Bishop Burnet's Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. Describing their religion, learning, government, customs, natural history, trade, &c.;, and illustrated with curious observations on the buildings, paintings, antiquities and other curiosities in art and nature. With a detection of frauds and folly of popery and superstition in some flagrant instances, also characters of several eminent persons, and many other memorable things worthy the attention of the curious / Written by the bishop to the Honourable Robert Boyle. To which is added, an appendix, containing remarks on Switzerland and Italy, by a person of quality, and communicated to the author, a table of contents and a character of the bishop and his writings.

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A SHORT CHARACTER OF THE BISHOP AND HIS WORKS.

HE had great Abilities both natural and acquired, was very inquisitive after Knowledge, of great Integrity, an excellent Judge of Men and Things, and a most zealous Advocate for the Liberties of Mankind Civil and Religious, abhorring Persecution of all Kinds; consequently his Memory will be esteem'd by all the

Wiſe and Good, and can have no Enemies (except among Bigots, Fools, and Knaves) his excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation and other Works, will tranſmit his Name to the lateſt Poſterity: In regard to the following Piece, it ſurpaſſes infinitely any Thing in its Kind extant, in the Stile, Sentiments, Matter, Method, *&c.* And the fine Spirit of Liberty that ſhines through it is admirable, no doubt he exerted himſelf in an extraordinary Manner in the Compoſition, having choſe ſo illuſtrious a Genius for his Patron. To conclude, he certainly was one of the greateſt Men of his Time, and an Ornament to his Country, Liberty and Religion.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

LETT. I. From ZURICH.

THE Deſolation that is to be ſeen all the Way from Paris *to* Lyons, *occaſioned by the Oppreſſion which the People lie under,* Pag. 2

A ſhort Account of ſome of the Rarities and Inſcriptions at Lyons. *The Author's Opinion concerning an unuſual and obſcure Inſcription,* 3, 4

A Paſſage in Vegetius de Re Militari, *miſprinted in all the publick Editions, corrected from a Manuſcript at* Grenoble, 5

Of Geneva: *Their Chamber of the Corn: The Moderation of the Government in the Price they ſell it at, compared with the exorbitant Rates impoſed by the Pope in all his Territories upon Grain, the buying and vending whereof he monopolizeth to himſelf,* 6

How the Profit ariſing from Corn, with the other Revenues of the State, are applied to the Benefit of the Publick, and not to the enriching particular Men, 7

The Learning and Knowledge of the Citizens beyond what is found commonly elſewhere: Their publick Juſtice, perſonal Virtue and Sobriety, and Severity to open Lewdneſs: Their Way of ſelling Eſtates, and the Security of Titles there,

above what is in other Places: The Conſtitution of their Government, with the Method of electing Members into their ſeveral Councils, and of chooſing their Syndicks, and by whom, 8

A Deſcription of Lauſanne, *with ſome Account of the Lake that lies between it and* Geneva, 12

The perpendicular Height of the Hill Maudit, 14

Of the Canton of Bern; *its Extent, Government, and Manner of electing Perſons into the ſeveral Degrees of Magiſtracy, with the Advantages accruing to thoſe choſen into Bailiages. The Wealth of their Peaſants how attained: The Temper and Conſtitution of the People in general: The Application of their Women to domeſtick Affairs, and Diſpoſition of their Men for War,* 15

Their Military Liſts, and what Number they can bring into the Field, arm'd and diſciplined upon a ſudden Emergency, and general Summons. The Overſight of the Government, in ſuffering the French *to poſſeſs themſelves of the* Franche Comté *after they were Maſters of* Alſace; *and how they were partly bribed into it, and partly wheedled.* 21

Of the War between the Canton of Bern *and the Canton of* Schwits, 1656, *being occaſioned by a Law made by the Popiſh Cantons, rend'ring it capital to any to change their Religion, and making their Goods confiſcable,* 28

A Deſcription of the Town of Bern: *The great Church: The* Dominicans *Chapel, with the famous Hole that went to an Image in the Church from one of the Cells of the* Dominicans, 29

The Difference betwixt the Dominicans *and* Franciſcans, *about the maculate or immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The Story of* Jetzer, *with a large Account of the horrid Cheat and Im-*

Impoſture of the Dominicans, *for which ſeveral of them were executed at* Bern *in* 1509, 31

That Switzerland *is better peopled than* France *or* Italy, *tho' Countries incomparably richer and better ſituated: Which proceeds from the Gentleneſs of the Government in the firſt, and intolerable and oppreſſive Severity of it in the two latter,* 42

Of Solothurn *and* Friburg, *two of the chiefeſt Popiſh Cantons; The ſtrange Bigotry of the People there, and their groſs and ſottiſh Idolatry and Superſtition: How the* Jeſuits *multiply in thoſe Places, and from the Number of Ten, to which they were limited at* Solothurn, *and one thouſand Livres a Year allowed for their Maintenance, they are not only grown numerous, but become ſo rich that they are raiſing a College and Church which will coſt four hundred thouſand Livres,* 43

Of the Wealth of ſome Religious Houſes in Solothurn, *and of the Fortifications they are raiſing about the Town,* 45

Of the Government of that Canton, and of the ill Adminiſtration of Juſtice there beyond what it is in the Proteſtant Cantons, 46

Of Baden, *which tho' the Seat of the general Diet of the Cantons, yet is not one of them, but a Bailiage belonging to eight of the ancient Cantons,* 46

Of the Canton of Zurich: *Its Wealth: The Number of diſciplined Men which it can bring into the Field upon twenty four Hours Warning: The Nature of its Magiſtracy, and the Regulation of their Allowances. Their Trade by means of a large Lake: Their Manufactory of Crape, and its Goodneſs,* 48

The Situation of the Town of Zurich: *The Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, and their*

Freedom from Luxury and Vanity. The Magistracy of the City. The Division of the whole Canton: Its Honour in not being debauched by French *Money, to alter the ancient Capitulations with that Crown: Their Justice and Virtue in applying the ancient Revenues of the Church to pious Uses: Their Prudence in keeping the Edifices of their Hospitals mean, and expending their Charity upon maintaining the Poor that are in them,* 48

The Salary of their Ecclesiasticks, and the great Labour they are obliged unto, 49

Several Letters written by the most eminent of the English *Reformers to* Bullinger, *preserved among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter; in which they lament the retaining the Popish Vestments, and the Aversion they found in the Parliament to all the Propositions that were made for the Reformation of Abuses; and* Jewel *having declared in one how the Queen refused to be called* Head of the Church, *adds that it could not be ascribed to any Mortal, being only due to Christ,* 50

Of the Disagreement of ancient Manuscripts concerning that Passage of St. John's *Epistle,* There are three that bear Witness in Heaven, *&c. To which are subjoined many Things worthy of Observation,* 53

A new Regulation at Bern, *for the better electing Persons into Bailiages; and the generous Protection and unexemplified Charity which the Protestant Cantons have expressed to the* French Refugees, 56

A Reflection of the Author on the Censure past by the Divines in Switzerland *against the Opinions of* Admirald, *concerning the Divine Decrees, and the Extent of the Death of Christ,* 58

Of

Of a Tax under which the Switzers *lie when Estates are sold, and how it serves to prevent ill Husbandry,* 60

A farther Account of those Cantons, where both the Reformed and Popish Religion are tolerated; and how from the Diminution of the Papists in Glaris *some endeavoured to raise a War betwixt the Protestant and Popish Cantons; and in the interim, while Things seem'd to tend to a Rupture, how the* French *began their Fortification at* Hunningen, 61

LETT. II. From MILAN.

OF the Bridge upon the Lake at Ripperswood, 62

Of Coire, *the chief Town of the* Grisons: *Of the Chapel pretended to be St.* Lucius's, *and what the Author said to the Bishop of* Coire, *to convince him that all related of King* Lucius *in that Matter, and of his writing to Pope* Eleutherius *was a Fable. Of a Difference between the Bishop and his Chapter about Exemptions, and the Author's Opinion in reference to that pretended Privilege,* 63

The Temper of the present Bishop: The yearly Revenue belonging to him, and to the several Prebendaries: The Nature of the Country, with the Wealth of the People, and how it ariseth: The Constitution of the Government: The Division of the Country into Leagues: Whence and upon what Occasion it came to be inhabited: Of whom the General Dyet consists, and of a late Contest among themselves, and with the Emperor, 64

How they shook off the Austrian *Jurisdiction, and*

their Zeal and Courage in vindicating and defending their Liberty. 67

The Diſtribution of the ſeveral Leagues into ſo many Communities; and in which Communities the Popiſh Religion is received, and in which the Proteſtant: The abſolute Authority that each hath within itſelf, 68

The Manner of keeping their Diets, and the Cuſtoms therein obſerved, 69

Of the Valteline, Chavannes, *and* Bormio, *Territories which the Three Leagues poſſeſs in* Italy, *and how they obtained them; with an Account of the Fertility of the Soil in the* Valteline, 74

Of the Eaſe and Liberty that thoſe Diſtricts enjoy under the Leagues; and of a Conſtitution among them, by which the Peaſants may demand a Chamber of Juſtice, when they judge themſelves oppreſſed, or aggrieved, 76

Of the Maſſacre in the Valteline, Anno 1618, *and the War that enſued upon it; with the Iſſue of it, through the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Duke of* Rohan, 79

Of the Laws by which they are governed, with ſome of the Civil and Religious Cuſtoms that prevail among them, 83

A remarkable Story of about two thouſand that fled Anno 1685, *out of a Valley of* Tirol, *for fear of being deſtroyed upon the ſcore of their Religion, and who ſeemed by the Articles of their Faith, and the Simplicity of their Worſhip, to be a Remnant of the old* Waldenſes, 86

Of the Way from Coire *to* Chavannes, *with an Account of the moſt obſervable Villages upon the Road,* 88

Of Chavannes: *Its Situation: The Fertility of the Soil, Eaſineſs of the Government, Plentiful-*

fulneſs as to all ſort of Proviſions; with an Account of the Nature of their Wine, and the Manner how they both make and preſerve it, 89
A Kind of Stone here, and in the Valteline, *which they uſe inſtead of Metal for making Pots,* 93
The deplorable Fate of the Town of Pleurs, *which was buried, together with its Inhabitants, by the Fall of a Mountain,* Anno 1618, 94
Of the Lakes of Chavannes *and* Como, 97
Of Codelago *and* Lugane, *with other ſmall Provinces here belonging to the* Switzers; *where the People live at Eaſe, ſo the Country, tho' extremely barren, is abundantly peopled,* 97
Of Lago Maggiore, *and of the* Borromean Iſlands, *which, as to Lovelineſs and Fertility, nothing equals,* 99
Of Lombardy: *Its Extent, Pleaſantneſs, Goodneſs of Soil. The Inhabitants inconceivably poor, by reaſon of the Severity of the Government,* 101
The Lake cut by Francis I. *from the River* Teſine *to* Milan, 102
Of the City of Milan: *The Dimenſions of the Dutchy: Its Wealth: The Extent of the Town: The Nobleneſs of the Structures: The Grandeur and Beauty of the Dome where the Body of St.* Carlo Borromeo *lies. A ſhort Character of that Prelate, and what Marks of his Wealth and Beneficence are to be ſeen in that Town,* 102
Of other Churches and Convents: The Hoſpital, with the Lazaretto *adjoining to it,* 105
Of the Ambroſian Office *uſed here, and its Diſtinction from the* Roman. 107
A remarkable Paſſage in the Books of the Sacraments aſcribed to St. Ambroſe, *where the Hoſty is ſaid to be* the Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, 109

Of ancient Offices, and why none to be ſeen in the Vatican. *A Manuſcript Tranſlation of* Joſephus *by* Ruffinus, *in the* Ambroſian *Library*, 110

No Glaſs Windows in Milan, *nor yet in* Florence, *The People deplorably poor, while the Churches and Convents are ſo extravagantly rich. The Decay of their Wealth, occaſioned in part thro' a Failure in the Exportation of their Silks*, 112

An Account of a Gentlewoman at Geneva, *who beſides her being greatly accompliſhed in Languages and Sciences, writes legibly, tho' blind ſince ſhe was a Year old*, 113

LETT. III. From FLORENCE.

THE Frontier Towns of the Spaniards *and* Venetians *in* Italy *ill fortified, as appears by* Lodi *the laſt Garriſon belonging to the* Spaniards *in* Milan, *and* Crema *the firſt Garriſon appertaining to the* Venetians. *Of the Civil and Military Officers which the* Venetians *ſend into their ſeveral Territories and Provinces. The Cheeſe that goes by the Name of* Parmeſan, *is made chiefly at* Lodi. 115

Of Breſcia, *where the beſt Barrels for Piſtols and Muſkets are made. A famous Nunnery there fallen into Diſgrace, occaſioned by the Prieſts converſing with the Nuns thro' a private Vault*, 116

Of the Lake of Guarda, *and the Difference between the Miles in* Lombardy *and* Naples, 118

Of Verona: *Its Poverty: The Baſeneſs of the Coin: The Remains of an old* Roman *Amphitheatre: The* Muſeum Calceolarium *furniſhed with many Antiquities and Rarities*, 119

The Wine called Vino Santo, *that grows near the Lake* Guarda. *Of the Colour of the Cattle and Hogs in* Italy. 120

Of

Of Vincenza, *The Riches of the Palaces and Churches: A modern Theatre: Count* Valerano's *Gardens: The Coarseness of the Images, and their gross Idolatry,* 120

Of Padua. *The University much decay'd, and by what means. The Quarrels among the* Paduan *Nobility, and what Advantages the* Venetians *make of them,* 120

Their Churches, and the Devotion paid to St. Anthony, *who in one of the little Vows that hang without the holy Chapel, is said* to hear those whom God himself doth not hear, 123

Why the Venetians *employ not their own Subjects in their Wars,* 124

The Palaces from Padua *to* Venice, *on both Sides of the River* Brent, 125

Of the Lagunes, *and that they grow daily more shallow. Of the City of* Venice, *the Buildings, Palaces, Churches, Bridges, Arsenal, Convents; their Beauty and Wealth, with the Meanness of the Library of St.* Mark, 126

Of the small Consideration they have for Father Paul, *and of the Memorials out of which he collected his History,* 130

The Attestations produced by Mr. Arnaud, *for the Agreement of the* Greek *Church with the* Latin, *in the Matter of* Transubstantiation, *where penned, and how obtained: With an Account of the Ignorance of the* Greek *Priests,* 130

A famous Venetian *Lady, that spake* Greek *and* Latin *well, besides three other Languages, and who commenced Doctor of Physic. Of the ancient noble Families of* Venice. *To whom, and upon what Occasions the Honour of being a Noble* Venetian *is imparted,* 132

The limited Power of the Duke, and that that Dig-

Dignity is not worth a wise Man's Courting. The Reason of Sagredo's *being put by from being Duke; his retiring thereupon from the City, and the Books he wrote during his Retirement,* 138

Why married Men are not now chosen to that Honour, and of Titles forbidden and allowed, 138

The Authority of the Senate over the Ecclesiasticks, and the limited Power of their Bishop; and that the very Clergy have little Dependance upon him. Of the Election of their Curates by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and the Liberty which the Candidates take to defame and expose one another, 139

