagne should hold his duchy of the King of England, and do homage to him for it; and lastly, that four millions of crowns (some make them livres) should be paid for the ransom of the French King and the Lords that were prisoners with him: in consideration whereof the King of England renounced all right to the crown of France. But this, say the French, was putting King EDWARD in possession of that crown he pretended to renounce: it was investing that part of France which was left to the King on all sides, and putting the King of England in a condition of taking it whenever he should alledge there was an infraction of the treaty. The Dauphin and the States therefore declared, they would never submit to it. Whereupon King EDWARD raised a great army and came over into France, destroying the open country with fire and sword to the very gates of Paris, where the Dauphin had shut himself up with a numerous garrison, but did not pretend to make any opposition in the field. At length heaven, in the language of the French writers, was pleased to put an end to this destructive war by a miracle; they tell us, that as the King of England lay encamped with his army near Chartres, a storm of rain and hail, attended by thunder and lightning, such as had never been known in the memory of man, fell upon the camp, and put the King and his army in the greatest consternation; insomuch, that the King in that instant vowed to give peace to France. Accordingly he immediately sent to the deputies of the States to come and treat with him, and was contented to relinquish Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, which he had insisted on in the treaty of London. He agreed also to moderate the King's ransom to three millions of crowns. The French King was to be released forthwith, and forty hostages; among whom, LEWIS Duke of Anjou, and JOHN Count of Poitiers, the King's sons, were to be sent in his room, for securing the execution of the treaty, in which the King of Navarre

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A treaty peace between the two Kings.

Rejected by the States of France, and the war renewed.

A treaty concluded with the States.



CHAP. XXXIV. Navarre was included. The King of England being returned to Calais, met King JOHN there; and both of them having confirmed the treaty by their oaths, the King of France was left at liberty to return to Paris, after having delivered up the principal hostages.

LEWIS Duke of Anjou, the King's second son, not being guarded very strictly in England, made his escape over into France; which his father looked upon as so dishonourable an action, that he determined to return to London, and surrender himself prisoner again, if he could not settle the terms of the treaty: which, when the Dauphin and his Ministers represented the ill consequences of, he answered, that if good faith was banished from the rest of the world, it always ought to be found among Princes: and that as he obtained his liberty from the King of England only upon condition of executing the late treaty, he would procure the performance of it whatever it cost him. Some malicious people indeed insinuate, that all these fine pretences were only to cover his passion for a lady he had left in England, which deserves but little credit. He went to London about Christmas 1363, where he was taken ill, and died on the eighth of April following, at the palace of the Savoy, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

King JOHN dies at London.

King JOHN left four sons, viz. 1. CHARLES, who succeeded him. 2. LEWIS, Duke of Anjou. 3. JOHN, Duke of Berry. And, 4. PHILIP, Duke of Burgundy. His daughters were, 1. JANE, married to CHARLES I, King of Navarre. 2. MARY, married to the Duke of Bar. 3. ISABELLA, married to JOHN GALEAS, Duke of Milan. And, 4. MARGARET, who chose the life of a nun.

CHARLES V, 1364. It is observed of CHARLES V, surnamed the Wise, that he never took the field in person, or marched at the head of his armies, as his predecessors had done; which the French historians look upon as one signal instance of his wisdom: and it is very true, that the kingdom suffered extremely by the imprisonment of his father, which had been prevented, if he had committed the conduct of the army to his Generals. But it may be as prudent for a Prince to lead his troops into the field, and expose his person at one time, as it may be to keep out of danger at another. There can be no general rule therefore laid down in these cases; and Princes at last will act according to their respective complexions and inclinations; nor will they ever want people to applaud their wisdom, whether they are daring or timorous.

The first enterprize that was undertaken in this reign, was the driving the King of Navarre out of the several towns he possessed near the Seine, which interrupted the communication between Paris and Rouen; and this occasioned a battle between the French King's troops and those of the King of Navarre in Normandy, in which the latter were defeated. On the other hand, the English, who assisted the Duke of Montfort in Bretagne, obtained a compleat victory over CHARLES de Blois, his rival, who was supported by the French. CHARLES was killed in the field of battle; and MONTFORT was acknowledged Duke of Bretagne, even by the King of France. Soon after a peace was made between France and Navarre; and there only remained those bodies called the Companies, which gave any disturbance to the kingdom. These were composed of

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deferters from the several armies, or such as had been disbanded, joined with robbers and vagrants, amounting in the whole to thirty thousand men, commanded by experienced officers, inasmuch, that it was not easy to suppress them: but there happening a civil war in Castile, the King prevailed with them to accept an invitation, which one of the parties gave them to enter into the Spanish service; and by that means cleared the kingdom of them. And here it will be necessary to give some account of the wars in Castile, because both the French and the English at length became parties in them. The French account is briefly this:

PETER, King of Castile, usually called the Cruel, from the many barbarities he committed, imprisoned his wife BLANCHE, sister to the Queen of France, and finding there was a general conspiracy of his subjects against him, who were supported by the French King, he proceeded to poison her; and it was upon this occasion, that the Companies above-mentioned were sent into Castile, to serve under HENRY, the bastard brother of PETER the Cruel, who was at the head of the male-contents in that kingdom. Upon the approach of these troops, PETER's subjects universally abandoned him, and proclaimed his brother HENRY King; whereupon PETER fled to the Prince of Wales, who was then at Bourdeaux, and implored his assistance against his rebellious subjects; which the Prince promised him. And as the Companies who had been instrumental in deposing PETER, consisted most of them of English, or Gascons, the subjects of England, he prevailed on them to quit the service of HENRY the Bastard, and list themselves under his colours. The Prince also having received a great reinforcement from England about the same time, which were brought him by his brother the Duke of Lancaster, he marched over the Pyrenees into Spain, with a gallant army, where he found the enemy however far more numerous, consisting of French, Arragonian, and Castilian troops, who were confederated together to oppose PETER, and maintain HENRY his bastard-brother, on the throne. After some skirmishes, in which the Castilians were successful, the two armies came to a general battle on the third of April 1367; and the Prince of Wales having obtained a compleat victory, restored the deposed King PETER; who, if we may credit the French historians, satiated his blood-thirsty humour, by the death and torments he inflicted on the great Lords, and the rest of his subjects, who had contributed to depose him. But however that matter be, certain it is, there was some misunderstanding between the Prince of Wales and King PETER; and the Prince withdrawing his troops soon after, there happened another insurrection in favour of his brother HENRY, wherein PETER was killed, and HENRY advanced to the crown again; and what was an inconceivable disadvantage to England, the Prince of Wales contracted a distemper in this expedition, which he never recovered. His army also, great part of it, was destroyed by the heat of the climate, which gave the French an opportunity of insult in the English territories in France; a thing they never durst attempt till this misfortune happened. But the wise King CHARLES, as the French historians call him, before he thought fit to declare war against England, took care to form such alliances, as might enable him to act with

A war in Spain.

of the A. ...

A war with the King of Navarre.

With the Duke of Brittany.

France harassed by the disbanded soldiers.



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tween  
France  
and En-  
gland.A truce  
made.  
The  
Prince of  
Wales and  
the King  
of En-  
gland die.

success against that potent nation; and particularly he secured the Earl of Flanders in his interests, who having one only daughter, the heiress of his dominions, he procured her to be married to his brother PHILIP, Duke of Burgundy, and thereby prevented her being given to EDMUND, Earl of Cambridge, son to the King of England; which proved of great advantage to CHARLES V, but brought a multitude of misfortunes on his successors, as will appear in the course of this history. But the great art or wisdom of CHARLES V, it seems, consisted in setting the neighbouring Princes together by the ears, and fomenting discontents among their subjects. We find him creating disputes between the Spaniards and the English; and at the same time inciting the subjects of Guienne to revolt against their Sovereign, under pretence of a capitation-tax, that the Prince of Wales had imposed, to discharge the arrears due to his army. He was also so wise as to defer his attempts against the English, till the Prince of Wales was in a declining state of health, and old King EDWARD had left the administration of his affairs to a concubine in the years of his dotage. In these circumstances, he had the courage to summon the Prince of Wales before him as his supreme Lord; and for his pretended contumacy in not appearing, to declare the English territories on that side of the water, forfeited to the crown of France, and immediately seized upon such places as were in a defenceless condition: but King EDWARD transporting an army to Calais, under the command of General KNOLLS, they destroyed France with fire and sword to the very gates of Paris, and afterwards marched towards Guienne, ravaging that part of the country as they had done the other; the wife King of France shutting himself up in his capital all the while, and never attempting to oppose their march; for which their historians applaud his conduct, and the more, for that he was successful in beating up the English quarters the following winter. But what proved of the most fatal consequence to the English in this war, was, the destruction of their fleet on the coast of Guienne by the Spaniards, who were in a confederacy with the French, in the year 1372; whereupon Rochelle, Poitiers, and most of the towns belonging to the English, except Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, surrendered to the enemy. A second fleet also, which sailed from England with a great body of land-forces on board, was dispersed and driven back by a storm; so that had the wife King CHARLES been possessed of a grain of courage, he had now a fair opportunity of driving the English from the continent. But notwithstanding all these advantages, we find an army commanded by the Duke of Lancaster, marching the next year, 1373, from Calais to Guienne, that is, from one end of France to the other, plundering the country at their pleasure; and the French still applaud the wisdom of their Monarch in not fighting them, comforting themselves, that the English lost a great many men by sickness in this expedition; as if the loss of part of the English army were a sufficient equivalent for the destruction of a fine country of that extent. In the year 1374, a truce was concluded between the two nations, by the mediation of the Pope's Legate. Soon after which the Prince of Wales died, who had been long a terror to France; and the King of England himself did not live above two years after his son; whereupon RICHARD II, son of the Prince of Wales,

and grandson of King EDWARD, succeeded to that crown, who being an infant, the French King took advantage of his minority, and made himself master of no less than an hundred and thirty fortresses belonging to the English in France, if we may credit the French writers, who a very little before tell us, that the English were not possessed of five places in that kingdom; both which accounts can never be true, unless the places the French had taken were restored to the English by the last truce. They boast also mightily of plundering the Isle of Wight, and several towns upon the English coast, about the time of King EDWARD's death, being assisted by the Spanish fleet; but they were not so hardy, it seems, as to attempt to keep the possession of any one place they surprized on this side the water, but fled to their ships as soon as the ordinary militia of the country appeared.

The King of Navarre, it is said, about this time, employed his agents to take off the French King by poison, as he had attempted once before in the beginning of his reign, and two persons were executed for it. Whether there was any such design or not, is not easy to determine at this distance of time; but certain it is, that the French made this a pretence for putting very hard conditions upon the King of Navarre.

The next thing King CHARLES attempted, was the uniting Brittany to the crown of France, which he looked upon as no difficult matter, most of the nobility and gentry of that duchy being already in his interest, and many of them in his service; nor did he want a plausible pretence for this proceeding, that Duke being declared a rebel, and an enemy to the kingdom. He cited him therefore before the Court of Peers; and on his not appearing, declared that duchy to be forfeited. But the Lords of Bretagne apprehending, that they should be deprived of all their privileges by such an union, immediately left the King's service, and entered into an association to stand by their Duke, and receiving a reinforcement of troops from England, drove the French out of their country, and so put an end to the project of an union for this time. Soon after King CHARLES died, viz. on the sixteenth of September 1380, being the forty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He left behind him two sons, namely CHARLES, who succeeded him; and LEWIS, Duke of Orleans; and one daughter named CATHERINE.

The late King CHARLES V, did not constitute a Regent of the kingdom during the minority of his son CHARLES VI, who was about eleven years old when his father died, but recommended him to the care of his three uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, and the Duke of Bourbon; who seemed to act at first with great unanimity, calling to their assistance the prime nobility, without whose advice nothing of moment was entered upon. But the Duke of Anjou looking upon himself to be entitled to the regency, as he was the eldest of the three brothers, it was resolved to advance the King's majority, and perform the solemnity of his coronation in a few months, and to permit the Duke of Anjou to enjoy the title of Regent in the mean time; after which, it was agreed the kingdom should be governed in the King's name by the counsel and advice of the Lords his uncles. This scheme the Duke of Anjou would never have come into, if the rest had not suffered him to ingross most of the late King's treasure

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The re-  
duction of  
Bretagne  
attempted  
in vain.CHARLES  
VI, 1380.The  
Princes of  
the blood  
disagree a-  
bout the  
Regency.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.

Preparations for the invasion of England.

treasure and jewels. But it was observed of this Prince, that tho' he had a great deal of ambition, avarice had still the ascendant of him: as short as his Regency was, he oppressed the people with taxes to that degree, that it occasioned an insurrection. They were a little pacified however when they saw the Princes making preparations for the coronation of his Majesty, when the Duke of Anjou's administration was to be at an end; but finding the same taxes continued afterwards as before, the people rose again, plundered the houses of the collectors of the taxes, and committed other outrages, not only in Paris, but all over the kingdom. Nor were the distractions less in the court itself, for the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy constantly opposed each other; and the Duke of Berry, who was a weak indolent Prince, was however discontented at his having scarce any share in the administration. The Duke of Burgundy, tho' he was the youngest of the three brothers, yet as he was a Prince of a superior genius, and possessed of large territories in his own right, and heir apparent to Flanders, made much the most shining figure in the French court; and the Duke of Bourbon adhered to him. To satisfy the Duke of Berry, they gave him the government of Languedoc; and the Duke of Anjou, who was adopted by JOAN Queen of Naples, and declared her successor, going to take possession of that kingdom (in which expedition he lost his life) the administration remained solely in the hands

The Duke  
Burgundy  
prevails.1381.  
Reduces  
the rebel-  
lious  
Flemings.

of the Duke of Burgundy, who having quieted the disaffected at home, and made peace with the Duke of Britany, marched to the assistance of his father-in-law the Earl of Flanders, against whom the Flemings had revolted. He defeated them in a decisive battle, and restored the Earl to his government, returning with the young King in a triumphant manner to Paris; where he disarmed the inhabitants, caused all the chains of their streets to be taken away, and executed many of those who had been the authors of the late tumults. This city and Rouen also were obliged to pay very great sums for their former insolent behaviour, and submit to pay those taxes they had procured to be suspended by the late insurrections. In the mean time the war was faintly carried on between the French and English, both courts being inclined to pacific measures. The schism that was in the Church at this time, seems to have been the principal occasion of that war. England, and most of the powers of Europe, had acknowledged URBAN for Pope, while the French alone adhered to CLEMENT, who had been elected by the Cardinals at Avignon. Whereupon URBAN the Italian Pope, sent a bull into England to SPENCER Bishop of Norwich, directing him to publish a crusade against the French or Clementines. The Bishop having raised twenty or thirty thousand men, transported them to Flanders, which was then dependant on France, and made himself master of several towns: but the Bishop not being supported in this expedition by the King or Nobility, the French soon retook the Flemish towns; and the Bishop was obliged to return to England, where he fell under the displeasure of the court, and had his temporalities sequestered.

1383.  
Two  
Popes at  
once.One pub-  
lishes a  
crusade a-  
gainst the  
other.

1384. The following year the Earl of Flanders died; by whose death the Duke of Burgundy, who had married his only daughter MARGARET, became possessed of that fine country.

1385. The French King being in the seventeenth year

of his age, his uncles married him to the Princess ISABELLA, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria. After which, it was proposed in the French court to invade England, and great preparations were made for it; but the King of England having procured another revolt in the Netherlands, the troops that were designed for that enterprize, were employed in reducing the Flemings; only fifteen hundred of the French joined the Scots, and made an incursion into England. They were soon repulsed, and Edinburgh itself burnt and plundered by the English in return.

The King of Navarre having been dispossessed of the towns and territories he held in France, and not being able to recover them by open force, about this time formed a design of poisoning the King and the most considerable Lords about the court; and, according to the French writers, the agent he employed was actually taken in the King's kitchen with the poison upon him: whereupon a process was formed against the King of Navarre, as a vassal to the crown of France for the county of Evreux, and by sentence of the Peers he was adjudged guilty of high treason: but the Prince kept close in Navarre, and did not come within their reach; and only the agent he employed suffered for it.

It is observed by the French historians, that the Kings of England and France were much in the same condition at this time, both of them young, and in a manner under the direction of their uncles, who took the administration of the government into their own hands. The Duke of Lancaster was almost absolute in England, as the Duke of Burgundy was in France, and both the one and the other had their private interests in view; but in this the King of France had the advantage, that however his uncles might contend for the ministry, none of them aspired to the crown, as the Duke of Lancaster and his brothers evidently did in England.

In the year 1386, the French again made preparations to invade England, as the most effectual way to oblige the English to abandon the countries they were possessed of in France. But the Duke of Berry, who found he was consulted in this enterprize only for form sake, determined to make it miscarry, and did not bring the troops he was to raise to the general rendezvous till September. Had the French made a descent in England at this time, they had all the reason in the world to hope for success; for that court was not only divided into factions, but the Duke of Lancaster had carried the flower of their forces into Portugal, in order to assert his title to the crown of Castile, having married the daughter and heiress of PETER the Cruel; but the heats of that country having destroyed the best part of his army, he was obliged to abandon that enterprize.

The French renewed their design upon England a third time in the year 1387, and because that kingdom was actually engaged in a civil war, fourteen thousand men were thought sufficient for this expedition, who were to have been commanded by DE CLISSON the Constable; but just as they were ready to embark in Britany, the Duke of Britany caused the Constable to be seized and detained prisoner, either because he suspected him of some design upon this duchy, or to make good his engagements with the court of England, under whose protection Britany usually was, and must have been united to the crown of France long before this, if the English had not from time to time prevented

1386.

1387.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.1388.  
The King  
takes the  
govern-  
ment into  
his own  
hands.1389.  
Duke of  
Anjou's  
expedition  
against  
Naples.

1390.

1391.  
An at-  
tempt to  
assassinate  
the Con-  
stable.The  
French  
King falls  
mad.  
1392.

prevented it. The French King was highly provoked with the Duke of Bretagne for seizing the Constable, the first officer of the crown, and possibly would have made him sensible of it, if the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry had not interposed, who prevailed with the King to pass by the affront on his setting the Constable at liberty. His Majesty being now weary of the tuition of his uncles, declared he would take the reins of government into his own hands; whereupon the Duke of Burgundy retired to his dominions, and the Duke of Berry to his government of Languedoc; but the Duke of Bourbon, of whom the King had a more favourable opinion, he kept near him. All the rest of the great officers were changed.

The new ministry, to ingratiate themselves with the people, struck off abundance of pensions which the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry had procured for their creatures, and eased the people in their taxes. About the same time, LEWIS, the eldest son of the Duke of Anjou, raised an army and reduced the kingdom of Naples, which he looked upon as his inheritance, tho' at present it was possessed by LADISLAUS the son of CHARLES DURAS, his father's competitor. He was not long after however driven out of Naples again, and forced to content himself with the county of Provence, which was part of the territories left his father by Queen JOAN. The Duke of Bourbon either not approving the present administration, or weary of a court-life, desired leave of the King to raise a body of troops, and assist the Genoese in an expedition they were entering upon against Tunis, near which city the Christians landed, and obtained a victory over the Turks; but were forced to raise the siege of Carthage they had undertaken, and re-embark their troops, the King of Tunis consenting first to release the Christian captives, and pay them part of their charges of the enterprise.

While the Duke of Bourbon was engaged in this undertaken against Tunis, there happened an accident at Paris, that very much alarmed the court. The Constable CLISSON, who was in a manner Prime Minister, was attacked in the streets in the night-time by one CRAON, a person of figure, whom he had displaced, and twenty other armed men, who wounded him, and left him for dead, tho' he had the good fortune to recover. CRAON made his escape with his followers into Britany, and that Duke refused to deliver him up when the King sent to demand him; which made it suspected, that he was not altogether a stranger to the attempt upon the Constable. And the King being dissatisfied with the Duke upon many other accounts, and particularly for not delivering up the places in Britany to the Constable which belonged to him, (for the Constable was a native of Britany) his Majesty raised an army, and begun his march against the Duke, summoning the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy to attend him, which they obeyed very willingly. But while the King was about to revenge himself on the Duke of Britany, his Majesty was taken with a most unaccountable frenzy, which occasioned infinite miseries to France. An eye-witness who was then in the army relates, 'That on the first August, 1392, they observed a disorder in his Majesty's gesture and discourse; that sometimes he appeared quite stupified, and at others let fall extravagant expressions, and then would be composed again, and converse as at other times. This continued by fits for four days. On the fifth, he gave

orders for drawing up his troops, as if he designed to take a review of them; and placing himself at the head of them compleatly armed, he led them to an hospital a little distance from the town of Mans. While he was there, a beggar of a very mean aspect having broke thro' the croud, rushed into his presence, and cried aloud, My Prince, where is it you are going? They are about to betray you, and give you up into your enemies hands. Whereupon the King started back in a fright. In that very instant, a soldier who was near him dropt his sword from his scabbard, and taking it up, the sight of a naked sword, with what he had heard before, gave such a turn to his mind, that he became perfectly distracted; and apprehending there was a design upon his life, drew his sword and killed the soldier that had just taken up his, and three others, one of whom was a gentleman of quality. As he continued fighting with every thing that stood before him, at last his sword broke, and they carried him back to Mans, where he fell down in a kind of lethargy, almost motionless, insomuch, that some thought him dead. The third day after he came to himself, and was acquainted with what had happened; whereupon he begged pardon for the mischief he had done, was confessed, and made a vow to visit the churches of our Lady of Chartres and St DENNIS.'

This misfortune occasioned the laying aside the expedition to Britany; and on his return to Paris, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry made their court to the King with that address, that he placed them again at the head of affairs; whereupon the Constable was disgraced, and an entire change made in the ministry. The Duke of Orleans however, the King's brother, constantly opposed the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, on account of their refusing to let him have any share in the administration.

Not long after another accident happened, which was near proving as fatal to his Majesty as the former. At the marriage of a lady of the Queen's household in January 1393, there being a ball and masquerade after supper, the King entered the hall disguised like a satyr, with four young Lords of the court in the same dress. The better to represent these silvan Deities, their habits were made close to their bodies, and the hair, or materials which were to resemble it, was stuck on with rosin. The Duke of Orleans not foreseeing the consequence, wantonly set fire to one of these masks; whereupon the rosin was immediately in a flame, and the whole habit took fire; and as the chains prevented their being separated, the fire took hold of them all. They cryed out most distemperedly, but no body durst come near to help them; the Duchess of Berry only had the presence of mind to pull off her gown and wrap the King up in it, whereby she extinguished the flame and saved his life; the other four were burnt to death. It was expected, that this would have occasioned a return of the King's disemper again, but he was not seized with his frenzy till summer following, when it having continued on him several months, he appeared perfectly well again: people were however perpetually apprehensive of a relapse. In his lucid intervals, his Majesty was generally employed in endeavouring to put an end to the schism which had so long continued in the church, as indeed were most of the Princes in Europe, who proposed, that both the Italian Pope, and the Pope

CHAP.  
XXXIV.1393.  
The King  
in danger  
of being  
burnt at a  
masque-  
rade.1394.  
The  
schism  
continues  
in the  
church.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.

Pope should resign, and submit to a new election. But these angry old gentlemen, instead of conforming to this reasonable proposal, excommunicated each other for several successions, and made themselves the jest of all mankind, till the temporal Princes called a General Council, which deposed them both, and set up a third person: but this happened some time after.

1396.  
Peace between  
France  
and Eng-  
land.

In the year 1396 a treaty of peace was set on foot between France and England, and the two Kings had an interview near Calais, when a marriage was concluded between RICHARD King of England and ISABELLA the daughter of CHARLES VI of France, a Princess of about seven years of age. At this treaty the French writers relate, that the King of England restored Breft to the Duke of Britany, and Cherbourg to the King of Navarre. About the same time the Genoese put themselves under the protection of France, and received a French governor; though it was not many years after that they dismissed him, and expelled all the French out of their territories.

An expedition  
against the  
Turks.

The young nobility of France having now no enemy to employ their arms against at home, were invited by SIGISMOND King of Hungary, son of the Emperor CHARLES IV, to come to his assistance against BAJAZET, Emperor of the Turks; whereupon PHILIP of Artois, Count of Eu, Constable of France, the Admiral, and two thousand noblemen and gentlemen more with their servants and dependants, making a very considerable body, and commanded by the Count de Nevers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, marched to join the King of Hungary. Soon after their arrival there happened a general battle between the Christians and Turks, wherein the French behaved themselves very gallantly at first, but pursuing the flying enemy too far, and breaking their order, they were surrounded by a body of BAJAZET's army which had not yet engaged, and most of them cut to pieces, among whom was the Constable. The Count of Nevers their General, with some few of the principal nobility, were made prisoners, and forced to pay very extravagant ransoms for their liberty. The Emperor afterwards obtained fresh supplies of France and England and other powers; but all had been too little to save him, if in that very instant the celebrated TAMERLANE had not invaded the territories of BAJAZET with an innumerable army, defeated him and made him prisoner, whereby Constantinople was for this time delivered from the terror of the Turks. But there was another Prince that the King of France would more gladly have assisted, if he could have done it with that expedition the case required; and that was RICHARD King of England his son-in-law, who having seized the inheritance of HENRY Earl of Derby upon the death of his father the Duke of Lancaster, and banished him into France, the disaffected English invited the Earl into England again, advanced him to the throne within ten days after his arrival, and soon after imprisoned the deposed King RICHARD in the tower of London, where it is usually said he was put to death after a renunciation of the crown had been extorted from him in parliament.

Richard  
II, of  
England  
deposed.

This revolution was like to have produced a war between France and England. The French attacked the English territories in Guienne and Gascony, gave the Dauphin the title of Duke of Guienne, which belonged to the King of England, and treated HENRY Earl of Derby as an usurper. On the other hand, King HENRY

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sent a reinforcement into Gascony to oppose the French, detained the Princess ISABEL, who had been contracted to King RICHARD, and appeared to be in a condition to defend himself against his enemies on all sides: but being more concerned to establish himself at home than to engage in foreign wars, he agreed at length to send back the Princess ISABEL, and to renew the truce between the two kingdoms for six and twenty years. France, according to their historians, would have made greater advantage of these distractions in England, if the King's distemper had not so frequently returned upon him. He relapsed, say they, seven times in the year 1399, and all sorts of remedies, both natural and supernatural, were made use of to cure him. [What they mean by supernatural remedies I must confess I am at a loss to discover, unless they were charms and witchcraft, for the common people generally supposed he was bewitched.] While the King was thus indisposed, the government was lodged in the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, but with this difference, that the Duke of Burgundy, tho' the younger, being superior in point of capacity as well as in wealth and territories, took upon himself much the greatest share in the regency. The Duke of Orleans, as hath been observed already, was disgusted to see his uncles in the possession of that power which he apprehended belonged to him as the King's brother. Formerly indeed he was excluded on account of his youth, but being now near thirty years of age, that pretence was at an end; and from hence arose that violent antipathy between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, which descended to their posterity, and set that kingdom in a flame. The misunderstanding between the Duchesses of Orleans and Burgundy was at least equal to that of their husbands. The Duchess of Burgundy took place of the Duchess of Orleans, as her husband was the King's uncle, according to the custom of those times. The Duchess of Burgundy also had the advantage in point of birth, as Countess of Flanders. On the other hand, the Duchess of Orleans was superior in beauty, and had most of the King's favour, which could never be forgiven. Thus were these Princes at the greatest distance that can be conceived; whatever the one advanced, the other opposed with all his might.

The  
Dukes of  
Orleans  
and Bur-  
gundy op-  
pose each  
other.

The Duke of Burgundy being obliged to take a journey into his own territories to solemnize the marriage of his second son, the Duke of Orleans laid hold of this opportunity to represent to the King the injustice that was done him in preferring his two uncles before him in the government of the state; and being seconded by his Duchesses, whom the King tenderly loved, he obtained an ordinance for declaring him lieutenant-general and governor of the kingdom, while the King's distemper would not permit him to attend the administration of affairs in person. The Duke of Burgundy however on his return resumed his office, revoked the ordinance, and was restored to the post the Duke of Orleans had possessed himself of in his absence. The Duke of Burgundy dying soon after, the administration became vested in the Duke of Orleans and the Queen, who at this time agreed perfectly well; but JOHN the son of the late Duke of Burgundy having taken possession of the large provinces which descended to him, and coming to court afterwards, appeared to be animated with the same resentment against the Duke



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

of Orleans as his father had been, and made it his business to form parties against him: and finding him too well established in the King's favour to be easily removed, he retired again into his own territories, where he raised a body of six or seven thousand men, at the head of whom he marched towards Paris, under pretence of doing homage to his Majesty for the provinces he held of him. The Queen and the Duke of Orleans receiving advice of his approach in this hostile manner, retired to Melun in order to raise forces to oppose him. The Duke of Burgundy at his arrival, in order to gain the favour of the Parisians, prevailed with the King to restore them their arms, which had been taken from them on the late insurrections, and that the chains might be again replaced in the streets for their defence, which rendered him extremely popular; and being in possession of the King and Dauphin, and the latter contracted to his daughter, he seemed now to have a great advantage of his competitor. He invited the Queen and the Duke however to return to Paris, and to assist in the administration: but the Duke of Orleans absolutely refused to share the administration with him at first, and took upon himself the title of lieutenant-general and governor of the kingdom under his Majesty. By the mediation of friends however the two Dukes were at last reconciled in appearance, and the Queen and Duke of Orleans returned to Paris. After which the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans agreed to march with their respective troops against the territories of the English. The Duke of Orleans was to attack Guienne, while Burgundy besieged Calais: but both enterprises miscarried, and they returned to court much chagrined, and their old animosities were revived: they took every occasion to disoblige each other, and frequently without any regard to discretion or good manners, till at length the Duke of Burgundy was worked up to that degree of rage, that nothing less than the life of his competitor would satisfy him.

1407. The Duke of Orleans going to pay a visit to the Queen one evening, a page of the King's, who held a correspondence with the Duke of Burgundy, came to him and told him his Majesty required his presence upon an affair of moment. His Royal Highness immediately mounted, attended only by two gentlemen and three pages who carried torches before him (tho' since his quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy he had never stirred abroad till then without a guard): he had not rode the length of a street before he found himself surrounded by eighteen assassins, with a Norman gentleman at their head, whom he had lately discharged from an employment he held about the King: 'twas he who gave him the first blow, and cut off his hand with an ax which he had laid upon the saddle. His Royal Highness cried out, I am the Duke of Orleans. 'Tis he whom we want, said the assassins; when the same hand gave him a second blow on the forehead and dismounted him, and with a third he cleft his skull; after which, the murderers made their escape.

1408. None of the assassins being discovered, the author of this outrage was concealed for two or three days, when the Duke of Burgundy acknowledged to the Duke of Berry he was concerned in the fact; and retired to his own dominions that he might put himself into a condition to justify it. Accordingly he soon after returned to Paris with an armed force, where he was received

by the people, to whom he was very dear, with the highest acclamations of joy. Having demanded audience of the King, who was not in a condition to deny it, he ordered one of his creatures to charge the deceased Duke with tyranny, and a multitude of other crimes, affirming that the whole kingdom was indebted to him for delivering them from a man of the Duke of Orleans's temper. But the discontent of the court appeared by the retreat of the Queen and the Dauphin to Melun again, who were soon followed by the Dukes of Berry and Brittany; leaving the King in the Duke of Burgundy's power, who extorted a justification of the fact from him, and put his own creatures into all the considerable places about his Majesty. This was so resented by the rest of the Princes of the blood, that the Duke of Berry, and the young Duke of Orleans, with the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon, and the Counts of Alençon, Clermont, and Armagnac, entered into a confederacy against him, and wrote a letter to the King, wherein they lamented the servitude in which his Majesty and the Dauphin were detained by the Duke of Burgundy; and begged of him that he would not take it amiss if they used force to deliver him. They wrote circular letters to the prelates and nobility, as also to the great towns in the kingdom, to engage them in the same design. The Duke of Burgundy however had several advantages of his enemies, being master of the King's person and the Dauphin's, and all his orders sent abroad in their names and under their seals; whereas his adversaries wanting the colour of authority, were looked upon as a rebellious faction. The war was vigorously carried on by both parties for some years; and the Duke of Burgundy was at one time so hard pressed, that he was forced to call in two thousand of the English to his assistance, which gave great offence to the French nobility. However, in the course of the war the Dukes of Berry and Orleans having the disadvantage, made proposals also to the King of England, offering to deliver up to him Normandy and all the countries he claimed in France, on condition he would send them a reinforcement of troops. But the wisest among the French on both sides considering that the introducing an English army into their bowels would probably be attended with the ruin of their country, a peace was on a sudden clapt up between the contending parties; and the English, who were already landed in Normandy, were paid the charges they had been at in this expedition, and prevailed on to return home. The next year the civil wars in France were revived, the Duke of Burgundy made himself master of the King's person again, and executed several of the adherents of the Duke of Orleans: but his Royal Highness getting into the administration in his turn, compelled the Duke of Burgundy to leave Paris, and retire to his Flemish territories. At this time the Duke of York came over to France from HENRY V. King of England, to demand the Princess CATHERINE, daughter of the French King, in marriage; but nothing was concluded on that subject. However, the truce was renewed for some months between the two nations.

The Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, upon the retreat of the Duke of Burgundy, procured him to be declared an enemy to his country; whereupon the civil war was carried on with more fierceness than ever, towns taken and retaken, the country ravaged and plundered on all sides, till at length the Flemings declaring for France against the

CHAP.  
XXXIV.1409.  
A civil  
war  
breaks  
out.

1410.

1411.

1412.

1413.

1414.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.

the Duke; and his brother the Duke of Nevers deserting him, he found himself under a necessity of treating with his enemies. The Duke of Orleans, who had still the murder of his father fresh in his memory, was for pushing things to the last extremity; but another embassy arriving from England, and demanding the restitution of Normandy, and the Dauphin apprehending that the Duke of Burgundy would throw himself into the hands of the English if he was driven to despair, thought fit to close with the offers the Duke made, that they might be in a condition with their united forces to oppose the invasion they were threatened with, by the King of England; and a peace was accordingly concluded and sworn to by the contending parties with the greatest solemnity on the 14th of May, 1415.

1415.

HENRY  
V, of Eng-  
land in-  
vades  
France.

King HENRY, notwithstanding this reconciliation, proceeded in his enterprize against France, and having assembled a fleet of fifteen hundred sail of ships, on which he embarked six thousand men at arms, and four and twenty thousand archers, (for muskets were not yet brought into common use) he landed near Harfleur in the mouth of the Seine about the middle of August, and laying siege to that town, which was bravely defended, the place did not capitulate till about six weeks after he sat down before it: and now the season was so far advanced, it being the latter end of September, and so many of his men were fallen sick, that he did not think it proper to enter upon any further action this campaign, but determined to march his army cross Picardy, and take winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Calais. The English must certainly have a very mean opinion of the French troops at this time, or they would not have attempted such a march thro' an enemy's country in the face of an army of three or four-score thousand men, when according to their own historians King HENRY had not above fifteen or twenty thousand at most; especially when that Prince might have transported his army by sea to Calais, if he had apprehended any hazard in marching by land. The French it seems did give him some disturbance in passing the river Somme, but he found a ford at last where he got over with very little bloodshed. And now, when he had conquered the greatest difficulty, the French writers tell us he was so discouraged on a sudden, that he offered their Generals to deliver up Harfleur, and pay the charges of the war, if they would permit him to march to Calais. But if he ever had made such an offer, it is much more rational to suppose he should have done it before he passed the river. But let that be as it will, it is evident the French did not accept the offer if he made it; and having got between the English army and Calais, King HENRY found himself under a necessity of fighting. They permitted him however to make choice of a very advantageous spot of ground to draw up his army upon, where each wing was flanked with a wood, and the French could not extend their front beyond that of the English, who had planted sharp stakes before them much in the nature of the modern Chevaux de Frize, I presume, which defended them against the attack of the French horse. Their writers seem to insinuate, that their Generals were not apprized of this barrier of stakes (though they tell us the English made use of them in almost every engagement). Certain it is, this precaution of the English contributed very much to the victory they afterwards obtained; for the squadrons of horse which were ordered to charge and

The bat-  
tle of  
Agin-  
court,  
1415.

break the archers, falling upon the stakes, and being at the same time overwhelmed with a shower of arrows from those bowmen, (who according to the French were a body that had not their equal in the world in this kind of fight) the horse immediately fled, broke through the lines that were drawn up in the rear, and put them into confusion. Another occasion of their defeat, as the French relate, is to be ascribed to the heavy armour of their men at arms; for it seems it was the custom of that time for the horse to dismount and fight on foot, and except the first two thousand that charged the archers, all the rest of the French horse were dismounted; and the ground being at that time very wet and miry, the English, who had no armour on, and consequently were much lighter, when they had delivered their arrows, and came to attack the French gend'armes with their axes and clubs, had a great advantage of them. The King of England observing the enemies confusion, ordered a body of horse he had in reserve to wheel about and attack them in the rear, which occasioned a general rout, several bodies that were entire quitting the field without striking a stroke. The French writers, from whence I take this relation, say, that there was very little blood shed on the side of the English, and no persons of distinction killed unless the Duke of York the King's uncle, and the Earl of Suffolk: but on the side of France there were ten thousand men killed in the field of battle, of whom eight thousand were gentlemen, and fourteen thousand made prisoners. Among the slain were the Count of Nevers and the Duke of Brabant, two of the Duke of Burgundy's brothers; the Duke of Alençon, and the Constable the Count d'Albret, and three other French Princes, as they call them: and among the prisoners the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richmond, and the Marechal de Boucicaut. It is related of the Duke of Alençon, that seeing all was lost, he determined to die gloriously, and with a troop of young gentlemen who attended him, broke through the English archers and the horse that were about King HENRY, and struck the Duke of York off his horse at one blow, and afterwards killed him; and the King stooping down to assist his uncle, the Duke of Alençon cleft the crown that was wrought in his Majesty's helmet in form of a crest, and if Alençon had not been killed in that very instant, his Majesty had run a great hazard of his life. But to proceed: After the battle King HENRY continued his march to Calais without interruption, and the French King, who was then at Rouen, having put the remainder of his army into the garrison-towns, retired to Paris, appointing the Count d'Armagnac, uncle to the Duke of Orleans, and the greatest enemy the Duke of Burgundy had, Constable of France, and Governor of Paris; soon after which, LEWIS the Dauphin fell sick of a dysentery, and died the 18th of December, being succeeded by his brother JOHN, Duke of Touraine.

The Emperor SIGISMUND coming over into England in 1416, and mediating a peace between the two nations, there was no considerable action happened in France that year. The two factions therefore being delivered at present from the terror of the English arms, renewed the civil war. The present Dauphin being in the Duke of Burgundy's interest, he proposed great advantages from it: but this Prince also dying, his brother CHARLES became Dauphin, who was about

seventeen

1416.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1417.

The  
Queen and  
the Duke  
of Burgun-  
dy unite  
against the  
Orleans  
faction.The Dau-  
phin keeps  
a distinct  
court.1418.  
The King  
of Eng-  
land con-  
quers Nor-  
mandy.

seventeen years of age, and entirely governed by the Count d'Armagnac. The Count being informed that the Queen had heaped up a considerable treasure, and a vast quantity of jewels, put the Dauphin upon procuring an order from the King to seize them for the service of the war, which was immediately put in execution. This exasperated the Queen to the last degree, who retiring to Vincennes, the Count and the Dauphin accused her of criminal conversation with one of her household, and proceeded to execute the Lord they had charged with this piece of gallantry. As they were sensible that the Queen would infallibly retaliate this usage if ever it was in her power, they set a guard upon her, and made her in a manner their prisoner. Whereupon she applied herself to the Duke of Burgundy, proposing a reconciliation with him, and to unite their Interests against the Dauphin and the Orleans faction, who were generally called Armagnacs, from the Count of Armagnac, who was governor of Paris, and the soul of that party. The Duke received this intimation from the Queen with joy, and marching immediately with a select body of troops to Tours, where her Majesty was confined, he brought her off before the Constable Armagnac had any notice of the design. The Queen now took upon her the title of Regent by virtue of a former edict, and in confederacy with the Duke of Burgundy carried on the war against the Armagnac faction with more vigour than ever; of which the King of England having advice, made a second descent in Normandy, in the year 1417, where he made himself master of Caen, Cherbourg, and several other towns. In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy surprized Paris, and put to death the Count d'Armagnac, and most of the heads of that party; but the Dauphin with some of his followers had the good fortune to escape to Bourges. And now the Queen and Duke having the King and the capital city in their power, seemed to act by royal authority, while the Dauphin and his friends constituted a distinct court, possessed themselves of Berry and part of Langue-doc, and became pretty formidable in that part of the kingdom.

The King of England proceeded in his conquests in Normandy, reducing Rouen the capital, and indeed almost every other town in that duchy, in the year 1418. The English carried on the war in a much more prudent manner than they had done in the reign of EDWARD III, who made large conquests indeed, and over-run France several times from one end to the other, but did not make himself master of the strong towns and fortresses as he went along; so that he usually lost in the latter end of a campaign, or the following winter, all he had gained in the summer. HENRY V, seems to have been better versed in the art of war, securing his conquests as he advanced: and had he lived a little longer, or not left an infant upon his throne, 'tis highly probable the English had remained Sovereigns of France to this day. Tho' perhaps we need not much lament the loss; for as the lesser kingdom is usually dependent on the larger, we might probably have become a province to the nation we conquered; or have been in the condition Scotland is in respect to this kingdom, who have had the honour of giving us a King indeed, but have now neither King or Parliament amongst them. The progress of the English arms so alarmed both the Dauphin and the Duke of Bur-

gundy, that notwithstanding that implacable animosity they seemed to entertain for each other, they thought fit to stifle their resentments for the present, and clap up a truce, and the Dauphin consented to an interview with the Duke, in order to provide for their common defence. But the dependants of the late Duke of Orleans suggesting to the Dauphin that the kingdom would never long remain united unless the Duke of Burgundy was taken off, a second interview was treacherously appointed, at which the Duke of Burgundy was cut in pieces by the Dauphin's attendants, the first blow being given by a servant of the late Duke of Orleans, whom the Duke of Burgundy had caused to be assassinated in the streets of Paris about twelve years before. And tho' some people looked upon this proceeding as a piece of justice on that account, yet most men were struck with astonishment and indignation at the Dauphin's treachery. He pretended indeed in his apologies and memorials on this subject, that it was a pure accident, and was occasioned by some insult of the Duke's at that conference; which did not obtain much credit. But however that was, none expressed a greater resentment at the fact than the Queen, tho' the Dauphin was her only son then living: and indeed she was sufficiently exasperated against him before, for seizing her treasure, imprisoning her, and charging her with being false to the King's bed. These were such provocations as scarce any lady would have borne: and tho' the French writers are very severe upon her character on account of the opposition she made to the Dauphin, it must be acknowledged he had first thrown off all regard for her as a mother, before she abandoned his interests. She no sooner heard of the Duke's death, but she dispatched a courier to his son PHILIP, to assure him that the King, herself, and the city of Paris, would all join with him to revenge the murder: and the King of England being now master of great part of France, she proposed to him the marriage of her daughter the Princess CATHERINE, and that he should succeed to the crown upon the demise of the present King, to the exclusion of the Dauphin, and in the mean time be declared regent of the kingdom; which proposal the King of England readily came into, and the treaty was signed at Troyes in Champagne upon the 21st of May, 1419, being ratified afterwards by the parliament of Paris. In pursuance of this treaty the Princess CATHERINE was twelve days afterwards married to King HENRY, and the Dauphin declared a publick enemy. He was also summoned to the marble table to answer for the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, and on his not appearing, convicted of contumacy, and banished the kingdom for ever. But he continued still in the province of Berry, waiting for a favourable opportunity to restore his affairs.

The English having taken Melun, the two Kings, with the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy, came to Paris the first Sunday in Advent, and the Duke of Clarence, the King of England's brother, was made governor of the city. From that time, the French writers observe, the courts of the two Kings made a very different appearance. The court of the King of England was splendid and magnificent, and crowded with a numerous retinue, whilst that of the King of France was deserted; which gave occasion to many of the French to lament the fate of their country in private, say their historians. And what still gave them greater uneasiness, was, that King HENRY made the people

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1419.

The Duke  
of Burgun-  
dy mur-  
dered at an  
interview  
with the  
Dauphin.Treaty of  
Troyes,  
where the  
King of  
England is  
declared  
Regent  
and Suc-  
cessor to  
the crown  
of France.The King  
of Eng-  
land's pub-  
lick entry  
into Paris.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
The States  
of France  
grant  
King  
HENRY a  
subsidy.

ple he had conquered contribute to the establishment of his government; for having assembled the States, he required a subsidy of them, which they were not in a condition to refuse, but granted without one dissenting voice, expressing at least a seeming readiness in granting that which they knew was in the conqueror's power to levy in an instant by a military force; and which, if it had been denied, might have furnished him with a pretence of demanding a great deal more. But this prudent Prince chose to let every thing run in the same channel, and to make as few alterations as possible, that he might reconcile that people to his government. He might reasonably expect that what was given by the States would be levied with less murmuring than what he should raise by a despotick power. We cannot but observe at this day, that this Prince was equally versed in the arts of war and peace. We see how he made his advances gradually in the enemy's country, and secured what he made himself master of as he went along; and that afterwards he made the conquered country in a great measure maintain itself, that he might not be too burthensome to his English subjects. Nor do we find him guilty of any acts of tyranny and oppression when he was at the height of his glory, and in a manner master of both kingdoms. But to proceed in our history: The King of England returning home in order to re-inforce his army, (for it was too soon to put much confidence in his new subjects) six or seven thousand Scots came over into France in the mean time to the Dauphin's assistance, and joining with his troops near Beauge in Anjou, defeated a considerable body of the English, commanded by the Duke of Clarence the King's brother, who was killed in the field of battle, and several others of the English nobility were killed or taken prisoners, which gave some life to the Dauphin's affairs, and occasioned several places to declare for him. And indeed next to the untimely death of King HENRY, which happened not long after, the Dauphin was obliged to the Scots for his re-establishment. The diversion they made in England, and the re-inforcements they sent him from time to time when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, kept his head above water, and enabled him to wait for a favourable juncture to restore his affairs.

The Dauphin was encouraged by his late success to lay siege to Chartres; but the King of England returning into France soon after with a great re-inforcement, he was glad to quit the siege, and retire to Bourges the capital of Berry, which being the only province he was entirely master of, occasioned his being called by the English in derision the King of Berry. King HENRY in the mean time laid siege to Meaux, the capital of the country of Brie, and a place of great strength, which held out a siege of seven or eight months, when they were forced to surrender at discretion. The King ordered the head of VANRUS the governor to be cut off, and his body hanged upon a tree near the town, called VANRUS's Tree, from the numbers of English he had hanged upon it; for he was an implacable enemy to that nation.

The Queen of England, who had the year before been delivered of a son at Windsor, coming over to France with another re-inforcement of troops, rejoicings were made at Paris for the birth of that Prince, equal to those that had been made at London on the same occasion. But the King of England being soon after taken dangerously ill

V O L. II.

King  
HENRY  
dies.

as he was upon the march to find out the Dauphin, all their mirth was damped. He expired on the last of August 1422, declaring his brother HUMPHREY, Duke of Gloucester, regent of England during the minority of his son. He advised his council to offer the regency of France to the Duke of Burgundy, and on his refusal he nominated his other brother, the Duke of Bedford, to take upon him the regency of that kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy receiving advice of the King of England's illness, immediately set forward to visit him, but found him dead on his arrival; and having consulted with the English council, agreed with them that the Duke of Bedford should undertake the regency. The old King of France did not long survive King HENRY, for he died at Paris on the twenty-first of October following. There was no Prince of the blood, the French historians observe, to assist at his interment, some of them having been killed at the battle of Agincourt, others prisoners in England, and the rest absent, they suppose, as not approving the present administration; or because they would not seem to authorize by their presence the proclaiming HENRY VI as King of France. The Duke of Bedford therefore only attended the obsequies of the French King in mourning; and the corps was no sooner interred, than a herald having exhorted the people to pray for the soul of CHARLES the Sixth, added, Long live HENRY of Lancaster, King of France and England. The deceased King had had six sons and as many daughters, and of all his sons only CHARLES the Dauphin survived him, who is from this time styled King of France by the French historians; tho' HENRY VI was actually proclaimed King of France at Paris, and in possession of the greatest part of that kingdom for a considerable time afterwards.

In conformity to the French historians, I begin the reign of CHARLES the Seventh here, tho' to me HENRY VI appears to be King of France at this time, *de jure* as well as *de facto*; for the crown of France devolved upon him by virtue of the treaty of Troyes, which was afterwards confirmed by the assembly of the Estates; and if treaties made between sovereign Princes, or acts of settlement made by the legislature of any kingdom are of any force to bind the succession, I cannot see what pretence the French have to exclude Henry VI from the number of their Kings, especially when he was actually crowned and recognized there: we may as well strike him out of the catalogue of the Kings of England, because he was afterwards deprived of that part of his dominions also. Though perhaps we have been as much in the other extreme in styling our Monarchs Kings of France ever since, when we have by innumerable treaties, virtually at least, acknowledged the French King's title to that kingdom. But to proceed:

The Dauphin upon advice of his father's death, caused himself to be proclaimed King of France, and soon after crowned at Poitiers, which gave some encouragement to his party, and brought some to declare for him who had hitherto stood neuter. On the other hand, the Duke of Bedford the regent, to strengthen the hands of the English, renewed the alliances between them and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. The provinces all the while were divided into different parties and interests, and scarce a day passed without a skirmish: but the most considerable action happened near the town of Crevant in Burgundy,

CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
Duke of  
Gloucester  
regent of  
England.

Duke of  
Bedford  
regent of  
France.

King of  
France  
dies;  
in history  
the last  
year.

HENRY  
VI, pro-  
claimed  
King of  
France.

CHARLES  
VII, com-  
b 1422.  
to keep  
32225

CHARLES  
causes  
himself to  
be pro-  
claimed  
and  
crowned  
King of  
France.

1423.  
Battle of  
Crevant.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.1424.  
The  
French  
routed at  
Yory.A quarrel  
between  
the Eng-  
lish and  
Burgun-  
dians pre-  
vents the  
entire con-  
quest of  
France.

where the Dauphinois having been joined by a body of Scots, were entirely defeated; and the Dauphin's troops having the worst in many other encounters this year, he found himself under a necessity of retiring to the southward of the Loire. Here he solicited his friends in Spain and Italy to send some troops to his assistance. From Spain he received a small detachment, and the Duke of Milan furnished him with a thousand foot, and about six hundred horse; but his principal supplies arrived from Scotland, amounting to five or six thousand Scots, under the command of Earl DOUGLAS. The Duke of Bedford, on the other side, having received fresh recruits from England, and being joined by the Duke of Burgundy's forces, took several considerable towns from the Dauphinois, and being set down before Yory on the confines of Normandy, the Earl of Buchan, a Scot whom the Dauphin had honoured with the title of Constable of France, came to it's relief, which occasioned a general battle, wherein the Dauphin's party was defeated, four or five thousand men killed, among whom was the Constable Earl DOUGLAS, and several other persons of distinction; which victory was attended with the surrender of Mans, Mayenne, and many other considerable places, to the English. And now it was expected every day that the Duke of Bedford would pass the Loire, and reduce the rest of France to the obedience of King HENRY; but it must be acknowledged that the Dauphin had abundance of good fortune on his side, if he had neither money, troops, or courage, for in this very instant, when, in all probability, he would have been obliged to abandon the kingdom, an unforeseen quarrel happened between the English and Burgundians, which gave his friends time to recover from their consternation, and provide for their defence; otherwise, in the opinion of MEZERAY, one of their most celebrated historians, the English had made an entire conquest of France.

The occasion of this misunderstanding between the English and Burgundians, was an unfortunate amour of the Duke of Gloucester's, regent of England, with JAQUELINE Countess of Hainault and Holland; she was already married to the Duke of Brabant, a Prince remarkably weak both in body and mind, and being no longer able to endure him, she pretended the marriage was null, and sent to Rome for his Holiness's opinion upon it, and in the mean time made an offer of her person to the Duke of Gloucester, who, as she was heiress of several fine countries, immediately married her, without waiting for the resolution of the Pontiff. He proceeded soon after to transport a considerable force to Calais, in order to take possession of Hainault his wife's inheritance; but the Duke of Burgundy sending a body of troops to the assistance of his cousin the Duke of Brabant, he met with a vigorous resistance. And what rendered this occurrence the more unfortunate to the English affairs, was, that the troops both on the side of the Duke of Gloucester and Burgundy were designed to reinforce the Duke of Bedford if this adventure had not happened, and he was obliged to remain perfectly inactive for a year or two for want of those forces. However, the Pope's determination arriving, that the Duke of Gloucester's marriage with the Countess of Hainault was null, he desisted from his pretensions, and married the Lady ELEANOR, daughter of the Lord COBHAM, who, according to common fame, had long been his mistress. And thus the occasion of the quarrel being re-

moved, the Duke of Burgundy was reconciled to the English, and sent his troops again to join the Duke of Bedford. During this long interval of inaction, the Dauphin had not only very much increased his party, but formed some advantageous alliances, especially with the Duke of Brittany, whom he had drawn off from the English. The Duke of Bedford however, marching into Brittany, soon compelled their Duke to quit the Dauphin's party, and sign the treaty of Troyes, whereby the King of England was declared successor to the late King of France. And now the Duke of Bedford determined to put the design in execution he had so long suspended on account of the misunderstandings between the courts of England and Burgundy, namely, to pass the Loire, and make himself master of the countries to the southward of it; and in order to this, he detached a part of his army to invest, or rather block up the city of Orleans, for it was of too large an extent to be entirely surrounded by such a handful of men as this army consisted of; and it is surprizing to think that the English, who scarce ever exceeded five and twenty thousand men in the field, should be able to undertake a siege of that consequence, and keep such a large populous kingdom in awe at the same time. The person the Duke of Bedford pitched upon to carry on this siege was THOMAS MONTAGUTE, Earl of Salisbury, esteemed one of the most accomplished Generals in the English Service; he sat down before the town on the side of Sologne on the twelfth of October 1427. Thus the place was invested but on one side; and the Dauphin left at liberty to throw in supplies of men and provision, as he did from time to time during the siege. The English however stormed a great bastion at the foot of the bridge, and a small castle called the Torettes, and carried them, and had great hopes of succeeding in the enterprize, till their General the Earl of Salisbury was unfortunately killed by a musket-shot as he was viewing the breach in order to make a general assault. Their courage was however revived by the approach of the Duke of Burgundy's troops in the month of December 1428; they took post on that side of the town towards la Beaufie, but still not having forces enough entirely to encompass the city, they built forts and redoubts at certain distances round the town, not so near however but there were yet some intervals, by which relief might be put into the place; and this occasioned several smart actions between the besiegers and the Dauphinois, as provision was sending to the city or the camp; the most remarkable of which happened on the 12th of February, 1429, between the Count de Clermont and the celebrated Sir JOHN FALSTAFF; the latter was conveying a supply from Paris to the English camp, and being attacked by the French, defeated them. This was called the battle of Herrings, there being great quantities of them among the provisions.

Notwithstanding the frequent opportunities the Dauphin had of throwing supplies of men and provisions into the town, the siege was carried on with such vigour, that it was evident it must surrender in a short time: whereupon the besieged cunningly offered to put the city into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy; to which the Duke of Bedford answered, he hoped they did not think to make a tool of him; that he should beat the bush, and leave others to catch the birds: intimating, that as the English had been chiefly instrumental in carrying on the siege, it was not fit the Burgundians should run away with all the advantage;

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1427.

The siege  
of Or-  
leans.1428: the  
English  
stormed  
the  
bastion  
at the  
foot of  
the  
bridge.1429.  
The battle  
of Her-  
rings.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.The Duke  
of Burgun-  
dy defects  
the Eng-  
lish at the  
siege.

tage; for it must be remembered that the Duke of Burgundy's troops did not join the English before Orleans till half a year after they were set down before it. But however rational the answer was which the Regent gave on this occasion, the besieged gained their point by it, creating such a difference between the English and the Duke of Burgundy, that he immediately withdrew his troops from before the place.

The English still carried on their attacks; but as most part of the town was now open to the Dauphinois, it could not be a very difficult matter to bring them relief, especially when the army of the besiegers did not consist of ten thousand men, and the garrison was at least as numerous: but the French were at this time so dispirited, that notwithstanding the disadvantages the besiegers laboured under, their soldiers could hardly be prevailed with to march to the relief of the place. The Dauphin and his Generals therefore finding they had apparently a great superiority in the field in point of numbers, and the country unanimously in their interest, considered that if they could find any expedient to animate their men, their affairs must soon put on a new face: having met with a young maid therefore of a masculine courage on the confines of Lorraine, they brought her to the Dauphin's court, pretending that she was sent from Heaven to deliver Orleans from the English. They had taught her the exercise of arms, and instructed her in all manner of military operations before she was brought upon the stage, so that she knew how to behave at the head of a company or squadron as well as most of the officers of the army; and this was all to pass for inspiration. The gracefulness of her person and address, and the uncommonness of finding one of that soft sex so daring and well skilled in martial affairs, sufficiently prejudiced the vulgar in her favour. There was no great difficulty in bringing them to believe she was raised up by Heaven for their deliverance; and in this persuasion they crowded to march under her colours to the relief of Orleans, by which the Generals of the Dauphinois gained their point: for nothing but an unaccountable dread of the enemy could have prevented their throwing supplies into Orleans as often as they pleased, if we consider the small number of the English before it, and the great extent of the place. The Dauphin therefore having assembled an army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, commanded by his most celebrated Generals, with the Maid of Orleans (as the impostor was afterwards called) at their head, sent them to re-inforce the besieged, and found but little difficulty in entering the town on that side which was open to them. This was cried up as one of the most daring enterprizes that ever was undertaken, and the success looked upon even as miraculous by all the Dauphin's party through the kingdom. And now the garrison consisting of about three times the number of the besiegers, they ventured to attack the forts and redoubts which the English had built about the place, some of which they carried. This was ascribed to the conduct of the holy Maid, and the people thereby induced to believe, that they should always be victorious while this heroic virgin remained at their head. Certain it is, the English finding the garrison so very numerous, and being deserted by the Burgundians, had now no hopes of taking the place: they raised the siege therefore, and marched off in good order with about eight or nine thousand men, being all the forces they had there. And though their num-

The Maid  
of Or-  
leans.The siege  
of Orleans  
raised,  
May 28.

ber was so very small, the courage of the French was not yet so much raised as to venture to give them any disturbance in their retreat. The Dauphin's Generals would by no means however have this conduct to be thought the effect of their fears, but pretended it was the express order of Heaven, by the mouth of the Maid of Orleans, that they should not pursue the enemy. The truth is, they found their affairs upon the mending hand, and they had no mind to attack a body of nine thousand veteran troops, and put the fate of their country upon the issue of a battle, when a little time and patience would probably produce the same effects they could hope for by a victory.

The raising the siege of Orleans was attended with the surrender of several places to the French, and the Duke of Alençon not long after surprized part of the English army at Patay, where they killed about fifteen hundred of them, and took the Lords TALBOT and SEALE prisoners; and tho' the rest of the detachment made a regular retreat, it was esteemed a great victory, and ascribed also to the conduct of the Maid of Orleans. This defeat was imputed to the negligence or cowardice of FALSTAFF, though it appears from our histories that he had formerly behaved himself like a man of honour. He was not only sufficiently lampooned however upon this occasion, as appears by some ballads still in being, but degraded from the order of the Garter, which he had been formerly admitted to upon his good success in some former expeditions. Though the defeat of Patay was not very considerable in itself, yet it was of great consequence to the French; it shewed them that the English they so much dreaded were but men like themselves, and encouraged many people to come over to the Dauphin's party who had taken oaths of allegiance to the English. They pretended they were absolved from their oaths by Heaven itself, who had sent the Maid of Orleans to assert the right of their natural Sovereign: such excellent use we find may be made of an impostor artfully managed. This train of success so exalted the Dauphin, that he left his fastnesses beyond the Loire, and ventured to march cross the country as far as Rheims, and having surprized that city, caused himself to be crowned there a second time, which gave still greater credit to their heroine, who they pretend had foretold that he should shortly be crowned at Rheims, when there appeared scarce any possibility of it's being effected. But however that be, it is not to be conceived what a turn this coronation in the city where his ancestors had been consecrated gave to King CHARLES's affairs: many great cities immediately submitted to him, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Regent prevented the revolt of Paris itself.

But after all these successes, which had been ascribed to the divine aid brought them by the Maid of Orleans, she was taken prisoner in the year 1430, and burnt for an impostor in the city of Rouen, at the time King HENRY arrived there in his way to Paris, whither he was going to his coronation; the Regent apprehending that the performing this ceremony in the capital city of the kingdom might prove advantageous to his cause. The King of England, as the French stile him, made a very magnificent entry into Paris on the second of December 1431, being consecrated and crowned on the seventeenth of the same month by the Cardinal of Winchester; this was performed rather according to the ceremonial of England, than the customs of France, say the French

The battle  
of Patay.King  
CHARLES  
crowned  
at Rheims.The Maid  
of Or-  
leans  
burnt.The King  
of Eng-  
land  
crowned at  
Paris.  
1431.

writers;



CHAP.  
XXXIV.Misunder-  
standings  
between  
the Eng-  
lish and  
Burgundi-  
ans, 1433.Treaty at  
Arras be-  
tween  
France  
and Bur-  
gundy.King  
Charles's  
publick  
entry into  
Paris,  
1437.King  
Charles's  
publick  
entry into  
Paris,  
1437.

writers; from whence I presume they would infer some defect in the ceremony. He returned to Rouen the day after Christmas, the regent apprehending he would be more secure there than in Paris, which was almost surrounded by the enemy; but he seems to have been in equal danger in that city, the castle of Rouen being surprized at the very time the King was there, tho' it was retaken by the English indeed the next moment, and the city secured, which happened, as the French relate, through some misunderstandings among their Generals; otherwise they had made King HENRY prisoner, and put a final end to the war. This Prince was crowned King of France when he was about nine years of age.

As the Duke of Bedford had married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, this Princess had found means to reconcile her brother and her husband, and the war was again carried on against the French with tolerable success; but the Duchess of Bedford happening to die in the year 1433, and the Duke marrying a person that the Duke of Burgundy did not approve of, the latter was pleased to resent it, or rather took this opportunity of expressing that aversion to him and the English cause, which he had entertained some time before; however, he proposed a congress to all the parties concerned in the war, in order to adjust their several differences, and Arras was appointed for the place of conference. The plenipotentiaries of England and France soon discovered that it was not possible to come to any agreement, both their masters insisting on their title to the crown of France; whereupon the English ministers withdrew, and left the French and the Burgundians to treat by themselves: where the Duke of Burgundy obtained whatever he asked, for the French were determined to gain him over to their party at any price; and granted him such terms, as, in the words of the French historians, nothing but the necessity of their affairs could justify; it was, say they, a very shameful peace, but a very useful one: among other things, it was stipulated, that King CHARLES should disavow the murder of JOHN the present Duke's father, that he should beg of him to forget the injury, and be reconciled to him, and that all persons should be brought to justice who were concerned in the murder; that the King should erect a church where the murder was committed, the presentation to which should be in the Duke and his successors.

That the King should grant the county of Burgundy, as well as the duchy, with many considerable cities specified in the articles, to him and his heirs; that he should transfer over to him all the towns and fortresses on both sides the Somme in Picardy, the county of Ponthieu, Dourlans, Bologne, &c. and that the Duke should not be obliged to do fealty, homage or service to the King for any of the countries or places he possessed. Which were such conditions, as scarce ever any vassal obtained from his Sovereign before.

King CHARLES having strengthened himself by this alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, many of the French Lords were induced to desert the English service, and make their court to him: the Duke of Bedford however continued the war, and took St Dennis, and several other considerable towns, as the French on their side did others from the English; and so equal were their forces at this time, that there appeared very little hopes of putting a period to the distractions of the kingdom, till the death of the Regent,

which happened on the fifteenth of December, 1435, to whose conduct, according to the French, the English were indebted for the greatest part of their conquests, and standing their ground so long, when they received scarce any supplies from England. He was succeeded in the government of France by RICHARD Duke of York.

The English, to shew their resentment for the Duke of Burgundy's deserting them, plundered his country, and took several of his towns, whereby they rendered him their most inveterate enemy, which certainly was an error in politicks, when he was willing to have stood neuter. In the condition the English were at this time from their divisions at home, and so large a country abroad to defend with a handful of men, they had no occasion to have made themselves new enemies. The year after the Duke of Bedford's death, the Parisians entered into a conspiracy against the English, and let the Constable of France into that city with a detachment of King CHARLES's army; the Governor WILLOUGHBY had just time enough to retire into the Bastile with his garrison, and upon articles of capitulation, was permitted to retire to Rouen with his garrison, arms, and baggage: and thus the capital of the kingdom was lost without striking a stroke. And it is to be wondered how the English so long maintained themselves in such a vast populous city, with a garrison which seldom ever exceeded two thousand men, and at this time not twelve hundred. The Duke of Burgundy at the same time laid siege to Calais, but did not meet with the like success, he was forced to rise from before it; and the Duke of Gloucester soon after transporting thither ten thousand men, returned his visit, burning and destroying his country of Artois with fire and sword. Pontoise and several other places also were taken from the French this year, and the war seemed yet to be vigorously carried on, on all sides. The weight of it however fell chiefly on the Duke of Burgundy, the English being determined to make him sensible of the dishonourable and imprudent part he had acted. And indeed, during all the time he had been in alliance with England, his Flemish territories never suffered so much as they did at present. But it was the happiness of France, their historians observe, that he was much more provoked at these ravages than inclined to change sides by them. Nor were the French much displeased when they heard of his misfortunes: for however they might have put on a fair outside to bring him over to their party, his haughty behaviour and over-bearing manner at the treaty of Arras, with the hard conditions he had extorted from the French King, were not forgotten. Besides, since the reduction of Paris, and the revolt of the nobility from the English, the Duke was become less necessary than formerly. And now King CHARLES thought it a proper time to make his public entry into the capital city of Paris, which he performed with the utmost splendor on the twelfth of November 1437, having been driven from it near twenty years, during most of which time it had been in the possession of the English. It is natural to suppose the French were mightily rejoiced on this occasion; for how mild or equitable soever the English administration might have been, the people will ever be fonder of a native than a foreigner; and there is a great deal of reason for it: foreigners will have foreign favourites, and oblige them at the cost of the natives, whatever stipu-

CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
Duke of  
Bedford  
Regent of  
France  
dies,  
1435.Paris sur-  
prized by  
the  
French,  
1436.King  
Charles's  
publick  
entry into  
Paris,  
1437.



CHAP. stipulations are made to prevent it; but here the  
XXXIV. government had been avowedly in the hands of  
the English Nobility and Generals, and the French  
totally excluded from it. It is no wonder if after  
this therefore there were great rejoicings, when  
they saw a Prince of their own nation making his  
publick entry into his capital city: we should  
have believed as much if their historians had not  
left it upon record. But their joy was very short-  
lived it seems: the King had not been here many  
weeks, before Paris and France in general suffered  
as much by plague and famine as they had before  
by the war, converting it into a perfect desert.  
The King was obliged to leave the city on  
the third of December, and the very soldiers ab-  
andoned it; so that the English might have re-  
turned and possessed themselves of it again, if they  
had not dreaded the pestilence more than the e-  
nemy. What added to the misery of the country  
was, that the nobility who had left the English  
service, and had now nothing to subsist on, under  
pretence of making incursions on their own estates  
which were in the power of the English, plundered  
friends and foes alike, and maintained themselves  
by these kind of robberies, which it was not in  
the power of King CHARLES to prevent, having  
no other means of subsisting these gentlemen, who  
had in a literal sense left all to follow him, and  
were frequently of service to him by the incursions  
they made into the enemies quarters.

France af-  
flicted  
with pla-  
gue and  
famine.

1438.  
Disputes  
between  
the coun-  
cil of Ba-  
sil and  
the Pope.

The Prag-  
matick  
Sanction.

1440.  
A conspi-  
racy  
against  
King  
CHARLES

There being great disputes at this time between  
the council that was held at Basil and Pope EU-  
GENIUS IV, King CHARLES in some things ad-  
hered to his Holiness, and in others seemed to be  
governed by the Council, receiving neither of  
their regulations absolutely, but with such addi-  
tional modifications formed by the French clergy,  
as the usages of the Gallican Church it was said  
required; and from these determinations of the  
Ecclesiasticks in France was composed what has  
since obtained the name of the Pragmatick Sancti-  
on; whereby it was declared, That the Council  
was superior to the Pope; the ancient form of  
ordaining Bishops was revived; and many things  
retrenched, from whence the Holy See formerly  
reaped great advantage: with which the Pope was  
extremely offended, but could not procure the  
decree to be abolished till the reign of FRANCIS I,  
who, with the consent of LEO X, established the  
Concordat in it's room.

The French court was at this time pretty much  
divided; and the dissatisfied Lords, the chief of  
whom were the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon,  
and the Counts of Vendome, Dunois, and La Tri-  
mouille, had insinuated themselves so far into the  
Dauphin (King CHARLES's son) that he agreed  
to appear at their head. He was now about eigh-  
teen years of age, weary of being under the tu-  
tion of a governor, and of leading a private in-  
active life, and consequently the easier wrought  
upon. At a time appointed between them, they  
surprized his governor, took him out of his  
hands, and marched with the Prince to Blois be-  
fore the King had any notice of their design: but  
the King pursued them so briskly, that within a  
few months they were obliged to submit to mercy,  
which they obtained by the mediation of the Duke  
of Burgundy. The King afterwards changed all  
the officers of the Dauphin's household, and put  
those about him he could rely on.

About this time CHARLES Duke of Orleans,  
who had remained prisoner in England ever since  
the battle of Agincourt, being five and twenty

V O L. II.

years, obtained his liberty on agreeing to pay a  
ransom of three hundred thousand crowns; of  
which he raised one himself, and the Duke of  
Burgundy advanced the other two for him; these  
two families being now perfectly reconciled, whose  
former differences had in a great measure occa-  
sioned the civil wars of France.

The King, who was so very cautious of ha-  
zarding his person in his juvenile years, deter-  
mined now, according to the French historians, to  
lead his army in person, and soon found the happy  
effects of it. The first enterprize he undertook  
was the siege of Creil, and afterwards ventured on  
that of Pontoise, an important post near the con-  
fluence of the Seine and the Oyse, and well defend-  
ed by the English; in both which however he was  
successful. The following winter, he was exercised  
again with the discontents of several of the Princes  
of the Blood, who thought themselves too little  
concerned in the administration; particularly the  
Dukes of Orleans, Alençon, and Bourbon; and he  
had some intelligence of their caballing with the  
Dukes of Burgundy and Britany: but they did not  
break out into actual rebellion; the King found  
means to pacify them without having recourse to  
arms. The Duke of Orleans he invited to court,  
and returned him great part of the money his ran-  
som had cost him, knowing that the uneasiness of  
his circumstances was the principal reason of his  
discontent. The Duke of Burgundy also, whose  
dissatisfaction arose principally from the neglect  
that had been shewn the Duke of Orleans, had no  
further quarrel with the court: and these two  
Princes being thus taken off, the other Lords  
thought it most prudent to be quiet and reconcile  
themselves to his Majesty.

The King being at liberty from civil dissen-  
sions, carried the war into Guienne and Gascony,  
where he took several places from the English;  
but while he was at this distance, the French lost  
some towns in Normandy: and thus the war  
continued with various success between the two  
nations till the year 1443, when a truce was con-  
cluded between them, which being renewed from  
time to time, was continued till the year 1448.  
King CHARLES therefore having now no occa-  
sion for his troops, sent them to SIGISMOND,  
Duke of Austria, to be employed against the Swit-  
zers; in which service, 'tis said, they gained a  
great deal of honour.

The truce being at an end in the year 1448,  
the war with the English was renewed; and be-  
fore the end of the year 1449, the French reco-  
vered Rouen, and all the towns in Normandy and  
North France, except Calais; for the court of  
England was at this time distracted with civil  
dissensions, and perfectly abandoned their late con-  
quests. The French historians, some of them,  
applaud the courage and conduct of their Mo-  
narch upon this occasion, who led his troops in  
person; but there needed very little courage or  
conduct to reduce a country which had no regu-  
lar forces to defend it, and the natives entirely in  
their interest. The last place the English lost in  
Normandy was Cherbourg, which surrendered on  
the twelfth of August 1450; and tho' it was then  
a port of great consequence, which the English  
might have supplied every day by sea with forces  
and provisions, they never attempted to relieve it.  
And the French annually observed a thanksgiving  
at Rouen for the reduction of Normandy on the  
twelfth of August very lately, if they do not still.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1441.

1443.

1448.  
The Eng-  
lish beat  
out of  
Norman-  
dy.

1449.

12 Au-  
gust,  
1450.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.The Eng-  
lish lose  
Guienne  
and Gas-  
cony.  
1451.1452.  
Earl Tal-  
bot killed.

1453.

The Dau-  
phin  
leaves his  
father's  
court.

1455.

The Dau-  
phin flies  
to the  
Duke of  
Burgundy.

1457.

The  
French  
plunder  
Sandwich.

The latter end of the year King CHARLES marched his army towards Guienne and Gascony, where he took Bergerac, and several other towns from the English; but the season not permitting him to keep the field any longer, he put his army into winter quarters. The following year, 1451, the English having no army in the field, Bourdeaux surrendered, with many other towns, and the rest made but a feeble defence; so that he was master of the whole country within less than six months. General TALBOT arriving in Guienne with a fleet of fourscore sail, and four thousand land-forces on board, the following year 1452, Bourdeaux, and most part of the country of Guienne, submitted to the English again; but Earl TALBOT being unfortunately killed, with his son the Lord Lisle, in an engagement near Castillon, on the seventeenth of July, 1453, Bourdeaux, and the rest of Guienne were again reduced to the obedience of the French before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time the Dauphin, who was very uneasy at the restraints put upon him by his father, and having no body about him he could confide in, desired leave of the King to visit his principality of Dauphiné, which the King did not at all approve of; but however permitted him to go, upon condition he would return within four months. The Prince no sooner found himself at liberty, than he took a resolution never to put himself in the King's power again. He had conceived a most inveterate hatred against all those who were concerned in the administration, as he apprehended them to have occasioned his Majesty's coldness towards him; but the most specious pretence he had for residing at a distance from court, was the King's ill usage of his mother, his father always keeping wenches in the very palace where she resided: but she that had the greatest influence on him, was one AGNES SORREL, a celebrated wit, who for that reason was the principal object of his aversion.

The Prince having remained in Dauphiné several years, and refused all his Majesty's invitations to come to court, the King was determined to take a journey thither, and bring him away with him by force; but the Dauphin had intelligence of it, and fled with some few of his friends to Flanders to the Duke of Burgundy, who took great pains to reconcile him to the King, to no purpose: the Prince chose to reside at Genep on the frontiers of Hainault, rather than return to court. The Duke of Alençon also became a male-content again about this time; and 'tis said, made an offer to the English court to introduce their forces into Normandy: but he was betrayed by his Almoner, who instead of carrying his dispatches into England, presented them to the French King; and the Duke being apprehended, was convicted of high-treason in conspiring against the government, sentenced to be degraded from his Peerage, to have his head cut off, and his estate confiscated; but the King pardoned him his life, confining him prisoner to the castle of Loches. The same year PETER LE BRASSE, Seneschal of Normandy, was ordered to make a descent on the coast of England with four thousand men, which he performed near Sandwich, and having plundered the town, he returned to France; though we are told the intention of King CHARLES in this enterprize, was to make himself master of some considerable town in England, which he might exchange for Calais.

The Genoese again put themselves under the protection of the French in the year 1459; but revolted soon after, and established a form of government of their own: however, this has given the French occasion frequently to revive their claim to that city.

Notwithstanding this King had been so fortunate to see his kingdom from a most distracted condition restored to perfect tranquillity, the Dauphin's disobedience rendered him extremely unhappy: it was the continual subject of his thoughts, and disturbed his rest every night. He was once upon the point of disinheriting him, and declaring his younger son CHARLES heir to the crown. Amidst these uneasy reflections, a favourite of the King's, in whom he very much confided, acquainted him with a rumour that went about of certain persons being dealt with to poison his Majesty: whereupon he immediately fell into a deep melancholy, refusing to take any nourishment, lest it should be poisoned. In this humour he remained seven or eight days, till his physicians represented to him that this unaccountable caution would as certainly dispatch him, as a dose of poison. Whereupon he was prevailed on to eat; but his stomach and bowels were now so disordered by his long fasting, that nothing would pass thro' him. He fell ill of a fever, of which he died the twenty-second of July, 1461, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign, according to the French account; tho' the English can look upon him to be no better than a usurper, the crown being settled upon HENRY King of England, by CHARLES VI, and the Three Estates. But what are acts of settlement any longer than there is power to support them?

LEWIS XI being at Genep, when he received advice of his father's death, went immediately to Rheims, and was crowned. After which, he turned out almost every one of his father's ministers, and introduced a new set of men into the administration, cunning crafty Statesmen, like himself, say the French historians. Having made his brother CHARLES Duke of Berry, his next step was to lessen the power of the other Princes of the Blood and great vassals of the crown, particularly that of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, whom he had observed in the last reign frequently to have given laws to their Sovereign.

HENRY VI King of England, being driven from his throne about this time, MARGARET of Anjou his Queen, applied her self to LEWIS for assistance; but she could obtain only a loan of twenty thousand crowns, for which she undertook that King HENRY should surrender Calais into his hands, if he was restored; but EDWARD IV, who afterwards ascended the throne of England, prevented the execution of this bargain. The French King also sent troops to the assistance of the King of Arragon against Castile, upon the same view that he supplied the Queen of England; namely, upon condition that he would mortgage part of his territories to him; by which means he got possession of Roussillon and Cerdagne for 300000 crowns. At his return from this war, he redeemed the towns in Picardy, which had been given to the Duke of Burgundy, and proceeded in his design of reducing the power of the Grandees and Vassals; to effect which, he sent an officer and fifty bold fellows into Holland to surprize Count CHAROLOIS, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, from whom he apprehended the greatest opposition: but the Count received intelligence of

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The Ge-  
noese put  
themselves  
under the  
protection  
of the  
French a-  
gain.Lewis XI.  
1461.He assists  
the Kings  
of Eng-  
land and  
Arragon.He endeavours to  
reduce the  
power of  
the Nobility.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

A conspiracy of the Princes of the Blood against him.

of his design, and made the party prisoners. This treacherous attempt of the French King rendered him very odious both at home and abroad, and increased the confederacy that was already forming against him by the Nobility and discarded Ministers. The conspirators, of whom the principal were the Dukes of Britany and Bourbon, prevailed with the Duke of Berry, the King's brother, to appear at their head. This Prince was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and engaged in the design, in hopes of getting a more considerable appenage or territory assigned him than he had at present.

1465.

The disaffected Lords having recourse to arms in every part of the kingdom, the King made the best provision against them he could, and marched in person against the Dukes of Bourbon and Nevers, and the Count of Armagnac, with 80000 men, so suddenly, that they were forced to quit the field, and shut themselves up in the town of Riom; and had not the King been called from thence by the march of Count CHAROLOIS towards Paris, they must have submitted to his mercy; but his affairs obliging him to return to Paris, he allowed the Lords to march out with the garrison and their baggage, on condition they should not bear arms against him again, and should use their endeavours to persuade the rest of the malecontents to return to their duty. Count CHAROLOIS in the mean time being come before Paris, the King hastened back to prevent the revolt of his capital, and gave him battle at Montelery; the advantage being rather on the Count's side, the King retired into Paris; where understanding that the Lords had since joined their forces with the Count, notwithstanding their promise not to bear arms against him, and having little hopes now of prevailing by force, he proposed a personal conference with the chiefs of the malecontents, in hopes of gaining his point that way. He trusted himself even in the Burgundian camp to treat with them. Their principal demand was, that the King should grant the duchy of Normandy to the Duke of Berry; imagining, that if they could carry this article, it would secure all the rest, because the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Britany, would always be a match for their Sovereign. The King saw their drift, but considering that if he could once prevail with them to lay down their arms, it would not be a difficult matter to divide them, as it afterwards happened; he consented to every thing they asked, and the treaty was signed at Conflans, on the 15th of October 1465. Count CHAROLOIS hereupon retired into his own country, and most of the French Lords into Normandy with that Duke, not daring to trust themselves in the King's power. They all made their court to the young Duke of Normandy, and every one expected to have the direction of his affairs, which occasioned a quarrel among them, and gave the King an opportunity of drawing over the Duke of Bourbon to his interest; by whose assistance he easily possessed himself of Normandy again, and the young Prince fled into Britany, dreading nothing more than falling into his brother's hands. During these transactions, the Duke of Burgundy died; and Count CHAROLOIS his son succeeded him, who being engaged in a war with the Liegois, the King took an occasion while he was on that side, to fall upon his friend the Duke of Britany, and compelled him to renounce all alliances with the enemies of France. After this he desired a personal conference with the Duke of Burgundy;

1467

and tho' he knew him to be his most implacable enemy, trusted himself again in his territories, which rashness he had like to have had sufficient cause to repent; for it seems the Duke, upon discovering some of the King's practices against him while he was at Peronne, was in suspense, whether he should not seize his Majesty's person, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it by one of his Ministers, who acquainted the King with the design; and it is amazing, that LEWIS XI, who was naturally jealous and suspicious of every body, should more than once put himself into the hands of a person, whom he knew both hated and feared him. However, after he had suffered a great deal in apprehension, and concluded a treaty with the Duke, whereby he again yielded the duchy of Normandy to his brother the Prince, he had the good fortune to be dismissed by the Duke of Burgundy, and returned safe to Paris. Not long after, he prevailed with his brother to accept of the duchy of Guienne, instead of Normandy, which disconcerted all the Duke of Burgundy's measures; for they could not now give each other any assistance, if the King should for the future put hard terms upon them, Guienne being one of the most distant provinces in France from the Duke of Burgundy's territories. Thus the King had made a considerable progress in disuniting the Princes who were in a confederacy against him; what he most feared was, that EDWARD the fourth, who had been advanced to the crown of England, and was his enemy, on account of the assistance he had given his competitor HENRY VI, should assist the Dukes of Burgundy and Britany, if he attempted to reduce them. But the Earl of Warwick having deposed King EDWARD, and restored HENRY VI to his throne again, freed him from these apprehensions for a time. HENRY VI however was a second time deposed, and EDWARD the fourth got possession of the crown of England, by the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, which brought the King into the same perplexity he was before. He had intelligence, that this Prince, with the Dukes of Burgundy and Britany, were actually entered into a confederacy against him, and raising forces to invade him; but, happily for LEWIS, the Duke of Burgundy spent his time in reducing some towns upon the Rhine, instead of joining his allies, who could not prevail on him to defer that enterprise. In the mean time the King entered into a league with the Swiss and Germans, and set them upon the Duke of Burgundy, and while he was employed on that side, attacked his territories in the Low-Countries, beat his troops in two set battles, and took several towns from him. But the King of England landing at Calais with a fine army, to join the Duke of Burgundy, the French King had all the reason in the world to apprehend that he should soon be deprived of his new conquests, and perhaps attacked in his turn: and this would infallibly have been the case, if the Duke of Burgundy had kept his word with King EDWARD, and had had an army ready to have invaded the French territories; but his troops had been so harassed in his German expedition, that they were still in their winter quarters, and in no condition to take the field. The Duke endeavoured to bring the King of England into temper, by discovering a correspondence he held with the Constable of France, who had promised to deliver up the town of St Quintin to him upon the confederate army's appearing before it; and upon this advice, the King of England ordered a detachment of his forces

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1469.

Quick revolutions in England.

The King of England invades France.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.1475.  
A Peace  
concluded  
between  
France and  
England.The  
French  
purchase  
the Eng-  
lish Mini-  
stry.The Duke  
of Burgun-  
dy killed.1477.  
The Arch-  
duke mar-  
ries Ma-  
ry of Bur-  
gundy his  
heir.

forces to march that way and summon the place; but the town refused them admittance. The Constable, who was playing a treacherous part between the French King and the Duke of Burgundy, did not yet think it a proper time to declare himself; which so exasperated the King of England, that he could not stifle his resentment, and parted from the Duke in a great passion; of which the French King having intelligence from the spies he kept in the English court, he sent to sound his Majesty's inclinations as to a peace; and finding him not averse to it, a treaty was set on foot, wherein it was agreed, that the French King should not support the English malecontents, nor the King of England those of France: And in order to a stricter union between the two crowns, CHARLES, the Dauphin of France, should marry the Princess ELIZABETH, the King of England's eldest daughter. After the signing of this treaty, the two Kings had an interview at Pequigny, where the French King perfectly purchased the English court; not a minister but had a pension from him, and even the King himself accepted an annuity of fifty thousand crowns per annum, which ever after made him look with indifference upon the encroachments the French King made on the Duke of Burgundy's territories in the Low-Countries. Soon after King EDWARD's return to England, a truce was concluded between France and the Duke of Burgundy; and now it was expected, that the French King would have entirely crushed the Duke of Britany; but the court of England, notwithstanding the sums that were dispersed among them, would not so far sacrifice the interest of their country as to abandon this useful ally, who could at any time introduce their forces into the heart of France in case of a rupture with that kingdom, and had generally furnished them with a safe retreat in all their wars. They insisted therefore at the celebrated interview above-mentioned, that the Duke of Britany should not be molested on any account whatever. And indeed while they preserved a friendship with that Duke, the alliance with the Low-Countries was not so necessary as it became afterwards, when Britany became united to the French crown.

The Duke of Burgundy, who is represented as a Prince of an ambitious restless temper, after the truce with France, attacked the duchy of Lorraine, and made himself master of Nancy the capital, and the whole country; and elated with this success, determined to revenge himself on the Swifs, who had assisted the Germans against him: but the Swifs being supported underhand by the French King, gave the Duke two remarkable defeats. Not long after Lorraine revolted from him, whereupon he laid siege to Nancy a second time, when the Duke of Lorraine and the Swifs fell upon him again, entirely defeated his army, and he himself was found dead in the field of battle: whereupon the French King immediately seized upon his towns in Picardy, and endeavoured to procure an insurrection among the Flemings in his favour: nor could the Princess MARY, daughter and heiress of the late Duke, have prevented a revolt probably, if she had not married MAXIMILIAN Archduke of Austria, and son to the Emperor, whereby the Low-Countries and the country of Burgundy were preserved from falling under the dominion of France. The English court was at this time so corrupted with French money, that they made no attempt to prevent it, though England would have been first affected by so large a coun-

try's being added to France, which lay just over-against it, and abounded in shipping and the most useful manufactures. During the continuance of the war between the Archduke and the French, the latter first entertained several regiments of Swifs, and found them so useful, that they have ever since retained a body of them in their service. These two powers being pretty equally matched, and the French King declining in his health, a truce was concluded between them. In the mean time the Archduchess died at Bruges of a fall from her horse, leaving behind her a son named PHILIP, and a daughter named MARGARET. The French King made such an interest with the States of Flanders upon this occasion, that he prevented the Archduke's being declared guardian to his son PHILIP, and contracted with the States for the marriage of the Dauphin with his daughter MARGARET, carrying the young Princess, who was scarce two years old, into France to be educated as Dauphiness, against her father's consent: at which the King of England was pretty much alarmed, who till then had depended on the Dauphin's being married to his daughter ELIZABETH, in pursuance of the treaty of Pequigny, anno 1475. This had been his Majesty's principal inducement for making that peace, and abandoning his old ally the Duke of Burgundy; and, according to the French historians, he was so touched with the perfidiousness of King LEWIS, whom he had suffered to make such a progress in the Low-Countries, upon a prospect of this marriage, that the disappointment contributed to his last illness, of which he died. The French King did not survive him a year, of whom their writers give this character: That he was by nature neither beneficent nor liberal, though he seemed to be so when his affairs required it. He spared no costs to purchase an interest in the councils of the neighbouring Princes, or to debauch their chief Ministers; to gain the Governors of towns, corrupt Ambassadors, and embarrass his enemies. To take an estimate of him from his outward behaviour, he was a very religious prince: he went to confession once a week, took frequent pilgrimages, paid a great veneration to the relics of Saints, and bestowed many gifts on churches. But this did not make him a strict observer of his promises and oaths, or less deceitful and vindictive; tho' he does not seem to have acted so much the hypocrite in religion, as to have entertained a notion that those external performances would atone for the defects of true piety, which made him scrupulous sometimes in trifles, while he perpetrated the greatest villanies without remorse. He accomplished his design of making himself absolute master of his nobility, which he had always aimed at, but was not very nice in the means of effecting it, and wanting the hearts of his subjects was never perfectly easy. He left one son named CHARLES.

CHARLES VIII, at his accession was about fourteen years of age, and consequently had passed his minority according to the irrevocable ordinance, as it is called, of CHARLES V; but as the understanding of Princes is not superior to that of other people of these years, and the late King had taken particular care that his son should not be versed in politicks, or let into the mysteries of state, lest he should be practised upon by designing courtiers, this Prince, of all others, could not be supposed at such an age to bear the weight of government in his own person; and therefore

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1479.

1482.

King of  
England  
dies.  
King  
LEWIS  
dies.CHARLES  
VIII.  
1483.

LEWIS



CHAP. XXXIV. LEWIS XI, had before his death appointed one on whom he might rely for the management of his affairs, and exercise the supreme authority in his son's name; and this was Madam de Beaujieu, the wife of PETER de Bourbon of Beaujieu, the late King's eldest daughter, and sister to his present Majesty, a lady every way qualified for such a trust. He designed however, that her husband, Monsieur de Beaujieu, should assist her in the administration, tho' he did not name him, because there were some Princes of the Blood nearer to the crown, that might dispute this post with him, who could not make the same objection to the Princess the King's sister.

But notwithstanding all the prudent foresight of LEWIS XI, he was no sooner dead, but there arose two powerful competitors, who disputed the supreme direction of affairs with Madam de Beaujieu, namely, LEWIS Duke of Orleans, the presumptive heir of the crown, and JOHN Duke of Bourbon, eldest brother of Monsieur Beaujieu, whose mature age, and the services he had done the kingdom, rendered his pretensions plausible; but Madam de Beaujieu offering to refer the matter to the determination of the States, which the rest could not with any colour oppose, and having the administration in her hands, in the mean time so established her interest, that the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans were scarce considered; and she had bought off the Duke of Bourbon, by promising him the post of Constable, which she knew he was ambitious of.

The Duke of Orleans, piqued at his disappointment, entered into a confederacy with the Duke of Brittany, and several of the French Nobility, against the court; but Madam de Beaujieu was so expeditious in assembling an army, and marching against them, before the confederates could join their troops, that the Duke of Orleans submitted, and agreed to lay down his arms, upon condition he might obtain the King's pardon, which was granted him. But I should have remembered, that while the Duke of Orleans was at the court of the Duke of Brittany, forming this confederacy against Madam de Beaujieu, he saw there the Princess ANNE, eldest daughter and heiress of that Duke, to whom he made his addresses as a lover, in which he was rivaled by several of the greatest Princes in Europe; and this was the foundation of several great events, as will appear in the ensuing history.

HENRY Earl of Richmond, the heir of the house of Lancaster, being at this time a prisoner in the court of the Duke of Brittany, and the Duke expecting every day to feel the resentment of the French court for his assisting the Duke of Orleans, offered to give the Earl his liberty, and furnish him with ships and forces to mount the throne of England, upon condition that he would assist Brittany against the attempts of the French, when he should see himself master of that kingdom; and this he apprehended would be easily effected, as King RICHARD, who had murdered his two nephews, and been guilty of many other barbarities to make his way to the crown, had rendered himself universally detested by his subjects. The Earl of Richmond, who had been confined near fifteen years, was not backward we may be sure to exchange his prison for a crown, and made no scruple of promising to support the Britons against their enemies if he succeeded. The Duke of Brittany therefore having provided him fifteen large ships, and put five thousand men on board, the

Earl set sail with them for England; but the fleet being soon after dispersed by a storm, he was forced to return to Diep, which indeed was his preservation: for King RICHARD having discovered the conspiracy, had fallen upon the Earl's adherents, and defeated them, and it is highly probable, the Earl would have fallen into his hands, if the storm had not prevented the descent. The Earl at his return to Brittany found that court strangely altered; for the old Duke being taken ill, and for some time delirious, King RICHARD had by bribing LAUDOIS his Prime-Minister, won him over to his interest, and obtained a promise from him to deliver the Earl of Richmond into his hands, of which he had scarce an hour's notice before he was to have been seized; he fled immediately to the French court; desiring their protection: here he met with fair words and promises, but that court did not seem very forward in promoting his enterprize upon England. The French historians indeed relate, that they furnished him with a fleet of ships, and four thousand of their best troops; but notwithstanding there were several Noblemen and Gentlemen in this expedition, I don't find that the Earl of Richmond's whole force amounted to two thousand men, when he made his second attempt upon England. He set sail from Havre de Grace the first of August 1485, and arrived at Milford-Haven in Wales, a few days after, where he was joined by the gentlemen of the country; and their numbers increasing every day, he marched to Leicester, and gave battle to King RICHARD on the two and twentieth of August. The King being defeated and killed in the engagement, the Earl of Richmond was immediately proclaimed King of England by the army, by the name of HENRY VII: on which great event I shall enlarge in the Description of England.

In the mean time the Duke of Orleans not being pleased with the administration in France, retired again into Brittany, where the ministry had made an alliance with the Archduke of Austria, now King of the Romans, who, since the decease of his late wife MARY of Burgundy, made his addresses also to the Princess of Brittany. The French court being determined to pursue the Duke of Orleans, marched with an army towards the frontiers of Brittany; whereupon the King of the Romans attacked France from the Low-Countries, and obliged them to desist from that enterprize for the present.

The French renewed their design against Brittany in the year 1487, and at the same time attacked the territories of the King of the Romans in the Netherlands, and having corrupted the subjects of these Princes, and fomented an insurrection against them in their very bowels, were very confident of success in both these enterprizes; nor were their expectations disappointed, for they surprized Terouen and St Omers in the Low-Countries, and defeated the forces of the King of the Romans. In Brittany they obtained a decisive victory, and took the Duke of Orleans prisoner; after which they put what terms they pleased upon the old Duke of Brittany, they obliged him to dismiss all such foreigners as had come to his assistance, to deliver up several of his strong towns into their hands, and promise not to marry his daughter and heiress to any person without the consent of the French court. This treaty was made the twenty-eighth of August, and about ten days after the Duke of Brittany died. In the mean time the

CHAP. XXXIV.

1485.

1486.

1487.

1488.

The  
Dukes of  
Orleans  
and Bri-  
tany be-  
come  
malcon-  
tents.

The Duke  
of Bri-  
tany  
offers to  
assist the  
Earl of  
Rich-  
mond, to  
depose  
King Ri-  
chard  
III. 1484.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.MAXI-  
MILIAN  
King of  
the Ro-  
mans im-  
prisoned  
by his  
subjects.The  
French  
seize Bri-  
tany.

1491

Opposed  
by the  
English.The Prin-  
cess mar-  
ries the  
King of  
the Ro-  
mans,  
1499.

1490.

1491.

1492.

States of Flanders confederated together against the King of the Romans, and made him prisoner at Bruges, which occasioned a War between Flanders and the other provinces, so that the French had nothing to apprehend on that side. The King of the Romans was indeed restored to his liberty again after four months imprisonment, one of the conditions whereof was, that he should use his utmost endeavours to make peace with France. But the Emperor, father to the King of the Romans, soon after marching to his assistance, MAXIMILIAN was about to take a severe revenge of the rebellious Flemings, who thereupon called in the French, and found him employment for some time.

But to return to Britany: The French court pretended that this duchy was devolved on the crown of France for want of heirs male, and thereupon ordered their troops to make themselves masters of as many towns as they could. The King of England apprehending the ill consequences of suffering this country to be united to the crown of France, sent six thousand men to the assistance of the Dukes, who obliged the French to abandon several towns they had possessed themselves of, and prevented their reducing Britany this campaign. However, the English receiving no pay, and the Briton nobility disagreeing among themselves, most of the English returned home. The French King had now a fair opportunity of subduing this province; but considering he was never likely to enjoy it quietly, if the Princess ANNE should happen to marry any Prince of figure in Europe, he determined to marry her himself, notwithstanding he was already contracted to MARGARET of Austria daughter to the King of the Romans. While the King was deliberating on this project, the Princess ANNE and the King of the Romans came to an agreement, and were married by proxy, at which the French were very much alarmed; for as the King of the Romans was master of the Low-Countries, if he had been so of Britany he would always have had it in his power to give the French a great deal of disturbance: King CHARLES therefore not regarding his contract with MARY of Austria, or the espousals of the King of the Romans with the Princess, sent a deputation to her with proposals of marriage, and having bribed every one of her council to persuade her to it, he promised himself success; but the Princess, young as she was, discovered a great deal of spirit and resentment on this occasion: she had conceived an opinion of the King of the Romans, and had a perfect aversion to the French King and his whole nation, for the calamities they had brought upon her father and her country. Upon the first proposal of the match therefore she broke out into the most passionate exclamations against them: she reflected on the alliances she had made with the Kings of England and Spain, who had engaged to support her: but insisted with the greatest warmth on her marriage with MAXIMILIAN in the face of the Church, and declared she could never do a thing so shocking to her conscience; and had her allies been as near with their reinforcements as her enemy was, there is no doubt but she would have persisted in her resolution: but the King of France, who had already assembled his troops, and was not far from the confines of her country with a powerful army, attending the success of this negotiation, being acquainted with the resolution of the Princess, and at the same time advised by her treacherous council to hasten his march

before any succours could arrive to her assistance, he invested the city of Rennes, where the Princess was, before she had any notice of his march, and so terrified her with his preparations to storm the city, that she submitted to the advice of her council, who persuaded her that she had no other means left to preserve her country: they represented also, that as the former marriage was not consummated, a dispensation might easily be obtained from the Pope, which in those days was thought sufficient to satisfy the most scrupulous conscience. Thus this villainous ministry betrayed their sovereign into the hands of a man whom of all others she detested: and the marriage was solemnized and consummated the 13th of December 1491, even before any application was made to the Holy See for a dispensation; it was apprehended soon enough to procure that at any time before issue was born: I don't find the French King's precontract with MARY of Austria was much regarded neither, though she had borne the title of Dauphiness for several years; that Princess was upon this occasion sent back to her father to complete the affront: which sufficiently manifests how little the most solemn oaths and contracts of Princes are to be depended on. This very King CHARLES, by a treaty between the Kings of France and England, was first to have married the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter to EDWARD IV, which was broke through without any manner of excuse, that he might espouse MARY of Austria; and now this Princess is discarded in order to ravish the Princess of Britany: I can call it no better than a rape, where one comes with an armed power, and forces a lady to his bed. By the same means he obliged her to marry him, he compelled her to sign an instrument to which he gave the name of a treaty of marriage, where, in consideration of the honour he did the Princess in taking her to his wife, she resigns all her right in the duchy of Britany to the King and his successors, notwithstanding it should happen that she died without issue before him: and in case he died before her, she was obliged to marry the succeeding King, or next Prince of the Blood; but if she had no issue by his present Majesty, it was granted in her favour that she should possess her duchy of Britany during life. As to the success of this forced marriage, it is observed, that tho' the King had three children by her, viz. a Dauphin and two Princesses, they all died in the cradle, and after a very short reign the kingdom descended to a collateral branch of the royal family; and had the children survived, their legitimacy might very well have been questioned on more accounts than one.

The King of the Romans was provoked beyond all bounds when he heard of the match, and spoke of it in such terms as it deserved: and not content with drawing up memorials and declarations against it, he formed an alliance with the Kings of Spain and England, in order to revenge so insupportable an affront. The two Kings readily came into his measures, and the parliament of England were so sensible that the union of Britany to the French crown would be of dangerous consequence to them, that they made no scruple of granting his Majesty the supplies he asked. The King thereupon immediately assembled a gallant army of twenty-five thousand men, and transported them to Calais; but when he arrived there the King of the Romans forces were not raised, and the Spaniards he found were as much

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The  
French  
King  
forces the  
Princess of  
Britany to  
marry  
him, tho'  
she was  
married  
before.

1492.

The King  
of Eng-  
land in-  
vades  
France.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.A peace  
concluded.

much unprepared as the Germans; whereupon the French King making proposals of peace to him, and backing them with such a bribe as was not easily to be resisted, especially by a Prince of HENRY the Seventh's covetous disposition, namely, seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, an immense sum in those days, he consented to a peace and returned to England, by which, and the money that was given him to carry on the war by the parliament of England, and some other rapacious projects, he heaped together a prodigious treasure, inasmuch that he was esteemed one of the richest Princes that ever sat on the English throne.

1493.

An expedition  
of the  
French  
against  
Naples.

The King of the Romans, we may believe, stormed sufficiently upon this occasion, nor were the English parliament perfectly satisfied, to see the taxes they had raised for the war put in the King's pocket, without having effected any thing; but they were answered, that the King had done very prudently, and saved them a great deal of treasure, by putting so sudden an end to the war, and therefore they had no reason to complain. The French King and the King of the Romans soon after clapt up a peace, whereby the French renounced the Earldoms of Artois, Burgundy, and Charolois, which were to have been the portion of MARGARET of Austria if the King had married her: the French King also gave up his right in Roussillon and Cerdagne to the Spaniard, whereby he procured a peace with that Prince; and all these concessions he was induced to make, that he might be at liberty to pursue his favourite project upon the Kingdom of Naples. Some writers are of opinion he had a design to have subdued all Italy. He had indeed a specious pretence to the Kingdom of Naples, as he was heir to the Duke of Anjou, whom JOAN Queen of that kingdom had adopted, tho' scarce any of the family had been in possession of it for any time. The French also laid claim to Genoa, and some other territories in Italy, and could they once have established themselves in Naples, possibly would not have wanted pretences to have seized the rest; which the Italian Princes could not but foresee, and for that reason were generally in a confederacy against France. But LEWIS, surnamed MORUS, or the Black Duke of Milan, who had the regency of that duchy during the minority of his nephew JOHN GALEAS, the true heir, and had found an opportunity of making himself master of it to the exclusion of his ward, apprehending he might be deposed by FERDINAND King of Naples, whose grand-daughter had married JOHN GALEAS, incited the French King to assert his title to Naples, promising he would favour his pretensions, upon condition that France would maintain him in the duchy of Milan. The Pope also, upon some assurances given him that the French King would advance his family, and grant him a territory in the kingdom of Naples, was induced to come into their measures.

1494.

FERDINAND King of Naples, 'tis said, was so terrified at this formidable confederacy against him, that he fell ill, and died upon it, and was succeeded by his son ALPHONSUS, a Prince hated by the Neapolitans and feared by the neighbouring powers, as his father had been. In the mean time the French King ordered the rendezvous of his forces to be at Lyons, from whence he marched through Piedmont, and arrived at Asti on the ninth of September, where he fell ill of the small-pox; but being out of danger in a week's time, he sent ambassadors to the several States of Italy, to declare that he had no design upon their liberties, his only

view was to procure the restitution of the kingdom of Naples, which belonged to him, and afterwards to march against the Turks for the general advantage of Christendom. The King afterwards continued his march thro' the territories of Milan, where he was attended by LEWIS the usurper, with great professions of friendship and esteem, tho' the French understood he was endeavouring at the same time to embarrass their affairs, and even entering into a confederacy with the rest of the Italian Princes to ruin their army; whereupon the King held a council of war, to deliberate whether he should advance any further, and it being carried for proceeding in the enterprise, he continued his march to the frontiers of Tuscany, where that Duke came to meet him, and delivered up to him Serefana, Serefanello, and Pietra Santa, which defended the passes into his country, to the surprise of the rest of the Italian Princes; for by this means he gave the French an opportunity of seizing his territories, when great part of their army must have perished if he had opposed them in that barren country, the French having brought scarce any provisions along with them. This submission of the Florentines removed the greatest difficulties in the expedition. The French King continued his march, and made a kind of a triumphant entry into Lucca and Pisa, in the last of which places he left a garrison, and advanced to the city of Florence, where the inhabitants unwillingly raised him 50000 ducats. He came with his army soon after into the neighbourhood of Rome, to the great terror of the Pope, who notwithstanding he had invited the French King into Italy, had since altered his mind, and entered into a conspiracy to destroy his army, which the King was not unacquainted with: he durst not however oppose his coming to Rome; whereupon the King made his entry into that city on the 31st of December 1494, by torch-light, at the head of his troops, whom he ordered to seize upon all the important posts about the town. The Pope at first shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo; but upon his Majesty's summoning him, and bringing his artillery before it, his Holiness consented to a treaty, wherein he agreed, that the French should remain in possession of Viterbo, Teracina, Civita Vecchia, and Spoleto, which the King had made himself master of in his march. Afterwards the Pope returned to his palace of the Vatican, where the King made him a visit. It was observed, that his Holiness was very lavish of his honours towards this Prince, of whom he stood in the utmost dread, and even gave orders that justice should be administered in his name while he staid in Rome; in all outward appearance there was a perfect reconciliation between them, and that the King might not suspect his sincerity, he ordered his son, the Cardinal of Valence, to attend him in the expedition. His Majesty having staid about a month in Rome, advanced with his army towards Naples, hearing every day of the revolt of some town or other in that kingdom, ALPHONSUS being universally hated for his tyranny, of which that Prince was so sensible, that he surrendered his crown to his son FERDINAND, as the most effectual way to preserve it in his family, and afterwards fled to Sicily. But FERDINAND, was not

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The  
French  
King enters  
Rome.

1495.

able to stop the progress of the French, his army abandoned him; Capua, and even the city of Naples, surrendered without striking a stroke, every town in the kingdom submitted except Brundisium and Gallipoli; whereupon FERDINAND retired



C H A P.  
XXXIV.

tired to the island of Iſchia, with his family and ſome troops that remained faithful to him, in hopes of maintaining himſelf there, till he ſhould meet with a favourable opportunity of returning to his throne, for he knew that the Emperor and the Italian States had entered into a confederacy againſt the French King; and this Prince ſeems apprized of it by the haſte he made from thence: he begun his march towards France the twentieth of May 1495, with an army of nine or ten thouſand men; the reſt he left with the Count of Montpenſier to ſecure his conqueſts. When he came to Rome, the Pope had retired to Perugia, and would not ſee him; and his ſon, whom he had left with the King as an hoſtage, had made his eſcape. Here his Maſteſty received intelligence, that his enemies had drawn their forces together, and would render his retreat very difficult, as he afterwards found it; for they fell upon him at Tortona, and had infallibly defeated him, if part of their army which had routed his left wing, had not fallen upon the baggage, and thereby given him an opportunity of rallying his troops, and continuing his march, which he did with the utmoſt hazard, and came to Lyons the ſeventh of November. The French King had no ſooner left the kingdom of Naples, but FERDINAND aſſiſted by GONſALVO, a celebrated Spaniſh General, returned thither, and attacked Reggio, which ſurrendered to them, with ſeveral other towns; they afterwards met with a defeat, but being re-inforced, and making a ſecond attempt, the whole country in a ſhort time returned to the obedience of King FERDINAND, moſt of the French perishing either by ſickneſs or the ſword. Such, ſays a French hiſtorian, was the ſucceſs of CHARLES the Eighth's enterprize upon Naples: an enterprize undertaken with much imprudence, continued with wonderful ſucceſs, and at length ſhamefully abandoned with the loſs of a great number of brave men. This was the laſt remarkable event in his reign. He died ſuddenly on the ſeventh of April 1498, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign, leaving no iſſue, tho' he had ſeveral children who died in their cradles. He was ſucceeded by LEWIS Duke of Orleans.

1497.

1498.

LEWIS  
XII.

LEWIS XII began his reign at a mature age, being in his thirty-ſeventh year; and as he was naturally a Prince of an excellent temper and genius, improved by experience, rendered his people extremely happy. He continued all the officers of ſtate in their poſts, ſome of whom had dealt very roughly with him in the preceding reign; but he endeavoured to forget all the ill uſage he had received when he came to the crown: And that the people as well as the court might taſte of the lenity of his adminiſtration, he remitted firſt a tenth, and afterwards a third of the uſual taxes. He alſo regulated the courts of juſtice, and endeavoured to redreſs the extortions that were committed under the colour of law. But among ſo many commendable actions, there was one which carried but a very indifferent aſpect, and that was his marriage with the late Queen, the heiress of Britany; to effect which he was forced firſt to divorce the Princeſs JANE the daughter of King LEWIS XI, who had lived with him as a wife for twenty years. He pretended indeed that her father had obliged him to marry her when he was but fifteen years of age, and that he then privately made a proteſt in form, and declared he would never touch her, tho' outwardly to avoid the King's diſpleaſure he treated her as a wife. But had not the Queen he

1499.

afterwards married been heiress of Britany, with which he muſt have parted if ſhe had married elſewhere, poſſibly he had never thought of a divorce from the Princeſs JANE; unleſs the diſagreeableneſs of her perſon might be ſome inducement, for ſhe was very deformed and infirm; tho' this one would have thought ſhould have occaſioned it ſooner, if at all. He had indeed the approbation of the Pope for all this, which was thought ſufficient in thoſe days to ſanctify the moſt flagrant crimes; and as it was in his Maſteſty's power at this time to oblige his Holineſs in ſome temporal concerns, he ſoon procured the matter to be diſpatched at the court of Rome. Pope ALEXANDER VI was now about to make the fortunes of his ſon the famous CÆſAR BORGIA, who quitted a Cardinal's cap in order to be a temporal Prince; his Holineſs hoping to effect his deſign chiefly by the aſſiſtance of the French King, made CÆſAR the bearer of the bull for the divorce, and in purſuance of a treaty concluded between them, the King then gave him the duchy of Valentinois, a penſion of twenty thouſand livres per ann. with a poſt in the army. He alſo agreed to procure him CHARLOTTE the ſiſter of the Queen of Navarre for a wife, and to put him into poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns in Italy; for the Pope and the French were in a confederacy againſt the Duke of Milan, and the King was juſt upon the point of entering Italy with his army to attack that duchy, while the Venetians penetrated it on the other ſide.

C H A P.  
XXXIV.

The Duke of Milan had aſſembled an army of eighteen or twenty thouſand men to oppoſe the French and Venetians; but having no allies, and being betrayed by his officers and generals, the whole duchy was loſt within twenty days, except the caſtle of Milan, and he himſelf forced to retire into Germany: the caſtle alſo ſurrendered within a few days, whereupon the French King made a triumphant entry into that city on the ſixteenth of October 1499; after which he gave CÆſAR BORGIA the command of four thouſand Swiſs and three hundred launces, in order to recover thoſe towns he had ſtipulated to put him in poſſeſſion of: and having conferred the government of the Milanefe on TRIVALCA, a perſon of a haughty violent ſpirit, he returned to France. The new governor behaved himſelf with that tyranny and indifcretion, ſuffering his ſoldiers to inſult the natives and abuſe their women, that they ſoon became ripe for a revolt; of which their old Duke LEWIS MORUS having advice, aſſembled eight or ten thouſand Swiſs, and coming before the city, eaſily made himſelf maſter of it by the aſſiſtance of the diſaffected within; the gariſon retiring into the caſtle: moſt of the towns in the duchy followed the example of the capital.

The  
French  
invade  
Milan.

The French King receiving advice of the revolt of the Milanefe, aſſembled a great army and re- paſſed the Alps; but what was of more ſervice to him than his forces, was a treaty he made with the Swiſs, who for a ſum of money betrayed the Duke LEWIS MORUS into his hands, and he was carried priſoner into France, where he died about ten years after. His two ſons fled into Germany to the Emperor; whereupon the Milanefe once more came under the power of the French. I don't find any title they had to this duchy, but their writers ſeem to juſtify the enterprize, on account of the diſturbance the Duke gave them in their retreat from Naples; adding that he was a uſurper, and had poiſoned his nephew to obtain the ſovereignty, and therefore did not deſerve a better fate.

This



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The  
French  
and Span-  
iards di-  
vide Na-  
ples be-  
tween  
them.

This conquest being effected, the King had a design to reduce Naples; but the Emperor being offended at his seizing of Milan, which was a fief of the Empire, and deposing the Prince who had been legally invested in that duchy, and on this account inviting the Princes of the Empire into a confederacy against France, the King did not think it prudent to march his army so far from home. Besides, FERDINAND King of Spain made him an offer to divide the kingdom of Naples with him, and depose the present Prince FREDERICK, who was descended from a base branch of the house Arragon, and therefore, as they were pleased to infer, could have no legal title. And it was accordingly agreed, that FERDINAND King of Spain should have Apulia and Calabria, as it lay most convenient for him in the neighbourhood of Sicily which belonged to him; and that the French King should have the north part of Naples, containing the Abruzzo and Naples Proper. The Pope also came into this treaty in hopes of augmenting the territories of his son CÆSAR BORGIA, now Duke of Valentinois.

The King of Naples in the mean time published manifesto upon manifesto, asserting his right to that kingdom; but having neither forces or allies to support him, the Kings of France and Spain, each of them, sent an army, and took possession of the country, dividing it between them according to the above-said treaty, and the Pope granted them the investiture of their respective shares. King FREDERICK having shut himself up in the castle del Ovo in Naples, soon found himself obliged to capitulate, and was permitted by the French General to retire to the island of Ischia; some time after he obtained leave to come to France, and transferred all his right to the kingdom of Naples to King LEWIS, who whereupon granted him the duchy of Anjou, and thirty thousand ducats per annum, which he enjoyed till he died.

A war be-  
tween the  
Kings of  
France  
and Spain  
on the di-  
vision of  
Naples,  
1502.

The settling the limits in the kingdom of Naples between the Kings of France and Spain, occasioned a war between them, which lasted about two years, when the Duke of Nemours, the French General, was entirely defeated and killed in the field of battle, whereupon the whole country submitted to the Spaniards. The French writers relate, that their troops were successful till their King suffered himself to be amused by a treaty, which occasioned his not sending timely reinforcements, while the King of Spain continued to send supplies from time to time, and thereby gained such a superiority that there was no making head against him; whereupon the French were driven out of the country, and most of them perished before they reached France (which has been their fate more than once in their attempts upon Naples). The same year the French were defeated in two enterprises against Spain on the side of the Pyrenees; but a truce was at length concluded between the two nations for three years, which gave the King of France, and his allies the Pope and King of the Romans, an opportunity of falling upon the Venetians, whom these Princes were determined to destroy. The French King was highly provoked with them for their treacherous underhand dealings, whereby they crossed his designs in the Neapolitan war. The Pope was exasperated against them for seizing some of the towns he laid claim to in Romania; and the King of the Romans had much the same cause of complaint against them. The Duke of Ferrara, the

1504.  
A confe-  
deracy a-  
gainst the  
Venetians.

Marquis of Mantua, the Republick of Florence, and the King of Hungary, also came into the confederacy against them, every one of these States having pretensions to some town or territory the Venetians had possessed themselves of; in so much that it was evident if every one of the parties in the confederacy were to be satisfied in their respective demands, Venice would not have a foot of land left upon the Continent. The design of the allies was indeed entirely to demolish their State: they were animated more by a spirit of revenge against that proud republick, for pretending to be the umpire of the affairs of Europe, and to hold the balance amongst them, than by the hopes of obtaining satisfaction on their antiquated claims. And had the execution of the treaty been as speedy as it was intended, the Venetians had infallibly been ruined: but the delays made by the King of the Romans, and a dangerous fit of illness which seized the French King, gave the Venetians an opportunity of applying to the Pope, and drawing him off from this formidable alliance; whereupon all the other parties laid aside the design for the present. This confederacy against the Venetians was however revived again in the year 1508, and the King of Spain also came into it, on account of some towns in Apulia which they had possessed themselves of during the Neapolitan war, and refused to deliver up. The Venetians offered the Pope a town or two, in order to appease him, and made their application to the Emperor to divert him from the war; but all the parties to the league were immovable, and remained determined to destroy the Republick; whereupon they raised an army, garrisoned their towns, and made all necessary preparations for their defence. The King of France took the field against them first, and having passed the Alps, sent a herald to declare war against them. The Pope at the same time published a thundering bull against the Republick, requiring them to restore the towns and territories they had usurped from the Holy See, on pain of an interdict and eternal damnation; which the Venetians answered by a manifesto.

1508.

In the mean time the French army advanced, and came to an engagement with the forces of the Republick on the fourteenth of May 1509, and defeated them; and within less than three weeks after the French King made himself master of Cremona, Bresse, Bergamo, Crema, and of all the other towns and castles he pretended belonged to him as part of the duchy of Milan, and had been dismembered from it. At the same time the Duke of Ferrara, who commanded the Pope's forces, entered Romania, and took Ravenna and Faenza, the most considerable towns he had demanded of them. He seized also upon the territory denominated the Polesin de Rovigo, which he alleged the Venetians had dismembered from his duchy of Ferrara. The Duke of Brunswick, the Emperor's General, also retook Trieste and several other towns from them; and the Marquis of Mantua others, which put the Republick into the utmost consternation. They applied themselves hereupon to the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Spain, offering to submit to any terms if they would break with the French: and they were so successful in their negotiations with the King of Spain, that he offered to make peace with them on condition they would restore the towns in Apulia, which they did. The Pope they found alarmed at the great progress of the French arms in Italy,



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XXXIV.

1510.

1511.

1512.

The French driven out of Italy, and the Venetians almost out of the continent.

and prevailed with him to desert his confederates and join in an alliance with the Swiss and their State to drive the French out of Italy. The King of England also acceded to this treaty, and was to attack France on the side of Picardy by way of diversion. The King of France, on the other hand, entered into a more strict alliance with the Emperor, and by the assistance of five Cardinals devoted to their interest who fled from Rome, they called a General Council at Pisa to enquire into the means by which the Pope acquired the Pontificate, and threatened to depose him and set up another in his room, which gave his Holiness no small uneasiness. The French King also attacked and took the city of Bologna from the Pope, and defeated his forces; and, as the French writers affirm, was in a condition at this time to have made himself master of Rome itself, and even of all Italy, if he would have attempted it: but he observed, that the greater were his conquests, and the further he advanced in this country, the more enemies he created. The Spaniards were afraid of Naples; and neither England or the Emperor could with good policy see the French add Italy to their monarchy. The Pope therefore knowing he should be very well supported, was so far from submitting to the French, that he called a General Council at St John de Lateran's in Rome, in opposition to that of Pisa, in order to render all their decrees ineffectual; and proceeded to anathematize the Cardinals and Prelates that composed it. He laid the town of Pisa also under an interdict for harbouring them, whereupon a tumult was raised by the citizens, and they were forced to remove to Milan.

In the mean time the Swiss attacked the French in the Milanese on one side, while the Pope and the Spaniards made head against them on the other. The King's forces nevertheless were successful still against the Pope, the Spaniards, the Venetians, and the Swiss, till England declared war against France, and then the French found themselves under a necessity of withdrawing most of their forces out of Italy, whereby they lost Milan and all their conquests on that side the Alps, in almost as short a time as they made them. The King of England demanded Normandy, and all the territories in France which formerly belonged to the English; and having the Emperor for his ally, the French King thought it more advisable to abandon his foreign conquests, than hazard the loss of his own kingdom. Upon the retreat of the French, MAXIMILIAN SPORZA, son of the late Duke, had the duchy of Milan restored him by the Venetians and the Swiss. The republic of Genoa again revolted from the French, and all the Princes in Italy enjoyed their respective territories again, only there were some disputes which still remained between the Pope, the Emperor, and Venetians. About the same time the Spaniards made a conquest of the kingdom of Navarre, though that Prince was supported by France. The French King still looked with a covetous eye upon the duchy of Milan, and observing that the Venetians were on ill terms with the Pope and the Emperor, entered into an alliance with that Republic against them; and sending some troops over the Alps that joined the Venetians, he recovered great part of the Milanese again. The Swiss and Spaniards however soon after obtained an entire victory over the French army, and compelled them once more to fly the country, while their miserable allies the Venetians were beaten almost out of the Continent,

retaining no other towns there but Padua and Trevisa.

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The French ascribe all their ill success in this Italian war, to the invasion of their country by the English and Imperialists on the side of Flanders, of which I am next to give an account; only for the satisfaction of those who may be inquisitive to know what became of the council of Pisa, I must first take notice, that this council having been adjourned from Pisa to Milan, was upon the late revolution in the Milanese adjourned to the city of Lyons in France; whereupon the Pope laid that kingdom under an interdict, and especially Lyons where it was held. While the King in vain endeavoured to establish the council, and persuade other Princes to join with him upon that occasion, the Emperor declared that he adhered to the council of Lateran, and revoked every thing he had done in favour of the other, condemning all the resolutions of the Gallican Church on that subject. And though this Pope died in February 1512-13, and was succeeded by LEO the Tenth, a prelate of a much more peaceable disposition, the interest of the French at Rome was not at all improved, and they were at length obliged to drop the council of Pisa.

1513. The end of the council of Pisa.

The war between France and England was carried on as well by sea as land: their fleets engaged twice, but there happened nothing decisive at sea. The most considerable action was near St Malo's in Brittany, where the two Admirals grappling together, took fire and were blown up, whereby a multitude of men were lost; for the French Admiral alone, 'tis said, had 1200 men on board. The first attempt the English made by land was in Guienne in the year 1512, whither the English sent a good body of troops to join the Spaniards; but the latter instead of uniting their forces with the English for the recovery of that duchy, as had been stipulated, took the opportunity of this diversion to seize upon the kingdom of Navarre, as has been related above; whereupon the English returned home. The following year 1513, HENRY the Eighth, King of England, embarked with an army of five and twenty or thirty thousand men, and landed at Calais, from whence he marched and laid siege to Terouen in Flanders, being joined by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN with a body of forces almost equal to the English. The French made an attempt to raise the siege, and were handsomely beaten: and as their gens d'arms did not behave very bravely, but made less use of their lances than their spurs, this engagement obtained the name of the Battle of Spurs. The French say this was but a detachment of their army that came to the relief of Terouen, and that they did not make their utmost efforts to raise the siege, because they were obliged to send part of their troops into Burgundy to make head against the Swiss and Imperialists, who had entered their country on that side. But whatever their reasons were for not venturing a general battle, Terouen surrendered after a siege of nine weeks, after which the confederates laid siege to Tournay, and took it, and this put an end to the campaign. JAMES the Fourth of Scotland, according to the custom of that nation, invaded England while King HENRY was engaged in the French war, but had the misfortune to be defeated and killed at Flodden-field. The French King after such a train of ill success, endeavoured to obtain a peace with England, which he effected by marrying the Princess MARY, the sister of King HENRY the Eighth, and paying that Prince a million of crowns towards

War between France and England.

Peace between France and England.



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XXXIV.FRANCIS  
1514-15.The  
King's  
design on  
the Milan-  
nese.The Swiss  
oppose his  
passage in  
vain.The King  
enters the  
Milanese,  
1515.And ob-  
tains a vic-  
tory over  
the Swiss.The Duke  
of Milan  
surrenders  
his duchy  
to the  
French.Treaty be-  
tween the  
Pope and  
France,  
concern-  
ing the no-  
mination  
of Bishops,  
&c.

wards the charges of the war. Some English politicians were not pleased with this treaty, apprehending that King HENRY had such a superiority of troops, and such powerful allies, that he might have made himself master of Normandy, and even of all France: while others held, that admitting the conquest of France could have been effected, it must have cost England a great deal of blood and treasure; for which the English could have expected nothing in return, but to have been made a province to the larger kingdom; and had they retained Normandy, or any other part of France, this would only have engaged them in perpetual wars, to maintain which the nation must have been burthened with taxes. Nor is this the only reason why a subject of England should be averse to foreign conquests, there is still another more substantial than the former, and that is the endangering his liberty and property; for foreign territories must be maintained by standing forces, which an arbitrary Prince may bring over at pleasure, and with them levy what money he pleases upon his subjects at home. Nothing is more evident than that as money will raise soldiers, so soldiers will raise money if they want it, provided they are quartered in a country where it is to be had: and for this reason some people are against our having so much as a single town on the other side the water, because it will ever furnish the Prince, with a specious pretence to raise an army to defend it, when he is pleased to say it is in danger.

But to reflect a little further on the wisdom of our ancestors. The reason of their entering into this war was to reduce the exorbitant power of France, then as well as now a very powerful kingdom; and as soon as they had compelled her to relinquish all her new acquisitions, and reduced her to her former bounds, they had gained their point: they had no intention to destroy the French nation, or bring it to such a state that it might not be in a condition to check the ambition of the Emperor: this had been over-doing it, and only pulling down one exorbitant power to create another. And the same wisdom seemed to reign in the English councils at the peace of Utrecht: they found the French sufficiently humbled, and had put the Imperialists in possession of several fine countries that were taken from them. But they thought it highly advisable to stop here, and not aggrandize the Emperor to that degree as to render him as terrible in Europe as the French had been. And yet had we a set of politicians among us, that nothing would satisfy but a total extirpation of the French. They had not foresight enough to discern, that in a very few years we might want their assistance to balance the power of the Emperor, tho' they have since been sufficiently convinced of their mistake.

But to return to the French King LEWIS XII. He survived the peace and his marriage but a very little while: and those people who will suffer no event to pass without assigning the cause of it, assure us that his death was occasioned by his too great complaisance for the young Queen, who was one of the finest Princesses in Europe, and whose demands 'tis supposed the old King was perfectly unable to satisfy. But leaving these gentlemen to their conjectures, certain it is he was taken ill of a fever attended with a dysentery, of which he died on the first of January 1514-15, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, having never had any legitimate issue,

whereupon the crown devolved on his second cousin FRANCIS, Count of Angouleme and Duke of Valois,

FRANCIS Count of Angouleme and Duke of Valois, nephew of the late King, succeeded to the crown in January 1514-15, in the 21st year of his age.

Immediately after his accession he renewed the alliances which his predecessor had made with the King of England and the Venetians. By the treaty with the latter they were obliged to assist him in the conquest of the Milanese, and France engaged to recover the towns the Republick had lost in Italy. On the other hand, he found the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Swiss, in a confederacy against him for the defence of the Milanese, and MAXIMILIAN SPORZA the new Duke. He determined however to pass the Alps, and attempt the recovery of that duchy once again, and was encouraged in this enterprize by the Genoese, who at this time put themselves under the protection of France.

The Swiss having notice of his design, possessed themselves of all the usual passes of the Alps; but the King discovered another, a very difficult one, by the valley of Barcelonetta, thro' which the French armies had never before penetrated into Italy; and making a feint with part of the army, as if he intended to march the common road, he sent a strong detachment of his forces, and seized that on the side of Barcelonetta without any opposition; whereupon the Swiss withdrew their troops from the Alps, and retired into the Milanese, whether the French followed them. The Pope and the Spaniard finding the King had actually entered Italy, began to think of treating with him, and never sent their forces to join the Swiss, as had been agreed, which occasioned their defeat at Marignan, not far from Milan, after they had maintained the fight bravely for two days, and lost ten or twelve thousand of their men: the French also were so severely handled that they did not think fit to pursue them. Upon the loss of this battle, most of the towns in the Milanese, with the capital city itself, opened their gates to the conqueror: whereupon the Duke, MAXIMILIAN SPORZA, who had retired into the castle of Milan, with a good garrison, capitulated, and agreed to surrender his duchy to the French King, upon condition he should allow him a pension of sixty-thousand ducats per annum; and thus the French became entire masters of the Milanese within less than a month after the battle of Marignan. Their allies the Venetians in the mean time recovered most of the towns they had lost in the last war. The Pope hereupon entered into a treaty with the King, by which he yielded Parma and Placentia to him: and his Majesty on the other hand promised to assist the Pope in the recovery of the duchy of Urbino, and consented to abolish the Pragmatick Sanction, and to establish the Concordat in the room of it; whereby it was agreed that the King should have the nomination of bishops and abbots in France, but that the Pope should retain certain profits out of the principal ecclesiastical benefices.

His Majesty while he continued at Milan endeavoured to bring the Swiss to temper, and was so successful as to renew the ancient alliances with eight of the cantons. As to the rest of the powers on that side of the Alps, they all came and congratulated him on the success of his expedition, though many of them dreaded nothing more than to see the



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XXXIV.War be-  
tween the  
Emperor  
and  
France.1516.  
Peace be-  
tween  
France and  
most of the  
powers of  
Europe.Tournay  
restored to  
France.

1518.

CHARLES  
V. chosen  
Emperor.

the French established in Italy. His Majesty having constituted the Duke of Bourbon Lieutenant-General of the Milanese, returned home, and arrived at Lyons in the beginning of February 1515-16. The French historians relate, that he was under great apprehensions at this time of being invaded by the King of England, whose Prime-Minister Cardinal WOLSEY was piqued at his denying him the bishoprick of Tournay; but the rest of the English Council being against a war with France, that enterprize was laid aside for the present. WOLSEY however gratified his spleen, by inciting the Emperor to fall upon the French in Italy. This Prince recovered several places in the Milanese; but when the Generals were upon the point of coming to an engagement, the Swiss on both sides, of whom the greatest part of each army was composed, refused to fight. One reason they gave was, that they had stipulated by their respective treaties with these powers, that they would not serve against their own countrymen: but the principal was, that they were not paid, either by the French or Germans, and therefore took the liberty of returning home; from whence came that common saying, No Money, no Swiss: after which the Emperor thought fit to retire into the Trentin, and abandon his conquests, while the Swiss plundered all the country in their return, according to custom, and paid themselves. The French King about this time furnished the Pope with a body of cavalry, with which he reduced the duchy of Urbino, taking it from the true proprietor Duke FRANCIS MURY, and transferring it to LAWRENCE DE MEDICIS, his Holiness's nephew, in pursuance of the late treaty between the Pope and his Majesty.

The following year produced a peace between France, Spain, the Emperor, and Venetians, whereby Verona was restored to the last. And now that republick saw themselves in the possession of all the places that had been taken from them by the confederacy of Cambray.

The King of France having bribed Cardinal WOLSEY, the Prime-Minister of England, easily found means to purchase Tournay afterwards of the King of England for six hundred thousand crowns, and a peace was thereupon concluded between the two nations; to cement which, the Dauphin, who was under two years old, was married to the Princess MARY, the eldest daughter of HENRY VIII, and under four years of age; but this match, like most others that are made so very early, came to nothing. WOLSEY, the French historians assure us, had agreed also to deliver up Calais to the French; but the King of Spain having notice of it, out-bid the King of France, and having drawn off the Cardinal from his interest, ever after played him upon France with great advantage.

About this time the Kings of France and Spain became competitors for the Empire upon the death of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, which happened on the nineteenth of January 1518-19. CHARLES King of Spain proved the fortunate man: the German Princes, 'tis said, were apprehensive that if they had chosen FRANCIS, he would have endeavoured to reduce them to the same condition the vassal Princes of that kingdom had been reduced, and that they should lose the Sovereignty they enjoyed in their respective principalities. It is natural also to suppose, that CHARLES, who had resided in the Emperor his grandfather's court during his minority, and was personally known

to the Electors, should have a better interest among them than a foreign Prince, whom they had always looked upon as the greatest enemy to their country.

This union of the Empire and Spain under one head gave the French King some uneasiness. He found his dominions almost surrounded by the territories of his rival, and considered how he might form an alliance sufficient to oppose him: and first he procured an interview with the King of England near Calais, as the French relate, and represented to him the danger they were both in of CHARLES's rendering himself universal monarch; and 'tis said he procured a promise from the King of England to assist him if he should be attacked. However true this relation may be in the main, certain it is the French writers are mistaken in one circumstance, namely, as to the Kings of England and France having had an interview before the Emperor's conference with the King of England; for the Emperor passing by sea from Spain to the Low-Countries, was entertained by HENRY VIII at Dover, before he went to Calais to meet the French King. The historians of both nations however agree, that the Emperor and King FRANCIS were very lavish of their presents and promises to WOLSEY, whose ambition for the Popedom they were well acquainted with: It is even said, that the French King assured him of fourteen voices in the conclave at the next election; but that the Emperor demonstrating to the Cardinal that he could procure him a greater number, he immediately deserted the French interest, and went over to the Imperialists. Thus the fate of kingdoms is frequently determined by designing ministers; Princes made to prevaricate and break their contracts to their eternal dishonour, and sometimes utter ruin, only to advance the particular views of the treacherous adviser; and this perhaps because the Sovereign will not give himself time to consider his own, or his people's interests, but takes things upon trust without examination. And what wonder is it in such cases, if the Minister has the adoration of the croud, while the Prince is contemned, and perhaps scarce thought of, even while he lives and bears the royal title? He may be stiled God's Vicegerent on earth, but unless he imitates the Deity in all his imitable perfections, his truth, his justice, and concern for the welfare of mankind, particularly his own subjects, the people will infallibly withdraw their veneration and dependance on him: nor is it fit a Prince should enjoy the splendor of a crown, while he refuses to bear any of the weight of it. But to return to our history: The Emperor, 'tis said, obtained a promise of the King of England that he would not assist France, but offer his mediation in case any differences arose, and take up arms against either of the parties who should refuse his arbitration.

While the Emperor was absent from Spain, there happened a rebellion in that kingdom, which the French King looked upon as a favourable opportunity to attack his territories on that side; therefore he first assisted the deposed King of Navarre to recover his country, and afterwards penetrated into Castile: but the regency of Spain having assembled their troops, defeated the French, and recovered Navarre again the same campaign it was lost. Another attempt the French King made against the territories of the Empire on the side of Luxemburg; not openly, but by giving LE MARK, Lord of Sedan, liberty to raise forces

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XXXIV.

1520.

France and  
the Empe-  
ror make  
their court  
to WOL-  
SEY.A war be-  
tween  
France  
and the  
Emperor.



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XXXIV.

in France, with which he attacked the Emperor's towns, upon pretence of some injustice that Prince had done him. The French King indeed disavowed what the Lord of Sedan had done; nor did he raise an army to support him. However, the Emperor being satisfied his Majesty was at the bottom of it, after he had ravaged the territories of that Lord, and razed his fortified towns to the ground, he entered the dominions of France, and took Tournay, and some other places; while the French on their side made themselves masters of Bouchain, Landrecy, and some other small towns: and thus a war was commenced between these two powers, which lasted many years, the King of England in vain offering his mediation.

The war was about the same time begun in Italy, where the Pope, the Emperor, the Duke of Tuscany, and other Princes, had entered into a confederacy to drive the French out of that country, and constitute FRANCIS SFORZA, the brother of MAXIMILIAN, Duke of Milan. The French, who had behaved themselves very insolently, made this no difficult matter to effect: the inhabitants of the Milanese were all ready to join them. The death of Pope LEO X, however put some stop to the operations of the war; but Cardinal ADRIAN, preceptor to the Emperor, being elected in his room, all things went on to the wish of the confederates. (The Emperor it seems had made a tool of WOLSEY, and never intended to advance him to the pontificate.) They marched towards Milan, and having made themselves masters of several places, that capital opened its gates and received FRANCIS SFORZA for her sovereign. Soon after the French being joined by the Venetians, and having received some other reinforcements, attacked the Imperialists and Italians, commanded by the Pope's General PROSPER COLONNA, at Bicoque, a palace and park of the Dukes of Milan, about a league from that city, surrounded by a wall and ditch. They were not able to force the Italian camp, but were repulsed and entirely defeated; whereupon Genoa and the whole Milanese revolted from the French, except the castles of Milan, Novara, Pisighitone, and Cremona. The Venetians also deserted the French interest, and made an alliance with the Emperor against all powers that should disturb the repose of Italy for the future; never expecting to see the French in Italy again so soon as they were, having so much business upon their hands on the side of the Pyrenees and Picardy; for the English the year before had declared war against them, and in pursuance of that declaration landed thirteen thousand men at Calais, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, who was to have been joined by a like number of Imperialists; but the latter not bringing more than five or six thousand men into the field, and throwing the whole charge of the war on that side upon the English, according to custom, no considerable action could be undertaken; whereupon the Duke contented himself with ravaging the country till he came within ten or eleven leagues of Paris, and then returned to England.

In the mean time the castle of Milan surrendered to the confederates, but the French King notwithstanding made great preparations for the invasion of that duchy, and was upon his march thither when he received advice that the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, being disgusted, was treating with his enemy the Emperor. He charged the Duke with it; but there being no direct proof

of the matter, he continued his march towards Lyons, where he was assured that the Constable was actually fled into Germany, and thereupon ordered the fortified towns belonging to that Duke to be seized, and his adherents apprehended: and not thinking it proper at such a juncture to leave the kingdom, he committed the care of the Italian expedition to the Admiral BONNIERET, who passed the Alps and recovered several places in the Milanese, taking up his winter-quarters in that country.

But the following spring 1524, the Swiss deserted his army, and the Imperialists, who were now commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, with the Venetians, Neapolitans, &c. having assembled their forces fell upon the French, and fairly beat them out of Italy again: after which the confederates passed the Alps, and besieged Marseilles; but having lain before that town forty days, and made little progress in the siege, their army being pretty much lessened by sickness, they raised the siege and returned into Italy, King FRANCIS following them close at the heels with an army of forty thousand men. Upon his appearance in the Milanese, the city of Milan itself, which always submitted to the strongest side for fear of being plundered, opened her gates to him; and the confederates not being in a condition to keep the field, the King laid siege to Pavia. The place was defended by a numerous garrison, and the besiegers were so incommoded with the rains and snows, that they had not much advanced their works in two months they had lain before it. In the mean time the Imperialists having received large reinforcements from Germany, attacked the King in his camp on St MATTHIAS's day, 1524-5, and after a brave resistance, entirely defeated his army and took him prisoner. It is computed that there were eight or nine thousand of the French killed upon the spot, and of the Germans scarce so many hundred. The loss of this battle was followed by that of all the Milanese.

The King of England upon this occasion shewed himself a Prince of great honour: he had assembled an army to invade France on the side of Picardy, and hearing of the distress that the French were reduced to upon the imprisonment of their King, he declared to the Regency of France that he would not proceed in the enterprise, or give them any disturbance: whereas nothing is so common as to see Princes taking advantages of the misfortunes of their neighbours. But one great inducement to this conduct no doubt was, an apprehension that the Emperor would soon become too powerful for all the Princes in Europe, if he did not change hands: he entered into a defensive alliance therefore with France, and engaged to procure the liberty of King FRANCIS upon reasonable terms.

In the mean time the Emperor had caused his royal prisoner to be brought from Italy to Madrid, where after about a year's confinement a treaty was made between them. The King to obtain his liberty yielded up the duchy of Burgundy, renounced his pretensions to Naples, Milan, and Genoa, and all sovereign jurisdiction over the countries of Flanders and Artois, and all other demesns in the possession of the Emperor; and a marriage was at the same time concluded between the King and ELEANOR Queen dowager of Portugal, the Emperor's sister. About a month after the King was permitted to return to France, leaving his two sons, FRANCIS the Dauphin, and HENRY Duke of Orleans as hostages for the performance of the articles. Being required to put the

The Milanese revolt from the French.

The French King defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia.

The English make an irruption into Picardy.

The French invade the Milanese.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

A confederacy against the Emperor.

1527.  
Rome taken by storm by the Imperial Generals.

The war carried into Naples.

1528.

Peace between France and the Emperor.

Emperor into the possession of the duchy of Burgundy soon after; the States of the kingdom represented to him, that he could not alienate the demesns of the crown without their consent, and therefore that part of the treaty was void. This occasioned a rupture with the Emperor, whereupon King FRANCIS entered into an alliance with the English, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, and the Pope, for preserving the liberty of Italy, and restoring the duchy of Milan to FRANCIS SFORZA.

The Duke of Bourbon, the Imperial General, having notice of this league, marched directly to Rome, partly to be revenged on the Pope, and partly to satisfy his forces with the plunder of that city, having received no money to pay them for a considerable time. He demanded a passage for his forces thro' Rome, pretending he was marching towards Naples; and this being refused him, he ordered scaling-ladders to be brought to the walls, and as he was standing at the foot of one of them animating his men, he was wounded with a musket-ball, of which he died; whereupon the Prince of Orange took upon him the command of the Imperial army, and carried the city by storm, committing greater outrages there, if we may credit the French writers, than ever the barbarous nations were guilty of when they made themselves masters of it. The Pope having retired into the castle of St ANGELO, was besieged there; but the Imperial Generals finding, that the French and the rest of the confederates were marching to his relief, agreed to raise the siege, on condition he would advance them four hundred thousand ducats, and yield up some places to the Emperor, which belonged to the Ecclesiastical State. The confederates, on the other hand, having made themselves masters of great part of the Milanese, marched afterwards into the kingdom of Naples, and laid siege to the capital city, which induced the Imperialists to abandon Rome, in order to prevent another revolution in that kingdom.

The city of Naples being blocked up by the Genoese fleet by sea, and invested on all sides by the confederates by land, was reduced to great extremity for want of provisions. The plague also carried off great numbers of the garrison as well as inhabitants; but the condition of the besiegers was not at all better. Of six and twenty thousand men that first invested the place, there were not six thousand left; and, to compleat their misfortune, ANDREW DORIA, Commander of the Genoese fleet, went over to the Imperialists, and gave them an opportunity of supplying the place with forces and provisions; whereupon the confederates found themselves obliged to raise the siege. The Prince of Orange pursued them to Aversa, and having invested the place, they were glad to accept of such conditions as he was pleased to grant them. The French officers and soldiers had leave to return to France, leaving all their arms, standards, and colours behind them. The Swiss were allowed to go home; and the Italians obliged themselves not to serve against the Emperor for six months; and their General, the Marquis of Saluzzo, agreed to do all that was in his power to oblige the Governors of towns in possession of the allies to surrender to the Imperialists, for the performance whereof he remained a prisoner amongst them.

The following year a peace was concluded between the Emperor and France, by the mediation of the Queen Dowager of France, and MARGARET

of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands, whereby the Emperor desisted from his pretensions on the duchy of Burgundy, and the French King obliged himself to pay the Emperor two millions of crowns, as a ransom for the two Princes his sons. He promised also to withdraw the forces he had still remaining in Italy, and renounce all sovereignty over Flanders, Artois, &c. The treaty of marriage also was confirmed between King FRANCIS and the Emperor's eldest sister the Queen of Portugal. The Pope had already made a separate Peace with the Emperor; and the Venetians obtained one on condition of delivering up the towns they were possessed of in the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor consented to grant the investiture of the duchy of Milan to Duke SFORZA, upon condition he would let him put a garrison in the castle of that capital, and in the city of Cosmo. As to the Republick of Florence, the Emperor besieged, and took their capital city, and obliged them to accept ALEXANDER de Medicis for their Sovereign, whom they had driven away.

The French King being now in peace with all his neighbours, solemnized his marriage with the Queen of Portugal. He afterwards applied himself to remedy such disorders in the state, as the long war had occasioned, and gave great encouragement to arts and sciences, whereby he obtained the title of the Restorer of Learning in France. And in the year 1532, he caused the duchy of Britany to be formally united to the crown of France. He proposed also the modelling his militia, after the pattern of the ancient Romans, by forming them into legions or bodies of men, consisting of six thousand each; Normandy, Britany, Picardy, and Burgundy, were each of them to furnish one, to be called by their respective names, and so the rest of the provinces in proportion to their extent; and this he began to execute about the year 1533. In the mean time, the Protestant or Lutheran Princes of Germany, finding themselves in danger of being crushed by the Emperor, who had published a decree, that no other religion should be tolerated in the Empire but the Catholick, applied themselves to the French King for his protection: and he accordingly entered into a defensive alliance with them, not with an intent to support the Protestant religion, for he was a zealous Catholick, and had executed several for heresy in his own kingdom, but in order to break the Emperor's power, and render him less terrible to himself and the rest of the powers of Europe, who were apprehensive that CHARLES the Fifth aimed at nothing less than universal monarchy. This confederacy of the Protestant Princes being entered into at the town of Smalcald in Germany, obtained the name of the Smalcaldick League. The Emperor finding so formidable an alliance of the German Princes formed against him, supported by the King of France, and the Turks threatening to fall upon him at the same time with an army of three hundred thousand men, begun to use the Protestants more mildly than he had done, and notwithstanding the decree he had published at the conclusion of the Dyet of Augsbuurg, prohibiting the exercise of any other religion than the Catholick, he granted the Protestants liberty of conscience till a General Council should be assembled to settle the points in dispute; and these temporary indulgences obtained the name of Interims, as all things were to remain in the same state they were in the mean time.

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The Emperor subdues the Republick of Florence. 1530.

1531.

1532.

1533. France enters into an alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany.

The Smalcaldick League.

The



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XXXIV.The King  
of Eng-  
land  
throws off  
the Pope's  
supre-  
macy.

The King of England, HENRY VIII, having been disgusted also on account of the opposition the Emperor made to his separation from Queen KATHERINE, who was the Emperor's aunt, had engaged to support the Protestant Princes of Germany; and that Prince being afterwards excommunicated by the Pope, on his marriage with ANNE BULLEN, threw off the Pope's supremacy, and stiled himself Head of the Church of England. The French King, their writers inform us, did all that lay in his power to prevent matters being brought to this extremity, by applying himself first to King HENRY, and then to the Pope: but things were carried with that violence in both courts, that his mediation was to no purpose, tho' there were at this time a very great intimacy between the French King and the Pope, on account of his Holiness's niece KATHERINE de Medicis marrying the King's second son, HENRY Duke of Orleans, to solemnize which, the Pope made a journey into France on purpose. One of the articles of this marriage was, that the Pope should assist the French King in making his son the Duke of Orleans Duke of Milan; but the Pope dying the next year, anno 1534, this part of the treaty was never executed.

1534.

War in  
Italy be-  
tween  
France  
and the  
Emperor.  
1535.

In the year 1535, the war broke out again between France and the Emperor. FRANCIS SPORZA Duke of Milan, happening to die about this time, the French King resumed his claim to the Milanese, alledging, that on the death of SPORZA without issue, it reverted to him: but being conscious that the Emperor would oppose his pretensions, he waited till he found that Prince engaged in an expedition to Africa against the infidels; and that he might be able to make good his retreat, in case of a misfortune, he found some pretence of falling out with the Duke of Savoy, and seized upon his capital city of Turin, and most of his other towns, quartering his army in that country. But the Emperor being returned from his expedition to Tunis, marched with an army into Piedmont, and obliged the French to quit all the Duke of Savoy's towns, except Turin. He afterwards passed the Alps, and entered Provence, where he found all the country wasted by the French, that they might meet with no subsistence for their troops; the Emperor however possessed himself of Aix, and afterwards laid siege to Marseilles; but his army was so weakened by sickness and famine, that he was obliged to return on a sudden into Italy. The French relate, that of fifty thousand men with which he invaded Provence, he had scarce five and twenty thousand left when he came to Genoa. The Imperialists met with no better success on the side of Picardy, where they laid siege to Peronne, but were forced to raise it by the brave defence the garrison made. In the mean time the French follow the Imperialists into Italy, where there were perpetual skirmishes between them during the winter. JAMES the Fifth of Scotland, it seems, was so zealous in serving the French King in this war, that, of his own accord, he raised an army of sixteen thousand men, and transported them to Provence, which gave the French that superiority over the Emperor, as to oblige him to return to Italy. In gratitude to the King of Scots therefore, he gave him his daughter MAGDALEN in marriage, which created a misunderstanding between the Kings of England and France; the Scots being the constant and avowed enemies of the English nation.

1536.

The French King at his return to Paris, had the vanity to summon the Emperor as his vassal before the court of Peers, to do homage for Artois and Flanders, pretending that the cessions he had made of all homage and service from the Emperor at the treaty of Cambray, were void, by that Prince's having invaded France on the side of Provence; and upon the Emperor's not appearing, that court declared him guilty of rebellion and treason against his sovereign Lord the King of France, and deprived him judicially of the provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois, which the Emperor and the rest of the Princes of Europe laughed at very heartily.

The French, also to shew their resentment against the Emperor, entered into an alliance with the Grand Seigneur, whereby it was agreed, that the Turks should invade the kingdom of Naples, while the King of France attacked the Milanese; and accordingly BARBAROSSA the Turkish Admiral, made a descent near Otranto, burnt and plundered the country of Apulia, and carried off captives without number. But the French did not perform their part of the treaty; the Imperialists found them so much business on the side of the Netherlands, that it was as much as they could do to maintain themselves in Piedmont; they were not able to penetrate into the Milanese, and a truce was concluded between France and the Emperor the following winter, by the mediation of the Pope, who gave both parties a meeting at the city of Nice, in order to settle the articles.

During the continuance of this truce, there being an insurrection in the Netherlands, the Emperor desired leave to come through France to Flanders, for he was at that time in Spain; which the French King consented to, and received him suitable to his dignity on his arrival at Paris. There seemed to be a perfect reconciliation between the two Princes; and the Emperor promised to grant the investiture of the Milanese to one of the sons of France, if we may credit their historians; tho' the Emperor, when he was put in mind of it on his arrival in Flanders, declared, he never made any such promise. This, and the murdering one of the French Envoys in the Milanese, who was going to the Ottoman Port, occasioned a misunderstanding between these two powers again, tho' the French did not think fit to break the truce till they found the Emperor engaged in another expedition to Africa; in which he lost a very great fleet and army, and was obliged to return to Spain without effecting any thing.

The following year, 1542, the French King declared war against the Emperor, on account of the murder of his Envoy, and for some other reasons; and having raised two great armies, sent one to the confines of Spain, and the other to the Low-Countries. The latter penetrated Luxemburg, and reduced several considerable towns; but the other army having besieged Perpignan three months, was forced to rise from before it, and return home, after they had lost a great many men.

The next campaign the French, as usual, took some places on the side of Flanders and Luxemburg before the Emperor's forces came into the field, but lost most of them again before the end of the summer; and the Emperor at the same time fell upon their ally the Duke of Cleve, and the rest of the German Princes, who were in a confederacy against him, and forced them to submit to very hard conditions. The King of England also entered into an alliance with the Em-

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XXXIV.The  
French  
King sum-  
mons the  
Emperor  
before him  
as his vas-  
sal.He enters  
into an al-  
liance  
with the  
Turk.

1537.

1539.  
The Em-  
peror  
comes to  
Paris.

1541.

1542.  
War be-  
tween the  
French  
and the  
Emperor.

1543.

The Eng-  
lish declare  
against  
France.



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peror, being provoked to it by the French King's sending over forces into Scotland, and opposing him in the match he had proposed between his son EDWARD, and the young Queen of Scots, whereby HARRY VIII hoped to have united the two kingdoms. In pursuance of this treaty, ten thousand English were soon after sent over to the assistance of the Emperor in the Netherlands.

The French King finding himself hard pressed on all sides, united his forces with the Turks, and laid siege to Nice, while BARBAROSSA the Turkish Admiral blocked it up by sea. He did not succeed in his enterprize however, being forced to raise the siege of the castle, after he had made himself master of the town: and this confederacy with the Turks rendered the French extremely odious to all the Princes in Europe; tho' now 'tis become a common practice, when any power is at war with the Emperor, to bring the Grand Seignior upon his back by way of diversion.

1544.

The French were very successful in Piedmont in the year 1544, where they gave the forces of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy a very signal defeat, but could not make any great advantage of their victory, being forced to withdraw part of their army to the frontiers of Picardy, where the Imperialists and English were drawing together an army of fourscore thousand men, giving out, that they intended to march directly to Paris. The Imperialists however, not being ready to take the field so soon as the English, King HARRY laid siege to the cities of Bologne and Montreuil, and the Emperor retook Luxemburg and some other towns, which the French had possessed themselves of in that duchy. These sieges took up so much of their time, that their grand design of carrying the war into the heart of France became impracticable. The King of England took Bologne, after a siege of three months; but could not make himself master of Montreuil, and the winter approaching, he left a garrison in Bologne, and returned to England. A treaty was soon after set on foot between the Emperor and France, whereby it was agreed, that the French King's second son the Duke of Orleans, should marry either MARY of Austria the Emperor's eldest daughter, or the second daughter of the King of the Romans; and that upon his marriage, he should be invested either in the Milanese, or the Netherlands, with the counties of Burgundy, and Charolois, at the election of the Emperor: but the Duke of Orleans dying a few months afterwards, this part of the treaty was never executed.

The English and Imperialists invade France.

Bologne taken by the English.

1545.

The following year, 1545, was most remarkable for a terrible execution committed in France on account of religion; the zealous King FRANCIS had before burnt several of his subjects for adhering to the doctrines of the Reformed; but in pursuance of a decree made five years before, by the President of Provence, he was still guilty of greater cruelties, ordering a detachment of his army, to burn the city of Cabrieres down to the ground; together with the large town of Merindol, and several other towns and villages; to burn the master of every family at the stake, and plunder all their goods, leaving their wives and children to starve. In which execution the soldiers committed the most unheard of barbarities, on pretence that the inhabitants were infected with what the Pope was pleased to call heresy. So early were the French Princes remarkable for their inhuman persecuting spirit.

Several towns destroyed with the inhabitants on account of religion.

The French King, after he had made peace

with the Emperor, bent all his forces against England, being determined to recover Bologne and Calais from them, and drive them from the Continent. But as this was impracticable, till he could make himself master at sea, he first fitted out a fleet of two or three hundred sail, which stood over to the coast of England, where they met with the royal navy of that kingdom. The Commanders on both sides were so prudent, that after firing upon one another at a distance for some time, they thought fit to part without coming to a close engagement. The French afterwards plundered some villages in the Isle of Wight; and the English returned their visit, and ravaged Normandy. There were several skirmishes also between the armies at land in the neighbourhood of Calais and Bologne; but nothing decisive happened either this or the following year: and the Council of Trent being assembled about this time, where the King of England was apprehensive something might be decreed against him to his prejudice, began to listen to the offers of peace that were made him by France, and a treaty was set on foot accordingly; wherein it was agreed, that upon the French King's paying eight hundred thousand crowns to the King of England, or so much as the war and the fortifications of Bologne had cost him, within the space of eight years, that city should be resigned up to France. And thus a peace was again established between these two Princes a very little before their deaths, King HARRY dying in January following, and the French King on the last day of March, 1547, being succeeded by his son HENRY.

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1546.

The Kings of England and France make peace, and die soon after.

1547.

HENRY II, son of FRANCIS I, ascended the throne on the thirty-first of March, 1547, being that day nine and twenty years of age. He discharged most of the officers of state at his accession, and brought the famous Constable MONTMORENCY, (who had been in disgrace, and banished from court in the late reign) and FRANCIS Duke of Aumale, afterwards Duke of Guise, into the administration.

HENRY II.

He expected every day to have his dominions invaded by the Emperor CHARLES V, who was now grown very formidable, having entirely defeated the Protestant Princes of Germany that formed the Smalcaldick League at the battle of Mulberg, and taken two of their Chiefs prisoners, namely, FREDERICK Elector of Saxony, and PHILIP Landgrave of Hesse, with whom the French were in confederacy. But the Emperor being engaged in settling his affairs in Germany, the King found himself at leisure to defeat the designs of the English, who were about to marry their young King EDWARD the Sixth to the infant Queen of Scotland, MARY STUART, by forming a party among the Scots, and sending over troops to their assistance, he procured the negotiation with England to be broke off, and the young Queen brought over to France, in order to be married to the Dauphin; whereby he again prevented a union between the two kingdoms.

The Emperor obtains a victory over the Protestant Princes.

The next thing he undertook was to discourage all innovations in religion: accordingly he revived his father's severe edicts against the reformers; for tho' he assisted the Protestant Princes in Germany against the Emperor, it was not out of any opinion he had of their principles, but purely upon a political account.

In the year 1548, he visited all his frontier towns, especially on the side of Flanders and Germany, and put them in a posture of defence. In the

1548.



CHAP. XXXIV. the mean time an insurrection happened in Guienne, on account of the excessive duties on salt; several of the King's officers were killed, and among the rest the Governor of the castle of Bourdeaux: but some troops being sent against them, they were soon reduced, and severe examples made of the ring-leaders of them.

1549. The English court being in great distraction, the King looked upon this as a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of the Bolognois; but he first transported a body of troops to Scotland, to join his party there, and make a diversion, and then attacked the forts about Bologne, which he easily carried, the English having no army in the field. However, when he came before the town itself, he found it to be so strong, that he contented himself with blocking it up. But the dissensions increasing in the English court, which made it impracticable to send any relief to Bologne, the English Ministry entered into a treaty with the French, and agreed to deliver up the place on the payment of four hundred thousand crowns of the value of a noble each; and a peace was concluded thereupon between the two nations, in which Scotland was included.

1550. Bologne yielded to France.

The following year hostilities were renewed in Italy between the French and Imperialists, on account of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, the right to which was contested by the Emperor with the family of Farnese, who apprehending they should be overpowered, called in the French to their assistance.

1551. The war being thus begun between France and the Empire, the German Princes, who were disgusted by the Emperor's haughty behaviour since his victory at Mulberg, and his establishing the Catholick religion in several Protestant towns, proposed to enter into an alliance again with the French King. Even MAURICE, whom the Emperor had made Elector of Saxony, in the room of JOHN-FREDERICK, that was taken prisoner at Mulberg, and JOACHIM Elector of Brandenburg, who had till now been in the Emperor's interest, were among the number. The King by this treaty engaged to maintain the liberties of Germany; to raise two great armies, and make himself master of the Imperial towns of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and to furnish the German Princes with very great sums towards the charges of the war. By the same treaty, MAURICE, Elector of Saxony, was declared Head of the league of the German Princes, and General of the army to be formed of their troops, who published a manifesto declaring the motives of their entering into this war, viz. The security of the Protestant religion, the defence of the liberties of Germany, and the deliverance of PHILIP Landgrave of Hesse, his father-in-law.

1552.

An alliance between France and the Protestant Princes of Germany.

The French possess themselves of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

The French King was very ready to execute that part of the agreement which obliged him to attack Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and accordingly marched an army immediately into Lorraine, and made himself master of those towns, and indeed of the whole country of Lorraine. In the mean time, the Elector of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg, having assembled their troops, were very near surprizing the Emperor at Inspruck; but he fled from thence with the utmost precipitation, when he heard of their approach, not being in a condition to oppose them. They advanced however, and plundered the town, together with the Emperor's baggage, and put the Council of Trent in such a fright, that the Cardinals and

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Ecclesiasticks, who composed it, thought fit to break up their session, and were adjourned to another place.

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The invasion of the French, and the progress of the confederate Princes, had such an effect also on the Emperor, that he consented to a treaty with them at Passau; wherein it was stipulated, that he should release the Prince of Hesse; assemble a Dyet of the Empire within six months, and redress their grievances: that in the mean time liberty of conscience should be allowed, and that those of the Augsbourg confession should sit in the Imperial chamber, from whence they had been excluded.

The treaty of Passau.

The Emperor was now at leisure to take his revenge of the French, and accordingly ordered his armies to ravage their country on all sides, while, with the greatest part of his forces, he invested Metz; but as he did not open the trenches before that place till November, and it proved a very severe winter, he lost a fine army by the rigour of the season, and was forced to raise the siege at last. He met with the like ill success in Italy, and in every place where the war was carried on between him and France this year, which he looked upon as the most unfortunate of his life, and occasioned his saying, That fortune was a friend to young people; meaning chiefly the French King, who was successful against him every where.

The Emperor unsuccessful in his wars with France.

The following year, the Emperor took Terouen and Hedin in the Low-Countries, and razed them to the ground. On the other hand, the French fleet, in conjunction with that of the Turks, ravaged the coast of Calabria, and made a descent on the island of Corsica, maintaining themselves in the southern part of it for several years; and in other places, the war was carried on with various success. In the mean time, EDWARD the Sixth King of England, being taken dangerously ill, the French King sent an Embassy thither with a compliment: but the real design of it was to prevent the Princess MARY's ascending the throne, because the Emperor, had proposed a marriage between her and his son PHILIP, which would probably bring England into an alliance against him. The French writers therefore suggest, that it was their King who influenced EDWARD the Sixth to exclude her, and settle the crown upon JANE GREY. But whatever share that Prince might have in it, we are very well satisfied, that religion and private interest were the principal inducements to the English Ministry, for setting the Princess MARY aside. And notwithstanding this settlement, we find she succeeded against her rival JANE GREY, and married King PHILIP afterwards, which brought England to be a party in the war against France.

1553.

An obstinate battle was fought the next year between the Imperialists and the French near Renti, in the Netherlands, where both sides claimed the victory; but it seems to have been a drawn battle. A more decisive action happened near Marciano in Tuscany, where the French were routed, and beaten out of several places they possessed in that duchy, by the Imperialists.

1554. The battle of Renti.

What rendered the succeeding year most remarkable was, CHARLES the Fifth's resignation of the Empire and all his other dominions, and retiring to a cloyster. He surrendered Spain, Naples, Milan, the Low-Countries, and Burgundy, to his son PHILIP at Brussels, and the Empire to his brother FERDINAND King of the Romans. After which he sailed to Biscay in Spain, from

CHARLES V resigns the Empire, &c. and retires into a monastery.

15 X

whence



whence he went to the monastery of Just, where he lived two years, employing himself in works of piety and devotion. About the same time, a truce was concluded between the French and Imperialists, by which it was agreed, each party should keep what they were in possession of.

1556.

This truce was broken the year following on the Pope's account; he was a mortal enemy to the house of Austria, and under some pretence of some insults he had received from the Viceroy of Naples, he invited the French to come into Italy to his assistance; giving them hopes, that both Milan and Naples would now become an easy conquest. The French immediately sent two of their Generals with a good body of troops to Rome to defend his Holiness, who were followed by the Duke of Guise, and an army of between twenty and thirty thousand men the next spring. The French recovered some of the Pope's towns, that had been taken by the Spaniards, and offered the Duke of Alva the Spanish General battle; but he finding the country as fatal to the French, as it had been in former enterprises, and that their army would soon be destroyed by sickness, declined fighting till the French were reduced to such a condition, as to think of nothing else but of making good their retreat over the Alps again.

The French send an army into Italy again.

1557.

The French defeated at St Quintin.

In the mean time, the French army in the Low-Countries was routed near St Quintin, which event alone would have obliged their countrymen to have abandoned Italy, if no other misfortune had happened to them. The Pope, upon the French General's deserting him, was obliged to beg a peace of the Spaniards, which was granted him upon much better terms than he could have expected, considering the provocations he had given them. But to be a little more particular as to the war in the Low-Countries: The French tell us, that when they made that great detachment to Italy, they did not imagine the enemy would have been so numerous in Flanders; they were surprized at the Queen of England's declaring war against them at this time, presuming, that as King PHILIP was neither beloved nor esteemed by the English, they would have left him to end his quarrels with France by himself. But on the contrary, about the end of July, they saw the Spanish army commanded by EMANUEL PHILIBERT Duke of Savoy, amounting to upwards of fifty thousand men, joined by twelve thousand English, set down before St Quintin, which being a place of importance, they endeavoured to throw a supply of forces and provisions into the town; and, contrary to their intentions, this brought on a general battle, in which they were totally routed, their General the Constable MONTMORENCY, and a great number of their Nobility taken prisoners. Upon this misfortune, the Duke of Guise was immediately sent for out of Italy, and declared Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This gentleman, to raise the spirits of the people, and establish his own reputation, took the field in the depth of winter, and disguising his intention by several marches and countermarches, sat down before Calais, which having but a small garrison, and very ill provided with necessaries, (the English not expecting a visit so soon after the loss the French had sustained at St Quintin) the garrison was obliged to capitulate in eight days, and had no better terms allowed them than of being transported to England, except the Governor and fifty more, who were to re-

1558. Calais taken by the French.

main prisoners of war. Thus was this place lost, which was once deemed impregnable, after the English had been in possession of it two hundred years and upwards. It is impossible, say the French historians, to express the joy which this glorious conquest caused throughout the kingdom, and the surprize all the courts of Europe were in to see it effected at a time when France was thought to be at it's last gasp. The King looked upon it to be so considerable, that he soon after made a kind of triumphant entry into Calais; and as this place rendered the English masters of both sides the channel, the loss of it was extremely regretted by that nation.

While the French were engaged in the enterprise against Calais, Guisnes, and Hammes, and the other little forts about it, the Scots their faithful allies, made an incursion into England, in order to give a diversion on that side; and the April following, MARY STUART Queen of Scotland was married to FRANCIS the Dauphin, which proved a considerable advantage to the house of Guise, she being a niece of that Duke. It was about this time, that that fatal emulation began between the families of Montmorency and Guise, which occasioned infinite distractions in the kingdom. The change of religion also contributed to these intestine divisions: the Duke of Guise was esteemed the head of the Papists, and the Constable and the Admiral COLIGNI the support of the Protestants; but both the Constable and the Admiral having been made prisoners at the battle of St Quintin, the Guises had now the administration almost entirely in their hands. They took this opportunity of charging Monsieur DANDELOR the Admiral's brother, who was General of the infantry, with speaking irreverently of the Mass, and procured an order from the King to commit him to prison. About this time, the French laid siege to Thionville in Luxemburg, and took it; while Marshal de Tormes, Governor of Calais, with another part of the army, surprized Dunkirk; but he was attacked by Count EGEMONT Governor of Flanders, in his retreat near the mouth of the river Aa, on the third of July, and routed, Marshal de Tormes himself being made prisoner. The French ascribe the loss of this battle to a squadron of English ships, which lay at that time in the mouth of the river, and cannonaded the French while they were engaged with the Spaniards.

The factions of Guise and Montmorency.

This ill success of the French induced them to think of peace, tho' their writers impute it to another motive; they relate, that the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine his brother, looking upon their interest at court to be so well established as to need no support, treated the King's mistress, the Duchess of Valentinois, with great insolence; whereupon she prevailed upon his Majesty to send orders to the Constable MONTMORENCY, who was then a prisoner in Flanders, to make proposals of peace to the Spaniard, to the end that the Constable might return home, and assist her against the power of the Guises. She applied herself also to the Duke of Savoy, who was General of the armies of Spain, to influence that court to enter into a treaty, assuring him, that his dominions in Savoy and Piedmont should be restored him if he could effect it. But I find there was little occasion for all this artifice to bring about a peace, for King PHILIP having just buried his father the Emperor, and his wife the Queen of England, and being about to return to Spain, was very desirous



CHAP.  
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XXXIV.A peace  
between  
France,  
Spain, and  
England,  
1559.

siours to leave his dominions in the Low-Countries and Italy in peace; and the French court, as has been intimated, having the worst in the war, could not be averse to pacifick measures. But however the matter was brought about, Chateau-Cambresis was agreed on for the place of treaty the following year, where Queen ELIZABETH of England was to have her plenipotentiaries, as well as France and Spain; notwithstanding the French had encouraged MARY Queen of Scots, the wife of the Dauphin, to take upon her the title and arms of the Queen of England: to retaliate which affront, and to strengthen her interest, Queen ELIZABETH entered into an alliance with the Protestant Lords in Scotland, and had thereby a greater influence on the affairs of that nation during her reign, than their own Queen. But to return to their treaty: It was at length agreed, that the French should remain in possession of Calais for eight years, at the end of which term, they should either restore it, or pay five hundred thousand crowns to England: that the places taken either by the French or Spaniards should be reciprocally restored, only the French were to remain in possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun: the Duke of Savoy was to be put into the possession of his country, except Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, Chivos, and Villeneuve, which the French King was to retain till some pretensions he had to the dominions of Savoy, in the right of LOUISA of Savoy, mother of FRANCIS the First, were examined: and in the mean time the King of Spain was to keep garrisons in Verceil and Asti. This peace occasioned some murmurings against the Constable, because the French had taken a great many more towns during the war, than the Spaniards had taken from them; it was even computed, that the French hereby surrendered up no less than two hundred towns and fortresses: to which the Constable and his friends replied, that these two hundred fortresses were most of them little castles belonging to the Lords of towns and villages, which had been seized in order to protect the country against the enemy's parties during the war; and that Calais and the towns of Picardy which were restored to France, were an ample equivalent for them, especially if it were considered that France was to remain in possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their dependencies, which were a noble augmentation to the kingdom, and covered it on the side of Champagne, much the weakest frontier they had: that the kingdom also received an inconceivable advantage by removing the English to the other side of the water, who had been a thorn in their sides for several hundred years past. For whatever they had stipulated concerning the restoring of Calais at eight years end, it is evident they never intended it: nor were the English ministry so weak as to expect they should; but the Queen had so many difficulties to struggle with at her accession, on account of religion, that they were in no condition to continue the war, and only got that clause inserted to satisfy the populace, who were as zealous at that time for the recovery of Calais, as we are at present for retaining Gibraltar and the island of Minorca.

There were two marriages solemnized at the French court afterwards, which were intended to cement this peace, viz. one between the King of Spain and the Princess ELIZABETH, the French King's daughter: and the other between the Duke of Savoy and the Princess MARGARET, the

King's sister. Among other shews and diversions on this occasion the King ordered a tournament to last three days: the King was the first challenger, and with the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Nemours and the Prince of Ferrara, engaged all that came the first day with abundance of applause. He was equally successful the second, being the thirtieth of June, till about the close of the evening, when they were about to give over, he proposed to break another lance with the Earl of Montgomery, Captain of the Scots guards. The Queen, as if she had some foresight of the misfortune that was to happen to him, begged of him herself, and employed her friends to dissuade him from tilting any more; but he could not be prevailed upon: he entered the lists with the Earl, they ran with all their force against each other, broke their lances, and a splinter of the Earl's pierced the King's eye through the visor of his helmet: the blood gushed from the wound in such quantities, that no body doubted it's being mortal, and in a few days his Majesty's life was declared to be in danger. However, he ordered that the Duke of Savoy's wedding with his sister should be solemnized in his chamber the ninth of July, and died the next day, being eleven days after he received the wound, in the forty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, leaving four sons behind him, namely, FRANCIS II, who immediately succeeded him, CHARLES, HENRY, and FRANCIS; and three daughters, viz. ELIZABETH, Queen of Spain; CLAUDE, Duchess of Lorraine; and MARGARET.

FRANCIS the Second was in the seventeenth year of his age at his father's death: a Prince, says my author, weak both in body and mind, and by no means qualified to bear the weight of the government in his own person. There were three factions therefore that endeavoured to get the administration of affairs into their hands, namely, the house of Guise, that of the Constable MONTMORENCY, and that of the Princes of the blood. But the Queen-mother CATHERINE DE MEDICIS adhering to the Guises, that party carried all before them. Whereupon the Constable was obliged to retire from court, and live privately: ANTHONY DE BOURBON King of Navarre, first Prince of the blood, and the Prince of Condé his brother, were likewise in a manner banished: the Admiral COLIGNI, and DANDELOT, relations to the Constable, also were frowned upon. These gentlemen therefore, and many other persons of distinction, soon began to form a conspiracy against the court: and observing that the Reformed Religion began to spread all over the kingdom, and that those who professed it had been cruelly persecuted in the late reign, chiefly by the incitement of the Guises, and were on that account sufficiently enraged against them, they proposed to unite their interest with the Protestants, which would in all probability render their party very numerous and formidable, and they had all the reason in the world to believe they should be supported by the Queen of England, and the Protestant Princes of Germany. The Prince of Condé, it was agreed, should have the direction of the enterprize; but he was not to appear and avow it publicly till things were brought to a certain point. In pursuance of these resolutions, soldiers were lifted, and parties formed in every town and province of the kingdom. It was agreed they should all set out at a certain time, and march towards Blois, where the King was, in order to make themselves masters of the

The King  
of France  
killed at a  
tournament.Francis  
II, 1559.Factions  
in the  
French  
court.A confederacy  
against the  
court.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

the court. As soon as the soldiers of the several provinces were within reach of joining, a numerous company without arms was to go to Blois, to present a petition to the King for liberty of conscience; and as they expected the petition would be rejected, the soldiers were to appear in arms before the town, and oblige the King to declare the Prince of Condé Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

The male-  
contents  
defeated at  
Amboise.

The Guises having intelligence of the conspiracy that was forming against them, carried the King to the castle of Amboise, and assembled a good body of troops to oppose the designs of the malecontents, who did not give over the enterprize, notwithstanding they had all the reason in the world to believe they were discovered. They marched boldly towards Amboise, and were advanced pretty near it, when they fell into the ambuscades the Duke of Guise had laid for them, and were most of them killed or taken prisoners; many of the latter were immediately hanged up on the ramparts of the castle, and others thrown into the Loire and drowned; after which a pardon was published for all that would lay down their arms. Neither the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, the Constable, or the Coligni's, appeared in this insurrection; tho' the court was satisfied that some or all of them were at the bottom of it. However, it was thought advisable not to search too far into the matter; and the Prince of Condé, who was at this time in the castle with the King, was permitted to retire and go to his brother the King of Navarre.

Treaty be-  
tween  
France  
and Eng-  
land in re-  
lation to  
Scotland.

As the Queen of Scotland was married to the French King, the court of France looked upon themselves to be equally concerned in defending that kingdom against the English as their own, and therefore sent over four thousand men to support the party that adhered to the Queen against the English; while the Queen of England on the other hand sent reinforcements to the Protestant Lords there, who appeared to be the prevailing faction. This induced the French to enter into a treaty with Queen ELIZABETH in relation to Scotland, wherein it was agreed, that the Protestants should have liberty of conscience in that kingdom; that the Queen of France and Scotland should not bear the arms of England; and that the French and English should each of them recall their troops from thence.

COLIGNI'S  
petition to  
the King  
in behalf  
of the  
Protestants

In the mean time an assembly of Lords, Prelates, and Lawyers was called by the French court to advise upon the present state of affairs, chiefly in relation to religion; but neither the King of Navarre, or the Prince of Condé, thought fit to appear in it, being apprehensive the court might confine them.

The Admiral COLIGNI here presented a petition to the King in behalf of the Reformed, telling his Majesty, that tho' it was not signed by any, there were fifty thousand in the province of Normandy only who were ready to sign it: and the King demanding the opinion of the assembly upon it, the Cardinal of Lorraine said, that the petition was seditious, foolish, scandalous, heretical, and impudent; and if there were fifty thousand factious people who would sign it, he would answer for a million of substantial persons in the kingdom who were ready to oppose their insolence. There were other very warm speeches made on the subject, and it was concluded at length to convene the States of the kingdom to deliberate on these matters.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The King  
of Na-  
varre and  
the Prince  
of Condé  
seized by  
the court.

This council or assembly was no sooner broke up, but the malecontents entered into another conspiracy against the government, or rather against the faction of the Guises: Lyons and several other cities were to have been surprized; but their designs were discovered and defeated. In the mean time the States of the kingdom were summoned to meet at Orleans; where the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé venturing to attend, were both seized by the King's order, and the Prince was tried and convicted of high-treason by a special commission, though he insisted that as a Prince of the blood he could only be tried in parliament by his peers. He had infallibly been executed, and probably the King of Navarre would have undergone the same fate, if the King of France had not in this very instant been taken dangerously ill; and as it was, the Guises pressed the Queen to hasten the execution: but her Majesty having an eye upon the regency in the future reign, and apprehending the readiest way to obtain it would be to make these two Princes her friends, she caused the execution to be suspended, and afterwards procured both of them their liberty, which was such an infinite obligation, that they could not oppose her taking the regency upon her at the King's death, that happened on the fifth of December 1560, after a reign of a year and half, which may with more propriety be stiled the reign of the Queen-mother and the Guises.

CHARLES  
IX.  
1560.

CHARLES the Ninth, brother to the deceased King, being ten years and six months old at his accession, the Queen-mother, CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, had the address to procure herself to be declared Regent again; she gave both parties hopes of joining with them, and by that means secured both of them in her interest.

This reign began with opening the assembly of the States, which had been convened in the last. Here the regency was confirmed to the Queen; the King of Navarre was constituted Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; the Constable Generalissimo of the forces, and the office of Treasurer or Super-intendant of the Finances was conferred on the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Debates  
on reli-  
gion in the  
assembly  
of the  
States.

As the States were assembled on account of religion, their debates run chiefly on that subject. The speaker of the third Estate inveighed vehemently against the irregularities and encroachments of the clergy: the speaker of the Nobility proposed the granting of churches to the Protestants; while the speaker of the Ecclesiastics on the other hand declared against all innovations in religion, and moved that whoever should petition for any indulgence to the hereticks, should be deemed a heretick himself, and be punished accordingly; for the Admiral COLIGNI, it seems, had preferred a petition to his Majesty just before in favour of the Protestants. This assembly broke up at last without coming to any resolution. The King granted a general pardon for all that was passed; and the business of religion was to be further treated of in the next meeting of the States, which was appointed to be held at Pontoise.

About this time the Constable forsook the Hugonot party, and was reconciled to the Guises by the management of the Marshal of St Andre; and these three having a great stroke in the administration, obtained the name of the Triumvirate.

Another petition being presented to the King in behalf of the Hugonots by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Coligni's, he referred it to the parliament of Paris, who was very



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.A conference  
between the  
Papists  
and Pro-  
testants.

1561.

very severe upon that persuasion. They declared it to be their opinion, that the magistrates ought to put the laws in execution against hereticks: that the cognizance of religious matters ought to be referred to the ecclesiastical courts, who were their mortal enemies; and that it should not be lawful to preach or administer the sacraments in any other manner than was observed in the court of Rome. Hereupon the Protestant Lords proposed a conference between their Doctors and the Catholics, which being granted by the Queen-mother, BEZA, and all the most celebrated fathers of the Reformation, came to the French court to assist at it. These conferences were opened on the ninth of September 1561, at the abbey of Poissy, in the presence of the King, Queen, the Princes, and a great number of Lords, and Prelates. The King having in a few words signified his desire to see them united in the business of religion, the Chancellor made a speech, which the Catholics did not at all approve of; and he was answered by the Cardinal DE TOURNON. Then BEZA was permitted to speak in behalf of the principles of the Reformed; and being a man of learning and eloquence, was heard with great patience, till he came near the conclusion of his harangue, where having repeated the profession of his faith agreeable to the Apostles Creed, and explained some articles of it according to CALVIN's doctrine, he took occasion to say, That the body of CHRIST was as far removed from the bread and wine in the sacrament, as heaven was from earth; it occasioned a general murmur, and the Cardinal DE TOURNON rose up and inveighed bitterly against the blasphemy, as he called it, desiring the King not to suffer himself to be imposed upon by these new Doctors, but order them to depart the kingdom immediately, where their presence served only to corrupt the people. BEZA pressed the King, on the other hand, to give him leave to reply to the Cardinal, but could not obtain it: however, he was permitted afterwards to have some private conferences with the Catholic Doctors, in order to prevent his publishing his reply. The Calvinists sent accounts of these conferences to their brethren all over Europe, which were much to their advantage: but this, says the Jesuit my author, was no more than was to be expected.

1562.

Soon after these conferences, the Guises and the Pope's Legate applied themselves to the King of Navarre, in order to draw him off from the Protestant interest. They assure us, that the disputes at Poissy had a considerable effect upon him; but are so ingenuous at the same time to acknowledge, that they tempted him to change sides by the hopes they gave him of procuring his dominions that were possessed by the Spaniards, to be restored him. They represented also, that he was despised even by the Hugonots themselves, while his younger brother the Prince of Condé was adored by that faction. And by these and other arguments of the like nature, they prevailed on him to declare for the Triumvirate, and consequently for the Papists. This alteration very much alarmed the Queen, who apprehended that party would now become so powerful, that she should in a manner be governed by them; whereupon she entered into a stricter union than ever with the Prince of Condé and the Colignies, and published an edict, whereby the Protestants were permitted to meet in the suburbs of towns, upon condition of restoring to the Catholics the churches they were possessed of in the towns themselves.

An edict in  
favour of  
the Prote-  
stants.

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This edict enraged the Popish party to the last degree; for abundance of Protestants, who till then had concealed their principles, declared themselves, and went in crowds to hear their preachers: the monks and nuns also, weary of their condition, left their cloisters, pretending they had a right to enjoy the benefit of this edict, as well as others: and several priests took wives, and were married at the Hugonot conventicles. These apostacies, as the Papists termed them, they apprehended were occasioned in a great measure by the countenance that was given them by the Prince of Condé at Paris, as well as by the edict. The Guises therefore, the King of Navarre, and their friends, agreed to raise forces, and drive the Prince from that city; but as the Duke of Guise was bringing up a party of men in pursuance of this resolution, and had quartered them at Vassi in Champagne, while he was at maffs there, some of his retinue went and disturbed an assembly of Protestants, who were met together in that town for religious worship, which occasioned a quarrel, wherein three or fourscore of the Protestants were killed, and the rest dispersed; the news of which massacre, as their friends called it, being brought to Paris, the Prince of Condé demanded satisfaction of the Queen; but the King of Navarre, the Constable, and the Duke of Guise, having assembled their troops, seized upon the King and Queen-mother, and brought them from Fontainebleau to Paris. The Queen, to her unspeakable grief, finding herself in the power of the Triumvirate, and in a manner divested of the regency, sent courier after courier to the Prince of Condé, (who was retired from Paris to muster his forces) to come and rescue the King and herself out of their hands; but tho' the Prince was not in a condition to effect this, he made himself master of Orleans, where he permitted his party to plunder the churches of their plate, to support the war; after which he published a manifesto, and dispersed it in all parts of the kingdom, and among the Protestant Princes of Germany, wherein he enlarges on the massacre of Vassi, and protests they had recourse to arms purely for their defence, and to deliver the King and Queen from the captivity in which they were detained; charging the Guises with being the authors of the war. The Lords and others who joined the Prince, swore obedience to him, as Lieutenant of the kingdom till the King came of age, and promised to stand by him in protecting the King, Queen, and kingdom, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. In the compass of a few weeks, a multitude of cities and towns submitted to his forces, of which the chief were Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Rochelle, Rouen, Diep, Havre de Grace, Bourges, Montauban, Montpelier, Nantz, Lyons, Grenoble, and Valence; and the Cevennes and Vivarez in general came over to them. The Guises on the other hand sent detachments of their forces into all the provinces, to preserve them in their interests; and with a body of their army, consisting of sixteen or seventeen thousand men, of which one half were Swiss, marched to attack the Prince of Condé, who not being yet joined by the Germans his confederates, shut himself up in Orleans with a good garrison, and put the rest of his forces into the towns of the greatest importance; whereupon Blois, and several other towns, were retaken by the Guises, and they determined to besiege the Prince in Orleans. But the Queen of England about this time sending forces into Normandy under the Earl of Warwick, to assist the Protestants on

The war  
breaks out  
between  
the Prote-  
stants and  
Papists.The Prince  
of Condé's  
success.

15 Y

that



CHAP.  
XXXIV.Rouen taken by the  
Papists, where the  
King of Navarre is  
killed.The battle  
of Dreux.The Duke  
of Guise  
killed at  
the siege of  
Orleans.A peace  
between  
the Prote-  
stants and  
Papists.

1563.

that side, and it being apprehended if the English once established themselves here it might be difficult to remove them, it was agreed in a council of war to lay siege to Rouen, which was defended by the Earl of Montgomery and two thousand English, besides the inhabitants who were formed into companies. The town however was taken and plundered, and Montgomery found means to retire to Havre de Grace. The King of Navarre was mortally wounded at this siege, and died soon after. The Prince of Condé receiving a reinforcement of six or seven thousand men from Germany about this time, left Orleans, and marched up to the gates of Paris, where he hoped there might be an insurrection in his favour in the absence of the Guises; he attacked the suburbs, but his friends in the town not being strong enough, durst not shew themselves. He determined therefore to march into Normandy, and join the English troops, but he had not marched far before he found the Constable and the Guises posted in his way, with eighteen or twenty thousand men, in order to prevent this conjunction; which occasioned a general battle near Dreux, in which the Marshal of St Andre was killed, and the Constable, who was General of the Catholics, taken prisoner on the one side, as the Prince of Condé, General of the Hugonots, was on the other; whereupon the Duke of Guise took upon him the command of the Popish army, as Admiral COLIGNI did the command of the Protestants. The engagement was very bloody, and both sides claimed the victory, but neither had any great reason to boast: certain it is, the Admiral marched afterwards to Orleans, whither he carried the Constable prisoner, without any interruption from the Duke of Guise. The Duke however receiving re-inforcements from several parts of the kingdom, found himself strong enough in a little time after to lay siege to Orleans; the taking of which city, he apprehended, would be a decisive blow, and carry with it the entire destruction of Calvinism; but while he lay before the place, and was upon the point of accomplishing his design, he was assassinated, being shot with a pistol by one POLTROT, a young gentleman of Angoumois, upon the eighteenth of February 1563-4, in the evening. His party were of opinion, that the assassin was employed by the Admiral. This death, says the Jesuit, my author, was an irreparable loss to religion and the state. The murderer was seized, and some time after executed at Paris; but I don't perceive he charged the Admiral, or any of the Protestants, with putting him upon it.

Upon the death of the Duke of Guise, both parties seemed inclined to peace, and a treaty was set on foot, wherein it was agreed, that the Protestants should be allowed to hold one congregation or meeting in every bailiwick, and one or two in each town they were masters of, but that they should not perform divine worship in churches; that the Protestant nobility and gentry, who had high jurisdiction in their demesnes, might perform divine service in their houses with their vassals, but that the Reformed should hold no meetings, or assemblies in Paris, or the neighbourhood of that city. The Prince of Condé had several reasons for accepting this peace, his principal enemy was dead, he was to obtain his liberty by it, and 'tis said he had some hopes given him of marrying the Queen of Scotland: And the Queen, on the other hand, being now out of danger of the Triumvirate, whom the war had taken off, proposed to have the whole

administration in her hands upon a peace, without controul.

This treaty was no sooner concluded, but the Generals on both sides, Protestants as well as Papists, agreed to unite their forces, and drive the English out of Normandy, for the Earl of Warwick still remained master of Havre de Grace, which had been put into the hands of Queen ELIZABETH by the Protestants, as a cautionary town, upon her advancing them a sum of money towards the charges of the war, and she was to remain in possession of it till the money was repaid, or Calais restored to England; but the Prince of Condé and his party having served their turn, and by the Queen's assistance obtained liberty of conscience, deserted her interest, and were as forward as the Papists in recovering that place from her; which they found very little difficulty in effecting, the garrison being very much diminished by the plague; and upon the surrender of the town they carried over the infection to London, where upwards of twenty thousand people died of the pestilence.

The following year a peace was concluded between France and England, wherein no mention was made of Calais, only it was provided that the rights of the Queen of England should not be affected thereby.

The year 1564 was great part of it taken up in a journey which the King and Queen-mother made through almost all the provinces of France. In North France, 'tis said, the court observed that the popish party was much stronger than that of the Hugonots; but in Lyonois, Dauphiné, and Languedoc, the Protestants were much more numerous than the Catholics. While the court were engaged in this progress, an edict passed which bore very hard upon the Protestants, and rendered several articles useless which had been stipulated in their favour at the last peace, of which the Prince of Condé complained. Another edict or ordinance passed about the same time, which fixed the commencement of the year in January, which before began at Easter, in France, and was a very great inconvenience, on account of the moveableness of that feast.

Upon the King's arrival at Bayonne, he was met there by the Queen of Spain and the Duke of Alva; and it was agreed between the two courts (at least the Protestants of all countries apprehended it so) to form an alliance for the extirpation of the Reformed Churches in France and the Low-Countries; and what renders this extremely probable is, the introducing the Inquisition into Flanders soon after, and the sending troops thither to dragoon them into Popery; in the last of which they were imitated by the French. The following year the King procured a reconciliation, in appearance at least, between the Duke of Guise and the Admiral COLIGNI; the latter declared upon oath, that he had no hand in the death of late Duke of Guise, his father; and the other declared himself content with this satisfaction. In Flanders there were nothing but tumults and insurrections at this time, on account of religion, and the invasion of their civil liberties by the King of Spain. The Duke of Alva marched thither from Italy with an army of veterans in the year 1566, where he beheaded the Counts EGMONT and HORN, who had been governors of the country, and done the King of Spain signal service at the battle of St Quintin, and on other occasions, but would not tamely part with their liberties;

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The Protestants assist  
in driving their  
friends the  
English out of  
Normandy.

1564.

1565.

1566.

An alliance between the  
French and Spaniards, for  
the extirpation of the  
Protestants at  
Bayonne.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.The civil  
war breaks  
out again  
in France.

liberties; the Prince of Orange was so wise as to retire into Germany, where he strengthened his party considerably.

The Prince of Condé in the mean time observing the Queen's partiality to the Popish party in France, and the proceedings of the Duke of Alva in Flanders, made no doubt but the extirpation of the Protestants had been agreed upon between them at Bayonne, of which he sent advice into Germany and England, and entered into an alliance with the Prince of Orange and the Calvinists of the Low-Countries, who were called Guex, or Beggars, on their presenting a petition to the court for the preservation of their religion and liberties, because some of the crowd appeared in a tattered condition, tho' it is certain most of the nobility and gentry of Flanders were in the interest of the Protestants, and nothing but a foreign force could ever have established Popery there. But to proceed: When the Prince of Condé saw the French court, tho' they were at peace with all the world, take a great body of Swiss into their service, he no longer made any doubt of their intention. In order to their defence therefore, the Prince and the Admiral assembled their friends, and advanced towards Monceaux, a pleasure-house in Brie, where the King then was, with a design, as their enemies gave out, to seize on the person of the King; but however that matter was, the Swiss were so much stronger than the Prince's party, that he did not think fit to attack them. The King was afterwards escorted by the Swiss to Paris, when several of the Hugonot parties appeared, and endeavoured to give some interruption to his march, but they did not come to an engagement.

1567.

A battle  
near Paris.

The Prince being afterwards considerably reinforced, possessed himself of Montereau, Lagni, and St Denis, and blocked up the city of Paris, not so closely however but the King's troops every day entered the town, and became at length superior to those of the Prince, whereupon it was resolved to give him battle. The Constable accordingly marched out with fourteen or fifteen thousand men, and attacked the Prince, who had posted himself so advantageously, that tho' his army did not consist of more than four or five thousand men (having detached great part of it to meet a convoy of provisions) he maintained his ground, and the Constable was mortally wounded in the engagement. During the blockade of Paris, the Protestants had made themselves masters of Orleans again; and about the same time the Elector Palatine, and the rest of the Protestant Princes of Germany, sent a body of eleven or twelve thousand men to the assistance of the Prince of Condé, who thereupon raised the blockade of Paris, and went to the confines of Lorraine to meet them. The King also received large reinforcements from Germany and Switzerland, so that the country was ravaged and plundered by foreigners as well as natives from one end to the other. Nor was this the worst: the court were apprehensive that the introducing so many foreign troops into the kingdom might in a little time endanger the State; and therefore it was resolved to conclude a peace with the Prince on any terms almost, in order to rid the nation of them. A treaty was accordingly set on foot, whereby it was agreed, that the edict of pacification, concluded in the year 1562, should be confirmed, and that the King should pay the German troops that came to the assistance of the Protestants.

1568.  
A peace  
concluded.

This peace was not of long duration; for the court of France, which was at this time governed by the Queen-mother, the treacherous CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, made it with no other view than of destroying the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, the heads of the Protestant party, who were indeed so jealous of her, that they did not think fit to reside at court, but retired to their respective estates, among their friends and vassals. The King thereupon ordered his troops to be disposed in such a manner that they might by degrees surround these noblemen, and make them prisoners; and the Admiral going to pay the Prince of Condé a visit at Noyers, a large detachment of the army was sent to seize them; of which these gentlemen having some intelligence, they ordered two hundred horse to be got ready, and without communicating the reason of it to any of their domesticks, they marched at the head of them on the twenty-fifth of August in the night-time, and having forded the Loir, took the road to Rochelle. This vile attempt of the court to surprise the Prince, when they had just made peace with him, alarmed the Protestants, and put them upon assembling their troops in all the provinces for their defence. The Queen of Navarre also came to Rochelle with a strong body of troops, so that the Prince of Condé soon found himself at the head of a numerous army again. The Queen of England furnished him with considerable sums of money and warlike stores, which were the things he most wanted; and the Germans promised him a re-inforcement of troops the following spring. The winter was taken up with little skirmishes, beating up each others quarters, or surprizing places of no great consequence.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.An attempt  
to seize the  
Prince of  
Condé and  
the Admiral  
at  
Noyers.The war  
commences  
again.

1569.

The Protestants  
defeated at  
Jarnac,  
and the  
Prince of  
Condé  
killed.

The Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, (who had had the command of the royal army, ever since the death of the late Constable MONTMORENCY, killed in the last battle near Paris) took the field early in the spring, in order to fight the Prince before he should be joined by his German allies. And tho' the Protestants avoided coming to a general engagement all they could, the Duke fell upon them near Jarnac, and defeated them, the Prince of Condé their General being killed upon the spot; not accidentally, but by design, in pursuance of the orders of the court to their Generals, to give him no quarter if ever he should be in their power. The Prince it seems, charging very briskly at the head of his troops, was dismounted, and being unable to disengage himself from the enemy that surrounded him, surrendered: the Baron DE MONTESQUIOU coming up in that very instant, demanded who he was, and being told he was the Prince of Condé who was wounded and taken, Kill him, kill him, he cried with an oath, and immediately shot him through the head. The Admiral, notwithstanding this misfortune, made a good retreat, and put the greatest part of the infantry which had not suffered much, into the fortified towns; and having still with him about four thousand horse, marched to Tonna Charente, where he met the Queen of Navarre with her son HENRY Prince of Bearn, about sixteen years of age, and Prince HENRY, son of the late Prince of Condé, who was about seventeen. Here it was agreed that the Prince of Bearn should be declared head of the Protestant party; accordingly they all took an oath to stand by him with their lives and fortunes till they could obtain an honourable peace. In the mean time the Duke of Deux-Ponts entered Franche Compté at the head of twelve thousand Germans; and notwithstanding all the opposition of



of the King's forces that harrassed his army from time to time, he continued his march quite through France, crossed the Loire, and was upon the point of joining the Admiral, when the Duke was taken dangerously ill, and died before he saw him; whereupon Count MANSELD took upon him the command of the Germans, and joined the Admiral on the twenty-third of June. The royal army was also reinforced by great numbers of Italians, Germans, and Swiss, which still rendered them superior to the Protestants, but not so much however as to hope for a speedy end of the war. The Queen-mother therefore proposed in the cabinet council, into which the young Duke of Guise had been lately admitted, to proscrib the Admiral, and set a price upon his head, believing if they could once procure him to be taken off, the Protestant interest must sink. Whereupon the Parliament of Paris, at the instance of the Attorney-general, condemned the Admiral to death as a traitor and a felon, offering fifty thousand crowns to any person that should take or kill him; which had such an influence on one of his valets, that he attempted to poison his master, and was hanged for it. This stratagem not succeeding, the Duke of Anjou assembled all his forces, and gave battle to the Admiral near Moncontour, and defeated him. The Admiral hereupon determined to abandon all the towns in Poitou, and to keep possession only of St John d'Angeli, Rochelle, Angouleme, and la Charité beyond the Loire, which were in a condition to sustain a siege; to retire to the mountains of Auvergne, Viverrais, Languedoc, and Gasconne, and to endeavour to join the Earl of Montgomery, who had still a good body of forces in Navarre; and he did not neglect to send couriers to England, Germany, and Switzerland, to acquaint them with his circumstances, and desire re-inforcements.

The Admiral having joined the Earl of Montgomery, undertook to march quite cross France, to meet the Germans who were coming to his assistance: but before he had effected it, terms of peace were again offered him by the court with a treacherous view indeed, which he had sufficient reason to suspect; but his circumstances were such (great part of the forces which were designed to join him from Germany being carried into the Low-Countries by the Prince of Orange) that he thought it expedient once more to enter into a treaty with the King; wherein, besides the concessions made the Protestants by former pacifications, the towns wherein they were permitted to hold their assemblies for divine worship were specified; the cities of Rochelle, la Charité, Montauban, and Coignac, were granted them for cautionary towns; the Protestants were declared capable of publick employments and dignities, and the Prince of Orange was put into possession of the principality of that name; which were such advantageous conditions as the Protestants could scarce have expected if their affairs had been ever so prosperous. This was called the treaty of St Germans, from the place where it was held.

The following year, 1571, the King solemnized his marriage with ELIZABETH of Austria, daughter of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN; and in order to draw the heads of the Hugonot party to court, about the same time proposed another marriage between HENRY Prince of Bearn, son to the Queen of Navarre, and his sister the Princess MARGARET, which the Queen of Navarre joyfully accepted of, and set out with her son for Paris in

order to see it solemnized. The King went as far as Blois to meet her, and at the first interview gave her all imaginable testimonies of his friendship and confidence in her; and was so delighted with the treacherous part he had acted, that he asked the Queen-mother with joy, whether he had not played his part well; the Queen answering it signified nothing to begin unless he finished it, he replied with an oath, that he would have them all in the net.

The next point was to draw the Admiral into the snare; and while they were deliberating about it, he furnished them with a specious pretence of inviting him to court himself. The King, in order to induce the Protestants to put the greater confidence in him, had declared that he would make war on the King of Spain, which court was known to be the great support of the House of Guise, the authors of most of the severe proceedings against the Protestants in this kingdom. The King proceeded so far as to suffer the Prince of Orange to raise troops in France to oppose the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, and did many other things that looked as if he had really designed a rupture with Spain. Whereupon the Admiral sent Count NASSAU to his Majesty, to offer his advice and assistance in that service: the King let the Count know, that he looked upon the Admiral as the most experienced soldier in his kingdom, and the person who could best advise him in an affair of this consequence; and if he should declare war against Spain, he would intrust him with the command of the army, having some suspicion of the other Generals, meaning the Guises and their faction, on account of the correspondence they held with that court: but that it was necessary the Admiral should come to him, that they might consider together what measures were proper to be taken in an enterprise of that importance. Count NASSAU returning to the Admiral, conjured him to lay hold on this favourable opportunity, which tended to raise him to the highest pitch of credit and power, and put him in a condition of being serviceable to his friends, both at home and in the Low-Countries. The Marshals MONTMORENCY and COSSE, wrote to the Admiral also, to persuade him to come to court. After he had taken some little time to deliberate upon the matter, he resolved to set out for Paris. The King received him in all appearance with the greatest respect and kindness, and ordered him fifty gentlemen of his own choosing for his guard, defrayed his charges, and admitted him into his council. He gave the Earl of Rochefoucault, la Noue, and the rest of his friends the like reception, and seemed to discourse as freely with these Lords, as with any about the court. To disguise his intentions the more, SCHOMBERG was sent to the Protestant Princes of Germany to make an alliance with them. The negociation with the Queen of England concerning her marriage with the Duke of Anjou also was revived, and a treaty concluded with that Princess, purporting, that if the King of Spain should seize or detain the ships of either nation in his ports, which often happened, they should reciprocally assist each to procure satisfaction. And the King of Spain took such umbrage at these steps, that he actually recalled his ambassador from the court of France, all which confirmed the Admiral and the Protestants in the sincerity of the King's intentions. But while they were making preparations at court for the marriage of the Prince of Bearn with the King's sister, the Queen of Navarre, his mother,



CHAP.  
XXXIV.Queen of  
Navarre  
dies.The Ad-  
miral  
wounded  
by an  
assassin.The mas-  
sacre at  
Paris.

mother, was taken ill and died in a few days, supposed to be poisoned. It was given out however, that she died of an ulcer in her side on her being opened, which made the Admiral take little notice of it, any more than the Prince of Bearn her son, who upon her death took upon him the title of King of Navarre. But two or three days after, as the Admiral was returning home, and reading a petition that had been presented him, a musket was fired at him from a window, and one of the bullets struck off the second finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him in the left arm: upon this he stood still, and observing from whence the shot came, This, says he, is the fruit of my reconciliation with the Duke of Guise. MANREVEL, the assassin, had a horse ready, and fled out of the port St Antoine. The King soon after came to visit the Admiral, and swore he would punish the author of this villainous attempt; and expressed so much concern on the occasion, that the Admiral was persuaded of his sincerity, and would not remove into a place of security as his friends advised him. The rest of the Protestants however were sufficiently alarmed at the accident, and began to consult how they might defend themselves in case they were attacked; which the Queen-mother having notice of, went to the King, and told him it was now no longer time to deliberate, that his crown and life and the safety of the whole royal family was at stake, that the Hugonots were preparing to revenge themselves on the Duke of Guise, and that Paris would be made a scene of blood and confusion, and it was better to prevent his enemies than fall a sacrifice to them. Thus far the Jesuit my author, who forgets that he himself has told us more than once, that this scheme for destroying the Hugonots was laid long before, tho' now he would have it appear, that his Majesty and the court only consulted their own security; so barbarous did the ensuing tragedy appear, even to the Roman Catholics themselves, that they seem to acknowledge, nothing but a view to their own preservation could justify the authors of it. But to proceed; a cabinet council being held upon the occasion, it was resolved that the Admiral and all the Hugonots throughout the kingdom should be put to death, except the young King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé: and that it might be done effectually, the Duke of Guise, their mortal enemy, was trusted with the execution of it. The Duke, says the Jesuit my author, never received a commission that was more agreeable to him: he immediately ordered the Provost of Paris to give directions to the captains of the several wards to raise the citizens, and that upon the ringing the alarm-bell in the palace on the eve of St BARTHOLOMEW, they should set up lights in their windows, break into the houses of the Protestants, and murder them without mercy: all which they executed with such expedition and secrecy, says the same writer, as nothing but the extreme hatred of the Catholic Parisians to the Hugonots could have made them observe. About midnight the Duke of Guise, with the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior of France, several officers, and three hundred soldiers, broke open the Admiral's gates, and sending some of their number directly into his apartment, they stabbed him in abundance of places, many of them after he was dead, and then threw his body out of the window, and afterwards cut the throats of all them that were in house. The like executions were made in the pa-

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lace of the Louvre, whilst the citizens and soldiers dispersed themselves through the city, and massacred all the Protestants they found in private houses. Messengers also were dispatched to all the great towns and provinces in the kingdom to invite the Catholics to take up arms and fall upon the Protestants, which they did not fail to do in every place where they were not overpowered; but Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Bourges, Angers, Thoulouse, Rouen, and Lyons, signalized their barbarity in executing this cruel and treacherous order beyond any other places. When the fury of this massacre was a little over, the King sent for the young King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé into his closet, and told them in a haughty tone, that he was now revenged of his enemies, who, under the umbrage of their names as Printes of the blood, had made war upon him, and would have deprived him both of his life and crown. That he required them both to return to the religion of their ancestors, or it would not be in his power to protect them from the fury of the people. The King of Navarre answered, he was ready to obey his Majesty in all things; but the Prince of Condé said, nothing should induce him to act contrary to his conscience: however, upon the King's threatening him that he should not be alive three days if he remained obstinate, that young Prince thought fit to follow the example of the King of Navarre.

The King went to the parliament soon after, and acquainted them with the reasons of this horrid execution; whereupon CHRISTOPHER DE THOU first president highly commended his prudence and conduct in this affair. The Advocate-general prayed that the Admiral and his accomplices, who were dead, might be proceeded against according to the forms of law; which being done, the Admiral was hanged in effigy on a common gibbet, to which the mob had some days before fastened his body, and from whence it had been taken away by his friends. The court, during the consternation this massacre had put the Protestants in, endeavoured to recover the towns that had been granted them, but Montauban and Rochelle both held out against their forces, whereupon the latter was besieged in form by a numerous army, commanded by the Duke of Anjou, but the town being well supplied with provisions, and having abundance of gentlemen in it who had fled thither upon the late massacre, baffled all their attempts; but the Duke of Anjou being about the same time elected King of Poland, was glad of this pretence to raise the siege, after he had lost twenty-four thousand men before it. Soon after a treaty was set on foot with the Rochellers, the principal articles whereof were, that the Protestants should be permitted to keep garrisons in Rochelle, Montauban, and Nismes, but should not assemble for divine service in other towns of the kingdom.

The Protestants of the Cevennes and other parts, were not at all satisfied with the treaty of pacification the Rochellers had made, but petitioned the King for the publick exercise of their religion in pursuance of former edicts, in which they were encouraged by the Duke of Alençon, the King's brother, and the family of Montmorency, who were become malecontents, on the Guises engrossing the administration of affairs to themselves, and not on account of religion. The Court having intelligence that the Dukes of Alençon and Montmorency were upon the point of joining the Protestants, caused them both to be secured in

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

The parliament approve the massacre, and attain the Admiral and his adherents.

Rochelle besieged, 1573.

Duke of Anjou chosen King of Poland.

A treaty with the Protestants of Rochelle.

1574.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.The King  
dies.HENRY  
III. He  
leaves Po-  
land pri-  
vately.The King  
resolves to  
destroy  
the Pro-  
testants.

the castle of Vincennes, together with the King of Navarre, and proceeded to put to death some of the Duke of Alençon's accomplices; whereupon the several factions had recourse to arms in many parts of the kingdom, between whom there were perpetual skirmishes, particularly in Languedoc, the Vivarez, and Normandy, and the Earl of Montgomery, who commanded the Protestants in Normandy, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. In the mean time the King fell dangerously ill, and died on the thirteenth of May, at the castle of Vincennes, of which the Queen-mother sent immediate notice to her son the King of Poland, advising him to return to France as soon as possible. The late King left only one daughter named MARY-ELIZABETH, who died about five years of age, and one son that he had by a concubine, who was afterwards Duke of Angoulême.

HENRY the Third, at the death of his brother CHARLES the Ninth, was seated on the throne of Poland, where he was so acceptable to the people, that he despaired of their permission to resign that crown, and therefore stole away from them in the night, as if he had fled from an enemy; and thought himself very happy when he arrived in the Emperor's territories and had got out of their reach, as he did the next day. He passed through Vienna, and from thence went to Venice and so to Savoy, where that Duke so ingratiated himself with him, that he restored him Pignerol, Savillon, and Perouse, which the French had kept possession of to this time: he was guarded by a great body of the Duke of Savoy's troops from Turin to Lyons, because the Hugonots were pretty strong in Dauphiné, and had possessed themselves of several passes in his way.

The Queen-mother, who had governed the kingdom during his absence, met him at Lyons, and expressed the greatest tenderness and affection for him imaginable, this being her favourite son. On the other hand he assured her he would continue to be governed by her counsels, notwithstanding his advancement to the throne; which gave her a most sensible pleasure, for no Prince was ever so fond of power as CATHERINE DE MEDICIS (she had actually governed the State most part of the two preceding reigns, as she did great part of this). Here she presented his brothers, the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre, to him, whom she had kept in a manner prisoners till his arrival, apprehending that the disaffected part of the kingdom would gladly have set the present King aside, and have advanced one of these Princes to the throne before his arrival: the Hugonots she knew were sufficiently prejudiced against his Majesty, on account of the share they apprehended he had in the late massacre; but I look upon the Queen-mother herself to be the real author of that butchery, and that her two sons were only her instruments in the execution of it.

The King having consulted with the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, the Venetians, and other Italian powers in his way home, 'tis said, was generally advised to lenity and pacifick measures in the beginning of his reign, but whether he was moved by his own prejudices, or the Queen-mother's counsels, the bloody CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, he was scarce arrived at Paris before he took a resolution of destroying the Protestants; to effect which, he found himself under a necessity of uniting with the Guises, whom he hated in his heart, almost as much as he did the Reformed. Where-

upon the politicians, as they were called, whose disaffection to the court proceeded rather from their aversion to the Guises, than upon account of religion, joined with the Hugonots, and their united forces became very formidable; of these the Marshal DOMVILLE, brother to the Duke of Montmorency, was the chief, who being governor of Languedoc, called an assembly of the States of that province, declared himself head of an association for re-establishing peace in the kingdom, and exhorted all good Frenchmen to join with him, in order to the obtaining a meeting of the Estates of the realm, for redressing their grievances. And now the war was actually commenced in all the provinces between the royalists and the faction of the Guises on the one side, and the Protestants and the politicians or malecontents on the other. Not a day passed without skirmishes, or the taking or retaking of towns; the kingdom was a scene of blood and confusion. About this time died the Cardinal of Lorraine, uncle to the Dukes of Guise and Maine, an implacable enemy of the Protestants, and upon that account in great esteem with the Catholics, whose death was much lamented by them.

The King, before he ascended the throne, 'tis observed, was a great admirer of MACHIAVEL's politics, especially that part of them where he recommends a constant and profound dissimulation, and the bringing about designs by ways in appearance the most remote from them: accordingly to deceive and amuse the heads of the several parties, he affected to appear negligent in affairs of state, and to employ himself only in his devotions or pleasures; but he mixed his penances and debauches so very oddly, that he became even in the beginning of his reign the contempt of his subjects and of all Europe. At Avignon he went in procession with the penitents, clothed in sack cloth, followed in the same manner by the court Lords, who were the greatest libertines upon earth; at other times he shut himself up in his apartment with these lewd young fellows, who made their court to him by giving an account of their amours, and betraying the secrets of the ladies they had been familiar with; while he on the other hand lavished away his credit and treasure upon them. This occasioned infinite jealousies, quarrels, and assassinations, about the court. The women, to be revenged on him for exposing them, revealed his secrets in their turn, magnified his irregularities and unveiled his hypocrisy, which rendered him extremely odious to all mankind. But notwithstanding the King was so much taken up with his favourites and mistresses, he was married about this time to LOUISA DE VAUDEMONT, of the house of Lorraine, a Guise, whom he had seen in his passage through Lorraine to Poland, when he was much smitten with her beauty.

The following year a conspiracy was discovered against his Majesty, in which the Duke of Alençon the King's brother was concerned; but upon making his submission the Duke obtained his pardon: however, not thinking himself safe at court, he retired from thence, and associated himself with the malecontents, and the Count Palatine and other Protestant Princes of Germany raised forces in order to join him: their vanguard indeed was defeated by the Duke of Guise, who gained a great deal of honour by it. But the Queen-mother finding the King too weak in condition to resist the united forces of the malecontents and the foreign

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The civil  
war  
breaks out  
again.A cha-  
racter of  
this King.The Duke  
of Alen-  
çon leaves  
the court.

troops,



CHAP.  
XXXIV.1576.  
A treaty  
between  
the King  
and the  
malecon-  
tents.

troops, advised him to clap up a peace, which he negotiated in person with the Duke of Alençon; the conditions whereof were, that his Majesty should pay the German auxiliaries; that the Protestants and Malecontents should be allowed eight towns for their security more than they had already; that the King should dismiss all his troops the Swiss and Scots guards, and that the Protestants should have the free exercise of their religion in all places, except Paris and two leagues about it; that the courts of justice should consist of Protestant as well as Popish Judges; that the attainer of Admiral COLIGNI, and others of his party should be reversed; that Marshal DOMVILLE should have his offices, dignities, and governments, restored to him; that the government of Picardy should be given to the Prince of Condé, and that the Duke of Alençon's appenage should be augmented with the duchies of Anjou, Touraine, Berry, and Maine. Whereupon the Duke obtained the title of Duke of Anjou, and returned to court in a kind of triumph; where the King, dissembling his resentment, received him with a thousand caresses. What induced his Majesty to make many of these concessions to the malecontents was, the escape of the King of Navarre from court during the negotiation: when this Prince found himself out of the King's reach, he declared, that the profession he had made of the Romish religion after the massacre of St Bartholomew, was only the effect of fear and violence, and that he now professed himself to be of the Reformed religion, in which he had been educated. Upon his coming into his government of Guienne, the malecontents resorted to him in much greater numbers than they had done to the Duke of Alençon, looking upon him as a Prince that might be much more depended on, than that Duke; and this circumstance, as has been observed, was one principal motive of hastening the treaty above-mentioned, and procuring those advantageous conditions for the Protestants and other malecontents.

The King  
of Navarre  
escapes  
from  
court, and  
declares  
himself a  
Protestant.The Holy-  
League  
formed by  
the Pa-  
pists.

This edict of pacification, it was supposed, would have produced great quiet in the nation; but, on the contrary, it was no sooner published than the Papists entered into a confederacy or association for the preservation of their religion, and extirpation of heresy; which alliance obtained the name of the Holy-League, and afterwards simply the League. Some leading man in every province assembled the Popish party, and saw them sign an association, and take an oath for the maintenance of it; the King and Queen-mother encouraging or at least conniving at it; for by this means they hoped to see the Hugonots destroyed more effectually, and with less hazard than by an open war: and if we may judge by some occurrences in the former reign, the last pacification was probably consented to with this view; his Majesty did not then foresee that the leaguers would become so powerful, as to trample on his authority, and render him no more than the shadow of a King, as it afterwards happened. The placing garrisons also in the great towns where the Hugonots were most numerous, and the officers of the troops supporting and encouraging the leaguers in their insults on that people, leaves little room to doubt that the court were at the bottom of those outrages.

Encourag-  
ed by the  
court.The Duke  
of Guise  
the Head  
of the  
League.

The Duke of Guise, though he did not yet appear, was the chief manager and contriver of all these associations, and entered into alliances with foreign Princes for the support of them; among

whom he found none more ready to espouse their interests than PHILIP II, the bigotted King of Spain. The insurrections and revolts of the Reformed in the Netherlands, had sufficiently prejudiced him against that sect; and he was apprehensive, if those of the same persuasion in France should once be established there, they would support his disaffected subjects in Flanders. Thus religion, inclination, and interest, all contributed to render the King of Spain a zealous and fast friend to the leaguers. But to return to France: The King having summoned an assembly of the States at Blois, made all the interest he could to get the friends of the League returned, and declared himself to be the head of it, in order, as 'tis said, to prevent the party chusing the Duke of Guise for their leader, of whose ambition he had reason to be jealous; and still to ingratiate himself the more with the Papists; he declared, that he would suffer no other than the Roman Catholick religion in the kingdom for the future. When the States of Blois were met, he procured petitions to be presented to him to the same effect: and it was accordingly carried in that assembly by a great majority, that the King should be addressed to reunite all his subjects in the Catholick Apostolick Roman religion, by the best and most wholesome methods: that the exercise of the pretended Reformed religion should be prohibited both in publick and private, and that the Preachers, Deacons, and Overseers of their congregations should depart the kingdom within a limited time, notwithstanding any former edicts to the contrary. Whereupon the deputies of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, protested against the assembly as an unlawful convention, not having been called or chosen according to the laws of the kingdom; and indeed their adversaries seem to admit, that there was a great deal of foul play in returning the deputies or representatives. This protest was very little regarded: on the contrary, the Holy-League was confirmed and signed by the King, the Duke of Anjou, and most of the Catholick Lords and Princes assembled. And the war was immediately declared and begun on all sides against the Protestants; the Duke of Anjou commanding one of the armies against them, though in the late war he was engaged on the Protestant side. But notwithstanding the King had acted with all this shew of zeal against the Hugonots, either through want of money to maintain the war, or that he dreaded the foreign troops, which the Reformed had desired of the Queen of England and the German Princes, or whatever else was the motive, he thought fit to conclude a peace with the King of Navarre and the malecontents the following year; the terms whereof differed but very little from the last. The Queen-mother afterwards made a journey to the court of the King of Navarre, to invite him to come to Paris; but that Prince had so narrowly escaped the last massacre, that she could not with all her cunning prevail upon him to venture his life in her power again. The old Queen afterwards visited other parts of France, and seems to have a much greater share in the administration at this time than her son: he was content to let her take all the fatigue of government upon her, that he might indulge in pleasure. At her return to court in the year 1579, she found he had been trifling away his time in her absence with his mistresses and favourites; and three of the latter having lost their lives, two in a duel, and a third by

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XXXIV.Spain the  
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port of it.The King  
and the  
States  
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Prote-  
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League  
confirmed.War de-  
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stants.1577.  
Peace con-  
cluded a-  
gainst them.

1579.

assassination,



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1580.

1581.  
The Duke  
of Anjou  
offered the  
Sovereign-  
ty of the  
Nether-  
lands.He makes  
his court  
to the  
Queen of  
England.

affassination, he was inconsolable; and the manner of expressing his grief for them, 'tis said, was much beneath his royal dignity. The latter end of this year the leaguers obliged the King to come to a rupture with the Protestants again, and several towns were taken on both sides; but by the mediation of the Duke of Anjou this breach was made up in a few months: for the Duke had two great designs carrying on at this time abroad, which were not consistent with the deposing the Protestant interest in France. The one was a treaty of marriage with the Queen of England; and the other the obtaining the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which was offered to him by the Prince of Orange and the malecontents there. In both which views he was supported by the court of France.

The Low-Countries having withdrawn their allegiance from the King of Spain, and invited the Duke of Anjou to take the Government of those provinces upon him, he marched with a gallant army to the relief of Cambray in the year 1581, which was then besieged by the Spaniards, commanded by the Duke of Parma; and the siege being raised on his approach, the inhabitants received him with joyful acclamations, and here he began to take the government of the Low-Countries upon him; but because he looked upon this as the key of the country, he withdrew the Walloon garrison, and placed one of French in the room of it, which rendered his new subjects a little jealous of him.

He afterwards embarked for England, where he was received by the Queen, as the French historians relate, with all the most tender marks of affection: and the matter proceeded so far, that on the twenty-second of November, in the presence of the French ambassador and several English Lords, she put a ring upon the Duke of Anjou's finger, and told him, she betrothed him that moment: she ordered an instrument to be drawn up in Latin, containing the form that should be observed in celebrating their marriage, namely, the terms the Duke of Anjou was to make use of in espousing the Queen, and the words which were to be pronounced by her Majesty in accepting the Duke of Anjou for her husband. This instrument, they add, was signed by the Bishop of Lincoln, and several English Lords, and the Ambassador gave advice of it to the King of France; insomuch, that the affair was looked upon as concluded, both in France and England. But the Duke of Anjou going to visit the Queen the next day, she told him, she had passed the night in great uneasiness, and that three such nights would bring her to her grave: she mentioned a great many scruples she had, and HATTON, one of the privy-council, added many more. Some English Preachers had inveighed vehemently against the marriage, by a private order of the Queen, (as was supposed) and given her some pretence for this conduct; while the Catholick Doctors at Paris appeared no less zealous against the match, than the Protestants were in England, declaring, that this alliance of the presumptive heir of the crown of France with an heretical Queen, was a certain prelude to the destruction of religion in that kingdom. The Queen however amused the Duke for three months with hopes of succeeding; and when she permitted him to return to Flanders, it was upon condition he should come over again within a month; and promised him, that she would constantly persevere in her resolution of

marrying him. Thus far the French account of that match.

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There is no doubt but QUEEN ELIZABETH made the most of the treaties of marriage that were proposed between her and the Dukes of Anjou, (for HENRY III, when he was Duke of Anjou, had made love to her as well as his brother;) she seems to have kept them in suspense upon political views. It was the hopes of succeeding in these treaties, that prevented the French and Spaniards joining in the extirpation of heresy (as they called it) in pursuance of the agreement at Bayonne. The Queen of England here shewed herself superior to CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, the Queen-mother of France, and her two sons, who were all three of them bent upon the destruction of the Protestants, as well as the King of Spain and the Pope, and could not have been diverted from it by any other means, than the hopes they had of adding England to their Empire by this match. And when the Queen of England could no longer prevent the ruin of the Protestants by her treaties, we see her assisting them with arms, in France, the Low-Countries, Germany, and Scotland. To her address therefore in a great measure is to be ascribed the establishing of the Protestant religion in Europe.

The Reformed in France, the Low-Countries, and Scotland, had infallibly been crushed in their infancy, if they had not been supported by the Queen of England; and as to her amusing the Dukes of Anjou, and keeping them long in suspense to obtain so glorious an end; this rather advances than lessens her character, in the opinion of all wise men. I don't find any thing criminal on her part in these transactions, as they are related by our own historians. It appears indeed, that there was once articles of marriage signed between the Queen and the last Duke of Anjou; but then they were to be void unless they were ratified by the French King, and that Prince refused to ratify them. 'Tis admitted also, that she did once, in a merry mood, put a ring upon the Duke's finger, but used no such words as the French recite, That she betrothed him with it, or indeed any other words, that were serious, on that occasion. It is ridiculous, to think, that the Queen should seriously use the words of espousal, without the Duke's reciting his part of the contract, which it is not pretended he did; and consequently since it was not reciprocal, by their own account, very little stress could be laid upon it. The Roman Catholics no doubt, were sufficiently exasperated against her, and did all that was in their power to blast her memory; she prevented their religion becoming universal, and 'tis natural to expect they should frame ten thousand falsehoods in relation to this transaction; but those who are of opinion that the world was at all bettered by the Reformation, must for ever applaud her conduct.

The Duke of Anjou returning to the Low-Countries, was met by the Prince of Orange and the States at Flushing, and being conducted to Antwerp, was there declared Duke of Brabant, and afterwards at Ghent, Earl of Flanders. In the mean time, the King of Spain set a price upon the Prince of Orange's head, promising a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns to the Person (or his heirs) that should destroy him; whereupon JOAUNEL JAUREGNI, a Biscayner, undertook to assassinate him, and having obtained leave to present a petition to the Prince, fired a pocket-pistol close to his head while he was reading it, and

1582.  
The Duke  
of Anjou  
declared  
Duke of  
Brabant  
and Earl of  
Flanders.



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and one of the balls went through both his cheeks; and the assassin was immediately cut to pieces; but the wound not being mortal, the Prince of Orange soon recovered. It was reported immediately among the mob, that the Duke of Anjou had been the author of this attempt, in order to take off the Prince, who, he thought, had too much authority among the Flemings; whereupon all the French were seized and disarmed, and the Duke of Anjou himself was in danger of being pulled in pieces, if the Prince of Orange had not sent a letter to assure the people, that neither the Duke, or any of the French were concerned in the attempt, but that the authors of it were discovered by papers found upon the assassin.

The Duke of Anjou attempting an unlimited power, is expelled the Low-Countries.

The Duke of Anjou, however, being joined by some re-inforcements from France soon after, was the author of another attempt, which quite ruined his interest among the Flemings. He was really piqued to see the Prince of Orange govern all in the Low-Countries, while he himself had scarce any authority amongst them, to support the glorious titles they had given him of Duke of Brabant and Earl of Flanders. He determined therefore in a council he held with his own officers, to make himself master of the principal towns, and garrison them entirely with French forces; and on a day prefixed, viz. the thirteenth of January, they were at one and the same instant to have seized Antwerp, Bruges, Dunkirk, Dendermonde, Vilvorde, and other places, and expelled the Prince of Orange's troops. But at Antwerp, which he designed to have seized himself, and in most other towns, the French were overpowered by the Flemings, and great numbers of them killed. They were successful only at Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, and these places they were forced to abandon soon after; whereupon the Duke of Anjou retired into France, and notwithstanding the French King sent Ambassadors to the States, and offered his mediation to reconcile these differences, the Flemings were so alarmed at the attempt to seize their towns, that they would not admit the French among them again. This dissension between the French and Flemings was an advantage to the Duke of Parma the Spanish General, as if he had obtained a victory: he took Dunkirk, and many other places, and prevailed on the provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, to return to the obedience of their Sovereign the King of Spain; and the ill success of the Duke of Anjou, together with his disappointment in England, as is said, had such an effect upon him, that it broke his heart. But however that was, certain it is, the Duke died at Chateau Thierry, on the tenth of June 1583; upon whose death the King of Navarre, the next Prince of the blood, became presumptive heir to the crown of France, to the no small mortification of the Leaguers, this Prince being a Protestant.

1584.

The Heads of the League therefore assembled on this occasion, under pretence of preserving the Catholick religion, and resolved that in case of the King's death, the Cardinal de Bourbon, brother to the Prince of Condé, should be acknowledged King of France; and that in the mean time all those who had signed the League should be ready to take up arms. They applied also to the Pope, the King of Spain, and other Catholick Princes, who promised them their assistance; the Pope particularly declared, that the Catholick Princes might take up arms for the defence of the Catholick religion in France: That a war against

V O L. II.

the Hugonots was just and lawful; and that it was not only allowable to make war upon them, but upon all those who favoured and assisted them, even tho' they bore the royal character (meaning the French King). The Duke of Guise also put the Cardinal of Bourbon upon publishing a declaration, wherein he and his associates say, that, the King having no children, they were in danger of seeing an heretical and apostate Prince King of France, notwithstanding the oath of their Kings at their coronation, obliged them above all things to maintain the Catholick Apostolick and Roman Religion. Then they proceed to villify and asperse the King and his administration in a most scandalous manner, insinuating, that he was a debauchee and favourer of hereticks; and for these weighty reasons, adds the Cardinal, We CHARLES of Bourbon, first Prince of the blood, assisted by the Princes, Cardinals, Peers, Prelates, Governors of provinces, cities, and others the soundest and best part of the kingdom, do declare and have sworn not to lay down our arms till our religion shall be secured, the taxes taken off, which have been introduced since the reign of CHARLES IX, &c. The names of the King of Spain and a great number of Catholick Princes, who had entered into this association, being placed at the head of the declaration. This made an impression on the minds of the Catholicks of all conditions; many of whom left the court to repair to the Heads of the League, who proceeded immediately to action, and besides the towns that their friends were already masters of, they surprized Lyons, and several others.

The poor indolent King was so frightened at these proceedings, that he empowered the Queen-mother, who, at bottom, was a friend to the Leaguers, to make peace with them on any terms: and it was agreed between them, and there should be but one religion in France; that the Hugonot preachers should leave the kingdom within a month, and all other hereticks within six months; that they should be incapable of any office or dignity, and that they should be deprived of the cities that had been yielded to them; that the King and all the societies and corporations in the kingdom should confirm it by their oaths, and that the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Duke of Guise, and other heads of the League, should have cities and guards assigned them for their security, which the King should maintain, and also advance them a considerable sum of money. And Pope SIXTUS V, tho' he is represented as no friend to the League, published a bull, whereby he excommunicated the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and deprived them and their heirs of all their estates, particularly of their right of succession to the crown of France, and absolved their subjects and vassals from their oaths and allegiance.

The Leaguers at the same time compelled the King to enter into a war with the Protestants, to recover the towns they were possessed of; but the King of Navarre defended them so well, that the Leaguers gained few advantages of them this campaign; one reason might be, that the King was not very desirous at this time of seeing the Hugonots exterminated, and therefore carried on the war but faintly. The year 1586 was as favourable to the Protestants. And the following year, 1587, the King of Navarre obtained a complete victory over one of the armies of the Leaguers near Coutras; he is extremely blamed however, that he did not afterwards endeavour to meet the Ger-

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The Cardinal de Bourbon's declaration in behalf of the League.

The King makes peace with the Leaguers.

The Pope deposes the King of Navarre, and absolves his subjects from their allegiance.

1586.  
1587.  
The Protestants obtain a victory over the Leaguers.

1585.  
The Pope declares it lawful to take up arms against the King.



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man auxiliaries; who, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, were marching to join him, but suffered them to be surrounded and dispersed by the Leaguers, and rendered perfectly useless, without ever coming to a battle. About this time the Prince of Condé died, whose ambition and jealousy of the King of Navarre, it is observed, prevented his doing his party the service he was capable of.

The Leaguers drive the King from Paris.  
1583.

Besides the general League, there was a particular league or association entered into by the citizens of Paris, who were ten times more zealous for the destruction of the King and the Protestants, than the rest of the Catholics in the kingdom. The university and preachers there maintained publicly, that Princes might not only be deposed for heresy, but for male-administration, with which they made no scruple to charge the King; and his Majesty shewing some resentment at these proceedings, they sent for the Duke of Guise, and, by his assistance, fairly drove his Majesty out of Paris, who thereupon retired the Rouen. The Queen-mother was again employed to negotiate a peace between the King and the Leaguers, which she soon effected, by granting them whatever they demanded. After which the King went to reside at Chartres, refusing to return any more to Paris, where he had been so notoriously insulted, and his authority trampled upon: tho' he gave them no other reason for his residing at Chartres, but that he should be nearer Blois, where he had ordered the States of the Kingdom to meet the September following. The Queen-Mother, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and the Duke of Guise went to pay their compliments to him at Chartres; he received them with all the outward marks of esteem imaginable, declared the Cardinal first Prince of the blood, and heir to the crown, and the Duke of Guise Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; after which he set out for Blois to meet the States, being followed thither by the Duke of Guise.

He studies the destruction of the Leaguers.

The King, notwithstanding the favours he had so lately heaped upon the heads of the League, hated them heartily, and having chosen a select council at Blois, the first thing he determined (after opening the assembly of the States) was the death of the Duke of Guise. The most convenient time to dispatch him was held to be as he came into the council-chamber, when he would have discharged his domesticks of course. The King committed the execution of it to an officer and fifteen or twenty of his guards. On the morning he summoned the Duke to council he told them, that that day either the Duke of Guise or he must perish, that his own safety and that of France was in their hands, that he should owe his crown and his life to them if they succeeded, and that his gratitude should be stinted by no bounds.

They all assured him, they would act answerably to the trust he had honoured them with; whereupon he sent for as many daggers as there were men, and on delivering them into their hands said, That this was an execution of justice, which he committed to them upon the most criminal person in his kingdom, whom he had a right, both by the laws of God and man, to punish; and since it could not be done by the ordinary methods of justice, he authorized them to do it by virtue of his royal prerogative.

The Duke of Guise had some intimation, that there was a design upon his life, and was advised by his friends to retire; but he answered, he was

too far advanced to go back, that the King and he were like two great armies facing one another, and that if one retreated, the other would have the victory. The very day before the execution, sitting down at table, he found a note under his napkin, advising him to take care of himself for that there was some treacherous design formed against him; which when he had read, he took his pencil and wrote underneath, *They dare not*, and threw it under the table. At other times, he declared to his friends, that he laid no manner of stress on the professions of kindness the King made him, he was sensible of his dissimulation; but the King knew very well, that if any attempt was made upon his person, it would infallibly destroy himself.

But to proceed: The Duke of Guise being come to court, and attending in the antichamber, one of the Secretaries of State came to acquaint him that the King wanted him in his closet, and in his way thither, being to pass through a door where he was obliged to stoop, as he was lifting up the hanging to enter it, he received six stabs from the guards, who were ranged on each side under pretence of doing him honour, and had only time to say, *Lord have mercy upon me*. The King, having notice he was dispatched, went out of his closet, and the Lords about the court being assembled, he told them, that he was now King, and would have his enemies learn by the example he had just made, that the same vengeance hung over their heads, if they durst attempt to lessen his authority. He afterwards went down to the Queen-mother's lodgings, who lay dangerously ill, and acquainted her with what had happened; in answer to which she only demanded, if he had considered the consequences of the Duke of Guise's death, and made provision for all events. He afterwards ordered the Cardinal de Guise to be dispatched; which made the court of Rome set all their engines on work to destroy him. He afterwards endeavoured to seize the Duke of Maine, brother to the Duke of Guise; but this gentleman had the good fortune to escape to Paris, where he was adored by the Leaguers, as well on his brother's account as the zeal he had shewn for the cause. About this time died the Queen-mother, who had had a very great share in the administration, in this and the two former reigns; tho' 'tis said, that the King, for some time before, did not shew that regard to her advice as he used to do; which proceeded possibly from the discoveries he made of her promoting the designs of the Leaguers underhand.

The death of the Duke of Guise was so far from terrifying the Parisians, that their council of sixteen, and their bigotted preachers, incited the mob to revenge themselves on their Sovereign by all the ways imaginable: they defaced his statues and pictures, published the most scandalous invectives against him, and proposed it to the faculty of Theology as a case of conscience, whether the people of France might not take up arms, raise money, and unite in the defence of the Catholic religion, against a Prince who had violated the publick faith at the assembly of the States, and whether this did not discharge them from their oaths of allegiance? which was resolved in the affirmative. After this, they no more gave him the title of King, or mentioned him in their publick prayers, but as a perjured, excommunicated person, an heretick, and the most detestable of mankind. They swore upon a crucifix never to depart

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The Duke of Guise murdered.

The fury of the Leaguers against the King.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1589.

Paris be-  
sieged by  
the King.The King  
assassina-  
ted.He leaves  
the crown  
to the  
King of  
Navarre.HENRY  
IV, 1589.

depart from the League, but to pursue, with the utmost vengeance, all that had been concerned in the death of the Duke or Cardinal de Guise. They declared the Duke of Maine Lieutenant-General of the royal state and crown of France, and vested him with almost sovereign authority. The King hereupon found himself under a necessity of uniting his forces with the King of Navarre and the Protestants, who received him with open arms. The two Kings, after having secured the Cardinal de Bourbon in the castle of Chinon, and made themselves masters of some towns in their way, marched and invested the city of Paris, into which the Duke of Maine had thrown himself (after some conquests he had made in Normandy) with a numerous garrison. The King took up his quarters during the siege at St Cloud, and the King of Navarre at Meudon; and it was very likely that the city of Paris would have been obliged to surrender in a short time for want of provisions; but JAMES CLEMENT, a young dominican fryar, who had been worked up by the preachers of Paris to a belief that it was lawful, and even meritorious, to deprive a tyrant of his life, and especially a favourer of hereticks, as they had represented his Majesty to be, found means to be admitted to the King, by virtue of credential letters which he pretended he had brought from HARLAY the first president of the parliament of Paris. While his Majesty was examining these credentials, having only two persons with him in his closet, from whom he withdrew to a little distance on the monk's telling him that he had something to say to him in private, the villain, at that instant, drew a knife out of his sleeve, and having stabbed the King in the belly with it, left it there: his Majesty took the knife out of the wound himself, and struck the assassin in the eye with it, who was immediately knocked down and cut in pieces by the guards, who came running in on hearing the noise, and he was afterwards thrown out of the window.

The surgeons were immediately sent for, and found the wound four fingers below the navel, and about a finger's length, the gut, part of which came out at the orifice, not being hurt; but the pain, and a cold sweat which succeeded, with the alteration of the King's pulse, gave little hopes of his life. The King of Navarre therefore coming to wait on his Majesty, he told him he left the crown of France to him as his lawful successor, but assured him he never would enjoy it quietly unless he became a Catholick, which he exhorted him to be: after this he called for the Lords about the court, and commanded them to acknowledge the King of Navarre for their lawful Sovereign if he did not recover, which they all swore to do. His Majesty's fever increasing, he received the Viaticum, declaring he died in the faith of the Catholick Apostolick Roman Church, and afterwards expired on the second of August about four in the morning; in whom ended the branch of Angoulême, which was a part of the house of Orleans, and all the race of Valois, who had swayed the scepter for two hundred and sixty years, and now left it to HENRY King of Navarre, of the family of Bourbon, styled HENRY the Fourth.

HENRY of Bourbon derived his pedigree from ROBERT Count of Clermont, Lord of Bourbon, the fifth and youngest son of ST LEWIS. He was the head of the branch of Bourbon-Vendôme, and nearest in blood to the crown after the extinction of the house of Valois, by the death of HENRY III.

The late King was no sooner dead, but the popish Lords about the court came to his Majesty with the Duke of Longueville at their head, and pressed him to profess the Roman Catholick religion: to whom the King answered, that he was not obstinate in his present persuasion, but that so sudden a change would induce all considering men to think that he had in reality no religion at all, and that they must give him time to consider of a point of such importance; with which answer many of the popish Lords were satisfied, and took the oaths of allegiance upon his Majesty's promising to support the Catholick religion: but there were others, of whom the Duke of Espernon was the chief, who retired with their troops in discontent into their respective provinces, and left the King's army so thin that he was soon obliged to raise the siege of Paris; and had not the body of Swiss been kept in good humour by the address of the Marshal DE BIRON, he would have run a great risk of falling into the hands of his enemies.

The Parisians were so elated at the desertion they observed among the King's troops, that they talked of nothing less than setting up another upon the throne. They looked upon JAMES CLEMENT as a martyr to their cause, comparing him to EHUD, and others whom God had raised up to deliver his people the Jews from the tyranny of their oppressors. The Duke of Maine made his advantages of the fury he saw the people in. He wrote to the towns and governments devoted to the League, exhorting them to improve the opportunities that providence had put into their hands for the advancement of religion, which he insinuated was upon the point of being extirpated. He wrote also to the bigotted King of Spain, desiring him to support them with his forces, whereby he might prevent heresy gaining a superiority in France, as it had done in England and Germany.

The King in the mean time finding his army so much weakened by desertion, put garrisons into the most considerable towns in his interest, and with a very small body of horse and foot, bent his march towards Diep in Normandy, to wait for a reinforcement that was promised him by the Queen of England. The army of the League being increased at this juncture to thirty thousand men, the Duke of Maine followed his Majesty into Normandy, and finding him intrenched about a league from Diep, attacked him very briskly, but was repulsed with very great loss. It is not to be conceived what a reputation this success gave his Majesty at the beginning of his reign: his friends magnified his courage and conduct to the last degree, and his enemies were sufficiently terrified, when they had seen him with an army of seven or eight thousand men defeat one of four times that number. Soon after this battle the King being joined by four thousand English and some national troops, marched and invested Paris again, to the no small surprize of the citizens, who had been made to believe that if he was not fled beyond sea into England, they should have seen him at this time led as a prisoner through their streets in triumph by the Duke of Maine. The King attacked the suburbs and carried them, and was very near entering the town itself with the flying enemy; but the Duke of Maine throwing himself into the city with an army equal, if not superior to the King's, his Majesty drew off his troops, and marching to Touraine, and from thence into Normandy, made himself master

Some of  
the King's  
troops de-  
sert him  
on account  
of his be-  
ing a Pro-  
testant.The Lea-  
guers de-  
feated  
near Diep.Queen  
ELIZA-  
BETH  
sends a  
reinforce-  
ment to  
the  
French  
King.



C.H.A.P.  
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of a great many considerable towns. This Prince's moderation, (says my author) the exact discipline he made his soldiers observe, the care he took to prevent the plunder of the churches, and preserve the privileges of the clergy, contributed very much to those sudden conquests he made.

In the mean time the Leaguers observing that the want of royal authority was a considerable disadvantage to their cause, proposed the setting up a King in whose name they might act. But in this they were very much divided. The Spaniards proposed the marrying some Prince to the Infanta; and declaring them King and Queen of France; the Duke of Lorraine made interest for his son, and the Duke of Guise would gladly have usurped the throne himself, but he did not think his interest strong enough to carry that point, and therefore set up CHARLES Cardinal of Bourbon, the next in blood to the crown, if the Protestant Princes were excluded. He was a poor decrepid old man, and imprisoned by the royal party at that time, and therefore could be of no other use to the Leaguers than by affording them his name, and keeping out a foreigner, whom the Spaniards and some of the most furious of that party had agreed to set up. The Cardinal was accordingly proclaimed, all publick acts run in his name, and he is by some historians stiled CHARLES the Tenth, but not generally placed in the catalogue of their Kings; this perhaps would have been disagreeable to the present royal family, who look upon themselves to have been possessed of the throne of France ever since the death of HENRY III.

This struggle about the choice of a Sovereign among the Leaguers, set the King of Spain and the Duke of Maine at variance. The council of sixteen at Paris, and all the furious part of the Leaguers, were in the interest of Spain; while the parliament and the politicians, as the more moderate were called, followed the directions of the Duke. The King of Spain made large promises of assistance to the Leaguers, but afforded them no more from time to time than he thought was necessary to keep them from sinking, that they might find themselves under a necessity at last of throwing themselves under his protection; and by this means he proposed, either to give France a sovereign, or to unite that kingdom to his own. The Duke of Maine, on the other hand, endeavoured to strengthen himself against the King by the reinforcements he received from Spain, but never designed to put himself or the kingdom in the power of this Prince: and these different views occasioned both parties to have a jealous eye on each other. The Duke found means at length to dissolve the Council of Sixteen, which had given him the greatest uneasiness, and took upon himself the exercise of the whole regal power, under colour of his being elected Lieutenant of the kingdom at the same time the Cardinal DE BOURBON, in whose name he acted, was proclaimed King. His authority being thus established, in order to procure the esteem of the Parisians, he took the field and made himself master of Pontoise, the castle of Vincennes, and Meulan; and the King having besieged Dreux, a town of importance, he immediately marched to its relief; whereupon a battle was fought on the fourteenth of March, 1590, near Ivry, in which the Duke of Maine was entirely defeated, and the King gained abundance of honour, as his army was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy. The same day the King's troops in Auvergne obtained another victory over the Leaguers.

Upon these repeated successes, several towns opened their gates to his Majesty, and 'tis thought if he had marched immediately to Paris, that city would have surrendered; but the Swiss mutinying for want of pay, he was forced to remain inactive for some time, and the people had pretty well recovered their consternation before his Majesty invested the town: it was, however, at length blocked up, and the Royalists having made themselves masters of all the rivers above and below Paris, so that no provision could be brought thither, the place was reduced to great extremity by famine; for the King's army not consisting of above fifteen or sixteen thousand men, and there being eight thousand foreign soldiers in the place, besides a great many thousand citizens who were so well disciplined by the continuance of the civil war, that they were not much inferior to regular forces, the King did not propose to make himself master of the city itself any other way than by starving it, tho' he had carried the suburbs and quartered his soldiers in them. The besieged, to supply the want of other food, eat dogs, cats, rats and leather, and, 'tis said, made a kind of paste of dead-men's bones ground to powder; so zealous were they in defence of their superstitions, which, they imagined, would be abolished if the King should take the town. The Duke of Nemours, the Governor, is much admired for the many expedients he found out to keep up the spirits of the people in this distress; notwithstanding there was so great a scarcity of provision, he took care to see those supplied who were in the greatest reputation among the people, that they might keep up the courage of the rest. The Governor also persuaded the nobility and wealthy citizens to sell their plate and jewels to supply the soldiers wants, and the Spanish Ambassador imitated them; nor did the Duke of Nemours fail to make his advantage of the madness and bigotry of the clergy and religious, the preachers were extremely useful to him in declaiming against heresy, and the King as the great supporter of it; they assured the people that they fought in the cause of heaven, that those of them who survived would infallibly be conquerors, and if they died under their sufferings, they would be rewarded with the crown of martyrdom: in short, according to the Turkish doctrine, they might depend upon glory in this world or paradise in the next. And thus the courage of the Parisians was buoyed up by their leaders, till the Duke of Parma, the Spanish General, came from the Netherlands with an army of veterans to their relief, who being joined by the Duke of Guise, the army of the Leaguers was much superior to that of the Royalists, and his Majesty found himself under a necessity of raising the siege; after which he divided his forces, sending detachments into the several provinces to support his interests, and only kept a flying army about his person, to march wherever his presence should be most necessary, and harra'ss the enemy. The Duke of Parma having introduced a sufficient quantity of provisions into Paris, and taken some towns upon the Seine which opened their communication with the neighbouring country, returned to Flanders, leaving a large detachment of his forces with the Duke of Guise and the Leaguers.

While the two principal armies were employed in the attacking or relieving Paris, the civil war was carried on with great fury in other parts of the kingdom: the Royalists had generally the

C.H.A.P.  
XXXIV.Paris  
blocked  
up, and  
reduced to  
great ex-  
tremity.The Duke  
of Parma  
relieves  
Paris.The Lea-  
guers pro-  
claim Car-  
dinal  
Bourbon  
King.Misunder-  
standings  
between  
them.

1590.

The King  
gains a  
victory at  
Ivry.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

advantage in Maine, where several bloody engagements happened: on the other hand, the Duke of Mercœur, one of the heads of the League, having married a lady whom he pretended to be a descendant of the antient Dukes of Britany, attempted to make himself Sovereign of that province in her right, and being assisted in his pretensions by the Spaniards, the Leaguers became much superior to the King's forces there. At the other end of the kingdom, the Duke of Savoy made himself master of great part of Provence, and attempted the conquest of Dauphiné, but was defeated in several engagements by LESDIGUIERES the King's General. The Duke at first only assisted the Leaguers, but having got footing in France, claimed the sovereignty of what he possessed himself of. So that there were three armies in this part of the kingdom in as many different interests, and consequently, the inhabitants miserably harassed amongst them.

The Cardinal de Bourbon dies.

1591.

About this time died the Cardinal DE BOURBON, whom the Leaguers had acknowledged for their King by the name of CHARLES the Tenth, and notwithstanding the Duke of Maine derived his authority from this pretended Prince, his death made no alteration in their affairs, the Duke of Maine continued to exercise sovereign authority over his party as before. The same year died Pope SIXTUS V., who was succeeded by URBAN the Seventh; but this Pontiff not living above thirteen days, GREGORY the Fourteenth was advanced to the papal chair, a person entirely devoted to the Spanish interest and the League: he sent them forces and money, excommunicated the King and all that adhered to him, deprived him of his dominions, as far as lay in his power, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. These violent proceedings of his Holiness gave the Royalists some disturbance, but the divisions among the Leaguers made them an ample amends: the council of sixteen, after the siege of Paris and the absence of the Duke of Maine, had regained their former authority and influence, and were become so arbitrary, that they hanged up the first President of the parliament and two other members of that body without bringing them to a trial; which so terrified the principal citizens, who began to look upon their lives as very precarious under such a tyranny, that they sent to the Duke of Maine to march to their relief. The Sixteen did design to have opposed his entrance into Paris, but he was so expeditious, that he arrived before they had taken their measures to prevent it; and having called an assembly in the Hôtel de Ville, and heard the complaints of the citizens on this head, he caused four or five of the principal members of the Council of Sixteen to be apprehended that night, and hanged them in the hall of the Louvre; some others who had been equally criminal escaped out of town: and tho' the Duke established his authority for the present by this act of justice, the greatest advantage accrued to the Royalists, who gathered strength by the misunderstandings among the Leaguers.

Both parties call in foreign forces.

1592.

In the mean time both parties having called in foreign troops to their assistance, the Pope's nephew, the Duke of Monte Marciano, marched from Italy at the head of ten thousand Italians and Swiss to join the Leaguers. The Queen of England on the other hand sent the King a supply of money, ammunition, and six thousand men, and the Protestant Princes of Germany furnished him

with another body of troops; whereupon his Majesty laid siege to Rouen, but was obliged to raise it by the Duke of Parma, who again marched into France at the head of a powerful army of Spaniards and Walloons on this occasion. The King's forces under the command of LESDIGUIERES in Dauphiné and Provence had much better success, driving the Duke of Savoy out of those provinces, and carrying the war into his own country.

The year 1593 was more memorable for the meeting of the States at Paris than for military exploits. The King of Spain had obliged the Duke of Guise to assemble them (at least such of them as were not in his Majesty's interest) in order to chuse a sovereign, or rather to confirm one of his nomination; for he insisted that the person whom the Infanta of Spain married should be their monarch, and afterwards let them know that he designed the Archduke ALBERT for her husband: but most of the chiefs of the League opposed him. The King so far acknowledged this assembly of the States, (though no such body could be legally convened without his summons) that he permitted the Catholics of his party to invite those at Paris to a conference upon the affairs of religion and the state; which being agreed on accordingly, the commissioners on both sides met at Surenne, a village about a league and half from Paris; and the King, to facilitate matters, thought fit about this time to declare himself a Catholic, at which the Protestants being alarmed, he gave them a promise under his hand, that whatever the necessity of his affairs might oblige him to, they should be secured in the profession of their religion and liberties pursuant to former edicts. A truce was soon after concluded between the Royalists and the Leaguers, and the King made his abjuration of the Protestant religion openly in the Abbey of St Dennis, on the twenty-fifth of July 1593, of which he sent advice to all the parliaments in the kingdom. He also sent an Ambassador to the Pope, to desire absolution, and to be reconciled to the Church. His Holiness was extremely pleased with the news of his conversion, but refused to give the Ambassador audience for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Spaniard.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

The King forced to raise the siege of Rouen.

1593.

The King declares himself a Roman Catholic.

The King's declaring himself a Catholic had a mighty effect on the people in general, and the cities of Meaux, Lyons, Orleans, Bourges, and many others, soon after surrendered to him; upon which success the King was crowned, or consecrated, in the French phrase, at Chartres, on the twenty-seventh of February 1594; and instead of the holy oil of Rheims, which was then in possession of the Leaguers, they made use of that which is kept in the convent of Marmoutier, and supposed to confer equal blessings on the Sovereign. Soon after this solemnity, the gentlemen of the other party deserted over to him in troops, and all the great towns seemed ready to declare for him. The Duke of Guise observing the like inclinations in the people of Paris, thought it no longer safe to reside among them, and therefore retired from thence with his family to prevent his being delivered up to his enemies; but before he left the town, he procured a promise from the Count DE BRISSAC the Governor, to have a watchful eye over the Royalists, and do all that was in his power to defend the place against them. BRISSAC notwithstanding observing that the kingdom was generally disposed to submit to his Majesty, and that it would not be in his power long to hinder the revolt of the city, agreed with the commissioners appointed

Whereupon many towns declare for him.

1594.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
Paris deli-  
vered up  
to the  
King by  
BRISSAC  
the Gover-  
nor.

to treat with him to deliver it up into the King's hands, which was effected on the twenty-second of March, with some little resistance from the Spanish forces who were in garrison here, of whom there were about three or four-score killed, the rest were permitted to return to their own country. VILLARS, Governor of Rouen, followed the example of BRISSAC, and surrendered that city to his Majesty, making advantageous terms for himself, as the Governors of the rest of the great cities had done who were so wise as to submit in time. The great men in such revolutions as these generally have foresight enough to make their own fortunes, whatever becomes of the cause or the people they have deluded. The young Duke of Guise came to an accommodation with his Majesty the same year. There were some desperado's however left among the malecontents, who could never patiently submit to a Prince whom they were persuaded was still a heretick in his heart, and whom they had been taught it would be meritorious to destroy. One of these having got into the presence-chamber while his Majesty was surrounded by the Lords of the court, made his way through them, and stabbed his Majesty in the mouth with a knife, and had he not stooped forward at that very instant to salute a Nobleman, the knife had been in his breast; but the greatest damage he received by the blow, as it happened, was the loss of one of his teeth. The assassin was a draper's son of Paris, who being examined concerning the fact, confessed that he had received his education among the Jesuits; from whence, and other circumstances, it was concluded he had been encouraged to commit this villainous attempt by that order; at which the King's friends were so exasperated, that they procured an edict for banishing them the kingdom. One, of whom they had the greatest suspicion, was put to death, and others were imprisoned, without ever having been heard in their defence, if we may believe their friend DANIEL.

1595. The King receiving very little hurt by the blow the assassin gave him, soon after took the field in order to reduce the Duke of Maine, who was still at the head of an army in the province of Burgundy, of which he was governor; and the Duke declining to come to an engagement, most of the towns revolted to his Majesty. The King afterwards marched into Provence, where the Leaguers were still in arms, and met with the like success. The Pope apprehending that the whole kingdom was upon the point of submitting to his Majesty, thought fit to send him his bull of absolution, which was published with great solemnity, and the King from that time esteemed a true son of the Church.

In the mean time the King's arms were unsuccessful in the Netherlands; the Spaniards made themselves masters of Cambray, Dourlens, and several other fortresses; and the Duke of Mercœur still maintained himself in Brittany, against the utmost efforts of the Royalists. On the other hand a peace was concluded this year between the King and the Duke of Lorraine, whereby France was delivered from the miseries of war on that side. The Protestants could not conceal their uneasiness, however, at the partiality that was shewn the Catholics, and what made them more so was his Majesty's taking the young Prince of Condé out of their hands, who was the presumptive heir of the crown, in order to breed him up a Papist; but this, it seems, was one of the

conditions on which the Church of Rome was reconciled to him, and granted him absolution.

The year 1596 was remarkable for the submission of the Duke of Maine, the Duke of Joyeuse, the Duke of Nemours, and several other great men, to whom the King was pleased to grant very advantageous conditions, in order to restore peace to his dominions. He seems to have been governed by the same principle the court of England was at the Restoration, of forgiving and preferring his enemies, while his friends, many of them, were left in a starving condition. It was thought sufficient for the Protestants, who had run all hazards for him, and supported him in the most calamitous circumstances with their lives and estates, that they were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that but for a little time. That very house of Bourbon, which they raised to the grandure we see it at this day, in a few years ungratefully destroyed that people which had advanced them to the throne, and lavishly squandered away their possessions upon those men that had been the most obstinate rebels to their family. From this, and many other instances of the like nature, methinks men would do well to consider before they engage in the quarrel of any Prince upon earth; and if they do it out of principle rather than affection or interest, let them expect no other reward than what usually attends on such uncommon virtue. But to proceed: The city of Marseilles, which had, during the civil war, set up for an independent State under the protection of the King of Spain, and had a Spanish garrison in it, was about this time reduced to the King's obedience by the conduct of the Duke of Guise, who kept a correspondence with some of the leading citizens; whereupon the Duke of Espernon, who was at the head of a body of malecontents in that part of France, was induced to lay down his arms, and was received into favour, notwithstanding he had continued long obstinate to all the offers of peace the King had made him.

The Spaniards were still superior to the French on the side of the Netherlands and Picardy, and took from them this campaign the towns of Calais and Ardres, which occasioned an offensive and defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, against Spain. The King's ill success in Picardy is charged upon the obstinacy of the Hugonots (by their enemies) who refused to assist him in that war; but admitting this to be true, they seem to have had sufficient reason for their discontent; they found themselves under great discouragements, while those who had been the greatest enemies to the crown, were possessed of the most considerable employments in the State: but from what occasion soever the King's ill success proceeded, the Spaniards remained masters of the field in the year 1597, and took Amiens the capital of Picardy, though 'tis true the king had the good fortune to retake it the same campaign; and about this time LESDIGUIERES obtained a victory over the Duke of Savoy, who still refused to hearken to proposals of peace.

The following year the King marched at the head of his army into Brittany, and reduced that province to his obedience, obliging the Duke of Mercœur, who had commanded the forces of the League, and made some pretensions to that duchy in his wife's right, to surrender to him in form; whereupon the King was pleased to marry CÆSAR, one of his illegitimate sons, to the Duke's only

CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
1596.  
The Duke  
of Maine  
and other  
chiefs sub-  
mit.

1597.

1598.



CHAP. only daughter, and give him the government of  
XXXIV. that province. By the submission of Mercœur  
the League was entirely destroyed; and while  
the King remained at Nants the capital of Britany,  
to satisfy the Hugonots in some measure, he  
passed that famous irrevocable edict, as the French  
Protestants term it, called THE EDICT OF  
NANTS; whereby they were secured in the  
free exercise of their religion in all parts of the  
kingdom, except Paris and the neighbourhood  
of it.

The edict  
of Nants  
passed.

This year also a peace was concluded at Ver-  
vins in Picardy between France and Spain, where-  
by the Spaniards restored Calais, Ardres, and the  
rest of the towns they had taken on the frontiers  
of France, and Spain was confirmed in the posses-  
sion of the county of Charolois in Burgundy. The  
Duke of Savoy thought it time also to conclude  
a truce now France had no other enemy, and  
was content to relinquish all the conquests he had  
made during the civil war in Provence and Dau-  
phiné; whereby HENRY the Fourth became en-  
tire master of all the French dominions.

1599.

The King was now at leisure to indulge his  
pleasures, especially with the ladies; and indeed  
he was never without a variety of mistresses, even  
in his most calamitous circumstances. This seems  
to be a foible which most of his predecessors were  
guilty of; but he proceeded farther, and solicited  
the court of Rome for a dissolution of his mar-  
riage with Queen MARGARET, sister to King  
HENRY the Third, with whom he had lived for  
many years, under pretence she was forced to marry  
him, by her brother CHARLES the Ninth, and  
as she was prevailed upon to give her consent to it,  
the Pope made no scruple to declare the marriage  
null; whereupon the King found himself at li-  
berty to look out for another, by whom he might  
have issue, for he despaired of having any by this.  
The Duchess of Beaufort, his mistress, dying  
about the same time, he drew up with Madam  
D'ENTRAGUES, and proceeded so far as to give  
her a promise of marriage under his hand, which  
created him very great difficulties afterwards, for  
he married MARY of Medicis, daughter of FRAN-  
CIS late Duke of Tuscany, and niece to FER-  
DINAND the reigning Duke, the following year;  
and having children by her, their legitimacy was  
disputed by some on account of the pre-contract  
with Madam D'ENTRAGUES. In the mean time  
the truce with the Duke of Savoy was turned into  
a peace, whereby he yielded Bresse, comprehending  
Bugey and Le val Romey to the King, in ex-  
change for the marquisate of Saluces, which he re-  
tained; whereby France was entirely freed from  
foreign as well as civil wars, with which she had  
been afflicted for many years.

1600.

1601.  
A Dau-  
phin born.

Marshal  
Biron's  
conspi-  
racy.

A Dauphin being born on the twenty-seventh  
of September 1601, it occasioned a great deal of  
joy in the French court, which was however in-  
terrupted by a conspiracy formed by the Marquis  
of Biron, the Duke of Bouillon, the Count  
d'Auvergne, and several others of the prime no-  
bility, who had laid a scheme to erect the great go-  
vernments of France into so many principalities,  
which were to be no further dependent on the  
King, than the Princes of the Empire are on the  
Emperor. And 'tis said, they had agreed to depose  
the present King, and set the Count de Soissons, a  
Prince of the blood, upon the throne: and they  
were to have been supported in this enterprize by  
the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy.

1602.

LA FIN, a confidant of Marshal BIRON, dis-

covered the whole matter to the King; where-  
upon his Majesty sent for the Marshal to court, and  
told him that if he would make a full confession,  
it should cost him nothing but the repentance  
of his faults: but he having been assured by LA  
FIN that there was no evidence against him, answer-  
ed in a haughty manner, that he had no need of a  
pardon for he had committed no fault. The King,  
'tis said, having no mind to destroy him, spoke to  
him in the same manner the next day, after he  
had given him time to consider of it, but could  
obtain no other answer; whereupon he ordered him  
to prison, where he was put to the torture, and  
afterwards condemned and executed. The King  
pardoned the Count d'Auvergne, as 'tis said he  
designed to have done the Duke of Bouillon;  
but he not caring to venture it, fled first to Ge-  
neva, and afterwards to the court of the Elector  
Palatine, for he was a Protestant. The crime  
must certainly have been very great, and the evi-  
dence exceeding plain, or the King could never  
have taken away the life of BIRON, a man who had  
done him more service than any person in the king-  
dom; he had commanded his armies from first to  
last, and generally been successful: but great men  
frequently take disgust unaccountably; and Princes  
as often take an occasion to ruin their officers and  
ministers who have been most serviceable to them,  
either thro' pique, or an apprehension that they as-  
sume too much, when in reality they have been guilty  
of no more than common failings. But however  
the fact was, 'tis impossible to read this piece of hi-  
story, without being sensibly grieved to see the man  
who had the greatest share in fixing his Prince upon  
the throne, and had accomplished it by innumerable  
hazards and hardships, ruined in a moment by that  
very Prince, and those who were his Majesty's  
greatest enemies, loaded with all the favours and  
honours he could bestow upon them.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

He is ex-  
cuted.

The year 1603 was most remarkable for the re-  
stitution of the Jesuits in France, and the death of  
the Queen of England, who was succeeded by  
JAMES the Sixth of Scotland, and first of England,  
by virtue of an instrument (if we may credit the  
French historians) in which Queen ELIZABETH  
appointed him her successor: but this instrument  
I believe no Englishman ever saw. The French  
and Dutch renewed their alliances with England  
on this occasion, in order to put themselves in a  
condition to oppose the power of Spain, which was  
then looked upon to be as exorbitant and dangerous  
as that of France proved afterwards.

1603.

Not long after another conspiracy was discovered  
against his Majesty, in which the Spaniards had,  
'tis said, engaged the King's mistress Madam D'EN-  
TRAGUES and her father, with the Count d'Au-  
vergne and others; but he pardoned them all,  
which gave some people occasion to suspect it to be  
a sham plot, especially since the King contented  
himself with only taking away the written instru-  
ment from Monsieur D'ENTRAGUES which he  
had given him, containing a promise to marry his  
daughter, and which the Spaniards gave out they  
would one day make use of against the issue he had  
by his Queen. But there were another set of con-  
spirators who had agreed to deliver up Guienne and  
Gascony to the King of Spain, who did not expe-  
rience so much mercy, for he ordered ten of the  
principal of them to be beheaded. The Baron de  
Mairargues also, one of the most considerable  
Lords in Provence, was the next year beheaded  
for treating with the Spaniards to deliver up Mar-  
seilles to them. Thus was this Prince exercised  
with

1604.  
Several  
conspira-  
cies against  
the go-  
vernment.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1609.

1610.  
The King  
assassina-  
ted.

His issue.

LEWIS  
XIII,  
1610.The Queen  
mother de-  
clared Re-  
gent.

with continual plots after the conclusion of the civil war till the year 1604: from that time to the end of this reign the nation seems to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity; unless it be that in 1609 the King entered into a confederacy with the Dutch, to prevent the Archduke ALBERT's possessing himself of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. But his Majesty pursued his amorous intrigues to the last moment of his life. The Prince of Condé was so alarmed at the complaisance he shewed his spouse, daughter to the Constable MONTMORENCY, that he carried her away with him on a sudden to the Low-Countries, and afterwards to Milan, and did not think fit to return into France till after the King's death.

The latter end of this year and part of the next was taken up with raising a numerous army, supposed to be designed against the house of Austria; but the villain RAVAILLAC, a monk, put an end to this and all other designs of this great King, by stabbing him to the heart in his coach in the streets of Paris, on the fourteenth of May 1610. The assassin was taken with the knife in his hand, and afterwards put to the torture in order to compel him to discover his accomplices; but his confession was part of it made a secret: some charge the Spaniards, and even the Queen, with being concerned in it, to which they tell us she was provoked by his being false to her bed; but this seems to be mere conjecture. It is much more probable to be done by this enthusiastical friar on the score of religion, to which he apprehended the King an enemy; for it is observed that he had escaped from above fifty conspiracies, most of them contrived by priests or votaries of Popery, who questioned the sincerity of his conversion. He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign, as King of Navarre; and in the twenty-first year after his accession to the throne of France.

He had no children by Queen MARGARET, sister of HENRY the Third; but by his second wife MARY de Medicis he had three sons, viz. LEWIS the Thirteenth, who succeeded him; the Duke of Orleans his second son, who died at four years of age; and GASTON-JOHN-BAPTIST, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Duke of Orleans, who survived him many years. He had also three daughters, namely, ELIZABETH, married to the Prince of Spain, afterwards PHILIP the Fourth; CHRISTINA, married to VICTOR-AMADEUS, afterwards Duke of Savoy; and HENRIETTA, married to CHARLES the First, King of England. He had besides these, natural children in abundance by his several mistresses.

LEWIS the Thirteenth was almost nine years of age at the death of his father, being born on the 27th of September, 1601. The Queen-Dowager his mother was advised by her friends in the ministry to dry up her tears as soon as possible, and procure herself to be declared regent during the minority of her son in the absence of the Princes of the blood. The Dukes of Guise and Espernon, noblemen of an unbounded ambition, thought that in doing the Queen so singular a piece of service, as she was a stranger, and unacquainted with the art of government, they should thereby entirely engross the administration of affairs in their own hands. Having assembled therefore the provost of the merchants, the sheriffs, and other magistrates of Paris, they harangued them in such a manner, that they gave their consents to the Queen's being declared regent, and the parliament followed their

example; though there were some in the assembly who lamented the misfortune of their country, in being left at the discretion of an Italian, a profuse and unexperienced regent, who would probably be influenced by GALIGAI and CONCHINI her husband, the Queen's chief confidants, and creatures of the court of Spain, and who were suspected of suborning RAVAILLAC to assassinate his late Majesty.

The Count de Soissons, second Prince of the blood, was extremely surprized to find the regency disposed of on his arrival at Paris; but the Queen gave him the government of Normandy to pacify him. The Dukes of Guise and Espernon, who had been so serviceable at this juncture, she rewarded according to their respective inclinations and circumstances. To Guise, who wanted money to pay his debts the most of any thing in the world, she gave two hundred thousand crowns. The haughty Espernon she loaded with honours, ordered him an apartment in the Louvre, and that the Secretaries of state should communicate all their dispatches to him.

In the mean time the parliament were taken up with the trial of RAVAILLAC. By the interrogatories and depositions that are left upon record, it appears that he was an enthusiast, and apprehending that the King was about to make war on the Pope, and encourage the Hugonots, he took up the resolution of killing him. He had imbibed an opinion, that it was lawful for any private man to kill his prince if he was an enemy to his Holiness. He told the judges that to make war against the Pope was to make war against God, because the Pope was God, and God was the Pope. He constantly averred to his last breath, that no man, neither French or foreigner, had incited him to commit this murder. He was broke alive upon the wheel on the 27th of May, in pursuance of his sentence. The same day the parliament ordered the faculty of Paris to revive their censure against those who teach, That a private subject may and ought to destroy tyrants by all the ways they can, and that such an action is not contrary to the oath of allegiance the subject takes. And however clear the Jesuits may be of the late King's murder, the preachers at Paris inveighed severely against them at the time of his funeral.

It was proposed at the beginning of this reign to proceed in the double match with Spain, that had been concerted in the time of HENRY IV; namely, of the present King with the Infanta, and of the Prince of Spain with the eldest daughter of France. The Queen being prepossessed by the Italians about her, whom the Court of Spain had corrupted, laid it down as a maxim that the establishment of her authority depended on a good understanding with the Pope and King of Spain. The court of Rome did not doubt to find their account in this double alliance, as believing it the most effectual way to ruin the Protestants: as the one destroyed them in Germany and the Low-Countries, they projected that the other might extirpate the Hugonots in France, if they were united in their councils. The Queen however, in order to keep all quiet in the beginning of her administration, thought fit to issue a proclamation confirming the edict of Nants, and to relinquish or lessen several of the taxes which were grievous to the subject, particularly that of salt was abated a fourth part.

While things were in this situation, the Prince of Condé returned to court from Milan, whither he had retired with his wife to prevent the late King's

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XXXIV.The trial  
of RA-  
VAILLAC.The match  
with Spain  
proposed.



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King's abusing his bed. The Spaniards upon the death of HENRY the Fourth would have persuaded him to take the title of King, insinuating that the marriage of his late Majesty with MARY of Medicis was void, on account of his former marriage with the Princess MARGARET, who was then living, and his contract with Madam D'ENTRAGUES, and consequently his issue by MARY were illegitimate: but the Prince slighted the proposal, chusing to rest satisfied with his present circumstances rather than hazard all in the uncertain pursuit of a crown. He shewed the same moderation or meanness of spirit, as some were pleased to term it, on his arrival at Paris; when the Dukes of Bouillon and Sully, and other chiefs of the Protestants, offered to assist him in obtaining the regency, and removing his enemies from about the King, he suffered the Queen quietly to enjoy the regency he found her possessed of. It is observed of him, that his avarice much exceeded his ambition. He continued however for some time head of a party, in opposition to Count Soissons; CONCHINI, now Marquis d'Ancre, the Queen's favourite, playing one of these Princes against the other, that they might not be at leisure to animadvert on his conduct, and made himself the umpire of their differences: however, he seemed to court the favour of the Prince of Condé most.

CONCHINI  
sets the  
Princes of  
the blood  
at variance.The  
French  
and Dutch  
take the  
city of Ju-  
liers.

The Emperor, upon the death of the last Duke of Cleves and Juliers, designing to annex those countries to his hereditary dominions, had sent the Archduke LEOPOLD to take possession of them, under pretence of sequestering them till the several claimants should have made out their respective titles. He possessed himself accordingly of the strong city of Juliers; but the French and Dutch, whose interest it was to prevent the aggrandizing of the house of Austria, laid siege to Juliers, and took it, delivering it into the hands of the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Newburgh, who pretended to it by virtue of their having married two of the daughters of that house: and thus these countries became involved in the war of the Netherlands, to which they lie contiguous. But to return to the French court:

1611.

The favourite CONCHINI took care to keep the principal nobility at constant variance, to prevent their intermeddling too much in the administration; however, both Condé and Soissons united in getting the Duke of Sully disgraced, and Marshal DE BOUILLON, tho' a Protestant, contributed all he was able to have that great man removed from his posts of superintendant of the finances, &c. It was the misunderstandings between these Protestant Lords that at length proved their ruin. Their numbers and their quality were so considerable, that they could never have been depressed, if they had not by their unseasonable quarrels done their enemies work for them.

An assem-  
bly of the  
Protestants  
at Sau-  
mur.

The Protestants had been allowed their general assemblies in the reign of HENRY the Fourth, where they used to draw up representations of their grievances, and elect six deputies, of whom the King chose two, these were constantly to attend the court, and take care that nothing passed to the disadvantage of their religion. Such an assembly was permitted to meet this year at Saumur by the Regency, at which the Dukes of Sully, Rohan, Trimouille, Soubize, Chatillon, la Force, and the Marshal BOUILLON were present, the last of which noblemen expected to have been chosen president; but being opposed by the rest, the

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choice fell upon the celebrated DU PLESSIS MORNAY, at which BOUILLON was so disgusted, that he is said to have done the Protestants many ill offices at court afterwards. This gentleman seems to have been more concerned to render himself the head of a party, than to promote the interests of the religion he professed. The general assembly were so sensible of the ill consequence of these divisions among their chiefs, that they proposed a reconciliation, and in outward appearance effected it between SULLY and BOUILLON; who seemed to be the most exasperated against each other; but it did not prove sincere, at least on BOUILLON's part. This assembly not receiving any satisfactory answer to the representations they made of their grievances, renewed their usual oath, namely, That they would die in defence of their faith, and never depart from their allegiance due to the King; with which they were afterwards reproached, as entering into a seditious engagement.

In the year 1612, the double marriage between France and Spain was agreed on. The Queen squandered away incredible sums at the rejoicings that were made on this occasion, while the Protestants were under the utmost consternation, believing their ruin to be chiefly intended by this union of the two crowns. They endeavoured therefore again to reconcile the Lords of their communion, and procured a promise from them to forget their former quarrels, and to assist each other as far as religion and their allegiance to their Prince would allow, and to do nothing that might prejudice the union and uniformity of the doctrine and discipline established in the reformed churches of France. The Dukes of ROHAN and SULLY, the Marshals BOUILLON and LESDIGUIERES, CHATILLON, SOUBIZE, LA FORCE, and DU PLESSIS MORNAY, signed this agreement, and sent it to the Governors of the towns given them for their security, and to the gentlemen of distinction of their persuasion in the several provinces; who all subscribed this engagement.

The national assembly held in the year 1610, having been dissolved before they could obtain any redress of their grievances from the court, provincial assemblies were afterwards held without a licence from the court, and two deputies from each of the eight provinces were sent to Paris, to solicit for a favourable answer to the representation that had been made by the last national assembly; but the court refused to give them audience, under pretence that these provincial assemblies were illegal, not having been convened by the King's authority; and did not only prohibit the holding such assemblies for the future, but also national synods, where any other persons besides their preachers, elders should be present, or any thing treated of but what concerned the doctrine and discipline of the reformed churches of France; and the general assemblies held since that of Saumur were declared unlawful. However, that those who had been at them might not be under any uneasiness, the King declared, that as he did not believe they had any ill design in attending those assemblies, he would grant them a pardon for it. The Protestants were more offended than pleased with this pardon: they insisted they had committed no crime; and at a national synod that was held this year at Privas, they made a solemn protestation, that the provincial assemblies had not been held illegally, and that the Reformed looked on the pardon his Majesty had granted them as a disgrace, that they should never make use of it, and would disown such Protestants as did.

16 C

And

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1612.

The Pro-  
testants  
prepare  
for their  
defence on  
the conclu-  
sion of the  
double  
match  
with  
Spain.Provincial  
assemblies  
held by  
the Pro-  
testants  
prohibited.



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And the regency not caring to irritate the Hugonots at this time, published another declaration in softer terms, which was called an explanation of the former.

1614.  
The Prince of Condé &c. cabal against the court.

The Prince of Condé finding himself slighted at court, and that CONCHINI had the administration solely in his hands, retired in disgust, and was followed by the Dukes of Nevers, Maine, Vendôme, Longueville, &c. The reasons they gave for their discontents were the wasting of the public revenues, the bestowing the highest dignities on foreigners and worthless persons, the arbitrary power of the ministry, the little regard had to the Princes of the blood, and Peers of the kingdom, the controlling the parliaments in the exercise of their jurisdiction, the excessive price demanded for offices of judicature, the destruction of the nobility and oppression of the people, and the precipitate conclusion of the King's marriage before his coming of age. To these complaints, which were most of them just, were added some demands, such as the calling a convention of the Estates within three months, the suspending the King's marriage and his sister's, and the employing men of integrity about the King's person.

The Queen, in answer to this declaration, published a manifesto, wherein she observes, that the covetousness of the Prince of Condé and the other great Lords, had forced her to consume a great part of the treasure left by the late King; that they continually formed cabals and fomented insurrections, which obliged her to distribute money amongst them to keep them quiet; that the irresolution and softness of the Prince made him the tool of all the factions at court; that she was ready to assemble the States of the kingdom, and redress whatever was amiss; and in the conclusion, offered the malecontents terms of accommodation. She did not neglect, however, to raise a body of troops and strengthen herself, in order to give her commissioners the greater weight at the treaty which was agreed on. The Prince of Condé, on the other hand, assembled his friends, and invited the Protestants to join him; but they had no great opinion of his conduct, and generally excused themselves. At length a peace was concluded between the Court and the Prince of Condé; some of the malecontents accepted money, and others preferments: as to the public good, which was the pretence of the insurrection, that was neglected as usual. The convention of the Estates, which was the only thing of moment this treaty produced, was so modelled and managed by the ministry, that they effected little of any moment. It was in this assembly that the famous RICHLIEU, Bishop of Lucon, first appeared upon the stage, being one of the representatives of the clergy, and had a commission to present a paper to the King on the breaking up of the States, at the delivery whereof he made a speech of an hour long, and was heard with great attention.

An accommodation between the Court and the Prince.

RICHLIEU first appears upon the stage.

1615.  
The parliament oppose the arbitrary measures of the court.

The people remained still generally discontented that none of their grievances were redressed in the assembly of the States, and murmured that the Marshal d'Ancre had still the disposal of every thing. The parliament of Paris also published an arret, wherein they invited the great men, and all that were well-affected to their country, to join them in maintaining the liberties of the nation. Whereupon the council issued a declaration in the King's name, making the said arret of parliament void, and prohibiting all people under severe penalties to intermeddle with affairs of state.

The parliament not then used to such haughty treatment, presented a remonstrance to the King, wherein they took a great deal of freedom, and advised him not to make use of absolute commands in the first year of his majority (for he was now in his fourteenth year). The Prince of Condé, Marshal BOUTILLON, and the rest of the malecontents, also had again recourse to arms; but laid them down soon after upon advantageous conditions offered them by the court, leaving the Protestants, who were their principal support, to shift for themselves. This peace was called the treaty of Loudun, from it's having been concluded there.

The court still remained in great confusion, and several removes were made of the great officers. Bishop RICHLIEU took this opportunity of soliciting the Marshal d'Ancre for some preferment, and having contracted a friendship with one of his creatures, procured the place of grand almoner to the Queen-consort ANNE of Austria. The Marshal finding him to be a man of parts, consulted him on the most important affairs, and at length advanced him to the degree of a privy counsellor and secretary of state. And it was by his advice, 'tis said, that he resolved to seize the Prince of Condé, and all the disaffected Lords; in pursuance of which, the Prince was actually made prisoner, and confined in the castle of Vincennes; but the rest had notice of the design against them, and made their escape.

The Marshal had still so many enemies left, that by means of LUVES, who used to attend the King in his sports, and had some influence on him, they gave his Majesty a jealousy of this minister, and procured an order to take him off; though some say they were only to have apprehended him, and that the captain of the guards, who had a commission to seize the Marshal, shot him under a pretence of the resistance he met with. Thus fell CONCHINI, Marshal d'Ancre, a Florentine, after he had tyrannized over the French nobility and parliaments for near seven years, and inspired that court with arbitrary views; which his successors in the ministry so improved, that before the end of this reign the French were in a manner deprived of their liberties.

Upon the death of Marshal d'Ancre all his creatures were turned out, particularly RICHLIEU: the old ministers resumed their places. The Queen-mother was ordered to retire to Blois, where she was confined; and RICHLIEU serving her there in quality of steward of her house, LUVES, who succeeded CONCHINI in the King's favour, being apprehensive of the busy active genius of this prelate, ordered him to retire to Avignon. In the mean time he entertained the King with childish diversions, or exercises of devotion, to which this Prince was naturally addicted, while he governed the State in as despotick a manner as his predecessor CONCHINI had done, not suffering any person to approach his Majesty till he was acquainted with their business.

The year following the Queen-mother, by the assistance of the Duke of Espèron, made her escape from Blois; which gave LUVES great uneasiness, apprehending she would one time or other ruin him by her intrigues. RICHLIEU sending him a submissive letter about this time, and offering to serve this minister without reserve, he laid hold of the opportunity, and ordered him to attend the Queen again, and acquaint him from time to time with the measures she was about to take, but not to let her Majesty know he had any correspondence

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1616.  
RICHLIEU made secretary of state.

The Prince of Condé made prisoner.

1617.

Marshal d'Ancre murdered.

1618.  
RICHLIEU turned out.

The Queen-mother confined.

LUVES prime minister.

1619.



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respondence with the court; and according as he discharged this trust, gave him hopes of preferment.

**RICH-  
LIEU** em-  
ployed by  
**LUINES** to  
discover  
the Queen-  
mother's  
intrigues.

This order **RICHIEU** very readily obeyed, and played his game so well, that he was relied on by both parties, of which he afterwards made his advantage. The Queen particularly looked upon him as her most faithful servant: that he had hazarded every thing to attend her in her distress, and therefore communicated her most important secrets to him. A treaty was soon after set on foot between the King and his mother, and all their differences in a manner adjusted; but **RICHIEU** dissuaded her from going to Paris, unless she could be admitted into the administration as formerly. In the mean time **LUINES** apprehending he might want a support if the Queen-mother returned, proposed the making a friend of the Prince of Condé, by restoring him to his liberty; and accordingly procured it for him of the King, after he had been a prisoner upwards of three years: whereupon the Prince in gratitude promised to support his interests, and gave him all the assistance that lay in his power in the administration of the government. **LUINES** about the same time procured a patent to be made a Duke and Peer of France.

The Prince  
of Condé  
set at li-  
berty.

The  
Queen and  
disaffected  
Lords take  
the field.

The Queen still remaining at a distance from court, was applied to by the Hugonots and disaffected Lords to oppose the arbitrary proceedings of the ministry; and her party at length became so numerous, that it made the prime minister tremble: nor was it long before they took the field. As to the King, their historians inform us that he was an indolent Prince, and applied himself to nothing. That he had neither resolution to undertake any thing himself, or constancy to pursue good advice when it was given. That he wanted an able minister possessed of the royal qualities of which he was destitute: whereupon every great man about the court knowing his weakness, pretended to the direction of affairs, and this occasioned those divisions that frequently distracted the state.

1620.  
The King  
marches  
against  
them.

While **LUINES**, who was more a sportsman than a soldier, was confounded at the repeated advices he received of the strength and numbers of the malecontents, the Prince of Condé advised the King to take the field as soon as possible, and attack his enemies before they had assembled their whole force. He assured his Majesty that if this conduct had been observed in those insurrections in which he was concerned, he must have submitted. The King it seems at this time was so wise as to follow the Prince's advice; and giving him the command of the army, marched with him in person into Normandy, where the Duke of Longueville and the malecontents were reported to be very strong; but they retired upon his approach, and the King with very little difficulty made himself master of Rouen, Caen, and most of the towns in that province. From hence he continued his march against the Queen, who had assembled a great body of troops in Anjou. At the same time he sent to offer her terms of accommodation, and a treaty was actually set on foot between them. The King still advancing, the Queen was advised to send to the Dukes of Maine and Espernon to join her with their forces; but **RICHIEU** apprehending that if those two noblemen were about the Queen, he should lose that influence he had on her Majesty's affairs, and not be able to play the game he intended, persuaded her that she was secure with the forces she had at Angers, and

procured an order from her that those Lords should remain in the provinces where they were; and by this means ruined the affairs of her Majesty and her confederates: for the King's troops having a great superiority, soon after fell upon a body of the Queen's, and defeated them; which so terrified her, that though she had insisted on very extravagant terms before, she was now content with such as the King was pleased to grant. There was one secret article however consented to in favour of **RICHIEU**, which let people into the mystery of the matter: he had made a merit of betraying his mistress, and thereby obtained a promise from the King to procure him a Cardinal's cap of the Pope. When people saw therefore the whole body of malecontents ruined by the advice of this Prelate, the Queen obliged to return to court, and several Princes and great Lords excluded out of the treaty, and none of them any gainers by it but himself, they made no doubt of his having betrayed the Queen to whom he was so infinitely obliged, both before and afterwards. They were further confirmed in this conjecture, when they saw the Bishop's niece married to the son of the Duke of Luines the prime minister: but the Queen was still so far from believing him false to her, that she made a considerable addition to his niece's portion.

To proceed: The Dukes of Espernon and Guise, and the rest of the malecontents, having laid down their arms, the Pope's nuntio used all his interest with the Duke of Luines to fall upon the Hugonots: and though this minister seemed to disapprove of it, yet there were so many persons about the court for suppressing them, that it was resolved about this time to strike at the whole body. They determined to begin with the province of Bearn, where the Protestants were most numerous: accordingly the King marched thither from Poitiers, where he then was with his army; but meeting with no resistance, he contented himself with ordering mass to be said in the principal churches of the province, after it had been abolished about fifty years.

The Duke of Luines the following year procured a patent to be Constable of France; and the people of Bearn making an insurrection on account of their religion, he sent the Duke of Espernon, who was a mortal enemy to that persuasion, to suppress them. He found on his arrival that they had abandoned all their towns and villages, and were fled to the mountains: but the General ordering his soldiers not to hurt any of them, and observing an exact discipline, many of the people returned to their houses again. However, these two attempts alarmed the Protestants pretty much; and as their churches at Tours, Poitiers, and other places had been burnt by the popish mob with impunity, they were pretty well assured there was a design formed against them to divest them of those privileges they enjoyed by the edict of Nantz.

The Protestants hereupon called a general assembly to consult of their defence: the King ordered them to break up, but they refused, which was interpreted an overt-act of rebellion, and the court determined to seize on those cities and towns which had been given them for their security. The Protestants on the other hand had recourse to arms, and did not fail to retaliate the injuries they received. Towns were taken and retaken, and thus a war was on a sudden commenced on all sides. The first place that made any considerable defence against the Royalists

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The  
Queen  
compelled  
to accept  
of disad-  
vantageous  
peace by  
the trea-  
chery of  
**RICH-  
LIEU**.

Papery  
established  
in Bearn  
again.

1621.  
An insur-  
rection by  
the Prote-  
stants of  
Bearn.  
An army  
sent a-  
gainst  
them.

A war  
commen-  
ces be-  
tween the  
Papists  
and Prote-  
stants.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.LUISES  
the prime  
minister  
dies.

1622.

The  
Queen-  
mother  
comes into  
the admi-  
stration a-  
gain.The  
Chiefs of  
the Hugo-  
nots for-  
sake them.The par-  
liament  
compelled  
to ratify  
the acts of  
the coun-  
cil.The civil  
war very  
bloody.A peace  
concluded.RICH-  
LIEU  
made Car-  
dinal.

was that of St John de Angeli, which held out a siege of two months, and then surrendered on condition of preserving their religion, lives, liberties, and estates; but the houses had been in a manner destroyed by the besiegers, and the King razed their fortifications. After this the royalists took several other places, and being encouraged by their success, laid siege to the strong town of Montauban, but were forced to raise it after they had lain three months before the place, and lost an incredible number of men; the disgrace whereof is said to have affected the Duke of Luines to that degree, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died.

The Queen-mother was about this time re-admitted into the council, in order to balance the Prince of Condé, who was thought to bear too great a sway in it. Both of them were very zealous in prosecuting the war against the Hugonots, who being deserted by most of their Chiefs, had the worst of it every where. SULLY, BOUILLON, LESDIGUIERES, and CHATILLON, all went over to the court: they alleged, that their party would be under no government; that their general assemblies, and even synods of the clergy, pretended to direct their military operations; and that it was impossible to hope for success where anarchy and confusion reigned. However, a great part of the country was destroyed by the continual ravages of the one or the other party, the taxes consequently fell short, and the King was forced to take some extraordinary ways to raise money; some of which appeared so illegal and oppressive, that the parliament of Paris refused to ratify them, till the King coming thither in person, with the Princes of the blood, and great officers of state, terrified them into a compliance. In this reign, it is observed, their parliaments had but very little authority; the court made no other use of them than to record the acts of the King and Council.

The royalists went on successfully, taking one place after another from the Hugonots. The Marquis de la Force also, who commanded their troops in Guienne, thought fit about this time to reconcile himself to the court, receiving of the King a Marshal's staff, and a considerable sum of money, in consideration of his deserting his party, and delivering up the town of St Foy. The war yet continued very bloody: the town of Negrepelisse particularly having been taken by the royalists, and the garrison afterwards over-powered and put to the sword by the inhabitants; the King, upon the retaking it, ordered all the people in the town and castle to be massacred, except the women, who were nevertheless exposed to the brutality of the soldiers. Cruelties of this kind were exercised in several other places; no wars, 'tis observed, being ever carried on with that rage and violence as those which are occasioned by difference in religion: murder and rapine are sanctified in the opinion of both sides, by the righteousness of the cause.

About this time LESDIGUIERES was made Constable of France, on account of his skill in military affairs, and his complaisance to the court in turning Papist: and the Protestants being induced by their ill Success to desire peace, the Constable procured them a pardon and liberty of conscience, which put an end to the war; though there were some of the Ministers whom nothing would satisfy but a total extirpation of the Hugonots.

RICHLIEU this year received his Cardinal's cap by the solicitations of the Queen-mother, for

which he promised everlasting gratitude; tho' it is observed, his gratitude and acknowledgments lasted no longer than her friendship was advantageous to him. She would have procured him also a place in the council, but was not able to effect it till near two years after, the Ministry had such a jealousy of him; whereupon he still continued to exercise the office of Steward of the Queen's house, and made his court to her with his usual diligence.

The kingdom now enjoying peace at home and abroad, nothing remarkable happened this year, unless some changes in the Ministry; Count SCHOMBERG was turned out of his places of Superintendent of the finances, and Grand Master of the ordnance, and the old Chancellor SILLE-  
RY was obliged to resign.

The year 1624 was propitious to Cardinal RICHLIEU, who, at the repeated instances of the Queen-mother, was admitted into the council of state, where there being scarce any person of great experience or capacity at this time, he soon obtained the entire disposal of publick affairs. One of the first things that fell under his management was the match between CHARLES Prince of Wales, and the Princess HENRIETTA the King's sister. The principal articles the French insisted on were liberty of conscience for the English Catholics; a church for the Princess's retinue, who were to be all Catholics, and the education of the children of this marriage in the same religion. The two first were absolutely refused by the English Ambassadors; and as to the last it was agreed, the children should remain in the hands of the Princess till ten years of age, and that she might have the direction of their education in the mean time. The French were to pay eight hundred thousand crowns for her marriage-portion, one half at London the evening before the marriage, two hundred thousand crowns a year afterwards, and the remainder six months after that. Her jointure was agreed to be sixty thousand crowns per ann. which is but a trifle to that settled on the present Queen of England, tho' voluntarily granted after marriage, without any consideration had to the marriage-portion.

The affair of the Valteline came upon the carpet next: The Spaniards, it seems, in the reign of HENRY IV, had built the Fort of Fuentes in the Valteline, which belongs to the Grisons, to preserve their communication between Germany and Italy, that they might not be always obliged to ask leave of the Swiss or the Grisons when they had occasion to march their troops that way. France and Italy were both alarmed at this step, imagining the house of Austria had some great design in view; but the Spaniards pretended they had built this fort only to protect the Catholick religion in the Valteline, which they apprehended would be extirpated by the Grisons, who were Sovereigns of it. This appeared afterwards only a sham to lull the Italian States asleep, the Spaniards proceeding to build four other forts, in order to make themselves entirely masters of this valley, which is a country about thirty miles in length, and naturally so well defended by rocks and precipices, that whoever possesses it, may, with a small force, prevent the greatest armies passing between Germany and Italy.

The French spent a great deal of time in treaties and negotiations to prevail with the Spaniards to demolish these forts, which they often promised to do, but never effected. An alliance was there-  
upon

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1623.

1624.

Cardinal  
RICH-  
LIEU ad-  
mitted in-  
to the coun-  
cil of state.Becomes  
prime Mi-  
nister.The  
match be-  
tween the  
Prince of  
Wales and  
the Prin-  
cess Hen-  
rietta.France  
and Spain  
dispute  
the posses-  
sion of the  
Valteline.



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upon entered into between the French, the Duke of Savoy, and the Venetians, in the year 1623, to compel them to quit the forts, and restore the Grisons to the sovereignty of the Valteline. The Spaniards finding it would be difficult to maintain their ground, put their forts into the hands of the Pope, assuring his Holiness they had no other design than the preservation of the Catholick religion; and by this artifice they avoided a war, and engaged the Pope on their side. In the mean time the passes remained open to their troops, and they did not doubt the getting the forts out of the hands of the Pope again, as soon as the alliance above-mentioned should be dissolved. When the Cardinal came into the ministry, he determined to spend very little time in negotiations on this affair: the Spaniards and Pope refusing to demolish the forts, he immediately hired six thousand Swiss and Grisons, and sent them into the Valteline, under the command of the Marquis de Cœuvres, to endeavour to recover the possession of it. The Pope's troops were so terrified at their approach, that they abandoned most of the forts, and gave the Marquis an opportunity of seizing the best part of the country, which he held a considerable time with the consent of the Grisons, who were glad to shake off the Austrian yoke, and recover their sovereignty. In the mean time, the Pope made loud complaints of the injustice and dishonour that was done him at the court of France, which were not much regarded by the Cardinal.

1625.  
The French and the Duke of Savoy attempt the conquest of the state of Genoa.

Another enterprize was concerted the following year between the Cardinal and the Duke of Savoy, which made a great noise. The French and the Duke having each of them their pretensions on the Republick of Genoa, it was agreed privately to raise an army of thirty thousand men, and attempt the conquest of that country; and if they succeeded, to divide it between them. The Genoese, and the rest of the Italian Princes, observed the preparations of war that were making on their frontiers, but imagined they were designed to support the French troops in the Valteline, till they saw them join and march directly for Genoa. The country being utterly unprovided against such an invasion, they made themselves masters of all the towns in the Genoese territories, except the capital and Savona: but the Constable LESDIGUIERES, who commanded the French, and the Duke, falling out about dividing the spoil, and the Spaniards sending an army of thirty thousand men at the same time to the assistance of the Genoese, the French and Savoyards were forced to abandon their conquests with the same speed that they made them. The French might have supported their troops in the territories of the Genoese indeed by timely reinforcements, but they had no mind to enter into a formal war with the Spaniards, while the Rochellers and the rest of the Hugonots were in arms.

The war breaks out again between the Hugonots and Papists.

The French court, it seems, on the conclusion of the last peace with the Rochellers, had stipulated to demolish Fort Lewis near that city, which was built in order to block them up on the land-side. The government taking no care to put this part of the treaty in execution, the Rochellers presented a petition to his Majesty on that subject, and meeting with nothing more than fair words, were resolved to do themselves justice forthwith; whereas, says my author, had they waited till the King had been engaged in a war with Spain, which seemed almost inevitable at this time, necessity would have obliged him to have kept his

word with them; but being governed more by their passions than good policy, they assembled a fleet to make reprisals, and giving the command of it to SOUBIZE, he seized upon seven of the King's ships in the port of Blavet or Brest. They afterwards attempted to surprize Fort Lewis, in which they did not meet with so good success. However, they made frequent excursions, and ravaged all the country round in the possession of the royalists, which the Governor of Fort Lewis was not able to prevent. SOUBIZE also possessed himself of the islands of Rhee and Oleron, on the last of which he built three forts for the defence of it. The Hugonots also in Languedoc, being assembled by the Duke of Rohan, had frequent skirmishes with the royalists.

The French King about this time hired twenty or thirty ships of the Hollanders, and procured seven or eight more of the court of England, to be employed in the expedition against Genoa; but the Rochellers being masters of all the sea-coasts, so that no ships could go in or out of their ports without danger of falling into their hands, the King determined to send the ships he had procured of the English and Dutch, to suppress the naval power of the Rochellers, and deprive them of the islands they had possessed themselves of. The English mariners understanding they were to fight against their friends the Rochellers, left their ships, of which seven were merchant-men, and the other a man of war, with the French Admiral, and returned to England, where great complaints were made to the government against the court of France for abusing the English, in employing their ships against Rochelle, which were lent for another service. The King of England however being just married to the Princess HENRIETTA a daughter of France, and entered into an alliance with that crown against Spain, did not think it proper immediately to break with his brother-in-law, till he had first expostulated the matter with him by way of negotiation.

The Hollanders were not so scrupulous as the English on this occasion; for tho' the Rochellers were Calvinists, of the same communion with themselves, yet in consideration of a pension of six hundred thousand crowns per annum, which they annually received of the French King, and in hopes of his entering into an alliance with them against their old enemy the Spaniard, they suffered their admiral and his whole fleet to assist in the destruction of their Protestant brethren. They put themselves under the command of MONTMORENCY, the French Admiral, and having assisted THOYRAS, Governor of Fort Lewis, in his descent on the isles of Rhee and Oleron, out of which he beat SOUBIZE, they afterwards ruined the best part of the Rochelle fleet, and among the rest their Admiral who perished bravely however; for three of the enemies ships being grappled with him, he set fire to his powder, which blew them all up into the air together.

The Rochellers being reduced to very low circumstances, blocked up on the land-side by the forts which had been built by the royalists, deprived of the supplies of provisions they used to receive from the isles of Rhee and Oleron, and incapable of procuring supplies by sea on the loss of their fleet, sent deputies to the French King, imploring his mercy, and desiring peace on almost any terms. However, as nothing less would satisfy the court than the surrender of their town, and the demolishing the fortifications, they

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The French hire English and Dutch ships against the Rochellers.

1626



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the Ro-  
chellers  
again.

returned home with out effecting any thing. But the court of England, about this time, demanding the restitution of the ships that had been lent the French King, which were refused, and resolving to assist the Rochellers, the Cardinal was inclined to grant that people better terms: He insisted on no more at this time, than that the Roman Catholicks should be allowed the free exercise of their religion in Rochelle, and that the estates and goods of the Ecclesiasticks should be restored to them: and, on the other hand, he agreed the Hugonots should have the benefit of the edict of Nantz, and should not be molested by Fort Lewis, or any of the forts erected in the isles of Rhee or Oleron, but might peaceably enjoy the estates they had there. And when the Cardinal was reproached with being a friend to Hugonots on this occasion, because he would not extirpate them when it was in his power, he let those be was most intimate with understand, that he fully intended to destroy them, and only granted them this peace (which he designed to break the first opportunity) till he had settled some foreign negotiations: and the Protestants themselves were so sensible of this, that they sent *SOUBIZE* to England notwithstanding the peace, to solicit for a re-inforcement. The Cardinal had two great inducements for concluding this agreement with the Hugonots; one of them was, that he might make the better terms with Spain, which court remained very intractable while they found France engaged in a civil war: the other was the breaking of the power of the Princes of the blood and great Lords, who, from the beginning, were uneasy to see the administration of the government entrusted solely in his hands by the King.

Peace with  
Spain.

The peace with Spain he accomplished the same year; the principal articles whereof were, that the Valteline should be put into the same condition it was in the year 1617; that the sovereignty of that country should be left to the Grisons; that they should be masters of the passes as formerly, but that the Roman Catholick religion only should be exercised in the Valteline; that they should be at liberty to chuse a Catholick Grison Governor, and their Magistrates also be all Catholicks; that the forts in the Valteline should be immediately razed, and that neither party should give any assistance to their allies who refused to acquiesce in this treaty.

The Cardinal sets  
himself to  
depress the  
power of  
the Princes  
of the  
blood and  
great men.

The Cardinal being arrived to such a degree of power at this time, that more court was made to him than to the King or the Princes of the blood, began to think how he might establish his grandeur, and prevent the cabals of the great men against him. The person he was most apprehensive of, was the Marshal d'Ornano, Governor to the King's brother the Duke of Orleans: for the King being infirm, and having no children at this time, the nation began to cast their eyes upon the Duke, as like to succeed to the crown; and as d'Ornano was observed to have no less influence over that Prince, than *RICHIEU* had over the King, the Cardinal at first proposed the making d'Ornano his friend, not doubting, if he was supported by the favourite of the first Prince of the blood, the presumptive heir of the crown, he need not be concerned at the envy of the rest of the Grandees. But *RICHIEU* not finding d'Ornano tractable, or disposed to support his tyranny, began to look upon him as his enemy, and it was not long before he resolved his destruction; to effect which, he made use of Father *JOSEPH*, a Ca-

puchin, who pretended a great esteem and friendship for the Marshal, led him into discourses which rendered him obnoxious to the government. He also put him upon demanding of his Majesty, that Monsieur the Duke of Orleans might be admitted into the council, and made General of the army; with which the King immediately acquainted the Cardinal, and demanded his opinion. This Prelate put the most odious constructions imaginable upon these propositions; and as he knew his Majesty to be of a fearful jealous temper, he said the Marshal had inspired too ambitious thoughts into his brother, who was immediately to succeed to the crown, in case his Majesty had no children; that he demanded the command of the army only to make use of it against him that gave it, or at least, that he might share the government with him; and that the Marshal would infallibly, one time or other, draw Monsieur into some destructive scheme against the state. He acquainted the King also with some arguments which was reported d'Ornano had used to dissuade Monsieur from marrying Mademoiselle de Montpensier; as that if he espoused one of the King's subjects, he would himself become more a subject than before, and his fortune would be absolutely in the hands of the King's Minister; whereas if he made a foreign alliance, it might be of use to him if the King gave himself up to the haughty and violent spirit of the Cardinal.

The King giving credit to these insinuations, in order to take Monsieur out of the hands of d'Ornano, admitted him voluntarily into the cabinet-council; whereupon the Marshal desired, that he might be admitted also as had been promised him under the ministry of *LUINES*, or at least that he might stand by him in council as one of the Secretaries; but both were denied him: whereupon 'tis said, he shewed his discontent in terms very displeasing to his Majesty, and two days after he was arrested with some other of Monsieur's officers, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes, being charged with conspiring against the King and the prime minister, in order to render himself master of the government. But whether the Marshal and his friends were in any plot or not, 'tis certain, this violent proceeding against him occasioned a plot against the Cardinal, which was very near being fatal to him.

For Monsieur having notice of the imprisonment of the Marshal, went to his Majesty and demanded the reason of it, and told him, if he put the Marshal to death, who was an innocent man, he would die with him; that he saw he was fallen into the snare his enemies had long laid for him, and he hoped, that the justice of his Majesty would not abandon his brother, and an officer of the crown, to the fury of their enemies. That if he ever discovered the author of the Marshal's imprisonment, nothing but the arms of his Majesty should save him from his revenge. These transports only serving to augment the distrust, which the Cardinal endeavoured to raise in the King's mind against Monsieur; and there being no hopes of procuring d'Ornano's liberty, nine or ten persons of distinction, friends to the Duke of Orleans, entered into a resolution to assassinate the Cardinal at Fleury, where he then was. The Marquis de Chalais, who was one of the number, discovered the design to *VALENCAY*, one of his intimate friends, in hopes he would have engaged with them; but *VALENCAY*, on the contrary censured the enterprize, and assured him, that he would discover

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XXXIV.A conspi-  
racy a-  
gainst the  
Cardinal.



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discover it to the Cardinal, unless he would do it himself, and thereby make his peace with that Prelate. Whereupon they went together to Fleury, where Chalais made such a discovery of the matter as he saw fit; particularly he told the Cardinal, that Monsieur, under pretence of coming to dine with him the next day, would send his officers early in the morning in order to provide a dinner for him, but that the true design was to increase the strength of the conspirators. Accordingly at three of the clock in the morning, Monsieur's people came to Fleury, as if they were to prepare a dinner; whereupon the Cardinal left his apartment, and with a numerous retinue came to Fontainebleau, where the King then was. He went immediately to Monsieur's chamber, who was just rising, and extremely surprized to see him there; he expostulated with him, that he would not permit him to get a dinner for him, and told him, that he had left his house to the Duke's people as soon as they appeared. The Cardinal's enemies could not apprehend how he had discovered the design, there being none concerned in it but those whom they believed they might rely upon. The Cardinal, to conceal the person he had it from, pretended he had received the intelligence from abroad, and ordered Count Chalais to dissemble himself to be of the same party still, that he might the better penetrate into the depth of his enemies designs. Chalais accordingly deceived his friends a second time; he confessed he had made a discovery in part, to prevent VALENCAY's doing it before him, but that he would still be faithful to them, and assist in the execution of the matter.

Besides the Duke of Orleans, several others of the first quality were accused, as Count Soissons another Prince of the blood, the Duke of Longueville, the Duke of Vendosme, the Grand Prior of France, the Duke of Espernon, the Duke of Chevreuse, the Marquis de Valette, and many more; of whom the Grand Prior, the Duke of Vendosme, and several others were apprehended and carried to the castle of Vincennes. Monsieur hereupon was about to withdraw himself from the court; but the Cardinal apprehending this might be to the disadvantage of his projects, employed some of his agents to divert him from it; and having sufficiently terrified him with the threats of the King's displeasure, offered him at length, that if he would desert the party, who had put him upon the late attempts against his person, he would become his fast friend, and procure him whatever he could desire of his Majesty. The Duke of Orleans considering, that if he complied with the Cardinal, he should not only escape a prosecution, which might be fatal to him, but be restored to the King's favour, and might advance his interest in many other particulars; let that Prelate know, that if he would stay the proceedings against Marshal d'Ornano, and increase his revenue an hundred thousand florins per ann. and admit him to marry whom he pleased, he would unite his interests with him. The Cardinal, after some consideration, agreed to indulge him in all these particulars.

In the mean time a special commission was issued for the trial of Count Chalais; for tho' RICH-  
LIEU had promised him his favour on making a full discovery, and his testifying some particulars which he had suggested to him, yet under pretence he had not been ingenuous in his confession, he resolved to proceed with the utmost severity; and because he was apprehensive, that the parlia-

ments or ordinary courts of justice might not convict him, or rather, says my author, to let the great men see, that if they caballed against him, there was no way of avoiding his revenge, he instituted this new method of trial, which the Ministers frequently made use of afterwards to destroy those that opposed them. And it seems the Cardinal had prevailed upon the Duke of Orleans himself to testify, that Chalais had advised him to withdraw from court, and offered to furnish him with the means of doing it. It was deposed against him also, that he had reconciled himself to the party that were to destroy the Cardinal, and engaged in that design a second time. To which the prisoner answered, He had indeed pretended to do so, but it was in order to serve the Cardinal, and by his and the King's particular orders. But however that matter really was, it seems, he thought it convenient to take Chalais off; and sentence being passed on him to lose his head, this Minister suffered it to be executed. So dangerous is it to play a double game; or rather, so little dependance is there to be had on the promise of a Minister.

Among other discoveries that, 'tis said, were made on this occasion, it is reported, that d'Ornano had told the Queen-consort, that if the King died, the Duke of Orleans might lawfully marry her: nay, that they had talked of declaring the King impotent, and putting him into a monastery, and even of marrying her to Monsieur his brother, in his life-time. But these probably were suggestions of RICH-  
LIEU's, to render his Majesty's nearest relations suspected, that he might depend solely on the prime minister. And indeed Count Soissons, one of the Princes of the blood, having seen the fate of Chalais, and been charged with a design of going to Rochelle, to put himself at the head of the Hugonots, as many other of the Nobility were with other crimes, they thought fit to leave the kingdom, or retire and live privately on their estates: so that the Cardinal had now a clear stage; scarce any of the Grands were left at court, except the Duke of Orleans, and him he had made dependent on him. As to d'Ornano, he died in the castle of Vincennes of a fever, as it was given out, tho' some reported he was poisoned. In his last moments, being about to take the sacrament, he swore upon his salvation, that the Duke of Orleans had never harboured a thought against the King's person as he could perceive, and that those about him had never given him any such advice; but that the Duke seeing himself entirely excluded from the government, which was passed into the hands of the Cardinal, had only sought means to lessen the excessive power of that Minister, and to obtain a share of it himself. That whatever more had been said was false, or never came to his knowledge.

RICH-  
LIEU having reconciled the King to his brother the Duke of Orleans, and made him his friend, in appearance at least, procured his Majesty's consent for his marrying Mademoiselle de Montpensier. The King also gave his Highness the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the county of Blois, besides five hundred and sixty thousand livres annual pension; and his wife brought him an estate of three hundred and thirty thousand livres per ann. and being possessed of so noble a revenue, this Prince now thought of nothing but indulging his pleasures, and seemed to have forgot the ill usage he had received: but he

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of Orleans  
marries.The Duke  
of Orleans  
becomes  
dependent  
on the  
Cardinal.RICH-  
LIEU  
tries the  
great men  
by an ex-  
traordina-  
ry com-  
mission.



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was the only person, it is observed, that was concerned in the conspiracy against the Cardinal, that did not suffer either in his person, his fortune, or reputation. Even the Queen-consort was brought before the Council, and reproached by the King, for entertaining thoughts of a second husband in his life-time.

A guard  
appointed  
the Cardi-  
nal.

As the Cardinal had exasperated the Princes of the blood, and acquired the hatred of most of the Nobility by his arbitrary and contemptuous behaviour towards them, he was sensible this would not be the last conspiracy formed against him. He procured the Pope's Nuncio therefore to represent to his Majesty the danger he had incurred by the zeal he expressed for his service; whereupon the King appointed him guards like a sovereign Prince for his security, believing that his crown and government depended entirely on the life of this Prelate. He ordered also, that whoever had any business with him, should first apply to some other minister, from whom he was to obtain a licence in writing to see the Cardinal, before the Captain of his guard might permit the person to enter his gates.

An assem-  
bly of the  
Notables  
called.

Thus having fortified himself against all surprise, he determined to render the King (or rather himself) absolute in his dominions. And first he summoned an assembly of the Notables, to approve and give a sanction to his administration. This assembly consisted of Monsieur the Duke of Orleans, President; the Cardinal de la Vaillette; the Marshals de la Force and Bassompierre; the first and second Presidents of the parliament of Paris; of the first Presidents of the eight other parliaments of the kingdom; of the Procurators, or Attorney-Generals; of the first and second Presidents of the chambers of accounts of Paris, Rouen, and Dijon, with their Attorney-Generals, and those of the three courts of aids; the Lieutenant-civil of Paris; six Knights of the order of the Holy Ghost; six of the Council, and twelve Prelates.

Antiently when the state of the kingdom was to be considered, new laws made, or taxes raised, it had been usual to convene the three estates of the kingdom, that is, the representatives of the Clergy, Nobility, and great towns, without whose approbation nothing passed into a law. But the Cardinal despairing of having his measures approved by these, resolved entirely to disuse it, and convene the Notables, who were sometimes also called together upon emergencies, when there was not time or opportunity for a meeting of the States: and the court being at liberty to pick out whom they pleased to constitute these assemblies, seldom failed of having their conduct approved by them. These therefore the Cardinal did not doubt of modelling according to his wishes, and to make them ratify whatever he had transacted.

His Majesty being present at the opening of the assembly, acquainted them, that he had called them together to remedy the disorders of the state; and that the Keeper of the Seals would further declare his pleasure. The Keeper MURILLAC thereupon said, that the King had convened them to receive their advice on the important affairs of the government, in imitation of his predecessors, who sometimes assembled the three Estates, and sometimes the Notables (or Persons of Distinction) consisting of a less number: then having made a panegyric on his Majesty, he thanked heaven for the discovery of the conspiracies formed against him (or rather the Cardinal). He let them know

that the government was greatly in debt, by the charges the civil war had occasioned, and the pensions given to the allies of the crown and the great men of the kingdom. That the King had been obliged to raise money by various means, and yet the treasury was above fifty millions in debt, from the constant deficiencies of those supplies. That his Majesty would endeavour to retrench his private expences, and regulate his finances; but still means must be found out to augment his revenues, and to put him into a condition to repress the frequent conspiracies and rebellions formed against the government; and that his Majesty would order the estimates for these purposes to be laid before the assembly. The reader will forgive me reciting the heads of this speech for the resemblance it has to some more modern speeches, that have been frequently made in a neighbouring kingdom.

When money, the ultimate end of all speeches of this nature, was proposed to be raised, it was with the greatest readiness agreed to be done by the creation of a multitude of new offices, or a charge upon those that were already in being; by customs and duties on goods, manufactures, and the produce of the earth, such as were never known before. And one design of assembling the Notables, no doubt, was, that the people might discharge their rage upon them for these oppressions, while the Ministry, who were the contrivers of them, escaped their censure. The Notables shewed an equal zeal to raise what forces the court demanded for sea and land-service; and, in short, like some other assemblies in these days, denied nothing that was demanded of them. Nor is it to be supposed they should, when most of them had places or pensions; and while they gave the King with one hand, received part of the supplies they granted with the other. The interest of the nation, we may be sure, was much studied by these mercenary creatures.

There was a great deal of talk, says my author, of re-establishing navigation and commerce, of which Cardinal RICHELIEU was made superintendent; but his projects produced very little fruit, any more than a great many others that were set on foot during his administration to amuse the nation and render him popular. The subjects were exhausted and impoverished by taxes, to maintain unprofitable wars while he was at the helm, and consequently foreign trade could not be carried on to any great advantage.

In the mean time there happened some misunderstandings between the courts of France and England, which at length broke out into an open war. The French had employed the English ships which were lent them to assist in the siege of Genoa against the Rochellers, and refused to restore them, as has been observed already; whereupon the English made reprisals, by stopping several French merchant-ships in the ports of England. The court of France on the other hand seized the effects of the English merchants in that kingdom to the value of two or three hundred thousand pounds. But these differences had been accommodated, and the ships and merchandizes reciprocally returned. A further breach however was made between the two nations the following year 1627, by the indiscretion of some of the Queen of England's servants, that did ill offices between the two courts. The Queen, as has been mentioned already, was allowed, by the articles of marriage, to entertain French Roman Catholics and

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The Notables grant  
all the  
taxes and  
forces the  
court demands.War between  
France and  
England.



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Insolence of the popish priests in England.

The French King complained of this transaction as a breach of the articles of marriage, and ordered the English shipping in his ports to be detained, tho' the King of England sent over the Lord CARLETON to represent the necessity of proceeding in this manner for the peace of the nation, as well as that of the royal family.

The King of England sends relief to the Rochellers.

The French court remaining inexorable, the court of England hearkened to the solicitations of SOUBIZE in behalf of the French Protestants, and determined to send a fleet of ships to the assistance of the Rochellers, who were in a manner blocked up by the forts built about their town; and a declaration was drawn up in the name of the Duke of Bucks, who was appointed both Admiral and General in the expedition, wherein there are three motives mentioned for entering into this war:

Declaration of war against France.

1. That the French having entered into an alliance with the English for the restoration of the Elector Palatine, and agreed to join their forces with those of his British Majesty, and march in conjunction into Germany to his assistance, the French did not only fail in furnishing their quota of troops for that expedition, but denied the English forces that came over to Calais in order to join them, the liberty of landing there; whereby most of the forces perished on board, and the expedition was ruined. 2. That the French King, contrary to his treaties with his Protestant subjects, of which the King of England was guarantee, had blocked up their towns and forts. And, 3. That he had seized all the English shipping and merchandise in his ports. But whatever were the declared or concealed reasons for assisting the Rochellers, the Duke of Bucks with a fleet consisting of an hundred sail of men of war and transports, set sail from Portsmouth the seventh of June, and came before Rochelle about a month afterwards, when they refused to admit him or any of his people into the city, notwithstanding they had sent SOUBIZE, brother to the Duke of Rohan, over into England to implore aid of the English court; nor could SOUBIZE with all his importunity prevail with the Rochellers to act in concert with the English fleet. They said, they thanked his British Majesty and the Duke for their kind intentions; but as there was a treaty of union between them and the rest of their brethren in the several provinces of France, they durst not accept of foreign succours till they knew their resolutions. But this surely should have been thought of before they had put the English to the charge of this great armament, and drawn them

into a war against this kingdom; and no doubt the Protestants of the other provinces had long since been consulted upon that point: but the true reason of this abundant caution, was certain advice they had received from their brethren the English sectaries, that King CHARLES either designed to make himself master of their city, and perhaps introduce episcopacy there, which they dreaded equal to popery; or that the King of England would make peace with France, and deliver them up to the mercy of their enraged Sovereign. The Duke might justly have been provoked at the fickleness and unkind suspicions of the Rochellers, and left them to shift for themselves; but because he was unwilling to return to England without effecting any thing, after the kingdom had been at such a vast expence to send relief to the French Protestants, he determined to land his forces on the isle of Rhee, which lies near Rochelle, to give the citizens time to consider their true interest. I don't doubt but SOUBIZE represented to him how ungovernable the Hugonots generally were, even when they were commanded by those of their own nation of the first quality: that their preachers would frequently defeat the best-laid designs of their Generals, through their superstition and bigotry: that his father, the Duke of Rohan, who was at that instant drawing their forces together to oppose the Prince of Condé, was far from being obeyed as he ought, and as the necessity of their affairs required; and that most of the heads of their party had gone over to the court, as despairing of success where the multitude were under no command; but that they were a well-meaning afflicted people, and it would be glorious to him if he should attempt to deliver them from the tyranny and oppression they laboured under, even without their concurrence. These considerations, or something of the like nature, was probably suggested to the Duke by the French Protestants on board the fleet, or he would not have made a descent on the isle of Rhee, where there was a considerable body of French troops drawn together to oppose his landing. The French historians say he was repulsed three times, in which he lost a great many brave men, but carried his point at last, and obliged THOYRAS, the Governor, to retire into the castle of St Martin's, and other forts upon the island, with his troops. Had the Duke immediately laid siege to the castle, it is computed he might have carried it in a fortnight's time: but he seems to have been totally unprovided for a siege, and therefore proposed only to block up the forts, and prevent any supplies of ammunition and provision being thrown into them, till he could be furnished with materials proper for a siege from England or Rochelle. And indeed the Rochellers, when they had considered the advantage the possession of the isle of Rhee would be to them, that many of their estates lay there, and they had great part of their provision from thence, they did vouchsafe to supply the Duke with some forces and other necessities towards the reducing of St Martin's. But it was now too late: Cardinal RICHELIEU had found means to transport such numbers of troops into the island, that the French were become much superior in numbers to the English. Whereupon the Duke, after having remained there three months, found himself under a necessity of raising the siege, and re-imbarking his troops for England; which was done with less loss than could have been expected, considering they were to retire in the face

The Duke of Bucks makes a descent on the isle of Rhee.

The Duke of Bucks makes a descent on the isle of Rhee.

He re-imbarks his troops.



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of a numerous enemy. According to the English account, which seems to be the truest, they lost two thousand men in this expedition; but the French say eight; which is near as many as they had when they made the descent. The Rochellers, now sensible of the sincerity of the English, parted good friends with the Duke of Bucks; and he promised to return with a more powerful reinforcement to their assistance the next spring.

One great occasion of the Duke's not carrying the castle of St Martin's, and making himself master of the isle of Rhee, was the dilatoriness of the Earl of Holland; who being intrusted to carry the necessary stores and ammunition to the isle of Rhee for a siege, had got no further than Plymouth with them when the Duke returned to England; and it was by no means advisable to hazard so great a fleet as the Duke had with him, longer upon the French coast in winter, if there had not been an army to oppose the operations: but as he began to want all necessaries, and the French troops were much superior to those he had with him, the Duke's retreat does not seem to deserve any manner of censure, tho' the fanatics, and the rest of his domestic enemies, used him very scurrilously on this occasion.

The French King continues the blockade of Rochelle.

The French continued the blockade of Rochelle after the retreat of the English fleet, and during the winter built forts on the lines of circumvallation at little distances, which entirely cut off all communication between Rochelle and the country on the land side; and as the mouth of the harbour was about a mile in breadth, they began an amazing work, a stone wall twelve fathom wide at the foundation, and strengthened with huge piles on each side, which was to be extended from either shore so far into the sea, as to leave only a small space for the flux and reflux of the tide, in which they designed to sink so many vessels, as should render the entrance into the harbour impracticable. The Rochellers observing they were in danger of being shut up by sea and land, begged of the court of England to hasten their preparations, before these works were finished. They represented that if this should once be effected, no provisions could be got into the town, and all the strength of Europe would not be able to deliver them; they must be forced to submit to a victorious and exasperated Prince.

1628.

A second fleet sent to the relief of Rochelle.

Whereupon the King of England gave orders to work night and day on the fleet designed for the relief of Rochelle, which actually set sail from Plymouth, under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, about the middle of April 1628, and arrived before Rochelle on the first of May. Notwithstanding the wall or barricado above-mentioned gradually decreased in thickness as it was raised in height, yet was it broad enough at the top to erect little works upon it, to shelter the soldiers who were placed for the defence of it, and they ranged armed vessels along the side of this mole for its greater security. The French also had now so good an understanding with the Spaniards, that they procured a large squadron of men of war of them, which, joined with their own, composed a fleet of an hundred sail, that prevented a great convoy of provisions the English had got ready during the winter being put into the town. The Earl of Denbigh also found the works at the mouth of the harbour so far advanced, and the passage blocked up by vessels that were sunk in it, that if it had not been defended by the French fleet, yet would it have been impossible for his large ships to have entered it; whereupon after some fruitless at-

tempts against the works, he was forced to return back without effecting any thing. The French Hugonots were very angry with the English that they had not sent ships of less burthen, which they observed might have got into the harbour at this time, tho' these great vessels could not; which possibly would have been complied with, if the Rochellers had given them a particular account of their circumstances: but it would not certainly have been prudent to have gone to the relief of this town only with small ships, when the English court had received certain advice that the French and Spaniards lay before it with a fleet of an hundred sail. But to return to the French army which blocked up Rochelle by land: The Cardinal, to animate the soldiery, who were almost wearied out with the length of the siege, prevailed upon the French King to remain with his army in person great part of the year; but the King having waited seven months, and there being still no prospect of the town's surrendering suddenly, he pretended extraordinary business, and returned to Paris, giving RICHIEU a commission, though a Cardinal and a Bishop, to be Lieutenant-General of his armies, laying his commands on the Duke of Angoulême, the Marshals BASSOMPIERRE and SCHOMBERG, and the rest of his officers, to obey the Cardinal as they would his Majesty if he were actually present.

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RICHIEU made Commander in chief of the army.

The Cardinal, though he understood very little of the conduct of an army, yet as he was of an active penetrating spirit, was very capable of receiving the advice of the Generals, and distinguishing what was feasible and what not; nor would he refuse the being concerned in person in the most difficult and hazardous enterprizes, tho' very foreign to his profession, if he might be indulged with the supreme command and superintendency of the affair. And how incongruous soever it might seem to make a Bishop General of an army, as he was apprehensive the siege might miscarry in his absence by the misunderstandings or private views of the general officers, those that saw farthest into things thought he could not more effectually advance the service than by taking the command upon himself. When the King left the army, he expressed the greatest concern imaginable, that his affairs would not suffer him to take the Cardinal with him, and charged him not to be too prodigal in exposing his person in the trenches every day as he was used to do, intimating that he could not live without him.

RICHIEU apprehending that the army would suffer pretty much by a winter's campaign, took care that they should be well paid and clothed, and the camp always abounded with plenty of provisions, which were brought in from the neighbouring country; his troops observed so exact a discipline, that the peasants brought corn, wine, and flesh, thither with as much security, and were better paid for it than they could expect to be in another market.

At the time the English fleet was expected under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, (as has been mentioned already) the Cardinal thought it advisable that the King should return to the camp for the encouragement of the soldiers, and his Majesty accordingly arrived before Rochelle again on the 24th of April. When they saw the English squadron, and observed they were composed of large vessels, they soon conjectured they would be able to do them very little hurt, because there was not water enough at the entrance of the harbour for vessels



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XXXIV.The Duke  
of Bucks  
prepares  
for the re-  
lief of Ro-  
chelle a-  
gain.He is as-  
sassinated.A third  
fleet sent  
to Rochel-  
le.Rochelle  
surrenders.

vessels of that burthen to ride in : and so it proved ; the English were obliged to retire without introducing any supplies of men or provisions into the place, as has been related above.

The Duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding this disappointment, was determined to attempt the relief of Rochelle in person once again : accordingly he gave orders for a greater sea-armament than ever ; he looked upon his reputation to be at stake, and seems resolved to carry his point or perish in the attempt ; and as he apprehended it to be an enterprize of infinite difficulty and hazard, since such stupendous works had been raised both on the sea and land-side of the town, he took leave of his friends, as our historians inform us, as if he never expected to see them any more : particularly when he parted from Bishop LAUD, it is reported that he desired him to put his Majesty in mind to be good to his wife and children ; soon after which he repaired to Portsmouth, in order to go on board the fleet, but was stabbed there on the twenty-third of August by that assassin FELTON, a violent enthusiast, who had been taught by the fanatics his brethren, that the killing the Duke would be acceptable to God, and the greatest service he could do his country.

The King still pursued the design of relieving Rochelle, and made the Earl of Lindsey commander of the fleet, which set sail from Portsmouth on the eighth of September ; but when they arrived there, they found the huge wall at the mouth of the harbour finished, and all the shore covered with French troops, and batteries raised at every place where there was any possibility of landing. The Earl, however, made several brave attempts to force his passage, but could not break through. Whereupon the Rochellers, who were now reduced to the last extremity (no less than fifteen thousand of them having perished by famine) despairing of relief, thought fit to capitulate, and surrendered the eighth of October. The best terms they could obtain were a general pardon, and security as to their lives, liberties, and estates, upon which they were to deliver up the town, and take an oath never to bear arms against his Majesty again. Nor had the terms been so good, but that the English fleet still remained upon the coast, and there was some expectation that the tides, which are very high at the approach of the winter season, might have demolished part of the barricado at the mouth of the harbour, and given admission to the English fleet. They were obliged consequently to his British Majesty for the enjoyment of their lives and estates, which had not been granted them, but for the countenance the royal navy of England gave them. And surely no Prince ever met with harder usage than King CHARLES did on this occasion : his own Protestant subjects thought it a sufficient cause to enter into a rebellion against him, because he did not support the Protestant interest so effectually as they apprehended he might have done ; and the French Catholics thought themselves justified in fomenting the insurrection of his subjects, because he had so strenuously supported the Protestant Rochellers. It is agreed on all hands that the taking of this place gave the greatest blow to the civil liberties of France, as well as to the Protestant religion there ; for no sooner were the Protestants disarmed, and their cities, of which this was the most considerable, reduced, but the court found themselves in a condition to put what terms they pleased on their

fellow-subjects : whereas if the ministry were guilty of any acts of tyranny before this misfortune, the people, by the assistance of the Protestants, were generally able to make a stand, and defend their invaded liberties : and this was indeed the true reason that Cardinal RICHELIEU was determined to put them out of a condition of resisting again : till he had effected this, he could never hope to establish a despotick power in that kingdom.

The destruction of the Calvinists in France is generally ascribed to the mercenary temper of their chiefs, and the ungovernable disposition of their people. The court, by offering pensions and places to the grantees, drew off many of them ; and the reluctance of the generality of the Hugonots to be under any command or government, disgusted many more. When their Generals had concerted schemes for their advantage, it was ten to one but they were controuled and defeated by their ignorant enthusiastical preachers, under pretence that God did not approve either of their persons or their conduct ; and thus the best-laid designs were often blasted. Ambition and Emulation among their leaders for the supreme command, contributed also in a very great degree to the ruin of this people. But to proceed in our history : The King having taken possession of Rochelle, published a declaration, whereby he restored the publick profession of the Roman catholic religion in that city, and the country of Aunis contiguous to it. He ordered that the demolished churches should be rebuilt, and their revenues restored to the clergy. That a cross should be erected in the square of the castle, with an inscription shewing the time and manner of the reduction of the city. That the church where the Hugonots were used to assemble for divine worship in the castle, should be converted into a cathedral, and the city by the Pope's permission made a Bishop's See. That the offices of Mayor and Sheriff should be suppressed, and the corporation entirely dissolved, and the city for the future governed by an intendant of justice appointed by his Majesty. And finally, that the walls and fortifications should be demolished.

Compliments were made his Majesty on the reduction of Rochelle by the Pope and other sovereign Princes ; an event, says my catholic author, of the utmost importance for the security of the King's dominions ; a mortal blow to Calvinism, and the most glorious to Cardinal RICHELIEU's administration.

While the King was at the siege of Rochelle, the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Montmorency, each of them, commanded an army in Languedoc against the Duke of Rohan and the Protestants who were in arms there ; where being much superior to their enemies, they ravaged the country, and used the poor Hugonots in the open towns very barbarously, but did not make themselves masters of Montauban, Nismes, or any of their strong places, which held out till the King returned victorious from the war in Italy, of which I am next to give an account.

VINCENT Duke of Mantua and Monterrat, dying in the year 1627 without issue, his honours and territories devolved on the Duke of Nevers ; but the Spaniards, being averse to the succession of a French nobleman, favoured the pretensions of CÆSAR DE GONZAË, Duke of Guastalla, who pretended also to be heir of the late Duke, and prevailed with the Emperor to grant him the investiture of the duchy of Mantua. The French King

The war  
in Lan-  
guedoc.The war  
in Italy on  
account of  
the suc-  
cession to  
Mantua.



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King was no less zealous in supporting his subject the Duke of Nevers, than the Spaniards were in the behalf of the Duke of Guastalla; but being engaged in the siege of Rochelle, could afford him no other assistance at present than what was to be procured by negotiations with the Pope, the Venetians, and other Italian Princes. In the mean time the Spaniards and the Duke of Savoy seized on the greatest part of the Montferrat, and agreed to divide it between them; scarce any considerable place except Casal held out for the Duke of Mantua in that territory, and the Duke was reduced to great extremity in Mantua itself by the Emperor, who required him to sequester the territories of Mantua into the hands of Count NASSAU, till his Imperial Majesty should have determined the right of the several pretenders.

The siege of Rochelle being now over, the King was determined to send an army to the relief of the Duke of Mantua, of which he at first declared the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General and Commander in chief: but his Majesty, 'tis said, envying his brother the glory of the enterprise, or rather the Cardinal not daring to trust his Royal Highness at the head of so powerful an army, persuaded the King to take the field in person; whereupon his Majesty began his march towards Italy on the sixteenth of January 1628-9. The Duke of Orleans attended him as far as Lyons, and then returned to Paris, declaring he would not serve in an army where the Cardinal would command both him and the King.

1629.  
The French force the pass of Suza.

A treaty between France and Savoy.

A war against the Hugonots in Languedoc.

The army being arrived at the foot of the Alps, his Majesty sent to the Duke of Savoy to demand passage for his troops into the Montferrat; but the Duke refused it, and began to fortify the pass of Suza against him: whereupon the King attacked it, and having ordered part of his forces to climb the mountains and charge the Piemontois in flank, they immediately took to their heels, making but a very poor resistance. The next day his Majesty continued his march to the city of Suza, which surrendered upon the first summons. And now the Duke of Savoy, finding himself unable to defend his country, thought fit to enter into a treaty with his Majesty, whereby he obliged himself to give free passage for the French troops thro' his territories into the Montferrat, and to furnish them with provisions: that he would prevail with the Spanish General DON GONZALES to raise the siege of Casal, and withdraw his troops out of the Montferrat, and leave the Duke of Mantua in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and that he would enter into an alliance with the Pope, the King, the Venetians, and the Duke of Mantua, for the defence of the Duke's territories. And the French King on his part promised to obtain of the Duke of Mantua for the Duke of Savoy, the town of Trino in the Montferrat, and lands to the value of fifteen thousand crowns per annum.

The French King having relieved Casal, and put the Duke of Mantua into the possession of the rest of the Montferrat, returned over the mountains with his army and marched into Languedoc, in order to give the finishing stroke to the Hugonot war. The Duke of Rohan was not strong enough to keep the field, and therefore distributed his forces in the towns of security, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants. The King thereupon laid siege to Privas in the Vivarez, which was garrisoned by some of the bravest troops the Duke of Rohan had, and

defended the place admirably well; but looking upon their strength to be greater than it really was, they neglected to capitulate till all their works were taken, and could obtain no terms: they were obliged to surrender at discretion, and most of them cut in pieces, or executed in cold blood. One occasion whereof might be, that after the town was taken, and in a manner in possession of the Royalists, one of the soldiers of the garrison set fire to the magazine of powder, and blew up a great many of them. From hence the army marched to Alets or Alais in the Cevennes, which being terrified by the fate of Privas, surrendered after a short resistance, as did several other small places. Upon these repeated successes the Cardinal sent to the Duke of Rohan, advising him to submit to his Majesty, and not expose himself and his party to inevitable ruin. He promised to the Duke himself, his brother SOUBIZE, and the rest of the Protestants, a pardon, and security for their estates and religion, on condition they would demolish the fortifications of Nîmes, Castres, d'Uzès, and Montauban, which were still in their power: and the Protestants considering their low circumstances, thought fit to comply with these terms. The treaty was signed at Alets on the 27th of June 1629. After which, the Duke of Rohan, with his Majesty's consent, left the kingdom, and retired to Venice, obliging himself not to return without his permission. Soon after, the fortifications of the Protestant towns being demolished in pursuance of the said treaty, the Cardinal made his entry into Montauban, where he was complimented, and even flattered by the Hugonot clergy to a very high degree. The Cardinal thereupon let them know, it was not the custom of France to receive them as the body of a church on any occasion whatever, but he received them as men of learning; that under that notion they should always be welcome to him, and he should endeavour to demonstrate, on all occasions, that the difference of religion should never hinder his doing them all manner of good offices. But the Hugonots having parted with their cities of security, and depending solely on the pleasure of the ministry, who never kept their words with them any farther than they conceived it for their advantage, the party decreased insensibly; and notwithstanding the submission and ready obedience they shewed to the commands of their sovereign, he laboured continually to ruin them, under a notion that he was bound in conscience to do it as soon as he had an opportunity; tho' it was not effected absolutely till the repeal of the edict of Nants in the next reign.

They submit, and deliver up their towns of security.

While the King was engaged in the wars of Montferrat and Languedoc, there happened some misunderstandings in the royal family, which afterwards occasioned great alterations at court: the Duke of Orleans, having buried his first wife, entered into a new amour with the Princess MARY GONZAGA, daughter of the Duke of Nevers and Mantua; to which match the Queen-mother shewed an unalterable aversion, pretending that this Princess was of an unhealthy constitution, and not likely to have any children: though the true reason of her opposing it, was Monsieur's refusing to marry one of the daughters of the Duke of Florence, her near relation; by which she proposed to support her interest at court in case of the King's demise. The Queen, whom his Majesty had constituted regent in his absence, to prevent the match with the Duke of Mantua's daughter,

Misunderstandings in the royal family.



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daughter prevailed on him to send for her into Italy, of which the Duke of Orleans receiving intelligence, laid a scheme to intercept her in the journey and marry her. The Queen having notice of his design, seized on the Princess of Mantua and the Duchesses of Longueville, and confined them both in the castle of Vincennes. The Duke of Orleans, vexed at this disappointment, and disgusted because the Cardinal had deprived him of the command of the army in Piedmont, retired to Nancy in Lorraine. However, being soon made sensible that the Cardinal equally designed his ruin and the Queen's, he was reconciled to her Majesty, and sent to the Duke DE BELLEGARDE to court to desire the Queen-mother not to be reconciled to the Cardinal, of whom he was determined to be revenged for the many affronts he had received, and to assure her he would marry into what family she pleased. He offered the ministry also to return to court, on condition they would augment his revenue an hundred thousand livres per ann. which at length was complied with. But to return to the war in Italy.

The war  
in Italy.

The Cardinal was no sooner returned over the Alps with his army into Languedoc, but the Emperor's General, the Count DE MERODE, entered the country of the Grisons with an army of twenty thousand men, and possessed himself of the passes of the Valteline, whereby he secured the communication between Germany and Italy again. The motive of this expedition he declared was, that he might be in a condition to decide the differences concerning the succession to Mantua and Montferrat, which were fiefs of the Empire. And the Imperial Generals having summoned the Duke of Mantua to surrender his territories into their hands till the Emperor had determined the right, on his refusal to comply with them, they took possession of the greatest part of his country.

The Cardinal hereupon raised another army to march to the relief of his Italian allies, of which the King did not only give him the command, but the honour of representing his person with the title of Generalissimo, which at this time, 'tis said, was first made use of to satisfy his vanity, and give him the superiority of the Marshals of France who served under him. The army being arrived at Lyons, the Cardinal sent to the Duke of Savoy to demand a passage through his country, and that he would unite his forces with those of France, as he had promised, to recover the Mantuan and Montferrat from the house of Austria. The Duke of Savoy denied he had made any such promise. However, he agreed to give the French passage, rather than come to a rupture with them: but the Cardinal resolving to put it out of the power of the Duke to prevent the French armies entering Italy for the future, or to cut off their retreat from thence, on some other trivial pretence, took an occasion to quarrel with the Duke, and surprized the fortrefs of Pignerol, which opened a way to the French to enter Italy when they pleased, and rendered the Duke of Savoy dependent on them.

1630.  
The  
French  
take Pig-  
nerol.

The Cardinal, who was Generalissimo in this expedition, as has been related already, when he passed the river Dore at the head of the army, was dressed in bright armour, his hat adorned with plumes of feathers, and a brace of pistols before him, and seemed to take a pleasure in shewing the soldiers how dextrous he was in managing the fine horse he rode upon, prancing before the ranks, and bidding the officers take notice of his skill; and indeed this prelate had been

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taught these exercises before he was designed for holy orders. But to proceed in our history: The French were not content with the taking of Pignerol, but made a conquest of all Savoy except Montmelian; they seemed to have forgotten their original design of relieving the Duke of Mantua, suffering the Imperialists to take his capital city, and drive him entirely out of his territories, except the city of Casal, which was still in the hands of the French. It is said, they looked upon the taking of Pignerol, and the reducing Savoy, of much greater consequence to them, than the marching to the assistance of that Prince: or rather, the Cardinal foresaw that he should be able to relieve him by another method, for it was about this time that the celebrated GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS invaded Germany, with whom the Cardinal entered into a confederacy, and engaged to give that Prince four hundred thousand crowns per annum towards the charges of the war. He renewed the alliance also with the Protestant Princes of Germany, by whose means he so distressed the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty found himself under a necessity of withdrawing his troops from Italy, and of coming to terms concerning Mantua. The Emperor promised to grant the investiture to the Duke of Nevers, on condition of his giving a sum of money to the other pretenders.

About this time CHARLES-EMANUEL Duke of Savoy died, leaving his dominions to his eldest son VICTOR-AMADEUS, brother-in-law to the French King LEWIS the Thirteenth, between whom, and the French and Spaniards, the Pope's Nuncio MAZARIN negotiated a treaty, by which the French were great gainers; and this, 'tis said, laid the foundation of MAZARIN's greatness in France. By this treaty the Spaniards agreed to evacuate Mantua and Montferrat, on condition of the French King's evacuating Savoy and Pignerol: but the French, by MAZARIN's address, found means to purchase Pignerol of the Duke of Savoy; and if they had not had it this way, it seems the Cardinal was determined never to part with it, he apprehended it to be of such importance to France.

The  
French in  
alliance  
with  
GUSTA-  
VUS  
ADOL-  
PHUS,  
and the  
Protestant  
Princes of  
Germany.A treaty  
concluded  
by the  
mediation  
of MAZA-  
RIN the  
Pope's  
nuncio.

During these transactions the King of France and the Court were at Lyons, where his Majesty fell dangerously ill, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The Queen-mother and Queen-confort thereupon, 'tis said, entered into a cabal with the two MARILLACS, (one of whom was Keeper of the Seals, and the other a Marshal of France) the Princess of Conti, the Duchesses of Elbeuf, VAUTIER the King's first physician, and others, to ruin the Cardinal; of which that Prelate having intelligence from the spies he always kept about his Majesty, he determined, upon the King's recovery, which happened not long after, to endeavour the destruction of all that had been concerned in the design against him, and few of them escaped his vengeance.

A cabal  
against the  
Cardinal.

The Queens did not want sufficient provocations to study the ruin of the Cardinal; he was perpetually suggesting to the jealous timorous King, that they had a design against his Majesty; that the Queen-mother had more affection for the Duke of Orleans than for him, and was perpetually consulting fortune-tellers to know when he should come to the crown; that the Queen-confort was uneasy at her having no children, and had thoughts of marrying the Duke of Orleans in case of the King's death: and his Majesty

The Car-  
dinal gets  
the better  
of the  
Queen-  
mother.

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really



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really believed these calumnies; while, on the other hand, all that the two Queens could say against the Cardinal had no effect upon him. The Court being arrived at Paris, things came to an open rupture between the Queen-mother and the Cardinal; she proceeded so far as, in the King's presence, to call him cheat, ingrate, malicious, the wickedest man in the kingdom, and disturber of the publick peace; and turning to the King told him, that was the man who would take the crown from his head and give it to Count Soissons, who was about to marry his niece. But the King replied, the Cardinal was an honest man, and had served him faithfully; that she had disobliged him, and put him to the utmost torture, and he could never forget the affliction she had given him. Whereupon the Cardinal retired, and the King soon after followed him, saying, as he left her cabinet, that he had had too much patience.

1631.  
The  
Queen-  
mother  
seized.

The King soon after came to a resolution to make the Queen-mother prisoner; but as she had a great authority in Paris, the Cardinal advised his Majesty to remove to Compeigne, where it would be much easier to seize her; and the Queen, who had no suspicion of the design, followed the King thither. On the 23d of February 1630-31, the King and Cardinal returned early in the morning to Paris, having ordered five hundred horse to surround Compeigne, and not permit the Queen to stir from thence. When the Queen was informed the Court was gone without her, and saw herself surrounded with soldiers, she was out of all patience, and vented her spleen against the Cardinal in such terms as the case deserved. She wrote to the King also to justify her conduct; but he was so influenced by the Cardinal and his creatures, who continually besieged his Majesty, that he would not open her letters. The Queen receiving intelligence that the Cardinal was sending twelve hundred horse to remove her from Compeigne to some other place, where she should be more closely confined, found means to make her escape, and retired to Flanders, where she was kindly received by the Infanta, who had the government of the Netherlands. This, 'tis said, was what the Cardinal most desired; for having charged her frequently with being in the Spanish interest, the King looked upon her retiring to Flanders to be a demonstration of it. The Cardinal had ordered the guards, it seems, to give the Queen an opportunity of escaping, or it had been very easy for him to have prevented it; but he thought she would be able to do him less mischief abroad than at court. The Duke of Orleans also retired out of France about the same time, having first sent a memorial to the parliament of Paris, wherein he declares the reason of his leaving the kingdom to be the attempts the Cardinal had made against his person, and that of the Queen-mother, in order to render himself master of the kingdom.

The par-  
liament  
forbid to  
meddle  
with af-  
fairs of  
state.

The King having published an edict declaring the adherents of the Queen-mother and the Duke of Orleans guilty of high-treason, sent it to the parliament of Paris to be confirmed; which they refused to comply with, till the parties charged with the crime had been heard before them. Whereupon RICHIEU prevailed with the King to send for the parliament to the Louvre, and the Keeper in his Majesty's name let them know, that their authority extended only to private right, and not to matters of state, the cognizance whereof belonged only to their Sovereign. Then the King

ordered a decree of the council to be entered in the parliament register, which prohibited that court to deliberate for the future on declarations concerning affairs of state: and to shew his displeasure at their presumption, suspended and banished two of the Presidents of the chamber of inquests. The King also strictly forbid all persons to keep any correspondence with the Queen-mother or the Duke of Orleans, and declared all their manors, lands, and tenements, forfeited to the crown.

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The Cardinal having thus gratified his revenge on the Queen-mother and Monsieur, obtained a grant of the King for erecting his lands of Richlieu into a duchy and peerage. He was also made Governor of the province of Britany, which he suggested was very proper for him, as he was superintendant of trade and navigation, because the ports of Britany lie extremely convenient for the carrying on a foreign trade: and from this time he obtained the title of the Cardinal Duke.

The Car-  
dinal  
created a  
Duke and  
Peer.

The Prince of Condé and the other grantees finding this Prelate so firmly established in the King's favour, that the united interests of the Queen-mother and the Duke of Orleans could not prevail against him, but that their opposition to his schemes had occasioned their destruction, courted RICHIEU in the most abject manner: the Prince particularly went from province to province to execute his orders, and publish the praises of this minister; in a speech to the States of Britany he dwells much on the capacity, the valour, and great services of the Cardinal; he tells them he had confounded hereby, pulled down and defeated rebellion, extended the limits of the kingdom, &c. and might have added, that he had obtained an entire conquest over the liberties of the people, and rendered the assemblies of the States and Parliaments entirely useless.

RICHIEU still continued to pursue the friends and adherents of the Duke of Orleans with the utmost severity, particularly the Duke of Lorraine, from whom he took several towns and ravaged the country, because he apprehended that Prince to be in Monsieur's interest: he obliged him also to renounce all treaties and alliances with the enemies of the court. Then he erected a court of justice to try the adherents of the Queen-mother and the Duke, and obliged the parliament of Paris to consent to this manner of proceeding, notwithstanding they had remonstrated against it, and alledged that Peers could only be tryed in parliament. The Marshal DE MARILLAC was made the first victim to the Cardinal's fury: he had erected one court of justice to try him, and because they were not villains enough to condemn him without proof, he appointed other commissioners, consisting of his own creatures, that he was sure would do as they were directed. Against this court in general, and several of the judges in particular, the Marshal excepted on account of their declared enmity against him, but to very little purpose; he was condemned to lose his head. Great intercession was made for his life, but the Cardinal was inexorable. The Marshal was executed at the Greve, protesting his innocence; and it seems his greatest crime was his advising the Queen to apprehend the Cardinal, when the King lay dangerously ill at Lyons, which was never to be forgiven.

1632.

He tries  
the Peers  
by a spe-  
cial com-  
mission,  
and not  
in parlia-  
ment.

In the mean time the Duke of Orleans entered France in a hostile manner at the head of two thousand horse, declaring that he had taken arms to procure a redress of the people's grievances and oppressions under the Cardinal's administration.

The Duke Or-  
leans in  
arms.

He



CHAP. XXXIV. He was joined by about three thousand foot in Auvergne, but the provinces were generally cautious of rising in his favour, having seen so many instances of the Cardinal's vengeance.

The King on the other hand raised two armies and sent them against the Duke, and at the same time published an edict, declaring that the male-administration and oppressions mentioned in the Duke's declaration were all pretended and fictitious; that the kingdom was never in so powerful and flourishing a condition as at this time, and that the Cardinal's merits and services were so well known, that none but those who envied his Majesty's glory and prosperity would endeavour to defame him; declaring Monsieur's adherents again guilty of high-treason, and that they should be proceeded against with the utmost severity.

These declarations were soon followed by actions. The Duke of Montmorency, who had surrendered his office of High Admiral, in hopes of having that of Constable conferred upon him, became malecontent on his being disappointed by the Cardinal, and raised forces in the province of Languedoc, of which he was Governor, to join the Duke of Orleans: he procured the States of Languedoc also to espouse his interest, and promise him to raise money and to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But coming to an engagement afterwards with the King's troops, the Dukes of Orleans and Montmorency were defeated, and the latter of them made prisoner. Whereupon Monsieur thought fit to submit and lay down his arms; but the Cardinal causing his friend the Duke of Montmorency to be condemned and executed as a traitor, notwithstanding his intercession to spare him, his Highness retired in discontent to the Low-Countries again, where he was well received by the Spaniards.

The victorious GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was killed on the sixth of November this year at the battle of Lutzen. The French, as has been related already, had entered into an alliance with him and the Protestant Princes of Germany, to whom they granted considerable pensions to support them against the Emperor, tho' France was then at peace with his Imperial Majesty; but GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS meeting with surprising success in the German war, Cardinal RICHLIEU became no less jealous of him than of the house of Austria. However, upon the death of the King of Sweden the case seemed to be altered, and the Cardinal resolved to assist the Swedes in Germany more vigorously than he had done, to prevent their sinking; for had the Swedes been forced to accommodate matters with the Emperor, he would infallibly have fallen upon France with all his forces: he could not be ignorant of the share France had in maintaining the war against him, tho' there was not any war declared between these two powers at this time. The Cardinal therefore promised to continue the payment of a million of livres annually to Sweden, and the regency of that kingdom on the other hand engaged not to make peace with the Emperor without the consent of France. The Cardinal also concluded a treaty of much the same nature with the States-General and the Protestant Princes of Germany, whereby he found full employment for the house of Austria, without entering into a formal war. About the same time he procured himself to be made a Knight of the Holy Ghost, and seemed to be as proud of the blue ribbon as some modern statesmen are at this day.

While the house of Austria was engaged in that terrible war with Sweden and her confederates, the Cardinal took the opportunity of surprising the Valteline again; whereby he cut off the communication between Germany and Italy, of which the Spaniards made loud complaints, as they did on their keeping Pignerol and Casal contrary to the last treaty of peace between these two powers: but it is observed of the Cardinal, that he never parted with any thing that he apprehended was for his advantage to keep. The representations of the Spaniards on these heads, were as ineffectual as those for their evacuating Triers and the towns of Lorraine, which the French had seized on with equal justice; and under pretence that the Duke of Lorraine had assisted the Spaniards, and had clandestinely married his sister to the Duke of Orleans, the French King made himself master of Nancy, the capital, and all the rest of his country. Whereupon the Duke transferred his dominions to the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, and joined the imperial army with his troops.

The Queen mother, weary of residing in the Netherlands, where she did not meet with that respect she apprehended was due to her quality, and being deprived of all her revenues by the Cardinal, made her submission to this haughty Prelate in the most abject manner, in order to obtain a permission to return to court: but the Cardinal, either to gratify his revenge, or really fearing she might find means to ruin him in the King's favour, appeared inexorable, and persuaded his Majesty that he must never expect to live in any tolerable quiet if he suffered her to return to court, or if she was allowed her revenues while out of the kingdom; so that this Princess was reduced to very great extremities. But as RICHLIEU was of opinion the Duke of Orleans might embarrass his affairs more by remaining out of the kingdom than in it, he consented to his return, procuring a general pardon for him and his domesticks except three or four, and a grant of all his former revenues and appanages that had been taken from him, with a large sum for the paying off his debts and providing his equipage: he was also to have a troop of Gens d'armes, and another of light horse for his guard. However, the Duke thought fit to leave Madam his wife in the Low-Countries, not daring to trust her in the power of the Cardinal, who seemed determined to get his marriage with her declared void.

In the mean time the Imperialists obtained a signal victory over the Swedes at Norlingen, which gave the Cardinal some apprehensions of his losing Lorraine again, and even of the enemy's penetrating into the heart of France. Whereupon he sent the Marshals de la Force and de Breze towards the Rhine with an army of thirty thousand men, to support the Swedes, who put several towns in Alsatia and the Palatinate, which they were not able to keep, into the hands of the French, and amongst the rest the important city of Philipsburg; which last gave the Cardinal great satisfaction, inasmuch as it put him in a condition to stop the progress of the Imperialists, in case they designed to pass the Rhine and force their way into Lorraine.

The Cardinal had tried all the ways imaginable to persuade the Duke of Orleans to consent that his marriage with the Princess of Lorraine should be declared null, and believing that the Duke's favourite PUILAUREUS persuaded him to remain immovable on that head, he ordered him to be apprehended

CHAP. XXXIV.

1633.  
The French seize the Valteline again.

1634.  
The French seize Lorraine.

The Dukes of Orleans and Montmorency defeated, and the latter beheaded.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS killed.

The French assist the Swedes against the Imperialists.

The Duke of Orleans returns to court.

The Swedes defeated at Norlingen.

Transfer Philipsburg to the French.

The Cardinal procures Monsieur's marriage to be declared void.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1635.

The coun-  
cils held  
at RICH-  
LIEU'S  
palace.The  
French  
enter into  
an alliance  
offensive  
and defen-  
sive with  
the Dutch  
against  
Spain.

apprehended with another of the Duke's domesticks and carried to the castle of Vincennes; which gave Monsieur no small uneasiness. But he proceeded farther, for having summoned an assembly of the clergy to meet at Paris, he proposed this question to them, viz. Whether the Princes of the blood, and especially those who stood nearest to the crown, might marry without the King's consent, and even against his express prohibition? To which they returned such an answer as it was supposed the Cardinal had dictated, namely, that marriages might be rendered null by ancient customs, founded upon reason, and authorized by the Church. That the custom of France did not permit Princes of the blood, and especially the presumptive heir of the crown, to marry without the King's consent, much less against his positive commands. The Queen-mother receiving advice of this determination, wrote to Rome, desiring his Holiness to prohibit the clergy of France proceeding in this affair, because it was notorious that this assembly was wholly composed of Court-Bishops, who were ready to declare whatever the prime minister would have them; and if he desired it, would frame another declaration directly opposite to this to-morrow. Monsieur also still insisted on the validity of his marriage. However, when he was pressed on this head, he told his Majesty that if the Pope declared he might marry again, he would obey him.

RICHIEU about this time prevailed with the King to let the councils be held at his house, under pretence of his want of health, and his Majesty usually came thither from St Germain's and Versailles. Most people believed, that this proceeded from the perpetual fears the Minister was in, not daring to trust himself much abroad, and when he did go out, his people were never acquainted with it till the moment he took coach; for the Princes of the blood and the Nobility, whom he treated with the utmost contempt, as well as the people who were oppressed by taxes, equally hated him: so that it seems this mighty authority, founded wholly upon the King's weakness and a perpetual series of acts of violence, was attended with no small inquietude. He rendered himself dreaded by every man, and yet feared every man himself; conscious that the people, whose liberties he had invaded, would lose no opportunity to destroy him. The ill success of the French arms this campaign also was a considerable mortification to the Cardinal; for the Germans surprized Philipsburg, in which were their magazines and a considerable treasure, and afterwards took the city of Triers, making the Archbishop of the place their prisoner, who was in the French interest: Worms and several other towns also submitted to the Imperialists. Whereupon the Cardinal thought fit to strengthen himself by entering into an alliance offensive and defensive with the States-General against Spain (for hitherto he had carried on that war under-hand, by supplying the Dutch and other Powers with money). It was agreed by this treaty to divide the Spanish Netherlands between the French and the States, when they should have made a conquest of them. The pretence of the French for declaring war against Spain, was their refusing to release the Archbishop of Triers, who had put himself under the protection of France. The Spaniards, on the other side, declared, that it was not in reality the King of France that made war upon them; but Cardinal RICHIEU, who had usurped the government of that kingdom. But whatever were the grounds of the war, the French

and Dutch having joined their forces, amounting to forty thousand men and upward, took Tirlemont, and afterwards laid siege to Louvain, which they were obliged to raise on the approach of the Spaniards and Imperialists. Nor did this great army perform any thing answerable to the expectation of the French court; which proceeded, 'tis said, from the misunderstandings among their Generals, or rather with the Dutch; who observing the haughty and imperious behaviour of the French, began to be afraid of having them for their neighbours, and therefore would not enter upon any considerable action. 'Tis observed also, that the Dutch so contrived matters, that the French were destitute of all necessaries in their camp, whereby they lost abundance of men, while the forces of the States had plenty of provision among them.

About the same time the King of France entered into an alliance with the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, and Parma, whereby the Cardinal proposed no less than the conquest of the Milanese. The first enterprize they undertook was the siege of Valentia; but the misunderstandings among the Generals on this side also prevented the taking of it, and they were forced to raise the siege. It is observable, that whatever Powers have entered into an alliance with France, unless their Ministers and Generals might govern the confederacy, and have the absolute command of the troops, they have constantly ruined the undertaking, or so managed matters, as to be the chief gainers by it. This is a truth their allies have experienced more than once. But to proceed: The next campaign the French and Italian Generals agreed no better than the former; and the Duke of Parma's territories, which lay next to the Milanese, were in a manner ruined by the Spaniards, while the Duke of Savoy and the French General the Marshal de Crequi retired towards Piedmont.

The French had no better success in Franche Comte, where the Prince of Condé commanded; for having laid siege to Dole, the second town of the county, he was obliged to raise it on the approach of the Duke of Lorraine and the German army. On the side of the Pyrenees the Spaniards were superior to the French; but the latter prevented their taking of Bayonne, which was threatened by the Spanish Generals. In the mean time the frontiers of Picardy being very ill guarded, the Spaniards took several towns there; and having passed the Somme, put Paris itself into a great consternation: but the French assembled their forces, and obliged them to retire.

The Duke of Orleans and Count Soissons now commanded the grand army of France; for the success of the Spaniards was such in Picardy, at the beginning of the campaign, that the Cardinal found it absolutely necessary to place the Princes of the blood at the head of the troops, in order to keep up the spirits of the people, and induce them to submit to those heavy taxes which were levied on this occasion for the defence of the kingdom; though he was very well satisfied, that both Monsieur and the Count were his mortal enemies: and indeed the giving them the command of the army had very near proved fatal to him; for consulting with some of the principal nobility, whom this Prelate had equally disoblinded, they resolved to take him off, and had employed four assassins for that purpose; but the Princes were so irrefutable, that though these Bravo's had surrounded the Cardinal, and demanded the sign to fall upon him, neither of them durst give it, pretending they

CHAP.  
XXXIV.An alli-  
ance with  
the Italian  
Princes.

1636.

A conspi-  
racy a-  
gainst the  
Cardinal.



C H A P.  
XXXIV.C H A P.  
XXXIV.

were restrained by the reverence they bore to his character as a Priest; and while they hesitated, the Cardinal took coach and escaped their hands, not knowing at that time the danger he was in. Monsieur and Count Soissons afterwards determined to endeavour the disgrace of this Minister, by acquainting his Majesty with his ill conduct, which they affirmed had occasioned all the calamities the nation laboured under; and particularly his engaging in a war with Spain, which he knew not how to maintain with honour. But the Cardinal being apprized of their intentions, caused a report to be spread, that the King designed to apprehend them; at which they were so alarmed, that they both made their escapes, and left the Cardinal in the sole possession of the King's ear. Monsieur retired only to Blois, and soon after returned to court, when he understood it was a false alarm; but Count Soissons went to Sedan, and did not think fit to trust himself any more in the Cardinal's power.

1637.

The campaign of 1637 proved successful to the French and Dutch in Flanders; FREDERICK-HENRY Prince of Orange took Breda, and the Cardinal de la Valette, General of the French, took several other towns from the Spaniards on that side; but in Italy they had the worst of it. The Duke of Parma, their ally, was obliged to make his peace with the Spaniards; and the Grisons, with the assistance of the Spanish troops, drove the French out of the Valteline, which they had been at a very great expence to take and defend.

The French driven out of the Valteline again.

The King's Confessor ruined by the Cardinal.

Father CAUSSIN, the King's Confessor, either concerned to see his Majesty and the nation perpetually imposed on by the Cardinal; or, according to others, hoping to succeed him in the post of prime minister, if he could procure his disgrace, took an opportunity about this time to lay his ill conduct before the King, instancing in four particulars: 1. The banishment of the Queen-mother, who wanted even the necessaries of life. 2. This Prelate's usurping the royal authority, so that his Majesty had no more than the bare name of King. 3. The oppression of the people, who were reduced to the utmost misery by the exorbitant taxes. And, 4. His supporting the Swedes and German Protestants against the Catholics, to the ruin of their religion in the Empire. And though this charge was for the most part true and notorious to all the world, such was the Cardinal's interest with his master, that he procured the poor Confessor to be thrown into prison, where he remained till the King died.

1638.

An alliance with Savoy.

The Duke of Savoy being dead, as has been related already and leaving behind him a son an infant, to whom the Duchess, his mother, sister to the French King, was guardian, the Cardinal obliged her to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with France against the Spaniard; and sent the Cardinal de la Valette into Italy, to command the Army there, upon the death of Marshal Crequi; for 'tis observed of RICHLIEU, that he chose to employ Ecclesiasticks upon almost all occasions, how foreign soever to their profession. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux was Admiral, Valette General, and most of the foreign Ministers in holy orders: he either thought these gentlemen better qualified for publick employments, or more devoted to his interests than other men. But to return. The Spanish General, the Marquis de Leganeze, finding himself superior to the French and Savoyards, laid siege to Vercil in Piedmont,

The Cardinal employs Ecclesiasticks in the fleet and army.

and took it; but declared at the same time, that he came into Piedmont and Montferrat only to expel the French, and not to make war against the Duke; for the Cardinal had insisted that the Duchess should put all her strong towns into the hands of the French.

The Duke of Weimar, whose troops were paid by France, engaged the Imperialists this campaign near the border of Switzerland, and defeated them; in which battle the Duke of Rohan, who formerly commanded the French Protestants, was killed. Afterwards the Duke of Weimar took Rhinfield, Friburg, and Brisac; and the country of Brisgow, and several towns in Suabia submitted to him. In Artois the French did not meet with equal success; for having laid siege to St Omers, the Spaniard marched to its relief, and obliged them to raise it. It seems, the Cardinal, with all his policy, had a good share of superstition and credulity: a nun who pretended to the spirit of prophecy related, that in one of her visions, she saw two armies fighting near St Omers, and that the King's was victorious; which, 'tis said, was his principal inducement for consenting to this unfortunate siege, for which he was by no means provided. But this was not the Cardinal's weakness alone; most of the great men of that age seem to have had great faith in visions, prophecies, and the magick art.

The Duke of Weimar defeats the Imperialists, and takes Friburg, Brisac, &c.

The Cardinal's weakness.

This year the French invaded Spain on the side of Guipuscoa, took Port Passage, with several Spanish men of war and galleons, and afterwards laid siege to Fontarabia: but the Spaniards obliged them to raise it, to the great mortification of the Cardinal, as well as the Prince of Condé, who commanded the army. The King, however, was extremely rejoiced at this time to find his Queen big with child, after they had been married two and twenty years, no signs of her pregnancy having appeared before. This one would have thought should have so much endeared her to his Majesty, that the Cardinal might have been afraid to offend her; but this insolent Prelate having discovered that the Queen held a correspondence with her brother the Cardinal Infant, on the subject of peace, and that the letters which passed between them were lodged in a closet she had in an oratory in the nunnery of Val de Grace, he procured an order from the King to seize them, and sent the Chancellor to execute it; but he being afraid of the Queen's resentment, discovered the matter to her Majesty, and gave her an opportunity of removing all obnoxious papers before he came, so that the thing was not attended with any ill consequences, as it happened; tho' had not the Queen been big with child, 'tis said, the Cardinal would have proceeded against her in a more violent manner. Another instance historians give us of the intolerable insolence of the prime minister, and weakness of the King, deserves to be related; the King it seems had a mistress called Mademoiselle DE FAYETTE, of whom he was infinitely fond, insomuch that the Cardinal was apprehensive she might influence his Majesty to his prejudice: this lady of a sudden retired into a convent, and resolved to have no farther commerce with his Majesty; at which he was much surprized, and being determined to know the reason of it, took an opportunity to hunt in the forest where the convent stood, and leaving his attendants, had a long conversation with her, in which he discovered that one of his pages who used to carry the bills between him and the lady, used to bring them to the Cardinal, who altered or suppressed them

The Queen of France with child after she had been barren 22 years.

The Cardinal seizes the Queen's papers.

The Cardinal forgets the King's hand, and alters his letters.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

them as he saw fit, making no scruple of counterfeiting the King's hand on this occasion; and it was the unkind expressions the Cardinal had made use of in these letters that went under his Majesty's name to the lady that induced her chiefly to think of retiring to a convent; tho' he made use of other means to effect it, for he threatened several of her friends with banishment, unless they persuaded her to shut herself up in a nunnery. Notwithstanding all these provocations, the poor King durst not express his resentment against the high and mighty Cardinal, any otherwise than by dismissing the page that had been his tool. The same evening the King and Madam FAYETTE had this conversation, in which they discovered the villany of the prime minister, the Queen was brought to bed of a son, viz. on the 5th of September 1638, who afterwards succeeded his father by the name of LEWIS the Fourteenth.

LEWIS  
XIV born.

The Cardinal will not suffer the Queen-mother to return to France.

Soon after the birth of the Dauphin the Queen-mother passed through Holland to England, to visit her son and daughter there, hoping by the intercession of their British Majesties to prevail with her son the King of France to re-call her to court, or at least to procure a revenue suitable to her quality, for the Cardinal would not suffer a penny to be paid her out of her estate. She desired the French Ambassador at the English court also to acquaint the Cardinal, that the afflictions she had suffered since she left France, had inspired her with different sentiments from those she had entertained formerly; and conjured him to deliver her from the misery and necessity of begging her bread: that she desired indeed to be near the King, but should not concern herself in publick affairs, and if he would procure her return to court, would dismiss all her servants that were suspected by him, and do every thing he should advise her to. But the Cardinal, far from shewing the least compassion for his great benefactress, who had advanced him to the post he possessed, considered the natural inclination that women generally have to revenge themselves, and the humour of her Majesty in particular, who would infallibly ruin him if it was in her power, for the repeated slights and provocations he had given her. Nor was he a little moved by his own implacable malice, who was never known to forgive any one that had offended him, and which alone would have determined him to reject all the offers that this afflicted Princess could make him. He caused a letter therefore to be written to her in his Majesty's name, wherein the King tells her there was no longer room to rely upon her fair promises, who had always been accustomed to dissemble, and that her unquiet temper would not suffer her to live in peace at any place; that if she should come to France she would immediately cabal with the malecontents again, and occasion new disorders: that he insisted therefore upon her retiring to Florence, her native country, where she should receive an allowance suitable to her quality; concluding that he thought himself justified before God and man, as he had done all that was in his power to give the Queen satisfaction, without hazarding the peace of his kingdom.

1639.

The Queen of England also wrote to the French King in behalf of the Queen-mother, and ordered the Lord JERMYN, who resided at that court, to use his utmost endeavour to procure her return, or at least a maintenance while she remained out of France; but they could obtain no other answer than his Majesty had given already. Thus

did the Cardinal triumph over the whole royal family; the Queen-mother he had banished, the Queen-consort he rendered suspected to his Majesty, as being in the interest of Spain her native country; and the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the Princes of the blood, were charged with designs upon the crown, and used accordingly. Not long after the Queen-mother was obliged to retire out of England (on account of the jealousies some people stupidly entertained of her negotiations here) and went to Cologne, where she spent the remainder of her life in greater want than could be imagined, considering she was so nearly related to the greatest Princes in Europe; which would not have happened if the King and Queen of England had not soon after been reduced to greater distress themselves by an unnatural rebellion.

The Duke de la Valette, son to the Duke of Espernon, was the next mark of the Cardinal's vengeance. He was already fled into England under an apprehension that this Prelate would destroy him; but not content with his banishment, he ordered a special commission to try him, charging him with high-treason in preventing the reduction of Fontarabia. He was summoned to surrender himself on a certain day, and not appearing, he was condemned to be executed in effigy, and his estate confiscated. The parliament of Paris remonstrated against this proceeding, the offences of Peers being only cognizable in that court. To which the King answered, they were a pack of ignorant wretches, and he would make them sensible their privileges were founded only upon unwarrantable usage. That by his prerogative he had a power of trying Dukes and Peers by a special commission, and assisted in the court in person in order to get him condemned: a thing, says my author, without precedent in France till this time; but he looked upon himself obliged to execute the Cardinal's schemes, how unjust and arbitrary soever they seemed to be.

The Duchess of Savoy, the King's sister, was at this time hard pressed by the Spaniards and her brothers-in-law Prince THOMAS and the Cardinal of Savoy, whom the Emperor had constituted guardians of the young Duke. But RICHLIEU refused to send her any re-inforcements unless she would put the strong towns she was possessed of in Piedmont into the hands of the French King's troops, which she was at length obliged to consent to; and this occasioned the revolt of great part of the country, who dreaded coming under the dominion of France; even the city of Turin itself surrendered to Prince THOMAS to avoid it, but the castle was still garrisoned by the French.

In the Low-Countries the Marshal DE CHATILLON was defeated near Thionville; but the French army commanded by the Marquis of Meilleraye made themselves masters of Hedin this campaign. On the side of Roussillon the armies of France and Spain faced each other, but there was no action of any consequence, unless the taking and retaking of Saluces. The greatest success the French and their allies met with this year, was on the side of Germany, where the Duke of Weimar commanded a separate body of Germans. This General had possessed himself of Brisac, Friburg, and many other considerable towns in Franche Comte and Alsace, and happening to die soon after, the French distributed their money so artfully among his officers, that they delivered them into the hands of the French, though the Duke by

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

The parliament receives further mortifications from the minister.

The French take possession of the Duke of Savoy's towns.

They get possession of Friburg, Brisac, &c.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.Instances  
of the Car-  
dinal's  
power,  
and the  
weakness  
of his  
master.

his will had given his conquests to his two brothers. 'Tis supposed that the Cardinal had procured the Duke to be poisoned for this very end. Upon promising his army some addition to their pay, he prevailed on them also to accept the Duke of Longueville for their General, and to take an oath of fidelity to the King of France. By these and other services the Cardinal looked upon himself to have merited so much of the crown, that there was nothing how unreasonable soever that he durst not attempt. He obliged the Queen-consort to turn off her first Maid of Honour, and the Comptroller of her household, because of their unshaken fidelity to their mistress, and put two of his own creatures in their room, for whom her Majesty had the greatest aversion. He was afraid the Queen might establish herself in the King's favour now she had been so happy as to bring him a Dauphin, and would suffer none but his own people to be about her, lest they should contrive his ruin. It was his constant maxim, that a man should never have friendship for, or confidence in, those whom he had treated ill. His conduct was the same towards the King's mistresses as it was towards her Majesty: whenever he found them like to have an ascendant over his mind, he drew him from Paris, either under pretence of hunting, or viewing his frontier towns, and never let him return again till he imagined his passion was cooled; and then he often had the assurance to banish them the court, and perhaps propose some new amour to make him forget the former.

1640.

But to return to military affairs: The French having augmented the army of the late Duke of Weimar with a considerable reinforcement of national troops, commanded the Duke of Longueville their General to pass the Rhine, and act in concert with the Swedes against the Imperialists; but there happened such jealousies among the officers, that they effected nothing considerable this campaign.

In the Low-Countries the Cardinal resolved upon the siege of Arras, which was invested by Marshal MEILLERAYE on the 12th of June; but the Cardinal Infant marching to it's relief, RICHLIEU began to be apprehensive of the success of the enterprize, and therefore ordered another body of forces under the command of DU HAILLER to join MEILLERAYE. The King fearing that DU HAILLER and MEILLERAYE might both be defeated before they could unite their troops, which would give the Spaniards an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of the Kingdom, positively forbid DU HAILLER to advance: but RICHLIEU sent him an order notwithstanding to endeavour a conjunction, and he would be answerable for his conduct; whereupon DU HAILLER chose rather to obey the Cardinal than the King; and meeting with all the success he could desire in this expedition, the town was taken, and the King did not think fit to express any resentment at the Cardinal's presumption in contradicting his orders on such an important occasion; nor was DE HAILLER punished for disobeying his Majesty.

The Catalo-  
nians &  
Portuguese  
revolt  
from  
Spain.

The Catalonians revolted from Spain the same campaign, and put themselves under the protection of the French, who immediately possessed themselves of Barcelona. About the same time the Portuguese threw off the Spanish yoke, and placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne of that kingdom, who took upon him the title of Don JOHN the Fourth; in contriving which revo-

lution the Cardinal is said to have had a considerable share. In Italy also the arms of France were very successful. The Spaniards were defeated and forced to raise the siege of Casal, in which was a French garrison, and the city of Turin surrendered to Count HARCOURT. The Cardinal about this time had two great projects on foot; the one was the conversion or banishment of the Hugonots, and the other the making himself Patriarch of France: but he had too much business of another kind upon his hands, and was too little beloved to effect either of them.

The Queen on the twenty first of September was delivered of another son, named PHILIP, afterwards Duke of Orleans. It was apprehended that her Majesty would now have a considerable influence at court, but the Cardinal still carried it as high towards her as ever, and, 'tis said, extorted a promise from the King, that in case he died and declared the Queen Regent, he should be the chief of her council, and the Queen obliged to follow his advice. And that he might meet with no further opposition from the parliament of Paris, he prevailed on the King to assemble all the chambers, and cause a declaration to be read to them, wherein he prohibited that body to concern themselves any more in matters of state; and to receive his edicts, not to deliberate upon them, but to confirm them. He asserted his prerogative also in disposing of all the offices of parliament, and at the same time deposed the President BARILLON, and the Counsellors SCARRON and SALO, and some others. He further ordered that the parliament should give an account of their proceedings to the Chancellor every three months, and obtain a licence from his Majesty to continue in their respective functions every year, whereby the King absolutely destroyed the authority of the parliament of Paris.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The Queen  
has a se-  
cond son.1641.  
The par-  
liament  
absolutely  
deprived  
of their  
authority.

The Duke of Lorraine about this time made his submission to the King, or rather the Cardinal, and procured part of his territories to be restored him; but the French still retained Nancy the capital, and several other places; and under pretence that the Duke began to fortify his towns, and enter into an alliance with the Spaniards, they seized upon his country again, obliging the Duke to retire to Flanders, where the taking of Aire by the French, and the retaking of it by the Spaniards, were the most considerable occurrences that happened this campaign. In Italy Count HARCOURT took Coni, and some other fortresses, while the Spaniards and Prince THOMAS retook several places the French had seized; but in general the Spaniards had the worst of the war on that side. The Marshal DE BREZE was this year sent to Barcelona in quality of Viceroy of Catalonia for the French, with orders to possess himself of Roussillon, in order to preserve the communication between France and that province. About this time RICHLIEU procured his friend JULIUS MAZARIN a Cardinal's cap, who had done him signal services by his negotiations in Italy while he was nuncio from the Pope.

The Duke  
of Lorraine  
restored,  
and driven  
out of his  
country  
again.MAZA-  
RIN made  
a Cardinal.

In the mean time the prime minister was once more in great danger from a conspiracy formed by Count SOISSONS, the Dukes of Guise, Bouillon, and many others of the principal nobility, who being supported by the Spaniards, had recourse to arms. They published a manifesto, complaining, of the Cardinal's practices to destroy them: they charge him with ruining the kingdom by unnecessary wars; draining the nation of it's treasure to pur-

Another  
insurrec-  
tion a-  
gainst  
RICHLIEU.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.Influences  
of his  
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ministra-  
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Soissons  
killed after  
he had ob-  
tained a  
victory.1642.  
The  
French  
successful  
in Ger-  
many and  
Catalonia.Perpignan  
the capital  
of Roussil-  
lon besieged.Another  
conspiracy  
against  
Rich-  
lieu.

chase foreign towns and territories at extravagant rates, as Brisac, Philipsburgh, and others; squandering away large sums to procure himself friends in Italy and elsewhere. They shew also that all his Majesty's allies were a charge to him, and only made feeble diversions at the expense of France. That the Cardinal had caused the principal nobility to be imprisoned or banished who opposed his arbitrary proceedings, and others had been condemned to death by corrupt commissioners of his own nomination. That he had violated and abrogated all the laws of the kingdom, under the specious pretence of asserting the King's prerogative. That he had robbed the provinces of their ancient privileges, and vacated the compacts made with former Kings. That the nation was beggared by taxes, and trade entirely lost by the high duties on merchandize. That the country was ruined by quartering soldiers, and even tillage and manufactures at a stand, inasmuch that many of the peasants perished by famine. The greatest part of which charge against the Cardinal, says my author, was without doubt very well grounded; but such was his good fortune, that when the malecontents had assembled an army and defeated that of the King's near Sedan, Count Soissons, his greatest enemy, was killed by a pistol-shot after victory had declared for him. It is generally said he fell by the hands of one of his own guards, whom the Cardinal had corrupted to take him off in the engagement. But however that was, certain it is the Cardinal had run a very great hazard of being disgraced if this Prince had survived his victory, for the King began to be very impatient at the danger RICHIEU had exposed him to by his oppressions. The Duke of Bouillon, and the rest of the malecontents, being offered advantageous terms by the Cardinal, consented to lay down their arms, and the minister thereupon became as firmly established in his Majesty's favour as ever.

The year 1642 was as fortunate to France as any of the preceeding. Count GUEBRIANT having joined a body of Hessians, defeated the Imperial General LAMBOY and took him prisoner, making himself master of great part of the electorate of Cologne. On the side of Catalonia the French defeated a body of five thousand Spaniards; after which the King and Cardinal marched at the head of a great army and laid siege to Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon. This grand expedition obliging the French to withdraw some of their troops from the Low-Countries, the Spaniards became superior here, and took the town of Lens, and afterwards defeated Marshal GUICHE; which is the only success they met with this campaign, and this the Spaniards made no manner of improvement of.

While the King's troops were marching to the siege of Perpignan, another conspiracy was formed against the Cardinal. HENRY DEFFIAT, Marquis of Cinque Mars, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, (frequently called Monsieur le Grand) having been disoblged by RICHIEU, determined to destroy him; and knowing that the Duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his outward reconciliation with this prelate, was still his enemy, he easily prevailed with his Highness to join in the design. The Duke of Bouillon and de Thou engaged also in the enterprize. It was agreed by them to treat with the King of Spain, in the name of the Duke of Orleans, and that ministry promised to furnish them with twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse veteran troops, besides a great sum of money.

The Cardinal was sensible that the master of the horse was contriving some mischief against him, but could not fathom the bottom of it. There was a current report that the affection the King had for the prime minister apparently declined, and that the master of the horse had much the greatest share of his Majesty's favour. How true soever this might be, the Cardinal was resolved to lose no opportunity to re-establish himself in the King's good opinion: while they were on the march towards Roussillon therefore, he lodged always in the same place with his Majesty, and never failed to see him every morning and evening, to dissipate by his presence all the schemes that might have been laid to prejudice his Majesty against him; and as the Master of the Horse was young and thoughtless, and consequently fell infinitely short of the dexterity of the minister in the art of cajoling their master, the Cardinal easily broke all his measures. It is said that the favourite had several times proposed to the Duke of Orleans and de Thou to assassinate the Cardinal, but they would not consent to it. In the mean time the Master of the Horse, who ought to have endeavoured to preserve and cultivate the friendship the King had for him, seemed to take a pleasure in contradicting him, and frequently absented himself when the King desired his company; and when his friends represented that this conduct would infallibly ruin himself and them, he told them that he could not bear the smell of the King's breath: so very arrogant and indiscreet was this young nobleman, even while he was engaged in an affair which required the nicest management. It is surprizing therefore that persons of that figure as the Dukes of Orleans and Bouillon were, durst be concerned in a conspiracy with him.

While the King lay before Perpignan, the Cardinal by his spies at Madrid procured a copy of the treaty between the Spaniards and the malecontents, which he communicated to his majesty; whereupon the conspirators were apprehended, and tried by a special commission, except the Duke Orleans, who betraying his friends according to custom, and making an ample confession, was pardoned. The Duke of Bouillon also escaped with his life on surrendering his principality of Sedan to the crown, but the master of the horse and de Thou were beheaded: after which Perpignan having been blocked up till the seventh of September, surrendered, the garrison having suffered extremely for want of food.

The Cardinal being taken very ill in his return from Roussillon, and not able to bear the jolting of a coach, contrived a kind of portable chamber, so large that it would hold his bed, a table, and seats for a friend or two, and was carried on the shoulders of eighteen men bare-headed. In this state he travelled near two hundred leagues; and as the machine was too large to enter the gates of several towns, they beat down their walls to let it through, and the roads were frequently enlarged and levelled for the ease of this haughty Prelate in his journey.

As RICHIEU owed his grandure chiefly to the divisions he fomented in the neighbouring States, and maintaining parties in almost every kingdom against the Sovereign, England among the rest unhappily suffered by the intrigues of this minister; nor was he contented privately to foment the rebellion against King CHARLES the First, but permitted the Ambassador of France publickly to apply himself to that assembly which bore the name of

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XXXIV.Cinque  
Mars and  
de Thou  
executed.Perpignan  
surrenders.The Cardinal's  
grand  
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ments the  
divisions  
between  
the King  
of Eng-  
land and  
his parlia-  
ment.



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of a Parliament, and countenanced their usurpations, of which the King of England complained to his brother of France and procured the Ambassador to be recalled. RICHIEU's friends indeed excused his conduct in this matter, by saying it was a just retaliation for the assistance King CHARLES had given the Rochellers: but the case seems to be widely different; for the religion, rights, and liberties of the Protestants of France having been established by the most solemn edicts, which RICHIEU thought fit to invade, that people had certainly a right to defend themselves, and the Protestant powers of Europe had an equal right to interpose and afford them their assistance. Whereas the sectaries in England without any just provocation withdrew their allegiance from their Sovereign, and refused to live in subjection to him or any other government ecclesiastical or civil, till in the end they entirely subverted the constitution in church and state, sequestered the lands of the crown, of the bishops, the nobility, and of every loyal subject, and divided them among their factious brethren. But to return to France: Prince THOMAS of Savoy who commanded their forces in Italy, was as successful there as their Generals had been in other places this campaign, taking Nice de la Paille, Tortona, and other towns, from the Spaniards. And now when the Cardinal seemed to be arrived at the highest pitch of glory, or at least what he esteemed such, and was laying schemes of universal monarchy, his distemper increased upon him and put an end to all his mighty projects. But before I come to describe the last scene of his life, I cannot forbear giving another instance of his unparalleled arrogance and presumption. He was, or pretended to be, afraid of being assassinated by the King's guards, who had a particular affection for the master of the horse whom he had beheaded; he desired therefore that whenever he came to wait on his Majesty, he might introduce into the palace a number of his own guards equal to the King's, which the easy Prince consented to, tho' 'twas such a proposal, as my author observes, that would have been construed high-treason in another.

The Cardinal's last illness.

The Cardinal did not enjoy this mark of distinction long, for his fever and the pain of his side increasing, together with a difficulty of breathing, the physicians pronounced that he had but a short time to live; of which the King being informed, made him a visit, and speaking to him with a great deal of tenderness and concern, he answered, that he took his leave of his Majesty, knowing he must shortly pay that common tribute which all men owe to nature; that he felt a sensible satisfaction in reflecting that he had never done any thing in his whole life contrary to his Majesty's service, and left France in the highest reputation it had ever enjoyed in the world, her enemies being humbled to his wishes; and advised his Majesty to continue the present ministry, among whom his friend MAZARIN was the chief, as extremely capable of serving the crown. Soon after he received the viaticum, and as the curate entered with the host he said, Behold my Judge, who will soon pronounce my sentence! I desire with all my heart he may condemn me, if in my ministry I have proposed any other end to myself than the good of religion and the state. Being asked if he forgave all his enemies, he answered, that he did it with all his heart, and after the same manner as he besought the divine justice to use him. And 'twas in general observed, that no man who had lived con-

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stantly conformable to the precepts of the gospel could have testified a greater confidence in God than this minister, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of the nobility, oppressed the people with heavy taxes, subverted the liberties and privileges of the subject, and fomented wars and rebellions in most of the kingdoms of Europe. He gave his palace, with furniture for the best apartments, and fifteen hundred thousand livres, to his Majesty, which sum he said had been of singular service to him in many exigencies of the state, and advised the King always to keep such a sum by him, to employ on pressing occasions when his treasury might be exhausted. He gave large legacies to his relations and all who had served him, besides a vast estate he left to his nephew ARMAND DE MAILLE. But to enter a little into his character: The ambition of this minister was insatiable, nothing less than the direction of all affairs at home and abroad would satisfy him, to which end it was requisite to preserve his post and make himself necessary to the King; this he affected by engaging him everlastingly in some new enterprize or other, which the poor Prince was sensible he could not carry on without him. He is said to have laid the foundation of an universal monarchy, and had a prospect of effecting it by the ruin of Spain, to which he gave two dangerous blows, by supporting the insurrections of the Catalonians and Portuguese; and as it was necessary to facilitate the execution of his vast projects, above all things to secure France from foreign invasions, and put himself in a condition to pour his forces into any country he designed to reduce, he covered her frontiers on the side of the Low-Countries, where it was most exposed by the conquest of Artois: for the same reason he undertook the conquest of Roussillon, which would have been a barrier to France on the side of the Pyrenees; and with the like views he seized Brisac on the Rhine, and Pignerol on the confines of Italy, which he would never suffer the King to part with on any consideration whatever. And if the stretching the prerogative of the crown beyond all bounds, surprising the territories of the neighbouring Princes by the basest arts, and thereby rendering France terrible to her neighbours; if the subverting the constitution of his own country and enslaving his fellow-subjects, were meritorious acts, he might deserve the epithet of great, nay, of the greatest minister that ever sat at the helm, as his admirers frequently stile him; otherwise we may still continue to rank him among the plagues and scourges of mankind.

The Cardinal before he died received news of the Queen-mother's death at Cologne; and tho' they had of late years been mortal enemies, yet as she was once his benefactress and had introduced him into the ministry, he thought it but decent to pay some respect to her remains, and accordingly celebrated her obsequies with abundance of magnificence. The King, 'tis said, was extremely grieved at the news, and began to reflect with remorse on the ill usage he had shewn his mother to satisfy an inexorable minister; but RICHIEU knew how to divert him from these disagreeable subjects, and appears to have gone off the stage in full favour with his master; and the King, according to his advice, advanced his friend Cardinal MAZARIN to his post of prime minister.

His Majesty did not long survive his favourite; the fatigues of his journey to Roussillon, which the Cardinal had put him upon, 'tis thought, was

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The Queen-mother's death.

1643.  
The King dies.



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very prejudicial to him: he was seized by a slow fever in April following, and perceiving his health gradually decay, he declared his Queen, ANNE of Austria, Regent of the kingdom during the minority of the Dauphin, and under her the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the State and President of the Council; the other members whereof were HENRY Prince of Condé, the Chancellor, Cardinal MAZARIN, and the Sieur DE CHAVIGNI. He died on the fourteenth of May, in the forty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign; leaving behind him two sons, viz. LEWIS who succeeded him by the name of LEWIS the Fourteenth; and PHILIP, afterwards Duke of Orleans,

LEWIS  
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LEWIS the Fourteenth succeeded his father at the age of four years, eight months, and nine days, and the parliament of Paris confirmed his mother Queen ANNE Regent during his minority, as the late King LEWIS XIII had appointed. And notwithstanding the Queen mother had been formerly very ill used by the late ministry, yet Cardinal MAZARIN foreseeing the King's death, having made his court to her for some time, and procured her to be appointed Regent, she forgot the affronts she had received, and determined to continue him and the rest of the late King's council in the administration, to the great mortification of her friends who had been sufferers with her, and had reason to expect to be advanced to the principal posts in the government. But Princes when their turn is served do not always remember past services; and she had this to allege in MAZARIN's behalf, besides his having procured her the regency, that he was by all acknowledged to be an able minister, and well versed in the state of the nation, which she could not be so well assured of in any one she should have taken in to supply his room. SEGUER the Chancellor was the only man who was turned out of all the late ministers, which could hardly be avoided, as he had been guilty of some rudeness in searching for the Queen's letters which she endeavoured to conceal from the King.

The  
French  
gain a vic-  
tory near  
Rocroy.

The Spaniards apprehending they were superior to the French this year on the side of Champagne, laid siege to Rocroy, which the Duke of Enguien, son to the Prince of Condé was sent to relieve, it being esteemed a place of great importance. This young General was at this time but two and twenty years of age. He marched with all imaginable expedition, fell upon the besiegers, gained a complete victory, and raised the siege. He afterwards took Thionville in Luxemburg; and receiving advice that the Marshal DE GUEBRIAN was hard pressed by the Dukes of Bavaria and Lorraine on the confines of Germany, he marched to his assistance, and made them retire in their turn. Prince THOMAS of Savoy, and the French Generals in Italy, also took several towns from the Spaniards; and in Catalonia the Marshal DE LA MOTTE drove the troops of Spain before him. The French fleet likewise defeated that of the Spaniards near Cartagena; so that France was every where victorious. These successes established the credit of the ministry at a very critical juncture; for their enemies were numerous and powerful, and the least misfortune would at this time have hazarded their disgrace. It is observed of MAZARIN, that by ascribing all the glory of these actions to the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, and secretly creating in these Princes a jealousy of each other, he had in a manner the

direction of the council, both of them appealing to him when any dispute arose. The civil war continuing in England, the French court sent over an Ambassador thither under pretence of mediating between that King and his people; but in reality to foment their divisions, for they were apprehensive his British Majesty would have taken the part of Spain and the Emperor if he had not been engaged in these disputes, or they might with a very small assistance have enabled him to crush that rebellion.

1644.

The French were engaged in another mediation between the Pope and the Duke of Parma, they tell us, and ascribe the conclusion of the peace that followed between them to the address of their ministers. The Pope it seems had taken the duchy of Castro from the Duke of Parma; whereupon the Republic of Venice, the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena, entered into an alliance with Parma for the recovery of it. The Duke of Parma marched up to the gates of Rome, and possessed himself of several places in the ecclesiastical State, and his Holiness was glad to relinquish Castro, on condition the Duke would retire out of his territories; and this would probably have been the case if the French had never been concerned in the affair: but according to the vanity of that nation, no considerable event can happen in Christendom which they do not pretend to have the direction of; and indeed they seem at this day to have the fate of most of the kingdoms in Europe too much at their disposal, whatever they might have then. But to return to France: An insurrection happened this year in the Province of Rouergue on account of the Taille or land-tax; and tho' the court had the good fortune to suppress it, and punished some of the mutineers, yet they thought fit to ease the people this year of ten millions of livres, or one million sterling, in their taxes.

The  
French re-  
new their  
alliance  
with the  
Dutch.

The French renewed their alliance with the States-General about this time, whereby the States obliged themselves to maintain an army against the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, consisting of twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and to fit out a fleet of thirty men of war to block up the mouth of the Scheld, or assist in the conquest of any port town; and the French on the other hand agreed to pay them twelve hundred thousand livres. The following campaign the Duke of Orleans took Gravelin; and the Dutch, Sas van Ghent, in Flanders. Upon the Rhine the Imperialists having taken Friburg, the Duke of Enguien marched to stop their progress, and gained a complete victory over them near that city, and afterwards took the strong town of Philipsburg; whereupon Worms, Spiers, Mayence, Oppenheim, Creutznach, Landau, Newstadt, Mannheim, and Magdeburg submitted to the French. And in Italy Prince THOMAS of Savoy, who commanded the troops of France, took the castle of Asti. The King of England's affairs appearing desperate at this time, the Queen retired to the court of France, where she afterwards married her daughter HENRIETTA to the Duke of Orleans.

They are  
victorious  
in Ger-  
many, and  
take Phi-  
lipsburg,  
and abun-  
dantly of  
towns  
there.

The campaign of 1645 was not less fortunate to France than the two preceding: in Catalonia they took the city of Roses, which surrendered on the 21st of May; and afterwards defeated a great body of Spaniards: Balaguer and Agramont also were taken. And in Germany the Duke of Enguien on the first of August gained a victory over the Imperialists commanded by General

1645.  
Their suc-  
cesses in  
Catalonia  
and Ger-  
many.

MERCY,



CHAP. XXXIV. **MERCI**, who was himself killed in the field of battle; whereupon Nörtlingen surrendered at discretion, and Dunkesfel four days after. In Lorraine the French took several towns; and in Italy Prince **THOMAS** made himself master of Vigevano. While the Duke of Orleans in the Low-Countries reduced Mardyke, Lillers, St Venant, Armentiers, and Meurin (but Mardyke was retaken by the Spaniards). Before the conclusion of the campaign the French took the city of Triers, and re-established their friend the Elector in the government of it.

1646. In order to encourage the Dutch to continue the war against Spain, the French, besides the vast sums they advanced to the States, gave them very considerable advantages in point of trade this year. And while they made a considerable diversion on the side of Antwerp, the Duke of Orleans took Courtray, Berg, and Mardyke: and Monsieur returning to court, the Duke of Enguien, who commanded the army in his absence, made himself master of Furnes and Dunkirk by the assistance of the Dutch fleet; and in Italy the French reduced Piombino and Porto Longone. There happening a dispute in a cavalcade at Rome about this time between the attendants of the Cardinal d'ESTE, Protector of the affairs of France, and those of the Spanish Ambassador, the Spaniards were beaten, and the Ambassador's coachman disabled, so that the minister was obliged to get another to drive him home; but the greatest mortification was, that the ambassador was prohibited to dispute the precedence with the Cardinal any more. To return to more bloody encounters: Marshal **TURENNE** having defeated the Bavarian forces, afterwards took Aschaffenburg, Solingenstadt, Darmstadt, Scornдорff, Landeberg, and Lawingen; so that the Electors of Mentz and Cologne, and the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt found themselves obliged to accept of a neutrality for their respective territories; and the Duke of Lorraine was perfectly driven out of his country. **HENRY DE BOURBON** Prince of Condé happening to die at the latter end of this successful campaign, his son the Duke of Enguien succeeded him in his honours and estate.

The great progress of the French in Germany.

1647. The Spaniards imputing their ill fortune in a great measure to the unskilfulness or misunderstandings among their Generals, gave the government of the Low-Countries, and the command of their armies there, to **LEOPOLD** Duke of Austria, who in the beginning of this campaign took Landrecy and Armentiers, and was about to besiege Dunkirk; but the French Generals found him other employment: Marshal **RANTZAU** took Dixmude, Nieufdam, Lens, and Sluys, from the Spaniards, and defeated the Marquis de **CARACENA**.

The Duke of Enguien (now Condé) being made Viceroy of Catalonia, besieged Lerida; but here his usual good fortune seemed to have deserted him, for he was obliged to rise from before it. However, the people were so indulgent to the young hero, that they would by no means impute this ill success to him, but threw the odium of it upon the prime minister, affirming that he had neglected to furnish the Duke with necessaries for the siege on purpose to destroy him, because he was jealous of the power and reputation he had obtained.

The treaty of Westphalia being now in a great forwardness, a suspension of arms was agreed on between France, Sweden, and the Regency of Hesse, on the one part, and the Electors of Bava-

ria and Cologne, and Prince **MAXIMILIAN** on the other.

Notwithstanding the conquests the French had made on every side, the ministry were very desirous of peace; for the long continuance of the war had brought the treasury very low, and occasioned the laying innumerable taxes on the subjects, which made them express no small disaffection to the administration. Besides which, the Dutch had entered into a separate treaty with the enemy, and without their assistance the French could not propose to carry on a war against the house of Austria with any advantage. However, there were some impediments which prevented the conclusion of it till the year 1648. In the mean time Count **SEHOMBERG** laid siege to Tortosa in Catalonia and took it, by which the French opened a passage into the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia. The Prince of Condé also made himself master of Ipres in Flanders. While he lay before this place, the Spaniards retook Courtray, Furnes, and Lens: however, the Prince met with their army near the last town, and gave them a signal defeat.

The parliament of Paris about this time began to resume their antient authority; which the ministry were so offended at, that they ordered **MESSIEURS DE BROUSSEL** and **BLANCMENIL**, two of their busiest members, to be taken into custody, and some others were banished: but this proceeding was so resented by the city of Paris, that they barricaded their streets, insulted the Chancellor, and committed many disorders, which the government were forced to wink at while the war continued.

The parliament of Paris oppose the ministry.

The memorable insurrection at Naples raised by **MASSANELLO**, a young fisherman, on account of the insupportable taxes levied there by the Spaniards, happened about the same time. The people gave him the title of their Captain-General, and in a few days he entirely subverted the government. But his fall was as sudden as his rise; he was forsaken of a sudden by the mob, who submitted themselves again to the Viceroy: but he continuing or increasing the impositions, which were the occasion of their uneasiness, they had recourse to arms a second time, and offered the Duke of Guise, a French nobleman, who was then at Rome, the government of the city. He accepted the command; but before he arrived there, the ministry found means to suppress the insurrection, and made the Duke prisoner.

At length the famous treaty of Munster, in which most of the powers of Europe were concerned, was concluded on the 24th of October. The preliminaries of this treaty had been debated several years. The negotiations were carried on at Munster, the capital of Westphalia, and at Osnabrug, a town in the same circle about thirty miles from it; from whence this treaty is sometimes called the treaty of Munster, sometimes of Osnabrug, and at others of Westphalia. It was appointed to be held at two places, to prevent any differences that might happen among the plenipotentiaries on account of precedence, especially with the Pope's Nuntio, whom the Swedes and other Protestant Princes refused to have any commerce with; whereupon their ministers generally met at Osnabrug, as those of the Popish powers did at Munster, which occasioned continual journeys from one place to the other.

The peace of Munster concluded.

This treaty was begun the eleventh of July N. S. or the first of the same month O. S. 1643,



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XXXIV.

The principal articles between France and the Empire.

Territories yielded to France.

Territories restored to the Empire.

The parliaments re-assume their authority.

so that it lasted upwards of five years. The most material articles whereof, as far as it related to the Imperialists and the French, were, That the circle of Burgundy should continue a member of the Empire: That the controversy about Lorraine should be referred to arbitrators: That the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire should be re-established in their ecclesiastical and temporal estates, which they enjoyed before the war: That the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, should go to the house of Bavaria; but that an eighth Electorate should be re-established in favour of CHARLES-LEWIS, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and his heirs, who should enjoy the Lower Palatinate: That those of the confession of Augsburg should be put into the possession of their churches and ecclesiastical estates, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

That the right of sovereignty and other rights to the bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, should be confirmed to, and be incorporated in, the crown of France. The Emperor and Empire also transferred all their right of sovereignty to Pignerol to the crown of France; as also all their rights, properties, jurisdictions, &c. in the city of Brisac, the landgraveship of the Upper and Lower Alsatia, Sultgow, and the provincial lordship of ten imperial cities situate in Alsatia, viz. Haguenau, Culmer, Schlettstat, Weisenburg, Landau, Oberenheim, Rosheim, Munster in the valley of St Gregory, Keyserburg, and Turingam, and all the villages depending on them, to the most Christian King and the kingdom of France, with a right to keep a garrison in the castle of Philipsburg.

The most Christian King, on the other hand, agreed to restore to the house of Austria, the four forest towns of Rheinfelden, Seckingen, Lawfsinberg, and Walschutten, with their territories, villages, and appurtenances: Also the county of Hawenstein, the Black Forest, the Upper and Lower Brisgow, and the towns situate therein, viz. Newburg, Friburg, Eudingen, Kenzingen, Waldkirk, Willingen and Brunlingen, with their territories and appurtenances. Also all Ortnavien, with the imperial cities of Offenburg, Gengenback, Cellaham, and Hamorspach. And it was agreed that for the future, the commerce and passage should be free to the inhabitants of both banks of the Rhine, and the adjacent provinces, especially the navigation of the said river, under the usual tolls. And his most Christian Majesty, in consideration of the towns and territories thus transferred to him, agreed to pay to the Archduke FERDINAND-CHARLES three millions of livres within three years. The King of Spain was not comprehended in this treaty.

France had no sooner concluded a peace with the Empire, but the kingdom began to be distracted again with intestine divisions: the many heavy taxes that had been laid to support the war, but chiefly the arbitrary manner of levying them, had created abundance of ill blood. The parliaments also, which had been deprived of their authority during the administration of RICHELIEU and MAZARIN, entered into a confederacy (or act of union as 'twas called) to vindicate their own and the people's privileges. They received the petitions of grievances which were brought them from all parts of the kingdom favourably, and promised to see justice done them; whereby they obtained the titles of the saviours and deliverers of their country: and those of them that were most zealous in their opposition to the court were usually called *Frondeurs*,

or Slingers, perhaps from their throwing or slinging at the ministry. But the Prince of Condé having obtained a victory over the Spaniards at Lens about this time, MAZARIN and the court-party looked upon their interest to be so much strengthened by it, that they ventured to seize upon some of the principal members of the parliament of Paris and imprison them; whereupon the citizens of that capital had recourse to arms, barricadoed their streets, and obliged the ministry to release the imprisoned members, as has been mentioned already; and might have carried their resentments farther, had not the Prince of Condé, who was equally in the good graces of the court and the people, made up the difference for the present. But it appearing soon afterwards that nothing less would satisfy the parliament and the people than the disgrace of MAZARIN, the Queen, in order to protect her favourite, implored the assistance of the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, but especially the latter, who had such an interest in the army and the kingdom in general, that she did not doubt carrying her point if she could gain him; she spared neither prayers or tears, the usual artillery of the sex, to bring him over: the Cardinal also vowed perpetual submission to his will, if he would protect him against his enemies; and by these and other arts prevailed on the Prince to espouse their cause. Whereupon he threatened the parliament and city of Paris with his resentment of they continued disobedient to the Regent; and advised her to retire with the young King from Paris to St Germain, that he might block up that city, and make them sensible of their error. After which, he possessed himself of Lagni, Corbeil, St Cloud, St Dennis, and Charenton, with his forces, whereby he cut off their communication with the country, and stopt all provisions coming to town; which reduced them to great distress, and made the people alter the good opinion they formerly had conceived of him.

The parliament on the other hand charged the Cardinal with male-administration, declared him a disturber of the publick peace, and enemy to the king and kingdom, requiring him to leave France within eight days. They also levied forces, and voluntarily taxed themselves to maintain them; and were seconded by great numbers of the principal nobility, particularly the Prince of Conti brother to the Prince of Condé. But notwithstanding this vigorous beginning, when the city began to be straitened for want of provisions, the Parisians thought fit to accept of a general indemnity, which was offered them by the court, and to lay down their arms again.

The Cardinal having obtained his end, and growing weary of his dependance on the Prince of Condé, endeavoured to foment the divisions between him and the Slingers. He also put the army under the command of other Generals whom he could confide in, and laid siege to Cambray without asking the Prince's advice, tho' he was forced to raise the siege, and had the mortification to see the Spaniards make themselves masters of Ipres the same campaign. The following winter the Cardinal, in order to render the Prince and the Slingers irreconcilable, ordered a report to be spread that they had a design upon his life; and to confirm him in this suspicion, he caused his coach to be attacked and shot through, by a mob he had spirited up, as it went empty through the city: which affront being represented by the Prince in the manner the Cardinal expected it would, the people were

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Their disputes with the ministry.

1649.

The parliament obliged to submit to the court.