Ignorance and Vice the chief Characters of all Priests especially at Venice. *The Licence assumed by many of their Nuns, particularly by those that call themselves* Noble Venetians. *All Ecclesiasticks precluded from a Share in the Government; and in case any be promoted to the Hat, their Friends and Relations become uncapable (during their Lives) both of Employments, and of sitting in the Great Council,* 140

The Inquisition at Venice, *by its being subject to the Senate, does little Hurt. Many Protestants there, whom the Senate gives no Trouble to. The* Hosty *not carried openly in Procession. The* Venetians *generally unconcerned as well as ignorant in Matters of Religion,* 142

Most of the young Nobility corrupted in their Morals, and wholly decline all military Employments: So that their Officers as well as Soldiers are Strangers. The Reason of the Degeneracy of the Italians, *and in particular of the* Venetian *Nobility,* 143

The Pleasures which they pursue are all brutish; but

but the noble and innocent Pleaſures of Friendſhip and Marriage, &c. *they underſtand not. Their Houſes ſtately, but not convenient. Neither their Bread, Wine, nor the Cookery of their Fleſh good. Their Coaches uneaſy, and the Carriages thro' all* Lombardy *inconvenient*, 145

Of the late created Nobility: The Sum they obtain'd it for; Their Number; and the Prejudices ariſing hereby both to the Republick and the ancient Nobility, 148

By whom Crimes committed by any of the Nobility againſt the State are judged, and by whom the Offences of other Subjects are tried, 153

Of the Inquiſitors of State: The Extent of their Authority: The Quality and Merit of their Perſons; and the Uſefulneſs of that Tribunal, 153

Of Mr. de la Haye, *the* French *Ambaſſador at* Venice: *His Character*, 154

The Road from Venice *to* Ferrara: *The Town as well as the Country of* Ferrara *forſaken of their Inhabitants thro' the Ravenouſneſs of the Prieſts, and the Oppreſſiveneſs of the Government: However, the Churches and Convents are vaſtly rich, and that from the Vanity of the People more than from their Superſtition*, 159

Of Bologna, *which having delivered itſelf to the Pope upon a Capitulation, hath thereby preſerved many of its Privileges, and ſo continues wealthy and well peopled*, 161

Its Palaces, Churches, and Convents, in one of which (namely that of the Canons Regular of St. Salvator) *there is a Scroll of the* Hebrew *Bible, pretended to be written by* Ezra's *own Hand, but falſly. The Meridional Line which* Caſſini *laid along the Pavement of St.* Petrone's *Church*, 163.

Of

Of Pope Joan's *Statue there, and the Author's Unbelief as to ſuch a Perſon's having been Pope. Of the Monaſtery of St.* Michael *on the Hill above* Bologna, *and of a* Madona *of St.* Luke's *four Miles from the Town,* 164

Of the Appennine *Hills, and of* Pratolino, *one of the Great Duke's Palaces, which ſtands on the laſt of them, with ſome Account of the Gardens in* Italy, 166

Of Florence: *The Great Duke's Palace: The Dome, with its Cupola and Baptiſtery: Of the Chapel of St.* Laurence, *where the Bodies of the Great Dukes lie depoſited: The Statues in it, particularly that of the Virgin by* Mich. Angelo: *The Library belonging to it well repleniſhed with Manuſcripts,* 167

Florence *much decayed, and* Sienna *and* Piſa *ſhrunk into nothing; and that more from the Severity of the Government than the Decay of their Silk-Trade,* 170

A Compariſon between the Territories of the Venetians, Genoeſe, *and* Switzers *in* Italy, *which are well peopled, and the Inhabitants rich; and the Territories of the Great Duke, the Pope, and the King of* Spain, *where there are few People, and thoſe miſerably poor: However, the Churches are rich, which helpt alſo to ſink their Trade,* 171

The Inns, when one hath paſs'd the Appennines, *wretchedly accommodated,* 173

LETT. IV. From ROME.

THE great Deſolation that appears in all the Pope's Territories, thro' the Rigour of the Government. For a Prince to be Elective, and yet

yet Absolute, a great Solecism in Government. The Pope the most Absolute Prince in Europe *in Temporals, allowing the Cardinals no Share with him in that, tho' he admit them to share with him over the Affairs of the Church. The Incongruity both of the one and the other,* 174

A brief Account and Character of the present and the three preceding Popes. The Scandal arising to the Christian Religion thro' the Neglect of Justice and Mercy by him that stiles himself Christ's Vicar. A handsome Reflection made to the Author by a Roman *Prince upon the Folly of Oppressions,* 178

The present Viceroy of Naples, *the Marquis of* Carpy, *commended for Wisdom, Moderation, and Justice: His suppressing the Insolency of the* Spaniards *over the Natives: His maintaining the Soldiers in Discipline, and paying them exactly: His Reforming the Courts of Judicature: His extirpating the* Banditti, *and by what means: The Design he is upon of bringing the Money to its true Value,* 181

The Jesuits *being the Proprietors of near the half of* Apulia, *treat their Tenants with that Rigour, that the Country is much desolated, and many die of Hunger. The Sloth and Laziness of the* Neapolitans *hinder their making those Advantages of the Produce of the Country which they might. The Provision here for Travellers bad, and the Accommodation worse. Four Parts of five of all the Wealth of the Kingdom of* Naples *in Churchmens Hands,* 184

Of the Churches and Convents in Naples, *particularly of the Hospital stiled the* Annunciata. *The* Jesuits *great Merchants, especially in Wine;*

Wine; *wherein the* Minims *alſo deal, but more ſcandalouſly, in ſelling it by Retail,* 186

A Privilege which the Convents have as to buying Houſes in the Town; *and that the Wealth of the Clergy is ſo great, that they are in a fair Way of making themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom: The Contempt that Secular Perſons have for them. More Learning at* Naples *than in all other Places of* Italy. *Don* Joſeph Valetta's *Library, and of the learned Men that aſſemble at his Houſe*; *of which Number there are none of the Clergy, ſave one* Rinaldi. *The Imputations which the Churchmen caſt upon Perſons that have any Taſte of Learning or good Senſe. The Temptation which Men of Wit are liable unto, of diſbelieving the Chriſtian Religion, from the Idea which what they ſee among Prieſts and People give them of it. The Preaching of the Monks ſilly and ridiculous. All the Learning of the Clergy at* Naples *among a few Secular Prieſts,* 188

Of Molinos: *His new Method, how much it prevails: Oppoſed by the* Jeſuits, *and why: The Pope hath a favourable Opinion of him, and yet thro' the Complaint of ſome Cardinals, and the Influence of a great King, cauſed him to be thrown into the Inquiſition: A pleaſant Saying of* Paſquin's *thereupon,* 190

Of the City of Naples: *Its Bigneſs, Beauty, and Supply as to Proviſions. Of the Viceroy's Palace, with the Pictures and Statues in it,* 193

The Catacombs here and at Rome *deſcribed: The Uſe they anciently ſerved for: An Account of ſome Inſcriptions to be found among thoſe at* Naples: *That they were not the Repoſitories of the Reliques of the ancient Chriſtians, but the common*

mon Burying-Places of the Heathen: This demonſtrated, 194

When Burying began among the Romans *diſcourſed of at large, and cleared by Teſtimonies out of old* Roman *Authors,* 201

The Bones ſent from hence as the Reliques of Primitive Chriſtians and Martyrs, nothing but the Bones of Heathens, and for the moſt part of thoſe of the meaneſt and moſt infamous Rank, 206

Of Mount Veſuvio: *The Earthquakes occaſioned about* Naples *by the Convulſions of that Hill: The Operation which its Heat hath to make the Soil about it fruitful and the Air pure,* 207

Of the Cave that pierceth the Pauſalippe, *with the Hot-Baths near unto it, with the Grots that ſend out poiſonous Steams,* 208

Of the Bay of Puzzuoli: *The Rarities which occur there, particularly of the* Salfatara, *and of the Cave where the Sybil is ſaid to have given out her Inſpirations,* 209

Of the Remains of Caligula's *Bridge: The Depth of the Water where the Pillars were built, that ſupported the Arches: The Extent of the Bridge: The whole a Monument of* Caligula's *Extravagancy and Profuſeneſs, as the great Fiſhpond and the* Centum Cameræ *hewn out of the Rock were of* Nero's. *The Baths of* Puzzuoli. *The* Via Appia. *The Iſle of* Caprea, 211

Of Rome. *The* Via Flamminia *on the* Tuſcan *Side. Of St.* Peter's *Church, and of the Palace adjoining, with the Defects in that and in other* Roman *Palaces. Of the* Villa Borgheſe, *and* Villa Pamphilia, *and how the Palaces in* Rome *are furniſhed,* 215

Of the Vatican *Library, and what the Author obſerved in the Manuſcripts relating to the Coun-*

cil

cil of Conſtance; *and of the Difference between Mr.* Schelſtrat *and Mr.* Maimbourg *concerning that Council; with the Author's Opinion as to that Difference,* 220

Of the learned Men at Rome, *ſuch as* Bellori, Fabri, *and* Nazari, *with a Character of Cardinal* d'Eſtré *and Cardinal* Howard; *and what ſmall Account the preſ. Pope makes of learned Men,* 224

The Contempt that the Romans *have for the preſent Pontificate, with an impartial Character of the Pope himſelf,* 227

A Nation may not only be diſpeopled by driving People out of it, but by weakening the natural Fertility of the Subjects. Two Stories of the Fruitfulneſs of Perſons at Geneva, *whereas a ſtrange Barrenneſs reigns over all* Italy, 227

Of the Fountains and Aqueducts at Rome. *Of the Civility of the People, and that their Converſation is generally upon News. A Character of the Queen of* Sweden, *with a Saying ſhe had to the Author of herſelf. The Jealouſy that the* Romans *have of their Wives, and why; with an Account of the vertuous Deportment of the Ducheſs of* Bracciano *amidſt all the innocent Freedoms of Converſation.* 228

Of the Capitol, *the* Tarpeian *Rock,* Severus's *Triumphal Arch, and other ancient Rarities and Monuments,* 231

Of the Churches, and in particular of the Rotunda, *St.* Mary Maggiore, *and St.* John *in the* Lateran. *Of the many ancient Monuments, Pillars, Statues,* &c. *at* Rome. 233

Of the modern Palaces, and the Statues, Paintings, and Heads in the Farneſian *Palace. Of the* Minerva, *where the Inquiſition ſitteth; and of the*

the little Hazard Perſons are in at Rome, *whatſoever their Religion be, if they conduct themſelves with any Diſcretion.* Oldcorn's *Picture* (*who was convicted of the Gunpowder-Treaſon*) *among the Martyrs in the Gallery of the* Engliſh Jeſuits. *Of the Author's ſeeing the Emblematical Prophecies relating to* England, *which thoſe* Jeſuits *have. Of St.* Gregory's *Chapel, and the Worſhip paid to his Statue,* 235

A Character of the young Prince Borgheſe, 238

A ſtrange Alteration of Sex in two Nuns. A young Gentlewoman at Geneva *that contracted a Deafneſs from a Viciouſneſs in the Nurſe's Milk; and who, tho' being deaf, underſtands what is ſpoken to her, by obſerving the Motion of their Mouths that ſpeak,* 239

How all the World miſtruſt the Jeſuits, *and yet truſt them. A pleaſant Story of a Catholick Gentleman's chooſing the moſt ignorant Prieſt he could find for his Confeſſor, and why,* 242

LETT. V. From NIMEGUEN.

OF Marſeilles: *The Conveniency of the Harbour: The Wealth of the Town through the Freedoms that it enjoys,* 245

Of the preſent Perſecution in France, *and how approved and commended by the Clergy: Repreſented at* Rome *by the* Spaniſh *Faction as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion, but applauded by the Pope,* 246

The Fault not ſo much in the King as in his Religion, which obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith to them: The forcing poor People by Extremities to abjure their Religion, a greater Cruelty than if he ſhould put them to Death for it, 248

The

The Liberty the Author obtained at Geneva, *of preaching to a Congregation in* Engliſh, *and of adminiſtring the Sacrament according to the Way of the Church of* England. 250

A Character of Mr. Turretin *and Mr.* Tronchin, *two of their Profeſſors,* 251

Some Monuments which the Author ſaw at Avanche. *The Chapel near* Morat *filled with the Bones of the* Burgundians, *with an Inſcription that* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy *having beſieged* Morat, Hoc ſui monumentum reliquit, 252

Of Baſil: *The Town deſcribed; how it comes to be ſo ill peopled, and in what manner governed: A remarkable Piece of Painting in the State-Houſe: Several Pieces of* Holben's *there and in other Places of the Town. A new ſort of Wind-Guns made by one in* Baſil: *Of the publick Library, and how furniſhed with Books, Manuſcripts, and Medals; and of a private Library belonging to the Family of* Feſch. *Of the Councils of the Town, and of the ſeveral Bailiages under their Juriſdiction. The Proportion of armed Men they can raiſe: The Number of their Profeſſors.* 253

Of Hunningen: *The Largeneſs, Figure and Quality of that Fortification,* 259

Of Briſac, *and the Fortification belonging to it, with its Figure, Greatneſs and Strength,* 262

Of Straſburg: *The Town with its old and new Fortifications, deſcribed. The Animoſity of the* Lutherans *againſt the* Calviniſts, *as well as againſt the* Papiſts: *Tho' they have Pictures in their Churches, yet they worſhip them not,* 262

By what means the City fell into the Hands of the French: *The Decay it already ſuffers in Trade, with an Account of the Treatment of Mr.* Dietrick *by the* French, *contrary to the Terms of the Capitulation,* 264

Of Phillipſburg: *Its natural Situation and artificial Strength, and how recovered from the* French, 267

Of Spire, *which as it is an ill fortified, ſo it is a poor Town, and ſubſiſteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that ſitteth in it. A late Diſpute between the Town and*

and Chamber concerning Privileges: The Government of the Town is wholly Lutheran, *only the Cathedral is in the hands of the Bishop and Chapter: The Meanness of the Tombs of the Emperors that lie buried there: A Fable concerning St.* Bernard, *with some Marks relating to it on the Pavement of the Church, and an Account of some Figures in the Cloister,* 268

Of the Lower Palatinate *and of* Heidelberg: *Of the Situation of the Town: The Wine-Cellar, with the celebrated Tun that is in it. The Wisdom and Conduct of the late Prince* Charles *in peopling and settling this State: The Nature and Proportion of the Taxes he laid upon the Subjects, and their Contentment under them. The People of* Germany *only bound to their particular Prince, tho' the Prince himself be under some Ties to the Emperor.* 270

Pareus's *Commentary on* Rom. xiii. *vindicated upon this Foundation by* Fabritius: *A Character of him and Dr.* Miek, 272

Of Manheim: *The Care Prince* Charles-Lewis *took to fortify it: His granting Liberty not only to Christians of all Parties, but also to the* Jews, *and thereby peopling his Country, which had been strangely desolated: His Character,* 272

Of the present Prince; his Probity, Virtues, and Stedfastness to the Promises he made his Subjects with relation to their Religion, 273

The Beauty and Fertility of the Country from Heidelberg *to* Frankfort: *The latter described: The three Religions tolerated there. The Original of the* Bulla Aurea *preserved among the Archives of that City. Lewd Women condemned to the* Pistrina *or Hand-Mill. The* Jews *permitted to dwell there, and to have Synagogues. An Account of the Fortification of the Town and its Wealth,* 274

Of Hockam, *that yields the celebrated Wine. A famous Picture over one of the Popish Altars at* Worms, *as the Author was told, but did not see either it or the Town, by reason of having taken another Road,* 276

Of Mentz: *Its Situation, Compass, Citadel, and Fortification of the Town. The Elector an absolute Prince.*

The

The Demeſne of the Electorate, and what Taxes he impoſeth on his Subjects, with the Number of armed Men he can bring into the Field. How he and his Chapter chuſe the Prebends by turns, and in whom the Right of chuſing the Elector reſides, 277

Of Bacharach, *and of the Tower where the Rats are ſaid to have eaten up an Elector. A Labourer at* Geneva *ſtung to Death by Waſps,* 279

Of Coblentz : *Its Situation, Strength, and Fort ſtyled* Hermanſtan, 280

Of Bonne, *where the Elector of* Colen *reſides. A Character of the preſent Elector. A Story about the Forgery of Medals, and to what Value there were found of them at the laſt Siege of* Bonne. *Of ſome Rarities belonging to the Prince,* 281

Of Colen ; *tho' a City of great Extent, yet ill built, and worſe peopled. The* Jews *are allowed here to live ; and in what Place the* Proteſtants *are permitted the Exerciſe of their Religion. The Churches and Convents, with an Account of the Fable of the three Kings and* 11000 Urſulins. *Of the late Rebellion there, and how occaſioned, with the Exceſſes that attended it,* 284

Of Duſſeldorp : *The Palace : The* Jeſuits *College : The* Proteſtant *Religion tolerated there, and by whoſe Procurement,* 285

Of Keiſerſwart, *and how fortified. Of* Weſel, *a fair Town, meanly fortified, but populous and rich,* 286

Of Cleve : *Of* Nimeguen. *A Character of Sir* William Temple, *whoſe Picture hangs in the* Stadthouſe, *with an ample Commendation of his Book of the* Low Countries, 287

A large and juſt Character of the preſent Prince of Orange, *and of the glorious Service he performed in reſcuing his Country from the* French. 288

AN Appendix, *containing Remarks of an* Italian *Gentleman upon* Switzerland, *the* Griſons *Country, the Bailiage of* Lugane, *the Lakes, the Duchy of* Ferrara, *the Eſtate of* Bologna, *the Country of the Great Duke of* Tuſcany, *the temporal Government of the Pope, and the Reduction of the Intereſt due by the* Montes *at* Rome, *and of the Avarice of the* Jeſuits *and Prieſts,* 293

TRAVELS

THROUGH

France, *Italy*, *Germany* and *Switzerland*.

LETTER I.

SIR,

IT is ſo common to write Travels, that for one who has ſeen ſo little, and as it were in haſte, it may look like a preſumptuous Affectation to be reckon'd among Voyagers, if he attempts to ſay any Thing upon ſo ſhort a Ramble, and con-

cerning Places ſo much viſited, and by Conſequence ſo well known: Yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themſelves to all that travel, and having join'd to thoſe a Curioſity almoſt equal to the Advantages I enjoy'd, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful Entertainment, if I give you ſome Account of thoſe Things that pleaſed me moſt in the Places thro' which I have paſs'd. But I will avoid ſaying ſuch Things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to the Prints. For as you know that I have no great Inclination to copy what others have ſaid, ſo a Traveller has not Leiſure nor Humour enough for ſo dull an Employment.

As I came all the Way from *Paris* to *Lyons*, I was amaz'd to ſee ſo much Miſery as appear'd, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the Marks of an extreme Poverty ſhew'd themſelves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almoſt in the Looks of the Inhabitants: And a general diſpeopling in all the Towns, was a very viſible Effect of the Hardſhips under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent Situation of *Lyons*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from ſo vaſt a Height for a Priſon, of the *Carthuſians* Gardens, of the Town-Houſe, of the Jeſuits College and Library, of the famous Nunnery of St *Peter*, of the Churches, particularly St. *Irenæus*, of the Remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the old *Moſaick* in the Abbey *Dene*: In ſhort, Mr. *Spon* has given ſuch an Ac-

Account of the Curioſities there, that it were a very preſumptuous Attempt to offer to come after him.

The Speech of *Claudius*, engraven on a Plate of Braſs, and ſet at the End of the low Walk in the Town-Houſe, is one of the nobleſt Antiquities in the World, by which we ſee the Way of writing and pointing in that Age very copiouſly. The Shield of Silver, of twenty two Pound Weight, in which ſome Remains of gilding do yet appear, and that ſeems to repreſent that generous Action of *Scipio*'s, of reſtoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian* Prince, is certainly the nobleſt Piece of Plate that is now extant; the Emboſſing of it is ſo fine and ſo entire, that it is indeed invaluable; and if there were an Inſcription upon it, to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more ineſtimable.

A great many Inſcriptions are to be ſeen of the late and barbarous Ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*. There are twenty three Inſcriptions in the Garden of the *Fathers of Mercy*, but ſo placed, as ſhew how little thoſe who poſſeſs them do either underſtand or value them. I ſhall only give you one, becauſe I made a little Reflection on it; tho' it is not perhaps too well grounded, becauſe none of the Criticks have thought on it. The Inſcription is this:

D. M.
Et Memoriæ Æternæ
SUTIÆ ANTHIDIS,
Quæ vixit annis xxv. M. XI. DV.
Quae dum Nimia Pia fuit, facta eſt Impia:
Et ATTIO PROBATIOLO, CECALIUS CALISTIO
Conjux & Pater,
Et ſibi vivo ponendum curavit,
Et ſub aſciâ dedicavit.

This muſt be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the falſe *Latin* in *Nimia*. But the Inſcription ſeems ſo extravagant, that a Man dedicating a Burial-Stone for his Wife and Son, and under which himſelf was to be laid with Ceremonies of Religion, ſhould tax his Wife of Impiety, and give ſo extraordinary an Account of her becoming ſo thro' an Exceſs of Piety, that it deſerves ſome Conſideration.

It ſeems the Impiety was publick, otherwiſe a Huſband would not have recorded it in ſuch a Manner; and it is plain, that he thought it aroſe from an Exceſs of Piety.

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

It ſeems to me, that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Chriſtian; for the Chriſtians, becauſe they would not worſhip the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their ſacred Rites, were accuſed both of Atheiſm and Impiety. This is ſo often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have anſwer'd it ſo often, that it were loſt Labour to prove it. So this Wife of

Ceca-

Cecalius Caliſtio having turn'd Chriſtian, it ſeems he thought he was bound to take ſome Notice of it in the Inſcription: But by it he gives an honourable Character of the Chriſtian Doctrine, at the ſame Time that he ſeems to accuſe it, *viz.* that thro' an Exceſs of Piety his Wife was carried to it; ſince a Mind ſeriouſly poſſeſs'd with a true Senſe of Piety, could not avoid falling under a Diſtaſte of Paganiſm, and becoming Chriſtian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be ſeen. The learned Mr. *Chorier* has ſome Manuſcripts of conſiderable Antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de Re Militari*, there is a clear Correction of a Paſſage that in all the printed Editions is not Senſe. In the Chapter of the Size of the Soldiers, he begins, *Scio ſemper menſuram a Mario Conſule exactam. A* is in no Manuſcript, and *Mario Conſule* is a Miſtake for *trium Cubitorum:* For III. which are for *trium*, have have been read for *M*; and *C*, which ſtands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a Miſtake read *Conſule*. So the true reading of that Paſſage is, *Scio menſuram trium cubitorum fuiſſe ſemper exactam*. He ſhew'd me another Manuſcript of about five or ſix Hundred Years old, in which St. *John*'s Revelation is contain'd, all exemplified in Figures; and after that comes *Æſop*'s Fables likewiſe, all deſign'd in Figures; from which he inferr'd, that thoſe who deſign'd two Books valued both equally, and ſo put them together.

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

of the Country, which deſerves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the Height and Rudeneſs of the Mountains, that almoſt ſhut upon it, together with the Beauty, the Evenneſs and Fruitfulneſs of the Valley, that is all along well water'd with the River *Liſerre*, make ſuch an agreeable Mixture, that this vaſt Diverſity of Objects that do at once fill the Eye, give it a very entertaining Proſpect.

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

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony; for none of the Landlords can ſell it

it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at five Crowns their Meaſure, and even that is ſlowly and ill paid; ſo that there was eight Hundred Thouſand Crowns owing upon that Score when I was at *Rome*. In ſelling this out the Meaſure is leſſen'd a fifth Part, and the Price of the Whole is doubled; ſo that what was bought at five Crowns, is ſold out at twelve: And if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a determined Quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is impoſed upon them, but are forced to return ſome Part of it back, the Chamber diſcounts to them only the firſt Price of five Crowns. Whereas in *Geneva*, the Meaſure by which they buy and ſell is the ſame; and the Gain is ſo inconſiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-price: So that upon the whole Matter, the Chamber of the Corn is but the Merchant to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate Gain by the Corn, that, and all the other Revenues of this ſmall Commonwealth are ſo well employ'd, that there is no Cauſe of Complaint given in the Adminiſtration of the publick Purſe, which, with the Advantages that ariſe out of the Chamber of the Corn is about an Hundred Thouſand Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: Three Hundred Soldiers are paid, an Arſenal is maintain'd, that in Proportion to the State is the greateſt in the World, for it contains Arms for more Men than are in the State: There is a great Number of Miniſters and Profeſſors, in all twenty four, paid out of it, beſides all the publick Charges

and Offices of the Government. Every one of the leſſer Council of twenty five having an Hundred Crowns, and every Syndic having two Hundred Crowns Penſion; and, after all this, come the accidental Charges of the Deputies, that they are obliged to ſend often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*; ſo that it is very apparent no Man can enrich himſelf at the Coſt of the Publick. And the Appointments of the *little Council* are a very ſmall Recompence for the great Attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly four or five Hours a Day. The Salary for the Profeſſors and Miniſters is indeed ſmall, not above two Hundred Crowns; but to balance this (which was a more competent Proviſion when it was firſt ſet off a Hundred and fifty Years ago, the Price of all Things, and the Way of Living being now much heighten'd) thoſe Employments are here held in their due Reputation; and the richeſt Citizens in the Town breed up their Children ſo as to qualify them for thoſe Places. And a Miniſter that is ſuitable to his Character, is thought ſo good a Match, that generally they have ſuch Eſtates either by Succeſſion or Marriage, as ſupport them ſuitably to the Rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is ſo great a Regulation upon Expences of all Sorts, that a ſmall Sum goes a great Way. It is a ſurprizing Thing to ſee ſo much Learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among thoſe whoſe Profeſſion obliges them to ſtudy, but among the Magiſtrates and Citizens: And if there are not many Men of the firſt

Form

Form of Learning among them, yet almoſt every Body here has a good Tincture of a learned Education, inſomuch that they are Maſters of the *Latin*, they know Hiſtory and the Controverſies of Religion, and are generally Men of good Senſe.

There is an univerſal Civility, not only towards Strangers, but towards one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an Exceſs: So that in them one ſees a Mixture of a *French* Openneſs, and an *Italian* Exactneſs; there is indeed a little too much of the laſt.

The publick Juſtice of the City is quick and good, and is more commended than the private Juſtice of thoſe that deal in Trade: A want of Sincerity is much lamented by thoſe that know the Town well. There is no publick Lewdneſs tolerated, and the Diſorders of that ſort are managed with great Addreſs. And notwithſtanding their Neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, Drinking is very little known among them. One of the beſt Parts of their Law is the way of ſelling Eſtates, which is likewiſe practiſed in *Switzerland*, and is call'd *Subhaſtation*, from the *Roman* Cuſtom of ſelling *ſub Haſtâ*. A Man that is to buy an Eſtate, agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the Government, who order three ſeveral Proclamations to be made ſix Weeks one after another, of the intended Sale, that is to be on ſuch a Day: When the Day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Eſtate is ſold at an Under-Value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpoſe, the Buyer delivers the Money to the State, who

upon that give him his Title to the Eſtate, which can never be ſo much as brought under a Debate in Law; and the Price is paid into the State, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes Money, or to the Seller himſelf.

This Cuſtom prevails likewiſe in *Swiſſe*, where alſo twelve Years Poſſeſſion gives a Preſcription; ſo that in no Place of the World are the Titles to Eſtates ſo ſecure as here. The Conſtitution of the Government is the ſame both in *Geneva* and in moſt of the Cantons. The Sovereignty lies in the *Council of Two Hundred*; and this Council chooſes out of its Number twenty five, who are the *Leſſer Council*; and the Cenſure of the *Twenty five* belongs to the *Great Council.* They are choſen by a ſort of Ballot, ſo that it is not known for whom they give their Votes; which is an effectual Method to ſuppreſs Factions and Reſentments, ſince in a Competition no Man can know who voted for or againſt him: Yet the Election is not ſo carried, but that the whole Town is in an Intrigue concerning it: For ſince the being of the *Little Council* leads one to the *Sindicate*, which is the chief Honour of the State, this Dignity is c[illegible]rted here with as active and ſollicitous an Ambition as appears elſewhere for greater Matters. The *Two Hundred* are choſen and cenſured by the *Twenty five*; ſo that theſe two Councils, which are both for Life, are Checks one upon another: The Magiſtracy is in the one, and the Sovereignty in the other. The Number of twenty five is never exceeded in the *Leſſer Coun-*

cil; but for the greater, tho' it paſſes by the Name of *The Council of Two Hundred*, yet there are commonly eight or ten more; ſo that notwithſtanding the Abſence or Sickneſs of ſome of the Members, they may ſtill be able to call together near the full Number. There is another Council beſides theſe two, compoſed of ſixty, conſiſting of thoſe of the two Hundred that have borne Offices, ſuch as Auditors, Attorney-Generals; or thoſe that have been in other Employments, which are given for a determinate Number of Years. This Court has no Authority, but is call'd together by the *Twenty Five*, when any extraordinary Occaſion makes it adviſeable for them to call for a more general Concurrence in the Reſolutions they are about to form. And this Council is of the Nature of a Council of State, that only gives Advice, but has no Power in itſelf to enforce its Advice. The whole Body of the Burgeſſes chooſe the Syndics the firſt Sunday of the Year; and there are ſome other Elections that do likewiſe belong to them. The Difference between the Burgeſſes and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought, or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the *Two Hundred*; but none is a Citizen, but he that is the Son of a Burgeſs, and that is born within the Town.