CHAP. XXXIV. no longer at his devotion. Whereupon this Pre-  
 late caused the Prince himself, and his brother the  
 Prince of Conti to be apprehended, with the Duke  
 of Longueville, and sent prisoners to the castle of  
 Vincennes; nor did any one attempt to rescue  
 them. But the Parliament and the Slingers, as well  
 as the Duke of Orleans, being sensible how much  
 they had been abused by the Cardinal's artifices,  
 they all determined to set the Princes at liberty;  
 and this Prelate finding himself unable to resist  
 the general current, seemingly agreed to it, but  
 thought fit at the same time to retire from court.  
 The Queen, however, being impatient at the ab-  
 sence of her favourite, soon made way for his re-  
 turn, putting his friends into all posts of honour or  
 profit; which so disgusted the Prince of Condé,  
 that he retired in discontent to Guienne, and raised  
 an insurrection there. Bourdeaux and several o-  
 ther considerable towns declaring for him, another  
 civil war was commenced, and the Prince, with  
 whom the Duke of Orleans and the parliament of  
 Paris joined their forces, were at first much superior  
 to their enemies; but the Cardinal, who was now  
 returned to court, pretending to be desirous of  
 peace, engaged the Prince in fruitless negotiations  
 till his party dwindled away, and most of his troops  
 deserted. The Prince, however, came to Paris  
 with the remainder of his forces, between whom  
 and the royalists there happened a smart encounter  
 in the suburb of St. Anthony, and he was so well  
 supported by the Parisians at this time, that the  
 Cardinal was once more obliged to retire from  
 court. But the Prince of Condé's party falling  
 out among themselves, their enemies prevailed a-  
 gainst them, and his Highness thought fit to leave  
 the kingdom and join the Spaniards in Flanders,  
 who gave him the command of their troops for se-  
 veral years. Whereupon the Cardinal returned to  
 his former post in triumph, and became more  
 arbitrary than ever, neither the parliament or city  
 of Paris durst afterwards lift up a hand against  
 him.

During these commotions at home their foreign  
 wars succeeded very ill: In Catalonia Don JOHN  
 of Austria besieged Barcelona and took it. In I-  
 taly the Spaniards made themselves masters of Ca-  
 sal; and in Flanders they besieged and took Gra-  
 velin and Dunkirk. These ill successes obliged  
 Cardinal MAZARIN to look out for foreign as-  
 sistance, and CROMWELL the Protector, as he was  
 called, in England, being in great reputation for  
 his warlike exploits, he entered into an alliance  
 with him against the Spaniards.

In the year 1653 the Prince of Condé entered  
 France at the head of an army of Spaniards; but  
 was so narrowly observed by M. TURENNE, that  
 he gained no other advantage than the taking of  
 Rocroy. The year 1654 was remarkable for lit-  
 tle else but the coronation of the King; as the  
 following was for a massacre of the Protestant  
 Vaudois, in which several French regiments as-  
 sisted, and committed unheard-of cruelties. The  
 French having laid siege to Valenciennes in 1656,  
 Don JOHN of Austria obliged them to raise the  
 siege, and gained a victory over their troops near  
 that city. About this time CHRISTINA Queen  
 of Sweden arrived at Paris, having resigned her  
 crown to lead a private life.

A misunderstanding happened this year between  
 France and her old allies the States-General, on  
 account of some French ships the Dutch had taken  
 in the Mediterranean, said to have committed se-  
 veral acts of piracy; whereupon MAZARIN seized

the ships of Holland in the harbours of France by  
 way of reprisal; and the Dutch took as many  
 French ships as they could meet with; but the  
 difference was made up without entering into a war.  
 The same campaign the French were obliged to  
 raise the siege of Cambray by the Prince of Condé;  
 but they made themselves masters of Montmedy  
 in Luxemburg: and now being joined by six thou-  
 sand of CROMWELL's veteran troops, they be-  
 came superior to the Spaniards in the Low Coun-  
 tries. By one of the articles between the English  
 and French they were to endeavour the taking of  
 Dunkirk, which was to be put into the hands of the  
 English: accordingly that town was besieged in  
 the year 1658, and the Prince of Condé and Don  
 JOHN of Austria marching to the relief of it, were  
 defeated by the French and English; after which  
 the town surrendered and received an English gar-  
 rison, as had been stipulated. But I should have  
 remembered that the preceding year BLAKE the  
 Admiral of the English fell upon the Spanish fleet  
 and galleons at the Canaries, and burnt them all,  
 while they lay under the command of the forts  
 upon the island; which was looked upon as a very  
 desperate action, such a thing not having been  
 heard of at that time of day, as attacking a fleet  
 defended by castles and batteries on shore, though  
 now it is become very usual.

Most writers take notice of the figure CROM-  
 WELL, the Protector of the commonwealth of  
 England, as he was called, made about this time.  
 He had humbled the Dutch and the Spaniard,  
 and made the French entirely dependent on him;  
 none of the powers of Europe durst oppose him;  
 and if he had lived a little longer, he had laid a  
 scheme, as 'tis said, to bring all nations into his  
 fold, under the pious pretence of making them  
 subjects of Jesus Christ, whose Vicegerent on earth  
 he would no doubt have pretended to be, and  
 thus have rivaled the Pope in the power he assumed  
 of disposing of the kingdoms of the world. They  
 tell us, that when the Protestants of Nismes in  
 France had made an insurrection, and Cardinal  
 MAZARIN had sent a detachment of the army  
 to cut them in pieces, CROMWELL obliged him  
 to countermand those troops, and grant them a  
 pardon: and it was he that obliged the Duke of  
 Savoy to desist from persecuting the Protestant  
 Vaudois; so that 'tis no wonder that the Reformed  
 Churches abroad have his memory in great vene-  
 ration at this day. Cardinal MAZARIN com-  
 plained of him, that he would be denied nothing;  
 constantly alledging, that the people would not  
 be otherwise satisfied. PUFFENDORFF observes  
 of him, that in the treaty of alliance between  
 France and Spain, CROMWELL would not suffer  
 their sovereign LEWIS XIV to be stiled King of  
 France, but the French King; and insisted that  
 his own name and stile, as protector of the com-  
 monwealth of England, should stand before that  
 of the French King's in the instrument of the  
 treaty. This shews what a Prince or Usurper may  
 do when he has made himself absolute master of  
 the purses and persons of the people: the kingdom  
 is then but one great farm let out at a rack-rent,  
 and the people entirely slaves, whose business in this  
 world is only to support the grandeur of their mas-  
 ter; and though trade and navigation, manufac-  
 tures and tillage must in these cases be under the  
 utmost discouragement; and perhaps the produce  
 of the country not yield half so much as it would  
 if the people were in a state of freedom, as it is in  
 France at this day; yet as the Sovereign is master

Another  
civil war.

The  
Prince of  
Condé  
leaves the  
kingdom,  
and com-  
mands the  
Spanish  
army.

MAZA-  
RIN re-  
turns to  
court, and  
makes an  
alliance  
with  
CROM-  
WELL.

1653.

1654.

1655.

1656.

1657.

1658.  
Dunkirk  
taken and  
put into  
the hands  
of the  
English.

CROM-  
WELL  
governs  
the court  
of France,  
and most  
of the  
powers in  
Europe.



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of all that's left, he will make a greater figure among his neighbours than while he remained limited by laws: he could not bully the world about him so effectually when he depended only on the aids the subjects granted him, as when he had made himself master of all. Therefore it has always been the practice of ambitious Princes, first to make a conquest of their own people, and reduce them to a state of slavery, before they pretended to enlarge their dominions much by foreign conquests. It is not to be supposed that any free trading people would be willing to sacrifice their persons and wealth for the glory of their monarch, as 'tis called, in the same measure as he would himself if their estates were at his disposal. Self will be always at the bottom: the subject while he is free, will certainly rather lay out part of his money in trade and commerce, in increasing his own estate and supporting his family, than give the whole to encourage the ambitious views of a vain glorious Prince, or his rapacious ministers. And this is the reason that Princes and their favourites too often look upon the people as their enemies: they have no notion of governing with a limited authority, nor can enjoy any happiness so long as they can be controlled, or the subject retains any part of his substance for his own use. Taxes and standing armies therefore they constantly inculcate are necessary for the defence of the nation; though in reality they are generally raised for the support of an unwarrantable authority: either to purchase the leaders of the people, and induce them to give up the estates and liberties of those they represent to the crown, or to dragoon them into submission with the very forces they themselves have raised: and because national troops are not always found so compliant and ready to execute every barbarous order against their countrymen as foreigners, a good body of mercenaries are usually kept in pay as corps de reserve in case all other measures fail. The French Princes while they were employed in subduing their own subjects, ever kept a body of ten or twelve thousand Germans or Swiss in their pay, who would cut throats where they were bid without reluctance, and destroy whole towns and villages if they murmured at the taxes imposed upon them, or refused to submit to the tyranny of the court. But to return: The French being now reinforced by the English, became superior to the Spaniards in Flanders again, and not only took Dunkirk from them, but Furnes, Berg St Winock, Dixmude, Ipres, Grammont, Ninove, and many other places; and made some acquisitions in Catalonia and Italy: which successes inclined the Spaniards seriously to think of peace, and accordingly a treaty was set on foot, and conferences held in the isle of Pheasants, formed by the river Bidassoa, which divides the two kingdoms; the plenipotentiaries being Cardinal MAZARIN prime minister of France on one side, and Don LEWIS DE HARO prime minister of Spain on the other. This was generally called the Pyrenean Treaty, the conferences being held near the foot of those mountains, and was concluded on the seventh of November, 1659, within less than a month after the conferences began. The principal articles were, That the French King should marry the Infanta of Spain, but that both of them should for themselves, their heirs and successors, relinquish all right and pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and the territories thereto belonging: which was done in the strongest terms and sworn to.

Towns  
taken by  
the  
French.The Pyre-  
nean  
treaty.  
1659.

That the Prince of Condé, his servants and adherents, should be received into favour: the Prince made governor of Burgundy, and his son, the Duke of Enguien, great master of the household.

That the French King should give no manner of assistance to the Portuguese.

That the Duke of Lorraine should have his country restored to him, but the French reserved the liberty of garrisoning some places, and marching through it when they pleased.

Franche Comte and Catalonia were restored to Spain, but Roussillon was confirmed to the French, as well as several towns they had taken in the Netherlands.

CHARLES the Second, King of Great Britain, who was in exile at this time, went to the place of treaty, in hopes of getting something stipulated in his favour; but MAZARIN, 'tis said, refused to see him, and Don LEWIS DE HARO, though he gave him all the honour due to a crowned head, put him off with fair promises only. Had they foreseen he would have been restored to his dominions in a few months without their assistance, he would probably have met with a better reception: but Princes as well as common men, are too apt to neglect and slight the interest of a distressed brother.

The year 1660 was great part of it taken up with rejoicings for the peace, and the marriage between the French King and the Infanta. The Kings of France and Spain met in the isle of Pheasants on the sixth of June, and the next day the King of Spain delivered the Infanta, MARIA-THERESA of Austria, to his most Christian Majesty, and the marriage was solemnized at the city of St John de Luz, on the ninth of the same month.

In March following died that famous minister Cardinal MAZARIN, who following the maxims of RICHELIEU his predecessor, gave the finishing stroke to the liberties of France, and left his master the most arbitrary monarch in Christendom. The King, though but two and twenty years of age, determined to take the government upon himself, to examine the conduct of all his ministers, and suffer nothing to be transacted without his knowledge. And whereas formerly it was very difficult to procure access even to the prime minister, his Majesty appointed certain times to receive petitions himself from the meanest of his subjects. The secrecy of his councils is another subject of admiration; for notwithstanding most things were debated in full council, they received another examination in a cabinet-council, consisting of two or three select persons, and to these his Majesty seldom communicated the resolution he intended to take. And as he suspected that he had been abused in his finances, or treasury, he erected a court to enquire into the conduct of the superintendant or high-treasurer, who was sentenced to be banished, and his estate confiscated, tho' 'tis said he made a very good defence; and afterwards the celebrated JOHN BAPTISTA COLBERT, a private gentleman, was made comptroller of the finances, the office of superintendant being suppressed. The farmers of the revenue also were called to account, and obliged to refund great part of the treasure they had plundered the publick of: but the taxes, it seems, were most of them continued as when the nation was in a state of war. Few Princes, after a precedent of many years standing, will suffer a tax to be discontinued, though the service be ended for which it was first raised:

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1660.

1661.  
MAZA-  
RIN dies.The King  
governs  
himself.

his



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his ministers cannot want some new pretence to keep it on foot; and where the government is arbitrary, all the reason in the world can avail very little: but in a free nation, where the people have the disposal of their own money, how can we account for this practice, unless we suppose that the leading men receive a great deal more than they give, that they raise taxes to pay their own pensions, or they would never consent unnecessarily to burthen themselves and their fellow-subjects estates? But to proceed: The French entered into a new treaty with the Duke of Lorraine this year, by virtue whereof the duchy of Bar was restored to him, for which he did homage to the King. An unlucky accident happened at the same time, which might have revived the war between France and Spain, if his Catholick Majesty had not been very complaisant. The Swedish Ambassador being about to make his publick entry into London, to congratulate his British Majesty on his Restoration, both the French and Spanish Ambassadors sent their coaches and equipages to assist at that ceremony; and there happening a contest between their servants about precedence, some of the Spaniards hamstringed the horses belonging to the French Ambassador, and by this stratagem enabled their countrymen to move forward, while the French were left behind till they could procure new sets of horses. The most Christian King no sooner received advice of this outrage, but he ordered his Ambassador at Madrid to demand satisfaction: to which his Catholick Majesty answered, that he would give his son-in-law the King of France all the satisfaction that he could reasonably desire; for he was in no condition at this time to renew the war, which must have been the consequence of his non-compliance.

The Queen of France being delivered of a Dauphin on the first of November, the King on this occasion completed the number of the knights of the Holy Ghost, of whom the whole complement was an hundred, though at this time reduced to forty.

1662.  
Duels suppressed.

The gentry of France being more addicted to duelling than those of any other nation, the King in a great measure abolished this barbarous custom, by the severe punishments he inflicted on all that were concerned in them, and the solemn declaration he made that he would never pardon any person convicted of this crime. The punishment was no less than the forfeiture of life and estate in the offender that survived: the person killed also was hanged up by the heels, and his estate confiscated. This is deservedly looked upon as one of the most commendable acts in the reign of Lewis XIV; but the care he took of the poor about the same time, deserves also to be commemorated: the harvest having failed for two years successively, and occasioned a terrible famine, his Majesty caused quantities of corn to be imported from abroad, and distributed gratis to the most indigent of his subjects.

At Rome the French Ambassador met with another insult this year from Pope's guards, but his Holiness was obliged to beg pardon for it in the most abject manner. Another occurrence happened about the same time which made a great noise in England, and was variously censured, namely, the purchase of Dunkirk of his British Majesty for five hundred thousand pounds. This was looked upon as extremely detrimental to the trade and navigation of England, and laid to the charge of the Earl of Clarendon, though 'tis certain he had the

least hand in it of any person concerned in the British ministry.

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The following year his most Christian Majesty instituted the Academy of Inscriptions, whose business it is to compose inscriptions and devices, and perpetuate the memory of great events. Accordingly, upon the taking of every town almost, and every battle which they were pleased to stile a victory, we see medals coined to set the transaction in such a light as might contribute most to the glory of the Grand Monarch.

1663.  
Academy of inscriptions.

Nothing very material occurred in the year 1664, unless the sending a body of French troops to the assistance of the Imperial army against the Turks, who were thereupon obliged to retire over the Raab.

1664:

The kingdom still remaining in full peace, the celebrated Monsieur Colbert put his Majesty upon encouraging trade and navigation, and accordingly new ports were made, and others improved, shipping was every where built, and such manufactures prohibited to be imported as the natives could work themselves; whereby the King prevented very large sums going out of the nation, which every year had been sent to purchase them.

1665.  
Trade and navigation encouraged.

A war happening to break out about this time between the English and the States-General, on account of the encroachments the Dutch had made on the British trade in India, the coast of Africa, and elsewhere, the French first offered their mediation to compose the quarrel, and at length joined the Dutch.

The following year they dispossessed the English of their part of the island of St Christopher's, and finding afterwards they should be obliged to restore it, they destroyed all the British plantations and settlements there. In the mean time the French King gave great encouragement to arts and sciences, and established another academy called the Academy of Sciences. He also enlarged his harbours, augmented his fleet, and made large magazines of naval stores, causing his subjects to be instructed in navigation and all marine exercises, which were very little attended to in France till this reign. He also reformed several abuses in the courts of justice: but he soon found other employment, for PHILIP the Fourth, King of Spain, being dead, and his dominions descended to an infant, the grand monarch laid hold of this opportunity to fall upon the Spanish dominions in the Low-Countries, which were perfectly unprovided of troops to defend them. In one campaign he made himself master of Courtray, Dixmude, Furnes, Armentiers, Binch, Aeth, Tournay, Douay, Oudenard, Aloft, and Lisse. At the same time the royal canal was finished, by which the Ocean and Mediterranean seas have a communication. The Prince of Condé the next year took Dole, Besançon, and all Franche Comte. These rapid conquests surprized the neighbouring powers, and occasioned an alliance to be formed against France, by England, Sweden, and the States-General; which treaty obtained the name of the Triple Alliance, and had that good effect, that France was content to put an end to the war, and relinquish Franche Comte, upon condition she might retain the towns she had conquered in Flanders; and a treaty was concluded accordingly at Aix la Chapelle the same year.

1666.

Arts and sciences encouraged.

1667.  
The French King falls upon the Spaniard.

Towns taken in the Netherlands.

1668.

Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

The war being at an end, the young monarch proceeded in his regulations at home; and among others, in rendering the streets of Paris more secure and enlightened.

1669:

Paris beautified and enlightened.



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cure in the night-time, where robberies and murders were more frequent than in any other city; and this he effected chiefly by enlightening it with glass-lanterns hung in the middle of the streets. He also caused the town to be beautified with elegant buildings, and the streets well paved. The roads also, which before this reign were intolerably infested with robbers, he rendered very safe, by augmenting the number of officers for the discovery and apprehending of felons and highwaymen, and ordering them to be punished with the utmost severity.

The Turks made themselves masters of the island of Candia this year, the loss whereof is imputed in a great measure to the French, who withdrew their forces from thence they had sent to the assistance of the Venetians, very abruptly. About the same time CASIMIR King of Poland having resigned his crown, retired to France spending the remainder of his life in the abbey of St Germain de Prez.

Lorrain  
seized  
1670.

The French King recalling all his subjects, as well officers and soldiers as others, out of the dominions of the States-General, it created a suspicion that he intended to fall upon them: but he thought fit first to secure himself on the side of Germany, by seizing on the Duke of Lorrain's territories again, which he did without the least colour of right. The following year he employed no less than thirty thousand men in fortifying Dunkirk, and made it one of the strongest places in Flanders.

1672.  
The United  
Provinces  
invaded.

In the year 1672 the French King entered upon that memorable expedition against the United Netherlands by land, while the King of Great Britain armed against them by sea. The English did not want substantial reasons for this rupture; the encroachments of the Dutch on the British trade were not to be borne, and their libels and libellous pictures and medals on this occasion were still more provoking. The French were sufficiently exasperated against this Republic for contriving the Triple League, which had put a stop to their conquests; and the medal struck thereupon, alluding to JOSHUA's stopping the course of the sun, which was the French King's device, gave still more offence. The Grand monarch therefore was determined to chastise the insolence of this upstart Republic, as he called the States-General, who pretended to prescribe measures to crowned heads, and assume the umpirage of the affairs of Christendom.

He could not have met with a more favourable conjuncture to invade their territories than the present, when Holland was divided into two great factions, the one headed by the Prince of Orange, and the other by DE WITT; the last of which had rather have seen the French masters of their country, than have been forced to submit to the Orange party: accordingly they opposed the raising forces, and garrisoning their frontier towns, till the enemy was upon them; and, which was still worse, several of their governors and officers held a correspondence with the French, and shewed them the way to penetrate into the heart of their country. But no gentleman is more censured on this occasion than MOMBAS, a French refugee, who had been advanced to a considerable post in the army of the States, and constantly betrayed their councils.

In the beginning of May the French King having assembled an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, including the English auxiliaries under the command of the Duke of Monmouth,

attacked the territories of the States in three different parts, whilst the Bishops of Munster and Cologne attacked them in a fourth. His Majesty passed the Meuse at Vifet at the head of forty thousand men; and coming before Orsoy, took it in three days. The towns of Bunich, Vefel, Rimbergue, Emeric, Doetum, and Groll, made scarce any defence; whereupon the French appeared upon the banks of the Rhine, which it was expected would have put a stop to the progress of their army: but some of the gentlemen of the country, 'tis said, in order to ingratiate themselves with the French, came to the Prince of Condé's quarters while he lay at Emeric, and offered to shew him a passage over the Rhine, near Tolhuys, where the troops would be obliged to swim their horses but a little way. And the Prince having ordered the Count DE GUICHE to go with these gentlemen and sound the river, the passing of it appeared to be very practicable; whereupon he immediately acquainted his Majesty with the discovery, and the army marched with great secrecy all night till they came over against Tolhuys. In the mean while the Prince of Orange had received advice from some boors that they saw a party of French examining the depth of the river near Tolhuys, which occasioned his sending the treacherous MOMBAS, with a body of horse to defend the ford if the French should attempt it; but MOMBAS coming to the place, acquainted the deputies of the States in the absence of Prince of Orange, that there was no likelihood the enemy would attempt to ford the river here, and therefore he thought it more advisable to throw himself into Nimeguen, with great part of the troops which the Prince of Orange had appointed to defend the banks of the river.

The Prince however on his return to the camp commanded WORTZ, a German officer, to march with a body of horse and foot to Tolhuys; who finding the French to be in earnest, begun to throw up intrenchments to cover his men, but he had not time to perfect them. The enemy erected a battery of cannon upon the opposite bank of the river, and obliged his men to retire into an adjoining wood, from whence they did not stir till they saw some of the French horse actually passed over, and forming themselves; and then indeed they appeared from among the trees, and drove those few troops that had got over into the river again, after which they only discharged their carbines and wheeled off: whereas, says my author, had the followed them into the river, and not suffered any more of them to reach the shore, they had probably frustrated the attempt. But the French seeing the enemy remove to some distance, were encouraged to return to the charge, and being continually supported by greater numbers, obliged the Dutch to retire to their intrenchments; where, according to the French account, they were ready to have laid down their arms upon an offer of quarter. But the Duke of Longueville, who had been drinking hard at Emeric, advancing up to the trenches, and firing a pistol, the Hollanders believed they should have no quarter, fired a whole volley, and killed several persons of the first quality, among whom the Duke of Longueville was one, and the Prince of Condé was wounded. This accident put the French into some disorder; but great part of the army having got over by this time, they soon rallied, and dispersed the Dutch forces, becoming entirely masters of the Bettaw, or Batavia proper, by this easy victory.

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French  
pass the  
Rhine.



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The Prince of Condé, and the Duke of En-  
guien his son, with many other persons of dis-  
tinction, I perceive, passed the Rhine in boats,  
tho' there were some other Generals, and particu-  
larly the Duke of Longueville, who had been pretty  
well heated with wine, that attempted to pass it  
on horseback; but the Duke was in great danger  
of being drowned, if the Prince of Condé had not  
taken him into his boat. He saved his life, how-  
ever, to very little purpose, for he was shot, as  
has been related, a few minutes after, thro' his  
own folly, in firing upon people who had already  
submitted. As for the Grand Monarch, who as-  
sumed all the glory of this action to himself, he  
came over afterwards very prudently in a boat,  
when the danger was past.

Three  
entire pro-  
vinces sub-  
mit to the  
French.

The consequence of this victory was very great,  
for the Prince of Orange immediately quitted the  
banks of the Yssel, and left all the towns on that  
river exposed to the enemy: Doefberg, Nime-  
guen, Swol, Deventer, Grave, Arnheim, Skenk,  
Crevecœur, and even Utrecht, submitted in a few  
days, and in less than two months the King found  
himself master of three entire provinces, viz. Guel-  
derland, Overijssel, and Utrecht; and the French  
King actually kept his court in the last mentioned  
city this summer. The Germans in the mean  
time being alarmed at this surprizing success, entered  
into a confederacy with the States-General and Spain  
against the French; but the Dutch were so hard  
pressed notwithstanding, that they were forced to  
break down their dams and lay their country under  
water, that they might be in a condition to wait  
for the reinforcements which were marching to their  
assistance from all parts.

1673.

At length the German forces having joined the  
Prince of Orange, they laid siege to Bon and took  
it, and thereby in a great measure cut off the com-  
munication between France and Holland. The  
English also shewing an inclination to make peace  
with the Dutch at the same time, the Grand Mo-  
narch thought it convenient to quit all his boasted  
conquests, except Maestricht, and retire into Flan-  
ders. As to the rest of the occurrences that hap-  
pened during this war till the peace of Nimeguen,  
where the English acted the part of mediators, they  
have already been related in the modern history  
of the Netherlands or Germany, and therefore I  
shall not enlarge upon them here; but content my-  
self with giving the substance of the principal ar-  
ticles of that treaty.

1678.  
The treaty  
of Nime-  
guen.

By the treaty between France and the States-Ge-  
neral, concluded the tenth of August 1678, it was  
agreed, that each party should retain what they  
were respectively possessed of, only the French  
were to restore Maestricht with it's dependencies  
to the Dutch; which indeed was all the French  
retained of their mighty conquests. And by a se-  
parate article, all the territories belonging to the  
Prince of Orange in France, Franche Comte,  
Charleroy, Flanders, &c. were restored to him.

By the treaty between France and Spain, dated  
the 17th of September, 1678, the French agreed  
to restore to the Spaniards, Charleroy, Binch,  
Aeth, Oudenard, Courtray, the city and duchy  
of Limburgh, Ghent, the country of Waes, Leuwe,  
St Gislain and Puicerda: on the other hand it was  
agreed, that the French King should retain the  
county of Burgundy or Franche Comte; the towns  
of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray,  
Aire, St Omers, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton,  
Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Mau-  
beuge, all which they had conquered in this war.

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By the treaty concluded between the Empire  
and France on the 3d of February, 1678-9, France  
renounced all pretensions to Philipsburg: the  
French on the contrary were to keep Friburg till  
an equivalent should be given them.

The Duke of Lorrain was to have his territories  
restored him; only the French were to retain  
Nancy, and roads through this country; and to  
give him the city of Toul in lieu of it: and the  
Princes of Furstemburg, who had made so much  
disturbance in Europe, were to have their terri-  
tories and dignities restored them by the Em-  
peror.

By the treaty between Sweden, an ally of  
France, and the Elector of Brandenburg, conclu-  
ded the 29th of June, 1679, the Elector was to  
restore Stetin, Stralsund, and all he had taken from  
the Swede in Pomerania.

By the treaty between Sweden and Denmark,  
concluded the 2d of September, 1679, they were  
reciprocally to yield up all the towns that had been  
taken by either party.

France being now at peace with all the powers  
of Europe, determined to put in execution the long  
projected scheme of extirpating Calvinism, and  
begun with suppressing the chambers of the edict,  
as they were called, which were courts consisting  
of an equal number of protestant and popish judges  
who were to see the edicts put in execution that  
were made in favour of Protestants. Those of  
Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, and Grenoble, were sup-  
pressed this year; but I defer a further relation of  
this matter till I come to the year 1685, when the  
edict of Nants was reversed. In the mean time  
LEWIS le Grand found out a way of extending  
his dominions beyond their real limits as effectually  
in time of peace as he could have done by the most  
successful war. He set up courts of enquiry in the  
frontier towns, and such countries as had been  
yielded to him; and if he could discover that any  
city or province had formerly depended on the  
places in possession, or were under the jurisdic-  
tion of the same Sovereign, he claimed them as of  
right belonging to him; and to these encroach-  
ments he gave the title of RE-UNIONS. By  
the same rule he might have extended his jurisdic-  
tion over most of the kingdoms of Europe; for,  
according to the French account, they were part  
of their Empire, and formerly dismembered from  
it. Had their scheme of universal monarchy suc-  
ceeded therefore, they would have told us, no  
doubt, that the reducing the rest of Europe to the  
obedience of their monarch would have been but  
an act of justice.

The first that felt the effects of this piece of  
French usurpation, were the ten free imperial cities  
of Alsace: that country had been yielded to the  
French by the treaty of Munster, with an express  
exception of the rights and privileges of these cities,  
which they were to have enjoyed in the same man-  
ner under the protection of France as they had for-  
merly done under the Emperor: but their privileges  
were very little regarded. The court erected at  
Brifac also proceeded to reunite what they called  
the dismembered lands of Alsatia; many of which  
lay at a great distance from it: while the chamber  
or new-erected court of Metz pretended to re-unite  
all the dismembered fiefs of the three Bishopricks  
of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and an edict was  
issued for the execution of those decrees. Among  
the rest the King of Sweden was summoned to  
do homage for the duchy of Deux-Ponts; and  
because he did not appear, that duchy was given

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The perse-  
cution of  
the French  
Prote-  
stants.

1680.  
The  
French set  
up courts  
of re-union  
whereby  
they en-  
croach on  
the neigh-  
bouring  
Princes.



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to another. The Rhinegrave, and several other German Princes upon the frontiers, were obliged to do homage for their territories, on pain of military execution: and finding Spain unprepared to resist him, the Great LEWIS demanded even Ghent and Alost, as dependencies on some of the places that had been yielded to him; which put the neighbouring Princes in the utmost consternation, but none of them knew how to apply a remedy to this general grievance; for the French, as their Attorney-General observed, had at this time an hundred thousand men in arms to back their pretensions, and had fortified their frontiers so well, that they defied the resentment of their injured neighbours. The French King had built the fort of Hunninghen, within half a league of Basil in Switzerland, whereby he in a manner blocked up that Republick; and he obliged the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands to yield up the town of Charlemont. He also fortified Saar-Lewis, Landau, and Phalsbourg; and having thus strengthened his frontiers, he ravaged the German and Spanish territories, and raised contributions in them whenever he saw fit, on one pretence or other; inso-much that they had much better have been in a state of actual war, where they might have been at liberty to make reprisals. In the same insolent manner he obliged the Spaniard to relinquish his titles of Duke and Earl of Burgundy; and gave orders to his commanders at sea to force their ships to strike their flags to those of France.

The Protestants excluded places of profit.

While he thus bullied the Princes of Europe, he proceeded to mortify the poor Protestants at home, and among other edicts published against them, he excluded them from holding places of profit; and ordered, that where any persons had been born Protestants and turned Roman Catholics, if they afterwards returned to the Protestant communion again, they should be treated as apostates.

But as nothing took up more of the Monarch's care and time than the establishing a royal navy, superior to any of the maritime powers, we see him about this time enlarging and fortifying his two principal harbours of Toulon and Brest, erecting magazines, docks and yards for the building and careening of ships, encouraging the mathematics and all other sciences that might improve navigation; and 'tis said, that there were enrolled this year no less than sixty thousand seamen to serve in the ships of war, besides what were necessary for the merchants service. But these must be many of them land-men, for the trade of France was never considerable enough to furnish the royal navy with so large a compliment.

The two important towns of Strasburg and Casal, the one in Alsace and the other in Italy, were this year surprized, or rather purchased, by the French. The Burgomaster and many other of the leading men of Strasburg being corrupted with French money, opened their gates to the forces of France, who at a time concerted between them surrounded the town: and when the Emperor complained of this as a violation of the peace, he was answered, that Strasburg being the metropolis of Alsatia, belonged to France by the treaty of Munster; and the reason he had not made himself master of it sooner, was because he had been diverted from it by affairs of greater moment. But being sensible that the Imperialists would certainly compel him to restore it if he did not find them other employment, he treated with TEKELI to promote an insurrection in Hungary, while he incited the Turks to invade the Empire at the same

time. He also enlarged the fortifications of Strasburg to such a degree, as to make it one of the strongest places in Europe.

He proceeded next to insult the territories of all the Electors which lay upon the Rhine, and under pretence of dependencies, appropriated to himself all such places as he apprehended for his convenience. He even laid claim to the capital cities of the three ecclesiastical Electors, alledging that the stables of the Elector of Triers were built upon lands which belonged to him; and that the district of Ham, where the best Rhenish wines grow, were part of his demesnes: and as to Cologne and Mentz, most part of the houses he pretended had been built upon grounds yielded to him by the peace of Munster, and he would either demolish them, or make them acknowledge him for their Sovereign; but the King proposing to get his son the Dauphin chosen King of the Romans, did not think fit to put his threats in execution against those Electors. The Prince of Orange was more severely dealt with, for he seized that principality and transferred it to the Duchess of Nemours.

The year 1682 was remarkable for the contests between the most Christian King and the Pope concerning the Regale, which his Majesty insisted should extend to all the churches of France without exception: nor did this divert him from continuing his encroachments on the King of Spain's territories in the Low-Countries; and because that Prince refused to submit to all his insolent demands, he blockaded Luxemburg, till the Imperialists marched with a considerable army towards his frontiers, and then he thought fit to withdraw his troops. About the same time an edict was published for demolishing all the churches of the Protestants which had been built since the edict of Nants, with some other severe declarations against that people.

The Turks having invaded the frontiers of the Empire on one side, the French determined to attack them on the other; but the most Christian King receiving advice that the Ottoman army had passed by Raab and Comorra, and were about to lay siege to Vienna itself, he altered his resolution; for tho' he desired the Turks might favour his projects by making a diversion, he was not so bad a Christian as to wish them masters of the Empire. Besides, had he attempted to distress the house of Austria at so critical a juncture, he must have drawn all the powers of Christendom upon him, and his name would have been universally detested. He insinuated indeed to the Electors, that the Empire could only be saved by his troops, which lay ready upon their frontiers to advance against the Turks, if they would elect his son the Dauphin King of the Romans; but his credit was so bad in Germany, that they chose to run all hazards rather than admit a French army into their bowels, or a Prince of French extraction to be their sovereign. He had too lately destroyed the liberties of his own people, for foreigners to expect better usage. The siege of Vienna was no sooner raised, but the French marched a great army into the Low-Countries, under pretence of seizing Alost and several other places, which they pretended were dependent on them. They raised taxes and contributions on the very towns they had plundered, and carried off all the corn and cattle they found in the country to their magazines. They prohibited the manuring the ground, and seized all the instruments of husbandry. Nor were these outrages confined to

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The French King claims the three cities of the ecclesiastical Electors.

1682.

1683.  
The siege of Vienna.

The King endeavours to get the Dauphin chosen King of the Romans.

The French make themselves masters of Strasburg and Casal.

1681.  
Application to naval affairs.

The Protestants excluded places of profit.



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the district of Alost, and the places they pretended a right to, the duchies of Limburg and Guelders suffered no less than the former; and according to the Spanish Minister, who then resided at the Dyet of Ratisbon, such great and terrible desolations had not been seen during the late war, as were exercised by the French on this occasion. Nor were they contented with plundering the open towns, but afterwards made themselves masters of Courtray and Dixmude, and bombarded the town of Luxemburg.

Nurseries  
of officers  
for the sea  
and land  
service.

About the latter end of this year the French King established a nursery of marine officers, as he had done of cadets or younger brothers the preceding year for the land service. Those appointed to serve in men of war are denominated the marine guards, and those employed in the galleys the guards of the standard, and are in all about eight hundred, entertained both at sea and land at the King's charge; and being distributed in all the ports of France, are taught navigation, fencing, and all gentleman-like exercises.

1684.  
Genoa  
bombard-  
ed.

As the Republick of Holland had already felt the fury of the most Christian King's arms, he now determined to chastise that of Genoa on much the same pretence; namely, that they did not shew him that respect which a little Republick owed to a mighty monarch, and particularly that they had not renounced the protection of Spain when he required it of them. The French Admiral therefore came before the place about the middle of May, and the Genoese refusing to submit to the exorbitant demands of his master, he threw ten thousand bombs into the town, burnt great part of it, and amongst the rest the Doge's palace; after which the wind growing very high, the French fleet were forced to leave the coast. However, the Genoese fearing another visit, thought fit the following year to submit to his Majesty.

Luxem-  
burg taken  
by the  
French.

In the Low-Countries the French besieged and took Luxemburg, after which they were contented to make a truce with Spain for twenty years, in order, I presume, to execute their grand project at home, of extirpating the Protestant religion. The scheme for effecting this, it seems, had been laid by the general assembly of the Gallick Church that met in the year 1661, and every year after some new encroachments had been made on the liberties and privileges of the Reformed, tho' it was not till this fatal year that they thought fit to repeal the EDICT OF NANTS in expresse terms.

1685.

The per-  
secution of  
the French  
Protes-  
tants.

Massacres and burnings, which had been practised by their ancestors, as well as the Spaniards, for the extirpating heresy, had not succeeded to their expectation: on the contrary, both in France and the Low-Countries the numbers of the Protestants had rather been multiplied than lessened by the exercise of those severities; they thought it advisable therefore to proceed gradually, and by new edicts from time to time to deprive them of one privilege after another, by which means they hoped to avoid the scandal of persecution. They agreed also to begin with the least material articles first, and accustom them by degrees to the loss of their liberties, that they might be the less shocked when they found them totally subverted. But one of the first and most effectual ways they took to ruin this people was the prohibiting their CONVOCATIONS, or national assemblies of their clergy, by which they broke their unanimity, and rendered them a defenceless body. It has been the policy of all ages to divide a party that is not other-

wise to be forced; and wherever churches are restrained from meeting and debating upon their common interests, their ruin is not far off. What must a Church then established by the laws of the land apprehend, when all her enemies, the most impious sectaries, and even those who deny the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, are permitted and encouraged to hold their national assemblies, while she alone is tantalized with a mock summons from time to time, and never suffered to meet or consult about her interests? But to proceed: They agreed not to fall upon all the churches at once, but first to demolish those which had been erected since the edict of Nants; after that to interdict some few others, and to suffer the preachers to remain in their cures where their churches were destroyed, to keep them from clamouring too loud, and alarming the rest of their brethren: shortly after they proceeded to prosecute and banish the preachers from their respective provinces, and to prohibit the people to meet without their ministers. Then they procured a severe edict against those, who having been born Protestants, and turned Roman Catholics, should relapse; and prohibited priests and monks to turn Protestants on the highest pains. And because interest is usually one of the most prevailing arguments towards conversion, they excluded the Reformed from all offices and places of honour or profit, while at the same time they offered preferments and pensions to all that would turn Papists: this took off most of their leading men, and left them only a defenceless mob. They afterwards suppressed all their academies, universities, and schools, and took the education of their children out of their hands: and in order to starve them if they still remained obstinate, no man was suffered to follow any creditable or beneficial employment if he refused to turn Roman Catholic. At the same time lest the kingdom should be depopulated, and their manufactures ruined by their transporting themselves to foreign countries, for they were very numerous, and most of them excellent mechanicks, an edict was procured, prohibiting them to leave the Kingdom on pain of being sent to the galleys, as great numbers of them were for attempting it. And all the while, it seems, a great deal of pains was taken to make foreigners believe that the King had no design to extirpate the Protestant religion, till the year 1685, when it was impossible any longer to disguise their intentions.

They threw off the mask at this time with a witness, for they employed their whole army in forcing the Reformed to turn Roman Catholics. BOUFFLERS, an officer of a brutish savage temper, whose principal merit was the ready obedience he had always paid to the most barbarous orders of the court, was first employed in Bearn to begin the conversion. The provinces of Guienne, Saintonge, and Languedoc, were the next that were abandoned to the fury of the Roman clergy and the troops that supported them, and not many weeks after the whole kingdom underwent the same fate. The Intendant of each province, with the Bishop, went from town to town and having summoned the Protestants to attend them, let them know that it was his most Christian Majesty's pleasure, that the Roman Catholic religion only should be professed in his dominions; he required them therefore to turn Roman Catholics voluntarily without delay, or they would be compelled to it by force. To which many of the people answered, that their bodies and estates were in the King's power, he might dispose

Steps  
taken to  
destroy the  
Hugonots.

Dragoon-  
ing men-  
into the  
church  
began in  
France.

of



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XXXIV.Variety of  
tortures to  
compel the  
Protestants  
to turn Pa-  
pists.

of them as he pleased; but they desired their consciences might not be forced, they could not forsake a religion they believed to be true, or words to that effect. Whereupon the soldiers were immediately ordered to seize on the gates and avenues of the places they had invested, to prevent the escape of any one, after which they entered the town sword in hand with the utmost fury, as if it had been taken by storm, crying out to such of the Reformed as they met with, Die, or turn Roman Catholics; and it had been a mercy to some of them if they had been dispatched outright, without undergoing that variety of torments which succeeded. The troops being quartered in such Protestant houses as the Bishop or Priest directed, and all the goods secured, the first days were spent in consuming the provisions and plundering them of their money, jewels, and plate, after which they seized the household goods, and exposed them to sale; and if any Roman Catholic out of friendship or kindred attempted to conceal any of the effects of the unfortunate wretch, he was severely fined.

When this would not prevail on the Protestants to change their religion, they were abused and tormented a thousand ways. Men and women were hung upon beams, or on hooks in their chimnies by their hair and feet, and smoked with whips of wet hay till they were almost suffocated; and if they promised to abjure their religion, and refused to sign the instrument of abjuration when they were taken down, they were hung up again. Others were thrown into fires kindled on purpose, and after they were desperately scorched, let down by ropes into wells, it being demanded of them all the while if they would change their religion. They tied people to tables, and poured wine down their throats till they said they would turn. They stripped men and women naked, and in that condition tied them together. Some were stuck with pins from head to foot, cut with pen-knives, or taken by the nose with red-hot tongs, and in that manner led about till they promised to go to mass; and being dragged half-dead to churches, their presence there was sometimes taken for an abjuration. But the common torture, and that which seems to be purely of French invention, was the keeping people awake for a week together, either by pinching them, dashing water in their faces, plucking off the hairs of their beards, and drumming in their ears till they had almost lost their senses; and then no wonder if they chose any religion that was offered them. Those that have been proof against every other studied cruelty, have been overcome by this. The torment of being thus kept from sleep, 'tis said, is inexpressible. But it was not only upon those in health that they exercised this piece of tyranny, for where people of either sex lay ill of fevers, or other violent diseases, they would bring seven or eight drums to the bed-side and drum till they made them distracted or renounced their religion. In some places they would bind the husband or the father hand and foot, and ravish the wife or daughter before their faces; tho' the Hugonots acknowledge that rapes were not allowed of every where. I shall mention but two or three species of torture more which were executed upon the miserable Protestants, and these were the tearing off the nails of their fingers and toes; blowing them up with bellows till they were ready to burst, and burning the soles of their feet with red-hot shovels. *Tantum religio potuit.* But surely no persuasion can deserve the name of religion, which inspires it's votaries with such barbarous prin-

ciples. True religion, and especially the Christian, teaches universal love and benevolence even towards our greatest enemies. But to return: If no tortures could induce the miserable Hugonots to change their religion, they shut them up in loathsome dungeons, where they were suffered to see none but their tormentors. In the mean time their houses were demolished, their woods and lands wasted, if they had any, and their wives and children confined in monasteries; and those that endeavoured to escape, were shot like wild beasts. Nor was this the case only of the meanest people, men of quality and estates were treated no better. Ladies of distinction had their necks and faces gashed and scarred with knives or swords, to render them deformed; neither age, sex, or beauty could move their inhuman persecutors to spare them. And when some of them fled to Paris to avoid these outrages, believing that the court could never countenance such barbarities, they were commanded to leave the city within fifteen days, and return to their own houses, and all people were prohibited to entertain or lodge them. Some who had found means to present petitions to the King, were sent to the Bastile: and what seems extremely hard, notwithstanding the master of the house renounced his religion, the soldiers were quartered upon him till the whole family complied. The priests who attended the dragoons on these occasions required no more of the convert at first than this declaration, viz. I do acknowledge the Catholic, Apostolick, and Roman Church, as it was in the time of the Apostles; and I renounce and abjure all the errors that have crept into it since that time. And as many of them did not scruple this, they afterwards made them subscribe another, viz. that of their own motion, without any force, compulsion, or violence, they had embraced the Catholic faith. In which there does not seem to be any great harm neither; but if any one professed the Protestant religion afterwards, he was said to have relapsed, and was severely punished. Thus far the government proceeded before they formally repealed the edict of Nants.

This edict of repeal passed the seals on the 18th of October, 1685, and was ratified by the parliament of Paris on the 22d of the same month; after which it was sent to all the other parliaments of the kingdom to be confirmed. The preamble recites, That HENRY IV granted the edict of Nants in order to settle his dominions in peace, and that he might reconcile those to the Roman Church who upon slight pretences had separated themselves from it; but that his expectations were not answered. That his successor LEWIS XIII, having the same zeal for religion, had pacified the troubles of the kingdom by an edict of the same kind passed at Nismes, anno 1629; but that the greatest part of the people having since embraced the Catholic faith, the edicts of Nants and Nismes were now become useless; and therefore his Majesty thought fit to suppress them, as he did likewise all other edicts and declarations that had been made in favour of the Hugonots. Then he orders all their churches to be demolished, prohibits all assemblies for publick worship, or the exercise of their religion in private, on pain of corporal punishment and the confiscation of their estates. He orders all their preachers to depart the kingdom within fifteen days from the date of the edict, or to be sent to the galleys; offering a reward to such of them as would change their religion. He prohibits parents to instruct their children in that belief,

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the repeal  
of the edict  
of Nants.



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belief, and requires that all children born after the publication of this edict be baptized by a popish priest, and brought up in that persuasion. He allows those who had departed the kingdom to return home within five months, or their estates to be confiscated: and prohibits all others to remove into any foreign country, or convey their wives or children thither, on pain of being sent to the galleys. He confirmed all declarations against those that had relapsed. And by the last clause his Majesty declares, that his subjects of the Reformed Religion may, till God enlightens them, remain in his dominions, enjoy their estates, and carry on their trades, without being molested on account of religion, provided they make no profession thereof.

The church of Charenton, and all the Protestant churches in France that were standing, were demolished on the very day this edict was published. The preachers were allowed fifteen days to depart the kingdom, but were prohibited to take along with them either father, mother, brother, or sister, or children above seven years of age. It is observed, that all the Protestant ministers had not the courage to go into banishment, some of them were tempted by the offers of preferment, and renounced their religion, to the great scandal of their people. But though the last article of the edict was so clear and express, that the Reformed expected for the future to be free from persecution, while they made no open profession of their religion; this it seems was but a snare, for the government no sooner observed that the Protestants, relying on his Majesty's honour, were returned to their habitations, but they quartered soldiers upon them again, and used them in the same barbarous manner they had done before. Monsieur DU QUESNE, one of their Vice-Admirals, 'tis said, was the only man that was exempted from this persecution, and that upon account of his skill in maritime affairs, which the King at this time was promoting with the utmost application.

The propagating the Roman Catholick religion, as they stiled it, or the persecution of the Protestants, was continued during the years 1686 and 1687; and various edicts were issued to prevent their escaping out of the kingdom: but still we find several of the neighbouring countries crouded with them about this time: either they pretended to become converts till they found an opportunity of leaving France, or their Catholick relations and friends were so touched with their misfortunes that they favoured their escape; or, lastly, as their estates were to be transferred to their Popish relations on their leaving France, it is very natural to suppose they were not backward in assisting them to escape to foreign countries. The Protestants relate, that about this time LEWIS XIV was struck with a loathsome disease (a Fistula in Ano) which they looked upon as a judgment upon him for his repeated cruelties exercised on the innocent Hugonots: certain it is, the King had a severe fit of illness, and went in a solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame in Paris to sing Te Deum for his deliverance from that or some other disease. He erected the fine nunnery of St Cyr near Versailles also, endowing it with a revenue of two hundred thousand livres per annum, for the entertainment of three hundred young ladies who wanted fortunes; where they are instructed in every thing that may render them useful or agreeable, and at twenty years of age are left at their liberty to settle in the world, or take the

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vow of celibacy, &c. But I should have remembered, that in the year 1686 the Grand Monarch had an opportunity of gratifying his vanity at an audience he gave to the Siamese Ambassadors, when the court appeared in it's utmost splendor. They were afterwards carried to the frontier towns and sea-ports, to take a view of the fortifications, and of the prodigious arsenals and magazines of war erected there, to their great astonishment no doubt; neither their own country, or any of the Asiatick kingdoms, being able to shew any thing comparable to them.

The French King having been for some considerable time master of the purses and persons of his subjects, had employed all the wealth of France towards rendering himself superior both by sea and land to any of the powers of Europe; and it is very evident he thought himself a match for all of them, by the provocations he gave every Prince and State almost in his neighbourhood. He seems solicitous to find occasions to quarrel with them; and where he wanted a pretence, frequently fell upon them without. And notwithstanding he might well be deemed a zealous Catholick from the persecution of his Protestant subjects, we find him insulting the Pope himself, and threatening a schism in the Church. He called an assembly of the Ecclesiasticks of his kingdom, over whom he had such an absolute dominion, that they were compelled to determine what they believed most acceptable to him. Among other things they declared, that the Pope was not infallible, and could establish no article of faith, without the concurrence of a General Council, which was superior to him: that he had no power to intermeddle in the temporal affairs of Princes, nor could absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, &c. The Pope, on the other hand, had refused to confirm the Bishops of the King's nomination, and deprived the French Ambassadors, as well as those of other Princes, of the franchises of their palaces at Rome; whereupon the parliament of Paris, as they were ordered, admitted an appeal from the Pope to a General Council. Things were brought to this extremity, when the Elector of Cologne happening to die, Prince CLEMENT of Bavaria, who was espoused by the Imperialists, and Cardinal FURSTENBERG, the French King's creature, became candidates for that bishoprick; and, as the French complain, the Pope caused the Prince of Bavaria to be declared elected, though FURSTENBERG had a majority of votes in the chapter; at which the Grand Monarch pretended to be so exasperated, that he threatened both his Holiness and the Emperor to make them sensible of his resentment, which occasioned their entering into a confederacy against him, together with the Spaniards, the Dutch, and most of the Princes of the Empire: both Protestants and Papists thought it high time to put a stop to the ambitious designs of this haughty overbearing Monarch. The terms of this alliance were such a medley of contradictions, in regard to religion at least, as are scarce to be paralleled in any treaty that ever was made. Here we find the Protestants stipulating to defend the rights of the Holy See against the encroachments of the French court, and the Pope covenanting to see the Protestants of France restored to the free exercise of their religion; nay, all the parties to this alliance agreed never to make peace till these things were effected. But so unnatural, so impossible to be fulfilled must these articles appear to be on the first framing them, that it is no wonder no manner of regard was had

16 L.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.1688.  
The French King increases his forces by sea and land.

He insults the Pope.

A confederacy formed against France.

The nunnery of St Cyr erected.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.The  
French  
over-run  
great part  
of Ger-  
many.The Revo-  
lution in  
England.The  
French  
fleet con-  
voy King  
JAMES to  
Ireland.

to them at the end of the war when a peace came to be concluded; they were only calculated to draw in the bigotted deluded mob on both sides: for when the Prince of Orange and other heads of the confederacy had brought about their particular ends, religion and the people were left to shift for themselves, as usual. But to proceed:

The French King having upwards of a hundred thousand men well disciplined at the beginning of these commotions, was in a condition to put his threats in execution before the slow Germans or Spaniards could assemble their troops to oppose him. The Dauphin was sent with a numerous army into Germany in the latter end of the year 1688, where he surprized Philipsburg, Frankendale, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Hailbron, and several other great towns; while another detachment made themselves masters of Mentz, Worms, Spires, &c. and took up their winter-quarters in the Palatinate. In the Low-Countries the Marshal d'HUMIERES took the fortresses of Huy. Nor were the French obliged only to the usual dilatoriness of the Germans for this torrent of success, but to the situation of affairs in England, whither the Dutch had sent thirteen or fourteen thousand of their best troops, commanded by the Prince of Orange, to support the malecontents of that kingdom, who brought about that surprizing Revolution, of which an account has already been given in the modern history of the United Provinces. It had been resolved indeed at the court of France, to send twenty or thirty thousand men to the assistance of the King of England; but that Prince had been over-ruled by some false friends in his council to refuse them; whereupon the French King contented himself with threatening the States-General to resent it if they assisted the English malecontents against their Sovereign, which they did not much regard; they were assured of a disposition in the English fleet and army, as well as people, to revolt to the Prince of Orange, and knew that he would soon return to their assistance strengthened with the forces of Britain; and the most the French could have done in his absence would have been to make themselves masters of a town or two. Besides, the season of the year was far advanced, and the bulk of their army in Germany. As for the unfortunate King of England, being deserted by his people and army, he sent over the Queen and the Prince of Wales to France, who arrived at St. Germain en Laye the 6th of January, N. S. and his Majesty followed them the next Day. The King of France, say their historians, received them in a manner worthy of himself, namely, with all the kindness and generosity which could be expected from so great a Prince, and assigned the royal Palace of St Germain for their residence. Soon after the convention of Estates in England declared the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of Great Britain. But the French King did not only give King JAMES an hospitable reception, but fitted out a fleet, and sent him with a reinforcement of French forces to Ireland, the greatest part of which kingdom still remained faithful to that Prince. CHATEAU-RENAUD, the French Admiral, having set King JAMES and the land-forces on shore, met with Admiral HERBERT, who commanded the English fleet, and defeated him (though the English affirm it was a drawn battle). About the same time his most Christian Majesty is charged with entering into an alliance with the pirates of Algiers, by which it was agreed they should cruise upon the

English and Dutch merchants, and that he actually introduced these Mahometan rovers into the Ocean, and even into the British channel.

In Ireland King JAMES having received another re-inforcement of French troops, laid siege to Londonderry, (being almost the only city in the hands of the Prince of Orange's friends) and reduced it to the last extremity by famine, many thousands perishing for want of food; but Colonel KIRK being sent to the relief of it from England, found means to throw supplies of men and provisions into the town, and compelled King JAMES to raise the siege, after which that Prince's interest very much declined in Ireland. In the mean time the Imperialists recovered Mentz, Keyserwaert, Rhineberg, and Bon, from the French; and as the Grand Monarch was sensible he must in time restore all he had taken in the Palatinate, he had ravaged that country, destroying it with fire and sword in a terrible manner. He laid in ashes the cities of Spire, Oppenheim, Worms, and Frankendale, with all the villages and open places between Francfort and Heidelberg; which shews that he now despaired of making that fine country his own, or succeeding in his project of becoming sole monarch of this part of the world. At the beginning of the war he had hopes that the crown of Great Britain would have concurred in all his measures, at least that he should have been able to have kept up a civil war there, by furnishing his ally King JAMES with troops from time to time; but England being now in other hands, he was sensible he must sooner or later relinquish all his acquisitions on that side. The beginning of the war however was no less glorious to his arms at sea than at land, for he gained a victory over the united fleets of England and Holland commanded by the Earl of Torrington off of Beachy-head. The Dutch it seems bore the brunt of this engagement almost alone, for either the English Admiral could not or would not second them, for which he was afterwards tried and acquitted; but King WILLIAM did not think fit to employ him afterwards: however, as few of the English ships came to a close engagement with the enemy, their loss was inconsiderable. The next day (July 1, O. S.) a more memorable battle was fought on the banks of the Boyne in Ireland, which in a manner determined the fate of that kingdom, and settled King WILLIAM on the throne. The account the French writers give us of this engagement is, that Marshal SCHOMBERG, under the Prince of Orange, commanded an army of forty thousand regular troops, and that King JAMES's army consisted only of the militia of the country, except the French auxiliaries, which did not amount to ten thousand men; that the Irish were charged both in front and flank, and their foot broken without any possibility of rallying them; that the French sustained the charge bravely for some time, but were at length obliged to retire. King JAMES after the battle went to Kinsale, and from thence to Dublin; and finding it impossible to bear up against so great a superiority, thought fit to return to France: whereupon the Duke of Ormond took possession of Dublin, and King WILLIAM made his triumphant entry into that city the sixth instant.

The French had better success in the Netherlands, where they gained a compleat victory over the Dutch in the plains of Fleurus or Fleury, on the tenth of July, taking all their cannon and six thousand prisoners. But having already given an account of the war between the French and the

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1689.

The  
French de-  
stroy the  
Palatinate.

1690.

They beat  
the con-  
federate  
fleet.Battle of  
the Boyne.Battle of  
Fleury.

confederates



CHAP.  
XXXIV.1697.  
The peace  
of Ryf-  
wick.

confederates till the peace of Ryfwick, which was concluded in the year 1697, in the modern history of the Netherlands, I should be inexcusable to tire the reader with the repetition of those occurrences here.

By the peace between France and Savoy, the French King obliged himself to restore Pignerol, (after it was demolished) and the rest of the places taken from his Royal Highness during the war, among which the chief were Montmelian, Nice, Villa Franca, and Suza. It was agreed also that the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's eldest son, should marry Madam the Princess Royal, the Duke of Savoy's eldest daughter. And it was mutually stipulated, not to tolerate the Reformed Religion in either of their dominions.

Between France and England it was reciprocally agreed to restore all places that had been taken on either side: and the French King obliged himself not to disturb King WILLIAM in the possession of the crown of England, or assist his enemies; and to restore the principality of Orange, and all he had been deprived of in France.

Between France and the States-General it was agreed also to restore whatever had been taken on either side.

By the treaty between France and Spain, Barcelona, Roses, and Gironne, and all other places the French had taken in Spain, were restored to the Spaniards. And in the Netherlands, the city and duchy of Luxemburg, and county of Chinay, Mons, Courtray, Charleroy, and all other towns his most Christian Majesty had taken during the war, were yielded to Spain.

The Emperor did not sign the peace till about two months after the rest of the confederates, viz. on the 30th of October 1697. The treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were agreed to be the foundation of it; and particularly it was stipulated, that restitution should be made to the Emperor and Empire of whatever the French had taken during the war, provided that the Catholick religion should remain in the state it then was in the places to be restored; only it was thought proper to make an exchange of some places: Strasburg and its dependencies was to be united to the kingdom of France; and Friburg, Fort Kehl, Fort St Peter, the Star Fort, Brisac, and Philipsburg, were yielded to the Emperor. The duchy of Lorraine was to be restored to its natural Prince, except some few small places, and the fortifications of Nancy, the capital city, were agreed to be demolished. From whence it evidently appears, that tho' the French had met with such amazing success during the course of the war, they were in no condition to continue it longer, or they would never have relinquished all their acquisitions.

1698.

No sooner was the war ended, but the persecution of the Hugonots was revived. The Court of France being now no longer apprehensive of their fomenting insurrections, shewed them no favour, the army was again employed in harrassing those poor people; and accordingly, 'tis said, the French Protestants and new converts are always more desirous of war than peace. At the same time several Roman Catholick bishops, priests and monks, with their disciples, having fled from Ireland and taken refuge in France, the archbishop of Paris sent a kind of circular letter, or brief, through his province, whereby he did in a very moving manner, exhort all true Catholicks to contribute to the necessities of these their afflicted brethren.

The King of Spain being in a very ill state of

health, and the French, as well as the houses of Austria and Bavaria, having their respective pretensions to the succession of that monarchy in case of his Catholick Majesty's death, it was generally expected that the peace of Europe would be again disturbed whenever that event should happen. And indeed both the French and Imperialists were actually making military preparations, and forming alliances to maintain their respective titles to that crown in case of a demise, being satisfied that on which side soever the right should appear, the longest sword would probably carry it. But as the French were not so sanguine at this time as to hope to obtain the whole, King WILLIAM, 'tis said, proposed the making a partition of the Spanish dominions among the several competitors, to which had all the parties concerned agreed, there might have been no great hurt in the matter; but the Emperor insisted on his claim to the whole, and would consent to no treaty on this head: whereupon the Kings of England and France, and the State-General, took upon them to divide the dominions of Spain without him; and this was called the first Partition-Treaty, by which the Dauphin of France was allotted for his share the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of Sancto Stephano, Porto Hercule, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, and Piombino, and all the places situate on the coast of Tuscany which belonged to Spain; as also the towns of Fontarabia and St Sebastian, so much of the provinces of Guipuscoa, Navarre, Alava, and Biscay, as are on this side the mountains; but the rest of Guipuscoa, &c. beyond the Pyrenean mountains, was to remain to Spain. To the Archduke CHARLES, the Emperor's second son, in lieu of all pretensions of the house of Austria, was assigned the duchy of Milan: and to the electoral Prince of Bavaria, all the rest of the Spanish monarchy and its dependencies, as well in Europe as in Africa and both the Indies. And in case of the King of Spain's death without issue, if any of the parties should refuse to accept the share allotted him, such share was to remain sequestered in the hands of the respective Governors till the controversy should be decided.

The Court of Spain being acquainted with the particulars of this treaty, were not a little alarmed at it; and in order to prevent the dismembering of that monarchy, the King by the advice of his Council made a will, whereby he gave the kingdom of Spain, with all the territories belonging to it, to the electoral Prince of Bavaria. But this Prince dying soon after, the parties to the first treaty of partition drew up and concluded a second, which the Spaniards were no less offended at than the former.

1699.

By this treaty the same share was allotted to the Dauphin as before, with an addition of Final and Lorraine, the duchy of Milan being given to the Duke of Lorraine in lieu of his own country: the kingdom of Spain, with all the remainder of its dominions within Europe and without, were allotted to the Archduke CHARLES, the Emperor's second son. This treaty was signed at London by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Britain, and the States-General, on the 3d of March 1700, N. S. or the 19th of February 1699, O. S. Before I proceed to give an account of the success of it, it may be proper to mention some occurrences that happened in France while these treaties were upon the anvil.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.  
Treaty of  
partition  
of the  
Spanish  
monar-  
chy.The se-  
cond Par-  
tition-  
Treaty.

The



CHAP.  
XXXIV.The  
French  
King em-  
ploys his  
forces in  
sieges and  
battles.

The court of France, as has been intimated already, kept up their forces after the war was ended, that they might be in a condition to give law to the rest of Europe in case of the King of Spain's death: they discharged indeed some of the common soldiers in every regiment that were least fit for service, but retaining all the officers, their places might easily be supplied on any emergency: and as the French King had now no present employment for this vast body of veteran troops, whom a long series of war had rendered the most expert at their arms, and all military accomplishments, that had ever appeared upon the face of the earth, for the instruction as well as diversion of his three grand-sons, the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, he ordered an incampment of fifty thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, near Compeigne in Picardy, where were represented all such actions and motions as usually happen between two armies during the most active campaigns, as sieges, battles, marches, foragings, &c. the charges of which, 'tis said, did not amount to less than sixteen millions of livres, or sixteen hundred thousand pound sterling. The expences in the camp were beyond all bounds, every great officer kept a publick table; and as to Marshal BOURFLERS, his expences are hardly to be computed. He caused several large apartments to be built, and hung with flame-coloured damask laced with gold orris, pier-glasses, marble-tables, cabinets, and China ware, &c. which he brought from his palaces in Paris; but his tapestry, his beds, chairs, and plate were all new, and made on purpose for the camp. He had four spacious kitchens, in which were two and forty cooks employed in preparing the most elegant entertainments. Expresses arrived continually with ortelans, red partridge, pheasants, capons of Bruges, and in general the most exquisite rarities from every country. Fish was brought in on fish-days from Dieppe, Calais, and Dunkirk, and horses laid to bring sturgeon and salmon from Ghent and Brussels, and others to fetch fruit and sallads from the neighbourhood of Paris; besides a vast profusion of Champagne, Burgundy, Renish, Moseller, and all foreign wines. When the camp broke up, the army marched towards the Netherlands, which gave very uneasy apprehensions to the English and Dutch.

Still the persecution of the Hugonots continued; and those who had fled into the territories of the Duke of Savoy, by the influence of the Court of France were driven from thence into Switzerland; which country being over-burthened with them, the Elector of Brandenburg invited them to settle in his country, and granted them many considerable privileges, whereby he established several beneficial manufactures, which till then were unknown in that country. In the mean time the Grand Monarch published several edicts for the encouragement of trade in his dominions, and preventing idleness and luxury: but he had done infinitely more mischief to the trade and manufactures of France, by driving such multitudes of artificers into other countries, who set up their several professions there, than ever he could hope to repair by the wisest regulations. His establishing a select Council to enquire into the grievances of merchants and tradesmen, was certainly a very prudent institution: but much the greatest grievance, the putting such hardships on the industrious peasants and mechanicks on account of religion, was left without a remedy; which natu-

rally produced the calamities they lie under at this day, when great part of their lands are actually uncultivated, and many of the towns that were famous for trade and manufactures have scarce any left,

To return to the business of the Spanish succession: Notwithstanding the French King had agreed with his British Majesty and the States-General to accept a part of the Spanish dominions on the death of that Prince, yet observing how much his Catholick Majesty and the whole Spanish nation were averse to the dismembring of their monarchy, he found means to influence their councils so far as to get a Will made, whereby the Duke of Anjou, second son to the Dauphin, was appointed heir of the whole Spanish monarchy. Soon after which (viz. on the first of November 1700, O. S.) his Catholick Majesty died; of which the court of France no sooner received advice, but orders were sent to their troops, to advance towards the frontiers of the Spanish territories to establish the Duke of Anjou on that throne. The States-General hereupon represented their surprize to the French Ambassador at the Hague, that his most Christian Majesty should reject the treaty of partition he had made with them and King WILLIAM, and accept the will in favour of his grandson. To which the Ambassador answered, that the principal design of that treaty being to prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain under one Sovereign, this was as effectually provided for by the will, the heirs of the Duke of Anjou being rendered incapable of enjoying the crown of Spain if they succeeded to that of France. But how little satisfied soever the Dutch might be with this answer, they thought fit to dissemble their intentions when they found the Duke of Bavaria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, had put them into the possession of his most Christian Majesty's forces, by which means they were absolutely deprived of their barrier, and lay open to the insults of the French. The States-General therefore, as well as King WILLIAM, acted that mean part of acknowledging the Duke of Anjou, and congratulating him on his accession to the crown of Spain, at the same time they were forming an alliance against him. It is said indeed they were under a necessity of doing it, but all this necessity was no more than the hazarding the loss of a town or two upon their frontiers before their Confederates could have joined: we saw the Imperialists alone soon found the French sufficient employment in Italy, and the English immediately agreed to send over troops to their assistance; so that they were far from being in that desperate condition they were, when the French invaded them in the year 1672. But the several transactions and occurrences during this second war between France and the Confederates being contained in the modern history of Germany or the Netherlands, I shall pass over them here, and only take notice of some particulars which were omitted or but slightly mentioned in those relations.

The distress the Grand Monarch and his grandson of Spain were reduced to by the Allies in this war, and particularly in the year 1708, cannot appear more evidently to future ages than from some passages we find in a prayer contained in the *Mercure Galant*, printed at Paris in January 1708-9.

GREAT GOD, (says that writer) who makest those men triumph who profess a religion contrary to thy holy commandments; DIVINE BEING,

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

1700.

The  
French  
seize  
the Spa-  
nish do-  
minions  
on the  
King of  
Spain's  
death.

1701.

1708.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

BEING, who permittest the authors of an unjust war to dethrone a monarch (the King of Spain) whom their Ambassadors had acknowledged; well may man say that thy decrees are impenetrable. Let not those who now (unhappily for themselves) triumph, boast of their victories, which Heaven permits only to enhance the glory of a Prince who had never any other designs than what are agreeable to justice, and for the good of the true religion, and to shew that he is yet greater in adversity than in the midst of the most flattering prosperity. We may say, that his enemies who think to crush him, only make his virtues shine the brighter, which would not have appeared with that lustre if he had always triumphed. The world may be convinced he is one of thine elect, seeing thy divine Majesty has touched him with the finger with which thou touchest only those who are to serve for examples in this world to all mankind, and hereafter to bear a palm in heaven.

But, O our God, if we may be permitted to offer a prayer in behalf of the people of Europe, bestow thy blessing on those unfortunate conquerors, and by making them cease to triumph, open their eyes, that they may know themselves, and one day merit admission into thy celestial kingdom. With justice has the Monarch who now governs France, acquired the name of Great; let him triumph once more, O God, and continue thou to make use of a Sovereign who places all his felicity in thee, and looks upon the good or bad that befalls him as favours from thy divine Majesty, and who not having been lifted up with pride in the time of his greatest triumphs, has never been cast down by disgraces, &c.

1709.

The various calamities France suffered at this time were sufficient to break the spirit of the proudest monarch upon earth. Money was become exceeding scarce, and their mint-bills and farmers notes, which were designed to supply the place of money, had lost their credit. Their bankers broke by whole shoals; and the merchants of Lyons, where trade used to flourish most, were not able to pay the bills of exchange drawn upon them. The people at the same time were reduced to a starving condition, by the unseasonable weather and loss of the last harvest, which occasioned tumults in all parts of the kingdom, while the bad food produced contagious distempers that carried off many of them. Add to this, all Europe almost in a confederacy against them, and ready to penetrate into the heart of their country: and it is scarce possible to form a scene of more consummate misery. This obliged the French King to think of peace in earnest; whereupon he sent his Plenipotentiaries to Holland; but the allies refused to treat till his ministers had consented to certain mortifying preliminaries, which were signed at the Hague on the 28th of May 1709; the principal whereof were,

Preliminary  
articles  
for a peace.

Art. III. Whereby the French King acknowledges King CHARLES III to be King of Spain, the Indies, Naples, Sicily, and all the dominions comprehended under the title of the Monarchy of Spain, in what part of the world soever; reserving only those parts granted to the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy by the high allies, and the barrier which King CHARLES III is to give to the States-General, and the upper quarter of Guelderland.

Art. IV. recites, That whereas it had been reciprocally agreed, that the treaty of Peace should be brought to a conclusion within two months,  
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to commence from the first of June, during which time the French King should cause the kingdom of Sicily to be delivered to King CHARLES III, and the Duke of Anjou, with his wife, children, and effects, and all persons willing to follow him, should within the said two months retire out of the Spanish dominions; it is hereby stipulated, that if the Duke of Anjou should not consent to this convention before the expiration of the said term, the French King, as well as the confederates, should take measures in concert to secure the full execution of this article.

Art. V. And to forward the said agreement, the French King should, within the said term of two months, withdraw all his troops and officers from Spain, Sicily, and the rest of the Spanish territories in Europe and those in the Indies, as soon as he could, and should not directly or indirectly assist the Duke of Anjou with forces, money, &c.

Art. VI. The French King agrees to yield up Strasburgh and Fort Kehl to the Emperor.

Art. IX. He agrees to restore Brisac to the Emperor.

Art. X. Landau is hereby yielded to the Emperor, and the rest of the imperial cities in Alsace were to enjoy their privileges.

Art. XI. The French King consents to demolish Huninghen, New Brisac and Fort Lewis, with all the other fortresses he possesses on the Rhine from Basil to Philippsburgh.

Art. XIV, XV. The French King promises to acknowledge Queen ANNE, and the Protestant Succession.

Art. XVI. Obliges the French King to restore whatever he has taken from Britain.

Art. XVII. Obliges him to demolish the town and harbour of Dunkirk.

Art. XXII. By this article the French King yields to the States-General Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Cassel, Lille, Condé, and Maubeuge, for their barrier.

Art. XXIII. By this he agrees to deliver up all the other places he had possessed himself of in the Spanish Netherlands.

Art. XXVII, and XXVIII. The Duke of Savoy to be reinstated in the possession of Savoy, Nice, and all his territories; and to enjoy Exilles, Fenestrelles, Chamont, and the valley of Pragelas, with whatever lies on this side Mount Genevre, and the other mountains.

Art. XXXV. By this the French King obliges himself to evacuate Namure, Mons, and Charleroy, before the 15th of June; Luxemburg, Condé, Tournay, and Maubeuge, fifteen days after; Nieuport, Furnes, Fort Knocque, and Ypres, before the 15th of July; and before the expiration of two months to demolish the harbour of Dunkirk.

Art. XXXIX. These preliminary articles to be ratified by the French King, the Queen of England, and the States-General, before the 15th of June next, when a congress was to be begun at the Hague.

Notwithstanding these articles had been signed by the respective Plenipotentiaries, ROUILLE, the French minister at the Hague, acquainted the ministers of the allies a few days after, that the most Christian King his master could not ratify several of them, particularly the tenth, the eleventh, and the twenty-eighth. But the President ROUILLE being pressed to declare if he had still any secret orders from his most Christian Majesty tending to peace, he said, if the allies would content themselves with

CHAP.  
XXXIV.The  
French  
King  
refuses to ratify the  
prelimi-  
naries.



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

the fifth article of the preliminaries with relation to Spain, namely, with a promise to re-call his troops from Spain, and give no manner of assistance to his grandson, without the others relating to the delivering up the Spanish Monarchy, he thought his Majesty would not insist on his other exceptions. But the allies not thinking fit to depart from any one of the articles which had been agreed on for the evacuation of Spain, Monsieur ROUILLE returned to Paris, and the war was renewed with as much fury as ever.

The following winter the French King offered to consent to all the preliminary articles, and to deliver up four strong towns to the allies, as a pledge for the observation of them, provided he might not be compelled to assist with his forces in dethroning his grandson. But this offer also was rejected by the allies.

On the 15th of February 1709-10, the Duchess of Burgundy was delivered of a son, to whom the Grand Monarch immediately gave the title of Duke of Anjou, being the same Prince that now fills the throne of France, LEWIS XV.

1710.

The French King obtained leave of the allies, with much difficulty, to send his Plenipotentiaries to Gertruydenburg in Holland again in the beginning of the year 1710: and here they were permitted to treat only with the Dutch ministers; the English and the rest of the allies were so good as to entrust their respective interests to their management, who reported, that the French King desired only Sicily and Sardinia for his grandson, and that then he would deliver up the rest of the Spanish monarchy to King Charles III. But this proposal also was rejected, and the ministers of France returned to Paris again without effecting any thing; and to add to the misfortunes of the Grand Monarch, his son LEWIS, the Dauphin, died of the small-pox on the 14th of April 1711, in the fiftieth year of his age; leaving issue by MARIA ANNA of BAVARIA, LEWIS Duke of Burgundy, PHILIP King of Spain, and GASTON Duke of Berry.

1711.

The French King makes proposals of peace to her British Majesty.

The French King not succeeding in any proposals of peace he had made in Holland, sent Monsieur MESNAGER into England the latter end of year 1711, to treat with her Britannick Majesty's ministers, who observing that neither the Germans or Dutch furnished their quota of troops or money towards the war, notwithstanding they were chiefly gainers by it, and that the British nation only exhausted herself and ruined her trade by the continuance of it, shewed themselves inclined to treat with the French on their offering to sign reasonable preliminaries: which raised a mighty clamour among the rest of the Confederates; tho' at the bottom there was no more in it than that they were very angry with the Queen of Great Britain that she would no longer consent to impoverish her people by conquering kingdoms for her neighbours, who refused to contribute themselves towards the charges of the war. But to proceed: On the ninth of October her British Majesty communicated the terms of peace offered by France to the rest of the allies; and the next month acquainted their ministers at London that she had pitched upon Utrecht for the place of congress, and that the conferences would begin there on the first of January O. S. she also wrote to the several Princes in alliance with her, to invite them to send their ministers to the congress.

The first conferences for treating of a general peace were held at Utrecht on the 18th of January

O. S. and on the last of that month the French Plenipotentiaries delivered in their proposals in writing. In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough being laid aside, the Duke of Ormond was constituted General of the British forces: and notwithstanding the conferences at Utrecht, both the French and the Confederates took the field the next campaign. But I should have remembered, that the Duchess of Burgundy, or rather, the Dauphiness MARY ADELAIDE of Savoy, died on the 12th of February, N. S. 1711-12, of the measles; and the Dauphin, who was then ill of the same distemper, died on the 18th of the same month, in the thirteenth year of his age: which the French King, in his letter to the Cardinal DE NOAILLES, requiring him to pray for the repose of their souls, laments as a very heavy affliction. The Dauphin left two sons behind him, of which the eldest, the Duke of Brittany, soon followed him to the grave, being five years of age; whereupon his brother, LEWIS Duke of Anjou, his present Majesty, succeeded to the title of Dauphin.

His most Christian Majesty having offered such terms to the Queen of Great Britain and her allies as she looked upon to be satisfactory, the Duke of Ormond, by her direction, declared to Prince EUGENE, and the rest of the confederate Generals, that he had orders not to act offensively against the French, and proposed a cessation of arms; but they could not be induced to consent to it. However, in hopes they would at length come into her plan of peace, the Queen afterwards sent orders to the Duke of Ormond to concur with the confederate Generals in the siege of Quefnoy. But this not giving satisfaction to the allies, the Duke acquainted their Generals that he had positive orders to agree to a cessation of arms with the French, declaring he should march off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the Queen's pay, within three or four days. But the foreign troops, it seems, refused to obey his orders, and remained in Prince EUGENE's camp, after the Duke of Ormond was separated from it, which happened on the seventh of July, when the Duke proclaimed a suspension of arms with France for two months, as Marshal VILLARS did in his camp at the same time with England. The allies notwithstanding proceeded to invest Landrecy, which they were soon after obliged to raise, their army meeting with a terrible defeat at Denain: of which, and other unfortunate steps that were taken by them this campaign, having already given an account in the modern history of Germany, I forbear to repeat them here. In the mean time the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk were put into the hands of the English troops, in pursuance of his most Christian Majesty's agreement with the Queen of England: and the Duke of Ormond having passed the Scheld, quartered his army in Ghent and Bruges.

But neither the wars of Europe, nor the negotiations that were now carrying on at Utrecht, could divert the Grand Monarch from considering the advantages that might accrue to his kingdom by enlarging the French plantations in America, and encouraging his subjects to trade thither. And therefore on the 14th of September 1712 he granted his letters patents to the Sieur ANTHONY CROZAT, Secretary of his finances; in the preamble whereof he recites, that having given a commission to the Sieur DE LA SALLE in the year 1682, to undertake a discovery of that

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The French King proposes to plant Florida or Louisiana.



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country in north America, situated between New France (or Canada) and New Mexico; and the Sieur DE LA SALLE having met with such success as to confirm him in the belief that a communication might be settled from New France (Canada) to the Gulph of Mexico, by means of large rivers (the principal whereof is the river of Mississippi, which falls into the Gulph of Mexico); he gave orders after the peace of Ryfwick, anno 1697, for establishing a colony and maintaining a garrison there, which had kept the possession he had taken in the year 1683, of the country situated between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west, to which he had given the name of Louisiana (formerly Florida, and which in reality belongs either to the Spaniards or the English): That new wars having broken out in Europe, there was no possibility of reaping the advantages that might be expected from this new colony till now. They had hitherto been under a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the merchandizes and commodities that might be brought from thence, and for which they need only carry thither the product and manufactures of France. For which, and many other important considerations, he grants to the Sieur CROZAT for fifteen years, the sole privilege of trading to and from the said country of Louisiana, &c.

From whence my author very justly observes, that this project of the French King's, if not opposed in time, will probably in the end prove very advantageous to them, and fatal to their neighbours the Spaniards and English. If the discovery of a country already peopled can give the discoverer any right to it, no doubt the Spaniards are the proprietors of Florida or Louisiana, for they actually discovered all the coast from Vera Cruz to the cape of Florida, where they have two fortresses at this time, viz. those of St Mattheo and St Augustino; but as Spain had at this time almost an entire dependance on the Grand Monarch, it is no wonder that she connived at all his encroachments. I can never be of an opinion indeed, that the bare discovery of a large continent, or even the erecting forts and settlements on some part of it, can give the discoverer a title to more of it than he can possibly use or manure. No, admitting it to be unpeopled before, the colonies of every nation that shall arrive there, provided the country be large enough for them all, have a right to so much as they can respectively occupy, and no more. It is not for a great Prince to take a pair of compasses in his hand and describe a space of four or five thousand miles in circumference, (as Florida or Louisiana actually is) and give it his own name, that will in reality give him a title to the country; especially when others have had settlements on the confines of it long before him, as is the case of the English, who possess all the eastern coasts of America contiguous to Florida and Canada, for fifteen hundred miles, and who must, if France maintains her title to what she calls Louisiana, be debarred from extending her plantations on the continent to the westward, and consequently be pent up within very narrow bounds. Nor is this the worst of it, for if the French remain possessed of these countries, they will import the very same merchandize to Europe the English do, and consequently diminish our plantation-trade. Nay, as they lie all along on the back of our settlements, the French may at one time or other increase their regular forces

on that side to twenty or thirty thousand men, and then they will find it no great difficulty to expel us from the best of our settlements, and make themselves entire masters of the sea-coasts and the plantation-trade; which is such a consideration, as one would think should alarm even a British ministry. I do not here descend to examine what right the Spaniards, French, or English, could have to a country that was actually peopled before they discovered it; but as to so much as any of these nations have obtained by treaty with the natives, in consideration of the improvements they have made, as is actually the case of the English in some places, for so much at least they have a certain and undoubted right; but I question whether the Spaniards or French can shew any such right to any part of America. And I can't but think my friend MOLL, and the rest of our English geographers, infinitely in the wrong to follow the French charts in changing the names of the countries and rivers in America, and particularly the countries of Canada and Florida for those of New France and Louisiana, and the names of the rivers Missouri and Mississippi for those of St Philip and St Lewis. But to return to Europe again.

Nothing has made more noise in France, or given more disturbance to the Gallic church, than a decree of the Pope's this year, generally called the Constitution Unigenitus, from the words with which that bull begins, viz. *Unigenitus Dei Filius*. It was made against a book of Father QUESNEL's, entitled, 'The New Testament in French, with moral reflections on each verse: or, an abridgement of the morals of the gospel, acts of the Apostles, canonical epistles and revelation; or, christian thoughts on the text of the sacred books.' Printed at Paris 1693, and 1694. Out of this book were extracted an hundred and one passages or propositions, as the subject of the Pope's censure; of which I shall mention some of the chief, from whence the reader will be able to pass some judgment on the Papal decree.

2. The grace of Jesus Christ, a principle efficacious for all manner of good, is necessary to all good works; without it nothing is done, or can be done.

3. 'Tis in vain, O Lord, that you command, unless you give what you command.

10. Grace is nothing else but the will of Almighty God, governing and doing whatever he willeth or ordaineth.

29. No grace is given out of the Church.

34. The grace of ADAM produceth only human merit.

59. The prayer of the wicked is a new sin, and that which God grants them a new judgment.

73. What is the Church but the assembly of the children of God, living in it's bosom, adopted in Christ, subsisting in his person, redeemed by his blood, living by his spirit, acting by his grace, and expecting the glory of the life to come.

76. Nothing is more extensive than the Church; because it consists of all the elect and righteous of all ages.

80. The reading of the holy scriptures is for all men.

86. To forbid ignorant people the comfort of joining their voice to that of all the Church, is a custom opposite to the antient practice of the Apostles, and even to the intention of God.

92. To suffer excommunication, and an unjust anathema, rather than betray the truth, is to imitate

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nition,  
Unigeni-  
tus.Proposi-  
tions con-  
demned by it.



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imitate St. PAUL; far from opposing authority in the least, or breaking the unity.

97. It happens too often, that those members which are most holy, and most strictly united to the church, are regarded as unworthy of being in the church, or as if they were excluded. But the righteous live by faith, and not by virtue of the opinion of men.

101. There is nothing more opposite to the spirit of God, and the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST, than to render oaths common in the church, because 'tis to multiply the opportunities of perjury, and lay snares for the weak and ignorant, and occasions that the name and truth of God serve sometimes for the promoting impious designs.

It is time now to resume the account of the negotiations of peace at Utrecht, where we find that the ill success the allies met with after their separation from the English, induced most of them to come into the plan of peace the Queen of Great Britain had proposed to them; and the Emperor and Empire, who stood out some time longer, made worse terms at last than the Queen had obtained for them.

Treaty of  
peace con-  
cluded at  
Utrecht.

On the thirty-first of March, O. S. or the eleventh of April, N. S. the respective treaties of peace were signed at Utrecht, between the Plenipotentiaries of France on the one part, and the Plenipotentiaries of Britain, Prussia, Portugal, the States-General, and Savoy, on the other; Count ZINZENDORF, the Imperial Minister, at the same time protesting against it as injurious to his master, for the several reasons already mentioned in the modern history of Germany.

By the treaty between France and Great Britain, the French King acknowledges her British Majesty's title, and that of the house of Hanover in default of issue of her Majesty, and promises to dismiss the Pretender out of the kingdom of France, never to return thither again; and that he will never oppose the Protestant Succession. The French King also agrees, that the crowns of France and Spain shall never be inherited by the same person, and that reciprocal renunciations shall be made by the Princes interested accordingly.

He agrees also not to trade to the Spanish West-Indies in any other manner than the rest of the nations of Europe do.

The most Christian King also engages, that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk should be razed, the harbour filled up, and the sluices and moles destroyed at his own expence, within five months after the conclusion of the peace, and never be repaired again.

He also obliges himself to restore to Britain the bay and streights of Hudson, with all the lands, sea coasts, rivers, and places situate in the said bay and streights, which were then possessed by France. And it was naturally agreed between Britain and France, to send commissaries to settle the limits between Hudson's Bay and the places belonging to the French, which limits should not be passed either by the French or English by sea or land; and the same commissaries were to be empowered to settle the boundaries between the other British and French colonies.

The most Christian King obliges himself also to deliver to the Queen of Great Britain solemn and authentick letters and instruments on the day of the ratification of this treaty, by virtue whereof the island of St Christopher should be possessed only by the subjects of Britain; and all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with it's antient boundaries,

the city of Port Royal, now Annapolis Royal, with their dependencies, should be yielded and made over to the British crown, in such manner that the subjects of France should hereafter be excluded from all kind of fishing in the said seas, bays, and other places on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or within thirty leagues to the eastward thereof, beginning from the island called Sable, and stretching thence towards the south-west.

And it was agreed, that the island of Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, should from that time belong wholly to Great Britain; and the fortrefs of Placentia, and all other places there in the possession of the French, be yielded up to her British Majesty: nor should it be lawful for the subjects of France to erect any fortifications or buildings thereon, unless stages made of boards, and huts necessary for drying fish, or to resort to the said island but in the fishing season. The French however should be permitted to take fish, and dry them on the land, on that part of the said island only which stretches from Cape Bonavista to the north point of it, and from thence running down the western side of the island as far as Point Riche. But the island of Cape Breton, as all others in the mouth of the river of St Lawrence, and in the gulph of that name, should belong to the French King, who might fortify any places there.

That the subjects of France inhabiting Canada or other parts, should not molest the five nations or cantons of Indians subject to Britain, or any other of the natives of America in friendship with them; nor should the subjects of Britain molest those that were friends of France: and on both sides they should enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade, without molestation from either party. But it was to be settled by commissaries, who should be accounted subjects and friends of Britain or France.

His most Christian Majesty also agreed, that a just and reasonable satisfaction should be given to all the allies of Britain, in such matters as they have a right to demand of France.

And in consideration of the friendship of the Queen of Great Britain, he grants, that in his treaty with the Empire, all things concerning the state of religion there, should be settled conformably to the treaty of Westphalia.

The most material articles in the treaty between France and Prussia were, that his Prussian Majesty should enjoy the upper quarter of Guelderland, and the principalities of Neufchatel and Valengin; in consideration whereof, he should relinquish all right and title to the principality of Orange in France.

There was little contained in the treaty between France and Portugal, unless an acknowledgment by his most Christian Majesty that both sides of the river of Amazons in South America belonged to Portugal, and that he relinquished all claim to the use and navigation of the said river.

By the treaty between France and the States-General, his most Christian Majesty obliges himself to deliver up to the States, in favour of the house of Austria, all that he had possessed himself of in the Spanish Netherlands, and which belonged to King CHARLES II, by virtue of the treaty of Ryswick; namely, the duchy, town, and fortrefs of Luxemburg, with the county of Chinay; the county, town, and castle of Namur, as also the towns of Charleroy and Nieuport, with their dependencies. His most Christian Majesty also yields to the

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the States-General, in favour of the house of Austria, all his right to the town of Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, with their dependencies and appurtenances, except that of St Amand and Mortagne. He also yields up in favour of the house of Austria, Furnes, Furner, Ambacht, Fort Knoque, the towns of Loo, and Dixmude, Ypres with its châtellany, including Rouffelaer and its other dependencies, viz. Poperinguen, Warneton, Commines, and Warwick.

And it was agreed, that no province, town, fort, or place of the said Spanish Netherlands should ever be yielded, or transferred, or fall to the crown of France, or any Prince or Princess of that house, or come in any manner whatever under their power.

The Lords the States-General on the other hand obliged themselves to deliver up to his most Christian Majesty, the town of Lille with its châtellany, Orchies, the country of Laheue and the burgh of la Gourgue, the towns and places of Aire, Bethune, St Venant and Fort François, with their bailiwicks and appurtenances.

By the treaty between France and Savoy, the French King obliged himself to restore to that Prince, the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and in general, all the places he had taken from his Royal Highness during the war. He also yielded and transferred to his Royal Highness, the valley of Pragelas with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, the vallies of Oulx, Sezane, Bardonnache, and Chateau Dauphiné, and all about the water which falls from the Alps on the side of Piedmont. And his Royal Highness reciprocally yields to his most Christian Majesty, the valley of Barcelonetta and its appurtenances; so that the summits of the Alps and the mountains should serve for boundaries between France, Piedmont, and the county of Nice, in such manner, that the plains which are on the said summits and the heights shall be divided, and half of the river flowing from the side of Dauphiné and of Provence should belong to his most Christian Majesty, and those on the side of Piedmont and the county of Nice should belong to his Royal Highness of Savoy.

His most Christian Majesty also agrees for himself and his Catholick Majesty the King of Spain that the kingdom of Sicily, with the islands thereon depending, should be yielded to the Duke of Savoy, and acknowledges his Royal Highness from this time to be King of Sicily.

The cessions made by the late Emperor, also to the Duke of Savoy of part of the duchy of Montferrat, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, with all the lands between the Po and the Tanaro, the Lomeline and the valley of Sciffa, the Vigevanese, &c. are confirmed to him.

His Royal Highness of Savoy also is left at liberty to fortify his frontiers for the security of his dominions.

Treaty of  
Rastadt.

The Emperor having carried on an unfortunate war against France for almost a year after the peace had been concluded by the rest of the allies, wherein he lost Landau and several other towns of importance, a treaty was at length concluded at Rastadt between his Imperial Majesty and the most Christian King, on the sixth of March 1713-14. And it was agreed thereby, that the treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, and Ryfwick, should be the basis and foundation of this. Particularly his most Christian Majesty agreed to restore to the Emperor the town and fortrefs of Brisac, the town and fortrefs of Friburg, with the fort of St Peter's and

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the Star Fort, and all other forts in the Black Forest, or in Brisgaw, and the fort of Kehl erected on the east side of the Rhine over against the bridge of Strasburg. And it was agreed that the fort of Pile, and others erected in the islands of the Rhine near Strasburg, should be demolished, and the navigation of the said river remain free and open to the subjects on either side.

His most Christian Majesty likewise promises to cause the fortifications erected over against Hunninghen on the right of the Rhine, and the island therein, to be demolished at his charges, as also the bridge built over the Rhine at that place. That the fort of Selingen and the forts in the islands between Selingen and Fort Lewis, should be demolished; as also the fort built over against Fort Lewis, and that it should not be lawful for either of the parties to re-edify the same; but that Fort Lewis and the island whereon it stands shall remain to the most Christian King. And in general he promises to raze, at his own expence, all the forts, intrenchments, lines, and bridges, mentioned in the treaty of Ryfwick, and such as have been erected since that treaty, either along the Rhine, or in it, or elsewhere within the Empire and its dependencies, never to be repaired again.

He promises also to evacuate the castles of Bitseh and Homburg, after the fortifications shall be demolished.

And as the most Christian King designs to re-establish a sincere union with the Emperor and Empire, he promises, that in the treaty with the Electors, Princes and States in the general congress, he will restore whatever has been taken from them during the war.

On the other hand the Emperor consents that the town of Landau, with its dependencies, shall remain to his most Christian Majesty.

He consents also that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria be restored to all their dominions and territories.

And further, his most Christian Majesty confirms the Spanish Netherlands to the Emperor, with all those countries and places mentioned in the treaty between France and the States General, to be yielded to the said States in favour of the house of Austria.

In pursuance of the treaty between France and Britain, his most Christian Majesty, with abundance of reluctance, demolished the fortifications and filled up the harbour of Dunkirk: and under pretence of discharging the land-floods, caused another canal to be dug in the neighbourhood of it, called the canal of Mardyke, which was found capable of receiving ships of greater burthen than the former. This occasioned heavy complaints among some zealous Britons against the sincerity of the Grand Monarch; and GEORGE Elector of Brunswick succeeding to the British throne about this time, ordered Mr PRIOR, his minister at the court of France, to deliver a memorial on that subject to his most Christian Majesty. Mr PRIOR hereupon represented, that his British Majesty was very much surprized to hear that the said harbour was so far from being filled up, according to the treaty of Utrecht, that as large ships might come up the old canal to the hornwork as ever; and as long as that canal subsisted, it could not be denied that there remained an harbour at Dunkirk a thousand fathom long, which was capable of holding several hundred ships: whereas the words of the treaty were, that *portus comple-*

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Dunkirk  
demolish-  
ed.Memorial  
against  
making  
a new  
harbour  
there.



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Mardyke.

The  
French  
King's an-  
swer to  
the British  
memorial.

atur, the harbour should be filled up, and *aggeres aut moles diruantur*, that the dykes or banks which formed the canal should be destroyed. He further represented, that his British Majesty's surprize was still greater, when he was informed, that notwithstanding the words of the ninth article of the said treaty were express, viz. *Ne dicta munimenta, portus, moles aut aggeres denuo unquam reficiantur*, that the fortifications aforesaid, the harbour and dykes of Dunkirk, shall never be re-established, they were actually at work to make a harbour much larger than the old canal, which was to come up, as the old canal did, to the town of Dunkirk; and that they had laid the foundation of a sluice much larger than the former, which served to cleanse the harbour.

If ships then can come up to Dunkirk by the old canal, which was to the north, or by the new, which is to the west, Dunkirk will be equally an harbour, equally troublesome and dangerous to the commerce of Great Britain: in both cases the treaty of Utrecht will be violated. And as the expectation of seeing the ninth article of the said treaty executed in all its parts, was the chief motive that induced Great Britain to accept the peace of Utrecht, his British Majesty had ordered him to make the most pressing instances that the said canals should be filled up.

To this memorial his most Christian Majesty answered, That the words *portus compleatur* could never be interpreted as extending to the old canal, which was very different from the harbour. Nor could he ever have engaged himself to fill up entirely a canal which is a thousand fathoms long; this would have been an incredible labour; and besides, would have been to no purpose, because the sea would in a short time carry off what remained of the dykes.

That the canal of Mardyke was made to carry off the waters of the canals of Furnes, la Moere, Bourg, and Bourbourg, which formerly were discharged by the sluices of Dunkirk, and thereby prevent the over-flowing great tracts of lands. That those four ancient canals were altogether forty-eight fathoms broad, and consequently it was necessary that the new canal should have a sufficient breadth to receive all those waters, and carry them to the sea. It was necessary also that the sluices should bear proportion with the breadth of the canal, and the quantity of the waters which they were to hold, for they were made to prevent the tides getting up into the country, and keep in the waters of the four ancient canals at high water. That these were the motives which obliged the King to cause the new canal of Mardyke to be opened, but he had no view or intention to make a new port at Mardyke, or build a town there.

This dispute between the French and British courts concerning the harbour and canals of Dunkirk, continued till the year 1717, when the French put an end to it by the following concessions, viz.

The most Christian King desiring sincerely to perform every thing that has been heretofore stipulated with the crown of France, and not to omit any thing that the King of Great Britain may think necessary for the entire demolition of the port of Dunkirk, and for removing all suspicion that there was an intention to make a new port at the canal of Mardyke, which might serve for some other use than draining the water which would drown the country, and the necessary com-

merce for the subsistence and maintenance of the people who inhabit that part of the country, which is only to be carried on by small boats, which are not allowed to be above sixteen foot wide; his most Christian Majesty doth engage and promise to execute every thing which the Sieur IBBEVILLE, his most Christian Majesty's Envoy, having full power for that purpose, did agree to at Hampton-Court, as is contained in a memorial of the 19th of September 1716, signed by the Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND and Mr METHUEN, Secretaries of State, on the part of Great Britain; which is as follows: That the great passage of the new sluice of Mardyke, which is forty-four foot wide, shall be demolished from top to bottom; that is to say, by taking away all the bajoyers, boardings, bufs, longrines, and traversines, from the whole length thereof, and by taking off the gates, the wood and iron-work thereof shall be taken asunder; and all these materials may be employed elsewhere, to such uses as his most Christian Majesty shall think fit; provided however, that they should never be made use of for any port, haven, or sluice, at Dunkirk or Mardyke, or any other place within two leagues distance from either of these two places; the intention of the parties contracting, and the end they propose to themselves by this treaty, being, that no port, haven, fortification, sluice, or bason, shall be made at Dunkirk, or the sluice of Mardyke, or any other place whatever along the shore, at such distance upon that coast. That the little sluice shall remain as it is at present as to its depth, provided the breadth thereof be reduced to sixteen feet. The jetties and fascine from the Downs, or the place to which the tide rises at high water, down to the low ebb along the shore, shall be razed on both sides of the new canal, and made level with the shore; and the stones and fascines that are above the said level may be carried away, and employed for such uses as his most Christian Majesty shall think fit; provided however that they never be made use of for any port or haven at Dunkirk or Mardyke, or any other place whatever, within two leagues distance of any of these two places; the intention of the parties contracting, and the end they propose to themselves by this treaty, being, that no jetty (or dyke) or fascine-work, shall ever be made again upon the shore of this coast, at the distance aforesaid on either side. The demolition of the jetties (or peers) on both sides of the old canal of the port of Dunkirk, shall be entirely finished and made level with the ground, over all, from the lowest ebb, to within the town of Dunkirk; and if there shall remain any piece of fort-blank chateauvered, or Bonne Esperance, it shall be totally laid even with the ground. When this treaty shall be ratified, the King of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces may send commissaries upon the place, who may be witnesses to the execution of this article.

I proceed now to shew by what methods the French King so long supported the charges of the late war against most of the Princes of Europe. It is very evident that the taxes, how high soever, nor even the rents of all the estates in France, if they had been brought into his treasury, could have enabled him to carry on the war. He found himself under a necessity of seizing all the coin belonging to his subjects, which did not amount to less than an hundred millions in specie: but this indeed he did by degrees, and under specious pretences;

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ranny of  
the French  
admini-  
stration.



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Alterations made in the value of the coin.

Mint-bills given to the subject for specie.

The money called in, and issued again at a higher value.

pretences; though when he found any of his subjects obstinate, and determined not to part with their money, they were compelled to it by military execution.

This was the grand resource whereby LEWIS le Grand more than once restored his affairs when they were looked upon as desperate. But to descend a little to particulars: The Louis d'Ors, for instance, which were current before the war at eleven livres, was called in and received by the officers of his Majesty's mint at that value; after which the very same piece having received a new stamp, was paid back again to the proprietor at twelve livres, and some time after at thirteen, whereby the King got twenty or forty pence out of every Louis d'Or, without any other charge than the stamp. But the King having still further occasion for money, he ordered all the current species to be brought into his mint, and that it should no longer be taken by private persons. At first he returned other species in lieu of that which was paid at the mint; but under pretence it could not be recoined fast enough to exchange, the officers of the mint were ordered to give bills for the value of the sums they received, which were to be paid on demand when the new species should be coined: by this means he got all the ready money into his hands, and did not pay the bills the mint had given out. This we may be sure exasperated the people sufficiently; whereupon he thought fit to order, that those bills should be taken in all payments for ready money. Nor did they only give out bills for the money brought into the mint, but also for several millions more; so that had the Monarch been so honest to have returned specie for the specie he had received, yet he could never have found specie enough to discharge the supernumerary mint-bills, which had been given the subject in discharge of other debts the crown had contracted. At length these mint-bills lost their credit so much, that the King thought fit entirely to suppress them, and give the people others in the room of them, signed by the farmers and receivers of the revenue, who were ordered to pay off both principal and interest as the taxes came into their hands. But even these new bills were at 35 and 40 per cent. discount, at the conclusion of the peace at Utrecht.

In the mean time the government having parted with almost all their ready money to support the charges of the war, and the species being again come into the hands of the subjects, they found a new expedient to draw it from them, namely, by crying down all the present coin, and ordering it to be brought into the mint under the severest penalties, at the current price, giving the subject a new species, on which they set a much higher value, in the room of it: for instance, the Louis d'Or, the intrinsic value whereof is not more than fourteen livres, they issued at twenty livres, and the silver species in proportion, which brought an immense profit to the crown, but entirely ruined their foreign trade, for strangers held up the price of their merchandize in proportion to what they lost by receiving their coin at such extravagant rates; whereupon they found themselves under a necessity of lowering the coin again, which occasioned unconceivable losses to private people; for a man who looked upon himself, suppose, to be worth twenty thousand pounds in cash one year, the next found it reduced to fourteen or fifteen, notwithstanding the Louis d'Ors, or crowns, he had in his custody, continued numerically the same.

Some monied men however, observing that there were certain times fixed for lowering the coin gradually, thought of an expedient to prevent these losses, which was generally followed in France. They lent their money to merchants without interest for eighteen months (being the time appointed for the last reduction of the coin); and the merchants, in hopes that the profits they should make in that time would exceed their losses by the lowering the species, very willingly took the money, and gave notes for it, and immediately imported such goods from foreign parts as they knew were most wanted in France, particularly salt beef, butter, cheese, and other provisions from England and Ireland, which were then sold at extravagant rates in France. But the market soon became over-stocked with these goods, and they were sold thirty per cent. cheaper than the prime cost. Other people being of opinion that the bills of the farmers and receivers of the revenue would resume their credit on a peace with the Empire, laid out their specie in purchasing those bills at 40 and 50 per cent. discount: but the government finding it impossible to pay off those bills, which amounted to five or six hundred millions of livres, made such bad payments, that these new adventurers were glad to part with their bills again at sixty and seventy per Cent. discount. These practices naturally occasioned the breaking of an infinite number of merchants and bankers all over the kingdom, and reduced the people in general to the most miserable circumstances; which were still heightened by the methods some of them took to prevent their being involved in the common calamity, as the sending many millions in specie out of the kingdom to avoid the loss they were like to sustain by bills of exchange, or exporting their treasure abroad to prevent his Majesty's seizing of it.

In this deplorable condition was the kingdom of France when LEWIS the Fourteenth was summoned to give an account of his administration. He found himself indisposed on the eleventh of August, and on the fourteenth was seized with the cramp, gout, and sciatick pains; on the twenty-fourth however he apprehended himself to be so well recovered, that he designed to have dined in publick, but was afflicted with such sharp pains, that he ordered every body out of the room, except Marshal VILLEROY, with whom he remained in private two hours. He told him that he saw his last hour approaching, and must seriously think on death; and the same day was taken with a violent fever, and a sore he had in his leg appeared to tend towards a mortification: whereupon he thought it proper to receive the Viaticum; and on Sunday the first of September, N. S. about eight in the morning, he expired.

This Prince was the son of LEWIS XIII and ANNE of Austria. He was born the fifth of September 1638, and married MARIA THERESA, daughter to PHILIP IV, King of Spain, anno 1660; by whom he had issue only one son that lived, viz. LEWIS Dauphin of France, who married MARY ANNE CHRISTINA, sister to the late Duke of Bavaria; by whom he had issue three sons, viz. 1. LEWIS Duke of Burgundy, born anno 1682. 2. PHILIP Duke of Anjou, now King of Spain, born anno 1683. 3. GASTON Duke of Berry, born in 1684. LEWIS the Dauphin died anno 1711; whereupon LEWIS Duke of Burgundy, his eldest son, succeeded to the title of Dauphin. This Prince married MARY ADE-

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France reduced to the utmost distress.

LEWIS XIV dies.

His marriage and issue.

The end of the world.



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LAIDE, eldest daughter to the Duke of Savoy, now King of Sardinia, anno 1698, and died anno 1712; leaving issue of this marriage three sons, of which the two eldest, stiled Dukes of Britany successively, died soon after him in their infancy; but LEWIS his third son, born anno 1710, survived them all, and sits at present on the throne of his great-grandfather LEWIS XIV, of whose marriage and issue I shall speak hereafter. PHILIP Duke of Anjou, the second son of LEWIS the Dauphin, and uncle to the present French King, succeeded to the crown of Spain anno 1700, by virtue of the late King's will, CHARLES II, whose marriages and issue I shall take notice of in the modern history of Spain. As to the Duke of Berry, the late Dauphin's third Son, he died without issue.

The natural children of LEWIS XIV by Madam DE LA VALIERE were MARY ANNE DE BOURBON, born in 1666, and married in 1680 to LEWIS of Bourbon Prince of Conti, who died without issue by her. By Madam DE MONTESPAN, 1. LEWIS AUGUSTUS DE BOURBON Duke of Maine, born in 1670, who by his wife LOUISA, daughter to the Prince of Condé, has a daughter called Mademoiselle D'AUMALE, born in 1697, and a son LEWIS AUGUSTUS Prince of Dombes, born in 1700. 2. LOUISA FRANCES de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, and married to LEWIS Duke of Bourbon in 1685; whose children are Mademoiselle de Bourbon, born 1690; LEWIS Duke of Enguien, born 1692; LOUISA Mademoiselle de Charolois, born 1693; and LOUISA ANNE Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1695. 3. LEWIS ALEXANDER DE BOURBON Count of Thoulouze, born 1678, late Admiral of France. 4. FRANCES MARY de Bourbon, Mademoiselle de Blois, born 1681. His Majesty's only legitimate brother was PHILIP Duke of Orleans, first married to HENRIETTA MARIA, daughter to CHARLES I, King of England, by whom he had one daughter, married to the Duke of Savoy: he was afterwards married to CHARLOTTA ELIZABETH, daughter to CHARLES LEWIS Elector Palatine; by whom he had issue PHILIP Duke of Chartres, late Duke of Orleans, who married FRANCES MARY de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Blois, by whom he had issue the present Duke of Orleans, born anno 1703, and four daughters.

The admirers of LEWIS le-Grand look upon his life as one continued series of wonders; even his birth is esteemed miraculous, his mother having had no issue after a marriage of twenty years and upwards: others on the contrary ascribe this extraordinary birth to the contrivance of Cardinal RICHELIEU, who with the assistance of the Queen's Confessor, had persuaded her Majesty for the good of the church and state to admit the embraces of several gentlemen, among whom the Chevalier LE GRAND, Master of the Horse to LEWIS XIII, was so happy as to give two sons to the royal family, LEWIS XIV being the eldest: but I must confess I give very little credit to the story, the Queen and the Cardinal continuing irreconcilable enemies to the last. As to the person of this Prince, he was tall and every way proportionable, his hair almost black, his features tolerably regular, but his face a little pitted with the small-pox; he danced and performed all his exercises perfectly well: his character will best be discovered by the history of his reign; men seem to think of him very differently, according to the various notions they en-

tain of glory. But I should not be forgiven by my readers, if I neglected to give some account of his amours. He is generally said to have had five avowed mistresses, besides other ladies with whom he may have trifled away an hour or two by the bye.

The first was Mademoiselle DE MANCHINI, Cardinal MAZARIN's niece, more admired for her wit than her beauty: whom the King was so taken with, that he would have married her if the Queen-mother had not found means to divert him from it. When she was sent away, 'tis said, his Majesty shed tears very plentifully.

Mademoiselle DE LA VALIERE, one of the Duchefs of Orlean's maids, was the next; her person was not very engaging neither, she was short and thin, and had a very bad mien, her teeth also were very indifferent, but she had an inexhaustible stock of wit, good humour, and vivacity, which charmed the Monarch, and is said to be the most generous and disinterested of all his mistresses, never importuning his Majesty for any favour for herself or her friends, and behaved herself with that humility and condescension to every body while she was in favour, that she was universally esteemed. This intrigue happened soon after the King's marriage with the Infanta, for whom he had but very little complaisance; whereupon the Queen prevailed on his Majesty's Confessor to lay before him the ill consequences of that way of life; the King thanked the good father for his advice, but let him know at the same time that he had no further service for him. And 'tis observed, that the opposition the King met with in his amours rather augmented than diverted his passion for Madam DE LA VALIERE, who still remained sole mistress of his affections; and so tender he was of her, that being in great danger on her delivery of a daughter, he held her in his arms, crying out to the physicians, Save LA VALIERE, and take my crown. But even this mistress was turned off at length to make room for another; whereupon she retired into a convent, where she is said to have composed half a dozen verses on the occasion, in her own language, which have been rendered into English thus;

*For me the Kings of heaven and earth have strove,  
Which of the mighty two should gain my love.  
But conquering heaven has brought me to this place;  
What earthly happiness can mine surpass?  
Since from the greatest Prince's mistress I  
Am now become spouse to the Deity.*

The Countess of Montespan, a lady of exquisite beauty, succeeded Madam DE LA VALIERE: as she was married, great offers, 'tis said, were made to the Earl her husband to procure his consent; but no considerations could move him to part with her voluntarily; whereupon his Majesty and the lady struck up a bargain without him, and the unfortunate nobleman thought fit to retire into the country, that he might not be witness of his disgrace. The Countess of Montespan made use of the interest she had in the King to advance her own relations; and having a great many children by his Majesty, continued long in favour at court, though she had very little merit besides her beauty to engage the Monarch's heart.

Mademoiselle DE FONTANGE was the next object his Majesty cast his eyes upon; she was a young lady of abundance of wit and good humour, and had the prudence to find out an advantageous match

The per-  
son of  
LEWIS  
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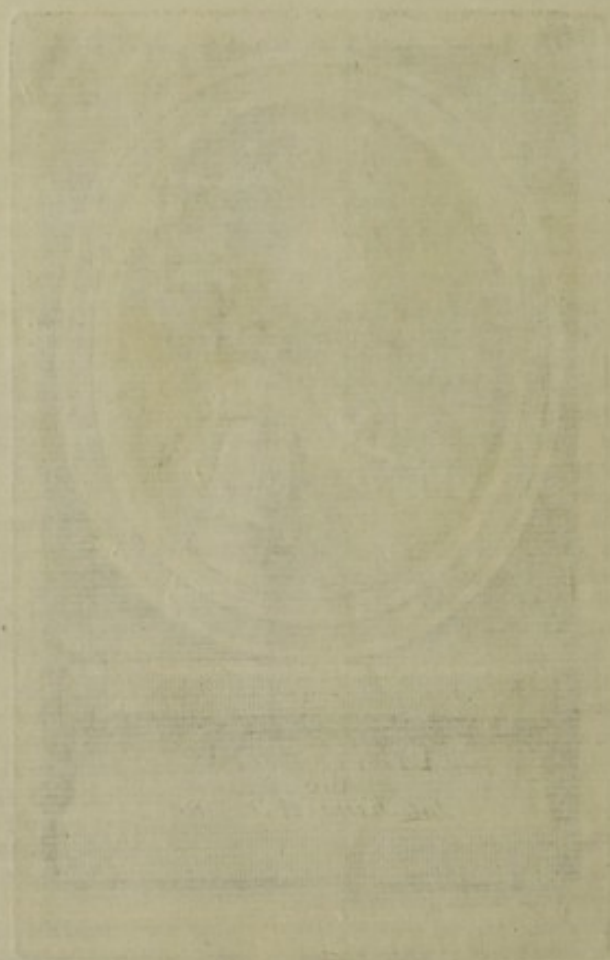
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W. J. Goussier

LEWIS the XIV  
the  
Late King of France







CHAP. match for herself, because she was dismissed by the  
XXXIV. King.

MAINTENON.

The celebrated Madam MAINTENON succeeded FONTAGNE; she was of the family of Aubigny, and either born in America, or carried thither very young, and was brought to Europe again by the Governor of Martinico: while she was in this family a young Marquis who admired both her wit and her beauty, made his addresses to her. She was a tall woman, well-shaped, and had an agreeable mein; her hair was black, her features regular, and had fine eyes. The Marquis her admirer either never intended to marry her, or satiated with enjoyment, left her: however, he had the honour to make her a present of a purse of pistoles of which she made so good use, that she found means of introducing herself into some of the best families in Paris, where she met with the inimitable SCARRON, who was exceedingly smitten with her charms; his person was indeed somewhat deformed, but as he was a man of quality and estate, and of a most agreeable conversation, she very readily consented to take him for better or worse. This gentleman, 'tis said, took abundance of pleasure in polishing and improving her natural parts: but Madam MAINTENON, or rather SCARRON, had too ambitious a soul to be content with leading a private life, how agreeable soever; having made some acquaintance therefore with Madam MONTESPAN, or some other of the King's mistresses, she found means to make herself known to his Majesty, who was so charmed with her wit, that he thought her conversation too great a happiness for a subject, and thereupon took the liberty of removing her from old SCARRON's bed to his own. As to her person, she was now past her bloom; but her judgment was so improved, that she is said to have had the greatest share in the administration; and in effect to have supplied the place of prime minister as long as she lived. The King had no children by her, but several by her predecessors, as appears in the account of his issue.

LEWIS XV.

LEWIS XV, the only surviving son of LEWIS, Duke of Burgundy, grandson of the Dauphin, and great-grandson of LEWIS XIV, succeeded to the crown of France on the first of day of September 1715, N. S. being then in the sixth year of his age. The late King by his will appointed a council of Regency, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Maine, the Count de Thoulouse, the Chancellor, the President of the royal council, the Marshals VILLEROY, VILLARS, UXELLES, TALLARD, and HARCOURT, the four Secretaries of State, and the Comptroller-General of the finances; and ordered that the person of the minor King should be under the guardianship of the said Council of Regency; that the Duke of Maine should have the guardianship of his Majesty under the authority of the said Council, and the Duke of Villeroy be his Governor under him; and that all the officers of the King's guard and household should obey the Duke of Maine's commands with respect to the person of the King minor, his guard and safety. He further ordered, that all affairs which were to be determined by the King's authority, either concerning war or peace, the disposal and administration of the finances, the nomination of persons to bishopricks, abbeys, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices; the appointing the officers of the crown, Secretaries of state, Comptroller of the finances, and all officers of the army and

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navy; the officers of the courts of judicature and finances; the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals in the provinces and towns; the staff-officers, and officers of the household; and generally all offices, commissions, and employments, the filling whereof belonged to the King, should be considered in the Council of Regency, and determined by a majority of votes.

Notwithstanding the late King had appointed a Council of Regency, the Duke of Orleans, who was next heir to the crown in case of the death of the minor King, claimed the office of Regent as due to him by his birth, to which he obtained the concurrence of the parliament of Paris, and thereupon assumed an authority equal to their greatest Princes; nor was Lewis XIV himself ever guilty of more arbitrary and destructive measures, which the Duke endeavoured to excuse from the necessity he was under of extricating the crown from that load of debts with which he found it oppressed; for at the Grand Monarch's death, it is said, that the government was no less than three hundred millions sterling in debt, besides the vast sums they had struck off by raising and lowering the coin, &c.

The Regent, as usual at the beginning of an administration, published some popular edicts; by one of which he restored to the parliament of Paris their ancient privilege of debating and considering acts of State that were transmitted to them before they passed them.

By another edict dated the 12th of October 1715, he tells them, that being fully persuaded of the indispensable necessity of keeping the gold and silver species on the foot they were then fixed for ever, (being about the intrinsic value) for preserving a just balance in commerce, which was the basis and foundation thereof, the King ordained, that the last value set upon the species of gold and silver, should remain for ever fixed without alteration, viz. the Lewis d'Or at fourteen livres, the crown piece at three livres ten sols, and the other species in proportion. But the Duke of Orleans finding himself settled in his regency without opposition, within a month afterwards published another edict, whereby he raised the Lewis d'Or to twenty livres, and the other species proportionably, on it's being issued out of the mint; though at the same time he obliged the subjects to pay them into the mint at sixteen livres: so that here the government gained at once a fifth part of all the money in the kingdom. To make this still more plain, every person who brought five Lewis d'Ors or five crowns to the mint, received back but four in return, only the government were pleased to set the same value upon the four, as the five went at when they were paid in; and in this there might have been no great hurt, if those they dealt with, and especially foreigners, had not raised the price of their goods in proportion to the rise of the coin: but a Lewis d'Or, whose intrinsic value was but fourteen livres, would purchase no more merchandize when it was raised to twenty, than it would before, which inclined the balance, prodigiously against them.

Another method the Regent took to raise money, was the erecting a new court of justice, called the *Chambre Ardente*, to call all such persons to an account, as had been concerned in the management of the publick revenues during the late war, out of whom he extorted very considerable sums, to the great satisfaction of the people, who were pleased to see the instruments of their oppression

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CHAP. XXXIV.

The Duke of Orleans assumes the regency.

He raises the coin.

He raises the coin.

punished,



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punished, and obliged to refund their ill-gotten treasure.

About the same time the Pretender and some of his adherents having embarked for Scotland in the ports of France, the Earl of Stairs, the British minister at that court, presented a memorial to the Regent, complaining of it: but this seems to have been all grimace, for the Regent constantly gave notice to the British court of the Pretender's motions from time to time; and if he did not stop those few officers and arms that were sent to Scotland, it was either because the opposing the Chevalier at that time of day, would have disoblged a considerable party in France, or because he knew those small supplies could be of little service to him; and besides his conniving at it might serve to conceal that intimate correspondence there was all this while between the Regent and King GEORGE, which proved the ruin of the Pretender's designs.

1716-

The disputes concerning the Constitution Unigenitus gave no small disturbance to the beginning of the Regent's administration; each side hoped to gain him over to their party, and wrote and preached with all the bitterness imaginable against one another. At length he hoped to have accommodated the matter between them, by issuing an edict, commanding the recusant bishops to accept it, with certain explanations. But this was far from putting an end to the controversy, both parties appeared still more exasperated than ever.

The poor Protestants were in great hopes the penal laws against them would have been relaxed during the Regent's administration; but either he never intended them any such favour, or he did not think fit to disoblge so great a body as the clergy, who perpetually importuned him to put the laws in execution against them. Nor do we find their sufferings at all abated during the Regent's ministry; all that the King of England could prevail with the Regent to do, was to release three or fourcore of those unhappy wretches from the galleys, who had been sent thither purely upon the account of religion.

A dispute  
between  
the Princes  
of the  
blood, and  
the late  
King's  
base issue.

The late King having legitimated his base issue, and conferred the same privileges on them as those born in lawful wedlock, the latter preferred a petition to his present Majesty and the parliament on the 23d of May 1715, desiring he would revoke and annul in his seat of justice, the edict of the month of July 1714, which gives to LEWIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon Duke of Maine, and to LEWIS-ALEXANDER of Bourbon Count of Thoulouse, and to their descendants, the right of succeeding to the crown: as also the declaration of the 23d of May 1715, which gave them the title, honours, and rank, of Princes of the blood.

Signed,

LEWIS-HENRY de Bourbon,  
CHARLES de Bourbon. And,  
LEWIS-ARMAND de Bourbon.

The Duke of Maine, in answer to this petition, published a memorial, wherein he asserts that such a petition could not be received in parliament, because it requires them to abolish an edict which they themselves had solemnly registered, and to reverse their own decrees. That the Duke of Bourbon himself also, and the rest of the petitioners, had

given their consent to the same edict, and therefore it was at least very indecent for them to endeavour to destroy it. That the granting such a petition would be of dangerous example to the state, the people would apprehend that there was nothing firm and settled, and that edicts and arrests might be subverted at pleasure.

To this the Princes of the blood replied, that both the parliament and themselves were under a force when they consented to those edicts, and it would have been to no purpose to have opposed them in the late reign. That the King could not alter the constitution of the kingdom, and transfer the kingdom to his illegitimate issue or foreigners, and that such acts of state therefore were void. But to this I perceive it was answered, that as the Kings of France were vested with the legislative authority, they might repeal or enact what laws they saw fit, and could not be bound by the edicts or customs of their predecessors.

The Peers of France interested themselves in behalf of the Princes of the blood, and presented a petition to his Majesty, insisting that he would annul and revoke the edict and declaration above-said, which gave the Duke of Maine and the Count of Thoulouse the first rank after the Princes of the blood, and vested them with a right of representing the antient Peers at the inauguration of their Kings.

This occasioned a petition from the Duke of Maine and Count de Thoulouse to his Majesty, desiring that he would determine nothing in this affair till he came of age; but in July 1717, an edict was published, whereby the King revoked and annulled the edict of 1714, and the declaration of 1715; decreeing however, that his uncles, the Duke of Maine and Count of Thoulouse should continue to receive the honours they had enjoyed in parliament ever since the edict of 1714, but that they should neither of them be styled Princes of the blood for the future.

An edict  
in favour  
of the  
Princes of  
the blood,  
1717.

The Czar of Muscovy, a Prince whose curiosity was never satisfied, arrived at Paris this summer, and had the satisfaction of viewing every thing that was worth taking notice of in that city and the neighbourhood of it. He afterwards visited the fortifications in Flanders, and especially those of the city of Namur, with which he was extremely pleased.

This year the French Court, in order to discharge that immense debt which had been contracted by the government to support the late war, laid the foundation of the famous Mississippi or India company, which was to carry on a trade to Louisiana or Florida with a stock of fifty millions of livres, and shares were to be purchased in it with state-bills. This project appeared so advantageous, that above thirty millions of livres were immediately subscribed into it: and together with the annuities, lotteries, and other methods proposed for disposing of state-bills, they were in expectation of discharging great part of their debts very suddenly. But the court had recourse to many other projects for raising money before this scheme was brought to perfection. That which was most grievous to the subject was the frequent alteration in the value of the coin, which the Duke of Orleans carried much farther than ever LEWIS XIV had done. When he found the people would be no longer imposed upon and wheedled out of their money, he robbed them of it by plain force, as will appear hereafter.

The be-  
ginning of  
the Missis-  
sippi com-  
pany.

The



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1718.

Representa-  
tion of the parlia-  
ment a-  
gainst the  
alteration  
of the  
coin.

The government having at this time got most of the money of the kingdom into their hands, re-coined it, and raised the Lewis d'Or to 36 livres, obliging those who had any state-bills, or old specie in their hands, to bring them to the mint and take new specie in the room of them, whereby they cheated the people at one clap of two hundred millions of livres. The parliament observing how prejudicial this practice would be to the publick, made a representation to the Regent against it: to which it was answered, that the matter had been duly considered, and could admit of no alteration.

The parliament not satisfied with this answer, drew up another representation, setting forth the unreasonableness of this edict, wherein they demonstrate, that a man who carries 125 marks of silver to the mint, which makes 5,000 livres at the rate of 40 livres to the mark, and 2,000 livres in state-bills, receives back 7,000 livres in new species, which weigh but 116 marks, consequently he lost nine marks out of 125 he carried thither, and all his state-bills over and above; and that foreign trade also would suffer an immense loss by the difference between the value the new edict gave to the species and their intrinsic value. The Regent told the parliament he did not send the edict concerning the new species to them to debate upon, but to register it, and that they had nothing to do to intermeddle in the affair. But this body, to whom his Highness at the beginning of his administration pretended to restore their privileges, would not part with them again so easily: they took upon them to prohibit all persons to receive or tender the new species in payment. However, after a long struggle the Regent let them know he would be obeyed; and they found he meant no more by all the glorious promises he had made them, than by their assistance to establish his tyranny, and now he looked upon himself to be secure, had no further regard to them.

The Court of Aids however were not discouraged from addressing his Majesty on the same subject: they shew, that the dearth of provisions and materials, occasioned by raising the species, would be the utter ruin of their manufactures: that their artificers, which former alterations of the coin had driven into neighbouring countries, had instructed them in the perfection of their arts, and enabled them to make all those things in which the French formerly excelled; and by a fatal reverse, that which foreigners formerly fetched from France, and purchased with treasure, they now imported from abroad, and enriched other countries with their gold and silver. That not only their workmen would be driven abroad, but many other people, whom the excessive price of provisions made it impossible to subsist here. That even in times when the kingdom was reduced to the greatest extremity, the alteration of the coin had never been carried to such an excess as now; whereas they had been promised on the word of a King, which ought to be sacred, that the species, should be reduced to its just value as soon as the war was ended. That after they had been drained for so many years to secure his Majesty in the possession of his throne against a numerous confederacy, they were like to meet with no other reward, than an edict which threw them into domestic feuds, and overturned all their fortunes; an edict which without the name of a supply, laid upon them the most heavy tax that was ever heard of.

While the finances were in the utmost confusion in France, and the Duke of Orleans was taking these oppressive and arbitrary measures to discharge the publick debts, which had exasperated all degrees of men in the nation, the King of Spain meditated how he might reunite those kingdoms and provinces to the Spanish monarchy which had been mismembered from it during the late war: he seems also to have had a design upon the regency of the kingdom of France, and the succession to that throne in case Lewis XV had died, who enjoyed a very indifferent state of health. The opportunity seemed extremely favourable; for the Emperor was then engaged in a war with the Turk, and the intestine troubles he observed in France were sufficient to discourage them from entering into a foreign war; and as to the English and Dutch, the advantages they enjoyed by their commerce with Spain, he hoped would prevent their interposing in the quarrel. The Spaniards therefore having fitted out the best fleet they had been masters of for many years, and assembled a powerful army, it was thought at first they had a design against the Emperor's dominions in Italy, which occasioned an alliance between the Emperor, France, and Britain, for the security of their respective dominions. The Spaniards however proceeded to invade the island of Sardinia, then in the Emperor's possession, and made themselves masters of it in the year 1717. The following year they made a descent in Sicily, of which the Duke of Savoy had been made King by the treaty of Utrecht, and almost the whole island revolted to them: but a further alliance having been entered into between the Empire, France, and Britain, which obtained the name of the Quadruple Alliance from the number of the parties upon the States-General acceding to it, it was resolved to oppose the designs of the Spaniards with all their might. Accordingly his British Majesty sent a fleet into the Mediterranean, which defeated the Spanish fleet, and transported such numbers of the Imperialists from Naples to Sicily, as soon put a stop to the progress of the Spaniards there, and the French prepared to attack them on the side of the Pyrenees; so that the war appeared wonderfully unequal, the poor feeble kingdom of Spain engaged with four of the most potent Kingdoms and States in Europe. And as it might reasonably be expected, the Spaniards were obliged to accept of such terms as the Confederates were pleased to grant them; they had lost Port-Pasage, Fontarabia, St Sebastian, and the whole province of Guipulcoa; nor could they have hindered the French army from penetrating even to Madrid, if they had not prevented it by accepting a peace.

This attempt therefore of the Spanish Ministry to disturb the peace of Europe, at first sight appears very romantick: but it must be considered, that when they entered upon it, as the Emperor was engaged in a war with the Turks, they could not foresee the success of their arms, or the peace that followed with the Mahometans. The King of Spain also had a considerable party in France; nay, it is questionable whether there were not three parts in four of the nation for him, who would have been glad to have been under his administration, rather than that of the Duke of Orleans. But it must be acknowledged that his Catholic Majesty did not sufficiently consider, what a fine army of veteran troops the Duke of Orleans had in his pay, an army sufficient to suppress all malecontents

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Spain at-  
tempts to  
recover  
the dis-  
membered  
provinces.

A confede-  
racy form-  
ed against  
Spain.

The Spa-  
nish fleet  
defeated.

1719.



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malecontents at home, and to have made a conquest of the Spanish monarchy, if he had not been supported by one ally. Admitting it to be true, that the Duke of Orleans had no other friends but the soldiery, which were not the hundredth part of the nation, yet the man that commanded that hundredth part with arms in their hands, as CROMWELL upon a like occasion observed, would make no difficulty in subduing the other ninety-nine, the unarmed multitude. There is no depending on the murmurs or discontents of a people, how oppressed soever, where there is a vast standing army of regular troops: it is on these every monarch and state in Europe depends at this day, much more than in the affections of their subjects. Another very gross mistake the Spaniards made, was, that the British ministry would so far consider the interest of trade, that they would not fall out with them. That the British trade suffered extremely by this conduct, is very evident; but whether the ministry ever concerned themselves much about it, still remains a very great question. As to the Dutch, they did not come into the quadruple alliance till late, and then with so many restrictions, that they did themselves no great hurt. I come now to the terms on which the peace was made, which in short were these, that the Spanish forces should evacuate Sicily and Sardinia, and that the King of Spain should accede to the quadruple alliance. As to the conquests the French had made in Spain, it was agreed they should relinquish them; but they were not obliged to make satisfaction for the men of war they had destroyed at Port Passage, or any other depredations; though the English are still obliged to make good the ships *SIR GEORGE BYNG* destroyed near Sicily.

Quadruple  
Alliance.

By the quadruple alliance (the foundation of this peace) the Emperor renounced all right to the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, whereof his Catholick Majesty was acknowledged the rightful possessor by the treaty of Utrecht, and acknowledged PHILIP V, to be lawful King of Spain, and the Indies. King PHILIP, on the contrary, renounced all right to the Spanish dominions which his imperial Majesty possessed in Italy or the Netherlands.

And by the fifth article it was agreed, that in case of failure of male-issue of the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma, the Queen of Spain's eldest son should succeed to those duchies; and if such son should succeed to the crown of Spain, then they should be inherited by her second and third son successively, and so on.

And it was agreed, that it never should be allowed during the lives of the present possessors of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, or their male successors, that any forces, either of the Emperor's or the King of Spain's, or even of the Prince appointed to succeed, should be introduced into the said duchies: but for the security of the said succession, garrisons not exceeding six thousand men, should be put into the principal towns thereof, consisting of Swiss troops, to be paid by the contracting powers, and that they should take an oath of fidelity to the present possessors. And lastly, the said parties guaranty to each other their respective territories and possessions.

The King of Sicily having acceded to this treaty, agreed with the Emperor to exchange the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia; which we cannot suppose he did very willingly, but the Emperor was now in possession of Sicily, and the contract-

ing powers had agreed it should be so, and he was from this time called King of Sardinia.

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Notwithstanding the French were generally inclined to King PHILIP in this war with Spain, they were kept in such awe by the standing forces, that I don't perceive there was any considerable insurrection in his favour: the Duke of Richlieu and several great men were secured on a suspicion of being in that interest. A court of justice also was erected in Britany, where the malecontents were most numerous, and several men of quality executed for corresponding with the enemy; and no doubt the other provinces would have declared for the King of Spain if he had been superior in the field; for never was any country so peeled and plundered by an avowed enemy, as the subjects of France were during the Duke of Orleans's administration.

The next project the Court fell upon to raise money was the establishing a royal bank; in the preamble to the patent for it the most Christian King recites, that the *Sieur LAW*, soon after his accession, having presented him a project for establishing a bank, the funds whereof should be part of the royal revenue, it was examined in council, but the conjuncture not being favourable, the *Sieur LAW* then desired permission to establish a bank on account of himself and such a company as he should form, which was granted him in May 1716. The fund was to consist of six millions of livres, making 1200 actions or shares of 1000 crowns in bank each, payable to the bearer, wherein both subjects and foreigners might be interested; the usefulness of which establishment in remitting the publick money without draining the provinces of their specie, induced his Majesty to grant him his protection. That the success of this project occasioned the examining it again, and the King having found it very agreeable to the general good of commerce and to the benefit of the subject, it was thought proper the said bank should be continued under the royal name and authority; for which end the King had purchased all the actions or shares in it, and was become sole proprietor of them. For these causes, &c. he declared and ordained, that from the first of January 1718-19, the said bank should be deemed a royal bank, and a director of it established by the crown, who should receive his orders from the Duke of Orleans.

Royal  
Bank esta-  
blished in  
France.

This declaration being sent to the parliament of Paris to be registered, that body disapproved the project: they foresaw probably that they should be obliged to take bank-bills for their cash, which in time might have as little credit as other state-bills. The Court, however, determined to carry on the design without their concurrence, and published another arret thereupon, enjoining all men to look upon the said declaration as registered in parliament, notwithstanding it had been refused. His Majesty also declared further, that before the first of March, besides the general office at Paris, there should be established particular offices in the towns of Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, and Amiens, consisting of two chests, one of ready money to pay bills on demand, and the other in bills to deliver to such as wanted them. That the species of bellon [a base mixed metal] and copper coin, should not be tendered or received in payments exceeding six livres: and as to the species of silver, it should not be received in payment in any of the said towns in sums exceeding six hundred livres, but that all great sums should be paid in specie or bills.



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bills. In April 1719, we find the stock of the bank increased to one hundred millions of livres, and many people crowding into it, the payments being at first well made.

Mississippi  
company  
encoura-  
ged by the  
court.

About the same time the court of France encouraged another project formed by Mr LAW, which was to transfer all the privileges of the East-India company to that of the Mississippi or West-India company, and unite them both in one patent under the title of the India company; and to their present capital, which already consisted of an hundred millions of livres, they were permitted to add five and twenty millions more.

As a farther encouragement to this great company, the Treasurer of the royal bank was ordered to deliver them bank-bills to the value of twenty-five millions of livres, in order to promote their traffick to Louisiana: and in July 1719, in consideration that the said India company had agreed to advance the government fifty millions of livres in specie, they obtained the grant of all the advantage arising from the coinage of gold and silver for nine years. An arret also was published for enabling the directors of the bank to issue two hundred and forty millions in bank-bills, which with those issued out before, made their stock to consist of four hundred millions of livres.

Mississippi  
stock  
rises.

In August 1719, India or Mississippi stock had obtained such credit, that it was advanced to 900; that is, every share of 100 livres was sold for 900, notwithstanding there had been no dividend of any profit. This success put Mr LAW upon the boldest attempts that ever were heard of: he undertook to advance the government twelve hundred millions of livres at three per Cent. interest, towards the discharge of the annuities and other national debts; and to give fifty-two millions per annum for the general farm of the King's revenues, which was three millions and a half more than the present farmers gave: both which offers the crown accepted, and in consideration thereof enlarged their term to fifty years, to commence from January 1719-20. The company were also empowered to borrow the sum of twelve hundred millions of livres, in consideration of their having advanced the like sum for the government.

It was very much doubted whether the India company would be able to borrow so vast a sum as 1200000000 of livres at so low an interest as three per Cent. but the nation was at this time (September 1719) so insatuated, that it appears they might have borrowed twice that money by the methods they took. The first essay they made was by selling out actions or shares to the amount of fifty millions of livres at the rate of 1000 per Cent. (the price of the stock being then at 1100) This was immediately filled, whereby the company gained five hundred millions at once. Upon this encouragement they sold fifty millions more at the same rate, which were purchased in one day. Whereupon a third fifty millions were sold, for which they also found purchasers in one day's time: so that the company, instead of twelve hundred millions, offered to lend the government fifteen hundred millions. This indeed was all imaginary wealth; but it may be observed from hence, what an immense debt the crown of France still lay under, when fifteen hundred millions of livres, or one hundred and fifty millions sterling, would not discharge it, notwithstanding the many extraordinary means that had been taken to lessen it since the war.

The French nation, according to my author,  
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was wonderfully pleased at this time: they thought themselves all rich, their lands were raised to twice the value, they expected wonderful profits from the India company, their bank-bills were preferred to ready money, and no man thought it worth his while to attend his proper trade or business, they were all jumping into estates at once.

To keep up the credit of bank-bills, of which there had been made out to the value of six hundred and fifty millions of livres, an arret was published in December 1719, which among other things, cries down the current species in a manner, and ordains that no tender in ready money should be good, and that only bank-bills should be accepted in payment; and the bank-bills were at length increased to a million of millions. The design of the administration in this step began to be suspected, namely, that they intended to get all the ready money of the kingdom into their hands, and pay their debts with paper, which kept up its credit no longer than while the ministry had served their ends by it: however, Mr LAW, for the great service he had done the court, in bubbling the people out of their cash, and to give a credit to his scheme, was in January 1719-20 made Comptroller of the finances.

Mr LAW  
made  
Comptrol-  
ler of the  
finances.

On the 30th of December a general assembly of the India company was held at the house of the royal bank, in the presence of the Duke of Orleans Regent, the Duke of Chartres, and the Duke of Bourbon; where the management of the directors was approved; and it was agreed to divide forty per cent. their stock or actions being sold at this time at 1885, and subscriptions at 1330 per cent. The Lords, and others who had enriched themselves by India stock, thought they could not better secure their wealth than by purchasing jewels with it, and accordingly great sums were sent out of the kingdom for this purpose, which occasioned the publishing an arret prohibiting the wearing of diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, on pain of forfeiture, and a penalty of ten thousand livres; forbidding on the like penalty to import the same into the kingdom.

The Court also suspecting that a great deal of treasure was hoarded up by private men, issued an arret raising the value of it, and permitting the merchants to lend it abroad for the purchase of merchandize, which occasioned every body to bring it out, and discover what they had: whereupon the government immediately published another arret, lowering the value of the gold and silver specie, and requiring every person to bring it into the mint and take bank-bills for it, on pain of forfeiture; and because they imagined people would still endeavour to hide it, they gave the India company a power of entering all noblemens houses and convents, as well as those of private people, and to search for specie; nor were the royal palaces excused: which, 'tis observed, was such an act of tyranny as the reign of Lewis XIV could never parallel. These cruel and oppressive practices, with the Court's disposing of all their stock at once, tumbled it down as fast as it rose, and an infinite number of unfortunate wretches found themselves ruined in an instant. And left the people should convert any of the coin they had left, into plate, the making of gold plate above an ounce weight was absolutely prohibited; as was the making of silver plate without the King's permission, which was to be granted only for table-plate of a certain weight. It appears that within

three months before this prohibition, by an account  
16 P count



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count taken from the books of the silver-smiths in Paris, they had made an hundred and twenty thousand dozen of plates, besides dishes, and other plate in their possession; and reckoning each dozen of plates at sixty pounds sterling, the value of the plates only amount to seven millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

1720.

In the year 1720, the ministry published an arret, whereby Mississippi or India-stock was reduced to 500, and bank-bills, which the Court had paid away as ready money, were reduced to one half, a bill of a thousand livres being declared to be worth but five hundred; and indeed their credit was now so very low, that people refused to take them for any thing; whereupon another arret was issued, to oblige the people to take them. This threw every thing into confusion, and the Regent was forced to place guards in the market-places to prevent tumults; no body would part with their goods without four times the value of them. Money growing extremely scarce, the Court, in order to render it more plentiful, repealed their edicts, which prohibited people to keep money by them, and ordered them to re-call all the money they had sent abroad into foreign countries, on pain of forfeiting double the sums they had beyond sea. They also obliged them to sell all their jewels to foreigners, which was supposed would occasion a great deal of specie to be imported.

In the mean time the publick debts seem to be as far from being paid as ever, unless wiping off part of the score may pass for payment. The government, 'tis true, had paid them in India stock and bank-bills, but then those bills ought to have been paid when the bearers came for their money; instead of which, comes out an arret, which has been mentioned already, that they should pass for half the original value, so that here at one dash the ministry got rid of half their debts; but this would never be called payment among private men, it would rather be deemed downright robbery. Nor did the government do their business by halves, but before the end of the year bank-bills and paper-money was cried down, and nothing received in payment but the gold and silver species. About the same time Mr LAW was removed from all his employments, and obliged to leave the kingdom to satisfy the clamours of the people: the government however were so grateful to him, for putting them in a way to pay their debts by cozening the subject, that they suffered him to carry off an immense treasure, and even assisted him in his retreat, and screened him from the fury of the people, from which he might have found it difficult otherwise to have escaped. The general farm and the coinage were soon after taken from the India company, and every thing returned to its usual channel. As to the commerce with Louisiana, this by consequence came to nothing; nor did those in the secret ever hope to make much of it; though to bubble and amuse the people, they were at the charge of fitting out and freighting an hundred ships, with which they never attempted to make one single settlement, or carry on any one branch of trade, so that it appeared in the end to have been only a foolish and unnecessary expence; whereupon the Mississippi or India company was absolutely dissolved, and the trade to the East and West-Indies put on another foot.

The ravages made in France by the Mississippi project, and the oppressions of the government,

were not the only misfortunes that befel that people this year, for South France was visited also with the plague, which swept away a multitude of the inhabitants. It was brought to Marseilles by a ship that arrived there from Sidon, on the 15th of June 1720, N. S. The porters employed in unloading the vessel, were immediately seized with violent pains in the head, reachings to vomit, and a general faintness; soon after they broke out in blotches and buboes, and died in three days. But the magistrates of Marseilles apprehending that the trade of the city would be lost, if the report of their having the plague amongst them prevailed, gave out that the distemper was only a malignant fever; whereupon the merchants went to the fair of Beaucaire in Languedoc, as usual at this season, and by that means dispersed it through all the southern provinces. In Marseilles alone, it was computed, that in the month of September there had died no less than forty thousand people.

The government were no sooner acquainted that the distemper which carried off such numbers in Provence was the plague, but they ordered all communication to be cut off with the places infected, and published an edict, containing rules and directions to be observed during this calamity, which very well deserve a place in the modern history of France, though by no means fit to be imitated in countries that have any remains of liberty or property left.

As soon as the King's commanding officers have notice that any places are affected with the contagion, they must without the loss of one moment, cause them to be invested at the distance of half a league, or thereabouts, so that such a part of ground may be left as may afford them the most necessary supplies for their subsistence. They are at that distance to dispose into barracks the troops which form the blockade, and to post their corps de garde so near, that they may see each other, or easily hold communication by the sentinels, to keep patrols continually all night long, and to employ officers of good understanding, vigilant, and inflexible, to take care of the blockade.

If the distemper spreads into houses situate at distance from others, so as that they cannot possibly be included within the blockade, it is left to the prudence and discretion of the commanding officer, after he shall have given orders for removing the sick of such houses into the nearest infirmaries, and for the conducting those who remain sound into houses for quarantine, either to cause the doors and windows of the aforesaid houses to be fastened up, or to burn them if he judge it necessary.

As there are few places where the inhabitants finding themselves blocked up, do not attempt by force to open themselves passage and recover liberty, it is proper to cause orders to be published and affixed, forbidding any on pain of death to stir out of the places blocked up; and if, notwithstanding such prohibition, any preparations be made to force the blockade, the officer who commands is not to hesitate a moment, but to advance with the best of his men, having their bayonets at the muzzles of their pieces, in sight of the places blocked up, and threaten the inhabitants to burn their houses and goods, and to put them all to the sword, if they offer to make any such attempt; yet without firing upon them, unless it be very proper, and in case of necessity.

If by accident some of the inhabitants should escape the watchfulness of the guards, they must, whithersoever

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The plague brought into France from Turkey.

Rules observed in the countries infected.



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whithersoever they go, be pursued and taken with precaution, so as that they may not communicate the infection; and being brought back within their own bounds, they shall be shot dead in the view of their fellow-townsmen: an example absolutely necessary for keeping them under due restraint.

Within the extent of the blockade, two barriers are to be fixed at the nearest places, for furnishing the inhabitants of the place blocked up with what they may want, on settled days of the week. A prudent officer should be placed at each barrier with a detachment, to prevent communication; and there must be vinegar there, in which the money is to be dipped, as well as all letters, which are to be sent open, and not under cover, or folded up.

All dogs and cats are to be killed, as well within as without the blockade, for a league distance at least; experience having shewn, that though those animals are not affected with the distemper, they frequently communicate it.

No persons must be suffered to come to the posts of guard at the blockade, to speak to any whomsoever, that being to be permitted only at the barriers; otherwise great inconveniencies may happen.

The commanding officers shall forbid, on pain of death, the troops who form the blockade to advance ten foot from the line towards the place which is blocked up; and shall order the guards at the posts to fire upon their comrades who shall transgress this rule. This precaution is absolutely necessary for preventing the communication of the soldiers with the infected places.

It is of great importance, that five or six leagues round the places infected, all the towns, villages, and cottages should be shut up, were it only with ditches, and that there should be no entrance but at one passage only, where a barrier should be placed with a good guard, to examine passengers, their baggage or goods, and peruse the bills of health, which they ought to carry about them. As to this inclosing or shutting up of such towns and villages, all that is possibly practicable ought to be done.

The bills of health ought to contain the particulars, quantity, and quality of the movable baggage or merchandize, which the persons presenting such bills have with them; and if they have any thing found with them, besides what is specified therein, the same shall be burnt without remission, and the bearers of such bills shall be put into prison for some time, and be liable to greater punishment, according to the degree and consequences of their offence.

The commanding officers shall warn the consuls, or other municipal officers, not to give bills of health, especially in the case of removing from usual habitation, but to such persons only whom they are very sure of, and they shall be careful to stop all those who shall be suspected of having counterfeit bills; and if any one so stopped shall make his escape, they shall cause him to be pursued, and when taken, shot dead.

The said commanding officers shall take care to send to the officers at the barrier of the blockade, a list of the current price of each sort of provisions, or other commodities, with order to cause them to be delivered at those rates, for the avoiding the exactions to which the inhabitants of places blocked up are exposed. But this article ought to be executed with great prudence and circum-

spection, lest the neighbours should be discouraged from bringing supplies to the barriers; it being better to let goods be sold a little dearer, to places shut up, than to put them to the risque of wanting them. The chief officers ought also to be very careful to chuse in the places infected, some person capable of commanding there, with a number of armed men who may be depended upon, to see the orders of the municipal officers executed, and to give all encouragement to the latter, to acquit themselves well of their duty, by animating them even by promises of rewards from court, upon the representations which those commanding officers will send thither of their conduct.

Within the places infected, the first care of the commanding officers and of the municipal officers, should be to establish one or more infirmaries, according to the necessities and the abilities of the place infected, they ought to chuse as much as is possible for this use houses separate and distant from the place, and see even whether they cannot set up barracks for receiving the sick, which many think is much the better method.

Whatever place is chosen for an infirmary, care must be taken to cause the sick to be carried thither, upon the first tokens of the plague that appear upon them.

It is necessary besides to have other houses, some of which should be appointed for receiving those who grow well, as soon as they are in a condition to be removed thither; and others for those who tended the sick, or who staid with them, to perform quarantine in.

The houses which shall be appointed for these two uses should also be chosen at some distance from the other houses of the places infected.

When a rich person is carried to the infirmary, his quilts and sheets should be carried thither with him, and the straw-mats and bed-cloths, the wearing apparel and linnen which were used about the body of the sick, must be burnt, it not being sufficient to sleep and wash them with wood-ashes, which in several places has not prevented the communicating of the contagion by such linnen.

At the time the sick are carried into the infirmaries, care must be taken to have their houses perfumed with a strong perfume, then to set open the windows, and keep the door fast forty days, after which it must be perfumed again, in the ordinary manner, for it's thorough disinfection, before any be permitted to dwell in it.

To these directions is annexed the receipt of a perfume which has been used in Provence with success.

It is necessary to have a number of men that can be depended on, always armed, to make those who bury the dead do their duty, and to hinder all communication with suspected houses, to shoot dead any employed in the infirmaries, buriers of the dead, or private persons, and even women, who shall steal or hide the bed-clothes or apparel of those infected with the plague. It is also necessary to have in the infirmaries honest persons for intendants, whose great care ought to be to cause the bed-clothes and apparel of those brought thither to be burnt, but to save their quilts and sheets, which may serve other infected patients. The community is to make good to the owners, if poor, the apparel burnt, if in a condition to do it; if not, it must be endeavoured to be made up by charity and alms, which ought in an especial manner to be applied to this use.



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It has been practised with success in Provence, to pay to private persons the price of the bed-clothes or apparel they brought in, or which they gave an account of to the parish-priests; without which method it is almost impossible to stop the progress of the contagion, because there are always such things in the hands of some miserable creatures, who will sell them, tho' at never so small a price, to others; the charge of purchasing whatever shall be produced is inconsiderable, and will be a very great good.

The Bishops shall be desired to give order, that divine service may not be performed in the churches, because of the danger of the communication, but in places quite open to the air, or in the field. No assembly, or concourse of people of what kind soever is to be suffered during the continuance of the contagion, nor till a long time after it has ceased.

By concert with the Bishops and parish-priests, convenient places shall be appointed for interring the bodies of those who die of the plague; the pits for them must be twelve feet deep at least; and care must be taken to have lime to throw into those pits, in a sufficient quantity, for consuming those bodies.

The shops of mercers, drapers, and others dealing in goods susceptible of contagion, are to be kept shut as long as it lasts, and till sufficient means have been used afterwards for their intire disinfection by perfuming; but the shops of those who sell the necessary provisions to support life, and whose houses are not suspected, are to be open.

Whereas the physicians and surgeons do often withdraw themselves, or will not attend the sick, if they cannot be brought to their duty by motives of religion and honour, or by the promise of a reasonable gratuity, they must be compelled to it, in case of necessity, by the fear of a death more certain and more speedy than that they would avoid.

Those who command without the infected places ought especially to be very active in procuring them all necessary supplies for their subsistence; and if those places want money to buy sufficient provisions, they are to give notice to the Commander in chief, or to the Intendant of the province, who shall oblige the neighbouring communities, that are able, to advance money to them; which they shall be afterwards reimbursed; and as some communities, especially in such a time as this, are not able to purchase what is necessary for furnishing their infirmaries, in that case the private persons of substance in those places shall be obliged to advance the sum necessary, according to a tax which shall be laid on them by the municipal officers, who shall promise in the name of the communities to reimburse those private persons.

As to the appointing and furnishing of infirmaries, it must not be delayed till the places are actually visited with the contagious distemper, but the places in the neighbourhood of those which are infected must be obliged to have their infirmaries ready in case of accident; for which purpose there must be collected from the inhabitants, such a number of straw-mats, quilts, and sheets, as each can furnish, allowing them to set their marks on them, to the end each may have again what he contributed, in case the distemper should not come into the place; or that the same may be made good by the community, if the contagion should enter, and if afterwards it should be

necessary to burn what was lent for the use of the infirmaries.

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Those who shall be cured of the plague shall not be at liberty to converse with the other inhabitants of the place, till after they have performed two quarantains, and till after they have been perfumed more than once, and had in general all they wore about them burnt.

The fines, which may often be levied for breach of orders not deserving death, shall be applied to the use of the poor of the place; and probably the best use that money can be put to, will be to buy them clothes, instead of those which shall have been burnt.

The composition of the perfume (recommended in the directions to be observed by order of the government of France, with relation to the plague) is as follows:

A composition for the plague.

To make a quintal (or hundred weight) of perfume, take common brimstone, gun-powder, of each fifteen pounds; pitch, resin, black pitch, of each seven pounds and an half; white arsenick, orpiment, cinnabar, antimony, realgal (or red arsenick) of each half a pound; in the want of realgal put four ounces of red precipitate; ivy berries, juniper berries, of each fourteen pounds; the said berries to be roasted, and the whole to be reduced to a very fine powder, and to be well mixed together: for the body and basis of this perfume take twenty-five pounds of bran dried, in which the forementioned ingredients are to be mixed; the person that mixes them, with a long wooden spatula, should be muffled in such a manner, that he may not draw in the dust with his breath. For perfuming a chamber of fifteen foot square use one pound and a half of the perfume, and for larger or lesser chambers, the dose must be in proportion.

The method of perfuming is this; all the windows must be closed, the chimnies stopt, and generally all holes by which wind and air might penetrate; the closets, presses, cabinets, and trunks are to be set open; the other household-stuff to remain in it's usual situation: then a whisp of hay of three or four pound weight, is to be laid in the midst of the floor, the dose of perfume is to be spread upon it, and the person, who sets it on fire, is to retire out of the chamber as quick as he can, fastening the door after him. Care must be taken, if wearing apparel, which is not suspected, be found in infected houses, that they be hung up upon pegs, or otherwise, that they may thoroughly receive the perfume; and great care must be taken to secure the doors, and stop up the chimnies and holes in such a manner that the smoak may not get out.

Twenty-four hours after the windows may be set open, and all the openings unstopped, and the chamber be left airing for three days before any one lie in it.

For perfuming persons, the same composition of brimstone, gun-powder, pitch, resin, ivy-berries, juniper-berries, and bran is to be used; leaving out all the arsenicks and the antimony. The quantity or dose for a person may be one third less than that above specified for a chamber.

It must be acknowledged, that the measures taken by the Court of France to prevent the spreading of the plague, were of infinite service to the northern provinces of the kingdom; for though it continued a year and half in Provence and Languedoc, and destroyed vast multitudes of people there, (especially at Marseilles and Toulon)

it



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it never reached further. People generally look upon the plague as an extraordinary judgment of heaven; though it is evidently the sense of all the kingdoms of Europe, that it may be spread or avoided by human means, or they would not oblige persons coming from places infected to perform quarantine. The same may be said in this case of drawing lines of circumvallation about the places infected, and using such other precautions as we see the French did, which certainly prevented the spreading of the contagion. And indeed, though we all allow that heaven can inflict diseases whenever it sees fit; yet on the other hand it must be granted, that they may sometimes be avoided and removed, and frequently are, by human means; or to what purpose is the profession of physick?

But notwithstanding the drawing lines, and compelling people to remain in places infected, removing a wealthy man from his family, and burning his house and effects, are methods practised in arbitrary governments, a law to authorize these rigorous proceedings may be very dangerous in a land of liberty; for under this pretence, (allowing the Court to be judges of the necessity of putting them in practice) how precarious must such a law render the lives, liberties, and properties of the subject? Better one generation suffer by the plague, than their whole posterity be reduced to a state of slavery, and be plagued for ever after.

The parliament oppose the tyranny of the Duke of Orleans.

The pestilence itself does not seem more intolerable than the acts of tyranny and oppression committed during the administration of the late Duke of Orleans. The Parliament of Paris, to their eternal honour be it spoken, constantly opposed the Mississippi project, and the rest of his destructive schemes: they had wisdom enough to see through them, and resolution to refuse the registering such edicts as evidently tended to the ruin of their fellow-subjects. The Duke-Regent hereupon assembled an army of forty-five thousand men, and quartered them in Paris and the neighbourhood of that city, in order to keep the parliament in awe; and being still apprehensive of an insurrection, he ordered that high court to remove to Pontoise, a town about six leagues from Paris, on pain of their being declared rebels; which order they were obliged to comply with, and here they remained a considerable time. And to mortify them still more, the Regent erected a new tribunal to register edicts, and administer justice during the vacation or recess of the parliament, with the same powers as the parliament used to exercise. In the mean time the miseries of the people were inexpressible, as appears from some passages in a letter from the Bishop of Castres to the Marquis of Vrilliere, Secretary of State; in which he acquaints him with the reasons that hindered the people of his diocese, from contributing to the relief of those countries afflicted with the plague, so largely as otherwise they would have done.

They are banished to Pontoise.

The miseries of France inexpressible.

‘Notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, my whole diocese has raised no more than one hundred pistoles in money, and five thousand livres in bills and other paper-effects, the inundation of which has done us an inconceivable mischief: here is no more trade, no more confidence; even the most prudent and diligent have no way left to subsist: the decay of trade has rendered even industry itself insignificant and useless: want of trust breaks all friendship, and makes men cautious of lending their money to their friends’

V O L. II. N U M B. XCI.

‘and nearest relations, tho’ formerly they parted with it cheerfully to strangers. Charity itself, which always contrives methods of doing good, has her hands tied, since there is now no other way left her, than to weep with those that despair of ever having their tears wiped away. I daily expect to see my clergy so far reduced, that they will not be able to exercise their functions; and the poor nuns wanting the relief their friends used to give them, will be obliged to leave their cloysters to seek for bread. There is nothing of an hyperbole in what I say, it is the simple naked truth, so that I find it impossible to execute the orders of his Royal Highness successfully. If the people would still be satisfied with bank-bills, and other paper-securities, they may have enough of them, but we have no money left.’

Amidst the many misfortunes that France underwent at this time, the people were infinitely pleased with one act of justice of the Regent’s, which was the erecting a court to enquire what persons had got estates by stock-jobbing in the Mississippi adventure, and obliging them to refund, whereby he acquired a prodigious sum of money. And indeed whoever were losers by that variety of projects which were set on foot at that time, the gentlemen in the administration were always sure to be gainers. And this occasioned some other courts, no doubt, to take the hint, and follow the steps of the French, as far at least as their respective constitutions would admit.

Stock-jobbers obliged to refund their ill-gotten goods.

A match being proposed between the most Christian King LEWIS XV, and MARIA-ANNA-VICTORIA, Infanta of Spain, his Majesty declared his assent to it in council on the 17th of September N. S. tho’ this Princess was then but in the fourth year of her age, being born the 31st of March 1718. This, ’tis generally said, was another project of the Duke Regent’s, to establish the succession in his own family; for if the King had died without issue, the Duke of Orleans or his posterity would have inherited the crown of France. But to proceed: Were we to judge of the condition of this kingdom from the vast preparations that were made to receive the Infanta, or by the splendor of the Court at the audience of the Turkish Ambassador about the same time, we might esteem France one of the richest and happiest countries in Europe. The King’s robes were covered with diamonds and precious stones at that audience, to the value of twenty-five millions, and weighed thirty-five or forty pounds weight: all the Princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown, were clothed in the richest habits; and in the great gallery were placed three hundred ladies of the first quality, who dazzled the eyes of the spectators with the brightness of their jewels and other ornaments: no cries of the miserable could reach these happy seats: the wretched starving people, whose spoils had contributed to render the Court thus glorious and resplendent, were driven far from hence. No foreigner could imagine, from the gaiety of the court, that the subjects in general were labouring under the most exquisite calamities, as beyond contradiction they were, if the above-cited relations may be credited: there is no making an estimate consequently of the happiness of a people, from the shining appearance of a Court and its immediate dependants.

The French King marries the Infanta.

At the same time the marriage was agreed on between his most Christian Majesty and the Infanta, another was concluded between the Prince of the Asturias, eldest son of Spain, and Madam DE

16 Q

MONTPENSIER,



CHAP. XXXIV. MONTPENSIER, daughter to the Duke of Orleans; and the two Princesses were exchanged in the Isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of France and Spain, the ninth of January 1721-2; and on the second of March following the Infanta made her publick entry into Paris, where she was received with all the honours the Court of France could pay to the young Queen.

1722. State bills worth little or nothing. The finances were still in a wretched condition; the state-bills which the government had issued out were at 75 per Cent. discount, and not long after became worth little or nothing, the ministry issuing an order for their liquidation, as 'twas called; that is, they reduced them as low as they pleased; a person that had an hundred pounds due to him by a state-bill, was obliged to take another bill in lieu of it for five pounds or less: and thus the debts of the crown, which were said to be so great in one of the King's declarations, that they could not be computed by arithmetick, were reduced to a very moderate sum; a method of paying of debts that some other countries possibly may be obliged to imitate, who mortgaged their revenues to maintain their Confederates in the late war.

Marshal Villeroy displaced. The Duke-Regent thought fit about this time to displace Marshal VILLEROY, Governor of his most Christian Majesty, and to put the Duke of Charost in his room, and some days after communicated his reasons for it to the foreign ministers; the substance of which were, that the Marshal had insinuated things to the disadvantage of his Royal Highness; that he refused to retire when the Regent came to talk with his Majesty in private; and that the Marshal aimed at rendering himself independent of the Regency. The Cardinal du Bois was immediately afterwards constituted Prime Minister; and on the twenty-fifth of October the King was crowned at Rheims, at which ceremony the Infanta-Queen was not present, but remained at the palace of Versailles.

1723. A new sect. A new sect of fanatics were discovered at Montpellier in the year 1723, of whom some were condemned to death, others imprisoned, and some sent to the galleys. The government gave a very imperfect account of their principles, or the reasons of these severe proceedings against them: they relate only, that the civil magistrate being assisted by a guard of soldiers, broke open the doors where these people were assembled, and that a man dressed in a white surplice demanded of the officers in a big magisterial voice, what they would have; to which the Provost made no answer, but knocked him down: That another of them on his knees, holding a book in his hand, cried out to the soldiers, Reverence the word of God: that several more of them being dressed in albs or surplices, the commanding officer asked one of the congregation who they were, and was answered, they were the Levites of the Holy Ghost: and as they were pulling down their sanctuary, one of them said, Cause thy soldiers to desist, and suffer them not to destroy the temple of the Holy Ghost. The number of these fanatics was about four hundred, and assembled in a room adjoining to their sanctuary, in which there was a large pulpit, that they called the pulpit of ELIAS: over-against it was a bay-tree in a large vase, with bottles of water, wine, and brandy, and near the vase a loaf of bread, full of sugar-plumbs and almonds, a large picture representing MOSES with the tables of the law, a fountain to baptize in, streamers full of inscriptions, alluding equally to

love and religion, and in the middle of the sanctuary a large lamp. This sect began about the first of January 1721-2, as appears by an inscription on one of their tables, on which are written these words; 'Behold, the time is come when all men shall be equal; the poor shall be as the rich, and the rich as the poor. God has at length manifested his will by his spirit. His will is, that men should learn to pray of women.' And in another inscription; 'The kingdom of God the Father was first; thence came that of God the Son; at present 'tis the reign of the Holy Ghost; and 'tis by women only that the spirit can communicate itself to men.' They met regularly on Saturday nights, and continued their assemblies till Monday at break of day. They administered a kind of communion, and heard a sermon; after which (if they are not misrepresented) the lights were put out, and the preacher cried aloud, Go increase and multiply: the women were in common, every man matched himself as he could, and they were married by the preacher before they left the assembly; but these contracts were no longer binding then both parties pleased, some of them, 'tis said, had changed their husbands several times. But whether these people were not misrepresented in many things by their prosecutors, who were bigotted Roman Catholics, I find is made a question.

On the tenth of August, N. S. died WILLIAM DU BOIS, Cardinal-Priest, Archbishop and Duke of Cambray, Prince of the Empire, principal and prime Minister of State, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, first President of the general assembly of the clergy of France, &c. and formerly Preceptor to the Duke of Orleans, upon whose death his Royal Highness took upon him the administration of affairs of state, and acted as Prime Minister.

The inhabitants of French Flanders being visited with a fever the latter end of this summer, which carried off great numbers of them, it was immediately given out to be the plague, that distemper having lately raged in the southern parts of France, and several people, 'tis said, died at first of the fright; but the Court sending down physicians to examine into the nature of the disease, they found it no more than a fever, which tho' it appeared dangerous, they observed might very easily be cured, where people did not give way to fear, nor let blood after the symptoms were manifest. The patients also were advised not to provoke or hinder sweating, or to drink wine, brandy, beer, or any spirituous liquors; but they were allowed small beer, barley-water, or broth made of chickens, veal, or mutton, after having skimmed off the fat. Those that observed this regimen, generally recovered.

The King having nominated several Bishops and Abbots to the vacant benefices in France this year, was pleased to reserve considerable pensions out of them; particularly out of the Archbishoprick of Cambray, a pension of two thousand livres, payable to the Baron of Rocheplate, a Brigadier of the army, and a pension of fifteen hundred livres to the Chevalier DE HERBOVILLE: which is a way of gratifying the creatures of the court and army that our Princes have not yet hit upon.

On the second of December, N. S. died of an apopleckick fit, the Regent of France, PHILIP Duke of Orleans, Valois, Chartres, Nemours, and Montpensier. He was the son of PHILIP Duke of Orleans, brother of LEWIS XIV, and of Madam

CHAP. XXXIV. A fever in French Flanders taken for the plague. The King reserves pensions out of the bishopricks. Duke of Orleans dies, and the Duke of Bourbon made Prime Minister.



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XXXIV.

MADAM ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE of Bavaria. He married MARIA-FRANCISCA, a base daughter of LEWIS XIV, whom that Prince had legitimated; by whom he had issue the Duke of Chartres, now Duke of Orleans, born the fourth of August 1703, and four daughters. The Duke of Bourbon coming to court the very moment the late Duke of Orleans expired, obtained the office of Prime Minister of his Majesty, and his letters patent were signed the day following, and registered in Parliament on the fourth of December: soon after which, the Duke of Villeroy, the King's governor, who had been dismissed by the late Duke of Orleans, was sent for to court.

PHILIP  
King of  
Spain re-  
signs his  
crown to  
his son.

In January following, anno 1723-24, his Catholic Majesty, PHILIP V, made an absolute renunciation of the crown of Spain, in favour of DON LEWIS, Prince of the Asturias, having determined to retire with the Queen his consort to the palace of St Ildefonso, there to devote the remainder of his days to the service of God and the care of his soul. He wrote at the same time to the most Christian King and the Duke of Bourbon, to acquaint them with his resolution, and assure them of a continuance of his friendship, and of the Prince of Asturias, whom he had appointed to succeed him.

The con-  
gress of  
Cambray  
opened.

The so-much-talked-of congress of Cambray, where most of the Princes of Europe had their Plenipotentiaries, in order to explain or supply what was thought defective in the treaty of Utrecht, was opened on the 26th of January, N. S. 1723; the Imperial ministers having two days before delivered to the ministers of Spain, pursuant to the quadruple alliance, the original act of investiture for the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, in favour of DON CARLOS, son to the present Queen of Spain.

The in-  
vestiture of  
Tuscany  
and Parma  
granted to  
DON CAR-  
LOS.

The people of France were very little bettered by the change of the ministry, which happened on the death of the late Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Bourbon found himself under a necessity of lowering the coin, in order to revive their foreign trade: to this end an arret was published on the 4th of January for reducing the Lewis d'Or, which was then current at 27 livres, to 24, and the other species of gold and silver proportionably. By this means the butchers, bakers, and other retailers of provision, who had any quantity of specie by them, became very great sufferers; and expecting another reduction, they refused to part with their goods but at extravagant prices. The magistrates of Paris hereupon sent for the heads of the several trading companies, and commanded them to sell their goods at a moderate rate; but were answered, that they could not, because a second reduction of the coin was daily expected, by which they should probably lose as much as they had done by the first. The government thereupon licensed other tradesmen who were not free of the city, to sell flesh and other necessaries at more moderate rates, whereby they brought down the price of flesh from fifteen pence to seven pence a pound, and other things in proportion. But this exasperated the trading companies in Paris, especially when they found their fears were but too just; for in April 1724, the government again reduced the Lewis d'Or from twenty-four to twenty livres, and other species in proportion. This uncertainty in the value of the coin occasioned a perfect stagnation of trade, no body caring to part with their goods till the value of money was fixed, and abundance of people were reduced to a starving condition; mur-

1724-

ders and robberies were frequent in the streets of Paris, nor could any thing have prevented a general insurrection, but the drawing of great bodies of regular forces together to keep the people in awe. The clergy at the same time were engaged in a kind of civil war about the Constitution Unigenitus, and seemed to agree in nothing but the persecution of their Protestant brethren, which was carried on with the utmost fury in all parts of the kingdom. The young King was prevailed on to publish edict after edict, to cause the penal laws to be executed upon that unhappy people; in the preamble to one of which he is made to say, *That of all the great designs which his great-grandfather LEWIS XIV formed during the course of his reign, there was none he had more at heart to pursue and see executed, than that of extinguishing heresy out of his kingdom.*

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The clergy at variance about the Constitution.

The Protestants persecuted.

Paris, like London, increasing every day in its extent, by the numerous buildings added to it, the government thought fit this year to publish a declaration for fixing the limits of it. The Court seemed determined also to compel the Bishops and Clergy of France to accept the Constitution Unigenitus; for an arret was published against the Bishop of Montpellier, the famous anti-constitutioner, confiscating his temporalities, and declaring his benefices vacant. With such rage did the clergy prosecute each other for they knew not what, the controversy being chiefly about grace and free-will, which perhaps will never be settled as long as the world stands.

LEWIS, the young King of Spain, died on the 31st of August of the small-pox, after a reign of seven months and some odd days, whereupon his father PHILIP V was prevailed on by his subjects to resume the government; and it was agreed that the young Queen-dowager, daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, should return to France and enjoy her dowry there, (which amounted to 500,000 livres) in pursuance of the marriage-articles.

Lewis  
King of  
Spain dies.

The French Court considering that his most Christian Majesty could not possibly have any issue by the Infanta of Spain in many years, determined to send that Princess home, and marry his Majesty to one of riper years. Accordingly, on the 22d of March 1724-5, the King of Spain received a letter from the King of France, wherein his most Christian Majesty expressed the great concern he was under upon his separation from the Infanta; but said, that a King being born for his subjects rather than himself, he could not excuse himself from yielding to the strong solicitations of all his States to marry forthwith, that he might have issue, and thereby prevent the troubles and revolutions which might happen in the kingdom if he should die before the Infanta (who was but seven years of age) was marriageable.

The  
French  
King  
sends back  
the In-  
fanta.

The King and Queen of Spain were not a little piqued at this conduct of the French, and having received advice that the Infanta set out from Versailles to return to Madrid on the fifth of April, they sent back Mademoiselle DE BEAUJOLLOIS, daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, who had been contracted to DON CARLOS, with her sister the Dowager-Queen of Spain, and these Princesses were exchanged on the frontiers of France and Spain about the middle of May following on the Infanta's arrival there; whereupon his most Christian Majesty declared, that he had determined to marry the Princess MARY LECZINSKI, daughter of King STANISLAUS; and the marriage was celebrated first by proxy at Strasburgh, and after-

1725.

And mar-  
ries the  
daughter  
of King  
STANIS-  
LAUS.



CHAP. XXXIV. wards in person by their Majesties on the fifth of September 1725; the consequence of which was an alliance between Spain and the Emperor, afterwards called the Vienna Alliance: for the Spaniards were so provoked at sending back the Infanta, that they refused the Emperor nothing he demanded; there was now no further need of a congress at Cambray to decide their differences: and had the British ministers laid hold of the same favourable juncture, probably they might have obtained what terms they pleased of Spain.

The Vienna alliance. By the Vienna treaty, after confirming the quadruple alliance, and the reciprocal renunciations of the parties to the Spanish territories in their respective possessions, the Emperor granted the investiture of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma in favour of Don CARLOS, the Queen of Spain's son: then they guaranteed their several dominions, engaged reciprocally to favour the commerce of each other's subjects, and particularly his Imperial Majesty's subjects were permitted to import merchandizes from the East-Indies to Spain; and all other powers were to be admitted into this alliance who desired it within the term of a year. Besides which, 'twas given out there were some secret articles to the prejudice of France, Britain, and the States-General; at least Britain was so apprehensive of something of this nature, that she lost all the glorious advantages she might otherwise have obtained at this time, by cultivating a good correspondence with Spain, and entered into an alliance with France, a nation whose friendship has ever been fatal to her. The King of Prussia and the States-General also became parties to the treaty; but by their future conduct, 'tis evident they never intended to concur with France and Britain in all the measures they had concerted. This obtained the name of the Hanover Alliance, having been concluded there on the 3d of September 1725.

The Hanover alliance.

By this alliance the contracting parties guarantee to each other their respective dominions and territories, rights and privileges, especially those in relation to trade: and it was agreed, that if any of the parties should be attacked or molested in any of the abovesaid particulars, that then the other powers, within two months after demand, should furnish the following succours, viz. Britain 3000 foot and 4000 horse, France 8000 foot and 4000 horse, Prussia 3000 foot and 2000 horse, or an equivalent in shipping or money; one thousand foot to be valued at 10000 Dutch florins per month, and a thousand horse at 30000 florins per month: and in case of necessity the said allies should assist each other with all their forces, and declare war against the aggressor.

They engage also to enter into no alliance with any other power, but in concert with the parties hereto, and to communicate all proposals which shall be made to any of them on that head.

By a separate article, their British and Prussian Majesties, as members of the Empire, agree not to furnish their contingent of troops in case of a war with the Empire.

In the mean time the court of France continued every year to increase their taxes, tho' the nation was in full peace, and amongst the rest a tax of two per Cent. was laid upon all real and personal estates, and even upon those who had money in the funds, which extended to the clergy and nobility; in the preamble to the declaration for levying of which tax it is recited, that the King with-

in the compass of seven years, viz. from 1716 to 1723, by raising the value of the coin, and new stamping it, had gained upwards of three hundred and fifty-three millions of livres; and in the years 1719 and 1720, by the royal bank notes which had been issued by the government, (and never paid) above three millions of millions; and that notwithstanding these prodigious profits, the crown was still so far in debt, that it paid fifty-one millions of livres annually for interest-money, tho' that interest was but two per Cent.

There were several other edicts and declarations read on his Majesty's coming to the parliament the eighth of June, which being very long, the first President desired they might deliberate upon them before they passed that assembly; but the King, as had been usual in the late tyrannical administrations, required them to be registered immediately without any debate; which was done accordingly, the members being sensible it would be to no purpose longer to oppose it: but thus much must be said to the honour of those gentlemen, that tho' it has not for many years been in their power to resist the force put upon them, they have so far maintained their character, as to deliver their opinions against most of the destructive schemes that have been introduced since the loss of their liberties: and notwithstanding that vast body of troops which the French maintain in constant pay to keep things quiet, such has been the oppression of the people, that there have been frequent tumults and insurrections of late years in this kingdom, particularly in Paris and Rouen, which are never without numerous garrisons, or bodies of forces in their neighbourhood; there were two insurrections this very year on account of the extravagant rates of provisions, occasioned by the frequent alterations in the value of the coin, &c. Bread was generally sold at eight and ten pence the pound, and other provisions proportionably at this time.

The general assembly of the clergy, and most of the parliaments of France, made their representations to the throne, against the various taxes and oppressions which were the occasion of this general distress, but none with more freedom than the parliament of Britany: they tell his Majesty, that under the calamities of the two last long wars, they had liberally and cheerfully made a sacrifice of their lives and fortunes, in hopes that at the end of the wars they should likewise see an end of their miseries; but tho' the peace they had so much longed for came at last, and they had enjoyed it now twelve years, bitter was the fruit they gathered from it. Many of the best families were ruined by paper-money, a new project introduced in opposition to the remonstrances of all his parliaments, and the nation groaned under the ill effects of it at that day: That the capitation-tax was still levied, tho' it was introduced only as an extraordinary resource in time of war, and was to cease as soon as the peace was made.

The tenth penny was only taken off in part, and instead of it four pence was laid on every livre, which was a fifth part of their revenues.

That the frequent alteration of the coin had destroyed all confidence, and the last diminution of its value alone had lessened the subject's cash almost one half.

The dearth and scarcity of the last three years, had reduced the people to a miserable condition, and under these dismal circumstances, when they expected

CHAP. XXXIV. The debts of France, and the methods of paying them.

The parliament forced to record the King's edicts.

The parliament of Britany represent the distresses the nation is under, occasioned by the taxes, &c.



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LEWIS the XV  
the  
Present King of France







**C H A P. XXXIV.** expected some alleviation of their miseries, a new tax was imposed.

That the strength of the State consisted in trade and agriculture, and the subjects of France were acknowledged to be extremely laborious: where they had a prospect of small gain, they would undergo any hardship or fatigue without reluctance; but where no profit was to be had, and nothing to be got by the sweat of their brows, they would be discouraged and dejected. The antient furrows in the untilled grounds, which made up one half of their lands, seemed to reproach the present generation with sloth; but it was their great misfortune, not their fault. They groaned under the burthen of so many duties and taxes, that they thought it to no purpose to labour or cultivate the earth, but for the necessary support of life; and trade, which was of no less importance, especially in that province, was perfectly at a stand, for want of credit and money to support it. For these, and many other motives equally persuasive, they desire his Majesty to look upon them with an eye of compassion, &c.

The Court force the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus.

The forcing the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus, occasioned also great disturbances among the clergy and religious orders, several of whom were imprisoned, banished, and their goods confiscated for opposing it. Even the Abbess DE CHELLES, daughter to the late Duke of Orleans, was censured for protesting against it; but she persevered in her opinion, and let her persecutors know, that she should think herself happy to suffer with so vast a number of innocent people as had been ruined for pursuing the dictates of their consciences. But the storm seems to have fallen hardest upon the Carthusian friars, who were many of them obliged to become refugees in Holland this year, for refusing to accept the Constitution.

1726.

It was expected that this year would have produced a war between the allies of Hanover and those of Vienna: France, and most of the powers of Europe, augmented their forces, and seemed prepared to take the field; but no hostile attempt was made till the siege of Gibraltar was formed in the month of February 1726-7, unless his British Majesty's sending a squadron of men of war this summer to lie upon the coasts of Spain, and another to block up the galleons at Porto-Bello, may be reckoned such, as the Spaniards insisted.

The French King takes the government into his hands.

In the mean time his most Christian Majesty thought fit to suppress the office of prime minister, and take the reins of government into his own hands; whereupon the Duke of Bourbon was dismissed, and the King made choice of the old Bishop of Frejus to assist him in the administration of affairs. The advancement of this Prelate in the French court soon after procured him a Cardinal's cap, and he has been since known by the title of Cardinal DE FLEURY. 'Tis said that the most Christian King, in order to shew how acceptable this promotion was to him, published the declaration in favour of the Constitution Unigenitus, whereby he requires it to be accepted throughout the kingdom, and observed as a law equally binding both to church and state.

The forest of Fontainebleau takes fire.

A fire broke out in the forest of Fontainebleau in the month of September this year, by some unknown accident, which continued burning twelve days together, and consumed an hundred and twenty acres of wood, and three hundred acres of broom, and was stopped with difficulty at last by the French and Swiss guards and country-

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people, who dug a trench of three leagues in length to prevent the spreading of it.

The most remarkable occurrence which happened in Europe in the year 1727, was the siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards, when the King of Great Britain seemed to expect, that by virtue of the Hanover treaty, his most Christian Majesty should have attacked Spain on the side of Catalonia, and obliged them to have withdrawn their forces from before that place. But notwithstanding this boasted alliance with the French, they suffered his British Majesty to bear the whole charges of the war alone by sea and land: and tho' it is true, the English fleet suffered very little from that of the Spaniards while it lay before Porto Bello, yet the ships were most of them rotted or eaten up by the worm, and their whole crews, both officers and soldiers, perished by sickness; according to some advice, several ships were re-manned more than once: and why the French and Dutch should not have had their share in this destructive expedition as well as Britain, I believe posterity will scarce be able to discover. As to the French indeed, 'tis said they had engaged that Gibraltar should be delivered up to the Spaniard, and obtained a promise from his British Majesty to that end. They were also concerned in point of interest that it should remain in the hands of the Spaniards, who were in no condition to obstruct their passage through the streights, as the English might in case of a rupture between the two nations. But admitting these particulars to be true, why did Britain then enter into such a forced and unnatural alliance with France? Could they ever expect to see that Court so complaisant as to act contrary to their interests, and the engagements they had already entered into with Spain? If they did, 'tis evident they were deceived; for notwithstanding the frequent advices we received from time to time that the French were assembling an army to attack Spain, we do not find any one motion of their troops that tended that way; they chose rather to act the part of mediators, and in effect became umpires of the differences between Britain, Spain, and the Emperor. We received at length preliminary articles of peace from France, such as the ministry there were pleased to prescribe.

**C H A P. XXXIV.**

1727. Siege of Gibraltar.

The French give no assistance to the English in this war.

These articles were dated at Paris the last of May 1727, the most material whereof were, that the Emperor should suspend the commerce between Ostend and the East-Indies for seven years: that the privileges of commerce of the English, French, and Dutch, should be restored them: that immediately after signing the articles all hostilities should cease, and with respect to Spain, within eight days after his Catholick Majesty should receive them: that within four months a congress should be formed at Aix la Chapelle, where the rights and pretensions of the several powers should be examined and discussed.

Preliminary articles of peace between the Emperor, Spain, France, Britain, &c.

Soon after the signing of these articles, viz. in the night of the tenth of June 1727, GEORGE King of Great Britain died, and was succeeded by his son GEORGE the Second: but this event occasioned no alteration, either in the ministry or measures concerted in that kingdom. Some few days after the siege of Gibraltar was raised, in pursuance of the preliminary articles above-mentioned, and Europe once more restored to a state of peace.

King GEORGE dies.

Te Deum was sung at the cathedral of Notre-dame in Paris on the 17th of August for the birth of two Princesses, of which the Queen was delivered on the 14th instant; but the joy had been

The Queen delivered of two Princesses.

16 R

much



CHAP.  
XXXIV.

The validity of orders in the Church of England asserted.

1723.

Disputes about the preliminary articles agreed.

Congress of Soissons opened.

much greater at court had a Dauphin been born; and indeed, their hearts were so set upon a son, that they could not conceal their chagrin at the disappointment. The King in his letter to the Archbishop of Paris on this occasion, desires his prayers that he may be blessed with a Dauphin the next time the Queen lies in.

A book having been published by Father LE COURAYER, to shew the validity of ordinations in the Church of England, was about this time censured by the Cardinal DE NOAILLES, Archbishop of Paris, as containing a doctrine false, erroneous, scandalous, injurious to the Church and Holy See, and favouring heresy, schism, &c. The most Christian King also issued an arret, dated the 7th of September 1727, requiring the said books to be suppressed, and that all persons who had them should bring them to the Register's office of the Lieutenant General of the police, under severe penalties.

A congress having been agreed upon to be held at Cambray, in order to treat of a general peace among the Princes of Europe, the Cardinal DE FLEURY, who was now become umpire of their differences, prevailed with them that it might be held at Soissons. The Cardinal, it seems, did not care to trust these negotiations to the conduct of any but himself, and at the same time was equally afraid to leave his most Christian Majesty in the hands of other ministers. The opening of the congress had been delayed almost a year, on account of some difficulties which had arisen between Britain and Spain, concerning the true sense of the preliminary articles; but at length an act was signed at the Court of Spain, dated the sixth of March 1727-8, for the due execution of them by the Ministers of the said powers; the substance whereof was, that his British Majesty should forthwith send orders to his Admirals WAGER and HOSIER, or those who commanded in their stead, to withdraw from the seas of Spain and the West-Indies. That the counterbands, and other complaints of that kind made by the Spaniards in relation to the Prince Frederick, should be decided in the ensuing congress; as also whether the prizes taken by both parties at sea should be restored. His Catholic Majesty, on the other hand, promised to raise the blockade of Gibraltar, and level the works before it; to send orders for delivering up the ship Prince Frederick and it's cargo to the English South-sea company, and to restore the commerce of the English according to the Asiento-treaty. To cause the effects of the flotilla to be distributed, and those of the galleons when returned. And lastly, that his Catholic Majesty, as well as his British Majesty, would abide by the decisions of the future congress.

The much-expected Congress was at length opened at Soissons on the 14th of June 1728, when the several ministers produced their full powers from their respective masters, viz. those of the Emperor, Britain, France, Spain, and the States-General. His most Christian Majesty, that he might not be too far removed from his Prime Minister Cardinal FLEURY during these negotiations, came with his court from Versailles to Compeigne, which is not more than thirteen or fourteen miles from Soissons, from whence the Cardinal might easily come to court when he pleased in two hours time: but it soon appearing that this congress was like to have no better success than one of the same kind held not many years since at Cambray, the French

Court returned to Versailles on the first of July, where Cardinal FLEURY also arrived about the same time, and was followed thither by most of the ministers plenipotentiaries.

While the King remained at Compeigne, as he was hunting in the forest there, his horse started on a bridge, whereupon his Majesty threw himself off, and received no manner of hurt; and, according to the French writers, he did not betray the least emotion or concern on the occasion. Those about him were no less charmed with the courage and presence of mind he had shewn, than they had been surprized and terrified just before at the accident; though it is not to be doubted, if he had behaved himself ever so meanly, his courtiers would have given it a favourable turn. Little truth is to be expected where a slave or dependant relates the actions of his prince or patron, who has his fortunes in his power.

On the 23th of July the Queen was delivered of another Princess, to the great mortification of the Court of France, who had put up their prayers for a Dauphin ever since the last lying-in. The hailstorms and unseasonable weather which destroyed the corn and other fruits of the earth in several parts of the kingdom this year, was another very great misfortune, and obliged his Majesty to make considerable abatements in the Taille, or land-tax, which the natives were in no condition to pay.

The Court of France appearing determined to compel the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus, the Cardinal DE NOAILLES, Archbishop of Paris, who had long opposed it, and could never be brought to accept it hitherto, but upon certain conditions, thought fit at this time to accept it absolutely; and to declare further, that he would prosecute all those who should presume to speak, teach, preach, or write against the said Constitution, or dissuade the clergy from the obedience they owed to it.

As the Queen of France had been twice disappointed in her expectations of a Dauphin, she determined to offer up her devotions in the metropolitan church of Paris, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, for better success in her next accouchement: accordingly on the ninth of October she came to that cathedral, and being met by the Cardinal DE NOAILLES, Archbishop of Paris, in his pontifical habit, at the head of his canons at the church-door, that Prelate made the following speech to her on the occasion, which is thus rendered into English:

‘ On this memorable and solemn day, when your Majesty gives so signal a testimony of your piety and devotion, the ministers of the Lord are bound in justice to give to this innumerable multitude which surrounds your Majesty on all sides, an example of the joy, affection, respect, and veneration your sacred presence inspires us with; what satisfaction for me that I can still be the interpreter of their sentiments, and eye-witness of the homage which your Majesty is going to pay to the Almighty in this holy temple.

‘ Come, Madam, to the foot of his altar, and even into his sanctuary, and implore the intercession of that holy Virgin whose succour and protection always proved favourable to our Kings. ‘ Beg of her, without hesitation, that precious gift which is the object of our most ardent vows, on which depends the happiness of the King, the comfort of your Majesty, the tranquillity of France, and the quiet of all Europe.

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The Queen delivered of another daughter.

The Archbishop of Paris accepts the Constitution absolutely.

The Queen offers up her prayers for a Dauphin.

‘ All



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'All things may be obtained by faith; and this day we may say with confidence to your Majesty, what formerly was said to that holy woman who was so earnestly praying to God for a son, Depart in peace, and may the God of Israel grant the just desire your heart has conceived.'

The King was taken ill of the small-pox the twenty-fifth of the same month, but had them so favourably, that it was attended with no ill consequences: his Majesty was in a condition to go abroad again the beginning of November.

Leave having been obtained of the Grand Signior, to transcribe the manuscripts in his library at Constantinople, whether Greek, Latin, Arabian, Turkish, or Persian; his Majesty sent the Abbots SEVIN and TOURMONT, of the academy of inscriptions, to Turkey, to copy such of them as they apprehended to be of the most importance.

A severe  
winter in  
France.

The winter was very severe in France this year, which, with the scarcity of provisions, reduced the people to great distress, especially in and about Paris; but they were in some measure relieved by the generosity of the King and the Nobility, who distributed large sums among the poor. In the mean time the snow was frozen so hard, that sledges were become the common diversion of the Court, as in more northern countries; and notwithstanding the poverty and distress of the peasants and inferior sort of people, the nobility and grandes never made a more glorious figure than in these amusements: they were usually clothed in black velvet, set thick with sparkling diamonds, when they were drawn in their sledges on the snow.

1729.

Great part of the year 1729 was taken up in fruitless conferences at Soissons, Paris, &c. to settle the differences between Great Britain and Spain; though some are of opinion that the French, who pretended to act the part of mediators, never sincerely desired to see them accommodated. The Spaniards however were at length induced to abandon their great confederate the Emperor, and enter into a separate treaty with the allies of Hanover, on their engaging to secure the reversion of Tuscany and Parma to Don CARLOS, by introducing immediately Spanish troops into those duchies. This was strenuously opposed by the Emperor, as directly contrary to the quadruple alliance. But what will be the consequence of this treaty, must be the subject of future History; no man living can divine at present. I proceed therefore to such other particulars as may best tend to illustrate the present state of France.

A peace  
concluded  
between  
Spain and  
England.

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*Treats of the civil government of France.*The civil  
govern-  
ment.

THE legislative, as well as executive power in France, is vested solely in the King: his edicts are of the force of acts of parliament with us, and he appoints the judges and officers who are to put them in execution. Nothing of consequence in relation to the state was formerly decreed or enacted, but by the consent of the three estates, consisting of the representatives of the clergy, the nobility and third estate; but these assemblies are entirely laid aside, and have never been convened since the year 1614. The courts wherein justice is now usually administered are, 1. Their parliaments, which are the last resort where the court

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does not interpose; but it appears by the preceding history, that state-criminals, of what rank soever, are frequently tried by judges or commissioners nominated on purpose by the Court; and that the privilege the Peers of France antiently claimed of being tried only in parliament, is in a manner abolished, for which they are chiefly indebted to the administrations of the Cardinals RICHELIEU and MAZARIN. The King has also his intendants in every government of the kingdom, who are vested with an almost unlimited authority, though the original design of appointing these officers seems to have been to superintend the King's revenues and treasure only. But to return to the courts of parliament, they are fifteen in number, viz. 1. That of Paris. 2. Thoulouse. 3. Rouen. 4. Grenoble. 5. Bourdeaux. 6. Dijon. 7. Aix. 8. Rennes or Vannes. 9. Pau. 10. Besançon. 11. Metz. 12. Doway. 13. Perpignan or Roussillon. 14. Arras. And, 15. That of Alsace, held at Colmar or Strasburgh. These parliaments consist of a certain number of presidents and inferior judges, who purchase their places either of the crown, or of those who are in possession of them; for all magistrates and officers of justice in France purchase their places openly, and the government make a considerable revenue by these sales. They enjoy their posts for life, unless they have been guilty of some notorious crime in the exercise of their offices. The parliament of Paris is much the most considerable of the kingdom, for hither the King frequently comes in person, and here his royal edicts are recorded and promulged, till when they have not the force of laws. But from many repeated instances of late, we learn that he will not suffer the parliament to deliberate and debate on the subject of his edicts, as they were used to do before they registered them, but obliges them to do it without entering into the merits of the case. This parliament also is held in the highest esteem, as it is composed of the Princes of the blood, Dukes and Peers of France, besides the ordinary judges, and takes cognizance of all offences committed by Peers, where the court does not interpose, and issue a special commission for that end.

Parlia-  
ments.Parlia-  
ment of  
Paris.

The parliament of Paris had antiently under it's jurisdiction, the duchies of Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, and Britany, and the counties of Flanders and Thoulouse; whereupon it is evident, that the parliaments of Dijon, Rouen, Bourdeaux, Rennes, Flanders, and Thoulouse, have been dismembered from that of Paris. At present it's jurisdiction extends over the isle of France, la Beauce, Sologne, Berry, Auvergne, Lyonnois, le Forets, and Beaujolois, Nivernois, Bourbonnois, Anjou, Angoumois, Picardy Champaigne, la Brie, Maine, Perche, Tourain, Poitou, Aunis, and Rochelois.

The Princes of the blood have a seat and voice in this parliament at the age of fifteen, and the Peers of France at twenty-five; with this difference, that the Princes of the blood enter as of right, but the Peers cannot sit there till they have taken an oath of fidelity, and sworn to do justice to poor and rich, to observe the rules of the court, and keep their deliberations secret. Affairs which concern the persons of Peers, their estates and rights of peerage, ought to be determined in the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris in the first instance, for which reason it is called the parliament of the Peers: and they take cognizance in the grand chamber also of the regalia, and such things as concern



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concern the crown and the King's demesnes, exclusively of the rest of the parliaments of France.

This parliament consists of ten chief presidents, some honorary counsellors or judges, four masters of requests of the household, of one and twenty presidents a mortier, so called from the fashion of their caps, and of two hundred and thirty-two other counsellors or judges, an attorney-general, advocates, solicitors-generals, registers, notaries, secretaries, &c. These members are distributed into, 1. The grand chamber. 2. Five chambers of enquests. And, 3. Two of requests. The grand chamber is composed of ten presidents, the honorary counsellors, the four ministers of requests of the King's house, and of thirty-three counsellors or judges, viz. twenty-one lay judges, and twelve ecclesiasticks. Every one of the chambers of enquest hath thirty-two counsellors or judges. In the first chamber of requests there are fourteen, and in the second, fifteen. Besides these eight chambers, there is another called the Tournelle, which takes cognizance of criminal matters where the nobility are not concerned, for these are tried, as has been observed already, in the grand chamber; it consists of five presidents, ten counsellors of the grand chamber, who serve six months by turns, and of two counsellors from each of the chambers of enquests, who serve also three months by turns; from whence 'tis said to have obtained the name of Tournelle. In the chambers of enquest, depositions of witnesses are taken, and the proceedings are by way of bill and answer, as in the court of Chancery in England; and the chambers of request take cognizance of causes relating to privileged persons.

On days of ceremony the presidents of the parliament wear a scarlet robe, with a mantle lined with ermins, and a black velvet cap bordered with gold lace, in the fashion of a mortar, that of the chief president's being distinguished by a double gold lace: the honorary counsellors, the masters of requests, the presidents of inquests and requests, the attorney, and solicitors general, have scarlet robes and caps bordered with ermins; the chief register for civil causes, has a scarlet robe and mantle lined with ermins; the chief register for criminal causes, the four notaries and clerks, or secretaries of parliament, have also scarlet robes and caps lined with ermins; the advocates have black gowns and caps, and all the rest of the officers black gowns.

The rest of the parliaments of the kingdom have their respective districts, and are divided into chambers or houses, among which the several branches of business are distributed, as in that of Paris; only they are excluded from taking cognizance of any causes which relate to the crown or the Peers of the realm. The King's edicts also are registred in these parliaments before they have the force of laws in their respective districts.

Besides the parliaments of France, there are several other supreme courts for particular branches of business, as the chambers of accounts, established in several parts of the kingdom, and the courts of aid. The chambers of accounts are held at Paris, Rouen, Dijon, Nantz, Montpellier, Grenoble, Aix, Pau, Blois, Lisle, Aire, and Dole. This court administers the oath of fealty to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, &c. examines the accounts of the treasury; receives the homage of the vassals of the crown; records treaties of peace, and other contracts and grants of the crown. The courts of aids are established at Paris, Montpellier,

Rouen, Clermont, Montferrand, Bourdeaux, Aix, Grenoble, and Dijon. These courts are the last resort in all causes relating to the taxes and revenues of the crown.

There is also a court called the court of money, which is the last resort in all causes concerning the coin, metals, mines, weights, and the officers and artificers employed in the mints.

Another supreme court is that of the waters and forests, which takes cognizance of all offences committed in the King's forests, woods, and waters; and also of all controversies between private persons relating to their woods, warrens, rivers, islands, mills, fisheries, chafes, &c.

To form a just notion of their inferior courts of justice, it will be necessary to observe how justice was administered antiently. The Franks as well as the Romans, we find, established Counts or Earls, in all the cities and great towns of the kingdom, who were the governors and judges in those places, and the territories belonging to them: these constituted Viscounts, who administered justice in their absence. In lesser towns and districts there were inferior magistrates called Vicars, and under them still lesser officers called Centeniers, *Centenarii*, as their jurisdiction extended over no more than an hundred families. These were all at first but temporary magistrates: the Count was appointed by the King, and he nominated the Viscounts, Vicars, and Centeniers under him. The courts of justice of these Counts were called Malls, and the assessors and judges, he called to his assistance, Rachimbures, of whom he usually had seven. The Duke was esteemed an officer superior to the Count, but had much the same jurisdiction. The King also held a court in his palace from time to time, to determine matters of the greatest importance, calling the Dukes, Earls, Bishops, Abbots, and other great Lords to his assistance.

Under the first race of Kings, great estates were given to the church, whereupon the Prelates, who were possessed of large fees, committed the administration of justice in their territories to officers called Vidames.

Under the second family of their Kings, the Counts, Viscounts, Vidames, Vicars, and Centeniers, continued to administer justice in the provinces; but the King from time to time deputed commissaries, to hear the complaints of the people, and reverse unjust sentences: these were generally Bishops, Abbots, or Counts. The commissaries appointed Eschevins or Aldermen in towns, chosen by the assent and approbation of the people, in the room of Rachimbures, who had been assessors to the Counts during the first race. These were ordinarily seven, and sometimes twelve; and when there was a vacancy, it was supplied out of the principal inhabitants.

Towards the end of the second race, the Dukes, Earls, and Viscounts, assumed the dominion of those territories, which they held before but as Governors or Deputies of the Prince. That usurpation was confirmed to them in the beginning of the third race, and the King had only the counties of Paris and Orleans left him, besides some demesnes in the other duchies and counties. He then administered justice at Orleans and Paris, by his Viscounts, and every year deputed officers into the other provinces, to hear the complaints of his immediate subjects; and these Deputies were called Bailiffs, because to them was bailed or given the protection or guardianship of the subject, though

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of money.The court  
of the waters  
and  
forests.The  
chambers  
of ac-  
counts.The courts  
of aids.



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in some provinces they were called Seneschaux, or stewards.

The King however continued still to take cognizance of affairs of the highest nature; to which end he convened assemblies of the grantees, and these were called Parliaments, the grantees that constituted them being stiled Barons of the kingdom, and afterwards Peers of France; they were either Bishops, Dukes, or Earls, great vassals holding immediately of the crown: and to these the King added other members learned in the laws, who were stiled *Maitres du Parlement*.

A little before the reign of PHILIP-AUGUSTUS, Provosts were established, who were substitutes to the Bailiffs. The great Lords, who had usurped the inheritance of the several provinces of which they were at first but governors, imitated the King in the appointment of their courts and officers of justice; they had their great councils, bailiffs, stewards, &c. in their respective territories; but instead of the office of Vicar, that of Castellan was introduced, to whom the administration of justice was committed in castles and the districts belonging to them, afterwards called chateaux. The counties of Champagne and Poitou had each of them seven Peers or Barons, who sat with their Earl in his great council; but generally the rest of the counties had but four apiece: and this was the original of Peers and Barons in the provinces.

The Bailiffs and Seneschals finding business increase upon their hands, substituted Lieutenants, who were gentlemen learned in the law, to assist them. At first their office continued only a year, as the Bailiffs did, but at length both of them became hereditary in their families. These were however always accountable to the high court of Parliament, which at first followed the Court, and was afterwards fixed at Paris; and when the distant provinces became re-united to the crown, for the ease of the subject several parliaments were erected in other parts of the kingdom, to whom the people might appeal from those inferior courts, as has been intimated already.

The Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, Castellans, or their substitutes, are still judges of the inferior courts in the country; and in towns, the Provost and Eschevins, or Mayor and Aldermen, as in our corporations, to which they have added a judge of the police, who takes cognizance of some special criminal cases. But they differ from us in this very material point, that their trials are not by juries in any of their courts; the Bailiff, Seneschal, &c. with their respective assessors, are judges both of the law and fact.

The civil law generally prevails in France, besides which every province and district has its particular customs; but the King's edicts, ordinances, declarations and arrears, (for by all these names are their acts of state called) repeal and alter any of them at pleasure, the legislative authority being vested solely in the Prince.

Besides the courts and officers of justice above-mentioned, France is divided into twenty-five generalities, every one whereof hath an Intendant, on whom the King seems to rely for the due administration of justice, both civil and criminal, and the ordering of his finances or revenues, more than on any other officers in the kingdom, and to whom all the rest are in a manner subordinate. They are usually members of parliament, and of that body that are stiled masters of requests.

There are also presidial courts established in most

General-  
ties or  
Intendancies.Presidial  
courts.

great towns, who have cognizance of civil causes in the first instance, and receive appeals from the bailiwicks and inferior courts, where the sum in dispute does not amount to more than 500 livres, or twenty livres per annum.

I come next to inquire into the great councils by which all affairs of state are governed, which are six in number. 1. The council of state. 2. The council of finances. 3. The council of dispatches, or that of the Secretaries of state. 4. The privy council. 5. The council of conscience. And, 6. The council of commerce.

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XXXV.The great  
councils  
for state-  
affairs.

1. The council of state, consisting of the King, the Chancellor, and Ministers of State, which forms foreign alliances, determines peace and war, and the most important affairs of the kingdom, being at present the supreme council.

2. The council of finances, which has the direction of the royal revenues, established in the year 1661, on suppressing the office of super-intendant of the finances.

3. The council of dispatches, which transacts affairs relating to the respective provinces, as commissions and orders to the Governors, Commandants, and other officers of the provinces and towns.

4. The privy-council, which seems to meet only for form sake at present, the business being transacted in a cabinet-council.

5. The council of conscience, consisting of the King's Confessor, and some Ecclesiasticks, who apprise the King of the state of religion, and attend when he nominates to bishopricks and abbies.

6. The council of commerce, held at the eldest counsellor's of state, and consists of the Secretary for marine affairs, the Comptroller-General of the finances, several other Counsellors of state, six Masters of requests, who have been Intendants of commerce, and of the Deputies of twelve trading towns.

The great officers of the crown are, the Chancellor, who presides in all courts and councils of state in the King's absence; the Keeper of the Seals, four Secretaries of State, the Marshals of France, the Colonel-General of the Horse, the great Master of the Artillery, the Admiral of France, two Vice-Admirals, the General of the galleys, the four great officers of the order of the Holy Ghost, viz. the Chancellor, the Master of the Ceremonies, the Great Treasurer, and the Secretary, the chief Presidents of the several parliaments, the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of the provinces.