I need ſay no more of the Conſtitution of this little Republick. Its chief Support is in the firm Alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*; and it is ſo viſibly the Intereſt of all *Switzerland* to preſerve it, as the Key by which it may be all laid

open, that if the Cantons had not forgotten their Intereſt ſo palpably, in ſuffering the *French* to become Maſters of the *Franche Comte*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be touch'd : For all that can be done in fortifying the Town can ſignify no more, than to put it in a Caſe to reſiſt a Surprize or Scalade ; ſince if a Royal Army comes againſt it to beſiege it in Form, it is certain, that unleſs the *Switzers* come down with a Force able to raiſe the Siege, thoſe within will be able to make but a very ſhort Reſiſtance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Country of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lauſanne* its chief Town, in my Way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lauſanne* is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole Town is Aſcent and Deſcent, and that very ſteep, chiefly on the Side on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South Wall of the Croſs was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about thirty Years ago, that there was a Rent made from top to bottom above a Foot wide ; which was ſo cloſed up ten Years after by another Earthquake, that now one only ſees where the Breach was. This extravagant Situation of the Town was occaſion'd by a Legend of ſome Miracles wrought near the Church : Which prevail'd ſo much on the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and ſo in conſequence the Buildings near it, were added to the old Town, which ſtood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the Highway from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the chief Privileges of the Town, par-

cularly

ticularly the Judicature of Life and Death, do ſtill belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake, which at the one End is call'd the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lauſanne*. I need not mention the Dimenſions of it, which are ſo well known, only in ſome Places the Depth has never been found, for it is more than five hundred Fathom. The Banks of the Lake are the beautifulleſt Plots of Ground that can be imagin'd, for they look as if they had been laid by Art; the Sloping is ſo eaſy and ſo equal, and the Grounds are ſo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful Proſpect cannot be ſeen any where. The Lake is well ſtock'd with excellent Fiſh, but their Numbers do ſenſibly decreaſe, and one Sort is quite loſt. It is not only to be aſcribed to the Ravenouſneſs of the Pikes that abound in it, but to another ſort of Fiſh that they call *Moutails*, which were never taken in the Lake till within theſe ſix Years laſt paſt. They are in the Lake of *Neufchâtel*, and ſome of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*; and it is likely that by ſome Conveyance under Ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake. The Water of the Lake is all clear and freſh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhône*, that runs into it, but does not paſs through it unmixt, as ſome Travellers have fondly imagin'd; becauſe ſometimes a ſoft Gale makes a curling of the Water in ſome Places, which runs ſmooth in the Places over which that ſoft Breath of Wind does not paſs, the Gale varying its Place often; but it is believ'd, that there are alſo many great Fountains

tains all over the Lake. Theſe Springs do very probably flow from ſome vaſt Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Ciſterns, that diſcharge themſelves in the Valleys which are cover'd over with Lakes. And on the two Sides of the *Alps*, both North and South, there is ſo great a Number of thoſe little Seas, that it may be eaſily gueſſed they muſt have vaſt Sources, that feed ſo conſtantly thoſe huge Ponds. And when one conſiders the Height of thoſe Hills, the Chain of ſo many of them together, and their Extent both in Length and Breadth; if at firſt he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine, according to the ingenious Conjecture of one that travell'd over them oftner than once, that theſe cannot be the primary Productions of the Author of Nature, but are the vaſt Ruins of the firſt World, which at the Deluge broke here into ſo many Inequalities.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, call'd *Maudit*, or *Curſed*, of which one third is always covered with Snow, is two Miles of perpendicular Height, according to the Obſervation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philoſopher *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at twenty two Years of Age, is already one of the greateſt Men of his Age, and ſeems to be born to carry Learning ſome Sizes beyond what it has yet attain'd.

But now I will entertain you a little with the State of *Bern*; for that Canton alone is above a third Part of all *Switzerland*. I will ſay nothing of its Beginning nor Hiſtory; nor will I enlarge upon

upon the Conſtitution, which are all well known. It has a *Council of Two Hundred*, that goes by that Name, tho' it conſiſts almoſt of three hundred; and another of *Twenty Five*, as *Geneva*. The Chief Magiſtrates are two *Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the Syndics of *Geneva*, but are for Life, and have an Authority not unlike that of the *Roman* Conſuls, each being his Year by turns the *Advoyer* in Office. After them there are the four *Bannerets*, who anſwer to the *Tribunes* of the People in *Rome*; then come the two *Burſars* or Treaſurers, one for the antient *German* Territory, the other for the *French* Territory, or the Country of *Vaud*; and the two laſt choſen of the *Twenty Five*, are called the *Secrets*; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are diſcover'd; and they have an Authority of calling the *Two Hundred* together when they think fit, and of accuſing thoſe of the Magiſtracy, the *Advoyers* themſelves not excepted, as they ſee Cauſe; tho' this falls out ſeldom.

There are ſeventy two *Bailiages*, into which the whole Canton of *Bern* is divided; and in every one of thoſe there is a *Bailiff* named by the *Council of Two Hundred*, who muſt be a Citizen of *Bern*, and one of the *Two Hundred*, to which Council no Man can be choſen till he is married. Theſe *Bailiages* are Employments both of Honour and Profit, for the *Bailiff* is the Governor and Judge in that Juriſdiction; ſince tho' he has ſome *Aſſeſſors*, who are choſen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry Matters which way he will, againſt all

their

their Opinions, and the *Bailiffs* have all the Confiſcations and Fines; ſo that Drinking being ſo common in the Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the *Bailiff* makes his Advantage of all thoſe Diſorders; and in the ſix Years of his Government, according to the Quality of his *Bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps twenty thouſand Crowns with him back to *Bern*, on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*: For one is capable of being twice *Bailiff*; and tho' ſome have been thrice *Bailiffs*, this is very extraordinary. The Exactions of the *Bailiff* are the only Impoſitions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are ſubjected; and theſe falling only on the Irregularities and Diſorders of the more Debauch'd, makes that this Grievance, tho' in ſome particular Caſes it preſſes hard, yet is not ſo univerſally felt; for a ſober and regular Man is in no Danger. Many in this Canton are (as in *England*) Lords of Caſtels or Manors, and have a Juriſdiction annex'd to their Eſtates, and name their Magiſtrate, who is call'd the *Caſtellan*. In Matters of ſmall Conſequence there lies no Appeal from him to the *Bailiff*; but beyond the Value of two Piſtoles an Appeal lies; and no Sentence of Death is executed till it is confirm'd at *Bern*. There lies alſo an Appeal from the *Bailiff* to the Council at *Bern*. There are many Complaints of the Injuſtice of the *Bailiffs*; but their Law is ſhort and clear, ſo that a Suit is ſoon ended; two or three Hearings are the moſt that even an intricate Suit amounts to, either in the firſt Inſtance before the *Bailiff*, or in the ſecond Judg-

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ment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* conſider theſe *Bailiages* as their Inheritance; and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was ever uſed among the *Romans* in the Diſtribution of their Provinces: And ſo little ſignify the beſt Regulations, when there are intrinſick Diſeaſes in a State, that tho' there is all poſſible Precaution uſed in the Nomination of theſe *Bailiffs*, yet that has not preſerved this State from falling under ſo great a Miſchief by thoſe little Provinces; that as it has already in a great Meaſure corrupted their Morals, ſo it may likely turn in Concluſion to the Ruin of this Republick. All the Electors give their Voices by Ballot; ſo that they are free from all After-Game in the Nomination of the Perſon. All the Kindred of the Pretenders, even to the remoteſt Degree, are excluded from voting, as are alſo all their Creditors; ſo that none can vote but thoſe who ſeem to have no Intereſt in the Iſſue of the Competition: And yet there is ſo much Intrigue, and ſo great a Corruption in the Diſtribution of theſe Employments, that the whole Buſineſs in which all *Bern* is ever in Motion, is, the catching of the beſt *Bailiages*, on which a Family will have its Eye for many Years before they fall. For the Counſellors of *Bern* give but a very ſmall Share of their Eſtates to their Children when they marry them; all that they propoſe is to make a *Bailiage* ſure to them: For *this* they feaſt and drink, and ſpare nothing by which they may make ſure a ſufficient Number of Votes; but it is the Chamber of the *Bannerets* that admits the Pretenders to the

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Competition. When the *Bailiff* is choſen, he takes all poſſible Methods to make the beſt of it he can, and lets few Crimes paſs, that carry either Confiſcations or Fines after them: His Juſtice alſo is generally ſuſpected. It is true, thoſe of the *Bailiage* may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppreſſed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*; and there have been ſevere Judgments againſt ſome very exorbitant *Bailiffs*; yet as Complaints are not made, except upon great Occaſions, which are not often given by the *Bailiffs*, ſo it being the general Intereſt of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all poſſible Advantages of thoſe Employments, the Cenſure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is neceſſary for the Support of the Town. They maintain Profeſſors in the Univerſities of *Bern* and *Lauſanne*; the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton, and the other for the new Conqueſt, which is the *French*: In the former there are about three hundred Pariſhes; in the latter there are about one hundred and fifty: But in the Benefices of the *German* Side, the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preſerved ſo, that ſome Benefices are worth a thouſand Crowns; whereas in the *Païs de Vaud* the Proviſions are ſet off as Salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred Crowns. It is viſible that thoſe of *Bern* truſt more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects than to the Strength of their Walls: For as they have never finiſh'd them, ſo what is built

built cannot be brought to a regular Fortification: And it is not preſerv'd with any Care, nor furniſh'd with Cannon; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have good Store in their Arſenal, in which they ſay, there are Arms for forty thouſand Men.

The Peaſants are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* Side, and are all well armed. They pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Cultivation; in which ſome ſucceed ſo well, that I was ſhew'd ſome that were by Accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of Eſtate to the Value of an hundred thouſand Crowns, but that is not ordinary; yet ten thouſand Crowns for a Peaſant is no extraordinary Matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in ſome Places, as about *Payern*, yields an Encreaſe of fifteen Meaſures after one. They breed many Horſes, which bring them in a great deal of Money. The worſt Thing in the Country is the Moiſture of the Air, which is not only occaſion'd by the many Lakes that are in it, and the neighbouring Mountains that are cover'd with Snow, ſome all the Summer long, and the reſt till Midſummer, but by the vaſt Quantity of Woods of Fir-Trees, which ſeem to fill very near half of their Soil: And if theſe were for the moſt part rooted out, as they would have much more Soil, ſo their Air would be much purer; yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their Fewel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in ſome Places: If the Coal is conveniently ſituated, ſo that by their Lakes and Rivers it can be eaſily carried

carried over the Country, it may ſave them a great Extent of Ground, that as it is cover'd with Wood, ſo the Air becomes thereby the more unwholſome.

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

The Men are generally ſincere, but heavy: They think it neceſſary to correct the Moiſture of the Air with liberal Entertainments; and they are well furniſh'd with all neceſſary Ingredients; for as their Soil produces good Cattle, ſo their Lakes abound in Fiſh, and their Woods in Fowl; the Wine is alſo light and good. The Women are generally employ'd in their domeſtick Affairs; and the Wives even of the chief Magiſtrates of *Bern*, look into all the Concerns of the Houſe and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meaneſt Peaſants. Men and Women do not converſe promiſcuouſly together; and the Women are ſo much amuſed with the Management at Home, and enter ſo little into Intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Phyſician there told me, *they know not what Vapours are*, which he imputed to the Idleneſs and Intrigues that abound elſewhere; whereas, he ſaid, among them the Blood was cleanſed by their Labour; and as that made them ſleep well, ſo they did not amuſe themſelves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were. The third Adultery is puniſh'd with Death; which is alſo the Puniſhment of the fifth Act of Fornication, of which I ſaw an Inſtance while I was in *Bern*: For a

Woman

Woman who confeſs'd herſelf guilty of many Whoredoms, and deſign'd to be revenged on ſome Men that did not furniſh her liberally with Money, was upon that condemned and executed. The Manner was ſolemn; for the *Advoyer* comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the Satisfaction of the People, the whole Proceſs was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all; the Counſellors both of the great and leſſer Council ſtanding about the *Advoyer*, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the Hand, and pray'd for her Soul; and after Execution, there was a Sermon for the Inſtruction of the People.

The whole State is diſpoſed for War; for every Man that can bear Arms is liſted, and knows his Poſt and Arms; and there are Beacons ſo laid over the Country, that the Signal can run over the whole Canton in a Night; and their military Liſts are ſo laid, that every Man knows whether he is to come out upon the firſt or ſecond, or not till the general Summons. They aſſured me at *Bern*, that upon a general Summons they could bring above eighty Thouſand Men together. The Men are robuſt and ſtrong, and capable of great Hardſhip, and of good Diſcipline, and have generally an extreme Senſe of Liberty, and a great Love to their Country; but they labour under a Want of Officers. And tho' the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor; they can well reſiſt a ſudden Invaſion of their Country, but they would ſoon grow weary of a long War;

War; and the Soil requires ſo much Cultivation, that they could not ſpare from their Labour, the Men that would be neceſſary to preſerve their Country. They were indeed as happy as a People could be, when the Emperor had *Alſace* on the one Hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other; they had then no Reaſon to fear their Neighbours: But now that both thoſe Provinces are in the Hands of the *French*, the Caſe is quite alter'd; for as *Baſil* is every Moment in Danger from the Garriſon of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from it; ſo all the *Païs de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified Places nor good Paſſes to ſecure it. So that their Error in ſuffering this to fall into the Hands of the *French* was ſo groſs, that I took ſome Pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this Account that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Poſt; ſo that as he certainly knew the Secret, he ſeemed to ſpeak ſincerely to me. He told me, that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invaſion of *France* ought to be made on that Side in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in *France*; ſo that the King reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Comté*, but uſed that Precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a Neutrality on that Side: But the *Spaniards* who judged right, that it was as much the Intereſt of the Cantons, as it was theirs, to preſerve the *Comté* in their Hands,

refuſed

refuſed to conſent to it; but they took no Care to defend it, and ſeem'd to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French* Money went about very liberally at *Bern*; and after thoſe that were moſt likely to make Oppoſition were gain'd, the *French* Miniſter propoſed to them the Neceſſity in which his Maſter found himſelf engaged to ſecure himſelf on that Side; but that ſtill he would grant a Neutrality on their Account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Aſſurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they ſhould never find the leaſt Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary, all poſſible Protection. There was juſt Cauſe given by the *Spaniards* to conſider them very little in their Deliberation; for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor ſend a conſiderable Force to preſerve the Country, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inevitable to give Way to the *French* Propoſition. But one propoſed that which an unbiaſs'd Aſſembly would certainly have accepted, that they ſhould go themſelves and take the Country, and by ſo doing they would ſecure the Neutrality, which was all the *French* pretended to deſire; and they might eaſily ſatisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburſe themſelves of the Expence of the Invaſion, by reſtoring the Country to them, when a general Peace ſhould be made. He laid out the Miſery to which their Country muſt be reduced by ſo powerful a Neighbour; but all was loſt Labour; ſo he went out in a Rage, and publiſh'd thro'

thro' the Town that *the State was ſold, and all was loſt.* They now ſee their Error too late, aud would repair it if it were poſſible; but the Truth is, many of the particular Members of this State do ſo prey upon the Publick, that unleſs they do with one Conſent reform thoſe Abuſes, they will never be in a Condition to do much: For in many of their *Bailiages*, of which ſome are *Abbeys*, the *Bailiffs* not only feed on the Subjects, but likewiſe on the State, and pretend they are ſo far ſuper-expended, that they diſcount a great deal of the publick Revenue (of which they are the Receivers) for their Reimburſment. Which made Mr. *D'Erlack* once ſay, when one of thoſe Accounts was preſented, *That it was very ſtrange, if the Abbey could not feed the Monks.* It is true, the Power of their *Bannerets* is ſo great, that one would think *they* might redreſs many Abuſes. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blackſmiths; and every Citizen of *Bern* doth incorporate himſelf into one of theſe Societies, which they call *Abbeys*; for it is likely they were antiently a ſort of religious Fraternity. Every one of theſe chooſes two *Bannerets*, who bear Office by turns from four Years to four Years; and every one of them has a *Bailiage* annex'd to his Office, which he holds for Life. They carry their Name from the *Banners* of the ſeveral *Abbeys*, as the *Gonfaloniers* of *Italy*; and the *Advoyers* carry ſtill their Name from the antient Title *Ecdicus*, or *Advocate*, that was the

Title

Title of the chief Magiſtrates of the Towns in the Times of the *Roman* Emperors. The Chamber of the four *Bannerets* that bear Office have a vaſt Power; they examine and paſs all Accompts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices; ſo that no Man can be propoſed to the *Council of two Hundred* without their Approbation; and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have ſo abſolute an Authority in ſhutting Men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for Life, is no leſs conſiderable than that of the *Advoyer*, tho' they are inferior to him in Rank. They manage Matters with great Addreſs, of which this Inſtance was given me in a Competition for the *Advoyerſhip* not along ago. There was one whoſe Temper was violent, that had made it ſo ſure among thoſe that were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitor whom they favour'd; ſo they ſet up a third Competitor, whoſe Kindred were the Perſons that were made ſure to him whoſe Advancement they oppoſed, and by this Means they were all ſhut out from voting, ſo that the Election went according to the Deſign of the *Bannerets*. The chief Man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning *Advoyer* when I was there, is Mr. *D'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *D'Erlack* who was Governor of *Briſack*, and had a Brevet to be a Marſhal of *France*. This is one of the nobleſt Families in *Bern*, that acted a great Part in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Tyranny; and they

have been ever ſince very much diſtinguiſh'd there from all the reſt of their Nobility. The preſent Head of it is a very extraordinary Man; he has a great Authority in his Canton, not only as he is *Advoyer*, but by the particular Eſteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wiſeſt and worthieſt Man of the State; tho' it is ſomewhat ſtrange, how he ſhould bear ſo great a Sway in ſuch a Government; for he neither feaſts nor drinks with the reſt. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reſerved, and behaves himſelf more like a Miniſter of State in a Monarchy, than a Magiſtrate in a popular Government; for one ſees in him none of thoſe Arts that ſeem neceſſary in ſuch a Government. He has a great Eſtate, and no Children; ſo he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuſes of the State; tho' the Diſeaſe is inveterate, and ſeems paſt Cure.

He had a Misfortune in a War that was thirty Years ago (in the Year 1656,) between the Popiſh and the Proteſtant Cantons; the Occaſion of which will engage me in a ſhort Digreſſion. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preſerv'd by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without Prejudice to the general League. Now the Popiſh Cantons have made Laws, that it ſhall be capital to any to change their Religion; and on a ſet Day every Year, they go all to Maſs, and the Maſters of Families ſwear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Reli-

Religion to their Lives End; and ſo they pretend they puniſh their falling into Hereſy with Death and Confiſcation of Goods, becauſe it is a Violation of the Faith which is ſo ſolemnly ſworn. But on the other Hand, in the Proteſtant Cantons, ſuch as turn, are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Eſtates, they ſtill preſerve them, and are permitted to ſell them. One cannot but obſerve more of the merciful Spirit of the Goſpel in the one, than in the other. In two Cantons, *Appenzel* and *Glaris*, both Religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal Privileges; and in ſome *Bailiages* that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the *Bailiffs* by turns; and both Religions are ſo equally tolerated, that in the ſame Church they have both Maſs and Sermon ſo equally, that on one *Sunday* the Maſs begins, and the Sermon follows, and the next *Sunday* the Sermon begins, and the Maſs comes after, without the leaſt Diſorder or Murmuring.

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

Criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the Canton to which they belong. But thoſe of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchriſtian; tho' the Deputy of *Baſil* was of another Mind, and thought that they ought to be deliver'd up, which extremely diſguſted thoſe of *Zurich*. Thoſe of *Schwitz* committed ſome Inſolencies upon the Subjects of *Zurich*, and refuſed to give Satisfaction. Upon all which a War follow'd between the Proteſtant and Popiſh Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raiſed an Army of twenty five Thouſand Men, which was commanded by Mr. *D'Erlack*, but was diſperſed in ſeveral Bodies: And the Papiſts, who had not above ſix Thouſand, yet ſurprized Mr. *D'Erlack* with a Body much ſuperior to theirs. Both Sides after a ſhort Engagement ran; the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole Day; at laſt thoſe of *Lucern*, ſeeing that none ſtaid to defend the Cannon, carried them off. This Loſs raiſed ſuch a Tumult in *Bern*, that they ſeemed reſolved to ſacrifice Mr. *D'Erlack*; but he came with ſuch a Preſence of Mind, and gave ſo ſatisfying an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceaſed, and ſoon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that tho' the Papiſts acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpoſe or quarrel with thoſe of *Schwitz*, for what they did upon that Occaſion. Within theſe few Years there were ſome Quarrels like to ariſe in the Canton of *Glaris*, where

where it was ſaid, that the equal Privileges agreed on to both Religions were not preſerv'd. But on this Occaſion the Pope's *Nuncio* acted a very different Part from that which might have been expected from him. For whereas the Miniſters of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the Diſputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the Part of a Mediator. And whereas it was viſible, that the Injuſtice lay on the Side of the Papiſts, he interpoſed ſo effectually with thoſe of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the Popiſh Cantons, that the Difference was compoſed.

But to return to *Bern*. The Buildings have neither great Magnificence, nor many Apartments; but they are convenient, and ſuited to the Way of living in that Country. The Streets not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the ſmalleſt Villages, are furniſh'd with Fountains that run continually, which, as they are of great Uſe, ſo they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the Top of the Hill on which the Town ſtands, it ſeems the Ground began to fail; ſo to ſupport it they have raiſed a vaſt Fabrick, which has coſt more than the Church itſelf; for there is a Platform made which is a Square, to which the Church is one Side, and the farther Side is a vaſt Wall, fortified with Buttreſſes about an Hundred and fifty Foot high. They told me, that all the Ground down to the Bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults. This Platform is the chief Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun-ſet; and the

River underneath preſents a very beautiful Proſpect. For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills; but all along as this Cut goes, the Water of the *Aar* runs over a ſloping Bank of Stone, which they ſay was made at a vaſt Charge, and makes a noble and large Caſcade.

The ſecond Church is the *Dominicans* Chapel, where I ſaw the famous Hole that went to an Image in the Church from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to ſet down that Story at ſome Length: For as it was one of the moſt ſignal Cheats that the World has known, ſo it falling out about twenty Years before the Reformation was received at *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People to that Change. I am the more able to give a particular Account of it, becauſe I read the Original Proceſs in the *Latin* Record, ſigned by the Notaries of the Court of Delegates, that the Pope ſent to try the Matter. The Record is above one Hundred and thirty Sheets, writ cloſe on both Sides, it being indeed a large Volume: And I found the printed Accounts ſo defective, that I was at the Pains of reading the whole Proceſs, of which I will give here a true Abſtract.

The two famous Orders that had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Eſteem of thoſe dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty Rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more learned; they were the eminenteſt Preachers of thoſe Times, and had the Conduct of the Courts of Inquiſition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their Hands.

Hands. But on the other Hand, the *Franciſcans* had an outward Appearance of more Severity, a ruder Habit, ſtricter Rules, and greater Poverty; all which gave them ſuch Advantages in the Eyes of the ſimple Multitude, as were able to balance the other Honours of the *Dominican* Order. In ſhort, the two Orders were engaged in a high Rivalry; but the Devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing Paſſion of thoſe Times, the *Franciſcans* upon this had great Advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the Defence of *Thomas Aquinas*'s Opinions, were thereby obliged to aſſert, that ſhe was born in Original Sin. This was propoſed to the People by the *Franciſcans*, as no leſs than Blaſphemy; and by this the *Dominicans* began to loſe Ground extremely in the Minds of the People, who were ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd in favour of the immaculate Conception.

About the Beginning of the fifteenth Century, a *Franciſcan* happen'd to preach in *Franckfort*; and one *Wigand*, a *Dominican*, coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* ſeeing him, broke out into Exclamations, praiſing God that he was not of an Order that prophaned the Virgin, or that poiſon'd Princes in the Sacrament (for a *Dominican* had poiſon'd the Emperor *Henry* VII. with the Sacrament;) *Wigand* being extremely provoked with this bloody Reproach, gave him the Lie; upon which a Diſpute aroſe, which ended in a Tumult, that had almoſt coſt the *Dominican* his Life; yet he got away. The whole Order reſolved to take their

Revenge; and in a Chapter held at *Vimpſen* in the Year 1504, they contrived a Method for ſupporting the Credit of their Order, which was much ſunk in the Opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciſcans*: Four of the Junto undertook to manage the Deſign; for they ſaid, ſince the People were ſo much diſpoſed to believe Dreams and Fables, they muſt dream on their Side, and endeavour to cheat the People as well as the others had done. They reſolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the Project ſhould be put in Execution; for they found the People of *Bern* at that Time apt to ſwallow any Thing, and not diſpoſed to make ſevere Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their Deſign, a fit Tool preſented itſelf; for one *Jetzer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-Brother, who had all the Diſpoſitions that were neceſſary for the Execution of their Project; for he was extreme ſimple, and much inclined to Auſterities: So having obſerved his Temper well, they began to execute their Project the very Night after he took the Habit, which was on *Lady-Day* 1507. One of the Friers convey'd himſelf ſecretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a ſtrange Figure, and he had a Box near his Mouth, upon which, as he blew, Fire ſeemed to come out of his Mouth. He had alſo ſome Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors. In this Poſture he came near the Frier while he was in Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they uſed to tell all their

Friers.

Friers, to beget in them a great Dread at the laying aſide their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superior of their Houſe at *Solothurn*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aſide his Habit, was kill'd in his Lay-Habit. The Frier in the Vizard ſaid he was that Perſon, and was condemned to Purgatory for that Crime; but he added, that he might be reſcued out of it by his Means; and he ſeconded this with moſt horrible Cries, expreſſing the Miſeries which he ſuffer'd. The poor Frier *Jetzer* was exceſſively frighted; but the other advanced, and required a Promiſe of him to do that which he ſhould deſire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frighted Frier promiſed all that he aſked of him. Then the other ſaid, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail; but they muſt be very extraordinary: The whole Monaſtery muſt for a Week together diſcipline themſelves with a Whip, and he muſt lie proſtrate in the Form of one on a Croſs in one of their Chapels, while Maſs was ſaid in the Sight of all that ſhould come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he ſhould find the Effects of the Love that the bleſſed Virgin did bear him; together with many other extraordinary Things; and ſaid he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits; and aſſured him, that all that he did ſuffer for his Deliverance, ſhould be moſt glorioufly rewarded. Morning was no ſooner come, than the Frier gave an Account of this Apparition to the reſt of the Convent,

who ſeemed extremely ſurprized at it: They all preſſed him to undergo the Diſcipline that was enjoin'd him, and every one undertook to bear his Share; ſo the deluded Frier perform'd it all exactly in one of the Chapels of their Church. This drew a vaſt Number of Spectators together, who all conſider'd the poor Frier as a Saint; and in the mean while the four Friers that managed the Impoſture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Frier's Confeſſor was in the ſecret; and by this means they knew all the little Paſſages of the poor Frier's Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the Matter. The Confeſſor gave him an *Hoſtie*, with a Piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true Piece of the Croſs; and by theſe he was to fortify himſelf, if any other Apparitions ſhould come to him; ſince evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the maſqued Frier brought two others with him in ſuch Vizards, that the Frier thought they were Devils indeed. The Frier preſented the *Hoſtie* to them, which gave them ſuch a Check, that he was fully ſatisfied of the Vertue of this Preſervative.

The Frier that pretended he was ſuffering in Purgatory, ſaid ſo many Things to him relating to the Secrets of his Life and Thoughts, which he had from his Confeſſor, that the poor Frier was fully poſſeſſed with the Opinion of the Reality of the Apparition. In two of theſe Appa-

ritions

ritions that were both managed in the ſame Manner, the Frier in the Maſque talk'd much of the *Dominican* Order, which he ſaid was exceſſively dear to the Bleſſed Virgin, who knew herſelf to be conceived in Original Sin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrary were in Purgatory: That the Story of St. *Bernard*'s appearing with a Spot on him, for having oppoſed himſelf to the Feaſt of the Conception, was a Forgery; but that it was true, that ſome hideous Flies had appear'd on St. *Bonaventure*'s Tomb, who taught the contrary. That the bleſſed Virgin abhorr'd the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son: That *Scotus* was damned, whoſe Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then ſolliciting hard at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be deſtroy'd for harbouring ſuch Plagues within their Walls. When the injoined Diſcipline was fully performed, the Spirit appear'd again, and ſaid, he was now deliver'd out of Purgatory; but before he could be admitted to Heaven, he muſt receive the Sacrament, having died without it; and after that he would ſay Maſs for thoſe who had by their great Charities reſcued him out of his Pains. The Frier fancied the Voice reſembled the Prior's a little; but he was then ſo far from ſuſpecting any Thing, that he gave no great heed to this Suſpicion. Some Days after this, the ſame Frier appear'd as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Frier that ſhe was St. *Barbara*, for whom he had a particular Devotion; and added, that the bleſſed Virgin was ſo much pleaſed with his Charity, that ſhe intended to come and viſit him. He immediately call'd the Convent together, and

gave the reſt of the Friars an Account of this Apparition, which was entertain'd by them all with great Joy; and the Friar languiſhed in Deſires of the Accompliſhment of the Promiſe that St. *Barbara* had made him. After ſome Days the longed-for Deluſion appear'd to him, cloathed as the Virgin uſed to be on the great Feaſts, and indeed in the ſame Habits. There were about her ſome Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels, which they ſet on the Altars on the great Holy-days. There was alſo a Pulley faſten'd in the Room over his Head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them riſe up in the Air, and fleet about the Virgin which encreaſed the Deluſion. The Virgin, after ſome Endearments to himſelf, extolling the Merit of his Charity and Diſcipline, told him, that ſhe was conceived in Original Sin, and that Pope *Julius* II. that then reigned, was to put an end to the Diſpute, and was to aboliſh the Feaſt of her Conception, which *Sixtus* IV. had inſtituted; and that the Friar was to be the Inſtrument of perſuading the Pope of the Truth in that Matter. She gave him three Drops of her Son's Blood, which were three Tears of Blood that he had ſhed over *Jeruſalem*; and this ſignified, that ſhe was three Hours in Original Sin, after which ſhe was by his Mercy delivered out of that State. For it ſeems the *Dominicans* were reſolved ſo to compound the Matter, that they ſhould gain the main Point, of her Conception in Sin; yet they would comply ſo far with the Reverence for the Virgin with which the World was poſſeſs'd, that

ſhe

ſhe ſhould be believed to have remained a very ſhort while in that State. She gave him alſo five Drops of Blood in the Form of a Croſs, which were Tears of Blood that ſhe had ſhed while her Son was on the Croſs. And to convince him more fully, ſhe preſented an *Hoſtie* to him that appeared as an ordinary *Hoſtie*, and of a ſudden it appeared to be of a deep red Colour. The Cheat of thoſe ſuppoſed Viſits was often repeated to the abuſed Friar; at laſt the Virgin told him, that ſhe was to give ſuch Marks of her Son's Love to him, that the Matter ſhould be paſt all Doubt. She ſaid, that the five Wounds of St. *Lucia* and St. *Catharine* were real Wounds, and that ſhe would alſo imprint them on him; ſo ſhe bid him reach his Hand. He had no great Mind to receive a Favour in which he was to ſuffer ſo much; but ſhe forced his Hand, and ſtruck a Nail thro' it. The Hole was as big as a Grain of Peaſe, and he ſaw the Candle clearly thro' it. This threw him out of a ſuppoſed Tranſport into a real Agony. But ſhe ſeemed to touch his Hand; and he thought he ſmelt an Ointment with which ſhe anointed it; tho' his Confeſſor perſuaded him that that was only an Imagination: So the ſuppoſed Virgin left him for that Time.