The great  
officers of  
the crown.

The principal officers of the household are, the Great Master of the Household, the Great Master of the Horse, the Great Almoner, the Great Chamberlain, the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, the Great Butler, the Great Huntsman, the four Captains of the guard du corps, and the chief Porter.

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*Treats of the finances, or revenues of the crown; and of the forces by sea and land.*

Antiently there was but one Grand Treasurer for the kingdom of France, but at present there are twenty-five, viz. one for every generality into which the kingdom is divided. Of these

Of the fi-  
nances, or  
revenues of  
the crown.



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there are nineteen in the Pais de elections, as they are called; that is, in those provinces where courts of election are established, of which there are several in every generality; and six in the Pais d'etats, that is, in those provinces where the States are still permitted to assemble, and seemingly to give their consent to the taxes demanded. The Pais de elections are those of Paris, Amiens, Soissons, Chalons, Lyons, Montauban, Bourdeaux, Limoges, Poitiers, Rochelle, Tours, Caen, Alençon, Rouen, Orleans, Bourges, Moulins, Riom, and Auch: and the six within the Pais d'etats, are those of Britany, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Provence, Montpellier, and Thouloufe.

Every generality is composed of several elections, which comprehend a certain number of parishes.

Intendants,  
their authority.

In every generality there is an Intendant deputed by the King, who takes cognizance both of civil and criminal causes, as well as of the finances, and other matters that concern the publick good and his Majesty's interests; only the generalities of Montpellier and Thouloufe, which comprehend the province of Languedoc, have but one Intendant; so that there are but twenty-four Intendants in the twenty-five generalities. There are however six more distributed in Flanders, Hainault, Alsace, Metz, Eranche Comte, and Rouffillon, which makes in all thirty intendancies.

30 intendancies, in which are 38,502 parishes.

There are in every generality two Receivers-general of the finances, who take it by turns annually to receive the taxes of the collectors of the several parishes, and remit them into the royal treasury or exchequer. The whole number of parishes contained in the said thirty general intendancies, amount to thirty-eight thousand five hundred and two, in which are comprehended one million five hundred eighty-five thousand one hundred and twelve families, liable to pay the Taille or land-tax.

The several species of taxes.

The taxes usually levied in France, are the taille or land-tax, the taillon, the subsistence money, the aides, and the gabelles.

The manner of levying the taille or land-tax.

As to the manner of levying the taille, after the King has determined what sum he will raise, an order is issued to every generality, ascertaining what part of it shall be levied in each election. The Intendant, with the two Receivers of the generality, hereupon visit every election, and with the officers thereof, assign what proportion every parish in the election shall raise, having informed themselves of the alterations that have happened in the respective parishes since the preceding year. When the tax is settled, the intendant sends a copy of the assessment to the royal treasury, and duplicates of the sums assessed on every parish to the respective elections, who transmit to the collectors of every parish a particular of the sum to be raised by them, with an order to assess the several inhabitants according to their consciencies, in proportion to the lands and goods they possess. This assessment or roll is confirmed by an officer of the election, and the tax levied accordingly by the collectors, who transmit it to the receivers of the election every quarter, and these pay it to the receivers of their generality; from whence it is either conveyed to the royal treasury or exchequer, or wherever else the government appoints.

The Taille, or land-tax, is only paid by the third estate, that is, by tradesmen, or those that hold by base tenures, like our Copyholders in England, called in France *Roturiers*; tho' others affirm, that those that hold in socage also are included, which are the same with our ordinary

Freeholders; and this I am inclined to believe from the great numbers there are of them. The Noblesse therefore, (that is, the nobility and gentry who hold by knights service) and the clergy are exempted, unless in Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné, where the lands and immovable estates only are chargeable. Here the Roturiers or copyholders pay nothing for that part of their estates which they hold by knights service; and on the contrary, the gentry pay the Taille for all such estates as they hold by base tenures, for the Taille is a real and not a personal tax there. In all the generality of Montauban, and in the elections of Agen and Condom, which are in the generality of Bourdeaux, as also in the election of Lanes, belonging to the generality of Auch, the tax is also real, that is, paid for the lands, without any regard to the quality of the person who possesses them: but in every other generality, the clergy and the gentry are exempt from the Tailles, as well as the officers of the superior courts, and courts of judicature, who are also exempted from watch and ward.

The Burgeses of Paris, and some other free cities, are exempted from the Tailles.

The Taillon was established by King HENRY II, anno 1549, for augmenting the soldiers pay; and is payable by the same persons as the Taille, and amounts to about a third of that tax. Taillon.

The Subsistence is a tax which was first levied by LEWIS XIV, for the subsistence of his armies in their winter-quarters, and is paid in the same manner as the Taille.

By Aides are understood all duties and customs on goods and merchandizes except salt. Aides.

The Gabelles are the taxes arising from salt. LEWIS the Fourteenth raised this duty beyond what it had been in any preceding reigns, dividing the whole kingdom into the great gabelles, the little gabelles, and the countries exempt from gabelles. The country of the great gabelles, where salt is sold at the highest price, comprehends the generalities of Paris, Soissons, Amiens, Chalons, Orleans, Tours, Moulins, Bourges, Dijon, Rouen, and Caen. The country of the smaller gabelles, where salt is sold at a less price, comprehends Lyons, Provence, Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Rouffillon: and the countries exempt from gabelles are, Poitou, Limoufin, Auvergne, Guienne, Gasconne, and Bretagne. In the bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and Franche Comte, the price of salt is various. The farmers of the gabelles are obliged to buy their salt at the salt-pits and bays at a certain price, and to carry it to the store-houses established by the King, where it is delivered out to the people. There is one of these store-houses, or greniers of salt, in almost every great town, which have their directors and other officers belonging to them, who are judges of all offences relating to salt, as the making and selling it without licence, and not bringing it to the King's store-houses, &c. They take cognizance also of the goodness of the salt, and of the weights and measures, and examine if every family takes such a quantity of salt annually as is prescribed them by the government. Gabelles.

The other taxes are the capitation, or poll-tax, first established in the year 1695, and taken off at the end of that war, but laid on again in the year 1701. Capitation.

The tenths of all the estates of the kingdom was levied by the crown in the year 1710, and affected not only real estates, but all offices, employments, Tenths.



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XXXVI.50th pen-  
ny.Tenths  
and free  
gifts of the  
clergy.The de-  
meins,  
fines, for-  
feitures,  
&c.

Coins.

Of the  
land for-  
ces.

ployments, and commissions, which paid proportionably to their annual revenues and incomes; as also all money in the funds, or private hands.

Another tax also has been levied of late years, from which neither the clergy or nobility are exempted, called the fiftieth penny, or the fiftieth part of the produce of the earth; against which representations have been made by the clergy, and the several parliaments of the kingdom, but to very little purpose.

The tenths and free gifts of the clergy, who are allowed for the most part to tax themselves, amount also to a very considerable sum, they being possessed of a third part of the lands of the kingdom, and it being expected that they should pay at least as great a proportion of their revenues towards the support of the government, as any other subjects.

Besides these, there is a great revenue arising from the crown-lands, and woods, fee-farms, forfeitures, fines, &c. and from the high duties imposed on all provisions brought into Paris; all which, are computed to amount to fifteen millions sterling and upwards, annually to the government; and it is supposed that the King makes as much some years by raising the value of the coin, and other oppressive ways and means, as by compelling the people to take paper for their money, and then compounding with them to take half, or perhaps a quarter of their respective debts, when they come to be paid. And in short, the whole produce of the country is the King's: he takes from the subjects what part of their estates he sees fit, and of late years has scarce left them a subsistence for their families.

Their coins, real and imaginary, are crowns, livres, sols, and deniers. 12 deniers make a sol, or sou; 20 sols a livre, or florin; 3 livres, or 60 sols, make a crown. A French crown is of equal value with 4s. 6d. English: an English crown yields in France 65 sols; a pound sterling yields 13 livres, and an English guinea 14 livres. The other monies of France are a double, which is two deniers; a liard, the fourth part of a sol; pieces of three and a half, and five sols; the quarter and the half crown; the two livre piece: and of gold, the crown, value five livres 14 sols; lys de or, value 7 livres ten sols; the half louis, the whole louis d'or, value 11 livres; double louis, &c.

The officers of the land-forces in France, who have the highest command in their armies, are the Marshals, of whom originally there was but one, afterwards there were two; in the reigns of FRANCIS I. and HENRY II. there were four, and under the reigns of LEWIS XIII. and LEWIS XIV. there number was not limited. There were actually in the year 1715, no less than fifteen Marshals of France. They enjoy their offices during their lives, and are deemed officers of the crown. They are judges of points of honour, and have Provofts or Lieutenants in the provinces, who have a jurisdiction over all vagrants, robbers, incendiaries, assassins, &c. of which offences they take cognizance, and judge in the last resort.

The Lieutenant-Generals command bodies of forces under the Marshals; and when they serve in the same army, every one of them commands his day by turns, according to their seniority.

The Marshals de camp are the next officers to the Lieutenant-Generals. Their business is to mark out the encampments, to command the van-guard, and reconnoitre the country.

The Brigadiers command a brigade of cavalry or

infantry: a brigade of horse is ten or twelve squadrons, and a brigade of foot five or six battalions.

The Mestre-de-camp is an officer that commands a regiment of cavalry, which is composed of several troops, each of which is commanded by a Captain, Lieutenant, and Cornet.

A Colonel commands a regiment of foot, which consists of several companies, each of them commanded by a Captain and two Lieutenants.

The Dragoons are deemed bodies of infantry, though they serve sometimes on horse-back, and sometimes on foot; and the commander of a regiment is stiled Colonel.

There was formerly a Colonel-General, who commanded all the infantry; but that office was suppressed on the death of the Duke of Epernon in 1661.

There is still a Colonel-General of the cavalry, a Mestre-de-Camp General, and a Commissary General, who are superior to the Mestres-de-camp. The Colonel-General of the Swifs, commands all the Swifs troops in the service of France.

The Colonel-General of dragoons, commands all the French dragoons. There is also in that body a Mestre-de-camp General under the Colonel-General.

The armies of France were never so numerous as in the reign of LEWIS XIV. In the war which preceded the peace of Utrecht, they amounted to near four hundred thousand men, and they are not much reduced at present. They retain all or most of their officers and regiments, and only discharge some of the private soldiers, which they can easily replace when they please; which method has been imitated of late in Britain.

The author of the *Description de la France*, published in the year 1719, says, that the infantry consisted then of two hundred and sixty-four regiments, without including the two regiments of the household-troops: that some of those regiments consisted of four battalions, most of them of two, and the rest of one: that their cavalry was then composed of an hundred and seven regiments, and the dragoons of thirty-six.

That the troops of the household consisted of ten thousand men, horse, and foot, the cavalry comprehending the four companies of the guards de corps, viz. that of the gendarmes of the guards, that of the guard of light-horse, the musketeers, and sixteen companies of gendarmerie, every one whereof consisted of sixty gendarmes, or light horse.

The infantry of the household comprehends the regiment of French guards, consisting of thirty-two companies, every company of an hundred and forty men, without reckoning the officers, and the regiment of Swifs guards containing twelve companies of two hundred men each. These guards are always placed at the gates and avenues of the palace where the King resides, the French guards always taking the right of the Swifs.

The Colonel of the French foot-guards is usually a Marshal or Lieutenant-General. The late King, by an edict anno 1691, gave the title and rank of Colonel to the Captains of the guards; and by another edict in 1693, he gave them the rank of Colonels before the Colonels of other regiments created since 1691, and the Lieutenants of this regiment command all Captains of infantry.

The grand master of the artillery commands all the French artillery, orders the making of gunpowder, and the founding of guns, and has the conduct of that body on marches and sieges. He commands

Number  
of regi-  
ments.

Guards.



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commands in the French arsenals, and especially that of Paris. He is always Colonel of the regiment of artillery and bombardiers, and in every army has his lieutenant, who commands the artillery. The Engineers are a body of three hundred men, commanded by the Intendant of the fortifications.

Navy royal and maritime forces.

The maritime forces of France were inconsiderable till the reign of LEWIS XIV; but in the last war, says my French author, the naval army (the royal navy) of France not only defended itself against the English and Dutch, but often beat them: though I believe he cannot give one instance of that nature in a general battle; they may have defeated some single squadrons when they happened to out-number them, but never the grand fleet, either of England or Holland. The Admiral of France is General of the royal navy, and takes cognizance of all offences committed therein; and he constitutes the members of the admiralty, who administer justice in his name concerning all controversies at sea, either relating to war, the fisheries, or merchandize. He has a right to a tenth of the prizes taken at sea. The king however at present reserves to himself the power of appointing the officers concerned in building and fitting out the fleet, and buying in provisions and ammunition for the naval magazines and arsenals. The Admirals had formerly a right to wrecks, but LEWIS XIV, by an ordinance in 1681, decreed that they should be restored to the owners, if claimed within a year and a day, after charges paid.

Prizes are adjudged by the Admiral and commissioners appointed by the King. The Admiral hath under him two Vice-Admirals, who are usually Marshals of France, and under them are Lieutenants-general of the royal navy, who have the precedence of the commanders of squadrons, and give them orders, which they communicate to the inferior officers. There are usually four Lieutenant-generals, but in the year 1715 there were five. The commanders of squadrons hold the same rank as the Marshals de camp at land; there are at present eleven of these commanders. The captains of men of war, are the next to the commanders of squadrons, and when they serve on shore have the same rank as colonels; and there are actually in France an hundred and seventy-one captains of men of war, and fifty-three captains of frigates; and of all kinds of commission officers not less than eighteen hundred, without reckoning the commanders of squadrons. In time of war there are nine hundred guards marine, distributed in three companies, viz. at Toulon, Brest, and Rochfort, who are gentlemen volunteers, taught navigation and other parts of mathematicks at the King's charge, out of whom the vacant commands are supplied. Besides which, his Majesty entertains an hundred companies of marines, of an hundred men each, commanded by the lieutenants of the men of war. It appeared in the year 1713, that there were fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-four seamen employed in the royal navy, besides officers, and a vast number of workmen in their ports and magazines, employed in making and providing naval stores, upwards of twelve thousand invalids, ten thousand cabin-boys, powder-monkeys, &c.

Ports of the royal navy.

The royal navy is distributed in the ports of Toulon, Brest, Port Louis, Rochfort and Havre de Grace, where there are magazines filled with all manner of necessaries and ammunition for building and rigging out a fleet; which consisted the

last war in twenty-six first rates, thirty second rates, forty-six third rates, twelve fourth rates, twenty-seven light frigates, five bomb-gallies, twenty-two fireships, besides flutes, tenders, &c. The first rates being an hundred and sixty-three feet long, and forty-four foot broad, and carrying from seventy to an hundred and twenty guns, and about nine hundred men each. In every port where the King has a magazine, there is an Intendant of the Marine, who takes cognizance of civil and criminal causes, and the revenues relating to the sea-service, and takes care to furnish the magazines with all manner of stores.

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Number of men of war.

Intendants of the marine.

The galleys of France are another considerable force, of which there are thirty in the port of Marseilles, and ten more in other ports. The General is independent of the Admiral, and styled General of the galleys, and Lieutenant-General, of the Levant seas. He has under him a Lieutenant-General, and five commanders of squadrons. The principal galley is called the Reale, on account of the royal standard which it carries, and the General goes on board it. The second galley is called the Patron, in which the Lieutenant-General commands. The Reale and the Patron are larger than the rest, and have three hundred slaves on board each, whereas the other galleys have but two. But besides the crew, every galley has a company of foot, consisting of sixty men, commanded by the officers of the galley. There is also a company of young gentlemen belonging to the galleys, called the guards of the standard, who are instructed in navigation at the King's charge, as those of the guards marine are, which belong to the royal navy. There are also belonging to the galleys an Intendant, Inspector, Comptroller, Commissary-General, Secretary-General, and two Treasurers General. The guards of the coast are commanded by their proper officers on all the shores of the kingdom, but are subject to the Admiral of the royal navy. These were instituted to prevent any surprise from an enemy, who should attempt to invade or harass the maritime provinces. They are exempted from serving in the ban and arrear-ban, which are the ordinary militia of France, and enjoy many other privileges, on account of their being always in readiness to prevent a descent from a foreign enemy.

Galleys.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Treats of their religion, and the ecclesiastical government of France.*

AS to the religion of the antient Gauls, the first establishment of the Christian religion in France, the opposition made by the Albigenes to the errors and encroachments of the church of Rome, the introduction of Calvinism, the toleration of it by the edict of Nantz, the repeals of that edict, the civil wars that happened in this kingdom on account of religion, and the persecution of the Protestants; these have been largely treated of in the chapter containing the antient and modern history of France: there remains therefore nothing more than to consider the present state of religion here.

Religion.

The established religion in France is notoriously that of the Roman Catholick; but the Gallican church pretends to enjoy greater liberties and privileges, and to be less subject to the See of Rome, than any other Christian state of that communion,



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as will appear hereafter. However, we find the nation divided into two great parties, one of them zealous in defending the rights of the Gallican Church against the encroachments of Rome, and the other no less zealous in asserting the Pope's supremacy. Of the latter party are the Jesuits, who at this day seem to have the greatest influence, and to whose indefatigable industry we may ascribe the receiving of the Constitution Unigenitus, after so long and warm a struggle.

Ecclesiastical government.

All spiritual causes are cognizable at this day in their ecclesiastical courts, provided they are not intermixed with temporal matters, or concern the state or civil judicatures. On the contrary, all temporal matters, and those which regard the civil government, are subject to lay jurisdiction. The Bishops exercise their authority by an official, who ought to be a graduate and a priest.

Their Bishops antiently were not tried in the temporal courts, even for high-treason, but by other Bishops, or in Parliament, where all the Bishops assisted; but there are several instances of late years where they have been tried by lay-judges, or commissioners specially appointed for that purpose.

And as the Kings of France are no farther subject to the laws of the Holy See than they think fit, consequently all the privileges which the ecclesiasticks enjoy, they derive from the crown, and these may be restrained and revoked when his Majesty sees proper. To entitle any subject of France to the privileges of the clergy, it is necessary that he actually be in holy orders, or at least that he has received the tonsure, wears the habit of a clerk, serves in the church, and applies himself to no business inconsistent with that character.

Privileges of the clergy.

The privileges the clergy of France enjoy, are, 1. That they cannot be brought before any lay-jurisdiction for personal matters: on the contrary, they cannot bring laymen before their ecclesiastical courts for any cause whatever; and in real or mixed actions, the clergy themselves must try their causes in the civil courts. 2. The clergy as well as the nobility, are exempted from the tailles, or land-tax. 3. Neither their movables employed in divine service, or necessary for their use, nor their books to the value of an hundred and fifty livres, can be seized. 4. In criminal cases they may be tried before the grand chamber, if they desire it. 5. A person in holy orders condemned for any capital crime, may not be executed till he is degraded, unless for treason or assassination. 6. They are exempted from quartering soldiers. 7. Their persons cannot be taken in execution in civil actions, unless they have been guilty of some fraud.

The King nominates to all bishopricks and abbies, and the Pope afterwards grants his bulls of consecration, &c. to the Bishop, provided the party nominated be twenty-seven years of age, and a doctor of divinity or law. The age required for abbots and priors is twenty-three. The Pope agreed to the King's nomination of Bishops, &c. when the Concordat was made at Bologna, in the room of the Pragmatick Sanction; and the King, on the other hand, granted to his Holiness the annates, or first-fruits. But neither Britany, nor the new-conquered country, being comprehended in the Concordat, the King always receives a brief, or indulto, from the Pope, when he nominates to those bishopricks. Besides the usual bulls, the Pope sends to an Archbishop the pallium, which is an ornament they wear when they officiate pontifi-

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cally, and shews their authority over their suffragans.

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The crown seizes the temporalities of all vacant archbishopricks and bishopricks, and this in France is called the Regale. The King has also the presentation of vacant benefices belonging to the bishopricks, till the oath of fidelity of the successor be registred in the chamber of accounts, and he has obtained an order there to take possession of it. And the King frequently grant pensions to laymen out of the bishopricks and abbies.

The liberties of the Gallican Church, which my French author makes distinct from her privileges, are two. 1. The Pope cannot intermeddle in things relating to temporal affairs in any of the King's dominions; and if he does, the clergy are not bound to obey him. 2. Though the Pope be acknowledged head of the Church in spirituals, his power is nevertheless bounded in France by canons and antient councils received in the kingdom; for the Gallican Church has always held, that a general council is above the Pope.

Liberties of the Gallic Church.

The clergy of France cannot assemble without leave of the King: these assemblies are of two kinds, the one stiled general, because it is composed of the deputies or representatives of all the ecclesiastical provinces; the other private, because it consists only of such prelates as are about Paris, who are called to treat of some matter of importance, when there is not time to chuse and assemble the deputies of the provinces.

Assembly of the clergy.

The general assemblies again are divided into ordinary and extraordinary: the extraordinary are called on great emergencies, and the ordinary have their fixed stated times, and are held every five years. The ordinary assemblies again are divided into great and lesser; the first are called great, because the provinces usually send four deputies to them, two of the higher orders, as Archbishops or Bishops, and two of the inferior orders, as Abbots, Priors, or other beneficed clergymen of the province. The second are called the lesser assemblies, because the provinces send but two deputies, one of the first order and the other of the second. The great assemblies were heretofore called *Decennates*, because they meet but once in ten years, and in the intervals are held the lesser assemblies; for example, if the lesser assembly be held in 1730, the greater will be held in 1735, so that there are five years between the one and the other.

The great assemblies are held to renew their contract for paying their tenths to his Majesty, which is in force ten years. The business of the lesser is to take the accounts of the Receiver-General: but both the one and the other grant the King a further supply, which passes under the name of a free-gift, which is levied on all the clergy of France, and is more or less, according to the exigencies of the state. There are but sixteen of the provinces that have a right of sending their deputies to the ordinary assemblies, viz. Aix, Alby, Ambrun, Arles, Auzh, Bourdeaux, Bourges, Lyons, Narbonne, Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Sens, Thoulouse, Tours, and Vienne. The other provinces were not united to the crown when the first contract for tenths was made; but they send deputies to the extraordinary assemblies, which treat of the general affairs of the church of France, of matters of faith, manners, or discipline.

The clergy of France have always two agents-general, which attend the Court to make their remonstrances to the King and Council, against

Agents of the clergy.

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any edicts or arrets, which appear contrary to the interests of the Church, or seem to encroach on her jurisdiction, and they are allowed a seat in the Council of State and Parliament of Paris for that end. They continue five years in their office, and are named alternately by the provinces. They ought to be priests of the province that elect them, and to be possessed of a benefice that pays tenths, and are allowed each of them a salary of seven thousand livres per annum.

The controversies which happen about the levying the tenths, or other taxes or impositions on the clergy, are tried in the courts of the several dioceses in the first instance; but are afterwards frequently brought by way of appeal to some of the nine superior ecclesiastical courts, established in several parts of the kingdom, which are the last resort within their respective limits. These superior courts or councils are held at Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Tours, Thoulouse, Bourges, Bourdeaux, Aix, and Pau. The diocesan courts assess and assign what proportion every clergyman is to pay towards the tenths, &c. for though they have obtained the name of tenths, the sum raised has been sometimes more and sometimes less. The sum which is demanded by way of free gift, is usually named by the court, and they will not often take much less than they ask.

The kingdom of France contains eighteen Archbishopricks, and a hundred thirteen Bishopricks, viz.

1. The Archbishoprick of Aix, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Apt. 2. The Bishop of Riez. 3. The Bishop of Frejus. 4. The Bishop of Gap. 5. The Bishop of Sisteron.

2. The Archbishoprick of Alby, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Castres. 2. The Bishop of Mande. 3. The Bishop of Cahors. 4. The Bishop of Rodez. 5. The Bishop of Vabres.

3. The Archbishoprick of Ambrun, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Digne. 2. The Bishop of Grasse. 3. The Bishop of Vence. 4. The Bishop of Glandeve. 5. The Bishop of Senez.

4. The Archbishoprick of Arles, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Marseilles. 2. The Bishop of St Paul trois Chateaux. 3. The Bishop of Thoulon. 4. The Bishop of Orange.

5. The Archbishoprick of Auch, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Dax, or Acqs. 2. The Bishop of Laictoure. 3. The Bishop of Comenge. 4. The Bishop of Conserans. 5. The Bishop of Aire. 6. The Bishop of Bazas. 7. The Bishop of Tarbes. 8. The Bishop of Oleron. 9. The Bishop of Lescar. 10. The Bishop of Bayonne.

6. The Archbishoprick of Befançon, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Belley, &c.

7. The Archbishoprick of Bourdeaux, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Agen. 2. The Bishop of Condom. 3. The Bishop of Angoulême. 4. The Bishop of Saintes. 5. The Bishop of Poitiers. 6. The Bishop of Rochelle. 7. The Bishop of Luçon. 8. The Bishop of Perigueux. 9. The Bishop of Sarlat.

8. The Archbishoprick of Bourges, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Clermont. 2. The Bishop of St Flour. 3. The Bishop of Limoges. 4. The Bishop of Tulle. 5. The Bishop of Puy.

9. The Archbishoprick of Cambray, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Arras. 2. The Bishop of St Omer. 3. The Bishop of Tournay. 4. The Bishop of Ypres.

10. The Archbishoprick of Lyons, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Autun. 2. The Bishop of Langres. 3. The Bishop of Chalons. 4. The Bishop of Macon.

11. The Archbishoprick of Narbonne, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Beziers. 2. The Bishop of Agde. 3. The Bishop of Carcassonne. 4. The Bishop of Nîmes. 5. The Bishop of Montpellier. 6. The Bishop of Lodeve. 7. The Bishop of Uzez. 8. The Bishop of St Pons de Tomieres. 9. The Bishop of Alet. 10. The Bishop of Alais. 11. The Bishop of Elne, or Perpignan.

12. The Archbishoprick of Paris, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Chartres. 2. The Bishop of Meaux. 3. The Bishop of Orleans. 4. The Bishop of Blois.

13. The Archbishoprick of Rheims, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Soissons. 2. The Bishop of Chalons sur Marne. 3. The Bishop of Laon. 4. The Bishop of Senlis. 5. The Bishop of Beauvais. 6. The Bishop of Amiens. 7. The Bishop of Noyen. 8. The Bishop of Bologne.

14. The Archbishoprick of Rouen, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Bayeux. 2. The Bishop of Avranches. 3. The Bishop of Evreux. 4. The Bishop of Seez. 5. The Bishop of Lizieux. 6. The Bishop of Coutances.

15. The Archbishoprick of Sens, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Troyes. 2. The Bishop of Auxerre. 3. The Bishop of Nevers. 4. The Bishop of Bethlers.

16. The Archbishoprick of Thoulouse, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Pamiers. 2. The Bishop of Montauban. 3. The Bishop of Mirepoix. 4. The Bishop of Lavaur. 5. The Bishop of Rieux. 6. The Bishop of Lombez. 7. The Bishop of St Papoul.

17. The Archbishoprick of Tours, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Mans. 2. The Bishop of Angers. 3. The Bishop of Rennes. 4. The Bishop of Nants. 5. The Bishop of Vannes. 6. The Bishop of Cournouailles, or *Quimpercorantim*. 7. The Bishop of St Paul de Leon. 8. The Bishop of Treguier. 9. The Bishop of St Brieux. 10. The Bishop of St Malo. 11. The Bishop of Doll.

18. The Archbishoprick of Vienne, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Valence. 2. The Bishop of Die. 3. The Bishop of Grenoble. 4. The Bishop of Viviers. 5. The Bishop of Geneve.

19. The



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20. The Bishop of Strasburg, is suffragan to the Archbishop of Mentz.

21. The Bishop of Perpignan in Roussillon, to the Archbishop of Terragona in Spain.

They compute there are about seven hundred and fifty abbeys of Monks, and two hundred of nuns in France, and about ten thousand other lesser convents. That there are in all upwards of two hundred thousand monks and nuns in the kingdom, and that the revenues of the clergy and religious houses of all kinds, amounts to twenty-six millions sterling, per annum.

#### CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Treats of the King's succession to the crown; of his minority and majority; titles, prerogatives, ornaments, arms, coronation, orders of knighthood; and of the Princes of the blood, nobility, gentry, and commonalty.*

Of the succession to the crown.

THE French boast much of their Salique Law, which limits the succession of the crown to the male issue: but whether by that law the eldest son only was to inherit the kingdom, or it was to be divided equally among the sons, they do not seem to insist much upon. If we were to be guided by the custom that prevailed during the two first races of their Kings, all the sons would have an equal right; where the deceased King made no disposition or division of his dominions, they were parted of course between his male issue. *LOTHAIRE* was the first that succeeded to the whole monarchy where there were more brothers than one, and this was not till the year 954. But further, notwithstanding this pretended Salique Law, the Kings of France, when the legislative authority was lodged in them solely, and the King and States or Parliaments, when the legislative authority was vested in them jointly, have taken upon them to set aside the eldest son of the preceding King, and fix another upon the throne. As in the case of *HENRY V*, King of England, who having married the daughter of *CHARLES VI*, King of France, was declared presumptive heir to the crown of France, to the exclusion of the Dauphin; which settlement was approved and ratified by the Parliaments and States of the kingdom, and *HENRY VI*, King of England, son of *HENRY V*, in pursuance of that settlement, was afterwards recognized, and crowned King of France in Paris.

At this day, according to the French writers, their King never dies; but in that moment the eyes of the preceding King are closed, his eldest son, or in default of male issue, the next Prince of the blood succeeds to the throne, and is vested with the supreme authority, before he is either anointed or crowned. But where the King is a minor, that is, before he has entered the fourteenth year of his age, the administration of the government is lodged in a Regent, usually the Queen-mother, if she survive the deceased King, or the first Prince of the blood, according as either of them can make interest, or influence the parliament of Paris, whose determination in this matter is usually acquiesced in by the rest of the king-

The Regency during a minority.

dom. But if the deceased King appoints a regent by his will, there is seldom any dispute about the matter.

When the King is become major, or entered into the fourteenth year of his age, he goes in great state to the parliament of Paris, attended by the Princes of the blood, Peers, and great Officers of state, which assembly is usually called his bed of justice, and here his majority is declared; notwithstanding which, the regent frequently procures himself to be constituted prime minister, and under that title continues to govern the kingdom till his Majesty thinks fit to take the reins of government into his own hands. There have been instances where the prime minister has continued in the same power during the King's whole life, as in the reign of *LEWIS XIII*, when Cardinal *RICHELIEU* had in effect the administration of all affairs, and the King was little more than a cypher. Some Princes, it is observed, cannot go without leading-strings; and if you take them out of the hands of one minister, they immediately put themselves under the conduct of another.

The French King styles himself, *LEWIS*, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. The Pope in his bulls gives him the title of eldest Son of the Church, and the most Christian King, as he is styled by foreigners; but his subjects, in writing or speaking of him, call him the King, or his Majesty only, and in speaking to him give him the appellation of Sire.

Style of the King.

The arms of France are three flowers de lys. Or, in a field Azure, supported by two angels in the habit of Levites, having each of them a banner in his hands with the same arms; the crest is an open crown; the whole under a grand Azure pavilion strewn with flowers de lys Or and ermins, and over it a close crown with a double flower de lys Or; on the sides of it are flying streamers on which are written the words used in battle, *Montjoye, St Denis*, and above them on the royal banner or oriflame, *Lilia non laborant neque nent*, taken from scripture; which are, 'tis said, an allusion to the Salique Law that excludes females from the supreme command.

Arms.

The marks of sovereignty, or royal ornaments, as the French call them, when his Majesty appears on solemn occasions, are the scepter, which he wields in his right hand, and the hand of justice, which is a kind of scepter too, that he holds in his left; the latter is a staff about two foot long, at the end of which is an ivory hand: the King uses it chiefly at the coronation, the scepter only on other days of ceremony.

There is no set time prescribed for the coronation, or anointing of the Kings of France; but the ceremony is performed whenever the court thinks fit. They are usually crowned at Rheims, by the Archbishop of that city, assisted by five other ecclesiastical Peers, and six noblemen, who represent the other six ancient lay peers of France. The oil with which his Majesty is anointed, according to their traditions, was brought from heaven by a dove, and is kept in a phial called the holy bottle. The crown of *CHARLEMAGNE* is at first set upon the King's head; but being very weighty, is exchanged for another. As for the rest of the ceremony, I refer the reader to the French historians, who are very large upon this head, as they are upon all matters of ceremony.

Coronation.

As to the prerogative of the Kings of France, in taking place of all the Kings of Europe, which their writers endeavour to maintain, it was never yielded

Prerogative of the Kings of France above other Princes.



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yielded them by Spain, till that monarchy was reduced so low, that the Spaniard was in no condition to dispute it; and I am apt to think that the Sovereign of Russia, who hath of late assumed the imperial title, ever did, and always will, expect the precedence. The Sovereigns of Britain have never given up this point, nor is there any manner of reason they should, since France has been actually conquered by England, and our Princes have always given England the precedence in the royal stile. It would be ridiculous while they write themselves Kings of Great Britain, France, &c. that they should give place to the French King. Even CROMWELL, who only called himself Protector of the commonwealth of England, in his treaties with that nation, obliged them to place his title before that of the French King's, as he called him; for he insisted that the French King had no right to stile himself King of France; and this happened but in the reign of the last Monarch, LEWIS le Grand.

Of their  
touching  
for the  
evil.

The Kings of France touch for the evil as well as the Kings of England. According to tradition, CLOVIS received this privilege from heaven, at the time he became a Christian; though others say, their Kings have not used it more than six hundred years. Before his Majesty touches, the first physician and the physicians of the place examine the patient: the King makes a cross upon the party's forehead, and says to every one of them, The King touches, and God heals you.

Nobility.

The nobility of France consists of four degrees; 1. That of the Princes of the blood. 2. The higher nobility. 3. The ordinary nobility. And, 4. The nobility lately made. He is denominated first Prince of the blood, who stands next the crown after the King's children. The late King legitimated his base issue, and gave them the precedence of all the nobility after the Princes of the blood. The Duke of Maine and the Count de Thoulouse, two of his sons by his mistresses, by an edict in July 1714, he declared legitimate, and them and their children and descendants, born in lawful marriage, capable of succeeding to the crown of France after the last of the Princes of the house of Bourbon. And by another edict in 1715, he declared, that in parliament, and all other courts and places, there should be no distinction made between these and the Princes of the blood. But in the year 1717, LEWIS XV reversed both those edicts, reserving only to the Duke of Maine and the Count de Thoulouse the honours they enjoyed in parliament by the edict of 1714.

The  
twelve an-  
tient Peers  
of France.

The Dukes and Counts, Peers of France, after the Princes of the blood, have the precedence among the higher nobility. Antiently there were but six ecclesiastick and six lay-peers: three of the ecclesiasticks were Dukes, viz. the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishops of Langres and Laon; the other three ecclesiasticks were Counts, viz. the Bishop of Beauvais, the Bishop of Chalons, and the Bishop of Noyons: the three Lay-Dukes were the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Guienne; and the three Counts were those of Champagne, Flanders, and Thoulouse. The lay-peerages have been re-united to the crown, except Flanders, which at present has another sovereign; and the Kings of France have since created many Dukes, Counts, and Peers, without limiting them to any certain number; and these take place according as they are registered in par-

liament. However, at a coronation six Princes or Noblemen are appointed to represent and perform the offices of the six antient lay-peers. Those who are Dukes and Peers have a right to sit in parliament, and several other privileges annexed to their peerages: but there are a great many Dukes who are not Peers, and consequently are excluded from those privileges; but are ranked however among the higher nobility. The officers of the crown also are in the same degree, as the Chancellor, the Grand Master of the Household, the Admiral, the Marshals of France, the Grand Master of the Artillery, and, according to some writers, the Grand Chamberlain, the Great Huntsman, the Great Master of the Horse, and the Great Almoner, the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and the Captains of the Guard du Corps.

The knights of the order of the Holy Ghost also are ranked with the higher nobility; as also the Governors of provinces and Lieutenants-general.

In several provinces, as in Normandy, private gentlemen have the title of Noblemen; but in much the greatest part of the kingdom they go under the denomination of Esquires.

The ordinary nobility are divided into those who have been such for time immemorial, and those families who have been created by patent: if the first can shew they have enjoyed that honour an hundred years, it is sufficient to give them the privileges of the Noblesse (as they are called) and exempt them from the tallies, and some other taxes.

The nobility which is obtained by being members of parliament, or of the superior courts, is but personal, and does not descend to their posterity, unless the grandfather and father have enjoyed such offices successively, and exercised them twenty years, or died possessed of them. The crown has also granted the privileges of nobility to the Aldermen or Magistrates of some cities.

Nobility may be lost by following any trade, or taking a farm of lands; but when LEWIS XIV endeavoured to restore maritime affairs in France, he did by his declaration expressly permit persons of quality to apply themselves to foreign commerce, without derogating from their nobility.

The exercise of mechanick arts, or any mean office or employment, deprives a person of his nobility.

The gentlemen of Britany waive their nobility while they apply themselves to trade, and when they leave it off, resume their privileges again without a new grant.

Thus we see the French include all their gentry under the general title of Nobility or Noblesse. As for the third estate, the Roturiers, the most wretched of these miserable people, which comprehends their tradesmen, yeomen, and husbandmen, or peasants, they are liable to the land-tax and many others from which the nobility and gentry are exempted, as well as to the quartering of soldiers. Nor is this all, they are as much tyrannized over by the quality, as the quality and the rest of the subjects of France are by the court. If a peasant or a tradesman meets a gentleman upon the road, he gets out of the way as soon as possible, and makes ten thousand cringes as he passes by, or he may expect to be well drubbed without remedy: whereas an English farmer, or a common waggoner, will frequently dispute the way with a person of quality and a numerous equipage, and perhaps turn a coach and six out of the road; and

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nobility  
and gen-  
try.Nobility  
forfeited.



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The Protestant refugees happier than the present subjects of France.

The poor Protestants have been often pitied that they have been forced to fly from their dwellings and take refuge in foreign countries; but considering how kindly they have been received every where, especially in England, where they have been naturalized by thousands, and obtained the privileges of free-born Britons for a trifle; that many of them have gotten great estates, and most of them are in a way to maintain themselves and their families very handsomely; they may thank heaven for suffering them to be expelled a country which about that time began to be a scene of so much misery. How have those they left behind them either been forced into the army, where they have undergone inconceivable hardships, or plundered of their goods and money to maintain the glory of their grand monarch. No man at this day can say he is master of any thing in France: if he is suspected to have any treasure, it shall be borrowed of him, or the money shall be called in and paper-bills given him in the room of it, which shall first be compounded for half the money they were given for, and then the remainder paid, if ever, in money that is not of half the intrinsic value which is put upon it. Add to this the discouragement that these arbitrary proceedings have given to trade and industry, insomuch that great part of their lands lie uncultivated, they plant and sow no more than for their present necessity; and this has of late years occasioned frequent famines, insomuch that they forsake their country to find bread, as the Protestants did formerly to avoid persecution. But the Sovereign of this miserable people is our good ally, and therefore I shall not dwell any longer on this melancholy subject; only give me leave to wish, that none of the Princes of Europe may endeavour to imitate the maxims that Court has been governed by, to aggrandize a single family, or immortalize their names in the manner LEWIS XIV attempted to establish his.

Orders of knight-hood.

The three orders of knight-hood in France are, the order of St MICHAEL, the order of the Holy Ghost, and the order of St LEWIS. The order of St MICHAEL was instituted in the year 1469 by LEWIS XI, in honour of St MICHAEL the archangel, and consisted of thirty-six knights at first, but has been since enlarged to an hundred. It is not esteemed very honourable at present, only it is necessary a person should be admitted of this order before he receives that of the Holy Ghost.

The order of the Holy Ghost was instituted in 1578 by HENRY III, King of France and Poland. This order is composed of an hundred persons, without including the Sovereign, and is conferred on the Princes of the blood, Peers, and other great men of the first quality.

The order of St LEWIS was instituted in the year 1693, by LEWIS XIV, and was designed purely for the encouragement of the Generals and officers of the army.

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Contains a further account of their diet and diversions.

Their diet.

THE diet of the French consists chiefly of bread and herbs: the common bread, or pain

*de gonette*, which is brought twice a week to Paris, is purely white, firm, and light, and made altogether with leaven, mostly in three pound loaves. That which is baked in Paris is coarser and much worse.

As for the fine manchet, or French bread, it is of late, since they have made it of yeast, so bitter, that it is not to be eaten, and we far exceed them now in this particular; but the grey salt they make use of is incomparably better, and more wholesome than our white salt.

In Lent the common people feed much on white kidney-beans and white lentils, of which there are quantities in all the markets, and to be had ready boiled. This lentil is a sort of pulse we have none of in England.

Their roots differ much from ours: here are no round turneps, but all long ones, and small, but excellently well-tasted, and are of a much greater use, being proper for soups also, for which ours are too strong; we have indeed of late got them into England, but our gardeners understand not the managing of them. The sandy plains of Vaugerard near Paris are famous for this sort of excellent root.

Potatoes are scarce to be found in their markets, which are so great a relief to the people of England, and very nourishing and wholesome roots; but there are store of Jerusalem artichokes.

They abound in vast quantities of large red onions and garlick, and the long and sweet white onion of Languedoc; also leeks, rockambole, and shallots are in great use.

The leeks are here much smaller than with us; but to recompence this, they are blanched with more care and art, and are three times as long in the white part, which is by sinking them early so deep in mellow earth. There is no plant of the onion-kind so hardy as this, and so proper for cold mountains, and it is excellent against spitting of blood, and all diseases of the throat and lungs.

Though the lettuce be the great and universal salad in France, yet it does not come near ours for the largeness and hardness of it, except the long Roman lettuce, which is incomparably beyond our Silesian.

In April and May the markets are served with vast quantities of white beets.

The asparagus here are in great plenty, but for the first month they are very bitter.

They are so great lovers of sorrel, that they plant whole acres of it in the fields; and nothing is more wholesome: it supplies the place of lemons against the scurvy, or any ill habit of the body.

But after all, the French delight in nothing so much as mushrooms, of which they have daily, and all the winter long, store of fresh and new gathered in the markets. They raise them on hot beds in their gardens.

Of forced mushrooms they have many crops in a year; but for the months of August, September, and October, when they naturally grow in the fields, they prepare no artificial beds.

They make in the fields and gardens of Vaugerard long narrow trenches, and fill them with horse-dung two or three foot thick, on which they throw up the common earth of the place and cover the dung with it like the ridge of a house, and over all they put long straw or long horse-dung: out of this earth springs the champignons after rain; and if rain comes not, they water



water the beds every day in winter. They are six days after their springing or first appearance before they pull them up for the market. On some beds they have plenty, on others but few; which demonstrate they come of seed in the ground, for all the beds are alike.

They destroy their old beds in summer, and dung their grounds with them: they prepare their new beds the latter end of August, and have plentiful corps of mushrooms, towards Christmas, and all the spring till after March.

The Moriglio mushroom is much esteemed in France, and is mostly gathered in woods at the foot of oaks. There are some of them as big as turkey-eggs. They are found in great quantities in the woods in Champagne about Rheims and Nostre Dame de Liefse. They string them and dry them, and they seem to have a far better relish than the champignons.

The city of Paris is well served with carp, of which there is an incredible quantity spent in Lent. They are not large, but very clean of mud, and well-tasted.

They have a particular way of bringing fresh oysters to town; they put them up in straw-baskets, cut from the shell, and without the liquor. They are thus very good for stewing, and all other manner of dressing.

There is a vast plenty of *macreuse*, a sort of sea-ducks, in the markets all Lent, which are esteemed as fish, and therefore they take them with great industry. They have a rank fishy taste, yet for want of other flesh are very welcome.

As for their flesh, mutton and beef, if they are good in their kind, they come little short of ours; but their veal is not to be compared with ours, being red and coarse. Their meat is leaner and drier, and is long kept before it is spent, which gives it a higher and saltier taste; for as meat rots, it becomes more urinous and salt. Our people indeed covet the freshest meat, and cannot endure the least tendency to putrefaction; and we have good reason to do so, because our air is twice as moist as theirs, which does often cause in the keeping of meat a mustiness which is intolerable; whereas the air of France being so much drier, keeping of meat not only makes it tender, but improves the taste; so that could we secure our meat in keeping it from that unfavourable quality, it would far out-do the French meat, because much more juicy.

As for their fruits, the *bon-chretien* and *virgoleuse* pears are admirable.

The Kentish pippin, as we call it, also is excellent: but two other sorts of apples stock the markets; the winter calvil, or queening, which though a tender and soft apple, yet continues good till after Easter: also the *pome d'apis*, which is served here for show more than use, being a small flat apple, very beautiful, very red on one side, and pale or white on the other, and may serve the French ladies at their toilets, for a pattern to paint by.

Wines.

The wines about Paris are very small, yet good in their kind; those de *Surene* are excellent some years. In all the taverns they have a way to make them into the fashion of Champagne and Burgundy.

The tax upon wines is now so great, that whereas before the war they drank them at *retale* at 5 d. the quart, they now sell them at two and three shillings the quart, and dearer; which has

enhanced the rates of all commodities and workmen's wages, and also has caused many thousand private families to lay in wines in their cellars at the cheapest hand, which used to have none before.

The wines of Burgundy and Champagne are most valued, and indeed not without reason; for they are light and easy upon the stomach, and give little disturbance to the brain, if drawn from the hoghead or loofe bottled, after their fashion.

The most esteemed are *Vin de bonne* of Burgundy, a red wine which is *Dolce piquante*.

*Volne*, a pale Champagne, but exceeding brisk upon the palate, is said to grow upon the very borders of Burgundy, and to participate of the excellency of both counties.

There is another sort of wine called *Vin de Rheims*; this is also a pale or grey wine, it is harsh, as all Champagne wines are.

The white wines of value are those of *Mafcon* in Burgundy.

*Mulso* in Champagne is a small and not unpleasant white wine.

*Chabri* is a quick and sharp white wine well esteemed.

*Vin de Turenne* in Anjou of two years old, is one of the best white wines drank in Paris.

*Gannetin* from *Dauphiné* is a very pale and thin white wine, very like the *Verde* of Florence, sweet and of a very pleasant flavour.

The red wines of Burgundy, *des quatres Feuilles*, as they say, or of four years old, are rare, but they are esteemed very wholesome, and are permitted to the sick in some cases to drink of. They are fine, and have a rough but sound taste, not prick. This term *des quatres Feuilles*, is used also to *Velne*, or any other sort of wine which is kept any time.

There are also in esteem stronger wines at Paris, as *Camp de perdrie*, and *Coste bruslee*, both red wines from *Dauphiné*, of very good taste, and hot upon the stomach.

*De l'hermitage* upon the *Rhone* is much admired. But the most excellent wines for strength and flavour are the red and white *St Laurence*, a town betwixt *Thoulon* and *Nice* in *Provence*; this is a most delicious muscat. These are of those sorts of wines which the Romans called *vinum passum*, that were made of half sun-dried grapes, for the grapes (especially the white muscadine grapes) being usually sooner ripe than the common grapes of the country called *Esperan*, viz. the latter end of August, they twist the bunches of grapes, so breaking the stalks of them that they receive no longer any nourishment from the vine, but hang down and dry in the then violent hot sun, and are in a few days almost turned into raisins of the sun; hence from this insolation the flavour of the grape is exceedingly heightened, and the strength and oiliness, and thick body of the wine, is mightily improved.

Besides these, here are also the white wines of *Orleans*, *Bordeaux claret*, and those excellent wines from *Cahors*; also *Cabreton* white and red from about *Bayonne*, strong and delicious wines; and all sorts of Spanish wines, as sack, palm, mountain *Malaga*, red and white *sherries*; and indeed the French are of late very desirous to drink of the strongest wines.

Besides wines, there is no entertainment without drinking at the desert all sorts of strong waters, particularly *ratifia's*, *citron-waters*, &c.

*Vattee* is a sort of perfumed strong water from *Provence*, made (as it is pretended) of *Muscat* wine,



CHAP. wine, distilled with citron-peels and orange-  
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Fenouillet de l'isle de Ree is valued much, 'tis like our anniseed-water.

These and many other sorts of strong waters and strong wines, both of France, and Italy, and Spain, are brought in at the latter end of the desert in all great feasts, and they drink freely of them, which custom is new, the late long war introduced it: for the nobility and gentry suffering much in those tedious campaigns, applied themselves to these liquors to support the difficulties and fatigues of weather and watchings, and at their return to Paris used them at their tables. The Parisians, both men and women, are of late strangely altered in their constitutions and habit of body, from lean and slender they are become fat and corpulent, the women especially; which is supposed to proceed from nothing so much as the daily drinking strong or sweetened liquors, as coffee, tea, and chocolate, which are as much used in private houses in Paris as in London. These sugared liquors, 'tis said, add considerably to their corpulency.

Cyder.

But amongst the drinks that are in use in Paris, cyder from Normandy must not be forgot. It is the best of that kind of liquor, of the colour of claret, reddish and brown. The apple that it is made of is called Frequin, round and yellow, but so bitter that it is not to be eaten, and yet the cyder that is made of it is as sweet as any new wine. It keeps many years good, and mends of it's colour and taste.

The French given to tippling of late.

There are also many publick coffee-houses, where tea, coffee, and chocolate may be had, and all the strong waters and wines above-mentioned; and innumerable ale-houses, where the natives tinkle very freely: the French are far from being that sober people they were in the last age.

Water of Paris.

There are two sorts of water which they drink at Paris, water of the river Seine, which runs through the town, and the water brought in by the aqueduct of Arcueil, which is one of the most magnificent buildings about Paris. This noble canal of hewn stone conveys the water fifteen miles to Paris.

The river-water is very pernicious to strangers, and to the French also that come from any distance, but not to the natives of Paris, causing looseness, and sometimes dysenteries; the many ponds and lakes that are let into it to supply the sluices upon the canal de Briare, are in part the cause of it; but those who are careful of themselves purify it by filling their cisterns with sand, and letting it sink through it, which way clears it, and makes it very cool and palatable.

As for the spring-water from the Maison des Eaux, it is wholesome in some respect, and keeps the body firm; but it is very apt to give the stone, which the people of this town are infinitely subject to.

Diversions.

The usual diversions of the French are either plays, gaming, walking, or taking the air in coaches. They have two kinds of play-houses, one for opera's, and another for comedies; their opera's in Paris are extremely fine, the musick and singing admirable, the stage large and magnificent and well filled with actors, the scenes well suited and changed almost imperceptibly; the dancing exquisite, and the cloathing rich, proper, and with great variety; many of the nobility frequent them every day, and sing them, all frequently joining

their voices with the actors. The disposition of the theatre for comedies is much the same, but less; there is some little comical entertainment exhibited at the end of almost every play, which 'tis to be presumed the English took from them. They avoid all obscenity and immorality upon the stage as much as possible, and yet they are frequently prohibited acting, at the desire of the clergy, who look upon them as tending to incite and encourage vice.

They are pretty much given to gaming; but games of meer hazard are prohibited. Great part of the time of people of quality is taken up in visiting in their coaches: in the evening they take the air in the Courfe, which consists of three pleasant walks of trees along the banks of the river Seine, inclosed at each end with magnificent gates, and in the middle is a circle to turn in. The middle alley contains four lines of coaches, and the side alleys two a-piece, and they may amount in the whole sometimes to six or seven hundred. Those who have a mind to take the air further out of town drive to the Bois de Boulogne or the Bois de Vincennes; and as Paris is of a round form, it is but a little way to the fields from any part of the town.

About eight or nine o'clock in the evening most of the coaches return to the gate of the Tuilleries, where the company alight, and walk in the fine gardens of that palace; nor can there be a more delightful scene, as one of our countrymen observes, than the middle walk of the Tuilleries when it is filled with so much good company. This garden is vastly great, bounded with a terrace wall planted with trees and the river Seine on one side, and another terrace on the other, having great parterres in the middle, and fountains always playing: at one end of the gardens is the magnificent palace of the Louvre, and at the other a fine prospect of the neighbouring fields: the rest is disposed into walks of trees, copses of wood, and grass-plots, with alcoves and seats at convenient distances.

Baron POLLNITZ seems to admit that London exceeds Paris about one fifth in bigness, and as much in the number of it's inhabitants; but observes, that Paris abounds in elegant palaces of the nobility, and fine convents, which are not to be met with at London. In the character he gives of the natives, he says, Tho' the French have their faults as well as other nations, they have, however, a thousand good qualities; and I think them, says he, much more amiable at home than they are abroad, where, be a man ever so much prepossessed in their favour upon other accounts, he is surfeited with their eternal criticisms, and to hear them incessantly remarking, They don't do so at Paris; You don't see this in France. Here they are polite, good-natured, humane, civil, and engaging; and a foreigner, who can bring himself ever so little into their way of thinking, acting, and speaking, will always be sorry to leave them.

But that itch of gaming, adds the Baron, which has infected the generality of the French, is looked upon as one of the plagues of the nation. I can't imagine how 'tis possible for people, who can scarce stay a quarter of an hour in one place, but are generally restless wherever they are, to sit five or six hours together in cutting and shuffling the cards. 'Tis however, a necessary evil, especially for a foreigner, who must otherwise make a very silly

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Baron  
POLL-  
NITZ's re-  
marks.



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filly figure, till he is initiated in the customs of the country. The ladies say of a man who does not play, that he is a useless piece of lumber; and the most flaming lovers cease to make love as soon as cards are brought upon the carpet.

There are some houses, however, where this passion for gaming is not quite so prevalent; 'tis said too, that the lawyers houses are not so liable to the contagion; but I own I am not conversant enough with them to know the difference. 'Tis certain that at court they play deeper than any where; and very many of the nobility have impaired their fortunes, for the sake of having the honour to be one of a party with the King. His Majesty commonly plays at lansquenet; the party consists of twelve cutters, who set a lewis d'or upon the card. The King, and the principal gamesters, as the Count DE THOULOUSE, the Duke D'ANTIN, the Duke DE GRAMMONT, and the like, set two, and sometimes four lewis d'ors upon a stake. The King is reckoned to have the best luck of all that play in the Queen's apartment. Any body that is well dressed, is admitted to make one of the company, which forms a great court tho' a mixed assembly. All the ladies sit round the gaming table, and the men stand. The French say, that gaming sets every body upon a level. There is one St REMI, who had been a lackey, first to the Marshal DE ESTREES's, lady, and then to the Duke of BOURBON, who preferred him to be his valet de chambre, and at the Queen's arrival gave him a post in her Majesty's household, which he held at the same time that he officiated as the duke's valet de chambre: I have seen this man raise or fall the mirth of the King's company at pleasure. It is true he does not cut, but he is at every card, and makes very good pastime. At Fontainebleau, I heard him one day bet the King twenty lewis d'ors upon his own card against his Majesty's. The King answered coolly, No, marquis; which is a nickname his Majesty has given him, and may, nevertheless, be transmitted to the posterity of this St REMI, who is moreover sop enough to be a marquis.

This medley of people at play has been the custom in France at all times.

It is certain, however, that this liberty, with which all sorts of people are indulged, of coming in for a game and away, renders them saucy. That noted comedian BARON, the greatest coxcomb of all men living before the QUINAULTS, was one day at the house of the Prince DE CONTI, the same that had been chose King of Poland, where they were playing at lansquenet. BARON, pulling his purse out with a careless air, said to the Prince, Ten Lewis d'ors upon the knave, M. DE CONTI. Done, Britannicus, said the Prince DE CONTI, who knew that BARON had been just acting that part in a play. It is certain, that at many of the womens houses, the gamesters are as much pampered, as a father confessor is by his female votaries. A great many houses subsist here by the emoluments of gaming; where, were it not for the money arising from their cards, their suppers would be very light, and many that now ride would go on foot. The Duke DE GESVRES, Governor of Paris, and the Prince of Carignan,

who have a grant for licencing all manner of gaming, have farmed it out, and get one hundred and twenty thousand livres apiece by it, clear money, which one shall hardly find in any city of the world.

In speaking of Mr LAW's scheme, or the Mississippi project, he observes, that the debts of LEWIS XIV, a little before he died, amounted to Two thousand two hundred millions of livres; but by the reduction of the principal and interest of the revenues of the town-house (of Paris) by striking off two fifths upon all contracts, and by reducing interest to four per cent, the debts of the state were reduced to One thousand eight hundred millions, which was the very sum that was owing from the crown when LEWIS XV came to it. The debts of the government were afterwards reduced to One thousand four hundred millions, by sinking a quarter, a half, and three fourths, upon the state-bills, as well as other debts owing by the King, as also on pensions, and by the recovery of great sums thro' the chamber of justice.

And in this state were the finances in France, when Mr LAW undertook to pay the remainder of the debts of the crown by the Mississippi scheme, which he did in a manner effect, but it was by robbing multitudes of private people of their fortunes.

The players are much more respected at Paris, according to the same writer, than here, which makes them insolent to the last degree. The nobility are fond of their company, and admit them to their parties of pleasure: as they are kings upon the stage, and equals and companions at table with the best lords in the kingdom. The actors in the opera, as well as they divert the publick for lucre, have indeed the privilege, that a gentleman may be admitted among them without disparagement to his title: this is a favour, says a modern author, very justly, which had never yet been granted to those who perform in the publick spectacles, and who give diversion for money; because in most of the ages of Christianity they had been looked upon as persons excommunicated and infamous, by reason of the corruption in morals, owing to their then too licentious representations, which, perhaps, is no longer apprehended to be the case at present. It is certain, that if a performer in an opera may be noble, I cannot see why a person may not be the same in a comedy; tho' it is my opinion, that if stage-players may be gentlemen, rope-dancers and tumblers have a title to it: for, besides the honour they have of diverting the publick, they run the risk of breaking their necks every day; and is not that the lot of the nobility?

Tho' lackeys are not commonly the subjects of conversation, yet, I think, that those of Paris deserve some notice. They form so considerable a body, that there are many Kings who have not so numerous an army. Besides, these fellows make such extraordinary fortunes, and often rise from valets to be masters and gentlemen, that really they ought not to be confounded in the lump with the European lackeys. Those of them that set up for fine fellows, as many of them do (for in the livery of Paris, you meet with every thing that is handsome and gay) such, I say, as are in the service of some

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some young noblemen, are commonly equals and companions with their masters. There are others, who are the darlings of the fair sex; and, if satire may be credited, and appearances perhaps, into the bargain, there are ladies even of the first quality, who do not always treat their lackeys as servants. It is true, they most commonly take them out of the livery, and in order to bring them near their persons, they make them their pages, or valets de chambre. Nothing is thought too good for these favourites of VENUS; they are rigged out like Princes, and were you to see one of these fortunate lackeys, you would naturally take him for some person of consequence. And, indeed, there are some who act the man of quality to such a perfection, that nothing can exceed it, and they have often better manners than their masters. The airs of importance, and of quality, are very natural to the French. There are others of the menial class that enjoy the favour of their young masters, in a way so uncommon, that one knows not what to think of it; and many of these young gentlemen, forgetting the respect that is due to their own persons, and their families, make parties at supper with them, at which time, I fancy, conversation is the least part of the entertainment. But such is the spirit of debauchery, that has infected the generality of the young people at court, tho' it is true enough that it ever was so.

I do not say that excessive debauchery is the universal goût — of the nation; for, on the contrary, the French are virtuous from the cradle to the grave, if they are but so happy as to get over the four or five years of juvenile fury, and to surmount the tumultuous passions which their great vivacity kindles in their breasts, and prompts them to do things at twenty years of age, which at thirty they detest and abhor: and I affirm of the French, in general, that they are not vicious by inclination. The nobleman is infinitely more so than the bulk of the people; and whether it is bad company, bad counsel, or whatever it is that misleads him, he thinks that to be debauched gives him a fine air, and many of them really boast of being greater debauchees than in fact they are.

But this does not seem to me to be the case of the women (I mean those that are not very rigidly attached to the precepts of virtue). They always preserve an appearance of decency, which imposes on such as do not know them: nor is their conversation licentious; and if they are naughty, it is in private. It is certain, that our countrymen do not do the French ladies justice. Many of our young fellows, when they come home from Paris, affecting to be coxcombs, tell stories so much to the disadvantage of the fair sex, that most of the German gentlemen, and especially of our ladies, think the reverse of what they ought to do. Virtue and modesty are as eminent among the sex here as elsewhere; and those whiffers that give themselves the liberty of scandalizing them, very often know not how to call one woman of quality by her right name, and even never saw her antichamber. It is certain, that there are women of quality here who have laid aside the mask; but of these there are so few, that the whole sex ought not to be reproached for their

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misconduct. I give you my word and honour, that there are fine young ladies here, born to charm our sex, whom calumny itself is obliged to respect, and I do not see what more can be desired. I will not vouch the same for the young gentlemen, of whom, indeed, the greatest number is very much debauched; but there are some that have quitted the reins of modesty. A TREMOUILLE, a LUXEMBOURG, a BOUFFLERS, and many more may be set up as examples to our youth, who perhaps would be worse than the youth of France, if they were entered as young into company, and seated in the centre of joy and pleasures.

The history of France was brought down to the year 1729, in the former part of this work; and as to the French wars in Poland, Germany, and Italy, since that time, they have been already treated of in the continuance of the history of the respective countries above-mentioned. I proceed now to enquire, what other occurrences of consequence have happened in the history of France, between the year 1729 and the present time: and the first we meet with is the birth of a Dauphin, on the 24th of August, O. S. 1729, to the unspeakable joy of the French nation. The queen had three daughters before, as was related in the former edition of this MODERN HISTORY.

In the month of November 1729, the Marquis of Villeneuve, ambassador of France at Constantinople, sent to his master, the most Christian King, a dictionary of the Turkish and Arabian languages, being the first book that was printed in the Grand Signior's press at Constantinople; and they had begun an impression of the Alcoran there.

The Duke of Lorraine arriving at the court of France at Christmas 1730, did homage to the French King at Versailles on new-year's-day following, for the duchy of Bar, and other domains of that crown. The duke made but a short stay in France, but during his residence there, presented the officers and attendants of his most Christian Majesty, with the value of an hundred and fifty thousand livres. And, on the other hand, the King gave the Duke eight pieces of rich tapestry, representing the works of RAFAEL, wrought in gold, valued at two hundred thousand livres. And now the controversy relating to the bull Unigenitus being revived in France, his most Christian Majesty published a declaration on the 24th of March 1730, ordaining, that the Constitution Unigenitus should be inviolably observed; and that as it was become the law of the Church, the acceptance of it should be looked upon as a law of the kingdom; and caused the said declaration to be registered in his presence, at his bed of justice, held on the third of April 1730; tho' several counsellors spoke with great warmth against it, desiring the King to suspend the registering the declaration, since it might be attended, as they suggested, with fatal consequences.

There were about three hundred and twenty presidents or counsellors present, of whom not above thirty or forty voted for the registering of the declaration; and yet, the chancellor commanded, in the King's name, that the said declaration should be registered simply, that is, without any restriction or limitation. Among the opponents, some were for making remon-  
strances

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stances to his Majesty, and others, for desiring  
CHAP. XXXIX. that Prince to revoke his declaration.

Amongst the rest, the abbot GUILLEBAUD said: 'To accept the bull in the sense required by the declaration, they must think as the author of the bull did, on all the propositions condemned therein: this is required upon pain of excommunication. Now every body knows, says he, what the Pope thinks in the ninety-first proposition: he believes he hath a right in certain cases, to wrest the scepter from the King's hand, and dispose of his crowns as he shall think fit.' Here the chancellor interrupted him, and said: Pray, Sir, where have you learned, or who has told you, that the Pope thinks so? In the legend of GREGORY VII., replied Monsieur GUILLEBAUD, and several other counsellors with him. To which the abbot added, for the conclusion of his vote, 'This is so frightful and terrifying, that we have no other part to act, or any other course to take, but humbly to request his Majesty to withdraw his declaration.'

Monsieur DELPECHE said, 'I should think myself guilty of high-treason, if I consented to the registering of this declaration.'

M. VERRIN expressed himself in these words, directed to the chancellor. 'I believe, Sir, this declaration cannot but kindle a fire both in Church and State.' This, said the chancellor, is very far from our intentions, seeing that, on the contrary, we design to restore peace to both. 'A false and insidious peace,' replied M. de VERRIN, which would tend to subject the King to the Pope, whereof, the dismal consequences ought to strike all good subjects, and especially magistrates, to the very heart: therefore, Sir, my opinion is, that his Majesty may be most humbly addressed to recall his declaration.'

When the King's declaration for the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus was produced in the parliament of Normandy, it was resolved, by a majority of voices, to appoint a committee to examine that declaration; who having made their report, it was agreed to make remonstrances to the King: those remonstrances were accordingly drawn up and read in an assembly of the chambers, the 17th of May, and sent to court the same day: but the parliament having received a lettre de jussion (a letter of command) containing an express order from his Majesty to register the King's declaration, they obeyed his Majesty's intentions the nineteenth. The remonstrances above-mentioned were to this effect: 'That when they registered the Constitution Unigenitus, in 1714 and 1720, it was done with modifications and explanations, especially with regard to the XCI proposition, which was condemned by the Pope's bull, and implied, That the fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to hinder us from doing our duty: that his Majesty's new declaration, ordering the Constitution to be observed according to its form and tenor, seems to annul these modifications: that the safety of his Majesty's sacred person, and the rights of the independency of his crown, ought not

to be grounded upon ambiguous propositions, which may make room for interpretations, of which the Ultramontains may take advantage for the support of their doctrine, concerning the temporalities of Kings; especially at a time, when the legend of GREGORY VII. shews the secret motives of the 91st proposition: that by condemning this proposition, it follows, that the fear of an unjust excommunication should hinder the parliament from doing their duty; since, if it should happen, that the court of Rome should threaten his Majesty's subjects to fulminate his excommunication upon their heads, they would then be discharged from the oath of fidelity they have taken to him, &c.

Our fear increases, they add, when we reflect that the legend, which does a Pope the honour to rank among the saints, one who reckoned it a privilege annexed to his dignity, to exercise an authority of dethroning Emperors and Kings, and disposing of their crowns as he pleased, came from the same hand, and the same power, that published the Constitution Unigenitus. What difficulties, Sir, nay what dismal consequences, may we expect, if the subjects, being accustomed to look upon the Constitution as a law of the Universal Church in point of doctrine, as it is called in your declaration, should persuade themselves, that there are certain occasions, wherein they may fall off from their fidelity to their King.'

Forty advocates of the parliament of Paris, who had opposed the registering of the bull Unigenitus, were afterwards restored to the King's favour, on making a submission of the following tenor, viz.

'We were always thoroughly convinced, and shall always take a pride in publicly professing, that the kingdom of France is a state absolutely monarchical: that the supreme authority resides in the single person of the sovereign: that your Majesty holds in your kingdom the place of God alone, of whom you are the lively image: that the submission which is due to you is a duty of religion, which ought to be performed, not for fear of punishment, but out of motives of conscience: that there is no power upon earth that can discharge people from the inviolable fidelity which they owe to their sovereign: that excommunication itself, so terrible, when it is pronounced upon just grounds, can never break the sacred knot which binds subjects to their King: that his authority is no ways to be struck at under any pretence whatsoever: that he is the only sovereign legislator in his dominions: that the Parliaments, and other courts of the kingdom, hold of your Majesty alone, the authority they exercise: that the respect and submission which are paid to their arrêts center in your Majesty, as the fountain from whence they spring, and that for this reason, justice is administered there in your Majesty's name: that it is your Majesty that speaks in the arrêts, and that they are no farther to be executed, than as they are stamped with your Majesty's seal.

'These,



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' These, Sire, are the truths, in which we are daily confirmed by the exercise of our office, in the presence of the parliament, so careful to maintain all the prerogatives of your sacred authority. Our consciences shall never reproach us for departing from them; we will never abandon them, and shall be ready at all times, and upon all occasions, to sacrifice our lives and fortunes in the support of these same truths.

' Moreover, Sire, we look on it as an unalterable principle, that the ministers of the Church, who are members of the State and subjects of your Majesty, are, like all the other orders of the kingdom, subject to all the laws which bear the character of the royal authority: that they hold of JESUS CHRIST alone, and of his Church, the spiritual power, of which the salvation of souls is the object, and which commands obedience, by the terror of spiritual punishment; but that it is to your Majesty alone that they owe the outward jurisdiction, which they exercise in your dominions, for the use of which they are necessarily accountable to your Majesty, and consequently to the parliament, which administers justice in your name, and to whom it belongs, under your authority, to prevent by way of appeal, any injury that might come from that quarter, to the law and maxims of the kingdom.

' This is the essential point upon which we used the liberty which we have to answer questions, concerning which we are consulted by the parties that apply to us; and which we flatter ourselves, Sire, your Majesty will be pleased to preserve to us.

' Lastly, we take the liberty to protest to your Majesty, that by the expressions in our paper, we did not mean any thing but what was conformable to the truths we have here laid before your Majesty, and in the same sense that several have used them before us, in some ordinances of the Kings, your Majesty's predecessors, in the most approved authors. Every other sense, every other interpretation, is still farther from our thoughts; we disavow, Sire, and detest, every thing that tends in the least to strike at your authority; and if we knew of any stronger terms we would make use of them, to express to your Majesty the integrity and fidelity of our sentiments.'

It appears by this submission, as a certain writer observes, that the advocates here assert the pretensions of the rights and privileges of the kingdom, against the Ultramontains, as well as the independance of the crown; and, it seems, the King was pleased to accept of it in the most authentick manner.

By an arrêt published on the tenth of March 1731, all disputes and contests concerning the bull Unigenitus, were suppressed and prohibited, and particularly in the universities of the kingdom.

The Pope, in the mean time, condemned the principles contained in the abovesaid submission of the advocates of Paris, and decreed that it should remain eternally suppressed, as containing maxims and propositions, false, scandalous, rash, seditious, tending to the destruction of the Hierarchy,

and invading the jurisdiction of the Church, and contrary to the supreme authority of the sovereign Pontiff; favouring and favouring herself; erroneous, schismatical, and heretical; forbidding to read, and keep the same upon the pain of major excommunication, that shall be incurred ipso facto: His Holiness reserving to himself, to whom only it belongs, to absolve from the same, &c.

In the mean time her Majesty was delivered of another prince, (viz.) on the 30th of August, 1730, on whom the title of Duke of Anjou was immediately conferred by his Majesty, together with the order of the Holy Ghost: and on the 12th of March, 1732, the Queen of France being delivered of another princess, the King of France had then two sons and four daughters living; but in February 1733, their Majesties third daughter died, aged four years and six months; and on the 7th of April following, their youngest son, the Duke of Anjou, died, aged two years and seven months: but to make some amends for these losses, the French Queen was delivered of a fifth princess the next month.

And now the French court, in contempt of the British nation, which they supposed durst not resent any injury offered them by their grand monarch, issued an arrêt or declaration, requiring all the English, Scotch, and Irish, out of employment in that kingdom, to enlist in their service, or transport themselves from thence immediately, on pain of the gallies; and, without giving them time to consider of it, immediately seized and imprisoned most of the subjects of Great Britain, that were then residing in France, in order to recruit their forces with them, or condemn them to the gallies on their refusal to serve; and when Earl WALDEGRAVE, the English ambassador, presented a memorial, setting forth the injustice and unreasonableness of this insult on a nation in alliance with them, the French did not think fit entirely to desist from these practices, but only told him, that gentlemen of fortune and merchants, with their servants, were excepted out of the order. However, I don't find any satisfaction given the British subjects for this outrage, many of whom suffered great hardships in loathsome dungeons before they were released: so very low is languishing Britain sunk in the eyes of her neighbours, who in the reign of the glorious Queen ANNE trembled at her frown.

Another mark of French insolence unhappy Britain suffered in the person of captain STEWARD, who putting into Dukirk to deliver some goods there, one of his sailors was debauched from him and enlisted in the French service. The captain immediately applied to the commandant, reclaiming his soldier, and complained of the violation of treaties, adding, he must write to the court of Great Britain if he was refused justice there. But instead of doing him justice, the commandant sent the captain to prison, and would not release him till he had given the sailor a formal discharge, and paid him his wages, tho' he had not performed the voyage. As soon as the captain recovered his liberty, he made a protest against this proceeding, and sent an information to the admiralty at London. But I could never learn the French made us any

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any satisfaction for this insult, any more than for the former.

The same year the Bristol-merchant, captain SCOT commander, met a French ship of twenty guns and a hundred and fifty men off the western islands, bound from Africa to Spain, who hailed them, and ordered captain SCOT to come on board; but the sea running high, the captain would not venture to put out his boat; and upon his refusal, the Frenchman fired a six pounder at the English ship, which pierced her under the cabin windows, and broke one of her upper deck beams: after which he fired four or five more shot at her, which did some damage to her rigging, and then boarded her, and demanded a sight of the captain's papers and bill of health. They threatened at first to throw the captain overboard; but at last they thought fit to retire without doing any further damage to the ship, or to any person on board.

But these insults are trifles, compared with their expelling us from the islands of St Lucia and St Vincent, and their inciting the Indians in Nova Scotia, New-England, Virginia, and Carolina, to invade our plantations on the continent, and murder our people settled upon the frontiers; for an account whereof I refer the reader to the modern history of America.

The French, 'tis true, have paid off that vast debt they contracted in the late wars with Great Britain and her confederates; at least they have wiped off the score; so that the crown is no longer burthened with it. They have extended their frontiers, and enlarged their territories, by the addition of that fine country of Lorrain; and, it is said, they are treating with the Emperor for Luxemburg, and some other frontiers in Flanders, which will entirely destroy that barrier, which cost Great Britain, and the United Provinces so much blood and treasure to obtain. They are erecting a harbour at Graveling, more commodious than that of Dunkirk was, and consequently more prejudicial to the trade and navigation of Great Britain, in case of another war: they have vastly increased and enlarged their foreign commerce to Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the East and West Indies: they have improved their plantations to a miracle, and perfectly driven us out of the sugar trade and other branches of commerce. And no wonder, in these circumstances, if a people, naturally haughty and insolent, treat the nations their neighbours with much injustice, contempt, and disdain, especially when they have made the Emperor their ally, hitherto their most considerable rival on the continent, but now ready to unite with France in distressing Great Britain, tho' he cannot but remember how lately he was saved from destruction by her influence; and that he is more indebted to Britain, for the extensive territories he possesses, than to any power in Europe.

No wonder, if the French, who have so often felt the force of the British arms, are glad of every opportunity of depressing and insulting a nation they so lately dreaded. France is now become the great umpire of the world, and gives law to every other power; and will no doubt to Britain, if she suffers herself to be trampled on in the manner she has been for some years passed.

The great duties laid on Sugars, and other

The advantages the French have gained of late years, in point of trade in America, are very justly represented, in a petition of the mer-

chants trading to the British sugar colonies, to the house of commons in the year 1739, wherein they set forth, that the great disadvantage the British sugar trade lies under, proceeds from the very high duties both at home and in the plantations, on our English sugars, compared with those laid on the French; and from the supplies of provisions and other necessaries the French have from Ireland, and the British colonies in north America, without which they could not subsist; and to the restraints the British colonies are under, from sending Sugar, Coffee, Cocoa, Indigo, and Ginger, to foreign markets before they are first landed in Britain, by which means they are liable to great charges, hazard, and delays attending a double voyage. And representing, that the liberty of a direct exportation of the products of the British Sugar islands, to the several foreign ports in Europe, is the only means left to recover the foreign Sugar trade, and put the British merchants in a capacity of disputing the foreign Sugar markets with the French; and they further represent, that another great disadvantage the British Sugar settlements labour under, arises from the duties payable on Cocoa, Coffee, Ginger, and Rum, imported into Great Britain from the British colonies: and from the importation of French Sugars, Rum, and Molosses, into Great Britain and her northern colonies in America, without paying any more duty than if they were of British produce. And further representing, that the trade of Indigo, which our British colonies had formerly so large a share in, as to be able not only to supply enough for our home consumption, but to export great quantities, is now wholly gained from us by the French, from whom we are under a necessity of buying almost all the Indigo we use, the loss of which trade was entirely owing to the high duties laid on this commodity in Great Britain; that when the trade for Indigo was in the hands of the British merchants, it was subject to a greater duty than it could bear, but now it is in the hands of foreigners, it is exempted by the legislature from paying any duty at all; and that the sum we pay annually to France for Indigo, amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; they petitioned therefore that some encouragement might be given to the planting of Indigo, that they may be able to recover that trade; and that such a reduction be made in the duties on other West-India commodities, as may preserve our trade therein.

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produce of the plantations, have given the French great advantages.

The trade of Indigo lost.

Whereupon it was resolved, and afterwards enacted, that in order to encourage his Majesty's subjects in the British Sugar colonies in America, they should be permitted to carry sugars of British growth from the said colonies, directly to foreign parts under proper restrictions.

And that effectual provision should be made for securing the duties on the importation of foreign Sugars, Rum, and Molosses, into Great Britain, and the British plantations.

But I don't find any encouragement given for the planting of Cocoa or Chocolate-nut, Indigo or Ginger, and recovering the traffick in those articles, from the French and Spaniards.

Nor have the French encroached only on our American trade and plantations, but have of late made very free with the fisheries, upon our coast; and we are obliged to them for discovering one fishery which we ourselves were strangers to, on the southern coast of Ireland, viz. on the Nymph-

The French fishery on the coast of Ireland.



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Nymph-bank, where they had fished with fifty or sixty large vessels, for several years without interruption, and indeed without the notice of the Irish, till the year 1736, and might have continued it much longer, if they had not entered into the smuggling trade, carried off wool from the south of Ireland, and run in brandy, alamoses, and other French goods, upon them, which the Custom-House officers taking notice of, they were obliged to remove to a further distance. And some Irish gentlemen in that part of the country, have since employed fishing vessels on this bank, where they catch great quantities of cod, hakeling, turbut, and other valuable fish. Thus we find Ireland has been of great advantage to the French of late years, for from hence their fleets were provided with beef and tallow, as well as fish. Here they found a vent for their wine, brandy, and dry goods; and from hence they fetched great part of the wool, so necessary in their manufactures; and here also they vended sugars, rum, and other produce of their islands in the West-Indies, to the unspeakable damage of Great Britain and her American plantations.

In the mean time the Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia, concluded the definitive treaty of peace with the Emperor and Empire; preliminary articles had been agreed on, in the year 1735, but all matters in dispute were not settled till the year 1739.

In these articles are contained the Duke of Lorraine's cession of his dominions, to King STANISLAUS for his life, and the reversion thereof to France. In consideration whereof the French King agreed to pay the Duke of Lorraine, four millions and half of livres Lorrain money per. ann. till he should take possession of the Duchy of Tuscany: He also agreed to pay the Duchess-dowager of Lorraine and her heirs, the revenues payable to her out of the said territories, besides fifty-eight thousand five hundred livres of Lorrain money yearly, for the interest of that princess's portion; one hundred twenty-eight thousand one hundred sixty-one livres for her dowry, forty-two thousand eight hundred fifty-seven livres to Prince CHARLES, and twenty-four thousand four hundred twenty-eight livres to each of the two princesses for their appenage; and the French King having charged himself with the debts of that State, an account was added, by which it appears they amounted to eight million seven hundred eleven thousand seven hundred twenty-six livres Lorrain money.

Another article contains King STANISLAUS's abdication of the crown of Poland, and his recognizing King AUGUSTUS. There is an article also containing the Emperor's resignation of the two Sicilies, and the Spanish ports in Tuscany, to the King of the two Sicilies; and the King of Spain's surrender of Parma and Placentia, to the House of Austria, and the eventual succession of Tuscany to the Duke of Lorrain.

The Emperor also cedes the Novarese, Tortonese, and some other principalities in Italy, to the King of Sardinia: and the tenth article contains the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, by the King of France, in manner following viz.

His Sacred, Royal, and Most Christian Majesty,  
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by the sixth article of the preliminaries, with relation to the dominions in part then and before possessed, by his Sacred Imperial Majesty, conform to the said preliminary articles, took upon himself, in the best manner that was possible; the defence, commonly called, the guaranty of the order of succeeding in the House of Austria, which was more fully set forth in the Pragmatic Sanction, published the nineteenth of April 1713. For it having been after mature consideration concluded, that the publick tranquillity could not long subsist or endure, and that no certain method could be thought of for preserving a durable balance of power in Europe, but by preserving the said order of succession, against all future attempts of any kind, his Most Christian Majesty, moved as well by the ardent desire he has to maintain the publick tranquillity, and preserve the balance of Europe, as by the consideration of the conditions of peace, which his Imperial Majesty had agreed to, and principally for this reason, obliged himself, in the strongest manner, to defend the said order of succession, and to the end that no doubt may hereafter arise about the effect of this security, or guaranty, his Most Christian Majesty, by virtue of this present article, engages to carry the said security, commonly called guaranty, into execution at all times, and as often as there shall be occasion; promising for himself, his heirs, and successors, in the best and firmest manner that is possible, that he will with his whole force, defend, maintain, and as it is called, guarantee against all persons whatsoever, and at all times when there shall be occasion, that order of succession which his Imperial Majesty has declared and established, by way of a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable fcoffment of trust, in favour of primogeniture, for all his heirs of both sexes, by the solemn act published the nineteenth of April 1713, and annexed at the end of this present treaty, which act was entered in the publick records, in order that it might have the force of a valid and perpetual law and Pragmatic Sanction, and which the Holy Roman Empire engaged to defend, or as is commonly said, guarantee, by virtue of their conclusion; issued the eleventh of January 1732. And whereas according to this rule, and order of succession, in case his Sacred Imperial Majesty should, by an effect of the divine goodness, have heirs male of his Body, then the eldest of his sons, or he being dead, the eldest son, of that eldest son; and in case of failure of heirs male of the body of his Sacred Imperial Majesty, the eldest of his daughters, the Most Serene Archduchess of Austria, according to the order and right of primogeniture, which is for ever to be observed, is to succeed him, in all the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions, actually possessed by his Sacred Imperial Majesty, without any division or separations having ever any place, in favour of him, her, or them, who may be of the second, third, or any more distant branch, or degree; or in short, in any otherwise, or for any other cause that can possibly exist: the said order and right of indivisible primogeniture, being likewise perpetually to subsist in all other cases; and in all times and ages, as well in the male line, if it shall please God to grant to his Sacred Imperial Majesty, the happiness of having issue male, as in the female line, upon the former's becoming extinct;

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King's  
eldest  
daughter  
married to  
Don PHILIP  
Infant of  
Spain.

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tinct; and, in fine, always and as often as any question may arise about the right of succeeding to the hereditary kingdoms, provinces, and states, actually possessed by his Sacred Imperial Majesty; for this purpose his Most Christian Majesty promises and obliges himself to defend him, or her, who, according to the above-mentioned order, ought to succeed to the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions, actually possessed by his Imperial Majesty, and for ever to maintain him, her, or them, in the possession thereof, against all and every person or persons whomsoever, that may, in any manner, attempt to disturb or interrupt the same.

The same year a match was concluded between Madam, eldest daughter of the King of France, and Don PHILIP, Infant of Spain, the Princess being then in the twelfth, and the Prince in the twentieth year of his age; the marriage-contract was signed on the twenty-fifth of August, and on the twenty-sixth the ceremony was performed, the Duke of Orleans being proxy for Don PHILIP; she was with great ceremony delivered into the hands of those who were sent by the court of Spain to receive her, in the isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of France and Spain, on the eleventh of October.

About the same time an arret was revived, which was issued in the year 1701, against the importation of foreign goods in British bottoms, and also the following sorts of merchandize of British produce, or manufacture, viz. all sorts of Stockings and Caps of Silk, Wool, Thread, or Cotton; all sorts of Cloth and Stuffs of Wool, Hair, Silk, Thread, or Cotton; Hats, Blankets, Hides, Gloves, Cutlery-ware, Iron-ware, Locks, Buttons, Ribbons, Watches, Clocks, Wine, Pewter, Lead, Mercery-wares, Drugs, and Grocery; but permitted the importation of Allum, Bottles, Wax, Coal, salted flesh, Horses, Glue, Horn, Copperas, Green Hides, Crystals, Elephants Teeth, Herrings, Cods, Bone, Furs, Calf-Skins, Ox-hides, salted Salmon, Tallow, English Carpets, Calicoes, Glasses, and Wool. The war having broke out the very next year, and all commerce between the two nations being prohibited, this edict did not much affect us then; and after the renewal of the peace, by the treaty of Utrecht, though commerce was not restored by a proper treaty, yet the execution of this edict, was in a great measure suspended, and the importation of foreign merchandize in British Bottoms, as also of several of these sorts of prohibited goods, connived at; but about the beginning of the last year, this edict was revived, and they began to put it so strictly in execution, that the British ships then in their ports, loaded with foreign, or any sort of prohibited goods, were not only prevented from unloading, but ordered to depart immediately, to the great loss of the merchants concerned, who had sent these goods thither upon the faith of the good correspondence, that had for so many years subsisted between the two Nations; and upon a supposition, that this edict was, in a great measure, tacitly revoked.

Towards the end of September, the French Ministry declared to the Earl Waldegrave, that their Master had, with some concern, learned, that notwithstanding the representations which been before made, against the interruption given to the trade of France by British ships of war,

those ships continued to stop and visit all French ships sailing upon the coast of Spain; that his Majesty could by no means consent to a practice of this nature, and therefore demanded, that until an open rupture was declared, the British men of war should let the ships belonging to the subjects of France pass freely, there being no pretence for stopping or visiting them till after an open declaration of war against Spain, because till then, there could be no such thing as contraband goods on board French or any other neutral ships; and, that if this demand was not complied with, he should think himself under a necessity of taking suitable measures for protecting his subjects from being stoppt and visited, as long as there was no declared war between Britain and Spain. The only answer that could be made to this, was a declaration of war against Spain, which took away all future pretence for such a complaint; because then, all neutral ships may by the law of nations be visited at sea, and if bound to an enemy's port with contraband goods on board, those goods may be taken out, and condemned as good and lawful prize, in which limited sense the latter part of his Majesty's declaration of war is to be understood.

Soon after the rupture between us and Spain, the Spanish privateers took some British merchant ships in the very mouth of the river of Bourdeaux; and about the beginning of November, one of them came up a great way, and, contrary to the law of nations, seized upon an Irish vessel in the river; whereupon the captain of a stout New-England ship then at Bourdeaux, desired leave to go and take the privateer, which he thought he could do, with the help of such volunteers as were willing to go along with him; but the Governor would neither grant him leave, nor take any other method for recovering the Irish vessel so unjustly seized within the dominions of France. Earl Waldegrave complained to the court of France of these and the like practices; and he was assured, that orders were sent to the proper officers at Bourdeaux to endeavour to seize the Spanish privateers, and to make them restore the vessels and effects they had taken in that river; but I never heard that any such attempt was made, or any of the British ships so taken restored.

Tho' the French did not declare openly against us in the war with Spain, yet from these accounts, it appears they were a little partial in favour of our enemies; but this was not all, from the very beginning of the war, they began to prepare for taking a share in it as soon as they should find a proper opportunity. About the beginning of September, orders were issued by the French court, for all the officers that had any post, or command, in their Colonies or Plantations, to repair to Rochefort, by the 20th of that month at farthest, where there should be a man or war ready to transport them to their respective posts in America; and even before the reprisals were published here, they began, at all the chief ports of France, to refit and augment their Navy; and we were told, that they had ordered six new men of war of the line to be built at their colony of Quebec in Canada, and that they had contracted for having eighteen others of the line, built for them in the ports of Sweden.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

British  
ships  
taken in  
Bour-  
deaux.

French  
prepara-  
tions for  
war.



CHAP.  
XXXIX.French  
squadron  
sent to  
the Bal-  
tick.

Soon after the beginning of the year 1739, they began in France to talk of sending a squadron of men of war to the Baltick, and to equip some ships at Brest, as was said, for that purpose. This political phenomenon raised the curiosity of the whole European world, and occasioned many conjectures about the design of this squadron. Sometimes it was said to be designed to consist of a great number of capital ships, for the execution of some grand project; and at other times, it was only to be a small number of ships for the instruction and exercise of the seamen. At last, about the middle of May, this mysterious squadron set sail from Brest, under the command of the Marquis D'Antin, consisting but of four men of war of the line, and one frigate, and sailed directly to Stockholm, where they arrived the 11th of July, and staid there till the first of August, which time was principally employed in feasting, balls, and splendid entertainments at the Swedish court, which was all they did there. On the first of August this squadron set sail from Stockholm upon their return to France; where they arrived about the end of September, the frigate which attended them having put into Dunkirk, which I particularly take notice of, because that frigate was a ship that carried 18 guns, and her putting in there shews, that, in case of a war, the port of Dunkirk will again be a receptacle for French privateers to infest our trade, tho' by the treaty of Utrecht it was expressly stipulated, that the harbour of Dunkirk should be filled up, *and never again repaired*. This squadron being thus returned to France, without attempting any thing, either for or against any power in Europe, the eyes of people were then opened, and every one saw that it was sent to the Baltick, for no other reason but to furnish the new ministry in Sweden with something to amuse their people with; which sort of amusement is often necessary upon the change of an administration in every country, where there is a popular sort of government established. Tho' some people imagined, the French had another design, which was to frighten us with an invasion from Sweden, either upon the British or Hanoverian dominions, in order to prevent our sending forces for attacking the Spaniards in the West-Indies.

Press laid  
under re-  
straints.

The press has always been under a licence in France, and great penalties upon those that printed or published any book, pamphlet, or paper, without a licence; but this has of late been found insufficient, as it always will, for preventing the printing and distributing privately, such writings as are agreeable to the people, tho' unacceptable to the court. Such writings have often been suppressed by arrears of the King's council of state, and the authors, printers, and publishers, when discovered, severely punished; yet still they have found means to creep into the hands of the curious, and the prohibition has only served to make the public seek after and read them with the more industry and fondness. Therefore his most Christian Majesty's council of state issued a new regulation, by which the number of printing-houses in France is greatly lessened, and for the future limited to 36 at Paris, and 209 in the other parts of the kingdom; and all magistrates whatsoever are thereby prohibited to license Printers hereafter, to exercise the art of

printing; and Printers are likewise forbid to intermeddle in the said profession by virtue of any privileges whatsoever, without having first proved their titles and qualifications before the Chancellor, and obtaining their admission in the usual manner, by an arret of council.

A great scarcity of provisions, particularly corn, having happened in several provinces of France, in the months of April and May, his most Christian Majesty, ordered all the Archbishops and Bishops then in Paris, which were *seventeen* in number, to repair forthwith to their respective dioceses, in order to succour and relieve the poor; in which good office many of the Bishops of that kingdom contended with emulation, which of them should out-do the other; and in this glorious contention, the Bishop of Limoges was particularly remarkable; for he gave a daily subsistence for several weeks together, to near one thousand five hundred poor persons of his diocese; and in order to enable him to do so, he was obliged to sell all his plate, and the richest part of his furniture. The Duke of Orleans, who is always one of the foremost of the quality of France in all religious duties, laid out two millions of livres in buying up corn, which he distributed at a low price among the inhabitants of Berry, Maine, and Anjou, and in the countries belonging to the domains of the house of Orleans: likewise the Hôtel de Ville at Paris, ordered a certain quantity of beans and Irish butter to be delivered to each curate in that city and suburbs, to be distributed by them among the poor of their respective parishes; and the chapter of St Martin at Tours, as well as several other religious communities, forgave many of their farmers the rents of the current year, in order to enable them to support their families, during that scarcity.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.Great cha-  
rities gi-  
ven to the  
poor.

These charities shew the care the French take of their poor in time of distress; and to prevent their being so, all possible care is taken to encourage the setting up of manufactures in that kingdom. Among others, there was in November a beautiful piece of cloth, made of rabbits fur, shewn to his Majesty at Versailles, who immediately gave encouragement for the making more of the sort; and at the same time, three pieces of flannel, as good as any made in England, and which could be afforded much cheaper, were also shewn to his Majesty, and all proper encouragement promised, for improving that manufacture.

New ma-  
nufactures  
set up.

The Duke of Gesvres and the Prince of Cambrin, having long had a permission to have public gaming tables at their respective Hôtels, in the month of October, the King's advocate and his solicitor-general, the lieutenant criminal, and the lieutenant of Police at Paris, went to Cardinal Fleury, and complained, that these gaming-houses not only ruined many families, but were the cause of a great number of robberies, most of those who had for some time before been executed for robberies, having confessed, that they were driven into that course of life by their misfortunes at play. Upon this the Cardinal represented the matter to the King, who immediately ordered, that a stop should be put to the source of this grievance; but as these two noblemen had by a long possession acquired

Gaming  
Houses  
put down



CHAP.  
XXXIX.

acquired a sort of property in the revenue or profits that accrued by this grievance, the French government would not shut up these public gaming-houses, till they had found means to indemnify the Duke of Gesvres and the Prince of Carignan, which shews how much regard is had even in France to any thing that looks like private property; and at the same time it shews how inconvenient and dangerous it is to allow any man to acquire a property, in what may afterwards appear to be inconsistent with the public good.

1740.  
The  
French  
fleet failed  
to Ameri-  
ca.Substance  
of the  
French  
manifesto  
thereupon.

The French having equipped a squadron of men of war at Thoulon, and another at Brest, this year they sailed to the West-Indies, arriving at Martinico in September and October, but meeting with stormy weather they were forced to remain there a considerable time to refit, before they were in a condition for action; in the mean time the French court published a manifesto, from whence it is easy to conjecture what was the original design of their voyage; for in this manifesto his most Christian Majesty censures the British court for abruptly breaking off the conferences at the Convention, and beginning hostilities in America before war was declared; he observes, that France had on her own part great cause of complaint against England, many French ships having been stopt and visited by her cruizers, and other violences committed by them, but the King had connived at these infractions till he saw the English not only make war on the Spaniards at sea, but demolish the forts of Porto-Bello and Chagre, in order to carry on a contraband trade to the prejudice of the commerce of all other European nations; that he had represented to the British Ambassador, that how patient soever France had shewn herself, it could not be expected she should look with an indifferent eye upon the enterprizes the English nation were forming in America; *or, that the King would suffer them to make any settlement in the Spanish West-Indies*; which the British Ambassador not giving any satisfactory answer to, the King judged he ought no longer to defer causing his ships to be equipped, and put himself in a condition to prevent a danger which became every day more pressing; for England had caused eight thousand regular troops to embark, in order to join those which she had ordered to be raised in her colonies, and not doubting of success, had foretold as a thing certain the conquest of the Havanna and Carthage; and that the manifesto sent by the Lord Cathcart to be published in America, sufficiently explained the tendency of these prodigious armaments, of which the like had not been seen.

It was then the King found he had not a moment to lose, in order to defeat those projects which would have destroyed the balance of commerce in Europe, and that he had at the same time taken such precautions at Dunkirk, as might prevent any surprize from English pyrates, which the insults his ships had undergone rendered the more necessary; and though the court of London had expressed the sharpest resentments at it, France had contented herself with raising only four batteries there without any fortifications, from which it was easy to judge

which side ought to be charged with the infraction of treaties.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

From this manifesto nothing is more evident, than that France intended to join the Spanish fleet which sailed to America about the same time, and to have prevented the English attacking any of their settlements in that part of the world; and as the most effectual means of doing this, probably would have destroyed the squadron of men of war and transports which were intended for Jamaica in their passage thither, but very fortunately for England contrary winds and storms prevented Cathcart's sailing with the land forces so soon as was intended, and the same stormy weather so shattered the French and Spanish squadrons, that they were rendered unfit for action when they arrived there: and the British ministry being now sufficiently apprized of the designs of France, sent such a strong fleet, under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle, to convoy the land forces to Jamaica, that the British fleets became much superior to the united fleets of France and Spain in that part of the world; and thereupon the French fleet was ordered to return back to Europe, after the Spaniards had reinforced their garrisons in America; and possibly the French might bring over part of the treasure of the Gallions with them; but this was all the effect of their mighty armament and threats, and they had soon after so much business upon their hands in Europe, on the death of the Emperor, that they left the Spanish settlements in America to shift for themselves, and the British commanders there were at full liberty to invade or attack what part of Spanish America they saw fit, without interruption; what success they met with there may be seen in the Modern History of Spain, in the mean time the Brest and Thoulon squadrons returned to their respective ports in Europe in a very weak condition, having lost by storms or sickness three thousand men 'tis said.

Sir Chal-  
oner O-  
gle, and  
Cathcart  
sail to A-  
merica.

France did not only suffer by this disappointment in the West-India expedition, but by prodigious inundations in all parts of that kingdom; this winter a third part of Paris was laid under water, and Lyons, Rouen, and other great towns suffered extremely, boats plied in their streets instead of coaches; and in the country the lands were overflowed for many miles, horses, sheep, and oxen, driven down the stream; nothing was able to resist the force of the numerous torrents, multitudes of people, as well as cattle and houses, were destroyed.

But among the losses and disappointments the French sustained about this time, there was one event by which they hoped to restore their affairs, and make as considerable a figure in Europe as ever their ancestors had done, and that was the death of the late Emperor Charles VI, which happened on the twentieth day of October 1740, N. S.

The Em-  
peror  
Charles  
VI. dies.

Several months after the death of this Prince, the French court expressed the highest friendship for the Queen of Hungary, his eldest daughter, who succeeded to all his hereditary dominions, and promised to perform their engagements relating to the guaranty of the Pragmatic



CHAP.  
XXXIX.

1741

The  
French  
King's  
reasons for  
invading  
the Em-  
pire.

matick Sanction, but at the same time augmented their forces and marched great bodies of their troops towards the frontiers of Germany; but in the beginning of August 1741, his most Christian Majesty began to pull off the mask, by publishing a declaration of the following tenor, viz.

That some Electors and Princes of the Empire had informed him (as being guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia) of their uneasiness at the King of Great Britain's assembling a considerable body of troops, which might be made use of to influence the approaching election of an Emperor, or be employed against some member of the Empire: and therefore, in order to make good his engagements, he had caused some troops to advance towards the Rhine, that they might be ready to march to the succour of the Electors and Princes who should claim his guarantee, and that this step ought not to be interpreted as acting contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction: his sole view being the preservation of the tranquillity of Germany, and the protecting the freedom of the election of an Emperor, and immediately after a French army of near forty thousand men, commanded by the Marshals BROGLIO and BELLEISLE, passed the Rhine at fort Lewis, and marched towards Bavaria, while another army of thirty thousand men, commanded by Marshal MAILLEBOIS, marched into Westphalia, where they were joined by the forces of the Elector of Palatine and the Elector of Cologne.

Con-  
futes the  
Duke of  
Bavaria  
General.

And another declaration was soon after published, wherein his most Christian Majesty sets forth, that the Elector of Bavaria having demanded succours of him, to frustrate the designs of his enemies, he was inclined to send an auxiliary army into his dominions, having himself an interest in supporting that prince; and had constituted him his Lieutenant-General, to represent his person in his army in Germany, as well over the French as foreigners, to oppose the designs of his enemies, and even enter their dominions, besiege and take their towns, give them battle, &c.

Dated at Versailles, Aug. 20, 1741.

The Ha-  
mover mi-  
nistry ob-  
tain a neu-  
trality.

The march of the French army into Westphalia, and even to the frontiers of Hanover, so terrified and confounded that ministry, who were not in a condition to oppose them, that the French charge them with begging a neutrality for that Electorate, and promising a vote for the Duke of Bavaria in the approaching election of an Emperor, on condition their forces would advance no further: and we began to be in some pain, lest his British Majesty should be surrounded by the armies of France and Prussia, and prevented returning to his dominions. And now the French court ordered their Thoulon squadron, commanded by DE COURT their Admiral, to set sail for the coast of Spain, (which he did on the 9th of October, N. S.) and took upon him to protect the Spanish fleet against Admiral HADDOCK, as is related in the Modern History of Spain.

The  
French  
protect  
the Spa-  
nish fleet  
against  
Admiral  
HAD-  
DOCK.The King  
of Prussia

The French were encouraged to invade the Empire, and insult Great Britain in this man-

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ner, not only by the Elector of Bavaria, who laid claim to the Austrian dominions, but by the King of Prussia, who, notwithstanding his pretended friendship for the Queen of Hungary, invaded her duchy of Silesia within two months after the late Emperor's death, and by this time had made almost an entire conquest of that province, being joined afterwards by the Elector of Saxony (King of Poland) who formed pretensions also on the Austrian dominions, as will be seen more at large in the Modern History of Germany.

About the same time that the French court published the declaration with their pretensions for invading the Empire, the Elector of Bavaria assembled his forces near Scharding, and took possession of the city of Passau on the Danube, which facilitated his march into Austria, and in the beginning of September he penetrated into the Upper Austria, and took possession of Linz, the capital city thereof; from thence he continued his march so near Vienna, that the Queen of Hungary and her court removed from thence, expecting to be besieged, but the Elector afterwards bent his march another way, and entered Bohemia, where several detached parties of his army had already taken some posts of consequence; and in November the King of Poland caused a large body of his Saxon troops to assemble on the frontiers of Bohemia, and having joined the French and Bavarians near Prague, the capital of that kingdom, they took that city by surprize on the twenty-sixth of November, and made the garri-son prisoners of war: but while the French and their allies were so successful in Bohemia, the Austrians defeated several bodies of their troops in Upper Hungary, retook Entz and some other towns on that side: however, it appears that the Queen of Hungary was still in imminent danger of being overpowered by her enemies, for the King of Prussia had entered into a formal alliance with France, before their army passed the Rhine, to which the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony acceded; the conditions whereof 'tis said were, that the kingdom of Bohemia, with the Upper Austria and Tyrol, should be given to the Duke of Bavaria; the Upper Silesia, and Moravia to the Elector of Saxony; and the lower Silesia, with the town and territory of Niefs, and the town and county of Glatz, to the King of Prussia.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.reduces  
Silesia, and  
is joined  
by the  
King of  
Poland.The Duke  
of Bavaria  
invades  
Austria.Bohemia  
invaded  
by the Ba-  
varians,  
French,  
and  
Saxons.They sup-  
prise  
Prague.An al-  
liance be-  
tween  
France,  
Bavaria,  
Prussia,  
and Saxo-  
ny, to  
share the  
Austrian  
domi-  
nions a-  
mong  
them.The  
Queen of  
Hungary's  
Speech in  
her dis-  
tress.

In their distress the Queen of Hungary having assembled the states of that kingdom, made a speech to them in Latin of the following tenor.

'The perplexed situation wherein I find myself, by the permission of the divine providence, is attended with such dangerous circumstances, that I see no hopes of extricating myself, unless I am speedily and powerfully succoured. — Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations; the only resource I have left is to stay in this kingdom, and commit my person, my children, my scepter and crown, to the care of my faithful subjects. I don't hesitate a moment to entrust them with all, their courage and loyalty leave no room to doubt that they will employ all their forces to de- fend

16 Z



CHAP. XXXIX. 'fend me as well as themselves speedily and resolutely in this mournful conjuncture.'

While her Majesty spoke the whole assembly dissolved in tears, and unanimously cried out, We will support the Queen; we will defend her against her enemies; we will sacrifice our lives and fortunes for her; and they made good their resolutions by their future actions.

Practices for electing the Duke of Bavaria Emperor.

In the mean time the French were driving on their grand design of placing the Duke of Bavaria on the Imperial throne, by their Ambassador Marshal BELLEISLE, in which they did not make any great progress, till the King of Prussia entered into that alliance with France and Bavaria already mentioned; but then his Prussian Majesty and the King of Poland declaring for Bavaria, and the Elector of Mentz; soon after the Elector of Hanover was obliged to follow their example, to obtain a neutrality for his German dominions, which lay exposed to the attacks both of the French and the King of Prussia, with whom the court of Hanover had no very good understanding; it was agreed also by the Electors in the French interest, to suspend the Queen of Hungary's vote as Queen of Bohemia, to which the Elector of Hanover made no opposition, any more than the other Electors, who were all of them indeed under French influence at this time, overawed by the numerous forces on their frontiers, or in the heart of their dominions: the Elector of Bavaria made his publick entry into the city of Prague on the 9th of December, and was that evening proclaimed King of Bohemia, and on the 13th of January he was elected King of the Romans and Emperor of Germany at Frankfort, and he was crowned there the 21st of the same month.

He is proclaimed King of Bohemia, and Emperor.

1741-2.

The Queen of Hungary recovers Upper Austria, and reduces Bavaria.

Her Hungarian Majesty however protested against it, declared the election void, and her Generals did not only recover the Upper Austria, but reduced all the duchy of Bavaria, obliging the capital city of Munich to surrender.

Action at Budweis Moravia invaded.

Marshal BROGLIO, who commanded the forces of the allies in Bohemia, receiving advice of the progress of the Austrians in Bavaria, assembled his forces and attacked Prince CHARLES of Lorraine, in his intrenchments at Budweis; four attempts were repulsed with very great loss.

On the other hand, the Prussians made themselves masters of the capital city of Olmuts, and almost all Moravia; about the same time the French accommodated the differences between his Prussian Majesty, and the Elector Palatine, concerning the succession to Bergues and Juliers, which the King of Prussia yielded up 'tis said, on condition the French would guarantee Silesia to him.

Italian war commences.

The war in Italy, which commenced at this time between the Spaniards and Austrians, will be treated of in the modern history of that country. I shall only observe here, that when the French Ambassador demanded a passage for fifteen thousand of the Spanish troops, to join with those already in Italy, the King of Sardinia declared he should oppose the attempts of any power that should endeavour to disturb the repose of Italy.

France, in order to supply her exhausted treasury, this year extended the tax of the tenth penny or two shillings in the pound, to mechanics, and manufacturers, which occasioned an insurrection at Lyons; on the other hand, the Queen of Hungary's Generals levied considerable contributions in Bavaria, and began now to receive large remittances from Great Britain, and the States-General, to enable her to make head against the French and their allies.

C.H. & P. XXXIX. Remittances from England and Holland to the Queen of Hungary.

At this critical juncture, the treaty of subsidy between Great Britain and Denmark expiring, the Danish troops returned home; and 'tis said, agreed to enter into the service of France; but however that was, the new ministry in Great Britain thought proper to embark a good body of forces in April, in order to oppose the designs of the French and their allies, who proceeded to reduce such places in Bohemia, as remained in possession of the Austrians; and Marshal BROGLIO having invested Egra, that town surrendered to him on, on the eighth of April.

The Danish mercenary troops return home.

British troops embark for Flanders.

Prince CHARLES of Lorraine in the mean time obliged the Prussians to evacuate Moravia, and following them into Bohemia, there was a smart engagement between the two armies, in which both sides claimed the victory: another engagement happened in Bohemia, between Prince LOKOWITZ and the two French Marshals, BROGLIO and BELLEISLE, in which the Austrians seem to have had the worst of it: however the Austrians soon after became superior to the French in Bohemia, for the King of Prussia made peace with her Hungarian Majesty, on condition of her confirming Silesia to him, and the Saxons about the same time quitted the interest of France; and now the French were left in Bohemia, to contend almost singly with the forces of the House of Austria, for the Emperor was able to afford them but little assistance; the reason of this sudden change in the Prussians and Saxons, is said to be, that they began to discover the treachery of the French, in setting the German Princes together by the ears, and making them weaken one another, that they might have an opportunity of subduing their country with the greater ease.

Battle between the Prussians and Austrians.

The Prussians and Saxons quit the French interest.

The French Marshals BROGLIO and BELLEISLE being thus deserted, were forced to shut themselves up in the city of Prague, while the Austrians cut off their provisions on every side, and reduced them to the last necessity: but several smart actions happened between the Austrians and the French, during this blockade, in which sometimes one side had the advantage and sometimes the other.

The French shut up in Prague.

In the mean time the British court out-bidding the French, entered into another subsidy treaty with Denmark, and took eight thousand Danes into their pay. And the regency of Hanover received orders to detach sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians in the British pay, to the Austrian Netherlands; a considerable train of artillery also was embarked at the Tower of London for Flanders, which shewed that the King of Great Britain was now in earnest, and determined to make the Queen of Hungary's cause his own.

A new subsidy treaty with Denmark.

Hanoverians and Hessians march to Flanders.

The French marching another army through Germany this year, commanded by Marshal MAILLEBOIS, the Austrians were obliged to quit

1742. Another French quit



CHAP. XXXIX. quit Bavaria, and Marshal BELLEISLE found means to escape out of Bohemia in the depth of winter, with the greatest part of the garrison of Prague (amounting to sixteen thousand men) many of whom perished by the severity of the season, the fatigue they suffered in forced marches, and by the Hussars and Croats, who skirmished with them continually in their retreat, till they reached Egra.

The Eng- In February following the troops of the King-  
lish march from Fland-  
ers to Germany.  
1743.

In February following the troops of the King of Great Britain in Flanders, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Flemings, began their march towards Germany; and the latter end of April his Majesty and the Duke of Cumberland embarked for Holland; about the same time his Imperial Majesty thought fit to retire from Frankfort and reside at Munich, demanding at the same time of the circle of the Upper Rhine, that they should furnish the French army commanded by Marshal NOAILLES with provisions, on his entrance into Germany: The Earl of Stair, who commanded the British forces in their march to Germany, signified to the several Princes of the Empire, that he had no orders to act against the Emperor, but only to oblige the French to leave Germany: at the same time he pressed the Dutch to join him with the twenty thousand men they had promised the Queen of Hungary; but that cautious republick still delayed to give orders for their march, terrified, as 'tis said, by the French ministers, who threatened them with certain ruin if they joined the British forces, and magnified the power of their Grand Monarch, as if his forces were irresistible amounting at this time to four hundred thousand men, and his revenues answerable as they gave out: However, the Dutch did at length order the twenty thousand men to march and follow the British forces into Germany, but they were so very slow in their motions, that they were at a considerable distance when the battle was fought at Dettingen, between the forces of Great Britain, and the French commanded by Marshal NOAILLES near Dettingen, on the banks of the Mayne.

Bohemia and Bava-  
ria almost recovered again by the Austrians.

But before I come to give a further account of that battle, it may be proper to observe what was doing in Bohemia and Bavaria, and in both those countries we find the Austrians very successful this campaign, but the most considerable action was at Brunau in Bavaria, where the French and Bavarians were defeated on the first of June N. S. by the Austrian Generals, and lost between four and five thousand men; soon after which Landshut, Deckendorf, and most of the towns in Bavaria, submitted to the Queen of Hungary a second time; whereupon the Emperor abandoned Munich again, and resorted to Augsbura a neutral city.

The Eng- In the mean time the English and Austrians-  
lish pass the Rhine  
and Mayne.

continued their march into the Empire, and passed the Rhine and afterwards the Mayne near Frankfort, of which Marshal NOAILLES receiving advice, and understanding that not only the Dutch but the Hanoverians and Hessians, were at a great distance from them, assembled an army of thirty thousand men, passed the Rhine, with a design to attack the English before they were joined, of which the Earl of Stair had

notice just time enough to retire over the Mayne, and encamp at Hochst, near Hannau; the English some few days after continued their march up the Mayne to Aschaffenburg, whereupon the French passed the Mayne with part of their army at Selingenstat, and thereby endeavoured to cut off the communication of the English with Hannau, which their Generals being apprized of, quitted Aschaffenburg, and on the fifteenth at night marched back again towards Hannau; this the French observing, took possession of Aschaffenburg and some other posts, whereby they cut off the communication of the English, with most of the towns from whence they received their provisions on that side; they also planted their cannon on the southern bank of the Mayne to annoy the English which ever way they should attempt to march, and disengage themselves, and thus hemmed in, they depended that the English must have perished for want of subsistence, or laid down their arms; and all accounts agreed, that the British forces were in great danger of starving, and had already suffered very much for want of food: but the French 'tis said lost all these advantages by the Duke of Gramont's attacking the English contrary to his orders, for the French were driven back again over the Mayne with very great slaughter, and if the Earl of Stair's advice had been followed, their whole army had been ruined. The greatest loss the English sustained, was from the batteries of cannon on the Mayne, and a furious attack of the French black musketeers who were almost all cut to pieces; but having already given a particular account of the battle of Dettingen in the Modern History of Germany, I shall not enlarge upon it here, only observe that the Earl of Stair soon after the battle resigned his post of General, and some other great men threw up their commissions, observing their advice or orders not attended to, and consequently they were disabled from doing their country that service which might have been expected from them.

Egra surrendering about this time to the Austrians, as Prague had done before, and Bavaria being reduced, the Emperor's General Count SECKENDORF agreed to a neutrality, and the Emperor returned to Frankfort. Whereupon the French retired over the Rhine, to which river Prince CHARLES of Lorraine advanced with a design to pass it, if the English would have made a diversion on the Lower Rhine, but they contented themselves with marching into the Palatinate, the Dutch forces attending then at some distance, and when the French retired into their own territories near Landau, neither the English or Dutch would be persuaded to advance beyond the frontiers, as it must infallibly have occasioned a war with France, which Marshal NOAILLES being sufficiently apprized of, detached great part of his forces to the Upper Rhine, to oppose Prince CHARLES's passing that river, and this rendered all that Prince's designs abortive; for unless the English and Dutch would have agreed to invade the territories of France, on the side of Landau, and made a diversion, the army of France under Prince MAURICE of Saxony on the opposite side of the Rhine, would have been much superior to that of the prince, and in such circumstances

CHAP. XXXIX.

Dettingen battle.

Prague & Egra retaken.

The Emperor neutral.

The French retire out of Germany.



CHAP.  
XXXIX.

circumstances it would have endangered the loss of his whole army if he had attempted it.

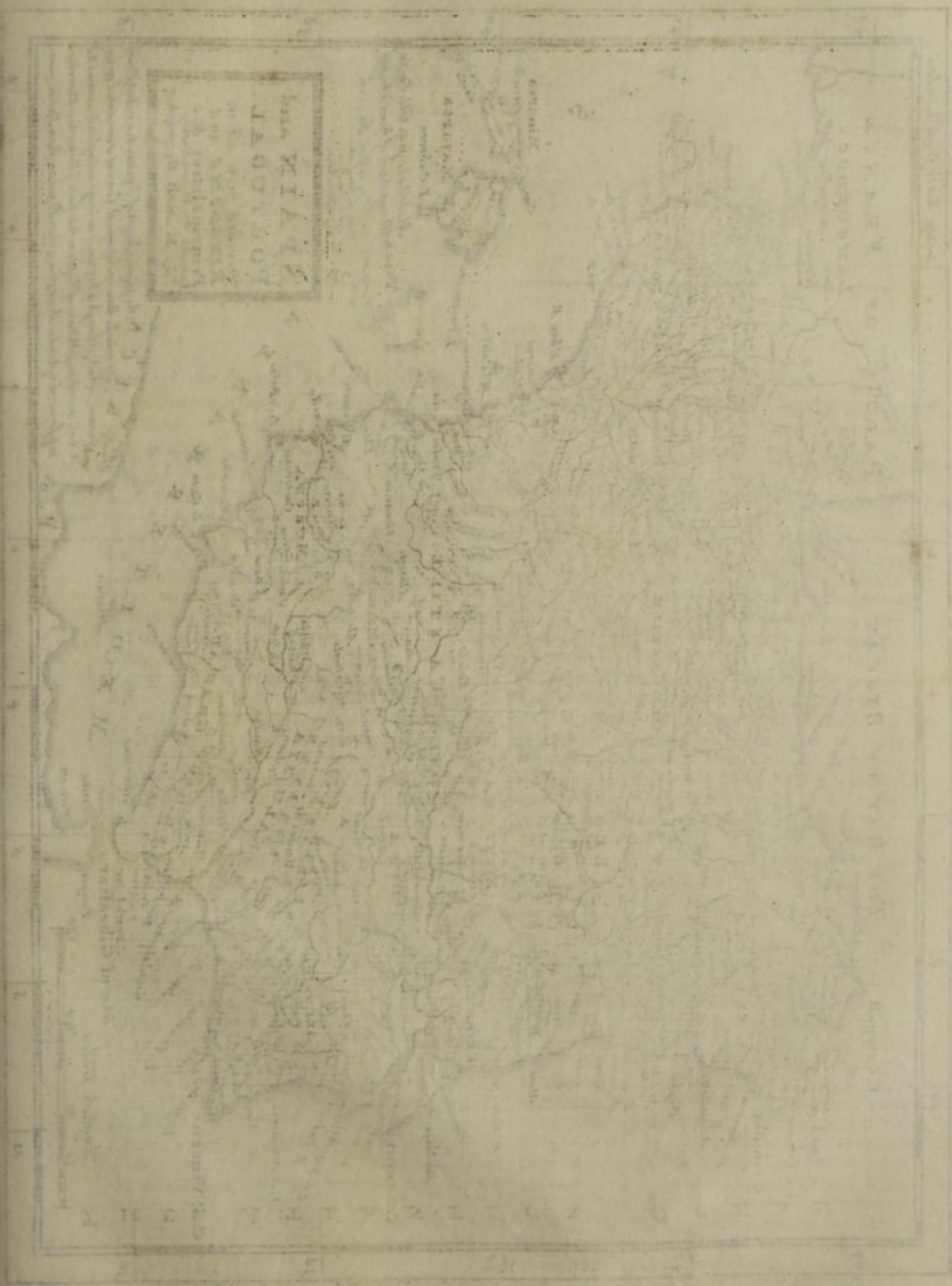
The German war was scarce commenced when Cardinal FLEURY died, and possibly had never been prosecuted if he had lived; for it is observed of that prelate, that he had so happy a talent at negotiation, that he made greater acquisitions to

the French monarchy by treaties, than LEWIS the fourteenth had done by conquest; he was so perfectly versed in the art of corrupting the powers of Europe, or their ministers, that he seldom had occasion to make use of force to accomplish any of his projects.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

THE





NEW ENGLAND  
SHOWING THE  
COUNTIES OF  
MASSACHUSETTS  
CONNECTICUT  
RHODE ISLAND  
AND THE TOWN OF  
NANTUCKET







# THE PRESENT STATE OF SPAIN.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of Spain; of its name and original inhabitants; of the air, the face of the country, mountains, rivers, plants, animals and minerals.*

CHAP.  
I.  
Situation  
and extent

**S**PAIN, including Portugal, once a province of it, is the most western part of the continent of Europe; being bounded by the sea, or bay of Biscay, on the north; by the Pyrenean mountains and the Mediterranean sea towards the east; by the Mediterranean and the Atlantick ocean on the south; and by the same ocean on the west: extending from the thirty-sixth to the forty-fourth degree of north latitude, and taking up thirteen degrees of longitude; Cape Creus, or the most easterly part of it, lying three degrees to the eastward of London, and Cape Finisterre, or the most western part, ten degrees to the westward of London: so that its breadth from north to south in a direct line is exactly 490 miles, and its length from east to west about 680 miles. The form of it is generally said to resemble an ox-hide spread upon the floor, of which the Pyrenean mountains, which divide it from France on the north-east, may be reckoned the neck.

Name.

The most ancient names we meet with of this country, are those of *Iberia* and *Hesperia*; the first of which it is said to have obtained from its being looked upon as the end of the world, the word *Iberia* signifying as much: or according to others, from the river *Iberus*, now *Ebro*. The Greeks gave it the name of *Hesperia*, on account of its western situation in regard to them, *Hesperus* signifying the western or evening star. The story of its having had two Kings called *IBERUS* and *HESPERUS*, who communicated their names successively to this country, is looked upon as fabulous. As to the common name of *Spania*, (*Spain*) or *Hispania*, or as it is called by the Spaniards, *Espania*; this, a French writer of credit is of opinion, was given it by the Phenicians, from the vast flock of lapwings they found here, *Sepana* in their language signifying a lapwing; and in confirmation of this opinion it is urged, that upon the Emperor *ADRIAN*'s medals, the lapwing is the device for Spain.

Original  
Inhabitants.

There is no manner of certainty as to the original inhabitants of this country; only in general it is very reasonable to suppose, that it was peo-

pled either by the Gauls, who lay contiguous to it, or from the coast of Barbary, from which it is separated by a very narrow streight, called the Streight of Gibraltar.

The Phenicians, or Canaanites, were the next that planted colonies here, who being obliged to abandon their country to the Israelites, coasted along the Mediterranean seas, settling themselves first at Carthage on the African side, and afterwards on the Island of Cades or Gades near the continent of Europe. Here they trafficked with the people of the country, and either by permission or force built several towns and fortresses on the main land, as Malaga, Andera, &c. The inhabitants of Marseilles, who were originally Phocians, a people of Greece, that subsisted by trade and navigation as the Phenicians did, planted colonies in the most eastern parts of Spain, between the Pyrenees and the river *Ebro*, building the town of Rhodes, now *Roses*, and several other places on the coast of Catalonia. But the Phenicians becoming the most considerable maritime power, possessed themselves at length of all the south part of Spain, which they held without a rival for between two and three hundred years, till the Romans, jealous of their power, entered into a war with them about the year 513 from the foundation of Rome, and compelled them to relinquish that part of Spain which lies to the eastward of the *Ebro*. By a second war, which ended A. R. 553, the Carthaginians were obliged to abandon the rest of their territories in Spain to the conquering Romans. The northern parts however being mountainous and difficult of access, and possessed by several warlike nations, maintained their liberties for an hundred and seventy years afterwards, till the Emperor *Augustus* being at peace with the rest of the world, determined to bring the whole country under his dominion; and notwithstanding they held out some time among their rocks and almost impenetrable forests, being attacked on every side by such numerous armies of veteran troops, they were at length obliged to surrender, whereby the Romans became

CHAP.  
I.



CHAP.  
I.

The air.

Face of the  
country.  
Mountains

masters of all Spain. I shall not enter farther into the history of the country here, having reserved a chapter on purpose to treat of the ancient and modern history of it, as usual.

They generally breathe in Spain a pure dry air, hot, but exceeding healthful: indeed in some provinces it is moist, as in Galicia, and in Catalonia and the northern parts; and upon the mountains it is excessive cold in winter. In the rest of the country it rarely rains, unless in spring and autumn: the heavens are serene, and the sun is seldom intercepted by a single cloud. The winter is so moderate in the valleys, that they have very little occasion for fires nine months of the year. If there be ice sometimes, it is not above the thickness of a crown-piece, and snow is hardly ever seen but near the mountains. The fields are covered with flowers and odoriferous herbs, at the time we are locked up in frost. On the contrary, it must be confessed that during the months of June, July and August, the heats are insupportable to foreigners, especially in the heart of the country and towards the south; the heat of the sun at those times is so intense, that many of their small rivers and brooks are entirely dried up, and the roads and fields are insufferably dusty; and what adds to the excessive heat, is the calmness of the summer season, when we seldom meet with the least breath of air, the wind not blowing so frequently as it does in more northern countries. Those that live upon or near the mountains, or near the sea-coast, indeed are often blessed with refreshing breezes, and the nights are generally cool and refreshing; nor is there any danger of continuing in the open air till midnight, as there is in some other hot countries.

The face of the country is rough and uneven, encumbered with abundance of high mountains, whose tops seem to touch the clouds, some of them running the whole length of the country from east to west: among these the Pyrenees have been always the most celebrated; nor are they inferior to the Alps, of which the poets have said so many wonderful things. They separate Spain from France, as has been observed already, extending from the Mediterranean to the Ocean, which is a space of about eighty-five leagues, and the greatest breadth of them is about forty-five. They begin at Port Vendres in Roussillon on the Mediterranean, and extend to Fontarabia on the bay of Biscay, traversing Catalonia and Arragon, and dividing Navarre into two parts: but in this space it has several names, according to the countries it borders upon: in Roussillon it is divided into two branches, of which that that separates it from Languedoc is called the Anti-Pyrenees, and that which divides it from Catalonia is called the Col de Pertuis. There are other branches of it bordering on these countries, called Mont Canigon, Sierra de Guara, Col de Praxa, Col de Argentiére and Port de Viella. Those which divide Gascony from Arragon are the mountains of Jaca and St. Christian, where is the famous Pic de Midi, resembling a sugar-loaf upon a table, which is said to extend to the middle region of the air; and in Navarre, between Pampeluna and St. John de Pie de Port, we meet with the mountains of Adela and Roncevaux. The ancient geographers made the Pyrenees extend the whole length of Spain to the Atlantick ocean; nor were they much in the wrong, the rest of the mountains of Spain seeming but branches of these. There are but five passages over that part of them which lie between France and Spain, and those exceeding difficult and dangerous; but they are

well planted with trees, and interspersed with a great number of valleys.

The Sierra d' Occa, anciently called Mount Idubeda, is a mountain which issues from the Pyrenees, and extends to the Mediterranean sea near Tortosa, west of the Ebro. Another branch of it stretches from east to west, traversing the whole kingdom of Spain as far as Cape Finisterra, running through Biscay, part of Old Castile, and the two provinces of Leon and Galicia. In South Spain, below Mount Cayo, there issues a branch from this called Orospeña, which rises insensibly, and near the mouth of the Tagus obtains the name of Sierra Morina, which stretching still farther south, is called Sierra d' Alcaez, where the river Guadalquivir rises; then turning to the south-west, it traverses the kingdom of Grenada, and is continued to the Straights of Gibraltar, where we see the celebrated Mount Calpe, opposite to Mount Abila in Africa; which two mountains are called HERCULES'S pillars, the *ne plus ultra* of the ancients. There are abundance of other mountains of less note, which will be mentioned in the description of the respective provinces.

Spain is said to be watered with an hundred and fifty rivers, of which six only deserve that name; viz. 1. The Ebro. 2. The Guadalquivir. 3. The Guadiana. 4. The Tagus. 5. The Duero. And, 6. The Minho.

The Ebro, in Latin, *Iberus*, by some said to have communicated its name to the whole country, from thence called *Iberia*, hath its source in the mountains of Asturia. It rises from two sources, of which the principal is near the town of Fuenti Ebro, or Fountain Ebro, taking its name from this spring. It runs from the north-west to the south-east near five hundred miles, receiving in its passage upwards of sixty rivers, of which the most considerable is the Arragon in the province of that name, and the Segra in Catalonia. It traverses good part of Old Castile and Biscay, then enters Navarre, and inclining to the southward, divides that province from Castile, and passing on to Tudela, becomes navigable for small boats there. From Navarre it continues its course to the province of Arragon, which it divides almost in two equal parts, washing the walls of the city of Saragossa. From thence it runs on to Catalonia, and some miles below Tortosa it throws itself into the Mediterranean with great rapidity, forming at its mouth the little islands of Alfaches.

This is almost the only navigable river in Spain, and even this is of little advantage to them, unless between Tortosa and the sea; for notwithstanding it carries vessels for the space of two hundred and fifty miles down the stream, it runs with that rapid force that a boat cannot go up against the stream higher than Tortosa, and it is very difficult to go down on account of the rocks which lie in the channel about twenty leagues from Saragossa. The water of it is esteemed very wholesome and palatable, on which account it is transported to most towns in the neighbourhood, and to distant provinces. Upon the conclusion of the first Punic war, the Ebro was made the boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian territories, from whence Spain was afterwards divided into two very unequal parts, viz. the Hither and the Further Spain in respect to Rome, that to the westward of the Ebro being nine times as large as the other.

The



**H. A. P.** The Guadalquivir, anciently called Bætis and Tartessus, and by the Moors, Vadalcabir, which signifies in Arabick a great river, was by corruption afterwards called Guadalquivir by the Spaniards. It rises in the most eastern part of Andalusia, on the confines of Grenada and Murcia, near the celebrated mountain called by the ancients Orospeða, and by the modern Spaniards, Sierra Segura; at the foot of which several rivulets rise, and meeting together form a lake, from whence this river issues. It traverses the whole length of Andalusia from the north-east to the south-west, passing by Cordoua, Seville, and St. Lucar, falling into the Atlantick ocean about fifteen leagues south-west of Seville, and eight to the northward of Cadiz. Its waters glide very gently along, and it is navigable as high as Seville for pretty large vessels, and has the advantage of the tide so far; but is so full of sands, that they frequently miscarry. From Seville up to Cordoua it will carry only small boats, and above Cordoua the rocks that lie in it spoil the navigation.

**Guadiana.** The Guadiana, in Latin, *Anas*, rises in New Castile, in the vast plains of Monteil, or la Mancha. It issues from certain lakes, called by the natives the lakes of Guadiana. It takes its course at first from east to west, passing by Calatrava, Medelin, Merida, and Badajos in Estremadura, after which it turns about to the southward, and falls into the Atlantick ocean near Agramonte. Both ancients and moderns relate abundance of odd stories of this river, as that it runs ten leagues under ground near Medelin, for which reason the Latins called it *Anas*, or the Duck; but this our modern geographers affirm is an error: thus much however is agreed to be true, that a little below its source it passes between high mountains which prevent the sight of it for three or four miles, after which it appears again in the lakes which the Spaniards call the Eyes of the Guadiana. Afterwards in its course a little above Calatrava, it is so covered with rocks which hang over it, and rushes, that the river does not appear. From Merida to Mertola, two towns about thirty-five leagues distant from each other, it is so full of rocks, on the right and left, that no boat can go upon it, and it is very dangerous crossing of it. In summer-time there is very little water in this river, and the little that remains does not seem to run. It appears among the rocks to have more of the nature of a torrent than a river, which, during the rainy season, has rolled down great heaps of stones from time to time from the neighbouring mountains. It is no wonder therefore if some people have imagined that it had lost itself under the earth, since it scarce appears for several miles during the scorching heats.

**Tagus.** The Tagus is the largest and most considerable of all the rivers of Spain. The Portuguese, who reap the greatest advantage from it on account of trade, call it the King of rivers. It has its source in New Castile, near Albarazin, and runs about four hundred miles from east to west, first taking its course over New Castile, and washing the walls of Toledo, passes by Almaraz and Alcantara in the Spanish Estremadura, after which it enters the Portuguese Estremadura, and passing on forms a little bay about a league over, which serves for a port to the city of Lisbon, and six or seven miles below falls into the Atlantick ocean. This river was famous anciently for its golden sands, but I don't find there is any of that rich mineral to be met with in this river at present.

The river Duero rises on the confines of Navarre and Arragon, that part of the mountain Idubeda which goes under the name of Sierra de Cogollo, near the town of Aguillac del Campo. It first runs through the middle of Old Castile, and passing by Soria and Aranda, traverses the kingdom of Leon, washing the walls of Tordeissil, Toro and Zamora, and entering Portugal, after a winding course falls into the Atlantick Ocean a little below Porto. The entrance is very dangerous on account of the rocks and sands that lie at the mouth of it, insomuch that vessels can only come in at high water. It runs about three hundred miles from east to west, but is not navigable on account of the rocks and cascades with which the passage is obstructed.

The Minho, the least of the six Spanish rivers, Minho. rises in the north-east part of Galicia, near the town of Castro del Rey, and running south-west through that province, passes by Luga Ourese and Thuy, falling into the Atlantick Ocean near the confines of Portugal.

If we were to follow the ancients in their descriptions of Spain, it would appear the richest, the pleasantest, and the most beautiful country in the universe, little short of a terrestrial paradise. Some of them place the Elysian fields here, while others assure us it is more fruitful than Africk or Gaul: that it is neither parched by the excessive heat of the sun, as the former, nor disturbed by winds and storms like the latter: that it abounds in corn, wine, and the most delicious fruits: that their olives are to be preferred to those of other nations, and their vines give place to none: that those parts which do not produce corn afford excellent pasturage: but above all, that here are found all kind of precious minerals in the greatest abundance, as gold, silver, &c. in their mountains, and their rivers carry golden sands: that they had not only sufficient of every thing desirable to supply their own country, but served as a granary to Rome, and almost all Italy: that the mountain Orospeða, which signifies the silver mount, obtained its name from the silver it produced: that in Galicia gold was so plentiful, that the husbandman often broke up great pieces with his plow: that Lusitania and Asturia were equally rich, where they sometimes found pieces of gold of half a pound weight: And that to this country the ancients sent their fleets in search of these precious minerals as the Europeans now do theirs to the continent of America. The Phenicians, who first arrived at these happy shores, it is said, found silver so very common among the Turdetani, that their most common utensils and moveables were made with it, and that they purchased it of the natives for toys and baubles; and that having amassed such prodigious quantities that their ships could not contain it, they were obliged to make anchors of the rest.

This relation has certainly very much the air of fiction at this day, and yet is not entirely to be rejected: allowances indeed must be made for the poetical vein of their writers, and the eastern manner of expression; they certainly never expected to be understood literally and strictly, any more than the modern Asiatics or Italians; their words ought to be taken in the sense they were understood at the time, and in the country they wrote; and as in prophane, so in sacred story the want of this caution has occasioned a multitude of mistakes. But to proceed: A late French writer seems to insinuate, that the Tarsis from which

Produce of the country according to the ancients.



CHAP. I.

HIRAM and SOLOMON fetched their treasure, was situated in the south-west part of Spain, there having been a town of that name between the branches of the river Bœtis, or Guadalquivir, and that river itself, formerly called Tartessus. The situation of Tyre in the Levant sea, and the Tyrians and Phenicians trading hither also, would render this surmise extremely probable, were it not expressly said, that these fleets of HIRAM and SOLOMON were built in the Red Sea, in the land of Edom, and set sail from thence, and consequently must steer their course either to the Indian or African shores. I shall only observe further, that the Scripture says, silver was as plentiful in Jerusalem as the stones of the street in the reign of King SOLOMON, which I hope few people understand literally, any more than they do, the above-mentioned figurative expressions in prophane histories. Having premised thus much from the concurrent testimony of the ancients, I make no manner of doubt but there were formerly mines of gold and silver in Spain, as there are no doubt still, though not worth the working, since better are discovered; or, which is the same thing, others that may be wrought much cheaper. The richest silver mine the ancients discovered in Spain, was two or three miles distant from Carthage, where forty thousand workmen were continually employed, and yielded the Romans daily twenty-five thousand drachms of that precious metal. Asturia, Galicia and Lusitania, furnished them annually with twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. Near the Pyrenees a mine was discovered which yielded HANNIBAL three hundred pounds a day. When SCIPIO AFRICANUS took Carthage in the second Punic war, he found there two hundred and seventy-six thousand cups or vessels of gold, most of them of near a pound weight, a vast quantity of silver coin, and an infinite number of other silver vessels and utensils; by the riches of which one town, as my author observes, we may make some estimate of the rest of Spain.

If it be demanded, what are become of those rich mines that produced all this treasure? Are they exhausted that they have afforded no gold or silver for several ages? To which it is answered, there may be the same mines still, but as gold and silver are of late years become more plentiful, and easier come at in other places, it may not be worth the while to open these. Before the gold on the coast of Africk, in China, and in the East Indies was discovered, and before we had any communication with Potosi, and the other gold and silver mines of America, those metals were more scarce, and consequently more valuable than they are at present, and it might turn to a much better account to work them then than it does now: the slaves who dig in them also are maintained at a much less charge in the Indies than they could be in Spain, especially since we are very well assured, that Spain was much better cultivated, and yielded greater quantities of corn and other provisions, than it does under the management of the present lazy generation, who plant or sow little more than will serve their own necessities; whereas the Romans drew a great deal of their provision from thence. But besides the rich minerals above-mentioned, they have at this day good mines of quick-silver, sulphur, lead, alom, copper, and the iron and steel of Biscay is in the greatest esteem of any in Europe. Here are also found several kinds of precious stones, as agates, cornelians, garnets, crystal, marble, alabaster and jasper.

As to the produce of the earth at present, their mountains are generally covered with oaks, fir-trees, and other excellent timber, and the lower parts of them with grass and a variety of sweet herbs, on which are fed large flocks of sheep and goats the wool of the former esteemed the finest in Europe, and without a mixture of which the most valuable cloths cannot be made. The Spanish wheat is excellent, and their bread would be equally good if it was not sometimes spoiled in the making. They have plenty of barley, the food of their horses and mules, but scarce any oats. They do not think it worth their while to make hay, though they have grass enough, but feed their horses and mules with straw in the room of it: and indeed there is scarce any part of the year they want pasture for their flocks and herds, so that hay is by no means so necessary here as it is in colder countries, where our grounds yield little or nothing in winter. They have very rich wines, and in great plenty, such as Malaga, Galicia, Alicante, Barcelona, and many others. Besides the fruits common to us here, they abound in oranges, lemons, citrons, prunes, raisins, olives, figs, capers, chesnuts, pomegranates and almonds. Many medicinal and odoriferous herbs and flowers grow wild here, which with us will not arrive at any perfection with the utmost care; and their oil, wax and honey, is as good as any in Europe. There is so much silk grown in Spain, that it is said to employ a million of people, in feeding, gathering and curing the worms; spinning, weaving, and other manufactures of silk or velvet. Other parts produce flax, hemp, cotton, sugar, saffron, pitch, rosin, &c. And as to their animals, their horses have always been esteemed for their swiftness, as their mules are for their strength, and being sure-footed, on that account are generally used in travelling over this mountainous country: nor do they want very good horses for draught. The flesh of their sheep is admired as well as the wool they produce; the flesh of their goats and kids also is good food, and their hogs and dried bacon are reckoned equal to those of Westphalia. Wild hogs, deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, and all manner of game, are plentiful, especially in their mountains and forests, and the seas, which almost surround them, well stocked with fish. But of all these particulars I shall give a more distinct account in the description of the respective provinces.

## CHAP. II.

*Treats of the persons and habits of the Spaniards; of their genius and temper; diet, diversions and way of travelling.*

THE Spanish men are generally tall and well made, but few of them corpulent. Their complexion is swarthy, their hair black, their features just, with brisk sparkling eyes. They shave their beards, leaving long mustachios on the upper lip. The women are generally small and slender, and value themselves much on their pretty little feet, and fine hands and arms, and take abundance of pains to prevent their breasts growing out of size, by binding plates of lead upon them.

The men who pretend to dress, part their hair and tie it behind with ribbon. Their habits are generally black, and consist of a fine shirt, a short waistcoat, and breeches close to their thighs; fine black stockings, and white thread underneath. On their feet they wear pumps made of very pliant

CHAP. I.  
Produce of the country at present.CHAP. II.  
Persons of the Spaniards.

Their habits.

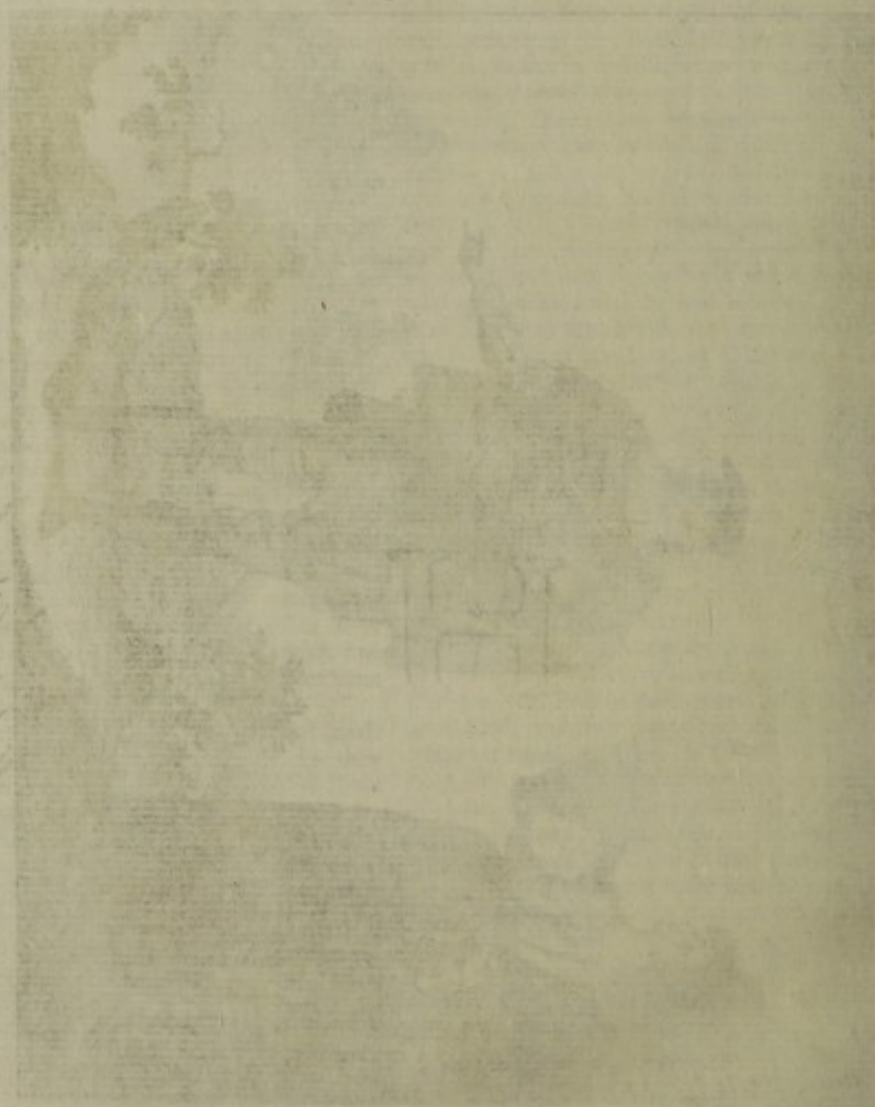


page. 678.



*Habits of the Spaniards*





*View of the Falls*



CHAP.  
II.

Their ladies paint their swarthy skins.

pliant leather; and every peasant almost has a monstrous long sword on one side, and a dagger on the other. The collars of their waistcoats are stiff, and covered with a kind of ruff, but not so large as those formerly worn in England, and over all they throw a short cloak, but so contrive it as to have the right hand at liberty.

The ladies in Spain lay on their paint very thick, and are not at all ashamed of it; and not only on their faces and hands, but a great way down their backs, for they wear their stays so low behind, that their tawny shoulders without it would make but a very indifferent appearance. They dress in their hair, wear stays, and fardings, or hoops of brass-wire, to bear out their clothes. Their gowns are black, and under them, it is said, they wear half a dozen other garments. Their coats are so long that they trail upon the ground and hide their feet, for these they conceal as carefully as any of their hidden beauties. When they go abroad they wear a kind of clogs or pattens, which make them appear half a foot taller than they really are, and a veil which covers them from head to foot. Flanders lace, muslin and fine linen are much worn by the quality, and most of them have several sets of jewels. On the top of the stays the Spanish ladies wear a breast-plate of diamonds, to which there hangs a chain of pearl, or other precious jewels. Necklaces are not in use here, but they have abundance of bracelets upon their arms, and rings on their fingers, and such weighty pendants in their ears, as stretches them to an unreasonable length. The *Agnus Dei's*, and little images and pictures of the saints, may be reckoned part of their dress, for we seldom see either men or women without a great many of these trinkets, besides their beads. Spanish gravity being become a proverb amongst us, it is almost needless to observe with what deliberation they do every thing: their pace is so extremely slow, that at a little distance it is not easy to discern whether they move at all; and in short, the air and mien of this people is the very reverse of the French; and this brings me to treat of their genius and temper.

Their genius and temper. Natural and acquired parts.

The Spaniards are generally men of a piercing wit and elevated genius, but very little improved by study or conversation, for want of schools and academies where the sciences are taught in the modern way; for those that do study, apply themselves chiefly to the ancient philosophy or school-divinity, and are such slaves to the opinions of the ancients, that they will admit of no other systems. ARISTOTLE, SCOTUS, and ST. THOMAS, as they call him, are infallible oracles with them; and he would be thought a poor physician, who did not follow HIPPOCRATES, GALEN or AVICENNA. On the contrary, they slight the rules of the ancient poets, and take up with very mean compositions of their own; from whence my author observes, that they have neither good philosophers, poets, or physicians among them; notwithstanding which, he admires them for their wisdom, secrecy, constancy, and patience in adversity: he says they are slow in determining, but usually conclude judiciously at last; that they are generous, magnificent, liberal, delicate in the point of honour, sincere friends, agreeable companions, grave in their discourse, true to their words, great enemies to lying, and extremely temperate in eating and drinking. As to their veracity, many signal instances have been given of it by those who have written of this country;

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among which, I shall relate but one. A gentleman having killed another in a duel, fled into the house of a noble lady, and begged her protection against the officers of justice that were pursuing him. The lady, upon his earnest entreaty, promised to conceal him; and she had no sooner put him into a private place, but the officers entered her doors; and having searched, as they thought, every part of the house without finding him, they concluded he had escaped from thence, and went about their business. Not long after the only son of the lady was brought home dead, whom she understood had been murdered by the very man she had concealed; however, such was her regard to her word and honour, that she gave the offender an opportunity of escaping from her house in the dark, letting him understand at the same time, that now she had performed her promise to him, he must expect to be prosecuted with the utmost vengeance; and that she should leave no place unfought till she had found him, and delivered him up into the hands of justice.

But to proceed: The Spaniards being naturally devout, the clergy, who have the government of their consciences, have converted this commendable quality into the grossest superstition and bigotry, and taught them such a veneration for their priests, that they kiss their hands, and the very hem of their garments, paying them a worship very little short of what they pay the Deity. Nor have they, as foreigners observe, less respect for the ladies than they have for their priests, they do in a manner idolize that sex; they never say anything shocking before them, and their well-bred men frequently approach them with bended knees, kissing their hands instead of their lips; and if a lady does them the favour to commend any thing they have, as a ring, a watch, a jewel, or other toy they are masters of, they never fail to make her a present of it; by which means, it is said, some young gentlemen have run through considerable fortunes; for the ladies knowing their power, too often exercise it in this particular: but none of them are such tyrants as the big-bellied women, who command every thing they are pleased to long for; and a Prince would be thought a brute who should deny them any thing.

Among their foibles, the great opinion the Spaniards have of themselves, and their contempt of foreigners, are none of the least. As they seldom travel, they know little of the beauties of other countries, and look upon their own as a terrestrial paradise. One of their preachers in a Lent sermon observed, that if the Pyrenean mountains had not interposed when the devil shewed our Saviour the kingdoms of the world, and thereby prevented his viewing Spain, he had probably been overcome by the temptation.

To the pride and vanity of the Spaniards are added many other vices, as their wretched indolence and laziness, their revenge, avarice, lust, and credulity in believing the feigned miracles and fabulous stories of their monks without examination. As to their revenge, when a gentleman apprehends himself affronted, he does not think himself obliged to run the hazard of a duel, as in other countries, but makes no scruple of destroying his enemy privately, by causing him to be poisoned, shot, or otherwise assassinated. Their neglecting to apply themselves to agriculture and husbandry, is generally looked upon as the effect of idleness; whereas it is certainly to be imputed to their pride, or rather the custom of their country, where a man is

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looked



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looked upon with the utmost contempt who submits to these vile employments, as they are esteemed: their pretended quality will not suffer them to plough their lands, or plant their vineyards. There is not a peasant among them without a roll of his pedigree: every one of them can shew that he is descended in a right line from the old Gothick Christians, who assisted their King PELAGIUS in expelling the infidel Moors; and big with the pretended honour, their lands must lie unmanured, if foreigners did not plant and sow them for the whimsical proprietor, and generally run away with the best part of their profits. The French usually do them this favour, and carry home considerable fortunes into their country; but this is to be understood chiefly of the two Castiles and the midland provinces; for the natives of Galicia do not only manure their own lands, but assist the Castilians in their husbandry: and in Grenada, Andalusia, and the southern provinces, peopled chiefly by the descendants of the ancient Moors, they do not look upon husbandry as a contemptible employment. King PHILIP III. in order to break his subjects of this unaccountable humour of starving in the midst of plenty, or at least on lands that might be rendered extremely fruitful by a moderate industry, published an edict, declaring that every owner of lands should be deemed a gentleman, and have the title of an Esquire, who applied himself to husbandry, besides being exempted from going to the wars. PHILIP IV. published a declaration to encourage foreigners to reside in Spain, offering all those who should apply themselves to husbandry, trade or grazing, that they should be exempted paying of taxes, or any duties to the crown, which encouraged great numbers of artificers and labourers to resort thither from the provinces of Auvergne, Limousin, Guienne, Languedoc, and Bearn in France; but after they have raised a tolerable fortune, they usually return home to spend it, and leave the Spaniards as poor as they found them. It is a miserable thing, as my author observes, to see a peasant sitting before his gate, or on a bulk in the street, in a tattered cloak, and his arms a-cross, or perhaps playing upon a wretched guitar in summer, when he should be gathering in the fruits of the earth, while foreigners are reaping his corn, and getting in the vintage, and perhaps go away with the best part of the crop for their pains, while the owner remains almost destitute of necessaries. But surely no people sustain their poverty with such an air of gravity and satisfaction, we hear no murmuring on this account let their wants be ever so great: nor do they know how to keep any more than they do how to improve what they have; economy is a perfect stranger here; it is beneath them to look into their affairs; they live as it were from hand to mouth, and never did people observe that precept better, of taking no thought for the morrow.

The reason Spain is depopulated.

It is not without reason that foreigners are astonished to see so rich and fruitful a country, favoured with a pure healthful air, in a manner forsaken and depopulated; but there are many good reasons to be assigned for it, besides those already mentioned, of which the incontinence of the young fellows, as well as of the married men, is looked upon as one of the chief. When a lad is arrived to fifteen or sixteen years of age, his friends provide him a concubine, whom he hires for a month, a year, or as long as he sees fit, perhaps because he

should not marry to disadvantage; and as the Spaniards are generally much addicted to venereal pleasures, they are so wasted and exhausted before they come of age, that they are very unfit to perform the duties of the marriage-bed, and often contract diseases, which the miserable children feel the effects of as soon as they are born. And as they generally find more satisfaction in their mistresses than in their wives, and consequently give the latter all the reason in the world to be jealous, they take care to lock up the miserable creatures, or place spies upon them, lest they should retaliate the injury, as the Spanish women frequently do when they have an opportunity, provoked to it by the tyranny and injustice of their husbands.

Another reason given for their want of people, is the expulsion of many hundred thousand Moors and Jews in the reign of PHILIP III. from the provinces of Andalusia, Grenada and Murcia. The continual wars that the Spaniards carried on for near two hundred years in Flanders and Italy, also swept away abundance of their men: and the riches of America, where they hoped to acquire gold and silver without labour, drew over many thousand families thither. Add to this the multitudes who have taken the vow of celibacy, and are locked up in monasteries or nunneries, and all the clergy in general, to whom their religion and laws prohibit wives, and we shall cease to wonder, either at the uncultivated lands or the paucity of inhabitants in Spain.

Give me leave here, before I proceed further, to consider the different characters of the Spaniards given us by different writers. An English traveller now before me, concludes his account of them in these words: 'And thus I take my leave of Spain, in hopes of meeting with better accommodation in Italy; it being certain, that the general poverty, and villainous inclinations of the people here, will make one thank God to have passed their country with safety: and as I am taking my farewell of them, I must declare it as an undoubted truth, that all the time I staid in Spain, I neither saw nor heard of any honourable or generous action done by a Spaniard, but frequently of the direful effects of their vain pride, poverty, thefts, murders and deceits, which are too often committed here.'

On the contrary, another writer says, 'After all, to give the Spaniards their due, such of them as have had the good fortune of a liberal education, and improved themselves by travelling abroad, must be owned to be persons of a solid understanding and uncommon vivacity: that they both speak and write concisely, are very apt for politicks, temperate, constant and laborious, naturally inclined to generosity, true friendship and bravery: all which taken together, make their manners not appear so odious to me, as to some people perhaps who have not examined them.'

From the whole, the Spaniards do not seem to want natural parts or good inclinations; their greatest misfortune is their conversing so little with the rest of the world; they are situated at one extremity of the earth, as the Chinese are at the other; neither the one or the other travel themselves, or are much visited by other people, unless in their port towns: from whence it proceeds, that both nations have entertained a notion of their own self-sufficiency, and a contempt of the improvements that have been made in arts and sciences by the rest of mankind. Add to this, that



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the Spanish clergy, lest the people should break through the clouds of bigotry and superstition that surround them, discourage all manner of learning, and intercourse with foreigners; so that where they have imbibed any false or destructive opinions, it is almost impossible they should be undeceived. I make no manner of doubt therefore, but it must be very dangerous and uneasy for foreigners, and especially Protestants, who have not a good share of patience, as well as prudence, to reside amongst them. If you touch upon the string of religion, and seem to reflect on any part of their superstition, it is well if you be not delivered over to the inquisition. If you are too free with the ladies, you will run the hazard of a poignard; and if you endeavour to expose the folly of their pride and indolence, there is no great friendship to be expected from them. On the other hand, where a man can wave his zeal for his darling notions in religion, and suspend his complaisance for the fair sex, and forbear reflecting on their absurdities, for aught I can find he may meet with a very favourable, and even hospitable reception in Spain, and especially from persons of distinction.

Their  
food.

They eat but little beef in Spain. Their mutton and goats flesh are admirably good, and their hogs, which are fed with chefnuts or acorns, make excellent pork and bacon, said to equal that of Westphalia. Their rabbits are as good as ours, and their partridges larger. The hares which feed in the vineyards while the grapes are growing, are so fat that they are easily knocked on the head, but are not eaten in any other season. Pigeons, pheasants, and other wild fowl, are plentiful enough, and their sea-fish is excellent; but they have not much good fish in their rivers. The common people live chiefly upon bread, wine, pease, beans, or other pulse, roots, herbs and fruit. Flesh is very seldom seen in their houses, any more than in their cooks shops, where you will meet with pease, beans, leeks, onions, garlick, and perhaps a little broth of ordinary meat boiled to rags. Here the servants belonging to persons of quality at Madrid usually dine and sup, both men and women, for there is no more victuals dressed in their lords houses than will serve the master, his wife and children; which is the reason that at an entertainment, the servants are ready to snatch the meat out of the dishes as it is going to table: and we are told of some gentlemen that are forced to have locks to their pots and stew-pans, lest their servants should run away with their victuals before it is dressed.

Persons of distinction usually live in a certain method. As soon as they are up they drink a glass of water cooled with ice or snow, and immediately after a dish of chocolate. At dinner the master of the family sits down to table in a chair, while the women and children sit cross-legged like Turks, and eat upon a carpet spread on the floor. Their meals are usually light and sparing, perhaps a pheasant, a pair of pigeons, an ollio, or a ragou highly seasoned with garlick and pepper; and after all, a desert of delicious fruits, which they have in great perfection. When dinner is over, they sleep till two in winter, and in summer till four, all which time the shops are shut up, and you scarce meet any thing in the streets, as one observes, but Frenchmen or dogs. When they get up again and are dressed, they eat sweatmeats, or drink a dish of chocolate, and after it a draught of water. The supper is not much heavier than the dinner; a little hash, or ragou, and a tart, or something of that kind. The lady drinks nothing but water,

and the lord but very little wine. Butter and cheese are scarce in Spain, and that they have is very indifferent; oil is used for frying and sauces instead of it, and being of the best sort, in some measure supplies the place of butter.

The evening here, as in other hot countries, is spent in taking the air, or making visits. They go from their houses about four or five in the evening, and seldom return till eleven or twelve at night. The men meet abroad in the publick places of resort, or at the play-house, where the ladies, if there be any, are always concealed from the male audience by a lattice, for which reason possibly they chuse to visit one another at their houses. The floors of their apartments being covered with rich carpets, and long velvet cushions placed round their rooms, the ladies sit cross-legg'd on them after the manner of the Turks, which being contrary to the custom of other Europeans, is supposed to have been introduced here by the Moors. When a lady makes a visit, the mistress of the house, and all the company, rise up and meet her at the door of the antichamber. They do not kiss at meeting, but shake hands, giving each other no distinguishing titles, as your Highness, or your Grace, &c. but when they address themselves to a lady, stile her Donna Maria, Donna Elizabetha, and the like. They frequently play at cards, and sometimes very deep, and observe a perfect silence while they are engaged in this diversion. As to their conversation, it runs chiefly upon politicks; and if they speak of the absent, it is very seldom to their disadvantage, as is too frequent in other places. They converse with abundance of friendship, and as they have a good share of wit, their company is very entertaining. Before they break up they are usually treated with sweetmeats, and it is no unusual or indecent thing to carry away a handkerchief full of them. Besides these the ladies frequently drink chocolate, the produce of their American plantations. Instead of candles, when it grows dark, the servants bring in fine silver lamps with abundance of branches; and as their oil is sweet, they do not create any offensive smell, and give a very good light.

Our countryman CARLTON relates, that the ladies here visit in great state: that they are usually carried in a chair by four men, the two first always bare-headed; two others walk as her guard, and another carries a lanthorn to light her home; then follows a coach drawn by six mules, with her women, and another with her gentlemen, several servants walking after, for they never suffer the servants to overload a coach, as with us; and their pace is answerable to the gravity of the people. There are few coaches except the King's drawn with horses, though there is no country affords finer for that purpose.

Their plays and opera's, it is universally agreed, are wretched entertainments. There are two play-houses at Madrid; but CARLTON says, that both their action and their musick are so very bad, that they don't deserve mentioning: the most remarkable thing he observed of them was, that whenever the Aye-bell rung, as it constantly does at six in the evening, all the actors, as well as the audience, fall down upon their knees, and having spent some minutes in their devotions, the entertainment is renewed again.

Masquerading is in fashion here as in other European countries, with this addition, that they masquerade on horseback as well as on foot. But what



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what is peculiar to them, is their bull-fests, of which we meet with various accounts from our modern travellers. A French lady, whose works are now before me, relates, that the King, having appointed a bull-fest at Madrid, several cows were driven into the neighbouring forests, and being pursued by wild bulls, the females decoyed them into stables prepared for them near the places where the combat was to be; and sometimes there are not less than thirty or forty brought into Madrid in this manner, the streets whereof are lined and barricadoed on the sides to prevent these furious creatures doing any mischief; and if any of the bulls endeavour to return and make their escapes, they are followed by a body of men on horseback and on foot, armed with lances, spears, and other weapons, who force them along; and where a Cavalier is so fortunate as to bring back a bull that has broke from the rest, the honour is almost equal to that of having killed him in single combat.

These bulls being well fed for a certain time, the fiercest of them are made choice of for the sport; and on the day prefixed, the Place-Major, or great square in Madrid, is covered with sand, and surrounded with a strong barricade six foot high. The buildings here are uniform and beautiful, with a piazza on all sides, over which there are balconies covered with velvet or tapestry, for the reception of the quality who come to see the engagement. The King's balcony is in the middle of one of the longest sides, (for the square is an oblong) and is distinguished by the richness of the carving and gilding, and the canopy over it. Directly opposite to his Majesty, are the balconies of the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers of the popish communion, for I don't find that the Ministers of the Protestant powers have any place assigned them here any more than in the King's chapel, though they may be admitted to see the sport with them. On the right of his Majesty are the balconies of the several councils of Castile, Aragon, the Inquisition, &c. distinguished by their respective arms embroidered on crimson velvet. Next to these are placed the judges, grandees, titulados and city-companies, according to their quality: nor are their ladies or daughters excluded; all of them entertained at the charge of the publick, with dried sweatmeats, fruits, water cooled with snow or ice, &c. They are presented also with ribbons, fans, gloves, and other toys, to a very great value, the expence being borne out of the fines and forfeitures belonging to the King or the city, which are laid up from time to time for this purpose. Underneath the balconies are scaffolds erected for the common people, unless under the King's which place is reserved for his Majesty's guards. Foreign ministers, and persons of distinction, having entered the square with their coaches and equipages, take several turns before the King comes, and salute the ladies in the balconies, who on this occasion appear without their veils, being covered with diamonds and other precious jewels from head to foot, making a very dazzling appearance in a place where the sun usually shines out in its full lustre. The King being come into the square, the coaches immediately withdraw, and all the company take their places; after which the square is watered by the water-carts, and the guards with their officers are drawn up under the King's balcony, without any other barricado before them, than what they make with their half-pikes and halberts, which they present against the

bull if he approaches them, but are obliged not to retreat or stir a foot, let the danger be never so great. CHAP. II.

Every thing being prepared, six Alguazils, or city officers, enter the square, mounted on fine horses richly accoutred after the Moreisco fashion; their business is to introduce the knights who are to encounter the bulls: they are dressed in white habits, with plumes of feathers in their hats, and each of them a white wand in his hand: but this festival I am describing being appointed on account of the King's marriage, was more splendid than usual, as the lady from whom I take this relation informs us. The first day the Alguazils introduced six Cavaliers prepared for the combat, mounted on fine horses set off with the richest furniture, and feathers in their hats. They were followed each of them by a dozen led horses, and as many mules, laden with lances about five foot long, finely painted and gilded. The mules were covered with velvet, embroidered with their respective arms. The gentlemen themselves were dressed in black, embroidered with gold and silver, with diamond hatbands, and scarfs of different colours, with black cloaks tied back behind them, so as not to hinder the use of their arms. They had on their legs little white buskins, and long gilt spurs with one sharp point only, after the manner of the Moors, and like them rode in short stirrups, which brought their knees as high as the saddle. They were attended each of them by forty footmen, some clothed in gold-mohair trimmed with lace, others in carnation colour brocaded with gold or silver, but all in foreign dresses, imitating Moors, Hungarians, Indians, &c. who carried each of them abundance of lances.

Being conducted by the Alguazils over the Place-Major, on approaching the King's balcony they made a profound reverence, and demanded leave to engage the bulls; which being granted with wishes for their success, all the trumpets sounded, and the people shouted, crying, *Viva los bravos caballeros*; after which they separated, and having saluted the ladies of their acquaintance, sent away all their footmen out of the lists, except two for each Cavalier, who carried their lances, and kept close to their respective masters. At the same time entered several robust fellows from distant parts of the kingdom, in order to fight the bulls on foot.

The Alguazils having received the keys of the stables of his Majesty, let out a bull, and made their escapes as fast as their horses would carry them, fighting being none of their business. The bull no sooner came into the square, but the young fellows on foot shot their arrows or threw darts at him, which sticking in his flesh he raged and stamped, threatening destruction to every thing in his way: one of the Cavaliers hereupon approaching him with his lance, the beast ran at him with all his fury, but was dexterously avoided by the knight, who slipped on one side, and as the bull passed, wounded him with a lance; which being broken, one of the footmen supplied his master with another, with which he attacked the beast again in the same manner: this increased his fury to the last degree, and the Cavalier seemed to be in great danger; but I perceive the footmen came in to his assistance and relieved him. The author of this relation, who was an eye-witness, says, that she saw a black advance only with his dagger to one of the bulls in his full rage, and strike him with that force between his horns, that he fell down dead that moment;



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moment; whereupon the Alguazils came in with four mules as usual, and dragged the beast out of the rails, under the sound of trumpets and the acclamations of the people. There were it seems no less than twenty bulls let out to fight on this occasion one after another, one of which run with such fury at Count CONINGSMARK, who was one of the combatants, that he wounded him in the leg, and let out his horse's guts; notwithstanding which, the Count, supported by one of his footmen, attacked the bull on foot with his sword only, and gave the beast a terrible wound in the head; whereupon turning about to the lady of his affections, he kissed his sword, and was carried off half dead with the loss of blood. It seems where the bull has insulted a Cavalier, by forcing his lance out of his hand, throwing off his hat, wounding his horse, or any of the company, the knight is bound in honour to give him a wound in return, or die in the attempt; and if the horse appears daunted at the bull, the Cavalier must light and engage on foot: the rest of the knights also are obliged to dismount and follow him, not to engage themselves, but to see if they can terrify the beast by marching against him in a body; and if the creature retires to the further end of the square, they have satisfied the law of duelling, as they call it.

The same day a Biscayner leaped from his horse on the back of the bull he was engaged with, and continued there a quarter of an hour, and in the end broke off one of the bull's horns. If a bull defends himself so long that they are tired of him, they bait him with dogs, and hamstringing him, and another bull is let out. 'Tis almost incredible with what dexterity the combatants manage their horses and arms, keeping within a foot of the beast almost an hour together without being touched. At this feast a young Gentleman of Toledo was tossed up into the air by a bull, and so bruised by the fall that he died upon the spot; two others were mortally wounded, and four horses killed; and this is nothing to the mischief that happens sometimes.

Another  
bull feast,  
by CARL-  
TON.

Our countryman CARLTON, whom I have mentioned already, relates, that while he was prisoner at la Mancha, upon the taking General STANHOPE and the English forces prisoners at Brihuega, and the retreat of Count STAREMBERG, a bull-feast being appointed to be held at la Mancha, a week's time was allowed for building stalls for the beasts, and scaffolds for the spectators; and on the day the bulls were brought into the town, the Cavaliers of the place rode out about a league to assist in forcing them along, and the beasts were put in stalls or dens, made as dark as possible, to render them the fiercer on the day of battle.

The sport being to last three days, on the first, all the gentry of the place and the neighbouring country in their richest clothes resorted to the great square, and took their places on the scaffolds, while the people having provided themselves with spears and darts, stood ready for the encounter; for the bull does not only fight with the Tauri, (who is a person usually hired on these occasions in the lesser cities) but with the whole multitude, who throw their darts at him as often as they have opportunity. As soon as the door of the stall is opened, and the bull perceives the light, he comes out snuffing up the air, and staring about him stamps upon the ground, as in defiance of his enemies. Soon after the Tauri clothed in white,

and holding his cloak in one hand and a two-edged sword in the other, enters the lists; on whom when the brute has set his eyes, he moves at first gently towards him, then gradually mending his pace till he comes within twenty yards of the Tauri, he springs forwards and runs at him with all his force. The Tauri having slipped on one side and avoided him, throws the cloak over his horns, and cuts him over the neck if he can, there being one particular place, which if he hits he easily brings him to the ground. CARLTON says, he saw a bull himself so stunned with one stroke, that he could not move, and the blood flowing plentifully out of the wound, after a violent trembling the creature fell down dead. But this rarely happens, he usually receives a great number of wounds by swords and darts before he dies; and whenever he feels a fresh wound, he redoubles his fury against the Tauri, who having avoided him again, seldom fails to give him another wound. When the Tauri is wearied out, they bring in their dogs, hamstringing the beast, and pierce him with their darts till he expires; after which, he is carried out of the barrier with the loud acclamations of the people, as if some signal victory had been obtained. Our author relates, that he saw the Tauri, who was hired on this occasion, and was esteemed one of the best in Spain, mount one of these bulls, cutting and slashing him till he had wearied the beast out, and then dismounting, killed him with ease, to the great satisfaction of the multitude, who made the air ring with their shouts; and on such occasions money is thrown to the Tauri by the spectators for his encouragement.

On the third day of the Feast, a young gentleman of quality, named DON PEDRO ORTEGA, performed the part of a Tauri on horseback, when the seats were crowded with people of fashion that came from distant places to see the encounter. He entered the lists finely mounted on a managed horse, attended by four footmen in rich liveries, who after their master had rode round the square, and paid his compliments to the company, withdrew from the danger. Then the bull was let out, and having stood a little while staring about, fixed his eyes upon his adversary, and run at him with the utmost fury. The Cavalier having dextrously avoided the brute, wounded him with a dart in the shoulder; whereupon the people shouted, their viva's were repeated, and the lady of his affections wav'd her handkerchief as a mark of her satisfaction. The Cavalier endeavoured always to keep his horse on the side of the bull, for the advantage of striking him; and throwing another dart, fix'd it in his flank: but notwithstanding the gentleman behav'd himself to admiration, and often received the viva's and huzza's of the people, the bull at length getting his horns between the horse's hinder legs, threw both man and horse to the ground, and it was expected he would have killed them both, when to the surprize of every one he withdrew to the farther side of the square, and stood staring about him. In the mean time, the Cavalier was carried off not much hurt.

The foot Tauri hereupon entered the lists again, imagining he should have met with an easy conquest; but the same bull made him frequently retreat into the places contrived for the security of footmen; nor was he able to dispatch the creature at last without the general assistance, the bull having near an hundred darts stuck in him before he fell, besides many cuts and gashes in his flesh. This sport seems so very barbarous to the



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ing.Travel-  
ling.

present King, that he has been heard to say, it deserves little encouragement. At the same time his subjects are so enchanted with the diversion, that he does not think fit entirely to abolish it; though these entertainments are of late much less frequent than they were formerly.

I shall mention but one kind of diversion more, which seems almost peculiar to this people, and that is the serenading their mistresses in the night-time, with vocal or instrumental musick. Not a young fellow scarce, when the love-fit is upon him, but spends his evening, and perhaps the best part of the night, in such amusements, though they have little more knowledge of the lady they pretend to adore, than Don Quixot had of the celebrated DULCINEA. Their voices are something better than their instruments; for the last, to an Italian, and even an English ear, are intolerable.

As to their way of travelling, they find themselves under a necessity in long journeys to make use of mules or litters, the country is so mountainous; but in the plains where they go but from town to town, they frequently travel in coaches drawn by four or six mules. It is usual to carry good store of hams and tongues and other provision with them, there being but very little to be met with on the road; and their lodging is rather worse than the entertainment: it is very difficult for a man to get a room to himself in an inn, there being several little beds or cabins round the walls, he is under a necessity of sleeping with such company as he finds in the house. The muleteers and servants indeed usually lie with their cattle in the stables, and consequently do not give him much disturbance.

## CHAP. III.

*Shews the several provinces Spain is divided into, and contains also a particular description of New Castile, Madrid the capital, and other great towns, with their palaces, churches, public buildings, &c.*

CHAP.  
III.Ancient  
division  
of Spain.Tarraco-  
nensis.

Bætica.

Lusitania.

THE first division the Romans made of Spain, was into two parts, viz. Citerior or Hither Spain, and Ulterior or Further Spain, in regard to the river Ebro, which separated the two Empires of Rome and Carthage: but when the Romans had made an entire conquest of this country, they divided it into three great provinces, 1. Tarracoenensis. 2. Bætica. And, 3. Lusitania. Tarracoenensis extended from Cape Creuz in Catalonia to Cape Finiserra in Galicia, containing Leon, Galicia, Asturia, Biscay, Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and the two Castiles.

Bætica, which took its name from the river Bætis, now Guadalquivir, extended from Cape de Gates in Grenada to the mouth of the Guadiana; comprehending Grenada, Andalusia, and a good part of New Castile.

Lusitania extended from the mouth of the Guadiana to the Duero, containing Portugal and Estremadura. These were again subdivided into fourteen districts or jurisdictions, each of them having a sovereign court, of which the Tarracoenensis comprehended seven, viz. those of Tarragona, Saragossa, Carthagen, Lugo, Cruna, Braga and Astorga. Those of Bætica, were Cadiz, Seville, Cæryra and Cordoua. And those of Lusitania, Beia, Santaren and Merida.

At this day Spain is divided into fifteen provinces, exclusive of Portugal, (which being a separate kingdom, will be described hereafter by itself,) viz. 1. New Castile. 2. Old Castile. 3. Leon. 4. Galicia. 5. Asturia. 6. Biscay. 7. Navarre. 8. Arragon. 9. Catalonia. 10. Valencia. 11. Estremadura. 12. Andalusia. 13. Grenada. 14. Murcia. And, 15. The Islands.

1. New Castile, anciently the country of the Carpetani, Oretani and Vaccei, and after the conquest of the Moors, known by the name of the kingdom of Toledo, is bounded by a long chain of mountains, which separate it from Old Castile, Arragon and Valencia, on the north and east; by Andalusia, Grenada and Murcia on the south; and by Estremadura on the west.

The Tagus and Guadiana, two of the most considerable rivers of Spain, have their sources in this province, running the whole length of it from east to west. The Guadalquivir also rises here. The rest of the rivers that water it are the Xucar, the Xarama, the Tajuna, the Henarez and the Guadarrama.

This being an inland province, distant from the sea, is colder in winter, and hotter in summer than the maritime provinces, but enjoys however a purer and more healthful air. It is one of the largest and fruitfulest provinces of Spain, especially that part of it which lies along the rivers Tagus and Guadiana, producing wheat, barley, wine, oil, good pasture, great herds of cattle, tame and wild fowl, and all manner of game; but there are scarce any good fish in their rivers. It is usually subdivided into three lesser districts, viz. those of Al-garia, Sierra and la Mancha. Al-garia lies to the northward of the Tagus, and affords a great variety of pleasant prospects, consisting of mountains, plains, woods and forests; the chief towns and places whereof, are Madrid, the Pardo, Sars-nela, the Escorial, Alcala de Henares, Guadala-jara, Brihuega, Siguenza, Toledo, Aranjuez and Talavera de la Reyna.

Madrid, the ancient *Mantua Carpetanorum*, formerly a little inconsiderable town which belonged to the Archbishops of Toledo, became the metropolis of Spain about an hundred and fifty years since, when their Kings made it the seat of the government. It is situated in 40 degrees 25 minutes north latitude, 4 degrees west of London, in the middle of a large sandy plain, surrounded with high mountains at the distance of eight or ten English miles every way, being one of the barrenest spots in the whole kingdom, and affording scarce any trees or herbage. The town, for it is not strictly speaking a city, is about seven or eight miles in circumference, and has neither walls or fortifications to defend it; the gates and the guards that keep them serving only to prevent the running of goods imported and exported; for the duties on wine and all manner of provision brought into Madrid are very high. The streets are generally of a great length, strait and spacious; but miserably paved with small stones; the fairest of them are the Calle (or street) Mayor, the Calle de Toledo, the Calle d'Atocha, and that of Alcala. There are also several noble squares, as those of San Joachin, Laganites, San Domingo and Sebada; but the largest and most magnificent is that of the Plaza Mayor, in the middle of the town, being four hundred and thirty-four foot long, and three hundred and thirty-four foot broad, and surrounded by an hundred and thirty-six stately uniform houses, five stories high, with balconies at every story, the whole

CHAP.  
III.Modern  
provinces.New Caf-  
tile.

Fertility.

Subdivi-  
sion.Chief  
towns, &c.

Madrid.

Buildings.

whole



CHAP.  
III.

whole being sustained by pilasters and arches, like those of Covent Garden in London; they are generally inhabited by drapers, and other substantial tradesmen; and in the middle of the square the great market is held: here also their bull-fests are celebrated on any victory or other great event. The houses are generally built of brick, the apartments being commodious and magnificent; but their lattice windows take away much from their beauty; few of them are glazed, for two reasons, one is, that their women can see into the streets without being seen; and the other, that glass in this country makes their houses excessive hot. The houses of the meaner sort of people are built with clay, and make a very indifferent appearance. Building is excessive dear at Madrid, the materials being brought from distant places, and no navigable river to import 'em; therefore when any one ventures upon building, they immediately conclude he is very rich. The best houses have been built by the Viceroy of Peru, Mexico, Naples, &c. who returning from their governments, usually spend the remainder of their lives at Madrid, as most of the other grandes do. There are neither courts nor great gates before their houses, as the French have before their hotels in Paris, after the manner of Somerset-house in London; but the front of the house comes up to the very street. Whoever builds, the first floor belongs to the King, and he may either sell it or let it out, unless the owner of the soil purchase it, as is usual, which brings in a great revenue to his Majesty. In the houses of the quality there is generally one apartment for winter and another for summer, and in some we find an apartment for every season of the year.

Furniture.

Their furniture is extravagantly rich, beyond what we meet with even in France; their hangings are either tapestry, velvet, or silk trimmed with gold and silver lace or fringe; and besides fine cabinets, glasses, pictures, busts, &c. we meet with a vast profusion of plate and jewels. Instead of chairs and tables in the ladies' apartments, are seen rich carpets, and silk or velvet cushions to sit on, for the women here sit cross-legged on the floor, as has been observed already.

Without the town there is a little valley through which runs the Mancanares, which is in reality neither brook nor river, but sometimes one and sometimes the other, according as the snows on the circumjacent mountains happen to dissolve. In the heat of summer there is scarce any water discernible, or so very little, that if a person bathes in it, as they frequently do, he first makes a hole in the same deep enough to wash himself in, and he must wait some time before he finds water enough for his purpose.

Over this river, as it is called by the Spaniards, PHILIP II. built a magnificent bridge, equal almost to the finest in Europe, which is called the bridge of Segovia; and though in summer the current that runs under it seems very unsuitable to so noble a pile of building, and has occasioned abundance of witticisms by drolling foreigners, as that the natives of Madrid would do well to sell their bridge and buy water, and the like; yet in the winter, when it is swelled by the torrents which fall from the mountains, it covers the neighbouring fields, and runs with such rapidity, that it carries all before it; this noble bridge is then scarce sufficient to resist the force of the current.

Palace  
royal.

As to the palaces in and about Madrid, that called the palace royal, the ordinary residence of

the Court, is situated on an eminence at the end of the town, from whence there is an easy descent to the Mancanares. The prospect over the neighbouring plains, which takes in the fine walks on the banks of the river, render it's situation extremely pleasant. The grand avenue is by the street, or Calle Mayor, the broadest and best built of any in the town. Before the front of the palace there is a large square of fine houses, adorned with gilded balconies. This palace cannot be admired for its beauty, the pavilions at each end seem to be the only part of the building worth notice. From hence, by three great gates of no extraordinary architecture, we pass through two square courts built on every side, at the end whereof is the grand stair-case that leads to the King and Queen's apartments. There are several other courts, all surrounded by cloysters or piazza's, after the manner of Spain, being very suitable in so warm a climate to screen them from the scorching heat of the sun. In the above-mentioned squares are held their councils and courts of justice, and here are the lodgings of the ladies of the bed-chamber, and the rest of the Queen's servants. From the grand stair-case we pass through a long gallery, where the guards are placed, consisting of three companies, viz. 1. The arches, consisting of Flemming and Burgundian gentlemen. 2. The Spanish guards composed of halberdiers. And, 3. The German guards, composed of foreigners of that nation, particularly Lorrainers: each of these companies consisting of about an hundred men. From this gallery we enter the royal apartments. When the King goes out, as he usually does every day to divine service, he passes through the guards in the gallery, who are then drawn up in a double haye, being preceded by the Captain of the guards, but followed by very few people.

Notwithstanding the palace in general has no great regularity or beauty, there are some very fine rooms and apartments in it, adorned with busts and statues exquisitely wrought, and abundance of pictures by the greatest hands; particularly one by MICHAEL ANGELO, representing our Saviour in the garden of Olives, said to have cost fifteen thousand pistoles. The tapestry and the rest of the furniture is incredibly rich. The greatest misfortune is, that their apartments have scarce any light, on pretence of keeping out the sun: some of them have no light but what they receive from the door, and the rest very small windows. The whole palace is built of white stone, except the two pavilions in the front, which are of brick. The window frames are of fine marble, and glazed with crown glass, those few that there are, and every story or range of building is adorned with gilded balconies.

There is another palace called la Casa del Campo, situate on the banks of the river Mancanares, opposite to that of the palace royal, a musket-shot out of town, and about six hundred paces from the famous bridge above-mentioned; but the building is neglected at present. The most remarkable things travellers mention belonging to it, are a fine brazen equestrian statue of PHILIP III. upon a marble pedestal; a brazen fountain in form of a castle; the park, lying along the river-side, with abundance of fine walks, fish-ponds and basins, where the King and Court divert themselves.

The palace called the Buen Retiro, is situated on the declivity of a hill, at the other extremity of the town, near the old Pardo, from whence also there

CHAP.  
III.Casa del  
CampoBuen Re-  
tiro.



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III.

there are abundance of pleasant views of the neighbouring country. The whole edifice consists of four great ranges of building, flanked with an equal number of pavilions, which together form an exact square. It has a fine parterre of flowers in the middle of it, with a fountain that waters them. The apartments are large and magnificent, the ceilings and wainscot shining with gold and the most lively colours. The rooms are embellished with exquisite paintings, and the hall, where plays are acted, is looked on as a master-piece; the boxes are each of them large enough to hold fifteen persons, but the lattices before them hide the beauties they contain. The adjoining park, being about three miles in circumference, is a mighty delightful place: here are a great many separate pavilions, where the officers of the court are lodged when the King comes to divert himself in the hot season; every pavilion has its garden, with basins and fountains, and there is one larger than the rest, planted with oranges, citrons, and other delicious fruits, with a large basin, where the court take the fresco of the evening in little gilded ships and yachts, about which there are five or six little pavilions. But to conclude: the grotto's, cascades, basins, groves and walks of trees, render the Buen Retiro a charming place in summer, for which reason the King of Spain usually resides here during the great heats; and the grandees have many of them palaces in Madrid, equal to those of the King's in the beauty of the architecture and furniture, if not in dimensions.

The  
church of  
our Lady  
of Atocha.

In the squares and great streets of Madrid are several noble fountains, adorned with statues or groups of figures: the most remarkable are those in the square of Sebada, the square of the Sun, and that of St. Dominick. The churches and convents also are a great ornament to the town, of which the church of our Lady of Atocha, or the Grove, is the most magnificent. It stands within the walls of the Dominican convent, about a quarter of a league out of Madrid, with which it has a communication by a thick shady walk of elms. Hither people come from all parts of the town to perform their devotions, and here the King sings *Te Deum* on every happy event. To the nave of the church there joins a chapel, which has no other light but what it receives from an hundred gold and silver lamps, which burn night and day. Here we find a black image of the blessed Virgin, with a little Jesus in her arms, to which many miracles are ascribed. She is generally clothed in a widow's habit, unless on great festivals, when she is dressed like a Queen, covered with jewels and precious stones, and round her head has a glory made by the brightest gems, equal almost to the sun in its full lustre. The King has a gallery in this chapel, with a lattice before it. The monks of this convent live most austere lives, and by one of their rules never set a foot out of the house.

Chapel of  
St. Isidore.

The church of our Lady of Almunada also is a magnificent building, where there is another image of the blessed Virgin, to which they ascribe abundance of Miracles, particularly her supplying the town with corn in their great distress, when it was besieged by the Moors. The history of this event is admirably well painted on the walls of a chapel dedicated to this saint, where the rails of the altar and the lamps are all of solid silver.

But the chapel of St. Isidore, the patron of Madrid, it is said, exceeds in beauty and riches any of the sacred fabricks above-mentioned. The dome which covers it is adorned on the outside with

the images of the twelve Apostles; under the middle of it we find the tomb of this saint, with a crown of marble adorned with flowers, supported by four columns of porphyry finely wrought. The walls of the chapel are incrustated or lined with marble of various colours, and the pillars of the same materials. The paintings about it are admirably fine, and the upper part of the dome shines with gold and azure. PHILIP IV built this chapel, which is said to have cost him four millions of livres. In the same church is another chapel of white marble, adorned with abundance of marble figures in relief, where every day a mass is said for the soul of PHILIP IV.

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III.

Among their hospitals, one was founded by MARY of Austria, for such girls as having lost their innocence, find themselves pregnant. Here they are allowed to lie-in, and care is taken of them and their children. PHILIP the Fourth, her husband, also founded an hospital at Madrid for bastards and foundling children. The hospital of St. Jerome is vastly large, entertaining continually fifteen hundred persons. Nor is that of St. Martin's much less, erected for such as have the French disease, who are taken care of by the monks belonging to the house.

Most of the royal palaces about Madrid having goods walks belonging to them, thither people of condition resort in the evening, or to the Prado, a fine field or meadow adjoining to the town, beautifully planted with trees, where the Beau Monde make the tour in their coaches, as the gentry about London do in Hyde-Park. Besides the palaces already mentioned in and about Madrid, there are three at some distance from the city, viz. The Pardo, the Sarriela and the Escorial. The Pardo stands about two leagues from the town, on the road to the Escorial. It is a great square building, flanked with four towers, containing as many grand apartments, which have a communication with each other by galleries supported by a piazza. The rooms are richly furnished, and adorned with fine paintings; and there are belonging to it delightful gardens, and a large park, where the King frequently hunts.

The Sarriela stands something further from Madrid than the Pardo, beautifully situated in a sporting country, and is another hunting-seat of the King's; but the building has very little in it that deserves a traveller's attention.

The Escorial is the largest and most magnificent palace in Spain, and according to the natives, the whole world cannot produce such a another. It stands upon an eminence in a rocky mountainous country, about seven leagues north-west of Madrid, commanding all the plain between the palace and that city. There could not have been chosen a more barren spot of ground to erect a royal seat in, where nothing grows without forcing, or introducing foreign earth. It was called the Escorial from a village of that name, which lies about half a league distant from it. PHILIP II, the son of CHARLES V, begun this building in the year 1557, and expended upon it a great many millions of treasure during the two and twenty years it was carrying on. He built it in memory of the victory his forces obtained over the French near St. Quintin in Picardy on St. LAURENCE's day. It is said, in that doubtful war he made two vows, the one, never to go out of his country to make war again; and the other, to erect a monument to the honour of that saint, the most magnificent of any in Europe, if he gained the victory; both which



CHAP. III. which he punctually observed, for he never went out of the kingdom afterwards, and built this glorious palace to the honour of St. LAURENCE, from whence it is called St. Laurence of the Escorial.

In this fabrick is a vast variety of building. it wants scarce any thing to form a compleat town; for here we meet with a royal palace, a church, cloysters, a college, a monastery, shops of tradesmen and artificers, and the dwelling-houses of great numbers of people. Here also are fine walks, beautiful avenues, a vast park, and large garden, embellished with fountains, cascades, grotto's, groves, and every thing that can render a place delightful: and though it be situated in a barren soil, the prospects from it are inexpressibly fine. It is said PHILIP II made choice of this situation to save the expence of carriage, for all this mighty edifice is built with a grey stone hewn out of the adjacent mountains: this stone is very hard and solid, resisting all the injuries of weather, and has this peculiar to it, that it always preserves it's natural colour without tarnishing. There is an ascent from the village Escorial to the palace through fine walks of elms, planted in four rows, about half a league in length, which terminate in an Esplanade or plain that furrounds the palace. This esplanade is separated from the court before the principal front, by a dwarf wall breast-high, in which are several gates to enter the court above-mentioned, that is paved with stone.

The whole edifice is square, only a little longer than broad, built with the grey stone already described, but so perfectly well cut and polished, that it looks like marble, and each corner is flanked by a glorious pavilion. There are four stories in all the fronts, and in the other parts of the building three. It is computed that there are in the whole eleven thousand windows, seventeen cloysters or piazza's, twenty-two courts, more than eighteen hundred pillars, an incredible number of rooms, viz. halls, salons, chambers, cabinets, and no less than fourteen thousand doors.

The principal front is turned towards the west, too near the mountains, which spoils the prospect from that side; but they contrived it so, it seems, that the church might stand in full view towards the east. There are three portals in the grand front at equal distances, of which that in the middle is a noble piece of architecture, being supported by eight pillars of the Dorick order, set on a pedestal a hundred and thirty foot long, and two yards high, consisting of a fine white stone delicately wrought, it being sixty foot from the ground to the cornish, over which there are four pillars of the Ionick order, so finely polished that they appear like silver; these support the upper story of the portal, and on each side are two fine pyramids or pinnacles. Between the columns are two rows of niches, on the lower of which are the King of Spain's arms, charged with a royal crown, the whole graven upon an extraordinary stone brought from Arabia, the graving whereof, it is said, cost sixty thousand crowns; from whence, as my author observes, we may judge of the vast expences PHILIP II was at in finishing the rest. In the upper story above the King's arms stands the image of St. LAURENCE, fifteen foot in height, in the habit of a Deacon, holding a book in one hand and a gridiron in the other, intimating what kind of martyrdom he suffered, having been broiled upon a gridiron at Rome in the third century. This statue is of a pure white stone, wrought by JOHN BAPTISTA

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MONEGRI, a statuary of TOLEDO, a celebrated artist. The north and south sides seem to be the least embarrassed, and to enjoy the finest prospects.

Through the great gate of the principal front above-mentioned, we enter a noble portico, which leads into a large court, at the end whereof is the church, on the right the monastery, and on the left the King's apartments. We ascend from the great court by stone steps to another portico before the church, adorned with eight columns of the Dorick order, which support a fronton, on which are placed six statues eighteen foot in height, of black and white marble, representing six Kings of Israel, those in the middle being DAVID and SOLOMON, under which emblem they would represent CHARLES V and PHILIP II, the one a man of war and blood, and the other celebrated for his wisdom and peaceable disposition. The other four are HEZECHIAS, JOSIAS, JEHOSHAPHAT and MANASSES, of whom the three first were eminent for their piety, as the last was for his repentance and conversion: each of these Kings hath a crown upon his head brass gilt, of a size proportioned to the statues. In this portico are three doors which open into the church, those on the sides have the following inscriptions over them, in golden letters upon black marble, viz. PHILIPPVS II, OMNIVM HISPANLÆ REGNORVM, VTRIVSQVE SICILIÆ ET Hierosolyme REX, HVJVS TEMPLI PRIMVM DEDICAVIT LAPIDEM. D. BERNHARDI SACRO DIE ANNO MDLXIII, RES DIVINA IN EO FIERI CŒPTA, PRID. FEST. D. LAURENTIJ ANNO MDLXXXVI.

PHILIP II, of all the kingdoms of Spain, the two Sicilies and Jerusalem, King, dedicated the first stone of this church on St. BERNARD's day 1563, and celebrated divine service in it the first time on the eve of St. LAURENCE 1586.

The other inscription is as follows: PHILIPPVS II, &c. CAMILLI CAJET. ALEXANDR. PATRIARCHÆ NVNTIJ APOST. MINISTERO HANC BASILICAM S. CHRISMAE CONSECRAND. PIE AC DEVOTE CVRAVIT DIE XXX AVGVST. ANNO MDXCV.

PHILIP II caused this church to be piously and devoutly consecrated by the ministration of CAMILLO CAJETANO, patriarch of Alexandria and apostolical nuntio, on the thirtieth of August 1595.

This church is built after the model of St. Peter's in Rome, well enlightned, and paved with black and white marble; the roof finely gilt, the lamps of gold and silver, having forty beautiful chapels in it richly furnished. The principal chapel where the high altar is placed consists of one great arch, which takes up all the further part of the church, and is lined with jasper from the pavement to the roof. On the sides of it are two small oratories, in one of which is a brazen bust of CHARLES V on his knees in his royal robes, with all his children about him, as large as the life; and in the other chapel over against it, is another of PHILIP II, clothed in the same manner and in the same posture, with his children about him, all in brass. On the sides of the chapel are little cabinets, or galleries, whither their Majesties come from their apartments to hear mass. The basins which contain the holy water are two great precious stones of the bigness of a bowl, and so rich are the rest of the materials, that it is computed this chapel alone cost five millions of florins. They ascend the great altar by sixteen steps of jasper, or red marble, which extend the whole breadth of the chapel.



CHAP  
III.

chapel. On the back part of the altar is a square piece of porphyry placed in the wall, so bright and transparent that you see the whole church as in a glass. The tabernacle upon the altar is of porphyry, in the form of a dome or cupola, and under it is such a profusion of gold and precious stones, that it would amaze one to see such prodigious riches amassed together in so small a compass. The Custodia, or Pix, where they keep the sacrament, is of the height of a man, and two fathoms thick, made of a stone more esteemed than porphyry, valued at five hundred thousand crowns, and it is said no less than an hundred men were employed in the working of it for fourteen years; and the top of the Custodia is enriched with an emerald of the bigness of an egg, the price whereof is inestimable. There is room to go round the altar and view all its beauties, but laymen are not permitted to touch it. *Odit propheta vulgus & arcet*, says my catholick author.

The roof of the church is embellished with the finest paintings; the choir particularly was done by the famous TITIAN, and is a finished piece; it is a representation of paradise, where we see the Trinity encompassed with legions of Angels and the heavenly Hosts, TITIAN himself being drawn on one side in a kneeling posture.

Reliques.

Among the treasures of the church they esteem the reliques the most precious, and pretend that they have seven entire bodies of the saints, an hundred and seven heads, an hundred and seventy-seven legs and arms, three hundred and forty-six veins, nerves and sinews, and fourteen hundred other little holy reliques, as fingers, hair, &c.

The sacristy is a large room, where are kept the ornaments of the altar, and the habits of those that officiate. This also is beautified with the paintings of TITIAN and other celebrated hands. Those in most esteem are a Christ and a Magdalen. The sacerdotal habits are richly embroidered and covered with pearls and precious stones: nor is the workmanship inferior to the richness of the materials. These were most of them given by PHILIP IV, the father of the late King CHARLES II. Among other things, they shew here a cross of gold, enriched with pearls almost as large as a small nut, rubies, turquoises, emeralds, and diamonds of great value. From the sacristy we are led into another room, where are two vessels of inestimable price; the one is a single saphire, embellished with pearls and precious stones, in the middle of which is a large bright ruby: the other is in like manner enriched with precious stones, and said to be made by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN II with his own hands. These serve to carry out the host in their grand processions. Here is shewn a book also valued at four thousand ducats, where all the remarkable occurrences of our Saviour's life are admirably painted, with the psalms and ancient prophecies which have any relation to them, done by one of their monks.

The Pantheon.

From this elegant church we descend into the Pantheon, so called from its being built after the model of the Pantheon at Rome, of a round form, and vaulted like a cupola. It is the mausoleum of the Kings of Spain of the Austrian family, and placed just under the grand chapel of the high altar of the church just described. The beauty of this edifice, notwithstanding it is under ground, is at least equal to that above it. They go down to it by five and twenty marble steps, which lead to a landing-place, at the end whereof they turn and descend lower by three and thirty steps of jasper,

and grey and white marble, taken from St. Paul's of Toledo. The top and sides of the stair-case are adorned with jasper, so well-polished, that whichever way we turn we see our selves as in a mirror. At the bottom of the stairs we come to the door of the vault, on each side whereof are two pillars of jasper and two of brass admirably wrought. The mausoleum is of the same dimensions as the chapel over it, and extremely well enlightened, notwithstanding it is under ground. The gold, silver and precious stones glitter on every side, and render it, in the phrase of the Spaniards, a miracle of art. The floor consists of squares of jasper and marble in compartments. The dome, or vault, is sustained by sixteen pillars of jasper of various colours of the Corinthian order, behind which are placed other pillars in perspective, both the one and the other having brazen gilded chapters. On the further side of the Pantheon opposite to the door, is a chapel magnificently adorned; but the most remarkable thing in it is a cross enriched with diamonds and precious stones. The rest of the chapel is divided into spaces or niches between the pillars, containing twenty-six tombs of black marble, with mouldings of gilt brass; these tombs are supported by lions paws brass gilt. The Kings are on the right, and the Queens on the left. Those already interred there, as appears by the several inscriptions, are on one side CHARLES V, PHILIP II, PHILIP III, PHILIP IV and CHARLES II. On the other side the Empress ISABELLA of Portugal, wife of CHARLES V; ANNE of Austria, the fourth wife of PHILIP II; MARGARET of Austria, the wife of PHILIP III; ELIZABETH of France, daughter of HENRY IV, and MARY-ANNE of Austria mother of CHARLES II, both of them wives of PHILIP IV. And as none of the Queens are admitted here who have not brought a son into the world, there is another burying-place assigned for them and the rest of the Princes of the royal family adjoining to the Pantheon. In the middle of the Pantheon is a fine large brazen branch for lights, said to have cost ten thousand crowns. It is supported by Angels and the four Evangelists, the fathers of light, as my author calls them, all the statues being of gilded brass.

PHILIP II having thus magnificently built and adorned the church, though he designed to add to it a palace fit for the residence of so great a Prince, always intended the sacred fabrick that he had dedicated to God should excel that he erected for himself. That part of the building which is properly the palace, or the royal apartment, fronts to the north, and is entered by a noble portico. It contains five square courts, one large, and four others less, all of them surrounded by piazza's or cloysters, with open galleries above them in every story. I have already said that the paintings and furniture of the royal palaces in Spain are exquisitely fine, and shall not tire the reader with a long recital of these things over again, but proceed to that quarter which belongs to the religious or monasticks, who are of the order of St. Jerom. This part of the Escorial also is divided into five courts, of the same model and dimensions with those of the palace. The grand cloyster or piazza, which is two hundred and ten foot square, is paved with black and white marble, and adorned with admirable paintings, and the middle of the court is taken up with a fine garden of flowers. On one side of the square is an elegant chapel with a cupola, supported by pillars of porphyry of excellent

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CHAP. III. cellent workmanship, all the rest of the building being suitable to it.

The library is over the grand portico in the principal front of the building, being an hundred and ninety-four paces long, thirty-two broad, and thirty-six in height. It consists of five galleries, fixed to the walls one above another on every side; the shelves are made of the finest wood brought from the Indies, and the floor is of marble. It is said to contain an hundred thousand printed books in all languages, besides fourteen or fifteen thousand manuscripts, of which the most considerable are a St. Chrysostom in Greek, a treatise of St. Austin's concerning baptism, said to be written by his own hand, and one entire class of Arabic books, which were part of the Emperor of Morocco's library; but I perceive many of the books were burnt or lost in a fire that happened in the Escorial in the year 1671. This library is adorned with excellent paintings done by the greatest hands.

The gardens of the Escorial are very large, and well watered with fountains; but it is sufficient to say, that they contain every thing that is to be found in those of the Buen Retiro and other palaces already described, in great perfection. Adjoining to these is a park of seven leagues in circumference, encompassed by a wall, in which are woods and large fields, well furnished with all manner of game.

Alcala de Henares.

Alcala de Henares is situated in a large plain on the river Henares, about fifteen miles to the eastward of Madrid, anciently called *Complutum*, famous for its university founded by Cardinal XIMENES in the year 1517. It consists of twenty colleges, and is eminent for divinity and philosophy, as that of Salamanca is for the study of law. The Polyglot bible was printed here at the charge of the said Cardinal. It was formerly a Bishop's See, but united to that of Toledo at present. Their cathedral is a large and beautiful fabrick, and they pretend that they have a stone there which miraculously supplied them with oil for their lamps, but lost that virtue when the oil was applied to prophane uses. The soil about this town, which lies on the banks of the Henares, is very fruitful and well cultivated, but that which lies at a distance from it dry and barren, affording neither trees nor herbage for want of water. They have not only good grain near the Henares, but rich muscat wine and delicious melons; and there is a fountain of such excellent water without the walls, that the King is served with it at his table. The form of the town is oval, the streets strait and handsome, and there is one street that runs the whole length of the town, where the students are lodged. The houses are tolerably well built, and there are some squares, the largest of which is surrounded by a piazza, where the tradesmen have their shops. The town has a flourishing trade, and abounds in provisions.

Guadalajara.

Guadalajara is situated higher up the same river Henares, on an uneven rising ground, about ten leagues north-east of Madrid. It is remarkable for the fruitfulness of the soil about it, producing corn, wine, oil, flax and hemp, and here they make butter of goats milk, much esteemed by the Spaniards. The mountains about it are covered with oaks, of which they make charcoal, and supply all the neighbouring country with that kind of fuel. The houses of Guadalajara are generally lofty, and accommodated with fine gardens. The pleasantness of the situation brings abundance of people of

distinction to reside here. It is computed there are about a thousand families in the place, seven or eight monasteries, and as many nunneries.

Brihuega is situated four leagues north east of Guadalajara, on the banks of the river Tajana. It was anciently a seat of pleasure of the Moorish Kings of Toledo, and is considerable at present for its wool and cloth.

The place having a castle and a wall for its defence, was looked upon as a town of some strength before the late wars; but we find General STANHOPE in the year 1710, with a great body of English forces, most of them veteran troops, having thrown himself into this town, was forced to capitulate within four and twenty hours, before any canon brought against it; which shews that fortifications are very little to be relied on.

That unluckily conduct of General STANHOPE's, to say no worse of it, in separating from the army commanded by Count STAREMBERG in their march to Arragon, and suffering himself to be surrounded here for want of intelligence, determined the fate of Spain, and settled the present King PHILIP on that throne.

Siguenza is situated five or six leagues to the northward of Brihuega, upon a little hill, the foot whereof is washed by the river Henares, which rises but a little way from thence.