The next Night the Apparition return'd, and brought ſome Linnen Clothes, which had ſome real or imaginary Virtue to allay his Torment; and the pretended Virgin ſaid, they were ſome of the Linnen in which Chriſt was wrapped; and with that ſhe gave him a ſoporiferous Draught, and while he was faſt aſleep, the other

four

four Wounds were imprinted on his Body, in ſuch a Manner that he felt no Pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the Friars betook themſelves to Charms; and the Sub-Prior ſhewed the reſt a Book full of them; but he ſaid, that before they could be effectual, they muſt renounce God; and he not only did this himſelf, but by a formal Act put in Writing, ſigned with his Blood, dedicated himſelf to the Devil: It is true, he did not oblige the reſt to this, but only to renounce God. The Compoſition of the Draught was a Mixture of ſome Fountain Water and Chriſm, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, ſome Quickſilver, ſome Grains of Incenſe, ſomewhat of an *Eaſter* Wax-Candle, ſome conſecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptized Child. This Compoſition was a Secret, which the Sub-Prior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Friar *Jetzer* was made almoſt quite inſenſible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep Sleep, he felt this wonderful Impreſſion on his Body; and now he was raviſh'd out of Meaſure, and came to fancy himſelf to be acting all the Parts of our Saviour's Paſſion: He was expoſed to the People on the great Altar, to the Amazement of the whole Town, and to the no ſmall Mortification of the *Franciſcans*. The *Dominicans* gave him ſome other Draughts, that threw him into Convulſions; and when he came out of thoſe, a Voice was heard, which came thro' that Hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the Cells along a great Part of the Wall of the Church: For a Friar ſpoke thro'

a Pipe,

a Pipe, and at the End of the Hole there was an Image of the Virgin's, with a little *Jeſus* in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice ſeem'd to come. The Image alſo ſeem'd to ſhed Tears; and a Painter had drawn thoſe on her Face ſo lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little *Jeſus* aſked, why ſhe wept; and ſhe ſaid, it was becauſe his Honour was given to her, ſince it was ſaid that ſhe was born without Sin. In Concluſion the Friars did ſo over-act this Matter, that at laſt even the poor deluded Friar himſelf came to diſcover it, and reſolved to quit the Order.

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

The Friars fearing that an Impoſture, which was carried on with ſo much Succeſs, ſhould be quite ſpoil'd, and be turn'd againſt them, thought the ſureſt Way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what Eſteem he would be, if he continued to ſupport the Reputation that he had acquired; that he would become the chief Perſon of the Order; and in the End they perſuaded him to go on with the Impoſture. But at laſt, they fearing leſt he ſhould diſco-

diſcover all, reſolved to poiſon him; of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with ſome Spices, he kept it for ſome Time, and it growing green he threw it to ſome Wolf's Whelps that were in the Monaſtery, who died immediately. His Conſtitution was alſo ſo vigorous, that tho' they gave him Poiſon five ſeveral Times, he was not deſtroyed by it. They alſo preſs'd him earneſtly to renounce God, which they judged neceſſary, that ſo their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he never would conſent to that. At laſt they forced him to take a poiſon'd *Hoſtie*, which yet he vomited up ſoon after he had ſwallowed it down. That failing, they uſed him ſo cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about ſo ſtrait with it, that to avoid farther Torment he ſwore to them in a moſt imprecating Style, that he would never diſcover the Secret, but would ſtill carry it on; and ſo he deluded them till he found an Opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himſelf into the Hands of the Magiſtrates, to whom he diſcover'd all.

The four Friars were ſeized on, and put in Priſon, and an Account of the whole Matter was ſent firſt to the Biſhop of *Lauſanne*, and then to *Rome*; and it may eaſily be imagined, that the *Franciſcans* took all poſſible Care to have it well examined. The Biſhops of *Lauſanne* and of *Zyon*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Proceſs. The four Friars firſt excepted to *Jetzer*'s Credit; but that was rejected: Then being threatned

ned with the Queſtion they put in a long Plea againſt that; but tho' the Provincial would not conſent to that, yet they were put to the Queſtion: Some endured it long; but at laſt they all confeſſed the whole Progreſs of the Impoſture. The Provincial appear'd concerned; for tho' *Jetzer* had open'd the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him: On the contrary, he charged him to be obedient to them; and one of the Friars ſaid plainly, that he was in the whole Secret; and ſo he withdrew; but he died ſome Days after at *Conſtance*, having poiſoned himſelf, as was believed. The Matter lay aſleep ſome Time; but a Year after that, a *Spaniſh* Biſhop came, authoriz'd with full Power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friars were ſolemnly degraded from their Prieſthood; and eight Days after, it being the laſt of *May*, 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other Side of the River, over-againſt the great Church. The Place of their Execution was ſhewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, through which the Voice was convey'd to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackeſt, and yet the beſt carried on Cheat that has been ever known; and no doubt had the poor Friar died before the Diſcovery, it had paſs'd down to Poſterity as one of the greateſt Miracles that ever was; and it gives a ſhrewd Suſpicion that many of the other Miracles of that Church were of the ſame Nature, but more ſucceſsfully finiſh'd.

I ſhall not entertain you any farther with the State of *Bern*, but ſhall only add one general Re-

Remark, which was too viſible not to be obſerved every where, and of too great Importance not to deſerve a particular Reflection. It belongs in general to all the *Cantons*; but I give it here, becauſe I had more Occaſion to make it in *Bern*, having ſeen it more and ſtaid longer in it than in the other *Cantons*.

Switzerland lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich and better furniſhed with all the Pleaſures and Conveniencies of Life than it is; and yet *Italy* is almoſt quite diſpeopled, and the People in it are reduced to a Miſery that can ſcarce be imagined by thoſe who have not ſeen it: And *France* is in a great Meaſure diſpeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a Poverty that appears in all the Marks in which it can ſhew itſelf, both in their Houſes, Furniture, Clothes, and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extreme full of People, and in ſeveral Places, in the Villages as well as in their Towns, one ſees all the Marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth; their Houſes and Windows are in good Caſe, the Highways are well maintained, all People are well cloathed, and every one lives at his Eaſe. This Obſervation ſurprized me yet more in the Country of the *Griſons*, who have hardly any Soil at all, being ſituated in Valleys that are almoſt all waſhed away with the Torrents that fall down from the Hills, and ſwell their Brooks ſometimes ſo violently and ſo ſuddenly, that in many Places the whole Soil is waſhed away; and yet thoſe Vallies are well peopled, and every one lives

lives happy and at eaſe under a gentle Government: Whilſt other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to ſuch Miſery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, ſo thoſe whoſe ſtay behind can ſcarce live, and pay thoſe grievous Impoſitions that are laid upon them. The rude People generally reaſon very ſimply, when they enter into Speculations of Government; but *they feel true, though they argue falſe.* So an eaſy Government, though join'd to an ill Soil, and accompanied with great Inconveniencies, draws, or at leaſt keeps People in it; whereas a ſevere Government, tho' in general Ideas it may appear reaſonable, drives its Subjects even out of the beſt and moſt deſirable Seats.

In my Way from *Bern* to this Place I paſſed by *Solothurn*, and I came thro' *Fribourg*, in my Way from *Lauſanne* to *Bern*. Theſe are two of the chief of the Popiſh Cantons after *Lucern*; and one ſees in them a Heat and Bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*. Long before they come within the Church Doors they kneel down in the Streets when Maſs is ſaying in it. The Images are alſo extreme groſs. In the chief Church of *Solothurn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an old Man with a great black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Pigeon over his Head. Here alſo begins a Devotion at the *Ave-Mary* Bell, which is ſcarce known in *France*, but is practiſed all *Italy* over: At Noon and at Sun-ſet the Bell rings, and all ſay the *Ave-Mary* and a ſhort Prayer to the Virgin. But whereas in *Italy* they content themſelves with put-

putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the moſt part kneel down in the Streets; which I ſaw no where practiſed in *Italy*, except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithſtanding this extreme Bigotry, all the *Switzers* ſee their common Intereſt ſo well, that they live in a very good Underſtanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in moſt of the other Popiſh Cantons. The Reſidence of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and of the *Nuncio* in that Town, contributes alſo much to the preſerving it in ſo good a Temper, it being their Intereſt to unite *Switzerland*; and by this Means the Heat and Indiſcretion of the reſt is often moderated. The *Jeſuits* begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elſewhere; they have a noble College and Chapel ſituated in the beſt Place of *Fribourg*. It is not long ſince they were receiv'd at *Solothurn*, where there was a Revenue of a thouſand Livres a Year, ſet off for the Maintenance of ten of them, with this Proviſion, that they ſhould never exceed that Number. But where they are once ſettled, they find Means to break thro' all Limitations; and they are now become ſo rich there, that they are raiſing a Church and College, which will coſt above four hundred thouſand *Livres*, to which the *French* King gives ten thouſand *Livres* for the Frontiſpiece: For this being the Canton in which his Ambaſſador reſides, he thought it ſuitable to his Glory, to have a Monument of his Bounty raiſed by an Order that will

will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they find their Account in it.

In the ſame Canton there is an Abbey that has an Hundred Thouſand Livres of Revenue; there is alſo a very rich Houſe of Nuns that wear the *Capuchins* Habit, that, as I was told, had Sixty Thouſand Livres of Revenue, and but ſixty Nuns in it, who having thus a Thouſand Livres apiece, may live in all poſſible Plenty in a Country where a very little Money goes a great Way. But that which ſurprizes one moſt at *Solothurn* is, the great Fortification of a Wall that they are building about the Town, the nobleſt and ſolideſt that is any where to be ſeen. The Stone with which it is faced, is a ſort of coarſe Marble, but of that Bigneſs, that many Stones are ten Foot long, and two Foot of Breadth and Thickneſs: But tho' this be a Work of vaſt Expence and great Beauty, yet it would ſignify little againſt a great Army that would attack it vigorouſly. The Wall is finiſhed on the Side of the River on which the Town ſtands, the Ditch is very broad, and the *Counterſcarp* and *Glacis* are alſo finiſhed, and they are working at a Fort on the other Side of the River, which they intend to fortify in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near Two Millions of Livres, and this vaſt Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain, that a Fortification that is able to reſiſt the Rage of their Peaſants in the Caſe of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This Canton has two *Advoyers*, as *Bern*; the little Council conſiſts of thirty ſix: they have twelve

twelve *Bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them; they have one *Burſar*, and but one *Banneret*. All the Cantons have their *Bailiages*; but if there are Diſorders at *Bern* in the Choice of their *Bailiffs*, there are far greater among the Popiſh Cantons, where all Things are ſold, as a foreign Miniſter that reſides there told me; who tho' he knew what my Religion was, did not ſtick to own frankly to me, that the Catholick Cantons were not near ſo well governed as the Proteſtant Cantons. Juſtice is generally ſold among them, and in their Treaties with foreign Princes, they have ſometimes taken Money both from the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and have ſigned contradictory Articles at the ſame Time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient Situation, which makes it the Seat of the General Dyet of the Cantons, tho' it is not one of them, but is a *Bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the ancient Cantons. At laſt I came to this Place, which as it is the firſt and moſt honourable of all the Cantons, ſo with relation to us, it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the firſt that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much leſs than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much richer: They reckon that they can bring fifty Thouſand Men together upon twenty four Hours warning; their Subjects live happy: for the *Bailiffs* here have regulated Appointments, and have only the Hundred Penny, of the Fines; ſo that they are not tempted

tempted as thoſe of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to ſtrain Matters againſt their Subjects. And whereas at *Bern* the conſtant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their *Bailiages*; here, on the contrary, it is a Service to which the Citizens are bound to ſubmit according to their Conſtitution, but to which they do not aſpire. The Government is almoſt the ſame as at *Bern*, and the Magiſtrate that is called the *Advoyer* at *Bern*, is here called the *Burgomaſter*. The Revenue of the State is here juſtly accounted for, ſo that the publick Purſe is much richer than at *Bern*; the Arſenal is much better furniſhed, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great Trade ſtirring here; and as their Lake, that is twenty four Miles long, and about two or three broad, ſupplies them well with Proviſions, ſo their Rivers carry their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they pleaſe. One of their chief Manufactures is Crape, which is in all reſpects the beſt I ever ſaw. I will not deſcribe the Situation of the Town, but ſhall content myſelf to tell you, that it is extreme pleaſant; the Country about it is mountainous, and the Winters are hard; for the Lake freezes quite over, only in ſome Places the Ice never lies, which is believed a Mark that ſome Springs riſe there, which cauſe that Heat. So alſo in the Lake of *Geneva*, tho' it is never quite frozen, yet great Flakes of Ice lie in ſeveral Parts; but theſe are never ſeen in ſome Parts of the Lake, which is ſuppoſed to flow from the ſame Cauſe.

But

But to return to *Zurich:* One ſees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity. Their Women not only do not converſe familiarly with Men, except thoſe of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets do not make any Returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courteſies: And here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not ſaluted, but the Civility is expreſſed by taking them by the Hand. There is one Thing ſingular in the Conſtitution of *Zurich*, that is, their little Council conſiſts of fifty Perſons, but there ſit in it only twenty five at a Time; and ſo the two Halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Burgomaſter*, have alſo the Government in their Hands by Turns, and they ſhift every ſix Months, at *Midſummer*, and at *Chriſtmas*. The whole Canton is divided into nine great *Bailiages*, and twenty one *Caſtellaneries*; in the former the *Bailiff* reſides conſtantly: but the *Caſtellan*, who is alſo one of the Great Council, has ſo little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at ſome ſet Times of the Year to do Juſtice.