It is considerable chiefly on account of its antiquity, and being the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Toledo, and a university. As for its fortifications, which the Spaniards boast of, they are not to be depended on. There is scarce any one strong town in this part of the country. Some have taken it for the *Saguntum* of the ancients, having been deceived by the resemblance of the names; but that *Saguntum*, so famous in story, stood more to the south. It contains at present about seven hundred families. The most remarkable publick building is their cathedral. The air is cold here in winter, but they are well supplied with fuel and good wine.

Toledo, the capital city of Spain, and the seat of the Gothick and Moorish Kings, called anciently *Toletum in Carpetanis*, is situated in thirty-nine degrees forty minutes north latitude, four degrees to the westward of London, and about forty English miles to the southward of Madrid.

It is built upon a steep rock, at the foot whereof runs the river Tagus, encompassing three sides of it; the rest of the city is defended by an old wall and towers, after the Gothick manner of fortification, and was heretofore esteemed a very strong place; but being commanded by several hills, and having no modern fortifications added to it, is not able to sustain a siege at present: we find accordingly, that whoever was master of the field, was master of this city in the late war. The Tagus, which waters the adjacent country, renders it exceeding fruitful, and their manufactures of wool and silk were once very considerable. The sword-blades that are made here, are in great esteem.

Abundance of people of quality have their houses in this city, the buildings whereof are generally fair, but the streets narrow and uneven, for which reason coaches are very little used at Toledo; chairs and litters are found much more commodious in a town where people are perpetually going up or down hill.

The most remarkable publick buildings are the castle, or royal palace, and the cathedral. The castle, called by the natives *Alcazar*, is situated on a high

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The English forces surprised and made prisoners here anno 1710



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a high steep rock, which commands all the other hills in the town, and affords a fine prospect of the river Tagus and the neighbouring country. The river is not navigable here, but might be made so at a very small expence, there being water enough, as it runs between two steep rocks. The place was anciently thought impregnable on this side.

In ascending to the castle we come to a noble square, the largest in the town, the houses uniform, built with brick, supported by a piazza, and adorned with fine balconies, as usual in Spain. From hence we pass into the castle, which is of a square form, consisting of four large piles of building, with their wings and pavilions. At the entrance we come into a court an hundred and sixty foot long, and an hundred and thirty broad, surrounded by a fine cloyster or piazza. At the farther end of this court there is a handsome large stair-case, which dividing in two parts leads to the galleries above, through which we proceed to the several apartments, that are extremely large and magnificent.

Although the castle be an hundred and sixty yards above the river, it is furnished with water from thence by a pump. There is still the remains of a more considerable machine, by which they conveyed water enough from the Tagus to a reservoir in the castle, which supplied the whole town plentifully with water, but at present it is broken and useless; and there are no fountains or wells in the city, they are forced to go above three-score yards down to the Tagus from any part of it for all the water they use, which is the reason that Toledo is not so well peopled as formerly, and that their manufactures of silk and wool, in which they used to employ ten thousand people, are very much diminished.

The cathedral of Toledo.

The cathedral is the richest and most magnificent in Spain; it is situated in the middle of the town, adjoining to a handsome street, having a spacious court before it, from thence we enter the church by eight beautiful brazen doors with suitable portico's, and from the lofty steeple there is an admirable prospect of one of the finest parts of Spain. The church is three hundred eighty-four feet in length, one hundred ninety-one in breadth, and an hundred and seven in height, built of an excellent white stone. The roof is supported by eighty-eight columns which divide it into five isles, in the middlemost of which there are two choirs finely wainscotted and carved; in one of them is kept the host, and contains the sepulchres of many of their ancient Kings; the other belongs to the canons, the seats whereof are separated by pillars of marble or jasper. The great door, called the door of our Lady, is never opened but on high festivals: near it is a marble pillar, where, according to tradition, the blessed Virgin appeared to St. Ildefonso in the seventh century. This is had in mighty veneration by the people, and is kissed with great devotion, and upon it is the following inscription, *viz. Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt Pedes ejus.*

The chapels which belong to the cathedral are richly furnished, and as large as some churches: the paintings in them are exquisite, and the gold, silver, precious stones and other ornaments invaluable.

The chapel of our Lady of Sagrario.

In the chapel of our Lady of Sagrario, which is all incrustated or lined with jasper from the floor to the roof, is an image of the Virgin as large as the life all of solid silver, with fourteen or fifteen great silver lamps burning before it. There are

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fifteen cabinets in the walls filled with gold and silver vessels and implements, as crosses, cups, vases, mitres, &c. two mitres particularly strewed with pearls and precious stones, a golden crown of the blessed Virgin's, resembling an imperial crown, weighing fifteen pounds, enriched with diamonds and pearls of a prodigious size. The treasury contains no less riches than the chapels: we see here a group of figures all of solid gold, where our Lady sitting upon a rock of precious stones is presenting our Saviour to St. John Baptist, one of the diamonds of which the rock consists being as large as a pigeon's egg. But it would be tedious, if not impracticable, to enumerate all the precious gifts and ornaments which have been dedicated to the saints real and imaginary in this vast church, which is in a manner encumbered with them; I proceed therefore to give some account of the revenues of those gentlemen who have the guardianship of this immense treasure.

The Archbishop's revenue, by those who are modestest in computing his income, is said to be three hundred and fifty thousand crowns per annum. He is Primate of Spain, Great Chancellor of Castile, and Counsellor of State: he has the privilege of speaking in the King's council, or the assembly of the States, next to his Majesty, and is possessed of no less than seventeen towns besides villages. For keeping the church in repair, there are lands settled to the value of an hundred thousand crowns per annum.

The Grand Archdeacon has forty thousand crowns per annum; the second, fifteen; the third, twelve; and the fourth ten thousand crowns per annum. The Dean has ten thousand, and the rest of the chapter in proportion.

The Bishop's palace, which adjoins to the cathedral, is a large old Gothick edifice, but travellers have not thought it worth a particular description. Toledo is a university, where law is chiefly studied, but I don't find there are more than two colleges in the place; besides which there are thirty eight convents of both sexes, twenty-eight hospitals and twenty-seven parishes.

Aranjuez.

Aranjuez is another royal palace, as much esteemed for the beauty of its gardens as the Escorial is for the magnificence of its buildings. It stands near a poor village, from whence it takes its name, in a peninsula made by the Tagus and the Xarama, about two and twenty miles to the southward of Madrid, and eighteen to the northward of Toledo: they have of late made a perfect island of it by cutting a canal from one river to the other. The palace itself hath very little to recommend it, but the water-works are called the wonders of Spain, and by the natives thought not to be equalled in the world. There are brazen and marble statues, as at Versailles, spouting up water in different forms, which falls into basins adorned with a group of figures of excellent workmanship. Here we see most of the fictions of the ancient poets lively represented; but what I find much admired by some travellers, are the artificial trees, from every branch and twig whereof the water spouts and forms a shower of rain very naturally. A large arch of water they mention also, under which a company may walk, and not be wetted by a single drop: besides which, there are numberless fountains, cascades and grotto's, fine walks, and most delicious fruit; which during the excessive heats of summer, must render it a delightful place. Travellers usually find fault with the narrowness of the



**CHAP. III.** the walks, but these it seems were so designed on purpose to keep out the scorching sun.

The country about Aranjuez is as fruitful and pleasant as any in Spain, except that about Valencia. There are adjoining to the gardens parks and menageries for wild beasts, with hunting and baiting of which the court frequently divert themselves. Among other exotick animals they have several hundreds of camels and dromedaries.

**Talavera de la Reyna.** Talavera de la Reyna is a handsome walled town, moderately large, situate in a valley on the south bank of the Tagus, about five and thirty miles to the westward of Toledo. It enjoys a pure healthful air, and a soil fruitful in corn and wine: they have also large herds of cattle, and great plenty of honey. There are several fine churches and convents in the place, as well as gentlemen's houses. It was remarkable formerly for its woollen manufacture, but is more famous for its fine earthen ware at present.

**Sierra district.** I come now to that subdivision of New Castile called Sierra, which lies to the eastward of Alcaria, and obtained its name from its mountainous situation; for Sierra in the Spanish language signifies a mountain. This is by no means so fruitful or populous as the western part of New Castile; their flocks of sheep which feed on the mountains of Molina are its greatest riches. The chief town is,

**Cuenca.** Cuenca, situated on a little hill encompassed with high mountains near the river Xucar, about fourscore miles to the eastward of Toledo, and as many south-east of Madrid. It is defended by a wall and other works, and made a tolerable resistance when it was besieged in the late war. It is most considerable at present for being a Bishop's See, and the capital of Sierra.

**La Mancha, or la Mancha.** La Mancha is the southern part of New Castile, watered by the river Guadiana, which runs the whole length of it. This the celebrated MICHAEL CERVANTES was pleased to make the scene of his hero DON QUIXOT's inimitable adventures. Here are several fine fruitful plains in this district, as well as mountains: Sierra Morena, or the mountains of Morena, so often mentioned by Cervantes, lie on the south part of this province. The chief towns are Calatrava, Ciudad Real and Almagro.

**Calatrava.** Calatrava is situated on the banks of the Guadiana, on the confines of la Mancha and Estremadura, most considerable for giving it's name to an order of knights instituted by SANCHO III, who gave them the town to defend it against the Moors.

**Ciudad Real.** Ciudad Real is a pretty little town, south-west of Calatrava, situated in a fine plain, about a league to the southward of the Guadiana. The country about it abounds in corn, wine, cattle, game and honey, but is subject to inundations from the Guadiana.

**Almagro.** Two leagues south-east of Ciudad Real lies Almagro, a great open town, but chief of the district called Campo de Calatrava. It is situated in a fine fruitful plain, and is not ill built, but most famous for a medicinal fountain near it, the water whereof is said to be an infallible remedy for the cholick.

The rest of the towns in New Castile having little in them that requires a particular description, I shall only mention their names, which are as follow: Mancanara, Las Naves del Merques, Colmenar, Guadarama, Galapagar, Guadix, Porquerizas, Arganda, Tortosa, Hita, Cadacra, Me-

dina Celi, Arcos, Montegudo, Uzeda, Cadahalso, Escalona, Maqueda, Illecas, Leganes, Mora, Anover, Fuente Dueña, Pastrana, Zurita, Yepes, Ocagna, Villa Rubia, Molina, Caracena, Valeria, Moya, Alarcon, Alcaez, Segura de la Sierra, Velez el rubio, Orgaz, Confuegra, Miqueltorra, Elvifo, Almodavar del Campo, El Convento de Calatrava.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Contains a description of the province of Old Castile, and of the principal cities and great towns therein.*

**THE** Castiles are so called, it's said, from the great number of castles that were built there during the wars between the Christians and Moors; and the province I am about to treat of was called Old Castile on account of its having been longer in the hands of the Christians than the Castile already described. Old Castile was formerly a country dependant on the Kings of Leon, and not honoured with the title of a kingdom till the reign of King FERDINAND, anno 1016. This province is bounded by Asturia and Biscay on the north; by Arragon and Navarre on the east; by New Castile on the south; and by Leon and part of the kingdom of Portugal on the west. It is of an irregular figure, but its greatest length from the north-east to the south-west is about an hundred leagues, and its greatest breadth taken from Valladolid to Tarracona about fifty leagues. The principal rivers are the Ebro and Duero already described; besides which, it is watered by the Pizuegra, the Arlanca, the Arlancon, the Algarbe, and the Tormes.

This country is more mountainous than that of New Castile, and as the air is colder in winter upon their hills, the tops whereof are great part of the year covered with snow, so are some of their valleys hotter, occasioned by the reflection of the sun. The weather also is more changeable and uncertain here than it is in the other Castile. The principal mountains on the south are those of Molina, Siguenza and Segovia, which divide it from New Castile; those of Sierra de Tablada on the west, and a ridge of mountains that separates it from the Asturia's on the north. And if I might be allowed to assign a reason for Spain's continuing so long divided into little kingdoms and principalities, it should be the natural strength and situation of every state defended and divided from the rest by their respective mountains, which rendered the conquest of them more difficult than it would have been in a more open country, to such ambitious Princes as might have a design upon them. We find that in France, Britain, and every other country, the mountaineers ever defended themselves longest against the encroachments of their ambitious neighbours.

But to proceed: There are in Old Castile eight Cities, cities, viz. Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, Siguenza, Avila, Osma, Calahorra, and St. Domingo de la Calcada; besides fifteen or twenty other considerable towns.

Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, is situated an hundred and twenty miles to the northward of Madrid, on the side of a mountain, extending it self down into the plain, on the banks of a little rapid river called the Arlancon, which washes one part of its walls. It has an old castle on the top of the hill for its defence, much stronger from its situation than its fortifications. The principal avenue



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venue to the city is by a handfom bridge over the river above-mentioned, which leads to a beautiful gate, adorned with the statues of several Kings of Spain, and of FERDINANDO GONSALVO, the first Earl that was Sovereign of Castile. The town is large, but irregularly built, almost in form of a crescent. The streets are narrow and uneven, except some few, which are strait and spacious, particularly that leading to the cathedral. There are also several handfom squares, adorned with fountains and statues over them. The great square is in the middle of the town, encompassed with fine houses built upon a piazza or cloyster, as usual in other Spanish cities. There are also several beautiful palaces, particularly those of the house of VELASCO, and that of the Archbishop, which pass for master-pieces in their kind, as well as the cathedral, which is a noble old Gothick building in form of a cross, so large, that though mass is said in five different chapels of this church every day at the same time, they give no disturbance to each other. The grand entrance is between two towers, and the middle of it is covered with a noble dome furrounded with statues. The great altar is wain-scotted, and admirably carved and gilded, representing the history of our Saviour's life and passion, and the chapels about the cathedral are equally fine. But what is most admired in Burgos, is the chapel in the convent of Augustins enlightened by two or three hundred large gold and silver lamps; besides which on each side of the altar are sixty silver candlesticks six foot high standing on the floor, each of them as much as a man can carry, and others on the altar of solid gold. Over the altar also is a crucifix of gold and silver as large as the life, with crowns suspended and adorned with pearls, diamonds and other precious stones; besides which there is abundance of fine painting and imagery, representing the miracles said to be done by this crucifix; and the whole chapel is so crowded with the rich vows of superstitious people, that they are forced to remove many of them into their treasury to make room for others. They expose it only on particular occasions, and that with abundance of ceremony; masses are said and the bells are tolled to give notice of it, when every one within hearing fall upon their knees. The people are taught to believe that it was sent miraculously from heaven.

Burgos.

Burgos holds the first rank in the assembly of the states of the two Castiles, or at least disputes it with Toledo. Their trade is not so considerable as it has been; but there being always a great resort of strangers to this town, the people are as polite and hospitable as in most Spanish cities, and their language is held to be spoken here in it's greatest purity. The corporation is endowed with great privileges, and have the revenues of fifty towns and villages that depend upon them: they have also the reputation of being industrious, and applying themselves to business, and are esteemed a brave people. It was but a Bishoprick till the year 1571, when pope GREGORY XIII, at the instance of PHILIP II, created it an Archbishoprick, of which Calahorra, Osma, Pampeluna and Palencia are suffragans. To the eastward of Burgos is a village called Val de Buertos, remarkable for it's healing waters, the bathing in which cures the bloody flux.

Vallado-  
lid.

Valladolid is situated about thirty-five miles south-west of Burgos, and ninety northwest of Madrid in a large beautiful plain on the river Pucerga, a little above it's confluence with the Du-

ero; it is surrounded by a wall, which is rather an ornament than a defence to it, though it was anciently deemed a strong place. Here are abundance of fine buildings, noble squares, porticoes and fountains; many of the nobility and gentry have houses here, and it is the seat of some of the superior courts of justice; which with the briskness of their trade render it one of the most flourishing towns of the kingdom. It is computed there are not less than eleven thousand houses in the place, many of them magnificent structures: Their squares are spacious, particularly that in the middle of the town, which is vastly large, and surrounded with uniform buildings, supported by a piazza, and adorned with gilded balconies in every story. There are no less than seventy convents of both sexes in the town, of which that of the Dominicans is most remarkable for the beauty of it's architecture, and the riches it contains.

As their Kings held their courts at Valladolid for a considerable time, there is still a noble palace here, which was repaired and beautified by PHILIP IV. There are also several other palaces of the nobility, that very well deserve the attention of a traveller; but having already given the reader some idea of the Spanish buildings and furniture, it would not be agreeable to him to dwell upon these things, unless there were something new and uncommon in the contrivance of them. It was made a Bishop's See in the year 1595, and has a university consisting of several colleges, esteemed one of the most flourishing in Spain. This city was anciently called Pintia, or rather built upon the ruins of it. The air here is good and tolerably pure, except that sometimes they are incommoded with mists from the river. The fields about the town are wonderfully fruitful and pleasant, and look like one continued garden.

Segovia is situated about fifty miles to the southward of Valladolid, and about thirty to the northward of Madrid, upon an eminence between two great mountains. It is surrounded by a wall and towers after the old way of fortification. The higher part of the hill is covered almost with religious houses, and the castle stands on the top of it, which is a place strong by situation, but not at all improved by art.

The town is large and well-peopled, and adorned with many beautiful edifices; it is computed that there are seven thousand houses in it, comprehending the suburbs. The soil about it is fruitful, and on the neighbouring mountains they feed large flocks of sheep, the wool of which makes the finest cloth in Europe. Here is also a manufacture of paper; and their trade in general is in so flourishing a condition, that there is scarce a poor family amongst them. Here is also one of the most considerable mints in Spain; but what is the greatest curiosity is, a noble aqueduct built of free-stone, without any cement, and consisting of two rows of arches one above another, that brings water enough to serve the whole town upwards of five leagues; some ascribe it to TRAJAN, but others say it was the work of the Goths. The water of the river which runs near the town is very bad, and occasions several distempers, particularly the dropy and palsy, which it is supposed was the reason of erecting this mighty fabrick. Segovia is a bishoprick and university, but the latter of no great fame.

A few miles from thence on the banks of the river Duraton is a town called Pedcaça dela Sierra, famous for being the place of the Emperor TRA-

JAN'S

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JAN's nativity, as well as for it's cattle, where FRANCIS Dauphin of France, and Prince HENRY his brother, were imprisoned on the releasing of their father FRANCIS the first, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia.

The rest of the towns of Old Castile having little remarkable in them, I shall only specify their names; which are, Miranda de Ebro, Najara, Navarrete, Guardia, Bañida, Espinosa de los Monteros, Lerma, St. Pedro d'Arlanza, Arando de Duero, St. Estevan de Gormaz, Verlanga, Almazan, Soria, (the ancient Numantia,) Logroño, Aguilar del Campo, Agreda, Crugna, Roa, Pegnafiell, Mocada, Coca, Arevalo, Olmedo, Madregal, Pegnaranda, Villa Franca on the Tormes, and Cuellar.

## CHAP. V.

*Contains a description of the province of Leon, and of the chief towns therein.*

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Leon.  
Situation,  
&c.

THE province, or kingdom of Leon, is bounded by the mountains of Asturia on the north; by Old Castile on the east; Estremadura on the south; and by Galicia and part of Portugal on the west; and is about fifty-five leagues in length from north to south, and forty in breadth from east to west.

Rivers.

The principal rivers are the Duero, which runs from east to west, and divides it into two equal parts; the Pisuerga, the Carrion, the Tormes, the Tordo, the Tera, the Esla and the Orbeago.

Air.

The air, soil and produce of this province is much the same with that of Old Castile, and it is equally mountainous. The chief towns which have the denomination of cities, are Leon, Astorga, Salamanca, Palencia, Zamora, Medina del Rio Secco, and Ciudad Rodrigo: besides which, there are fifteen or twenty more of an inferior rank; of these Medina del Campo and Ledesma are most considerable.

Leon.

Leon, the capital of the province, and of the ancient kingdom of Leon, situated in a fine fruitful plain, at the foot of the mountains of Asturia, between the two sources of the river Esla, about fifty five leagues north-west of Madrid. It is said to have been first built by the Emperor G A L B A, and called *Legio Septima Germanica*, from the legion of that name which was quartered there; and from the word *Legio* it is generally held was formed the word Leon, which conjecture is confirmed by some of the ancient Roman bricks that have been found here with this inscription, LEG. VII. P. F. It is a large town, consisting of thirteen parishes, six monasteries and five nunneries, but is neither so rich or populous as it was heretofore. The cathedral is said to be the most elegant building of that kind in Spain, and there are no less than thirty-seven Kings of Spain and an Emperor that lie interred here. The Spaniards also value it on account of the shrines of several saints, particularly that of St. ISIDORE, whose corps King FERDINAND having obtained of a Moorish King in the ninth century, placed it in a shrine of silver upon the altar of St. JOHN Baptist. This was the first city of any importance which the Christians recovered from the Moors, and the seat of the first Christian King of Spain. It is at present the See of a Bishop, who is suffragan of Compostella.

Astorga.

Astorga is situated in a plain on the little river Astura, or Tordo, forty-five leagues north-west of Madrid, and eight south of Leon. It is neither

large or populous, nor is there any thing worth a traveller's attention, unless it be a handfom square, and the cathedral. The Bishop is suffragan to Compostella.

Salamanca is situated partly on little hills, and partly in a plain, on the river Tormes, forty leagues south of Leon, and thirty five north-west of Madrid. It is a rich populous city, and abounds in all things necessary for life. It contains about eight thousand families, and is adorned with some fine buildings, squares and fountains: but what renders it most considerable is it's university, esteemed the best in Spain, where are taught all manner of Sciences. They have eighty professors, viz. of divinity, law, physick, philosophy and languages, who have each of them a thousand crowns per annum pension. The university consists of twenty-four colleges, and about four thousand students. There are also several handfom churches, convents and noblemen's houses in the town, and it enjoys a flourishing trade. The bridge over the river Tormes is said to have been built by the Romans, and there is still also the remains of an old Roman causeway leading from thence to Merida, and so to Seville, repaired by the Emperor ADRIAN, as appears by an inscription still remaining, viz. IMP. CÆSAR DIVI TRAJANI PARTHICI DIVI NERVÆ NEPOS TRAJANUS HADRIANVS AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. V. COS. III. RESTITVIT. It is at present one of the richest Bishopricks in Spain, suffragan to Compostella.

Palencia, *olim Pallantia*, situate on the little river Carrion, forty leagues to the northward of Madrid, and about eighteen to the westward of Burgos, in a very fruitful soil, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Burgos. The most considerable public building is the church of St. Antolin, which King SANCHE the Great built to the honour of that saint.

Zamora is situated on a steep rock near the river Duero, over which it has a handfom bridge, and lies about forty leagues north-west of Madrid, and fifteen west of Valladolid. It was anciently called Senticca, but when the Moors were masters of it they gave it the name of Zamora, or Medinato Zamorata, which signifies in their language a town of turquoises; for in several of the rocks in the neighbourhood, there are mines of this kind of precious stones called turquoises. This town is also famous for possessing the body of St. ILDEFONSO, Bishop of Toledo in the seventh century.

Medina del Rio Secco is situated in a fine fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, about twelve leagues north-west of Valladolid, and is the capital of a dutchy belonging to the Admirante of Castile.

Medina del Campo lies about eight leagues to the southward of Valladolid. It was a rich trading town, but is upon the decline at present. The country about it furnishes some of the best corn and wine in Spain. The magistrates have the disposal of all places and preferments among them, and enjoy many other considerable privileges. Here was born the famous Spanish physician, who endeavoured to prove that animals were but machines. This word Medina, in the Moorish language, signifies a city, which is the reason we have so many Spanish cities of this name.

Ciudad Rodrigo stands in the south-west part of the province of Leon, about four leagues from the frontiers of Portugal, and is one of the principal Spanish garisons on that side. It is situated in a fruitful plain on the little river Aguada, or Agujar,



Agujar, and was built out of the ruins of the ancient Mirobriga, at present a Bishop's See, suffragan of Compostella.

**Ledesma.** Ledesma is a considerable town, advantageously situated on the river Tormes, seven or eight leagues to the westward of Salamanca; to the eastward whereof is a hot bath, famous for healing many diseases. The rest of the towns of this province do not require a particular description.

## CHAP. VI.

*Contains a description of the province of Galicia.*

CHAP.  
VI.  
Galicia.  
Situation.

**T**HE province, or kingdom of Galicia, is bounded by the Ocean on the north and west; by the provinces of Asturia and Leon on the east, and by the kingdom of Portugal on the south; being about forty leagues in length from east to west, and almost as many in breadth from north to south. The Sea encompassing it on two sides, it has near an hundred leagues of sea-coast, on which are several good ports; the most commodious are those of Ferrol and Corunna.

Air.

The air along the coasts is generally temperate, but moist, occasioned by the great rains, and the many springs and rivers with which it is watered, as well as by the neighbourhood of the sea. The most considerable rivers besides the Minho already described, are the Sil, the Ulla, the Tambre, the Mandeo, the Rio Major and the Vallinadares. This country, as well as the rest of Spain, is full of mountains, and the air upon them cold; they are covered however with trees, proper for building ships and other uses. The valleys and sea-coasts have plenty almost of every thing, especially oranges, lemons, and other excellent fruits, and their seas abound with fish. Here are also some mines of gold, silver, copper and lead, but the former are not wrought. The natives are said to be a lazy indolent generation, more resembling the Portuguese, who lie contiguous to them, than any other people of Spain.

Chief towns.

The chief towns of Galicia, which have obtained the title of cities, are these seven, viz. St. James de Compostella, Lugo, Orense, Tuy, Mondonnedo, Corunna and Betancos. Besides these, the towns of Ferrol, Vigo, Bayona, Salvaterra, Rivadavia, Rivadeo, Mongia, St. Mary de Finisterre, Coa, Muros, Noya, St. Marco or Marta, Castro de Ortogal, Porto Marino, Sarria, Monforte de Lemos, Villa Nova de los Infantes, Pontevedra, Rodondella and Padron, are reckoned considerable on one account or other.

Compostella.

Compostella, or St. Iago de Compostella, the capital of Galicia, is situated in a fine plain encompassed with little rising hills, and watered with a great many small streams, thirty miles south of Corunna, and upwards of forty to the eastward of Cape Finisterre, and contains about two thousand houses. It is a rich trading town, and better accommodated with provisions and necessaries than most towns in Spain, on account of it's neighbourhood to the sea. Here are also several fine squares, palaces, religious houses, and a university: but what Compostella is most famous for, is the tomb of St. JAMES the apostle and protomartyr, who according to their tradition was buried here. This occasions a vast resort of pilgrims from all parts of Europe. THEODOMIR, one of their Bishops, it is said, discovered the body of this saint here by divine revelation in the ninth century, and King ALPHONSUS the Chaste thereupon built a church

to his honour, in the place where his remains were found. ALPHONSUS the Great magnificently rebuilt this church of square stone, and adorned it with marble pillars, and the Kings his successors continued to embellish it till it became one of the finest and richest cathedrals in Spain. Pope LEO III first constituted it a Bishop's See at the request of CHARLEMAONE. Pope CALIXTUS II transferred the metropolitan dignity to it from Merida: and Pope PASCHAL II decreed, that twelve of the Canons should be Cardinals. St. JAMES, 'tis said, has wrought abundance of miracles, particularly that he destroyed the army of ALMANZOR the Moor, once sovereign of Seville; and they have often seen him, they assure us, at the head of their armies on the day of battle, which is the reason that St. Iago, or St. James, is always the word or warlike cry amongst them, as St. George for England, St. Dennis for France, &c.

It is surprizing, says my author, to see what crowds of pilgrims come hither from all parts of Europe, especially in the jubilee-year. They go in procession to the cathedral to visit the image of St. JAMES, which is placed on the high altar. They kiss it three times, and put their hats upon his head with the profoundest devotion. There are always burning before it five and twenty or thirty silver lamps, besides vast wax-candles, which are placed on six silver candlesticks of excellent workmanship five foot high. On the roof of the church are flat paved walks, to which the pilgrims ascend, and having hung some rag of their clothes upon a stone-cross erected there, they creep under it three times on their hands and knees through a very strait passage, which will scarce admit a man of any bulk; for the whole pilgrimage is to no purpose without this last act of devotion; it is this that entitles them to the indulgences proposed; and those who have happened to omit it have been obliged to return to Compostella again, after they have travelled some hundred leagues. The French pilgrims have a chapel here appropriated to their nation, and there is a magnificent hospital for the reception of poor pilgrims richly endowed, consisting of two handfom square courts, with piazzas that support the stone-galleries round about them, having fountains in the middle of each square. This Archbishoprick is one of the richest of Spain, having a revenue of seventy thousand crowns per annum, and the chapter as much more. The episcopal palace is an antique edifice, but vastly large and commodious. It was from this city that the order of knights of St. JAMES had their original, from whence they were dispersed into all parts of Spain. This is the richest order in the kingdom; they possess in the two Castiles and Leon only, eighty-seven commanderies, valued at an hundred and seventy-two thousand ducats per annum. To be admitted into this order, it is not only necessary to prove their nobility for two generations, but that they are descended from the race of old Christians, and that their blood has not been intermixed with that of new Christians, that is, either of converted Jews or Moors. They are not all obliged to reside at Compostella, only a certain number of them, to guard the tomb of the saint, where sometimes it is said, is heard the clashing of Arms, which is looked upon as ominous to the kingdom.

Lugo, the *Lucus Augusti* of the Romans, is situated on the Minho, not far from it's source, about three and twenty leagues to the eastward of Compostella. It was anciently a considerable town,

CHAP.  
V.



**CHAP. VI.** town, but much upon the decline at present, though it be still a Bishop's See, and has some hot baths, which make it resorted to.

**Orense.** Orense, falsely written in some of our maps Ortenfe, is situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Minho, about fourteen or fifteen leagues south-east of Compostella. That part of the town which lies next the mountain is extremely cold, and their winters long, while the other enjoys all the delights of spring and autumn, occasioned by the vapours which rise from the hot baths thereabout, and warm the air. Some of these baths are of a moderate heat, and others so hot that they will boil an egg, all of them famous for the cure of several diseases, and on that account it was called by the Romans, *Aque Calide*. Without one of the gates there is a noble arch, large enough for a ship to pass under with her sails standing. The fields about Orense are extremely fruitful and pleasant, and among other delicious fruits they have grapes that make excellent wine.

**Tuy.** Tuy is a strong frontier town, situated on the top of a mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river Minho, which separates it from Portugal, lying about ten leagues south-west of Orense. This is one of the garisons where the militia of Galicia rendezvous: they give themselves the title of Cavaliers, and the King's brave soldiers, and are mighty proud of appearing at a general muster, though their cloathing is no better than sackcloth, an old hat with some cock's feathers stuck upright in it, swords without scabbards, tied on with packthread instead of belts, wooden shoes and no stockings, and an old rusty musket, too heavy to fire without a rest. The other places of rendezvous on the side of Portugal, are Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. Tuy is a Bishop's See, and the neighbourhood of it extremely agreeable; here we meet with fruitful plains, gardens, orchards, and vineyards that produce excellent wine, and indeed every thing that is desirable in life, with a very temperate healthful air.

**Mondonedo.** Mondonnedo is situated in a fine plain at the foot of the mountains, and in a very healthful air, fourteen or fifteen leagues to the eastward of Corunna, or the Groyne, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Compostella; but I don't find it considerable on any other account.

**Corunna, or the Groyne.** Corunna, or the Groyne, is situated on a bay of the sea, which forms a peninsula, and makes one of the finest harbours in Spain. It stands about twelve leagues to the northward of Compostella, and is divided in two parts, viz. The higher town, which stands on the side of a hill, and is surrounded by a wall, and the lower town, which lies at the foot of the hill, on a little tongue of land encompassed on three sides by the sea, and has a wall only on that side which joins it to the upper town. The harbour is in the form of a crescent, and large enough to entertain the greatest fleets. The two entrances are defended by two castles, called the St. Antony and the Holy Cross, and is covered by a little island from the north winds. The town is very ancient, as well as the fortifications, supposed to be the *Brigantium*, or *Portus Brigantium* of the Romans. There is still an old lofty tower, which was built for a pharos or light-house, so bold a structure that it is the admiration of all that view it; the antiquity of it is evident from the following inscription; MARTI AVG. SACR. G. SEIVS LVPVS ARCHITECTVS. A. F. DANIENSIS LVSITANVS EXVL. It is from this tower, according to some

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writers, that the town received it's name, for the natives instead of a tower, called it *Columna*, a column, which by corruption was afterwards converted into Corunna. In the neighbourhood of this town is a mine or quarry of jasper.

To the eastward of the bay, almost over against Betancos. Corunna, is the city of Betancos, situated in a plain on the river Mandeo, not far from the sea, remarkable only at present for being a little port-town, and the See of a Bishop.

Ferrol is situated to the northward of Corunna, Ferrol. on the opposite side of the bay, and is considerable for it's excellent harbour. It stands in a fruitful country, which produces good wine, as their seas do plenty of fish.

Vigo is situated on a bay of the western Ocean, Vigo. five or six leagues to the westward of Tuy, in a fruitful country. It is a fortified town, defended by an old fort and castle, and has an excellent harbour, where Sir GEORGE ROOK, the English Admiral, with the confederate fleet, attacked that of the French, commanded by Monsieur CHATEAUNEUF, and the Spanish galleons under his convoy, on the twelfth of October in the year 1702. The Duke of Ormond, who commanded the land-forces at the same time, making himself master of the castle and fort, of thirteen galleons that were there, four were taken by the English and five by the Dutch, and some treasure was taken on board them, but no great quantity, the plate being the first thing secured upon the apprehension of danger: the English also took five men of war, and the Dutch one, and about fourteen men of war and four galleons were sunk or burnt.

Bayona is a port-town to the southward of Vigo. Ponte Vedra is a large town, situated on a bay of the sea to the northward of Vigo.

St. Mary de Finisterre, or Finis-terre, is a little town, fifteen or sixteen leagues to the westward of Compostella, chiefly remarkable for the neighbouring cape, from whence it takes it's name, being the most westerly part of the continent of Europe.

Castro de Ortegal, an open town near the famous Cape de Ortegal, the most northerly point or promontory of Spain, well known to the seafaring part of the world.

Padron is an ancient town, situate at the mouth of the river Ulla, near a bay of the sea, about four leagues to the southward of Compostella. They shew here a venerable relique, being a hollow stone, in which, according to their tradition, St. JAMES the Apostle sailed from the Holy Land to Spain; and landing here, left it in this town, as a perpetual monument of so great a miracle. In the course of this history the reader has met with several other of these miraculous stones, that have carried the saints many thousand miles to plant the gospel, which is not more incredible than the removing the Virgin MARY's house over sea and land from Palestine to Loretto in Italy; and this is a fact so universally believed, that if any good Catholic should doubt of it, he would infallibly incur the censures of the church, and perhaps become obnoxious to the inquisition.

## CHAP. VII.

*Treats of the province of Asturia, and the chief towns there.*

**THE** province of Asturia lies along that part of the ocean which is called the Bay of Biscay, being and extent;

**CHAP. VI.**

Bayona.  
Ponte  
Vedra.

Cape Fi-  
nis-terre.

Cape de  
Ortegal.

Padron.

**CHAP. VII.**

Asturia.  
Situation  
being and extent;



CHAP.  
VII.

Air.

Rivers.

Moun-  
tains.

Oviedo.

being bounded by that sea on the north; by Biscay on the east; by Leon and Old Castile on the south, and by Galicia on the west; being about five and forty leagues in length from east to west, and eighteen in breadth from north to south, and is said to take its name from the river Asta, or Astura. The air is colder than the rest of Spain, occasioned by its high mountains and northerly situation. The principal rivers are the Miranda, which separates it from Galicia, and the Ove and Dava, that uniting their streams at Oviedo, obtain the name of Asta, which running northward, falls into the Bay of Biscay near Villa Viciosa.

This is a very mountainous country; those called the Asturia's, which are a branch of the Pyrenees, divide it on the south from Leon and Old Castile, and are covered with vast forests, so that the country is neither well peopled nor cultivated. Their valleys however afford them corn and wine enough for their subsistence, and their seas plenty of fish, of which they export great quantities. Here are also some good mines, but they have been most famous ever since the times of the Romans for excellent horses, held to be the strongest and the swiftest in Spain. Their country being naturally defended by the high mountains of Asturia, held out long against the Romans, and was never entirely conquered by the Moors; this therefore is looked upon as the nursery of the Spanish nobility and gentry, and of all the Old Christians, as they affect to call themselves, who retired hither when the Saracens had over-run the rest of Spain; and this is said to be the reason, that the eldest son of the Kings of Spain has the title of Prince of the Asturia's conferred on him. They are called the Asturia's, in the plural number, because the western part of the country is called Asturia de Oviedo, and the eastern part Asturia de Santillana, from their respective capitals. The chief towns are Oviedo, Villa Viciosa, Avila, Giron, Santillana, St. Vincent, and Llanes or Ilianes.

Oviedo, *olim Ovetum*, is situated in a plain, at the confluence of the river Ove and Dava, whose united streams afterwards go by the name of Asta, about sixteen leagues north-west of Leon, and sixty-five north-west of Madrid. It is the only town of the province which has the honour of being called a city, and a Bishop's See. PELAGIUS, who was so successful against the Saracens, made it the seat of his government, as the Kings his successors did afterwards for some time. The most remarkable public building is the church of St. Salvador, or St. Saviour's, built by a Prince named SILO, whose tomb is still seen here. It is filled with a multitude of reliques, which the Christians brought hither from all parts of Spain, when they were driven away from their dwellings by the Moors. Some of the most valuable are a golden cross, said to be made by Angels; a piece of the mantle of ELIAS; a piece of the rock of mount Sinai, where Moses fasted forty days: and a wonderful arch, said to be made of incorruptible wood by the Apostles, which does not give place to the holy house of Loretto in point of miracles, having been carried by the Angels from Jerusalem into Africa, from thence to Carthage in Spain, from Carthage to Seville, thence to Toledo, and from thence to Oviedo; but their historians have not ascertained the time of this wonderful journey. The Spaniards, however, make little difficulty in believing this and a thousand other as incredible relations, that are taught them by their monks.

The town is tolerably well built, but not considerable on account of its trade or riches. The houses about the church of St. Salvador stand on piazza's, and make a handsome appearance; but the great square in the middle of the town, where all the streets center, and the colleges which compose the university, are its principal ornaments at present.

Villa Viciosa is a little port-town, situate at the mouth of the river Asta, about twelve leagues north-east of Oviedo. Villa Viciosa.

Avila is another port on the bay of Biscay, twelve leagues north of Oviedo; and two leagues north lies a promontory well known to our mariners, called Cape de Pinas. Avila. Cape de Pinas.

Santillana, *Fanum Sancte Juliane*, the capital of East-Asturia, is situated on the bay of Biscay, two and twenty leagues to the eastward of Oviedo. It has the title of a marquise, and belongs to the Dukes of Infantado, of the house of Mendoza. Santillana.

## CHAP. VIII.

Treats of the province of Biscay.

THE province of Biscay, the ancient Cantabria, is bounded by that part of the ocean called the bay of Biscay on the north; by the Pyrenees, which divide it from France, on the east; by Navarre and Old Castile on the south; and by Asturia on the west; being about forty leagues in length from east to west, twenty in breadth from north to south in the broadest part, and not half so much in the narrowest towards the west. CHAP. VIII. Biscay. Situation.

The principal rivers are, 1. The Nervio, called by the Biscayans, Ybaycabal, or the large river, which rising in the south, runs northward cross the country by Bilboa, two miles below which city it falls into a bay of the sea. The ancients called it Charlybs, the water whereof is excellent for the tempering of arms. 2. The Deva, which rising in the south part of the province, takes its course northward by Placentia, and falls into the sea ten leagues to the eastward of Bilboa. 3. The Orio, which has its source also in the south, and running northward, falls into the same sea to the eastward of Deva. And, 4. The little river Bidassoa, that divides France from Spain, in which lies the isle of Pheasants, so famous for the peace concluded there between France and Spain in the year 1659, called the Pyrenean treaty.

Biscay is a very mountainous country, and on that account less subject to excessive heats than some other provinces of Spain. Travellers assure us that their mountains are intolerably cold, to make some amends for which, there is plenty of timber, fit for building ships as well as houses, and abundance of good fuel. The soil is not very fruitful: their apples, with which they make cyder, in some measure supplies the want of wine. They have also oranges, lemons, and other excellent fruits. Their seas abound in fish, with which they drive a good trade, as they do with the oil that their whales produce, for the Biscayners fished for whales on their own coast long before Greenland was found out; and though the country be generally a rocky barren soil, it produces corn enough for the subsistence of the inhabitants. But their greatest riches lie in the bowels of the earth, in their iron-mines, of which they make vast quantities of arms, particularly sword-blades, esteemed the best in Europe, and they



C H A P.  
VIII.

Their character.

they export a great deal of iron in bars. Here are also mines of lead, and other more valuable metals, which create them as brisk a trade as any other province in Spain enjoys.

The Biscayners have been always esteemed a warlike people, and have defended their country resolutely against all invaders, being usually one of the last provinces that submitted to the conqueror in any alteration of government. But they have been most celebrated for their skill in maritime affairs, in which they excelled all the nations in Europe till the last age. France was always forced to beg their assistance when they were at war with any powers by sea, till the reign of LEWIS the Fourteenth.

They are far from being of that flegmatick temper the Spaniards of the more southern provinces are remarkable for, but are brisk and lively, civil and obliging, open and free in their conversation, and transact their business with all imaginable application and industry, which is the reason that many of them make their fortunes at court. The Biscayners also enjoy abundance of privileges beyond their neighbours, which they obtained, says my author, partly by the bounty of their Princes, and partly by force; for they are not so slavishly submissive to their superiors, either in temporals or spirituals, as the Castilians. A Spanish Bishop (JOHN Bishop of Gironne) who wrote in the 15th century, was so provoked at their conduct, that he would not allow them the title of Christians, or that they had indeed any religion at all. He says they refused to receive any priests amongst them unless they carried their concubines with them, for as they apprehended it impossible for any man absolutely to conquer his carnal appetites, they made no doubt, if the parson had not a woman of his own, but he would be free with their wives or daughters. I my self, says the pious Bishop, was a witness of their refusing to permit any one of our order to come amongst them, even to administer the sacraments. In the year 1477, FERDINAND King of Castile being about to enter Biscay, and having the Bishop of Pampeluna in his train, the Biscayners rose in a tumultuous manner, and represented to the King that it was contrary to their laws and constitution to admit a Bishop amongst them, and his Majesty was obliged to send him back; nay, they proceeded so far as to dig up the very earth the holy man had trod upon, and burnt it.

They have a language of their own, called the Baskish, different from all the languages in Europe. It is spoken on both sides the Pyrenees; but when they write, they use either the Spanish or French. Most of their towns have both a Spanish and a Baskish name. Geographers usually divide this province into three parts, viz. Biscay Proper, Guipuscoa, and Alava. Biscay Proper comprehends the most westerly part, Guipuscoa the north-east, and Alava the south.

The chief towns of Biscay Proper are Bilbao, Porto Galette, Castro de Urdeales, Loreda, St. Antonio, St. Andero, Orduna and Durango.

Bilboa, *olim Fluvio-briga*, the capital of the province, is situated in a plain, encompassed with mountains, near the mouth of the river Ybaycabal, about a league from the sea, two and twenty leagues north-east of Burgos, and as many to the westward of Fontarabia, on the confines of France. The tides come up hither, and it is one of the best and most frequented harbours on the northern coast of Spain. The city is large, beautiful, full of rich

merchants, and stands in a temperate air and fruitful soil. They have a great demand for wool and iron-bars, and their sword-blades are in great esteem.

St. Andero is a port-town in the north-west part of the country, formerly much frequented, but so upon the decline at present.

The chief towns in Guipuscoa are Tolosa, Placentia, Orio, St. Sebastian, Irun and Fontarabia.

Tolosa is situated in an agreeable valley between two mountains, at the confluence of the rivers Orio and Araxes, about four leagues to the southward of St. Sebastian. It is not a town of any great extent or trade, though it be the capital of Guipuscoa. The principal manufacture of the place is sword-blades.

Placentia is situated on the river Deva, four or five leagues to the westward of Tolosa. This town also is most considerable for its manufacture of sword-blades and fire-arms.

St. Sebastian is a port-town, pleasantly situated at the foot of a mountain on the bay of Biscay, about four or five leagues to the westward of the frontiers of France. The harbour is large and secure, and the town fortified, but appears to be a place of less strength than the Spaniards imagined, not being able to hold out against the French army above a month in the year 1719. The streets are long and spacious, and the houses tolerably well built. Their trade is in a flourishing condition, and consists chiefly in iron and steel, said to be the finest in Europe. They export also a great deal of fine wool from hence, the growth of Old Castile. The Spanish men of war do not lie here, but at Port Passage, about a quarter of a league to the eastward of it, where the French burnt several ships of the royal navy in the late war.

Fontarabia, in Spanish *Fuentarabia*, *Fons Rabadus*, is the last town of Spain towards France. It is situated on a peninsula in the Bay of Biscay, near the mouth of the river Bidasoa, which parts the two kingdoms. It was formerly looked upon as impregnable by the Spaniards, but was taken by the French in the year 1719, after a six weeks siege. This is the only town which is honoured with the title of a City and Bishop's See in Guipuscoa, and is commonly called the key of Spain on the side of Biscay.

The most southern district, or subdivision of Biscay is Alava; the chief towns whereof are Vittoria, Salvatierra and Trevigno.

Vittoria, or *Victoria*, the capital of this division, is situated in a fine fruitful valley, about fourteen leagues to the southward of Bilbao. It has the honour of being a city and a Bishop's See, and is surrounded by a double wall. The principal square is encompassed by the town-house, two convents, and several well-built houses, adorned with a fountain; and what renders the town extremely pleasant, is the trees planted in all the principal streets. It is well inhabited by tradesmen and people of fashion, drawn hither by its agreeable situation and the beauty of the place; and is said to have been built by SANCHE King of Navarre, in memory of his conquest of the Moors of Alava, who thereupon gave it the name of *Victoria*.

Salvatierra is a little town, twenty miles to the eastward of Vittoria.

Trevigno stands on a little hill near the river Aguda, five or six leagues to the westward of Vittoria. It is the capital of a country of the same name, which belongs to the Duke of Najara.

Biscay Proper.  
Chief towns.  
Bilboa.C H A P.  
VIII.Guipuscoa.  
Chief towns.  
Tolosa.

Placentia.

St. Sebastian.

Port Passage.

Fontarabia.

Alava.  
Chief towns.

Vittoria.

Salvatierra.

Trevigno.



## CHAP. IX.

*Treats of the province or kingdom of Navarre.*

## CHAP. IX.

Navarre.  
Situation  
and ex-  
tent.Moun-  
tains.  
Air.  
Soil.

Rivers.

Chief  
towns.Pampe-  
luna.

Estella.

Sanguesa.

Olita.

Tudela.

Tafalla.

THE province or kingdom of Navarre, part of the ancient *Tarraconensis*, was inhabited by the Vascones or Gascons. It is bounded by the Lower or French Navarre, from which it is divided by the Pyrenean mountains, on the north-east; by Arragon on the south-east; by Old Castile, from which it is separated by the Ebro, on the south-west; and by Biscay on the north-west; being about two and thirty leagues in length, and twenty-eight in breadth.

This also is a very mountainous province; the air temperate, or rather cold, in respect of the southern provinces. It does not abound either in corn, wine or fruits, but is most considerable for its pasture-grounds, herds of cattle and forests, the latter of which afford them excellent timber, and abundance of game; and they have also some mines of iron. There are besides the Ebro, which waters the south-west part of it, the rivers Arragon, Arga and Ega, all of which fall into the Ebro.

This province is usually divided into five districts or Merindades, which take their names from so many great towns, viz. Pampeluna, Estella, Sanguesa, Olita and Tudela. The rest of the towns of any note are Tafalla, Ucana, Roncevaux, Araga, Villa Franca and Miquenza.

Pampeluna, the capital of the province, and seat of the Viceroy, is situated in a plain near the Pyrenees, on the river Arga, ten or eleven leagues to the southward of Fontarabia, formerly called Pompeiopolis from POMPEY, who is supposed to be the founder of it. It is tolerably large, surrounded by a wall, and defended by two castles, one within the city and the other without. The fortifications of the city are inconsiderable, but the castle without is situated on a high rock, and esteemed a place of strength. Pampeluna is at present a Bishop's See and a University: what is most remarkable in the town is a spacious square, where their bull-fests are held.

Estella, or *Stella*, is situated in an agreeable plain on the river Ega, seven or eight leagues south-west of Pampeluna. It is a handsome town, defended by a castle, and has obtained the title of a city.

Sanguesa is a small town on the river Arragon, seven leagues to the southward of Pampeluna, which has also obtained the title of a city.

Olita is another pretty little town, situated on the river Cidaco, three or four leagues to the southward of Sanguesa, formerly the seat of the Kings of Navarre, there being still some remains of their palace. It is situated in a good soil, affording corn, wine, and fruits, flax and hemp, and well watered with springs.

Tudela is situated in the south part of Navarre, on the river Ebro. It is a fine town, inhabited by people of good fashion, and is adorned with some handsome buildings.

Tafalla is situated on the little river Cidaco, to the northward of Olita. CHARLES III, King of Navarre, built a palace here, which was his ordinary residence. It is a handsome town, tolerably large, encompassed with a wall, and defended by a castle. It is honoured with the name of a city, and has a university, and the country about it affords good wine.

## CHAP. X.

*Contains a description of Arragon, and it's chief towns.*

## CHAP. X.

Arragon.  
Situation  
and ex-  
tent.

THE province, or kingdom of Arragon, is bounded by the Pyrenees, which separate it from France on the north; by Catalonia on the east; by Valencia on the south; and by New Castile, Old Castile and Navarre towards the west; being about fourscore leagues in length from north to south, and fifty leagues in breadth from east to west.

Arragon is generally a mountainous rocky barren country, but intermixed with some fruitful valleys, which afford corn, wine and oil, especially near the banks of their rivers. The air is esteemed healthful and temperate, and the country is watered with abundance of rivers, of which the Ebro is the chief, and divides it into almost two equal parts. Most of the other rivers fall into the Ebro: Those on the north of it are, the Cinca, the Galligo and the Iluela; those on the south of the Ebro are the Xalon, or Salo, the Riquelo, the Guerva, the Agna, the rivers Martia and Guadaloque: besides which, there are the Gaudalquivir and Alhambra, which uniting their streams, run through Valencia, and fall into the Mediterranean.

The towns which have the denomination of cities are Saragossa, Balbastro, Jaca, Tarazona, Huesca, Catalajud, Albarrazin, Tervel, Daroca and Boria. The other towns of any note are Alagon, Ixar, Ricla, Alhambra, Moncon, Almudevar, Santa Christina and Fraga.

Saragossa, the capital of Arragon, is situated in a vast plain on the banks of the river Ebro, which there receives two other rivers, viz. the Gallego and the Guerva, lying about sixty leagues north-east of Madrid, and twenty west of the confines of Catalonia. The town is large, surrounded with an old wall and other antique fortifications, and consequently of no great strength. It is said to have been founded by the Phenicians, and the Romans had a colony here in the time of AUGUSTUS, from whence it is supposed to have obtained the name of *Cesar Augustus*, by corruption Saragossa. The streets are large and well paved, the houses for the most part built of brick, three or four stories high, more beautiful and uniform than those of Madrid, and adorned with a great many magnificent publick buildings. Travellers mention seventeen great churches, fourteen fine monasteries, besides many others less considerable. It is the See of an Archbishop, and a university, and the tribunal of the inquisition is held here in the palace of their ancient Kings. There are two fine bridges over the Ebro, one of stone and the other of wood, the latter of which, it is said, is not to be parallell'd in Europe for its beauty: and as the Ebro passes through the middle of the town, there is a handsome key (or Quay) on which the citizens usually walk. There are also many other publick walks, but the finest is that called the Holy Street, where people of fashion take the air every evening in their coaches drawn by mules. On each side of this street are the palaces of the nobility, particularly that of the Viceroy. It is called the Holy Street, because here great numbers of Christians suffered martyrdom under it's Pagan governors. The cathedral is a vast Gothick structure, which is not however without



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A legend  
of the Vir-  
gin.

without it's beauties; but the church most resorted to by devout people is that of Our Lady of the Pillar, esteemed almost equal in sanctity to that of St. JAMES of Compostella. They relate, that the Virgin, while she was alive, appeared to St. JAMES while he was endeavouring the conversion of the Spaniards, and encouraged him in his labours, leaving there an image of her self, and a fine jasper pillar whereon she stood when she appeared to him. They shew both the one and the other in this church, which they pretend was the first that was built in the world to the honour of our Saviour. There is nothing extraordinary in the design or architecture of the Church, but the chapel of the Virgin underneath it is much admired. This chapel is thirty-six foot long, and twenty-six broad. Here is the image of the Virgin standing on a pillar, with a little Jesus in her arms; and as the place is perfectly hid from the light of the Sun, it is enlightened with lamps and torches. Nothing can appear richer than the ornaments about her; the place where she stands, her robes and crown, are covered with precious stones; all round her are angels of solid silver, holding flambeaux in their hands; besides which, there are not less than fifty silver lamps, with a multitude of figures of legs, arms, heads and hearts, brought hither in acknowledgment of miraculous cures wrought by the blessed Virgin. Every thing here shines with gold and precious stones, and multitudes of pilgrims come hither continually to perform their devotions. These glittering shews ravish the vulgar. The pomp of the Roman worship, and that profusion of wealth found in their churches, gains them an infinite number of proselytes; in which, say they, we do but imitate the precedent that God himself has set us: The temple of Jerusalem was built and adorned by his particular directions; and the ceremonies and processions of the Jews no less pompous than ours. These we acknowledge are but faint resemblances of the glories of heaven, but by these men are led to contemplate that Divine Being whom we all adore: It is natural, when we view some magnificent temple, to reflect on the infinite attributes of the deity worshipped there, and to cry out with SOLOMON, THE HEAVEN OF HEAVENS CANNOT CONTAIN THEE.

Reflec-  
tions on the  
pomp of  
Roman  
worship.

But to proceed: In a church near one of the gates of the town there is a crucifix, whose nails are believed to grow by this credulous people. The hospital for the entertainment of pilgrims has a noble tower adjoining to it, and though there be two hundred and eighty-four steps to the top of it, if I may credit my author, it is of so easy an ascent that a man on horseback may ride up it. Among the Convents of Saragossa, that of St. FRANCIS is reckoned the finest; the church particularly is much admired, the roof having not one single pillar to sustain it, though it be of a great length and breadth. The convent of St. JEROME is resorted to with great devotion, on account of the bodies of abundance of martyrs interred there: They pretend to shew the blood and ashes of several of them, which they have preserved in crystal vessels to this day. Besides the sacred buildings, the town-house is a sumptuous edifice, as is that where the States of the province assemble, in the hall whereof are the busts of all the Kings of Arragon, large as the life.

Saragossa declared for King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, Anno 1706. After the battle of Almanza, Anno 1707, this city was obliged to submit to King PHILIP again. In the year  
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1710, King CHARLES obtained a victory over the forces of King PHILIP near Saragossa, which he entered in triumph the same evening; but upon the taking of a body of English forces prisoners at Brihuega, the Confederates were obliged to retire out of Arragon, and leave King PHILIP again in the possession of Saragossa, who deprived the natives of their most valuable privileges, and executed many of the citizens who had appeared in his rival's interest.

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There are no fountains in the streets of Saragossa, but it is supplied with water from the Ebro. This river, though it be as large as the Seine at Paris, is not navigable here on account of the dangerous rocks which lie in the channel. It is however a rich, beautiful and populous city, abundance of people of quality have their residence here, as well as a great many merchants and bankers: the latter are generally natives of France. Next to Salamanca and Alcala, their university is esteemed the best in Spain. The air is not so hot here as in many other Spanish towns. The neighbouring country is full of fine gardens, and orchards, and for three leagues about it the houses stand so thick, that it looks like one continued village.

Balbastro is situated in a plain on the river Vero, which a little below joins the Cinca, being eleven or twelve leagues north-east of Saragossa. It contains twelve or fifteen hundred houses, and is a Bishop's See, but not considerable upon any other account.

Jaca is situated in an agreeable plain on the river Arragon, near the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, eighteen or twenty leagues to the northward of Saragossa. It is a town of great antiquity, and was the capital city of a people called the Jaccetani. The neighbouring country abounds in corn, fruit, cattle and all manner of game; but the city is remarkable for little at present, unless it's being a Bishop's See.

Tarazona is a small city on the river Queiles, situate partly on a rock and partly in the plain, about twenty leagues north-west of Saragossa. It stands in a fruitful country, and is a Bishop's See: The principal manufacture sword-blades and other arms, which receives a good temper from the water of the Queiles.

Huesca, *olim Osca*, is a little handfom town, Hoesca, situated on the river Isuela, in a fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, five or six leagues north-west of Balbastro. The Romans erected an academy here for the education of young gentlemen. It is still a university and a Bishop's See.

Catalajud is situated at the confluence of the rivers Xalon and Xaloca, at the end of a fruitful plain, seventeen or eighteen leagues to the westward of Saragossa. It is a large handfom city, built out of the ruins of the ancient Bilbilis, which stood upon a neighbouring hill. Here the celebrated poet MARTIAL was born, who has left behind him a fine description of his country. It has the honour of being a Bishop's See.

Albarazzin, *olim Turia*, is situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Guadalquivir, not far from the confines of New Castille, about thirty leagues south-west of Saragossa, and is only remarkable for being a Bishop's See.

Tervel stands in a large agreeable plain, at the confluence of the two rivers Alhambra and Guadalquivir, ten or twelve miles to the eastward of Albarazzin. It is a rich trading populous place and the See of a Bishop; enjoys a fine air, and almost perpetual spring. The country about it is one continued garden, abounding in delicious



fruits and odoriferous flowers. PHILIP II built a citadel here with five bastions.

Daroca.

Daroca stands on the river Xiloca, about fifteen leagues south-west of Saragossa, in a rocky and almost inaccessible situation. It consists of about a thousand families, and is a Bishop's See. Travellers are shewn here a vast grot or cave, about a mile in length.

Boria.

Boria stands at the foot of a little hill, about twelve leagues to the westward of Saragossa, and two or three leagues south-east of Taragona. It is only considerable on account of it's being a Bishop's See. The country about it is well watered with fountains, and produces corn, wine, oil, flax and excellent pasture, on which they feed great herds of cattle.

Fraga.

Fraga is situated on an eminence near the river Cinca, on the frontiers of Catalonia, about three leagues to the westward of Lerida. It is naturally strong, being defended by high mountains on one side, and the river Cinca on the other. The country about it is perfectly barren.

### CHAP. XI.

*Contains a description of the province of Catalonia, and of it's subdivisions, and chief towns therein.*

CHAP. XI.

Catalonia.  
Situation  
and extent

THE Province of Catalonia is bounded by the Pyrenean mountains, which separate it from France on the North; by the Mediterranean sea on the east and south; and Valencia and Arragon on the west; being about seventy leagues in length from east to west, and fifty in breadth from north to south.

The air.

The air of this province is pure and temperate, unless to the northward, where the mountains render it colder in winter. It is pretty much encumbered with mountains, notwithstanding which there are several fruitful plains, as the plains of Urgel, Cerdagne, Vic, Gironne, Taragona and Penedes, which afford corn, wine, oil, pulse, flax, hemp and excellent fruits. Nor are their mountains barren, being almost all covered with forests of lofty timber, as oak, beech, fir and pine-trees, besides chestnuts and several other kinds of fruit, an infinite number of cork-trees, and great variety of simples. Both mountains and valleys are watered with a multitude of rivers, brooks and springs, which render the country extremely pleasant and fruitful.

Mines.

Here are also mines of gold and silver, lead, iron, alum, salt, and quarries of marble, crystal, alabaster, jasper and amethysts, and on the coast they fish up excellent coral.

Rivers.

Their principal rivers are the Ebro, which crosses the south-west corner of it, and falls into the Mediterranean a little below Tortosa. The Francala, which falls into the same sea near Taragona. The Lobregat, which rises in the mountains of Penedis, and taking it's course directly from north to south, falls into the sea a little south-west of Barcelona. The Besos, which falls into the sea a little to the eastward of the same city. The Ter, which has it's source in the mountain Canigo, runs at first from the north-east to the south-west, and then turning short to the east, passes by Gironne, and discharges itself into the sea five or six leagues below that city: And the Fluvia, which falls into the Mediterranean a little to the southward of the gulph of Roses.

There are several other rivers which do not discharge themselves into the sea, but into the Ebro, the Cinca, &c. the chief whereof is the

Segra, the largest river in Catalonia except the Ebro. It rises in the mountains of Cerdagne, and running from the north-east to the south-west, passes by Puicerda, Urgel, Oliana and Camarasa, where having received the Noguera Palleresca, it continues it's course by Balaguer and Lerida, and having received the Noguera Ripagoreana, unites it's streams with the Cinca, after which it falls into the Ebro near Mequinenza, upon the frontiers of Arragon. The two Noguera's run in parallel lines from north to south, and fall into the Segra at the places above-mentioned. The Cervera runs from east to west, and falls into the Segra a little above Lerida: And the Noya, which falls into the Lobregat near Martorel.

Catalonia is one of the most populous provinces of Spain, the people brave, hardy and vigorous, and make excellent soldiers. Their miquelets in the last war shewed they were the best militia in Europe, defending themselves against the united forces of France and Spain, for a considerable time after they were abandoned by their allies.

The province of Catalonia was much larger anciently than it is at present, several districts having been dismembered from it by the French; particularly Roussillon and Conflans, which were confirmed to France by the Pyrenean treaty, with a good part of Cerdagne. The country of Foix, which was also formerly comprehended in Catalonia, has been yielded to France. However, it is still one of the largest provinces of Spain, and contains the fifteen following districts or vigueries, viz. Along the sea-coasts, the vigueries of Tortosa, Montblanc, Tarragona, Villa Franca de Penades, Barcelona and Gironne, in which last is comprehended the Ampurdan, or Lampurdan, as it is usually called: Along the Pyrenees are the vigueries of Campredon and Puicerda, or the county of Cerdagne: To the west along the frontiers of Arragon are the vigueries of Balaguer and Lerida; and in the middle of the province those of Agramont, Tarrega, Cervera, Mauresa and Vic.

In the viguery of Tortosa the chief towns are Tortosa, Garcia and Val de Cona.

In the viguery of Montblanc the chief towns are Montblanc and Poblet.

In the viguery of Tarragona, the chief towns are Tarragona and Tamerit.

The viguery of Villa Franca contains no other towns but Villa Franca.

The viguery of Barcelona contains the towns of Barcelona, Martorel and Mataro.

The viguery of Gironne contains the towns of Gironne, Blanes, Palamos, Palafogal, Ostalric, Verges, St. Pierre de Pescador, Castello Dampurius, Torella, Roses and Castelfollic.

The viguery of Campredon contains the towns of Campredon and Aulet.

The viguery of Puicerda, or the Spanish Cerdagne, contains the towns of Puicerda and Urgel.

The viguery of Balaguer contains no other considerable town but Balaguer.

The viguery of Lerida contains the towns of Lerida and Aytona.

The viguery of Agramont contains the chief towns of Agramont, Camarasa and Oliana.

The viguery of Tarrega has no other considerable town but Tarrega.

The viguery of Cervera contains Cervera, Cardona and Solsona.

The viguery of Mauresa contains Mauresa, Montferrat and Berga.

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Division.

The vigueries and chief towns.

The



The viguery of Vich contains Vich and Roda. I proceed now to the description of the most considerable towns in Catalonia, and first of Barcelona the capital.

Barcelona is situated in a large plain along the shore of the Mediterranean, about an hundred leagues to the eastward of Madrid, and thirty to the southward of Rouffillon. It is of an oblong, or rather oval form, containing about fifteen thousand houses, defended on the south by the sea, on the west by Fort Montjoy, which stands on a rocky mountain at a little mile's distance from it, and by it's own walls and fortifications on the north and east. There is a mole carried a considerable way into the sea, which renders it a secure harbour for small vessels, but large ships lie pretty much exposed to tempests, as well as enemies, in the road. Since the fortifications that have been added to the town and Fort Montjoy in the late war, it may be looked upon as a strong place; but then it is of so large an extent, it requires a numerous garison to defend it, and a much more numerous army to invest it. It is divided into the new and old town, which are separated from each other by a wall and a ditch, the old being enclosed by the new. The streets are large, well built, and neatly paved and kept, which is not usual in Spain. The principal publick buildings are the cathedral, a fine large old structure, the church of Our Lady del Pino, the Viceroy's and Bishop's palaces, and the palace where the States assemble, called the *Casa de la Deputation*. There are also several beautiful squares, particularly that of St. Michael, where all the great streets center. Barcelona is a rich trading town, the inhabitants industrious, civil and obliging to strangers, their women some of the finest in Spain, and the conversation of the people in general much more easy and free than in many other parts of the kingdom. It is the seat of the Viceroy of the province, the See of a Bishop and a university, and here is held one of the courts of Inquisition.

This town, with the rest of Catalonia, called in the French in the year 1640, who remained masters of it twelve years. The French took it again in the year 1697, after fifty-six days open trenches, but restored it again at the treaty of Ryswick. The French possessed themselves of it again, with the rest of the Spanish Monarchy. King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, by the assistance of the confederate fleet, and a very small army of land-forces commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, made himself master of this city on the fourth of October 1705, N. S. after a month's siege. The Spaniards and French, commanded by King PHILIP and Marshal THESSE, laid siege to Barcelona on the third of April 1706, N. S. while the French fleet, commanded by their Admiral the Count de Thoulouse, blocked it up by sea. The siege was continued till the eighth of May following, King CHARLES being all that time in the place, when the Earl of Peterborough and Admiral LEAKE with the confederate fleet, coming before the town, the French Admiral fled with their grand fleet, and on the twelfth King PHILIP and Marshal THESSE raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, and retired into France, leaving behind them an hundred and six brass canon, twenty-three mortars, and all their sick and wounded, and vast quantities of ammunition and provision: and it was observed, that there was the same morning about nine, an almost total eclipse of the sun, which is the French King's device.

A treaty having been concluded between the Confederates (except the Emperor) and Spain on the 13th of July 1713, wherein the Catalans were included, but refused to accept the terms procured for them, on the withdrawing the Confederate forces the Catalans garisoned Barcelona with their own troops, and stood upon their defence against the united powers of France and Spain. The enemy blocked them up 'till July 1714, when the Duke of Berwick joining King PHILIP's army, the siege was carried on in good earnest; eleven thousand bombs were thrown into the place, which destroyed several churches and monasteries, and above five thousand houses. The Enemy continued to batter the town with above eighty pieces of cannon and twenty-four mortars, which held out however 'till the eleventh of September, when there was a general storm, and the citizens having defended themselves with the utmost bravery 'till four the next morning, were then obliged to retire out of the new into the old city, and beat the chamade. The Duke of Berwick looked upon them as desperate men, consented to treat with them, and agreed to give them their lives and save the city from plunder; whereupon both town and castle were delivered up, and still remain in King PHILIP's possession, who upon this occasion divested them of many of their ancient privileges.

The fields about Barcelona are extremely pleasant, as well as fruitful, well watered by springs and rivulets, and thick set with villages. They have both silk and woollen manufactures, and excel in those of iron and steel. The wine they make has a good body and a fine flavour, and they export great quantities of it.

Tarragona is situated on the side of a hill by the sea-side, fifteen or sixteen leagues south-west of Barcelona, and was formerly a good harbour, but is so choaked up at present, that nothing but small vessels can enter it. It is encompassed with an antique wall and fortifications, which might contain two thousand houses, but there are not more than five hundred in the place at present; it is however the See of an Archbishop, to whom the rest of the Bishops of Catalonia are suffragans, and is still an university. The town, standing upon an eminence, enjoys a pure air and most delightful prospects, on one side over the sea as far as the eye can reach, and on the other over a pleasant fruitful country, abounding in corn, wine and oil, and interspersed with abundance of towns and villages. But this city is remarkable for its antiquity, having been built by the Phenicians, and in the time of the Romans made the capital of much the largest division of Spain, which from hence was called *Tarraconensis*. STRABO says, in his time it was as large and populous as Carthage. There are still several monuments of it's grandeur remaining, and particularly an ancient circus. Upon the taking of Barcelona in the year 1705, it surrendered to King CHARLES the present Emperor.

Tortosa is situated on the river Ebro, about four leagues north of the Mediterranean, and as many to the westward of the confines of Valencia; lying partly on a hill, and partly in a plain by the river side, over which there is a bridge of boats, defended by two redoubts or castles, as some travellers call them. It was possessed by the allies in the late war immediately after the taking of Barcelona in 1705, and esteemed by them a place of great importance, as it opened a passage into the kingdom



CHAP. XI. kingdom of Valencia on one side, and the kingdom of Arragon on the other. They ordered the fortifications therefore to be repaired, and kept a garison there till it was taken from them by the Duke of Orleans in 1708.

The town is adorned with several fine churches and religious houses, among which the cathedral, the royal college of the Dominicans and the convent of the Carmelites are most admired. They make here a great deal of silk and oil, and a fine sort of earthen ware in imitation of china. It is in general a town of good trade, to which the Ebro very much contributes, this river being navigable here, and affording it a communication with the Mediterranean.

Tortosa is supposed to be built out of the ruins of the ancient Ibera, a colony of the Romans, near which town the two SCIPIO's defeated ASDRUBAL the brother of HANNIBAL; and LIVY observes, that in his time it was one of the richest towns in Spain. It is at present a Bishop's See, suffragan of Tarragona, and a university, pleasantly situated in a country abounding in grain and fruits, having mines of silver and iron, quarries of alabaster and the most beautiful jasper.

Lerida.

Lerida is situated on a little rising hill, which descends insensibly to the banks of the Segra near the confines of Arragon, about thirty-five leagues to the westward of Barcelona, and eighteen to the northward of Tortosa. It is defended by a good wall, and other modern fortifications, but it's principal strength is the castle, which stands on a hill, that commands it. The town is generally well built with stone; the cathedral and the Bishop's palace are the most remarkable structures, from whence there is a fine prospect of the neighbouring country. The town is very ancient, having been founded by the Ilergetes, and by them called Ilezda; from whence it is supposed the modern name of Lerida is derived. Near this city JULIUS CÆSAR obtained a victory over AFRANIUS and PETREIUS, POMPEY's Lieutenants.

It has been several times taken and retaken in the wars between France and Spain. Upon the surrender of Barcelona, in the year 1705, Lerida declared for King CHARLES, in whose possession it remained till after the fatal battle of Almanza. The Duke of Orleans invested the town on the tenth of September 1707, and took it by storm on the thirtieth of the same month, the garison retiring into the castle, which held out till the twelfth of November following, and then surrendered upon honourable conditions. The garison most of them consisted of English. They lost abundance of brave officers and soldiers in the defence of it; though I question whether there did not more perish by sickness than the sword, as indeed was generally the case in this lingering unfortunate Spanish war; which if it had been well supported at first, had produced a peace seven years sooner. And this was the true reason it was so shamefully neglected by the then British ministry; their favourite General had lost his influence at court, and wanted great part of that immense treasure he left behind him, if a period had then been put to the war. I question whether the enemy was more rejoiced at our ill success in Spain, than some people in the administration. Lerida is a university and Bishop's See, suffragan of Tarragona.

Balaguer.

Balaguer stands at the foot of a hill on the river Segra, four or five leagues north-east of Lerida. It is a little fortified town, but of no great strength, declared for King CHARLES III on the surrender

of Barcelona in 1705, but was generally possessed by that party that was master of the field in the late war. It is situated in a fruitful country, that is, as far as it is cultivated; for it may be observed once for all, that their great towns are generally built near some river side, in the most fertile part of the country, which for a mile or two round, according to the extent of the place, is usually cultivated; but all beyond yields nothing, unless herbage and pasture for their flocks and herds, and is very often a barren soil.

CHAP. XI. Montserrat mountain and monastery.

In the diocese of Barcelona, seven leagues north-west of that city, lies the celebrated mountain of Montserrat, which overlooks all the plain of Barcelona as far as the sea. This mountain is not only taken notice of for it's extraordinary height, but the form of it, which rising up in a multitude of lofty pyramids, appear at a distance indented like a saw, and is supposed to have obtained it's name of *Montferratus*, from the Latin word *Serra* a saw. But this mountain is still more famous for it's supposed sanctity, on account of an image and chapel here dedicated to the blessed Virgin, which is resorted to by an infinite number of pilgrims. According to their tradition, this miraculous image of the Virgin, as 'tis called, was found in a cave by certain shepherds about the year 880; whereupon the Bishop of Barcelona and his clergy came thither with a design to have carried it to some other place; but it remained immovable, there was no stirring it from the place where the convent now stands. Whereupon GUIFRED Earl of Barcelona caused a monastery and chapel to be erected over it. PHILIP II and PHILIP III caused a magnificent church to be built in the room of the former old chapel, where the image had remained upwards of seven hundred years. The holy image now stands upon the altar of this church, being almost black, with a little Jesus in her arms: on one side of the altar is a picture of PHILIP III, and on the other a picture of his Queen; the place being enlightened with no less than ninety silver lamps, and in the treasury they shew a crown of the blessed Virgin's, valued at a million of florins. The convent is inhabited by monks of every nation, who with their servants make about three hundred persons. They entertain all who come thither, either out of devotion or curiosity, for three days gratis, with bread, wine, flesh, oil, salt, vinegar, and lodging, and there is no place to which pilgrims resort in greater crowds, unless it be to Rome or Loretto. Over the church towards the top of the mountain are the cells of thirteen hermits, hewn out of the rock with infinite labour, to which they ascend by steps cut out of the same rock. They are for the most part persons of quality, who being weary of the world, have retired thither to spend their time in solitude and devotion. Every one of them adjoining to his cell has a chapel, a garden, and a fountain springing out of the rock; over the cloyster is a leaning rock, to which they have fixed three crosses; here they say mass every day to implore the blessed Virgin that she will not suffer it to fall upon their church or cloyster, and not without reason, for in the sixteenth century part of the rock fell down upon their infirmary, demolished it, and killed several sick people. However, says my author, it is a charming solitude, they enjoy one of the finest prospects in the world, there reigns a profound silence, nothing is to be heard but the soft notes of birds, or the murmuring of springs and rivelets, which on every side fall down the rocks.

A coun-



CHAP.  
XI.

A countryman of ours (Captain CARLTON) who visited Montserrat in the late war, is in raptures when he describes this lovely mount: the relation is something long, and therefore I shall only give an abstract of the most agreeable scenes he presents us with.

Montserrat, says that gentleman, is a lofty hill in the middle of a spacious plain, which promises something extraordinary at a distance, hundreds of aspiring pyramids presenting themselves at once to the eye, but so intermingled with trees of magnitude as well as beauty, that your curiosity can never be satisfied with viewing it. Upon this hill are thirteen hermits cells, the uppermost of which lies near the summit: you gradually advance to every one by a winding ascent, by reason of the steepness; nor could a stranger easily find them out, unless he follow the old ass that daily carries them their provisions. This animal being laden at the convent with a pair of panniers, in which is a partition for every hermit filled with wine and victuals, goes up of himself without a driver to their respective cells, each man taking his proportion as he passes, and having reached the uppermost, returns back to the convent again.

These hermits our Captain esteemed extremely happy, and would willingly, he intimates, have exchanged his office for a cell. For what, says he, can be more desirable than to have every thing provided without care, the days without anxiety gratefully pass away amidst a vast variety of pleasing objects, their sleep never interrupted with any thing more offensive than murmuring springs, natural cascades, and the various notes of the pretty feathered choir? These good men seemed to me the very emblems of innocence; instead of moroseness and a pharisaical pride, too common in a recluse life, you meet with all imaginable affability and complaisance, they readily shew you all the rarities in their cells, and answer all questions with humanity and condescension. One of these reverend old men, while we were taking leave of him, whistled, and immediately a flock of beautiful little birds of several kinds surrounded him, some lit upon his shoulders, others upon his grey head and beard, whom he fed out of his mouth; and in short every hermit had some little innocent amusement to entertain the stranger with.

From these cells our traveller went to take a view of the convent, in the chapel whereof he saw the image of the Virgin so much adored: he says it appeared black and shining like ebony, though the priests assured him that the colour proceeded from it's lying concealed between two rocks when the Moors were masters of the country.

The ornaments of the chapel were so immensely rich, that our traveller tells us he thought all the treasures of the universe had been amassed together there; and yet when he was led into the repository, where the most valuable offerings are laid up, he found more costly presents, the superstitious tribute of the Roman Catholick Princes of Europe: among the rest there was a sword set with diamonds, an offering from King CHARLES III the present Emperor; and the King of Portugal had sent them a glory for the Virgin's head, every ray of which was set with diamonds, large at the bottom, and gradually lessening to the extremity of every ray, each ray being about half a yard long. But should I enumerate all the rich gifts I saw there, says the Captain, it would exceed all belief: as the upper part of the mount is a miracle of na-

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ture, so is this treasury a miracle of art. I shall only add, that every Sunday the hermits dine in the hall of the convent with the monks. I proceed now to the description of some other considerable places in Catalonia.

Vich is a little fortified town, situated in a fine fruitful plain on a little river that falls into the Ter twelve or thirteen leagues to the northward of Barcelona. It is remarkable for little but being a Bishop's See, and declaring for King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, the first of any town in Spain. In the neighbouring mountains are found amethysts and topazes,

Gironne, *olim Gerunda*, is situated on the side of a hill at the confluence of the Ouda and the Ter, which wash the walls of it, and stands about twenty leagues north-east of Barcelona, and seven to the westward of the sea, being the capital of the viguery called the Lampourdan. The town is moderately large and strongly fortified, and has some handsome buildings in it, particularly the cathedral church dedicated to our Lady, which is richly adorned and beautified: the high altar shines with gold and precious stones, and the image of our Lady upon it is of solid silver. The town has a flourishing trade, is honoured with a university and a Bishop's See, and stands in one of the fruit-fullest parts of Catalonia.

This town declared for King CHARLES on the taking of Barcelona in the year 1705, and remained in his possession till the twenty-third of January 1710-11, when it was taken by the Duke of Noailles, after a siege of six weeks.

Ampurias is a little sea-port town at the mouth of the Fluvia, twenty leagues to the northward of Barcelona, six north-east of Gironne, and three to the southward of Roses, a town anciently very considerable. Before the Romans entered Spain, Ampurias consisted of two distinct towns, divided only by a wall, the one inhabited by the Greeks, and the other by the natives. These nations preserved their respective manners and customs, and had no communication with each other but upon account of trade. In this state they remained for several ages, till JULIUS CÆSAR having defeated POMPEY's party, and then he built a third town adjoining to the former, and left a Roman colony in it; soon after he conferred on the natives the privilege of Roman citizens, as he did afterwards on the Greeks, and united these three people into one; after which the language and manners of the Romans became universal, and a temple was erected to the honour of DIANA of Ephesus; on one of the columns whereof was the following inscription, which has preserved the memory of this event; viz. EMPORITANI POPVLI GRÆCI, HOC TEMPLVM SVB NOMINE DIANÆ EPHESEÆ EO SECVLO CONDIDERE QVO NEC RELICTA GRÆCORVM LINGVA NEC IDIOMATE PATRIÆ IBERÆ RECEPTO IN MORES IN LINGVAM IN IVRA IN DITIONEM CESSERE ROMANAM M. CETHEGO ET L. APRONIO. COSS.

The Greeks had given this town the name of *Empurias*, or *Emperium*, which in their language signified a place of trade, which was easily changed into that of Ampurias. The territory of Ampurias is called the *Ampurdan*, (*Emporitanus Ager*) though upon the decay of this town, Gironne is become the capital of this district or viguery. The Bishop's See was also upon the same account removed from Ampurias to Gironne.



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Roses.

Roses is a port-town situate on a bay of the sea, a little to the westward of Cape Creus, seven or eight leagues to the northward of Gironne, two or three to the northward of Ampurias, and ten to the southward of Perpignan in Roussillon. It is well fortified, and defended by a fort, which stands upon an eminence by the sea-shore, that commands the entrance into the bay. This town rose out of the ruins of the ancient Rhoda, or Rhodopolis, which was built by the Greeks of Rhodes at Cape Creus. It was the only place in Catalonia that held out for King PHILIP all the last war, who now remains in possession of it.

Campredon.

Campredon is a pretty fortified town, situate on an eminence near the river Ter, about ten leagues north-west of Gironne, the capital of a viguery, and defended by a citadel which stands in the middle of the place. To the north of Campredon is a high mountain, where they find crystal.

Puicerda.

Puicerda, the capital of the county of Cerdagne, is situated in a fine plain, between the rivers Carol and Segra, at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains. It is a pretty large town, and fortified after the modern way, being a frontier against France. The neighbouring country abounds in fruit and game, and there are some quarries of jasper of various colours in their mountains, and two medicinal fountains.

Urgel.

Urgel is situated on the same river Segra, in a fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, and well planted with vines, four or five leagues to the westward of Puicerda, and has the honour of being a Bishop's See.

Solsona.

Solsona is situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Cardonero, twenty leagues north-west of Barcelona, and is only remarkable for being the See of a Bishop.

Cardona.

Cardona is a handsome town, situate on an eminence near the river Cardonero, nine or ten miles to the southward of Solsona, most remarkable for a prodigious mountain of salt of all colours, but becomes perfectly white on washing it. The salt, according to my author, is inexhaustible: notwithstanding it has been dug these two thousand years, it yields to the present owner, the Duke of Cardona, forty thousand ducats per annum. When the sun shines on this mountain, nothing can appear brighter, one would think it was all composed of precious stones; and notwithstanding salt generally renders the soil barren where it is found, this mountain produces lofty pines, and is planted with excellent vines.

## CHAP. XII.

*Treats of the province or kingdom of Valencia, and of the chief towns contained therein.*

CHAP.  
XII.Valencia.  
Situation,  
&c.

Air.

Soil.

VALENCIA stretches itself along the Mediterranean sea from north to south, being bounded by Arragon and Catalonia towards the north; by the Mediterranean on the east; by Murcia on the south; and by New Castile on the west; being about sixty-three leagues in length from north to south, and five and twenty in breadth from east to west, where broadest.

This is one of the most agreeable provinces in Spain; the air is pure and temperate, and they enjoy almost a perpetual spring. 'Tis true, the country is in several parts encumbered with mountains, but the plains and valleys on the sea-coast are extremely fruitful in wine, oil, sugar, rice, oranges,

lemons, pomegranates, and all manner of fruits. In every season of the year we find leaves, fruit and blossoms on the trees, nor do they want silk, flax, or honey; but the soil does not seem very proper for corn. In their hills are mines of gold, silver and alum, quarries of alabaster and marble, and the sea furnishes them with plenty of fish: but they have too often the misfortune of seeing all the fruits of the earth destroyed, with the leaves of trees and every thing that is green, for many miles in a few hours, by those innumerable armies of locusts which visit them from Africa. Nor is this the worst of it, for they have no sooner done them this irreparable mischief, but they die away, and cause such an intolerable stench, that they infect the air, and occasion a variety of diseases.

This province is well watered with rivers and brooks, of which some reckon up five and thirty; they all run from east to west, or from the north-west to the south-west, and fall into the Mediterranean sea. The chief of them are the Miglias, or Millares, the Morviedro, the Guadalquivir, the Xucar, and the Segura.

The Miglias, or Millares, rises in Arragon, and running south-east, falls into the sea a little below Villa Real.

The Morviedro rises towards the confines of Morviedro, and running eastward passes by Segorba, falling into the sea a little below the town of Morviedro.

The Guadalquivir, so called by the Moors on account of the pureness of its waters, is not so remarkable for its depth as its agreeable and beautiful banks, always covered with roses and other flowers, or the most delightful groves of trees, from its source to the mouth of it. This river rises on the confines of Arragon and New Castile, near the town of Albarazin, and runs from the north-west to the south-east cross the kingdom of Valencia, falling into the sea near the capital city of the same name.

The Xucar rising in New Castile, runs through the province of Sierra, where it receives the two small rivers of Cabriel and Oñara, after which it crosses Valencia from east to west, and falls into the sea near the little town of Cullern.

The Segura rises in Andalusia, and taking its course through the kingdom of Murcia, enters Valencia, near Origuela, discharging it self into the sea near Guardamar.

The kingdom of Valencia was much better peopled anciently than it is at present, for it was from hence that the greatest part of the Moors were banished to Africa in the year 1610, on suspicion that the converts they had made amongst them were still inclined to Mahometism, and never failed to profess it when they had an opportunity of doing it with impunity. But still there is a great mixture of old and new Christians, or of native Spaniards and Moriscoes, as they stile the descendants of the ancient Moors, and these apply themselves much more to mechanick arts and husbandry than the former, which may be one occasion of the fertility of this province.

The chief towns are Valencia, Morviedro, Segorba, Zeric, Villa Real, Villa Hermosa, St. Mattheo, Castello de la Plana, Peniscola and Morella to the northward; and Alzira, Montesa, Xativa, Gandia, Denia, Altea, Alicante, Elche, Elda, and Crigula to the southward.

Valencia, the capital, is situated in a fine plain on the river Guadalquivir, or Turia, two miles from

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Mines.

Locusts.

Rivers.

Miglias.

Morviedro.

Guadalquivir.

Xucar.

Segura.

Chief towns.



CHAP. XI. from the sea, lying about fifty-five leagues south-east of Madrid, and as many south-west of Barcelona. It is surrounded by a wall and some antique fortifications, but esteemed a place of no great strength. The form of the town is round, and contains about twelve thousand houses. All the travellers I meet with concur in admiring the beauty of the place, and it's charming situation; they enjoy, says one of them, a sweet temperate air, and are scarce sensible of winter; they abound in all things that can render life agreeable: the town is watered with a fine river, over which there are five stone-bridges, and their fountains are innumerable: the suburbs, large as the town, are intermixed with the most beautiful gardens: the inhabitants are of an obliging agreeable conversation, and entertain you with an air of gaiety, not to be met with in other parts of Spain: their women the finest and most inclined to gallantry of any of the sex: but here comes the curse, (for I never met with a place extremely happy or engaging in some respects, but it was as unfortunate in others) these fine ladies and their gallants occasion perpetual quarrels; and it is said there are more bravo's and assassins natives of Valencia, than of all the provinces of Spain besides, who for a dollar will murder any man you are jealous of: so that here is no safety among all this vast variety of delights, which surely must imberter every thing that carries the name of pleasure.

But I am apt to think murders are not so frequent as travellers suggest, for all the nobility and gentry almost of the province reside at Valencia, trade and manufactures flourish here, and there are abundance of rich merchants and tradesmen in the place, who would certainly find other seats if there was so little safety to be met with. Their principal manufacture is silk, they have also those of woollen, and their foreign trade in wine, oil and fruit is considerable.

In the neighbourhood of this beautiful city, there is on one side a continued regular plantation of fruit-trees and ever-greens, and towards the sea a bay is formed by the mouth of the river, three leagues in length and one in breadth, which abounds in fish and wild fowl; and about half a league to the eastward is a little fortified town, called Porto el Grujo, which may be looked upon as the port to Valencia. All the way from Valencia to Xativa, which is no less than nine leagues, looks like a garden, and the country is so populous, that the towns and villages are not half a league asunder, where we see crowds of women and children before the houses busied in spinning of silk.

But to return to the town. The most considerable publick buildings are the cathedral, the Viceroy's palace, and that of Cinta; the monastery of St. Jerom, the exchange and the arsenal. In the time of the Romans, it was esteemed the most beautiful town in Spain. From PLINY we understand it was a Roman colony, as well as by an ancient inscription, wherein it is stiled *Colonia Julia Valencia*. There are many fragments of antiquity still remaining in and about the city. It was the seat of the Moorish Kings; till they were expelled by JAMES the First, King of Arragon, stiled the Victorious, in the year 1238, who united this province to the rest of his dominions. It is at present the See of an Archbishop and a university, and was one of the first towns that declared for King CHARLES III. after the taking of Barcelona in the year 1705, but suffered suffi-

ciently for her forwardness after the loss of the battle of Almanza, anno 1707: they were sacrificed with the rest of our friends in Spain to the covetousness and ambition of a certain General, who would not suffer the English forces in Spain to be timely re-inforced, lest there should have been too sudden a revolution in that kingdom, which might have eclipsed his glory, and put an end to the war, before his insatiable avarice had acquired a treasure equal to that of many crowned heads.

Morviedro is situated at the foot of a high hill on the river Palencia, or Morviedro, four or five leagues to the northward of Valencia, and about two leagues from the sea. It is surrounded with an old wall and towers, and contains seven hundred families.

Upon the top of an adjoining rock they shew the ruins of the once famous but unfortunate Saguntum, whose citizens, in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, being confederates of the former, after having sustained a siege of nine months, chose rather to bury themselves in the ruins of their town, than submit to HANNIBAL, for which their bravery and resolution has been often celebrated in Roman story. It was retaken eight years after by Scipio, who restored it to those that remained alive of the inhabitants. Upon one of the gates we meet with the following inscription, viz. SENATUS POPULVSQVE SAGVNTINORVM CLAVDIO INVICTO PIO FEL. IMP. CÆS. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. P. P. PROCOS.

At another gate near the cathedral, is the head of HANNIBAL cut in stone: from hence as we ascend the rock, we meet with the ruins of an amphitheatre, consisting of six and twenty benches hewn out of the rock, and above the amphitheatre the remains of an ancient Roman fortress.

Segorba is situated on an eminence, in the middle of a spacious plain surrounded with mountains, on the river Morviedro, ten leagues north of Valencia, and as many to the eastward of the sea. It is a walled town, consisting of about eight hundred families, and defended by a castle: the See of a Bishop, and capital of a duchy. Near it is a quarry of excellent marble, which the Romans used to transport to Rome to adorn their palaces.

North-west of Segorba stands the little town of Xerica, the capital of a county.

Four or five leagues to the northward of Morviedro stands Villa Real, upon the river Millares, about a league from the sea. It was a handsome little town, consisting of about eight hundred inhabitants, till taken by storm in the year 1706 by the Marshal DE TORRES, King PHILIP's General, who burnt it down to the ground, and put the people to the sword, as he served several other towns in the neighbourhood for adhering to King CHARLES III.

Alzira is situated on the river Xucar, six leagues to the southward of Valencia, and is remarkable chiefly for it's silk-manufacture.

Xativa was situated on a rising ground, nine or ten leagues south of Valencia. It was one of the finest towns in Spain, and consisted of about three thousand families, but after the battle of Almanza, anno 1707, it was burnt, and the fortifications razed by King PHILIP's army. This was another melancholy consequence of the Confederates deserting their friends in Spain who had declared for them, only to humour some favourite Generals in other parts of Europe. King PHILIP since ordered



C H A P. XI. ordered another town to be built in the place where Xativa stood, and called after his name.

Gandia. Gandia is situated on the little river Alcoy, within half a league of the sea, ten leagues south of Valencia, most remarkable for its sugar-works.

Denia. Three or four leagues south-east of Gandia lies the town of Denia, on the sea-coast, defended by a castle situated on a neighbouring mountain, and has a tolerable harbour.

Altea. Three or four leagues further south stands Altea, on a high hill, rather adorned than defended by an old castle, famous for its bay, where ships frequently take in water. The country-people here made no difficulty in declaring their inclinations for King CHARLES the Third, when the confederate fleet touched here in their way to Barcelona, anno 1705; for which they suffered sufficiently afterwards.

Alicant. Alicante is a sea-port town, defended by a strong castle situated on a rock, about twenty leagues south of Valencia, and as many to the northward of Cartagena. It is a town of the best trade of any in the province, particularly in red and white wines, oranges, lemons and other fruits. The confederate fleet commanded by Sir JOHN LEAKE took both the town and castle in the year 1706; but immediately after the battle of Almanza, King PHILIP's forces retook the town, and blocked up the castle; the latter however held out against all the efforts of France and Spain till April 1709. The enemy tried all imaginable ways to reduce it, and among the rest had recourse to mining, in which they made but a very slow progress, the rock being extremely hard; they lodged however twelve hundred barrels of powder in the rock, and then summoned RICHARDS the Governor to surrender, acquainting him at the same time with his danger, and giving leave to two of his officers to come out and view the mine, which they did accordingly, and upon their report the Governor held a council of war, wherein it was resolved not to surrender; whereupon the enemy sprung their mine, which made an incredible noise, but had no great effect upon the castle; only the Governor, Major-General RICHARDS, and Colonel SYBURGH, happening to be a little too near the place where the mine was, were unfortunately blown up and buried in the ruins, with several other officers. The command hereupon devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel D'ALBON, he determined to hold out till he was relieved, and venture another mine. On the 15th of April 1709, to the great joy of the garison, Sir GEORGE BYNG, and Major-General STANHOPE, appeared before the place with a fleet of men of war, and four thousand land-forces on board; but the Spanish army being much superior to them, they did not think fit to disembark their troops, but contented themselves with sending a flag of truce on shore, with an offer of withdrawing the English garison out of the castle, which the Spaniards agreed to; and pursuant to this capitulation, the garison, consisting of five hundred men, marched out the eighteenth of April 1709, N. S. with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, and embarked on board the fleet. Either the Confederates apprehended it impracticable to throw supplies into the castle while the Spanish army were possessed of all the avenues, or they might be of opinion that another mine would totally demolish it; at least that it would be more eligible to withdraw the garison in time, than run the hazard of another experiment.

Origuela, or Orihuela, is situated in a fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, on the river Seguria, in the midway between Alicant and Cartagena, and about a league from the confines of Murcia. It is enclosed with a wall, and defended by an old castle, and has the honour of being a university and the See of a Bishop. The neighbouring country abounds in corn, wine, fruits, honey, flax and salt; infomuch that it is become a proverb, whether it rains or not, there is always plenty at Origuela.

### C H A P. XIII.

*Treats of the province of Estramadura.*

THIS province and the two Castiles are frequently comprehended in one; but I shall follow our best maps, and describe Estramadura as a distinct province from the Bastiles, and bound it with the province of Leon on the north; by New Bastile on the east; by Andalusia on the south; and by Portugal on the west; being about sixty leagues in length from north to south, and thirty-four in breadth from east to west. The mountains of Banos, Pico and Guadaloupe divide it from the two Castiles on the east, and those of Sierra Morena separate it from Andalusia on the south; but the rest of the country is plain and level, if compared with the other provinces, and esteemed the most fruitful part of Spain, to which the rivers that water it very much contribute: the chief of them are the Tagus and Guadiana, Rivers that cross it from east to west. The Alagon, which rising in the north runs southward, and passing by Coria, falls into the Tagus. The Almonte, which rising in the east takes its course north-west, and falls likewise into the Tagus. And the Zuja, which has its source in Sierra Morena, and running first to the north, then turns about to the west, and discharges itself into the Guadiana near Medelin.

The chief towns are Placencia, Coria, Alcantara, Albuquerque, Feria, Truxillo, Guadaloupe, Merida, Medelin, Badajoz, Xeres de Badajoz and Lerena.

Placencia is situated on the banks of the little river Xente, surrounded with mountains, about forty leagues south-west of Madrid. Both mountains and valleys in the district of this city are extremely fruitful. The plains produce excellent grain, and on the mountains are whole forests of fruit trees, as apples, pears, chefnuts, olives, cherries, peaches, apricots, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, &c. The town itself is well built, containing about two thousand houses, which form several fine streets and squares, embellished with fountains, and is the See of a Bishop.

Coria also is an episcopal city, ten leagues to the westward of Placencia, situate in a fruitful plain on the little river Alagon. The cathedral is the only publick building mentioned by travellers, as worth the viewing. The city has the title of a marquise, and belongs to the Dukes of Alva.

Alcantara is situated on the river Tagus, ten leagues south of Coria, and three to the westward of the confines of Portugal, a frontier garison against that kingdom, most remarkable for a magnificent bridge over the Tagus, said to be built in the reign of the Emperor TRAJAN by the people of Lusitania. It is raised two hundred foot above the water, and though it consists but of six arches, is six hundred and seventy foot long, and eight



CHAP. XIII. eight and twenty broad, and has this inscription on it, viz.

IMP. CÆSARI. D. NERVÆ F. NERVÆ  
TRAJANO AVG. GERM. DACICO. PONT.  
MAX. TRIB. POTEST. VIII. IMP. VI. COS.  
V. R. P.

At the foot of the bridge there is a little antique chapel hewn out of the rock, first dedicated to TRAJAN, and afterward by the Christians to the honour of St. JULIAN. This town was built by the Moors on account of the convenience of the bridge over the river, which here runs in a very deep channel, having high craggy rocks on each side of it. The Moors give it the name of Alcantara, which word in their language signifies a bridge. ALFONSO the Tenth, King of Leon, took it from them, and gave it to the knights of Calatrava, who afterwards took the title of knights of Alcantara.

Truxillo. Truxillo, or Trugillo, *olim Trogillum* and *Turris Julia*, is an ancient town, situate among the mountains on the side of a hill, having a citadel on the top of it, fourteen or fifteen leagues south-east of Alcantara, and forty-five south-west of Madrid, contains about a thousand houses, said to have been built by JULIUS CÆSAR, and famous in these latter ages for the birth of FRANCIS PIZARRO, Marquis de las Charcos, one of the Spanish Generals that discovered and conquer'd the empire of Peru.

Guadalupe. Eight leagues to the eastward of Truxillo, on the confines of New Castile, stands the little town of Guadalupe, on a river of the same name, in a plain surrounded with mountains, which also have obtained the name of the Guadalupe mountains. The town is well built, and pleasantly situated in a country that looks like a forest of fruit-trees, where grapes, oranges, figs, and other delicious fruits abound. That which contributes much to it's fertility are three or four small brooks, which falling from the mountains, run winding through the valley, and enrich it with their waters. But what the town is most famous for is a miraculous image, as they call it, of the blessed Virgin, which, according to their tradition, lay buried many hundred years in the time of the Moors, and now performs abundance of cures; at least, devout people who have implored her assistance, upon their recovery have presented her with a great many offerings, and pilgrims visit her shrine from all parts of Spain. This image, like that of Monferrat in Catalonia, is turned almost black, also supposed to be occasioned by it's lying long under ground.

Merida. Merida is situated on an eminence contiguous to the river Guadiana, twenty-five leagues north of Seville, and fifty-five south-west of Madrid, formerly known by the name of *Emerita Augusta*, and was the capital of the ancient Lusitania. There are still some noble remains of antiquity here, as the ruins of the walls, which shew it's ancient grandeur, though the town be small at present, not containing above a thousand inhabitants. AUGUSTUS built a fine bridge over the Guadiana at this place, and two aqueducts, and caused a highway to be made from thence to Seville. The aqueducts are entirely ruined, and there is another modern one in their room, much inferior to the former, which however conveys water to the town from a considerable distance. The bridge was carried away in the year 1610 by a flood, and another built at a great expence. Among other remains of antiquity, there is a triumphal arch pretty well preserved, which seems to have been the

gate of a cirque or theatre. The town was fortified about the time that the Portuguese threw off the Castilian yoke, and in the last war with that nation the Spaniards laid up their magazines here. It is at present a Bishop's See, and by some called the capital of Estramadura.

Badajoz is situated on an eminence on the south bank of the river Guadiana, sixty leagues south-west of Madrid, ten to the westward of Merida, and about half a league to the eastward of the confines of Portugal, against which kingdom it is the strongest frontier town the Spaniards have, and is generally called the capital of Estramadura. It is a Bishop's See, and contains about four thousand inhabitants. The houses are well built, and the streets tolerably large, but the beauty of it is their great square, on one side whereof stands the cathedral church of Saint John, and on the other the Governor's palace. It is divided in two parts, viz. the high and low town, and defended by two castles, one on the side of Andalusia, called St. Michael, and the other on the opposite side of the river, called St. Christophal, which defends the entrance on the bridge, a very fine structure, built of large hewn stone on thirty arches. The town has sustained two memorable sieges without being taken, one by the Portuguese in the year 1658, and the other in 1705 by the confederates, when the British General the Earl of Galway, a French refugee, lost his right hand by a cannon-shot. The town stands in a very fertile soil: it is needless to enumerate the kinds of fruit, having done it so often already in treating of other towns in this province.

Xeres de Badajoz is a little city, about eight leagues south-east of Badajoz, and belonged formerly to the knights templars, which occasioned it's being called Xeres de Cavalleros. The principal riches of the place consists in cattle, which are fed in the fine pastures about it. It is said they send no less than fifty thousand horned cattle annually to the fairs of Escalona and Villena.

Medellin is situated on the Guadiana, six leagues to the eastward of Merida, in a fruitful country, abounding in all things, said to be founded by Q. CÆCILIVS METELLUS, a Roman Consul, and famous for the birth of FERNANDO CORTEZ, the Spanish General that conquered Mexico.

Ellerena, or Lerena, stands about ten leagues to the southward of Medellin, near the mountains of Sierra Morena, built by the knights of the order of St. James, and honoured with the title of a city. It is situated in a fruitful soil, rich in pasture.

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*Treats of the province of Andalusia.*

ANDALUSIA is bounded by a long chain of mountains, called Sierra Morena, which separate it from Estramadura and New Castile, on the north; by Murcia and Grenada, towards the east; by the same province of Grenada, the streights of Gibraltar and the Atlantick Ocean on the south; and by Portugal, from which it is divided by the Guadiana and Chanca, towards the west; extending in length about ninety leagues from east to west, and about sixty in it's greatest breadth from north to south, but in many places, especially towards the east, it is not thirty leagues over. It has the advantage of near seventy leagues sea-coast. Andalusia is part of the ancient Bætica, which comprehended this province, Grenada, and that



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Name.

Air.

Soil.

Cattle.

Miner.

Rivers.

Division.

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Name. part of Estramadura which lies south of the Guadiana. It was called Vandalitia from the Vandals, who settled here in the fifth century, and from thence corruptly Andalusia. The Moors possessed themselves of it in the eighth century, and divided it into the kingdoms of Cordoua, Seville and Jaen. They enjoy here a pure serene heaven, a healthful air, and a soil answerable to the most luxurious wishes, abounding in corn, wine, oil, sugar and honey. They have large herds of great and small cattle, and the most beautiful breed of horses in Europe, and no country was more famous for it's rich minerals till America was found out. True it is, great part of the summer is excessive hot; but as the Spaniards in the southern provinces sleep away the middle of the day, and seldom travel but in the morning or evening, the natives are far from thinking the heats intolerable, especially as they are frequently refreshed by sea-breezes, and by many other ways which necessity, the mother of invention, has taught them to avoid the heats. Besides other minerals, in the mountains of Andalusia they find plenty of quick-silver and vermillion.

Air.

Soil.

Cattle.

Miner.

Rivers. The principal rivers of this province are the Guadalquivir, which runs the whole length of it from east to west, and divides the country into almost two equal parts. The Xenil, which rising in the kingdom of Grenada, enters Andalusia above Lucena, and taking it's course to the westward, discharges it self into the Guadalquivir. The Odier, or Odiel, which rising in the confines of Estramadura, runs to the southward, and discharges it self into the ocean. The river Tinto, which runs almost parallel to the Odier, and falls into the ocean a little to the eastward of that river. The waters of the Tinto are so bitter, that there is no drinking them, nor can any fish live in it. The Guadiamar runs from north to south, and falls into the Guadalquivir. The Chanca runs from north to south, and falling into the Guadiana, divides Andalusia from Portugal. The Guadalete, by the Latins called *Letbe*, rises on the confines of Grenada, and running south-west by Bornos and Arcos, discharges it self into the sea at Port St. Mary's. And the Guadarmena, which rising in New Castile, runs from north to south, and discharges it self into the Guadalquivir below Cacorra.

Division. I shall divide this province as it was formerly, into east and west: the east contains the ancient kingdom of Cordova, and the west the kingdom of Seville.

**Chief towns.** The chief towns in the kingdom of Cordoua are Cacorla, Ubeda, Baeza, Jaen, Alcala Real, Anduxar or Andujar, and Cordoua.

The chief towns in the kingdom of Seville are Medina-Sidonia, Oñuna, Ecya or Ecija, Carmona, Marchena, Seville, St. Lucar Arcos, Port St. Mary, Cadiz, Rota, Gibraltar, St. Lucar la Mayor, Xeres de Guadiana, Aymonte and Lucena.

Jaen, the capital of a kingdom in the time of the Moors, is situated at the foot of a mountain, fifty-five leagues south of Madrid, and about twenty to the eastward of Cordova, surrounded with a wall and antique towers, and defended by a castle. The town is tolerably large and populous, adorned with a handsome square, fine churches and cloysters, agreeable fountains, and the magnificent houses of many of the nobility and gentry of the province that reside here. But this city is most remarkable among the Spaniards for the image of St. Veronica, who lent her handkerchief to the blessed Jesus when he was carrying his cross, to which devout

people resort in crowds. It is at present the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Seville, and situate in a country abounding in silk, corn, wine, oil and excellent fruits.

Cordoua, the capital of a kingdom also in the time of the Moors, is situated on the north bank of the river Guadalquivir, having the mountains of Sierra Morena on the north, and a spacious plain to the south, about sixty leagues to the southward of Madrid, and twenty-four to the eastward of Seville. The form of it is an oblong square, stretching from east to west along the river Guadalquivir. The extent of the town is very large, but not populous in proportion, there being abundance of large gardens and orchards within the walls. It is adorned with some fine buildings, palaces, churches and religious houses, and has several large handsome suburbs, of which the most considerable is towards the east. The cathedral is a vast magnificent structure, built for a Mahometan Mosque by ABDACHAMAN, King of the Moors, in the eighth century, who made Cordoua the seat of his government. This church is six hundred foot long, and two hundred and fifty wide, having four and twenty large doors adorned with excellent workmanship. The roof is sustained by three hundred and sixty-five pillars of alabaster, jasper and black marble, a foot and half diameter. The new chapel in it is as large as some churches, lined with marble and richly gilded, as is all the roof of the church. That vast number of slender pillars which divide the several chapels from each other, make a very grand appearance on entering the church. The Moors were in possession of this city five hundred and twenty years, during all which time the Christians were allowed liberty of conscience, and had six churches, in which they performed divine service: for this privilege they paid a very inconsiderable tribute.

Cordoua is a Bishop's See, the episcopal palace a large edifice, chiefly remarkable for it's fine gardens, in which is a wilderness of orange-trees. The King's palace is at the west end of the town, of a vast extent, and surrounded with walls like a castle. In the stables are kept two hundred horses of the Andalusian breed, esteemed the finest in Europe. The Place Major, or grand square, is another ornament to this city; it is surrounded with fine houses, supported by a large piazza. Cordoua being thus elegantly built, and enjoying an excellent air, abundance of persons of quality have their residence in it. The town has also a flourishing trade by means of the Guadiana, which begins to be navigable at this city. Several great men, as well ancients as moderns, were natives of Cordoua, particularly the two SENECA's, the Poet LUCAN, TROGUS POMPEIUS, PORCIUS LATRO, AVICENNA, AVERROES, FERDINAND GONSALVO, AMBROSIUS MORALES, &c. The neighbourhood of Cordoua is extremely agreeable and fruitful; the mountains, at the foot of which it is built, are full of gardens, vineyards, and forests of fruit-trees, interspersed with a variety of fine valleys, watered with springs and rivulets. When their groves of oranges and citrons are in blossom, they perfume the whole country. It is one of the diversions of Cordoua to walk in the fields in a serene summer's night, to breathe that delicious air, Their vines produce wine of an excellent taste, and their fields afford such an abundance of all things, that it is with justice called the granary of Spain.

Seville is situated in a vast fruitful plain upon

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on the banks of the river Guadalquivir, twenty leagues north-east of the ocean, about twenty-four north-east of Cadiz, and seventy south-west of Madrid, anciently called *Hispalis* from its situation; *Hispalis* in the language of the Phenicians or Tyrians, who were the founders of it, signifying a green plain. The city is one of the largest in Spain, of a round form, and encompassed with an old wall and towers, rather an ornament than defence to it, about eight miles in circumference, having twelve handsome gates. The houses are well built after the Moorish plan, but the streets are narrow; the inhabitants computed at three hundred thousand. There are several considerable suburbs, that called Triana on the opposite side of the river is the chief, with which there is a communication by a bridge, and on each side the river are keys, where ships discharge and receive their lading. JULIUS CÆSAR rebuilt and beautified this city, giving it the name of *Julia Romula*. It was the seat of the government in the time of the Gothick sovereigns, and afterwards the capital of one of the most considerable Moorish kingdoms, till taken from them by FERDINAND III, King of Castile, in the year 1248, after a siege of sixteen months, when he drove out most of the Moorish inhabitants, and introduced the Christians in their room, and is still the metropolis of Andalusia, being one of the most ancient Archbishopricks in Spain, the revenue whereof is said to amount to thirty thousand pounds sterling per annum. The cathedral was a Mahometan mosque, built in the tenth century by the Moors, and is one of the most magnificent structures of the kind in Spain, four hundred feet in length, two hundred and seventy in breadth, and an hundred and twenty-eight in height, and containing no less than fourscore chapels and altars, where masses are said every day. There are in the city a great many other fine churches and monasteries.

On the south side of the town is the royal palace called Alcazar, of which the finest part was built by the Moors. Here we see on every side the imperial eagle, with CHARLES the Fifth's motto, *Plus ultra*. The gardens belonging to this palace are extremely fine. Other publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are the palace of the inquisition, the exchange, the India-house, the mint, the colleges belonging to the university, which has not the reputation it had formerly; a noble aqueduct, which brings water from Carmona, six leagues from the city. Their hospitals amount to an hundred and twenty of all kinds, some of them very large and beautiful. There are a great many spacious squares also in Seville, adorned with fountains and magnificent buildings, and no town abounded more in wealth in the last age, when all the trade to Potosi and America in general was carried on here. Their traffick is still considerable, but Cadiz and other sea-ports have deprived them of a great deal of it, the river not being navigable for large vessels higher than St. Lucar. Seville is larger than Madrid; its situation on the river Guadalquivir in one of the most beautiful plains in the world, renders it a very desirable abode. The Spaniards look upon it as one of the wonders of the world, a perfect paradise, especially in a fine evening, which they seldom want, when all the quality repair to the neighbouring fields in their coaches to taste the fragrant air, perfumed with a variety of sweet flowers and blossoms that nature produces here in almost every season. Their olives are the best in Europe, and grow in the greatest quantities;

there is a wood of them not far from the city near twenty miles in circumference.

Cadiz, *olim Gades*, or, as the English usually pronounce it, Cales, is situated on the north-west point of the island of Leon, or Lions, in thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, six degrees forty minutes to the westward of London, and about ninety-four leagues south-west of Madrid. The island it stands upon bears some resemblance to a pear with a long stalk, and is in length from the south-east to the north-west about six leagues; the north-west end where the town stands is scarce half a league broad; the south-west end is about three leagues over, and has a communication with the continent by a bridge called Ponte Sanore. The island with the continent over against it form a bay four leagues long, and in most places two in breadth, only about the middle of the bay are two points of land, one on the continent, and the other on the island, so near together that the forts upon them, called the Puntal and Matagorda, command the passage, and within these points is the harbour, which it is impossible for an enemy to enter till he has taken the said forts. This was the reason that the confederates in their expedition against Cadiz in the year 1702, made their descent near Port St. Mary's on the continent, in order to attack the fort called Puntal on that side, and thereby facilitate the entrance of their fleet into the harbour. Some other reasons were given for their landing on that side, as the furnishing themselves with provisions, and giving the country an opportunity of declaring for them: it was also thought very hazardous landing on the backside of the island next the ocean, there running so great a surf upon the shore. But I find it was the opinion afterwards, both of the Generals and Admirals, that the landing on the back of the island, notwithstanding the hazard, had been the most likely way to have carried the town; and that though they had taken the fort of Puntal, the fleet could not have entered the harbour unless they had made themselves also masters of Fort Matagorda on the island. This I thought fit to observe for the animadversion of those who may hereafter be concerned in an attempt of the like nature against this place. The Earl of Essex and Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in the year 1596, took the town before they attempted the ships within the puntals.

But to return to the town: It stands upon so very narrow a point of land that there is scarce any ground between that and the sea, except to the south-west; and it is the general opinion, that part of the island has been washed away or destroyed by an earthquake, together with great part of the ancient Gades, the present dimensions not agreeing with those given us by the Greek and Roman historians. However, the city is computed to contain still about five thousand houses, and has a prodigious foreign trade, the Galleons annually taking in their lading here, and returning hither with the treasures of Potosi, and other rich merchandizes of America; and here accordingly are the finest store-houses in Europe. This also is the principal port where the royal navy of Spain have their rendezvous, and where most of their largest ships are careened and fitted out.

Cadiz is a Bishop's See, the cathedral a fine building, richly adorned and furnished; besides which there are several other handsome churches and convents, and a spacious square with a fountain in the middle of it.

The island consists of hills and plains, but produces

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island



no grain of any sort. Their vineyards however afford excellent wine, and their pasture is extremely rich. In the bay and on the island they make abundance of good salt of the sea-water.

The Phenicians first possessed themselves of this island, and erected a temple to HERCULES in it; after them the Carthaginians and the Romans were successively masters of it. The Romans, probably on account of its trade and wealth, resorted hither more than to any other distant town; inasmuch that it is said, no less than five hundred Roman knights resided in the city at once.

Port St. Mary's is situated on the opposite side of the bay of Cadiz on the continent, about three leagues north-east of that city, remarkable for the descent the Confederates made there in the year 1702, and the unhappy conduct of some of their officers, who too much encouraged their soldiers in plundering the place and abusing the nuns, notwithstanding they declared themselves their friends; which gave the Spaniards such an opinion of our heretick troops, as did them an inconceivable prejudice in the wars that followed in that kingdom.

Gibraltar is situated in thirty-six degrees north latitude, six degrees to the westward of London, at the foot of the famous Mount Calpe, usually called one of HERCULES'S pillars, the other being Abyla, or Sierra de las Monas, over against it in Africa. There is a chapel on each of them, the one called Our Lady of Europe, and the other our Lady of Africk. But to return to Gibraltar: It is a little fortified town, built on a tongue or slip of land that runs out into the Mediterranean sea, and forms a bay called the Bay of Gibraltar. The mountain or rock which covers it towards the land is half a league in height, and so steep that there is no ascending it by a body of troops if they are opposed. When the French and Spaniards besieged it in 1704, five or six hundred men indeed found means to climb up the rock in the night-time, but being discovered, were part of them made prisoners by the English garrison, and the rest broke their necks down the rock. In the late siege, anno 1727, the Spaniards attempted to mine under the rock, but did not make such a progress as to give them hopes of removing the mountain, and it is by most held to be impregnable on the land-side. On the other hand, if the enemies should be masters at sea, it seems much more feasible to attack it from thence; and though the place might hold out a considerable time, it must of necessity yield at length, if it is invested on all sides: there is not a town in the world, perhaps, but may be taken if it cannot be relieved, the art of war is arrived at such perfection. As to the town itself, it was little better than a heap of rubbish very lately; the native Spaniards most of them left the place upon our taking it in 1704, and there have not been many British families settled there since. The communication with the neighbouring country being entirely cut off by the Spaniards, makes it but an uncomfortable abode: they have no other provision than what is imported from abroad. The English government are indeed about to establish a corporation there, and to make it a free port; but the want of a good harbour, and the uncertainty of remaining long at peace, I doubt will discourage merchants from settling there: and as it is like to be a perpetual bone of contention, whether England will gain much by the possession of it, is a very great question. The strait to which this town communicates its name is about eight leagues in length and five in breadth. Ceuta in

Africk stands directly opposite to Gibraltar, from whence it is distant five or six leagues. There is a strong current that constantly sets into this strait from the ocean, which will carry a ship ten miles an hour, and requires a brisk gale to stem it.

## CHAP. XV.

*Treats of the province of Grenada.*

THE province or kingdom of Grenada is bounded by Andalusia towards the north; by Murcia and the Mediterranean sea towards the east; by the same sea on the south; and by Andalusia on the west: being about sixty-five leagues in length from east to west, and twenty-five in breadth from north to south, where broadest. The face of this province is very rugged and uneven, and the mountains so exceeding high, that notwithstanding the heat of the climate they are generally covered with snow.

The breezes from the mountains and the sea Air. are mighty refreshing in this province, but many of their valleys are hot notwithstanding; which, together with the scarcity of water in some places, renders travelling almost impracticable in the day-time during the heats, especially between Grenada and Seville: but still the air is not unhealthful, or so excessive hot as in Andalusia. While the industrious Moors were masters of this kingdom, it equalled most countries of Europe in plenty of corn, wine, oil, and delicious fruits. It was then crowded with inhabitants, and manufactures flourished: but the banishing the greatest part of that people has rendered it quite another thing. However, at this day 'tis said to afford every thing that can render life agreeable, that their very mountains produce vines, olives, oranges and other fruit-trees, and their grapes are the largest we meet with any where: sugar-canes thrive in their valleys, and they make vast quantities of silk. Thyme and other sweet herbs growing in their pastures, gives the flesh of their cattle a delicious relish. From hence we import oranges, pomegranates, figs, raisins of the sun, Malaga raisins, and rich wines. The soil also produces melons, flax and hemp; and the sea abounds in good fish. They have rich mines in their mountains, and quarries of precious stones. The principal rivers are the Xenil and the Daro, which uniting their streams at Grenada, run to the westward, and fall into the Guadalquivir; the Guadalentia, which rising near Guadix, runs eastward through Murcia, and falls into the sea before Lorca. In the time of the Moors it contained thirty-three populous cities, of which not more than sixteen retain that name at present.

The chief towns at this day are Grenada, Guadix, Baza, Loxa, Antequera, Malaga, Cartama, Munda, Ronda, Velez Malaga, Alhama, Almuñecar, Solebregua and Almeria.

The city of Grenada is situated at the foot of the mountain called Sierra Nevada, or the Snowy Mountain, partly on two little hills, and partly in a plain, at the confluence of the rivers Daro and Xenil, sixty leagues to the southward of Madrid, and twenty north-east of Malaga, and is said to have taken its name from the grenades or pomegranates which the country about it produces in abundance. It is surrounded with an antique wall and towers, being about twelve thousand paces in circumference, and hath twelve gates. On



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the west side of the city lies a delightful plain, well watered with springs and rivulets: towards the east the country is rocky and mountainous, but abounds in fountains and refreshing streams. Between the two hills above mentioned is a deep valley, through which the little river Daro runs, and having traversed part of the town, unites its waters with the Xenil, which is said to have gold dust mingled with its sands, from whence it is sometimes called the Golden River. The town is divided into four great quarters, known by the several names of Grenada, Alhambra, Albaycin and Antiquerula. That of Grenada is much the finest, and stands in the plain between the mountains, where the nobility, clergy, merchants and wealthy citizens chiefly reside. This quarter is adorned with elegant buildings publick and private, and with several spacious squares embellished with fountains: most of the houses of the quality have gardens and fountains belonging to them.

The cathedral church is in this quarter; a fine edifice, but not large: the most remarkable thing in it is the dome, supported by twelve large pillars finely painted and gilded. Near it is the chapel where King FERDINAND V, and ISABELLA his Queen, who conquered Grenada, lie interred. The altar is nobly adorned, and the sacristy richly furnished. The chancery is in the same quarter, where the sovereign council of Grenada and the officers of the treasury assemble. There is a magnificent square before it of an oblong form, adorned with fountains.

The second quarter of the town, which commands the rest, is called Alhambra from the redness of the soil, and sometimes the Mountain of the Sun. Here are situated two castles or palaces, the one built by PHILIP II, and the other by the Moorish Kings. From the lower town we ascend to this quarter by a fine walk of trees, adorned with statues and fountains. The palace built by PHILIP is of blue stone, the architecture admirable, but it was never finished. The palace of the Moorish Kings is much larger, said to contain lodgings and accommodations for forty thousand people. The walls are lined with jasper, porphyry and other beautiful marbles, which form a sort of Mosaic work; the ceilings finely painted and gilded, and on the walls are abundance of inscriptions in Arabian characters. This palace is still kept in repair, and affords an admirable prospect of the city and neighbouring country. On the outside it has the appearance of an old castle, but within is extremely magnificent. In the middle is a spacious court paved with marble, surrounded with a noble piazza and galleries over them, at the four corners whereof are as many marble fountains, and in the middle one of an uncommon size, adorned with groups of figures, from whence the water is conveyed to the bagnio's of the Moorish Kings, which are rooms with vaulted roofs lined with alabaster, having basins to bathe in the middle of them: from the bathing-room they passed to another to dry themselves, and from thence to a third, where they slept, or trifled away the time with their women during the heat of the day. Adjoining to the palace is a fine park and gardens well replenished with fountains, rivulets and shady groves, which render it a very desirable retreat in the summer.

The third quarter of the city called Albaycin was formerly looked upon as a suburb divided from the rest of the town by a wall. It stands upon an

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eminence opposite to the other, and consists of about two thousand houses. All the inhabitants of this quarter are Morecoes, distinguished from the other Spaniards by their language, their habits and manners, and are for the most part husbandmen.

The fourth quarter of Grenada was called Antiquerula because it was first peopled by a colony from Antiquera. It lies in a bottom, and is inhabited chiefly by those employed in the silk manufacture and dyers. Grenada is a trading town, but not comparable to what it was in the time of the Moors, when they computed there were sixty thousand houses, and two hundred thousand inhabitants in the place. There are an incredible number of fountains here, and they never want ice and snow in the adjoining mountains to cool their wines, which occasions abundance of people of quality to resort hither from all parts of the kingdom during the heats.

Grenada was esteemed on account of its situation and its fortifications, one of the strongest towns in Spain while it was in the hands of the Moors, but it being of so large an extent, and having no other defence than the old walls and towers, would not be able to sustain a long siege, at this day. It was surrendered by BOABDIL the Moorish King, to King FERDINAND V. Anno 1491, on condition that the Moors should be left in possession of their lands, arms and horses, keep their Mosques, enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be governed by their own laws; and such as desired it, had liberty to sell their effects and retire to Africk. How that capitulation was observed, will be related in the history of this country. It is at present an Archbishop's See and an University, but one of the most inconsiderable in Spain. The fields in the neighbourhood of the town are exceeding pleasant, particularly on the south and west: on that side next Antiquera, as has been intimated already, is a large plain eight leagues in length and four in breadth, called the Vega de Grenada, encompassed with little hills, and interspersed with villages, besides abundance of fine monasteries and hospitals: to sum up all, says my author, Grenada is a most delightful abode, the soil produces plenty of excellent fruit, and every thing that is desirable in life; the air is pure and serene, and not so excessive hot as in Andalusia; and so remarkably healthful, that people resort hither to restore their shattered constitutions. The Moors were so ravished with the situation, that they imagined paradise to be in that part of the heavens which is directly over it.

Guadix is situated ten leagues east of Grenada; it is an ancient town formerly called Acci, or Colonia Aceitana. It is a large place, and lies on the side of a hill, in the middle of a spacious plain surrounded by mountains on every side, and watered with four little brooks or torrents. The houses are not well built; nor is it remarkable for any thing, unless the cathedral and some fine cloisters.

Baza, or Baca, lies seven leagues north-east of Guadix, in a valley called Hoya de Baca. It is tolerably large, containing about four thousand houses; but has nothing remarkable, unless the church of Our Lady of Piety, where they tell us great miracles are wrought. The soil is well cultivated for about half a mile round, and produces corn, wine, honey, flax and hemp; but the country beyond, as in many other parts of Spain, lies unmanured.

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Loxa,



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Loya.

Loya, or Loya, lies at the foot of the mountains, on the river Xenil, six leagues to the westward of Grenada. The town is moderately large, and remarkable for its pleasant situation, the fields about it being a perfect garden. They supply Grenada with great quantities of fruit, herbs, flesh and other provisions; the neighbouring mountains being well stocked with flocks and herds of cattle as well as game.

Antiquera

Antiquera is situated twelve leagues south-west of Grenada, partly on little hills at the foot of the mountains, and partly in a plain. It is a fine large town, the streets spacious, and the houses well built; defended by an antique wall and towers, and a castle situated on an eminence at one end of the town, fortified after the manner of the Moors, and esteemed a strong place in those days, but has no modern fortifications. It stands in a fruitful country, well watered with fountains and rivulets, and the natives employ themselves in silk and other manufactures; but they are most famous for their salt-pits, where they make salt enough to serve the whole province. Two leagues from the town is a medicinal spring which cures many diseases, and particularly the gravel.

Malaga.

Malaga is situated on the sea-coast, two and twenty leagues north-east of Gibraltar at the foot of a steep mountain, between which and the sea there is but just room enough for the town, which is not very large or well built, but considerable on account of its trade; its harbour and fortifications being defended by a double wall, and two castles one above another on the adjoining mountain. It is esteemed a rich populous place, considering the extent.

In autumn every year resort hither great numbers of foreign ships, particularly from England and Holland, to load fruit, as raisins, almonds, figs, oranges, capers, &c. besides wines, some of which have obtained the name of Malaga from the place they are put on board, and are the produce of the neighbouring country. Malaga is the See of a Bishop suffragan of Grenada, and the cathedral an elegant building, richly furnished and adorned, as are most of the great churches in Spain. It was near this city that happened the last general sea-fight between the Confederates and the French, in the year 1704, when the latter seemed to resign the empire of the Ocean to their enemies, having never appeared at sea with their grand fleet since.

Ronda.

Ronda is a pretty little town, honoured with the title of a city, and stands on the top of a high rock, at the foot whereof runs the little river of Rio Verde, to which there is a descent by four hundred broad steps, cut out of the solid rock. It lies about six or seven leagues north-east of Gibraltar, on the confines of Andalusia, which is separated from this province of Grenada by a long chain of mountains, called the mountains of Ronda, vastly high and uneven, and almost one continued barren rock.

Velez Malaga.

The town of Velez Malaga lies about five leagues to the eastward of Malaga. It is situated in a fine plain, surrounded with mountains, and has an old castle belonging to it of no great strength. The principal trade of the natives is in dried raisins, which grow on the hills, about it, in oranges, citrons, and other fruits.

Alpuxar mountains inhabited by the Moriscos.

Near Velez Malaga lie the mountains of Alpuxar, containing seventeen leagues in length and eleven in breadth inhabited altogether by the descendants of the Moors, who notwithstanding they profess the christian religion, retain their ancient

customs and habits, and by their application to husbandry render this mountainous tract one of the most fruitful parts of the country.

CHAP.  
XV.

Alhama baths.

The town of Alhama is situated near the source of the river Rio Frio, seven leagues south-west of Grenada, and is a handsome town, moderately large, but most famous for its baths, esteemed the best in Spain; they rise from several fountains, and the waters thereof are so clear, that a piece of money may be seen plainly at the bottom: the heat is so moderate and agreeable, that people bathe in them with pleasure; nor have they any ill taste, and yet are allowed to heal many diseases and infirmities. The Kings of Spain have built here a vast edifice for the use of the court, from whence people go down into the baths by stone steps, to what depth they please: and hither the nobility and gentry resort, as well for pleasure as their healths, at the seasons for bathing, which are in spring and autumn. A little above these baths are frightful rocks, from whence the river Frio issues with a terrible noise, forming several natural cascades. The waters of this stream are excessive cold, from whence the river takes its name. A little below it unites its waters with those of the baths, and running southward falls into the sea near Puerto de Torres, where it forms a small bay.

Almeria is situated on a bay of the Mediterranean, fourteen or fifteen leagues south-east of Grenada, and four or five north-west of Cape de Garte, well known to our mariners. It stands in a fruitful soil, watered with fountains and rivulets, and abounds with such fruits as are common in the rest of the province, but chiefly with olives, of which they make excellent oil. The town is very ancient, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to Grenada.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Treats of the province of Murcia.*

THE province or kingdom of Murcia is bounded by New Castile on the north and west; by Valencia and the Mediterranean towards the east; by the same sea on the south, and by Grenada on the south-west; and is five and twenty leagues in length, and three and twenty in breadth, being much the least of all the provinces of Spain. This country produces good corn and wine, but not much of either, it is so very rocky and mountainous. Their greatest riches are their fruits, silk and sugar, and they have some rice. Here are also quarries of rich marble, and other stones. The air is generally pure and healthful.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
Murcia province.

The most considerable rivers are, 1. The Segura, Rivers. anciently called Terebus and Sorabis, which rising in New Castile, takes its course eastward, and running through the middle of this province, passes over the south part of Valencia, discharging itself into the sea at Guardamar. 2. The Guadalentin, Guadalentin. which rising in the kingdom of Grenada, runs eastward through the south part of Murcia, and falls into the sea near Almacaron.

The chief towns are Lorca, Murcia, Cartagena and Almacaron.

Chief towns.

Lorca is situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Guadalentin, about six leagues from the sea. It is tolerably large, but in a declining condition, inhabited chiefly by new Christians, or Moriscos, as they are called, whose principal employment is husbandry.

Lorca.

Murcia, the capital of the province, is situated in a fine plain on the river Segura, sixty-four leagues

Murcia.



leagues south-east of Madrid, and about twelve south-east of Alicante, being four or five miles in circumference. It is tolerably well built, and besides the cathedral, has several handsome churches and monasteries. Upon an eminence a little above it stands a castle, more an ornament than defence to the place. The country about it is extremely fruitful and pleasant; it abounds chiefly in olives and mulberry-trees, the leaves whereof feed an incredible number of silk-worms, silk being their principal manufacture. Here are also some plantations of sugar-canes and rice, but very little other grain.

Cartagena

Cartagena, *Cartago Nova*, is situated at the bottom of a fine bay of the Mediterranean sea, seven or eight leagues south of Murcia. The town is not large or rich, but most considerable on account of its harbour at present. In the adjacent country, it is said, are some mines of precious stones, as rubies, amethysts and carbuncles, besides others of gold and silver, which have not been wrought for many years; their alum mines however are still very valuable. HANNIBAL, or AMILCAR, it is said, first laid the foundation of this town in the second Punic war, the Carthaginians having here their principal magazine. It increased within a short time to such a degree that it became the capital of Spain, and it was computed sixty several people were subject to it, but was taken by Scipio in the year of Rome 544, where he found prodigious quantities of gold and silver plate, and other treasures. This town was almost entirely destroyed by the Goths and Vandals, and remained a considerable time almost buried in its ruins, till the commodiousness of its harbour drew people again to settle here, whereupon PHILIP the second built the last walls and fortified it, since which it has flourished a little, but falls infinitely short of its ancient grandeur in the time of the Carthaginians and Romans. It is still however the See of a bishop, suffragan of Toledo, and one of the most ancient Sees in Spain.

Almacaron.

Almacaron lies on the sea-coast at the mouth of the river Guadalatin, six leagues to the westward of Cartagena, considerable chiefly for its alum mines, honoured with the title of a city.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Treats of the Spanish islands.*The  
Spanish  
islands.

THE principal islands belonging to Spain in the Mediterranean are the Balears, consisting of Majorca, Minorca, Ivica and Fermentera, which were sometimes called the kingdom of Majorca. They are situated between the thirty-eighth degree thirtyminutes and fortydegrees fifteen minutes north latitude; the most easterly of them, which is Minorca, lying four degrees to the eastward of London; and Ivica, the most westerly of them, forty minutes to the eastward of London. They are said to have obtained the name of Balears from the Greek word *Ballo* to throw, the natives being very expert at slinging stones, and using the sling as the principal missile weapon in their wars. They were also called Gymnesia from their going naked.

Majorca.

Majorca, the largest of these islands, and which has Minorca on the north-east and Ivica on the south-west, is situated about seven and twenty leagues to the southward of the coast of Catalonia, and thirty-two to the eastward of Valencia, being about twenty leagues in length from the south-

west to the north-east, and fifteen in breadth from the south-east to the north-west. The face of the country is very rough and mountainous, especially on the coast, but there are several fine plains and valleys in the heart of the island, where we meet with arable lands, meadows, vineyards and orchards. There are several good ports and roads for shipping on the coast. The air is healthful and more temperate than the neighbouring continent, not so hot in summer or so cold in winter; and they are said to abound in corn, wine, oil, salt, honey, saffron, cattle, wool, game and fish; but there are no wild beasts or noxious animals on the island. I don't find they have one stream that deserves the name of a river, to supply which defect however, they have a great many springs, from which they water their grounds; but in dry years they are forced to import corn from abroad for their subsistence. They resemble the Spaniards on the continent in their customs and manners, more particularly those of Catalonia. People of condition usually speak Spanish, but the common people a dialect called Limousin, a barbarous kind of French. The chief towns are Majorca and Alcudia.

No rivers.

Majorca is situated towards the bottom of a large bay, on the south-west side of the island, partly on a hill and partly in a plain, being defended by a wall and other fortifications, and contains about six thousand houses. The streets are broad and the squares spacious, the houses built of hewn stone. They reckon up two and twenty churches in the place, besides chapels and oratories; the cathedral is esteemed an elegant building. The harbour is large, and secure against all winds but the south-west. This city is the residence of the Viceroy, who had the government of all the islands till Minorca was yielded to the English, and is a Bishop's See, whose jurisdiction also extended over the whole kingdom.

Alcudia is situated on a peninsula in the east part of the island, and contains about a thousand houses. It is defended by a wall and two forts, but neither this nor the capital city made any defence, when the forces of King PHILIP landed here after the reduction of the Catalans in 1715.

The next island of consequence is that of Minorca, situate five or six leagues north-east of Majorca. It stretches itself from the north-west to the south-east, and is about ten leagues in length and four in breadth. This island also is incumbered with mountains, which are not so fruitful as those of Majorca. The language and customs of this people differed little from those of Majorca, till the conquest of it by the English in 1708. What this island is most considerable for, is the fine harbour of Port-Malon, situated in the south-east part of the island, where the greatest fleets may ride secure from tempests or enemies. The garison of Fort Philip and the other forts erected for its security, made but a mean defence when the English attacked them; but the fortifications are since so well improved, that it would require a good fleet and army to reduce them at this day. I do not meet with any rivers here any more than in Majorca; and notwithstanding the pretended fertility both of the one and the other, which most writers entertain us with, I am very well assured the English garisons in Minorca would find it difficult to subsist, if they were not supplied with provisions from abroad. The only town of any note is Cividella, or Citadella, situate on a bay of the

No rivers.

A barren  
island.



CHAP.  
XVII.

Yvica.

the sea at the west end of the island, which contains about five or six hundred houses.

The island of Yvica, or Ivica, lies twelve or thirteen leagues south-west of Majorca, and is about ten leagues in length and eight in breadth. This island also is mountainous; it produces some corn and fruits; but what it is most considerable for, is it's salt, of which they transport great quantities. The chief town is called Yvica, the ancient *Ebussa*, situated on a bay of the sea in the south part of the island, which travellers have not thought worth a description.

Formen-  
tera.

The little island of Formentera lies about two leagues south of Ivica, once well peopled, but now perfectly deserted on account of the Turkish and Barbary rovers, who frequently come on shore here. Some have pretended that it was forsaken on account of the multitude of serpents and other poisonous insects that were found here; but I am pretty well assured there are no venomous insects here, or in any other of the islands of Balears. There is another little uninhabited island called Cabreta, a little to the southward of Majorca, and several more near the mouth of the Ebro on the coast of Catalonia, but they have not been thought worth a particular description.

The islands of the Balears have usually partaken of the fate of Spain. They were possessed by the Phenicians and Greeks, and afterwards by the Romans. The Moors made themselves masters of them about the seventh century. In the year 1230, JAMES King of Arragon conquered Majorca, and two years afterwards Minorca; and in 1344, PETER IV, King of Arragon annexed them to his crown. Majorca revolted at the instance of the Catalans against the present King PHILIP V, and continued the war against him after the Confederates had withdrawn their forces out of Spain; but Barcelona being surrendered, they submitted to King PHILIP on his transporting an army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men thither without striking a stroke. As to Minorca, that was confirmed to the English by the peace of Utrecht, having been reduced by them in the year 1708. There is nothing in the island but the celebrated Port Mahon which could induce the English to be at the charge of keeping it; and this indeed, in case of a war with any of the powers that border upon the Mediterranean, might be a considerable advantage to the nation. But if Spain is determined never to entertain a sincere friendship for us, 'till this, and that other barren spot on which Gibraltar stands are yielded to them, whether we shall be gainers by keeping them in the end, may deserve consideration. I proceed in the next place to give an abstract of the history of this kingdom.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Contains an abstract of the ancient and modern history of Spain.*

CHAP.  
XVIII.Abstract  
of the an-  
cient his-  
tory.Phenici-  
ans and  
Greeks  
plant colo-  
nies in  
Spain.

THE writers of the last and some preceding ages, have pretended to shew us from which of the sons of NOAH every people on the face of the earth are descended, unless the inhabitants of America: but as they have no records, no history, or even tradition to support their conjectures, I shall not abuse the reader's patience by entertaining him with their random guesses. Certain it is, both the Phenicians and the Greeks, who planted colonies on the coast of Spain about the time

that Rome was built, found the country well peopled at their arrival. The Celtæ also, a French nation, who passed the Pyrenees about the same time and fixed themselves on the banks of Ebro or Iberus, are said to have inter-married and incorporated with the natives they found there; and from this union the inhabitants of the north-east part of Spain, 'tis supposed, afterwards obtained the name of Celtiberians.

JOSEPHUS and some other Hebrew writers relate, that NEBUCHADNEZZAR having subdued the Phenicians, Jews and Egyptians, and being acquainted with the rich traffick they carried on with Spain, invaded that kingdom afterwards, and extended his conquests as far as Cadiz. But however that were, it is agreed on all hands, that the Phenicians were soon after in possession of Cadiz, Malaga and the other ports they had made themselves masters of on the coast of Spain again (if ever they were expelled from thence) and that the Phenicians encroaching on the natives, and building forts on the continent, so exasperated the Spaniards, that they entered into a general confederacy against them, and had well nigh driven them out of their country, when the Phenicians called in the Carthaginians, who were descended from the same ancestors, to their assistance. Which invitation the Carthaginians gladly accepted, having themselves long waited for an opportunity to make a descent on the coast of Spain, and for that end already possessed themselves of the islands of Balears. It was about the year 236 A.R. 236; after the building of Rome that the Carthaginians under the command of their General MAHERBAL came into Spain to the assistance of their brethren and allies the Phenicians. The war continued between the natives and these foreigners for several years with various success; but the Carthaginians, who are represented as much superior to the Phenicians, as well as the Spaniards in point of policy or state-craft, partly by force and partly by treaties, procured themselves at length such an extent of country, and so strongly fortified themselves, that they began to assume the dominion of the south part of Spain, and treat both the natives and Phenicians as their subjects, and especially on the sea-coasts, there being at that time no maritime power able to oppose their naval forces.

It is related, that about the year 307 after the building of Rome, the Senate of Carthage fitted out two squadrons of ships, the one under the command of HANNO for the discovery of the coast of Africk, and the other under HAMILCAR to sail northward about Spain and the rest of Europe. HANNO, whose fleet consisted of sixty galleys, on which he had thirty thousand men and women on board in order to plant colonies where he thought proper, setting sail from Cadiz to the southward, built a city on the coast of Africk which he named Thymiaterion; and having afterwards discovered some islands under the equinoctial, returned home. PLINY indeed says, he passed the Cape of Good Hope and sailed northward as far as the Red Sea, from whence he sent an account of his expedition to Carthage: but those who are acquainted with the seas about the southern part of Africk will not easily believe that the galleys his fleet is said to consist of could live in those seas. It is generally agreed, however, that HANNO was out five years upon discovery, and did not return to Carthage 'till the year 312. As to HAMILCAR, it is said he kept close to the coast of Spain 'till he had passed Cape Finiserra,

CHAP.  
XVIII.The Celtæ  
fix them-  
selves  
there.Carthagi-  
nians get  
footing in  
Spain.

A.R. 236;

307.

Carthagi-  
nian dis-  
coveries of  
the coast  
of Africk.

312.



CHAP. XVIII. Finisterra, and then steering eastward discovered the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and according to some sailed as far as the Baltick, spending about two years in this voyage.

The Carthaginians did not only establish themselves in Spain about this time, but were endeavouring also to subdue the islands of Sicily and Sardinia; but the natives calling in the Romans to their assistance, the Sicilian war proved a very long and bloody one, and the Carthaginians were in the end driven from thence. Several of the cities of Spain also, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, entered into an alliance with the Romans, particularly Roses, Empurias and Saguntum. Whereupon HAMILCAR, father of the celebrated HANNIBAL, was sent into Spain with a powerful army, and reduced some of the places that had revolted; after which he built the city of Barcelona, but was killed in a battle with the natives and their allies the Romans about the year of Rome 522, in which, 'tis said, the Carthaginians lost forty thousand men.

Hamilcar  
Governor  
of Spain,

Builds Bar-  
celona.

522.

Asdrubal  
builds Car-  
thage.

528.

ASDRUBAL succeeding HAMILCAR in the government of Spain, restored the affairs of the Carthaginians, and built the city of Carthage, which so increased in wealth and power, that it soon after became the capital of their dominions on that side, to which the commodiousness of the harbour (being the best in Spain) did not a little contribute. While ASDRUBAL remained here, the Romans sent an embassy to the republick of Carthage proposing that the Ebro might be the boundary between the Romans and Carthaginians in Spain, except the city and territory of Saguntum, which lay to the westward of the river Ebro, and was in alliance with Rome, which they desired might also remain independent of Carthage. And though that republick was not very well pleased with the Romans intermeddling in the affairs of Spain, yet being acquainted with the success of that people against the Gauls at this time, they thought fit to dissemble their resentment and sign a treaty to that effect. The Ambassadors however were no sooner dismissed, but ASDRUBAL began to make preparations for a war with the Romans; in which having spent three whole years, he was assassinated by the slave of a noble Spaniard whom ASDRUBAL had put to death, about the year 532. To him succeeded the celebrated HANNIBAL, no less an enemy to the Romans than ASDRUBAL, who determining to fall upon the Saguntines, and drive them and the rest of the Spaniards who were in confederacy with the Romans beyond the Ebro, if we may credit the Roman writers, underhand incited the Spaniards in alliance with Carthage to enter into a dispute with the Saguntines about their limits; and under pretence of doing justice to the allies of the republick, laid siege to that city. The Saguntines hereupon sent Ambassadors to Rome to acquaint that state with the danger that threatened them, and to desire an army might march to their relief. But the Roman Senate, either not prepared to enter into a war, or doubting the success of it, contented themselves with sending a herald to HANNIBAL, requiring him to rise from before Saguntum, and not offer violence to the allies of Rome, which that General was so far from regarding, that he pressed the siege with the greater fury, and after eight months carried the place by storm. It is reported, that many of the inhabitants finding all was lost, and that there was no prospect of relief, took all their richest

Saguntum  
taken by  
Hannibal.

movables and set fire to them in the market-place, killing their wives and children, and afterwards themselves with their own hands, rather than submit to the enemy: insomuch that when the Carthaginians took the city, they found in it scarce any thing but a heap of ruins. Thus was Saguntum destroyed in the 536th year of Rome, or according to others the 534th, when PUBLIUS CORNELIUS and TITUS SEMPRONIUS were Consuls; a town much celebrated in Roman story for its unshaken fidelity to that republick, though the neglect the Romans shewed of that brave people does not seem to reflect much honour on their state. The town of Morviedro in Valencia, about five miles from the sea, is supposed to have been built out of the ruins of Saguntum. But to proceed: The Romans upon the destruction of this city declared war against Carthage; whereupon HANNIBAL, leaving his brother ASDRUBAL in the Further Spain beyond the Ebro with a good body of African forces, assembled an army of 12000 horse and 90000 foot, composed of Spaniards and Africans, though some make their numbers much less, and having passed the Ebro, left HANNO another of his brothers with a body of troops in the Hither Spain, continuing his march from thence through France into Italy over the Pyrenean mountains and the Alps, which were before thought unpassable for an army. The Romans did not only assemble an army and make head against this bold invader in Italy, but sent CNEIUS SCIPIO into Spain with another army to make a diversion on that side. HANNIBAL's success in Italy, especially at the battle of Cannæ, where 40000 Roman foot and 3000 horse were killed, besides 12000 made prisoners, has been already related in the history of Italy.

CHAP. XVIII.

536.

Hannibal's  
march  
through  
France in-  
to Italy.

In Spain however the Carthaginians were every where beaten: SCIPIO defeated the army of HANNIBAL in the Hither Spain, and made their General prisoner. He gained a victory also over the Carthaginian fleet, took several towns in the Further Spain, and kept ASDRUBAL in play, whom HANNIBAL had left there, to command in his absence. The Senate of Rome hereupon sent PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO into Spain with a reinforcement of troops to the assistance of his brother, rightly judging that if they could cut off the supplies which HANNIBAL received from Spain, he would be obliged to abandon Italy. The two SCIPIO's therefore, in obedience to their orders, fell upon ASDRUBAL, who was marching towards Italy to the assistance of his brother, and entirely defeated him; ASDRUBAL with the remains of his army throwing himself into Carthage. The Carthaginians were routed afterwards in several other encounters, but received at length such numerous reinforcements from Africa, and particularly from their friend and ally MASIENNA, an African Prince, that the Romans in Spain received a signal defeat, wherein the two SCIPIO's who commanded them were killed. And now the Carthaginian Generals believing there was no enemy left to oppose them, observed no manner of discipline, but dispersed themselves all over the country, either to plunder or revenge themselves on such Spaniards as had appeared in the interest of their enemies. Which MARCUS, a Roman tribune, observing, assembled a body of Roman troops, and falling first upon one part of the Carthaginian army and then upon another, and defeating them in several engagements, maintained his ground

The two  
Scipio's  
killed in  
Spain.



CHAP.  
XVIII.Carthage-  
na taken  
by the Ro-  
mans.544.  
The Car-  
thaginians  
driven out  
of Spain.

548.

The Ro-  
mans af-  
sume the  
dominion  
of Spain.The Spa-  
niards en-  
deavour to  
throw off  
the Roman  
yoke.

'till PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO was sent into Spain, with a greater reinforcement to his assistance. SCIPIO laid siege to the capital city of Carthage in the year of Rome 544, which he carried in a few weeks. The next year the Carthaginians were defeated in a general battle, and before the end of the year 548, driven intirely out of Spain.

The war being ended in Spain, SCIPIO returned to Rome, and being chosen Consul, attacked the Carthaginians in Africk, where meeting with a series of successs, the republick of Carthage found themselves under a necessity of recalling HANNIBAL from Italy to defend their own country; but this General being defeated also by SCIPIO, a peace followed, the terms whereof were very advantageous to the Romans, and thus ended the second Punick war, in the year of Rome

552. SCIPIO, who was son and nephew to the two SCIPIO's who lost their lives in the Spanish war, obtained a triumph on his return from Africk, and had the title of AFRICANUS conferred upon him for the signal service he had done the republick in this war. But to return to Spain.

The Spaniards had no sooner expelled the Carthaginians by the assistance of the Romans, but they found themselves in a worse condition under their deliverers than they were in the days of their former masters; for HANNIBAL and many of the Carthaginian chiefs having intermarried with the Spaniards, they were in a manner become one people, and their interests the same, though there might be some instances of partiality towards the Africans, as they received their governors from thence. But still, 'tis evident they had much better have borne with a few slight inconveniences and discouragements from the Carthaginians than have promoted another revolution in favour of the Romans; for the latter had no ties of relation or interest to induce them to use the Spaniards better than any other people they had subdued. They politickly pretended indeed, when they invited Saguntum and other cities to accept of their alliance, to have no other views but the freeing an injured people from the Carthaginian yoke, and restoring them to their liberties: but when they had driven out the Africans, and established themselves in their room, they soon gave the natives to understand they must now receive laws from their republick; and what is worse, they saw themselves frequently abandoned to the avarice and cruelty of the Governors and Generals that were sent amongst them, and lived neither under the protection of their own laws, or the institutions of that people who had acquired the dominion of them. Magistrates were sent amongst them, not to assert their liberties, or defend their rights, but to patch up their broken fortunes by pillaging the natives, as is become the general practice of our days, where any power is possessed of distant plantations, and hath established colonies abroad.

The Spaniards provoked by the cruelty and oppressions exercised on them by the Roman officers, had recourse to arms in many places, and several smart engagements happened, wherein great numbers were killed on both sides. The Roman writers have not been so particular in enumerating their own losses as those of their enemies, of whom they tell us in one engagement they killed 12000, in another 15000, &c. but still the Roman Senate were so apprehensive of a general revolt, that they thought fit to send M. PORCIUS CATO thither,

A. R. 559, (the first Consul that ever commanded in Spain) with a reinforcement of two legions, of whom their writers relate, that having killed forty thousand Spaniards in one general battle; besides a multitude of others in sieges and skirmishes, he sold abundance of the natives for slaves, demolished most of their fortifications, and reduced them to that despair, that many of them chose to die by their own swords rather than submit to the Roman government; after which he left strong garisons in the country and returned to Rome, whither he carried a hundred and forty-eight thousand pound weight of silver, and five hundred and forty pound weight of gold, which he had plundered the country of, besides a prodigious treasure that he distributed amongst his soldiers.

After CATO, Spain was governed generally by Prætors, one sent to the Hither and the other to the Further Spain, 'till the year 601, during which time we find the natives complaining to the Senate of Rome of the oppressions and extortions committed by their Governors, for which they could have no redress, which occasioned a general insurrection of the Spaniards: they defeated their enemies in several engagements, killing many thousands of them. The city of Numantia, situated in Old Castile near the source of the Duero, being at the head of this confederacy, it obtained the name of the Numantian war, and was a very long and bloody one; insomuch that the Roman Senate found it necessary to send Generals of consular dignity into Spain again, at the head of numerous armies. Of these LUCULLUS and GALBA rendered their names infamous by their treachery and cruelty: GALBA, when the town of Coca had surrendered to him upon certain conditions, was no sooner possessed of the place but he put all the inhabitants to the sword: And SERGIUS GALBA, when the Lusitanian army had submitted to him, caused them all to be murdered. Both LUCULLUS and GALBA raised prodigious fortunes by the plunder of this people, and being charged with their rapaciousness and cruelty at Rome, which had rendered the Spaniards desperate, and occasioned the continuance of the war, and a considerable loss both of men and money to the republick, they found means to buy their peace with the very spoils they had robbed the Spaniards of: from whence some have observed, that the most notorious villains often escape the hand of justice, while poor puny sinners are executed without mercy.

Upon GALBA's return to Rome, Spain was again under the government of Prætors; when VIRIATUS, a poor shepherd, a Lusitanian by birth, anno 604, caused another insurrection, and defeated the Romans in several battles: nor were they able to reduce him by pure force, but after ten years hired some of his officers to assassinate him while he lay asleep.

POMPEY, who now commanded in Spain, observing that the city of Numantia and some others who had made their peace with Rome, and were called friends and allies to that republick, affected to retain their independency, and refused to be directed or influenced by that state, studied how he might pick a quarrel with them, and reduce them under his power; and having made or found some frivolous pretence to break with that people, assembled his forces and blocked them up on all sides; nor would he accept of any condescensions or satisfactions offered by the Numantians for the pretended

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559.

601.

The first  
Numan-  
tian war.The Ro-  
man Gene-  
rals plun-  
der the  
Spaniards.

604.

614.

Pompey  
oppresses  
the Spa-  
niards.



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tended injuries received. However, the Spaniards being at that time as well disciplined as the Romans, maintained their ground against this great man, and the Consuls that succeeded him, 'till the year 617, when C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, the Consul, coming into Spain, they defeated his forces, and surrounding the Consul with the remains of his shattered army, obtained such a peace of him as was very advantageous to themselves, and no less dishonourable to the Roman state: but the Senate refused to ratify it, ordering the Consul who made it to be delivered up to the Numantians. To which that people answered, the whole army ought to be delivered up if they would not ratify the treaty, since it was at their mercy when the peace was signed. But the Senate determining to reduce all Spain under their dominion, in the year 619 sent the celebrated SCIPIO AFRICANUS into the Hither Spain, as they had done DECIVS BRUTUS into the Further Spain, with numerous armies: and these experienced Generals, within the compass of two years, brought almost every city under the subjection of the Romans; even Numantia itself offered to submit upon conditions, but were told by SCIPIO they must surrender at discretion: which they refusing, he intrenched himself in such a manner round their little state, that nothing could go in or out. They endeavoured several times to break through the Roman army, but were repulsed. Whereupon being reduced to the utmost despair, they first killed their wives and children, and having set their houses and their goods on fire, threw themselves into the flames. Thus fell the Numantines in the year 621, and with them the liberties of Spain, the Romans ever after exercising an absolute dominion in that province, except among the Cantabri, who possessed some inaccessible mountains, and were not conquered 'till the reign of AUGUSTUS. And this was looked upon as so signal a service to the Roman State, that both SCIPIO and BRUTUS had a triumph granted them on their return home.

Spain now remaining in peace for several years, was governed by ten Legates or Lieutenants; and in the year 631 the Consul Q. CECILIUS METELLUS conquered the Balears or islands of Majorca, Minorca, &c. and in the years 643 and 650 the Cimbri, a northern nation, having penetrated through France, and invaded Spain, were repulsed by the Romans. About the same time were insurrections in several parts of Spain, which were suppressed by CALPURNIUS PISO, SULPITIUS GALBA and TITUS DIDIVS: and in the year 657 the Consul PUBLIUS LICINIUS CRASSUS being sent into *Hispania Ulterior*, suppressed several formidable insurrections, for which in the sixth year of his government he obtained a triumph. And in this country it is supposed CRASSUS heaped up that immense wealth which occasioned his son MARCUS CRASSUS to be esteemed the richest citizen in Rome. In the year 660 Italy was distracted with civil wars, the two factions being led by MARIUS and SYLLA; in these Spain also was involved, by the contrivance of SERTORIUS, a Roman tribune, who set up for himself, and maintained his ground against the Generals of the republic, and even POMPEY himself, who was sent against him, 'till the year 681, when SERTORIUS was assassinated by his own party for some acts of tyranny he had committed.

PERPENNA, who succeeded SERTORIUS, being entirely defeated by POMPEY, the rest of Spain made their submission: whereupon POMPEY erected several trophies upon the Pyrenean mountains, some footsteps whereof it is said are to be seen at this day; and among the Vascones or Gascons, in the kingdom of Navarre, he founded the city of Pompeiopolis, now called Pampelona. At his return to Rome in the year 683, a triumph was granted him for his successes in Spain; and METELLUS, who was joined with him in command, had the same honour.

JULIUS CÆSAR afterwards commanded in Spain in the years 685 and 693; but in 701 the government of that province was again conferred upon POMPEY, which he governed by his Lieutenants, finding it necessary to remain at Rome to support his interest in the senate. Whereupon CÆSAR, who was in Gaul, led a great body of his forces over the Pyrenean mountains into Spain, and subdued POMPEY'S party there, for now the civil wars were begun in the Roman Empire, CÆSAR being at the head of one party, and POMPEY of the other. CÆSAR, having obtained the victory at Pharsalia, in the year 706, subdued King PROLEMY in Egypt, and afterwards JUBA another African Prince, and having settled his affairs at Rome, came again into Spain in the year 709, where he had the good fortune also to vanquish POMPEY'S two sons CNEIUS and SEXTUS POMPEIUS, and having amassed together a prodigious treasure (for he did not spare even the temple of HERCULES) he returned to Rome, leaving the government of the Hither Spain to MARCUS LEPIDUS, and that of the Further Spain to ASINIUS POLLIO.

JULIUS CÆSAR being killed in the senate on the 15th of March, A. R. 710, SEXTUS POMPEIUS, the youngest of POMPEY'S sons, assembled his friends in that province, fell upon ASINIUS POLLIO, who commanded in the Further Spain, and defeated him. But this war was soon after terminated by the mediation of LEPIDUS. In the year 714, AUGUSTUS, JULIUS CÆSAR'S heir, MARC ANTONY, and LEPIDUS, divided the Roman Empire between them; in which division Spain was allotted to AUGUSTUS, which occasioned a new *Æra* to be begun in that province, called *Æra Cæsaris*, that commenced from the year of Rome 714, and was generally made use of in this country till the year of Christ 1383, when King JOHN of Castile in an assembly of the states, decreed, that all future computations of years should be from the birth of Christ. Notwithstanding which, the *Æra Cæsaris* was made use of in several parts of Spain many years after, which commenced 29 years before the Christian *Æra*, or the birth of our Saviour.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR having subdued his rivals in the Empire, LEPIDUS and MARC ANTONY, and for some time governed the Roman Empire in peace, the Cantabri, who inhabited that part of Spain now called Biscay, trusting to their mountains, which were looked upon as inaccessible, ventured to fall upon the Roman colonies in Spain, and drew the people of Asturia and Galicia into their alliance, who were weary of the extortions, and oppressions of the Roman Governors. AUGUSTUS hereupon assembling a numerous army, went into Spain in person; but finding the enemy fortified in their mountains, after he had in vain endeavoured to bring them to a battle, falling sick with the fatigue and vexation at the disappointment,

Pompey suppresses an insurrection in Spain.

683.

Scipio sent into Spain again.

The destruction of Numantia.

Spain absolutely subdued.

The Balears conquered by the Romans.

631.

657.

660.

681.

Cæsar subdues Pompey's party there.

706.

Cæsar defeats Pompey's Sons.

710.

A new Æra in Spain from the government of Augustus.

714.

Augustus conquers the Cantabri.



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ment, he left the continuation of the war to his General M. AGRIPPA, and retired himself to Tarragona in Catalonia to wait the event of it.

Agrippa having divided the army in three parts, ordered them to surround the three principal mountains the enemies were possessed of, and cast up such intrenchments that it was impossible they should receive any supplies of provisions; whereby the Cantabrians were at length obliged to submit, tho' many of them, 'tis said, chose rather to die by their own hands than surrender at discretion, as the Roman Generals insisted they should. And thus the war in Spain was brought to a period after five years continuance, being about two hundred years after the Romans first entrance into that country. AUGUSTUS having sold many of the most resolute of the Spaniards for slaves, obliged the rest to leave their habitations in the mountains, and come down into the valleys, that they might not be in a condition to insult the Roman colonies again. He also fortified several places, and left strong garisons in them to keep the natives in awe, as Merida, Saragossa (*Cesar Augusta*), Badajoz, Bracara-Augusta, now Braga, &c. A triumph was decreed Augustus at his return to Rome for the entire conquest of Spain, but he did not accept it; sports however were instituted in the room of it. And now the temple of Janus was shut the fourth time, all the world remaining in peace.

A. D. 15. This great Emperor died in the 15th year after the birth of Christ.

The Government of Spain from the time of Augustus.

From the time of AUGUSTUS, Spain being divided into three provinces, viz. thole of Tarracoenfis, Bætica and Lusitania, was governed by as many Prætors. In Tarracoenfis, or Hispania Citerior, which was now much the largest of the three, were fourteen colonies, thirteen municipiums, and seven sovereign courts, viz. at Carthage, Tarragona, Saragossa, Cluma now Corunna, Astorga, Luga and Braga. In Bætica were eight colonies, and as many municipiums, with four sovereign courts, viz. at Cadiz, Seville, E-zija and Cordoua. In Lusitania were five colonies, and one municipium, viz. Lisbon, called Felicitas Julia; and three sovereign courts, viz. at Merida, Badajoz and Santeren, then called Scalabis.

Trajan, a Spaniard. 99.

In the year of our Lord 99, Spain had the honour of giving an Emperor to Rome, and one of the best that had reigned for many years, viz. M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS, born at Italica near Seville. He was a Prince of great natural parts, which were improved by his preceptor PLUTARCH the philosopher; and he was as remarkable for his humanity and universal benevolence, as for his parts and learning. He built two bridges of admirable structure, one over the Danube in Germany, and the other in Spain, over the Tagus at Alcantara, which is still standing. He governed the Empire nineteen years and an half.

400. The Vandals, &c. break into Spain.

The Romans continued sovereigns of Spain till the beginning of the fifth century, when the northern Nations broke in upon the Empire. The Vandals, the Suevi, the Alans and Silingians, first settled themselves in France; but the Romans and Goths uniting their forces against them, they passed the Pyrenean mountains, wasting Spain as they had Italy and France before. The Vandals, and Swedes fixed themselves in Galicia and Castile, the Silingians in Bætica, and the Alans in Lusitania, infomuch that only Cantabria and Asturia now remained under the dominion of the Romans. These nations falling out among themselves, the Vandals went over into Africa, while the Swedes reduced

both the Alans and Silingians under their dominion, and had infallibly conquered the rest of Spain, if the Goths, another northern nation, had not stopped their Progress. That people having ravaged Italy, and plundered Rome it self, marched into Gaul, making Narbonne the seat of their Empire there, which in the beginning extended only over Languedoc and Catalonia, though afterwards it comprehended most part of Spain. ATOLPHUS, or ADOLPH their King, had scarce established his dominion in Gaul, but he was besieged in his capital by the Generals of the Emperor HONORIUS, notwithstanding he had married the Princess PLACIDA, that Emperor's sister, because he refused to deliver up ATTILA, whom ALARICK had caused to be proclaimed Emperor in Rome. ATTILA being taken at sea during this siege, and consequently the occasion of the war removed, a treaty was concluded between these two powers; but so little to the satisfaction of the Goths, who thereby lost all hopes of returning to Italy, that they assassinated ATOLPHUS, and advanced SIGERICK to the throne in his stead, who confirming the peace with the Romans which ATOLPHUS had made, was assassinated also by his subjects in the year 416, before he had reigned a whole year.

WALLIA, supposed to be the son of ATOLPHUS, was unanimously elected King in the room of SIGERICK. With this Prince the Romans joined their arms, and assisted the Goths in driving the Swedes and the other barbarous nations out of Spain. I shall pass over the reigns of the future Gothick Kings till we come to that of FURICK, esteemed one of the bravest of them; he conquered all that the Romans had left in Spain, took Galicia from the Swedes, and reduced all the southern provinces of France under his dominion, and died at Arles, his capital city, anno 483. Under the reign of RECARDA, the Son of LEVIGILDA, the Empire of the Goths was in its greatest glory, for then it not only comprehended the southern provinces of France, and the whole kingdom of Spain, but that part of Africk which lies next Tangier. Their Empire began to decline under the reign of King WITIZA, and was totally destroyed in the reign of RODERICK, who abandoning himself to his passion, ravished the beautiful CAVA, the daughter of Count JULIAN, Governor of Gothick Mauritania, and of that part of Spain which borders upon the streights of Gibraltar. This unfortunate father, to revenge the disgrace done to his family, took a resolution to do it at the expence of his country, and confederating himself with some other malecontent Lords, invited the Saracens into Spain, who defeated the effeminate Goths in a general battle, where RODERICK is supposed to be killed, and within three years after made themselves entirely masters of Spain, except some of the mountains of Asturia, Biscay and Navarre, whither such of the Gothick Christians retired as did not think fit to live under the dominion of the Infidels. Thus was the Empire of the Goths destroyed, about three hundred years after their first arrival in Spain. And here it is thought proper to give a list of their Kings.

Gothick Kings of Spain, before the invasion of the Saracens.

ADOLPH, or ATOLPHUS, invaded Spain, A. D. 411  
SIGERICK succeeded 415  
WALLIA 416  
THEODORIC I. 419

THO-

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The Goths follow them.

418.

483.

487.

710.

713.

The Empire of the Goths destroyed by the Saracens.



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THORISMOND

THEODORIC II.

EVARIC

ALARIC, the first King of the Visigoths

GESALIC

THEODORIC III.

AMALARIC

THEUDIS

THEODEGESILUS

AGILA

ATHANAGILDUS

LEUVA I.

LEUVIGILDUS

RECAREDUS I.

LEUVA II.

WITERIC

GONDOMAR

SISEBUT

RECAREDUS II.

SWINTHILA

SIZENANDUS

CHINTILANUS

TULGA

CHINDASUINT

RECHESWINT

WAMBA

ERVIGIUS

EGICA

WITIZA

RODERIC

He was defeated and killed in a general battle by the Moors or Saracens

I must here beg leave to detain the reader a little, and observe, that these Moors or Saracens who conquered Spain, were indebted to that impostor MAHOMET, of whom I have treated already in the State of Arabia, both for their religion and empire: as he had assumed the office of High-priest of that new religion he struck out, as well as the sovereignty of the people he subdued; his successors also pretended to the supreme power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal affairs, which they exercised for some centuries under the title of Caliphs, making Babylon the seat of their empire; and such prodigious success did the successors of this impostor meet with, that they established their dominion in most of the kingdoms of Asia and Africa within the compass of fourscore years. It was in the year of our Lord 713, and the 97th of the Mahometan Æra, that they passed into Europe and possessed themselves of the kingdom of Spain. They allowed liberty of conscience, I find, to the Christians wherever they came, tho' the Mahometan religion only was encouraged by them, and those who embraced it generally obtained the name of Saracens from the Arabs the founders of it, who had long gone under that denomination; they were also called Moors in many countries, from the darkness of their complexion.

Ulid Caliph of Babylon when the Saracens conquered Spain.

ULID, or ULIT, the ninth Caliph from MAHOMET, was Emperor and High-priest of the Saracens when they were invited over from the coast of Barbary by JULIAN and some other treacherous Christians, who were disgusted at King RODERICK's administration. They applied themselves to MUZA, then Governor of Barbary, who sent over at first a small detachment of four or five hundred men, rather to sound the inclination of the Spaniards than with any hopes of success; but finding the people generally inclined to revolt, he raised a powerful army, and sent them under the conduct of TARIF, a Saracen General, to make a descent on the Spanish coast. RODERICK on this occasion,

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621

631

635

640

641

649

672

680

687

701

711

713

it is said, behaved himself with as much bravery and conduct as any of his Gothick ancestors, and bid fair for the victory when the armies came to an engagement, but was betrayed by his general officers, and even by his Bishops, who in the heat of the battle joined the Mahometans. They imagined possibly that the infidels, after they had assisted them in dethroning their sovereign King RODERICK, whose tyranny they dreaded, would have been so complaisant as to have retired on the other side the water again, and left them to have nominated a successor in his stead: but the Saracens were too well acquainted with the fruitfulness and riches of the country to abandon it; tho' in gratitude to the Spaniards, who invited them over, they indulged them in a general toleration of their religion: nay, ABDALASIS, the Son of MUZA Governor of Barbary, to whom his father committed the government of Spain, condescended to marry Queen EGILONA the widow of RODERICK, and suffered her to enjoy the free exercise of her religion in his own palace.

ABDALASIS having caused himself to be acknowledged King of Spain by the persuasion of his wife EGILONA, made Seville the seat of his government; and carrying the war into France, conquered the southern provinces, which were then in possession of the Goths.

ABDALASIS having reigned three years, was assassinated by his kinsman AJUS, who usurped the government of Spain, but not the title of King any more than his successors, till ABDARAMEN, who assumed the regal title about the year 731, against whom MUNIZ the Saracen, Governor of Gallia Gothica, revolting, ABDARAMEN marched into France, and having defeated MUNIZ, he afterwards conquered great part of France, but was opposed by CHARLES MARTEL prime minister of that kingdom, and killed in a general battle, where, according to the French historians, the Saracens lost upwards of 300000 Men; and in the year 739 the Saracens were driven almost out of France by the same successful General CHARLES MARTEL.

Not long after the Saracens erected several petty kingdoms in Spain, viz. the kingdoms of Toledo, Saragossa, Cordova, Seville, Grenada and Murcia: which division of their conquests gave the Christians a great advantage of them. And this brings me to treat of the Gothick Princes who recovered their country again from the Saracens.

The Moors having made themselves masters of all Spain, except some barren inaccessible rocks and mountains in Asturia, Biscay and Navarre, whither the Christians retired who refused to submit to their government, passed the Pyrenees in order to reduce that part of France under their power which belonged to the Goths there, as has been intimated already. During this expedition of the Moors into France, which was in the third year after their arrival in Spain, the Goths in the mountains of Asturia finding it difficult to subsist the multitudes that had taken refuge there, made choice of PELAGIUS for their leader, a gentleman who had served in the Moors army, and upon some disgust had retired to his distressed brethren, and under his conduct ventured to descend into the plains again. Having made themselves masters of Oviedo, they proclaimed PELAGIUS their King. He afterwards obtained a signal victory over the Moorish forces, and upon this success being joined by the Christians from all parts, besieged and took the capital city of Leon, subduing great part of

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Abdalasis the first Moorish King of Spain.

The Saracens defeated in France by Charles Martel.

The Saracens erected several petty kingdoms in Spain.

716.

Pelagius defeats the Saracens and is made King by the Christians.

722.

17 M

that



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XVIII.His suc-  
cessors fill  
ed Kings  
of Leon.Favila.  
737.

Alonso.

Kings of  
Navarre,  
Aragon,  
&c.

Froila.

757.

Aurelius.

768.

Silon.

774.

Alonso.

783.

Maurega-

tus.

The Chri-

stians pay

a tribute of

virgins to

the Moors.

Bermudo.

788.

that province, from whence his successors afterwards obtained the title of Kings of Leon. What contributed mightily to this success, was the multitude of Christians that remained dispersed among the Moors, who found means to deliver up many places to their brethren. For the Moors having been invited over by the bulk of the people, seemed to look upon the Spaniards as their friends; and on their expedition into France trusted many of the Christians with commands in the army they left behind them, and with the government of some considerable places, looking upon this as the most probable means of keeping the people quiet while they were employed in the Gallick war; so that there is no reason to have recourse to miracles to account for the success of the Christians at this time, as the Spanish writers constantly do. But to proceed; PELAGIUS after a long and fortunate reign, died in the year 737, leaving his new-erected kingdom to his Son FAVILA, of whom nothing remarkable is related, unless it be, that he was killed by a bear as he was hunting, two years after his accession.

To FAVILA succeeded Don ALONSO, or ALFONSO, who retook several considerable towns from the Moors, extending his conquests to the most distant provinces. He died in the year 757; and had the Spaniards continued united under his successors, the Moors had probably been driven out of Spain in a few years: but about this time several others of the Gothick nobility, observing the successes of the Kings of Leon, attacked the Moors in different parts, and assumed to themselves the title and dignity of sovereign Princes, particularly Don GARCIAS XIMENES in Navarre; AZNAR Son of EUDO Duke of Aquitain in Arragon; BERNARD, a Frenchman, made Earl of Catalonia by CHARLES the Great, upon the taking Barcelona; and several others took upon them the titles of Counts and Earls in Castile, acknowledging however the King of Leon for their supreme Lord. But to return to Leon.

Don ALONSO was succeeded by his Son FROILA, who gained a signal victory over the Moors, and bravely defended what his father had acquired. He was murdered in the year 768 by his brother AURELIUS, who usurped his throne to the prejudice of his Son AURELIUS, and appointed SILON to succeed to the throne after his death; which happened in the year 774. Of SILON little more notice is taken in history, than that he died anno 783, and was succeeded by ALONSO the Son of FROILA.

MAUREGATUS, ALONSO's uncle, by the assistance of the Moors, deposed him, and having reigned five years and six months died anno 788. He was detested by the Christians as well on account of his usurpation, as his agreeing to pay the Moors annually a tribute of an hundred virgins, of which fifty were to be of noble extraction. The same year died ABDERHAMAN King of the Moors, who having united all the infidels under one head again, recovered Barcelona, and most of the towns the Christians had possessed themselves of in the reign of ALONSO I.

BERMUDO, called the DEACON, succeeded MAUREGATUS, and having declared the deposed ALONSO his companion in the government, died anno 791. ALONSO refusing to pay the tribute of virgins, was attacked by the infidels, whom he defeated, and killed 70000 of them in the field of battle, according to the Spanish writers, whom I cannot give entire credit to upon these occasions;

for the numbers of their enemies slain within the compass of a few years were so many, according to them, that there could have been no Moors left in the country.

ALONSO having no children, it is said, appointed CHARLEMAIN his successor, upon condition he would assist him in expelling the Moors out of Spain: but the Spanish nobility dreading the dominion of the Franks, united their forces with the infidels, and taking the passes of the Pyrenees about the mountains of Roncevaux, gave CHARLEMAIN a memorable defeat, wherein the celebrated ROLAND was killed, whose actions the Spanish histories as well as romances are stuffed with. ALONSO died in the year 843, having appointed RAMIRO the son of BERMUDO his successor.

The reign of RAMIRO is celebrated for a signal victory he obtained over the Moors, whereby he abolished that infamous tribute of an hundred virgins which the Christians had been obliged to pay the infidels for many years. He also defended the coasts of Galicia against the Normans, who invaded them, and obliged the Normans to return to their ships.

ORDONNO the son of RAMIRO succeeded his father anno 850. He defeated the Moors and took several towns from them, and dying in the year 862, was succeeded by his eldest son ALONSO the great.

Don ALONSO was driven from his throne, and having recovered it again, was successful against the Moors; but squandering away his treasures in magnificent buildings, and oppressing his subjects with heavy taxes to reimburse himself, an insurrection was raised against him, to appease which he was obliged to resign his crown to his son GARCIAS, anno 910.

GARCIAS was successful against the Moors, and died anno 913.

ORDONNO his brother succeeded him, and transferred the seat of his government from Oviedo to Leon. The Earls of Castile endeavouring to render themselves independent, he summoned them to meet him on pretence of consulting them, and caused them all to be put to death, and died himself soon after, anno 923.

He was succeeded by his brother FROILA, who putting to death several other Castilian noblemen, that province revolted from him, chusing two of the nobility to govern them; one of whom had the civil, and the other the military government conferred on him.

ALONSO succeeded on the death of FROILA, which happened anno 924. He resigned his crown to his brother RAMIRUS, anno 931, and became a monk.

RAMIRUS defeated the Moors and plundered the town of Madrid. He resigned his crown to his son ORDONNO in his old age, and died soon after, viz. anno 950.

ORDONNO joining his forces with the Castilians, obtained a signal victory over the Moors and died anno 955, being succeeded by SANCHEO his brother.

SANCHEO was deposed and expelled the kingdom in the beginning of his reign by ORDONNO the son of ALONSO the monk, by the assistance of the Moors; but SANCHEO recovered his throne again. He was engaged in war with the Earl of Castile, and compelled at length to renounce the sovereignty of that earldom. SANCHEO was poisoned with an apple by GONZALO, a disaffected Earl, and died anno

C H A P.  
XVIII.Charle-  
main's  
forces de-  
feated.Ramiro.  
843.Ordonno.  
850.Alonso.  
862.Garcias.  
910.Ordonno.  
913.Froila.  
923.Alonso.  
924.Ramirus.  
931.Ordonno.  
950.Sancho.  
955.



anno 967, being succeeded by his Son RAMIRUS, an infant of five years of age.

RAMIRUS was under the tuition of his mother and aunt most part of his reign. His cousin BERMUDO the Son of ORDONNO raised a rebellion against him; of which the Moors took advantage, and recovered several towns from the Christians. The clergy are said to be extremely wicked in this reign. RAMIRUS died anno 982, and was succeeded by his cousin BERMUDO, who had incited the rebellion against him.

BERMUDO, or VEREMUND II, obtaining the crown by a faction, was distracted with civil wars in the beginning of his reign, of which the Moors taking advantage, retook abundance of towns from the Christians, and even the city of Leon: whereupon BERMUDO entered into a confederacy with the Earl of Castile and King of Navarre, and repulsed the Infidels, driving them out of his country. He died in the year 999, and left his kingdom to his Son ALONSO, an infant.

The beginning of the reign of ALONSO was unfortunate, the Moors ravaging his territories in a terrible manner. But the infidels being afterwards weakened by civil dissensions, and dividing their country among a multitude of petty royalets (or every one that could possess himself of a city stiled himself a King) the King of Leon re-possessed himself of all the Moors had taken from him; and in confederacy with the King of Navarre and the Earl of Castile, made incursions into the enemies country as far as Cordoua; insomuch that the infidels were glad to purchase their peace on very hard terms. King ALONSO afterwards rebuilt the city of Leon which had been demolished by the Moors, and invaded Lusitania or Portugal, and laying siege to Visco, he was killed before that town with a dart, anno 1028.

BERMUDO, or VEREMUND III, succeeded his father ALONSO. During this reign it was, that SANCHE King of Navarre having married the sister and heiress of GARCIA, Earl of Castile, united Castile to the kingdom of Navarre on the death of GARCIA, who was murdered by some of his vassal Lords. SANCHE King of Navarre afterwards made war on BERMUDO King of Leon, and conquered part of his territories, which produced a treaty between the two Kings, wherein it was agreed, that Don FERDINAND, the King of Navarre's Son, should marry DONNA SANCHE, the daughter and heiress of the King of Leon, and that she should receive as a dower in present, all that had been conquered of Leon, and be declared heiress of that kingdom. SANCHE died anno 1035, most of Spain being at this time united in his house. He left four sons; to GARCIA the eldest he gave Navarre and Biscay, to FERDINAND Castile, to GONSALVO Sobrarva and Ripagorfa, and to RAMIRUS, a natural Son Arragon; and on every one of them conferred the title of King. GARCIA the eldest going a pilgrimage to Rome, RAMIRUS endeavoured to make himself master of Navarre; but GARCIA returning home, drove him even out of Arragon. BERMUDO King of Leon, while the brothers were engaged in war among themselves, invaded Castile, the dominions of his brother FERDINAND; but GARCIA coming to the assistance of FERDINAND, they defeated BERMUDO, and killed him in the field of battle, whereby FERDINAND became possessed of the kingdom of Leon in right of his wife. A war happened afterwards between GARCIA King of Navarre and FERDINAND, in which GARCIA losing his life,

FERDINAND succeeded to Navarre, and during the dispute, RAMIRO found means to recover Arragon again. FERDINAND also recovered great part of Lusitania from the Moors, and dying in the year 1065, divided his dominions among his sons.

Kings of Castile after the invasion of the Saracens.

This country was governed after the year 904 by Counts; the last was GARCIA, who was killed on the day of his marriage. His sister ELVIRA married SANCHE II, King of Navarre, by which Castile was added to the crown of Navarre. SANCHE divided his dominions among his children, anno 1037, or 1038: he gave Castile to his Son FERDINAND, who conquered Leon, and on his death divided his kingdoms among his three Sons; to SANCHE he gave Castile, to ALONSO, Leon, and to GARCIA, Galicia.

SANCHE succeeded to Castile,	anno 1067
ALONSO his brother succeeded him	1073
ALPHONSUS VII.	1109
ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO VIII.	1118
SANCHE II.	1157
ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO IX.	1158
HENRY I.	1214
FERDINAND III.	1217
ALPHONSUS X.	1252
SANCHE III.	1284
FERDINAND IV.	1295
ALPHONSUS XI.	1312
PETER	1350
HENRY II.	1369
JOHN I.	1379
HENRY III.	1390
JOHN II.	1407
HENRY IV.	1454
FERDINAND V.	1474
PHILIP I.	1504
CHARLES I.	1516
PHILIP II.	1558
PHILIP III.	1598
PHILIP IV.	1621
CHARLES II.	1665
PHILIP V.	1700

CHARLES III, Archduke of Austria, the present Emperor, was proclaimed King of Spain anno 1703, and is to retain that title during his life, together with Naples, Sicily, Milan and Spanish Flanders, which are to descend to his heirs: the rest of the dominions of Spain are confirmed to PHILIP V, and his heirs.

SANCHE having driven ALONSO out of his dominions, and taken GARCIA prisoner, possessed himself of the territories of his two brothers about the year 1067; but being killed at the siege of Camora, ALONSO his brother, who till this time had resided among the Moors, made himself master of Castile as well as Leon, and afterwards took Toledo, held impregnable in those days, and a vast extent of country from the Moors. Great reinforcements coming over from Africk afterwards, the infidels defeated the Christians in two general battels; notwithstanding which, ALONSO at length repulsed them again, and obliged the King of Cordoua, then the greatest of the Moorish sovereigns, to become tributary to him.

ALONSO VII dying in the year 1109, ALONSO, who had married URACA his only daughter and heiress, succeeded to his dominions; but this marriage

Divides his territories among his sons.

Ferdinand 1038. First K. of Castile, &c.

Sanche 1067.

Alonso VI 1073. Takes Toledo and a vast extent of country from the Moors.

Alonso VII, 1109.



CHAP  
XVIII.

Alonso  
VIII.

1113.

1134.

Alonso K.  
of Castile  
ailed Em-  
peror.

1135.

Kingdom  
of Portu-  
gal found-  
ed.

1139.

The  
Moors de-  
cline a-  
pace.

1147.

Sancho.

1157.

Also.

1158.

1168.

1195.

1312.

A signal  
victory  
gained  
by the  
Christians.

riage being declared void for consanguinity, ALONSO the Son of URACA, by RAYMUND of Burgundy, her first husband, was proclaimed King of Castile and Leon. About this time ALONSO King of Arragon took Saragossa from the Moors. Both ALONSO King of Arragon, and ALONSO his son-in-law, King of Castile, were very successful against the Moors, taking towns without number from them : but the King of Arragon had the misfortune to be killed in a skirmish with the infidels in the year 1134. By his will he left his dominions to the knights templars and hospitalers, but his subjects did not acquiesce in it : the Navarrais chose GARCÍAS, descended from their former royal family, for their King ; and the Arragonians elected RAMIRO a Monk, brother to their late King, whereby these kingdoms became divided again.

ALONSO King of Castile being now the most potent of the Spanish Sovereigns, caused himself to be crowned Emperor of Spain at Toledo, on Whitsunday 1135.

Two years after, the Earl of Portugal, Don ALONSO, who was then possessed of the eastern part of that country, having great success against the Moors, was saluted King of Portugal by his army, which title his successors retained for many hundred years.

Alonso the Emperor entering into a confederacy with the Kings of Navarre and Arragon against the Moors, they took from the infidels the cities of Banca, Almeria, Tortosa, Lerida and Fraga in the years 1147 and 1148, and about the same time Lisbon was taken from them by the King of Portugal.

ALONSO the Emperor died in the year 1157, his eldest Son SANCHO succeeding to Castile; and FERDINAND his youngest Son to Leon and Galicia.

SANCHE dying within little more than a year, was succeeded by his Son ALONSO an infant. During his minority, his Uncle FERDINAND King of Leon wasted his country, endeavouring to get the young King into his hands; but the nobility of Castile defended their monarch's person against all his efforts, notwithstanding King FERDINAND had made himself master of Toledo, and most of the considerable towns in that kingdom. The Castilians weary of the tyranny of FERDINAND King of Leon, invited their young King ALONSO to take the government upon him, about the year 1168; and upon his appearing, Toledo and other cities expelled the King of Leon's garisons and declared for him. Not long after the Kings of Castile and Arragon entered into a defensive alliance, and the young King of Castile to strengthen himself still more, married the Princess ELANOR, the daughter of HENRY II, King of England. And now the Spanish Kings being at peace among themselves, entered into a confederacy against the Moors. The

Infidels on the other hand having invited over vast numbers of Africans to their assistance, fell upon ALONSO King of Castile, and routed his army before the Kings of Leon and Navarre had joined him, whereupon followed a truce between the Christians and Moors. The year 1212 was more favourable to the Christians; for the four Kings of Spain, viz. the Kings of Leon, Navarre, Castile and Arragon, having assembled all their forces, and being joined by an hundred thousand foreigners, who came from France and other Christian countries, gained a signal victory over the Moors; who had been re-inforced in like manner by the

Mahometan Princes from Africk, and, according to the Christian account, killed two hundred thousand of them upon the spot.

ALONSO died in the year 1214, leaving behind Henry I. him one son named HENRY, whose minority occasioned great disturbances in the kingdom. He died without issue in the year 1217. His eldest sister BLANCH had been married to LEWIS VIII, son of PHILIP-AUGUSTUS King of France: the other, BERENGARIA, to ALONSO King of Leon. The crown should have descended to the eldest and her heirs, but the states, out of their aversion to foreigners, transferred their allegiance to FERDINAND, surnamed the Holy, Son of BERENGARIA, who immediately possessed himself of the kingdom. It is related by some, that BLANCH was not the eldest sister, and that the Castilian noblemen disputed BERENGARIA's right to the crown, only on account of the Pope's having declared her marriage with ALONSO void, and their children illegitimate, as being too near in blood.

By the death of ALONSO, Leon and Castile were reunited again under FERDINAND. The power of the Moors began to decline extremely at this time; King JAMES of Arragon took from them Majorca in the year 1230, Minorca in the year 1232, Yvica in the year 1234, the city and kingdom of Valencia in the year 1238. FERDINAND took from them in the year 1230, Merida and Badajoz, and several other places; in the year 1236, the city and kingdom of Corduba; in the year 1240, Murcia put it self under the protection of Castile; in the year 1243, Seville and the greatest part of Andalusia submitted to FERDINAND: but whilst he was making preparations to carry the war into Africa, he died in the year 1252, being succeeded by his Son ALONSO X.

ALONSO OF ALFONSO the tenth was famous among foreigners for his wisdom and great skill in astronomy; but he was unfortunate at home; and hated by his subjects; the first occasion of which was his loading his subjects with taxes, in order to replenish his exhausted treasury: he also caused the current coin to be diminished, which enhanced the price of every thing; whereupon he set certain rates on all provisions, and this occasioned a general scarcity, the people not being willing to sell at the rates prescribed them. He was by some of the Electors chosen Roman Emperor, but because his children were then very young, and great divisions arisen among his nobility, he delayed the taking possession of the imperial dignity so long, that RODOLPH of Hapsburg was elected in his stead, and when he would afterwards have accepted of it, he was excommunicated by the Pope, and obliged to renounce the title of Emperor.

Upon the death of FERDINAND his eldest Son, SANCHE the younger brother begun to form designs upon the succession, though FERDINAND had left children behind him. This occasioned a jealousy betwixt the father and son, which at length broke out into an open rebellion, the son being assisted by the major part of the states.

This commotion however ceased on the death of ALONSO, which happened anno 1284, when SANCHO usurped the crown, to the prejudice of his nephews. Under the reign of this King, many battles were fought against the Moors with various success. In the year of his accession happened the Sicilian Vespers, by which means PETER King of Arragon obtained the kingdom of Sicily. He died in the year 1295.

During

С Н А Р.  
XVIII.

Henry I.  
1214.

Ferdinand  
1217.

Leon and  
Castile  
united  
again.  
1231.  
The Chris-  
tians con-  
quer Ma-  
jorca, Va-  
lencia,  
Andalusia,  
Murcia,  
&c.

Alonso X.  
1452.



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Ferdinand  
VI.

During the minority of his Son FERDINAND the fourth, the kingdom of Castile was in great distraction. After FERDINAND came to age, he commenced a war with the Moors, taking from them Gibraltar, and died in the flower of his age, anno 1312, leaving one Son named ALONSO, an infant about twelve months old. Under the reign of this King, JAMES King of Arragon obtained the kingdom of Sardinia by the Pope's grant, who pretended to a right of disposing of it; and the republic of Pisa being then in possession of the same, were beaten out by the Arragonians.

Alonso XI

1312.

A victory  
over the  
Moors, an.

1340.

Peter the  
Cruel.

1350.

The minority of ALONSO XI, was in like manner full of trouble, the Moors receiving great reinforcements from Africa. The Castilians however obtained a signal victory over them in the year 1340, in which battle, it is said, two hundred thousand Moors were killed, and but twenty five thousand Spaniards; upon this Algezira was taken, and a peace concluded with the King of Grenada, on condition that he should be tributary to Castile.

King ALONSO died at the siege of Gibraltar, anno 1350, and was succeeded by his Son PETER, surnamed the Cruel, who reigned very tyrannically. He drew the hatred of most of his subjects upon himself by parting from his Queen BLANCH, whom he afterwards caused to be murdered for the sake of a concubine. This occasioned a plot against him, which he suppressed with a great deal of bloodshed. In the mean while a war arose betwixt him and PETER IV King of Arragon, who assisted the rebels in Castile. They had set up for their King, HENRY the King's brother, by a concubine called ELEONORA GUSMAN. With him also joined a great many French volunteers, so that falling upon PETER of Castile, he forced him to flee into Aquitain. But PETER having prevailed with the Prince of Wales to assist him with an army of veteran troops, returned into Spain, defeated HENRY, and obliged him to retire into France in his turn. King PETER however did not desist from his tyranny, whereby he quite lost the affection of his subjects; and HENRY having gathered another army in France, re-entered Castile, where being assisted by the Castilians, he defeated his rival, and killed him with his own hands.

Henry II.

1369.

HENRY II, surnamed the Bastard, did at first labour under great difficulties, the neighbouring powers attacking him on every side; but at last a peace was made with all of them upon honourable terms. He died in the year 1379.

John.

1379.

His son JOHN endeavoured to obtain the crown of Portugal upon the death of FERDINAND it's King, whose daughter he had married; but the Portuguese, out of their aversion to the Castilians, set up for their King JOHN, natural son to PETER King of Portugal, who maintained himself against the Castilians, and gained a signal victory over them near Alimbarret. Castile was at that time in great distraction, the English siding with the Portuguese under the Duke of Lancaster, who having married the daughter of PETER surnamed the Cruel, pretended a right to the crown of Castile, and accordingly assumed the title and arms; but the dispute was at last composed, by marrying the daughter of the English Duke to the Prince of Castile. After which a peace was likewise concluded with Portugal. JOHN died by a fall from his horse, anno 1390.

Henry III.

1390.

HENRY III was a sickly Prince, under whose minority great divisions arose in the kingdom. He did nothing remarkable, except that he restored the revenues which the nobility had alien-

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nated from the crown. He died in the year 1407, leaving behind him JOHN II, a child of two months old.

The tuition of this Prince was committed to John II. his mother and Don FERDINAND his uncle, to whom the States offered the kingdom, which he refused, but accepted however the crown of Arragon. This King under the tuition of his mother being grown very effeminate, addicted to pleasure, and having no genius or inclination for publick business, committed the whole management of the State to his favourite ALVAREZ DE LUNA, an ambitious man, which occasioned great murmurings among the nobility. JOHN taking his favourite's part, a civil war ensued, wherein the rebels were headed by his own son, and the city of Toledo declared against him. At last the King tired out with protecting ALVAREZ, and the many inconveniences he had brought himself under, consented to cut off this favourite's head, and died himself the next year. Under the reign of this King a war broke out betwixt the Spaniards and the Moors of Grenada, wherein the first had great advantages. In the year 1420 King ALONSO of Arragon was adopted by JOAN Queen of Naples for her heir; but a difference arising betwixt JOAN and ALONSO, she declared the said adoption void and null, receiving in his stead LEWIS Duke of Anjou; which afterwards occasioned bloody wars betwixt France and Spain: but at last ALONSO prevailed, making himself master of Naples, and leaving the same to his natural son FERDINAND.

In the kingdom of Castile, JOHN II was succeeded by his son HENRY IV, styled by some the Scourge and Scandal of Castile, who being incapable of begetting children, to remove the suspicion of his impotence, hired one BERTRAND DE CUEVA, afterwards created a Duke, to lie with the Queen, who having been delivered of a daughter named JOAN, HENRY caused her to be proclaimed heiress to the crown. What confirmed the people in this belief was, that the Queen afterwards had another bastard by another person. To wipe off the scandal, and to exclude JOAN from the succession of the crown, the nobility of Castile entered into an association; and placing the image of HENRY upon a scaffold, they there formally accused him of this wicked contrivance, and afterwards having taken off his ornaments, threw his image from the scaffold, proclaiming at the same time ALONSO, brother of HENRY, their King. From hence arose intestine wars, which occasioned several battles. During these troubles ALONSO died.

About the same time FERDINAND, son of JOHN II, King of Arragon, whom his father had declared King of Sicily, proposed a marriage with ISABELLA, HENRY's sister, to whom the rebellious Castilians had offered the crown, and forced HENRY to confirm her right to the same: whereupon the nuptials were celebrated privately. Yet would HENRY, by making his concession void, have afterwards set up again the title of JOAN, whom he had promised in marriage to CHARLES Duke of Aquitain, brother to LEWIS XI King of France. But he dying suddenly, HENRY at last was reconciled to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, and died in the year 1474.

ISABELLA, now Queen of Castile, being married to FERDINAND King of Sicily, and presumptive heir to the kingdom of Arragon, and thereby most of the dominions of Spain becoming

CHAP.  
XVIII.

John II.  
1407.

Henry IV.  
1454.

Ferdinana  
son of  
John II,  
King of  
Arragon,  
married to  
Isabella,  
sister to  
Henry of  
Castile.

1469.

Ferdinand  
and Isabel-  
la King  
and Queen  
of Castile.



subject to one house, I shall treat more largely of the future reigns than I have of the former, when this country was split into so many little kingdoms and principalities, that their history was not of such consequence as that of the succeeding Monarchs. But it may be proper here to give a list of the Kings of Arragon before it was united to Castile.

○ Kings of Arragon after the invasion of the Saracens.

This kingdom was erected in 905, and contained then Sobrarva and the country of Ripagorfa. SANCHE ABRACA was their first King, and called himself King of Navarre and Arragon. They continued in one hand 132 years, till SANCHE the Great divided his dominions betwixt his sons; and Arragon fell to his bastard son RAMIRO, who was the first of the separate Kings.

RAMIRO came to the crown	anno 1037
SANCHE RAMIR succeeded	1067
DON PEDRO I.	1094
ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO I.	1104
RAMIRO II.	1134
RAIMOND I.	1138
ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO II.	1165
PETER II.	1196
JAMES I.	1214
PETER III.	1276
ALPHONSUS III.	1285
JAMES II.	
ALPHONSUS IV.	1328
PETER IV.	1336
JOHN I.	1389
MARTIN	1395
FERDINAND	1413
ALPHONSUS V.	
JOHN II.	1460
FERDINAND	1478

FERDINAND and ISABELLA met with great opposition in the beginning of their reign, as well from a powerful faction in Castile, as from ALONSO King of Portugal, who having espoused the Princess JOANNA, by some pretended to be the legitimate daughter (though generally held to be illegitimate) of the late King HENRY, assumed the title of King of Castile, and raised a numerous army to assert his title. But the King of Portugal being defeated in a general battle near Toro, desisted from his pretensions, and the Princess JOANNA, whom he had espoused, retired into a nunnery.

1479.  
Arragon  
descends  
to Ferdi-  
nand.

JOHN King of Arragon dying in the year 1479, FERDINAND took possession of that kingdom, together with Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca, which belonged to it; so that he was now in his own or his wife's right Sovereign of all Spain, except Navarre, Portugal, and Grenada, the last of which provinces was yet in the possession of the Moors.

The people of Castile complaining that the nobility oppressed the commons, and had devoured the revenues of the crown, which was the occasion of the heavy taxes imposed on the nation, all grants extorted by force, or granted voluntarily by the late King HENRY were declared void. At the same time Prince JOHN, the son of King FERDINAND and ISABELLA, was declared heir to the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. He was born in the year 1478.

1481.

And now King FERDINAND and his Queen being peaceably settled in their dominions, employed themselves in reforming such abuses in the administration, as had been introduced during the late wars; and particularly in the courts of justice: for lawyers are the same in every country, and if their practice is not sometimes examined into by the legislature, greater oppressions will be committed under a colour of justice, than could have happened in places where there was no law in being. His next care, say the Spaniards, was to root all errors and heresies out of the church; and to that end he established the holy Inquisition, to keep the converted Moors and Jews in awe, and deter them from returning to their idolatry and superstition. But notwithstanding the specious pretences for erecting this court, in the words of the judicious PUFFENDORF, it is esteemed by other nations an inhuman and execrable tribunal, and carries the greatest injustice with it, in making the children to bear the guilt of their parents, and not suffering any one to know either his accusers, or the particulars of the charge brought against him, in order to clear himself of it. But I shall enlarge further on this head, when I come to give the history of the persecution raised against the converted Jews and Moors of Grenada, &c.

The greatest part of Spain being united under one head, was become too powerful for the Moors of Grenada, who were also much weakened by their intestine divisions, which induced King FERDINAND about this time to endeavour the making an absolute conquest of them. The war was begun in the year 1481, by skirmishing and attacking some inconsiderable towns, which were often taken and retaken; but nothing of any great consequence happened in this war till the year 1487, when the city of Malaga was besieged by King FERDINAND with an army of twelve thousand horse and forty thousand foot. It was taken on the 18th of August 1487, when it surrendered at discretion, after it had been bravely defended upwards of three months.

1481.

1487.  
Malaga  
taken by  
King Fer-  
dinand.

There being some disturbances in Arragon, and the plague sweeping away great numbers of people in Spain the three following years, the war against the Moors was not carried on with vigour, only the country was harassed and wasted to the very walls of Grenada. In the year 1491 that capital was besieged by the Christians, said to contain at that time sixty thousand houses, and to have no less than a thousand and thirty beautiful towers on the walls. King FERDINAND sat down before it on the 24th of April 1491, and it surrendered upon articles on the 25th of November following, having held out a siege of seven months. The articles were sworn to by King FERDINAND on the one side, and by BOABDIL, the Moorish King, on the other: the substance whereof were;

Grenada  
besieged.  
1491.  
The large-  
ness of that  
city.

‘ That the Moors within sixty days deliver up  
‘ to the King the two castles, the towers, and  
‘ gates of the city. That they do homage to  
‘ King FERDINAND, and take an oath of alle-  
‘ giance to him. That they set at liberty all  
‘ Christian slaves without ransom. That till these  
‘ articles be performed they deliver up five hun-  
‘ dred sons of the principal inhabitants as hostages.  
‘ That they be left possessed of their lands, arms,  
‘ and horses, only delivering up the artillery.  
‘ That they keep their mosques, and have the  
‘ free

Articles of  
surrender.



CHAP. XVIII. 'free exercise of their religion. That they be governed according to their own laws; and to this purpose persons of their own nation be appointed, by whose advice the King's officers shall administer justice to them. That part of the usual taxes be abated during the term of three years, and never after be greater than they used to pay to their own Kings. That such as will go over into Africk may sell their goods, and be furnished with ships for their passage into any port they shall chuse. That King BOABDIL's son, and the other hostages delivered by him, be restored after the city is surrendered.'

Before the sixty days were expired a fanatick Moor raised an insurrection in the city, exclaiming against the capitulation, which King BOABDIL with some difficulty suppressed; and being apprehensive of farther tumults, sent immediately to King FERDINAND to acquaint him with the situation of affairs, offering to deliver up the city before the time was expired. Whereupon King FERDINAND made his entry into the city of Grenada at the head of his army on the day after New-Year's-Day 1491-2, being met by King BOABDIL at the head of fifty horse, who upon delivering up the keys of the town to FERDINAND, said, 'We are your slaves, invincible King! We deliver up this city and kingdom to you, not doubting you will use us with clemency and moderation.'

To King BOABDIL was assigned the valley of Purchena for his residence, with a handsome revenue; but he chose to transport himself to Africa, rather than live a subject in a country of which he had been Sovereign. And here it may be proper to insert a list of the Moorish Kings of Grenada.

#### Kings of Grenada after the invasion of the Saracens.

*This was the last of the kingdoms of the Moors in Spain, whither that people generally retired after their expulsion from the other provinces.*

MAHOMET ABEN ALHAMAR began his reign	A. D. 1238
MAHOMET MIR	1273
MAHOMET ABEN ALHAMAR	1305
MAHOMET ABEN AZER	1313
ISMAEL	1314
MAHOMET	1328
JOSEPH	1334
MAHOMET LAGUS	1361
MAHOMET of Cadiz	1394
JOSEPH	1409
MAHOMET ABEN BALVA	1412
JOSEPH	1424
MAHOMET the Crook-back	1428
MAHOMET the Little	ibid.
MAHOMET the Crook-back again	1430
JOSEPH ALBEN ALMAO usurped the crown.	
MAHOMET the Crook-back was restored again	1435
MAHOMET the Lame	1439
ABEN ISMAEL	1452
MULEY HACEN	1470
MAHOMET BOABDIL the Little	1482
MULEY BOABDIL	1485

And being besieged in his capital city of Grenada, surrendered it, together with his king-

dom, to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, on the day after New-Year's Day, anno 1491-2; which put an end to the dominion of the Moors in Spain.

King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA being at Grenada in the year 1492, commanded all Jews to depart the kingdom of Spain within the space of four months; but gave them leave to sell their effects or carry them with them. Whereupon it is said, seventeen thousand families of that people (and according to others, eight hundred thousand souls) quitted that kingdom; some transported themselves to Africa, others to Italy, &c. but the bulk of them went to Portugal, where King JOHN II permitted them to be received upon condition of their paying him eight crowns of gold for every head, and their promising to depart his kingdom within a certain limited time, on the expiration whereof all who remained behind were to be made slaves. But when this people came to the port towns of Portugal, in order to transport themselves, they found the King had prohibited all ships to take them on board; and notwithstanding their stay was occasioned by the King's own orders, he caused all their effects to be seized on the expiration of the time prefixed, and sold their persons to his subjects for slaves.

Doctor GEDDES adds, 'That King EMANUEL, who succeeded JOHN, reckoning it to have been both an unjust and dishonourable thing that his predecessor had done to the Jews, he set them all at liberty again; but at the same time commanded them all, upon pain of perpetual servitude, either to be baptized within a certain term of months, or to leave Portugal, promising that ships should be provided for all that would depart at the three chief ports of his kingdom. The Jews who had all left Spain, where they and their ancestors had lived for a great many generations, because they would not turn Christians, did intend to leave Portugal for the same reason, and did accordingly repair with their families to the ports appointed for their embarkation, where instead of ships to carry them off, they met with a proclamation prohibiting them upon pain of death to embark any where but at Lisbon: To which city when they were all come with their families, the King commanded all their children that were under fourteen years of age to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force. With which unexpected violence several parents were so enraged, that they threw their children that were under that age into the river and into wells, and themselves after them. But the time appointed for their embarkation being expired, and no ships being permitted to take any of them aboard, they did, rather than be made slaves again, consent to be baptized.

'The Jews who were baptized at this time, in this manner, are reckoned to have been above three hundred thousand, men, women and children. And whereas few, if any of them, were in their hearts Christians when they were thus forced to receive baptism, great numbers of their descendants do to this day in Portugal continue to breed up their children in the Jewish religion, notwithstanding the unintermitting cruelties which have ever since been exercised by the Inquisition upon all who have been convicted of having returned to that faith.

'This



\* This dispersion of the Spanish Jews is reckoned, by all of that nation and religion, to have been, both as to hardships and as to their numbers, nothing inferior to that which followed upon the destruction of Jerusalem.

America  
discovered  
by Co-  
lumbus.

It was soon after the conquest of Grenada that CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoese, attempted the discovery of America for the Spaniards. He had applied himself first to the court of Portugal, and afterwards to HENRY VII, King of England, for a squadron of ships in order to undertake that enterprize, and was slighted by both of them. At length FERDINAND and ISABELLA, Sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, after deliberating upon the matter seven years, assisted him with three ships and seventeen thousand ducats, which they were forced to borrow, their treasury was so exhausted by the wars: and with these COLUMBUS set sail from Palos on the third of August 1492, and having touched at the Canaries, after several days sail discovered certain islands which he named the *Prince's Islands*; and having built a fort, and left some men in garrison there, he returned to Spain.

1492.

The next year he discovered the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, and great part of the continent, both north and south, introducing the Spaniards into a country of many thousand miles extent, rich and fruitful beyond expression, and where they found such inexhaustible mines of gold and silver, that they have supplied Europe with the greatest part of those precious minerals ever since. To establish themselves, they destroyed the two vast empires of Peru and Mexico, which they found little difficulty in effecting, the natives being perfectly naked and unarmed. But I shall not here enlarge on the discovery of America, reserving this part of modern history till I come to treat of that part of the world.

1493.  
Roussillon  
and Cer-  
dagne  
yielded to  
the Span-  
iards.

The French King designing to make an attempt on the kingdom of Naples, to which the house of Arragon had some pretensions, in order to secure the Friendship of King FERDINAND while he was engaged in that expedition, he made him a cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne in the year 1493.

Not long after, King FERDINAND possessed himself of the matterships of the three military orders in Castile, the masters whereof had claimed an exemption from the regal jurisdiction, and were become so very powerful by reason of their vast revenues and numbers of dependants, that they were formidable to the King himself. These matterships were confirmed to his Majesty by Pope INNOCENT VIII. His Holiness also gave him the title of the Catholick King, on account of the zeal he had shewn for extirpating the Jews and Mahometans.

John  
Prince  
of Castile  
dies.

1499.

In the year 1497 died JOHN Prince of Castile and Arragon, and presumptive heir to both those crowns.

Dr. Geddes's ac-  
count of  
the usage  
of the  
Moors af-  
ter the  
conquest  
of Grena-  
da.

I come now to enquire into the usage the Moors met with in Spain, after they had submitted to the Christians, of which our countryman Doctor GEDDES has given us a very full account. He observes, that notwithstanding the taking of the city of Grenada put an end to the dominion of the Moors in Spain, the body of the people in that province, as well as in the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, were still Mahometans; and that there were also great numbers of them still dispersed over Castile, Estramadura, Arragon, Catalonia, and other provinces of Spain,

who continued a distinct people from the Spaniards by an obstinate adherence to the religion, language, habits, and customs of their ancestors, scarce any of them having been converted to the Christian faith by the Spanish missionaries who had been employed for that end.

Whereupon King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA coming to Grenada in the year 1499, sent for the famous XIMENES, Archbishop of Toledo, and charged him, as he had any regard for the honour of the Christian religion, the salvation of mankind and the safety of the government, that he would take effectual measures for the conversion of their Moorish subjects, who were no less infidels than when they lived under Mahometan Kings.

XIMENES, says that writer, who was a man that would not be easily baffled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great work with courting and caressing the chief men among the Moors, and having by rich presents and greater promises persuaded some of the first quality among them to turn Christians, their examples were followed by a considerable number of the inferior sort.

The Moors both in the city and country being much alarmed and displeased with those conversions, several of their principal men, with whom the Archbishop had not been able to prevail, did go about to persuade their kindred and others neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the religion of their forefathers.

The Archbishop, as soon as he heard of those counterworkings, laying all humanity, faith the writer of his life, almost aside, he commanded all those zealots to be apprehended, and having loaded them with irons, he ordered them to be thrown into dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greatest of malefactors.

Among these zealots there was one named ZAGRI, who was of a noble family, and had been in a high command in armies, and who, among his other exploits, had in his younger days fought hand to hand with GONZALO, the Great Captain. The Archbishop reckoning that if he were but able to subdue ZAGRI's high spirit so far as to make him turn Christian, none among the Moors would after that dare to oppose him in his conversions, he committed him to the custody of one of his own chaplains named LEONI, a man of a fierce and cruel disposition, in whose keeping ZAGRI had not been many days before he begged of his keeper to be permitted to speak with the Archbishop; which having been granted, ZAGRI when he appeared before him, desired that his irons might be knocked off that he might deliver his mind with the more freedom, which having been done, he declared that he had been commanded the night before in a dream to turn Christian; adding at the same time with a smile, I am not such a blockhead as to want any more arguments to persuade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible lion of your Lordship's (alluding to his keeper's name:) to whom said ZAGRI, Let my countrymen be but committed for so many days as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity; intimating how barbarously he had been used by LEONI.

The Archbishop being overjoyed at his having thus converted ZAGRI, commanded him to be led out and washed, and having clothed him in



CHAP. XVIII. in scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the name of GONZALO FERDINANDO, the Great Captain who was at that time in Grenada, and settled a pension on him of 5000 crowns yearly for his life.

The other Moorish prisoners being no more able than ZAGRI to withstand LEONI's arguments, did yield, and were baptized likewise by the Archbishop; who after this commanded all the Moors to deliver their Alcorans and all their other Arabick books to him; which having been done, he ordered all the books that treated of philosophy and medicine to be preserved, burning all the rest in the market-place of the city, to the great mortification of the Moors who had not changed their religion. And being resolved to make his harvest as great as it was possible, he commanded the children of all the Moors, who were called Elkes, to be taken from them and baptized, upon pretence that their ancestors were anciently Christians, who had apostatized to the Mahometan sect.

These violent proceedings of the Archbishop's occasioned an insurrection in the city, which being with difficulty suppressed by the King's troops, his Majesty ordered the mutineers to be dealt with as traitors, unless they would turn Christians. Whereupon, it is said, no less than fifty thousand of them submitted to be baptized.

1500. The Moors in the country, understanding the force that had been put upon their brethren in Grenada, had recourse to arms; whereupon the Great Captain GONZALO marched against them, and having taken the town of Huyar, put all the Infidels therein to the sword, men, women, and children; which rendered the Moors desperate, and occasioned the insurrection to become still more general, inasmuch that the Great Captain was obliged to desire his Majesty to assemble the rest of his army, and march against them in person.

The Christians afterwards made themselves masters of Guadix, Almeria, and many other towns of the Infidels; but those who had retired into the most inaccessible part of the mountains, still defending themselves, obtained leave to go over to Barbary on their paying ten dollars a head, many of whom however were obliged to remain in Spain and be baptized, for want of money to pay for their passage. And in this manner it is computed about two hundred thousand Moors, men, women, and children, were made Christians within the compass of a few months.

200000  
Moors ob-  
liged to  
profess  
themselves  
Christians.

As to the usage of the Moors in the other conquered provinces, I find that in Andalusia, where the same forced conversions had been practised, the Inquisition of Seville had condemned no less than an hundred thousand of the Moriscoes, present or absent, for apostacy within the space of forty years; of which number four thousand had been actually burnt, thirty thousand reconciled to the church, and the rest had made their escapes into Barbary; inasmuch that many thousand houses, in the district of Seville only, were deserted and left without inhabitants, which had occasioned grievous complaints from the nobility, and put a stop to these barbarities for a time.

The Moors  
subject to  
Arragon  
more  
mildly  
dealt  
with.

The Moors of Valencia, who were conquered by JAMES King of Arragon in the year 1236, enjoyed the free exercise of their religion many years afterwards. That Prince had indeed ordered his clergy to endeavour to make proselytes of them by preaching, and upon their representing

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that the Moriscoes were such incurable Infidels that they could never be converted to Christianity but by force, and the Pope's exhorting him to banish them out of his dominions, he did propose the expulsion of them to the Cortes. Yet the thing was so warmly opposed by his Barons, to whom most of the Moriscoes were vassals, and whose lands would have been of little value to them, if these people, by whom they were cultivated, were banished, that the design was laid aside, and not revived again in above three hundred years, notwithstanding they did all that time continue Mahometans.

As to the general expulsion of this people out of Spain, I shall reserve the account of it till I come to the year 1610, when it was effected by PHILIP III.

The Princess JOANNA, the eldest surviving daughter of King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA, having been married to PHILIP Duke of Burgundy and Archduke of Austria, son to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, was on St. MATTHIAS's day, 1500, delivered of a Prince, afterwards called CHARLES V, Emperor of Germany and King of Spain. And PHILIP and his Princess coming into Spain in the year 1502, were sworn heirs of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. Thus was the Austrian family first introduced into Spain.

The Em-  
peror  
Charles V  
born.  
1502.

The French King, CHARLES VIII, having about this time made a conquest of the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, FERDINAND King of Castile and Arragon entered into a confederacy with the Pope, the Emperor, Venice, and Milan, to drive the French out of Italy, sending GONSALVO FERDINAND DE CERDUA, commonly called the Great Captain, to the assistance of the Neapolitans, by whose conduct the French were expelled that kingdom. But not long after a treaty of peace was concluded between France and Spain, wherein it was agreed to depose FRÉDERICK King of Naples, and to divide that kingdom between them; Apulia and Calabria were allotted to FERDINAND the Catholic King, and Abruzzo and Campania to the French; and the Pope gave each of them the investiture of his part. The two Kings accordingly made an entire conquest of the country, and the unfortunate FRÉDERICK fled to the island of Ischia. But the French and Spaniards afterwards falling out about the limits of their territories, GONSALVO the Great Captain drove the French out of that kingdom a second time, and most of their army perished in their retreat. From this time we may look upon the Spaniards to be sole Sovereigns of Naples as well as Sicily.

The Spa-  
niards  
make a  
conquest  
of Naples.

ISABELLA Queen of Castile dying in the year 1504, appointed the Princess JOANNA and the Archduke her husband heirs to the crown of Castile: but if the Princess, on account of her indisposition (she is reported to have been distracted with jealousy) should not take upon her the government, she committed the administration of it to King FERDINAND, till Prince CHARLES, their son, arrived at the age of twenty years, according to an act of the Cortes, or three Estates of Castile, passed not long before for that purpose. She confirmed also to King FERDINAND the masterships of the three military orders, and half the revenues of the new conquests in America.

1504.  
Isabella  
Queen of  
Castile  
dies.

King FERDINAND immediately upon the Queen's death caused his daughter the Princess

17 O

Jo-



CHAP.  
XVIII.Philip I.  
K. of Cas-  
tile.

JOANNA to be proclaimed Queen, and her husband PHILIP King of Castile in right of his wife, but took the administration of the government upon himself; and in order to support his power, entered into an alliance with the King of France, which he cemented by marrying GERMANA DE FOIX, the French King's niece, on whom he agreed to confer the kingdom of Naples, in exclusion of Prince CHARLES his grandson; which his son-in-law King PHILIP highly resented, as well as his taking upon him the government of Castile. PHILIP therefore coming to Spain from the Low Countries with a great fleet and a good body of German troops, with which his friends in Castile joined him on his arrival, King FERDINAND was obliged to retire to Arragon, and leave PHILIP in the possession of Castile. However, a treaty was set on foot between them, and they parted friends, in appearance at least.

King PHILIP, as has been intimated already, entertaining a variety of mistresses, provoked his Queen to the last degree. Whereupon she took all opportunities of shewing her resentment; and the people were so disgusted at the ill usage she received from her husband, that a party was formed in the kingdom to rescue her out of his hands. PHILIP, on the other hand, gave out she was mad, and proposed the excluding her from the regency; but when the matter was mentioned in the Cortes, and they were required to take the oaths of allegiance, it was carried, that they should swear to Queen JOANNA as Queen of Castile in her own right, to King PHILIP only as her husband, and to Prince CHARLES as heir to the crown after his mother's death. Another occasion of discontent among the Castilians was the displacing the native Spaniards, and putting the Germans and Flemings into all posts of honour and profit in the kingdom; and so general was the disaffection at this time, that if FERDINAND had returned into the kingdom, the people would infallibly have deposed King PHILIP, and conferred the administration of affairs on the Catholic King again; but he was gone to Naples to secure that kingdom, being apprehensive that GONSALVO the Great Captain might set up for himself, or yield that kingdom to some other Sovereign. To prevent which, the Catholic King proposed the bringing back the Great Captain with him to Spain, under pretence of his having occasion for his service on that side; and in the mean time King PHILIP died, viz. on the 25th of September, 1506. The situation of affairs in Spain on this event is so well described by Dr. GEDDES, that I chuse to follow that gentleman in the relation of them.

Queen Jo-  
anna's be-  
haviour to  
her dead  
husband.

He says, 'That the Queen, whose brain was somewhat distempered before, did upon this loss sink into so deep a melancholy, that those who were about her had much ado to keep her from famishing herself. And as during the whole time of her husband's sickness she had never, though she was big with child, day nor night, stirred from his bed-side; so having, some days after he was buried, been told by a Monk, that he had read in some legend or other of a King who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen years, she immediately commanded her husband's body to be brought into her bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the coffin, and laid it in a bed of state with its face uncovered, she kept it there as long as she lived, which was above twice fourteen years; and when

she was awake, was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

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XVIII.

And as the Queen's fondness for her husband, who had little deserved it from her, so her jealousy of him was so much increased by his death, that she would never suffer any woman but herself to go near his corps, nor none of that sex, besides her old servants and confidants, to come within the doors of the room where it lay. And having left Burgos, with a resolution never to see that nor any other city any more, she travelled in the night by torch-light, with her husband's corps drawn in a hearse by six Flanders mares from one obscure village to another, until she settled at last at Tortela, where in a very mean house she was delivered of a daughter, without the help of a midwife; for as there was no persuading of her to lie in in any other room but in that where her husband's corps was, so she would not hear of a midwife, tho' never so ancient, being brought into it.

The breath was not well out of PHILIP's body, when the Grandees were all to pieces about the administration of the government during Prince CHARLES's minority. The Nobles, who had appeared most forward in driving FERDINAND out of Castile, talked high against his being recalled to be their Governor; alledging, That if his government was grievous to his Nobles before, it would be much more so now, after he had been so highly provoked by their having joined with PHILIP against him. His being married to the Princess GERMANA, in hopes of having male issue by her, was likewise urged as an unkind thing to the posterity of their Queen ISABELLA, and which, if he were it's Governor, might prove of dangerous consequence to Castile.

The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom, did always give very pertinent answers, being addressed to know to whom she would have the administration of the government of her kingdoms committed, is said to have answered, "My first-born son and heir CHARLES is too young to administer the government himself, and MAIXMILIAN my father-in-law cannot well leave the Empire and his own hereditary dominions; or if he would, he is altogether a stranger to the tempers and customs of my people, which are all perfectly understood by my father, and who has with great toil and danger much enlarged my territories." But when she was desired, after so wise an extemporary answer, by a public instrument to constitute her father Governor of Castile during her son's minority, not a word more was to be had from her, neither would she to her dying day ever be persuaded to put her hand to any writing, or to give any reason why she would not do it; only on other occasions she would sometimes say, "That it was scandalous for the widow of a good husband to let any thing trouble her thoughts but the memory of her great loss."

Cardinal XIMENES, Archbishop of Toledo, the wisest and most disinterested statesman that Spain, or perhaps any other kingdom, ever had, at first seemed to agree with the Nobles to exclude FERDINAND from the regency, to which his near relation to the Prince gave him so good a title; but being sensible that no man was so fit as FERDINAND to govern Spain at that time, he so managed the Council of State, that he pre-  
vailed



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vailed with them to send for FERDINAND, who was then at Naples, to desire him to come and take upon him the administration of the government, during the time of his daughter's indisposition, and of his grandson's minority. And though the Queen would not be persuaded to give any countenance to his coming by writing a line to invite him, yet having been desired by his Ambassador at her court, to order publick prayers and supplications to be made in all the churches for his safe arrival in Castile, she made answer, it shall be done; and added, that she doubted not but that God would both give her father a prosperous voyage, and would bless him in the administration of the government of her kingdoms.

FERDINAND being arrived in Castile, went directly to visit his disconsolate daughter; and though the place he found her in was extremely inconvenient both for herself and the court, he had much ado to persuade her to leave it, to go to Santa Maria de Campo, from whence he intended to have moved her to Burgos, and to have fixed her there, so soon as the castle of that city (which was held out against him by one EMANUEL, the great favourite of King PHILIP) was reduced. But the Queen, when she came to Arcos, suspecting that her father intended to have carried her to Burgos, would not go a step further; telling him, that she was resolved never to see the place any more, wherein she had been so unhappy as to lose the best of husbands. And though Arcos was a town of bad air, and very inconvenient for the court, it was five months before he could persuade her to leave it to go to Tordeillas, a pleasant village, and where she had a palace, in the neighbourhood of Valladolid: but having at last prevailed with her to remove, she travelled all the way by night with her hearse, stopping still at the first house she met with, though it was a cottage, after the day began to dawn, and remained there till it was dark night. And when she was desired by her father, who accompanied her, not to feed her melancholy by travelling after such a dismal manner, all the answer he could have was, "That the sun ought never to see a woman, after she was so unfortunate as to be a widow."

King Ferdinand resumes the administration.

The Emperor MAXIMILIAN did at first oppose King FERDINAND's taking upon him the government of Castile, alledging, that as his daughter Queen JOANNA was non compos, the administration of the government devolved upon him (the Emperor) during the minority of his grandson Prince CHARLES. But matters were at length accommodated between the Emperor and FERDINAND, and the latter continued Regent of Castile all the remainder of his life. The most remarkable things that happened during his administration were the Italian war and the conquest of Navarre. For in the year 1508 FERDINAND entered into a confederacy with the French King and other Princes against the Venetians, on account of that republick's refusing to deliver up to him Brundisium, Otranto, and some other cities of Calabria, which the Venetians had possessed themselves of. But the Venetians agreeing to surrender those places to him, he thought fit to change sides, and thereby prevented the French and Imperialists from making themselves masters of the Venetian territories. And this occasioned the other war against Navarre; for JOHN D'AL-

BERT, King of Navarre, entering into an alliance with the French King against Spain, FERDINAND took this opportunity of reducing all that part of Navarre, which lies on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees (which is four times larger than that on the French side) to the obedience of Castile: in which expedition he had the Pope on his side, who excommunicated the King of Navarre for joining with France, and gave his dominions to any power that could conquer it. Nor were the Kings of Navarre ever able to recover this part of their territories again. This victorious King also took Tripoli and several other towns on the coast of Barbary from the Infidels; and after a long and glorious reign, wherein immense treasures continually flowed in from the American conquests that were discovered and subdued under his administration, (and to which as well as his wisdom his successes are to be ascribed) he died on the twenty-third of January, 1515-16, leaving all the provinces of Spain, except Portugal, united under one head. He had made three wills, in all of which he named his daughter Queen JOANNA his Heiress, and her son Prince CHARLES Governor of his dominions; and during that Prince's absence he appointed his illegitimate son the Archbishop of Saragossa to be Governor of Arragon, and Cardinal XIMENES, Archbishop of Toledo, Governor of Castile, which was complied with afterwards; only the Dean of Louvain, producing the Prince's commission, was admitted joint Governor with Cardinal XIMENES. To Prince FERDINAND, his younger grandson, he left some towns in the kingdom of Naples, and an annual pension of fifty thousand ducats. He was interred in the royal chapel in the cathedral of Grenada, near his late wife Queen ISABELLA, with the splendor and magnificence due to so great a conqueror.

Prince CHARLES, upon the death of his grandfather King FERDINAND, took upon him the title of King of Spain, notwithstanding his mother Queen JOANNA was living, but did not arrive in Spain however till a year and a half afterwards; the government of Castile in the mean time being committed to Cardinal XIMENES and ADRIAN Dean of Louvain, CHARLES's preceptor, who afterwards arrived at the papacy by the powerful interest of his pupil.

Charles his grandson K. of Spain.

The Spaniards had been entertained with such a glorious character of their new Sovereign CHARLES, that they expected him with the utmost impatience, and were apt to impute his stay to the arts of the Flemings, who obtained vast remittances of treasure from Spain in the mean time. But however that was, CHARLES arrived at length with a royal fleet at Villa Viciosa in Asturia on the nineteenth of September 1517, whither Cardinal XIMENES was going to attend his Majesty, but died upon the road before he saw him; whereupon CHEVERS a Frenchman, the then favourite in King CHARLES's court, begged that noble preferment, computed to be worth fourscore thousand pounds sterling per ann. for his nephew, WILLIAM DE CROY Bishop of Cambray. Other posts of honour and profit were taken from the native Spaniards and conferred on the Germans and Flemings, which very much disgusted the Castilians, and began to make them alter the good opinion they had conceived of their new Monarch.

A Cortes was assembled in the year 1518, where King CHARLES took the usual oaths to govern according

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Navarre conquered by Ferdinand.

1510.

1515.  
K. Ferdinand dies.

1517.

1518.



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according to their laws, and to protect the liberties and privileges of the subject: after which a motion was made by the court-party for a supply to defray the charges of the government; but the Commons insisted before they parted with their money, to have two of their ancient laws confirmed, viz. 1. That none but natives of Castile should be admitted into any office or employment in Church or State. And, 2. That no treasure should be sent out of the kingdom, on pain of death: wisely foreseeing, that if these restrictions were not complied with, Spain must sooner or later be reduced to a state of beggary. But the court-party, by places or pensions, or the hopes they gave the majority of finding their account in complying with his Majesty, procured the supply to be granted before the privileges of the subject were confirmed; and the donative, as the Castilians call a bill of supply, was immediately borrowed of the Italian bankers at a high interest, and distributed among the Flemings, though it was not to have been raised under three years: and what was a further mortification to them was, that they saw all that vast sum exported to Flanders by the King's Dutch favourites, almost as soon as it was borrowed.

Donna LEONORA, the King's sister, was about this time given in marriage to EMANUEL King of Portugal, though he had married two of her aunts before, and he was old enough to be her grandfather. This the Castilians made another subject of complaint, ascribing this match to CHEVERS the King's favourite, who, 'twas said, sacrificed this young Princess to his covetousness, being known to have received one and twenty thousand ducats of the King of Portugal. The King also sent his brother Don FERDINAND to Flanders under the tuition of a Flemish Governor; and conferred the rich archbishoprick of Tortosa on his preceptor ADRIAN, for whom he procured a Cardinal's cap; which so disgusted the Spanish clergy, that they refused to raise the tenths the Pope had granted him.

The King afterwards assembled the Cortes of Arragon at Saragossa, where he took the oaths to maintain their privileges, and then demanded a supply; but the States answered, It was not usual to give money before their grievances were redressed, and the debts of the crown were paid. But the Emperor MAXIMILIAN dying about this time, and the King desiring them not to delay the supply, because he should be obliged to go into Germany to be present at the next election, in order to prevent the French King's being chosen Emperor, the donative was granted; clogged however with so many appropriations to publick uses, that there remained but little for the King. From whence he went to Barcelona, and assembled the States of Catalonia, who were nine months before they granted any money, and then applied so much of it to the paying of old debts, that there were not above twenty-five pounds left for his Majesty's use; which the courtiers exclaiming against, were told, That the King seemed to be governed by Dutch and French Ministers, who were come into Spain as into an enemy's country, intending after they had plundered it, to carry the spoils to Flanders. They complained also, that all offices were sold by the Prime Minister CHEVERS or his Lady, a practice till then not known in Spain.

K. Charles  
chosen Em-  
peror.

The King having been chosen Emperor while he remained at Barcelona, the Spaniards foresaw

that they should now be made a province of Germany, and that as the King would generally reside there, the treasures of Spain would be exported thither, which made them still more untractable; insomuch that when the Emperor deputed Cardinal ADRIAN to hold a Cortes at Valencia, they refused to grant him a supply, or even to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, till he came amongst them, and took the oaths to observe their privileges in person, which he could not do at this time, being pressed by the Imperial Diet to hasten into Germany. However as he was in great want of money, he ordered the Cortes of Castile to assemble at the Groyne, a port-town in Galicia, from whence he intended to embark for Flanders; and threatened the electors, if they did not send representatives thither prepared to grant what money he should ask, he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of Castile into that loyal province of Galicia.

Misunder-  
standings  
between  
the Em-  
peror and  
the Cortes  
of Castile.

The Castilians hereupon complained openly, that they were treated by their Dutch King and his ministry more like slaves than subjects; that the commanding them to meet in Galicia, a remote province, and demanding a new donative before the time for raising the former was expired, and threatening to remove the Courts of Judicature, if they did not raise such sums as the ministry demanded, were things unprecedented. This was indeed to rule them with a rod of iron, as some of his Dutch favourites had threatened; and the city of Valladolid in particular was so exasperated at the King's removing both the Courts and Cortes from thence, that they had recourse to arms, and determined to prevent his Majesty's going out of the gates; but he took the advantage of a tempestuous night, and escaped from them, going from thence to the Groyne. Here he was met by Commissioners from Toledo, who protested against his holding a Cortes in Galicia, declaring it to be unlawful. But the King, who had now so many valuable posts to dispose of in the Empire, as well as in the dominions of Spain, notwithstanding their opposition, procured the Cortes to be assembled at the Groyne, and found means to influence a majority to grant him the supplies he demanded, for which indeed they were called *tools and journeymen* to CHEVERS the Prime Minister, and charged with conniving at their country's being plundered by foreigners, that they might have a share in it's spoils. And the nation in general was so provoked at the proceedings of this Cortes, that an insurrection was looked upon as inevitable. However, the King proceeded in his voyage, embarking at the Groyne the twenty-second of May 1520; and Cardinal ADRIAN was left Governor of Castile, a man the most grateful to the Spaniards of any of the foreigners the King had brought over on account of his unblemished integrity; but he was not trusted with the disposal of any preferments of consequence, for these the Spaniards were forced to go over and solicit in Germany, and in the Spaniards phrase, *to buy them of the Prime Minister CHEVERS*.

1520.  
The Em-  
peror em-  
barks for  
Germany.

The people of Valencia had already taken up arms, and excluded the nobility of that kingdom from all employments; and the King was no sooner gone to his German dominions, but the city of Toledo proposed an association among all the cities of Castile, for redressing their grievances, and recovering their invaded liberties. Accordingly they chose them a General, formed

The Com-  
mons of  
Castile  
make an  
insurrec-  
tion.



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an army, and elected representatives in every town, who assembled at Abula, and took upon them the title of a Cortes, and the direction of all affairs. The members who had voted the supply at the Groyne were soon made sensible of the people's resentment; they fell upon them wherever they met with them, dragged them from the very altars, and tore them in pieces, crying out, that *Rogues who had betrayed their country ought not to have the benefit of it's sanctuaries.*

Their demands.

The first thing the Cortes or Junta of the disaffected Commons entered upon, was the drawing up a particular of their demands; the chief whereof were, 'That the King should reside in Castile, or appoint one of the natives his Viceroy. That no foreigner should be capable of any office or preferment. That the King should give no office or salary to any member of the Cortes. That a Cortes should meet once in three years. That the soldiers should not have free quarters. That all privileges granted to the nobility to the prejudice of the Commons should be revoked. That the lands of the Nobility should be taxed equally with the Commons. That no gold, silver, or jewels should be sent out of the kingdom, &c.'

With these demands they sent a deputation to the King in Germany; but before those gentlemen had passed through France, they understood the King had ordered them all to be made prisoners as soon as they entered his German dominions; whereupon they returned to Spain, endeavouring to heighten the discontents of the people against their Sovereign. And now the breach appeared to be so wide, that nothing but the sword could decide it; whereupon the Cardinal, who was left Governor of Castile, assembled all the forces he could, and the malecontents increased theirs. The Commons had much the advantage at first, for both the Clergy and Nobility, if they did not join them, lay still and were not displeased to observe their success; but when they found that the Commons were no less bent upon their destruction than that of the Ministers, they joined with the Court against them, which in the end brought their affairs into an ill situation. Another occasion of their misfortune was their making choice of Don JOHN DE PADILLA for their General, a nobleman of very little knowledge or experience in martial affairs. The King however having but few forces in Castile at the time of the insurrection, the Commons remained masters of the country for near eighteen months; but when the royal army advanced from the kingdom of Navarre, that had been employed against the French, the great army the Commons had assembled, consisting chiefly of an undisciplined mob, dispersed without ever coming to a battle; whereas if they had kept together but a very few weeks, the French having over-run all Navarre, and entered the frontiers of Castile, the royal army must have returned to Navarre again to have prevented the loss of that kingdom.

Upon the dispersion of the army of the malecontents, their Generals and superior Officers were made prisoners, of whom some few were executed, particularly Don JOHN DE PADILLA; but the common soldiers were pardoned, on condition of surrendering their arms, and returning to their houses. This success of the Royalists so terrified the associated cities, that they all submitted to the government in an instant. Never

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did any cause, says Dr. GEDDES, which was espoused by the body of a people, and which had been allowed time to put itself under some government, fall so flat at once as this of the Commons of Castile; no place besides Toledo having made the least effort to renew the war, after they heard of their army's being dispersed, and this the Clergy held out only out of prejudice to their Archbishop, who was a foreigner, and he happening to die a few months after, the town surrendered without any army's appearing before it. The war with the Commons of Valencia ended about the same time, which had been carried on with much greater fury and devastation than that of Castile, and concluded with a very great slaughter of the Commons in the last decisive battle.

In the mean time Cardinal ADRIAN, Governor or Viceroy of Castile, received news of his being elected Pope, while he was at Victoria in Biscay, carrying on the war against the French; whereupon he immediately set out for Italy, as the Emperor did for Spain, where he arrived the September following. His Imperial Majesty returning to Castile very much in debt, assembled a Cortes at Valladolid, the members whereof were generally esteemed to be in the court-interest, for the other party, since their late ill success, durst not appear to contest the elections with the Royalists; and yet when the Emperor came to demand a supply of them, they insisted that their grievances should be redressed before they raised any money; which is the more to be admired, since the Speaker in his speech to the Emperor on this occasion takes notice, *That there was not one of the Members of this Cortes, who was not either of his Majesty's household, or in some post in the government, and had been a sufferer for the crown in the late insurrection.* The Emperor answered, that he could never alter the custom introduced of raising money before any other business was entered upon. And when the Cortes addressed him in a body, that their grievances might be first taken into consideration, he told them in short, *That it was in vain to struggle with him for a thing which he was resolved never to grant;* whereupon they ceased to importune him any more, and granted the sum he required, being forty hundred thousand ducats, to be raised within three years; the consequence whereof was, that their grievances were never redressed, or their privileges confirmed. But what could be expected more from a Parliament composed entirely of creatures of the court? And what can any people ever expect, where a majority of their Representatives are always such? Private interest will ever exclude that of the publick.

The Clergy found themselves in a still worse condition than the Commons; for ADRIAN the Emperor's Preceptor being advanced to the papal chair, instead of the tenths formerly granted, conferred on the Emperor the fourths of the Clergy in his dominions. He also granted to him and his successors Kings of Spain, the power of electing and presenting to all bishopricks in their dominions, with the mastership of the three military orders for ever, of which his predecessors had only temporary grants from former Popes. But ADRIAN's pontificate proved very short, his Holiness dying in September 1523. He was the last ultramontane Pope: it is observed, the Italians have ever since chosen one of their own nation; which 'twas very easy to do, the reigning Pope always taking care to have a majority of Italian

Cardinal  
Adrian,  
Viceroy of  
Castile,  
elected  
Pope.The Em-  
peror re-  
turns to  
Spain.Nomin-  
ation to  
bishop-  
ricks in  
the crown.

1523.

17 P

Cardinals.



C H A P. Cardinals. ADRIAN was succeeded by Cardinal  
XVIII. JULIUS DE MEDICIS, and took the name of  
CLEMENT VII.

War be- The French having entered the dutchy of Milan  
tween the in the year 1524, were defeated by the Imperial  
Emperor and France Generals, who afterwards passed the Alps, and  
in Italy. laid siege to Marcellis: whereupon FRANCIS  
the French King assembled a powerful army, and  
raised the siege: he afterwards followed the Im-  
perialists into Italy, and reduced great part of  
Milan. In the mean time the Emperor entred  
into an alliance with Pope LEO for driving the  
French out of Italy; by which treaty it was a-  
greed, that the Emperor should annually on St.  
PETER's day, pay his Holiness seven thousand  
ducats and a white pad, as a tribute for the king-  
dom of Naples, to which the Popes had long  
laid claim. That the Emperor should also ac-  
knowledge Sicily to be a fief of the Church,  
paying annally 15000 ducats to the Holy See for  
that island; and that the dutchy of Milan should  
be conferred on FRANCIS SPORZA, after the  
French were driven out of it.

Naples  
Sicily and  
held of the  
Pope.

1525. In pursuance of this treaty, the Pope's forces hav-  
Battle of ing joined the Imperialists, they attacked King  
Pavia. FRANCIS in his trenches before the city of Pavia,  
The King which he had besieged, and the French being en-  
of France tely defeated, their King was taken prisoner, and  
taken pri- soon after sent to Spain. This battle was fought  
soner. on Friday the twenty-fourth of February 1526, be-  
ing St. MATTHIAS's day, and the Emperor's  
birth-day.

1526. Whilst King FRANCIS remained a prisoner at  
Madrid, a treaty of peace was concluded between  
him and the Emperor, by which the French King  
renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Flan-  
ders, Milan, Genoa and Aste. He promised also  
to restore the dutchy of Burgundy to the Emperor,  
to marry the Emperor's sister, ELEANOR QUEEN  
dowager of Portugal, and to pardon CHARLES  
Duke of Bourbon, who had deserted the French  
service, and was at this time General of the imperial  
army. Upon the conclusion of this treaty the French  
King was set at liberty, but left his two sons, FRAN-  
CIS the Dauphin and HENRY his younger brother,  
hostages for the performance of the articles.

The Em- The Emperor afterwards deprived FRANCIS  
peror seizes SPORZA of the dutchy of Milan, and took posses-  
Milan. sion of it himself, under pretence that the Duke  
held correspondence with France; whereupon the  
Pope changed hands, and entered into a confederacy  
with France, England and the Venetians against  
the Emperor. But CHARLES Duke of Bourbon,  
the imperial General, taking the field before the  
confederates had assembled their troops, invested  
the city of Rome, where he was killed by a mus-  
ket-shot from the walls; notwithstanding which  
the Imperialists took the town by storm, and laid  
siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither the Pope  
and Cardinals had retired. The Emperor being at  
Valladolid in Spain when this news was brought  
him, declared that Rome had been besieged with-  
out his knowledge, and ordered a fast to be pro-  
claimed and prayers put up for the safety of his Ho-  
liness, which was looked upon as a piece of grimace  
by the rest of the Princes of Europe: however,  
matters were soon after accommodated between his  
Imperial Majesty and his Holiness. The Floren-  
tines, who mortally hated the Pope, took this op-  
portunity of expelling the family of MEDICIS, to  
which the Pope was nearly related.

1527. In the mean time the French having assem-  
bled a fine army, joined their confederates, and

CH A P. marched through Italy, laying siege to Naples; but  
XVIII. the plague wasting their army, and ANDREW  
DORIA their Admiral, who was a Genoese noble-  
man, deserting their service, they were forced to  
raise the siege of Naples, and most of the French  
army perished before they reached their own coun-  
try. The Genoese at the same time, by DORIA's  
assistance, expelled the French faction, and declared  
themselves a free state, and have ever since looked  
upon the family of DORIA as their deliverers.

1528.

The following year a peace was concluded be-  
tween the Emperor and France, wherein it was a-  
greed, that the French Princes should be released  
on their father's paying his Imperial Majesty two  
millions of gold: that Burgundy was confirmed to  
the French; who on the other hand renounced all  
superiority or homage in respect to the Spanish Low  
Countries. The Portuguese also agreed to advance  
the Emperor 350,000 ducats, on condition the  
Spaniards should not trade to the Molucca islands  
in the East-Indies, where the fine spices grow, till  
that sum was repaid.

1529.

The Emperor after this went over to Italy, and  
was crowned by the Pope at Bologna, the ceremony  
being performed with the utmost splendor and mag-  
nificence. His Generals, of whom PHILIBERT  
Prince of Orange was the chief, about the same  
time besieged the city of Florence, and took it;  
whereby the Florentines lost their liberties, and  
were compelled to accept ALEXANDER DE ME-  
DICIS for their Duke and Sovereign. From Italy  
the Emperor went to Germany, and held a Diet at  
Augsburg, the principal design whereof was to de-  
press the Lutheran interest; but those of that per-  
suasion presented their confession of faith in writ-  
ing to the Diet, said to be composed by PHILIP  
MELANCTHON, which from the place where it was  
drawn up, afterwards obtained the name of THE  
AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

1530.

Florence  
taken by  
the Empe-  
ror.

The next year the Emperor procured his brother  
FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria and King  
of Hungary and Bohemia, to be elected King of  
the Romans; and the Turks threatening to invade  
Hungary, the Emperor thought fit to grant liberty  
of conscience to the Protestants, who joining their  
forces with the Catholics, formed a numerous well  
disciplined army, which obliged the infidels to re-  
tire from the confines of Christendom.

1531.

The two or three following years nothing re-  
markable happened, unless a conference between  
the Pope and the Emperor at Bologna, in order  
to extirpate heresy; and an expedition of the Em-  
peror's to the coast of Barbary, where he restored  
the deposed King MULEASSE to the crown of Tu-  
nis. From Africa the Emperor went to Naples  
and Rome, and being highly provoked at the con-  
duct of FRANCIS the French King, who had in-  
vaded Italy in his absence, he sent him a challenge,  
which was not accepted. He afterwards passed  
the Alps, and laid siege to Marcellis, but was ob-  
liged to return to Italy without taking the town.

1535.

1536.

From Italy the Emperor went to Spain, where  
nothing remarkable happened, unless the death of  
the Empress, till the year 1540, when there being  
a rebellion at Ghent in Flanders, the Emperor ven-  
tured to pass thro' France, the territories of his old  
enemy King FRANCIS, to suppress it; in which,  
the writers of those times observe, he run a very  
great hazard, it having been debated in the privy  
council of that kingdom, whether they should not  
make him prisoner, and oblige him at least to re-  
store to France, what he had extorted from King  
FRANCIS when he was prisoner at Madrid; but  
it

1540.



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XVIII.The order  
of the Je-  
suits initi-  
tuted.1541.  
The Em-  
peror pro-  
poses an  
accommo-  
dation be-  
tween the  
Papists and  
Prote-  
stants.

it seems it was carried in the negative. The same year the order of the Jesuits was first confirmed by Pope PAUL, having been instituted by IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a native of Biscay, who was a soldier, and wounded in the late wars of Navarre, before he erected this new sect.

The Emperor having pacified the tumultuous Flemings, went to Germany, with an intent, as it is said, to endeavour an accommodation between the Papists and Protestants, for which end conferences were held between the most celebrated Doctors on both sides, but to very little purpose. The Emperor afterwards had a conference with the Pope at Luca, on the subject of holding a general council to determine the disputes that were arisen about religion; which being deferred for some years, the Emperor in the mean time undertook an expedition against the Moors of Barbary, in which he was very unsuccessful, most of his fleet being dispersed or wrecked upon that coast, after which he returned to Spain.

1542. Such swarms of locusts came over from the coasts of Africa to Italy and Spain this year, as intercepted the light of the sun where they came, and destroyed the fruits of the earth.

1543. The French King and the Turk entering into a confederacy against the Emperor, and BARBAROSSA, the Turkish Admiral, ravaging the coast of Naples, while the French attacked Milan, his Imperial Majesty went thither to defend that part of his territories, and entering into an alliance with the King of England, (who made a diversion on the side of Picardy, took Bologn, and sent out parties to the very gates of Paris) the French King found himself under a necessity of accepting the peace that was offered him by the Emperor; the principal articles whereof were, that all places should be restored that had been taken since the last truce, and that both Princes should unite their forces against Turks and Hereticks.

1545. Council of Trent opened. The year following the council of Trent was opened, and great endeavours were used to induce the Protestants to submit to the decisions of that council; but the Protestants insisted that this was to refer their differences to their enemies, and thought it reasonable that their Divines should be admitted to offer their arguments, and defend their doctrines. A Diet thereupon was held at Ratibon, and conferences set on foot between the protestant and popish divines, which tended only to render the breach still wider, it was observed; and both sides not long after had recourse to arms, where- in the Protestants had the disadvantage at first, being defeated in a pitched battle, and their General the Duke of Saxony made prisoner.

1546. and conferences set on foot between the protestant and popish divines, which tended only to render the breach still wider, it was observed; and both sides not long after had recourse to arms, where- in the Protestants had the disadvantage at first, being defeated in a pitched battle, and their General the Duke of Saxony made prisoner.

1547. The council of Trent breaking up without determining any thing in relation to the matters in dispute between Papists and Protestants, a book was published by the Diet of Augsborg, allowing the marriage of priests, the communion in both kinds, and some other concessions by the Catholics, which was called the Interim, being to remain in force till the council should meet again and determine these matters. The Pope the same year published a bull, declaring that the descendants of Jews, Hereticks, or Moors, should be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment in Spain.

1550. Another war broke out between the Protestants and Papists in the year 1550, in which the Protestants had the advantage, and reduced the Emperor to very great straits.

The Protestants distress the Emperor. The council of Trent being opened again in the year 1551, the Protestants were admitted to send

some Divines thither, where they presented a book to the council filed, The Wittenburg Confession: but while their opinions were under debate, news was brought to Trent, that MAURICE Duke of Saxony had possessed himself of Augsborg, and was near surprizing the Emperor at Inspruck; whereupon the council broke up in great confusion, and the Emperor, in order to pacify the protestant Princes of Germany, thought fit to release the Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, whom he had made prisoners at the beginning of the war, and made several important concessions in their favour. This treaty obtained the name of the treaty of Passau.

In the year 1554, MARY Queen of England having restored the popish religion in that kingdom, which disgusted many of her subjects, in order to support her self on the throne, say the Spanish historians, married Prince PHILIP, the Emperor's eldest son, to whom his father resigned the kingdom of Naples and dutchy of Milan, on that occasion, and the marriage was solemnized at Winchester on the 25th of July 1554.

The Emperor the following year thought fit to resign all his Spanish dominions to his Son PHILIP, and the Empire to his brother FERDINAND; after which he took leave of his Flemish subjects, and went by sea to Spain, retiring into the monastery of St. JUST, of the order of St. JEROM, in the territory of Placentia, where he died two years after. Some ascribe this to his contempt of the world, and an excess of piety, which prompted him to devote the remainder of his life to divine contemplation; while others relate, that his ill success in the Protestant war, wherein he was perpetually defeated, and losing the towns of Metz, Toul and Verdun in Lorrain to the young French King, which he endeavoured in vain to recover, so soured his spirits, that it occasioned his retiring from the world in discontent. There are other writers who affirm, that this Prince in his latter days was in reality a Protestant in his heart, which induced him to grant such advantageous conditions to those of that communion at Passau. PUFFENDORF adds, that his will was so far from pleasing the Inquisition, that it was in danger of being burnt as heretical; and that his Confessor, and the rest of the Monks of the convent who were present at the executing it, were severely dealt with by that court.

The dividing the Spanish territories from the Empire on the abdication of CHARLES V, proved of fatal consequence to Spain: From that time, it is observed, that monarchy begun to decline. Nor was this unforeseen by the late Emperor, who endeavoured to persuade his brother FERDINAND to relinquish his expectations as King of the Romans to his son PHILIP; but FERDINAND would never be brought to approve that scheme. What gave the principal shock to the Spanish monarchy, however, was the insurrection that followed in the Netherlands, which might easily have been suppressed in the beginning, if PHILIP would have given himself the trouble of going thither in person, and not sent the Duke of Alva thither, whose rigid government and severities reduced that people to the utmost despair, especially when they understood that the inquisition had condemned the Catholics as well as the Protestants who had not opposed the malecontents, and endeavoured to prevent the defacing their churches and images. The introducing Spanish customs and Spanish troops into the Netherlands, had a great stroke also

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1552.

Treaty of  
Passau.1554.  
Philip  
Prince of  
Spain mar-  
ries Mary  
Queen of  
England.1555.  
The Em-  
peror re-  
signs  
Spain to  
his son  
Philip,  
and the  
Empire  
to his bro-  
ther Fer-  
dinand.  
Dies two  
years af-  
ter.Spain and  
the Em-  
pire im-  
politically  
divided.



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XVIII.

in alienating the affections of the Flemings, who on King PHILIP's entering into a war with ELIZABETH Queen of England, found themselves so effectually supported by that Princess, that they were enabled to bid defiance to the haughty Spaniard. This provoked King PHILIP to equip that mighty fleet, to which he gave the name of the Invincible Armada, in order to make an entire conquest of England, which if he could have effected, his dissatisfied subjects of the Low Countries must have submitted of course. This fleet of the Spaniards, which had been several years in getting ready for this expedition, it is said, consisted of a hundred and fifty sail of men of war, carrying sixteen hundred brass guns, and above a thousand of iron; eight thousand seamen, and twenty thousand land-forces of veteran troops, besides noble volunteers and their servants, which were very numerous: they were armed also with the Pope's authority, who had excommunicated Queen ELIZABETH, and transferred her dominions to King PHILIP. This glorious fleet set sail for England in the year 1558, but never reached those shores; for first a storm, and then the English fleet, handled them so rudely, that they returned home miserably shattered, having lost so many gentlemen of the first quality, that it is said, not a noble family in Spain, but mourned for one relation or other. King PHILIP's courage and temper are much admired however on this occasion; who when he received advice of the destruction of his fleet, calmly answered, I did not send them to fight with winds and seas. And as one misfortune usually follows another, the English not long after defeated another fleet of the Spaniards near Cadiz, and having taken the city, plundered it of an immense treasure before they left it.

The Holy  
League.

Another project King PHILIP formed for enlarging his dominions, was the fomenting an insurrection in France, where the malecontents assumed to themselves the title of the Holy league. PHILIP proposed to have excluded the family of Bourbon, under pretence of their being heretically inclined, and to have annexed that fine kingdom to the crown of Spain; in which also he was countenanced by the Pope, and some other Catholick powers, as well as in his enterprize upon England: but HENRY IV broke all his measures by declaring himself a Catholick; and while the Duke of Parma left Flanders to march to the assistance of the League in France, the discontented Flemings had an opportunity of establishing themselves. HENRY IV, to retaliate the injuries he had received from the Spaniards during the civil wars, after he had reduced most part of the kingdom to his obedience, attacked the Spanish cities which PHILIP was possessed of in the Netherlands, particularly Cambray, which he took in the year 1594; but a peace was at length concluded between the two crowns at Vervins.

Wars with  
the Turks,  
&c.

PHILIP also, for great part of his reign, was engaged in wars with the Infidels. They had taken Tripoli, after it had been forty years in possession of the Spaniards: to revenge which, PHILIP assembled a fleet and army, which were defeated by the Turks, with a very great slaughter of the Christians, anno 1560. On the other hand, the Turks having laid siege to Malta, were compelled to raise it by the Spaniards, anno 1566. And in the year 1571, the united fleets of Spain, Venice, and other Italian powers, commanded by Don JOHN of Austria, obtained that memorable victory over the Turks near Lepanto,

Victory of  
Lepanto.

which quite broke their naval strength. But the loss of the island of Rhodes is at the same time ascribed to the sluggish indolence of the Spaniards, who neglected to reinforce their troops in that island.

King PHILIP in the year 1573, having resolved to attempt the retaking of Tunis, Don JOHN of Austria, his natural brother, was pitched upon to command in that expedition; and had so good success, that he took the town, and ordered several works to be added to the fortifications, in order to maintain that conquest; but the year following, the Moors laying siege to it before the works were perfected, made themselves masters of it, together with Galetta, and the whole kingdom of Tunis, to the irreparable loss of the Spaniards. About the same time there happened an insurrection by the Moors of Grenada, occasioned by the cruelties of the Inquisition. These people being continually reinforced by the Infidels from Africk, were not suppressed under three years time, and that with a great deal of difficulty, by Don JOHN of Austria. The Arragonians also had recourse to arms in defence of their privileges, which were invaded in the person of ANTONIO PEREZ, one of the King's Ministers, who being a native of Arragon, and prosecuted illegally in Castile, fled to his native country for protection.

And as nothing can tend to illustrate the Spanish history during the reign of PHILIP II, more than the account Dr. GEDDES has published of those two great men, Don JOHN of Austria, and ANTONIO PEREZ, I shall give an abstract of it before I proceed further.

Don JOHN of Austria was the natural son of the Emperor CHARLES V. He was happy in a beautiful person, and an elevated genius, improved by a good education. He endeavoured by heroic achievements, says my author, to wipe off the stain of his illegitimate birth, and had the happiness to insinuate himself into the affections of his brother King PHILIP, after their father's death. When the Moors of Grenada had baffled several of the King's Generals, his Majesty pitched upon his brother Don JOHN, who was then but two and twenty years of age, to put an end to that war; and he was so fortunate to reduce them in a very little time. This success induced the King to make him Generalissimo of the confederate fleet against the Turks in the year 1571, when he gained that decisive victory at Lepanto, that rendered his name famous throughout Christendom, and began to inspire him with ambitious views; inasmuch that when he afterwards made a conquest of Tunis, he did not scruple to discover his passion to be Sovereign of that kingdom; and notwithstanding he received positive orders from court to demolish that city, and withdraw his forces, he proceeded to augment the fortifications; at the same time dispatching an envoy to the Pope, to influence his brother so far as to make him King of Tunis. The Pope complied with Don JOHN, and used all his interest with the court of Spain to get him declared King of Tunis; but King PHILIP, who did not like this aspiring temper in his brother Don JOHN, let his Holiness know that the thing was not feasible: whereupon the project was laid aside. The King suspecting Soto his brother's Secretary had cherished, if not infused these ambitious thoughts into him, prefer'd Soto to another post, under colour of advancing him; and JOHN DE ESCOBEDO, a person that

CHAP.  
XVIII.Don John  
of Austria,  
an abstract  
of his  
history.



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King PHILIP thought he could rely upon, was made Secretary to Don JOHN in his room. But ESCOVEDO soon became more obsequious to his new master than SOTO had been, and promoted those very projects, which he was placed about that ambitious young Prince to oppose; particularly he put him upon applying to the Pope to prevail with his brother King PHILIP to invade England, of which kingdom he had procured a promise from his Holiness to make him King, when it should be conquered: and this project ESCOVEDO came from Flanders to promote, in conjunction with the Pope's Nuntio there, which gave King PHILIP abundance of perplexity; but at length, under pretence that his affairs in the Netherlands were at that time in such confusion, that a descent upon England was impracticable, he persuaded his brother and the Nuntio to lay aside the thoughts of that enterprise.

Soon after this the Court of Spain discovered that Don JOHN, who was at that time Governor of Flanders, had, in the name of his Catholic Majesty, entered into an alliance with the Duke of Guise, the head of the Holy League in France, for the extirpation of heresy in both kingdoms; which was so bold a step to undertake without acquainting his Sovereign with it, that King PHILIP apprehended ESCOVEDO would in time put his young hero upon assuming an authority equal, if not superior, to that of his own, unless he found some means to remove him from Don JOHN's Councils. Accordingly he laid his commands upon ANTONIO PEREZ his Secretary to procure ESCOVEDO to be assassinated, as he was soon after in the streets of Madrid by some bravo's or cut-throats, whom PEREZ employed. Nor did Don JOHN his master survive him many months, supposed also to be poisoned by the directions of the Court; though others relate, that the disappointment of his ambitious projects brought on the distemper which carried him off the stage. And notwithstanding all the artifices used by ANTONIO PEREZ, to avoid his being suspected of the murder of ESCOVEDO, as his going to his country-house at the time the fact was committed, and the like; yet it was no sooner done, but every body believed the Secretary PEREZ to have been the author of it, not upon a political account indeed, but for his having thwarted him in his amours with the Princess of Eboli.

The Arragonians lose their privileges by protecting Antonio Perez.

The King notwithstanding he had commanded ANTONIO PEREZ to procure ESCOVEDO to be taken off, in the manner above related, as an offender whom he durst not prosecute in the Courts of law, and had promised him his protection, yet to remove the odium of that action from himself, he suffered ANTONIO to be prosecuted and condemned for it, believing that it would be in vain for the Minister to charge his Sovereign with having authorized the fact, because he had seized his papers, and there was no living witness of his having given those commands. But ANTONIO PEREZ having secured some papers in a friend's hands, that plainly shewed he received his authority from his Majesty, found means to escape into Arragon, of which province he was a native, and referred his case to the sovereign Court of that kingdom; from which, if he was acquitted, there lay no appeal but to the Cortes, or Assembly of the States of Arragon. The King having founded the Arragonese Judges, and finding they were inclined to acquit the prisoner, ordered him to be taken out of their hands,

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and committed to the prison of the Inquisition for heresy and witchcraft, which he had charged him with. This the Arragonians looked upon as such a flagrant breach of their privileges, that they had recourse to arms, took ANTONIO PEREZ by force out of the prison of the Inquisition, and stood upon their defence. The King hereupon declared them rebels; and having assembled an army of veteran troops, sent them under the command of Don ALONSO DE VARGAS to invade the kingdom of Arragon; but the malecontents dispersing, and submitting themselves upon the approach of the King's army, there happened no action; the gates of the capital city were set open to the General, the Chief Justice and some of those who had been the forwardest to assert their liberties were hanged up, or otherwise executed, and Arragon from that time looked upon as a conquered province: the Cortes indeed here, and in Castile, continued to be assembled as anciently, to give a sanction to the King's edicts; but there are not many instances where they have had the courage to oppose the Court since, in any thing that has been demanded of them. It is only to amuse the people with a shadow of their ancient constitution, and to take off the odium from the Court, when their concurrence is required to any oppressive edicts. As for ANTONIO PEREZ, he had escaped into France from Arragon two or three days before the King's forces arrived there, and afterwards visited England and some other foreign Courts; but I do not find the enemies of Spain gave him any great encouragement, or that he made any mighty discoveries of the intrigues of the Spanish Court, though he and his father had been above forty years Secretaries of State in that kingdom, and had a great share in the administration there. And indeed a man that by his own confession turns assassin, to support the arbitrary views of a wicked Prince, ought deservedly to be detested by all mankind, to be prosecuted at home with all the fury this man was, and to be treated with suspicion and coldness in foreign Courts: he seems richly to have deserved the usage he complains of. But I refer the reader to Dr. GEDDES for a fuller account of this mystery of iniquity; and indeed the Doctor has laid open such a scene of state-craft in the relation he has given us of this occurrence, that I cannot but recommend it to the perusal of my countrymen.

To return to the history of Spain: We find King PHILIP caused his son Prince CHARLES to be poisoned in prison in the year 1568. What his crime was, does not appear; but it is generally said, he was engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his Sovereign and Father: though others say, that this unfortunate Prince having made love to his mother-in-law while she was single, they carried on the amour after she was married to his father; which provoked him to this severity; and the Queen herself died soon after, not without the suspicion of being poisoned.

The King marrying a fourth wife had four sons by her, of whom PHILIP, who alone survived, and afterwards succeeded him, was born in the year 1578. The same year SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal, assembling a great fleet and army, made a descent on the coast of Africa, and was defeated in a general battle by the Infidels, in which he lost his life; and leaving no issue, his uncle Cardinal HENRY was proclaimed King; and he dying in the year 1580, without children,

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Insurrection in Arragon.

K. Philip puts his son to death.

Portugal defeated and killed in Africa.



CHAP.  
XVIII.King Philip  
seizes  
Portugal,  
and be-  
comes sole  
Monarch  
of Spain.

PHILIP King of Spain seized on the kingdom of Portugal, which he claimed in right of his mother ELIZABETH the Empress; and though there were many other pretenders to that crown, PHILIP being the most powerful, established himself in that kingdom; whereby all the provinces of Spain were now united under one head, and King PHILIP became master of the treasures both of the East and West-Indies.

King PHILIP having fitted out the Spanish armada, with an intent to have made a conquest of England, as has been mentioned already, ELIZABETH, Queen of England, in return of that hostile attempt, espoused the interest of Don ANTONIO, called the Bastard of Portugal, whom the Portuguese had declared their King, and sent a considerable fleet to Lisbon, in order to advance him to that throne; but the Spanish forces being too numerous in the city, that fleet returned to England without effecting any thing. Queen ELIZABETH had better success in the year 1596, when her fleet plundered Cadiz of a prodigious treasure, and burnt the galleons, which lay there bound for Mexico, as has been related already.

Cadiz  
plundered.King Philip  
dies.

King PHILIP died on the thirteenth of September 1598, after a reign of great action, having been engaged in almost perpetual wars, either in Italy, the Low-Countries, or against the Infidels, in which he exhausted an immense treasure; as he did also in his magnificent buildings, of which the palace of the Escorial was the chief. He was successful in his expedition against Portugal, but the loss of the seven United Provinces was a great blow to the Spanish monarchy; not so much for the value of those territories, as the laying the foundation of a State, which became a most implacable enemy to Spain, and rose to that greatness we see them at this day, chiefly by the spoils they acquired from the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Philip III.  
1598.A truce  
between  
Spain and  
the Low  
Countries.The ex-  
pulsion  
of the  
Moors  
from  
Spain,  
1609 and  
1610.

PHILIP III succeeded his father, and the year following was married to the Princess MARGARET, daughter of CHARLES Archduke of Austria. In this reign Philip was surprized by the Spaniards, anno 1602; and a truce for twelve years was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, anno 1609, by which the Dutch were left at liberty to trade to the East-Indies. But the most remarkable event that happened during the reign of PHILIP III, was the expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

The learned writer above-cited ascribes the banishing of this people entirely to the bigotry and zeal of the Spanish Clergy, who threatened the King with the heaviest judgments, if he did not consent to it. The Barons, whose vassals they were, and whose lands were cultivated by the Moriscoes, made the most pathetic representations to the throne to prevent its being put in execution; assuring his Majesty, that the kingdom would be absolutely ruined, if the Moriscoes, who were the only husbandmen and mechanicks in the country, were sent away. In answer to which, they received the following letter from his Majesty.

Venerable and Beloved,

The rea-  
sons given  
by the  
Court for  
the expul-  
sion of the  
Moors.

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great endeavours that have been used through a long series of years to convert the New Christians of this kingdom, and of an edict of grace having been granted to them, and of all the other means

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which have been made use of to instruct them in our holy faith; as also of the ill success of all those endeavours, not so much as one of them (as is believed) having been converted thereby. On the contrary, their obstinacy has gone on increasing daily, with an inclination to plot the disturbance of the peace of these our Kingdoms.

Now the danger and irreparable damage, which may attend our suffering these people to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some years ago, by several learned and holy men, and who exhorted me to a speedy remedy, and which, they told me, I was bound in conscience to make use of; assuring me farther, that I might, without any scruple of conscience, punish them all with death, and the loss of their estates, for the crimes whereof they were guilty, all of them being guilty of heresy and apostacy, and of divine and human treason: nevertheless, notwithstanding we might have proceeded against them with the rigour that their crimes do deserve, we continuing desirous, if it had been possible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta to be held at Valencia, to consult together, to see whether any new ways might be found out to convert them, that so we might not be obliged to banish them out of Spain. But while we were thus labouring their conversion, we received advice by several ways of their having sent deputies to Constantinople and Morocco, to invite the Turk and MULEY SELEM to come to their assistance, with an assurance of fifty thousand men being ready to join them when they landed in Spain, who were all as true Mahometans as any in Barbary, and would all sacrifice their lives and estates in their service: and to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them it would be an easy conquest, Spain having but few men in it that were fit to bear arms, and yet fewer that knew any thing of martial discipline. They have been guilty also of holding a correspondence with heretical and other Princes, who are enemies to the greatness of our monarchy, having offered to assist both the one and the other with their forces. Furthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turk's having concluded a peace with the Persian, and with some of his rebellious subjects, that so he may be at liberty to send his fleet into our seas; and that MULEY SELEM also has quitted his kingdom, and is treating with the northern hereticks about ships to transport an army of Moors into Spain, which those hereticks have promised to supply him with. Now in how great danger Spain would be if it should be invaded by these and some other enemies, I leave you to judge.

Now considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the obligations we are under to procure the conservation and security of our kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our good and faithful subjects therein, who are of all our other subjects in the greatest danger; and that the heresy and apostacy wherewith our Lord is so much offended may be extirpated, after having recommended this affair, and caused it to be recommended to God, trusting in his divine favour, in a work wherein his glory is so deeply concerned, we have resolved to banish all the Moriscoes out of this our kingdom, and that of Castile, in such a manner as you



you will be advertised of; and with which, as good and faithful subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted, on purpose to make you sensible that it is the security of your persons and affairs, and to prevent the dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great love I have for you, that move me to take this resolution, the execution whereof cannot be delayed any longer, without running the hazard of seeing Spain speedily invaded by so many enemies, and particularly the forementioned Infidels.

We do therefore earnestly charge you, to whose security and repose the effectual and speedy execution of this our purpose will redound so much, to be assistant to it, as you shall be directed by the Marquis DE CARAZENA, our Lieutenant and Captain-General of this kingdom. And this I expect from the zeal you have for God's service and mine, and your own preservation; and herein you will comply with the obligations of faithful and good Christians and subjects, and will perform the most acceptable service you can do us.

As to every thing relating to the execution of this our purpose, we do remit you to our Viceroy, who shall in my name direct you, and whose directions you shall execute.

From St. Laurence, the 11th  
of September, 1609.

This letter was on the twenty-second of the same month delivered by the Viceroy to the Barons, who having the same thoughts of the treasons mentioned in it, as they had some years before, when they called them speculations and chimaera's, were not at all satisfied with it, though the great fleet and army, that were at that time in their ports, obliged them to submit to what it ordered.

And on the same day the band for expelling all the Moriscoes of the kingdom was published by sound of trumpet, in all the publick places in the city of Valencia, and in a short time after in all the cities and towns of that kingdom.

The reasons the Doctor assigns for the Moriscoes continuing Mahometans, notwithstanding all the cruelties the Inquisition had exercised upon them for so many years, are these; 1. Their living in such numbers together, not only whole villages, but some whole towns and countries having no other inhabitants; whereby they confirmed and encouraged one another in their infidelity, and were not so easily discovered by the Inquisition, as where they were intermingled with Christians. 2. Their understanding no language but the Arabick, especially their women and children, which the Missioners sent amongst them were seldom masters of. 3. Their living so near the Moors of Barbary, with whom they held a correspondence, and might entertain hopes of regaining the sovereignty of Spain by their assistance. 4. The pride and sollicitude of the Spaniards to distinguish themselves from the Moriscoes, by calling themselves Old Christians, and the Moriscoes New Christians; and by excluding the Moriscoes from offices and employments in Church and State, by which they preserved the memory of their being descended from the Moors, which was the principal root of their persisting so obstinately in Mahometism. And lastly, The Spaniards worship-

ping images, for which the Mahometans have an insuperable aversion. There are others who ascribe their prejudices to Christianity to the cruelties exercised on them by the Inquisitors; it being impossible for people to entertain a favourable opinion of religion, which transformed its disciples into such barbarous monsters.

The substance of the band or edict for their banishment was as follows:

1. That all the Moriscoes, men, women, and children, should, within three days after the publication of it, begin their march towards the ports assigned them to embark for Barbary, where they should meet with vessels furnished with provisions to transport them. That they might take with them so much of their movable goods as they were able to carry, and lay in provisions for their voyage, besides what were laid in by the government: and whoever did not comply with this edict was to be put to death.

2. That any person might apprehend such Moriscoes as absented themselves; and if they resisted, they might be killed.

3. That if any of them should burn or destroy their houses, plantations, corn, or effects, they should suffer death; which the people of the place where it was done were empowered to execute.

5. That the sugar-works, plantations of rice, aqueducts, &c. might be preserved, six families in a hundred (to be nominated by the Barons) with their wives and children, were permitted to remain behind.

7. None shall conceal any of the Moriscoes, on pain of the galleys.

9. Such children as are under four years old are permitted to stay behind.

10. Children of six years old, where one of the parents is an Old Christian, may stay with such parent.

11. Those were also permitted to remain in Spain, who had lived amongst the Old Christians a considerable time, and had not been at the Morisco meetings for two years past, and those who could produce a certificate from the parish priest of their receiving the sacrament.

13. They were permitted to retire to any country out of the Spanish dominions provided they departed from their habitations at the time appointed.

Dated at Valencia, 22 Sept. 1609.

Most of the Moriscoes of Valencia were exported to Barbary according to this edict; but some of them retired to the mountains, and stood upon their defence: whereupon a body of regular troops were sent against them, and having defeated them with a very great slaughter, the rest were exported to Africa.

By another band or edict dated the ninth of December, 1609, the Moriscoes of Grenada, Murcia, and Seville, were in like manner banished, as those of Arragon and Catalonia were by other edicts dated the twenty-ninth of May, 1610; and those that were dispersed in the two Castiles, Estremadura, and La Mancha, were expelled by another, dated the tenth of July, 1610.

The Spaniards are not agreed as to the numbers of those that were transported at these several embarkations; some make them to be a million of souls, those who speak most moderately, compute them at six hundred thousand, who were set on shore on the coast of Africa in a starving condition.

The band or edict for the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia.

The band or edict for the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia.

The Moors of Grenada, Murcia, Arragon, Seville, and Castile banished.

Their numbers.



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condition. The King indeed gave all of them leave to sell their goods and cattle (except those of Valencia) and to carry the value of such effects away with them, provided it consisted in the produce and manufactures of Spain: but they were to take no gold, silver, or bills of exchange, with them, except travelling charges; so that this, which was at first looked upon as a great favour, became of very little benefit to them; the Moriscoes, who were obliged to dispose of their goods within a limited time, being obliged to sell them to the Christians for a trifle, while the Spaniards, on the other hand, held the merchandize and effects the Moors carried with them at an excessive price.

The damage done the kingdom by this expulsion.

My author observes, that notwithstanding this expulsion of the Moors to a barren coast, with little or nothing for them to subsist on, was one of the greatest pieces of barbarity that ever was committed; the kingdom of Spain, and the Christians who were the contrivers of it, were almost equally sufferers by this expulsion: for as the riches of a country is generally ascribed to the multitudes of people it contains, the loss of so many thousands at once, considering them only as common men, must have had a great influence upon Spain: but where the people expelled, as in this case, were the most industrious part of the nation, who alone applied themselves to manufactures and husbandry, the loss must be inconceivably great. And in fact we find that the Spaniards have been ever since the most inconsiderable and beggarly people in Europe; and that for want of manufactures of their own, they lose all the advantages that might be made of those rich empires of Mexico and Peru, of which they are Sovereigns; the wealth whereof only passes thro' their hands to the merchants of other nations. And this must have been the consequence of that barbarous act, though we should not suppose the divine providence to have interposed, and thrown them into these miserable circumstances by way of punishment for their injustice and cruelty. These are some of the genuine fruits of those merciless courts of Inquisition, which that bigotted people are taught to look upon as the great support of the purity of the Christian faith. It was but a very little time after, that the Court of Spain itself was made sensible how impolitic this proceeding had been; for in the same reign, anno 1618, the King having assembled an extraordinary Council to consider of the ruinous state of his dominions, and how it might be remedied, the Council, in the preamble to their representation on that subject, set forth, That the depopulation, and want of hands in Spain, was greater than ever had been known in the times of his predecessors; so great, that if God did not provide a remedy, the crown of Spain was hastening to it's final ruin and destruction. Nothing was more visible than that Spain *esta a quique de dar in terra*, is on the point of falling flat to the ground. It's houses were in ruins every where, without any one to rebuild them, and it's towns and villages lay like deserts.

1629.

To return to our history: The Valteline, a pass between Italy and Germany, revolting from the Grisons, the Spaniards endeavoured to make themselves masters of it on one side, as the French did on the other; which occasioned a war of many years continuance, sometimes one power getting possession of it, and sometimes the other, till at length the country was restored to it's former state.

In Germany the Spaniards taking part with the Catholick Princes against the Protestants, contributed to the defeating the Elector Palatine, and wresting the crown of Bohemia from him.

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PHILIP III died on the fifteenth of March, 1620-1, whom the Spaniards admire for his piety and virtue; while others relate that the horrors and remorse he underwent in his dying moments, on account of the cruelties he had exercised on the Moriscoes, were inexpressible.

Philip III dies.

PHILIP IV succeeded his father at sixteen years of age. It is observed, that every Minister of State in this reign, at the entrance on his office, was obliged to give in a particular of his estate. One reason whereof might be, that none should be admitted, whose circumstances might tempt them to rob the publick; and the other, that it might be known what addition they had made to their fortunes during their administration.

Philip IV. 1621.

The truce with Holland expiring, the war with the Dutch was renewed, wherein the Spaniards were great sufferers by sea and land, notwithstanding the Netherlanders were no longer supported by the English, who began to look upon them as their rivals in trade.

The war with the Dutch revived.

About the same time CHARLES Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham arrived in Spain, in order to conclude a treaty of marriage between that Prince and the Infanta the Princess MARY: but the Spanish historians relate, that the match went off on the Court of England's insisting, that the Elector Palatine's dominions in Germany should be restored to him.

1623.

The war continuing in the Low Countries, the Marquis SPINOLA, General of the Spaniards there, took Breda from the Dutch, after a brave defence.

1624.

In the year 1628, PETER HEYN, Commander of a Dutch squadron, surprized the Spanish plate fleet, wherein he took twelve millions of florins. The Dutch also made a descent in Brazil, and plundered the Portuguese settlements there, carrying off a vast booty: and though they were afterwards driven out of Brazil, they made themselves ample amends by the settlements they surprized and took in the East-Indies, which belonged to the Spaniards and Portuguese. But the history of the Spanish wars with the Dutch, as well as the French, being contained in the former part of this volume, I shall not trouble the reader with the repetition of those occurrences.

1628.

The Catalonians having been oppressed by the Prime Minister OLIVAREZ, revolted from Spain, and put themselves under the protection of France, in the year 1639, remaining subject to that crown for eleven or twelve year afterwards. The same tyrannical measures induced the Portuguese to throw off the Spanish yoke, and advance the Duke of Braganza to the throne of Portugal, who was descended from their former Kings; and to add to their misfortunes, there happened a rebellion in Naples in 1647, whereby that kingdom had infallibly been wrested out of their hands, if the French had been at leisure to support it. The kingdom of Naples for some time after the conquest of it, was governed with great moderation by the Spaniards; the taxes demanded of them were inconsiderable, and those paid under the name of a donative or free gift of the States: but they had of late years been extravagantly increased, and in a manner forced from them by insolent collectors and receivers. But none were paid

1639. The Catalonians and Portuguese revolt.

1640.

1647. Massaniello's insurrection in Naples.

paid



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paid with more reluctance than those imposed on provisions; inasmuch that when the collectors came into the markets to demand the duties laid upon fruit, herbs and fish, they frequently met with resistance, and were some of them beaten and wounded; the officers calling the guards to their assistance, several of the common people were apprehended and severely punished. At length a bold young fisherman, named THOMAS ANIELLO, (commonly called MASSANIELLO) having had his fish taken from him for refusing the tax demanded, assembled the mob about him, and standing on a table in the market place, so effectually represented the hardships and oppressions they lay under, that the multitude, one and all, cried out there was no bearing them, and that they would get the duties taken off, or die in the attempt; whereupon MASSANIELLO offered to be their leader, and first set fire to all the little offices where the collectors used to receive the excise: from thence he led the mob to the Viceroy, demanded that all the taxes should be remitted, and the charters of their privileges granted in the reigns of King FERDINAND and CHARLES V, produced and confirmed. The Viceroy endeavoured to appease the malecontents with fair words and throwing money amongst them, but all in vain; they were increased in a day or two to near an hundred thousand men, armed with such weapons as they could get, when their General took upon him to settle the price of provisions: after which he burnt or demolished the houses of the farmers of the revenue, plundered the palaces of the nobility, and brought out their richest plate and moveables, which he set on fire; commanding his followers not to apply any of it to their own use on pain of death, which he did not fail to inflict on such as transgressed his orders. No Sovereign was ever more punctually obeyed than this mulhroom of a Prince, whose authority was scarce of four days standing. The Viceroy finding it in vain to resist the torrent with the small force he had, shut himself up in one of the castles, and privately hired a body of banditti or cut-throats to murder MASSANIELLO, which being discovered, the banditti were cut in pieces, and the Viceroy's brother, who was concerned in the contrivance, dragged through the streets till he was dead; after which a butcher cut off his head, and exposed it on a pole, which put the nobility into the utmost consternation. The Archbishop however had the courage to propose a treaty between the Viceroy and MASSANIELLO; and the Viceroy consenting to remit the taxes, and produce the charters of their liberties, and to issue a general pardon for all that was past, MASSANIELLO agreed that all acts of hostility should cease, but would not lay down his arms however, till the treaty was ratified by the King of Spain. Things being thus pacified, the Viceroy, it is supposed, found means to get the usurper poisoned, for he immediately became delirious, giving out absurd and contradictory orders; whereupon the mob abandoned him, and he was killed by some of the nobility: thus his reign ended within ten days after the insurrection begun. Some say his head was only turned with his sudden advancement, and the variety of business it brought upon him, for the dispatch whereof he did not give himself time to eat or sleep. All agree he was a wonder of a man, and managed a mob to admiration, considering the meanness of his birth and education. Notwithstanding the people had lost

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their leader, they still continued in arms, and the nobility raising their vassals to oppose them, the nation was divided, and a kind of civil war ensued. The mob, to strengthen their party, invited in the French; but they were not in a condition to afford them any great assistance, only the Duke of Guise was sent to be their General. The people finding themselves disappointed of the reinforcements they expected from France, upon a general pardon being offered them returned to their duty, and abandoning the Duke of Guise, he was made prisoner by the Spaniards.

The next considerable transaction in this reign, was the peace concluded at Munster with the United Provinces, whereby King PHILIP acknowledged the sovereignty and independency of the States-General, and consented that they should enjoy the places and countries they were possessed of; particularly Boisseduc, Bergenopzoom, Maestricht, Breda, the Grave, Hulst, and all such places as they then held in Brabant or Flanders: That the States also should retain all they possessed in the East and West-Indies, Asia, Africa and America. On the other hand, it was agreed that the Spaniards might continue their trade and navigation to the East-Indies in the same manner they then did, but not extend themselves on that side. That each party, both in the East and West-Indies, should abstain from the trade and navigation of such places as belonged to the other. That the river Scheld, and the channels of the Sas and Scoyn, and other entrances into the sea thereabouts, should remain in the possession of the States, who might lay what duties they pleased on vessels passing that way, and on all goods passing through their country by the Rhine or Maese.

The Spaniards were induced to make these concessions to the Dutch by the perpetual losses they sustained from that people by sea and land, and their despair of ever reducing them under their dominion again, and that they might have their hands at liberty to prosecute the war against France and Portugal. The Dutch were also pleased to have their sovereignty and independency acknowledged by the Spaniards, and the places and countries they had acquired during the war, with the East-India trade, confirmed to them: they began to be apprehensive also of the growing power of France, which would have received a considerable addition by the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and brought a much more dangerous enemy upon their frontiers than the Spaniards were.

Spain still continued the war against France and Portugal, but was unsuccessful in both, except that from Catalonia the French were expelled, and that province was reduced under the obedience of Spain again in the years 1651 and 1652; not so much by the force of arms, as the assurances the Court of Spain gave that people of restoring their ancient rights and privileges, and granting them an indemnity for what was passed.

In the year 1654, that exquisite building called the Pantheon, in the Escorial, was finished by PHILIP IV, which had been begun by PHILIP II, whereupon the bodies of CHARLES V, and all the Princes of the Austrian family, were removed thither, and their descendants have been interred there ever since.

In the year 1655, CROMWELL the Protector of the Commonwealth of England, as he called himself, without making any declaration of war, invaded the Spanish islands in the West-Indies, particularly Hispaniola, in which attempt he did

CHAP.  
XVIII.1648.  
Peace of  
Munster.1652.  
Catalonia  
submits to  
the King  
of Spain.1654.  
The Pan-  
theon fi-  
nished.

17 R

not



Jamaica subdued by the English. 1658.

Pyrenean treaty.

1660.

Philip IV dies.

1665. Charles II's accession.

The French King's success in Flanders.

1668. Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

not succeed; but the fleet sailing afterwards to Jamaica, the English subdued that island: and in 1657, Admiral BLAKE destroyed the Spanish galleons at the Canaries, notwithstanding they lay under the protection of the forts on shore. The Protector the year following having entered into a confederacy with the French, they took Dunkirk from the Spaniards, which, in pursuance of articles, was put into the hands of the English.

Thus the Spaniards having the worst of it on every side, began to think seriously of peace, and as the French had been exhausted by almost continual wars, they were not averse to it; whereupon a treaty was set on foot between the two crowns in the Island of Pheasants, which lies in the river Bidassoa, and divides France from Spain. It was negotiated by the Prime Minister of each kingdom in person, viz. Cardinal MAZARIN on the side of France, and Don LEWIS DE HARO on the part of Spain, and was called the Pyrenean treaty, from the neighbourhood of the place to the Pyrenean mountains. The peace was concluded on the seventh of November 1659 being about a month after the conferences were opened; the principal articles whereof were, that the French King should marry the Infanta of Spain, that he should not assist the Portuguese, and that he should relinquish his pretensions to Franche Comte and Catalonia: on the other hand, Roussillon, and several towns the French had taken in the Netherlands, were yielded to that crown. The year following, on the sixth of June, the Kings of France and Spain had an interview in the Isle of Pheasants; and on the seventh, the King of Spain delivered the Infanta, MARIA-THERESA of Austria to his most Christian Majesty LEWIS XIV, the marriage being solemnized at the city of St. John de Luz on the ninth of the same month. Both the French King and the Infanta, on this occasion, renounced all right that they themselves, their heirs and successors, had or might claim to the dominions of Spain.

Spain being at peace with most of the powers of Europe, invaded Portugal, and at first met with some success; but notwithstanding PHILIP had now no other enemy to contend with, he was not able to reduce that petty kingdom under his dominion, so very low were the Spaniards sunk at this time; nor do I meet with any other transactions in the remainder of this reign, that deserve to be commemorated. PHILIP IV died on the seventh of September 1665, leaving his son CHARLES, an infant of four years of age, to succeed him.

CHARLES II being an infant, and under the tuition of his mother, the French took advantage of his minority, and of the declining state of that kingdom. He invaded the Spanish Low-Countries, notwithstanding he had with his Queen renounced all pretensions to them, and made himself master of Tournay, Lille, Douay, Oudenard, and Charleroy, threatening an entire conquest of that country; which so alarmed the English and Dutch, who were then at war, that they concluded a peace, and entered into a confederacy with Sweden, called the Triple League, for the preservation of the Spanish Low-Countries; which induced the French to make peace with Spain, anno 1668, a treaty having been set on foot at Aix la Chapelle for that end. By this peace the French restored Franche Comte to the Spaniard, but retained all the towns they had taken in the Netherlands.

While the Spaniards were thus distressed by France, they found themselves under a necessity of concluding a peace with Portugal, and renounced all their pretensions of sovereignty to that kingdom.

I meet with little remarkable in the history of Spain afterwards, till the year 1672, when the French invading the United Provinces, the Spaniards entered into a confederacy with that Republic and the Emperor, to prevent the loss of them, in which war the Spaniards were the greatest sufferers: for notwithstanding the French possessed themselves of three of the United Provinces, they were obliged to relinquish them all again within the space of two or three years; whereas the Spaniards lost their best towns in Flanders, together with Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy: and by the peace of Nimeguen, which ensued anno 1678, were obliged to yield up and relinquish to the French all their right in the county of Burgundy, and the towns of Conde, Valenciennes, Cambray, Ypres, St. Omer, Bouchain, Aire, Warwick, Warneton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Maubeuge.

The Spaniards remaining in that wretched defenceless condition already hinted at, LEWIS XIV, under pretence that their Commissioners did not do him justice in settling the limits of his late conquests in Flanders, and because his Catholick Majesty still retained the title of Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding he had yielded that province to France, invaded the province of Luxemburg, making himself master of the greatest part of it, and afterwards blocked up the capital city; whereupon the Spaniards, in hopes of being assisted by the Germans and Dutch, declared war against France in the year 1683; but as their Allies made no great haste to their assistance and they were themselves unprovided of forces, and every thing else necessary to oppose so potent an enemy, the French took from them Courtray and Dixmude the first campaign, and Luxemburg the next, when the Dutch marching to their assistance, the Grand Monarch, in his haughty stile, was pleased to grant them a truce; which say the French writers, was entirely owing to his moderation, for nothing could have prevented his making himself master of the Spanish Netherlands, if he had not voluntarily withdrawn his troops.

The French again attacked the Spanish Netherlands in the year 1688, on the King of Spain's entering into a confederacy with the Imperialists and the Dutch, to advance the Prince of Orange to the throne of England: and while the Prince was engaged in that expedition, the French fell upon the confederate forces in the plains of Fleurus or Fleury in the year 1690, and gained a compleat victory, taking six thousand of the Dutch and Flemings prisoners, and all their cannon. But King WILLIAM having successfully deposed his father King JAMES, and procured himself to be recognized King of Great Britain, prevailed with the British Parliament to come into the alliance with Spain, and the other confederated powers against France; the principal articles whereof were, That none of the Allies should make peace with LEWIS XIV, till he had restored all places to the Allies, which he had taken from them since the peace of Munster, and recognized King WILLIAM's title to Great Britain.

The French, notwithstanding this formidable confederacy against them, remained superior in the field. They took the city of Mons in the year

1672.

1678.

Peace of Nimeguen

1683.

War with France again.

Battle of Fleury. 1690.



CHAP. XVIII. year 1691, and Namur in the year 1692, and obtained a signal victory over the Allies at Steinkirk.

Battle of Steinkirk. 1692. The following year 1693, the French defeated the confederates in a general battle near Landen, and took Huy and Charleroy, as they did Palamos and Gironne in Catalonia, anno 1694.

Namur taken by the Allies. 1695. The Allies being superior to the French in Flanders in the year 1695, retook the city of Namur, but lost fourteen or fifteen thousand men before the place. The French in the mean time made themselves masters of Deynse and Dixmude, and bombarded Brussels, making that capital a heap of ruins.

A treaty was set on foot between the Allies and France in the year 1697 at Ryswick near the Hague. The French however, in order to influence their negotiations, made their utmost efforts on all sides this campaign. They laid siege to the city of Aeth in Flanders, and took it. They marched a powerful army into Catalonia, and obliged Barcelona, the capital city of Catalonia, to surrender to them. And in the Spanish West Indies, POINTI, the French Admiral, took Carthagena by storm, plundering the town, from whence he brought home twelve millions of crowns, as is reported. But at length a peace was concluded on the tenth of September, N. S. 1697, by which the French were obliged to restore Barcelona, Gironne, Roses, and the rest of the towns they had taken in Catalonia, to the Spaniards, as well as Luxemburg, Mons, Charleroy, Courtray, and all other places they had taken during this war in the Low Countries. As to the terms made with the rest of the Allies, I refer the reader to the history of the United Provinces, in the former part of this volume.

Peace of Ryswick 1697. As CHARLES the Second, King of Spain, was now in an ill state of health: and had no issue by either of his wives, it was generally expected that upon his death the war would be renewed: for the French gave out, that notwithstanding ANNE of Austria, and LEWIS the Thirteenth, King of France, on their marriage had renounced all claim and pretensions to the Spanish succession, as MARIA-THERESA of Austria, and LEWIS the Fourteenth, had done also on their marriage; yet as the Princesses married into France were elder than their sisters married into Germany, and the laws of Spain limited the succession to the eldest branch, no renunciations, how solemn soever, could extinguish their right. But the grand Monarch, however, foreseeing that the other powers of Europe would never suffer the kingdoms of France and Spain to be united under one head, proposed to WILLIAM the Third, King of England, and the States-General, to make a partition of the Spanish monarchy, between his son the Dauphin, who was descended from the Infanta MARIA-THERESA, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the Archduke CHARLES of Austria, who were descended from other female branches; and accordingly a treaty was concluded on the nineteenth of August 1698, between France, Great Britain and the States-General, whereby it was agreed,

1. That the peace of Ryswick should be confirmed.

2. That in consideration of the ill state of the King of Spain's health, and for preserving the publick peace in case the said Prince should die without issue, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spanish monarchy, situated on the coasts of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, comprehended

under the name of Santo Stephano, Porto Hercule, Orbitello, Telamone, Portolongo, Piombino, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and especially the Port Passage, and likewise all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava or Biscay, on the side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships and galleys, and other appurtenances belonging to the said galleys, should be given to the Dauphin in consideration of his right.

3. That the crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places, both within and without Europe, should descend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, of whom his father the Elector was to be guardian and administrator till he came of Age. And

4. That the duchy of Milan should be reserved and allotted to Archduke CHARLES, the Emperor's second son.

This treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of Great Britain and the States-General; and if they did not agree to it, then the proportion of the party not agreeing should remain in sequestration till things could be brought to an accommodation.

The Electoral Prince of Bavaria happening to die on the eighth of February 1699, France, Britain, and the States entered into another treaty, dated the fifteenth of March following, and called the Second Partition treaty, whereby the kingdom of Spain, and the dominions allotted to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria by the former treaty, were limited to the Archduke; both which treaties were entered into without the consent of the Emperor or Spain.

The King of Spain repented the dismembering his dominions so heinously, that he made his will, and disposed of his crown to PHILIP Duke of Anjou, second son to the Dauphin of France, and his heirs; and in default of issue of the Duke of Anjou, to the Duke of Berry, &c. remainder to the Archduke CHARLES, &c. And on the first of November, N. S. anno 1700, the King of Spain died after a lingering illness, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign; whereupon the Court of France immediately declared PHILIP Duke of Anjou King of Spain, by virtue of the late King's will, and he was proclaimed King accordingly at Madrid on the twenty-fourth of the same month of November, against which the Emperor and Pope protested; which LEWIS XIV having very little regard to, took possession of all the Spanish territories, and amongst the rest, of Milan, Naples, and the Netherlands; into the last of which the Elector of Bavaria gave him admission, being then Viceroy of the Low Countries. The English and Dutch indeed presented their memorials, requiring the French King to withdraw his troops out of the Netherlands, and allow them a sufficient barrier, but at the same time acknowledged the Duke of Anjou's title to the crown of Spain; and both King WILLIAM and the States wrote letters to King PHILIP to congratulate his accession, which were purely by way of amusement; for they were at that very time entering into an alliance with the Emperor, and making preparations to dispute his title.

In the mean time Prince EUGENE, the Imperial General, marched into Italy at the head of thirty thousand men, to dislodge the French from such part of the Spanish territories as the French had possessed themselves of on that side; on which occasion

CHAP. XVIII.

Second treaty of partition. 1699.

Charles II dies. 1700.

Philip Duke of Anjou declared King of Spain.

1701.

The Imperialists march into Italy.



CHAP.  
XVIII.Their ma-  
nifesto.

casion the Emperor published a manifesto, wherein he endeavours to shew, that the French King and his posterity were excluded from succeeding to the crown of Spain, by those memorable renunciations of the Princesses ANNE and MARIA-THERESA, the first the daughter of PHILIP III, married to LEWIS XIII, and the other the daughter of PHILIP IV, married to LEWIS XIV; and that the pretended will of CHARLES II had been obtained by unfair practices, when he was not in his senses; and if he was, that the King of Spain had no power to dispose of his territories by the laws of that kingdom. That the present Emperor was lineally descended from the Emperor CHARLES V, and was the son of FERDINAND and the Infanta MARIA, who was next in blood to the crown of Spain, after the Princesses who had renounced their claim, and by consequence had an indisputable title to the whole Spanish monarchy.

But I find the Confederates by the treaty of alliance engaged no farther in his quarrel, than that they would endeavour to conquer the Spanish Netherlands for a barrier to the States-General, and the dutchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the Spanish towns on the coast of Tuscany for the Emperor; there was not at that time any thoughts of wresting the whole Spanish monarchy from the Duke of Anjou.

And the King of England, WILLIAM the Third, is censured for engaging thus far after he had acknowledged King PHILIP's right to the Spanish monarchy, and congratulated him on his accession. To which it is answered, that King WILLIAM was provoked to take this step by the French King's proclaiming the Pretender to his throne (JAMES the Third) on the death of King JAMES the Second, which happened about the same time. But whether King WILLIAM was not treating with the Emperor before the French King proclaimed the Chevalier, I find is made a question.

To return to the Imperial army in Italy: They marched through the Venetian territories and penetrated into the dutchy of Mantua the first campaign, notwithstanding they were opposed by a very numerous army of French and Spaniards; and the winter following possessed themselves of all the towns in the Mantuan except the capital.

King WILLIAM dying on the eighth of March 1701-2, the Confederates were under apprehensions that the English would not declare war against France and Spain; but Queen ANNE who succeeded him assuring them she would make no alteration in the measures concerted, their hopes revived, and war was formally declared against France at London on the fourth of May 1702, in pursuance whereof a great body of forces were sent to the Low Countries under the command of the Earl of Marlborough to join the Allies, who obliged the French to quit Guelderland the first campaign. A fleet of men of war and transports, with ten thousand land-forces on board, under the command of the Duke of Ormond, were about the same time sent to make a descent in Spain, and endeavour to reduce the city of Cadiz; in which expedition though they did not succeed, they destroyed the Spanish galleons, and a squadron of French men of war that guarded them on their return home, in the port of Vigo.

1702.  
England  
declares  
war a-  
gainst  
France and  
Spain.  
  
Spanish  
galleons  
destroyed  
at Vigo.

The Imperialists the same campaign took Landau from the French, and the Confederate army in the Low Countries made themselves masters of Venloe, Ruremond, Stevenswaert and Liege.

The Duke of Bavaria declaring for France in the year 1703, joined the French army commanded by Marshall VILLARS, and made himself master of the city of Ratibon, where the Diet of the Empire was assembled, and afterwards of the city of Augsburg. The French army under the command of Marshall TALLARD also besieged Old Brisac upon the Rhine, and took it. He afterwards made himself master of Landau, defeating the Prince of Hesse, who was detached from the Confederate army in the Netherlands to the relief of it. The same Campaign General OPDAM was surprized by Marshall BOUFFLERS near Eckeren in Flanders, and OPDAM being cut off from his army, the rest of the Dutch Generals made their retreat with difficulty, there being a great slaughter on both sides. On the other hand the Confederates, under the Earl of Marlborough, took Bonn, Huy and Limburg from the French.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

The Emperor and the King of the Romans about this time made a resignation of the kingdom of Spain and the dominions thereto belonging to the Emperor's second son the Archduke CHARLES, who was thereupon acknowledged King of Spain by the Confederates, by the stile and title of CHARLES the Third. And the King of Portugal coming into the grand alliance, it was thought proper the new-made King should reside in Portugal, whither he was conveyed by a squadron of English men of war, after he had paid his compliments to the Queen of England at Windsor.

Archduke  
Charles  
declared  
King of  
Spain.

The same year the Duke of Savoy declaring for the Allies, Prince EUGENE detached part of the Imperial army to join him. These forces were commanded by Count STAREMBERG, who after a long march of about two hundred miles in the face of the enemy, with infinite difficulty effected his design.

The Empire being in the utmost danger from the French and Bavarians on one side, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, the Duke of Marlborough, with the flower of the Confederate army, was detached from the Netherlands to join the Imperialists on the Danube, and with their united forces they obtained that memorable victory over the French and Bavarians at Hochstet on the thirteenth of August, N. S. which preserved the Empire from destruction. The cities of Augsburg and Ulm thereupon immediately surrendered to the Imperialists, and Landau was retaken the same campaign.

1704.

Hochstet  
battle.

In the mean time an army of twelve thousand English and Dutch forces having been sent to Portugal under the command of Duke SCHOMBERG, the war with Spain commenced on that side. King CHARLES published his declaration, inviting the Spaniards to join with him against PHILIP the Usurper, as he stiled him; and the King of Portugal declared war in form against France and PHILIP. But the Spaniards were superior to the Confederates on the side of Portugal this campaign, and took several places from the Portuguese. Duke SCHOMBERG complained to the English Court that he found neither horses for mounting his cavalry, nor any warlike stores or provisions which his Portuguese Majesty had agreed to furnish. He observed also that their Generals insisted on taking place and having the command of the confederate troops, which occasioned then ill success, and therefore desired to be recalled from thence. Whereupon the Earl of Galway, a French refugee, was ordered to command the English forces in Portugal.

The war  
on the side  
of Portu-  
gal.

The



C H A P.  
XVIII.Gibraltar  
taken.Sea-fight  
near Ma-  
laga.

1705.

The Em-  
peror Leo-  
pold dies.Barcelona  
taken.Catalonia  
and Va-  
lencia de-  
clare for  
King  
Charles  
III.

1706.

The Al-  
lies take  
possession  
of Ma-  
drid.Battle of  
Ramillies.

The Confederates receiving intelligence that the city of Barcelona was disaffected to King PHILIP, the confederate fleet sailed thither with some land-forces on board, and the Prince of Hesse, with 2500 men, landed near that town; but no body appearing or making any attempt to join them, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed for Gibraltar, which place was taken by the English on the 24th of July. On the 24th of August the confederate fleet, under the command of Sir GEORGE ROOK, engaged the French fleet, commanded by the Count DE TOULOUSE near Malaga, and obliged them to retire; but wanting ammunition, the victory was not so complete as might otherwise have been expected. The Admiral had spent a great deal of ammunition in the attack of Gibraltar, and left some there for its defence, which occasioned this deficiency.

In Italy the Duke of Savoy lost Verceil and Susa this campaign, and the beginning of the next Nice and Villa Franca. A battle was fought near Casano in Italy on the 16th of August, in which abundance of men were killed on both sides, and both sung Te Deum for the victory.

The Emperor LEOPOLD died on the fifth of May 1705, and was succeeded in the Empire by his son JOSEPH King of the Romans. About the same time the confederate fleet with a body of land-forces sailed from England, and having taken King CHARLES on board at Lisbon, appeared before Barcelona on the twenty-second of August; which city surrendered to his Majesty on the fourth of October, the whole province of Catalonia following their example, except Roses. And the winter following the Earl of Peterborough, who commanded the confederate forces in this expedition, reduced the whole province of Valencia, tho' it is credibly reported his army never exceeded six thousand men, besides the undisciplined natives who declared for King CHARLES.

The French and Spaniards uniting their forces on the side of Catalonia, laid siege to Barcelona on the third of April 1706; King CHARLES defending that city in person, while the Earl of Peterborough commanded a flying army in Catalonia and Valencia, and harassed the besiegers, tho' he was not in a condition to give them battle. The town of Barcelona held out till the eighth of May following, when the Earl of Peterborough with the confederate fleet came to it's relief. Whereupon King PHILIP precipitately raised the siege, without waiting to be attacked, and leaving all his cannon, ammunition, and wounded men behind him, retired into France by the way of Rouffillon.

The confederate Generals in Portugal receiving advice of King PHILIP's retreat, advanced into Spain, and made themselves masters of the capital of Madrid. Whereupon Toledo and several other places in Castile declared for King CHARLES, as did the kingdom of Arragon at the same time. King CHARLES thought fit to march first to Saragossa, the capital of Arragon, where he is reflected on for having trifled away too much time; for King PHILIP in the mean while re-entered Spain again with his army, and being superior to the Portuguese and English, obliged them to abandon Madrid, and to retire out of Castile into Valencia.

In the Low Countries the Allies obtained a signal victory over the French and Bavarians at Ramillies. Whereupon Brussels, Louvain, Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenard, Antwerp, and most of the cities of Flanders and Brabant, desired the pro-

tection of the Duke of Marlborough, and declared for King CHARLES III. In Italy also the Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE gained a complete victory over the French, who were besieging Turin, obliged them to abandon Milan and the territories of the Duke of Savoy, and retire into France over the Alps. Thus far the Allies carried on the war with much conduct and bravery; and had they re-inforced their troops in Spain, which was now upon the point of submitting to King CHARLES the Third, they had infallibly put an end to the war the next summer. But tho' we had so vast a superiority of troops both in Flanders and Italy, none could be spared for that service; of which the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the French and Spaniards, taking an advantage, decoyed our army to an engagement on the twenty-fifth of April near Almanza, and routed them so entirely, that not one single company of foot made their retreat, being either cut in pieces or made prisoners; tho' the Portuguese horse, abandoning the English foot, run away in time with the Earl of Galway at their head, and made a shift to reach Catalonia. The conquerors thereupon satiated their revenge on the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia and the rest of Spain that had declared for the Allies, and made them curse the hour that ever they were so credulous to confide in a people that had so little regard for them: for at this very time did the confederate fleet assist the Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE in that romantick project of besieging Toulon; and at the same time fifteen or twenty thousand men were detached from the confederate army in Italy for the reduction of Naples. Whereas if the same fleet and one third of the forces which were employed in those expeditions had been made use of in supporting our friends in Spain, that kingdom had been secured beyond a possibility of losing it, and Naples would afterwards have submitted, or been a very easy conquest.

The English so lost their credit by thus abandoning the honest Spaniards to the rage of their enemies, that notwithstanding their future victories in Spain, that people could never be brought to put any confidence in them, or to take their part against King PHILIP again.

Naples submitted to the Imperialists commanded by Count THAUN without making any resistance, except the city of Gaeta, which ventured to stand upon it's defence, and was taken by storm on the 29th of September 1707 and in it the Duke of Escalona the Spanish Viceroy, and most of the nobility in King PHILIP's interest. But after an immense treasure thrown away in forming the siege of Toulon, the Allies were obliged to rise from before it without making one single breach in the walls, and shamefully retire over the Alps again. The Duke of Savoy indeed gratified his revenge in destroying the vines and olives in his march, but the Allies in general were very great sufferers by this expedition.

Admiral SHOVEL, in his return from Toulon with the confederate fleet under his command, was cast away near the land's-end of England on the twenty-second of October, with three or four other men of war, the Admiral and most of the men being lost.

The Confederates having discovered their error when it was too late, sent a re-inforcement of seven or eight thousand men from Italy to Spain by sea in the beginning of the year 1708, and gave the command of their troops in Catalonia to that experienced General Count STAREMBERG, in

C H A P.  
XVIII.Battle of  
Turin.

1707.

Battle of  
Almanza.Toulon  
besieged.Naples re-  
duced.Admiral  
Shovel cast  
away.

1708.



CHAP.  
XVIII.

conjunction with Major-General STANHOPE. However, the Court of King CHARLES being taken up with solemnizing his marriage with the Princess of Wolfenbuttle, there was little action on that side this campaign; but the confederate fleet in the Mediterranean reduced the islands of Sardinia and Minorca to the obedience of King CHARLES.

Sardinia and Minorca surrendered to the Allies.

Battle of Wynendale. Lisle taken.

Ghent and Bruges retaken by the Allies.

Tournay taken.

1709.

Battle of Malplaquet or Blaregnies.

The Allies in Portugal defeated.

Offers of peace by France.

1710. Towns taken in Flanders.

In Flanders the French surprized Ghent and Bruges, but were beaten by the Allies near Oudenard, who afterwards laid siege to Lisle. This city was defended with great obstinacy by the French, and drawn out to a very great length. The most remarkable action which happened during the siege was between Lieutenant-General WEBB, who commanded a great convoy going to Lisle, and the French General DE LA MOTHE, near Wynendale, in which the French were defeated, tho' they were three times the number of the Allies. The city of Lisle surrendered on the twenty third of October, and the castle the ninth of December following.

The confederate Generals afterwards laid siege to Ghent which surrendered on the thirtieth of December. Whereupon Bruges, and the other towns the French had made themselves masters of at the beginning of the campaign in Flanders, submitted to King CHARLES again.

The French made some offers of peace the following winter, but the negotiations being broken off, the Confederates laid siege to Tournay on the twenty-seventh of June, which surrendered on the thirtieth of July, and the castle the third of September following. And on the eleventh of the same month was fought that memorable battle of Malplaquet or Blaregnies, the armies being upwards of an hundred thousand men of a side, all veteran troops. The Allies were commanded by Prince EUGENE and the Duke of Marlborough, and obtained the victory, but with infinite slaughter of their troops; the French, who were commanded by the Marshals VILLARS and BOUFFLERS, being intrenched up to the teeth in the woods of Sart and Janfart. Mons was afterwards besieged and taken by the Allies.

On the side of Portugal King PHILIP's forces obtained a victory over the Allies, and took one entire brigade of the English prisoners. But in Catalonia the Confederates being superior in the field, besieged and took the city of Balaguer. And the Imperialists in Italy entering the Ecclesiastical State, and seizing Comachio, obliged the Pope to acknowledge King CHARLES Sovereign of the Spanish dominions.

The following winter the French being distressed by famine, as well as the arms of the Allies, offered to recognize CHARLES the Third for King of Spain, and withdraw their forces out of that kingdom and the territories thereto belonging, to yield up Strasburg, Brisac, &c. to the Emperor, to demolish Dunkirk, relinquish Lisle, and all other places the Allies had taken in the Netherlands, and in short to do every thing the Confederates demanded of them but assist with their own forces in driving King PHILIP out of Spain; and towards this they offered to contribute a sum of money. These were the best terms that ever were offered the Allies by France during the war, and had never been rejected if some people had not occasioned the negotiations to be broke off upon private views.

The campaign of 1710 was favourable to the Allies in Flanders, where they took the towns of

Mortagne, Douay, Bethune, Aire and St. Venant: And in Catalonia King PHILIP's horse received a defeat on the twenty-seventh of July near Almenara. On the 20th of August a general battle was fought between King CHARLES and King PHILIP near Saragossa, in which the victory fell to King CHARLES, who entered Saragossa in triumph the same evening; and having staid there a few days to refresh his troops, marched to Madrid, of which he took possession again the twenty-first of September. From hence he dispatched a Courier to the confederate Generals in Portugal to join him, but the Portuguese would not be persuaded to march thither a second time. Whereupon King PHILIP being reinforced by the troops of France, and returning towards Madrid, King CHARLES marched back with a thousand horse into Catalonia, leaving the confederate army to follow him: but General STANHOPE unhappily separating from Count STAREMBERG in their return to Arragon, was surprized in the town of Brihuega by King PHILIP's army, and made prisoner, with most of the British troops. King PHILIP afterwards attacked Count STAREMBERG at Villa Viciosa, but was repulsed, and that General continued his march to Catalonia, tho' he was forced to abandon all the places in Arragon to the enemy, not having forces sufficient to garison them. The French also took the town of Gironne in Catalonia soon after; and this put an end to the unfortunate campaign of 1710, which the Allies begun with all the glory and success imaginable.

The French finding all proposals of peace that had been made by them rejected by the Dutch and the Duke of Marlborough in Holland, applied themselves directly to the Queen of England this winter; who observing nothing unreasonable in their demands began to listen to them, especially when she saw that the whole weight of the war lay upon her own subjects. Both the Imperialists and the Dutch had long refused to furnish their quota's of men or money towards the war, which they had been often put in mind of to no purpose. They had found out the way of making some leading men in the British ministry easy, who took care that the deficiencies of the Allies should be made good at the expence of their own nation; and as long as Britain was thus made the dupe, and conquered countries for the Allies at her own cost, it was not to be expected they should ever be weary of the war. It is no wonder therefore when the Queen was made sensible how much her people had been abused by their impositions, and began to entertain pacifick thoughts, that these people, with such of the British ministry as were in their pay or gainers by the continuance of the war, should raise that mighty clamour we find they did, and prevailed with her, contrary to her own judgment, to continue the war till another campaign, in which the Duke of Marlborough only entered the French lines and took the little town of Bouchain.

In the mean time the Emperor JOSEPH died on the 20th of April 1711, and CHARLES III King of Spain, having some assurance of being elected in his brother's room, was convoyed by the British fleet from Barcelona to Italy, and while he was at Milan received advice of his being chosen Emperor on the 12th of October. Whereupon he applied himself to all the Confederates to prevent their entering into negotiations of peace with the French. The Queen of Great Britain, however, proceeded

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Battle of Saragossa.

The English surprized at Brihuega.

Battle of Villa Viciosa.

Offers of peace made to the Queen of Great Britain.

1711.

The Emperor JOSEPH dies, and CHARLES King of Spain is elected Emperor.



C. H. A. P.  
XVIII.C. H. A. P.  
XVIII.Cessation  
of Arms  
between  
Britain  
and  
France.  
1712.The Allies  
defeated  
at Denain.

to appoint Utrecht for the place of treaty, whither she invited all the powers in the confederacy to send their Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries; and the conferences were accordingly opened on the 29th of January 1711-12; but the ministers of the Allies laid so many obstacles in the way, that very little progress was made that winter. The Queen of Great Britain was so indulgent to them, that she consented her General the Duke of Ormond should take the field the next campaign, and assist in the siege of Quesnoy; but finding at length they were not to be moved from their determination of continuing the war, she ordered her Plenipotentiaries to let them know that she had agreed to a cessation of arms with the French, and ordered the Duke of Ormond, with the British troops, to separate himself from the confederate army. The Generals of the Allies hereupon, imagining themselves still a match for the French, proceeded to besiege Landrecy; but while they lay before this place, the Earl of Albemarle being encamped with thirteen battalions and thirty squadrons at Denain, to secure the communication of their grand army (which had invested Landrecy) with Marchiennes, where their principal magazine was, Marshal VILLARS fell upon him, and having entirely routed that body, took the Earl prisoner, with vast quantities of ammunition and provisions; and about a week after he made himself master of Marchiennes, with all their stores of war. The French afterwards retook Douay, Quesnoy, Bouchain, &c. Whereupon the Dutch, finding the Confederates were in no condition to resist the French after the English forces were withdrawn, thought fit to come into the plan of peace that had been agreed to by the Queen of Great Britain. But before the conclusion of the general peace, a treaty of barrier was signed on the 30th of January 1712-13, by which it was agreed that the Dutch should garison the following towns and forts in the Netherlands; viz. Furnes, Fort Knock, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, Namur, the castle of Ghent, the forts Le Perle, Philip and Damme, and fort St. Donat; the fortifications of which places, with the garisons therein, to be maintained by the revenues arising from such places and the countries about them. A treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia, Majorca and Ivica by the Imperialists was concluded also on the 13th of March following, and another for the neutrality of Italy.

1713.  
Treaty of  
peace be-  
tween the  
Allies and  
France.

On the 31st of March, O. S. and the 11th of April, N. S. 1713, the respective treaties of peace between Great Britain, Prussia, Portugal, the States-General and Savoy on the one part, and the French King on the other, were executed at Utrecht. And on the 6th of March, N. S. 1713-14, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Emperor and France at Rastadt. For the particulars of all which treaties, I refer the reader to the beginning of this volume.

The Catalans refusing the terms of peace which the Queen of Great Britain had procured for them, formed an independent state, and took possession of Barcelona on the Germans evacuating that province (viz. on the ninth of July 1713) and held it till the latter end of the year 1714; when the Duke of Berwick investing it with an army of French and Spanish troops, they surrendered on condition of having their lives spared and the city saved from plunder, after they had held out a siege of two months, and seen their town almost demolished by the bombs.

Treaty be-  
tween G.  
Britain  
and Spain.

By the treaty of peace between Great Britain

and Spain, King PHILIP for himself, his heirs and successors, yielded to the crown of Great Britain the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortifications and forts thereto belonging, without any communication by land with the country round about; saving the liberty to purchase, for ready money in the neighbouring territories of Spain, provisions and other necessaries for the use of the garison, and for the inhabitants and ships that might lie in the harbour. And in like manner his Catholick Majesty yielded and confirmed to the crown of Great Britain the island of Minorca, with Port Mahon and all other places upon it; the Roman Catholics to have the free exercise of their religion in both.

By the treaty between Spain and Savoy, the island of Sicily was yielded and confirmed to the King of Sicily. As to the island of Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, Milan, and the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy and the Netherlands, these were left in the possession of the Emperor, as Spain and the Spanish dominions in America were in the hands of King PHILIP, without stipulating anything concerning them; each party seeming determined to revive his pretensions to such of the Spanish territories as were in the possession of the other, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer.

The Queen of Spain died on the fourteenth of February, N. S. 1714 by whom the King had four sons, viz. LEWIS PHILIP, Prince of Spain, born the 25th of August 1707; Don PHILIP, infante of Spain, who died within a few days after his birth; the infante Don PHILIP, born the 7th of June 1712; and the infante Don FERDINAND, born the 23d of September 1713. The Queen their mother was the daughter of AMADEUS Duke of Savoy (now King of Sardinia) and ANNE-MARY of Valois, daughter to PHILIP Duke of Orleans and HENRIETTA, daughter of CHARLES I. King of England.

The Queen of Spain had not been dead many weeks before the King made proposals of marriage to the Lady ELIZABETH, heirs to the Duke of Parma, to whom he was married by proxy on the 16th of September, 1714. This Lady, in default of male issue of the present Duke, will not only inherit Parma, but the duchies of Placentia, Busseto, and the Val de Toro, bounded by the duchy of Milan on the north, by the duchy of Modena on the south, and by the Apennine mountains, which separate it from the territories of Genoa, towards the west. And in default of male issue of the present Grand Duke of Tuscany, she also lays claim to that duchy. All which territories will form a noble state, and if the Spaniards were possessed of it, might give them an opportunity of recovering Naples, and the rest of the Italian territories, which were dismembered from Spain by the treaty of Utrecht. And with this view, it is said, the King of Spain married the Princess of Parma; and the Italian Princes also are supposed to have promoted it, because thereby they might introduce another power to balance that of the Emperor, who would otherwise have them all at his command, and perhaps in time make Italy a province of the Empire.

To return to Spain: The Imperialists not having evacuated Majorca, on pretence that the Spaniards had broke the treaty made for the evacuation of Catalonia, particularly in imprisoning and oppressing the Catalans, contrary to their engagements, the French and Spaniards embarked four-

Queen of  
Spain's  
death and  
issue.1714.  
The King  
marries  
the Prin-  
cess of Par-  
ma, heir-  
ess of  
Tuscany,  
&c.1715.  
Majorca  
reduced by  
K. Philip.



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XVIII.

teen or fifteen thousand men on the tenth of June at Barcelona, and making a descent on the island of Majorca four or five days afterwards, they summoned the Imperial Governor, the Marquis de Rubi, to surrender; who agreed, according to his orders from the Imperial Court, to evacuate the island, on condition the natives should be well used, and the Imperial troops transported to Naples; whereby King PHILIP became possessed of all the Spanish provinces and islands, except Minorca and Gibraltar which had been yielded to Britain by the peace of Utrecht.

The  
Turks con-  
quer the  
Morea.

The Turks this year invaded the Morea, which was so ill defended by the Venetians, that they made an entire conquest of it in one campaign.

1716.

This unexpected success of the Turks induced the Imperialists to enter into an alliance with the Venetians for their mutual defence; and a war soon after commencing between the Imperialists and the Porte, this encouraged the King of Spain, it is said, to make preparations for recovering the provinces belonging to Spain in Italy, which the Emperor was possessed of. There are some that go so far as to say, that his Catholick Majesty and the Grand Signior were engaged in a confederacy to attack the Emperor at the same time; but no such treaty appearing, every one is at liberty to judge as he pleases. Certain it is that the Emperor and Great Britain entered into an alliance this year for the defence of their respective territories, as apprehensive that some of them would suddenly be attacked. The Emperor seemed to be in pain for his Italian dominions in case of a rupture with the Turks; and the Court of England suspected, that the King of Spain might be in the interest of the Pretender.

Don Car-  
los born.

In the mean time the Queen of Spain was delivered of a Prince on the twentieth of January, 1715-16, afterwards called DON CARLOS, which increased her Majesty's influence on the councils of Spain, that was thought too great already.

1717.  
King of  
Spain re-  
duces Sar-  
dinia.

The Spaniards were taken up this year in increasing their navy, augmenting and disciplining their troops, and fortifying Barcelona, and other strong towns on the side of France. They confiscated also the estates of all such noblemen and gentlemen as were retired into the Emperor's territories: from whence it was easy to discern, that a rupture was not far off. Accordingly we find, that the summer following, the forces of King PHILIP, to the number of ten or twelve thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, made a descent on the island of Sardinia, which had been yielded to the Emperor by the peace of Utrecht; and having besieged and taken the capital city of Cagliari, the rest of the island submitted to them.

The King of Spain endeavoured to justify this act of hostility by the Emperor's infractions of the treaties for the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca. He says the Imperialists, instead of delivering up Barcelona to his Troops, put the rebel Catalans in possession of it, and did not withdraw their forces from Majorca till long after the time agreed on: that injurious declarations had been published against the King at Vienna, and that the Inquisitor-general of Spain had been seized in the territories of Milan.

To this the Imperialists answered, That it was not in their power to deliver up Barcelona, that being possessed by the Catalans at the time of the treaty; and the evacuation of Majorca was only deferred in order to procure satisfaction to the Ca-

talans, who had been treated in a barbarous manner, contrary to what had been stipulated on their behalf at the treaty of Utrecht; and that as to the seizing the Inquisitor of Spain in the Milanese, that was done after the war commenced, and he could expect nothing less on his coming into his Imperial Majesty's territories without a pass.

Which of the parties were most in the right, I shall not take upon me to determine; but the Spaniards, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Ministers of France, Great Britain, and the States-General, to forbear any further acts of hostility, invaded Sicily the year following, and made himself master of the capital city of Palermo, and the best part of the island, which had been yielded to the Duke of Savoy by the treaty of Utrecht. Whereupon the powers above-mentioned having entered into a treaty, commonly called the Quadruple Alliance, in order to compel the Spaniard to relinquish his late conquests, the Emperor sent a numerous army into Italy, and the King of Great Britain a squadron of men of war into the Mediterranean; whereby King PHILIP was obliged to quit both Sicily and Sardinia and submit to the terms prescribed by the treaty last-mentioned; whereby Sicily was given to the Emperor and Sardinia to the King of Sicily; King PHILIP was obliged to renounce all his right to the Spanish territories in the Emperor's possession; and the Emperor, on the contrary, acknowledged King PHILIP's Title to Spain and the Indies; and as to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, it was agreed, that DON CARLOS, the Queen of Spain's eldest son, should inherit them on the death of the present possessors, provided that no forces should be admitted into those duchies for the security of the said succession but Swiss, or other neutral troops, to be paid by the contracting Powers. As to the particulars of this war, I refer the reader to the history of Germany, the history of Italy, and the history of France, in the former part of this volume. I shall only add a word or two in relation to Cardinal ALBERONI, then Prime Minister of Spain, who is charged with having been the author of all this mischief.

When the Princess of Parma was married to the King of Spain, she brought this Italian Priest, her favourite, to that kingdom with her, who soon found means to displace such Ministers as refused to be influenced by him, and introduced his own creatures in their room; and what rendered him exceeding popular among the Spaniards, was his representing to them how easy it would be for them to recover the Italian provinces, which had been dismembered from that monarchy by the treaty of Utrecht. He seems to have laid this scheme soon after the death of LEWIS LE GRAND, which happened in the year 1715, when France was plunged into such inextricable difficulties, on account of her immense debts contracted by the late war, that she could not be supposed in a condition to oppose the measures he had projected; nay, he seems to have had a view of bringing the kingdom of France itself under the dominion of King PHILIP, if LEWIS the Fifteenth, who was then an infant, and in a very bad state of health, had happened to die; and was actually forming a party in France for that end, which became very numerous; and in the mean time he prevailed with King PHILIP to take the title of Regent of France in opposition to the Duke of Orleans. He saw also the Emperor engaged with the Turk, and consequently not in a condition to defend his Italian

CHAP.  
XVIII.1718.  
The Spaniards invade Sicily.The Quad-  
ruple Al-  
liance.

The Spaniards obliged to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia, and accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

Some account of Cardinal Alberoni's conduct, said to be the author of the war.



CHAP.  
XVIII.CHAP.  
XVIII.

lian dominions; and as to Britain, he seems to depend pretty much upon the malecontents making such a diversion there, that they would not be at liberty to interpose in the quarrel. Whether he really expected that the British malecontents would be supported by Sweden, and Muscovy, as that court affected to give out, is uncertain; I have not yet seen any foundation for those surmises: But as to the Dutch, as well as English, he might well suppose they would not be forward to enter into a war with Spain, on account of the advantages they had in point of trade, while they remained in peace with that kingdom.

In this situation of affairs, ALBERONI, for whom the court of Spain procured a Cardinal's cap, applied himself to augment the royal navy, as well as their land forces, and was so successful in that attempt, that, to the surprize of all Europe, we saw them on a sudden masters of a very formidable fleet and army, with which they invaded and conquered Sardinia, before any of the neighbouring Powers had an opportunity of interposing to prevent it. But contrary to the Cardinal's expectations, the Duke of Orleans having so modelled the French army, as to secure that vast militia in his interest, and thereby prevented King PHILIP's party in that kingdom from shewing their heads; the English malecontents also being suppressed and unsupported by any of the northern Powers, and the Imperialists having gained two signal victories over the Turks, and compelled them to accept of peace, and at the same time all these formidable Powers entered into a confederacy against him; I say, the scene being thus altered, all the Cardinal's hopeful projects fell to the ground, and King PHILIP was compelled to sacrifice his Minister, in order to obtain a peace of the confederated Powers on terms by no means acceptable to that court. I should have remembered, that Cardinal ALBERONI, as a last effort in order to distress the British Ministry, invited the Pretender into Spain, where he paid him the honours due to a Crowned Head in the year 1719; but the Chevalier returned to Italy again within a few months, in order to consummate his marriage with the Princess SOBIESKI, having done the court of Spain very little service by that voyage. The Cardinal also made a feeble attempt upon Scotland, whither he sent a detachment of three hundred Spaniards to join the malecontents there; but they were all taken prisoners soon after they landed. And thus the Cardinal's projects being defeated on every side, he was banished to Italy, where the court of Rome seemed to frown on him for a time, no less than that of Spain, in complaisance to the victorious Emperor, whose displeasure they dreaded, having shewn some partiality to the Spaniards during the Sicilian war.

Cardinal  
Alberoni  
banished.K. Philip's  
2d son dies.Another  
born.1720.  
Congress  
of Cam-  
bray.The  
Spaniards  
expedition  
to Africa.

On the 29th of December this year died Don PHILIP, the King of Spain's second son, aged seven years and six months: to balance which loss the Queen was delivered of another Prince on the 15th of March following, baptized also by the name of PHILIP.

In the year 1720, the Powers engaged in the late war agreed to send their Plenipotentiaries to Cambray, to accommodate the differences that still remained undecided between the Spaniards and Imperialists, and between the Spaniards and the King of Sardinia; at which congress the British and French Ministers were to act the part of mediators.

In the mean time the Spaniards made a descent  
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on the coast of Africa near Ceuta, under pretence of driving the Moors from thence, and enlarging their territories on that side; but the principal design seems to be to keep up a body of troops, and induce the court of Rome to continue the grant of the tenths of the Clergy to K. PHILIP, which this war with the Infidels gave him a pretence to. For we find the Spaniards only intrenched themselves at a little distance from Ceuta, where they three times repulsed the Infidels; and these actions were magnified as mighty victories, tho' they never afterwards endeavoured to penetrate into the country, but gave out, that their enemies were too well disciplined and too numerous, to attempt any thing more with so small a force; and thereupon returned to Spain in the year 1721, after they had made some additional fortifications to Ceuta.

This year a contract of marriage was made between his most Christian Majesty LEWIS XV. and the Infanta of Spain, an infant of four years of age; and another between LEWIS Prince of the Asturias, and Mademoiselle DE MONTPENSIER, fourth daughter to the Duke of Orleans; the two Princesses being exchanged on the frontiers of both kingdoms by Commissioners nominated for that purpose. A third marriage was contracted the following year between Don CARLOS, eldest son of King PHILIP, by his present Queen, and Mademoiselle DE BEAUJOLLOIS, another of the Duke of Orleans's daughters; but the first and the last marriages were never consummated, and of the other between the Prince of the Asturias and Mademoiselle DE MONTPENSIER, there was no issue.

The court of Rome expressed great uneasiness at this time on the disposition that had been made of the reversion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia by the Quadruple Alliance, which they alledged were fiefs of the Holy See, and not of the Empire: and expecting that settlement would be confirmed by the congress at Cambray, his Holiness ordered a protest to be made on that subject: wherein he says, "Can Christian Princes flatter themselves with the hopes of concluding a lasting peace, when the depriving the Holy See and the Vicar of Christ of their undeniable rights is made the foundation of it? Can they promise themselves long to enjoy what they violently seize, against all manner of justice, and invade the indisputable right of an uninterrupted possession, which has been acknowledged for several ages by all the nations of Europe?" Then his Minister protests, That no body hath or had a right to settle or dispose of the duchies of Parma or Placentia, to the prejudice of the sovereignty and rights of the Roman church; and consequently, that all treaties, conventions, agreements and dispositions, with their confirmations and ratifications, already made or to be made, either at Cambray or Ratisbon, or in any other congress whatever, concerning the investiture, infeoffment or concession of the said duchies, are and will be for ever null and void, and disowns and rejects the same in the most authentick manner.

As Spain is almost every where incumbered with high mountains, and in spring and autumn there falls from them such deluges of water as are fatal to some great town or other every year, their cities being usually built on the banks of rivers at the foot of the mountains, the relation of a flood that swept away some of the principal Grandes of the Court of Spain, may not be impertinent in this place.

1721.  
Marriages  
between  
France and  
Spain.

1722.

1723.  
The Pope  
protests a-  
gainst the  
disposing  
of Parma,  
&c. to  
Don Car-  
los.A deluge  
at Madrid.



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XVIII.

It seems the Duke and Dutchess of Miranda had an assembly every night at their house in Madrid, consisting of persons of the first quality, to which all the foreign Ministers at that court usually resorted. The house where the assembly was held stood low, having a large garden behind it upon a rising ground; beyond the garden there was an eminence still higher. The assembly being met on the fifth of September, (which as it happened was much thinner than usual) a violent storm of thunder and lightning began about nine in the evening, at which the Dutchess of Miranda being frightened, left the company, and went into the chapel to prayers, which was three rooms from the assembly, but upon the same ground-floor. About ten a-clock, a torrent of water came tumbling down from the rising grounds, which broke down the town-wall, and afterwards that of the garden which was near it, and in an instant burst open the window-shutters of the ground-apartment, overturned all the tables and lights, and filled the rooms with water. The Dutchess of Miranda and her maids were immediately drowned. The men ran out into the courtyard before the house, which they found covered with water: and Prince Pio endeavouring to save himself in the street, was carried away by the torrent, and his body found the day after two leagues from Madrid. Don TIBERIO CARAFFA got upon the top of a coach, which overturning by the force of the stream, was thrown against another, by which he received a blow on his head, and was immediately drowned. The Prince of Cellamere placed himself upon another coach, which likewise overturned, but he had the good fortune to get upon the wheel, where he remained till assistance came; but he was grievously bruised, and had swallowed a great quantity of water and sand. The Duke of Liria, son to the Duke of Berwick, was in great danger; but being very tall, and observing by a flash of lightning a window over his head, he jumped up, and caught hold of the iron-bars before it, by which he held till the people in the upper apartment let down cords and drew him up. The Venetian Ambassador, not being able to get out of the assembly-room, where the water was ten foot high, supported himself two hours upon two chairs, which swam till the water abated, so that he could get out of the door. The Pope's Nuncio and the Duke of Atri had left the company two hours before the accident happened. Most of the rest of the Quality were saved, but in such a fright that they scarce knew how: and the relation does not inform us what became of the servants and inferior people, who did not probably fare much better than their Lords.

Ostend  
Company  
established.

This year the King granted a patent for establishing an East-India company at Ostend; which the British, French and Dutch Ministers protested against to no purpose. Nor did this project seem acceptable to Spain at this time, though afterwards that court came into it, and made it still more beneficial to the Flemings.

On the second of December, N. S. died PHILIP Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, of an apopleckick fit at Versailles; which occasioned great alterations in the courts both of France and Spain. About the same time the Imperial, French and Spanish Courts agreed upon the act of investiture of DON CARLOS into the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, the delay whereof had prevented the opening the congress of Cambray to this time. The King of Spain seems to have waited with

some impatience for this event, which was no sooner accomplished, but he took a resolution of resigning his crown to his eldest son LEWIS Prince of Asturias; which he did by the following act of renunciation.

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‘ Having these four years considered maturely and with due reflection the miseries of this life, through the infirmities, wars and troubles, with which God has been pleased to visit me during the twenty-three years of my reign; and having likewise considered, that my eldest son Don LEWIS, sworn Prince of Spain, is of sufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities for ruling and governing justly and happily this monarchy, I have determined absolutely to quit the possession and administration of it, renouncing the same with all its dominions, kingdoms, and lordships, in favour of the said Prince Don LEWIS my eldest son, and to retire with the Queen, in whom I have found a ready disposition and voluntary inclination to accompany me to this palace and seat of St. Ildefonso, here to serve God disengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to seek my salvation.

K. Philip  
abdicates  
the Span-  
ish  
throne.

‘ This I communicate to the Council for their information, to be notified to the proper persons, that my resolution may be made known to all.”

Dated at St. Ildefonso the  
15th of January, 1724.

A circular letter was likewise sent by his Majesty's direction to the persons whom before his renunciation he thought fit to establish in the chief offices of the court and government. That letter is as follows:

‘ The King having resolved to retire, and to withdraw himself absolutely from the government of this monarchy, by renouncing the crown, with all its dominions, kingdoms and lordships, in favour of his eldest son Don LEWIS, sworn Prince of Spain; his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, that his will is you continue to serve the said Prince in the employment you now possess.”

GRIMALDO.

The Council of Castile hereupon declared, that King LEWIS might immediately take the government upon him without assembling the Cortes, having been already sworn and acknowledged Prince of Spain.

On the twenty-sixth of January, N. S. the congress at Cambray was opened, when the Ministers of Great Britain and France were admitted Mediators between the Emperor and Spain. But very little business was transacted at this congress; the Plenipotentiaries seemed to employ their time in visiting one another, or other matters of ceremony.

1724.  
Congress  
of Cam-  
bray open-  
ed.

In the mean time LEWIS King of Spain, who was advanced to the throne of that kingdom on the 16th of Jan. last, by the resignation of his father, died of the small pox on the 30th of August, N. S. 1724, being just entered into the 18th year of his age: whereupon the Council of Castile petitioned King PHILIP to re-assume the government, to which, after having consulted an assembly of Divines, he returned the following answer in writing:

‘ I have seriously considered every thing that the Council does represent to me in this supplication, as well as in the former dated the fourth instant. Although I was firmly determined never to leave my retirement upon any account whatsoever,

K. Lewis  
dies, and  
K. Philip  
re-as-  
sumes the  
govern-  
ment.



CHAP.  
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foever, yet willing to condescend to the earnest instances made to me by the Council in these two supplications, to resume and take upon me the charge of the government of this monarchy, as it's natural Sovereign and proprietor, and yielding to their farther representing to me, that I am bound in justice and conscience to do it; I have resolved, out of the great value and esteem I have for the advice of the Council, and in consideration of the zeal and constant affection, which is so conspicuous in the members of it, to sacrifice myself to the general welfare of this monarchy, and the greater advantage of the subjects thereof; the more still, considering the obligation which the council finds I am under as their natural Prince and Sovereign: reserving however to myself, a power to leave the government of this monarchy to the Prince my eldest son, when he comes to due age and capacity, provided always there be not at that time too great inconveniences that may hinder it. I agree likewise to the calling as soon as possible the Cortes, to recognize the infant Don FERDINAND as Prince.

1725.

King PHILIP having resumed the government, applied himself more than ever to affairs of state; made an estimate of the debts of the nation, which appeared to be much less than those of any of the other Powers engaged in the late war. Spain had suffered pretty much by the ravages of the soldiers, it is true, in that war, but had not mortgaged her revenues for ages to come, as some other States had done. This Prince proceeded to make an estimate of the charges of his government, in order to apply the several branches of the revenue to their respective expences in such a manner, that the money raised for one service, should not be diverted to another: and the troops, which were ordered to be paid monthly, at that time are said to consist of twelve battalions of guards, eighty-eight battalions of foot, four troops of life-guards, twenty regiments of horse, and ten of dragoons; and orders were given for building of ships in the several harbours of Spain, and re-establishing their navy. But they had the misfortune to lose that accomplished General the Marquis de Lede this year, who had established his fame by those three expeditions to Sardinia, Sicily and Africa, in which he commanded in chief. But King PHILIP met with another misfortune this year, which was a much greater trial of his patience, as well as the Queen's; for the present administration in France, apprehending they should be all in confusion again, if their young King, whose health was very precarious, should happen to die without issue, they determined to send back the Infanta, to whom he had been contracted about three years, and find another Princess for him that was capable of having children, for the Infanta was not at this time above seven years of age; to excuse which proceeding, a letter was sent to the court of Spain, in the name of LEWIS XV, importing, that his most Christian Majesty was under the greatest concern upon his separation from the Infanta, but that a King being born for his subjects rather than himself, he could not refuse yielding to the strong solicitations of all his States, to marry some Princess by whom he might have issue, and thereby prevent the troubles and revolutions which might happen in the kingdom, if he should die before the Infanta was marriageable.

The King and Queen of Spain, notwithstanding

ing these apologies, were provoked to the last degree, and not only sent back Mademoiselle DE BEAUJOLLOIS, daughter to the late Duke of Orleans, who had been contracted to Don CARLOS, with the Dowager Queen of Spain her sister, but immediately broke off the treaty of Cambray, and entered into a confederacy with the Emperor, which was afterwards called the Vienna Alliance; whereby they confirmed the Quadruple Alliance, and the reciprocal renunciations of each party to the Spanish territories in the possession of the other. The Emperor also confirmed the eventual investiture of Tuscany and Parma to Don CARLOS. They guaranteed each other's dominions reciprocally; and the Spaniards engaged to allow greater advantages in trade to the Imperialists than to any other nation, particularly to their Ostend company. Whereupon the French insinuated, that there were still some further secret articles much more prejudicial to the trade of Britain than those that appeared; whereby they prevailed with the British Ministry to enter into an alliance with them, commonly called, the Hanover Alliance, in opposition to that of Vienna. This conduct of Britain in adhering to the French, after they had given so mortal an affront to the court of Spain, so provoked the Spaniards, that they seemed determined never to be reconciled to us; whether we are at war or peace, our merchants are equally sufferers.

The Vienna Alliance.

The Hanover Alliance.

By the Hanover treaty, the contracting parties guaranteed each other's dominions, and particularly their respective rights and privileges in relation to trade; which article strikes chiefly at the Ostend company. And it was further agreed, that if any of the parties should be attacked or disturbed in their trade, that then the other contracting power should furnish the following succours, viz. France eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Britain eight thousand foot and four thousand horse; as to Prussia, I do not mention that Prince's share, tho' he was a party, because he afterwards entered into a treaty with the Emperor in opposition to this. On the contrary, the Dutch were afterwards induced to accede to the treaty of Hanover, in order to put a stop to the trade of the Austrian Netherlands to the East-Indies.

The French King having separated or divorced himself from the Infanta of Spain, in the manner above related, immediately made his addresses to the Princess MARY LEZINSKI, daughter of King STANISLAUS, and was married to her by his proxy, the young Duke of Orleans, at Strasbourg, on the 15th of August, 1725; and afterwards in person at Fontainebleau on the 5th of September following.

The French King marries the daughter of King Stanislaus

About this time the Allies of Hanover were alarmed, or pretended to be so, at the intimate correspondence between the Courts of Spain and Russia; and some Russian ships sailing to Cadiz with the merchandize of their own country, the Dutch gave out they would put a stop to this commerce, as well as to that of Ostend with the East-Indies. These LORDS OF THE OCEAN, as they called themselves, pretended to monopolize the trade of the Baltick no less than that of the Indian Seas, and prohibit the nations of the north carrying abroad their own product and manufactures: in which piece of insolence they seemed to expect that Britain should support them.

In the mean time the Duke de Ripperda prime Minister of Spain, (a native of the United Provinces)

Marquis de Lede dies.

The French send back the Infanta.



CHAP.  
XVIII.

vinces) who is supposed to have been the contriver of the Vienna alliance, fell into disgrace for discovering the secrets of the Spanish Court (as was furnished) to the Ministers of Britain and Holland; and what gave a colour to this suggestion, was, Riperda's being carried by the Minister of the States-General at Madrid to the house of Mr. STANHOPE the British Minister there, where he endeavoured to take refuge, and thereby screen himself from the resentment of King PHILIP; though his pretence for retiring thither, was, to avoid the insolence of the mob. The Spanish Court however took the Duke de Riperda by force out of Mr. STANHOPE's house, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Segovia; which produced several memorials and representations to the Court of Spain, Mr. STANHOPE insisting that it was a violation of the privileges of Ambassadors. The Spanish Court maintained, on the other hand, that no Ambassador could protect a criminal against his Prince: and retorted upon Mr. STANHOPE, the hostilities (as they styled them) that were committed by the British squadrons, one of which, under the command of Sir JOHN JENNINGS, had alarmed the coast of Spain, and the other blocked up their galleons in the harbour of Porto-Bello in America.

About the same time the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Wharton, and the rest of the disaffected British nobility, resorted to the Spanish Court, expecting there would be a sudden rupture between the two kingdoms: and a messenger from the Court of England delivering a letter from King GEORGE under the privy seal to the Duke of Wharton, as he was passing through the streets of Madrid in his coach, requiring that nobleman to return to England, on pain of forfeiture of his estate, the Duke threw the letter out of the coach into the street without opening it, in contempt of his British Majesty.

On the 11th of June this year, the Queen of Spain was delivered of another Princess, baptized by the name of MARIA-ANTONIA.

The Spaniards being determined to shew the utmost resentment against Britain for the many affronts they pretended to have received, ordered their troops to assemble in Andalusia, and block up Gibraltar, in December 1726. Their first design, it is said, was to raise forts and batteries at the bottom of the bay, whereby they proposed to prevent any shipping coming up to the town, and render the place useless to the English: but this being found impracticable, they invested Gibraltar, and began to besiege it in form, on the twenty-second of February following. It was expected that the French and Dutch should have furnished their quota of troops on this occasion, and have made some diversion in favour of Britain, as they had stipulated to do by the treaty of Hanover, when the territories of any of the contracting powers should happen to be attacked. But our good Allies sent us no manner of assistance either by sea or land; they left us to defend Gibraltar with our own ships and forces: nor did they furnish one ship towards the expedition to Porto-Bello, where we lost almost an entire squadron without fighting.

Either the Allies of Hanover apprehended we had no title to Gibraltar, or they were glad to see us engaged alone in the Spanish war, that they might enjoy the trade to that kingdom by themselves in the mean time; for our merchants effects in Spain were immediately seized, while

those of the French and Dutch remained untouched. The Spaniards however meeting with greater difficulties in the siege of Gibraltar than they expected, and not being able to bring home the treasure in the galleons, while the British Squadron remained at Porto-Bello, were induced to consent to a treaty of pacification, concluded at Paris on the last of May, 1727, between the Allies of Vienna, and those of Hanover, and thereupon the siege of Gibraltar was soon after raised.

By this treaty the Emperor consented that the privileges granted to the Ostend-Company, and all commerce from the Austrian Netherlands to the Indies should be suspended for seven years. That the treaties of Utrecht, the Quadruple Alliance, &c. should be in force; and if any difficulties arose concerning the interpretation of them, they should be determined by a future congress.

Particularly that the English, French, and Dutch should be restored to their rights in trade, according to what was stipulated with each of them by treaties antecedent to the year 1725.

Endeavours were to be used to pacify the troubles in the north.

And immediately after the signing of these articles, all hostilities were to cease; and with respect to Spain, within eight days after his Catholic Majesty should have received these articles.

All ships sent from Ostend to India before this time, were to be at liberty to return home with their cargoes: as were the galleons on the other side, and the English to recall their squadrons from America and the coasts of Spain.

This cessation of hostilities to last as long as the suspension of the Ostend trade, viz. for seven years; in which time the respective rights of the parties were to be discussed.

Within the space of a month after the signing these articles, it was agreed, a congress should be formed at Aix la Chapelle, where the rights and pretensions of the respective powers were to be examined.

Soon after, viz. on the tenth of June, 1727, King GEORGE, one of the principal parties concerned, died in Germany on the road to Hanover.

Still the blockade of Gibraltar was continued, the King of Spain pretending that this was no act of hostility. He also made a difficulty in restoring the ship Prince Frederick, and other effects of the South-Sea Company, so that we had scarce any trade with Spain the year following.

At length an act was signed for the explanation of the said preliminary articles, on the sixth of March, 1727-8, whereby his British Majesty agreed to send orders to his Admirals to withdraw from the seas of the Indies and Spain; and consents that the matter relating to the counterband goods relating to the ship Prince Frederick, should be debated in the future congress; and that therein it should be decided, whether the prizes taken at sea by both parties should be restored, and that his British Majesty should be bound by what should be agreed on there.

His Catholic Majesty, on the other hand, agreed to raise the blockade of Gibraltar; to restore the ship Prince Frederick and her cargo, and to restore the commerce of the English in the Indies according to the Assiento treaty, and the second and third articles of the preliminaries: To cause the effects of the flotilla to be distributed forthwith among the proprietors; and the galleons, when returned, as in times of peace. And his

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The siege  
raised.Treaty of  
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D. Whar-  
ton's con-  
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the British  
Court.1726.  
Queen of  
Spain de-  
livered of  
a daughter:  
Gibraltar  
blocked up  
by the  
Spaniards.



6H AP. Catholic Majesty also obliged himself to abide by  
XVIII. the decisions of the future congress.

Queen of Spain deli- In the mean time the Queen of Spain was de-  
vered of a son. livered of another Prince, born the twenty-fifth

Double marriage between Spain and Portugal. of July, 1727, and baptized by the name of LEWIS-ANTHONY-JAMES; and on the twenty-fifth of December following, a contract of marriage was signed between Don JOSEPH Prince of Brazil, and the Infanta Donna MARIA-ANNA-VICTORIA, (who had before been contracted to LEWIS XV, King of France;) and within less than a month afterwards, another marriage was solemnized between Don FERDINAND Prince of the Asturias, and the Infanta MARIA of Portugal; whereby the alliances between the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were cemented by the strongest ties imaginable.

Congress of Soissons. The congress, which by the preliminary articles was first agreed to be held at Aix la Chapelle, was afterwards, at the instances of the French Court, appointed to be held at Cambray; and this being apprehended too far for Cardinal FLEURY, the Prime Minister of France, to travel, he prevailed with the Plenipotentiaries to assemble at Soissons, which was also complied with, and the congress was accordingly opened there on the fourteenth of June, 1728; and that cunning Jesuit being determined to manage those negotiations in person, and yet not daring to trust his Prince in the hands of any other Ministers during his absence, prevailed with his Master to come with the Court to Compiègne, within an hour or two's driving of Soissons, between which places he was perpetually going and coming; the fatigue whereof not being very agreeable to the old man, after he had heard them wrangle about a month, and gained a sufficient ascendant of them, he made the Ministers follow him from thence to Paris, and afterwards to Fontainebleau, and in short to every place whither the Court of France removed; so exceeding forward were they to refer their differences to the decision of a French Jesuit.

1728. But nothing of consequence being resolved on at these conferences, and the English merchants murmuring, that their trade with Spain had been in a precarious condition for so many years, it was found necessary to clap up a peace with that Court on any terms almost; and to allure the Queen of Spain, who governed the councils on that side, to enter into their measures, an offer was made her of introducing a body of Spanish troops immediately into Italy, to secure the eventual succession of her son Don CARLOS to the dutchies of Tuscany and Parma; which that Princess approving of, a treaty of peace was concluded, to which the French and Dutch, as well as the English, were parties. And this obtained the name of the

Treaty of Seville. 1729. treaty of Seville, it having being concluded there by the Ministers of Great Britain and Spain. But the Emperor was highly incensed at that part of it, which concerned the introducing Spanish forces into Italy, and seemed inclined to hazard every thing rather than suffer it. The year 1729, and part of 1730, having now passed in proposing expedients to compromise this difference; and the

1730. last summer the Spaniards took up transports, in order to land a body of troops in Italy; but finding their Allies not in a readiness to support them, they thought fit to disembark their forces, dismiss their ships, and wait the success of the negotiations on this head. In the mean time, if we are rightly informed, the Spaniards in America continue to take the merchant-ships of Bri-

tain, as in a time of war, and in other respects have not behaved themselves as a nation in perfect friendship with us. I shall conclude the history of Spain with observing, that the Duke of Riparda, who was the subject of so many memorials between the Ministers of Spain and England, made his escape out of the castle of Segovia on the thirteenth of September, 1728, and has since visited most of the Courts of Europe. He was very lately in Great Britain, where it is not doubted but the ministry knew how to make a proper use of him.

I proceed in the next place to enquire how Spain has requited Great Britain for those important services: viz. the settling Don CARLOS in Italy, and the opportunity she gave the Spaniards of making those valuable conquests abovementioned, by standing neuter, while the Emperor was left singly to maintain the war against Spain, France, and Sardinia, and, in the end, compelled to part with one part of his hereditary dominions to save the rest, though his allies had guaranteed to him the enjoyment of the whole.

And it appears the Spaniards were exceeding civil to us all the while we were engaged in persuading the Emperor to admit Don CARLOS, with his Spaniards, into Italy, and conveying him thither. They promised restitution for all their depredations, and assigned commissaries to inquire into all the captures that had been made, and actually sent orders to their American governors to do us justice. Nay, it is reported, they condemned and confiscated one of their guarda costa's, towards making satisfaction to some merchants, whose ships they had plundered: but they had no sooner obtained their ends, and fixed Don CARLOS in Italy, than they renewed their hostilities, took great numbers of British ships, as well in the Mediterranean, as America; and when complaints, and undeniable proofs were made of these outrages, no restitution could be obtained, but we were put off with dilatory promises from year to year, that the facts should be enquired into, and in the mean time continued their depredations to that degree, that a British ship could not sail with any safety, to and from our American plantations without a convoy; they had also the assurance to lay claim to Port-Royal, and the south part of Carolina, in which Georgia is comprehended; and actually made preparations to drive us from thence, as well as from the bays of Campeachy and Hunduras; notwithstanding the British nation has been long in the possession of those countries, and they have been confirmed to us by several treaties.

If it be sufficient for the Spaniards, to support their claim to all Florida, and among the rest, to South Carolina, to say, they were once in possession of half a dozen places on that extensive continent; the French, by the same rule, ought to relinquish Louisiana, which lies in the heart of that country: they ought also to quit that valuable island of Hispaniola, the best plantation for sugar they have; for the Spaniards were long possessed of that whole island. But will France yield up their acquisitions on the continent, or islands, to the Spaniards, because they first discovered or possessed them? No; they will certainly insist on their possession, since the Spaniards thought fit to abandon them for better. The Spaniards, indeed, would have excluded every European nation from America at first, under pretence of their being the first discoverers; and actually made a seizure of



all ships, murdering their crews, if they presumed to appear in those seas: but it being found that the Spaniards could not plant or cultivate a fourth part of that vast continent, and that the natives were far from giving them a permission to settle there, and usurp the dominion of the country, every other European people thought themselves at liberty to traffick with that new world, and to settle colonies there by the permission of the natives, without asking leave of the Spaniards; and no power in Europe, but that of Britain, will suffer it's subjects to be insulted and plundered in that part of the world, under pretence that the Spaniards are universal monarchs of it. The Spaniards never had any settlements in Carolina, or in the bays of Campeachy or Honduras: or, if they had any, they had quitted them; and surely, it is as lawful for the English, as any other people, to plant and cultivate a country they found deserted, and void of inhabitants; and here were none, except some Indians, who made no other use of the country, than to hunt in it; and we had the consent of those Indians to settle colonies there. Let the Spaniards, who use such freedoms with the subjects of Great Britain, practise upon those of France in like manner (and the French have a much weaker title to what they possess in America than the English have) and we shall soon see whether their grand monarch will be pleased to wait the event of a negotiation of seven or eight years standing, and will not immediately make reprisals on the aggressors, where his subjects are unjustly and violently attacked and disturbed in their trade and navigation. I am apt to think the Spaniards durst not insult even the dispirited English, in the manner they have done of late, if they had not some assurance of being supported by the French. It is possible the French may unite with the Spaniards, to dispossess us of some of our plantations in America, in order to succeed us there: but can the Spaniards expect ever to enjoy their own American dominions in quiet, after they have assisted the French to drive the English from thence? would not their gold and silver mines be in a great deal of danger, if the French were as powerful in that part of the world as they are in this, and there were no British colonies there to interpose for their preservation? But if the Spaniards are so insensible of their danger from that quarter, as to unite with their and our common enemies, I hope the English will take such precautions for the security of their colonies, as to bid defiance to both nations. But to proceed in the history of Spain:

This court had raised a very formidable army, with a design of taking possession of Tuscany by force, in case the Emperor opposed their introducing garisons into the fortified towns of that duchy, in order to secure the reversion to Don CARLOS, after the death of the then Duke; and it is not improbable they had then a view of recovering Naples, and the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy; but the Emperor consenting to the admission of six thousand Spaniards into Tuscany, they had afterwards no pretence to invade the Italian provinces the Emperor was possessed of: however, they did not intirely lay aside the design of recovering Naples and Sicily, but kept up their army, and even augmented it, that they might be in a condition to invade Italy the first favourable opportunity; and, in the mean time, that their troops might not want employment,

and be unfit for action, they determined to attempt the recovery of Oran on the coast of Barbary, which the Algerines took from them in the year 1708, after the Spaniards had been near two hundred years in possession of that fortress.

To recover which, the Spaniards embarked 30,000 men on board their fleet, with a suitable quantity of warlike stores of all kinds, for a siege; and setting sail from the road of Alicante, on the 24th of June 1732, arrived on the 28th at Cape Ferro, two miles from the city of Oran, where they landed their army without opposition, but the next day were attacked by a body of 20,000 Moors. The fight was long and sharp: the main part of the Moors attack was born by the Spanish left-wing, who, after an engagement of above four hours, vigorously sustained, repulsed the Moors with great loss, and drove them from the tops of the mountains with so much haste and fear, that the alarm reaching Oran, struck such a panick terror there, that the bey, or governor, and garison, abandoned the place with the utmost precipitation, and the Spaniards entered the next day, being the first of July.

The adjacent fort of Mazalquivir, which might have held out a month had it been defended, was also surrendered to the Spaniards without firing a gun. This rapid success struck a terror into all the neighbouring towns, and even into Algiers itself; but the progress of the Spaniards was soon interrupted, partly by the violent heats of the country, which brought a great sickness and mortality among the soldiers, and partly by the want of fresh water, which is very scarce on that coast, so that they could not make any distant marches. Besides this, the Moors having recovered their fright, took heart again, and began to entertain the Spaniards with very sharp skirmishes, in which the Moors were often successful; their light horse being good soldiers, though their foot are but indifferent; and once by an ambuscade they surprised a considerable body of Spanish troops, of whom they killed 300, and among the rest the duke de St. Blais, a grandee of Spain. However, the Spaniards leaving strong garisons in Oran and Mazalquivir, under the command of the marquis of Santa Cruz, the fleet returned with the rest of their army to Spain, which the Turks and Moors had no sooner intelligence of, but they assembled their army again, and with their usual fury, attacked the forts and outworks which covered Oran, and particularly that of Santa Cruz, whither the governor sending a reinforcement, and a supply of ammunition and provisions, the Turks attacked the convoy, and an engagement ensued, in which the Spaniards lost abundance of men, but threw the intended relief into the fort. On the other hand, the Turks and Moors proceeded to open their trenches before Oran, and to besiege the town in form: whereupon the marquis of Santa Cruz, the governor, made several successful sallies, in which he levelled their works, and nailed up their cannon; but in one of them had the misfortune to be wounded and made a prisoner: however the infidels, by the frequent sallies of the garison, were at length compelled to raise the siege, and the Spaniards still remain in possession of that city, and the forts about it.

The following year, 1733, happened the long-expected death of AUGUSTUS II. King of Poland; and the Emperor espousing the interest of the



the Elector of Saxony, son of the late King, against King STANISLAUS, the Spaniards, French, and Sardinians, entered into a confederacy against his Imperial Majesty, and made this a pretence for invading his dominions in Italy and Germany, and at length drove the Imperialists entirely out of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, while the English and Dutch, who had guaranteed those territories to the Emperor, stood looking on, without affording them any assistance; and his Imperial Majesty was at length compelled to sacrifice the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to the Spaniards, to save the rest of his dominions, as has been already related in the history of Italy: but I omitted there to observe, that Spain and her allies, apprehending the Pope to be in the interest of the Imperialists, under pretence that some of the subjects of Spain and Naples had been insulted by the populace at Rome, they marched their army up to the very gates of that city, and refused to retire till they had extorted 40,000 crowns from his Holiness; and the Genoese, and Pisans, upon slighter pretences, were served much in the same manner by the insulting Spaniard.

Before the war was well ended in Italy, a difference happened between Spain and Portugal, which was very near producing another. A country farmer, who lived in a village about a mile from Madrid, and used to serve the stables of M. DE BELMONTE, the Portuguese Minister at that court, with straw and barley, having killed a man, was brought prisoner to Madrid by the officers of the village, attended by six soldiers, on Sunday the 20th of February 1734-5, being the last day of the carnival, when multitudes of people were assembled in the streets, as usual at that time: the criminal passing by the gate of M. DE BELMONTE, which was not far from one of the King's palaces, called the Buen Retiro, the servants of this minister seeing their old friend the farmer manacled, and tied upon an ass, without enquiring what was the occasion of it, rescued the prisoner, and carried him into their master's house, where he was kept two days, and then assisted by the family, to make his escape to a place of security, as the Spaniards relate. On the other hand, M. DE BELMONTE affirmed, that he was no sooner acquainted with the matter, but he turned off the servants who were concerned in it, and ordered the criminal to be put out of his house, and immediately sent word to the governor of Castile, by whose warrant the criminal was apprehended, to excuse the outrage, and let him know he had turned off the servants that were concerned in it. However, the government taking no notice of M. BELMONTE's apology, two days after sent a detachment of soldiers to his house, apprehended all his servants, and carried them to prison; of which the minister of Portugal gave the following account to all the foreign ministers residing at Madrid, viz.

"On the twenty second of February, a great number of soldiers, of those called los banquillos, headed by three officers, forced themselves into my house, with their bayonets fixed to their pieces, and seized some of my domesticks that were under the portico and upon the great stair-case: they afterwards entered my antichamber, and had already taken one of my pages, when I went myself and demanded of them, what orders they had to commit such an outrage against my house; One of them returned for answer, that they had an order

"from the King to seize all my servants in general, without any exception, but especially those wearing my livery, and to conduct them to the publick prisons; and moreover, to search every where for those of my servants that did not appear. I asked that officer if he had this order in writing; He answered me in the negative; but that his officer, who had a verbal order, had given him the same in like manner, and that they were come to execute it. I then replied, that as I had no other arms at hand than the immunity of my character, which I saw so cruelly and outrageously violated, I should take no other step than to retire, to avoid being an eye-witness of so unheard-of a proceeding. The soldiers took nineteen of my domesticks, as well of the livery as others, handcuffed them two and two, and conducted them through the most publick streets of Madrid, and in the same livery, to prison.

"This, gentlemen, is a faithful recital of that fact, so violent and unheard of before, which entirely destroys the laws of nations, and breaks thro' all that is sacred amongst the most barbarous nations, who inspired by reason and nature, preserve the immunity of publick ministers.

In answer to this manifesto, the following letter was sent by the Spanish court, to all the foreign ministers residing at Madrid, and communicated by them to their respective courts.

SIR,

"Though the extraordinary circumstances, which attended the enterprize made the twentieth instant, by the minister of Portugal and his domesticks, are so well known, that they justify the resolution the King took the twenty-second, to cause the guilty domesticks to be arrested in whatever place they could be found; yet as the same was executed in the hotel of that minister, his Majesty has commanded me to communicate to your excellency, the motives which obliged him to take that resolution, to the end, that only your excellency may be convinced of the indispensable necessity he was under, considering the temerity of that minister, to have recourse to such violent methods; but also to be assured, that the King and his ministers observe with the utmost exactness, the regards which are owing to the character of the ministers of sovereign powers, who reside at this court.

"The publick attack committed by that minister's domesticks upon the soldiers and officers of justice, who were conducting thro' the gate of Alcala a prisoner, guilty of a very atrocious murder, and the seizing and carrying off the said prisoner, out of the hands of the officers of justice, so near the palace of Buen Retiro, make it appear, that they not only assume to themselves a publick protection of criminals, to the prejudice of the authority and sovereignty of the King; but at the same time, one may see a manifest violation of the royal residence, which has been hitherto regarded as a place sacred, as well by the natives of the country as foreigners, and so worthy of respect, that the least violation committed within it's territory was worthy of death. The precaution taken to place a person at the gate of the city, to watch the arrival of the prisoner,



soner, which makes it suspected the enterprize was a premeditated design, and was the cause, without doubt, that the arrival of the said criminal was instantly known in the house of the minister, excludes all pretences, which incidents, or any other occasion, might have furnished. The manner in which the prisoner was conducted from the gate of the palace, with a view to excite a tumult by dint of cries, that deserved punishment in the midst of a concourse of so many people in a publick walk, exposed the King's sovereignty, and dishonoured his right in the publick streets. The liberty granted to the criminal, whose irons were taken off after his coming into the minister's house, and who was afterwards exposed in the windows, to the view of the spectators, makes it evidently appear, how much the authority of those was despised who caused him to be taken.

"These circumstances did not permit decency, nor the sovereign authority to dissemble, or to leave unpunished an attempt of this nature, much less, that an affair so publick should pass over without a publick satisfaction. Nevertheless, the punishment was deferred till the third day, though the guilty had not given his Majesty the least tokens of their repentance; and though it is pretended, that a letter was written to the governor of the council of Castile, which was but an indirect way to acquaint the King of the affair, it being well known, that the dangerous indisposition of the said governor, hindered him from receiving and answering letters. But if attention should be given to that letter, what fault might not that minister be accused of? He owns therein he gave liberty to the criminal, approving thereby the conduct of his domesticks; and says, that he did it immediately after he was brought to his house, and was acquainted with the affair: it is, however, well known, that the minister was then walking in his garden, that the criminal staid above thirty hours in his house, and was afterwards conducted, with much precaution, to a place of safety. He says he had turned away his footmen, and they were all found at his house; so that all he alledges for his justification, proves on the contrary his fault, forgetting thereby the respect which is owing to a monarch in his own court, and which every sovereign will maintain without the least infraction. Wherefore his Majesty persuades himself, that your excellency will easily comprehend, that the present case cannot be compared to any of those, wherein fugitives may for some time enjoy an asylum, in the houses of characterized ministers; nor to those wherein liberty, with regard to person or place, may take effect. Dated at the Pardo, Feb. 28, 1733. Signed

DON JOSEPH PATINHO.

Upon this misunderstanding between the two courts, the troops of both kingdoms were ordered to march towards the frontiers; and it happened very fortunately for the Portuguese, that the greatest part of the Spanish army was still in Italy; for had they been in Spain, they might have marched up to the gates of Lisbon, before any foreign power could have interpo-

sed to have prevented it; the fortified towns on the frontiers of Portugal being generally out of repair, and their militia in a very wretched condition.

His Portuguese Majesty, therefore, immediately dispatched Don ANTONIO D'ALVEZEDO to the court of Great Britain, to desire their assistance; whereupon sir JOHN NORRIS was commanded immediately to sail for the river of Lisbon, with a strong squadron of men of war, and arrived there on the 9th of June 1735, and was received by the Portuguese with transports of joy, they being sensible, that nothing less could have protected them from Spanish vengeance. His Portuguese Majesty, on the arrival of the fleet, ordered them a weekly allowance of an hundred oxen, four hundred sheep, four hundred geese, as many turkeys, one thousand hens, one thousand baskets of greens, fifty arroves of sweetmeats, one hundred thousand lemons and oranges, and fourscore pipes of wine. The King of Portugal was sensible, that the instruments of so signal a service, deserved at least to be well entertained: and if he was not at any other expence towards lessening the charge of the fifty thousand pounds per month, which that fleet stood the nation in; yet this is much more than ever we received from any other power in the like circumstances. When we sent over a body of troops to the assistance of the Dutch, in the beginning of Queen ANNE's war, the French being upon their frontiers, and about to penetrate into the heart of their country, as they themselves represented, we did it generously, without demanding any part of the charges. The like conduct we observed towards the Emperor and the emperie, when they were upon the brink of ruin. I do not find, that any of these good allies contributed a shilling towards the subsistence of the forces employed in their deliverance. We did all this like the charitable man in the gospel, hoping for nothing again, though we run ourselves over head and ears in debt to save them. On the contrary, when the Dutch brought over our Great Deliverer, King WILLIAM, they demanded six hundred thousand pounds for that service, and were honestly paid it. I won't pretend to say, that none of our officers or ministers ever received a gratuity, for the important services we have done our allies. It would tempt a man to think, there had been something of this kind, in the reign of Queen ANNE, or we could never have consented to have taken so unequal a share in that war, and in a manner, borne the whole burthen of it, till we had exhausted all our treasure, and run fifty millions in debt; while those who were more nearly concerned in the event of the war, did little or nothing towards the support of it. If this was the effect of suffering our ministers to become pensioners to foreign princes, surely nothing can be more destructive to a nation. Can it be expected, that ministers in pay of foreign powers, should be faithful to their country?

But one of the most notorious pieces of ingratitude this nation ever was sensible of, was that of the Queen of Spain's; who, notwithstanding we convoyed her son, Don CARLOS, to Tuscany, and gave him an opportunity of making a conquest of Italy, to the ruin of our good ally the Emperor, has ever since treated the subjects of Britain as her enemies, and openly



penly makes war upon them in every part of the world, where she apprehends her people superior to us: though it seems, we employed both our sea and land forces in introducing Don CARLOS into Italy, at our own charges, and were not furnished even with refreshments, while our fleet lay in the Spanish harbours, without paying extravagantly for them.

There are two or three expeditions to the Baltick, that ought not to be forgotten in this place, when our powerful fleets saved both the Danes and Swedes, from the ravages of the Russians, and yet neither of those powers paid any thing towards the charges their deliverers were at, or ever made any such acknowledgment for these important services, unless their receiving pensions for troops we never used, and putting us to the charge of raising them, are to be looked upon as obligations. It is no wonder we still groan under the burthen of heavy taxes, after these numerous expeditions, at our own expence, to serve our neighbours. Can we expect to run round the world perpetually in search of adventures, without being liable to the like misfortunes as our great predecessor in chivalry was subject to?

To return to Portugal. Some time before the British fleet set sail thither, Mr. KEEN, the British envoy, communicated to the court of Spain, the design of his Majesty to send a fleet thither, assuring him that the King his master had no other design in it, but to protect the trade of his subjects, and his allies; and particularly to secure the return of the Brasil fleet to Lisbon, on board of which the English nation had a very large interest.

To which the court of Spain answered, that there could be no manner of occasion for this armament: his Catholick Majesty having already accepted the mediation of his nephew, the King of France, which secured Portugal from all acts of hostility on the part of Spain. On the contrary, nothing could have been more prejudicial to the trade of Europe, than the sending the British fleet to Lisbon. For while this was doing, all hands were employed at Cadiz in fitting out the flota for New Spain. Every one knew, that the cargo she carries thither is a deposit, to which all the nations in Europe eagerly strive to contribute, and to have a share in, that they may partake of the great profits produced by the return of the capitals employed in it; and one of the greatest motives to that confidence which people have to put their fortunes in that sort of commerce, is the good understanding, which they see between the courts of Spain and Great Britain: persuaded that they have nothing to fear for their effects, but winds and tempests, and other accidents of the sea, they have the less uneasiness and reserve in giving into a trade, whose great advantages they are so well acquainted with. The advantages they draw from it have a proportionable influence over all the other branches of trade in general, and things remaining in this condition, cause a happy circulation of wealth in Spain; and among all those nations where commerce flourishes; but it is with the body politick, as it is with the human body; as soon as the circulation is stopped in any considerable part, it immediately languishes, and becomes all over distempered.

The flota from Cadiz was equipping as usual;  
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every body was preparing rich merchandize to put on board it, which they had purchased, either by bills of exchange for ready money, or upon credit: all on a sudden they hear of a naval armament making in England, to go and cover the sea all along the coast of Portugal, at this news the merchants tremble; confidence vanishes; every one thinks of securing his effects, and no man will risque his capital on board the galleons, which may be attacked either going to New Spain, or coming back: people had rather keep their goods in their warehouses, and run the risque of their perishing there; they had rather renounce the hopes of a return that would enrich them, than hazard an event that would ruin them without resource: this fear is communicative, and by a contagious emotion, a branch of trade, which is the soul of all the trade in Europe, loses its own proper vigor; and, in proportion as it languishes itself, it draws all the subordinate branches into the same condition. Let us add, that those who furnish goods to be sent to New Spain, have borrowed large sums, and employed them according to the best of their judgment; the goods are already bought, but they do not go; they cannot then make the reimbursements to which they stand engaged. Circumstances, in which the merchants have no part, reduce them to glaring bankruptcies; by their fall they occasion that of several other merchants, not only of Spain, but also of France, England, Holland, Italy, &c. who are unfortunately struck by the rebound.

And what effect will that naval force produce in the maritime provinces of Spain? With what eye will the Spaniards behold entering into those ports, which the present state of peace keeps open to the British nation, a fleet, friends, as you please to call them, but armed nevertheless with all the accoutrements and appearances of an enemy? The Spaniards will see the English ships freely enter their ports, while their own merchantmen will hardly dare venture out upon the smallest trip, for fear of some unforeseen insult. In what condition will then the maritime commerce of Spain be, and that of other nations which trade with her?

It will be said, perhaps, that the design of the fleet was to support a peace, which they would maintain between two crowns, animated against one another. To which it is easy to answer, that if the court of Great Britain acted upon that motive, nothing was less necessary than all that parade of a fleet, which is a pure loss to their nation. It is even easy to demonstrate, that that fleet does more harm than good to the pacifick negotiations.

To re-establish the harmony between the two nations, Portugal had no need of any other expedient than that of resuming the sentiments of moderation and justice: that would have satisfied such a King as PHILIP V. But the British fleet has very much changed the face of affairs: the King of Portugal finding so considerable a support, enlarges his pretensions. If he demands those reparations to be made him, which he himself owes to the majesty of a great King, who has been offended in the sight of two capital cities, where shall we be? what must we expect?—That the peace will be farther off than before; and that of a distemper which of itself seemed to point out its own cure, the fleet has made an incurable disease, whose  
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consequences will be more to be dreaded than the evil itself.

In answer to these representations, Mr. KEENE, the British minister, informed the court of Spain, that he was ordered, by the King of Great Britain, his master, to repeat the assurances already made, and declared, that the protection of the trade of his Majesty's subjects, and those of his allies, was the sole cause of sending that fleet to Lisbon; that his admiral had express orders, neither to assist or encourage the King of Portugal to attack any power whatever, or undertake any thing against them; and his Catholick Majesty might be assured, that provided the King's subjects are not molested in their trade in the East and West Indies, and in Europe, and that nothing is undertaking against the coasts and trade of Portugal, his Majesty's fleet, as long as it stays in those seas, will never give his Catholick Majesty, or his subjects, the least cause of suspicion or uneasiness.

The differences between the courts of Spain and Portugal being some time afterwards amicably adjusted, the British fleet returned to England, without committing any acts of hostility; but the Spaniards have not ceased to revenge the disappointment they met with on the British merchants from that day to this, whenever they have had an opportunity.

Such has been our situation in regard to Spain for several years, that each nation has at different times felt the effects of war, without a declaration of war published on either side.

Spanish  
war.

1739.  
Merret  
paid for  
the Isabella  
man of  
war resto-  
red to  
Spain.

A petition was presented to the house of Commons on the 5th of March 1738-9, by SOLOMON MERRET and THOMAS CLAPHAMSON in behalf of themselves and others concerned in the ship *St. Isabella*: Setting forth, that a British Squadron of ships of war, commanded by Sir GEORGE BYNG, afterwards Viscount Torrington, did in the year 1718 take several ships of war in the Mediterranean, belonging to the King of Spain, and carried them to Port Mahon, where they were condemned and put up to sale by the Agents for the Captors: And that the said ship *Isabella*, being one of them, was, after she had lain two years in the said port, purchased by the petitioners for 16000 pieces of eight; besides which, they were at a great charge in repairing the said ship, and making her fit for service: and that matters being accommodated between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1721, the said ship was brought down to Cadiz, in order to trade, or to be sold; but Monsieur PATINO, the Spanish Intendant of the marine, claimed the said ship, under pretence of an agreement between the two crowns, that all the ships of war taken from the Spaniards in the year 1718 should be restored; and that thereupon the petitioners, by the directions of one of his British Majesty's secretaries of state, abandoned the said ship, and the Spaniards took possession of her. And they further set forth, that they were sufferers by this means upwards of ten thousand pounds; and therefore prayed the house would take their case into consideration, and grant them such relief as they saw fit.

The parliament hereupon granted his Majesty 5000l. for making satisfaction to SOLOMON MERRET, and the rest of the owners of the said Spanish man of war, called the *Santa Isabella*; which had been delivered to the Spaniards pursuant to a treaty between the two crowns. It has been remarked hereupon, that this seizure of the ship

*Isabella*, under pretence of the treaty made between the two crowns in the year 1721, was very unjust; because only those ships which had not been disposed of, were to be restored by that treaty in the condition they were in. And as to those that had been disposed of, the price which the purchasers paid for them only was to be restored to the Spaniards: they had no right to the ship, therefore by the said treaty, they could have demanded only the money she was sold for; and that they ought to have demanded of the British Ministry, and not of those who purchased the ship.

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All the  
Spanish  
ships paid  
for which  
were taken  
or destroyed  
1718.

From this proceeding of the British parliament upon MERRET's petition, it appears that the Spaniards could never forget or forgive the destruction of their fleet by Admiral BYNG, on the coasts of Sicily in the year 1718; and that the British Ministry were so far convinced of their error in that enterprize, that they paid for every ship they destroyed or took, though many of them rotted in our harbours, and the captors made nothing of them; and still the Spaniards appear to have been unsatisfied; the disgrace they received there probably was one of their strongest inducements for breaking with us in the year 1739; however, I shall proceed to give an abstract of the avowed reasons both of Great Britain and Spain, for entering into this war, after the convention made between the two crowns for accommodating all their differences at the Pardo in Spain, on the 14th of January 1739, N. S. but first it will be necessary to take a view of the principal articles of that convention.

In the preamble thereof it is recited, that whereas differences had arisen of late years between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, on account of visiting, searching, and taking of vessels, the seizing of effects, the regulating of limits on the frontiers, and other grievances alledged on each side, as well in the West-Indies as elsewhere: The Kings of Great Britain and Spain had given their Plenipotentiaries full powers to adjust them, &c.

Articles of  
the con-  
vention.

1. And it was agreed, that within six weeks after signing the convention, Plenipotentiaries should meet finally to regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, as well with relation to the trade and navigation in America, and Europe, the limits of Florida and Carolina, as concerning other points, which likewise remained to be adjusted; the whole according to the treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, 1715, 1721, 1728, and 1729. including that of the *Asiento* of Negroes, and the convention of 1716, the said final treaty to be finished within eight months.

2. During the time of the treaty, all things should remain in the state they were in Florida and Carolina, without increasing the fortifications or taking any new posts.

3. It is agreed, that Spain shall pay to his Britannick Majesty the sum of 95000l. for a balance which has been admitted to be due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain; to the end that the abovementioned sum of 95000l. together with the amount of what had been acknowledged on the part of Great Britain to be due to Spain, on her demands, may be employed by his Britannick Majesty, for the satisfaction and payment of the demands of his subjects upon the crown of Spain; [the sum due to Spain was acknowledged to be 60000l. which the parliament voted: most of it said to be for a further satisfaction



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to the Spaniards for the destruction of their fleet in 1718.] provided that this reciprocal discharge shall not be pretended to extend or relate to the accounts and differences which subsist between the crown of Spain and the Asiento company; or to any private contracts between the two crowns or their subjects.

4. If the ship Woolball, or the value thereof, or any other British ships included in this valuation, have been restored or paid already by orders from Spain, such sums shall be deducted out of the 95000l. but the payment of the 95000 l. shall not be delayed on that account.

5. The Ratifications to be signed at London within six weeks or sooner.

Done at the Pardo 14 January 1739.

B. KEENE SEBASTIAN DE LA QUADRA.  
(L. S.) (L. S.)

First separate article.

That BENJAMIN KEENE, Esq; and ABRAHAM CASTRES, consul in Spain, shall be the Plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain, and DON JOSEPH DE LA QUINTANA, and DON STEPHEN JOSEPH DE ABANA on the part of Spain, in the intended definitive treaty: and the aforesaid sum of 95000 l. is stipulated to be paid at London within four months after the exchange of the ratifications.

Second separate article.

The ship Success, taken 14 April 1738, coming out of Antigua by a Spanish guarda costa, is not comprehended in this convention; but the restitution thereof is to be decided by the said Plenipotentiaries: The taking of the Santa Theresa, seized at Dublin anno 1735, is also to be referred to the said Plenipotentiaries. And it is further declared, that the 3d article of this convention does not extend to any ships or effects taken since the tenth of December 1737: or to any that may afterwards be taken. But justice shall be done therein according to former treaties.

The convention laid before the house of Peers.

This treaty of convention being read in the house of Lords, the Lord CARTERET desired to be informed if all the papers relating to the convention had been laid before the house: to which the Duke of Newcastle answered, that a declaration relating to the South-sea company had been signed by the Spanish Minister, and delivered to his British Majesty's Ministers at Madrid; a copy whereof was afterwards laid before the house, being of the following tenor.

A protest by Spain on signing the convention.

That his Catholic Majesty reserved to himself in it's full force, the right of suspending the Asiento of Negroes, in case the South-sea company did not subject herself to pay within a short term the sixty eight thousand pounds, which she confessed to be due on the duty of Negroes; and on the profits of the ship Caroline: and that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the convention may be proceeded upon, and in no other manner.

Pardo, 10 January, 1739.

Address of the Lords approving the convention.

The Lords presented an address to his Majesty hereupon, acknowledging his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects, for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment by the said convention, and procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment, and laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security, and preserving peace between the two nations.

Protest against the address.

Against presenting this address a protest was entered in the house of Lords, for the following reasons, among others.

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1. That it carried with it an approbation of the convention, and might induce his Majesty to believe it was agreeable to the sense and expectation of the nation.

3. That it did not sufficiently assert our rights, but seemed to permit the visiting and searching our ships near their coasts, which rendered our whole American trade precarious.

6. Because the reparation pretended to be made our merchants, for the losses they had sustained, was insufficient, the dark accounts of this transaction having not been fully explained, or any satisfactory reason given why our merchants demands, stated in an account signed June 14, 1738, by Mr. STERT, one of the commissaries, at 343,277 l. should be so greatly reduced.

7. Because Great Britain, as they apprehended, was to allow 60000 l. to the King of Spain, chiefly on account of the ships taken near Sicily, anno 1718, though it appeared by the instructions given to the King's commissaries, at the treaty of Seville, that the articles of the treaty of Madrid, concluded anno 1721, upon which that claim of the Spaniards was founded, had been fully executed on the part of Great Britain.

8. Because the referring the limits of Florida and Carolina to the Plenipotentiaries seemed to call in question our right to possessions, which we had long enjoyed, and which the nation had lately purchased of the proprietors under the two grants of King CHARLES II, and a part thereof called Georgia, had been erected into a colony, for the establishment and improvement whereof, considerable sums had been granted by the publick, notwithstanding which it had been stipulated by this convention, that no fortification should be encreased there for 8 months, at the expiration whereof, if a peace should not be made, it would be exposed, together with other colonies, to the violence and invasions of the Spaniards.

9. Because the British Ministers acceptance of the declaration, January 10, 1738-9, said to be agreed with reciprocal accord, had allowed the King of Spain a liberty to suspend the Asiento of Negroes, if the South-sea company did not subject herself to pay 68000 l. pretended to be owing on the duties of Negroes and profits of the ship Carolina, though that sum was never otherwise acknowledged due than as part of a plan of accommodation, wherein a much larger sum was admitted to be due to the company, whereby the King of Spain may look upon that great company as put out of his Majesty's protection, and left to the mercy of the King of Spain.

10. Because no satisfaction has been obtained by the convention for the cruelties and barbarities exercised on the British sailors, or the many insults offered to the British flag.

The commons in the mean time voted 20000 l. for establishing and improving the colony of Georgia.

They also resolved, that the sum of 60000 l. being the sum acknowledged to be due to Spain by the convention, be applied, together with the further sum of 95000 l. to be advanced by the crown of Spain, towards making satisfaction to his Majesty's injured subjects, for the damages they had sustained by the depredations of the Spaniards.

Thus it appears from the convention, that Spain was to pay at London, on or before the 24th of May, the sum of 95000 l. sterling, for a balance, which had been admitted as due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after the deduction

War with Spain resolved on.



duction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain; and as Spain neglected to make this payment on the day appointed, his Majesty resolved to make use of force, and upon the 15th of June an order was issued privately for making reprisals upon the Spaniards in the West-Indies, with which his Majesty's ship the *Shoreham* sailed from the Downs the 19th; and about the same time it is presumed the like orders were sent to Admiral HADDOCK, then lying at Gibraltar, with the squadron under his command; for about the middle of July he began to cruize off of the bay of Cadiz, for intercepting such Spanish ships as should fall in his way.

Orders for  
reprisals  
published.

These orders for reprisals were kept private till the 10th of July; but upon that day, the following general order for reprisals was published in the London Gazette, viz.

Whereas many and repeated depredations have been committed, and many unjust seizures have been made in the West-Indies and elsewhere, by Spanish guarda costas and ships acting under the commissions of the King of Spain, or his governors, contrary to the law of nations, and in violation of the treaties subsisting between the crown of Great Britain and Spain, whereby his Majesty's trading subjects have not only sustained great losses, but have also suffered in their persons by the cruelties and barbarities which have been exercised by the said Spanish guarda costas: and whereas his Majesty has caused repeated instances and representations to be made, from time to time, at the court of Spain, in order to obtain redress and satisfaction for such injurious treatment and unjust practices, and to prevent the like violences for the future: and whereas a convention for making reparation to his Majesty's subjects for their losses by the said depredations and seizures, was concluded between his Majesty and the King of Spain, on the 14th day of January last, N. S. by which convention it was stipulated, that a certain sum of money should be paid at London within a term in the said convention specified, as a balance admitted to be due on the part of Spain to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, which term did expire on the 25th of May last; and the payment of the said stipulated sum, as agreed by the above-mentioned convention, has not been made, by which means the said convention has been violated and broke on the part of the crown of Spain, and his Majesty's subjects remain without any reparation or satisfaction for their many, great, and grievous losses; his Majesty hath therefore taken this injurious proceeding of the crown of Spain into his serious consideration, and his Majesty having determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and for procuring reparation and satisfaction to his injured subjects, is pleased by and with the advice of his privy-council to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the King of Spain, so that as well his Majesty's fleet and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise by his Majesty's commissioners for executing the office of Lord high Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the King of Spain or his subjects, or others inhabiting within any the territories of the King of Spain, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his Majesty's dominions.

On the 9th of July EDWARD VERNON Esq; CHAP. an old captain in the navy, who had for several years been laid aside, was restored by his Majesty to his rank, and at once promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the blue squadron. XVIII. Design laid for intercepting the Aslogues ships. On the 17th he set out for Portsmouth, and endeavoured to sail on the 20th, but was obliged by contrary winds to come to an anchor near St. Hellen's, from whence he sailed, with nine men of war and a sloop, under his command, on the 23d early in the morning, but was obliged by contrary winds to put back. However he sailed again that afternoon, but the wind still continuing contrary, he got no farther than Portland road, where he was obliged to come to an anchor on the 27th; and could not sail from thence till the 31st in the morning. It was thought at first that he was bound directly to the West-Indies, but it afterwards appeared, that he had orders to cruize upon the coasts of Spain, in order to intercept the Aslogues ships. On the 21st of June Sir CHALONER OGLE, soon after made Rear-Admiral of the blue, set out for Portsmouth, and on the 30th he sailed from thence with three men of war under his command; but having met with contrary winds and a violent storm in the channel, by which his ships had received some damage, he was obliged to put into Plymouth, on the 13th of July, to refit, and sailed again on the 21st. These ships were likewise sent to cruize upon the Spanish coasts, with orders to make reprisals: and were seen cruising off Cape Finisterre on the 25th. Thus we find all imaginable care was taken for intercepting the Aslogues ships in their return from the West-Indies to Old Spain; but these ships having, by an advice boat sent from Old Spain, received orders to steer north about, and to get into the first Spanish port they could safely come at, in the bay of Biscay, arrived safe in the port of St. Andero on the 2d of August; and as soon as we had an account of their escape, Admiral VERNON, with six of the men of war under his command, sailed to the West-Indies, and Sir CHALONER OGLE, with the three men of war under his command, and three of those that came out with Admiral VERNON, sailed to reinforce Admiral HADDOCK before Cadiz.

The men of war under Admiral HADDOCK's command kept cruising off Cadiz, and between that and Gibraltar, they took several small ships belonging to the enemy, and on the 23d of September a rich Spanish ship called the *St. Joseph*, bound from the Caraccas to Cadiz, and belonging to the Guipuscoan company, fell into their hands.

This ship was soon after her being taken sent home, under convoy of the Chester man of war, and arrived safe at Spithead the 28th of October. She was a ship of 800 tons burthen, had 36 guns mounted, and ports for 60; but as she was deeply loaded, and found herself encompassed by our squadron, she made no resistance.

This prize was computed to be worth near 150,000*l*. they also took another rich Caracca ship of 250 tons: on the other hand, the Spaniards seized five British merchant ships in Malaga, and several more in other ports of Spain, and fitting out abundance of privateers, they soon took above a hundred prizes. For as soon as the Court of Spain understood orders were issued for making reprisals on them, they immediately gave orders for making reprisals on the subjects of Great Britain, and seizing all the ships and effects of the British subjects that were to be found in the dominions of Spain.



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In the mean time both the French and Dutch complained that the British men of war had no right to visit their ships under pretence of searching for warlike stores and other contraband goods, as there was no war declared between Great Britain and Spain; whereupon his British Majesty caused a declaration of war to be published on the 23d of October of the following tenor (viz.)

GEORGE R.

Declara-  
tion of war  
by Great  
Britain.

Whereas many unjust seizures have been made and depredations carried on for several years in the West-Indies by Spanish guarda costas and other ships acting under the commission of the King of Spain, or his Governors, contrary to treaties subsisting between us and the Crown of Spain, and to the law of nations, to the great prejudice of the lawful trade and commerce of our subjects, and great cruelties and barbarities have been exercised on the persons of divers of our subjects, whose vessels have been so seized, and the British colours have been insulted in the most ignominious manner: and whereas we have caused frequent complaints to be made to the King of Spain of these violent and unjust proceedings, but no satisfaction or redress has been given for the same, notwithstanding the many promises made and cedula's issued, signed by the said King, or by his order for that purpose: and whereas the evils abovementioned have been principally occasioned by an unwarrantable claim and pretension set up on the part of Spain, that the guarda costas and other ships authorised by the King of Spain may stop, detain and search the ships and vessels of our subjects navigating in the American seas contrary to the liberty of navigation, to which our subjects have not only an equal right with those of the King of Spain by the law of nations, but which is moreover expressly acknowledged and declared to belong to them by the most solemn treaties, and particularly by that concluded anno 1670: and whereas the said groundless claim and pretension, and the unjust practice of stopping, detaining and searching ships and vessels navigating in the seas of America is not only of the most dangerous and destructive consequence to the lawful commerce of our subjects, but also tends to interrupt and obstruct the free intercourse and correspondence between our dominions in Europe, and our colonies and plantations in America; and by means thereof to deprive us and our subjects of the benefit of those colonies and plantations, a consideration of the highest importance to us and our kingdoms, and a practice which must affect in its consequence all other princes and States in Europe, possessed of settlements in the West-Indies, or whose subjects carry on any trade thither. And whereas besides the notorious grounds of complaint abovementioned, many other infractions have been made on the part of Spain, of the several treaties and conventions subsisting between us and that crown, and particularly of that concluded anno 1667, as well by the exorbitant duties and impositions laid upon the trade and commerce of our subjects, as by the breach of ancient and established privileges, stipulated for them by the said treaties, for the redress of which grievances, the strongest instances have from time to time been made by our several Ministers residing in Spain without effect: and whereas a convention for making reparation to our subjects for the losses sustained by them on account of the unjust seizures and depredations committed by the Spaniards in America, and in order to prevent for the future all grievances and causes of complaint, and to remove

absolutely every thing which might give occasion thereto, was concluded between us and the King of Spain, on the 14th of January last, by which it was stipulated, that a certain sum of money should be paid in London, within a term therein specified, as a balance admitted to be due on the part of Spain to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, which term expired on the 25th of May last, and the payment of the said sum was not made, according to the stipulation for that purpose, by which means the convention abovementioned was manifestly violated and broken by the King of Spain, and our subjects remained without any satisfaction or reparation for the many grievous losses sustained by them, and the methods agreed upon by the said convention, in order to the obtaining future security for the trade and navigation of our subjects, are contrary to good faith frustrated and defeated; in consequence of which we found ourselves obliged, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and for procuring reparation and satisfaction for our injured subjects, to order that general reprisals should be granted against the said King of Spain, his vassals and subjects, their ships, goods and effects: And whereas the Court of Spain has been induced to colour the open violation of the convention aforesaid by reasons and pretensions void of all foundation, and published an order for the seizing the ships, goods and effects of our subjects, and caused seizures to be actually made of the goods and effects of our subjects residing in his dominions, and ordered our said subjects to depart the Spanish dominions within a short time limited, contrary to the express stipulations of treaties, even in case of war actually declared: We therefore relying on the help of Almighty God do declare war against the said King of Spain, &c.

Dated at Kensington 19 October 1739.

13 GEORGE II.

The King of Spain, in answer to the charge of depredation, breach of faith, &c. with which he had been charged by Great Britain, published a manifesto, and afterwards a declaration of war, wherein he endeavoured to retort the charge, and shew that Great Britain was the aggressor: he observes, that notwithstanding the South Sea company had refused to give him security for the sum of 68000 l. which was acknowledged to be due to him, he had given orders to Don THOMAS GERALDINO, his plenipotentiary at the British Court, to pay the whole sum of 95000 l. agreed on at the signing the convention; that as soon as the convention was ratified, he ordered his squadron to be disarmed, and sent his orders to Florida for a cessation of hostilities, and that all things should remain in their present state, as had been stipulated by the convention: whereas England had acted a contrary part, had recalled admiral HADDOCK's squadron from Port Mahon, and stationed them at Gibraltar in the middle of the Spanish coasts, and had neglected to send orders to Carolina for the cessation of hostilities, and putting a stop to the fortifications on that side: That the British King supported the transactions of the South Sea company; whereas before the convention they were regarded only as a contract made with a private person.

That these proceedings occasioned his notifying to Mr. KEENE, the British Plenipotentiary, how much the continuance of admiral HADDOCK's squadron at Gibraltar would hinder the effect of the convention; notwithstanding which, orders



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were given to admiral HADDOCK to cruise between the Capes of St. Vincent and St. Mary, to surprise the *Aslogues* ships, and that orders were given for making reprisals in a most indecent stile, which had been put in execution in several places; and that his patience being thus provoked, he had determined to make reprisals also, by seizing the goods and effects of the British King and his subjects in the dominions of Spain. Signed,

I the King.

*The King of Spain's reasons for not paying the 95000*l.* stipulated by the convention.*

The King of Spain's reasons for not paying the 95000*l.* The convention is a contract where the engagements are reciprocal, consequently, when either party fails in the execution of them the other is thereby disengaged; from whence it follows, that the British court having first failed and contravened most of the articles, gave room to Spain to refuse executing her part.

The keeping a squadron on the coast of Spain. 1. That the court of Great Britain having given orders to the English Squadron to quit the coast of Spain, and afterwards countermanded those orders, Spain suspected that the clamours of the populace, and the party opposite to the British ministry, had prevailed with the court to recede from its engagements: for the keeping a squadron in the center of the coasts of Spain, could be designed for no other purpose than to interrupt the trade, and could be looked upon in no other light than a continual hostility.

The sending forces to America. 2. That the court of Great Britain sent no orders to Carolina to discontinue the new fortifications there, as was stipulated by the convention, and that three men of war were sent on frivolous pretensions to reinforce the English Squadron at Jamaica, besides troops and warlike stores.

The South Sea company not paying 68000*l.* 3. The third contravention was founded on that agreement, that his Catholick Majesty should have the entire right of suspending the *Asiento* of negroes in case the company did not submit to pay within a short time the 68000*l.* which was confessed to be due, the English Plenipotentiary having insisted that the effects taken in the Indies from the South Sea company by way of reprisals in 1718 and 1727, should be restored before the 68000*l.* was paid, which was the balance of a settled account, and would put it upon an equal foot with a sum not stated or settled, and which was agreed by the second separate article to be debated in separate negotiations.

The King of Spain denied the liberty of suspending the *Asiento*. 4. The English Plenipotentiaries would have it declared, that the King of Spain had no power to suspend the *Asiento* contract, as being a national treaty; whereas the contrary was expressly specified in the abovesaid declaration, on the validity of which depended the validity of the convention; and yet every body must be sensible that the English Ministry, instead of obliging the company to pay the King the 68000*l.* were seeking to elude the payment of it, thereby undermining the very foundation on which the convention was built.

The restitution of a ship insisted on. 5. The English had insisted on the restitution of a ship taken since the convention was signed, though all matters subsequent to the convention were left to the discussion of the Plenipotentiaries.

The delay of sending instructions to the Plenipotentiaries. 6. The English Plenipotentiaries were not furnished with instructions within eight months, which should have been sent within six.

The insisting on a free navigation. 7. That the English Plenipotentiaries insisted on a liberty of navigation in all the American seas, which was a direct infraction of the first

article of the convention, wherein it is stipulated, that the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with regard to trade and navigation in America, should be settled in the conferences according to the treaties therein specified: that England has no right of free navigation but to and from its own colonies, for it is declared by the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht, Anno 1713, that the navigation of the English in America shall continue on the same foot that it was in the reign of CHARLES II, and during that reign all strangers by the fundamental laws of the kingdom were excluded, from trading with, or entering into the Spanish West Indies; and by the same article Queen ANNE obliged herself not only to observe, but to guarantee those fundamental laws; the Queen also obliged herself to guarantee the limits as they stood at that time, and where any encroachments had been made to restore and settle them upon the ancient footing: In former treaties with every nation all that had been stipulated was a free navigation to their colonies, and not to all the other seas that were within the King of Spain's jurisdiction, distinguished by the character of the Spanish Indies, whereunto all entrance and trade are prohibited, foreign nations having no colonies that require passing near those seas; and the claiming a right of free navigation to or near them, can be with no other view than to increase the illicit unwarrantable trade which the English have for a long time, and do still carry on, a trade that is already become so considerable as to yield annually several millions, as they themselves confess; a trade prejudicial to that of other nations, and greatly hurtful and injurious to his Catholick Majesty's revenues and government.

And why should the English be surprised at this demand, when they, even in the midst of Europe, assume to themselves the supreme dominion of the ocean, though it be common to all sovereigns whose dominions it washes? there they insist that all nations shall strike to their colours, and attribute to themselves the sole right of fishing in them, making other nations pay for the liberty of fishing there: how can they, who form such groundless pretensions in the seas of Europe, exclaim against the Spaniards, who possess all the coasts in those seas in America for taking just precautions against a smuggling and unlawful trade, carried on in the Spanish dominions?

In the 15th article of the treaty of 1670, it is said, *That each of the contracting parties shall have and retain the lordship of the seas, straits and fresh waters in America, which belong to them*; consequently all the seas are not free, there are some which the sovereigns ought to enjoy exclusively of all others; concluding that the only view England has is to maintain by her arms the unjust usurpation of the territories she has invaded (in Florida) in breach of the treaty of Utrecht, and to maintain herself in the clandestine trade she carries on to the prejudice of the lawful trade of the allies of Spain: whereas that crown has no other views than to defend its honour, and maintain the interest of its dominions, and those of its allies, by strictly observing treaties: offending or insulting no nation, but seeing with concern the blow given to the publick repose by England's breach of the peace.

A declaration of war succeeded this manifesto dated 28th November 1739; wherein the King

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The King of Spain's declaration of war.



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of Spain does not only authorize his subjects to commit all manner of hostilities against the King of Great Britain and his subjects, but orders their effects in his dominions to be seized, and commands all the natives of Britain to remove out of his territories immediately.

And to distress Great Britain the more, he ordered, that all goods and manufactures whatever of that nation should be seized and confiscated, though imported by his own subjects, or any neutral nation.

Another  
manifesto  
of the King  
of Spain.

The King of Spain's declaration of war was attended with another manifesto, wherein he re-criminates and charges the subjects of Britain with several acts of depredation and cruelty committed in America, particularly that in the year 1716 and 1717 the captains CUTHBERT and ARCHER, commanders of the ships Pompey and Fortune, being authorized by the British King, went to the coast of Florida in search of the wreck of some Spanish Galeons which were lost there, and joining with other Englishmen from Jamaica, drove away the Spaniards, who were endeavouring to save those effects, and landing six hundred men afterwards, killed thirty Spaniards, of one hundred and twenty that were left there, to guard the treasure they had already recovered out of the sea, and robbed them of four hundred thousand pieces of eight [4 s. 6 d.] and in their return to Jamaica the English took two Spanish vessels laden with cacao, cochineal and treasure, amounting to the value of thirty thousand pieces of eight.

That in the year 1722 the English took a ship of Porto Rico, which had a commission from the governor of that island, and carried her to Jamaica, and without pretending any other crime than that he was a guarda costa, hanged up forty three of the ship's crew, alledging for a pretence, that the governor of Porto Rico was as bad as the guarda costa.

That an English captain, who was used to carry on a clandestine trade on the coasts of Spanish America, having enticed on board his ship two Spanish gentlemen of distinction, imagining he should get more by making them prisoners than by trade, in order to force them to ransom themselves, left them without nourishment; and when he found he was not like to obtain his ends by starving them, he cut off the ears and nose of one of them, and holding a dagger to his breast, forced him to eat them.

That before the war was declared in 1727, an Englishman belonging to one of the Assiento ships at the Havanna, incited the negroes there to make an insurrection, plunder the place, and massacre the inhabitants. That the English had taken several Spaniards prisoners, and sold them for slaves in distant countries, where it was difficult to relieve or redeem them: that in the year 1725 they were so infatuated as to carry eight of these unhappy wretches to Madeira, where the Spanish consul giving notice of their misfortunes, the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon solicited their discharge.

If such instances of cruelty and injustice could be alledged by the English, then might they justify their declaration of war; but the prizes that were taken from them that carried on an unlawful trade, which the English themselves confessed, acknowledging that the gain of it amounted to six millions per ann. and the repelling by force those that endeavoured to protect such fraudulent attempts, could never justify the clamours that had

been raised: England her self ought rather to have put a stop to these enterprizes, as she was obliged by the seventh article of the treaty of Utrecht to guarantee the fundamental laws of Spain, which prohibited foreigners to enter and trade in the seas and territories of Spanish America. Are the Spaniards by any treaty obliged to leave their coasts defenceless, and suffer such swarms of English ships to enter their harbours, and carry off the produce of their mines without opposition? Have the Spaniards ever insulted the British colonies, or robbed them of their produce and effects? Wherever the guarda costas have taken any British ships, they have been restored; if full proof has not been made of their carrying on a clandestine trade with the Spanish dominions; from whence it follows, that the hostilities in America have been occasioned by the licentious enterprizes of the English, and not from any offence given by the Spaniards.

As to that complaint in the British declaration of war, the laying high duties upon British merchandise, the English and all other nations practise the like, therefore this can be no just pretence for the English to declare war.

That as to the infringement of treaties, so much complained of by the English, they themselves have been most guilty in this respect, for they obliged themselves by the 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht, to suffer the Biscayners and other subjects of Spain to fish for cod at Newfoundland; and by the second article of the treaty of 1721, they promised to give orders accordingly; but the Spaniards have been deprived of that fishery, which so justly belongs to them ever since: also by the 10th article of the treaty of Utrecht, England obliged herself not to grant refuge to any armed Moorish vessels in Gibraltar, which have notwithstanding been protected there; and though by the same article that place was yielded to England without any territorial jurisdiction, or communication with the adjacent country, they have pretended that the territory as far as their guns can reach ought to be comprehended; and though it was agreed in the year 1728 to abandon the disputed places on both sides, the English have since possessed themselves thereof; but this is not the only false proceeding in respect to this place: the late King of England, GEORGE I. by a letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1721, offered the King of Spain the restitution thereof, the translation of which letter follows,

"Sir and Brother,

"I have heard with extreme satisfaction, by the means of my ambassador at your court, that your Majesty is come to the resolution at last to remove the obstacles which for some time have delayed the entire establishment of our friendship; and since by the confidence which your Majesty declares you have in me, I can depend upon the treaties which have been disputed between us, as being now re-established, and that consequently the necessary instruments for the trade of my subjects have been settled, I shall no longer delay assuring your Majesty of my readiness to give satisfaction as to what concerns the restitution of Gibraltar, giving you my promise, that I will make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this article in concert with my parliament."

That the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht has also been eluded concerning the limits in America,



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America, which were agreed to be settled by the governors of Florida and Carolina in the year 1721 and 1724; but when the governor of Florida sent an officer and twenty-five men to Carolina with a copy of that agreement, they were stripped of their arms and forced to endure a most rigorous imprisonment: that in the year 1735 Don THOMAS GERALDINO, the Spanish Minister at London, was assured that Mr. OGLETHORPE had orders to settle the limits; but on the contrary he carried over an order to people those places which were uninhabited, and proceeded to commit several hostile acts, marched up within sight of Fort St. Augustine, the British King having taken upon him to dispose of all the lands in Georgia that were not before occupied by the English, which was directly opposite to the seventh article of the treaty of 1670, which excludes them from all that they did not at that time possess.

Nor was their right to cut logwood better founded, being supported by force, not by reason, to that excess as to ruin the unfortunate people of Baculler in three several sieges, because they defended the King of Spain's rights, and proved an obstacle to those attempts.

The manifesto concludes, that the King of Spain had ordered reprisals, because they were before ordered by England; and that Spain had declared war, because England had declared war before; so that the King of Spain was no way answerable for the blood and devastations which the fury of war occasioned, though he did not doubt but the King of England had been driven into these measures by the unreasonable clamours of his subjects.

The justice of the war examined.

Before I proceed to relate the progress of the war, it may be proper to examine the justice of it; for as one side is always in the wrong, it very often happens, that neither have much right to boast of. In the present case the Spaniards charge the subjects of Britain with carrying on an unlawful clandestine trade with their American colonies, and Britain complains her ships are taken and plundered, that never were concerned in any such trade: the Spaniards again complain, that the subjects of Britain invade their country, cut logwood in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, and maintain their usurpations there by force of arms: the subjects of Britain insist, that the countries where they cut logwood are not inhabited or cultivated by the Spaniards, or any other people, and consequently they have a right to enjoy the fruits of their labours; that the Spaniards are guilty of great injustice therefore, when they seize or destroy those ships that are laden with logwood: that the English do carry on a clandestine trade with the Spanish West-Indies, and have done so these hundred years, must be admitted; but then it must be acknowledged, that the crown of England never *authorized* its subjects to carry on such a trade, but on the contrary have several times strictly prohibited it, and I do not remember an instance of the British government's protecting any British ships that have been taken in the fact.

The Spaniards, it is true, find it impossible to cover a coast of so many thousand miles extent from being visited by foreigners, and the English, Dutch and French do and will trade with their American subjects, as long as there is something to be got by it, whatever hazards they run, especially since the subjects of Spain in America, even their Governors and Magistrates, are as ready to receive

the goods that are brought them in this clandestine way, as foreigners are to receive their money (for such goods are generally paid for in pieces of eight) and possibly Great Britain gains as much treasure by this traffick as by any branch of trade, which is the principal reason, probably, that the government of England sometimes connives at it, if they do not protect it: for if the laws of England made it as criminal to carry on a clandestine trade with the Spanish West-Indies, as it is to run goods and carry on a smuggling trade in Europe, this would very much restrain that practice, at least it might satisfy the Spaniards, and induce them to relinquish their pretended right of visiting our ships in their voyages to and from our plantations. I doubt therefore Great Britain is in the wrong in not laying more effectual restraints on that smuggling trade, their subjects carry on with the Spanish West-Indies; and the Spaniards are no less in the wrong in visiting and searching the ships of Great Britain on the high seas, sailing to and from their own plantations: it is true it would be very hard upon the English if the French and Dutch should be suffered to carry on this illicit trade in the West-Indies (as they certainly do) while the English are excluded from it, and therefore it is presumed that both the French and Dutch will be excluded from it as well as the English in the next treaty of peace.