The Virtue of this Canton has appeared ſignally in their adhering firmly to the ancient Capitulations with the *French*, and not ſlackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a ſovereign Influence; but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient Revenues of the Church more generally to pious Uſes, than has

has been done any where elſe, that I know of. They have many Hoſpitals well entertained; in one, as I was told, there was ſix Hundred and fifty Poor kept: But as they ſupport the real Charities which belong to ſuch Endowments, ſo they deſpiſe that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected elſewhere; for theirs are very plain; and one of the Government there ſaid to me very ſenſibly, *That they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.*

The Dean and Chapter are likewiſe ſtill continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation; but if they ſubſiſt plentifully, they labour hard; for they have generally two or three Sermons a Day, and at leaſt one: The firſt begins at Five a Clock in the Morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were ſubſtituted upon the Reformation from the Maſs. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the Preachers have departed from the firſt Deſign of theſe Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were ſo contrived, that it were in all not above a Quarter of an Hour long, as it would be heard by the People with leſs Wearineſs, and more Profit, ſo it would be a vaſt Advantage to the Preachers: For as it would oblige them to ſtudy the Scriptures much; ſo having once made themſelves Maſters of the practical Parts of the Scripture, ſuch ſhort and ſimple

courſes would coſt them leſs Pains than thoſe more laboured Sermons do, which conſume the greateſt Part of their Time, and too often to very little Purpoſe.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter, there is a vaſt Collection of Letters, written either to *Bullinger*, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio; and out of theſe no doubt but one might diſcover a great many Particulars relating to the Hiſtory of the Reformation: For as *Bullinger* lived long, ſo he was much eſteemed. He procured a very kind Reception to be given to ſome of our *Engliſh* Exiles in Queen's *Mary*'s Reign, in particular to *Sands*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*; to *Horn*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and to *Jewel*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the *Cloſe*, and uſed them with all poſſible Kindneſs: And as they preſented ſome Silver Cups to the College, with an Inſcription, acknowledging the kind Reception they had found there, which I ſaw; ſo they continued to keep a conſtant Correſpondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy Re-eſtabliſhment of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*; of which I read almoſt a whole Volume while I was there. Moſt of them contain only the general News, but ſome were more important, and relate to the Diſputes then on Foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the firſt Beginnings to our unhappy Diviſions: And by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Biſhops preſerved the ancient Habits, rather in Compliance with the

the Queen's Inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; ſo far they were from liking them, that they plainly expreſs'd their Diſlike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date *Feb.* 8. 1566, wiſhes that *the Veſtments, together with all the other Remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the Minds of the People*; and laments the Queen's Fixedneſs to them, ſo that ſhe would ſuffer no Change to be made. And in *January* of the ſame Year, *Sands* writes to the ſame Purpoſe. *Contenditur de veſtibus Papiſticis utendis vel non utendis; dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Diſputes are now on foot concerning the *Popiſh* Veſtments, whether they ſhould be uſed or not; but God will put an End to thoſe Things. *Horn*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, went further; for in a Letter dated *July* 16, 1565, he writes of the Act concerning the Habits with great Regret, and expreſſes ſome Hopes that it might be repealed next Seſſion of Parliament, if the *Popiſh* Party did not hinder it; and he ſeems to ſtand in doubt whether he ſhould conform himſelf to it or not: Upon which he deſires *Bullinger*'s Advice. And in many Letters writ on that Subject, it is aſſerted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an Act for aboliſhing the Habits, and that they only defended their Lawfulneſs, but not their Fitneſs; and therefore they blamed private Perſons that refuſed to obey the Laws. *Grindal*, in a Letter dated *Auguſt* 27, 1566, writes, That all the Biſhops, who had been beyond Sea, had, at their Return, dealt with the Queen to let the Matter

of the Habits fall; but ſhe was ſo prepoſſeſſed, that tho' they had all endeavour'd to divert her from proſecuting that Matter, ſhe continued ſtill inflexible. This had made them reſolve to ſubmit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit Opportunity to reverſe them. He laments the ill Effects of the Oppoſition that ſome had made to them, which had extremely irritated the Queen's Spirit, ſo that ſhe was now much more heated in thoſe Matters than formerly. He alſo thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ, juſtifying the lawful Uſe of the Habits, which he ſays had done great Service. *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, in one of his Letters, laments the Averſion that they found in the Parliament to all the Propoſitions that were made for the Reformation of Abuſes. *Jewel*, in a Letter dated *May* 22, 1559, writes, That the Queen refuſed to be called Head of the Church, and adds, That that Title could not be juſtly given to any Mortal, it being due only to *Chriſt*; and that ſuch Titles had been ſo much abuſed by *Antichriſt*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all theſe Paſſages I will make no Reflections here; for I ſet them down only to ſhew, what was the Senſe of our chief Churchmen at that Time concerning thoſe Matters which have ſince engaged us in ſuch warm and angry Diſputes; and this may be no inconſiderable Inſtruction to one that intends to write the Hiſtory of that Time. The laſt Particular, with which I intend to end this Letter, might ſeem a little too learned, if I were writing to a leſs knowing Man than yourſelf.

I have taken ſome Pains in my Travels to examine all the ancient Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament, concerning that doubted Paſſage of St. *John*'s Epiſtles, *There are three that bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe three are one. Bullinger* doubted much of it, becauſe he found it not in an ancient *Latin* Manuſcript at *Zurich*, which ſeems to be about eight Hundred Years old; for it is written in that Hand that began to be uſed in *Charles* the Great's Time. I turned the Manuſcript, and found the Paſſage was not there; but this was certainly the Error or Omiſſion of the Copier: For before the General Epiſtles in that Manuſcript, the Preface of St. *Jerome* is to be found, in which he ſays, that he was the more exact in that Tranſlation, that ſo he might diſcover the Fraud of the *Arians*, who had ſtruck out that Paſſage concerning the Trinity. This Preface is printed in *Lira*'s Bible; but how it came to be left out by *Eraſmus*, in his Edition of that Father's Works, is that of which I can give no Account. For as, on the one Hand, *Eraſmus*'s Sincerity ought not to be too raſhly cenſured; ſo, on the other Hand, that Preface being in all the Manuſcripts ancient or modern, of thoſe Bibles that have the other Prefaces in them, that I ever yet ſaw, it is not eaſy to imagine what made *Eraſmus* not to publiſh it: And it is in the Manuſcript Bibles at *Baſil*, where he printed his Edition of St. *Jerome*'s Works. In the old Manuſcript Bible of *Geneva*, that ſeems to be above ſeven Hundred Years old, both the

Preface and the Paſſage are extant, but with this Difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions ſet the Verſe concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*; before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy. And that I may in this Place end all the Readings I found of this Paſſage in my Travels, there is a Manuſcript in St. *Mark*'s Library in *Venice* in three Languages, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Arabick*, that ſeems not above four Hundred Years old, in which this Paſſage is not in the *Greek*, but it is in the *Latin* ſet after the other three, with a *ſicut* to join it to what goes before. And in a Manuſcript *Latin* Bible in the Library of St. *Laurence* at *Florence*, both St. *Jerome*'s Preface and this Paſſage are extant: but this Paſſage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *ſicut*, as is that of *Venice*; yet *ſicut* is not in the *Geneva* Manuſcript. There are two *Greek* Manuſcripts of the Epiſtles at *Baſil*, that ſeem to be about five Hundred Years old, in neither of which this Paſſage is to be found: They have alſo an ancient *Latin* Bible, which is about eight Hundred Years old, in which tho' St. *Jerome*'s Prologue is inſerted, yet this Paſſage is wanting. At *Straſburg* I ſaw four very ancient Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament in *Latin*. Three of theſe ſeem'd to be about the Time of *Charles* the Great, but the fourth ſeemed to be much ancienter, and may belong to the ſeventh Century: In it neither the Prologue nor the Place is extant, but it is added at the Foot of the Page with another Hand. In two of the other

other the Prologue is extant, but the Place is not; only in one of them it is added on the Margin. In the fourth, as the Prologue is extant, ſo is the Place likewiſe; but it comes after the Verſe of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *Sicut tres ſunt in cælo.*

It ſeem'd ſtrange to me, and it is almoſt incredible, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no ancient *Latin* Bibles, where, above all other Places, they ought to be look'd for; but I ſaw none above four Hundred Years old. There is indeed the famous *Greek* Manuſcript of great Value, which the Chanoine *Shelſtrat*, who was Library-Keeper, aſſerted to be one Thouſand four Hundred Years old, and proved it by the great Similitude of the Characters with thoſe that are upon St. *Hippolite*'s Statue; which is ſo evident, that if his Statue was made about his Time, the Antiquity of this Manuſcript is not to be diſputed. If the Characters are not ſo fair, and have not all the Marks of Antiquity that appear in the King's Manuſcript at St. *James*'s, yet this has been much better preſerv'd, and is much more entire. The Paſſage that has led me into this Digreſſion, is not to be found in the *Vatican* Manuſcript, no more than it is in the King's Manuſcript. And with this I will finiſh my Account of *Zurich*. The publick Library is very noble. The Hall in which it is placed is large and well contrived; and there is a very handſome Cabinet of Medals; and ſo I will break off: But when I have gone ſo much farther, that I have gather'd Materials for another Letter of this

Volume, you may look for a ſecond Entertainment, ſuch as it is, from

Your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Told you that in *Bern* the *Bailiages* are given by a ſort of Ballot, which is ſo managed, that no Man's Vote is known: But I muſt now add, that ſince I was firſt there they have made a conſiderable Regulation in the way of Voting, when Offices are to be given: which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* Method, and which expoſes the Competitors more to Chance, and by Conſequence, may put an End to the Intrigues that are ſo much in Uſe for obtaining thoſe Employments. There is a Number of Balls put into a Box, equal to the Number of thoſe that have a Right to vote, and that are preſent; of theſe the third Part is gilt, and two Parts are only ſilver'd; ſo every one takes out a Ball, but none can vote, except thoſe who have the gilt Balls; ſo that hereafter a Man may have more than two thirds ſure, and yet be caſt in a Competition.

There is one Thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular thoſe of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended: They have ever ſince the Perſecution begun firſt in *France*, open'd a Sanctuary to ſuch as have retired thither, in ſo generous and ſo Chriſtian a manner, that it deſerves all the honourable Remembrances that can be made of it. Such Miniſters and others that were at

firſt

firſt condemn'd in *France*, for the Affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in Reaſon expected. For they have aſſign'd the *French* Miniſters a Penſion of five Crowns a Month, if they were unmarried, and have encreaſed it to ſuch as had Wife and Children, ſo that ſome had above ten Crowns a Month Penſion. They diſperſed them all over the *Païs de Vaud*; but the greateſt Number ſtaid at *Lauſanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the ſupporting of this Charge, the Charities of *Zurich* and the other neighbouring Proteſtant States were brought hither. Not only the Proteſtant Cantons, but the *Griſons*, and ſome ſmall States that are under the Protection of the Cantons, ſuch as *Neufchâtel*, *St. Gall*, and ſome others, have ſent in their Charities to *Bern*, who diſpenſe them with great Diſcretion, and bear what farther Charge this Relief brings upon them. And in this laſt total and deplorable Diſperſion of thoſe Churches, the whole Country has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of Charity and Compaſſion, that every Man's Houſe and Purſe has been opened to the Refugees, who have paſſed thither in ſuch Numbers, that ſometimes there have been above two Thouſand in *Lauſanne* alone, and of theſe there were at one Time near two Hundred Miniſters; and they all met with a Kindneſs and Freeheartedneſs, that look'd more like ſomewhat of the primitive Age revived, than the Degeneracy of the Age in which we live.

I ſhall conclude this Poſtſcript, which is already ſwell'd to the Bigneſs of a Letter, with a ſad Inſtance of the Anger and Heat that riſes among Divines concerning Matters of very ſmall Conſequence.

The middle Way that *Amirald*, *Daillé*, and ſome others in *France*, took in the Matters that were diſputed in *Holland* concerning the divine Decrees, and the Extent of the Death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally follow'd in *France*, ſo it had ſome Aſſertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the Imputation of *Adam*'s Sin, and aſſerted the Univerſality of Chriſt's Death, together with a ſufficient Grace given to all Men; aſſerting with this, a particular and free Decree of Election, with an efficacious Grace for thoſe included in it. Theſe came to be called Univerſaliſts, and began to grow very conſiderable in *Geneva*, two of the Profeſſors of Divinity there being known to favour thoſe Opinions. Upon this, thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the oppoſite Doctrine were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that Height, that almoſt the whole Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this the Magiſtrates had enjoined Silence to both Parties, they had certainly acted wiſely; for theſe are Speculations ſo little certain, and ſo little eſſential to Religion, that a Diverſity of Opinions ought not to be made the Occaſion of Heat or Faction. But tho' the Party of the Univerſaliſts was conſiderable in *Geneva*, it was very ſmall in *Switzerland*; therefore ſome Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine,

Doctrine, drew up ſome Articles, in which all theſe Doctrines were not only condemned, together with ſome Speculations that were aſſerted concerning *Adam*'s Immortality, and other Qualities belonging to the State of Innocency; but becauſe *Capel* and ſome other Criticks had not only aſſerted the Novelty of the Points, but had taken the Liberty to correct the reading of the *Hebrew*, ſuppoſing that ſome Errors had been committed by the Copiers of the Bible, both in the Vowels and Conſonants: In Oppoſition to this, they condemned all Corrections of the *Hebrew* Bible, and aſſerted the Antiquity of the Points, or at leaſt of the Power and Reading according to them; by which, tho' they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf*'s Opinion as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they ſhut the Door againſt all Corrections of the preſent Punctuation. If this Conſent of Doctrine (for ſo they term'd it) had been made only the Standard, againſt which no Man might have taught without incurring Cenſures, the Severity had been more tolerable: But they obliged all ſuch as ſhould be admitted either to the Miniſtry, or to a Profeſſor's Chair, to ſign *ſic ſentio*, ſo I think; and this being ſo ſettled at *Bern* and *Zurich*, it was alſo carried by their Authority at *Geneva*; but for thoſe in Office, the Moderator and Clerk ſigned it in all their Names. And thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in thoſe Matters, but they would needs, according to a Maxim that hath been ſo often fatal to the Church, enter into Peoples Conſciences, and either ſhut out young

Men from Employments, or impoſe a Teſt upon them, which perhaps ſome have ſign'd not without Strugglings in their Conſcience. Yet ſome that ſet on this Teſt, or Conſent, are Men of ſuch extraordinary Worth, that I am confident they have acted in this Matter out of a ſincere Zeal for that which they believe to be the Truth; only I wiſh they had larger and freer Souls.

The only conſiderable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is, that when Eſtates are ſold, the fifth Part of the Price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the Bailiff can make is to bring it to a ſixth Part. This they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*; only there are ſome Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax. But this falling only on the Sellers of Eſtates, it was thought a juſt Puniſhment, and wiſe Reſtraint on ill Huſbands of their Eſtates.

I was the more confirm'd in the Account I have given you of the Derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in ſome ſmall Towns in the Canton of *Bern* the chief Magiſtrate is ſtill ſo call'd; as in *Payerne*: So that I make no doubt, but as the ancient Magiſtrates in the Time of the *Romans*, that were to give an Account of the Town, were call'd *Advocates*; and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Biſhops, was call'd at firſt *Advocat*, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*; ſo this was the Title that was ſtill continued in *Bern* while they were under the *Auſtrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preſerved by them when they threw it off.

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I have perhaps touch'd too ſlightly on the laſt Difference that was in *Switzerland*, which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tolerated, ſo they are ſeparated in different Quarters; thoſe of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and thoſe of the other Religion have the other half; ſo they live apart, but in *Glaris* they are mixt; and now the Number of the Papiſts is become very low; one aſſured me, there were not above two hundred Families of that Religion; and thoſe are alſo ſo poor, that their Neceſſities diſpoſe ſome of them every Day to change their Religion. The other Popiſh Cantons ſeeing the Danger of loſing their Intereſt entirely in that Canton, and being ſet on by the Intrigues of a Court that has underſtood well the Policy of imbroiling all other States, made great uſe of ſome Complaints that were brought by the Papiſts of *Glaris*, as if the prevailing of the other Religion expoſed them to much Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; and upon that they propoſed, that the Canton ſhould be equally divided into two Halves, as *Apenzel* was. This was extremely unjuſt; ſince the Papiſts were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth Part of the Canton. It is true, it was ſo ſituated in the midſt of the Popiſh Cantons, that the Proteſtant Cantons could not eaſily come to their Aſſiſtance: But thoſe of *Glaris* reſolved to die, rather than ſuffer this Injuſtice; and the Proteſtant Cantons reſolved to engage in a War with the Popiſh Cantons, if they impoſed this Matter on their Brethren at *Glaris*. At laſt this Temper was found,

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that in all Suits of Law between thoſe of different Religions, two thirds of the Judges ſhould be always of the Religion of the Defendant. But while this Conteſt was on foot, thoſe who (as is believ'd) fomented it, if they did not ſet it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjuncture: For then was the Fortification of *Hunningen* at the Ports of *Baſil* much advanced, of the Importance of which they are now very apprehenſive when it is too late. There are ſix noble Families in *Bern* that have ſtill this Privilege, that when any of them are choſen to be of the Council, they take Place before all the antient Counſellors; whereas all the reſt take place acording to the Order in which they were choſen to be of the Council.