But though this clandestine practice of running in goods upon the Spaniards in their American plantations might be restrained by the respective powers whose subjects carry it on, and though this would satisfy the Spaniards and induce them to relinquish their pretensions of visiting the ships of foreigners in their voyages to and from their respective colonies; there still remains a very perplexed affair to be adjusted, which I despair almost of ever seeing regulated to the satisfaction of both parties, whatever terms either of them may by force be obliged to submit to, to avoid greater evils, and that is the right of cutting logwood and making settlements on the continent or islands of America, not in the possession of the Spaniards, either in such countries as they have never possessed, or have forsaken for richer settlements.

The Spaniards on their first discovery of America did imagine that they were intitled to that entire continent, with the seas and islands bordering upon it; and that all other nations were excluded from settling in any part of America, or trading with the natives; and accordingly they destroyed or made prizes of all ships they met with in those seas for many years, put to death or made slaves of the subjects of all nations that navigated such vessels, and robbed and plundered them of their goods as long as they durst; that is as long as they were superior to other powers at sea.

But when the English, French and Dutch began to encrease their naval force, and to extend their traffick, they made bold to visit the American coasts, sent colonies thither, and trafficked with the natives without asking the Spaniards leave; and where they met with opposition, repelled force by force, till the respective powers entered into treaties, whereby it was mutually agreed, that each should enjoy what they were possessed of, with freedom of navigation, to and from their respective colonies: but still the English, French and Dutch pretended to plant such countries as were not occupied, or had been abandoned by the Spaniards, particularly the English extended their territories in Florida and Canada, to

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which they gave the name of Carolina, New England, &c. The French possessed other parts of it, to which they gave the names of New France and Louisiane; and the Dutch New Netherlands and Surinam. These nations also planted several of the Caribbee Islands, and the French settled on the northside of Hispaniola, which had been abandoned by the Spaniards; and the English finding the bay of Campeachy and Honduras, where the logwood grows, unoccupied by any, settled there, and annually cut great quantities of logwood; upon this the Spaniards revived their pretensions of being proprietors of all America, whether used or cultivated by them or not, except such parts of it as were in the possession of other nations when the former treaties were concluded; they insisted that no European nations had a right to enlarge their plantations in America, or extend their commerce in the new world but themselves, and thereupon attacked our logwood cutters and drove them from the bay of Campeachy;—took their ships and effects, and murdered the people on board frequently; whereupon the British logwood cutters removed to the bay of Honduras, and fixed themselves in a part of the country almost inaccessible, where they defy all the power of Spain to expel them; but the Spanish guarda costa's frequently meet with their ships laden with logwood at sea, make prizes of them or sink them. We are endeavouring also to make settlements among the Mosqueta Indians, and in other places not under the dominion of the Spaniards, apprehending we have a right to plant any countries not subject to the Spaniards; and if they rob and murder our people engaged in such enterprizes, the English have all the reason in the world to demand satisfaction for such outrages, and may very justly enter into a war for the security and protection of their settlements and traffick; and I cannot see how this quarrel can ever be ended if the Spaniards insist on a right of destroying our settlements, and of plundering and murdering our people, who are employed in planting colonies in lands that are unoccupied and uninhabited by them.

No private man, or body of men or nation, whose subjects shall discover a country of a vast extent, such as America is (perhaps eight or ten thousand miles in length) can by virtue of such discovery and planting a small part of it, entitle themselves to the whole, so as to exclude all other nations from it; they can entitle themselves to no more than they can use, admitting there were no inhabitants; but when there are, as the case was in America, and many nations remain unsubdued by the Spaniards to this day, surely any other nation is at liberty to traffick with such independent Indians, make alliances, and purchase lands of them, and erect towns and fortresses on such lands for their security, the Indians being the only true proprietors of the soil; the Spaniards are but invaders and usurpers wherever they have settled, and have no other right than what they gained by the destruction and extirpation of the natives.

It is true, as there have been several treaties between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, wherein it hath been stipulated not to disturb or molest each other in such acquisitions as either party was possessed of in America at the conclusion of such treaties, so far each party has limited their pretensions, and ought not to break through those agreements; but this cannot affect their

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making acquisitions in any other parts of the country, not then possessed by either party, or since abandoned by either: and this seems to have been the opinion of the Spaniards themselves, or they would never have suffered the French to have seized on the north side of Hispaniola, or on the best part of Florida, to which they have given the names of Louisiane and New France, when the Spaniards had not totally abandoned either, but still remain possessed of some part of these countries, particularly of the capital city and district of Domingo in Hispaniola, and of St. Augustin in Florida. If it be lawful for the French to take possession of these places, which the Spaniards have abandoned for better, or were not able to occupy, it is surely as lawful for the English to plant and occupy other parts of America not used or possessed by Spain, with the consent, and indeed by the invitation of the natives, who desire our people to protect them against the invasions and usurpations of the Spaniards, whose avarice and ambition know no bounds.

Had Great Britain therefore offered to restrain that clandestine smuggling trade her subjects carry on in the Spanish West-Indies, the war must have appeared just on her part; for as to the cutting of logwood in places unpossessed by the Spaniards, or making settlements either upon the continent or islands unsubdued or deserted by them, this could give them no pretence to quarrel with us, any more than our destroying the Spanish fleet on the coast of Sicily in the year 1718; for how imprudent soever it was to enter into a war with Spain at that time, as we had engaged to defend Sicily, and guaranteed it to the Duke of Savoy, whom we had advanced to that throne, the defeating a fleet which assisted in the invasion of Sicily was but in pursuance of engagements the Spaniards were apprised we had entered into; but admitting that enterprize was unwarrantable, we had made them ample amends for their losses; we paid them for every ship we destroyed or took, and still they made a further demand on us for the damage done, which Great Britain agreed to satisfy by the late treaty of convention; add to this that England convoyed Don CARLOS to Italy, and gave him an opportunity of mounting the throne of the two Sicilies and of driving the Imperialists out of Italy almost, which was surely more than an equivalent for what the Spanish fleet suffered in the year 1718.

The infractions of the Assiento contract, the many seizures of the South-Sea company's effects, and the frequent interruption of their trade, by which they lost the value of some millions, was certainly a just cause for our declaring war against Spain, especially when that Court insisted on being paid 68000 l. by that company, as the foundation of the treaty of convention, whether there was in reality so great a sum due from Spain to the company.

There remains another article to be enquired into, mentioned in the King of Spain's manifesto, and that is the not restoring Gibraltar as had been promised by King GEORGE I. and it does indeed appear that the late King GEORGE had in a manner agreed to deliver up Gibraltar in order to preserve a good correspondence with Spain, by his letter abovementioned, believing that the nation would not have opposed it; but he plainly intimates in that letter, that he would have the concurrence of the British parliament before he made an absolute cession of it: and therefore when he found the British parliament averse to the parting with Gibraltar,

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braltar, he seems to have been at full liberty to alter his mind, and the not restoring it therefore could not give the Spaniards any just occasion to quarrel with us; it is true the King of England by his prerogative may make peace or war, and consequently may limit the terms on which it shall be concluded, without consulting his parliament; but this no wise Prince will do, where any of the British territories are to be yielded up to any foreign power as a condition of such a peace.

There is a most barbarous fact mentioned in the King of Spain's manifesto, said to have been committed by the subjects of Great Britain, which I was amazed at when I read it, and that is the cutting off a Spanish gentleman's nose and ears, they had enticed on board their ship, and compelling him to eat them; but upon enquiring into that matter, I find the people charged with this barbarity were pirates of all nations, whose cruelty ought no more to be ascribed to the English than to any other people.

And as to that instance of fishing up a wreck upon the coast of Florida, attacking and killing several Spaniards who guarded part of the treasure on shore that had been recovered, and afterwards plundering some Spanish ships in their passage to Jamaica in the years 1716 and 1717, the English concerned in these outrages were proclaimed pirates by the court of England, and ordered to be prosecuted as such, for having exceeded their commission, and their estates were confiscated to make the Spaniards satisfaction; so far were they from being authorised to commit such outrages by the British government: and after all it appears, that the Spaniards attacked the English, and not the English the Spaniards, both on shore and at sea, which very much alters the case.

Thus having enquired into the justice of the war, I proceed to observe the progress of it.

The Spaniards having for several years insisted on their right to oppose the British subjects cutting of logwood in the bay of Honduras, and having taken or destroyed many British ships and sloops in that bay as intimated already; in the month of April 1739 one of their guarda costas took in that bay a ship belonging to Boston in New England, commanded by captain COBB; and also a sloop of Bermudas, commanded by captain BURGESS. At the same time they took a sloop belonging to New England, commanded by captain COLLIS, with two of the owners, Mr. JOSEPH WILLIAMS, and Mr. WILLIAM BARBOUR on board; and what was most cruel and provoking, they murdered the captain and the two owners in cold blood, after they had taken the sloop.

About the same time, or rather in the month of March preceding, they published a proclamation at St. Augustine, giving freedom to all white servants and Negro or Indian slaves, belonging to Carolina, Purisburg or Georgia, that would go over to them, and allotted them a piece of land near that fort to settle and make plantations, which was a method of proceeding never practised by any nation in the world that pretended to be in peace and friendship with another. But this they did not satisfy themselves with, for in the month of June, a number of them came and attacked the house of captain MACPHERSON, on the confines of Georgia next to St. Augustine, where they killed some of the servants, and would probably have murdered the captain and his whole family; but the neighbourhood being alarmed, and coming to his assistance the assassins took to their heels,

as soon as they found they were like to meet with an enemy equal to them in number.

These and many such like practices made the people in all our plantations long for a war with the Spaniards, and therefore the orders for reprisals were received in every place with great joy. I have before given an account that these orders were dated the 15th of June, and dispatched to the West Indies by the Shoreham man of war, which sailed from the Downs the 19th of the same month. Upon the 5th of August she arrived at Jamaica, having in her passage thither touched at the Leeward islands, and sent the orders for reprisals to the Governor of those islands, and to the Governor of Barbadoes.

These orders were published at every place as soon as they arrived, and as soon as commodore BROWNE received them at Jamaica, he prepared for putting to sea with five of the men of war under his command. Accordingly he set sail on the 14th, and having approached very near some of the forts at the Havanna, they fired upon him, which compliment he returned, but neither did any harm to the other. He then made a cruise through the gulph of Mexico towards Porto Bello, and returned to Jamaica, without making an attempt upon any of the Spanish settlements at land, supposing himself not warranted, it is presumed, by his orders to do so. Soon after he sailed from Jamaica, he sent the Sheerness man of war, captain STAPLETON to Carthage, to observe the situation of the Spanish fleet at that place, who approaching very near to the mouth of that harbour, and making an appearance like a merchant ship with French colours, DON BLASS, the Spanish admiral there, sent his lieutenant and pinnace out to conduct him into the harbour; but as soon as he came on board, he and the boat's crew were made prisoners, and afterwards carried into Jamaica. By the immediate publication of the orders for reprisals, and by these warlike appearances, the Spaniards, at all their settlements in that part of the world, were made sensible of the rupture between the two nations.

On the 29th of September admiral VERNON, with the ships under his command, arrived at Antigua, and on the 23d of October at Jamaica, where he took upon himself the command of all his Majesty's ships in those parts, and having heard at Antigua, that there were several rich Spanish ships at La Guara, a port and little town upon the Caracca coast, he in his passage to Jamaica, dispatched captain WATERHOUSE with three men of war, to endeavour to take that place, and bring the ships off. Accordingly they sailed thither, and discovered that there were seventeen sail of ships in the harbour, which was defended by three forts. They steered up almost close to the forts, and battered them and the town for a considerable time, by which means they beat down a great part of their fortifications, churches, and houses, and would have landed, in order to have attacked the forts sword in hand, which most of the lieutenants and sailors were extremely eager for doing; but as one of the ships was pretty much damaged by the fire from the forts, and as the wind began to blow very hard, the Commodore thought it too dangerous an undertaking, and therefore would not allow his brave sailors to expose themselves to so much danger; so that after having done a great deal of damage to the forts and town, they were obliged to leave the place and return to Jamaica.

The

Three English gentlemen cruelly murdered by the Spaniards at Honduras.

They encourage the Carolina negroes to desert.

Admiral VERNON arrives and sends three ships against La Guara.

Orders for reprisals arrive in the West-Indies.

Commodore BROWNE's expedition



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XVIII.Account  
of the tak-  
ing of  
Porto  
Bello.

The next expedition was conducted by Vice-admiral VERNON himself, who sailed from Jamaica on the fifth of November, with his Majesty's ships the *Burford*, *Hampton-Court*, *Princess Louisa*, *Worcester*, *Strafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerness*, the last of which he ordered to cruise off Carthagena. On the 20th of November in the evening he came in sight of Porto Bello, having been delayed in his passage by contrary winds. There being but little wind that evening, though a very great swell, he anchored for that night six leagues off the shore, being apprehensive of driving to the eastward of the harbour.

On the 21st in the morning, the Admiral plied to windward in line of battle, having given the proper orders for the attack; but the wind proving easterly, he was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron fort only, close to which the Squadron was piloted by captain RENTONE.

Commodore BROWNE, in the *Hampton-Court*, who led the attack, executed his part as became an officer of experience and resolution; and being well followed by captain HERBERT in the *Norwich*, and captain MAYNE in the *Worcester*, the admiral perceived that some of the Spaniards fled from several parts of the fort; upon which he made the signal for the boats in which the soldiers were, to make the best of their way in order to their landing, whilst he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The Admiral luffing up as near to the fort as he could, the fire of his small arms commanded the enemy's lower batteries, and had a good effect in driving them from those batteries, from which they could do most harm; and by this means the men were also secured at landing: and this (as the enemy afterwards confessed) was the principal occasion of their deserting the lower batteries, the small shot from the former ships not having reached them, though their cannon had beat down some of the upper part of the fort. As the boats came near the Admiral's ship, he called to them to go directly on shore under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made; but this answered as was expected, by throwing the enemy into a general consternation, the officers and men who had stood to the lower battery flying to the upper part of the fort, where they held up a white signal for capitulating. The Admiral answered with a white flag, but it was some time before he could stop his own men, and those on board the *Strafford*, captain TREVOR, which followed him, from firing.

In the mean time the seamen had climbed up to the walls of the lower battery, and struck the colours, and then drew the soldiers up after them, to whom the Spaniards, who had retired to the upper part of the fort, soon after surrendered at discretion. Their number was only five officers, and 35 men, out of about 300, the rest being either killed or wounded, or having made their escape.

The ships that went before the Admiral were fallen to leeward, so as to be out of sight of the Gloria castle; but the Admiral's ship lying open to the said castle, they kept firing one of their longest guns at him till night, but not being within point blank, their shot either fell short, or went over him; only one shot went through the head of his foretopmast, just above the rigging, so that it did no harm.

The Admiral finding they continued their firing, tried some of his lower tier at them; which being new guns, answered beyond expectation,

carrying over the Gloria castle into the town; none of the shot falling short, and one of them going through the governor's house, and some through other houses in the town.

This successful beginning was attended with a very inconsiderable loss, there being only three men killed and five wounded on board the Admiral's ship; the like number were killed and wounded on board the *Worcester*, and one man had both his legs shot off on board the *Hampton Court*. The other ships had none killed or wounded, and only two soldiers were shot going ashore, one of which died soon after of his wounds.

The next morning being the 22d, the Admiral went on board Commodore BROWNE, to call the captains to consult together, and give out the necessary orders for warping the ships up the next night, in order to attack the Gloria castle the night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt in the day time: but in this he was prevented, by the enemy's putting up a white flag at the Gloria castle, and sending a boat with a flag of truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's adjutant, and a lieutenant of a man of war, who brought the conditions signed on which they desired to capitulate. In answer to which the Admiral immediately drew up the terms on which he would admit them to capitulation, and dispatched them back again, allowing them only a few hours to take their resolution; and within the time limited they accepted the conditions offered them. And before night, on Thursday the said 22d of November, the Admiral sent captain NEWTON, who commanded the detachment of soldiers from Jamaica, with about 120 of the said soldiers, who took immediate possession of Gloria castle and St. Jeronimo fort, being the remaining fortresses that guarded the harbour of Porto Bello, the Gloria castle lying just below the town, and St. Jeronimo fort just above it.

Articles of capitulation granted by EDWARD VERNON, Esq; Vice-admiral of the Blue, and commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the West Indies, and Commodore BROWNE to Don FRANCISCO MARTINES DE RETEZ, governor of Porto Bello, and Don FRANCISCO DE ABAROA commandant of the guarda costas at the same place, the 22d of November 1739, O. S.

Article 1. That the garison be allowed to march out as desired, upon condition the King of Great Britain's troops be put into possession of the Glory castle before four o'clock this evening, and the garison to march out by ten o'clock to morrow morning.

That the inhabitants may either remove or remain, under a promise of security for themselves and their effects.

2. That the Spanish soldiers may have a guard if they think it necessary.

3. That they may carry off two canons mounted, with ten charges of powder for each, and their match lighted.

4. The gates of the Glory castle must absolutely be in possession of the King our master's troops by four o'clock, and the Spanish garison shall remain in all safety for their persons and effects, till the appointed time for their marching out, and to carry with them the provisions and ammunition necessary for their safety.

5. That



5. That the ships, with their apparel and arms, be absolutely delivered up to the use of his Britannic Majesty, but that all the officers, soldiers, and crew, shall have three days allowed them to retire with all their personal effects, only one officer being admitted on board each ship and vessel, to take possession for the King our master, and to see this article strictly complied with.

6. That provided the articles abovementioned are strictly complied with, and that possession be given of the castle of St. Jeronimo, in the same manner as is stipulated for the castle Gloria, then the clergy, the churches, and town, shall be protected and preserved in all their immunities and properties.

And that all prisoners already taken shall be set at liberty before our leaving the port.

Given under our hands on board his Majesty's ship Burford, in Porto Bello harbour, this 22d day of November, 1739, O. S.

EDWARD VERNON.  
CHARLES BROWNE.

There were in the harbour two Spanish men of war of twenty guns each, and a snow; the crews of which ships seeing the regular and bold attack which was made on the Iron fort, and despairing of being able to defend themselves, fell to plundering the town in the night on the 21st, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants.

The Admiral took on board his ships from the several fortresses, forty pieces of brass cannon, and ten brass field pieces, four brass mortars, and eighteen brass patereroes; and rendered unserviceable above eighty iron cannon, by knocking off the trunnions, and spiking them up: he also took on board all their shot and ammunition, except 122 barrels of their powder, which he expended in springing mines, by which all the fortifications of the forts were blown up, and entirely demolished, and the harbour left open and defenceless.

Ten thousand dollars that were arrived and designed for paying the King of Spain's troops at Porto Bello, falling into the Admiral's hands, he distributed them among his Majesty's forces for their encouragement.

The Admiral was joined at Porto Bello on the 27th of November, by his Majesty's ship the Diamond, captain KNOWLES, and on the 29th by the Windsor, captain BERKELEY, and the Anglesea captain REDDISH: he having left orders at the Leeward islands for the said ships to follow him.

The principal engineer in the mining work was, captain KNOWLES of the Diamond, assisted by captain BOSEAWEN (who desired he might serve in this expedition as a volunteer, his ship the Shoreham not being fit for the sea) and by Mr. BARNES, purser of the Worcester, who having been an officer in the army was very useful on this occasion. Commodore BROWNE had the chief direction of what was necessary to be done at Gloria castle and St. Jeronimo fort; and captain WATSON, captain of the Admiral's ship, took care of the execution of all that was to be done at the Iron fort, which was built on a rock; the walls of the lower battery which consisted of twenty two guns, were nine foot thick, and of a hard stone, cemented with such a fine mortar, that it was a long work to make any impression in it to come to mine at all.

The lower battery at Gloria castle consisted of two regular bastions, and a curtain between them, mounted with twenty two guns, besides a line of

eight guns, that pointed to the mouth of the harbour; and all the other guns they had on the moorish part of both castles, besides their battery on St. Jeronimo, rendered the entrance of the harbour very difficult and dangerous.

In consideration of the services performed by captain RENTONE (who acted as a pilot in this expedition) the Admiral thought fit to appoint him commander of the Spanish snow taken in the harbour of Porto Bello; and to send his dispatches by him to England in the said snow; and the two twenty gun ships, which were Spanish guarda costas, were by the Admiral's order fitted up, and taken along with him.

On the 6th of December the Admiral was joined at Porto Bello by his Majesty's ship the Sheerness, captain STAPLETON, which he sent to cruise off Carthagena, and which had taken two vessels, with supplies of ammunition, store and provisions that were going to Carthagena. On the 17th in the evening captain STAPLETON having taken in water, was sent by the Admiral to cruise on his former station.

During the Admiral's stay at Porto Bello, he sent a letter to the president of Panama, demanding the release of the factors and servants of the South-Sea Company, who were confined at that place, in consequence of which, the president of Panama sent an officer with Mr. HUMPHREYS, and doctor WRIGHT, factors, and also with the servants of the South-Sea Company, who were delivered to the Admiral at Porto Bello.

The governor and inhabitants of Porto Bello expressed the greatest sense of the humanity and generosity with which they were treated by the Admiral, and his Majesty's squadron under his command.

On the 13th of December, Vice-Admiral VERNON, with the squadron, sailed from Porto Bello for Jamaica; and being off Carthagena, on the 28th of December, sent away captain RENTONE in the Spanish snow for England.

To this I shall add, that among those who surrendered, and met with such generous treatment at this place, there was the very man, who some years ago cut off captain JENKINS's ear, and otherwise most inhumanly used him. The fellow had made himself rich by the depredations he had for so many years been suffered to make upon the subjects of Great Britain, and was therefore become a chief man, and one of the governor's counsellors at Porto Bello; which if our Admiral had known, he would certainly have excepted one man at least out of the capitulation; and probably if the fellow had thought that a discovery could be made who he was, he would not have trusted to the capitulation, but would have taken care to sheer off before the town was surrendered. But providence, it seems, took care to make him fully sensible of the honour and generosity of that nation which he had used so cruelly; for among our sailors who went ashore, there were some that knew him, who acquainting the Admiral with it, ordered the fellow to be brought to his presence, which we may believe raised not a few terrors in a guilty breast. The fellow appeared with all that confusion and horror which are the constant attendants of cruelty, when it finds itself discovered, and in danger of being brought to justice; but the Admiral only upbraided him in a manner proper for making him sensible of his inhumanity; and then told him, Sir, as I have given my honour that the persons of all those

Admiral  
Vernon's  
behaviour  
towards  
the fellow  
that cut  
off captain  
Jenkins's  
ear.



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who have surrendered shall be safe, you are secure for this time; but if I ever meet with you again, you must expect that treatment you justly deserve; for a generous enemy shall always meet with generous treatment from me; but such barbarity as you have been guilty of, I can never forget or forgive.

A treaty  
with the  
rebellious  
Negroes at  
Jamaica.

During the year 1739, a peace was concluded between the government of Jamaica and the rebellious Negroes; they had for many years possessed the mountainous part of that island, from whence they came down and plundered the neighbouring plantations; which has very much hindered the improvement and planting of that island. These renegadoes had formed themselves into a society under proper laws, some of which seemed to have been contrived with great policy and wisdom, so that they were become a distinct nation by themselves; and though various methods had been tried to extirpate them, yet what by the accession of new runaways, and what by the common means of generation, they seemed rather to increase than otherwise. In order to defend the country planters against these intestine enemies, and to assist in extirpating them if possible, eight independent companies had a few years before been established in that island; but as there are several parts of it very inaccessible, it was found that it would be a very difficult and expensive task to reduce them by force, and therefore his excellency EDWARD TRELAWNEY, Esq; the present governor of that island, who by the whole tenor of his government has shewn, that he has the good of his country, and of that island in particular, at heart, began to think of reducing them by fair means. For this purpose he took care to harass them with frequent attacks for some time before, in order to make them more fond of accepting terms; and then at the request of these Negroes, and with consent of the chief gentlemen of the island, a treaty was set on foot with the principal body of them, which was at last concluded, and is as follows, viz.

## J A M A I C A.

*Copy of the treaty made with captain CUDJOE, and the other rebellious Negroes, &c.*

*By order of EDWARD TRELAWNEY, Esq; governor of the said island.*

*At the camp near Trelawney, March 1. 1738-9.*

In the name of God, Amen.

Treaty  
with the  
rebellious  
Negroes.

Whereas captain CUDJOE, captain ACOMPONG, captain JOHNY, captain CUFFOE, and captain QUACOW, and several other Negroes their dependants and adherents, have been in a state of war and hostility for several years past, against our sovereign the King, and the inhabitants of this island; and whereas peace and friendship among mankind, and the preventing the effusion of blood is agreeable to God, consonant to reason, and desired by every good man. And whereas his Majesty, GEORGE the second, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of Jamaica, Lord, &c. has by his letters patent, February the 24th, 1738. in the 12th year of his reign, granted full power and authority unto JOHN GUTTERY and FRANCIS SADER, Esqrs, to negotiate and finally conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the aforesaid captain CUDJOE, the rest of his captains, adherents, and others his men; they mutually, sincerely, and amicably have agreed to the following articles.

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1. That hostility shall cease on both sides for ever.

2. That the said captain CUDJOE, the rest of his captains, adherents, and men, shall be for ever hereafter in a state of freedom and liberty, excepting those who have been taken by or fled to them within two years last past, if such are willing to return to their said masters and owners, with full pardon and indemnity from their said masters or owners for what is past; provided always, that if they are not willing to return, they shall remain in subjection to captain CUDJOE, and in friendship with us according to the form and tenor of this treaty.

3. That they shall enjoy and possess for themselves and posterity for ever, all the lands situate and lying between Trelawney town and the cockpits, to the amount of 1500 acres, bearing north-west from the said Trelawney town.

4. That they shall have liberty to plant the said land with coffee, cacao, ginger, tobacco and cotton, and to breed cattle, hogs, goats, or any other stock, and dispose of the produce or increase of the said commodities to the inhabitants of this island; provided always, that when they bring the said commodities to market, they shall apply first to the custos, or any other magistrate of the respective parishes where they expose their goods to sale, for a license to vend the same.

5. That captain CUDJOE, and all the captains, adherents, and people now in subjection to him, shall all live together within the bounds of Trelawney town, and that they have liberty to hunt where they shall think fit, except within three miles of any settlement, Crawl, or Pen; provided always, that in case the hunters of captain CUDJOE, and those of other settlements meet, then the hogs to be equally divided between both parties.

6. That the said captain CUDJOE, and his successors do use their endeavours to take, kill, suppress, or destroy either by themselves, or jointly with any other number of men, commanded on that service by his excellency the governor, or commander in chief for the time being, all rebels wheresoever they be throughout this island, unless they submit to the same terms of accommodation granted to captain CUDJOE and his successors.

7. That in case this island be invaded by any foreign enemy, the said captain CUDJOE and his successors herein afternamed, or to be appointed, shall then upon notice given immediately repair to any place the governor for the time being shall appoint, in order to repel the said invaders with his or their utmost force, and to submit to the orders of the commander in chief on that occasion.

8. That if any white man shall do any manner of injury to captain CUDJOE, his successors, or any of his, or their people, they shall apply to any commanding officer or magistrate in the neighbourhood for justice; and in case captain CUDJOE, or any of his people shall do any injury to any white person, he shall submit himself, or deliver such offenders to justice.

9. That if any Negroes shall hereafter run away from their masters or owners, and fall into captain CUDJOE's hands, they shall immediately be sent back to the chief magistrates of the next parish, where they are taken, and those that bring them are to be satisfied for their trouble, as the legislature shall appoint.

18 A

10. That



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10. That all Negroes taken since the raising of this party by captain CUDJOE's people shall immediately be returned.

11. That captain CUDJOE and his successors shall wait on his excellency, or the commanders in chief for the time being once every year if thereunto required.

12. That captain CUDJOE during his life, and the captains succeeding him, shall have full power to inflict any punishment they think proper for crimes committed by their men among themselves, death only excepted, in which case, if the captain thinks they deserve death, he shall be obliged to bring them before a justice of peace, who shall order proceedings on their trial equal to those of free Negroes.

13. That captain CUDJOE with his people shall cut, cleave, and keep open, large and convenient roads from Trelawney town to Westmoreland and St. James, and if possible to St. Elizabeth's.

14. That two white men, to be nominated by his excellency, or the commander in chief for the time being, shall constantly live and reside with captain CUDJOE and his successors, in order to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of this island.

15. That captain CUDJOE, during his life, shall be chief commander in Trelawney town, after his decease the command to devolve on his brother ACOMPONG, and in case of his decease, on his next brother captain JOHNY, and failing him captain CUFFOE shall succeed, who is to be succeeded by captain QUACOW; and after all their demises, the governor or commander in chief for the time being shall appoint from that time whom he shall think fit for that command.

In testimony of the above presents, they hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and date abovementioned.

Besides this body of rebellious Blacks that were under the command of captain CUDJOE, there was another body under the command of another captain; but as it would not have been a very difficult matter to have destroyed them, with the help of captain CUDJOE's party, which they were obliged by the 6th article of this treaty to give, and the others being sensible of this, they fled for, and were received upon the same terms, being allowed another town to settle in, under the command of their proper chief; which was much better than to have brought them all under subjection to captain CUDJOE and his companions; for as they are now under different governments, they cannot so easily unite, in case a spirit of rebellion should again begin to spread among them: on the contrary it will probably raise an emulation between the two societies, which shall be the most obedient and faithful to the governor, and most useful to the white men of the island.

However, says my author, I must observe, that it will be very dangerous to allow them to continue and to increase and multiply as a distinct people from the rest of the island; and therefore all proper methods ought to be taken to induce them and their posterity to incorporate and mix with the rest, so as at last to become one and the same people. For this purpose a law should be made for naturalizing every black free man that shall become a Christian and marry a white woman, and every black free woman that shall become a Christian and marry a white man; which would in time remove those two marks of distinction, their religion, and complexion. Whatever notion some

people may have of Blacks, I must look upon them as a part of the human species, and therefore, if these two marks of distinction were removed, which may in time be done, by education and intermarriage, I believe their posterity would at last make as good and faithful subjects of Great Britain, as the posterity of any foreigners we have, or may encourage to settle amongst us; and by this means we should in a short time add greatly to the natural strength of our island of Jamaica.

To return to the war between Great Britain and Spain in the West-Indies.

Admiral VERNON returned from Porto Bello to Jamaica the latter end of January 1739-40, in which passage several ships of his Squadron received much damage by hard gales of wind. The Greenwich man of war, with the bomb vessels, fire ships and stores sent from England, arrived at Port Royal about a fortnight before. While the Admiral lay in this harbour he granted a convoy to several Jamaica merchants, for protecting the ships with which they traded to the coasts of Spanish America, notwithstanding the war with Spain was actually proclaimed at Jamaica; for whether it be war or peace, the Spaniards in America are very glad to see the English merchants on the coast, who bring them all manner of cloathing and furniture, which they cannot purchase in the country but at extravagant rates, the flota not bringing half enough to serve the inhabitants of Mexico and the Terra firma.

The Admiral sailed with his Squadron on the 25th of February to Carthagena, which he bombarded, and afterwards sailed to Porto Bello, where he arrived the 14th of March, and from thence visited Fort Chagre, which he cannonaded and obliged to surrender on the 24th: here he found the custom house full of goods intended for loading the galleons, viz. cacao-nuts, guayaquil bark, Spanish wool &c. which the Admiral ordered to be brought on board his Squadron, and then set fire to the custom house; he also embarked the brass cannon he found here, and then blowed up the fortifications. The booty taken here was valued at seventy thousand pounds, with which he returned to Jamaica the beginning of April.

Here the Admiral received advice that the Spanish Squadron was sailed from Cadiz, and supposed to be designed for the West-Indies; whereupon he cruized to windward in hopes of meeting them, but not being able to get any intelligence of the Spanish Squadron, he returned to Jamaica, where some of his cruizers brought in a large Dutch vessel, hired to bring over the new Viceroy of Mexico, but the Viceroy escaped in a sloop, leaving behind him his crown, sceptre, and other regalia, with his jewels and money, to the value of 100,000 l.

In the mean time the Spanish Squadrons from Cadiz and Ferrol consisting of twelve ships of the line, arrived at Porto Rico in the beginning of October, and about the same time two French Squadrons, consisting of thirty men of war from Brest and Toulon, arrived at Martinico, and made great preparations for some important expedition, generally supposed to be the invasion of Jamaica; but meeting with a violent storm between Martinico and Hispaniola, they put into Port Lewis in a shattered condition, and the Spanish Squadron sailed from Porto Rico to Carthagena, where they arrived the 28th of October.

Admiral VERNON having received no advice of the arrival either of the Spanish or French Squadron

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1740.  
The war in the West-Indies.  
Vernon returns from Porto Bello to Jamaica.  
Receives supplies.  
Protects the trade to the Spanish colonies.

Vernon takes Fort Chagre.

The rest of them accept of the same terms.

Proper methods for making the best use of this treaty.

The French and Spanish fleets arrive in the West-Indies.



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XVIII.VERNON  
shut up in  
the har-  
bour of  
Port RoyalSpanish  
claim to  
the Austri-  
an domi-  
nions.OGLE-  
THORPE'S  
expedition  
against St.  
Augustine.Prizes tak-  
en in the  
French  
harbours.

squadrons in the West Indies, cruised off the coast of Hispaniola, and on the 19th of October, was joined by eight sail of transports, convoyed by the Wolf man of war from North America, which he brought with him to Port Royal, where he received intelligence of the arrival of the French and Spanish fleets, and thereupon remained shut up in that harbour, expecting a visit from the enemy; but they contented themselves with sending reinforcements to the Havanna, Carthagena, and other Spanish garisons, and putting their settlements on the coasts in a posture of defence.

The Emperor CHARLES VI, dying on the 20th of October this year, the court of Spain immediately began to form pretensions to the dominions of the house of Austria, as King PHILIP was descended from the Emperor CHARLES V; they asserted, that CHARLES V being Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, when he abdicated both those thrones, and retired into a monastery, left Spain and the territories thereto belonging to his eldest son PHILIP II, and his German dominions to his brother FERDINAND, whom he had advanced to the empire; but upon condition, that on failure of male issue of FERDINAND and his successors, his German dominions should revert to the heirs of PHILIP King of Spain; and to support this title his present Catholic Majesty ordered an army to assemble and march towards Barcelona, in order to be transported to Italy, and take possession of the Austrian dominions there, and these were to be joined by other forces to be sent from Naples.

But to return to the West Indies, General OGLETHORPE receiving advice that there was but a small garison in fort St. Augustine, and that they were in great want of provision there, proposed to the general assembly at Charles town, the surprising that fortress, which he represented he had great hopes of succeeding in, if they would join him with part of their militia, and raise him a certain sum of money. This they consented to, but not in so great proportion as Mr. OGLETHORPE expected, and their march was delayed so long, that the opportunity was lost; the garison of St. Augustine being reinforced and supplied with provisions, and the enterprise by that means became impracticable; whereupon Mr. OGLETHORPE, after he had taken a view of the place, and fired some shot into the town, thought fit to retire; but while he lay encamped near fort Augustine, a party of sixty or seventy highlanders, commanded by Colonel PALMER, were surprized by a detachment of the garison, which sallied out of the fort in the night, and killed most of them, among whom was Colonel PALMER himself: this was the only loss almost the English sustained in the enterprise against St. Augustine, for the Spaniards did not think fit to attack them in their retreat. But a much worse misfortune happened to Charles town on the 18th of November following, when the whole town almost was burnt down, the loss computed to amount to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, the inhabitants being able to save very little of their goods or furniture, towards which loss the British parliament raised them 20,000 l.

In the mean time complaints having been made to the French court, that several British ships had been taken by Spanish privateers on the coast of France, and in their ports and rivers; Don PHILIP, Admiral of Spain, at the instance of the

court of France, prohibited the Spanish privateers to cruise on the English upon the coasts and rivers of France: but whether he was in earnest is a question, for the Spanish privateers still continued to make prizes on the coasts of France, and were many of them manned chiefly by French sailors, and a list of the British ships which were taken in the months of January, February, March, and April, was published at Madrid, amounting to thirty seven, whose cargoes were valued at one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling.

On the 21st of June, Sir JOHN NORRIS set sail with a strong squadron, consisting of first, second and third rate men of war, and some frigates, and having cruised on the coast of Spain, returned on the 22d of August to Spithead, without having made any attempt on the Spanish ports. On the 13th of October Admiral NORRIS sailed again with another formidable squadron, but returned to Spithead again on the sixth of November, without having made any attempt on the enemy. About the same time Commodore CORNWALL failed with some men of war to reinforce Admiral HADDOCK, but HADDOCK's squadron remained inactive all this year, unless an accidental rencounter which happened between some ships of his squadron and three French men of war near the Straits, may be called an action, of which we received the following account. Captain BARNET, commander of the Dragon, a 60 gun ship, captain BALCHEN, who commanded the Folkestone, a forty gun ship, and another English frigate, meeting with three French men of war in the mouth of the Straits, and suspecting them to be Spanish register ships, Captain BARNET would have sent his boat on board them to be satisfied, and the French refusing to permit him, he fired at them, whereupon there happened a smart engagement, in which several men were killed on both sides; but the English Captains being satisfied at length that they were French, suffered them to pursue their course. But what happened soon after sufficiently shewed what we were to expect from the conduct of our Ministry, and the Admirals they employed in Europe.

The Spanish fleet, consisting of nineteen sail, came out of Cadiz, and on the 24th of November in the night, passed the Straits, Admiral HADDOCK lying with the British fleet in Gibraltar bay at that time: the next morning a brisk east wind drove the Spaniards so far back, that they continued two days in sight of Admiral HADDOCK. On the second of December he sailed after them in order of battle, and in a few days came up with them; when a French squadron consisting of twelve sail appeared, and clapped in between the two fleets, with a flag of truce, and the French Admiral let Admiral HADDOCK know, that he had taken the Spaniards into his protection, and must obey his orders. Whereupon Admiral HADDOCK called a council of war, and it was agreed to sail to Port Mahone, and leave the French and Spaniards at liberty to execute their schemes (the English fleet then consisting of seventeen men of war.)

In the mean time the Spaniards having formed a design against the Austrian dominions in Italy, on the Emperor's death, embarked fifteen thousand land forces at Barcelona, and landed them at Orbitello, a Spanish town on the coast of Italy. Tuscany, where they joined a body of troops the King of the two Sicilies had sent thither by sea.

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XVIII.Sir JOHN  
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I now proceed to take a view of the state of the war in the West Indies: we had the latter end of the last year assembled an army of eight thousand men, most of them new raised, and embarked them on board transports at the Isle of Wight: these forces were commanded by Lord CATHCART, and a squadron of men of war appointed to convoy them to Jamaica: they were several times driven back by stormy weather, but at length Sir CHALONER OGLE, with a fleet of four and twenty men of war of the line, set sail with the transports from St. Helen's on the 26th of November, 1740. They arrived at Dominica, one of the Caribbee islands, on the 19th of December, where the Lord CATHCART, the General, died the next day of the bloody flux: the fleet sailing from thence, arrived at St. Christopher's, the place appointed for the general rendezvous, on the 27th of December, where all the men of war and transports met, except two or three, which had been disabled in a storm at their first setting out, and were obliged to return to Europe to refit. The next day (28th of December) the fleet sailed again, and arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica on the ninth of January. But as they sailed along the west end of the coast of Hispaniola, they saw four large ships in the Offing; whereupon the signal was made for six English men of war (of which the Lord VERE BEAUCLERK and Lord AUGUSTUS FITSROY commanded two) to give chase. It was ten at night before the English came up with them, when the Lord AUBERY in the Prince Frederick, hailed one of the ships in French and English, and they not answering, he ordered a shot to be fired at them, and soon after another, which being answered with a broadside, the Prince Frederick returned it, and the Lord AUGUSTUS and three other ships coming up, they fought very warmly for an hour and an half; when captain KNOWLES came on board Lord AUBERY, and advised him to make a signal to desist, he being sure they were French, and a signal was made accordingly; but the French continuing their fire, the fight lasted half an hour longer, and then they parted by consent: as soon as it was day, the Lord AUBERY being the eldest captain, made a signal for the rest of the captains to come on board him, and they determined to send a boat on board the French Commodore, to know certainly who they were. The English officer, who went on board, finding they were French, asked the reason why they did not answer when they were hailed; the Commodore said, they did answer, and that he would report their usage to the King his master.

The Lord AUGUSTUS had seven men killed and fourteen wounded, the Lord AUBERY four killed and five wounded, and captain KNOWLES two men killed. What damage the French received is uncertain, but they appeared very much shattered; and when Lord AUGUSTUS, in his compliments at parting with the French Commodore said, he hoped they had not killed him many of his men, he answered, but too many.

Upon the arrival of Sir CHALONER OGLE, Rear-admiral of the Blue, at Jamaica, Admiral VERNON took upon him the command of the whole fleet, which consisted of thirty men of war of the line, besides frigates, bomb vessels, and fire ships, with which he sailed over to Hispaniola, arriving at Port Lewis on the 13th of January; but learning that the French fleet was failed to Europe, he took in wood and water at

Donna Maria bay, and upon the 25th set sail from thence to Carthagena, on the coast of Terra Firma, where they arrived on the fourth of March, being in all, men of war and transports, an hundred and twenty four sail. The Norfolk, Russell, and Shrewsbury men of war being commanded to anchor close under the forts of St. Jago and St. Philip, made so warm a fire, that in less than an hour they drove the enemy out of them, and the same evening the grenadiers landed and took possession of them: on the tenth, the two regiments of HARRISON and WENTWORTH and the six regiments of marines landed without opposition; on the 11th they got their tents and tools on shore, and having cleared the ground they encamped, and the artillery and stores were landed on the 15th. The Admiral receiving advice from Brigadier WENTWORTH that his men were exposed to the fire of a fascine battery, called the Barradera, on the opposite side of the harbour, he sent his boats with a number of men, commanded by captain WATSON of the Admiral's own ship, and the captains NORRIS and COLBY (and the men when landed were to be commanded by the captains BOSCAWEN, LAWS, and COTES) who landed about a mile to the leeward of the fascine battery, consisting of fifteen twenty four pounders; but happening to land under a small battery of five guns they knew nothing of, they leaped resolutely into the battery, and surprised the enemy so as to receive little damage, and secured the cannon, and another battery pointing their guns at them, they rushed forward, and made themselves masters of that as well as of the smaller battery, and spiked up all the guns, which was a great relief to the troops on the other shore.

In the mean time Brigadier WENTWORTH caused a battery of mortars to be raised, which very much incommoded the enemy in Bocachica castle, and on the 22d a battery of twenty four pounders began to play against it; and on the 23d Commodore LESTOEUX in the Boyne, with the Prince Frederick, Hampton Court, Suffolk, and Tilbury, went in to batter the castle of Bocachica with their ships; on the 24th they renewed their fire, but the Prince Frederick and Hampton Court being too much exposed to the shot of the enemy's ships, were called off, and in this station that brave officer, the Lord AUBERY BEAUCLERK was killed: about noon the Admiral sent all his boats to destroy a fascine battery that very much incommoded the camp, which they effected, and a tolerable breach being made in Bocachica castle, they prepared to attack it both by sea and land; but to their great surprise they found it abandoned by the enemy, who fled out of the castle without firing a musket: and now the enemy beginning to set fire to their ships within the boom, the boats rowed up to those ships, and boarded the Admiral Don BLASS's own ship the Galicia, in which they took the captain of the ship, the captain of Marines, an Ensign, and sixty men; then they cut the boom to make all clear for the next day: on the 26th the Admiral with the Burford and Orford got into the harbour with a great deal of difficulty, the enemy having sunk several ships in the entrance.

The next day and the day following the rest of the fleet got into the harbour, which was very fortunate, it blowing hard at this time: the Admiral sent captain KNOWLES to destroy two other batteries at the entrance of Passo Cavallo, which

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French  
squadron.The Lord  
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being the  
eldest captain,  
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come on board  
him.The Lord  
AUGUSTUS  
had seven men  
killed and four-  
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AUBERY  
four killed  
and five wound-  
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AUGUSTUS  
had seven men  
killed and four-  
teen wounded.



he effected; whereupon the enemy seemed to despair sinking all their galleons and other ships cross the mouth of the upper part of the harbour above Castillo Grande, in order to choak up that channel. The captain then ordered his chief engineer, captain KNOWLES, in the Weymouth, to discover what he could of the enemy, who observing they were removing things out of Castle Grande, gave notice of it to the Admiral, who ordered him to advance and fire upon the castle; but finding it abandoned, captain KNOWLES took possession of the castle, of which the Admiral made him governor: and now it was resolved in a council of war, to cut off the communication of the town on the land side, and to make a descent at the most convenient place near the town; and accordingly the ships being so stationed as to secure a safe landing for the army, General WENTWORTH on the fifth of April went on shore with about fifteen hundred men, and advanced through a long narrow defile or path in a wood, where he had some few men hurt by single shot, and on coming out of the defile he found about six hundred of the enemy advantageously posted to dispute his passage; but advancing upon them, he received their fire without much loss, and forced them to retire; after which he possessed himself of a convenient piece of ground for forming a camp, a mile from the castle of St. Lazar, and that day and the next the remainder of the forces, making in all four thousand men, were landed, but they were obliged to remain three nights upon their arms without tents or tools, which could not be landed with them: the troops growing sickly, and the rains expected, it was resolved in a council of war, to attack fort St. Lazar without erecting a battery, and on the ninth of April twelve hundred men, commanded by Brigadier GUISE, advanced to the fort a little before break of day, and began the attack in two places: the grenadiers entered the enemies works, but the forwardest of them were all killed almost, and the enemy playing on them briskly with grape shot, the General was obliged to order a retreat, to cover which he directed a reserve of five hundred men to advance, by which means they retired without any further loss, and carried off great part of their wounded men: but the army, both officers and soldiers, falling sick, insomuch that there were scarce men enough left to do duty at the ordinary guards, and the water in the cisterns being exhausted, from which they had hitherto been supplied, it was resolved in a general council of war, of sea and land officers, to reembark the troops.

In the mean while the Admiral caused the Galicia, Admiral BLASS's ship, to be fitted up for a floating battery, sixty carpenters were employed in making her sides shot proof, by filling up the merlins or spaces between the guns with sand incased, and on the 16th in the morning she was moored in five fathom water, about half a mile from the town; at six she began to fire, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who had no expectation of such an attack; however about twenty guns from several parts of the town being brought to bear upon her, they almost demolished her hull, and by shooting red hot bullets, she was three times set on fire; the attack was very furious on both sides, till two in the afternoon, when the ship being ready to sink, and her moorings cut away, she was ordered to quit the attack, and was afterwards sunk. The same evening

(16th April) the boats of the men of war were ordered to bring off the army, and on the 17th they were all embarked on board their respective ships without any loss; the next day all the guns and carriages were put on board the artillery ships, and all the works of Castillo Grande, Bocachica castle, and the rest of the fortifications being blown up, and the guns spoiled and rendered useless, the Admiral unmoored on the 25th of April, and on the sixth of May set sail for Jamaica; and though the English had not all the success they expected in this expedition, the loss of the Spaniards was very considerable; for there were six large men of war, and six galleons burnt, or otherwise destroyed, with all the rest of the shipping in the harbour of Cartagena: all the forts and strong castles for the security of the harbour were entirely demolished, and several hundred great guns destroyed, or rendered unserviceable.

The fleet arrived at Port Royal on the 19th of May, where the Admiral found a convoy of victuallers and store ships safely arrived from England some days before him, and on the 24th died at Jamaica, after a few days illness, the Lord AUGUSTUS FITZROY, captain of the Orford, esteemed a brave commander.

There was some time afterwards a more particular account communicated to us of the unfortunate attack of fort St. Lazar, of the following tenor.

On the ninth of April, about four in the morning, pursuant to a resolution taken by the General in a council of war, a body of men, consisting of five hundred grenadiers, supported by a thousand European marines, and Jamaican soldiers, marched towards the enemies lines before the fort, and were followed at a considerable distance by a large body of Americans, loaded with wool-packs, scaling-ladders and hand-grenades: the enemy who had entrenched themselves under the walls of the fort, fired upon them with great fury, which was returned by the grenadiers, who pushed forwards up to the mouths of their pieces, and stormed their intrenchments, in which the English suffered extremely, and a deserter, who had undertaken to conduct our forces, having the misfortune to be suspected by those in the van, his advice was entirely disregarded; for he proposed the attack should be made in the flanking quarter, whereas our forces unhappily made their push in the front of all, and were flanked by the enemy on both sides, as they advanced to the entrenchments, and great was their loss before they got up to them; but the bravery of the English troops surpasses all belief, they leaped into the lines among the thickest of the enemy and put them to flight; then the enemy retreated over a draw-bridge into the fort, from whence the shot was poured down upon the English without ceasing; whereupon they advanced to the walls of the fort in hopes of finding an opportunity of scaling them; but they were at length all penned up together at the end of the lines, and could neither advance or retreat, nor could they meet with their scaling ladders, so that they remained as butts for the Spaniards, who fired on them from every quarter, while the English had no way to annoy their enemies, so that great numbers were sacrificed before the retreat was beat; and then they could only retreat by the way they came; and it was a considerable time before they got out of the reach of the enemy's fire.



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The Americans finding they were knocked down, and had no arms to defend themselves, threw down the ladders, and retired to their camp: there were only three scaling ladders brought to the trenches, upon which a serjeant and ten grenadiers mounted the walls of the fort; but not being supported they were all cut in pieces, except the serjeant, who saved himself by jumping down again.

After the retreat a flag of truce was sent into the town to propose an exchange of prisoners, which was agreed to, with permission to bury the dead.

The land forces employed in this expedition were,

Six regiments of marines, consisting of ten companies each, 100 in every company, besides officers,	6930
Four other regiments, to wit, WENTWORTH's, HARRISON's, BLAND's, and CAVENDISH's. 815 men in each regiment,	3260
Raised in America,	4300
Taken out of DALZIEL's regiment in the Leeward islands,	300
Independent companies,	200
Negro pioneers from Jamaica,	500
Landmen	15490
Sailors on board the fleet	18630
Total	34120

Of the land forces seventeen officers were killed before Carthagena, and seventy seven officers died of fevers or fluxes in that camp, though they were not a fortnight on shore.

Expedition  
on to Cu-  
ba.

The fleet remaining in Port Royal harbour, till the first of July, in order to refit, and prepare for another expedition, set sail from thence, and arrived on the 18th at Waltenham harbour on the South side of the island of Cuba, being one of the finest harbours in the West Indies, secure from hurricanes, and capable of containing any number of ships, to which the Admiral gave the name of Cumberland harbour, in honour of his Royal Highness the Duke. The troops were landed here consisting of 2500 men and 1000 Negroes, on the 25th instant, and several detachments were made to reconnoitre the country, which repulsed the advanced guards of the Spaniards, and brought in plenty of provisions.

The camp was about twenty three leagues to the eastward of St. Jago de Cuba, advantageously situated, and provided with a very fine fresh water river, navigable for several leagues, the country abounding with cattle, provisions and fruit.

Another gentleman, who was in this expedition, relates, that this harbour is of so easy an access, that they could go in or sail out of it with the land or sea breezes; and that within two days, with the common sea breezes, they could sail to any port in Hispaniola (which voyage could not be performed sometimes from Jamaica in three weeks) so that in case of a French war they could easily visit the French colonies in that island.

The design of landing on the island of Cuba seems to have been to lay siege to the city of St. Jago; but that city being at a great distance, and the country full of defiles, that General, after he had taken a view of the country, in person, apprehended such an attempt impracticable by land, without a reinforcement of troops: the Admiral

also having viewed the mouth of the harbour of St. Jago, found it impossible to approach it by sea; whereupon it was agreed to reembark the troops, and the General sailed with them on the 28th of November to Port Royal, being followed on the sixth of December by the Admiral and the whole fleet.

In the mean time TRELAWNEY, the governor of Jamaica, having formed a design of fixing a colony among the Mosquito Indians, about 120 leagues to the eastward of Porto Bello, (these Mosquito Indians inhabit part of the provinces of Honduras and Nicaragua, and have never submitted to the Spaniards, but have continued in a state of war with them ever since COLUMBUS discovered that country, though great numbers of them have been massacred by the Spaniards) he gave lieutenant HUDSON a commission to command the whole Mosquito shore, who on his arrival there found that people preparing for an expedition against the Spaniards, and offered to make him their captain; whereupon he embarked with them in their periagues, intercepted 8000 pieces of eight, and made some Spanish prisoners, one of whom escaped and alarmed the Spaniards, or he had taken a million more; however in his return he took a place called Carpenter's river, and fifty thousand pounds of cacao; after which he returned to Jamaica in a very leaky vessel, in which he was in great danger of perishing: he reports that the Mosquito shore is the most healthful part of America, and would be a very advantageous situation for a British colony.

In August five hundred men were embarked at Jamaica, and conveyed by a man of war to the island of Ruatan, at the entrance of the bay of Honduras, whither the English had already sent a colony to plant that deserted island; and by this seasonable reinforcement it is presumed they will be able to defend themselves against all the power of Spain. The island is thirty miles long, and generally about fifteen broad, naturally fortified by rocks and shoals, and at the entrance of the harbour two forts are intended to be built. This will in a great measure secure the logwood trade, and what the Jamaica men value still more, give them an opportunity of trafficking with the coast of Mexico; and as it lies near the province of Honduras, where the Mosquito Indians (allies to the English) inhabit, they may be easily reinforced or supplied with provisions from thence, and may lend the Mosquito men their assistance in their incursions into the Spanish pale on the continent. It is strange we have not supported that people more effectually, and made some settlements amongst them, when we know them to be such irreconcilable enemies to the Spaniards; but it is most to be lamented, that when the expedition to Carthagena had no better success, and it was found impracticable to attack St. Jago de Cuba, our forces should have remained unactive so many months there, where great numbers of them perished, and never send a detachment to the assistance of General OGLETHORPE, who might easily have taken Fort St. Augustin with such a reinforcement, and made us masters of all Florida, whereby the British dominions on the continent would have been entire, and by fortifying our frontiers on that side, we might have bid defiance to both the Spaniards and the French: We should then have been masters of both sides the gulph of Florida, as we were already possessed of Providence in the Bahama islands, so that it would have been impracticable

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to the  
Mosquito  
Indians.Ruatan  
island  
planted by  
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practicable either for the Spaniards or French to have continued their navigation to the gulph of Mexico without our leave. It is amazing therefore that General OGLETHORPE was allowed but one single regiment to effect a design of such moment, when so many thousands were sent upon other expeditions, where the success was much more uncertain, and the importance of the service not near so considerable if we had succeeded.

1742.  
Georgia  
invaded.

But to proceed, Admiral DE TORRES, who commanded the Spanish squadron that convoyed the troops and stores which were sent to Carthagena, had the good fortune to sail from thence with his fleet to the Havanna before the British fleet, commanded by Admiral VERNON, attacked the forts that defended the harbour of Carthagena, of which advice being brought to Old Spain, and soon after news brought of the British fleet's being retired from Carthagena, they made publick rejoicings throughout the whole kingdom for three days; and now the Spaniards thought fit to return Mr. OGLETHORPE's visit and invade Georgia. They assembled a fleet of between thirty and forty small vessels at the Havanna, on which they embarked four thousand land forces, and having touched at St. Augustin's, they arrived in Jekyl sound on the 5th of July 1742, where, notwithstanding the fire that was made from St. Simon's fort, they proceeded up the river out of the reach of those guns below Gascoign's, where they landed three thousand men; whereupon the General nailed up the guns in fort St. Simon's, which he apprehended not tenable, burst the bombs, and retired to Frederica, towards which place a body of Spaniards advancing, were defeated by General OGLETHORPE, and his Indian confederates, which occasioned such a pannick in the main body of the Spaniards, that they reembarked their troops soon after, having first demolished St. Simon's fort, and taken the guns on board their fleet; the General followed them with his small craft, but was not strong enough to attack them, and the men of war sent from Carolina to his assistance did not appear till the enemy was retired.

The reasons the Spaniards gave for their precipitate retreat from Georgia, were, that General OGLETHORPE had intrenched himself with a thousand men in an inaccessible wood, through which it was necessary for them to march before they could approach Frederica: that they received intelligence that several English men of war, galleys and transports with land forces were suddenly expected from Carolina, and the rainy season was at hand, which put a stop to their further progress; and the reason they did not make the descent sooner in the year was, because the fleet from the Havanna had been dispersed in a storm, and a great many men lost.

Frederica is a town situate in the middle of the island of St. Simon's on the coast of Georgia, near the north mouth of the river Alatomalia: the island is thirteen miles long, and from two to four in breadth: the south end of it lies twenty leagues north of St. Augustin, at which end stood the fort of St. Simon's, with some barracks and huts, which the Spaniards call a large town: from St. Simon's to Frederica is seven miles, Jekyl Island lies next to St. Simon's, being about half as big; Cumberland Island is about the bigness of Jekyl's, and lies nearer the Spaniards, in which are the forts William and St. Andrew's: the general, when the Spaniards made their descent, went in

his boat and withdrew the garison out of St. Andrew's, with which he reinforced that of Fort William, being obliged to fight his way through the Spanish fleet.

The island of Amelia is thirteen miles long, and two broad, and extends to the southern mouth of the river Alatomalia, the southern limits of Georgia being within a league of St. John's river, and five leagues from St. Augustin's: the town of Savannah is sixty miles north of Frederica.

Though the grand fleet of Spain was much inferior to that of Great Britain, yet the latter seems to have been so intimidated by the French taking the Spaniards into their protection, that the Spanish squadrons were left at liberty to range wherever they pleased in Europe, and to convoy armies to Italy without any apprehension from the British fleet: and their privateers met with such amazing success, chiefly in the English channel, that upwards of four hundred of our merchant ships were taken this year, valued at a million sterling.

Both Admiral VERNON and Brigadier General WENTWORTH returned from America in the month of January 1742-3, and both were said to have been graciously received at court; but there have been some letters lately printed, which shew that there was a misunderstanding between the governor of Jamaica and the two Admirals, VERNON and OGLE, which proceeded at length to an open rupture, and might possibly be some hindrance to the publick service in the West-Indies. The Spaniards still continued to take great numbers of prizes in the seas of Europe; on the other hand some very rich ones were made by British ships, particularly the captains SIBBALDS and DONAL, two privateers belonging to Pensilvania, took two Spanish ships worth thirty thousand pounds: and the Romney man of war took another Spanish ship, which he carried into Gibraltar, valued at one hundred thousand pounds and upwards; and a Spanish man of war of seventy guns, being surprized by part of Admiral MATTHEWS's squadron in the port of Accacia in Corsica, was set on fire and burnt by her own crew, to avoid falling into the hands of the English.

The expedition of Commodore ANSON to the south seas, from which most people had great expectations, proved very unfortunate, and will scarce countervail the charges the nation was at in fitting out that squadron, repairing the loss sustained by the ships cast away, and damaged in this voyage, as appears by letters dated at Macao in China, December 1. 1742.

We were unfortunate in another expedition also, against La Guara, a town on the Caraca coast; this place Commodore KNOWLES attacked in the beginning of February with the squadron under his command, but his ships were miserably shattered, and twelve hundred soldiers and sailors, who landed near the town, were shamefully defeated, which they endeavoured to excuse by telling us there were twelve hundred seamen in the place, which belonged to the ships and galleys in the harbour; that there were also three hundred soldiers, gunners and companies servants, and four thousand Indians, Mulattoes and Blacks in the town, which the governor of the Caraca's sent thither when he heard the place was about to be attacked.—Porto Cavallo, on the same coast, was attacked by the Commodore some few days after with no better success.

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XVIII.Success of  
the Spaniards in  
Europe.Admiral  
Vernon  
returns.Expedi-  
tion to La  
Guara.



## CHAP. XIX.

*Treats of the civil government, prerogatives and succession of the crown, the King's titles and arms, great officers of state, nobility and grantees.*

## CHAP. XIX.

IN the fifteenth century Spain was divided into five kingdoms, four of which were Christian, and the fifth Mahometan: 1. The kingdom of Castile, comprehending the two Castiles, and the provinces of Leon, Galicia, Asturia, and Andalusia. 2. The kingdom of Arragon, which comprehended Arragon, Biscay, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and the islands of Balears. 3. The kingdom of Navarre, which contained the Upper and Lower Navarre. 4. The kingdom of Portugal. And, 5. That of Grenada.

In the same century these five monarchies were reduced to three by the marriage of FERDINAND King of Arragon, called the Catholick, with ISABELLA (ELIZABETH) heiress of Castile, and by the conquest they made of the kingdom of Grenada, anno 1492. These three kingdoms in the sixteenth century were reduced to one, and all Spain subject to one Sovereign; for first FERDINAND the Catholick took the kingdom of Navarre from JOHN D'ALBRET, anno 1512; and about seventy years afterwards the kingdom of Portugal was conquered by PHILIP II. In this state things remained for sixty years during the reigns of three Kings of the name of PHILIP; and then was Spain in the height of it's glory; for the house of Austria, which possessed it, had besides Spain large dominions in Italy, Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy in France, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, besides vast territories in America, Asia, and Africa; insomuch that PHILIP II used to say, the sun never set in his dominions. But this monarchy has been since dismembered, and reduced within much narrower bounds; seven of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries threw off the Spanish yoke at once, and declared themselves a free people; which was occasioned by the oppressions of the Spanish government, and the cruelties committed by the Duke of Alva, to which the alteration of religion in those countries very much contributed. The Catalans revolted in the year 1640, and put themselves under the protection of France, remaining for twelve years subject to that crown. The same year the Portuguese threw off the Spanish yoke, and placed JOHN Duke of Braganza on the throne, being of the race of their ancient Kings. In the last war the Emperor possessed himself of all the Spanish territories in Italy; and the residue of the Spanish provinces in the Low Countries were yielded to his Imperial Majesty by the peace of Utrecht; and at the same time Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were yielded to the English.

His Catholick Majesty however still remains Sovereign of all Spain (except Portugal, Roussillon, and part of Cerdagne;) of the empires of Mexico, Peru, &c. in America; of Ceuta and some other places on the coast of Africa, and of the Philippine islands in Asia: His dominions being still of the largest extent of any Prince's upon earth; and according to the calculations of some writers, four times larger than ever the Roman Empire was. In the continent of America alone he is possessed of a fine rich country, whose provinces lie contiguous, and extend six

thousand miles and upwards in length from south to north.

And as the King of Spain's dominions are the largest, so his prerogatives are as great as any Prince's in the known world. He is an absolute monarch, his word is a law, and he can dispose of every thing according to his pleasure, without taking the advice of any man or body of men whatever. It is true, every province almost in Spain had the privilege anciently of being governed by laws of their own framing, which could not be repealed or altered but by an assembly of the States of the respective provinces; nor could their Princes raise taxes without their consent. These States consisted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; of whom the Commons seem to have been much the least number, particularly in that large kingdom of Castile, which comprehended Leon, Asturia, Galicia, Estremadura, and Andalusia; for there were not more than seventeen cities and one town that sent representatives to the assembly of the States; and those but two a piece.

The Cortes are now only assembled upon some particular occasions; as when they take the oath to the Prince of Asturias, or when the succession of the crown is limited according to treaties with foreign Princes, who look upon those compacts to be the less liable to alteration, when they have been confirmed by an Assembly of the States. And this brings me to observe, that the crown of Spain is hereditary, and descends to the females according to their seniority, in default of males; though there are instances where their Princes have passed by the eldest, and given their dominions to a younger branch: and a multitude of examples there are of their dividing their territories among their issue. It is generally held, that the first Gothick Kings of Spain were elective, and that it was some centuries before their crowns became hereditary. But certain it is, that PELAGIUS, and the other petty Spanish Sovereigns, who first dislodged the Moors, and drove them from the northern parts of Spain, were elected by the people; and the first Sovereign of Arragon, GARCIA XIMENES, was not only elected, but was limited by certain laws and conditions in the exercise of his authority, which if he attempted to break through, the people were at liberty to depose him and advance another to the throne: and a magistrate accordingly was established, called the Justice of the kingdom, who was to observe the King's conduct, and empowered to prosecute him before the States, whenever he violated the laws. This officer was only accountable to the States, and the King at his inauguration was obliged to swear to maintain their privileges on his bended knees before him.

The words used on electing their Sovereign were these, 'We, who are your equals, do make you our King and Lord, on condition you maintain our laws and liberties, but not otherwise.' Which custom continued to the eleventh century, and most of the provinces enjoyed great privileges till the reign of CHARLES V, and PHILIP II, who by purchasing votes in the Assemblies of the States, and by vast standing armies, particularly of foreigners, in a manner put an end to the liberties of Spain: though, it is true, the government, to prevent insurrections, or to reclaim revolting provinces, have sometimes indulged the people with some share of their ancient privileges, which they have resumed again as soon as their turns were served; and the King of Spain

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The prerogatives of the crown.

Succession of the crown.



**CHAP. XIX.** is at this day one of the most absolute Princes on the face of the earth, as has been intimated already.

**Kings of Spain not crowned.** However, he takes an oath at his inauguration to maintain their rights and privileges; and on the other hand, the Cortes or Assembly of the States, who are convened on this occasion, acknowledge him for their Sovereign; but the Kings of Spain are not crowned, as most Monarchs of Europe are.

**Councils and Courts of Justice.** But notwithstanding the Kings of Spain are absolute Princes, says my author, their moderation can never be sufficiently applauded, having for many ages taken the advice of those who are versed in the laws of their country, in every thing that regards their civil government, their forces or revenues; and for that end have appointed several Councils or Tribunals for the dispatch of the respective branches of business, of which some are sovereign Courts, and others subaltern.

1. The Cabinet-Council, or Junta of general dispatches. 2. The Council of state. 3. The Council of war. 4. The Council of Castile. 5. The Chamber of Castile. 6. The Council of the Indies. 7. The Council of finances, or royal revenues. 8. The Council of Navarre. 9. The Councils of buildings and forests. 10. The Chanceries of Valladolid and Grenada.

The subaltern Tribunals are, 1. The Junta, or Council for lodging or quartering all persons belonging to the Court. 2. That of the Alcaldes of the palace. 3. The Audiences of Galicia, Seville, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Majorca, and the Canaries. 4. The Jurisdiction of the Corrigidors, Rigidors, Viguers, and Alcaldes.

The Viceroyalties are those of Navarre, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Majorca, Peru, and Mexico.

The Captainships general are those of Andalusia, Guipuscoa, Estremadura, and the Canaries, with those of the Indies.

**Cabinet-Council.** It is the Cabinet-Council, which consists of the principal Secretary of State, and five or six more of the Kings nomination, which determines all affairs of government both at home and abroad.

**Privy-Council.** In the Privy-Council, which consists of a great number, indeed things of the same nature are debated, but the resolutions are taken in the Cabinet; and sometimes, it is said, after things have undergone the deliberations of both Councils, the King, with the Secretary alone, takes such measures as he sees proper in relation to publick affairs; so that the principal Secretary may well be esteemed the greatest Minister in the Spanish Court, and is frequently the Prime Minister.

The business of the Council of war is the same as in other nations, only it takes in the admiralty and naval affairs, as well as those relating to the land-service; for the Admiral of Castile is now but a title of honour, he has nothing to do in maritime affairs.

The Court or Council of Castile is the highest Court of judicature in the kingdom, and determines appeals from inferior Courts within its jurisdiction: they are also a kind of Council of state for that particular province.

The Council of the Chamber of Castile are consulted by his Majesty in all his grants of honours, offices, and preferments, ecclesiastical or temporal; and all pardons and other graces pass this Court.

The supreme Council of the Indies, the Islands,

**CHAP. XIX.** and Terra Firma was established in the reign of FERDINAND the Catholick and ISABELLA, when those countries were first discovered; but the Emperor CHARLES V brought it to perfection. This Council have the supreme jurisdiction of all affairs, civil and military, by sea and land in the New World, (as their American dominions are frequently called;) where it is said the Spaniards within the space of an hundred and fifty years have built seven thousand churches and six hundred monasteries.

The Council of Finances may be resembled to the Treasury and Court of Exchequer in England, where every thing is transacted and determined relating to the royal revenues.

The Council of Navarre determine all matters relating to that kingdom, having laws and customs peculiar to themselves; and when they submitted to FERDINAND the Catholick, 'twas stipulated, that they should not be subject to the laws of Castile: but this has of late years been broken through in many instances, and the Court of Spain are as absolute here as in other places.

The Court of the royal buildings and forests have the supreme jurisdiction in all the woods and forests of the kingdom, and the direction of the King's buildings in his palaces and elsewhere.

The Chanceries of Valladolid and Grenada were established to ease the royal Council of Castile, which had too much business; and that the subjects in those parts of Spain might not be obliged to travel so far as Madrid for justice, when they found themselves under a necessity of appealing from the inferior Courts.

The Junta, or Council for providing lodgings for the Court, have a power of agreeing with such persons as desire to be excused from taking in these guests; by which compositions the Court raises a considerable annual revenue.

The Court of Alcaldes of the palaces has the jurisdiction of all causes, civil and criminal, within the verge of the Court, which extends five leagues round about the palace where the King resides, and is exercised over such persons as follow the Court, when his Majesty visits any part of the kingdom.

The Courts of royal audiences, before the late revolutions in Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, were but four, viz. those of Galicia, Seville, Majorca, and the Canaries: but since those provinces have been deprived of their privileges, and subjected to the laws of Castile, they have established Courts of audience at Saragossa, Valencia, and Barcelona; so that there are seven of them at present, without taking in those of the Indies, which are twelve in number.

These Courts, of which the Viceroy, or Captain-General is President, and the Alcaldes-Majors, Fiscals, &c. are Members, take cognizance of all causes criminal and civil within five leagues round about the city, where the respective Courts are held in the first instance, and by way of appeal of all causes which are removed from the Courts of the ordinary Judges within their several jurisdictions, as Alcaldes, Bailiffs, Corrigidors, Rigidors, &c.

There lies no appeal from these audiences in civil causes, where the matter in dispute does not exceed ten thousand maravedies; where it does, the parties may appeal to the Sovereign Tribunal; and in criminal cases there lies an appeal in sentences of death, mutilation, or ten years banishment.



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The Governor, or his Lieutenant, with certain Members of the Court of audience, have power to visit the several Alcaldes and inferior Judges in their province, examine their conduct, displace, and punish them for male-administration: but this is now almost disused, to the great prejudice of the people, who are exposed to the extortions of the ordinary Alcaldes. These gentlemen having a commission but for three years, think of nothing else but making the most of their places during the short time their authority lasts, out of the suitors who have any causes depending in their Courts.

As to the jurisdiction of their inferior Judges and Magistrates, viz. Corregidores, Rigidors, Alcaldes, Bailiffs, and Viguers, they seem to differ little in the nature of their office, but receive different appellations, according to the dignity or extent of the city or place, wherein they exercise their several jurisdictions. Formerly the Bishops Sees only were honoured with the titles of cities in Spain; but their Princes have long since extended that privilege to a great many other towns, and most of these are not only allowed to send Representatives to the Cortes, or Assembly of the States, but have a Corregidor for their chief Magistrate, to whom the lesser towns and places within the district of his city are subject. Those cities which have not a Corregidor for their chief Magistrate have a Rigidor, or Alcaide-Major, who has certain Rigidors, or inferior Judges, for his assessors or assistants; from which Courts there lies an appeal to the Courts of Audience, Chancery, Council royal, or other superior tribunal. The towns which are not cities have their Alcaldes, Bailiffs, or Viguers, from whose sentences they may appeal to the Courts established in the cities to which they belong, where they are confirmed or reversed.

There seems to be no other difference between their Viceroy and Captain-Generals, than that the one commands in a province which has the title of a kingdom, and the other in a province which has no such title, except that of Barcelona, where the Governor has the title of Viceroy, tho' Catalonia be but a county.

Both the Viceroy and Captain-General have the command of all the forces of the province of which they are respectively Governors, and preside in all tribunals within their several jurisdictions. They have the nomination of many officers civil and military, and recommend the rest to his Majesty's favour; and all officers and magistrates, both civil and military, are responsible to him for their conduct; as are also the Governors of towns and places within their respective provinces, exercising almost royal power. Before the reduction of Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, indeed, says my author, the people of those provinces would insist on their respective privileges and immunities, in opposition to the authority of the Viceroy, who were obliged to act with the utmost circumspection and lenity for fear of insurrections, which frequently happened whenever the people apprehended their rights to be invaded; but since the King has deprived them of their privileges, their Viceroy acts with an almost unlimited power; at which the people may murmur in private, but dare not express their resentments in public for fear of incurring the severest punishments.

King of  
Spain's titles.

The titles of their former Kings were very pompous, as King of Kings: ALONSO VI assumed the title of Emperor; and ALONSO VII,

besides that of Emperor, took the titles of Glorious, Pious, Happy, Conqueror, &c. but at present all these are reduced to that of Catholic, granted to King FERDINAND by Pope ALEXANDER VI, in consideration of his conquering the Infidel Moors in Spain, and the services he had done the Holy See. To this title the King added that of Don, as the most noble and emphatic term in the Spanish language, being derived from the word *Dominus* (Lord.) And the Kings of Spain, notwithstanding the loss of their Italian and Flemish territories, still stile themselves Kings of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Valencia, Murcia, Grenada, Cordoua, Seville, Algarva, Jaen, Majorca, Minorca, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Jerusalem, the East and West-Indies, Prince of Asturias, Duke of Milan and Burgundy, Archduke of Austria, Earl of Flanders, Burgundy, and Catalonia, Lord of Biscay and Molina, &c.

They retain also the arms of almost every province, bearing quarterly: the first quarter counter-quartered; in the first and fourth *Gules*, a Castle triple towered *Azure*, each with three Battlements *Or*, purfled *Sable*, for Castile. In the second and third *Argent*, a Lion passant *Gules*, crowned, langued, and armed *Or*, for Leon. In the second great quarter *Or*, four Pallets *Gules*, for Arragon. Party *Or*, four Pallets also *Gules*, betwixt two Flanches *Argent*, charged with as many Eagles *Sable*, membered, beaked, and crowned *Azure*, for Sicily. These two great quarters grafted in base *Argent*, a Pomegranate *Vert*, stalked and leaved of the same, opened and seeded *Gules*, for Grenada. Over all *Argent*, five Escutcheons *Azure*, placed cross-wise, each charged with as many Bezants in saltire of the first, for Portugal. The Shield bordered *Gules*, with seven Towers *Or*, for Algarva. In the third quarter *Gules*, a Fess *Argent*, for Austria. Coupie, and supported by ancient Burgundy, which is Bandy of six pieces *Or* and *Azure*, bordered *Gules*. In the fourth great quarter *Azure*, Seme of Flower de Lucis *Or*, with a border Compony *Argent* and *Gules*, for modern Burgundy. Coupie *Or*, supported *Sable*, a Lion *Or*, for Brabant. These two great quarters charged with an Escutcheon *Or*, a Lion *Sable*, and langued *Gules*, for Flanders. Party *Or*, an Eagle *Sable*, for Antwerp, the capital city of the marquitate of the holy Empire.

For Crest, a Crown *Or*, raised with eight Diadems or Semicircles, terminating in a Mond *Or*. The collar of the order of the Golden Fleece encompasses the shield, on the sides of which stand the two pillars of HERCULES, on each side one, with this Motto, PLUS ULTRA.

The King nominates to all archbishopricks and bishopricks in this kingdom, and most of the abbys, and to many other ecclesiastical dignities and preferments in the cathedral and collegiate churches, and in the several military orders of St. JAMES, Calatrava, and Alcantara or Montesa.

The King  
nominates  
to bishop-  
ricks, &c.

The great officers of the crown are, 1. The Grand Almoner, who has the precedence of all others. 2. The Grand Master of the household. 3. The Sumelier, or Great Chamberlain. 4. The Master of the Horse. 5. The Gentlemen of the bed-chamber, whose number is not fixed. 6. The Grand Falconer and Huntsman. 7. The Great Chancellor, which is now only a title of honour. 8. The Admiral of Castile, which is also a title of honour at present: as is that of, 9. The Great Constable of Castile.

The eldest son of Spain is called Prince of the Asturias, the people of this province having given the

Prince of  
the Astu-  
rias.



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the first blow to the empire of the Moors, and on that account esteemed the most honourable in Spain. When he is proclaimed, the Clergy, Nobility, and third Estate are assembled, and take an oath of fidelity to him, promising to obey him as their King, after the death of the reigning Prince. The younger sons of Spain are called Infants, and the Princesses Infanta's; and where there is only one daughter, and no son, she is called Infant, as a male.

Nobility.

The nobility of Spain are generally called *Hidalgo's*, by which we are to understand that they are descended from the ancient Goths; they are either Dukes, Marquisses or Counts. But those stiled *Grandees* are the most honourable, whether they are Dukes, Marquesses, or Counts; for there are many of every degree that are not *Grandees*.

Grandees.

There are also three kinds of *Grandees*, 1. Those who have that honour only for life, 2. Those where the grant is to them and their issue, whether male or female; and in that case if it descends to the female, the husband is a *Grandee* in his wife's right. And, 3. Others are *Grandees* by inheritance from their ancestors for time immemorial. They are also distinguished on other accounts; one class of them are covered before they speak to the King, the second do not put on their hats till after they have spoke, and a third not till they have received their answer. But it must be remembered, that notwithstanding their right to be covered before the King, if one should put on his hat before his Majesty bids him he would make him sensible of his error. The King treats them as Princes in his letters, stiles them Prince or Cousin-German, and gives them the title of Illustrious, and the Queen addresses their wives in the same manner. They have the privilege of being drawn by four horses or mules in Madrid, and their long harnesses are of silk: whereas all other persons have but a pair of horses in their coaches, except when they go into the country, and then every one travels with as many as he pleases. The King and Ambassadors have six horses in their coaches in town. The title given a *Grandee* in speaking to him, or of him, is that of Eminence.

The great Lords entertain a vast number of domesticks in Spain, but keep them all at board-wages, allowing to each nine pence or ten pence a day, or thereabouts. They dress no more meat in the kitchen, than will serve the Lord and Lady of the family and their children, and seldom make entertainments for their friends. The nobility are very numerous, and have large revenues, but they have the worst œconomy in the world, which is the reason that most of them are miserably poor. They spend prodigious sums indeed in the furniture of their houses, and in the purchase of diamonds and precious stones; which has however a great appearance of wealth, and jewels no doubt appear very well on black, their usual habit. But gold-lace and embroidery are forbidden in Spain, on which account they do not make so splendid an appearance in their shews and cavalcades abroad as the French.

No gold  
or silver  
lace worn  
in Spain.Knights of  
the mili-  
tary orders

The Knights of the several military orders are reckoned also among their nobility. They were established in the long wars between the Spaniards and the Moors, as an encouragement to the brave, and had several commanderies annexed to their respective orders, consisting chiefly of towns and territories taken from the Infidels; and formerly these Knights took vows of chastity, &c. as the

Knights of Malta do at this day, but the former have a dispensation from the Pope to marry at present. The three orders are, 1. That of St. JAMES, called the Rich. 2. That of Alcantara, called the Noble. And, 3. That of Calatrava, the Gallant. That of St. JAMES being the richest, obtained its name from thence, and is the most ancient, having been instituted in the twelfth century, and confirmed by Pope ALEXANDER III, anno 1175. The Knights of this order are known by a red cross on the shoulder in the fashion of a sword. There are eighty-seven commanderies belonging to it in Castile and Leon, valued at two hundred and seventy-two thousand ducats per annum.

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The order of Alcantara is called the Noble, because those who are admitted into it must prove their nobility for four generations, whereas in the others it is sufficient to prove it for two. The order of Alcantara also wear a red cross, and are possessed of thirty-three commanderies, four priories, and as many alcaides, amounting to fourscore thousand ducats per annum.

The order of Calatrava took the name of the Gallant, from the numbers of young Cavaliers who were admitted into it: they are distinguished by a green cross, and have thirty four commanderies and eight priories, worth an hundred and twenty thousand ducats per annum.

The Masters of these several orders were at one time so rich and powerful, that they would dispute the commands of their Prince; whereupon the masterhips, by the consent of the Pope, were conferred on the King, who still enjoys this privilege, and by that means keeps the Knights within the bounds of their duty. As to the order of the Golden Fleece, this is seldom conferred on any but Princes; and however honourable it may be, yet having no commanderies or revenues belonging to it, is not much coveted. See the State of Germany.

Before I leave this head of the Nobility and *Grandees*, I must observe that it is not universally true, that no subjects but the *Grandees* are covered before the King; for the Cardinals, the Pope's Nuncio's, the Archbishops, the Grand Prior of Castile of the order of Malta; the Generals of the orders of St. DOMINICK and St. FRANCIS, the Ambassadors of Crowned Heads, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece on collar days; the Knights of the three military orders of St. James, Calatrava and Alcantara, when the King assists at their chapters in quality of their Grand Master; the members of the Council-royal of the chamber of Castile, when they go in a body to advise with his Majesty on affairs of state, are all suffered to be covered, though they never pretended to the privileges of *Grandees*, which my author enumerates as follows: they have the precedence of all the other temporal Lords in all assemblies of the states, are allowed to have a sword carried before them, and to sit at chapel on benches on each side of the King; in the palace they have a right of coming into the gallery next to the King's apartment; no *Grandee* can be apprehended for any crime but by the express order of the King, which he scarce ever gives but where the offence is against the state, so that they are in a manner independent of the courts of justice. The eldest son of a *Grandee* has the title of Eminence as well as his father, and the *Grandees* of Spain pretend, that they are equal to the Electors of the Empire, and the Princes of Italy; inso-much that when the Duke d'Escalona served under the



the Elector of Bavaria in Hungary, he never came into any place where the Elector was, because he would not give his Highness any other title but that of Eminence, which belongs to the Grantees: nor would the late Duke of Alva, when he was Ambassador at the court of France, see the Duke of Mantua otherwise than incognito, because he would not give him the title of Highness. As to the Cardinals and Grantees, they give each other the title of Eminence reciprocally.

#### CHAP. XX.

*Treats of the strength, forces and revenues of the kingdom of Spain and of their coins, foreign trade and navigation.*

#### CHAP. XX.

Strength and forces of Spain.

THERE is no kingdom on the continent better defended by nature than that of Spain, surrounded on three sides by the sea; and on the fourth, towards France, the Pyrenean mountains, accessible but in very few places, and those very strait and difficult, separate it from the rest of Europe; and yet no country has lain more exposed to the insults of its neighbours than this for many years, through the ill conduct of its Princes and Ministers. Since the Peace of Utrecht indeed, the present King having rescued the revenues of the crown out of the hands of a multitude of useless officers and pensioners, restored their military discipline, and augmented his fleet and army, Spain begins to make a figure again in Europe. They have now usually an army of thirty or forty thousand men, regular well-disciplined troops, and thirty men of war of the line, with frigates and galleys to defend their coasts; some make their land-forces a great many more. In the year 1713, the Abbe VÉYRAC, a French writer, gave us the following account of their standing troops, viz. four troops of life-guards, as numerous as those of France; twelve battalions of Spanish and Walloon guards; an hundred and twenty battalions more of foot, and an hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, which if complete, must amount to seventy thousand; and many are of opinion they are not less at this day, which is a force sufficient to repulse any enemy that should attempt to invade them, even France itself, if unassisted by the maritime powers, provided none of their provinces revolt. But what I look upon to be the greatest security they can have on that side, is the treaty of Utrecht, whereby France has renounced all future right she may ever acquire to the territories of Spain, and which all the powers of Europe are engaged, as well in point of interest as by compact, to see strictly performed. To what purpose therefore should France ever be at the expence of carrying a war over the Pyrenees into Spain, when she knows she shall be obliged to relinquish all her conquests again? And as to any invasion by sea, by any other power in Europe, it is highly probable it will never be attempted again: England suffered too much in the last war, to undertake such another enterprize; and I know no other nation that could do it with the same advantage. We undertook it when we had Portugal for our ally, and one half of the kingdom in our interest, and tho' we met with the most surprising success for several years, were not able to fix King CHARLES upon the throne, or maintain our ground there; and if it could not be effected when that crown was so extremely weak, and there were so many concurring circumstances

in our favour, it must be in vain to attempt it now. CHAP. XX. they have put their militia upon so good a foot, and have so formidable a body of veteran troops: nor can we or any other people be supposed to have the same inducements to attempt the conquest of Spain again for many ages. They may be distressed at sea indeed by the English, French or Dutch; but on the other hand, whenever these powers disturb the Spanish trade, they do but wound their own; so that it seems the interest of every Prince and State in Europe to let them enjoy a long uninterrupted peace. And if their Princes of the house of Bourbon can revive their manufactures and foreign commerce, and banish that spirit of pride and indolence, which brought them so very low, they may be as flourishing a people as any in Europe; for no country is better situated for trade, or is capable of producing more valuable fruits or manufactures, than Spain and the Spanish settlements in America. But I defer saying more on this subject till I come to the article of commerce, and proceed to enquire into the publick revenues of the kingdom.

The King's revenues arise from the customs and duties laid on all goods imported and exported; from the further duties laid on all goods brought into Madrid, or carried from one province to another; from the rents of all the houses in Madrid, the first floors of which belong to the King; from a tax laid on the peasants and other people under the degree of nobility, proportionable to their substance, (for the Nobility are not taxed but in extraordinary cases); by a duty on all eatables, being a kind of general excise; from a duty the King raises on the owners of cattle, which are driven annually in winter-time from Leon, Old-Castile, Asturia, and other northern provinces, into Estremadura and New-Castile, when the snow covers the mountains; from the croifade, which is a duty the Pope allows the King of Spain to raise upon those who eat butter, cheese, milk, or eggs in Lent; from a subsidy paid by the clergy, first instituted to maintain the war against the Infidels; from a duty the Clergy pay to be excused from carrying arms against the Infidels; by a revenue that arises to the King as master of the three military orders, and from several taxes, which the Knights of those orders pay to be excused from raising such forces as their tenures oblige them to; from a duty paid by those who cut timber in the forests of Leon, and other places; by the fifth which the King hath of all gold and silver dug out of the mines, and also of copper, lead, iron, quicksilver, pearls, musk, amber, emeralds, and other precious stones; from the indulto, or duty paid to the crown for all treasure and merchandize imported from America, &c. all which, I perceive, does not amount to more than five millions sterling; at least there does not come more into the King's treasury, after all charges deducted, notwithstanding the late regulations of their finances; and great part of this is taken up in the payment of their civil list, and other necessary expences of the court; which seems to be but a very slender revenue, considering the extent and riches of the country, and the treasures imported from the West-Indies. But there are two or three very good reasons why it is no greater, one of which is the small proportion of land that is cultivated, and the neglect of their manufactures; another is, that the Clergy and Nobility, who are possessed of most of the lands, are taxed very low; and a third may be, that the King's revenues still pass thro'



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through such a multitude of hands who have salaries and perquisites out of them, that though there be a great deal raised, there does not much come into his Exchequer: but still I find the government of Spain, though they were miserably plundered and harassed by the contending parties in the last long war, are not so much in debt as their neighbours; they have not anticipated their revenues for ages to come, as the English have, who so much despise the Spanish economy.

Coins.

*Of the Spanish coins.*

I shall observe in the first place, that in Castile, Navarre, Arragon, Valencia and Catalonia, there are coins peculiar to each province; but there are others that are common to the whole kingdom and the dominions thereto belonging.

There are also in every province real and imaginary coins: the imaginary in Castile are, the Maravedi, the Rial Vellon, the new plate Rial, and the Ducat.

The real are the Ochavo of copper, the Quarto of copper single and double. The silver coins are, the Half Rial of plate, the Whole Rial, and the Double Rial; the Half Piaſtre, the Whole Piaſtre, and another coin, called the Maria, from the name impressed upon it with a cross over it.

The imaginary money of Arragon is the Livre, or pound, which makes sixteen Rials of plate; their real copper coin peculiar to them, is of the value of a silver Denier: and all the gold coins which are current in Castile, are current here also, except the Maria. There is also another silver coin, called an Eighteen, because so many of them go to a Rial of plate.

All the gold and silver coin in Arragon is current in Valencia; but no copper, they have a different Denier.

In Catalonia, they have a silver coin that is neither an Eighteenth nor a Rial of plate. They have also a Denier and Sol peculiar to them; and the coins of Arragon are current in Catalonia.

The imaginary coins in Navarre are the Ochavo, the Cornado, and the Targo. The Ochavo is worth two Maravedis or Mites, the Cornado four, and the Targo eight. They have also a real coin called a Maravedis, which is the only coin peculiar to them; but all the gold and silver coins of Arragon are current here.

In Castile, two Maravedis or Mites make an Ochavo, or farthing; two Ochavos a Quarto, or halfpenny; eight Quartos and a half make a Rial of Vellon, and sixteen Quartos a Rial of plate; fifteen Rials of Vellon and one Ochavo make a Piaſtre, and eight Rials of plate make a Piaſtre; sixty Rials of Vellon make a Piaſtole.

In Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Navarre, twenty-four Deniers make a Rial of plate, and one hundred ninety-two a Piaſter.

The Ducat of Vellon is worth eleven Rials of Vellon, and a Ducat of plate worth eleven Rials of plate.

The Maria is valued at twelve Rials of Vellon, and is current only in Castile and the provinces depending upon it.

The Half Piaſtole is worth two Piaſters; the Whole Piaſtole four; the Double Piaſtole eight, and the Quadruple sixteen. The species of gold and silver, from the Half Rial of plate to the Quadruple, are current in all the kingdoms and provinces

in Spain, except the Eighteen, which passes only in Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia and Navarre.

The ancient way of accounting in Castile, was by Maravedis and Quinto's, the Quinto making a million of Maravedis; but this is disused, except in paying the King's household, the civil-list, and the crown-rents.

Among private people they reckon now by Rials and Ducats of Vellon in Castile; and in Arragon, Valencia, Navarre and Catalonia, by Rials and Ducats of plate.

Both the gold and silver species are miserably clipp'd in Spain, inasmuch that it is not safe taking them without weighing.

Of all the Powers of Europe, it is observed, none are possessed of such vast territories, and so well situated for foreign trade as the Spaniards. They have abundance of fine ports upon the Ocean and Mediterranean; and the produce of their soil is as rich and fruitful as that of any other nation if it was cultivated. Their wine and oil are in great reputation, their wool and silk admirably fine, and the Pyrenean mountains furnish wood and iron sufficient to cover the sea with ships; their fruits are large, and of an exquisite taste, and they abound in precious minerals. Their settlements in America furnish them with prodigious quantities of gold and silver, silk, wool, sugar, cochineal, cotton, ambergris, crystal, emeralds, turquoises, balm, amber, bezoar-stones, pearls, sapphires, jasper, Brazil-wood, ostrich-feathers, ebony, and a vast variety of other rich merchandizes. But notwithstanding their soil produces such admirable wine and oil, very little of it is cultivated, as has been frequently hinted on other heads. Their fine wool and silk is unwrought, and they import the manufactures made of it from England, France, Italy, or Holland, except it be that at Segovia they make some black cloth, and at Toledo and Grenada they weave taffetas, damasks and velvets, but none of the best; and the flota's and galeons they send to America are laden with the merchandizes of England, France, Holland, and Genoa, the Spaniards being generally no more than their factors and agents; and accordingly, most of the plate that is brought from thence in return, is exported again and distributed to foreigners. And except the fleets which sail to the New World, and do not amount to more than forty or fifty in any one year, and the Biscayners, who carry on a little trade to the coast of France in their own bottoms, all the wines, fruits, and other produce of Spain, is carried abroad in foreign ships, which occasions their navigation to be so inconsiderable, that it is impossible they should ever be able completely to man twenty men of war of the line with native Spaniards that are sailors: therefore if they have never so much wood and materials proper for setting out large fleets, and could cover the ocean with ships, as my author has it, they can never be very powerful at sea, unless they improve their former commerce, and export their own merchandize; an English or Dutch Squadron well-manned, will still be a match for their grand fleet.

As to the religion and ecclesiastical government of this kingdom, these will be considered in the State of Portugal, which has a very near resemblance to that of Spain, having been a Spanish province in the last century, and almost inclosed in it.

CHAP.  
XX.



# THE PRESENT STATE OF PORTUGAL.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the kingdom of Portugal; of it's name, original inhabitants, air, mountains, rivers, and produce of the country.*

CHAP. I.  
Situation and extent

THE kingdom of Portugal is bounded by the Spanish province of Galicia on the north; by the provinces of Leon, Estremadura and Andalusia, on the east; and by the Atlantick Ocean on the south and west: extending from the thirty-seventh to the forty-second degree of north-latitude, and lying between the seventh and tenth degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London to the westward; being about three hundred miles in length from north to south, and generally about an hundred miles in breadth from east to west. Both the longitude and latitude may something exceed the bounds I have prescribed, tho' but a very few minutes.

The ancient and modern name.

The ancient name of Portugal was Lusitania, which BOCHART is of opinion came from the Phœnician word Lus, an almond, with which this country abounds, and Tania, the Greek word for a country. Others derive it from Lysus, the son of Bacchus, and will have Lusitania to signify *The Country of Wine*, which the sons of Bacchus in this island, that annually drink several hogheads of the wine of this country, will probably come into. The modern name of Portugal it is supposed to have received from the town of Porto, situated at the mouth of the river Duero; which place was formerly called *Portus Calis*: others hold, that this town being the port which the Gauls frequented anciently, was from thence called *Portus Gallorum*, and communicated it's name to the whole country. But I shall not detain the reader any longer with these surmises; only observe, that the bounds of ancient Lusitania were very different from those of modern Portugal; for Lusitania was bounded by the river Duero on the north, and the Guadiana divided it from Bætica and Hispania Tarraconensis on the east and south; so that Lusitania wanted all the province of Entreminho Duero on the north; and on the other hand it included most part of the province of Estremadura in Spain, and part of Castile and Leon on the south and east.

The ancient inhabitants.

The ancient inhabitants of this country were the Turdetani, whose seats were between the river Guadiana and Cape St. Vincent, olim *Pro-*

*montorium Sacrum*. To the northward of these, on the banks of the Tagus, dwelt the Barbarini and the Celtæ; and to the northward of the Tagus, as far as the Duero, dwelt the Turduli. The Pefures lay along the mountain called Sierra d'Estrella, and the Bracari and Graii between the rivers Duero and Minho. The Carthaginians and Romans successively possessed this country, the latter being expelled by the Suevi, a northern people, who enjoyed it not long, being driven from thence by the Goths, who possessed this with the rest of Spain till the Moors made a conquest of the whole country; from whom it was recovered again by the Christians of Gothick extraction, as will appear hereafter in the History of this country.

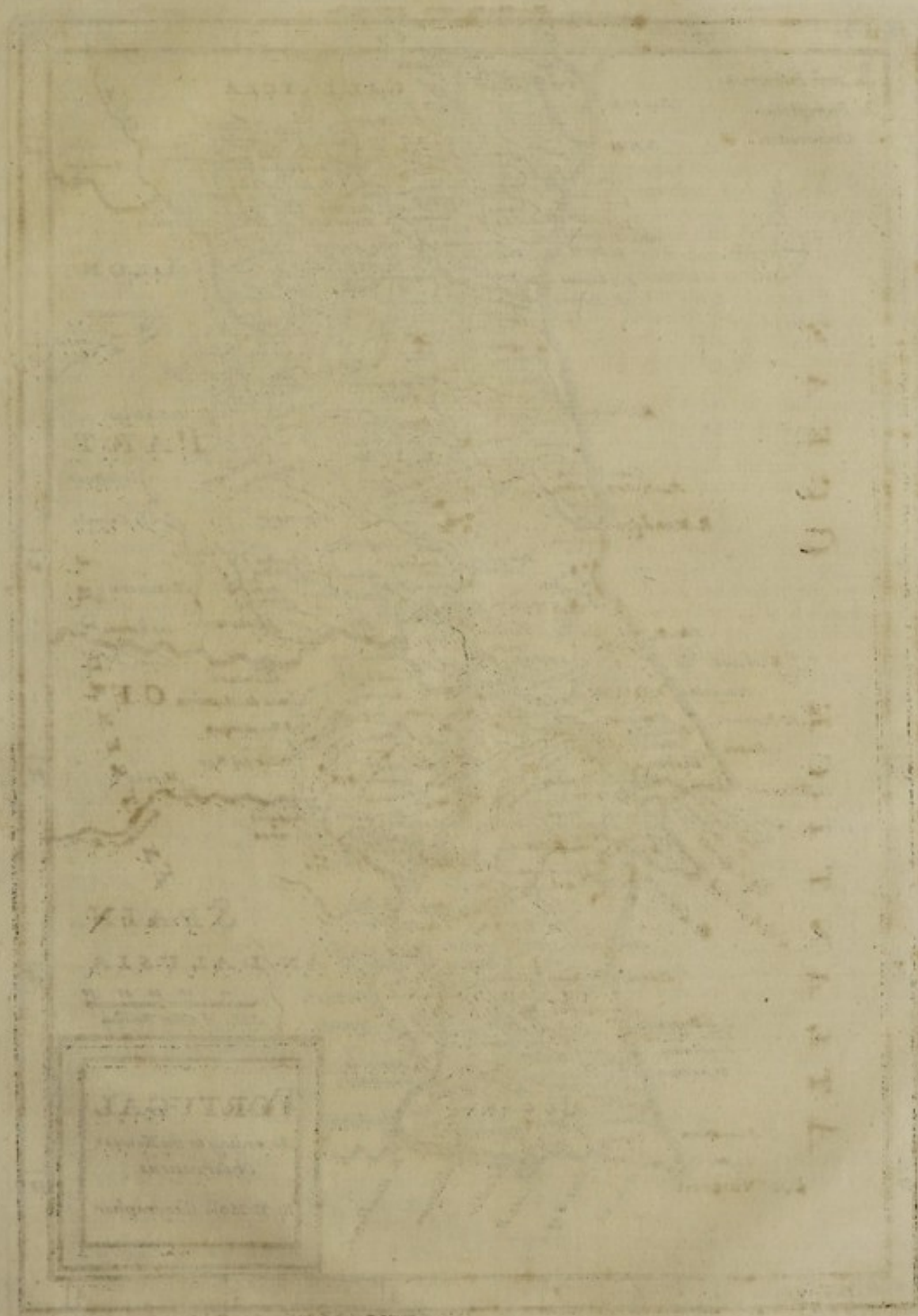
CHAP. I.  
The air.

Portugal lying along the western or Atlantick Ocean, is refreshed with cool breezes from the sea almost every afternoon, which render the heats of summer more tolerable here than in the inland provinces of Spain.

Moun-  
tains.

The country is full of mountains, the principal whereof are, 1. The Sierra d'Estrella, anciently *Mons Herminius*, which lies between the provinces of Beira and Tralos Montes, extending itself north and south: on the top whereof are two large lakes, one of them said to be unfathomable, and supposed to have a communication with the sea, because wrecks of ships have been found in it, and that it is always rough and stormy when the neighbouring ocean is so. 2. Sierra de Marvao, or Herminius Minor, in the province of Alentejo, stretching as far as the town of Marvao, from whence it receives it's name. 3. The rocky mountain of Sintra, which the English mariners call the Rock of Lisbon, being on a point of land about five leagues to the westward of that city, and anciently called *Promontorium Luce*; upon which is a monastery hewn out of the solid rock. 4. Sierra de Arabida, olim *Promontorium Barbaricum*, situated on another point of land to the southward of the mouth of the Taio; on the top of which also stands a monastery. 5. Monte Junto, or *Mons Tagrus*, contiguous to the rock of Lisbon. 6. Sierra de Algarva, olim *Cicus*, which separates that province from the rest of Portugal. And, 7. Mount





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U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY







CHAP. 7. Mount Gerve, which separates Portugal from Galicia.

Produce  
of the soil.

This country does not only consist, great part of it, of mountains, but some of the barrenest mountains on that continent. Towards the bottom of them indeed they are pretty well planted with vines, which afford abundance of good wine. The soil produces also great plenty of olives; but the oil is not so good as in Spain. Of oranges and lemons also nature is very bountiful here; and their sweet oranges, which were brought from China hither, are some of the best in Europe; but their sour oranges are not comparable to those of Seville. Their plantations of mulberries feed abundance of silk-worms. Of wheat and barley they have not enough in the best years for the subsistence of the natives; and when they are not supplied from the neighbouring Spanish provinces, the English and Dutch import great quantities of grain from the north. As to the peasants and country people, they live miserably upon maize, or Indian corn, a very coarse kind of food. Nor have they much good pasture; the best is towards the north, and the flesh of their cattle is generally lean and dry. However, as bad as it is, there is such a scarcity of it, that the common people eat little flesh. As to almonds, raisins, figs, chestnuts, and some other fruits, we meet with great plenty here, but they are not reckoned so good as the fruits in the southern provinces of Spain. Among the products of their soil we may also reckon salt, for this is extracted from the sea-water let into pans on the coast, especially in a bay near Setival, or Saint Ubes, as the English sailors call it, from whence vast quantities of salt are exported to the north, and to the American plantations. Of sea and river fish also the Portuguese have good store, which brings me to give some description of their rivers, which are, 1. The Minho. 2. The Duero. 3. The Tagus. 4. The Guadiana. 5. The Mondego. 6. The Lima. 7. The Sadao. 8. The Vouga. 9. The Leza. 10. The Ave. 11. The Cavado. 12. The Zezere. 13. The Alba. 14. The Coa. 15. The Laura. 16. The Canha. And, 17. The Caya.

Rivers.

As to the four first, they have been described among the Spanish rivers; and therefore I shall take no notice of them till their entrance into this kingdom.

The Minho, the northernmost river of them, comes from Galicia, and taking its course south-west, divides Galicia from Portugal, falling into the ocean near Caminha.

The Duero comes from the province of Leon, and runs almost directly west, till it falls into the ocean a little below Porto.

The Tagus, or Taio, comes from the Spanish province of Estremadura, and running almost south-west, washes the walls of Lisbon, falling into the ocean ten or twelve miles below that city.

The river Guadiana also comes from Estremadura, and entering Portugal between Badajos and Elvas, takes its course almost full south, discharging itself into the ocean a little below Syamonte.

The Lima has its source in Galicia, and taking its course south-west, falls into the sea near Viana.

The Cavado runs parallel to the Lima, and is but a little distance from it.

The Vouga rises in the province of Beira, and running almost full west, discharges itself into the ocean below Aveira.

The Mondego rises also in the province of Beira,

and taking its course south-west, visits the city of Coimbra, and about ten leagues beyond falls into the ocean.

The Cadoa, or Sadao, rises on the confines of Algarva, and running first due north, afterwards turns about to the west, and falls into a great bay of the western ocean near Setival or St. Ubes.

The Cancha, or Chanca, runs to the southward on the confines of Spain and Portugal, being a boundary between those kingdoms for several leagues, and afterwards falls into the Guadiana.

The river Caya also runs from north to south for some leagues on the confines of both kingdoms, and falls into the Guadiana near Badajos.

The Zezere rises in the province of Beira, and running to the south-west, falls into the Tagus near Tancos. The rest of their rivers will be taken notice of in the description of their several provinces.

The principal hot baths in this country are those called Caldas, fifteen leagues north of Lisbon; and those of Alvor in Algarva: but though these waters are in some esteem, the accommodations for people of condition are very mean.

As to minerals, their mountains, it is said, afford mines of gold and silver; but I do not find there have been any opened of the former for many years. They import gold from their settlements on the coasts of Africa and Brazil: but travellers relate that there is a silver mine at Guacaldane, which produces annually a good quantity of that metal. There are also mines of lead, iron, and allum; quarries of jasper and other fine marble; with crystal, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones.

Either their wool, or those that manufacture it, are in fault; for they make only some coarse cloth, worn by the meanest of the people; others wear English cloth or stuffs; but black bays more than any other kind: nor is their manufacture the best.

The horses in Portugal are brisk lively animals, as they are also in Spain; but of a slight make; and mules being much surer footed, are more used both for carriage and draught. Some black cattle and flocks of sheep are seen here, but they do not abound, and their flesh is generally lean and dry. Their hogs and kids are much the best food. There is scarce any country where they make more marmalade, both white and red, with abundance of other sweetmeats; and they deal very much in perfumed waters.

## CHAP. II.

*Treats of the persons and habits of the Portuguese; their genius and temper, diet, diversions and way of travelling.*

THERE is so great a resemblance between the natives of Spain and Portugal, the latter having been long a Province of the former, that I was once determined to have omitted this chapter entirely: but as some things may have escaped me in the description of Spain, and there are writers who insist, that a Spaniard would look upon himself to be disgraced by the comparison, I shall enquire farther into their respective characters.

And first, it must be admitted, that there are men in some provinces of Spain more robust, of a larger size, and who would make much better soldiers, than those of Portugal; I shall instance only the natives of Catalonia, a regiment of whose troops

CHAP. I.

II.

Persons and habits, genius and temper.



CHAP.  
II.

troops would certainly be preferred to one of Portuguese: and 'tis become almost a proverb, that a Spaniard stripped of all his good qualities makes a perfect Portuguese. But this surely was never said seriously. EMANUEL DE FARCA, one of their own writers, in describing his countrymen, says, "The Nobility think themselves Gods, and require a sort of adoration; the Gentry aspire to equal them, and the common people disdain to be thought inferior to either." But he might have said much the same possibly of the Spaniards of quality, who, as well as the Portuguese, scarce ever suffer their servants to approach them but on the knee.

As to the Portuguese ladies, one who has lately visited that country assures us, That their complexions are pretty much upon the olive; their features delicate, but the visage thin; their hair is black and shining, and their eyes sparkling; nor do they want a good share of wit. That they are for the most part generous, charitable and modest; and that their ceasing to bear children sooner than the women of other nations is a vulgar error, as well as the story of their wearing spectacles universally; that weak eyes indeed is a pretty common infirmity there, which is the true reason that some young people wear them.

Having omitted the account we meet with in the Lady's Travels of the dress of a person of quality, I shall insert it here: She says, she went to see a lady of distinction, and found her in her bed-chamber, with her head bare, without any coif or other head-dress; her hair was parted in the middle of the forehead, and tied with a ribbon; that her shift was of very fine linen, and as wide as a surplice, the sleeves large in proportion, buttoned at the wrists with diamond buttons, the neck and wristbands flowered with silk: That several small pillows trimmed with ribbons and broad lace lay upon the bed; that the bedstead was brass gilt, and the head adorned with four rows of balusters of the same metal. That the first thing she did after she was up, was to have recourse to the red pot, laying on the paint very thick, not only on her cheeks, chin, nose, forehead, and the edges of her ears, but on the inside of her hands and shoulders; and this she did every night and morning constantly; afterwards her woman smocked her with perfumes, and then sprinkled orange-flower-water upon her: and this was agreeable to the custom of Portugal, to which kingdom the lady belonged.

The Portuguese, as well as the Spanish ladies, are generally little meagre creatures, and yet wear hoops and a multitude of gowns one over another, of rich stuffs trimmed with gold and silver lace; but the uppermost is of coarse black stuff, and so long that it trails upon the ground. Their shoes are of black Spanish leather, strait as a glove, and without heels, and they seem to slide along rather than walk within doors. When they go abroad they have pattens, being a kind of silk sandals, fastened to gold rings or plates, which raise them half a foot from the ground, and make them walk very awkwardly; but in the house they neither wear hoops nor pattens. Their stays, in which they have but little bone, are high before, but scarce reach half way up their backs behind, and consequently would expose their tawny skins, if their shoulders were not covered with paint. Their hands as well as their feet are small and well proportioned, and their wide sleeves with broad ruffles to them buttoned at the wrists, make their hands

appear the less. People of quality wear very fine linen, and as it is scarce and dear, the meaner sort wear none; they will rather go without than wear coarse linen. The ladies about their necks wear a broad laced tucker, and instead of a girdle tie a string of medals or reliques, or perhaps the cord of some religious order, about their waists, the ends whereof reach down to the ground, with several knots in them, and to each knot a diamond or other precious stone is fastened; and the Spanish and Portuguese ladies have generally several sets of jewels. Cross the top of their stays they have a kind of breast-plate of diamonds, from whence there hangs a chain of pearl, or ten or twelve little knots of diamonds. They have also bracelets, rings and pendants in abundance, but no necklaces. Their bodies are almost covered with *Agnus Dei's*, and other little images; and in their hair they have a variety of precious stones, with which they form artificial butterflies, or other insects. Sometimes they adorn their hair with ribbons and feathers of various colours, but never have any head-dress. When they go abroad indeed they throw a veil over all; and women who are advanced in years wear a fine caul or coif over their hair; but the young ladies wear neither cap nor coif, night or day.

The greatest difference I observe in the dress of the Spanish and Portuguese gentlemen, is, that the Spaniards wear their breeches very strait, while the Portuguese have them large and full like trousers. The Portuguese also upon solemn occasions, as at the marriage of their Princes and Festivals, are permitted to wear lace and embroidery, which are prohibited to the Spaniards. And this was taken great notice of at the solemnization of the late double marriages between Spain and Portugal; the Portuguese made a most glittering shew, while the Spaniards, who were clothed in plain black, appeared a little upon the dismal; the fine horses and jewels of the latter were the only things taken notice of by the spectators. Generally both Spaniards and Portuguese wear black, and the Portuguese courtiers frequently follow the French fashions of late.

As to their houses and furniture, they have usually a great many rooms on a floor, rather long than broad; the floors and ceilings are a plain white plaister, that looks like polished marble. They change both their furniture and apartments according to the season of the year; upon the lower floors of their summer-rooms they throw several pails of water every morning, which will dry up in half an hour, and leave a refreshing coolness afterwards. Upon these floors they spread fine mats, and cover the walls with the same chair-high; above these are hung pictures and looking-glasses, and all round the rooms of the ladies apartments are cushions laid upon the mats, of silk or velvet, frequently brocaded, which they sit cross-legged upon, (but the gentlemen in theirs have chairs.) Between these are fine tables and cabinets, and at certain distances silver pots or boxes with orange or jessamine-trees in them, and they have frames of straw-work in the windows to keep out the scorching sun. In the upper apartments, their hangings, cabinets, paintings, looking-glasses and plate are exceeding rich; and the floors are covered frequently with Turkey carpets. In winter their beds and hangings are velvet, trimmed with gold or silver lace: in summer they use no curtains, or only such as are made of coloured gauze, to keep out the gnats. In winter they use

CHAP.  
II.



CHAP. II. the upper floors of the house, even to the fourth story, and in summer the ground or first floors.

Copper, tin, or pewter dishes or vessels are never seen in the houses of the quality; they use only silver or earthen ware: some of the Spanish Grandees have a thousand or twelve hundred dozen of silver plates, and three or four hundred dishes of the same metal in their houses, and other utensils proportionable; among which are reckoned a great number of silver ladders or steps, with which they mount up to their rich cabinets and cupboards. Most of these vessels and utensils are brought ready made from their American settlements, and pay no duties on importation. They are generally ill-shaped clumsy things, such as an English or French silver-smith would be ashamed of.

Bad economy.

Amidst all this wealth the bad economy of the Spanish and Portuguese Grandees and Nobility is scarce credible, and reduces them to a necessitous condition, even while they make this glittering appearance. Most of them pass away their lives in or near the capital city of each kingdom, without so much as ever viewing their estates, unless they happen to be disgraced at court; they leave every thing to their steward, and think it beneath them to inspect his accounts. Their tradesmen, drapers, mercers, bakers, butchers, pastry-cooks, poulterers, deliver in their goods upon trust, and set down their own prices, being pretty well assured their bills will not undergo a very strict examination; and all the overplus of the eatables is carried off by the servants (who are at board-wages) every night.

It is much beneath a lady or gentleman of quality to endeavour to beat down the price of a piece of silk or goods, or even to take change of a shop-keeper out of a piece of gold. And as the tradesman frequently gives seven or eight years credit, he sets down double the price the goods might be bought for with ready money. They seldom lose their debts however, for the Spanish and Portuguese quality are men of such honour, that they make no difficulty in assigning part of their rents for the payment of their debts, when they are pressed for money by their tradesmen.

Servants and slaves.

The houses of persons of quality are crowded with domesticks, and they are frequently obliged to hire other houses on purpose to lodge them. Their servants wages are very low, eight pence or ten pence a day for diet, clothes, and every thing; and a gentleman belonging to a person of quality has not above fifteen crowns a month, though he is obliged to dress in velvet in winter and silk in summer. And indeed they lay out most part of their salaries in clothes, living upon onions, peas, beans, and other pulse, which makes them so sharp set that they are ready to snatch the meat out of the dishes as it goes from table; and both gentlemen and ladies women, as well as the inferior servants, eat at cooks shops upon such sort of food chiefly as has been mentioned already.

One reason of their having such numbers of servants, besides the small wages they give, is a custom among the nobility and gentry of keeping all such in their pay as have served their ancestors; insomuch that some of the Grandees shall have four or five hundred in their houses of both sexes; the greatest part whereof are purely for shew, and being lodged in adjacent houses, only appear on days of ceremony.

But notwithstanding they retain so many, they are limited to a very small number when they appear abroad; three or four footmen and a groom,

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perhaps, besides the gentlemen and pages, with the lady's women, who have coaches to themselves. The gentlemen wear black velvet in winter, with long black cloth cloaks that trail upon the ground, and in summer black damask, or other silk, and cloaks of a light black stuff; and the women endeavour to imitate their ladies.

Besides ordinary servants, the quality retain a-bundance of dwarfs of both sexes, strange misshapen creatures, their heads as big as their bodies, but dressed up as fine as possible. They have also a pretty many slaves, both Turks and Moors, which are valued at four or five hundred crowns a-piece. Over these they had formerly the power of life and death, but the government will not suffer them to kill their slaves at present: They use them however very cruelly still upon some occasions; I have known a woman order a pretty she-slave to be tied up by the hands by the other slaves and whipped almost to death, because her master has looked kindly at her.

Where two slaves marry, their children are slaves; but if a freeman marries a slave, the children are free. These slaves are the best servants they have; for the other will stand upon terms, insisting that they have as good blood in their veins as their masters. The very beggars rather demand than ask an alms, alledging they are descended from Old Christians or the ancient Gothick nobility, and must be dismissed with a compliment if you give them no money, and then they go away contentedly.

The food of the Portuguese is much the same Food. with that of the Spaniards, and they are no less sober and abstemious.

The bull-fights, night-rambles, serenades, plays, Diversions visits, and other diversions common to Spain and Portugal, have been taken notice of already. I shall here therefore only mention their pompous processions on *Corpus Christi* day, and other great holidays, designed equally for devotion and diversion, for they frequently conclude with some pious tragedy or comedy; wretched performances, that can give but little entertainment to any but an ignorant bigotted Spaniard or Portuguese. The lady in her travels tells us, she was at one of them, where they represented an assembly of the Knights of St. Iago, or St. James, where our Saviour was introduced petitioning them to be admitted into their order: Some of the Knights agreed to it; while others alledged, that our Saviour being born of ignoble parents, could not be of that order, without breaking into the fundamental rules of their institution. And it was at length carried in the negative, to refuse him: but to compromise matters, and do honour to Christ, they hit upon this expedient, namely, to make Christ the founder of another order of Knights: And there is actually such an order, called *De Christo*, in Portugal at this day.

The way of travelling here is much the same as Travel. in Spain, except it be that they have not so many coaches, and travel more by water than the Spaniards do; their country lying along the sea-coasts, and the mouths of the great rivers which rise in Spain running through it. The mule or the litter are generally made use of on a journey; their horses, which are sprightly and well made, may serve on short visits, to prance at a procession, a cavalcade, or before their mistresses windows, but the mules are stronger and surer footed, and consequently fittest to climb their mountains. Their pace indeed is but slow; and as to strangers, who

18 E

are



are forced to have a guide with them that travels on foot, they cannot go far in a day.

## C H A P. III.

*Shows the several provinces Portugal is divided into; containing a particular description of that of Estremadura, of Lisbon the capital, and other great towns in it; and of their palaces, churches, public buildings, &c.*

C H A P.  
III.  
Provinces.Estrema-  
dura.Chief  
towns.

Lisbon.

The an-  
cient name  
of it.

**P**ORTUGAL is usually divided into six provinces, viz. Estremadura, Beira, Entre-Minho-Duero, Tralos Montes, Alentejo, and Algarva.

The province of Estremadura (in Portugal) is bounded by the river Mondego on the north, which separates it from Beira; by the same province of Beira and that of Alentejo towards the east; by another part of Alentejo on the south; and by the Ocean on the west: extending about an hundred English miles in length from north to south, and five and forty in breadth from east to west.

Besides the river Tagus which runs from the north-east to the south-west thro' this province, it is watered also by the river Zezere, already described; by the Naboan, which rising to the northward, takes it's course southerly, and having passed by Tomar, afterwards falls into the Zezere; by the Soro, the Cadoan, and abundance of other rivers of less note.

This province being so advantageously situated on the ocean and the river Tagus, and having the capital city, which is not only the seat of the government, but one of the finest ports in Europe, within it's limits, is better peopled, and consequently better cultivated, than any other part of Portugal. The chief towns and places whereof are, 1. Lisbon, the metropolis; in the neighbourhood whereof are Alcantara, Bellem, St. Julian, and Cascais, which require a description from the relation they have to that capital. 2. Cintra. 3. Almada. 4. Setubal. 5. Salvaterra. 6. Mugen. 7. Tomar. 8. Pedragan. 9. Leiria. 10. Alcobaca. 11. Peniches. 12. The Isles of Borlings, or Berlinges. And, 13. Santeren.

Lisbon the capital, an Archbishoprick and University, is situated on the north shore of the Tagus, from whence it rises with an easy ascent, comprehending in it seven little hills, and stretching itself along the banks of the river; is of a very irregular figure, broadest in the middle, and growing narrower towards the one and the other extreme. It lies in thirty-eight degrees forty-five minutes north latitude, nine degrees and a half to the westward of London, nine or ten miles to the eastward of the ocean, and near an hundred miles west of the frontiers of Spain.

Olyssippo, the ancient name of this city, is supposed by some, who are fond of making the Greeks or Trojans the founders of all the great towns in Europe, to be derived from ULYSSES, whom they have assigned for it's founder. But it does not appear however, to have been a place of any great fame or consequence till these later ages. While the Romans were sovereigns of Lusitania, Emerita, now Merida, in Spain, was the capital of this country: The Suevian Kings made Oporto the seat of their government; and the Gothick Monarchs never resided in Portugal while they had the dominion of Spain. There were several other towns in this province, which was then a part of Spain, of much greater note. It was indeed made

a Roman colony, and had then the name of *Felicitas Julia* conferred upon it, as appears by the following inscription found here, (viz.) IMP. CAES. M. IVLIO PHILIPPO FEL. AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. P. P. CONS. III. FEL. IVL. OLISIPO. But at that time it comprehended but one of the hills it now stands upon.

They reckon it about two leagues from the hill of St. Vincent, which is at the east end of the city to the hill of St. Katherine on the west; but the breadth is very unequal, the town forming a kind of crescent on the river. Upon the hill of St. George, which is the highest, and commands all the town, stands the citadel, separated from the city by a wall, and looks like a town itself. The city is surrounded only by a single wall, and seventy-seven antique towers after the Gothick model, of no great strength at present: There are twenty-six gates on that side next the river, and seventeen on the land side. It is computed there are in Lisbon thirty thousand houses, and about two hundred thousand inhabitants; and consequently it is larger than any city in England or France, except London and Paris.

The streets are very narrow and steep; people are perpetually ascending or descending some of the seven hills, which makes it inconvenient to walk in, as well as for coaches, and occasions litters to be used pretty much. Those streets which have a descent, and are washed clean by the rain, are much the sweetest; for the rest are so full of all manner of filth thrown out of the houses, that it is not easy to pass them. The citizens houses are generally old ill-contrived buildings, and the lattice-windows are no great ornament to them. Those of the nobility indeed are fair handsome structures, built of hewn stone, and with their yards and gardens belonging to them, take up a great deal of ground, but few of them have courts before them.

There are in it; besides the cathedral, forty parish-churches, and about as many monasteries of both sexes, which make a tolerable appearance. The finest square in the town is that before the royal palace, which forms one side of it; another side of it runs along the river, and is supported by a wall, and on the opposite side is a range of fine buildings. This place, in the phrase of the French, is altogether charming; for here are the most elegant buildings in town, and here you continually see large fleets at anchor in the river, besides great numbers of ships perpetually under sail, either coming in or going out of the harbour: here they celebrate their bull-fights, and here they more barbarously bait such unfortunate Protestants as fall into their hands; the people are taught to shout and huzza at the roasting and torturing an innocent defenceless man, as if some signal victory were gained. Near to this is another great square on the bank of the river, where the principal market of the city is held; but the largest in the town is that called the Rucio, where the several hills about it form a kind of amphitheatre, and it is adorned with several magnificent houses of the nobility. Here a fair is held every week.

Among their buildings that of the King's palace is the most remarkable, which lies upon the river, and is one of the first things that presents itself to a foreigner on his arrival; it makes a splendid appearance, and was designed for a square, but only one side of it is built; some other buildings have been added by different Princes, so



CHAP. III. that it is not very regular. There is a fine prospect however from it of the port, the ocean, and the country on the opposite side of the river.

The apartments are grand, very commodious, and richly furnished in winter; but in summer they take down the hangings and curtains, and there appears nothing but bare walls, or pictures on them. There are two galleries in it about an hundred paces in length, in the first and second stories, and balconies in the windows. In the third story is the royal library, containing a great number of valuable books in presses. Adjoining to the palace is a square court surrounded with a piazza, where the merchants meet and expose their goods to sale. Within the palace are several large rooms, where the Cortes or States assemble, the Council of War, and the sovereign Courts of Justice. The King's chapel is an elegant building, richly adorned, and shining with gold and azure.

Churches. The churches in Lisbon, as in other Roman Catholick cities, are generally noble edifices, and richly adorned; but the cathedral, dedicated to St. VINCENT, that stands upon one of the seven hills, to which it communicates its name, is an old Gothick structure, which has very little to recommend it but the richness of some of its chapels, with its sacristy or treasury, where the vessels and ornaments belonging to the church are kept. The finest and most magnificent of their churches is that of the Dominicans, in which are three chapels, shining with gold from the pavement to the roof. In one is the genealogy of our Saviour in bas-relief, and in another that of St. DOMINICK; in the third is a fine crucifix, with the wound in the side open, and here the holy sacrament is continually exposed. This chapel is illuminated with wax-tapers, and a vast number of silver lamps; and over the portal we see the names of all those who have been burnt by the Inquisition. The convent is suitable to the magnificence of the church, and near it is the palace of the Inquisition, to which the Portuguese give the name of *Santa Casa*, or the Holy House; before which there is a fine fountain adorned with marble statues throwing out water on every side.

In the church of the Augustins, called our Lady of Grace, is a cross of gold adorned with precious stones, valued at an hundred thousand crowns, which is carried in procession at their grand festivals.

The Merciful Society, as it is called, have also a magnificent church, but it is much more celebrated for the humanity and benevolence of its members. It is composed of persons of the highest rank in the kingdom, the King and Princes of the blood are frequently members of it; and he who happens to be Steward, which is esteemed a post of great honour, cannot spend less than a hundred thousand livres the year he serves, if he would come off with applause. They apply themselves to relieve all people in distress, particularly those who are ashamed to beg, widows and orphans, whom they protect against their injurious neighbours. They maintain a great number of poor virgins, give them portions, and marry them as they have opportunity; and in short, says my author, suffer none to want but such as have abandoned themselves to vice. They relieve prisoners, and assist them in compounding for their liberty; and when any are condemned to death, they attend and comfort them in their last moments.

CHAP. III. In the church dedicated to the Mother of God, every Holy Thursday they shew the holy handkerchief used by our Saviour at his crucifixion; which the reader has met with in several other Roman Catholick churches, in the course of this history.

Another church is much admired, founded by the Queen of JOHN V, which is wainscotted with ebony from the pavement to the roof, and supported by pillars of the same wood; and here that Queen was interred, as she desired.

The hospital of All Saints is one of the largest and best endowed in Europe, where they entertain people of every nation and religion without exception; the sick, the lame, madmen, and foundling children; and when they are fit to go out, give them a small sum to subsist on till they are otherwise provided for.

The Jesuits have four fine convents here, being in great esteem in Portugal, where they are styled Apostles.

If we take a view of Lisbon from the river, or from the southern shore, it affords an admirable prospect; for as the town is built in the form of a crescent, and the churches, palaces, convents, and other buildings rise gradually from the river one above another, we command the whole city at once. On the other hand, if we behold the neighbouring country from the town, we have the most charming landscape imaginable; a fine large river, a league in breadth just beneath us, in which we see a forest of ships of all sizes; beyond it a beautiful country, interspersed with towns and villages, and a little farther the ocean.

The harbour of Lisbon, if we extend it from St. Benito above it, to the bay of Calcais at the mouth of the river, is four or five leagues long; but if we only take in that part of it about the town, where ships ride in the greatest security from storms and enemies, in eighteen fathom water, it will contain several thousand sail: the entry of it indeed is hazardous without a pilot; but on the other hand, ships ride securely when they are in it, being covered by the hills on which the city stands on one side, and by the opposite banks, which are very high on the other. When ships arrive they are obliged to salute the fort of Bellem, or Bethleem, two leagues below Lisbon; but they are prohibited to fire a gun when they come up as high as the town, on any pretence whatever.

It is almost impertinent to observe, what every one knows, that Lisbon is one of the greatest towns of trade in Europe, though not the greatest, as a French writer insinuates; for I believe it will be admitted, that London and Amsterdam have either of them a more extensive commerce. We see indeed merchants of all nations and complexions in this city; and I question whether the English do not send as many ships hither as to any one port in Europe, where they exchange their woollen manufactures, lead, and tin, for wine and fruit, and receive good returns in treasure. The King, with the Grandees, Nobility, and Courts of Justice residing at Lisbon, contribute to its flourishing condition, as well as its foreign trade. And as this province is pretty well cultivated, and has frequent opportunities of importing corn and cattle by sea and land, and the rivers and sea-coasts afford them plenty of fish and fowl, provisions are not often scarce, at least they are much more plentiful here than in the more inland provinces. The air is more temperate than in the Spanish



CHAP.  
III.

Spanish provinces under the same parallel; and their water is excellent, inasmuch that their people live to a great age, and not so subject to infirmities as in some other countries. And another great happiness is, that it is much safer walking the streets in the night-time, than in many other great towns in Europe: a man is in much greater danger of having his clothes spoiled by a shower of close-stools, than of being robbed or murdered.

Alcantara  
palace.

The palace and village of Alcantara lies on the river Tagus, about a mile to the westward of Lisbon. The palace is a magnificent structure, but chiefly admired for its beautiful gardens, and the delicious country in which it stands; the grotto's, fountains, and cascades, the brooks and canals, whose banks are covered with flowers, orange and citron-trees, perfume the very air, and make it a most agreeable retirement in the summer.

Bellem.

Bellem, or Bethlehem, is the name of a town, a monastery, and a fort. The monastery was first built, and communicated its name to the rest. King EMANUEL founded it in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin, styling it, *The Birth of our Lord*, in memory whereof it was called Bethlehem, which the Portuguese write and pronounce Bellem or Belin. Both the cloyster and the church are noble piles of building, and plainly shew they are of royal foundation: the church is lined with jasper and the finest marbles from top to bottom; and here are the tombs of several of their Kings and Princes, being exquisite pieces of workmanship. The church and cloyster are delightfully situated on the bank of the river, and over-against them in the middle of the channel is a great square fort built upon piles, called, The Fort of Bellem, which all ships are obliged to salute, and shew their bills of discharge from the custom-house, &c. and to give an account of themselves on their arrival from abroad. This is not only a garison for soldiers, but the upper stories of it serve to confine prisoners of state.

Cascas.

Two leagues below Bellem lies the village of Cascas, on the northern shore, before which is a road that ships frequently come to an anchor in; but it is not very secure riding here, on account of the sands about it. There is a small fort in the place, and it is the capital of a marquissate.

A little above Cascas the Tagus discharges itself into the ocean by a very wide opening, encumbered pretty much with rocks and sands, called the Cackoppy, three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth, that divide the mouth of the river into two channels, through which all ships enter that are bound for Lisbon, by the assistance of pilots that come off from the shore. Each of these channels is defended by a fort, without whose leave no ship can pass. The northern channel is the narrowest and most difficult, which is defended by Fort St. Julien, or Giam, built upon a rock, and furnished with forty pieces of cannon, and a garison of three hundred men.

St. Julien.

Fort Bou-  
gio.

The great channel lies to the southward, being defended by Fort St. Laurence, or the Tower of Bougio, as the Portuguese call it, and is erected on piles on a shoal of sand in the middle of the sea, being of a round form, and the works faced with free stone.

The town  
and moun-  
tain of Cin-  
tra, or the  
Moon,  
with the  
rock of  
Lisbon.

Beyond Cascas, on the ocean, near the mouth of the Tagus, is a promontory or cape which

the ancients call *Promontorium Lunæ*, or *Olyssipponense*, and the modern Portuguese, *Cabo de Rocca*, which is the same the English mariners call the Rock of Lisbon. This promontory is the spur or branch of an high mountain, which sailors make at a great distance, formerly called the mountain of the Moon, and at this day Mount Cintra. On the side of this mountain, behind Cascas, is a little town of the same name, about seven leagues from Lisbon. On the top of the mountain is a fine monastery, the friars whereof are of the order of St. JEROM, dedicated *a nostra Senhora da Rocca*, or to our Lady of the Rock, with a church, to which people resort and pay a nine days devotion. Both the church and cloyster, with an inn that stands near it for the accommodation of the devout, are hewn out of the solid rock. From hence there is one of the finest prospects in the world; on one side is the ocean, and on a second the river Tagus, and on the other two a fine country well planted and manured. At the foot of the mountain on the promontory, are the ruins of an ancient temple, dedicated to the sun and moon; on one of the pillars whereof the following inscription is still visible, viz. SOLI AETERNO LVNAE PRO AETERNITATE IMPERII ET SALUTE IMP. CAL. . . . SEPTIMII SEVERI ET IMP. AVG. CAES. M. AVRELI ANTONINI AVG. PII

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CAES. ET IVLIAE AVG. MARTIS. CAES. DRVSI VALERIVS CAELIANVS VIATI VSI AVGVSTORVM, &c.

On the side of the mountain which looks towards the ocean is the little village of Collares, where there is an ancient grotto or cave even with the water, inhabited, as was given out of old, by Tritons and Mermaids. Between the village of Collares and the mountain is one of the most delicious vales in the world, about a league in length, which furnishes the markets of Lisbon with corn, wine, fruits, and flowers.

On the south side of the river, over-against Almada, Lisbon, stands the castle of Almada, situated on a high rock in the little bay of Couda, taking its name from a town adjoining to it. Here is a medicinal spring, whose waters are good for the gravel. A little further at the bottom of the bay lies the little village of Couda; and beyond, towards the east, the town of Aldea Gallega, on the banks of the Tagus, through which lies the common road from Seville to Lisbon.

Setubal, vulgarly called St. Ubes, is a modern town, built out of the ruins of the ancient *Ceto* or *St. Ubes*, which stood a little to the westward, and had in it a temple dedicated to JUPITER AMMON, in the times of paganism, of which there are still some remains. Setubal is situated two and twenty miles to the southward of Lisbon, near the mouth of the river Cudoan, at the bottom of a fine bay, which forms one of the best harbours in the kingdom; and on the land-side lies a fine plain, abounding in corn, wine, and fruits, two leagues in length; at the end whereof is a mountain, covered with a forest of pine-trees and other timber. At this town they make vast quantities of white salt, which is transported to the northern kingdoms of Europe and to America; and the fish with which their rivers and seas abound are vended to great advantage in the neighbouring provinces; so that St. Ubes is at this day one of the most flourishing towns on the coast of Portugal. It is encompassed with a wall and other modern



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III.

Cape d'Espichel.

modern fortifications, and the entrance of the harbour defended by two forts.

To the west of Setubal the land runs out into the sea, and forms a cape called by the ancients *Promontorium Barbarium*, and by the moderns Cape d'Espichel. It is a branch of the mountain last mentioned, and the rocks of which it consists, afford quarries of the finest marble, such as white, green, carnation, and other colours, of which they form pillars that take an admirable polish; in my author's phrase, you may see your face in them as in a looking-glass.

Benevento

At the confluence of the rivers Soro and Tagus lies the little town of Benevento: and further eastward Salvaterra, in a fruitful country, where is one of the King's palaces, to which he frequently resorts. Mugen stands at the confluence of the rivers Colo and Tagus, about eight leagues north-east of Lisbon.

Salvaterra

Mugen.

Tomar.

Tomar is situated in a fine plain at the foot of the mountains on the river Naboa, twenty leagues north-east of Lisbon, the country about it being a perfect forest of olives. Above the town stands a castle on a mountain, which once belonged to the Templars, but at present to the Knights of the order of Christ, of which the King is Grand Master, and the Prior of Tomar Sub-master. This is one of the richest and most magnificent houses belonging to the order. The town consists of two parishes, and has three or four monasteries in it.

To the northward of Tomar, in the mountains, are the vineyards of Figueiro, which produce excellent wine.

Pendragon

Farther to the northward lies the town of Pendragon, or Pedragoa, at the confluence of the rivers Pera and Zezere, in a good air and fruitful soil, and adorned with near two hundred fountains. Here the Kings of Portugal had a pleasure-house when they resided at Coimbra.

Leira.

Leira is situated west of Tomar, twenty leagues to the northward of Lisbon, between the two little rivers Lis and Lena, in a fruitful soil. It is defended by a citadel, and is a bishoprick, the only one in the province besides Lisbon, whose revenue is computed to be eighteen thousand ducats per annum.

Alcobaca.

To the westward lies Alcobaca, situated between the two little rivers Aleoa and Baca, from whence it takes its name. The town is moderately large, but is most considerable on account of a rich monastery of Bernardines. It has a mitred Abbot, who is spiritual and temporal Lord of the place, and frequently held by persons of the first rank; and in the church are the tombs of several Kings of Portugal.

To the southward of Alcobaca are the hot baths called *As Caldas*, which heal many diseases.

Peniche.

Thirteen or fourteen leagues north of Lisbon lies the port of Peniche, in a peninsula on the ocean, surrounded with rocks, and defended by a citadel and other fortifications.

Two or three leagues to the westward of this coast lie four little islands, called the Berlinges, or Borlings, well known to our mariners. The largest of them, which communicated its name to the rest, was called by the ancients Loudobris and Erythia, and has at present a fort in it and a garison.

Santaren.

Santaren is situated on an eminence in the middle of a large plain that lies on the banks of the Tagus, twelve or thirteen leagues north-east of

Lisbon. The country about it abounds in corn, wine and olives, but particularly corn.

Seven leagues north-east of Lisbon lies the town of Alanguer, in a plain planted chiefly with vines that produce excellent wine.

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IV.

Alanguer.

## CHAP. IV.

*Contains a description of the province of Beira.*

THE province of Beira is bounded by the river Duero, which separates it from the provinces of Entreminho-Duero and Tralos Montes on the north; by the Spanish provinces of Leon and Estremadura on the east; by the Portuguese Estremadura on the south; and by the ocean on the west: extending in length from the north-west to the south-east, that is from Feyra on the ocean to Salvaterra upon the river Elia, about four and thirty leagues; and in breadth thirty leagues: containing six *camarcas*, or subdivisions, viz. one along the river Duero, called Lamego; a second along the ocean, called Aveiro; two in the middle of the country, viz. Coimbra and Viseu; a fifth to the south, on the Tagus, called Castel Branco; and the sixth to the eastward, viz. that of Guarda.

This province is watered by several considerable rivers, which render it very fruitful, viz. the Duero, which bounds it on the north; the Vouga and Mondego, which run quite cross the middle of it from east to west, and fall into the western ocean; the Zezere, the Ponsul, the Aravil and Elia, which run from north to south, discharging themselves into the Tagus; and the Pavia, which runs from south to north, and falls into the Duero.

Lamago is an ancient episcopal city, heretofore called Lama, situated on the little river Balsamao, near its confluence with the Duero, and is about forty leagues north of Lisbon. It contains two parishes, and two or three monasteries, and about two thousand inhabitants. It is famous for an assembly of the States held here in the year 1143 under ALONSO I, King of Portugal, in which their fundamental laws were first established. The soil about it produces abundance of excellent wine.

Aveiro, *olim Lavara*, is situated in a fine fruitful plain, on a little bay of the sea near the mouth of the Vouga, seven leagues to the southward of Oporto, and nine to the northward of Coimbra. The bay divides it into two parts, that have a communication by a stately bridge, and it is surrounded by an antique wall and towers. The port will admit only of small vessels. There are in it four parishes, three or four monasteries and nunneries, an hospital, and about two thousand inhabitants. They make here great quantities of salt, which foreigners take off their hands.

From Oporto to Coimbra there runs a long chain of mountains, called by the ancients Mount Alcobá, which name they retain at this day. Between these mountains and the sea is a pleasant fruitful valley, interspersed with villages, but scarce a league in breadth in any place. The mountains are full of springs, which form little rivulets that fall into the Duero, the Vouga, or Mondego.

Coimbra, or Conimbra, is situated on an eminence at the end of a fine plain on the north side of the river Mondego, thirty leagues to the northward of Lisbon, and six to the eastward of the ocean.



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V.

ocean. It is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Fraga, and the most celebrated university in Portugal; and here is one of the tribunals of the Inquisition. The city comprehends seven parishes, five convents of men and four of nuns, sixteen colleges, a house of mercy, (of the same institution with that mentioned in the description of Lisbon) and an hospital; and there are about five thousand families in the place. The bridge is a fine stone fabric, of twenty-nine arches, and indeed consists of two rows of arches one above another, and forms a covered way, through which people pass without being exposed to the weather. The university was founded in the year 1290, by King DENNIS I, and removed from thence to Lisbon; but King JOHN III, fixed the university here again in the year 1553, and is thereupon regarded as its founder. The Jesuits college is deemed the finest edifice in the place, and is prodigiously large. The aqueduct, which brings water to the town, also is admired. The cathedral and the rest of the churches and monasteries are handsome buildings, well adorned and beautified; but the streets and private houses have no great elegance in them. As the town stands on the side of a hill, the streets are generally uneven; that called the Calzada, where the Jesuits college stands, is much the fairest. There are fifty professors in the university, and near three thousand students. The revenues are computed to be about four thousand pounds per annum. The country about Coimbra is extremely pleasant, and well planted with vines and olives.

## CHAP. V.

*Contains a description of the Province of Entreminho-Douro.*

Entreminho-Douro province.

THE province of Entreminho-Douro, or Douro, derives its name from its situation between those rivers; being bounded by the Minho, which separates it from the Spanish province of Galicia on the north; by the province of Tralos Montes on the east; by the river Douro, which divides it from the province of Beira on the south; and by the ocean on the west.

Rivers.

The principal rivers, besides the Minho and the Douro already described, are the Lima, the Tamaga, the Cavado, and the Rio d'Aves.

The Lima rises in Galicia, and taking its course to the south-west through this province, falls into the ocean near Viana.

The Tamaga also hath its source in Galicia, and running almost due north before it falls into the Douro, divides part of this province from that of Tralos Montes.

The river Cavado (*Cadavus*) rises in the mountains on the confines of Galicia, and running south-west by Braga, discharges itself into the sea a little to the southward of the Lima.

The Rio d'Aves, *olim Avus*, runs parallel to that of the Cavado, and falls into the western ocean to the southward of it.

The province is subdivided into four Camarcas, or districts.

It is naturally well defended, being separated from Spain on the north and east by rivers and almost inaccessible mountains, and on the west it has the ocean. They enjoy almost a perpetual spring, and a sweet serene air. They have little grain, and that is chiefly rye and millet: how-

Air, &amp;c.

ever, they abound in wine. Here are also great flocks of sheep, the wool and flesh of which are in good esteem; and in their mountains and forests is plenty of game.

The chief towns are Viana, Caminha, Moncaon, Ponte de Lima, Espolendo, Porto, Braga, Amarante, and Guimaraes.

Viana de Foz de Lima, so named from its lying at the mouth of the Lima, and to distinguish it from another town of the same name in the south of Portugal, is pleasantly situated on the sea-coast, five or six leagues to the westward of Braga. The town consists but of one parish, moderately large, and adorned with some handsome buildings, both publick and private, and particularly two convents of Benedictines, that make a good appearance. The streets are well paved and even, and the harbour commodious, but of difficult entrance, which renders it the securer from enemies, all ships being obliged to have a pilot from the coast to carry them in. At the entrance of the port is a good citadel, regularly fortified, and surrounded by a ditch cut out of the solid rock. It is become a place of brisk trade since the English have taken off so much Portugal wine, though the vines of this province are much smaller than those that come from the more southern parts of the kingdom. The Governor of the province and the Treasurer-General have their residence here.

Caminha is a frontier town, situated at the mouth of the Minho, over-against Guardia in Galicia, three leagues to the northward of Viana. The place is strong both by art and nature, being encompassed by the Minho on one side, and the little river Coiro on the other, and defended by walls and bastions of the modern way. At the entrance of the river Minho also, in a little island, is built a regular fort, which commands the avenues to the town and harbour. It is the capital of a duchy which belongs to the Marquis of Villa Real.

Moncaon is another little frontier town, situated on the Minho, over-against Salvaterra in Galicia. It is defended by a castle, and surrounded by walls and fortifications after the modern way, but not considerable upon any other account.

Ponte de Lima is so named from a fine bridge over the river Lima at this place. It is a pretty walled town, about twenty miles to the northward of Braga, consisting of one parish, and about five hundred inhabitants, and has in it a monastery, an hospital, and a house of mercy.

Porto, formerly called Portocale, and at this day sometimes Port-a-Port, is situated on the side of a rugged mountain, the foot whereof is washed by the Douro, and is about a league distant from the mouth of that river, which here forms a good harbour when the shipping are got into it, but it is of very difficult entrance on account of the rocks and sands, which form a bar that can only be got over at high water with the assistance of a coasting pilot. The streets are well paved and commodious enough, only the inequality of the ground the town stands upon makes it not very pleasant walking in them. There is a fine key runs along the banks of the river, close to which the shipping lies; so that a merchant may see his vessels unloaded from his own windows. It is computed the natives of this place may amount to four or five thousand people, besides foreigners that resort hither on account of trade. It is esteemed the second town of the province, and is honoured with a Bishop's See of great antiquity. Here is



**CHAP. V.** also one of the sovereign Councils or Courts of the kingdom held, and an academy for young gentlemen to learn their exercises. They have also an arsenal, docks and yards for building and fitting out men of war. Though the situation of this place be naturally strong and inaccessible from the sea, it has only an antique wall with some ruinous towers on the land-side, and a little fort with four bastions. The most elegant building in the place is a convent of the Augustins, in which there is a beautiful gallery of a vast extent: the church belonging to it is of a round form, and very richly adorned.

**Braga.** Braga is a very ancient archiepiscopal city, known to the Romans by the name of Bracara Augusta, as appears by the following inscription found there, viz.

ISIDI AVG. SACRVM. LVCRETIA. FIDA, SACERDOS. PERP. ROMAE ET AVG. CONVENTVS. BRACARAVG. V. D.

It was one of the four principal towns of Spain, and capital of a government, said to be built by the Bracares, who anciently inhabited this country, and communicated their name to it. When the Suevi came from Germany, and made a conquest of Galicia and Portugal, this was the seat of their kingdom for an hundred and seventy years; and the Goths, who succeeded them, also made it the capital of a kingdom.

The city stands on the south bank of the river Cavado, about five leagues to the eastward of the ocean, and sixty north of Lisbon. It consists of five parishes, three monasteries, and as many nunneries, and contains about three thousand families. The houses are generally old substantial stone buildings, but have no great elegance in them, any more than the Archbishop's palace and the cathedral, which are more admired for their antiquity and extent than for their beauty. The Archbishop is both spiritual and temporal lord of the place, for which reason he has a sword as well as a cross carried before him. His revenue is forty thousand ducats per annum, and he disputes the primacy with the Archbishop of Toledo in Spain. Toledo it seems lost the title of Primate of Spain when that city was in the hands of the Moors; and when ALPHONSO I, King of Leon and Castile, retook Braga from the Moors in the year 740, he transferred that dignity to this city, and all the Bishops of Spain acknowledged the Archbishop of Braga for their Primate: but the Christians having reduced Toledo under their power again, the Archbishops of that city insisted on having the primacy restored to them: but the dispute is not yet determined. However, the Bishops of Spain acknowledge Toledo for their Primate, as those of Portugal do Braga. The country about Braga produces corn, wine and fruit, and here is a great deal of pasture, on which they feed large flocks of sheep.

**Guimaraez.** Guimaraez, or Guimaranes, the capital of a district, is situated on the river Aves, about three leagues south-east of Braga, and consists of four parishes, two monasteries, a house of mercy and an hospital, containing about a thousand inhabitants. Here is a palace of the ancient Kings of Portugal, and some other handsome buildings; their chief manufactures are linen and fine thread. The country about it is as fruitful as any in Por-

tugal, producing corn, wine and fruits, and abounding in sheep, game and wild fowl.

A little to the southward of Guimaraez lies Amarante, a pretty little town, situated on the river Tamaga.

## CHAP. VI.

*Describes the province of Tralos Montes,*

**T**HE province of Tralos Montes, or Beyond the Mountains, so called from its situation with regard to the rest of Spain, is bounded by Galicia on the north; by Leon on the east; by Beira on the south; and by a chain of mountains which divide it from Entreminho-Douro on the west; being thirty leagues in length from north to south, and twenty in breadth.

The chief rivers are the Douro, the Tamaga, the Pinhaon, the Tuelo, the Sabor, and the Coa. The Douro divides the north-east part of this province from Leon, and then turning about to the westward, divides Tralos Montes into almost two equal parts. The river Tamaga enters this province from the mountains of Galicia; and running southward, divides part of this province from Entreminho-Douro. The rivers Pinhaon, Tuelo, and Sabor, also having their sources in Galicia, run to the southward and fall into the Douro. The river Coa, *olim Cuda*, rises in the mountains on the confines of Portugal and the Spanish Estremadura, and taking its course almost directly north, discharges itself into the Douro over-against Torre de Mon Corvo.

This is a barren mountainous country, yielding scarce any corn, though it produces a good quantity of wine and oil. The natives are looked upon to be as clownish and unpolished as any part of Portugal, and but few gentry among them. The chief towns are Miranda de Douro, Braganza, Montforte, Chaves, Villa Real, Almeida, and Castell Rodrigo.

Miranda de Douro, so called from its standing on that river, to distinguish it from Miranda on the Ebro in Castile, is strongly situated on a rock, at the confluence of the Douro and the little river Fresco, on the frontiers of Spain, and is a place of importance, as it opens a passage into the province of Leon, which lies exposed to incursions on this side, not being defended by mountains, woods or rivers. It is a city and Bishop's See, though it consists but of one parish, a house of mercy, an hospital, and about four hundred families.

Braganza, *olim Brigantium*, is situated in a plain, on a little rivulet near the river Sabor, about two leagues from the confines of Leon, and ten to the northward of Miranda. It is divided into the new and old town, the old standing on an eminence, and defended with antique double walls. The new city stands in the plain at the foot of a mountain, and has a fort with four bastions adjoining to it. The whole consists of two parishes, two monasteries, and as many nunneries, a college, a house of mercy, and an hospital, with about six hundred families. Braganza is the capital of a celebrated duchy, belonging to the present King of Portugal, whose ancestors were Dukes of Braganza, the most illustrious house among the nobility, being descended from their ancient Kings.

Chaves



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Chaves.

Chaves, or Chiaves, *olim Aqua Flavia*, is situated on the river Tamaga, two leagues from the frontiers of Galicia; a fortified town, defended by a double wall, a castle and other works, and is the principal town of the province, the residence of the Governor and Treasurer-General. Here are found abundance of ancient monuments, and among the rest a pillar with the names of the ten cities of the province, viz.

CIVITATES DECEM, AQUIFLAVIENSIS, AOBRIGENS, BIBALI, COELERINI, ERVAESIL, INTERAMICI, LIMICI, AEBISOC, QVARQVERN, TAMACANI.

Montalegre.

To the westward of Chaves stands the castle of Montalegre; and to the southward, not far from the Douro, between the little rivers Corgo and Ribera, the town of Villa Real, consisting of two parishes, two monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and about eight thousand inhabitants.

Almeida.

Almeida is a little fortified town, situated on a hill on the frontiers of Spain, consisting of about three hundred inhabitants.

Castel Rodrigo.

Castel Rodrigo is a fortified town, situated among the mountains, a little to the southward of the Douro, and to the eastward of the frontiers of Spain, remarkable chiefly for a fine palace. The rest of the towns of this province do not deserve a particular description.

## CHAP. VII.

*Describes the province of Alentejo.*

CHAP. VII.

Alentejo province.

**A**LENTEJO, *Provincia trans Tagana*, so called in regard of its situation to Lisbon, and sometimes *Entre Tejo Guadiana*, from its lying between those two rivers, is bounded on the north by the Portuguese Estremadura; and by Andalusia and the Spanish Estremadura on the east; by the kingdom of Algarva on the south, and the Portuguese Estremadura and the ocean on the west; extending about thirty six leagues in length, and near as much in breadth.

Rivers.

The chief rivers are the Tagus and Guadiana already described, the Zadoan, the Exarama, the Campilhas, the Canha, the Odvor, the Avis and the Cava. The Zadoan, *Sadanus, olim Calippus*, has its source in the mountains of Algarva, and running from south to north, falls into the sea near Setubal, as has been intimated already. The rest of them are so inconsiderable, that they are dried up in the heat of the summer, and do not deserve a particular description.

This province is divided into five Camarca's, or districts, viz. those of Portalegre, Elvas, Estremos, Eborá and Beja; and is esteemed one of the richest and most fruitful in Portugal, especially in corn: they have also excellent wines, admirable fruit, the best sweet, or China oranges, come from hence, and they have abundance of dates: their mutton and beef are good, and they make better cheese than in any other province; and here are some silver mines, with quarries of marble and jasper.

The chief towns are Eborá, Estremos, Elvas, Campo Mayor, Aronches, Portalegre, Olivenza, Villa Viciosa, Moura, Serpa, Mertola, Beja, Portel, Viana, Alcazar de Sal, St. Iago de Cacem, Sines and Orique.

Eborá.

Eborá is situated on a hill encompassed with mountains, about the middle of the province,

twenty leagues south east of Lisbon. It is about a league in circumference, and encompassed with an antique wall and towers, and reckoned a very strong place before the modern way of fortification came in vogue. It consists of five parishes, nine monasteries, seven nunneries, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about four thousand inhabitants. Prince HENRY established a university here about the year 1559, but it does not flourish. According to tradition, this city was built by the Phenicians, who gave it the name of Eborá, alluding to the fruitfulness of the soil. JULIUS CÆSAR changed its name to *Liberaltas Julia*, as appears by an ancient inscription discovered here, viz.

DIVO IVLIO LIB. IVLIA EBORA OB. IVLIVS IN MVN. ET MVNIC. LIBERALITATEM EX D. D. D. QVOVIS DEDICATIONE VENERI GENETRICI CAESTVM MATRONAE DONVM TVLERVNT.

It was a considerable town in the time of the Gothick Kings, and had the privilege of coining money, as appears by a medal of King SISEBUT, on the reverse whereof we find the words *Grutas Eborá*. It remained under the dominion of the Moors, till the year 1166, when King ALPHONSO I. retook it from them, with the rest of the towns of Alentejo. Twenty years after he erected it into a Bishoprick; and in the sixteenth century, Pope PAUL III. at the instance of King JOHN, created it an archbishoprick; Cardinal HENRY, the brother of JOHN, who succeeded to the crown on the death of his nephew the unfortunate DON SEBASTIAN, being the first Archbishop of this See. The country about Eborá, as well mountains as valleys, are exceeding fruitful, and in the former are mines of silver.

Estremos is situated six or seven leagues north-east of Eborá, on a hill which it covers entirely, and is divided into the higher and lower town, the higher serving as a castle to the lower. It was strongly fortified at the time that Portugal revolted from Spain, being not far from the frontiers of Andalusia. The houses of people of condition make a grand appearance, being built with white marble, which they find upon the spot. The town consists of three parishes, three monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, containing about two thousand inhabitants. They make a very fine red earthen-ware at this place, which was not long since in great esteem in England and other countries of Europe, and served to adorn their tea-tables. Without the town is a fountain, so large that it turns several mills near its source, but it dries up in winter. It has the quality also of petrefying any thing almost that is thrown into it.

Elvas stands about twenty-four miles to the eastward of Estremos, and six from the frontiers of the Spanish Estremadura. It is situated on a hill which it covers entirely; it is defended by a castle, and strongly fortified, the works being of hewn stone. It contains several fair streets and handsome houses, and has a cistern so large, that it will hold water enough for the inhabitants for six months. The water was conveyed thither by a magnificent aqueduct three leagues in length, and supported in some places by five high arches one over another, which was broken by DON JOHN of Austria, when he besieged the place in 659. It consists of four parishes, three monasteries, two nunneries, a house of mercy, and three hospitals.

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hospitals, and contains about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. It is a very ancient town, and was formerly called Helvis, from a people of Gaul who built it, according to tradition. On that side of the town where the aqueduct is, they have a large forest of olives, three quarters of a league in length, and cut into walks, with fountains in the middle of them. Near this place Don J O H N of Austria was defeated by the Portuguese, and forced to raise the siege above-mentioned. Besides oil, the neighbouring country affords some of the best wine in Portugal. King E M A N U E L honoured Elvas with the title of a city anno 1513, and King S E B A S T I A N procured it to be made a bishoprick in the year 1570. I find it is esteemed at this day one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom.

Campo  
Mayor.

Two leagues to the northward of Elvas lies Campo Mayor, a frontier town against Spain, situated on the flat top of a hill, and pretty well fortified. It consists of only one parish, a monastery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about twelve hundred inhabitants.

Arronches

Arronches is another little frontier town, to the northward of Campo Mayor, and contains about five hundred inhabitants.

Portalegre

Portalegre is a fine town, honoured with the title of a city and a bishoprick, situated at the foot of a very high mountain, in an agreeable country, thirty leagues to the eastward of Lisbon, and near the frontiers of Spain. It is defended by a good wall, with some old towers upon it, a castle, and other fortifications; but I do not look upon it to be a place of great strength. It consists of five parishes, three monasteries, two nunneries, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about three thousand inhabitants. They have here a very indifferent woollen manufacture.

Castello  
de Vide.

Two leagues to the northward of Portalegre stands Castello de Vide, and to the eastward of it another strong castle called Marvan, with several other castles erected on a chain of mountains near the frontiers of Spain, which formerly went by the name of *Mons Herminius*.

Marvan.

Olivenza.

Olivenza is situated in a large plain on the east-side of the river Guadiana, and as the Spanish Estremadura lies open to it on this side, is deemed a town of consequence, for which reason it is fortified after the modern way. It contains two parishes, a monastery, two nunneries, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and about two thousand inhabitants.

Villa Vi-  
ciofa.

Villa Viciofa is a fortified town, situated between Elvas and Estremoz, and is defended also by a castle, which commands the place, and has in it a palace which belongs to the house of Braganza, with an adjoining park three leagues in circumference. The town consists of two parishes, six monasteries, three nunneries, a house of mercy and an hospital, containing about two thousand inhabitants. In the suburbs is an old temple, now consecrated to St. JAMES, but formerly to PROSERPINE; and great numbers of inscriptions are found in honour of that Pagan deity, among which one is as follows:

PROSERPINAЕ, SERVATRICI C. VET-  
TIVS SILVINVS PRO EVNOIDE PLAN-  
TILLA CONIVGE SIBI RESTITVTA V.  
S. A. L. P. These last letters signify, *Votum Sol-  
vens Animo Libens Posuit*.

Moora.

Moura is an ancient town, formerly known by the name of *Arucci Nova*, situated in a plain, about a mile to the eastward of the Guadiana,

at the confluence of two little brooks which fall into the Adita, and eight or nine leagues to the southward of Eborā. It consists of two parishes, two monasteries, as many nunneries, a house of mercy, an hospital, and a fort; but being taken by the Spaniards in the late war, the fortifications were demolished on their quitting it in the year 1708.

Serpa is situated on an eminence, very rocky and uneven, a league to the eastward of the Guadiana, ten leagues to the southward of Moura, and about half a day's journey from the frontiers of Andalusia. The Spaniards demolished the fortifications of this place in the year 1708. It consists of two parishes, a monastery, a house of mercy, and an hospital; and contains about eighteen hundred inhabitants. Serpa is a very ancient town, and retains the same name it had in the time of the Romans, as appears by the following inscription found near the wall, viz.

D. M. S. FABIA PRISCA SERPENSIS C.  
R. ANN. 20. H. S. E. S. T. T. L. C. GEMI-  
NICVS PRISCVS PATER ET FABIA CA-  
DILLA MATER POSVERVNT.

The adjacent fields are extremely agreeable, being planted with groves of figs or olives: but in the great road from Cadiz and Andalusia to Lisbon, which lies through this town, for the space of fifty miles, viz. from Cubas to Aldea Galega, it is very bad travelling, the country being one sandy desert, with some poor inns upon it at fifteen or twenty miles distance from each other, that afford very little entertainment.

Mertola, *olim Myrtillis*, is an ancient town, situated on an eminence on the east side of the Guadiana, near the place where that river begins to be navigable, about twelve leagues to the southward of Serpa. It was a flourishing town in the time of the Romans, as appears by the pillars, statues, and other antiquities that are daily dug up here, as well as by the many pieces of sculpture placed confusedly in the walls by the Goths and Moors, who did not understand them.

Beja, or Bexa, *olim Pax Julia*, stands on an eminence in the middle of a fruitful plain, three leagues to the westward of the Guadiana; and thirty fouth-east of Lisbon. It is of a round form, and defended by an antique wall and towers, with a castle built by King DENIS. It consists of four parishes, three monasteries, as many nunneries, a house of mercy and an hospital, and was honoured with the title of a city by King E M A N U E L. Anciently it was a Roman colony, and three of the present gates are said to be of Roman architecture. On the steps of the cathedral church is found the following broken inscription, viz.

—PAX IVLI—Q. PETRON.—  
And lower more entire L. AELIO AVRELIO  
COMMODO IMP. CAES. AELI HADRI-  
ANI ANTONINI AVG. PII P. P. FILIO  
COL. PAX. IVLIA D. D. Q. PETRONIO  
MATRNO C. IVLIO IVLIANO II. VIR.

Eight or nine leagues to the northward of Beja, stands the little walled town of Portel on a hill, with a castle on the top of it, consisting of two parishes, two monasteries, and seven hundred inhabitants.

Four or five leagues to the southward of Eborā lies Viana, on the river Exarama, being defended by a castle, and contains one parish, a nunnery, and about six hundred inhabitants.



CHAP.  
VII.Alcazar  
de Sal.

Alcazar de Sal, *Olim Salacia Imperatoria*, is situated on the Sadoan, in the district of Setubal, and ten or twelve miles south-east of that town, famous for its salt-pits. Above Alcazar, on a high steep mountain, stands the castle, strong by art and nature. This town is not only considerable for its salt, but the fine mats which are made of the rushes in the neighbouring meadows, and vended in all parts of the kingdom.

St. Iago  
de Cacem.

St. Iago de Cacem is situated on a pleasant hill, about a league and a half to the eastward of the sea-coast, from whence there is a fine prospect of the ocean. It received its modern name partly from a Moorish lord, who was possessed of it when the Christians retook it from the Infidels, and partly from a miraculous image of St. JAMES, which, according to tradition, was found here when the town was taken. It was built out of the ruins of the ancient Merobriga, which stood about two hundred paces from it, and of which there are still some ruinous remains, as an aqueduct, a bridge in the middle of a valley, and a fountain, with a fine reservoir of hewn stone.

Sines.

Sines, or Odifines, is a port-town, south-west of St. Iago de Cacem, inhabited by fishermen, who make great advantages of the shoals of good fish which they take on their coast. To the southward of Sines lies the fine plain of Ourique, in which are twelve or thirteen villages, the chief whereof gives name to this plain, memorable for a victory the Christians obtained here anno 1139, over five Kings of the Infidels, under the conduct of ALPHONSO their General, who was thereupon proclaimed King of Portugal in the field of battle. In the 16th century King SEBASTIAN built a magnificent church upon the place, adorned with trophies, to perpetuate the memory of this signal victory,

## CHAP. VIII.

*Describes the province, or kingdom of Algarva.*

CHAP.  
VIII.Algarva  
province.

ALGARVA, or Algarb, is the most southerly province of Portugal, being bounded by the mountains called Sierra de Algarve, or Caldeiraon, which separate it from Alentejo, on the north; by the Guadiana and a ridge of mountains which divide it from Andalusia on the east; and by the ocean on the south and west; being about twenty-seven leagues in length from east to west, and eight in breadth. It is watered by a great many little rivers, but none of any length or consequence except the Guadiana already described. The Celts and Turditani possessed this country in the time of the Romans. The Moors held it upwards of five centuries, and gave it the modern name of Algarva, an Arabick word, which many writers inform us, signifies a fruitful country; but a French author before me, who pretends to be better versed in Arabick, assures us that the word *Algarbe* signifies a western country situated at the ends of the earth, which agrees very well with the situation of this province. The face of the country is generally mountainous, but affords however plenty of wine, figs, raisins, oil and almonds, inferior however to those of Spain, and it abounds in dates; but they have not always corn sufficient for their own use, and then they import it from the plains of Ourique, or from Africk chiefly.

The chief towns are Castro Marin, Tavila, Faro, Silves, Villa Nova de Portimao, Albor, Lagos, and Sagrez.

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Castro Marin is a little frontier town and port, on the west side of the mouth of the Guadiana, over against Aymonte in Andalusia. The rocks and mountains on the side of Spain render it of difficult access.

Tavira, or Tavila, is situated on the sea-coast, at the mouth of the little river Gilaon, five or six leagues to the westward of the Guadiana, and is supposed to be the Balsa of the ancients. It is the capital of the province, but neither large or populous. It consists of two parishes, four monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about two thousand inhabitants. The town is walled, and defended by a castle, and in the middle of it is a stately bridge over the little river above mentioned.

Faro is a considerable port, strongly situated on the Ocean, which here forms a bay, in the midway between Cape St. Vincent, and the mouth of the Guadiana, and is defended by a good castle and other works. It consists of two parishes, three monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, containing about two thousand inhabitants, and is now an episcopal See, removed hither from Silves anno 1590. It was built out of the ruins of the ancient Ossonoba, which lay a little to the eastward, and is now reduced to a small village called Estoi, where was found the following inscriptions, viz.

IMP. CAES. P. LICINIO VALERIANO  
P. F. AVG. PONT. MAX. P. P. TR. POT.  
III. COS. RESP. OSSON. EX. DECRETO.  
ORD. DEVOT. — NVMINI MAIESTA-  
TIS EIVS D. D.

The sea produces abundance of good fish near Faro, and accordingly most of the inhabitants are employed in the fishery.

Silves is situated in a pleasant country, four or five leagues north-west of Faro, formerly a Bishop's See, but now reduced to an inconsiderable town of forty houses.

Lagos is situated on a fine bay of the ocean, about five leagues to the eastward of Cape St. Vincent, where the British fleet frequently took in water and other refreshments in the late war. It consists of two parishes, two monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an old castle, and contains about two thousand inhabitants. The fishery seems here also to be the principal business of the inhabitants.

Cape St. Vincent, anciently called *Promontorium Sacrum*, is the south-west point of the Continent of Europe, near which is a little town that still retains some likeness of the ancient name, being called Sagrez, to which there belongs a tolerable road for shipping, but has little else in it that deserves a description.

As to the islands of Portugal, which are situated in the Atlantick Ocean between Europe, Africa and America, they will be treated of in another place: I shall only observe here, that the chief of them are the islands of Cape Verd, which lie near that point of land on the coast of Africa, and those of the Azores, or Terceras, which lie in much the same latitude with Portugal, but rather nearer the continent of America than that of Europe; and the island of Medena, which lies to the north of the Canaries.



## CHAP. IX.

*Contains an abstract of the history of Portugal.*CHAP.  
IX.

**P**ORTUGAL remaining a province of Spain till the Moors made a conquest of it in the eighth century, the history of Portugal till that time, and until the Moors were driven out of it by the Christians, has been already considered. The Generals of the Moors, as has been observed already, divided Portugal as they did the rest of Spain, into abundance of little principalities, every Captain almost styling himself King or Sovereign of what he had possessed himself of by force of arms.

In the year 1093 ALPHONSO, or ALONSO VI, King of Leon, and the first of Castile, demanding the assistance of all Christian powers against the Infidels, amongst other noble adventurers came HENRY, a younger son of ROBERT Duke of Burgundy, whose father was ROBERT King of France, the son of HUGH CAPET, according to some writers; tho' others derive his pedigree from the house of Lorrain. But however that be, all agree that HENRY with the troops he brought with him did signal service against the Infidels: Whereupon King ALPHONSUS gave him his natural daughter THERESIA in marriage, and so much of Portugal as was then in possession of the Christians, which consisted then chiefly in the provinces of Entreminho-Douro and Tralos Montes, together with the rest of that country as far as the river Guadiana, if he could complete the conquest of it, conferring on him at the same time the title of Count or Earl of Portugal; upon condition nevertheless, that he should acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Kings of Castile, and attend them in their wars with three hundred horse whenever he was required. HENRY died in the year 1112, leaving a son named ALONSO or ALPHONSO, then an infant; during whose minority FERDINAND PACIZ, Count of Treftamara, who married his mother, had the administration of the government. But ALPHONSO coming of age, drove his father-in-law out of the kingdom, imprisoned his mother and took the government into his own hands. She calling in ALPHONSUS VII, King of Castile, to her assistance, a battle was fought between the Count and the King of Spain, wherein the Count obtaining the victory, he looked upon it that he had thereby freed himself from the subjection of the King of Castile. ALPHONSO afterwards invaded the territories of ISMAR the Moor, whose territories lay to the southward of the Tagus, and defeated him, with four other petty Moorish Kings his confederates, in that memorable battle fought in the plains of Ourique above-mentioned, which was followed with the reduction of most of the southern part of Portugal as far as the mountains of Algarva. Whereupon he was proclaimed King of Portugal by his army; and having taken the standards of the five Moorish Kings in that engagement, he ordered five shields to be quartered in the arms of Portugal, which are retained to this day. ALPHONSO, after a glorious reign, died in the eightieth year of his age, anno 1185.

SANCHO I. his son, succeeded him, who was all his reign, like his father, engaged with the Moors, but found time however to build and people a great many considerable towns.

He died in the year 1212, and was succeeded by his son ALPHONSUS, surnamed CRASSUS, of whom we meet with nothing more recorded in history than that he made a voyage to the Holy Land and took the city of Alcazar from the Moors. He died in the year 1223, and was succeeded by his son SANCHE II, an indolent Prince, whom his subjects having deposed, he fled to Toledo, and his brother ALPHONSO III was thereupon declared Regent. Upon SANCHE's death ALPHONSO took upon him the title of King; and marrying BEATRICE the natural daughter of ALPHONSO X, King of Castile, received with her in dower the kingdom of Algarves, then lately recovered from the Moors. Whereupon the Kings of Portugal took for their arms a Border, Gules, interspersed with castles Or without number; but now reduced to seven round their escutcheon. He was an active Prince, and having added several considerable cities to his kingdom, died anno 1279, when he was succeeded by his son DIONYSIUS a Prince celebrated for his justice, liberality and constancy, and adorning the kingdom with a great many public buildings; among others, the academy of Coimbra was founded by this Prince. He died in the year 1325, and was succeeded by his son ALPHONSO IV, surnamed *the Brave*. His reign was disturbed in the beginning of it by his natural brother ALPHONSO, who was in great esteem with the people; but he defeated him at length, and compelled him to fly the kingdom. He obtained a great deal of honour also in that general battle fought between the Christian Princes of Spain and Portugal on the one side, and a confederacy of the Moorish Kings on the other, called the battle of Sellado, where the Christians obtained a signal victory over the Infidels, and killed two hundred thousand Moors upon the spot, if we may credit their historians; but nothing is so common as to find them enlarge and magnify things in their relation of these wars much beyond the truth. The greatest blemish in the reign of this Prince was the putting to death Donna AGNES DE CASTRO, whom his son PETER had married against his consent, which occasioned the young Prince to foment an insurrection against his father, which was not suppressed without a great deal of bloodshed; but at length matters were compromised between the father and son, and ALPHONSO dying in the year 1357, was succeeded by PETER, to whom some have given the name of *the Cruel*, which it is said was occasioned only by his strict execution of offenders, never sparing any that were convicted; but chiefly from his putting all those to death who had been any ways concerned in the murder of his beloved wife AGNES. He died in the year 1368, and was succeeded by his son FERDINAND, who laid claim also to the kingdom of Castile, to which HENRY *the Bastard*, who had murdered his brother PETER, surnamed *the Cruel*, had no legal title. But HENRY on the contrary invaded Portugal, and ravaged the country in a very dreadful manner, obliging FERDINAND to desist from his pretensions: But after the death of HENRY, the Portuguese being assisted by JOHN Duke of Lancaster, who had married CONSTANTIA the daughter and heiress of PETER King of Castile, renewed the war with JOHN the son of HENRY *the Bastard*, which was for some time carried on with great vigour. At length a treaty was concluded between the parties, wherein it was agreed, that JOHN King of Castile should marry the Princess

CHAP.  
IX.Alphonso  
II.  
1212.Sancho II.  
1223.Alphonso  
III.Dionysius  
1279.Peter.  
1357.Ferdinand  
1368.



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IX.

cess BEATRICE the daughter of King FERDINAND, the children of which marriage were to succeed to the crown of Portugal. FERDINAND died in the year 1383, being the last of the ancient race of the Kings of Portugal.

Upon the death of FERDINAND, the kingdom being in great distraction, there was an interregnum of two years; for ELEONORA, Queen-dowager of Portugal, being to have the administration of the government till the King of Castile's son (who by the late treaty between the two crowns was to succeed to Portugal) was of age, having married the Duke of Andeira, her quondam favourite, and thereby drew upon herself the hatred of the Portuguese, JOHN, the natural son of PETER late King of Portugal, murdered Count Andeira, and set up for himself: Whereupon the opposite party invited the King of Castile to assume the crown; but he coming into Portugal without an army, the Portuguese, out of their natural aversion to the Castilians, soon expelled him. The King of Castile thereupon raised a great army, and penetrated as far as the capital city of Lisbon, which he besieged; but his army being destroyed by the plague, he was obliged to retire out of the kingdom a second time, and the Portuguese thereupon proclaimed JOHN the Bastard their King, who reduced those places that declared for the Castilians. There was afterwards a general battle fought between the Portuguese and Castilians at Aliubarotta, where King JOHN obtained a decisive victory that established him upon the throne, and which is annually commemorated in Portugal to this day. Afterwards the Portuguese assisted by the Duke of Lancaster with a gallant army from England, carried the war into the heart of Castile: But the English suffering very much by the heat of the country, the Duke of Lancaster thought fit to clap up a peace, in consideration of a sum of money and the Prince of Castile's marrying the Duke's daughter, the Princess CATHERINE, by CONSTANTIA the daughter of PETER the Cruel late King of Castile; and not long after a lasting peace was concluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal.

1420. Whereupon King JOHN entered upon an expedition against the Moors in Africa, and took the town of Ceuta: And it was under his administration, that the island of Madera was discovered. He died anno 1433, after a glorious reign of forty-eight years, and is mentioned with great respect by the Portuguese to this day. He was succeeded by his son EDWARD, esteemed a good Prince, but died within five years afterwards of the plague, which he got by opening of a letter, as it is said, anno 1438. During this reign his brothers made an unfortunate expedition into Africa, in which they were defeated and made prisoners. The Moors however consented to release them on condition Ceuta should be restored them; and Prince FERDINAND remaining an hostage for the performance of this article, to which the States of Portugal would never consent, he died in that country.

Alphonso  
V.  
1438.

ALPHONSO succeeded his father EDWARD, being an infant of six years of age. The Portuguese being uneasy under the government of the Queen-dowager, the administration of affairs was committed to Don PEDRO Duke of Coimbra, brother to the late King EDWARD; who being charged with some designs against his Majesty, was murdered as he was going to justify himself to the King.

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ALPHONSO when he came of age was successful in his wars in Africa, taking the towns of Tangier, Arcilla, Alcazar, &c. He afterwards laid claim to the crown of Castile on espousing JOANNA the supposed daughter of HENRY IV, King of Castile. He invaded that kingdom and reduced many cities under his power, but was driven out again by the celebrated FERDINAND and ISABELLA King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, and defeated by them in a general battle near Toro. Whereupon ALPHONSO was forced to renounce all pretensions to the crown of Castile, and the Princess JOANNA whom he had espoused, retired into a convent. Portugal sustained great losses in this war, the ill success whereof is said to have broken the King's heart. He died in the year 1481, and was succeeded by his son JOHN II. JOHN, who had the good fortune to defeat a conspiracy formed against him in the beginning of his reign by FERDINAND Duke of Braganza and JAMES Duke of Visco, who lost their lives in the attempt, and the latter of them was killed by the King's own hand. King JOHN was the first who projected the tracing out a way to the East-Indies round Africa by the Cape of Good-Hope, and built the castle of Minas on the coast of Guinea. He died in the year 1495, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his cousin EMANUEL, son of the Duke of Visco and grandson of King EDWARD. MAXIMILIAN the Emperor opposed him, and laid claim to the crown, being the son of the Princess ELEONORA the daughter of King EDWARD. But the Portuguese being averse to a stranger, and finding in EMANUEL all the qualifications requisite in a Prince, they adhered to him. He married ISABELLA the eldest daughter of FERDINAND the Catholick, who it is said persuaded him to banish the Jews and Moors out of Portugal on pain of being made slaves if they remained in Portugal after a prefixed day; whereupon the Moors went over into Africa, but they took all the Jews children from them under fourteen, and baptized them by force; and most of their parents being detained under pretence there were not vessels to transport them, submitted also to be baptized rather than be made slaves: few of them were really converted, which has been the occasion that such numbers of them have professed Judaism again, and been destroyed by the Inquisition.

Emanuel.  
1495.

In the reign of King EMANUEL, it is said, Portugal arrived at it's highest pitch of glory; for then it was their fleets were conducted round the Cape of Good Hope to India by the celebrated VASCO DE GAMA, whereby they became almost sole masters of the trade between India and Europe, which was before carried on by the way of Egypt, whither the riches of India being brought, the Venetians, Genoese, and other maritime States in the Mediterranean, used to distribute them to the several kingdoms of Europe. But the beginning of the Portuguese trade with India having been largely treated of in the first volume of Modern History, I shall not enlarge upon it here; and only observe, that in making this voyage they casually discovered Brazil in America, and several rich countries on the coast of Africa; from all which there flowed in such immense treasures during this reign, that it obtained the name of the Golden Age. King EMANUEL died in the year 1521, and was succeeded by his son JOHN III.

John III.  
1521.



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a long, peaceful and happy reign, in which he applied himself to restore learning, arts and sciences at home, and to plant colonies in the countries that had been discovered in his father's reign in Asia, Africa and America. He also sent out abundance of Missionaries, and among the rest the famous FRANCIS XAVIER, who planted the Christian religion in China, India, the coasts of Africa, Brazil, &c. in which he was no less successful than in his civil government. He died anno 1557; and was succeeded by his grandson SEBASTIAN, an infant of three years of age, Cardinal HENRY his uncle having the administration of the government during his minority. This Prince, as soon as he arrived towards the years of manhood, seemed much addicted to martial exploits; and was advised by his courtiers to form an army and undertake an expedition into Africa against the Infidels under pretence of awaking the courage of the people, and reviving that military discipline which was almost lost by a long series of peace and plenty: And had they taken time to form and exercise their troops, and provided experienced Generals to command them, the advice might not have been amiss. But the enterprize was begun and carried on with too much precipitation; a vast army, or rather a confused multitude, was raised, without any mixture of veteran troops or experienced Generals, and transported into Africa at the instance of MULEY HAMET King of Morocco, who had been deposed by his subjects. The opportunity seemed favourable, and the people were taught to despise those cowardly Moors whom their ancestors had driven out of Europe. They advanced far into the country, where they were surrounded by a much more numerous army of the infidels. King SEBASTIAN and the deposed King MULEY were defeated and killed, with most of the Portuguese nobility, and all the common soldiers were killed or taken prisoners. The conqueror, MULEY MALUCCO, who had usurped his nephew MULEY MAHOMET's throne, died of a fever before the engagement was well over; so that there fell, according to my author, three Kings on this fatal day; which the Portuguese had the most reason to lament, receiving such a blow as they were never able to recover, but fell soon after under the dominion of Spain. For Cardinal HENRY, the late King's uncle, the only surviving male issue of the royal family, being advanced to the throne, after a weak reign of two years died. Whereupon PHILIP II, King of Spain, sent the Duke of Alva into Portugal at the head of an army, and took possession of that kingdom, which he claimed in right of his mother. The Portuguese indeed set up Prince ANTHONY, natural son to the late King JOHN III against him, and he received some assistance from England in order to maintain his pretensions. But the King of Spain was too powerful for this competitor, who after the loss of two battles was obliged to quit his claim to the crown of Portugal. Of this revolution Doctor GEDDES gives the best account I have met with: He says, "That Cardinal HENRY was extremely perplexed during his short reign with the claims that were put in by several Princes to succeed him. "The first and strongest of those pretensions was that of Philip the second, King of Spain, who claimed that crown as son and heir to the Empress Donna ISABELLA the eldest daughter of King EMANUEL.

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"The second was EMANUEL Duke of Savoy, as son and heir to the Infanta Donna BEATRIX, second daughter of the same King.  
"The third was Don ANTONIO, Prior de Crato, as son and heir to the Infante DON LEWIS, the third son of King EMANUEL.  
"The fourth was RAYNUCIO Prince of Parma, as son and heir to Donna MARIA, the eldest daughter of the Infante DON EDWARD, the fourth son of King EMANUEL.  
"The fifth was Donna KATHERINA, second daughter to the Infante DON EDWARD, who was married to the Duke of Braganza.  
"A remote title was also trumped up by KATHERINE DE MEDICIS Queen of France, for no other reason that I can perceive, but only to give some lustre to her blood, which on her father's side was the basest that had ever run in the veins of any Queen of France before.  
"And the Pope, who will be still fishing for himself in all troubled waters, did start a title that was yet more fantastical, which was his being heir to the King as he was Cardinal.  
"The old King being vehemently solicited by all these pretenders to be declared by him his successor, he slighted the Pope's, the Queen of France's and the Duke of Savoy's claims as altogether groundless; and though the Prince of Parma in the lineal descent was the undoubted heir to the crown after the death of the King, who was his grand-uncle, yet that Prince's claim was but little regarded, there being a law in Portugal called, the Law of Lamego, whereby all foreigners are excluded from the throne, though otherwise the right heirs to it.  
"The great struggle came therefore at last to be betwixt PHILIP II, King of Spain, the Dukes of Braganza, and ANTONIO, who being extremely beloved by the people of Portugal, would not withdraw his claim (though it was rejected by the King with indignation for his being a bastard) pretending to be able to prove that his father was married to his mother; or if he could not prove that, yet his friends, who were the people, said that ought to be no bar to him, no more than it was to the victorious Don JOHN the first, the founder of the present royal family of Portugal. And Pope GREGORY the thirteenth, when he found he should make nothing of his own claim, did promote that of Don ANTONIO, whose interest was espoused by the Pope's Nuncio in Portugal with great warmth: For that politick Pope judging the Spanish crown to be too strong and formidable already, was very unwilling to have it made stronger by the accession of Portugal to it.  
"The Dutchess of Braganza, though the King offered her and her family great advantages in the name of PHILIP, if she would resign her title to that kingdom, as the Prince of Parma was said to have done, would not hear of doing it upon any terms whatsoever; but was continually soliciting the King her uncle to do her justice.  
"The King being in a great perplexity what to do, called the Cortes to settle the succession; and in which fifteen nobles and two and twenty men of letters were named to be judges, and five nobles out of those fifteen were appointed to be Governors of the kingdom if he happened to die before a sentence was

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passed,



" passed, and who were to see the sentence that should be passed executed : and thereupon an oath was taken by the three estates of the realm to stand to the decision of those judges ; or in case they did not agree, to yield obedience to the sentence of the five Governors ; and which oath both the Duke of Braganza and ANTONIO were compelled by the King to take. But when PHILIP was required to do it, who had a strong army quartered on the frontiers of Portugal, he made answer, *He would not take it ; nor could he allow his right, which was so clear, to be put in judgment.* And King HENRY dying soon after, the Spanish army under the command of the Duke of Alva marched forthwith into Portugal, and having quickly defeated Don ANTONIO, and driven him out of Lisbon, where he had been proclaimed King by the people, PHILIP was immediately proclaimed King there, and in all other places of the kingdom ; and having the five Governors under his power, he was by a majority of them declared to be the lawful heir of the crown : which declaration was soon after confirmed by the Cortes of the whole kingdom, called by PHILIP at Tomar, where he was acknowledged and sworn to as the lawful King of the realm ; which, being a foreigner, it is certain he was not ; nor could he have been, had he been a native ; the daughter of the brother, which the Dukes of Braganza was, being both by the laws of that kingdom, and by the law of representation, to be preferred to the son of the sister. For as, had the Dukes's father, the Infante Don EDWARD, and that King's mother been both alive when their brother Don HENRY died, the King's mother could not have pretended to the crown before her brother Don EDWARD ; so neither ought PHILIP, as her heir, to pretend to it before the Dukes of Braganza, who was daughter and by law heir to the Infante Don EDWARD. And PHILIP being sensible that if he did not bring the Portuguese to be better affected to him and his government than they were at present, that he must either be at the great charge of maintaining a considerable Spanish army still in Portugal, or must quickly lose that kingdom again ; to win the hearts of the Portuguese he granted them all the advantage they desired, having promised and sworn to observe the following articles.

" First, To conserve to that crown all it's prerogatives and titles, the coinage, the royal palace, and all the offices used in it by it's natural Princes ; and that the King being in Portugal should be served by none but natives.

" Secondly, That no foreigner should be capable of any office or dignity ecclesiastical or civil, nor of any military commands, nor of any title of honour, pensions, or grants, nor of having the liberty of trading to any of the Portuguese plantations.

" Thirdly, That the Viceroy of the kingdom should be always one of the royal family.

" Fourthly, That wherever the King was, a certain number of Portuguese should assist, with the title of the Council of Portugal, and thro' whose hands only all dispatches should pass, and which should be all written in the Portuguese tongue ; and that the Portuguese as well as

" the Castilians should be admitted to offices in the palace. CHAP. IX.

" Fifthly, That the Cortes should not be assembled out of the kingdom, and that all the publick affairs should be transacted in that assembly.

" Sixthly, That the King should obtain no bulls from the Pope to receive the thirds or any other ecclesiastical subsidies.

" Seventhly, That the dry ports betwixt the two kingdoms should be opened, and the merchants be allowed to trade without paying any duties.

" Eighthly, That the King should reside in Portugal as much as he could possibly, and that the Prince should be bred up in it, to beget in him an affection for the Portuguese.

" Lastly, In case the King or any of his successors should violate the aforesaid articles, it should be lawful for the three estates of the kingdom to withdraw their allegiance from him.

" But to proceed : King PHILIP having thus united Portugal to the rest of Spain, that nation became very great sufferers by it ; for as PHILIP was at this time endeavouring to reduce the Netherlands, he thought nothing would contribute to it more than the prohibiting them to traffick with Spain and Portugal, the Dutch employing a great many ships in transporting the native commodities of Spain and Portugal, as well as the produce of their foreign plantations and settlements, to the northern kingdom of Europe ; and PHILIP imagined, that if this branch of the Netherlands navigation and commerce was stopped, they would be obliged to come to any terms he should prescribe. But this project had a very different effect from what he expected, for the Dutch being excluded trading with Spain and Portugal, from whence they used to fetch spices and other valuable merchandize, the product of Asia and America, fitted out strong fleets, and followed the Spaniards and Portuguese in the road they had struck out to the East and West-Indies, and not only brought to Europe the same rich goods these nations had for many years monopolized, but drove the Portuguese from their best settlements in India, and other countries of Asia, as well as from some others they had in Brazil, and on the coast of Africa. This provoked the Portuguese to the last degree, and they would gladly have shook off the Spanish yoke, under the conduct of whose Princes they sustained such irreparable losses : but PHILIP maintained his dominion over that kingdom till he died, as did his son PHILIP the third of Spain, and the second of Portugal. PHILIP the fourth, his grandson, also succeeded quietly to the kingdom of Spain and Portugal, which he enjoyed about nineteen years ; but the Spaniards having been weakened by a long expensive war with France, and the revolt of the Catalans, the Portuguese had a fair opportunity of delivering their country from a foreign yoke ; and as the Duke of Braganza was the next in blood to their former Princes, they made him an offer of the crown, of which he did not seem very ambitious : but while he was meditating on one side the hazard of the enterprize, and on the other the glories which might accrue to his country,

Philip III.  
1598.

Philip IV.  
1621.



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try, and his family in particular, if he should succeed, the court of Spain, before he had determined with himself which part to take, had some intimation given them of the design, and King PHILIP summoned the Duke, and the rest of the Portuguese nobility, to attend him in the Catalonian war. The Duke saw the snare, and excused himself as well as he could: He alledged that his coffers were low, and he was not in a condition to bear the expence a man of his quality must necessarily be at in the field. The Court of Madrid hereupon ordered him a remittance of twenty thousand pistoles, with a promise of accommodating him with more. Things being come to a crisis, the Duke consulted his Lady upon the occasion: She was of the family of Medina Sidonia, a Princess of great spirit, and is said to have answered him after this manner; Sir, if you resolve to go to Spain, you run the hazard of your life; you do the same in attempting the crown of Portugal; but if you must die, it were better to die a King than a Duke: And this it seems determined his choice. The whole kingdom of Portugal, and all their foreign settlements, unanimously acknowledged him for their Sovereign, except Ceuta, in which was a Spanish Governor. This surprizing revolution was effected in an instant, without having cost the lives of three people, though it cost a great deal of blood and treasure to maintain it afterwards. It was undertaken, on the first of December 1640, when in the offices of the church for that day we meet with these words, taken out of the thirteenth chapter of the Romans, ver. 11. *And that knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.* Which the Portuguese did then, and have ever since regarded, as an oracle from heaven declaring in their favour. Thus did this Prince ascend the throne of Portugal, and was proclaimed by the name of JOHN the fourth. It is thought very strange that this design should be communicated to above two hundred persons, and a whole year taken up in preparations for its execution, and yet not be discovered to the court of Spain till it was too late to prevent it. The new King however had not been long upon the throne, before a plot was formed against him; but he being so fortunate to suppress the conspiracy before it came to a head, it served only to establish his authority over his subjects. He was esteemed a good Prince, and an encourager of learning: the greatest misfortune of his reign was the reviving the war with the Dutch, who possessed themselves of most of the settlements the Portuguese had left in India and Africa; but they had the good fortune to drive the Dutch out of Brazil. King JOHN having reigned about sixteen years, died anno 1656, leaving two sons and one daughter, viz. DON ALPHONSO his eldest son, DON PEDRO the youngest, and one daughter named CATHERINE.

His son  
Alphonso  
succeeds  
him.

ALPHONSO being very young at his father's death, reigned some time under the guardianship of his mother, who was very successful during her administration against the Spaniards, who having made peace with France, invaded Portugal, and were determined to have brought that kingdom under their dominion

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again; but the Portuguese being assisted by the King of England, who had married the Princess CATHERINE, and by the French King underhand, notwithstanding he had stipulated by the Pyrenean treaty not to afford them any assistance, the Portuguese defeated their enemies in several engagements, the most important victory being that of Villa Viciosa. This train of ill success, with their losses in the Low Countries, induced the Spaniards to make a peace with Portugal, and renounce all their pretensions to that crown.

King ALPHONSO coming of age, the Queen-dowager, who did not approve of his conduct, retired into a cloyster, where she died. ALPHONSO afterwards married the Princess of Nemours, of the house of Savoy, who upon pretence of her husband's impotence, retired also into a convent, and obtained a divorce from him; while DON PEDRO, his younger brother, was so fortunate as to persuade the people that DON ALPHONSO was a weak man, and incapable of governing the kingdom, and procured him to be deposed by an assembly of the States, and banished to the island of Tercera, anno 1668, from whence he was brought back some time after, and died in the castle of Cintra on the twelfth of December 1683, till when DON PEDRO took upon him the title of Regent of the Kingdom, but upon the death of ALPHONSO so he was proclaimed King. Whether DON ALPHONSO was really that weak Prince the friends of DON PEDRO gave out, when they procured him to be deposed, is not easy to determine; but when we see the wife and brother in a confederacy against him, and even contracting marriage in his life-time, and making interest to deprive him of the regal power, it is very natural to suspect that the late King had foul play. It is not a divorce purchased at Rome, or a dispensation from the Holy See to commit incest, that can sanctify injustice and adultery: They might seem to flourish for a time, and revel in polluted infamous embraces, but serenity of mind could never be found under such a load of guilt.

Some writers however, I find, give DON PEDRO a great character. They relate, that he was a Prince of excellent parts, and applied himself with all imaginary diligence to render his subjects easy and happy: and it is indeed become a proverb, *The worse Title the better King*: abundance of popular acts must be done to take off the people's attention, and keep them quiet. But the sum of their policy, both here and in Spain, seems to be the bribing the nobility and leading men, who willingly contribute to the slavery and oppression of their fellow-subjects, that they may share the plunder with the tyrant. But since the Spanish Court has been governed by French Councils, they have struck off a multitude of pensioners, and now govern both nobility and commonalty by their standing troops. We have instances in some other kingdoms where the Court is trebly guarded: 1. By an almighty band of Pensioners. 2. By a body of national troops. And, 3. If either of these should boggle at the villainous parts they are expected to act, there is a body of foreign mercenaries ready to keep the surly natives in awe. And if all these should fail, they are provided of a guaranty of most of the powers of Europe to secure their thrones, and defend the most oppressive arbitrary measures.



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To return; As the revenues of the crown of Portugal are not the largest, and the greatest part of them is employed in pensions among the Grandees and Nobility, and consequently the court in no condition to maintain a foreign war, it has been the wisdom of their Princes, and particularly of Don PEDRO, to promote peace with all Christian Princes and States. Accordingly, in the first long war between the Allies and LEWIS the fourteenth, we find the Portuguese stood neuter; nor did they come into the last war in Queen ANNE's reign, till the year 1703, and then it is evident the whole weight of the war on that side was borne by their Allies.

1703.  
The terms  
on which  
the Portu-  
guese  
came into  
the Grand  
Alliance.

The cautious Portuguese, before they entered into the grand Alliance, insisted, that the Archduke CHARLES, who was to be proclaimed King of Spain, should be sent to Portugal with an army of twelve thousand English and Dutch troops; that the Allies also should take into their pay thirteen thousand of the troops of Portugal, and that a large fleet should be fitted out to protect their coast and trade against the insults of the French. Accordingly Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, with thirty-five English men of war and fourteen Dutch, arrived at the mouth of the Tagus the latter end of July, from whence the confederate fleet sailed into the Streights, and having alarmed the coast of Spain, made a descent with two or three thousand men near Altea in Valencia, inviting the Spaniards to join them, declaring they were come to protect them from the tyranny of the French, and assist them in setting their lawful Sovereign the Archduke CHARLES upon the throne. Nor did the people seem averse to the proposal, but brought in provisions to the fleet, and many of them drunk the Archduke's health. However, things not being yet ripe for a general revolt, the troops re-embarked, and the fleet having in vain endeavoured to relieve the Cevennois in Languedoc, and cruised in the Mediterranean till the latter end of the year, the Admiral visited the coasts of Portugal again, and afterwards returned to England, not having been able to meet with the French fleet, which kept close in their harbours this year.

Archduke  
declared  
King of  
Spain.

On the 12th of September the Emperor and the King of the Romans signed an act, whereby they relinquished all their right to the Spanish monarchy in favour of the Archduke CHARLES: the Emperor at the same time declaring that the male branch of the house of Austria being extinct in Spain, that monarchy with the dominions thereto belonging was devolved upon him; and being importuned by his illustrious confederates, particularly the King of Portugal, to provide a successor to that monarchy, he thought proper to send over his second son, the Archduke CHARLES, to Spain, in order to put him in possession of that kingdom: to which purpose his Imperial Majesty and the King of the Romans had made this resignation of their rights, and did declare and acknowledge the said Archduke King of Spain, by the Stile and Title of CHARLES III, &c. After which another act was read on behalf of the Archduke, declaring his acceptance of the Spanish crown, and renouncing all his right to the dominions of the house of Austria in the Empire: and the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke afterwards took their oaths at the altar for the confirmation of the said respective acts. Then the Archduke was proclaimed King of Spain, and received the compliments of the

Court thereupon. The Emperor afterwards wrote a letter to the King of Portugal, notifying his proclaiming the Archduke King of Spain, and that he designed he should shortly visit Portugal. Another letter was wrote to the Queen of England, recommending the new-made King to her protection: upon the receipt whereof, the Queen wrote to King CHARLES, assuring him she would employ all the strength of her arms in his favour.

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The Archduke, now stiled King CHARLES, He comes to Eng-land.  
the third, soon after set out from Vienna for Holland, where he arrived the second of November; and having continued at the Hague till the 23d of December, embarked for England. He arrived at Spithead the 26th of the same month, where the Duke of Somerset, Master of the horse to the Queen of England, waited on him on ship-board, with a letter and a compliment from her Majesty, inviting him to Windsor. His Catholick Majesty thereupon came on shore, and went to Petworth, the Duke of Somerset's seat in Sussex; where the Prince of Denmark, her Majesty's consort, was come to receive him. On the 29th his Catholick Majesty with the Prince came to Windsor: the Queen received him at the top of the stairs, and after some compliments of course, he thanked her for her generous assistance towards setting him on the throne of Spain. (For not only the British fleets and armies were employed in his service, but the very charges of his voyage, and his court in Portugal, were to be, and actually were, provided at the expence of Britain.) His Majesty supped with the Queen and Prince of Denmark that evening; her Majesty giving the King the right hand at table, and the Prince sitting at the end. His Catholick Majesty lay but two nights at Windsor, where the English court appeared in all it's lustre, nothing was wanting that might render the entertainment agreeable or magnificent: the King took the napkin from the Duchess of Marlborough, and would hold it while the Queen washed; after which he returned it to her Grace with his diamond ring wrapped up in it; but the rest of the Queen's servants were strictly prohibited to take any thing of the King, who did not abound in treasure at this time.

His Majesty having taken leave of the Queen, returned to Petworth the 31st of December, and the next day went on board Admiral ROOK in the Royal Catherine at Spithead. The Dutch Squadron having joined the fleet, they set sail the fifth of January; but meeting with a terrible storm in the latitude of 46, they returned to St. Hellens the 20th to refit. The twelfth of February the fleet set sail again, and on the twenty-fifth arrived in the river of Lisbon, where the King of Portugal with his two eldest sons came on board the Royal Catherine, and after a short stay the two Kings went on shore, where *Te Deum* was sung for his Majesty's safe arrival; and in the beginning of March all the English and Dutch auxiliary troops arrived in Portugal, being commanded by Duke Schomberg. Whereupon the Marquis de Chateaufneuf, Ambassador of France to the King of Portugal, retired from thence.

He arrives  
in Portu-  
gal with a  
detach-  
ment of  
English  
and Dutch  
forces.

But the English and Dutch, who had promised themselves such mighty advantages from the King of Portugal's coming into the Grand Alliance, found themselves miserably disappointed: not a third part of the horses were provided for remounting their cavalry that had been promised them,



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them, and those under size and not fit for service; then the Portuguese Generals, and every Governor of a province who has the supreme military command lodged in him, insisted on commanding the Confederate Generals, and that their troops should take the right upon all occasions; nor would they suffer the English and Dutch to march in a body, but distributed them into their little ragged frontier towns that were not tenable, where many of them were made prisoners by the Duke of Anjou, who invaded Portugal this year with an army of two and twenty thousand men. The Marquis das Minas pretended indeed to give a diversion by marching into Castile; but the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the Spanish army, perfectly contemned him, and having sat down before Castle-David, made the garison prisoners of war. Duke Schomberg, who commanded the English, being weary of his command in such circumstances, desired to be recalled, and the Earl of Galway, a French refugee, who made no difficulty in sacrificing the honour and interest of Britain to the Portuguese afterwards, commanded on that side in his room.

In the mean time the English Admiral Sir GEORGE ROOK having disembarked the Confederate troops, sailed from the river of Lisbon and cruised off of Cape St. Vincent, for these curity of the Turkey and Levant fleets, and then returned to Lisbon. He set sail again the latter end of April with forty ships of the line, and some land forces on board commanded by the Prince of Hesse, for Barcelona, where they summoned the Governor: but he paying no regard to their summons, and some Catalans assuring the Admiral and the Prince, that there were five to one in the City for King CHARLES, they landed some forces, and sent a second summons, but with no better success. Whereupon having thrown about threescore bombs into the city, the forces were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed towards Toulon; near which place the Admiral received advice from Lisbon, that the Count de Toulouse was come into the Mediterranean with the Brest Squadron, in order to join that of Toulon; and on the seventh of June the scouts made the signal of seeing the French fleet. The Admiral thereupon stood after them, but could not bring them to an engagement. Having lost sight of the French fleet, he made the best of his way to the Straights, where he was joined by another squadron of English men of war commanded by Sir CLOUDSELY SHOVEL, and it was resolved to attack Gibraltar with their united force. The fleet got into the bay the twenty-first of July, and at three in the afternoon, the Marines, to the number of 1800, with the Prince of Hesse at the head of them, were put on shore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. The Admiral on the twenty-second in the morning ordered some ships to cannonade the town under the command of Rear-Admiral BYNG and Rear-Admiral VANDERDUSSEN; and Captain HICKS in the Yarmouth, with some other ships, were to batter the south mole-head: but the wind blowing contrary, it was put off till the twenty-third, when the ships being all in their places by break of day, the cannonading begun, and was performed with great fury, above fifteen thousand shot being made in five or six hours time against the town. The enemy being beat from their guns, especially at

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the south mole-head, and the Admiral considering that the gaining that work would probably reduce the town, ordered Captain WHITACRE, with all the boats armed to possess himself of it, which was performed with great expedition; whereupon the enemy sprung a mine that blew up the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants and forty men, and wounded sixty more. However, they kept possession of the great platform, and advancing to a redoubt between the mole and the town, made themselves masters of it, with a great many of the enemy's cannon. Then they sent the Governor a peremptory summons, who on the twenty-fourth in the morning desired to capitulate. Hostages therefore being exchanged, and the treaty concluded, the Prince of Hesse took possession of the town the same evening.

Soon after the taking of Gibraltar, the Brest Sea fight and Toulon Squadrons being joined, and amounting to two and fifty ships of the line of battle, and twenty-four galleys, commanded by the Count de Tholouse, encountered the Confederate fleet, consisting of fifty three-ships of the line, commanded by Sir GEORGE ROOK, on the thirteenth of August N. S. off of Malaga. The French ships were generally much larger, and being but just come out of harbour, much cleaner than those of the confederates. The fight continued till night, and the fleets remained in sight of each other a day or two afterwards, but neither side, it is evident, cared to renew the engagement; the French by their own account had been very roughly handled, and the English Admiral found that he had spent so much of his powder and shot in the taking of Gibraltar and in the engagement, that some of his ships had not three rounds left; and his being able to brave the French in these circumstances, might well be looked upon equal to a victory. The French indeed pretended he declined fighting, that is, he did not pursue them; and this is very true, he would have been a madman if he had, in that condition: but it is as certain they did not pursue him, since he remained two days in sight of them after the engagement, and then sailed no farther than Gibraltar, where they might have found him eight days afterwards, if they had had any stomach for fighting. It is plain therefore they had enough of it, especially since they never attempted to retake Gibraltar, or entered upon any further action till they returned into their harbours.

The French, in their relation of this engagement, inform us, that Sir CLOUDSELY SHOVEL, who led the Van of the English, sailed so far before the rest of the fleet, that he was in danger of being surrounded by the enemy and cut off; which obliged Sir GEORGE ROOK to begin the fight at too great a distance; and this was the true reason he had not so complete a victory as might otherwise have been expected. We may observe further, that the French were never able to man above fifty or sixty sail of men of war of the line during the late wars, though they pretend they have no less than two or three hundred large men of war in their ports; and it is true their foreign trade can never furnish them with seamen sufficient to man more than sixty capital ships, so that they are so far from being a match for the maritime powers, the English or Dutch, who are either of them able to fit out a navy of above a hundred sail, as they actually did in the Dutch war, and in the last war with France; but as

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large

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Gibraltar taken.

Sea fight off of Malaga.



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large squadrons were always taken up in protecting their coasts and their trade, the grand fleet seldom consisted of more than fifty or sixty sail of men of war, which they saw was abundantly sufficient to engage the whole force of France at sea. And when LEWIS XIV became sensible of this, we find he laid up his grand fleet, and only fitted out squadrons to ruin our trade and foreign settlements, in which he was but too successful. Another observation which cannot be passed by here, is, that notwithstanding the Portuguese are supposed able to fit out five and twenty or thirty men of war, they hardly joined our fleet with a single ship during the war, or could protect their own coasts or trade against the insults of a French squadron, but Sir GEORGE ROOK was obliged to leave them eighteen or twenty sail for their defence when he returned to England, as our Admirals did afterwards almost every year during the war. And I am satisfied, would the Portuguese have consented to have joined our fleets with a squadron of theirs, our Admirals have justly so mean an opinion of their marine force, that they would not have depended on them any more than our Generals could depend on the assistance of their horse on shore.

But to return from this digression, if it be one: The confederate fleet being returned to their ports, the French and Spaniards the following winter laid siege to Gibraltar by land, while Admiral POINTI, with a squadron of thirteen French men of war blocked it up by sea; of which Admiral LEAKE, who commanded the English squadron left for the protection of the Portuguese at Lisbon, having intelligence, set sail for the Straights, and surprising POINTI with his squadron in the bay of Gibraltar, took three men of war, and run two of the largest on shore, which the enemy immediately quitted and set fire to. Whereupon the besiegers, after they had lain six months before the place, and ruined best part of their army, thought fit to draw off their batteries and raise the siege.

The Confederates receiving repeated intelligence that the Spaniards, and particularly the Catalans, were ready to revolt on the appearance of King CHARLES with a body of troops upon their coast, the grand fleet, commanded by Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, with a detachment of landforces under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, set sail from Spithead to Lisbon, where they arrived the twentieth of June, and his Catholick Majesty coming on board them, they sailed to Gibraltar, where they took up the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and watering afterwards at the bay of Altea in Valencia, they found the people of that kingdom generally disposed to declare for King CHARLES III; from whence the fleet steered for Barcelona, where they did not arrive till the twenty-second of August, having been hindered by calms, contrary winds, and other accidents. The Prince of Hesse, who went before with two frigates to learn the posture things were in on that side, being returned to the fleet, and having acquainted the Generals that the town of Vich had already declared for his Catholick Majesty, as other places seemed ready to do, the troops were landed to the eastward of the city without opposition, and on the twenty-seventh some ships which had been sent to summon Denia, brought intelligence that the city had surrendered; whereupon the tents, artillery and ammunition being landed, his Catholick Majesty went on shore

the twenty-eighth of August, being received by a vast concourse of Catalans, that cried out without ceasing, *Long live King CHARLES III.* And it being agreed to attack Fort Montjoy to the westward of the town in the first place, though with very little hopes of success, a bomb luckily set fire to the powder of the Fort, and blowing up the works made it an easy conquest; but the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt lost his life in the attack.

The Earl of Peterborough afterwards ordered the trenches to be opened against the city, which was begun on the nineteenth of September, and the fleet bombarded it from the sea, setting fire to the town in several places, which put the people in a great consternation; whereupon Don VELASCO the Governor gave leave to the friars and the rest of the clergy, with the nuns, to retire out of the place, and they were kindly received by King CHARLES.

While the Confederates lay before the place, the Catalans came and offered their service to his Catholick Majesty, of whom two thousand were mounted and armed, the rest brought in provisions and necessaries, and contributed very much towards taking the town, which surrendered on the fourteenth of October, N. S. and the next day the shops in Barcelona were opened as in time of peace, and all was in a profound tranquillity. King CHARLES, in his letter to the Queen of England on this great event, dated the twenty-second of October, says, That all her Majesty's officers and soldiers had behaved themselves with uncommon gallantry, and taken a city with eight thousand men, and some few miquelets, which thirty thousand French were not able to do: that the cruelties of the late Viceroy, and a report that he intended to carry away several prisoners from thence, contrary to the capitulation, had incited the burghers and country people to take arms; and the garison being employed in loading their baggage in order to march out, were in danger of being cut in pieces, had not the Earl of Peterborough with her Majesty's troops entered the town and prevented it; and it was with a great deal of difficulty that the Earl preserved the Viceroy. And not only Barcelona, but Terragona, Lerida, Tortosa, and all the towns in Catalonia, except Roses, immediately surrendered to the Allies.

The season of the year requiring the fleet to return home, four English and two Dutch frigates were left at Barcelona to attend King CHARLES; and Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL left twenty-five sail of English, under the command of Admiral LEAKE, and fifteen Dutch, commanded by Admiral WASSENAER, to winter at Lisbon, and protect the Portuguese.

The Catalans upon these successes raised six regiments for King CHARLES, besides a regiment of five hundred dragoons which his Majesty formed out of the late garison of Barcelona that took service under him, and constituted his guard; these were commanded by Count ZINZENDORF. At the same time Don RAPHAEL NEBOT, a Catalan, came over to the King with his whole regiment, consisting of five hundred horse, who were joined by a hundred and fifty other horse on the way. And a declaration being published inviting all good Spaniards to assist his Majesty in the recovery of his throne, deputies came from several towns in Valencia to make their submission. Whereupon the Earl of Peterborough, with one thousand horse, five hundred foot, and a body of

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IX.King  
Charles  
sails to Bar-  
celona  
with the  
confede-  
rate fleet.



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Badajoz  
besieged.

1706.  
Barcelona  
besieged  
by King  
Philip.

Barcelona  
relieved.

The Portuguese being retreated into their own country, the Earl of Peterborough marched with fifteen hundred men to Valencia, and the city of Barcelona being drained of soldiers, by sending detachments to Tortosa, Lerida, Gironne, &c. King PHILIP on a sudden drew all the troops he could together, both French and Spaniards, and invested Barcelona on the second of April, N. S. 1706, before that city had any notice of his motions, or the breaches were well repaired; and had not the Count de Thoulouse, who was to convoy the artillery and ammunition necessary for the siege, and block it up by sea, been put back and detained a considerable time by contrary winds, the town had been retaken by the enemy before the allies could have relieved it. But the Lord Peterborough having found means to reinforce the garison, and harassing the enemy's camp with perpetual alarms, the town held out till the second of May, when his Lordship sent King CHARLES intelligence that the confederate fleet was approaching. On the seventh the Earl of Peterborough (who was Admiral as well as General) joined the fleet off Tarragona with several barks, and fourteen hundred land-forces in them, and his Excellency went on board the Prince George, hoisting the Union flag, and on the eighth the fleet came to an anchor in Barcelona bay, to the inexpressible joy of the garison and inhabitants, for Fort Montjoy was taken the twenty-fifth of April, the Lord Donnegal who commanded there being killed, and the enemy preparing to give the town a general assault.

The Earl of Peterborough going on shore with the troops he had on board, the town no longer apprehended themselves in any danger, and on the twelfth of May, N. S. King PHILIP raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him a hundred and six brass cannon, twenty-three mortars, all his sick and wounded, and prodigious quantities of provision and ammunition;

and it was observed, that the same morning about nine there was a great eclipse of the sun, which being the French device, superstitious people imagined portended no good to their nation. King PHILIP with his army retired into France, and the French fleet commanded by the Count de Thoulouse had retired before, on notice of the arrival of the confederates on the coast of Catalonia.

While King PHILIP was besieging Barcelona, and had withdrawn most of his forces from the side of Portugal, the Portuguese with the confederate troops ventured to enter Castile, and lay siege to Alcantara the tenth of April; which being a place of no great strength, capitulated the fourteenth, when it was expected the Portuguese would have marched directly to Madrid, where King PHILIP's Queen and Court were in the utmost consternation; but notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the British and Dutch Generals for marching to Madrid, the Portuguese absolutely refused to leave their own frontiers till they saw the fate of Barcelona determined: however, on intelligence that the confederate fleet had entered the Straights in their way to Barcelona, they laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo the twenty-first of May, which place surrendered the twenty-sixth; and on the twenty-seventh the news of the raising the siege of Barcelona was brought into their camp; whereupon it was unanimously agreed by the Portuguese and the rest of the confederate Generals to march to Madrid, from which they were not then fifty miles distant: the army however, on account of some unpassable mountains, were obliged first to march northward as far as Salamanca, where they arrived the seventh of June. On the eighteenth of the same month they came to Espinal, where Deputies from the Escorial came to make their submission. Here, by some intercepted letters, they had advice of the victory obtained by the allies at Ramillies in Flanders the twelfth instant, and understood that the Spaniards generally looked upon King PHILIP's affairs as desperate. That Prince however, after his disgrace at Barcelona, arrived at Madrid by the way of France, and finding the Portuguese bent their march towards that capital, he retired again, and joined his troops that were returning through Navarre, commanding the rest of his forces that were dispersed through Spain to follow him.

Alcantara  
taken.

Ciudad  
Rodrigo  
taken.

Before he left Madrid, he proposed it to the Grantees and the rest of the nobility, that they would take the field with him; but they desired to be excused, and most of them retired to their country-seats. The Spaniards seemed very indifferent which party succeeded, at least they did not think it worth their while to hazard any thing for either Prince. They did not approve of French counsels, but were made to believe their religion was in danger from those armies of hereticks in confederacy with King CHARLES.

The Allies being encamped at Nuestra Signora de Ratamal, on the twenty-fourth of June a detachment of horse was sent to take possession of Madrid, from whence there came a deputation the next day to make their submission in form, and most of the nobility and persons of distinction came into the camp, to express their devotion for the house of Austria. The army moving nearer to Madrid, the twenty-seventh King CHARLES was proclaimed in that city; whereupon Toledo and many other considerable towns declared for him; and even Cardinal PORTOCARERO wrote

The Allies  
take pos-  
session of  
Madrid.

Toledo,  
&c. de-  
clare for  
King  
to Charles.



to the Portuguese General, the Marquis das Minas, offering his submission to King CHARLES, in whose name justice was administered in all courts of judicature at Madrid.

Madrid  
lost again.

The confederate Generals upon this success sent courier after courier to King CHARLES, to hasten his march to Madrid, which at first he seemed inclined to; but the kingdom of Arragon declaring for him at the same time, he marched to the capital city of that province, under pretence of receiving the submission of that people, where he trifled away so much time, that the Duke of Berwick being reinforced, appeared in sight of the Allies, and on the third of August sent a detachment to take possession of Madrid again, which the Confederates had quitted a little before, and withdrawn to a more advantageous camp, for they were now obliged to be upon the defensive. But at length, on the sixth of August, King CHARLES and the Lord Peterborough arrived in the camp of the Allies at Guadalaxara, bringing with them no more than five battalions and thirteen squadrons, which, though it did not put them in a capacity of acting offensively, enabled them to make a handsome retreat; and the Earl of Peterborough was dispatched to Italy to solicit further reinforcements, the French and Spaniards being at this time entirely driven out of Lombardy by the Allies, as they must have been out of Spain, if the Confederates had not, to humour the Imperialists and the Duke of Savoy, employed their sea and land forces in that romantick project upon Thoulon, which will be mentioned in the next year's transactions.

The Allies  
retire out  
of Castile.

But to return to the army at Guadalaxara: The Duke of Berwick having possessed himself of Madrid again, Toledo, Salamanca, and all the towns almost that had declared for the Allies in Castile, espoused the part of King PHILIP again, whereby the retreat of the Portuguese to their own country was cut off, and it was thereupon agreed to retreat into Valencia, to secure that country, Arragon and Catalonia, in the interest of King CHARLES, and preserve a communication with the sea-coasts: the army accordingly made their retreat in good order, passing the Tagus at Fuente Duenas, without any considerable loss, though the Duke of Berwick attended their rear during the whole march.

Whilst King CHARLES was retreating from Castile towards Valencia, a body of ten thousand English and Dutch arrived in the river of Lisbon, commanded by the Earl Rivers. These troops were at first designed to have made a descent in France the preceding summer, but having been detained several months by contrary winds, that enterprize was laid aside, and they were sent to reinforce the Allies in Spain. The court of Portugal, on their arrival at Lisbon, proposed to join a body of their national troops with them, and that they should march directly to Madrid through their country; but the English and Dutch having been on board six months, suffered incredible hardships in the voyage, and lost most of their horses, were in no condition to undertake such an enterprize: nor had the Portuguese any such troops as they mentioned ready to join them, or artillery or ammunition provided for such an undertaking. The Earl Rivers however thought fit to land his men, as well to refresh them as to encourage the Portuguese, whose frontiers lay pretty much exposed on the retreat of the Allies towards Valencia.

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But to return to King CHARLES: his army having gained the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia, he put garisons into Cuenca, Requena and Cifuentes, sent a detachment of his troops to Arragon, and disposed the rest in such a manner, as to protect those countries which continued in his interest.

I find the conduct both of King CHARLES and the confederate Generals that took possession of Madrid, exceedingly blamed by some writers. They relate, that when the French retired in such a precipitate manner from before Barcelona to the frontiers of France, it was the opinion of the English Generals, that King CHARLES should have immediately gone on to Madrid by the way of Valencia, as being the nearest, most safe, and most convenient way for the subsistence of the confederate troops. Several councils of war were held upon it, and it was resolved in three of them *nemine contradicente*. According to those resolves, the Earl of Peterborough marched before with six thousand men to Valencia, and soon after his Lordship arrived there, he received certain advice that the Earl of Galway was come with the confederate army under his command to Madrid; from whence every one concluded, that King CHARLES would have gone with all imaginable speed to take possession of that capital. The Earl of Peterborough, and those who were with him, were mightily surpris'd, after a month's waiting at Valencia, to find that his Catholick Majesty had been advis'd and prevail'd upon by the Prince de L——n, and Count de C——es, to alter those measures at Tarragona, where they had resolved to go to Madrid by the way of Arragon, on pretence of conquering that kingdom, which had then declared for him. The Envoy of Portugal, and our Minister at his Majesty's court, did both of them protest against this, and urged to have their reasons entered in writing; the substance of which was, 1. That Arragon being not well furnished with provisions, it would be very inconvenient for our troops to march that way. 2. That the enemy having then six thousand good horse ready to observe his motions, his Majesty could not march that way without visible hazard. 3. That though that road were safe, it would be the loss of six weeks time before he could arrive at Madrid, and that time would be of great importance to him in such a conjuncture. Those about him who were for going by the way of Arragon, alledged, that it was not for his Majesty's honour to go to Madrid in a hurry, without his equipage and retinue. To which they say Mr. STANHOPE replied, That King WILLIAM, when he made his descent upon England, went to London in a hackney-coach, attended with a few dragoons, otherwise he had lost the crown. However, the other counsels prevailed, and King CHARLES pursued their advice, of going by way of Arragon. When the Earl of Peterborough heard of these measures, he sent several letters with the unanimous opinion of his councils of war, that it would be best for his Majesty to return and go by the way of Valencia: but his Lordship's letters, and the opinion of the councils of war, had no effect; his Majesty went on to Saragossa, where the great expectations of those who advis'd him to that road, terminated in being complimented with a *Torridore*, or bull-feast. When they saw too late that dangers approached, and that the direct way from thence to Madrid was not practicable, then they altered their measures again, took the road towards Valencia, and



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and sent to desire that the Earl of Peterborough would meet them with all possible haste.

The confederate army then in Castile seemed at the same time to have been under a strange restraint. The Duke of Anjou had no more than six thousand horse, and scarce any regular foot on that side, when the confederate army came to Madrid, so that it was thought they might have forced the enemy to repass the Ebro, where they would soon have been in want of provisions; or the confederate troops might have encamped and fortified themselves, so as to have covered Madrid, and laid up magazines of corn: but instead of doing either of these, they marched and encamped at Guadalaxara, where in less than a month they were reduced to want of provisions. And it seems their intelligence was not very good, since one morning they were surprized to see an army of twenty thousand men encamped on the other side of the river over-against them, though they were informed that there was no enemy within thirty miles of them; and all this while the French troops that retired from before Barcelona had time to march round through France into Spain, so that they were superior to the confederates in horse, and well nigh a match to them in foot. Perceiving this advantage, they detached a body of horse to repossess themselves of Madrid, where they killed many of the Germans, and others of King CHARLES's party: upon this, Segovia, Toledo, Salamanca, and other places which had submitted to his Catholick Majesty, revolted again to the Duke of Anjou, and our communication with Portugal was cut off.

When matters came to this pass, most of the Generals were for fighting, in order to recover that advantage which had been so unhappily lost; but of forty-five General officers, the Earl of Peterborough alone was against running such a risque: his Lordship gave his opinion in writing against it, and convinced them that it was not safe to venture all upon the issue of a battle, since in case we should be worsted, there could be no hopes of a retreat in a country where we had so many enemies.

This was the state of affairs when the Earl of Peterborough came to Guadalaxara. His Lordship was for retaking Alcala, as a proper place for covering Madrid, and offered to attempt it with five thousand men, by possessing himself of the pass of Henarez, and either to fight such of the enemy as opposed him, or to make a good retreat. His proposal was approved of by every one, but by the delays laid in his way the opportunity was lost, so that the confederate army was forced to break up, and to march higher into the country towards Madrid, for the conveniency of provisions. His Lordship's baggage was taken by the enemy at Huet: the town offered to make good the damage, which he was too generous to accept of; yet he imposed it upon them by way of punishment, to bring in all the corn of that district to the army, which was so considerable, that it served them for bread for six weeks. His Lordship finding there were Generals enough for the rest of the campaign, and that he had very little influence on their councils, retired to Valencia, and from thence went to Italy, as well to provide remittances of money for the forces in the British service, as to endeavour to procure a reinforcement of troops from thence, which might very well have been spared there, since the French were driven out of Lombardy. And if the Duke of

Savoy and the Imperial Generals would have come into these measures, Spain had been secured to the house of Austria in another campaign: that fatal project on Thoulon, for which every thing else was neglected the following summer, ruined King CHARLES's affairs in Spain, and occasioned the war to be protracted six years longer, to the irreparable damage of the Allies, especially of Britain, that bore as great a share in it as all the rest of the Confederates put together.

And now let us take a view of our acquisitions by sea this campaign. The English Admiral LEAKE it seems was no less successful in the Mediterranean than the confederate Generals had been by land: for after he had relieved Barcelona, he attacked Carthage, which surrendered to him about the middle of June; and on the eighth of August he took Alicant by storm, after which the castle surrendered. About the middle of September he reduced the islands of Majorca and Yvica to the obedience of King CHARLES III. But the confederate army being retired out of Castile, Carthage was retaken by King PHILIP's forces the following winter; and the Duke of Berwick also retook Cuenca on the confines of Castile, being a considerable frontier town in the possession of the Allies, and made the garison, consisting of two thousand men, prisoners of war.

Whilst affairs were in this situation, and Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL and the Earl Rivers remained at Lisbon with the troops above-mentioned, Don PEDRO King of Portugal died, viz. on the eleventh of December 1706, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He had been married three times: his first wife was the Princess LOUISA DE GUSMAN, daughter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who died anno 1666. He had by her the Infanta ISABELLA, who was declared heiress of the kingdom in 1674, and contracted to the Duke of Savoy in 1680; but died unmarried on the twenty-first of October 1690. His second wife was MARY-FRANCES-ISABELLA of Savoy, daughter of the Duke of Nemours, who had been divorced from his brother the late K. ALPHONSO. He married her the second of April 1668, and she died the seventeenth of December 1683. His third wife was MARIA-SOPHIA ELIZABETH, daughter of PHILIP-WILLIAM Elector Palatine. He married her in 1687, and she died in 1699, by whom he had issue, 1. A son born the thirtieth of August 1688, who died a few days after. 2. Don JOHN FRANCIS-JOSEPH-ANTONIO, &c. his present Majesty, born the twenty-second of October 1689, and declared heir apparent to the crown by the three estates assembled at Lisbon the first of December 1697. 3. FRANCIS XAVIER-ANTONIO-URBAN, May the twenty-fifth 1691. 4. ANTONIO-FRANCIS, born March the fifteenth 1695. 5. THERESA-FRANCES-JOSEPHA, born February the twenty-fourth 1696: she was contracted to the present Emperor, but died in 1704. 6. EMANUEL, born August the third 1697. And, 7. FRANCISCA-XAVIERA-JOSEPHA, born January the thirtieth 1699. And besides these he had a natural daughter, married to the eldest son of the Duke of Cadaval, anno 1695.

As to the Infanta, the Princess CATHARINE, sister of King PETER, born the fourteenth of November 1638, she was married, as hath been intimated already, to CHARLES II, King of England, by a treaty concluded the twelfth of May 1662; the marriage being first magnificently

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King Peter died, and is succeeded by his son Don John.

The wives and issue of the late King.



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solemnized by proxy at Lisbon, and afterwards consummated at Portsmouth in England, whither the King went to meet her. The Queen-Regent of Portugal, her mother, gave her as a dower Tangier in Africa, and the island of Bombay in the East-Indies: the first of which was kept for some years at a great expence; but the Ministry of England being of opinion the advantages they should reap by it would not countervail the charge of maintaining it, thought fit to demolish the works and leave it, anno 1684; and King CHARLES conferred the island of Bombay on the English East-India company, which they still retain, it being the seat of the principal governor they have in India. Besides these places, the Infanta had a fortune of three millions of livres, or three hundred thousand pounds, according to some writers, but according to others two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. She continued in England about seven or eight years after the death of King CHARLES, but in 1692 retired to Portugal, where she died on the thirty-first of December 1705.

On the death of King PETER, his eldest son Don JOHN succeeded to the crown, as has been intimated already. The French had great hopes on this event to have withdrawn Portugal from the grand alliance, and things were carried so far that some acts of hostility passed between the royal navy of England and the forts in the river of Lisbon, which were ordered to fire on the cruisers Admiral SHOVEL sent out of that river. But partly by the influence of the English fleet and forces, and partly by English treasure, the Portuguese were kept steady to the Allies; they were pleased to suffer the English to continue the war on that side at their own expence.

Earl Rivers's memorial on his leaving Lisbon with the British troops.

The men of war and transports being provided with water and other necessaries to continue their voyage, the troops under the command of the Earl Rivers were embarked, and designed to sail the second of January for Alicant, according to the desire of the King of Spain; but the night before the General received orders from England to the contrary. His Excellency held a Council of War, and therein it was resolved that my Lord should present a memorial to the new King to acquaint him with the conditional orders he had received. His Excellency had accordingly audience the fourth of his Portuguese Majesty, who received him with all possible marks of esteem, and delivered his memorial, containing the conditions upon which he was ordered to land, which were in substance as follow.

1. That the King should give him positive assurances that the Portuguese troops in Valencia should be recruited to nineteen battalions, each of six hundred effective men, and the cavalry remounted; and that the said recruits and other necessaries to enable those troops to take the field, should be immediately sent away. 2. That the subsidies paid by England and Holland for the pay of 13000 men, which they are obliged to maintain by the treaty, may be remitted directly to Valencia, or wheresoever that army is, in order that those troops be punctually paid out of it by the orders of the commander in chief of her Majesty's forces. 3. That if his Portuguese Majesty cannot provide ships to transport the said recruits, his Excellency will take care to send them aboard English ships, his Majesty paying the charges, and finding provisions, or paying them. 4. That the late King having proposed by his En-

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voy and the Marquis de Montandre in England, to join ten thousand foot and between two and three thousand horse to the troops under the command of the Earl Rivers, to march directly to Madrid, his Excellency desires a particular assurance from his present Majesty that the same shall be performed; as also to know what measures are already taken for that purpose, what likelihood there is that a body of that number shall be ready, and in a condition to march at the time appointed, and in what manner, and which way it is proposed they should march towards Madrid. 5. His Excellency declares, that he has orders to agree beforehand, and concert with the King all things relating to the artillery, baggage, and provisions, and expects that his Majesty should furnish every thing for that service, according to the treaty relating to the first forces that were sent from England; and that the troops under his command may be furnished with provisions for themselves, and forage for their horses at their own charge, but at the same price as the King's troops. 6. My Lord declares as to the point of command, which has been liable to so many inconveniences, that he will not be commanded by any body but his Majesty alone. His Excellency desires in the conclusion his Portuguese Majesty, to let him have an answer to all these points in four days, that he may take measures accordingly; and that in the mean time the necessary provisions of straw and barley for his horses may be continued.

The Court of Portugal not thinking fit to comply with the demand in the Earl Rivers's memorial, Sir CLOUDESLY SHOVEL and the Earl, with the English troops aboard, sailed from Lisbon the eighteenth of January, and arrived at Alicant the eighth of February. The Earl Rivers having landed his forces, and left them under the command of the Earl of Galway, returned to England, together with the Earl of Essex and Brigadier GORGES, who were embarked in the first design, but for reasons best known to themselves, declined remaining in Valencia. King CHARLES also not approving the conduct of the Generals, the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway, thought fit the latter end of February, to declare his resolution of leaving the army, and retiring into Catalonia; which he did soon after, taking with him a regiment of Dragoons, and another of Dutch foot. It was reported however that the army of the Allies still amounted to thirty thousand men, though it appears that at the battle of Almanza, which happened but a very little while afterwards, they were not eighteen thousand effective men. Nor was the deficiency in point of troops their only misfortune, it is evident there were great misunderstandings between King CHARLES's Court and the Generals, which gave but a melancholy prospect of the following campaign. We find the best account of the state of the armies in Spain in a letter the Earl of Peterborough wrote from Italy to the Portuguese Ambassador, that attended the Confederate army in Valencia at this time, in which he has these expressions: "Would to God, says the Earl, you were free from uneasinesses when I hope to be in quiet: it seems to me as if storms were threatening Spain, and I am the more concerned, because of the probability of your Generals continuing in a disposition of rash measures. It is certain they are only in a condition for a defensive, and that suffices for the present, since the

The Earl of Peterborough's account of the state of the war.



preparatives against France are so terrible in Italy and in Flanders. You know my opinion in the council of war held at Valencia; but the succours which are coming, and the person of the Duke of Orleans, are certain proofs of the great efforts the enemy will make in the beginning of the next campaign. If we prevent their first impetuosity, whilst Naples, Sicily and Sardinia may be secured, peace will give us all we can desire. I am obliged to give you notice that no endeavours can prevent the Imperialists from marching towards Naples, it is impossible to hinder that diversion of their troops; it is our interest to give the necessary help towards bringing that affair to a speedy conclusion: and methinks one might hope upon the success of that enterprise, that those troops might be solicited and obtained for the succour of Spain.

But, my Lord, pray consider the consequences of a lost battle in the spring: perhaps a disgrace was less fatal in Flanders. By a superiority of horse, such a misfortune may happen to the best foot in the world, which will be cut off entirely in case of a defeat, and all Spain at the same time lost, for want of garisons in the strong places we possess. If we defend well what we have, their great number of horse will consume it self for want of forage, or destroy that part of the country which is ill affected, and be called by their pressing necessities elsewhere, since we have in Italy near seventy thousand effective men, for the vigorous measures that are concerted.

I know my reasons, though good, will have little force with the Generals; they have the last campaign in their thoughts, and have not perhaps the same tranquillity of mind and quiet, which, I thank God, I enjoy, being well content with the beginnings I have made, only wishing a happy conclusion to this great affair; assuring your Excellency that nothing private shall ever mix with my thoughts for the publick. But I justly lay a stress on the great credit you have with every body, and am well assured that the interest of your country requires measures of the utmost precaution, since your best troops are in Spain, and that a defeat would expose Portugal before succours can arrive, since England has left herself almost unprovided with troops, and that the forces in Italy being designed for other services, it will be difficult to obtain any of them, though the circumstances pressingly require it. I therefore intreat your Excellency, to think again of the consequence of a lost battle: God be praised we are not in a necessity of a victory, that is the circumstance of France.

At present I have nothing to propose to your Excellency, nor to wish, but that the troops might not be fatigued in the impossible views of gaining Madrid, half the army being exposed to destruction by diseases and famine, or the whole, in a very improper time by an unequal battle. I will neglect nothing in my power to obtain in a favourable opportunity a succour of troops for Spain, that in the after-season we may push our affairs."

But the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway being strangers to these prudent counsels, took the field the sixth of April N. S. and having destroyed some of the enemy's magazines on the frontiers of Castile, laid siege to the castle of Villena. Before the breach was accessible, they received intelligence that the Duke of Berwick was advanced as far as the plains of Alman-

za, with 76 squadrons of horse, and 54 battalions of foot, and that the Duke of Orleans was on the march to join him with 7 or 8000 French, while the Allies had no prospect of being reinforced by the troops from Catalonia, King CHARLES having declared his intention of marching with them to Rouffillon, and desired the Lord Galway to distribute the army on the frontiers of Valencia and Arragon for the security of those provinces: (which was certainly not bad advice, in the circumstances the confederates then were.) However, it was agreed in a council of war to march and attack the enemy, who waited for them in the plains of Almanza, the most advantageous ground they could have chosen, on account of their superiority in horse. But the Earl of Galway having supply'd his want of cavalry, as he thought, by interlining a brigade of foot with each wing of horse, ventured to engage the enemy on the twenty-fifth of April N. S. about three in the afternoon. The Earl posted himself at the head of the English dragoons on the left, and marched to attack the enemy's right wing of horse, the Portuguese being ordered to take the charge as it should come to them gradually from the left. As soon as the left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horse, they advanced out of their line to meet the charge, and by the weight of their squadrons forced those of the Allies to retreat about fifty paces; but Colonel SOUTHWELL's and WADE's regiments of foot, who were on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horse of the first line, coming up and firing upon the enemy's flank and rear, and the cavalry at the same time receiving the charge in the front, drove them in disorder through their own lines with great slaughter. By this time the English and Dutch foot, under the command of Lieutenant-General EARL and Baron FREISHEM, were sharply engaged in the center, and broke through the enemy's first and second line, driving them as far as the walls of Almanza: but the enemy's cavalry of the second line falling in upon their flank, forced the English and Dutch infantry back with great loss.

The enemy observing that the Portuguese cavalry on the right did not advance with the left wing, detached some squadrons to attack them, their line following slowly to sustain them; but the Portuguese did not stay to receive them, for upon the first charge of the detached squadrons the whole right wing of the Portuguese cavalry run away, and abandoned their infantry, who were most of them either killed or made prisoners.

The battle continued still on the left wing, the enemy charging the Allies with fresh squadrons to very little purpose; for the English and Portuguese horse on that side being favoured by the fire of the English battalions that were interlined with them, broke the enemy several times. Whereupon they sent for nine battalions, most of them French, and drew up before the front line of horse, in opposition to the English brigade, and at the same time brought up several fresh squadrons to make another charge upon the left wing of horse, that had already suffered very much, and lost most of the officers who commanded the squadrons; Brigadier CARPENTER was the only one that remained un wounded. The confederate troops in this condition were not able to sustain the charge, but gave way, and

Battle of  
Almanza.



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and at the same time the nine French battalions charged the English brigade of foot in front and flank, and entirely broke them, giving no quarter for some time: the foot in vain cried to the horse not to abandon them. Neither of the Generals, the Marquis das Minas or the Earl of Galway, staid to see the end of the engagement, but left that brave handful of foot to the mercy of the enemy; whereupon Major-General SHRIMPTON, Brigadier MACARTNEY, Colonel BRITON, Colonel HILL, with some other officers who had engaged in the center, assembled the stragglers of the English regiments into a body, and joining some of the Dutch and Portuguese, to the number of two thousand men, retreated to the hills two leagues distant from the field of battle, repulsing the horse that pursued them: but the next morning finding themselves destitute both of ammunition and provision, and being surrounded by two lines of foot, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

Brigadier KILLEGREW, who was wounded in the first charge, still keeping the field, was killed in the second. The Colonels DORMER, ROPER, LAWRENCE, GREEN and DE LOCHT, were killed at the head of their squadrons, after having behaved with the utmost gallantry; and Colonel PIERCE and Mr. HARA, son to the Lord Tirawley were wounded. Of the foot, the Colonels HAMILTON, WOOLLET and NEAL, who commanded regiments were killed, and the Lord MARK KERR, and Colonel CLAYTON wounded. As to the Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas, they fled with the cavalry that was left, amounting to about three thousand five hundred, to the other side of the Ebro into Catalonia. The foot were all killed or taken prisoners, I could never hear of a single company that escaped.

The day after the battle the Duke of Orleans joined the Duke of Berwick with a reinforcement of eight or ten thousand men; and the enemy having taken Xativa, Alcyra, and some other places which the Allies had garisoned on the frontiers of Valencia, the cities of Saragossa and Valencia, with the rest of the towns in Arragon and Valencia, submitted to the conquerors, were obliged to pay large sums for their revolt, deprived of their privileges, disarmed and treated in a very barbarous manner, and the town of Xativa in particular was burnt and razed to the ground, and many of the inhabitants massacred for their disaffection to King PHILIP. The Spanish Generals on the side of Portugal took Serpa and Moura this campaign; and nothing remaining in the hands of the Allies but Alicant and Denia in Valencia, the Duke of Orleans marched to the frontiers of Catalonia, where the confederate Generals having thrown their troops into the strong towns, burnt the country that the enemy might find no subsistence. These were some of the unhappy effects of the battle of Almanza, which the Allies might have prevented if the enterprizes on Thoulon and Naples had been deferred, or if the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway had remained upon the defensive till those expeditions had been over. The campaign ended on the side of Catalonia with the taking of Lerida by the Duke of Orleans; and on the frontiers of Portugal King PHILIP's forces took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. And the Dukes of Orleans and Noailles had probably made an entire conquest of Catalonia, if they had not been obli-

Lerida  
taken by  
the Duke  
of Orleans.

ged to detach part of their troops to France upon the Duke of Savoy's laying siege to Thoulon.

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The following year 1708, the Duke of Orleans made himself master of Tortosa in Catalonia, and of Denia in Valencia. But the Imperialists having sent Count Staremberg to Spain from Italy with a reinforcement of eight or ten thousand men, the forces of France and King PHILIP were content to be upon the defensive afterwards in that country. With these forces Sir JOHN LEAKE, the English Admiral, convoyed the Queen of Spain, the late Princess of Wolfembottle, from Vado in Italy to Catalonia, where the marriage was consummated between her and King CHARLES. After which Sir JOHN LEAKE taking some land-forces on board, reduced the island of Sardinia to the obedience of King CHARLES: and before the end of September the island of Minorca, with the fine harbour of Port-Mahon, surrendered to that Admiral and General STANHOPE. In the mean time a contract of marriage was made between the King of Portugal and the Archduchess MARY-ANNE of Austria, second sister to the Emperor and King CHARLES; and her Majesty arriving from Holland at Spithead the twenty-fourth of September, was conveyed to Lisbon by Admiral BYNG, where she arrived the sixteenth of October, N. S. And though King CHARLES's forces as well as the King of Portugal's had been considerably recruited and augmented this campaign, yet those Courts were so taken up with the preparations for solemnizing these marriages, and rejoicings afterwards, that the military operations in these countries seemed to be at a stand.

1708.  
King of  
Tortosa  
and Denia  
retaken.

King of  
Spain mar-  
ries the  
Princess of  
Wolfem-  
bottle.

King of  
Portugal  
marries  
the Arch-  
duchess  
Mary.

The campaign of 1709 begun unfortunately for the Allies on the side of Portugal: for the Portuguese and Spanish armies being encamped on the banks of the river Caya opposite to each other, and the Marquis de Bay making a motion towards Campo Mayor, the Portuguese Generals resolved to attack him, contrary to the opinion of the Earl of Galway. Whereupon all the horse and a body of Portuguese foot had orders to march immediately with five field-pieces and begin the engagement, while the rest of the army followed to support them. But the Spanish cavalry no sooner charged the Portuguese horse, but they fled and abandoned their foot, as they had done at the battle of Almanza. Whereupon the enemy immediately took the five field-pieces and fell upon the foot in the flank. Brigadier PIERCE's English brigade was ordered to march and favour the retreat of the Portuguese foot; which they did with so much resolution, that they recovered the field-pieces again. The Portuguese Generals however were so far from supporting them, that they quitted the field, leaving this fine brigade to be surrounded by the enemy's whole army, and made prisoners, together with Major-General SANKEY, the Earl of Barrimore, and Brigadier PIERCE himself. The Earl of Galway, it is said, had a horse shot under him, but he made a shift to escape out of the field with the Portuguese Generals, as he had done at Almanza. The Marquis de Bay afterwards pursued the Portuguese army; but they retreated beyond Elvas, and posted themselves in an advantageous camp, where it was not easy to attack them.

1709.

A whole  
brigade of  
English  
made pri-  
soners near  
Badajoz.

In Catalonia King CHARLES's army being superior to that of his rival, passed the Segra, and made themselves masters of Balaguer. There happened no farther action in Spain or Portugal

Balaguer  
taken by  
the King  
Charles-  
this



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this year, unless the siege of the castle of Alicant, which continued, with some intermissions, from the time the town was taken last year till the middle of April 1709. The Spaniards, finding it impossible to reduce it any other way, were resolved to blow it up by a great mine, in which they lodged twelve thousand barrels of powder. They summoned the Governor and acquainted him with his danger, and proposed that two of his officers should come out and view the mine, which they did accordingly, and upon their report the Governor held a Council of War, wherein it was resolved not to surrender; and the French sprung their mine, which made an incredible noise, but had no great effect upon the castle, only the Governor Major-General RICHARDS and Colonel SYBURN, happening to be a little too near the place where the mine was, were unfortunately buried in the ruins, with several other officers. The command devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel D'ALBON, he resolved to hold out till he was relieved, and to that end reduced his men to short allowance. And on the fifteenth of April Sir GEORGE BYNG and Major-General STANHOPE, appeared before Alicant with a squadron of men of war and four thousand land-men on board; but the Spanish army being reinforced, and the coast very tempestuous, it was not thought adviseable to land, and they contented themselves with sending a flag of truce on shore, and capitulating to withdraw the garrison from the castle and deliver it up, which the Spaniards agreed to; and pursuant to this capitulation the garrison, consisting of about five hundred men, marched out the eighteenth of April N. S. with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, and embarked on board the fleet.

Alicant  
castle sur-  
rendered  
by the En-  
glish.

1710.

A further reinforcement of troops being sent from Italy to Catalonia in the year 1710, King CHARLES advanced with his army to attack King PHILIP, who was then also at the head of his troops in Arragon: and coming up with the enemy on the 27th of July in the evening near Almenara, he gained a considerable advantage over King PHILIP's horse, but the foot retired by the favour of the night. In this action Count FRANCIS of Nassau Auverkirck, one of the Generals of the Allies, was killed by a cannon-shot from their own guns; and the Earl of Rochfort, another of their Generals, being closely engaged with the enemy, was mortally wounded by a sword.

Battle of  
Almenara

King PHILIP after this defeat retired under the cannon of Lerida, where not being able to subsist his army, he retreated to Saragossa, and being pursued thither by King CHARLES, he could not avoid coming to an engagement. The confederates being drawn up in order of battle within cannon-shot of the enemy, Count STAREMBERG with the rest of the Generals went to observe their disposition, found them posted with the Ebro on their left, the town of Saragossa on their rear, and their right wing of horse drawn up upon the brow of a steep hill, with a battery of eight pieces of cannon in their front. The day being far spent, and a great part of our foot not come up, it was thought fit to defer the attack till the next day. On the twentieth at break of day both armies plaid their cannon, and General STANHOPE, who commanded our left wing, discovered that the enemy had marched most of their horse from their left wing to their right; upon

Battle of  
Saragossa.

which he obtained of Marshal STAREMBERG four battalions of foot, which he placed at the left of our horse, and six squadrons of Portuguese horse which were brought from our right he drew up beyond the four battalions, in order to stretch our left wing as far as possible towards the extent of their right. It is to be observed that the enemy lay in an oblique line from the Ebro up the hill, so that their troops on the hill lay much nearer to us than those on the descent from it and on the plain. At twelve o'clock at noon our signal of battle was made, and our whole army being drawn up in two lines marched at once to attack the enemy in full front, except the four battalions which General STANHOPE had interlined with the horse, whom he ordered to advance and take post on the brow of the hill, by which means he gained time for his wing of horse to form after they were got up. Our left wing from their situation coming first to the enemy, began the battle, which increased towards the centre, and so continued to the right till the whole were engaged. But notwithstanding a disposition so properly made, and the goodness of our troops, the enemies with their superior numbers and advantage of ground seemed at first to have the better of the day; which probably they would have maintained, if all our Generals commanding on the left had not seasonably led on fresh troops to support and rally such as they saw pushed or disordered, by which the advantage soon began to incline to the arms of his Catholic Majesty. While the affair was obstinately disputed on the left, our foot being deeply engaged, made a great slaughter of the enemy: And at the same time their left wing of horse making little resistance, within the space of two hours we gained a complete and glorious victory. We took all their cannon and most of their colours; so that out of forty battalions not above four thousand escaped, and of sixty squadrons about the like number; all the rest being killed or taken prisoners. The King during the whole action gave the necessary orders, and with his royal presence continued to encourage the troops. His Majesty entered the town of Saragossa the same night, where he was received with the acclamations of the people, and all imaginable expressions of joy. The same night the citadel of Saragossa capitulated, and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

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This victory cost the Allies two thousand men, and the enemy at least three thousand, as was given out, besides five or six thousand that were made prisoners. The Allies also took seventy-two colours and standards, two and twenty pieces of cannon, and part of the enemy's baggage. King PHILIP made all the haste he could to Madrid, where he arrived the twenty-fourth of August; and notwithstanding this misfortune, the Castilians gave him still fresh proofs of their loyalty and affection. But apprehending the Allies would bend their march that way, he thought fit to send the Queen and the Prince of the Asturias to Valladolid, whither all the grandees and officers of state attended them, though he offered to dispence with their attendance; such were the affections of the Castilians towards that Prince at this time, to which nothing had more contributed than King CHARLES's abandoning them to the mercy of their enemies, when they had made their submission and declared for him on his first taking possession of Madrid.

The affec-  
tion of the  
Castilians  
for King  
Philip.



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The Portuguese army desired to join that of King Charles near Madrid.

After the battle of Saragossa, the Count de Assumar, Ambassador of Portugal with King CHARLES the third, and the Count D'Attalaya, General of the Portuguese troops in the army of King CHARLES, sent an express to Lisbon to represent to the King of how great importance it was to the common cause that his Majesty's army should advance towards Castile, and second the efforts of King CHARLES. Whereupon the Portuguese General the Count de Villaverde was ordered to take the field, which he did, and in his march wrote to the army of his Catholick Majesty that he would move to join them by the way of Menda and Truxillo. He marched first to Barcarota, and then to Xeres de los Cavalleros, the last of which places being of no defence he possessed himself of; but without attempting any thing further, retired to the frontiers of Portugal. It was given out he was obliged to it by four thousand of the enemy's horse, though it does not appear the enemy had any such forces on that side as might reasonably give him the least sollicitude. At the same time came letters again from the Counts of Assumar and Attalaya, soliciting that the Portuguese army might advance to the bridge of Almaraz. And these letters were accompanied by others from General STANHOPE to the Earl of Galway, pressing to be joined by him at Almaraz, where he would be with four thousand horse. He also represented in the most urgent terms that this junction was of the greatest importance, his Catholick Majesty having been obliged to weaken his army very much by leaving bodies of troops in divers places, so that it was judged neither safe nor proper for him to pursue the Duke of Anjou, who had retired precipitately into the Old Castile to draw together what forces he could. Upon the arrival of these solicitations and remonstrances all the Ministers of the Allies at Lisbon met together, and agreed to make their joint application to the King, that he would be pleased forthwith to cause his army to march and join that of his Catholick Majesty. But the Ministers of this Court answered them, that the junction proposed was utterly impracticable, not only because of the perplexity given them by the enemy's four thousand horse on the frontiers, but likewise because the Portuguese cavalry was in no condition for service, wanting all necessaries. Another letter came from General STANHOPE, in which he desired that at least he might be joined by the forces in Portugal that were in the pay of the Queen of Great Britain. Whereupon the Ministers of the Allies renewed their solicitations, arguing the indispensable necessity of sending to Almaraz the troops in her Britannick Majesty's pay, and pressing this Court to reinforce them by only a thousand horse and three thousand foot. Likewise M. LE FEVRE, who after the departure of the Earl of Galway resided at Lisbon as Secretary to the embassy of Great Britain, offered to supply, on the account of the Queen his Sovereign, the provisions and money necessary for the said march. To procure the speedier answer, the said Ministers of the Allies went all in a body to the Secretary of State, and had a conference with him and other the Portuguese Ministers; but notwithstanding all the arguments they could use, the Portuguese Ministry refused absolutely to comply with their desires, excusing themselves from undertaking that their army should do any more than make some siege on the frontiers.

They refused to join King Charles.

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The allies take possession of Madrid again.

King CHARLES however having staid some time at Saragossa to refresh his troops, set out for Madrid, and on the twentieth of September arrived in the neighbourhood of Alcala de Henarez, and the next day General STANHOPE, with a detachment of the army, took possession of Madrid. On the 28th King CHARLES made his triumphant entry into that city, and having performed his devotions at the church of Nuestra Señora d'Atocha, his Majesty took up his quarters at a country-seat belonging to the Conde d'Aquilar. The city of Madrid having agreed to furnish his Majesty with a subsidy of forty thousand crowns a month for the subsistence of his army, a detachment was sent to take possession of Toledo, which lying upon the Tagus, was looked upon as an advantageous post for facilitating the intended conjunction with the Portuguese.

In the mean time King PHILIP having sent a detachment of his troops to take possession of Almaraz, and thereby render the conjunction of the Portuguese and the confederates impracticable, General STANHOPE rejoined the confederate army that had been employed in fortifying Toledo, designing to have taken up winter-quarters in Castile; but King PHILIP's army being reinforced from all parts, and become superior to that of the Allies, it was thought advisable to retreat to Arragon; and King CHARLES taking with him a regiment of dragoons and another of foot, marched away a little before the army decamped to Barcelona, in order to observe the motions of the French on the side of Roussillon. His Majesty arrived at Barcelona the sixteenth of December, and a few days after he understood that the Duke de Noailles had laid siege to Gironne.

King Charles retires again to Barcelona.

The army of the Allies, in their march from Castile towards Arragon, divided themselves into two bodies, the Germans and the Portuguese under Count STAREMBERG took one road, and General STANHOPE with the English forces another, the better to subsist the troops in their march, as is generally said; but others impute it to STANHOPE's pride, who did not care to be commanded by STAREMBERG. The eighth instant, General STANHOPE with the British troops, consisting of eight battalions, and as many squadrons, halted at Brihuega, where he was surprized the ninth by King PHILIP's army, which surrounded the place: the English defended themselves with great obstinacy till the tenth in the morning, and then having spent all their ammunition, were forced to surrender prisoners of war.

Battle of Brihuega.

Count STAREMBERG having advice of the distress the British troops were in at Brihuega, marched to their relief; but was met by King PHILIP and the Duke of Vendosme at Villa Viciosa, about a league from Brihuega, the tenth instant in the evening, whereupon a battle was fought, and General STAREMBERG gave sufficient demonstration of his military skill, by defeating the Spaniards when he was not half their number. However, understanding that the British troops in Brihuega were made prisoners of war the morning before, and not being in a condition with the small body of troops he had with him to prosecute his victory, he continued his march towards Arragon, without being disturbed by the enemy, and having withdrawn the confederate troops out of the garisons in that Kingdom, he marched afterwards into Catalonia, and arrived

Battle of Villa Viciosa.



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Gironne  
surren-  
dered to  
the French  
and Bala-  
guer.

arrived at Barcelona the beginning of February, with about eleven thousand effective men. A little after, advice came that Gironne had surrendered to the Duke of Noailles, and the garison Count STAREMBERG had left in Balaguer, consisting of two battalions and a hundred horse, abandoned that place also upon the approach of the enemy, and retired to Barcelona; so that King CHARLES, who a little before was master of the greatest part of the kingdom of Spain, had now no more in his possession than the province of Catalonia, and that not entire.

The Count de Salvaterra, a Spanish General, in a letter concerning the actions of Brihuega and Villa Viciosa, which was intercepted by the Allies, has these expressions, viz. 'General STAREMBERG gained a great deal of honour, which ought not to be denied him, though an enemy: his troops behaved to admiration, especially his foot, which I don't believe the world can match, whether we consider their bravery in fighting, or that gallant air with which they made their retreat, the like perhaps never seen before, as all that were present must own. As for us, though we all endeavoured to do our duty, yet our success must be attributed chiefly to God and the justice of the King's cause, and under heaven to General STANHOPE's ill conduct, for if we had not taken that body under his command, God only knows what would have become of us.'

This was the last considerable action that happened in Spain during the late war, for the Duke of Savoy, (now King of Sardinia) having some disputes with the Emperor concerning the extent of his dominions in Italy, refused to make any diversion on that side: the States-General never recruited or re-established the troops they had agreed to maintain in Spain and Portugal in conjunction with Britain; and neither the Imperialists or Portuguese had any troops scarce on foot in either of those kingdoms, but what were maintained by the Queen of England; so that the war was become an insupportable burthen to Great Britain, and the fixing King CHARLES upon the Spanish throne in these circumstances, altogether impracticable. Add to this, that King CHARLES was soon after elected Emperor, which very much altered the state of affairs; for it is evident from the Grand Alliance, and all our treaties with the late Emperors on this subject, that it never was intended the Empire and Spain should be united under one head. Upon all these considerations therefore, the Queen of England was induced to listen to proposals of peace made her by the French King, and to enter into a treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia and the rest of Spain; for the particulars whereof, I refer the reader to the former part of this volume. But the disadvantages Britain lay under in carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, and the necessity there was of concluding a peace when the Confederates refused to furnish their respective quotas of troops or money, according to the several treaties made with us, are evident to a demonstration, from the representation made by the Commons of Great Britain to the Queen in the year 1711, part of which I have inserted, to justify the conduct of that glorious Princess in the last years of her reign, which has been so vilely aspersed by such men as found their account in continuing the war, and their creatures.

This representation sets forth, 'That as in the

progress of the war in Flanders a disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of England, so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us; for although the Emperor and the States-General were equally parties with your Majesty in the treaty with the King of Portugal, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his Imperial Majesty's defect upon themselves, your Majesty hath been obliged to furnish two thirds of the entire expence created by that service. Nor has the inequality stopped there, for ever since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the States-General have entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left your Majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge; which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time your Majesty's generous endeavours for the support and defence of the King of Portugal, have been but ill seconded by that Prince himself; for notwithstanding that by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse upon his own account, besides eleven thousand foot and two thousand horse more in consideration of a subsidy paid him, yet according to the best information your Commons can procure, it appears that he hath scarce at any time furnished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

In Spain the war hath been yet more unequal and burdenson to your Majesty than in any other branch of it; for being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the Allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither in the year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country, but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set King CHARLES upon the throne, occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the house of Austria; but this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other Allies. The account we have laid before your Majesty upon this head is, that altho' the undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the Imperial Court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern for them than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, yet neither the late Emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any forces there on their account till the last year, and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of 2000 men. Though the States-General have contributed something more to this service, yet their share also hath been considerable; for in the space of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not exceeded twelve thousand two hundred men; and from the year 1708 to this time, they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever. To your Majesty's care and charge the recovery of that kingdom hath been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in

CHAP.  
IX.

A repre-  
sentation  
of the state  
of the last  
war.



in it. And the forces which your Majesty hath sent into Spain in the space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men, besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which your Majesty hath paid a subsidy to the Emperor. How great the established expence of such a number of men hath been, your Majesty very well knows, and your Commons very sensibly feel: but the weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service, all which have been intirely defrayed by your Majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the States-General, and the victualling of them during their transportation only. The accounts delivered to your Commons shew, that the charge of your Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man per month, from the time they sailed from hence till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, hath amounted to six millions, five hundred and forty thousand, nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, fourteen shillings; the charge of transports on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till this time, hath amounted to one million, three hundred thirty-six thousand, seven hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings and eleven pence; that of victualling land-forces for the same service, to five hundred eighty-three thousand, seven hundred and seventy pounds, eight shillings and six pence; and that of contingencies and other extraordinaries for the same service, to one million, eight hundred and forty thousand, three hundred fifty-three pounds.

We should take notice to your Majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of one million, one hundred and seven thousand ninety-six pounds: but we are not able to make any comparison of them, with what the States-General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains therefore but one particular more for your Majesty's observation, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign Princes. These at the beginning of the war, were borne in equal proportion by your Majesty and the States-General; but in this instance also, the balance hath been cast in prejudice of your Majesty; for it appears that your Majesty hath since advanced more than your equal proportion, three millions one hundred fifty-five thousand crowns, besides extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arrive to five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred fifty-three pounds.

We have laid these several particulars before your Majesty in the shortest manner we have been able, and by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts, it doth appear, that over and above the quota's on the part of Great Britain answering to those contributed by your Allies, more than nineteen millions have been expended by your Majesty during the course of this war, by way of surpluse, or exceeding in balance,

of which none of the Confederates have furnished any thing whatsoever.

Posterity will certainly be amazed, when they come to find that the nation carried on a war on so unequal a foot, with no other view than that of aggrandizing our Allies, and enriching some private families at home; (for there is not a man of that party who were for continuing the war, that at this day seems to have the least dread of the French, though they have enjoyed seventeen or eighteen years peace, and are consequently much more formidable now, than they were at the end of the last war.) What severe reflections therefore must they make on their ancestors, when it shall appear that they might have had a peace seven years before upon their own terms, and saved the nation forty millions of treasure, besides what they lost by the interruption of their trade; especially when they find such a load of debts transmitted to them, and the revenues of the kingdom so anticipated that it may be difficult for them to find funds to maintain even a defensive war? They will surely be more ready to condemn the conduct of the British Court for continuing the war so long, than for putting an end to it so soon, notwithstanding all the clamours that have been raised upon that head. They will reflect also, it is to be hoped, in our favour, that miscarriages are not always to be ascribed to a nation in general, but frequently to a few designing selfish spirits that happen to surround the throne, and are practised in the pernicious art of disguising truth, and casting a mist before the eyes of their Princes. But to proceed.

By the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht the thirty-first of March O. S. or the eleventh of April N. S. 1713, between the Allies and France, the most material articles relating to Portugal were, That the French King should relinquish both sides of the river of Amazons in South America to his Portuguese Majesty, and quit all claim to the navigation of the said river, and never suffer any French Missioners to come into the said territories, or any other belonging to the crown of Portugal; and the Queen of Great Britain was by both parties accepted as guarantee of the said articles. And by another treaty made between Spain and Portugal in February 1714-15, the Spaniards and Portuguese mutually agreed to relinquish all places, that had been taken by the forces on either side during the war, but as to prizes, each party was to remain in possession of what they had respectively acquired; which treaty was in like manner guaranty'd by the Queen of Great Britain.

The war between the Confederates and the French was scarce ended, when another was begun between the Turks and Venetians, in which the latter lost the Morea. The Portuguese assisted the Pope and the Venetians with a squadron of men of war, and the Spaniards promised another squadron, but employed them afterwards in the reduction of Sardinia; so that the Turks were masters at sea during the whole course of the war, and were very near making themselves masters of the island of Corfu: but the Emperor gaining two considerable victories over the infidels by land, and taking Temeswaer and Belgrade, the Turks were glad to accept of peace, being permitted however to retain their conquests in the Morea, whereby the Venetians lost great part of their territories on the Terra Firma, while the Imperialists

1713.  
Peace of  
Utrecht.

1714.

1715.  
The Portuguese  
send a squadron  
to the assistance  
of the Venetians.



CHAP. IX. Imperialists kept possession of their conquests, which they had extended upwards of an hundred miles into the enemy's country.

A Patri-  
arch in  
Portugal.

Don Ema-  
nuel the  
King's  
brother,  
leaves the  
kingdom.

Acade-  
mies of  
sciences  
establi-  
ed.

1722.  
Two En-  
glish mer-  
chants  
condemn-  
ed for ex-  
porting  
gold.

1723.  
An earth-  
quake.

1724.  
A compa-  
ny for sup-  
plying  
Brazil  
with  
slaves.

The readiness the Portuguese had shewn in re-inforcing the Venetian fleet, and defending the coasts of Italy in the late war with the Turks, probably induced his Holiness to oblige his Portuguese Majesty in dividing the Archbishoprick of Lisbon, and erecting the chapel royal into a patriarchal and metropolitical church; ever since which, the city of Lisbon has been divided into two grand districts, the one called East, and the other West Lisbon.

Don EMANUEL, brother to the King of Portugal, having privately withdrawn himself from that court about this time, went on board a ship and sailed to Holland. He afterwards entered into the Emperor's service against the Turks; nor did he return again to Lisbon till the year 1726. His Portuguese Majesty, so soon as he had notice that Don EMANUEL was gone, prevailed on the Captain of an English man of war to pursue the ship he was in; but the vessel being two days sail before the English Captain, he was obliged to return back without him. The reason of this Prince's leaving the court so abruptly, was said to be to prevent his being forced to enter into orders; for it was usual formerly, both in the courts of Spain and Portugal, to procure some ecclesiastical preferment for the Princes of the blood, whereby they were easily maintained at the charge of the Church, and rendered in a great measure incapable of forming designs against the State.

Portugal now remaining in a profound peace, the King, in imitation of France and other polite nations, thought fit to establish academies for the improvement of arts and sciences, having a particular regard to history, in which that people have made great advances of late years; though the court of inquisition, which dreads nothing more than the rescuing the nation from ignorance and superstition, has been a great obstacle in their way: Truth is an heresy which those pious fathers ever prosecute with the greatest rage.

I don't meet with any thing else remarkable in Portugal till the year 1722, unless it be the arrival of their fleets from India and Brazil annually, with vast treasures of gold and silver on board, besides other rich merchandizes; but this year I find two British merchants, Mr. WINGFIELD and Mr. ROBERTS, prosecuted at Lisbon, and condemned to die, for exporting gold to England, which it seems is capital by the laws of Portugal: however, upon the interposition of Mr. WORSELY, the British Envoy, and the court of Great Britain, they were pardoned and their effects restored them. But since it is so very hazardous to export gold from Portugal to England, it is something strange that we meet with so much Portuguese gold here as we do.

In the month of December 1723, there happened a terrible earthquake in the province or kingdom of Algarva, which though it lasted but three minutes, did incredible mischief: they relate, that several towns were demolished, and a river entirely swallowed up for some hours, by the gaping of the earth.

A company was erected in Portugal in the year 1724, composed of men of quality and fortunes, for supplying their settlements in Brazil with Negroes, to whom his Majesty granted the space of two hundred miles and upwards on the

coast of Africa, for the purchasing of slaves; prohibiting the Portuguese, or any other nation, to trade within those limits.

The same year Don MIGUEL and Don JOSEPH, two base sons of his late Portuguese Majesty, whom he had naturalized, crossing the river of Lisbon with their attendants in a boat, were overfet by a sudden gust of wind: Don JOSEPH had the good fortune to save himself by getting upon the keel, but his brother and most of the servants were drowned.

In the same river on the nineteenth of November this year, arose such a violent storm about six in the evening, that before eight, sixty ships were driven on shore, of which twenty were rendered unfit for sea; all the wharfs of Lisbon were damaged by the storm, and the custom-house-key, with the goods upon it, was washed away: the houses of Lisbon suffered very much, and most of the churches lost their steeples or towers: the havoc in the neighbouring country is inexpressible; many houses were blown down, and almost all the trees that stood exposed to the wind torn up by the roots.

The court of Rome, to the surprize of the Inquisitors in Portugal, was about this time pleased to order, that the prisoners in the inquisition should be allowed counsel and solicitors to defend them, as in other courts; whereupon those fathers had the assurance to libel his Holiness most unmercifully.

A dispute of another nature happened about the same time between the courts of France and Lisbon. It seems the Abbot DE LIVRY, the French Ambassador at Lisbon, insisted that the Secretary of State, who is usually prime Minister in that Kingdom, should pay his Excellency the first visit; which the Secretary refusing to comply with, the Ambassador was ordered to leave Lisbon, without having an audience of his Portuguese Majesty.

In December 1727, a contract of marriage was signed between Don JOSEPH, Prince of Brazil, and the eldest Infanta of Spain, Donna MARIA-ANNA-VICTORIA, (formerly contracted to LEWIS XV, of France;) and a few days after another contract of marriage was concluded between Don FERDINAND, Prince of the Asturias, and Donna MARIA, Infanta of Portugal; and on the twenty-seventh of January following, the ceremony of the espousals of the last couple was performed at Madrid, the King of Spain representing the Prince of Brazil here, as the King of Portugal did the Prince of Asturias in the other that was celebrated at Lisbon the sixth of the same month.

About the same time there arose warm disputes between the courts of Rome and Portugal, on the Pope's refusing to give a Cardinal's cap to Monsieur BICH1, who had resided some time as Nuntio in Portugal, and shewn more complaisance for his Portuguese Majesty than for his Holiness; and the contention grew so hot at length, that it was expected the King of Portugal would have thrown off the Pope's supremacy; for he actually prohibited all the Clergy of his dominions, to apply any more to the Datary of Rome for their Bulls of confirmation, &c. The Patriarch of Lisbon gave dispensations for marriages, and final judgment in all ecclesiastical causes which were brought before him by way of appeal. The King set many of the prisoners in the inquisition at liberty, and prohibited the inquisitors to proceed

CHAP. IX.

A great storm.

Prisoners in the inquisition allowed counsel.

Double marriage between Spain and Portugal.

1728. Disputes between the court of Rome and Portugal.



CHAP.  
IX.1729.  
The double marriages solemnized in person.

ceed in any cause without the concurrence of commissioners appointed by his Majesty: which steps so alarmed the court of Rome, that I am informed means have been found to soften his Portuguese Majesty's resentment and prevent his throwing off the Pope's supremacy.

About the middle of January 1728-9, the exchange of the contracted Princesses above named being agreed on, the King and Queen of Spain, with the royal families and a vast retinue, came to Badajoz, as the King and Queen of Portugal, with their court, did to Elvas. These cities are on the confines of the two kingdoms, which are separated by the little river Caya, that runs from north to south, and falls into the Guadiana near Badajoz. A building was erected on the Caya, having one large door on the side of Spain, and another on the side of Portugal. At one and the same instant the King of Spain entered the eastern door, as the King of Portugal did that on the west, with their respective royal families. After reciprocal compliments, and hearing the articles of both marriages read, the King of Portugal and his party took the Princess of Brazil, and returned to Elvas, where the Prince and Princess of Brazil solemnized their marriage in person the same evening. The King of Spain also having received the Princess of the Asturias of her father, returned to Badajoz, where the Prince and Princess of Asturias celebrated their marriage also in person that evening.

The two Kings, their Queens, the Princes and Princesses, had two interviews afterwards at the house of exchange, viz. on the twenty-third and twenty-fifth of January, at the last of which they took leave of each other, and returned to their respective capitals, where rejoicings were made suitable to the occasion. At the return of the King and royal family to Lisbon, all the streets through which they passed were hung with tapestry, and there were no less than twenty triumphal arches erected there, five of which were prepared at the expence of the English, French, Dutch and Hamburgh merchants, the other fifteen being erected at the charges of the several companies of tradesmen, and the King's officers. That of the English was far the most magnificent, in which they laid out above two thousand pounds sterling. The coaches, most of which belonged to the nobility, were eighty-four in number, the greatest part of them covered with embroidered velvet, trimmed with gold fringe, and one of them was of massy silver, adorned with jewels. The rejoicings continued three days successively, and every evening fire works were played off, and some days after the people were entertained with a bull-feast. And here I shall take an opportunity of giving some account of the royal family of Portugal.

The present royal family.

His present Majesty, King JOHN V, was born the twenty-second of October 1689, and succeeded his father in January 1707. He married MARY-ANNE of Austria, the daughter of the late Emperor LEOPOLD, and sister of the present Emperor CHARLES, on the twenty-seventh of October 1708, by whom he had issue, 1. MARY-MAGDALEN-JOSEPHA-TERESA-BARBA, born the fourth of December 1711, and married to the Prince of Asturias as above related. 2. Don PEDRO, born the nineteenth of October 1712, who died the twenty-ninth of October 1714. 3. Don JOSEPH-PEDRO-JOHN-LEWIS, the present Prince of Brazil, born the

ninth of June 1715, and married to the Infanta of Spain anno 1729, as above. 4. Don CARLOS, born the second of May 1716. 5. Don ——— born the fifth of July 1717. 6. Don ALEXANDER, born anno 1724, who died in 1728: and another Infanta still living, the time of whose birth I do not meet with. His Portuguese Majesty has still three brothers living, viz. Don ANTONIO, Don FRANCISCO, and Don EMANUEL, the last of whom lost the King's favour on his retiring out of the kingdom without his consent, as has been related above, and though he obtained his pardon, is not yet restored to full favour.

## CHAP. X.

*Treats of the civil government of Portugal, the prerogatives and succession of the crown, the King's titles, arms, revenues, and forces.*

THE civil government of Portugal so exactly resembles that of Spain already treated of, that there will be occasion to say little on this head. The Court of Lisbon affects to conform it self to that of Madrid, or rather to shew that she is in no way inferior to her neighbour. Others observe, that the Kings of Portugal do in reality look upon themselves as the only rightful Sovereigns of all Spain, and therefore chuse to imitate the customs of that country; they affirm that the females of Castile cannot transfer the succession to a foreign Prince by marriage, and consequently the Princes of the house of Portugal, who are not deemed foreigners, ought to have succeeded to the crown of Spain, when the male branch in that kingdom became extinct. But to proceed.

The King of Portugal, as well as the King of Spain, is looked upon to be an absolute Prince: the Cortes, or three Estates, having long since sold their part in the legislature to the crown, and only serve to confirm or record such acts of state as the court resolves upon, to declare the next heir to the crown when the King is pleased to nominate him, or to ratify treaties with foreign Princes who still esteem their consent of any weight. The courts of Spain and Portugal for many years have kept their people in subjection by purchasing their leaders; which was the reason, that though the revenues of each crown were very considerable, the state in both nations was very poor. But since King PHILIP V ascended the throne of Spain, and that court has been governed by French counsels, the salaries of abundance of officers, and a multitude of pensions, have been struck off; and that Prince, in imitation of his grandfather LEWIS XIV, has of late years tyrannized over the nobility as well as the commons by the assistance of a standing army, and entirely deprived every province in that kingdom of their liberties and privileges. This reformation, as it is styled in the court of Spain, has not yet been imitated in that of Portugal; great part of the revenues of this crown are still distributed among the Nobility and Grandees, which renders the government as well as the people exceeding poor and necessitous, though the King considered in his private capacity may be very rich.

The customs and duties on goods exported and imported are a considerable part of the publick revenues, and are usually farmed out by the crown from three years to three years. These duties are very high.

CHAP. X.  
The court of Lisbon resembles that of Madrid.

The court of Portugal as well as Spain became absolute by purchasing the leading men in the Cortes or three Estates.

A rich court, but a poor state.

The publick revenues.

Customs very high.



CHAP. X. very high in Portugal, and could not be advanced without the utter ruin of the people. Foreign merchandizes pay twenty-three per cent. on importation, and fish from Newfoundland twenty-five per cent. Fish taken in the neighbouring seas and rivers pay forty-seven per cent. and the tax upon lands and cattle that are sold is ten per cent. The duty on snuff alone amounts to fifty thousand crowns. Besides which the King draws a considerable revenue from the several orders of Knighthood, of which he is Grand Master. And the Pope, in consideration of the large sums he draws out of this kingdom on other accounts, gives the King the money arising by several bulls from the Holy See; as those for granting indulgences, licences to eat flesh at times prohibited, &c. And it is computed that the royal revenues, clear of all pensions and salaries, may amount to three millions five hundred thousand crowns. The nobility are not taxed but upon extraordinary emergencies, and then not very high. From all which it may very well be presumed, that the Portuguese are not able to raise great fleets and armies: If they have five and twenty men of war of the line they are scarce able to man or pay them, and a squadron of English or Dutch of half the number would not be afraid to engage them. They serve chiefly for convoys to their Brazil fleets, and are very often used as merchant-ships to import goods or treasure from thence. As to their troops on shore, that serve to garison their wretched frontier towns, they may amount to fourteen or fifteen thousand men; but such a miserable militia sure were never seen, half starved, and not half clothed. In the late war you might see them begging an alms of a common soldier belonging to their confederates the English and Dutch; and yet so intolerably proud were these poor despicable creatures, that they insisted on taking the right of the English, and commanding their Generals; every Governor of a province had the command of the English and Dutch troops that happened to serve within his jurisdiction, though the Allies paid both their own troops and the Portuguese; which was the occasion of innumerable losses and disgraces on that side. For the Portuguese, after the war had continued eight or ten years, proved to be the same unskilful cowardly militia they were at first, constantly run away at the first charge, especially their horse, and suffered the English or Dutch to be cut in pieces or made prisoners: such blessed confederates did they prove in the late war. Nor were the Spaniards much better troops till a French Prince ascended the throne; but they have of late been so well disciplined, clothed and paid, that they are not only much superior to those of Portugal, but perhaps at present equal to any soldiers in Europe. The Portuguese were above being instructed in military discipline by the Allies, but King PHILIP obliged his officers to conform themselves to the French in this particular more than any other: And as the Spanish foot are better bodies of men, more abstemious, and endued with more patience, possibly they may at this day be an over-match for their masters the French, supposing the numbers equal. It seems therefore to be the interest of Portugal always to remain in peace with Spain; should the French or the Maritime Powers engage in their behalf, it might be difficult to prevent their being made a province to Spain again in case a war should break out between those two crowns, the Spaniards being so much improved of late years,

Naval force.

Land forces.

Interest of Portugal to live at peace with all nations.

and the Portuguese so much sunk in their courage, discipline and conduct. And they will certainly avoid falling out with the French and the Maritime Powers, who might any of them cut off their communication with Brazil, Africa and the Indies, from whence their gold and other rich merchandizes are imported. On the other hand, it can never be to the advantage of England, France, or the States-General, to be in a state of war either with Spain or Portugal, which take off so much of the manufactures of their respective countries. It is indeed the interest of each of these powers that the other should be in no good terms with Spain and Portugal, for what the one loses in this commerce the other gains; if the English do not serve the Spaniards and Portuguese with woollen manufactures, the French and Dutch will, though perhaps much worse, or at a dearer rate; nay, these nations will buy our goods, and get a larger gain by selling them to Spain and Portugal, and their American plantations and settlements, than we do by the first sale of them. We ought therefore to be exceeding cautious how we quarrel with these two nations, especially at this time, when they seem to be so firmly united by double marriages; and if we fall out with one, we must fall out with both.

It ought to be considered farther, that the French having of late taken possession of Florida, to which they have given the name of Louisiana, and being before masters of Canada or New France, they now lie on the back of all our American plantations and settlements from Carolina in the south to Nova Scotia on the north, and by the assistance of the Spaniards and the Indians, their friends, may, and probably will, in time deprive us of our settlements there, and ruin our plantation trade, if we have not our eyes about us.

I shall conclude this head with enumerating the several countries, territories and islands that are subject to the crown of Portugal, which, besides those of Portugal and Algarva, already described, are, the country of Brazil in America: A vast tract of land, extending along the sea-coasts of South America, but not of equal breadth; much the most considerable of all their foreign plantations at present, as it yields them great quantities of gold, tobacco, sugars, cotton, ginger, indigo, hides, and other valuable merchandize. In Africa they have the fortress of Masagan, in the kingdom of Morocco; part of the Guinea coast; Angola on the coast of Congo; with the islands of Loanda, Villa de San Pao, Zofala on the Caffra coast; Zanguebar, Mozambique and Quiloa on the eastern coast of Africa. And in the Atlantic Ocean they have the western islands of Azores or Terceras, that of Madera, the islands of Cape Verde, and others of less note. In Asia they still possess Goa, Diu, Daman and Chaul on the coast of India, with a large extent of country, and the island of Macao on the southern coast of China; the last of which is now under the dominion of the Chinese, though inhabited chiefly by the Portuguese. And here I cannot but observe what a noble empire the Portuguese possessed in Asia and Africa about an hundred and fifty years ago: They were masters of Ormus and the Persian Gulph; of all the coasts of India, Siam and Malacca; of the sea-coasts on the islands of Sumatra, Java and Ceylon; of the islands of Moluccas and Banda, where the fine spices only grow. They had planted their religion in the islands of Japan, and

CHAP. X.

The interest of the Maritime Powers and the French to bear peace with Spain and Portugal.

Danger to Britain from the union of the French and Spaniards in America.

Territories subject to Portugal.

The empire of the Portuguese in Asia and Africa 150 years ago.



C H A P.  
X.

and made such numbers of profelytes there, that the Sovereigns of that country were apprehensive of a general revolt of their subjects; which occasioned the extirpation of the Portuguese and of the Christian religion in those islands. They had planted their religion also throughout the vast empire of China, and might have maintained it there, had not the Jesuits interfered with them, and occasioned their falling under the displeasure of that court. There are now indeed no remains of Christianity to be found in Japan, the Portuguese interest is lost in China, and the Dutch have expelled them from all their valuable settlements on the continent and islands in Asia, except Goa and two or three inconsiderable places. But they were so long possessed of the trade of these countries, and had such numerous settlements here, that we find their language, with some corruption, still prevailing on the sea-coasts of the continent and islands of Asia, and a mixed breed of Portuguese and Indians, who still imitate those of Europe in their religion, habits and customs; and they still have their Bishops and Clergy in those parts, who are permitted to exercise their functions under many of the Indian Sovereigns. On the eastern and western coasts of Africa also their religion and language are every where to be met with; tho' the Dutch it is true are now masters of the best discoveries on the western coast, and the Portuguese have very little power in that part of the world. Their King indeed still calls himself Sovereign of all the vast dominions I have enumerated, which brings me to mention his stile and titles; which are.

The  
King's titles.

JOHN V, by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarvas on this side: And beyond the sea in Africk Lord of Guinea; and of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, Brazil, &c.

Arms.

The arms of Portugal are, Argent, five escutcheons, Azure, placed cross-wise, each charged with as many besants of the first, placed saltier-wise, and pointed Sable, for Portugal. The shield bordered Gules charged with seven towers, Or, three in chief and two in each flank. The crest is a crown, Or, under the two flanches, and the base of the shield appears at the end of it; two crosses, the first Flower de Luce Verte, which is for the order of Avis, and the second Pattee Gules, for the order of Christ. The motto is changeable, each King assuming a new one, but it is frequently these words, *Pro Rege & Grege*, i. e. *For the King and the People*.

The great Officers of State being the same as in Spain, I shall not trouble the reader with a tedious account of them, or of the several degrees of nobility, in which the kingdom of Portugal exactly resembles that of Spain.

Orders of  
Knighthood.

The orders of Knighthood are, 1. That of Avis, so called from a town of that name near Ebroa, founded by ALPHONSUS I, anno 1146, to honour those who distinguished themselves in the wars against the Moors. 2. The order of Christ, founded on the same account by DIONYSIUS, son of ALPHONSUS III, anno 1319, upon the abolition of the Knights Templars. 3. The order of St. James, being the same with that in Spain. And, 4. The Knights of St. John.

Councils  
and Courts  
of judica-  
ture.

They have several Councils or Courts established for several branches of business; as the Council of State, which takes cognizance of all matters foreign or domestick which relates to the State. 2. The Council, called the Desembargo do Paco,

which receives appeals from all inferior courts, and has also a power of enacting, repealing and altering the laws. 3. The Court of Treasury, or Da Fazenda. 4. The Council for foreign affairs, which determines all matters relating to the foreign plantations. 5. The Council of War, which takes cognizance of all military affairs and operations by sea or land. 6. The Casa dos Contos, which court has the jurisdiction of all officers and others concerned in collecting or farming the publick revenues. Besides these, they have two supreme courts for civil affairs, the one established at Lisbon, and the other at Porto. Tho' as the kingdom is divided into twenty-four Comarca's or districts, each Comarca has it's peculiar Judges for civil and criminal causes, and every considerable town it's Regidor, Corregidor, or Alcaid, as in Spain. But the Viceroy or Governor of each province presides in all the courts within his jurisdiction, and is the supreme civil as well as military officer there. There is also a Viceroy of Goa in the East-Indies, and another of Brazil in America, who are invested with almost regal power.

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*Treats of the religion and ecclesiastical government in Spain and Portugal; and of their universities, laws and language.*

THE Christian religion it is evident both from sacred and prophane history was planted in Spain in the time of the Apostles themselves; but it is not altogether so certain that St. JAMES Major was of the number of those who preached the Gospel to that people, notwithstanding the Spaniards look upon him to be the founder of their Church, and have written as many treatises to prove the several voyages he made thither, and the miracles he wrought amongst them, as would fill a moderate library. But whoever first preached the Gospel here, met with such success, that the whole nation almost was soon converted to Christianity; and they reckon up no less than forty-nine Bishops in the reign of CONSTANTINE. Their ecclesiastical historians however lament that this, as well as other Christian churches, was early infected with Arianism; and that the Goths also were Arians, who made a conquest of Spain in the fifth century; tho' they became orthodox some little time after. But what Doctor GEDDES seems to have demonstrated is still more surprizing, viz. that the church of Spain never had acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope or Bishop of Rome, when the Moors made a conquest of this country in the year 714. He proves also that the adoration of images, praying to angels and saints, purgatory, the doctrine of the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the denying the cup in the sacrament to the people, private masses, the adoration of the sacrament, the priest's putting the bread into the mouths of the communicants, being present at the celebration of the sacrament, and not communicating, and auricular confession, to be doctrines and practices not known in the Spanish church in the beginning of the eighth century, when it was dispersed by the Moors conquest of Spain; and that the Spanish Kings had an ecclesiastical supremacy equal to that which is now in the crown of England: That when the Bishop of Rome did in the beginning of the eighth century first attempt to introduce his supremacy into

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The modern state of religion in Spain and Portugal.

The title of Catholick King.

Devotion of the people.

Penances.

Lent.

into Spain, that supremacy was rejected and condemned by the Spanish church in a Council of all her Bishops.

I proceed now to enquire into the modern state of religion in these kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which is properly my province; and every one knows that the Spaniards and Portuguese at this day profess themselves to be of that sect or persuasion of Christians that are usually denominated Roman Catholics.

The title of Catholick King, it is said, was first given to their Princes, by the Council held at Toledo in the year 590, when RECARDEDUS the Gothick King of Spain renounced the Arian heresy, with all his people. And that title, after it had lain dormant about nine hundred years, was again revived by Pope ALEXANDER VI, and conferred on King FERDINAND about the year 1500, in consideration of the services he had done the Holy See in destroying the empire of the Moors in Spain; and his successors have enjoyed that title ever since; with a great deal of reason, as my author apprehends, no Princes having shewn more zeal for popery than the Kings of Spain and Portugal, who have suffered the Inquisition to reign, or rather rage, in their territories for so many years. Nor are the people less devoted to their religion than their Sovereigns: It is not uncommon for the women, it is said, to resort to the churches or chapels seven or eight times a day; though their enemies suggest that this proceeds rather from an inclination to ramble abroad and meet their gallants than out of pure devotion, that sex being in a manner prisoners to the other, and never suffered to stir abroad unless to prayers. None of the Saints, and even God himself does not seem to have a greater share of their devotion than the blessed Virgin; not a man but carries about him a scapulary or image of the Virgin, which has touched some shrine of hers that is held to have a power of working miracles. They are much taken with the pomp and shew observed in their divine worship, and that profusion of wealth that appears in the furnishing and adorning their churches; and they apprehend they merit by afflicting and tormenting themselves. In the holy week before Easter they practise great austerities; some will procure themselves to be fastned to a cross in their shirts, with their arms extended in imitation of our Saviour, uttering the most dismal groans and lamentations: Others will walk with naked feet over rocks and mountains to some distant shrine to perform their devotions. During Lent they eat nothing but the entrails of beasts, as they do on Wednesdays and Fridays all the year instead of fish, at Madrid, and such other parts of the country where fish are not to be had. At this holy season we find Friars and Priests in all the great streets and publick places preaching to the people, applying themselves rather to their passions and affections than their reason: The Preacher frequently beats his breast and weeps, and the croud imitate him; and he is esteemed the best Preacher who by his whining and lamentations can produce the greatest floods of tears. On Good-Friday annually there is a sermon preached to common strumpets at Madrid, who are dragged out of their lodgings to hear some Friar preach repentance to them; who if he thinks his arguments have no effect upon them, descends from his pulpit and presents a crucifix to them, saying, Behold your Saviour and embrace him; and those who are willing to leave their infamous courses will kiss and embrace it: After which these creatures are either sent to some nunnery, or married to people that are not very nice in their choice; but the greatest part of them usually are obstinate, and chuse to follow their former course of life.

brace him; and those who are willing to leave their infamous courses will kiss and embrace it: After which these creatures are either sent to some nunnery, or married to people that are not very nice in their choice; but the greatest part of them usually are obstinate, and chuse to follow their former course of life.

Solemn processions are frequent among the Spaniards and Portuguese, but the most considerable is that on Good-Friday, when all the religious orders attend, with the members of the tribunals, councils, and companies of tradesmen in their cities, and even the King himself sometimes, attended by all his Court, with wax-torches in their hands. The nobility and persons of distinction are followed by their servants with lighted flambeaux; every thing has a mournful air; the King's guards have their arms and drums covered with black, and beat a dead march, as at the funeral of some General; the trumpets and other musical instruments sound dismally, and all the colours and crosses are covered with black crape; machines and pageants are erected, whereon all the parts of our Saviour's passion are represented: True penitents in these processions lash and cut themselves unmercifully, hoping to take heaven by this holy violence on themselves; while others, it is said, are no less severe on their naked bodies, to shew their passions for their mistresses, all the ladies in the place standing in the balconies to see the procession. But this is such a piece of gallantry as I believe was scarce ever heard of in a Protestant country. There are other penitents who drag heavy crosses after them, and perform other grievous penances, and these, people of quality masked, and attended by their servants likewise masked, who support and assist them in their dolorous passage; for some, it is said, have lost their lives by over-acting their parts. Nor is it uncommon to begin these exercises a fortnight or three weeks before Easter, and continue them every Wednesday and Friday at least till that festival. At these processions in the city of Seville it is not uncommon to see five or six hundred such penitents, who have the reputation of chastising themselves more roughly than those of Madrid: Other towns endeavour to imitate these great cities; and it is said, the ladies of Lisbon will be offended if the men seem to favour themselves, and do not observe the blood follow the whip: For the devotion of these gentlemen, whether it be directed to heaven, or their mistresses, is supposed to be proportionable to the wounds and lashes they receive from their own hands.

These are the exercises of the devout Spaniards and Portuguese on days of fasting and humiliation; but on great festivals and rejoicing days the scene is very different; for then they expose the richest shrines, and all the treasures of their churches, to publick view: They are dressed in their best habits, and there are people that play on musical instruments, and dance in the processions, and before their images; but here also in the hottest weather, when the sun shines out in it's full brightness, they carry lighted torches in their hands, which, together with the sun-beams over their heads, almost melt the superstitious croud. The balconies and windows are hung with tapestry, &c. and the ladies dressed in their richest clothes and jewels, are permitted to stand and see the procession without a lattice before them; and upon these occasions it is,

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Processions during Lent.

Processions on the grand festivals.



**C H A P. XI.** that the young inamorato's of both sexes have an opportunity of shewing themselves, and discovering their passion to the greatest advantage; for, as has been intimated already, *VENUS* and *CUPID* in these hot countries seem to have as many adorers as any Saint amongst them, many of them frequenting their churches and processions chiefly to have an opportunity of carrying on their amours.

**Religious plays.** Their festivals usually conclude with a play wretchedly acted, containing a representation of the life and actions of some real or pretended Saints, taken from their legends, wherein they use even our Blessed Saviour with great familiarity, and seem calculated rather to ridicule than promote Christianity.

**Ecclesiastical government.** The Ecclesiastical government here does not differ much from that of other Roman Catholic countries. The Kings of Spain and Portugal, by a grant of the Popes, nominate to all Archbishopricks and Bishopricks; of which there are in Spain eight Archbishopricks and thirty-eight Bishopricks: And in Portugal three Archbishopricks and ten Bishopricks, as appears by the table at the end of this chapter.

**Inquisition.** The Inquisition reigns here, it must be confessed, with a more uncontrollable power than in any other kingdom or state. It was first instituted in the thirteenth century, for suppressing the heresy of the Vaudois and Albigenses, as 'twas called; and was received in Spain about the year 1557, in the reign of King *FERDINAND* and Queen *ISABELLA*, in order to awe the new-converted Jews and Moors, and keep them from relapsing into their former infidelity. It was established in Portugal for the same end about the year 1523, in the reign of King *JOHN III.* It is called, The Holy Office, and the Holy House; and consists of an Inquisitor-General, the Supreme Council, Inquisitors, Assessors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Advocate-Fiscal, a Treasurer, Familiars and Goalers.

**All men subject to it.** The Inquisitor-General is named by the King, and confirmed by the Pope, acting as his delegate: His jurisdiction is so absolute and extensive, that no subject is exempted from it; the members of the supreme Court or Council are all named by him, but approved by the King before they can act, and are usually Secular Priests; and their Assessors, Divines, Civilians and Canonists, with whom they advise. The Qualificators are employed in revising and altering books that are published, and are usually Dominican Friars. The Secretary is properly the Register; and the Advocate-Fiscal the Attorney or Prosecutor. The Treasurer takes into his custody all the prisoner's goods and personal estate when he is apprehended; and the Familiars are properly the serjeants and bailiffs belonging to this office; tho' the nobility and persons of the best quality usually enter themselves of the number of Familiars, as it is a protection against the civil Magistrate, and entitles them to the same plenary indulgences as persons engaged in a crusade against infidels and enemies of the Christian name. It is computed that these amount to upwards of twenty thousand in Spain alone. As to the *Alguazils* or Goalers, they are forbidden to permit their prisoners to send to their friends, or receive any manner of support or intelligence from them, or indeed to converse with any mortal but their tormentors. The Inquisitors and their officers take an oath never to discover any thing transacted in

that court, and punish nothing more severely than the breach of that oath. As these Courts of Inquisition in a great measure deprive the Bishops of their jurisdiction, they are entitled to some privileges in lieu of it: As first, their being exempted themselves from the authority of this Court; and, 2. Their concurrence ought to be obtained, before any person belonging to their respective dioceses is condemned. But these provisions are not much regarded of late; Bishops have been confined to their houses on suspicion of heresy, till the Pope's licence has been obtained to proceed against them; and where Bishops have refused to consent to the condemnation of a prisoner, the Court of Inquisition has passed sentence without them.

This Court proceeds in a summary way on an information brought by any person whatever: If the informer names any witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examined take an oath not to discover to any person their having been with the Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they say, saw or heard within that Court.

All people, tho' never so infamous, and tho' they stand convicted of perjury, are, in favour of the faith, and in detestation of hereticks, admitted by the Inquisition to be witnesses; mortal enemies only excepted.

This exception is of little benefit to the prisoner, by reason of his not knowing who they are that have informed and witnessed against him.

The depositions of the informer and witnesses, if there be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is sent for, and being come, he has the following order put into his hands.

By the command of the Reverend Father N. and Inquisitor of heretical pravity, let N. be apprehended and committed to the prisons of this Holy Office, and out of which he shall not be released, but by the express order of the said reverend Inquisitor.

If several persons are to be taken up at the same time, the Familiars are commanded so to order things, that they may know nothing of one another's being apprehended; and at this the Familiars are so expert, that a father and his three sons and three daughters, who lived together at the same house, were all carried prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing any thing of one another's being there, until seven years afterwards, when they that were alive came forth in an Act of the Faith.

The prisoner being apprehended, and carried with all possible secrecy to the Inquisition, is delivered to the Goaler.

The prisons of the Inquisition are little dark rooms, and which have no other furniture but a hard quilt and a useful pot. The prisoners are not suffered to see any person besides their keeper, who brings them their diet, and with it a lighted lamp, which burns about half an hour; neither must their keeper, without leave from the Inquisitors, entertain any discourse with them.

After the prisoner has spent two or three days and nights in his melancholy apartment, he is carried by his keeper before the Inquisitors, who before they ask him any question, make him take an oath to return true answers to all their interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any heresy, to confess it to them.



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The first question the prisoner is asked, is, Whether he knows why he was taken up by the Inquisition? And if he answers that he does not know, he is then asked, Whether he knows for what crimes the Inquisition used to imprison people? If he answers for heresy, he is admonished upon the oath he has taken to confess all his heresies, and to discover all his teachers and complices. If the prisoner denies that he ever held any heresy, or had ever any communication with any hereticks, he is gravely told, that the Holy Office does not use to imprison people rashly or without having good grounds for what they do; and that therefore he would do well to confess his guilt, and the rather, because the Holy Office, contrary to the custom of all other courts, is severe to those that deny, and merciful to all that confess their guilt.

If the prisoner persists in denying that he ever held any heresies, his Goaler is called in and commanded to carry him back to the place from whence he came; and the prisoner is admonished strictly to examine his own conscience, that the next time they send for him he may be prepared to make true and full confession of all his heresies, teachers and complices. The prisoner having been allowed two or three days more to do this in, he is brought before the Inquisitors a second time, and is asked whether he comes prepared to confess; and if he answers, that he cannot, without accusing himself or others falsely, make any such confession as they desire of him; they do then ask him where he was born, and what his parents were, and where he went to school, and who were his school-masters, and where he has lived all his time, and with whom he has conversed most, and who has been his confessor, and when he was last at confession and at the sacrament, with twenty more such questions. And being told, that they have sufficient proof of his being a heretick, they command him, since he cannot repent of his heresies unless he confesseth them all, to go back to his prison, and there pray to God for grace to dispose him to make a true and full confession, to the saving of his soul, which is all they seek after. And being again allowed two or three days to pray and consider on what the Inquisitors have said to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in case he persists in pleading not guilty, he is then asked some questions concerning the heretical doctrines he stands charged withal; for example, whether he believes Christ to be bodily present in the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore images, and to pray to Saints and Angels; and if he affirms that he did always firmly believe these and all the other doctrines of the Romish Church, he is asked, if he always believed these doctrines, how he came to speak against them? and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, that since he is so obstinate in his heresies, of which they have a sufficient proof before them, they will order their Advocate-Fiscal to form his process and to convict him of them. But in case the Inquisitors have not sufficient evidence, notwithstanding, to draw a confession from the prisoner, they have told him oftener than once that they had, they then fall a note lower, and tell the prisoner, that though they may not have sufficient proof of his heretical words and actions to convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the rack to make him confess them. And having fixed

the day when he is to undergo the tortures, he, when that dismal day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a confession as is expected from him, is led to the place where the rack is, attended by an Inquisitor and a publick Notary, who is to write down the answers the prisoner returns to the questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor while he is upon the rack. During the time the executioner is preparing that engine of unspeakable cruelty, and is taking off the prisoner's clothes to his shirt and drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the prisoner to have compassion both on his body and soul, and by making a true and full confession of all his heresies to prevent his being tortured; but if the prisoner saith, that he will suffer any thing rather than accuse himself or others falsely, the Inquisitor commands the executioner to do his duty, and to begin the torture; which in the Inquisition is given by twisting a small cord hard about the prisoner's naked arms, and hoisting him up from the ground by an engine to which the cord is fastened; and as if the miserable prisoner's hanging in the air by his arms were not torment enough, he has several quassations or shakes given him, which is done by screwing up his body higher and letting it down again with a jerk, which disjoins his arms, and after that the torture is much more exquisite than it was before.

When the prisoner is first hoisted from the ground an hour-glass is turned up, and which, if he does not prevent it, by making such a confession of his heresies as the Inquisitor that is present all the while, and is continually asking him questions, expects from him, must run out before he is taken down; to promise to make such a confession if they will take him off the rack, not being sufficient to procure him that mercy, no more than his crying out that he shall expire immediately if they do not give him some ease; that, as the Inquisitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon the rack do think they are ready to do.

If the prisoner endures the rack without confessing any thing, which few or none, though never so innocent, are able to do, so soon as the hour-glass is out he is taken down, and carried back to his prison, where there is a Surgeon ready to put his bones in joint. And though in all our Courts the prisoner's having endured the rack without confessing the crimes for which he was tortured, clears him, and makes void all the evidence that was against him; yet in the Inquisition, where whatsoever humanity and right reason have established in favour of the prisoner is left to the discretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwise; the prisoners that will not confess any thing being usually racked twice; and if they stand it out, though few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the prisoner makes the confession the Inquisitor expects he should on the rack, it is writ down word for word by the Notary, and is, after the prisoner has had a day or two's rest, carried to him to set his hand to it; which if the prisoner does, it puts an end to his process, the want of sufficient evidence to have convicted him being abundantly supplied by this extorted confession thus signed by him. But in case the prisoner when it is brought to him refuseth to sign it, affirming it to be false, and to have been extorted from him by the extremity of the torture, he

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CHAP. XI. is then carried to the rack a second time to oblige him to repeat and sign the same confession.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a prisoner in the Inquisition for Heresy to escape the rack, since neither the professing and maintaining the doctrines to be true wherewith he is charged, nor the denying of them, can secure him from it; the first being commonly racked to make them discover their teachers and accomplices, and the second to oblige them to confess their own guilt. And if a prisoner does confess his having spoke some heretical words, but to save his estate stands in his having spoke them rashly and in a passion without an heretical mind, he is racked to make him discover whether it was so or not, or whether his thoughts were not the same with his words. If a prisoner either makes no confession at all, or does not confess the particular heretical words or facts wherewith he stands charged, and with which the Inquisitors will never acquaint him, he is asked, whether he has any thing besides his denial to offer in his own defence, and if he has, to make use of it: For now the Advocate-Fiscal, upon their having evidence enough against him, is ordered to form his process. Here if the prisoner alledgeth, that unless they will be pleased to let him know the particular words or facts he stands charged withal, and who the persons are that have informed him and witnessed against him, that it will not be possible for him to make any defence; he is told, that cannot be done, because to let him know the particular heretical words or facts might lead him to the knowledge of the informers and witnesses, who by the fundamental laws of the Inquisition must never directly or indirectly be discovered to him.

Now for this singular and inhuman custom of not letting the prisoners know the particular facts they stand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witnessed against them, the Inquisitors have nothing to say but that it is necessary to the security of the lives of the accusers and witnesses, which if they were known would be in so great danger, that none would dare to venture to inform or bear witness against hereticks in their court. Which pretence, though it might have some ground when courts of Inquisition were first erected, no city, no not Rome it self, having submitted quietly to them when they were first introduced; it is now notorious to all the world, and to none more than to the Inquisitors themselves, that it is altogether groundless; and especially in Spain and Portugal, where the Inquisition is not only established by law, but by a wonderful fascination is so fixed in the hearts and affections of the people, that one that should offer the least affront to another for having been an informer or witness in the Inquisition, would be torn in a thousand pieces: and did the prisoners that have been in the Inquisition but know certainly who the persons were that had informed and witnessed against them, they durst not for their lives speak one word against them, or shew them the less respect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a custom so singularly unjust and cruel, and upon a pretence all the world knows to be altogether groundless, is a confidence not to be matched any where that I know of.

The prisoner being thus denied the knowledge of the things and persons, without which it is scarce possible for him, though never so innocent,

to make any defence, he is, notwithstanding that, graciously asked by the Inquisitors, whether he desires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it? If he saith he would, he is not to name them, but must take those the Inquisitors shall appoint, and who, before they have seen their client, must take the following oath:

I N. Doctor of both laws, do, in the presence of the Lords Inquisitors of this place against heretical pravity, having my hand on the Holy Gospel of God, promise and swear sincerely and faithfully to defend and maintain the cause of N. a prisoner in the prisons of this holy office, who stands accused and impeached for causes mentioned in it's acts, but so not as to use any trick or cavil, or to instruct my said client to conceal the truth in judgment. And I do further promise and swear, That if I shall by any way discover my said client to be guilty of the crime or crimes wherewith he stands charged, that I will thereupon immediately dismiss his cause: and if by having searched narrowly into his case I shall discover that he has had complices in his heresies, that I will inform against them to this holy office. All which I do promise upon pain of perjury, and of an excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this holy office. So help me God and these Holy Gospels.

The same oath is taken by the prisoner's Proctor, as the Inquisitors call him; though in truth both he and the Advocate are the Inquisitors engines, made use of to fish what they can out of the prisoner against himself and his friends, rather than any thing else.

The prisoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, and who are not suffered to know any thing more of his accusers and of the witnesses against him than he himself knows, he is asked by them whether he would have any questions put by the Inquisitors to those that have informed and witnessed against him, or would have them examined upon any points. And in case the prisoner furnisheth his Advocate with any such questions or points, they are put by him into form, and delivered to the Inquisitors.

The prisoner is asked also whether he has any witnesses of his orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are sent for and heard by the Inquisitors. And as these witnesses do go to the Inquisition with trembling hearts, so they are extremely cautious not to say any thing concerning the prisoner that shall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themselves under a suspicion of heresy; and by the laws of the Inquisition no relation of the prisoner's within the fourth degree can be a witness for him. When the prisoner's Advocate and Proctor are dismissed, they take an oath that they have no copy of the defence the prisoner made for himself, and that they shall never speak of it to any person whatsoever; neither is the prisoner ever suffered to see the depositions of his own fearful witnesses, no more than the depositions of those that are against him.

Beside the fore-mentioned, there is another common process in the Inquisition, which is against those that have murdered themselves, or died a natural death in their prisons. The process against the first is short, his having murdered himself being judged such an evidence of his guilt as is sufficient to convict him of the heresies wherewith he was charged. The process against the second is carried on by the Advocate Fiscal in the same manner



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manner as it would have been had the prisoner been alive; and the prisoners relations and friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in defence of the deceased, are by a publick edict summoned to appear before the Inquisitors within forty days to give their evidence; and if upon this summons none do appear to offer any thing in vindication of the deceased, as I believe few are ever so hardy as to do, the deceased after the expiration of that term of days is acquitted or condemned in the same manner that he would have been had he been alive; and if he is condemned his whole estate is forfeited, and his body and effigies are burnt at the next act of the faith, as are the bodies and effigies of those that had murdered themselves.

But the power of the Inquisition extends not only to those that died in the prisons, but to the bodies, estates and good names of all that after their decease shall be convicted of having died hereticks: and though as to the estates of those that are convicted of having died hereticks they can go no farther than forty years, as to the taking their bones out of the grave, and burning them, and the depriving them of their good name, there is no limitation of time. When a competent number of prisoners are convicted of heresy, either by their own voluntary or extorted confession, or upon the evidence of certain witnesses, a day is fixed by the chief Inquisitor for a goal-delivery, which is called by them an Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the morning of the day the prisoners are all brought into a great hall, where they have the habits put on they are to wear in the procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about nine of the clock in the morning.

Auto de  
Fé.

The first in the procession are the Dominican Friars, who carry the standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their founder DOMINICK's picture, and on the other side a cross betwixt an olive-tree and a sword, with this motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*. Next after the Dominicans come the penitents, some with benitoes and some without, according to the nature of their crimes; they are all in black coats without sleeves, and bare-footed, with a wax candle in their hand. Next come the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coat have flames painted with their points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by fire; this habit is called by the Portuguese, *Fuego revolto*, or flames turned up-side-down. Next come the negative and relapsed that are to be burnt, with flames upon their habit pointing upwards: and next come those who profess doctrines contrary to the faith of the Roman church, and who besides flames on their habit pointing upward, have their picture, which is drawn two or three days before, upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents and devils all with open mouths painted about it.

PEGNA, a famous Spanish Inquisitor, calls this procession, *Horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum*; and so it is in truth, there being something in the looks of all the prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly, and disconsolate beyond what can be imagined; and in the eyes and countenance of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a Familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who are continu-

ally preaching to them to abjure their heresies; but if they offer to speak any thing in defence of the doctrines they are going to suffer death for professing, they are immediately gagged, and not suffered to speak a word more.

This I saw done to a prisoner presently after he came out of the gates of the inquisition, upon his having looked up to the sun, which he had not seen before in several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body, to worship any being but him that created it?' After the prisoners came a troop of Familiars on horseback; and after them the inquisitors and other officers of the Court upon mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor-General upon a white horse led by two men, with a black hat and a green hat-band, and attended by all the nobles that are not employed as Familiars in the procession.

In the Terreiro de Paco, which may be as far from the Inquisition as White-Hall is from Temple-Bar, there is a scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand people; at the one end sit the Inquisitors, and at the other end the prisoners, and in the same order as they walked in the procession; those that are to be burnt being seated on the highest benches behind the rest, and which may be ten foot above the floor of the scaffold.

After some prayers and a sermon, which is made up of encomiums on the Inquisition, and invectives against hereticks, a secular Priest ascends a desk, which stands near the middle of the scaffold, and who having first taken all the abjurations of the penitents, who kneel before him one by one in the same order they walked in the procession, at last he recites the final sentence of the Inquisition upon those that are to be put to death, in the words following:

"We the Inquisitors of heretical pravity, having with the concurrence of the most illustrious N. Lord Archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy N. called on the name of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and of his glorious mother the Virgin MARY, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging with the Holy Gospels lying before us, that so our judgments may be in the sight of God, and our eyes might behold what is just, in all matters between the magnifick Dr. N. Advocate-Fiscal, on the one part, and you N. now before us, on the other, we have ordained that in this place, and on this day you should receive your definitive sentence.

"We do therefore by this our sentence put in writing, define, pronounce, declare and sentence thee N. of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative and professed heretick, and to be delivered and left by us as such, to the secular arm; and we by this our sentence do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court, as a convicted, confessing, affirmative and professed heretick, and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court; but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence, as not to touch thy blood or to put thy life in any danger."

Is there in all history an instance of so gross and confident a mockery of God and the world as this of the Inquisitors, earnestly beseeching the civil magistrates not to put the hereticks they



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have condemned and delivered to them to death? For were they in earnest when they make this solemn petition to the secular Magistrates, why do they bring their prisoners out of the Inquisition and deliver them to those Magistrates in coats painted over with flames? Why do they teach, that all hereticks, above all other malefactors, ought to be punished with death? And why do they never resent the Secular Magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joint petition, as never to fail to burn all the Hereticks which are delivered to them by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their hands? And why in Rome, where the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authority are lodged in the same person, is this petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly not to take any notice of the old canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the blood of any person whatsoever, would be a much less dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on observing that canon, by making a petition, which is known to be so contrary to their principles and desires.

The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with chains before the eyes of the Inquisitors, and being carried first to the secular goals, are within an hour or two brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice, who without knowing any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was against them, asks them one by one in what religion they do intend to die; if they answer that they will die in the communion of the Roman Church, they are condemned by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes: But if they say they will die in the Protestant, or in any other Faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then sentenced by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt with a good quantity of dry furz about them: The stakes of the professed, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of the top; the negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the professed go up a ladder between the two Jesuits that have attended them all day, and when they are come even with the forementioned board they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the professed to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, which if the professed refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends, and having turned the professed off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, 'That they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow, to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies.' Upon this a great shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladders, the cry is, 'Let the dogs beards be made, let the dogs beards be made.' Which is done by thrusting flaming furzes fastened to

a long pole against their faces; and this inhumanity is commonly continued till their faces are burnt to a coal, and is always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy, as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a bull-feast or a farce, being dull entertainments to the using a professed heretick thus inhumanly.

The professed's beards having been thus made, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furz which are at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reacheth higher than the seat they sit upon; and if there happen to be a wind, and to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reaches so high as their knees: so that though there be a calm, the professed are commonly dead in about half an hour after the furz is set on fire; yet if the weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death. But though out of hell there cannot be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers, so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios*, Mercy for the love of God; yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and of all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

And that the reader may not think that this inhuman joy may be the effect of a natural cruelty, that is in those people's disposition, and not of the spirit of their religion, he may rest assured, that all publick malefactors besides hereticks, have their violent deaths no where more tenderly lamented than among the same people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

Within a few days after the execution, the pictures of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their breast when they were brought to the stake, are hung up in St. DOMINGO'S Church, whose west-end, tho' very high, is all covered over with these trophies of the Inquisition, hung up there in honour to DOMINIC, who to fulfil his mother's dream, was the first inventor of that court. DOMINIC'S mother, when she was ready to be brought to bed of him, having dreamed, that she was delivered, not of a human creature, but of a fierce dog, with a burning torch in his mouth. See Dr. GEDDES'S Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. I. p. 391, to 413.

I proceed next to enumerate the several archbishopsricks and bishopsricks in Spain and Portugal, and enquire into their respective revenues.

The Archbishop of Toledo is styled Primate of Spain; he is great Chancellor of Castile, and Counsellor born of the Council of State. His archbishoprick contains 802 parishes, his revenue amounting one year with another to 300000 ducats, and that of the Primatical Church to 150000 ducats, out of which there ought to be deducted 66000 ducats which is paid annually to the King. The suffragans are, first, that of Segovia, comprehending 438 parishes, the revenue whereof is 24000 ducats per annum. 2. Valladolid, which comprehends 132 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum. 3. Osluna, which comprehends 450 parishes, the revenue whereof is 16000 ducats per annum. 4. Siguenza, which comprehends 516 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum: he is Lord Chief Justice of

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bishops-  
ricks and  
bishops-  
ricks.Abp. of  
Toledo,  
and his  
suffragans.



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the town of Sigüenza. 5. Cuença, which comprehends 384 parishes, the revenue whereof is 50000 ducats per annum. 6. Cartagena, which comprehends 89 parishes, the revenue whereof is 24000 ducats per annum. 7. Jaen, which comprehends 84 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. 8. Cordoua, which comprehends 92 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum.

Abp. of  
Terra-  
gona.

The Archbishop of Terragona. His diocese contains 197 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, first, that of Barcelona, comprehending 206 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 2. Tortosa, which comprehends 160 parishes, the revenue whereof is 15000 ducats per annum. 3. Lerida, which comprehends 212 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum. 4. Vich, which comprehends 206 parishes, the revenue whereof is 6000 ducats per annum. 5. Urgel, which comprehends 420 parishes, the revenue whereof is 9000 ducats per annum. 6. Gironne, which comprehends 339 parishes, the revenue whereof is 3000 ducats per annum. 7. Elna, which comprehends 100 parishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per annum. 8. Solsona, which comprehends 15 parishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per annum.

Abp. of  
Seville.

The Archbishop of Seville. His archbishoprick contains 234 parishes, the revenue whereof is 100000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, first, that of Cadiz, which comprehends 14 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum. 2. Guadix, which comprehends 37 parishes, the revenue whereof is 8000 ducats per annum. 3. Canaries, which comprehends 50 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum.

Abp. of St.  
James de  
Compo-  
stella.

The Archbishop of St. James de Compostella. His archbishoprick contains 1803 parishes, the revenue whereof is 60000 ducats, per annum, and that of the Archiepiscopal Church as much; out of which there ought to be deducted 18000 ducats which he annually pays to the King. The suffragans are, first, that of Astorga, which comprehends 913 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 2. Avila, which comprehends 437 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. 3. Salamanca, which comprehends 240 parishes, the revenue whereof is 24000 ducats per annum. 4. Coria, which comprehends 317 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. 5. Placentia, which comprehends parishes, the revenue whereof is 50000 ducats per annum. 6. Badajoz, which comprehends 53 parishes, the revenue whereof is 16000 ducats per annum. 7. Tuy, which comprehends 146 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 8. Mondonedo, which comprehends 356 parishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per annum. 9. Orensa, which comprehends 954 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 10. Ciudad-Rodrigo, which comprehends 63 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 11. Lugo, which comprehends 60 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 12. Zamora, which comprehends 256 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum.

Abp. of  
Saragossa.

The Archbishop of Saragossa. His archbishoprick comprehends 347 parishes, the revenue whereof is 50000 ducats per annum. The suf-

fragans are, first, that of Huesca, which comprehends 196 parishes, the revenue whereof is 13000 ducats per annum. 2. Tarazona, which comprehends 350 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. 3. Albarazin, which comprehends 25 parishes, the revenue whereof is 6000 ducats per annum. 4. Jaca, which comprehends 199 parishes, the revenue whereof is 3000 ducats per annum. 5. Balbastro, which comprehends 170 parishes, the revenue whereof is 8000 ducats per annum. 6. Teruel, which comprehends 77 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum.

The Archbishop of Valencia. His archbishoprick contains 230 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, first, that of Segorba, which comprehends 120 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 2. Orihuela, which comprehends 60 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum.

The Archbishop of Grenada. His archbishoprick contains 194 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, 1. That of Almeria, which contains 60 parishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per annum. 2. Malaga, which comprehends 108 parishes, the revenue whereof is 2000 ducats per annum.

The Archbishop of Burgos. His archbishoprick contains 1756 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, 1. That of Pampeluna, which comprehends 1156 parishes, the revenue whereof is 25000 ducats per annum. 2. Calahorra, which comprehends 1013 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. 3. Placentia, which comprehends 881 parishes, the revenue whereof is 24000 ducats per annum.

The bishopricks of Leon and Oviedo hold immediately of the Holy See. Leon contains 1020 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum. Oviedo contains 1048 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum.

The archbishoprick of Lisbon; the revenue whereof is 40000 crusadoes. The suffragans are, 1. Miranda, the revenue whereof is 10000 crusadoes per annum. 2. Portalegre, the revenue whereof is 500 l. per annum. But the late patriarchate established at Lisbon has made a great alteration in the ecclesiastical government of this archbishoprick.

The archbishoprick of Braga; the revenue whereof is 40000 crusadoes per annum. The suffragans are, 1. Coimbra, the revenue whereof is 40000 crusadoes per annum. 2. Lamego, the revenue whereof is 10000 crusadoes per annum. 3. Viseu, the revenue whereof is 16000 crusadoes per annum. 4. Porto, the revenue whereof is 15000 crusadoes per annum.

The archbishoprick of Evora; the revenue whereof is 60000 crusadoes per annum. The suffragans are, 1. Elvas, the revenue whereof is 10000 crusadoes per annum. 2. Leria, the revenue whereof is 18000 crusadoes per annum. 3. Faro, the revenue whereof is 5000 crusadoes per annum. And, 4. Tavira, the revenue whereof I have not met with.

There are also in Spain alone 2141 convents, in which it is computed there are about 45000 Monks and Nuns; and a proportionable number in Portugal.

There



## CHAP.

## XI.

Universi-  
ties of  
Spain and  
Portugal.

There are in Spain no less than 22 Universities, which have been mentioned already in the description of the several cities of that kingdom. I shall only observe here therefore, that those of Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcala are the chief: And tho' my French author is pleased to affirm, that they excel all the Universities in Christendom except that of Paris; it will be found, that those of Oxford and Cambridge are much superior to any of them in the number of learned men, in the elegance of their buildings, and in their revenues.

The University of Coimbra is much the most considerable in Portugal, said to consist of five thousand Students; but then they admit children before they can well read, so that our grammar-schools may be reckoned equal to many of their colleges.

Laws.

They do not apply themselves so much to philosophy, divinity, or physick in these Universities as to the civil and canon law, which prevails very much in these countries. And besides these every one studies the customs of his particular province, by which the Magistrates are often governed in their decisions.

Language.

The Spanish language is derived from the Latin, and said to come the nearest to it at this day of any language in Europe: The dialects however are very different in the several provinces, as in other countries; that of Castile is said to be the purest, and that of Portugal, which was lately a province of Spain, the worst. But in all of them we find a great many Arabick words and terminations, which they learnt from the Moors, who were long masters of the country. They observe particularly that all Spanish words which begin with the syllable Al, are of Arabick extraction, as Alguasil, a Bailiff or Jaylor, Algibe, a Cistern, &c.

Acade-  
mies.

I shall conclude with observing, that in Portugal as well as other European kingdoms, they have of late begun to establish separate Academies, for the propagating arts and sciences, as if they apprehended these were neglected in their Universities. The late King of Great Britain was more indulgent to Oxford and Cambridge, chusing rather to establish professors of modern history there with handsom stipends, than to set up distinct societies in opposition to those Universities.

## CHAP. XII.

*Treats of their foreign trade and navigation; and of their several sorts of coin.*

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XII.Foreign  
trade.

AS to the trade of this kingdom, their navigation and foreign commerce, these have already been treated of under other heads. I shall only here observe in general therefore, that the merchandize they export consists either in the produce of their soil, or of what they first import from their plantations and settlements in Asia, Africa, and America. The product of their soil is chiefly red and white port wines, oil, oranges, lemons, figs, chefnuts, almonds, raisins, salt, and sweetmeats. Their importations from Asia consist of silks, muslins, calicoes, tea, gold-dust, and such other goods as our English East-India-Company import hither. And from Africa they import chiefly gold, slaves, and elephants teeth. But the most extensive and the richest of all their settlements are those of Brazil in America, from whence in some years they import upwards of two millions sterling in gold and silver; besides vast quantities of sugar, tobacco, snuff,

brazil and other dying wood, hides, cotton, indigo, fustick, tallow, train-oil, parrots, rum, and many other lesser articles; and it is said the Portuguese do not transport less than five and twenty or thirty thousand slaves annually from the coast of Africa to Brazil, which may one with another be worth fifteen or sixteen pounds sterling a head in Brazil. They are employed chiefly in their sugar-works, tobacco plantations, or their mines; tho' a great many are taught some trade or mechanick arts, which make them most valuable to their masters, and many more serve the Portuguese as menial servants. These slaves are purchased generally of the African Princes, being prisoners taken in war or stolen from their friends. But I shall treat more particularly of this branch of their trade when I come to the description of Africa and America.

From England in return for their wines, fruits, and the produce of their plantations, they receive our woollen manufactures, lead and tin; part of which are used in Portugal, and part of them sent to Brazil; and some years Portugal takes off a great deal of our corn and flesh from Ireland. The Dutch also furnish them with linen and woollen cloth and stuffs, corn, copper, iron, and all manner of naval stores that are found in the northern kingdoms of Europe. The Portuguese trade pretty much with France; but the English have the greatest share of traffick with this country, as appears by the following account of the shipping that resorted to Lisbon in the year 1721, viz. 329 ships from Great-Britain and Ireland, 72 ships from Holland, 71 from France, 13 from Hamburg, 7 from Denmark, 2 from Sweden, 1 from Malta; besides 359 ships that arrived there belonging to the several ports of Portugal, and their Brazil fleet. The number of vessels outward-bound from Lisbon the same year were, 302 ships of Britain, 69 of Holland, 63 of France, 24 of Spain, 3 of Hamburg, 8 of Genoa, 6 of Denmark, 2 of Sweden, 1 of Malta, and 116 Portuguese, including their Brazil fleets and ships sent to India. And in all our accounts since, we find the English shipping in the port of Lisbon double or treble the number of any other nation. This is generally held to be the most advantageous trade we have next to that with our plantations; and yet even here I am informed the course of exchange is usually against us. Certain it is we receive a great deal of gold from Portugal, but I perceive it is clandestinely or by connivance of the government, for their laws punish the exportation of it with death, as appears by the condemnation of the two British merchants abovementioned for sending gold to England. And this brings me to give some account of the Portuguese coins.

The usual way of accounting in Portugal is by rees or crusado's; the first their smallest brass coin, 3000 whereof are equal to a pound sterling, and the other a silver coin of two shillings and eightpence value, or thereabouts. Of brass coins there are single rees, those of a rees and half, of five rees and ten rees. The silver coins are, a vintain of 20 rees, the half tostao of 50 rees, the whole tostao of 100 rees, the piece valued at 250 rees, the crusado valued at 400 rees, and another piece valued at 500 rees; besides which, they stamp the number 600 on the Spanish pieces of eight, to signify that they shall be taken for 600 rees. And their most usual gold coins are, the moidore, valued at 4000 rees, and the half moidore, quarter moidore, &c.

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XI.

Shipping.

Coins.



*The continuation of the History of Germany, which should have come in page 50.*

1726. **I**N December the Spaniards assembled their forces in Andalusia, and blocked up Gibraltar, and on the two and twentieth of February following, they began to besiege it in form, and the English merchants effects in Spain were all seized. However, a treaty of pacification being concluded between the Allies of Vienna and those of Hanover on the 31st of May, 1727, the siege of Gibraltar was raised, and the traffick of the Ostend Company for the East Indies was suspended; and on the other hand, his British Majesty agreed to order his Admirals to return with their squadrons from the West Indies and the coasts of Spain.

1728. **A**nd by another treaty concluded at Seville in 1728 between Great Britain and Spain, the Court of Great Britain agreed to assist the Spaniards to introduce six thousand of their forces into Italy, to secure the eventual succession of Don CARLOS to the Duchies of Tuscany and Parma, to which treaty both the French and Dutch acceded.

The Emperor was extremely incensed at this article for introducing Spanish forces into Italy, foreseeing, that if the Spaniards once got footing there again, they would never rest till they had driven him out of Naples, and the rest of his Italian territories; he opposed therefore the putting that treaty in execution with all his might, and would accept of no expedients that were offered him for a great while. But the British fleet (with land forces on board) under the command of Sir CHARLES WAGER, joining the fleet of Spain, in the summer of 1731, convoyed six thousand Spanish troops to Leghorn, and landed them there, in a manner forcing the Emperor to submit to that article. The grand motive which influenced the English to act in this manner, it is said, was the procuring the favour of the Queen of Spain, that they might be let into a share of the trade of that kingdom, from which they had been in a manner excluded ever since the year 1717, when Sir GEORGE BYNG destroyed the Spanish fleet upon the coast of Sicily. We had indeed patched up a peace with Spain afterwards; but they continued to act in a hostile manner against Britain, taking and plundering our ships, and insulting our people as often as they had opportunity; and though we put ourselves to so great an expence, to carry the Spanish forces into Italy, and disoblged the Emperor, our greatest and best ally, I do not perceive the Spaniards have altered their conduct towards the subjects of Britain, but continue their depredations to this day; and, as had been foreseen, made use of the first pretence that offered to expel the Emperor from his Italian dominions. His opposing the advancement of King STANISLAUS to the throne of Poland, was held to be a sufficient motive for their entering into a confederacy with the French and the King of Sardinia, against the Emperor; and accordingly, within a month or two after the election of AUGUSTUS III. to that throne, the French, Spaniards, and Savoyards, invaded the Milanese, and over-run the greatest part of that province, while another army of the French passed the Rhine, and took

fort Kehl; from whence the Emperor rightly judged, that they must have laid this scheme, and provided forces for these purposes, long before the death of the late King of Poland.

The Emperor being thus surprized and distressed by his enemies, both in Italy and Germany, applied himself to the English and Dutch, for their respective quota's of troops they had engaged to furnish him with, when they guaranteed to him the possession of his hereditary dominions; and observing their backwardness to assist him, his minister presented a memorial to the maritime powers on that subject, of the following tenor:

He put them in mind, that when the Emperor was engaged in the defence of Christendom against the Turk in the year 1717, Spain took hold of that opportunity to attack him. He was then in a good state of defence; and the union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon did not at that time seem so terrible as at present they manifestly appeared to be: a war would not then have been near so burthensome to him, as it was at this time; especially, considering that he was then supported by Great Britain in a manner which he can never forget: nevertheless, he yielded to the instances made to him, for re-establishing as soon as possible the peace of Europe: he renounced the right he had to the greatest and most considerable part of the Spanish monarchy: for the common good of Europe, he took upon himself the guarantee of the order of succession established in Great Britain, in France, and in Spain. And in fine, he consented that (by way of reward) for the unjust attack made upon him, the estates of Tuscany and Parma should be settled eventually upon a Prince of the house of Bourbon. This last article gave him more concern than all the rest; not that he had any design to unite these estates with those he had already possessed, but because he foresaw, that as soon as the two branches of the house of Bourbon should become united betwixt themselves, that addition of power would facilitate to them the means of disturbing the peace of Europe, and oppressing it's liberties, while, at the same time, it would be an obstacle to his Imperial Majesty's employing his forces in assisting to preserve either the one or the other. His Imperial Majesty then declared what he apprehended upon this head, and the many precautions expressed in the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, are so many authentick proofs of his foresight. But his well-grounded fears were appeased by the guarantees that were by the very same treaty promised him.

The Emperor most religiously fulfilled those engagements he had taken upon himself: he obtained the consent of the empire, for confirming what had been stipulated in favour of Don CARLOS.

The Emperor, on his part, fulfilled all the engagements he had entered into, confiding entirely in those guarantees, which were expressly contained, not only in the treaty, but in the declaration relating to the Spanish garisons. He suffered those very garisons to be introduced, and he evacuated Parma and Placentia before the accession of



the Lords the States General was signed at the Hague.—By such signal marks of sincerity and moderation, he flattered himself with having satisfied every desire which the Queen of Spain could at least for some time conceive: but it happened quite otherwise; they took care to start one difficulty after another; and the more his Britannick Majesty laboured in employing his good offices for ending all disputes, to the advantage of Don CARLOS, the more busy they were from thence, to take occasion to insinuate to the Imperial court, that the Emperor would find his account more in an union with the house of Bourbon, than in the guarantees of the two maritime powers: that without such an union they would keep his Italian territories in continual fears and alarms; and that they would take particular care to chuse the most convenient time for giving the blow, when it should not be in the power of his Imperial Majesty's allies to make good those engagements, upon which he so much depended.

While the court of Spain made use of these artifices without success, that of France pursued a method something different, but such as tended to the same end.—She let slip no opportunity to disunite and sow discord among those who ought always to join in defence of the liberties of Europe.—She moved heaven and earth against that order of succession which had been established in the august house of Austria. Long before the death of the late King AUGUSTUS, the duchy of Milan was offered to the King of Sardinia, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to the Infante Don CARLOS, and the rest of the Emperor's kingdoms and hereditary countries, were parcelled out in several different ways, according as the ministers and emissaries of France found it proper for their purposes.

And when the French King found he could not accomplish his ends by these insidious offers, he turned his whole forces against his Imperial Majesty: the King of Sardinia attacked him in the most perfidious manner; and the court of Spain joined with the rest, in making war upon him with all possible vigour. The blow was in a great measure unforeseen by the Emperor; and yet, by a manifest sort of contradiction, they suppose him to have been inclined for war, while at the same time they reproach him for being no way prepared for it: and after having swallowed up so many provinces one after another, after having pursued the most rapid successes with the utmost vigour; after having moved heaven and earth, in order to deprive the Emperor of the assistance of his allies; after having solicited all the courts of Europe against him, and after having endeavoured as much as possibly they could, to stir up even the Turk against him, the enemies of this Prince cannot certainly, with any sort of countenance, pretend to set up for having an inclination for peace, when the contrary appears by so many incontestable proofs; at least, the Emperor cannot imagine that any one will allow himself to be so imposed on: it would be a misfortune greater than any has yet befallen him, if such professions, so inconsistent with their actions, should meet with the least credit.

Among those who have so often experienced, how dangerous it is to trust the professions of France, the Emperor would do injustice to the great penetration of his Britannick Majesty, and to the wisdom and foresight of my Lords the States General, if he should apprehend in the least, that

such artifices could make any impression on their minds. The views of France become more and more manifest: it is known to all Europe, that the troubles with which it has been agitated for so many years, are originally owing to the unbounded ambition of the Queen of Spain, and to her impetuous desire to aggrandize her posterity at any rate; and there is no one so unjust, as not to abhor the enormous and perfidious behaviour of the King of Sardinia towards the Emperor: in such circumstances, is it possible that his Imperial Majesty can fail of having the assistance of his allies? or that, for re-establishing the balance of power, they can desire him to make new sacrifices, which, upon the first occasion that offers, will be a fresh provocation for the insatiable appetites of his unjust and perfidious aggressors? This the Emperor can by no means believe, since it is not the method prescribed by treaties for remedying so great evils. By those treaties, indeed, it is said, that good offices may be employed before giving their assistance, which may be demanded in case of an attack by either of the contracting parties; but the interposition of their good offices is limited to the term of two months, and can have nothing else for their object, but the restitution of what has been unjustly taken away, and the reparation of the damages that have been suffered. Nothing would have been more agreeable to the Emperor, than such an interposition of the good offices of the two maritime powers. From thence he would have promised himself all the good effects which he could have desired; and in this sense he agrees, that they might have prevented the events of the war, from rendering it more difficult to bring about a friendly accommodation: but the same term is expired, many months having passed since the rupture made by the three powers before-mentioned.

The Emperor has, without ceasing, solicited again and again, for a performance of those guarantees which have been promised him; he knows too well the value of them ever to be capable of giving them up, or so much as inclined to desist from the demand. The obtaining of these guarantees was his only motive for consenting to the establishing a Prince of the house of Bourbon in Italy; for evacuating Parma and Placentia; for allowing Spanish garisons to be introduced into the fortified places of Tuscany; and for his rejecting all the offers of the court of Spain, founded upon the secret insinuations of that of France. It is in vain for people to flatter themselves with re-establishing the publick tranquillity, and rendering it more secure for the future by a new treaty, till the preceding treaties be made effectual. His Imperial Majesty neither desires, nor wishes any thing more than to see them fulfilled in all their articles; and after the efforts which he has made, for preserving the liberty of Europe, it cannot be denied, but that it may be very easy to warrant it against any attempts for a long time to come, provided only that he be effectually supported. As the Emperor is not in a condition to make always the same efforts, the two maritime powers can never have an opportunity, when it will cost them less to establish firmly and speedily, a lasting peace in Europe, and to secure the advantages of their commerce in such a manner, that they may be no longer subject to the caprices of the court of Spain.



If France, instead of turning her arms against the Emperor, had turned them against the two maritime powers, had swallowed up their provinces one after another, and in the midst of great protestations of her inclinations for peace, had pushed on the war with the utmost vigour, the Emperor would not certainly have given any credit to what they said; nor would he have imagined, that he could have sufficiently shewed his zeal for the publick good, or his friendship for the parties attacked, by offering, after many months, his mediation, instead of performing those guarantees in which he stands engaged. But the engagements which result from treaties are reciprocal; they are of equal force with respect to every one of the contracting parties, and that stable and solid system, by which only the tranquillity, the happiness, and the liberty of Europe can be secured, must vanish, as soon as people begin to depart from those measures which have been settled by an unanimous consent, and which have been judged to be necessary for so salutary an end. The Emperor's desire to see the publick tranquillity restored as soon as possible, cannot therefore be greater than it is, nor his love of peace more sincere: so many sacrifices which he has upon more than one occasion determined to make, and of which he now feels the fatal, though not the unforeseen, effects, are convincing proofs of it. We have only to consider what methods may be proper to be taken, for speedily and fully securing such a tranquillity as may be really desirable; that is to say, such a one, as may not any way prejudice the balance of power in Europe, which is already but too much weakened; and consequently such a tranquillity as may be expected to continue for some time.

These methods have no need of any farther examination or discussion; they are clearly expressed and ascertained by treaties. What security can the Emperor have with respect to future events, if he finds no security in the present conjuncture; which is perhaps the most critical and the least doubtful of any that can ever happen? It is upon these methods that his Imperial Majesty must insist; from them he cannot depart, without doing an injury to himself, to his dignity, and to his glory; without failing in that duty which he owes to his faithful subjects; and, in short, without neglecting the publick good of Europe.

Besides these motives, which are in themselves so pressing, the proper interest of the two maritime powers themselves, and the real friendship which his Imperial Majesty has for them, cannot permit him to pursue any other measure. The court of Spain have but too fully verified what they have more than once insinuated to the court of Vienna: by the troubles which they have from time to time found means to excite, they have prevented the Emperor's being ever in a condition to taste the fruits of a profound tranquillity; the continual perturbations of Europe have engaged him in excessive expences: by the number and power of his enemies, he found himself obliged to make efforts which it is not possible for him to repeat often: these efforts he made only to facilitate to the two maritime powers the means of putting affairs again upon a good footing, without putting themselves to any great charge, and without subjecting themselves to any risque.

If the efforts which he has made, are to be not only rendered useless, but made to serve for

procuring new advantages to the house of Bourbon, the two maritime powers must thereby render useless the best and most faithful ally they have; and France will obtain what she desires, which is, to be able to keep all his Imperial Majesty's territories in a continual alarm, without it's being possible for them to support the liberty of Europe, already in too tottering a condition. This is what lies most heavy upon his heart.

Unfortunately! the Emperor has never been deceived in what he has foreseen, or foretold, with respect to the consequences of the increase of power in the house of Bourbon: at present, he foresees consequences more fatal and less remote than any he has ever foreseen: he desires to prevent them, and he will endeavour it to the utmost of his power. He does not seek to aggrandize himself; all his views are bounded in being able to employ his forces for the preservation of his territories, for that of the empire, whose interests are so dear to him, and for the repose of others. The greatest part of the advantage arising from thence, will accrue to his allies, from whom he is, and always will be, inseparable. It sticks on them to break those bands, with which all Europe is threatned, by the house of Bourbon: the fulfilling those guarantees, which have been stipulated by treaties, is the only method for securing so great an advantage; and that is what the Emperor demands in the most friendly, and the most emphatical manner he can think of.

After the accomplishment of what is stipulated by those guarantees, the Emperor will be ready to join in the method of a friendly accommodation. Upon that occasion, as on every other, he will make it appear, that his desire of peace is as sincere, and as real, as that which France pretends to is deceitful, and belied by her own conduct. In taking matters upon this foot, it is to be feared, that the events of war may render it more difficult to bring about a friendly accommodation. On the contrary, they must conduce thereto, and then the Emperor will, with alacrity, and readiness, give ear to any propositions that may be consistent with his honour, with the quiet of his territories, with the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, and consequently, with the essential interests of the two maritime powers: so that by way of answer to the representations made by the ministers of his Britannick Majesty, and my Lords the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, the Emperor is not against their taking the method of employing their good offices, if by that method they can religiously perform all that is required by treaties; and if, by that method, the execution of them be no longer retarded.

But at the same time, the Emperor believes, that at this time of day, to content themselves with employing only their good offices, will expose all Europe to a much greater danger; and that as affairs stand at present, it is in vain to flatter themselves, with being able, by any such method, to satisfy what he has a right to demand, by virtue of those engagements, which have been entered into by treaties; a full performance of which the Emperor with confidence expects from the two maritime powers, he being ready upon all occasions to give them signal marks of a most complete return, and of a friendship the most constant and sincere.

Notwithstanding



Notwithstanding this moving representation of the Emperor's, the English and Dutch could not be induced to take a part in the war, but continued to offer their mediation; which the Spaniards and their allies very little regarding, made an entire conquest of Naples and Sicily, and of all the rest of the Emperor's territories in Italy, except the town of Mantua. At the same time, the French army on the Rhine besieged and took that important fortress of Philipsburg\*; whereupon the English drew up the following plan of a future peace, which they prevailed on the Dutch to approve of, and afterwards communicated to the contending parties. This plan being of the following tenor.

1. That King STANISLAUS shall retain the titles of King of Poland, and great Duke of Lithuania, with all the honours and prerogatives annexed to those august titles and rank, to whatever place he shall retire.

2. That he shall have the free enjoyment of all his estates, and those of the Queen his consort.

3. That there shall be a general amnesty for all that is past in relation to the present troubles, for all persons of whatsoever rank or condition they be; particularly, that all the provinces, cities, or towns (especially Dantzick) where King STANISLAUS may have retired since his election, shall be restored to the same state and condition in which they were before the present troubles, with relation to their rights, liberties, privileges, honours, and dignities. That King STANISLAUS shall abdicate the throne of Poland, and the Poles except AUGUSTUS for their King. On the other hand, that the Emperor should resign to Don CARLOS, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and to the King of Sardinia, Tortona, and Novarra, with their respective districts, and the Vigevanasco in the duchy of Milan: provided that France, and her allies, shall, bona fide, restore whatever else they may have taken from the Emperor, or the empire, since the beginning of this war; and that the Infante Don CARLOS, on his part, shall yield up to the Emperor, all his right to Tuscany, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia, to be possessed by the Emperor, in full property; with a particular exception, however, to the city of Leghorn; which, for freedom of commerce, shall be a free city and port, and independent on any other Sovereign but their own magistrates: and, moreover, the Infante shall engage, as King of Naples and Sicily, that the trade of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses, shall be forthwith put upon the same foot, as in the reign of CHARLES II. of Spain, of glorious memory: and as the Emperor cannot enter into the possession of Tuscany, nor have any of the revenues thereof during the life of the grand Duke, and the infante will be possessed of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; in the mean time, an equi-

valent in money, for the Emperor, shall be treated of in the ensuing negotiation: and, that France shall guarantee the pragmatic sanction, as other powers have done; extending it only to those countries the Emperor now possesses, or is to possess, by virtue of this plan. And, lastly, the mediating powers proposed a general armistice or cessation of arms, during the negotiation.

The Emperor did not absolutely agree to these articles, tho' he seemed inclined to come into them; but the French rejected them with the utmost contempt, as appears by the following answer of the French King to the British minister. "Nothing interests me in the present war so much as Poland; my honour is highly concerned in it: it is indifferent to England what Prince reigns there, having no interest therein: the conquests which my allies have made in Italy, is more immediately their concern than mine; as soon as they shall be satisfied about them I shall be content: but in the mean time, I will do my utmost endeavour in Germany to weaken my enemies. I have already declared, that I would not keep possession of any of the places that I should take. England may be assured of it from the promise I have made her: she would have given me infinite satisfaction in her mediation, if she had not at the same time armed herself; but I would have her know, that no power in Europe shall give law to me. And this you may communicate to your master." Whereupon, the British minister at the Hague, Mr. WALPOLE, proposed to the States General to augment their forces, as Great Britain had done, that they might be in a condition to compel the parties that refused to comply to hearken to their pacifick proposals: but the Dutch would not come into the measures of Great Britain: and the Emperor, apprehending that he might make as good terms for himself, as those the maritime powers had proposed in their plan; and both the Emperor and France being highly incensed at the conduct of Great Britain and Holland; the Emperor, on account of their refusing him the assistance they were obliged to give him by their treaties, and suffering Naples and Sicily to be torn from him, which they had confirmed to him, by guaranteeing the pragmatic sanction; and the French, being provoked with Britain for equipping a fleet, whereby she prevented their supporting STANISLAUS on the throne of Poland. The contending parties agreed to enter into a treaty, without regarding the mediation of the maritime powers, and to shew their repentment of their past conduct, by some articles in the ensuing treaty, which they concluded in the year 1736. The secret articles whereof will be kept a secret from us, probably, till we have the mortification to see them executed,

\* The duke of Berwick, JAMES FITZ JAMES, marshal of France, and grandee of Spain, commanded the French army at this siege. He was the natural son of King JAMES II. King of Great Britain, by Mrs. ARABELLA CHURCHILL, sister to the late duke of Marlborough. He was killed by a cannon ball in the trenches before Philipsburg, on the twelfth of June 1734, being then sixty three years of age and upwards, and left behind him three sons, viz. duke FITZ JAMES, the eldest, now duke of Berwick; the duke of LIXIA, in Spain, his second son; and the third is an ecclesiastic in the church of France.

A late writer observes, that the marshal duke of Berwick was a soldier of fortune, and as such made war his trade, which he studied with an unwearied application; and, as he never wanted courage, so none exceeded him in military knowledge. As he considered war as a science, he left little to chance, or even bravery, but depended more upon skill and discipline, which gained him the battle of Almanza. He was reserved, even to his general officers, rarely consulting them, nor so much as communicating the orders he had received, or the designs he projected, but as they had their own parts to execute in them. He was never a great favourite at the court of France, which is something to be wondered at, considering the use he was made of on every occasion; for, as a soldier of fortune, he had no obligations but for his appointments, and yet attached himself to France, preferable to any other nation. As the marshal took care to be obeyed by the officers and soldiers of the armies he commanded, so was he himself always obsequious to the orders of this court: as one instance thereof, he appeared in arms against Spain with alacrity, after he had received the highest honours from the Prince now reigning.



Those they have been pleased to publish, were of the following tenor.

1. That France restore to the empire all the places taken from it during the war. 2. That the Emperor keep the Mantuan, Parma and Placentia, and the Milanese; the King of Sardinia to have Vigevanasco, Rovaro, and its dependencies. 3. That the duchy of Tuscany, after the decease of the present Duke, be given to the Duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine annexed to the monarchy of France, but without any vote in the empire. 4. That King STANISLAUS should be acknowledged King of Poland by all Europe, and enjoy all the honours of a crowned head; after which, to resign that kingdom to King AUGUSTUS, who shall restore to him all the estates in Poland, which belong to him or his Queen. 5. That King STANISLAUS have, by way of equivalent for Poland, the immediate possession of the duchy of Barr, and of Lorraine, after the Duke of Tuscany's death. 6. Don CARLOS to be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, and to have Del Presidii, with the isle of Elbe; but Leghorn to be declared a free port. 7. That France guarantee the pragmattick sanction.

These were the preliminary articles: what articles have been since concluded are still a secret to us: however, we find the preliminaries have been carried into execution. King AUGUSTUS III. is left in the quiet possession of the throne of Poland: the countries and towns taken by France, and her Allies, from the Emperor, are restored to him, except the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which are yielded to Don CARLOS; and a small part of the Milanese, which is transferred to the King of Sardinia: the Duke of Lorraine has taken possession of the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia (the Grand Duke of Tuscany being dead) and King STANISLAUS is possessed of the duchy of Lorraine, which devolves on France at his death, and may, on many considerations, be deemed theirs during the life of that Prince. I proceed in the next place to give some account of the war the Emperor is since entered into with the Turks.

The Muscovites engaged in a war with the Infidels, in the year 1736, as has been intimated in the state of Russia; but the Emperor having then but just concluded a peace with France and her allies, did not think himself in a condition to take part in it, but offered his mediation to accommodate the differences between those two powers: however, the Porte imagining the Emperor not altogether impartial, and observing he was drawing his troops together on the frontiers of Hungary, refused to accept his Imperial Majesty's mediation. And the following year, 1737, declared war against the Emperor; who having by this time assembled a formidable army, commanded his General, count SECKENDORF, to advance into Servia, and lay siege to the city of Nissa, which the Turks not being able to relieve, surrendered to the Imperial General, who afterwards blockaded Widdin. In the mean time the Turks defeated several bodies of the Imperialists in Bosnia, and afterwards laid siege to Nissa, which was retaken by them the same campaign, the Imperial Generals making no attempt to relieve it; some imputing these misfortunes to the want of necessary supplies in the Imperial army, and others, to the ill conduct of the General. But however that was, General SECKENDORF was

apprehended by the Emperor's orders, the latter end of the campaign, and a very heavy charge exhibited against him; the governor of Nissa (General DOXAT) was tried before a council of war, for delivering up that fortress to the Turks, before there was a necessity for it, and condemned to be beheaded; which sentence was executed upon him, though he was universally acknowledged to be a brave and experienced officer, and had been in the Emperor's service upwards of forty years.

The Infidels, after the taking of Nissa, advanced to Meida and Orsova, making themselves masters of the former: and this campaign of 1738, attacked Orsova a second time, and carried it; but the Imperialists advancing towards them, and gaining some advantage, they thought fit to abandon Orsova again: however, the Turks being reinforced soon after, returned to the siege of Orsova a third time, and the Imperialists were obliged to retire before them in their turn. The Duke of Lorraine, the Imperial General, about the same time was taken ill of a fever, and returned to Vienna for the recovery of his health, from whence it was conjectured, there was little hopes of the Imperialists defeating the Turks; and indeed they have actually retaken Orsova, according to our last advices. The Emperor appears to be but ill supported in this war; neither the Princes of Germany, nor any other European powers, desire to see him aggrandized by conquests in Turkey. Should he be at the expence of any considerable siege, he would be obliged, probably, upon the conclusion of a peace, to restore it again. The Princes of the Empire, 'tis evident, are far from furnishing their respective quota's towards this war: they know that all the conquests which are made, will be the Emperor's sole property: they shall have no share in them, whatever they contribute towards them; and since the frontiers of Hungary are now so well secured by the late conquests of Belgrade and Temeswaer, they do not seem to be so much under the apprehensions of the ravages of the Turks, as they are of the Emperor's power.

The Emperor ascribing his ill success in this war chiefly to the bad conduct of his Generals, dismissed them from their posts, and ordered them to be arrested and brought to their trials; and soon after signified to Count WALLIS, that he had made choice of him to command the army against the Turks: to which the Count answered, That before he could accept the honour his Imperial Majesty intended him, he must insist upon the following conditions being promised him, viz. That no officer, from the highest to the lowest, should, under any pretence whatsoever, not even that of sickness excepted, absent himself from the army without his permission: that the hospitals and magazines should be supplied with all necessaries, and that every regiment should be provided with expert surgeons: from whence we may suppose, there was a deficiency in every one of these respects during the preceding campaigns; and to this probably the ill success of the campaigns was principally owing, though Count SECKENDORF was loaded with the whole blame of the first.

These conditions being promised, the General's commission, with most ample instructions, to make such marches as he should think proper, and to give battle when he should think fit, were made out; and upon the second of April he set out from Vienna for Hungary, to take upon him

The Imperial Generals displaced.

Count WALLIS made General. Conditions demanded by Count WALLIS.

He hangs some commissaries for cheating.



the command of the army. Upon his arrival at Belgrade, he went to visit the magazines, and in one magazine of corn, he found hardly one third part of the corn specified in the account delivered by the Commissaries General; and in another of powder, he found the greatest part of it was of a very bad quality; whereupon the Commissaries, who had the particular care of these two magazines, were seized, and not being able to justify themselves, they were both immediately hanged up, as an example to others to be more careful of what was committed to their charge.

Grand army takes the field.

As soon as the General arrived at Belgrade, he began to take measures for opening the campaign; and for this purpose, orders were sent to the troops to march to the several incampments appointed for them. The main body of the army, which consisted of thirteen battalions, sixteen companies of grenadiers, and thirteen regiments of cavalry, were ordered to assemble at a camp marked out for them between Segedin and Arradt; ten battalions and two companies of grenadiers had orders to repair to a camp marked out at Futack near Peterwaradin; and twelve battalions, and twenty three companies of grenadiers, were ordered to encamp at Semlin, and were to be joined by a large detachment, from the garrison of Belgrade, if occasion required. These troops began accordingly to encamp about the beginning of May, and by the beginning of June the whole army was encamped, consisting, as was computed, of 75,000 men, viz. 50,000 under the command of Count WALLIS in the camp near Peterwaradin, and 25,000 under the command of Count NEUPERG, in the camp between Segedin and Arradt; besides the army under the command of Prince LOBKOWITZ in Transilvania, which consisted of about 25,000 men.

It marches to Semlin.

From Peterwaradin the grand army marched to a new camp at Semlin, where Prince WALDECK, with the van of the army, arrived the 9th of June, and was followed by the rest a few days after. At the same time the body of troops under the command of Count NEUPERG began to approach towards the Danube, in order to be ready to pass that river, and join the grand army, if occasion required.

From thence to Mirava.

On the 27th and 28th of the same month the grand army passed the Save, and encamped within a league of Belgrade; when they had certain information that the Prime Visier with his army, consisting of 90,000 men, was incamped between Nissa and Jagodina. In this camp the army remained but a very few days, having marched the beginning of July, to a new camp marked out at Mirava. Whilst they were here, viz. July 7th, a Turkish Aga, escorted by fifty Spahis, arrived at the camp, with letters for Count WALLIS, which were supposed to contain some propositions for a suspension of arms; but those propositions were too high for being at that time approved of by the Imperial court; and on the 10th there happened a most violent storm of hail, some of the hailstones being of such a prodigious size, that several soldiers were wounded, and one sentinel killed by them; and during the shower the wind was so violent, that the bridges upon the Danube and Save were broken down, many of the tents overturned, and the whole camp put into confusion. Soon after the grand army arrived at this camp, Count NEUPERG, with the body of troops under his command, came and encamped at Czerlock, where Count WALLIS went to confer

with him; and on the 13th of July the army received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march, and the Commissaries at war visited all the regiments, and ordered the sick to be sent to Belgrade. On the 15th the Quarter-Master-General set out from the camp, to go and mark out a new camp on the other side of the Danube towards Semendria.

The Turks advancing as far as Crotzka, Count WALLIS determined to attack them before they should have fortified their camp, but was forced to clear his way through defiles, bushes and vineyards, to come at them; and the regiment of HOHENZOLLERN, which formed the van-guard, advancing too forward, was hemmed in by the Turks, and cut to pieces: the Turks, improving this advantage, fell upon the rest of the forces with incredible fury, and putting them into confusion, compelled them to retire; but Count NEUPERG joining the Imperial army with his body, consisting of 13,000 Men (who left their coats behind them, that they might make the more haste to the assistance of their friends) Marshal WALLIS made a stand and renewed the engagement, which continued with great obstinacy till night parted them, when the Imperialists retired under the cannon of Belgrade: in this engagement it is said Prince CHARLES of Lorraine gave great proofs of his bravery.

The battle of Crotzka.

The Imperialists defeated.

The Imperialists relate, that there were killed of the German infantry near four thousand, and almost as many wounded, and of the cavalry upwards of seventeen hundred were killed, and eight hundred wounded; and of the Infidels it is computed, there were almost as many killed and wounded, the battle lasting nineteen hours.

The killed and wounded.

While the armies were thus engaged on shoar, there was a battle between the Imperial and Turkish fleets on the Danube, in which the Germans are said to have had the advantage, but retired however to Belgrade, when they saw their army retreat into the lines before that city: the Imperial army on the 25th of July passed the Danube by the bridge of Belgrade, and encamped at Ponza, leaving 12 battalions in Belgrade; so that there were then 15 battalions in the place, all chosen troops; and as the communication was preserved between the town and the army, and the forts Ratfcha and Sabotsch upon the Save, the taking of Belgrade was rendered exceeding difficult.

The Grand Vizir however invested the place immediately after the battle of Crotzka, viz. on the 26th of July, on the south side between the Danube and Save, and that very day began to throw bombs into the town; and as the Turks are extremely prodigal of the lives of their soldiers, they assaulted the town the night following, before any breach was made; which succeeded, as might well be expected, in a repulse of the assailants with very great slaughter.

Belgrade invested.

During the siege Count WALLIS received advice, that thirty thousand of the enemy were encamped at Punsova. Whereupon resolving to engage them, he marched on the 27th at night to Jabuka, on the other side the Femes, and on the 30th he saw the Turks drawn up in order of battle, who crying out three times, Allah, Allah, MAHOMET, as usual, attacked the Imperial army with great fury; but were repulsed and obliged to retire to Viplanka. This inconsiderable victory, though very few were killed on either side, raised the spirits of the Imperialists, and might have been of great consequence, if there had been any



any troops to reinforce them; but they were so much outnumbered by the Infidels that there was no hopes of attacking the besiegers in their works before Belgrade with any probability of success. On the contrary, the Turks, being joined by fresh forces, and rendered much superior to the Imperialists, Count WALLIS thought fit to retire still further from Belgrade, and encamp between the Theffe and Femes, six leagues above that city: but to return to the siege, the Turks continued to batter the place, from the 26th of July to the 31st of August, with very little success, having made but one inconsiderable breach in all that time; and had they made an assault, it would have been of little service to them, because the besieged had made a coupure in the bastion, with mines ready to be blown up between that and the breach, which served only for a snare to draw on the assailants to their certain destruction. Notwithstanding which, the Grand Vizir, compelled by the clamours of the Janizaries, was preparing scaling ladders and every thing ready for a general assault, and would have made the experiment, if he had not been prevented by the truce, which was concluded at this instant between the Generals of both armies, by the mediation of the Marquis of Villeneuve, the French ambassador; the preliminaries were agreed on the 31st of August, the principal articles whereof were, that the city of Belgrade should be restored to the Ottoman empire, but the fortifications of the town and castle demolished; that the province of Servia should be also ceded to the Turks, and the rivers Save and Danube be the boundaries between the two empires; the Emperor also ceded to the Porte the Austrian Walachia, as also the fortrefs of Orsova.

A truce  
conclud-  
ed.

These preliminaries were ratified by the two powers concerned; but as it was not very honourable for the Emperor, he published an apology for making a truce.

The Imperial court will soon make known to the world what has happened relating to the preliminary articles of peace concluded with the Ottoman Porte. In the mean time, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty has already written to the Empress of Russia, and has not only declared to the Russian Envoy at this court, in a particular audience given him for that purpose, his displeasure at what has been done without his knowledge and contrary to his intention, but has likewise ordered all his Ministers at foreign courts to declare that Count NEUPERG went to the Turkish camp without his knowledge, much less by his order; that as well in what relates to Belgrade, as in all and every one of the other articles, and particularly in the yielding to the strange precipitate execution of them, the said Count has not only very much exceeded the limitations of the full powers entrusted to him, but even acted directly contrary to the orders therein contained; so that neither his Imperial and Catholick Majesty nor his Ministry are in any fault, having had no part therein; for they had not the least information of what was transacted in the Turkish camp, till after the thing was done, and after the precipitate execution; and consequently, it being become impossible to apply any remedy, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty does on the one hand highly disapprove the preliminary articles so concluded, and will not fail, at a proper time, to do what justice requires. And on the other hand, pursuant to the ratifications which have already passed,

he will sacredly fulfil and firmly observe and keep what is agreed upon with the Ottoman Porte.

He also wrote a letter to the Czarina, wherein he declared, that he was much less touched with the siege of Belgrade, than with the advice he had received concerning the shameful preliminary articles concluded by Count NEUPERG. That he was upon the point of preventing the fatal and too hasty execution of those preliminaries, when he heard they were already partly executed, even before the design had been communicated to him; but adds, We must keep faith however inviolably with Infidels, while they observe it on their part; and I do not doubt but the peace between your Majesty and the sublime Porte will be concluded at the same time with mine. It is what I have most at heart at present, as also to perpetuate the ties which so fortunately attach me to your Majesty, notwithstanding all the machinations of those who wish to see them dissolved. I am the first to own that the Counts WALLIS and NEUPERG (*the Imperial Generals who agreed to the preliminaries*) are highly guilty; but your Majesty will discover more and more the sincerity of my sentiments for you, in which I have never been deficient, or ever will, in the least, who am, &c.

His letter  
to the  
Czarina.

The Emperor also published a manifesto, which was sent to his Ministers in all the courts in Europe, wherein he charges his Generals, the Counts WALLIS and NEUPERG, with having exceeded their instructions, in agreeing to deliver up Belgrade, and the forts about it, to the Turks. But it appears, even from that manifesto, that those Generals had a discretionary power to conclude a peace, if they found the Emperor's affairs desperate, and the loss of Belgrade inevitable; but then the Emperor insists, that Belgrade could have held out a considerable time, according to the advice he received from General Suckow, the Governor; and that his affairs were not yet so desperate, as to justify the Generals WALLIS and NEUPERG in making the concessions they had done, by the preliminary treaty abovementioned; but what seems to be a kind of approbation of the conduct of Count NEUPERG, is, that he was employed afterwards by the Court of Vienna, as first Plenipotentiary, for negotiating the definitive treaty of peace, which was concluded and signed on the 18th of September 1739; whereby the preliminary articles were confirmed. And it was further agreed, that the Ottoman troops should not take possession of the citadel, till the fortifications were entirely demolished; and that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty, without ransom: that the Ottoman troops should entirely evacuate the Bannat of Temeswaer: that one of the banks of the rivers Danube and Save should belong to the Emperor, and the other to the Porte; and that the navigation and fisheries in those rivers should be enjoyed by the subjects of both Empires in common, provided that neither of their fishermen should advance beyond the middle of each river.

The defi-  
nitive  
treaty.

That all the boyars and other subjects of Walachia and Moldavia, who had adhered to the Emperor during the war should be at liberty to return home and enjoy their lands and goods; and that the subjects of Servia and the Bannat, who had withdrawn themselves from the obedience of their respective Sovereigns should likewise be at liberty to return home, and have their lands and goods restored them.

That



That the capitulations and edicts which former Ottoman Emperors had granted in favour of the Christian religion and of the Roman Catholick church, should be confirmed.

That both parties should take care their slaves were treated with humanity, until they should be ransomed.

That the merchants trading between the Emperor's dominions and Persia should not be molested, paying the usual tolls and customs in passing through Turkey.

That commissaries should be appointed to ascertain the limits of the two Empires, in pursuance of that treaty.

That all hostilities, ravages, and carrying of persons into slavery, should be restrained and severely punished, and what should happen to be taken, should be restored to the proper owners.

In case of a rupture, the subjects of either side which should be in the dominions of the other, should be permitted to retire on paying their debts.

No rebels or criminals of the one Empire should be harboured in the dominions of the other; and

That this truce should subsist twenty seven years.

Done at the congress near Belgrade in Servia, on the 18th of September 1739.

To this treaty was annexed a declaration of the Emperor's, that he did not intend it should affect the alliance between him and Russia; and though a peace was upon the point of being concluded between the Czarina and the Porte, the Emperor still reserved to himself the liberty of furnishing Russia with 30,000 men, in case the war should be continued between her and the Porte.

Neither the German soldiery or the people of Vienna were at all satisfied with this peace, and the French ambassador, to whose influence it was ascribed, was insulted by the populace; the Emperor also, to shew his dislike of it, confined the two Generals who negotiated it, promising to bring them to justice for not pursuing their orders, either in the conduct of the war, or at the treaty: in answer to which, the Generals published their apologies, ascribing their ill success the last campaign to their want of necessary supplies, and the superiority of the enemy; and suggesting that they had not exceeded their instructions in the treaty, they had concluded; that the concessions they had made were absolutely necessary in the situation they were in, since nothing less could have prevented the Turks penetrating into Hungary that campaign.

During these transactions, the Duke of Lorraine and his consort the Archduchess, with Prince CHARLES of Lorraine their brother, visited Tuscany, arriving at the capital city of Florence on the 20th of January, 1738-9, where they were complimented by the Regency and Magistrates; the city was illuminated, fire works played off, and other demonstrations of joy on their arrival for several days successively. Here the Duke established three councils or boards (viz.) the council of regency, another for military affairs, and the third for superintending his revenues. He also made several regulations in relation to trade, prohibited the importation of woollen manufactures, and took off the duties on wool, and the materials used in that manufacture. About the same time there arrived upwards of fifty families from Lorraine, who were sent to cultivate lands in

the province of Sienna, part whereof was at that time uninhabited; each family was allowed a certain number of acres, and a flock of cattle with utensils for their husbandry, and great numbers of Lorrainers were preparing to follow these, and transport themselves into his Italian dominions; when the French prevailed on the Swifs, through whose country these poor people were obliged to pass, to put a stop to these peregrinations, and send the Lorrainers back to their former dwellings, which the Swifs complied with, and they were obliged to remain under the tyranny of France. A war commencing at this time between Great Britain and Spain, the Grand Duke declared he would stand neuter; and being informed that some merchants of Leghorn were fitting out privateers to cruise on the British ships in the Mediterranean, he issued out an edict, prohibiting their committing any acts of hostility of this kind, on pain of banishment and confiscation of the offenders goods.

The Grand Duke having made such regulations as he saw fit in Tuscany, returned with the Grand Duchess and Prince CHARLES to Vienna on the 20th of May, having embarked on the river Inn at Inspruck, and sailed down that river and the Danube: the journey was performed most part of the way by water.

Great part of the last year the plague raged violently in Hungary, and the Imperial army was not free from it, which was one reason the Imperial Generals were in such haste to put an end to the war; but though upwards of fourscore thousand people dyed of the plague that year in Hungary, it never reached the adjoining province of Austria.

The Prince of Nassau Dillenburg dying on the 28th of August, the Prince of Orange succeeded to that Principality, as he will to that of Nassau Catzenelbogen, if Prince WILLIAM of Hyacinth dies without issue; and then the Prince of Orange will make a considerable figure among the German Princes.

On the 17th of June died the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, in the fortieth year of his age, being the only son of FREDERICK Duke of Holstein by the Princess HEDWIG SOPHIA his wife, who was the eldest sister of CHARLES XII, King of Sweden, and consequently ought to have succeeded to the crown of Sweden on the death of CHARLES XII.

The last Duke married ANNA PETROWNA, eldest daughter of PETER the Great by his second wife the Empress KATHERINE, by whom he had issue, CHARLES PETER ULRICK, successor to the throne of Russia, born in February 1728. The late Duke by his will, left the guardianship of his said son, and the regency of his dominions to the Duke of Holstein Eutin, Bishop of Lubeck, now acknowledged successor to the crown of Sweden.

During the war between the Emperor and Turkey, a dispute happened between the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, and the King of Denmark, about the little Principality of Steinhorst, which the Hanoverians insisted belonged to the Duchy of Lawenburgh, lately devolved on this Elector, who had been engaged in a law suit with the late Duke of Holstein about it; but the Duke at length ceded it to the Elector of Hanover. The King of Denmark however, under pretence that this territory had been ceded to him by a former proprietor (M. de WEDDERKOP)

The Lorrainers follow their Duke to Tuscany.

about A. D. 1739.

The plague in Hungary.

The Principality of Dillenburg falls to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of Holstein Gottorp dies.

The present Duke of Holstein Gottorp successor to Russia. Holstein Eutin successor to the crown of Sweden.

Dispute between Hanover and Denmark about Steinhorst.

The Generals confined for their ill conduct. Their apology.

The Duke of Lorraine &c. visits Tuscany.



KOP) sent a detachment of dragoons to take possession of Steinhorst, whereupon the Regency of Hanover commanded a detachment of 500 men, and two field pieces to drive out the Danes. The colonel who commanded the Hanoverians being arrived sent a lieutenant to the captain of the Danes, who had possessed himself of the castle, to acquaint him, that he had orders to take possession of it, and if he refused to evacuate the place, to turn him out by force. The Danish captain answered, he was commanded to repel force by force, and high words arising, the captain and Lieutenant drew their swords and fought a duel, in which the Captain was killed outright, and the Lieutenant mortally wounded; whereupon the Hanoverian Colonel attacked the castle, and after several soldiers were killed on both sides, made himself master of it: after which he proceeded to build redoubts about it, and fortify the avenues.

His Danish Majesty receiving advice of this enterprize of the Hanoverians, ordered all his forces in Denmark and Holstein to be in readiness to march, and ten thousand men to be brought from Norway. The Regency of Hanover on the other hand, ordered several regiments to march towards Steinhorst, to support the forces already there; and it was expected a war would soon commence between those two powers: but the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and the States General interposing, it was agreed to refer the difference to arbitration or the decision of the law, and the troops on both sides were withdrawn.

The year following (anno 1739) it was agreed that the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, should pay his Danish Majesty 70,000 crowns, in lieu of his pretensions to Steinhorst, and that the pay or preference of rank which the Duchy of Saxe Lawenburgh had assumed at the Diet of the Empire above that of Holstein Gluckstat, should be yielded to his Danish Majesty by the King of Great Britain, so that the deputy for Gluckstat should take place of the deputy of Lawenburgh for the future, in the Diet of the Empire, and thereupon the Regency of Hanover was confirmed in the possession of the Lordship of Steinhorst.

1740.  
The ac-  
cession of  
the King  
of Prussia.

On the 31st of May 1740, O. S. died FREDERICK WILLIAM King of Prussia, in the fifty-second year of his age, and was succeeded by FREDERICK CHARLES his eldest son, when it was expected he would have endeavoured to procure a divorce from his Queen ELIZABETH CHRISTIANA of Brunswick Bevern, for whom he had shewn great indifference, or rather an aversion, from the time he had been obliged to marry her; but the Queen coming with the Queen Dowager to wait on the King at Charlottenburgh, the Court were surprised to hear him address himself to the young Queen in this manner, viz.

You are sensible, Madam, that your becoming Princess Royal was contrary to my inclination, but having observed the amiableness of your character, and the regard you have manifested for my person; I find myself under a kind of necessity to make you equal returns of friendship; and now therefore, as I am King, I acknowledge you for my Queen consort, and my lawful wife; and in the evening went into her apartment, and lay in the same bed with her (but has never lain with her since.)

His Majesty gave great encouragement to learning and learned men in the beginning of his

reign, inviting several learned foreigners to Berlin, and among the rest Monsieur MAUPERTUIS, that celebrated mathematician of Paris, who accepted of his invitation, and had an apartment assigned him in the palace, and a pension settled upon him; but whether the King had not other motives for entertaining gentlemen of the French court and nation may very well be questioned, if we observe that intimacy which was contracted between the Courts of France and Prussia, and that strict alliance which succeeded. His visiting the frontiers of France also soon after his accession, and the honours paid him by the Governors of the great towns upon the Rhine, created a further suspicion of his adherence to France; and whether that numerous body of troops, kept in pay for many years by the court of Berlin were not maintained by France, to support her views in distressing the house of Austria when a favourable opportunity should offer itself, scarce remains a doubt at this day.

The first instance he gave of his enterprising genius, was an attempt he made on the territories of the Prince and Bishop of Liege, for visiting his Duchy of Cleves in the month of August 1740. He sent a commissary to Herstat to receive the homage of the inhabitants, and they refusing to admit the commissary, or take the oath of fidelity to the King of Prussia, as was demanded, justifying that they lived under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Liege: He sent to that Prince demanding a categorical answer in two days, whether he was resolved to persist in his claim of sovereignty over Herstat, and would protect the inhabitants in their disobedience? to which the Bishop answered, That he and his predecessors had been in possession of that sovereignty for upwards of an hundred years, having been yielded to them by the Emperor CHARLES V. however he was ready to refer the difference to arbitration; but his Majesty immediately ordered his troops to invade the Bishoprick of Liege, and live there at discretion, till their Prince should consent to yield to his demands, or do him justice, as he expressed himself; and accordingly they took possession of the town of Maseyh in that Bishoprick, on the 14th of September.

The Bishop hereupon sent his complaints to the courts of Vienna and Paris, but to very little purpose; for the King of Prussia returned to Berlin, whither the Bishop was obliged to send deputies after him, and pay his Majesty 200,000 crowns for his pretensions on Herstat; whereupon the Prussian troops evacuated Maseyh.

The next great event in the history of Germany, is the death of the Emperor CHARLES VI. which happened on the 28th of October 1740. N. S. at two in the morning; and about six the same morning, the Archduchess MARIA THERESA his eldest daughter, consort to the Great Duke of Tuscany, was proclaimed Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, and sovereign Princess of all the provinces and hereditary countries of the late Emperor, according to the limitations of the Pragmatic Sanction. Some few days after her Majesty declared the Grand Duke, her husband, partner with her in the regency.

The Queen proceeded to notify the death of the Emperor, and her accession to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, to the several Princes and States in Europe, and her title was acknowledged by most of them, particularly by France and

The King  
of Prussia's  
difference  
with the  
Bishop of  
Liege.

The Em-  
peror  
Charles  
VI. dies.  
1740.

The  
Queen of  
Hungary  
proclaim-  
ed.



France and  
Prussia ac-  
know-  
ledge her  
title.  
Bavaria  
disputes it.

Prussia, who declared they would inviolably observe their engagements with regard to the Pragmatic Sanction; the King of Prussia also offered her Majesty a body of troops, in case she should be attacked by any pretenders to the territories of the house of Austria.

The Elector of Bavaria, on the other hand, declared, that he was determined to dispute the succession with that Queen, and that he would not acknowledge her or receive any letters from her as Queen of Hungary or Bohemia; and the minister of Bavaria withdrawing from Vienna, left a protest of the following tenor.

His protest.

That indeed the Electress of Bavaria had, upon her marriage, renounced the rights derived to her as Archduchess of Austria, which renunciation was confirmed by himself (the Elector) but this could not affect the rights which the house of Bavaria had before acquired, of which there was no mention made at that Princess's marriage: he does therefore in the most solemn manner protest against the Archduchess MARIA THERESA taking possession of the kingdoms and dominions mentioned in the Pragmatic Sanction.

He further shews, that the Emperor FERDINAND, marrying his daughter the Archduchess ANNE to Duke ALBERT of Bavaria, a clause was inserted in the marriage contract, and confirmed by his will, that if the male descendants of the house of Austria should fail, the said Archduchess ANNE and her heirs, should inherit as well the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, as the principalities and dominions of the house of Austria.

In answer to this, the Queen of Hungary published a manifesto, wherein she insists, that as long as there were any descendants of the Emperor FERDINAND's three sons (of which there were many now alive) the house of Bavaria could have no title to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, according to the tenor of the Emperor FERDINAND's will, which only says, that the heirs of the Princess ANNE shall succeed, when there are no lawful descendants living of her three brothers; and if the words in the copy of the will produced by the Elector of Bavaria directed, that his family should succeed on the failure of male heirs, they were forged.

To this the Elector replied, that it could not be imagined he was capable of establishing his right on a forged copy of the will acquired by bribery, as had been insinuated; and that such a copy as was exhibited by the agents of the Archduchess, did never exist, nor was ever presented to his court, and that all that had been published concerning it was a mere invention, as malicious as it was groundless.

The King  
of Prussia  
invades  
Silesia.

But while the Queen of Hungary and the Elector of Bavaria were disputing their right to the Austrian dominions by memorials and manifestos, the house of Brandenburg set up a claim to the duchy of Silesia, which had lain many years dormant, and as the Austrians gave out, had been relinquished for a valuable consideration: this the King of Prussia denied, and assembling an army of thirty thousand men, attended by a train of artillery, the latter end of November, he ordered them to march towards Silesia, and on the 16th of December published a declaration, importing that by causing his forces to enter Silesia, he had no ill design against the court of Vienna, or to disturb the peace of the Empire; but to vindicate the incontestible rights of his family to this duchy, founded upon ancient conventions between

the Electors of Brandenburg and the Princes of Silesia, and that the present circumstances of affairs, and the just apprehension he had of being defeated by those who formed pretensions to the late Emperor's succession, required his making dispatch in the undertaking and vigour in the execution of it; and though these reasons did not permit his Majesty to expostulate the matter previously with the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, yet they should never divert him from strenuously espousing the interests of the house of Austria at all times, and from being the firmest prop and support of it upon all occasions; and a declaration of the like tenor he caused to be made by his ministers in every foreign court, and at Vienna his ministers declared,

1. That he was ready with all his forces to guarantee all the dominions of the house of Austria in Germany against all invaders.

2. He would enter into a strict alliance with the courts of Vienna, Russia, and the maritime powers for that end.

3. He would use all his interest to procure the Imperial dignity for the Duke of Lorraine, and to support his election against all opposers, and he believed he should succeed.

4. He would immediately furnish the court of Vienna with two millions of florins to put their territories in a state of defence; but to indemnify and reward him for all these services, he insisted on the entire and absolute cession of all Silesia.

He ordered his minister at Vienna also to assure the Grand Duke, that he proposed nothing more than his welfare and security; and that he might depend on the utmost assistance he could give, if the Queen would satisfy his just pretensions on Silesia; and though he had demanded the entire cession of that duchy, he might content himself with part of that country, provided the Queen would enter into such an alliance with him as was consistent with their mutual interests: that he would embrace every opportunity of assisting the Queen of Hungary to maintain the grandeur of her family, and make her amends for the loss she might sustain upon this occasion.

The Queen in answer to these representations, which were made by the Prussian ministers by word of mouth, says, she observes that his Prussian Majesty seems to justify his invasion of Silesia by the necessity of his defending the house of Austria against the designs of other powers that were ready to swallow her up, and upon the expediency of sacrificing part of her dominions to save the rest. But it was evident, the Queen's dominions enjoyed a perfect tranquility when his Prussian Majesty entered them in a hostile manner; and if this was the way to preserve the peace of the Empire and Europe, as was pretended, it was hard to discover what could destroy it.

That she was far from slighting the friendship of the King of Prussia, of which she knew the value, but could not help remarking, 1. That all the members of the Empire, by the Golden Bull, were obliged to assist any one attacked in his dominions, and that the Pragmatic Sanction also obliged the whole Empire to unite in her defence; and if such obligations were not binding, what security could the house of Austria expect?

That the alliances with Russia and the maritime powers were in being before the invasion of Silesia, and that the principal view of those alliances was, to preserve the Austrian dominions entire.

That



That she gratefully acknowledged the King's intentions, in regard to the election of an Emperor, but nothing could thwart it more than these disturbances in the heart of the empire.

That his Prussian Majesty had already taken from Silesia, under pretence of subsisting his troops, and by the ruin of the country, more than the two millions he offered.

That she could not consent to the dismembering her dominions, but thought herself bound in honour and conscience to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, and should be glad to renew her friendship with his Prussian Majesty, if it might be done without the infraction of it, and his troops would immediately evacuate Silesia; that this was the only step that could conduce to the true glory of the King of Prussia; and she conjures him to take this method, by all the considerations that could possibly make an impression on the heart of a great Prince.

The King of Prussia in the mean time directed his Ministers in foreign Courts to apologise for his conduct in invading Silesia, and wrote a letter to each of them. In that to the Dutch he tells them, that the rights of his family to that Duchy are founded upon ancient pacts between his predecessors and the Dukes of Silesia, Lignits, Brieg, and Wohlau, and other uncontroversial titles, which could never be taken from them by conventions that might have been extorted from them: and it could not be expected he should submit his pretensions to a doubtful negotiation, when he had it in his power to do himself justice; and he hoped to convince the world, and the Archducal family in particular, that he had at heart the true interest of the empire, and that alone.

Their High Mightinesses answered, that for want of better information they knew not what judgment to pass, either upon his Majesty's proceedings, or pretensions; but feared the consequences would not answer his Majesty's views, viz. a perfect understanding with the Queen of Hungary, and the preservation of the peace of the empire, and were glad to hear his Majesty intended to explain himself, and would take care to prevent what might excite troubles, considering the engagements he knew certain powers were entered into.

No Prince assists the Queen of Hungary. But notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the Queen of Hungary to all the guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Princes and States of the empire on the Prussian invasion, not one of them would arm in her defence, but that Prince advanced with his army, meeting with very little opposition; and there is no doubt but the Protestants of that duchy, who had long been insulted and persecuted by their Popish Governors and Magistrates, very much contributed to his success; and to ingratiate himself with them, he released the inhabitants from the rents and services they used to pay to the Popish clergy; he also plundered the monasteries of their provisions and stores, which he converted to the maintenance of his army, and furnished the Protestants with preachers from Brandenburg.

Jablunca and Glogau taken. The town and fortress of Jablunca, esteemed the key of Silesia, surrendered to the King of Prussia; the latter end of February and the beginning of the next Month the city of Glogau was taken by surprise in the night time, the Prussians passing the ditch by the favour of a very hard frost, and scaling the walls before they were perceived by the garrison. The Prussians made

a thousand prisoners, and amongst them General WALLIS, with the loss only of forty men, or thereabouts; there were found in this city 50 brass cannon, a vast quantity of gun-powder, and the military chest, in which were 32,000 florins.

In the mean time a conspiracy was discovered, or pretended to be discovered, in Silesia, to carry off his Prussian Majesty; the contrivance whereof was ascribed to the Duke of Lorraine by that Prince.

This charge against the Duke of Lorraine was refuted by the Court of Vienna to that degree, Battle of Molwitz. that their Generals were ordered to attack the Prussians at all hazards: accordingly Count NEUPERG marched towards the enemy, and gave them battle at Molwitz, near Nies, on the 10th of April in the morning. The fight was very obstinate, and continued till evening, when the Austrians retired, having lost four or five thousand men; nor was the loss of the Prussians much less; but it is evident they were victorious, by the progress of their arms immediately after, for the City of Nies surrendered to them on the 23d instant.

In the beginning of this year, viz. on the 2d of March, the Queen of Hungary was brought The Queen of Hungary brought to bed of a young Prince, baptised the same day by the Name of JOSEPH BENEDICT AUGUSTUS, son. &c. And on the first of July the Queen was crowned at Presbourg in Hungary, notwithstanding the protest of the Duke of Bavaria, against her advancement to that throne.

The French, in the mean time, were assembling numerous armies to march into the empire; at French hypocrisy. which the Court of Vienna, and other powers, being alarmed, Cardinal Fleury, the Prime Minister, assured them, that the King his Master persisted in a firm resolution to live in amity with the Queen of Hungary, and that the Preparations he was making for war need not give her the least umbrage.

His British Majesty and the States General, foreseeing, however, that the forces of France were intended to support the King of Prussia, the Elector of Bavaria, and other enemies of the house of Austria, endeavoured to draw off his Prussian Majesty from his engagements with France, representing that they should be obliged to assist the Queen of Hungary, if he persisted in distressing that Princess; to which the King gave an evasive answer, from whence it was evident he was not to be diverted from the views he had formed of reducing the whole duchy of Silesia under his dominion, by the assistance of France. In consideration whereof he engaged to promote the Elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne. And now the French and Bavarians, having assembled their forces, in the beginning of August, began to explain their intentions.

The Bavarians surprised the important city of Passau upon the Danube, while the French drew together a body of forty thousand men upon the Rhine, and demanded a passage for another body of Forces through Suabia, to join the Bavarian army; the French King at the same time constituting the Elector Generalissimo of his forces in Germany. The Bavarians surprise Passau.

The Queen of Hungary, finding herself surrounded by such powerful enemies, assembled the States of that kingdom, and represented the desperate circumstances she was reduced to, in a speech of the following tenor (viz.)

"The perplexed situation which, by the permission of the Divine Providence, I find myself reduced to, is attended with such dangerous circumstances."

The Queen of Hungary's speech to her subjects.



"circumstances, that I cannot hope to extricate my self, without speedy and powerful succours: abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations; I have no other resource left, but to stay in this Kingdom, and commit my person, my children, my scepter and crown, to the care of my faithful subjects. I do not hesitate to trust them with all: their loyalty and bravery leave me no room to doubt of their exerting all their strength to defend me and themselves speedily and resolutely in this melancholy conjuncture."

The whole assembly answered, they would support the Queen, and devote their lives and fortunes to her service, and proceeded to pass an act of State, whereby they excluded the house of Bavaria from the crown of Hungary for ever. The Elector notwithstanding advanced with his army, and invading upper Austria, made himself master of Lints, the capital, which surrendered to him on the 9th of September; from whence he continued his march towards Vienna, having published a declaration of war, wherein he says, that he did not take up arms with a view of making conquests, but to recover his rights; that by the ample succours he had received from France, and the assistance he expected from the empire, he did not doubt of succeeding, and summoned the kingdoms and provinces subject to the house of Austria to submit to him as their lawful Sovereign, promising to maintain their rights and privileges, of which the Court of Vienna would deprive them.

The French also published a kind of manifesto, to apologise for their conduct, which wanted it pretty much, having on the death of the late Emperor acknowledged the Queen of Hungary's title to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, giving the following reasons for the alteration of their measures, viz. the treaties subsisting between the Court of France and the house of Bavaria, and the Electors applying to them for their assistance, and the obligation they were under of preserving a free election of an Emperor.

The French having now three armies in the empire, had such an influence on the several Electors, that they were compelled to promise their votes for Bavaria. Even Hanover, who was in a manner engaged to vote for the Duke of Lorraine, finding himself unable to resist the French army on his frontiers, promised to give a vote for Bavaria, on condition the French would enter into a treaty of neutrality. And it is said by some separate articles of the treaty between France and Bavaria, the King of France obliged himself to compel the other Electors to give their votes for the Elector of Bavaria; on the other hand, the Elector of Bavaria engaged not to attempt the recovering the Provinces and Towns of the empire, which France had conquered, after he should be elected Emperor. He also renounced the Barrier treaty, and consented the French might endeavour to reduce those towns which constituted the barrier.

As the French and Bavarians advanced nearer Vienna, and seemed to threaten that capital with a siege, the Queen of Hungary retired to Buda, having caused the fortifications of Vienna to be augmented, and a numerous garison left in the place. In the mean time, the French and Bavarians, instead of investing Vienna, as was conjectured, having concerted measures with the Prussians and Saxons, invaded the kingdom of

Bohemia, and marched directly towards Prague; which city not being provided for a siege, the Duke of Lorraine marched at the head of sixty thousand men, to prevent the Allies taking possession of it; but the French and Saxons were before-hand with him, surprised the town, and took it with very little resistance on the 26th of November N. S. and the Elector of Bavaria made his publick entry into that city on the 9th of December, and was that evening proclaimed King of Bohemia.

The King of Poland in the mean time published a manifesto with his reasons for joining the enemies of the Queen of Hungary; wherein he admits that he acknowledged the Queen of Hungary's title to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria on the late Emperor's death, as he had obliged himself to do by the Pragmatic Sanction; but when he saw so many Princes making pretences to the territories of the house of Austria, and that the Pragmatic Sanction was held to be of no force by them, he could not be so much wanting to himself, as to neglect asserting his own title to the whole inheritance; he would indeed have waved his right in order to have preserved the peace of the empire; but since there was now no hopes of effecting that, he thought proper to revive his claim, and join the Allies.

And now the Electors proceeded to the choice of an Emperor at the city of Francfort, and unanimously gave their suffrages for the Elector of Bavaria on the 21st of January 1742.

In the mean time the Allies having left but an inconsiderable Force in the Upper Austria, Count Kvenhuller recovered the City of Lints and the rest of the places the Allies had possessed themselves of, and advancing into Bavaria, the Austrian Generals defeated the Elector's forces in several engagements, laying his whole country under contribution, and reducing the capital city of Munich. Her Hungarian Majesty also declared the election of the Duke of Bavaria void, as most of the Electors were manifestly under a force, and the vote of Bohemia disallowed.

While the Elector of Bavaria was rejoicing at Francfort, for his elevation to the empire, Marshal Broglio, who commanded the French and Bavarian forces in Bohemia, attacked the Austrians commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine in their intrenchments at Budeis; and after three repulses, the Marshal was defeated, having lost three or four thousand men in the several attacks; but the King of Prussia was more successful, for he made himself master of Olmutz, the capital of Moravia, and of that whole province almost, which was obliged to pay him heavy contributions.

His Prussian Majesty, at the instance of the French, was pleased about this time to yield up his right to the succession of the duchies of Juliers and Bergues to the Prince of Sultzbach, for some equivalent offered him by France, which is supposed to be the guarantee of the duchy of Silesia, by France and the rest of the Allies.

Marshal Broglio having invested Egra, that the City surrendered on the 8th of April, and the King of Prussia took Glatz in Bohemia the month following, but was obliged to quit Olmutz and the Province of Moravia on the approach of Prince Charles of Lorraine, who followed him into Bohemia, and attacked his Prussian Majesty at Craßlaw. The Austrians bid fair for the victory at the beginning of the action, having broke the Prussian Horse; but falling upon the plunder, they

Bohemia invaded by the Saxons, Bavarians, &c.

King of Poland's reasons for invading Bohemia.

1742. Bavaria chosen Emperor.

Kvenhuller invades Bavaria and recovers Austria.

Marshal Broglio defeated by Prince Charles.

The King of Prussia reduces Moravia.

The King of Prussia yields up Bergues and Juliers.

French take Egra.

The battle of Craßlaw.

Austria invaded.

Apology of the French for their invasion.

The Electors compelled by the French to vote for Bavaria.

The siege of Vienna threatened.



they lost the advantage they had obtained, and in the end were repulsed with great slaughter. Prince Charles however made his retreat in good order, the Prussians not being in a condition to pursue them, there having been five or six thousand men killed on each side.

A peace between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia.

There were several other considerable actions between the Austrians and the Allies this campaign, but a treaty being set on foot between her Hungarian Majesty and the King of Prussia, by the mediation of Great Britain, the Queen agreed to yield to his Prussian Majesty all Silesia (except the Principality of Teschin and Tropa) together with the territory of Glatz in Bohemia, in consideration whereof, his Prussian Majesty engaged to observe an exact neutrality, and to withdraw his troops out of Bohemia; which treaty was concluded on the first of June 1742, whereby his Majesty also agreed to pay the sum due to the English merchants, on a mortgage of the Silesian silver mines, and his Britannick Majesty guaranteed this treaty, both as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover.

Saxony agrees to a neutrality.

The King of Poland also agreed to a neutrality for Saxony, on condition ('tis said) that his family should succeed to the Austrian dominions, on failure of the issue of the late Emperor CHARLES VI. and that some places in the north of Bohemia should be ceded to him.

Both his Polish and Prussian Majesty, it is said, were induced to come into this neutrality by some expresses which fell into their hands, whereby it appeared that the French had evidently a design to destroy the German Princes, by dividing them, and then to usurp the dominion of their country, or at least the direction of their affairs. The French being thus deserted by the Prussians and Saxons, and surrounded on every side by Prince CHARLES of Lorraine, and the rest of the Austrian Generals, offered to evacuate Prague and all Bohemia, if the Austrians would permit them to retire into the territories of France; but this the Austrians refused, insisting that the French in Prague should surrender prisoners of war; which the French refusing, were reduced to very great distress, insomuch that they lived chiefly upon horse flesh. The French having such a numerous body of troops in Prague, commanded by the Marshals BELLISLE and BROGLIO, made several brisk sallies, and sometimes nailed up the cannon of the Austrians, and in general behaved with great bravery and conduct; particularly on the 11th of September, they made a sally with ten thousand men, obliged the Austrians to abandon their works, and retire half a mile from the town; and two days after the Austrians received orders to raise the blockade, and join the grand army, under the command of the Duke of Lorraine: whereupon Marshal BROGLIO marched out of Prague with 12,000 men, in order to join M. MALLEBOIS, who was advanced to the frontiers of Bohemia, to facilitate their junction; and though BROGLIO was not able to effect it at this time, yet he furnished the garison of Prague with provisions, and found means to escape into Saxony himself.

But obliged to quit Bavaria.

M. Bellisle escapes with part of the garison of Prague.

In the mean time, the Bavarians being superior to the Austrians in that Electorate, obliged them to quit Munich, and the rest of the towns in that country, and retire to Passau; and on the seventh of December, Marshal BELLISLE marched out of Prague at the head of ten or twelve thousand men, and was so fortunate as to reach Egra in

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twelve days. In these marches and counter-marches of the French and Austrians in the depth of winter, many thousand men were lost by fatigue, famine, or the rigor of the season, but many more of the French than of the Germans, as the French were not enured to so cold a climate.

Soon after the arrival of Marshal BELLISLE at Egra, Prince LOBKOWITZ's summoned the remaining part of the garison of Prague to surrender, which they agreed to, on condition of being suffered to march away with their arms and baggage; and on the 17th of December, the French evacuated the town, and on the 20th the citadel, to the number of four thousand, leaving two thousand sick in the place, who were to remain prisoners of war by the capitulation. Marshal BELLISLE having joined part of the forces of Marshal BROGLIO near Egra, continued his march and passed the Rhine, after which his troops took up winter quarters in their own country; and thus ended this terrible winter's campaign, wherein many more had perished by the rigour of the season and forced marches, than by the sword.

The French surrender Prague.

During the remaining part of the winter, the Germans formed the blockade of Egra (esteemed the key of Bohemia) from whence the French frequently issued, and plundered the adjacent country; and the Austrians having evacuated Bavaria, the Emperor removed from Frankfort, and took up his residence in his capital city of Munich, having issued Letters requisitorial to the circle of the Upper Rhine, requiring them to furnish provisions for the French army under Marshal NOAILLES who was expected in Germany about this time.

Egra blockade.

On the 12th of May the Queen of Hungary was crowned Queen of Bohemia at the city of Prague, when she received advice, that her troops were returned into Bavaria, and that Prince CHARLES having defeated a great body of the Imperialists, the Emperor was obliged to retire from Munich again, for the security of his person.

Bavaria recovered by the Austrians again.

In the mean time, the King of Great Britain being determined to take the field, in defence of the Queen of Hungary, twenty thousand men were embarked in Great Britain for Flanders, where there arrived soon after sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, and six thousand Hessians, to which were added, twelve thousand Austrians; but the Dutch refusing to join them, and it being too late in the year to enter upon action, this powerful army was of no other service to the Queen of Hungary in the year 1742, than to divert part of the French army that was intended for Germany, and encourage the Dutch to declare themselves, as they did not long after in favour of the Queen of Hungary, promising to join the British forces with twenty thousand of their own troops.

Early the next campaign (1743) the British forces, commanded by the Earl of STAIR, took the field, and with the Austrians, Hanoverians, and Hessians, began their march for Germany; and the Earl with the English and Austrians arrived at Frankfort upon the Maine the latter end of May. He proceeded to pass that river, but the French advancing with their whole army on the 31st, the Earl thought fit to repass that river again, and retire to his former camp near Hanau. On the 7th the Earl of STAIR marched towards Alschaffenburgh, where the King of Great Britain arrived about this time, and took up his quarters.



The King having received certain advice, that the Marshal NOAILLES intended to prevent our junction with the body of Lunenburgh and Hessian troops, commanded by Prince GEORGE of Hesse, sent orders to the said Prince to halt at Hanau, and determined to join him with the whole army. Accordingly on Wednesday the 26th, upon several motions which the French army made to the left, orders were given for the army to strike their tents at the beating of the tattoo, to remain under arms till break of day, and then to march from the right, in two columns, the troops in this march taking the places assigned them in the line of battle. But as his Majesty was persuaded, that if the enemy attempted any thing, it would be on our rear-guard, he ordered the three battalions of English guards, and the four of Lunenburgh, that covered the quarters, as also the Hanoverian cavalry, with some artillery, to bring up the rear; and his Majesty chose to be there in person, as the place of action.

The army began to march at break of day, the British cavalry in the front, followed by the Austrian; then the British foot, followed also by the Austrian. As soon as the French saw us in motion, they also began to march with great haste towards our right, and several of us that went down to the river side, reviewed their troops as they passed, and many of their officers conversed with ours. The French left their camp standing, which persuaded us, that Marshal De NOAILLES was to have executed his scheme that very morning.

His Majesty had certain advice, the day before, of their making two bridges upon the Mayn, a little below Seligenstadt, and Colonel MONTAGU, and Colonel GEE, who relieved him at Dettingen, had both sent word, that many of their squadrons had been seen on this side of the Mayn; so that we were under some apprehensions of their intending to cut off our communication with Hanau. We remained in the position we were in after the troops taking their posts, halting upon the long march, and expecting the King's orders, till eight of the clock, the front of our horse not more advanced than between Klein Ostein and Dettingen. About this time a battery of cannon, which the French had placed at a little chapel on the right of Hoechstadt, began to play upon the Hanover cavalry, and was soon answered by the British artillery left in the rear, which was well served, and did great execution. This they meant to draw our attention to that side.

Whilst this was passing in the rear, we began to perceive a line of the enemy's foot, and then a second, extending between the villages of Dettingen and Welsheim towards the mountain, and two columns of horse marching the same way; so that our front, upon the halt, being to the river, the enemy's army, at less than a mile's distance, was upon our right flank. The danger was visible and pressing, and his Majesty, arriving at that instant, ordered the Generals of the day to make our front immediately to the enemy, by extending the right towards the mountain, and the left to the river, and the two lines of horse were immediately formed. His Majesty ordered the foot that was coming up to the right into the wood, and some battalions posted to cover that flank; and as fast as they arrived, placed the infantry, British and Austrian, as also four battalions of Hanoverians, who all marched through the inter-

vals of the horse, from the mountain to the Mayn in two lines, which were supported also by the cavalry of the right wing, also in two lines. In making this disposition, which was a very fine one, and which, by reason of the slow motions of the foot, took up a good deal of time, the Earl of STAIR, the Duke d'AREMBERG, and the Marshal NEIPPERG, assisted with great capacity and activity.

The French had passed over a great body of troops during the night: their horse, the household at their head, passed at fords, or swam over: the foot which we saw marching without baggage along the river, passed over the bridges, and nothing could be better laid than this plan of Marshal NOAILLES's, if he had left the morass that he passed, in order to attack us, in his front; for then the village of Dettingen and the Mayn secured his right, the morass his front, and the mountains his left; but probably his persuasion of our surprize, and that the King could not in so little a time make a disposition to oppose him, made him come into ground where he was accessible by all his front.

During the whole disposition, which lasted from eight to twelve, the French batteries, posted on the rising grounds on the other side of the Mayn, did us a great deal of harm, flanking us from left to right within 200 paces.

About twelve, every thing being ready, and the French advancing, his Majesty ordered us to march to meet them: Lieutenant Generals CLAYTON and SOMERFELDT, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, as Major General, were at the head of the first line of foot: the Earl of Dunmore, Lieutenant General, and the Earl of Rothes, Major General at the head of the second. General HONYWOOD, Lieutenant General CAMPBELL, LIGONIER, and Baron De COURRIERE, and Lord Albemarle, as Major General, were at the head of the first line of horse; Lieutenant Generals COPE and HAWLEY, at the head of the second. Our lines halted half way to the enemy, to give the soldiers time to breathe; and having given a general shout or huzza, marched on to the enemy with great alacrity. A large squadron of horse, that happened to be at the head of the French line of foot, upon the left of their center, having kept that post while we were advancing, provoked part of our front line to fire upon them; this occasioned all the line to fire too soon: however, this had no ill consequence, they loaded again in an instant, and advanced to the enemy, who was also moving towards us; the fire in a moment was general upon all the front, our line still advancing and gaining ground, Lieutenant General CLAYTON sent to desire some squadrons near the river, where he apprehended the enemy might flank him: the Lieutenant General of the day sent him Brigadier BLAND's dragoons, who in that post suffered extremely. The fire from all the batteries of the enemy, and particularly from those in our flanks, was prodigious, and our artillery answered very briskly, though much inferior in quality and number. About this time the Black Musketeers detached themselves from their line, passed between the two fires of the foot, and came full gallop to attack the first squadron on our right; they were received as such a rash action deserved, were all cut to pieces, and their standard taken.

In the mean time the British and Austrian cavalry, passing through the intervals of the foot,



went and attacked the household troops of France; they found them interlined with foot, and many of our regiments were repulsed. However, they soon rallied and returned to the charge, our lines of foot still advancing; and a brigade or detachment of grenadiers, posted in their front, behind a curtain, opposite to our right wing of horse, having given way, all their front began to do the same, till they put the morafs before them, and Dettingen still on the right, and then their whole army retired, with great precipitation, towards the wood and village of Weltheim. Lord STAIR ordered the Lieutenant Generals CAMPBELL and LIGONIER to pass the morafs, as well as they could; and march with the horse straight to Dettingen; which having done, and sent to reconnoitre the village, they found it abandoned; when they marched to Weltheim, where some squadrons still appeared on the skirts of the wood, who, at their approach, flung themselves into the woods, and behind the village; which, though barricaded all round, and loop-holes made through all the walls and tops of the houses, we found likewise abandoned. Lord STAIR not thinking it prudent to venture the horse into the wood, till the foot could come up, ordered the former to halt; but most of the enemy had, by this time, repassed the river, either over their bridges, or at fords, where, in their hurry, many were drowned.

Thus ended this day, wherein the bravery of our troops cannot be too much commended. Our infantry still gained ground from the beginning, till they remained masters of the field. Our cavalry supported, for eight or nine hours, the most severe cannonade that ever was known, and then attacked the household troops, who, to do them justice, supported the ancient reputation of their corps with great bravery. In this action LIGONIER's regiment of horse, and BLAND's dragoons, suffered most, and gained great reputation. It is reckoned the enemy lost above 8000 men, and our loss amounted to near 2500. The King continued the whole day at the head of the foot.

*List of French standards taken at the battle near Dettingen, on the 16th of June, O. S. 1743.*

1. A white standard finely embroidered with gold and silver, a thunder-bolt in the middle, upon a blue and white ground. Motto, *Sensere Gigantes*. Both sides the same.
2. A red standard, two hands with a sword, and with a laurel wreath and imperial crown at top. Motto, *Incorrupta Fides & avita Virtus*. On the other side the sun. Motto, *Nec pluribus impar*.
3. A yellow standard, embroidered with gold and silver, the sun in the middle. No motto.
4. A green ditto, in the same way.
5. The mast of another torn off, but appears to have been red.
6. A white standard, embroidered with gold and silver; in the middle, a bunch of nine arrows tied with a wreath, all stained with blood, the lance broke; the Cornet killed without falling, being buckled behind to his horse, and his standard buckled to him. Motto, *Alterius Jovis, altera Tela*. This standard belonged to the Mufquetaires Noirs, and was taken by a serjeant of Lieutenant General HAWLEY's of the right squadron of the whole line.

In a private letter concerning this battle, we were told, that Sir ROBERT RICH's regiment having lost their standard, a private man rode into a squadron of French horse, sword in hand, and retook it.

By the accounts from Paris, the French had the assurance to claim the victory, under pretence of their becoming masters of the field of battle the next day, upon the allies pursuing their march for Hanau, (which they call a retreat) and leaving their sick and wounded behind. Upon which, in an account printed at Francfort, and reprinted at the Hague, it is observed, as the allies continued their march, according to their original design, to Hanau, the French had an opportunity of regaining the next day not only the field of battle, but his Britannic Majesty's head quarters at Aschaffembourg, on which some people fancy they will raise doubts about the victory; but as they have only taken one piece of cannon, a very few colours, and scarce any prisoners, such a pretence would be ridiculous; neither does M. NOAILLES stand in need of any such artifices to raise his reputation, since every body agrees, that he did, on this occasion, all that could be expected from a brave man, or an experienced general.

The French, according to their usual modesty, also affect greatly to exaggerate the loss of the allies, and diminish their own; pretending, in one of their accounts, that their loss amounted to about 4000 men, and that of the allies to 6000. But it appears by a list taken of the killed and wounded, that on the side of the Austrians and their allies, there were 2351 killed and wounded, and no more. The French having left the Emperor and his dominions at the mercy of the Austrians, as has been intimated already, the Imperial General Count SECKENDORF was obliged thereby to agree to a suspension of arms, though the war still continued between the Austrians and the French, who had not yet totally evacuated either Bohemia or Bavaria, but kept possession of some of the strong towns.

His Britannick Majesty remaining still in his camp near Hanau, Prince CHARLES of Lorraine, Marshal KHEVENHULLER, and several more of the Austrian Generals, paid him a visit on the 15th of July, and continued there till the 18th, when it is supposed the future operations of the campaign were concerted; Prince CHARLES returning afterwards to his army on the Rhine, marched up that river as high as Brisac; whereupon the Duke of NOAILLES detached part of his army into the Upper Alsace, to join the French forces already there, and oppose Prince CHARLES, if he should attempt to pass the Rhine thereabouts; and at the same time the Duke retired with the remainder of the French army quite out of Germany into the Lower Alsace. Whereupon the French Ministers every where declared that the King had commanded his armies to retire out of Germany, and commit no hostilities there, unless they were attacked; but that he should regard, and even treat those as *direct* enemies, who should act in any manner against his armies, and not as allies to the Queen of Hungary; which was given out to deter the English and Dutch from approaching his frontiers: on the other hand, the Queen of Hungary published a manifesto, declaring, that as she had, by the blessing of God, and the assistance of her allies, delivered her dominions from her enemies that had invaded them, who had

Thomas Brown, of Kirkcaldy, Yorkshire.



had been obliged to repass the Rhine, she was resolved to improve the advantages she had obtained, and therefore had commanded her Generals to penetrate into the dominions of France which formerly belonged to the Empire, and assured the inhabitants of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche Comte, Lorrain and Bar, and of that part of the Duchy of Luxemburg which had been dismembered from it, that her armies were sent to deliver them from a situation which often exposed their countries to be the seat of war; and if they remained quiet in their dwellings, and did not take up arms against her, but punctually paid their contributions, and furnished the provisions and forage that was demanded, they might rely on the Queen's clemency, who had no other view than to secure the tranquility of the Empire, by confining France within her ancient bounds.

Prince Charles attempts to pass the Rhine.

The Austrian and French armies being now posted on the banks of the Upper Rhine, cannonaded each other; and though Prince CHARLES could not find an opportunity of passing that river in the face of so numerous an army as the French Generals commanded, the Hussars made frequent incursions into Alsace, where they met with a rich booty, and laid the country under contribution. In the mean time the British forces and their allies passed the Lower Rhine a little below Mentz, and on the 27th, N. S. began to march along the western bank of that river towards Alsace, in order to give the Duke of NOAILLES battle, or compel him to retire further from the Rhine, and facilitate Prince CHARLES's passing that river, which he attempted several times, but his troops were repulsed; and this was ascribed to the insignificant diversion the English and their allies made in the Lower Alsace: they advanced indeed through the Palatinate, but when the French retired into their own country, the allies were extremely cautious of attacking them; and as to the Dutch they always kept a considerable distance, in the rear of the army, that they might

The allies cautious of invading the French territories.

not give any umbrage to the French: for nothing seems more manifest than that the allied army never intended to pursue the French into their own country, and begin an offensive war with that nation: and as the French Generals very well understood this, they detached so many of their forces into the Upper Alsace to oppose the passage of Prince CHARLES, that he found it impracticable to attempt it any longer: and if there was any difference between his British Majesty and that Prince at their interview near Hanau, as the French insinuated, it probably proceeded from the King's aversion to invade the dominions of France, and make a diversion in the Lower Alsace, while Prince CHARLES passed the Rhine in Upper Alsace.

In the mean time the garison of Ingolstadt agreed to surrender on condition of being permitted to march out with all the honours of war; and on the 18th of September the Bavarians took the oaths to the Queen of Hungary, with some alteration at their request, wherein they promise fidelity and obedience to her Majesty, so long only as she shall be in possession of the Bavarian dominions.

The Bavarians take the oaths to the Q. of Hungary.

The garison of Egra also surrendered about the same time, and submitted to remain prisoners of war; and the town was evacuated on the 31st of August; so that the Queen of Hungary had then no enemies left to the eastward of the Rhine.

His British Majesty left the army at Hanau, and set out for Hanover on the 5th of October, and soon after the English and Hanoverians began their march back to Flanders, and the Dutch to their own territories: Prince CHARLES also finding the passing of the Rhine impracticable separated his army, and sent them into winter quarters; which he had no sooner done but the French passed the Rhine at Hunninghen with 20000 men to the German side, where they fortified themselves, and maintained their ground the following winter.

Prince Charles separates his army.

The French enter Germany again.





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