LETTER II.

AFTER a ſhort Stay at *Zurich*, we went down the Lake, where we paſs'd under the Bridge at *Ripperſwood*, which is a very noble Work for ſuch a Country. The Lake is there about half a Mile broad, the Bridge is about twelve Foot broad, but hath no Rails on either Side; ſo that if the Wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary Thing there, a Man is in great Danger of being blown into the Lake. And this ſame Defect I found in almoſt all the Bridges in *Lombardy*, which ſeem'd very ſtrange; for

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ſince that Defence is made at ſo ſmall an Expence, it was amazing to ſee Bridges ſo naked; and that was more ſurprizing in ſome Places, where the Bridges are both high and long: Yet I never heard of any Miſchief that follow'd on this; but thoſe are ſober Countries, where Drinking is not much in uſe. After two Days Journey we came to *Coire*, which is the chief Town of the *Griſons*, and where we found a General Dyet of the Three Leagues ſitting; ſo that having ſtaid ten Days there, I came to be informed of a great many Particulars concerning thoſe Leagues, which are not commonly known. The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thouſand Souls. It lies in a Bottom, upon a ſmall Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environ'd with Mountains on all Hands, ſo that they have a very ſhort Summer; for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June*, and it began to ſnow in *September* when I was there. On a riſing Ground at the Eaſt End of the Town is the Cathedral, the Biſhop's Palace, and the Cloſe where the Dean and ſix Prebendaries live: All within the Cloſe are Papiſts, but all the Town are Proteſtants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a Mile high on the Hill, one goes up by a ſteep Aſcent to St. *Lucius*'s Chapel: My Curioſity carried me thither; tho' I gave no Faith to the Legend of King *Lucius*, and of his coming ſo far from Home to be the Apoſtle of the *Griſons*. His Chapel is a little Vault about ten Foot ſquare, where there is an Altar, and where Maſs is ſaid upon

upon ſome great Feſtivals. It is ſituated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit. From it ſome Drops of a ſmall Fountain fall down near the Chapel. The Biſhop aſſured me, it had a miraculous Virtue for weak Eyes, and that it was oily; but neither Taſte nor Feeling could diſcover to me any Oilineſs. I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-Water is. But when I offer'd to ſhew the good old Biſhop, that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable in all the Parts of it, but moſt remarkably in that which related to the *Griſons*; and that we had no Kings in *Britain* at that Time, but were a Province to the *Romans*; that no ancient Authors ſpeak of it, *Bede* being the firſt that mentions it; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, together with his Anſwer, has evident Characters of Forgery in it: All this ſignified nothing to the Biſhop; who aſſured me, that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inſerted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed. He alſo told me the other Legend of King *Lucius*'s Siſter St. *Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whoſe Veil there was yet a conſiderable Remnant reſerved among their Reliques. I confeſs, I never ſaw a Relique ſo ill diſguiſed; for it is a Piece of worn Linnen Cloth lately waſhed, and the Burning did not ſeem to be a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Caſe to ſhew it me, there were ſome there that with great Devotion rubb'd their Beads upon it. The Biſhop had ſome Conteſts with his

Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire, he had proſcribed him. The Dean had alſo behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that by an Order of the Dyet, to which even the Biſhop, as was believed, conſented, he was put in Priſon as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common Conſent both of the Popiſh and Proteſtant Communities, a Law was long ago made againſt Eccleſiaſtical Immunities: This Attempt on the Dean was made four Years ago. As ſoon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great Complaints of the Biſhop; and it was thought the Popiſh Party intended to move in the Dyet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The Foundation of the Quarrel between the Biſhop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Biſhop made ſome Invaſion. Upon which I took Occaſion to ſhew him the Novelty of thoſe Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed, that the Biſhop had the Authority over his Preſbyters by a Divine Right; and if it was by a Divine Right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his Obedience. But the Biſhop would not carry the Matter ſo high, and contented himſelf with two Maxims; the one was, that the Biſhop was Chriſt's Vicar in his Dioceſe; and the other was, that what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Biſhop was the ſame in his Dioceſe.

He was a good natured Man, and did not make uſe of the great Authority that he has over the Papiſts there, to ſet them on to live uneaſily with their Neighbours of another Religion.

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That Biſhop was anciently a great Prince; and the greateſt Part of the League that carries ſtill the Name of the *Houſe of God* belonged to him: Tho' I was aſſured that *Pregallia*, one of thoſe Communities, was a free State above ſix hundred Years ago; and that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other Communities of this League bought their Liberties from ſeveral Biſhops ſome conſiderable Time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant: So that it is an impudent thing to ſay, as ſome have done, that they ſhook off his Yoke at that time.

The Biſhop hath yet reſerved a Revenue of about one thouſand Pounds Sterling a Year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred Pounds a Year. It is not eaſy to imagine out of what the Riches of this Country are raiſed; for one ſees nothing but a Tract of vaſt Mountains, that ſeem barren Rocks, and ſome little Vallies among them not a Mile broad, and the beſt Part of theſe is waſh'd away by the *Rhine*, and ſome Brooks that fall into it. But their Wealth conſiſts chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Paſture; and in the hot Months, in which all the Paſture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into theſe Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular Perſons are ſo rich, that *I* knew a great many there, who were believed to have Eſtates to the Value of one hundred thouſand Crowns. Mr. *Schoveſtein*, that is accounted the richeſt Man in the

the Country, is believed to be worth a Million, I mean of *Livres*. The Government here is purely a Commonwealth; for in the Choice of their Magiſtrates every Man that is above ſixteen Years old hath his Voice, which is alſo the Conſtitution of ſome of the ſmall Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the *Griſons*, that of the *Houſe of God*, and that of the *Ten Juriſdictions*.

They believe, that upon the Incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as ſome fled to the *Venetian* Iſlands, out of which aroſe that famous Commonwealth; ſo others came and ſheltred themſelves in thoſe Vallies. They told me of an ancient Inſcription lately found on a Stone, where on the one Side is graven, *Omitto Rhetos, indomitos*, and *Ne plus ultrà* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Cæſar*. The Stone on which the Inſcription is, is upon one of their Mountains; but I did not paſs that Way, ſo I can make no Judgment concerning it. After the firſt forming of this People, they were caſt into little States, according to the different Vallies which they inhabited, and in which Juſtice was adminiſtred; and ſo they fell under the Power of ſome little Princes, that became ſevere Maſters. But when they ſaw the Example that the *Switzers* had ſet them, in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Yoke, above two hundred Years ago, they likewiſe combined to ſhake off theirs; only ſome few of thoſe ſmall Princes uſed their Authority better, and concurred with the People in ſhaking off the Yoke, and ſo they are ſtill Parts of the Body; only *Haldenſtein* is an abſolute

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Sovereignty. It is about two Miles from *Coire* to the Weſt, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. The whole Territory is about half a Mile long, at the Foot of the *Alps*, where there is ſcarce any Breadth. The Authority of theſe Barons was formerly more abſolute than it is now; for the Subjects were their Slaves: But to keep together the little Village, they have granted them a Power of naming a Liſt for their Magiſtrates, the Perſon being to be named by the Baron, who hath alſo the Right of Pardoning, a Right of Coining, and every thing alſo that belongs to a Sovereign. I ſaw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an Equipage not ſuitable to his Quality; for he was in all Points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Dyet, and ſubject to it; the chief belonged to the Archdukes of *Inſpruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenſtein* and Mr. *de Mont*; they are the Heads of thoſe Communities of which their Baronies are compoſed; they name the Magiſtrates out of the Liſts that are preſented to them by their Subjects, and they have the Right of Pardoning, and of Confiſcations. That belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria* is the biggeſt; it hath five Voices in the Dyet, and it can raiſe twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the Year 1679; he entred upon the Rights of the ancient *Barons*, which were ſpecified in an Agreement that paſt between him and his Peaſants, and was confirmed by the Emperor. *Travers* made many Encroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who, upon that, made their Complaints

plaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the Matter judged at *Inſpruck*, and the Emperor ſupported him in this Pretenſion, and ſent an Agent to the Dyet. I was preſent when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Compliments. But the Dyet ſtood firm to their Conſtitution, and aſſerted that the Emperor had no Authority to judge in that Matter, which belonged only to them: So *Travers* was forced to let his Pretenſions fall.

All the other Parts of this State are purely Democratical: There are three different Bodies or Leagues, and every one of theſe are an intire Government; and the Aſſembly or Dyet of the three Leagues, is only a Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, or the *Cantons*. There are ſixty ſeven Voices in the General Dyet, which are thus divided. The League of the *Griſons* hath twenty eight Voices, that of the *Houſe of God* hath twenty four, and that of the *Juriſdictions* hath fifteen. The *Juriſdictions* belonged anciently to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but they having ſhaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the Dyet: But in the laſt Wars of *Germany*, the *Auſtrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke; yet they defended their Liberty with ſo much Vigour, that the *Auſtrians*, it ſeems, thought the Conqueſt not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Coſt. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one Village, which was quite abandoned by all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, ſome hundreds, as I was told, being there quartered, were apprehenſive

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of no Danger from their Hoſteſſes: But the Women intended to let their Huſbands ſee, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action, tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, it was a little too rough and barbarous for the Sex. They entred into a Combination to cut all the Throats of the Soldiers at one Time. The Woman that propoſed this, had four lodged with her, and ſhe with her own Hands diſpatch'd them all; and ſo did all the reſt, not one Soldier eſcaping to carry away the News of ſo unheard-of a Rage. In another Place, a Body of the *Auſtrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned; for the Men that had no Arms but their Clubs and Staves, had got up to the Mountains: But they took their Meaſures ſo well, and poſſeſſed themſelves ſo of the Paſſes, that they came down upon the Soldiers with ſo much Fury, that they defeated them quite, ſo that very few eſcaped; and it is certain, that the ſubduing of them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is ſo poor; ſo that tho' particular Perſons are extreme rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preſerve his Liberty, which is more entire here than it is even in *Switzerland:* But this ſwells often too much, and throws them into great Convulſions. The League of the *Griſons* is the firſt and moſt ancient, and it is compoſed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eighteen *Papiſts*, and the reſt are *Proteſtants*. The Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not ſuffer thoſe of another Religion to live among them; ſo that every Com-

Community is entirely of the ſame Religion; and if any one changes, he muſt go into another Community. Each Community is an entire State within itſelf, and all Perſons muſt meet once a Year, to chuſe the Judge and his Aſſiſtants, whom they change or continue from Year to Year as they ſee Cauſe. There is no Difference made between Gentleman and Peaſant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord; nor dare his Landlord uſe him ill when he votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peaſants would look upon that as a common Quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Aſſembly of the League, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the General Dyet of the Three Leagues, except in Matters that concern the conquered Countries, which belong in common to all the three. There is one choſen by the Deputies for the Aſſembly of the League, who is called, *The Head of the League*, that can call them together as he ſees Cauſe, and can likewiſe bring a Cauſe that hath been once judged to a ſecond Hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League, where their Dyet meets. The ſecond League is that of *The Houſe of God*, in which there are four and twenty Communities. The *Burgomaſter* of *Coire* is always the Head of this League. This League is almoſt wholly *Proteſtant*; and the two Valleys of the *Upper* and *Lower Engedin* are pointed out by the *Papiſts*, as little leſs than Cannibals towards ſuch Catholicks as come among them. But Friar *Sfondrato*, Nephew to Pope *Gregory* XIV. whoſe Mother the Marqueſs

queſs of *Bergominiero*, that was in *Englana*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true, to his great Regret. About eighteen Years ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles; and he became ſo much in Love with the Crown of Martyrdom, that he went thro' the *Engedin*, not doubting but that he ſhould find there that which he deſired. His Brother had come ſometime before into the Country to drink the Mineral Waters, and was well known to the Gentry: So ſome of theſe hearing of the Friar's coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their Houſes, and conveyed thro' the Country, tho' he took all poſſible ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made no Anſwer, only they continued their Civilities ſtill: Which did ſo enrage the warm Friar, that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) died of Grief.

An Accident fell out five Years ago, that the People of the Country eſteemed a ſort of a Miracle. The *Papiſts*, in their Proceſſions, go ſometimes out of one Community into another; and when they paſs through Proteſtant Communities, they lower the Croſs, and give over ſinging till they are again upon *Popiſh* Ground: But then they went on bearing up the Croſs, and ſinging as they went; upon which the Proteſtants ſtopp'd them, and would not ſuffer them to go on in that Manner. They finding that they were not equal in Number to the Proteſtants, ſent to a Catholick Community, and deſired them to come to their Aſ-

ſiſtance.

ſiſtance. Two Thouſand came, and by all Appearance the Diſpute would have had a bloody Iſſue; for the Proteſtants were reſolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others were no leſs reſolved to force their Way. But an extraordinary thick Miſt aroſe, and thro' it the Papiſts fancied they ſaw a vaſt Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood: But terrified with the Appearance of ſuch a Number, they retired, and this ſaved a little Battel, that probably would not only have ended in the ſhedding much Blood, but might have very much diſordered the whole Conſtitution and Union of their Leagues. The Papiſts of Quality endeavour much to keep their People in Order; but they acknowledged to myſelf, that the Proteſtants were much peaceabler than the Catholicks. The Juriſdictions have fifteen Votes in the General Dyet; yet they are generally called, The Ten Juriſdictions, and the greater Part of them are likewiſe of the Proteſtant Religion: For upon the general Computation of the Three Leagues, the Proteſtants are about two Thirds. In their Dyets there are three Tables, one in the Middle, and two on either Side. At every Table ſits the Head of the League, and a Secretary near him; and from the Table there go down Benches on both Hands, for the Deputies from the Communities of that League. They hold their Dyets by Turns in the chief Towns of the ſeveral Leagues, and it happened to be the Turn of the *Houſe of God*, when I was there; ſo they met at *Coire*.

The three Leagues have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three Diſtricts; the *Valteline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*. When *John Galeaſſe* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Duchy of *Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Maſtinas*, one of *Barnabas*'s Sons, to whom his Father had given thoſe three Branches of the Duchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hoſpitably received and entertained by the Biſhop, when he died, he gave his Right to thoſe Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire*: But here was a Title without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on Foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, ſince they were Maſters of the Paſſes, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they reſolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: Yet they had not Zeal enough for their Biſhop, to engage deep upon his Account; ſo they agreed with him to pay him ſuch a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were ſo conſiderable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded thoſe Parcels of the Duchy of *Milan* to them, and by this Means they are poſſeſſed of them. Thoſe Acceſſions to this State are much better than the principal; for as certainly the *Valteline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richeſt Valleys in the World, in which there are three Harveſts ſome Years; ſo the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the beſt Valleys of the *Griſons*. Yet the Engagement that People have to their native Homes appears ſignally here, ſince the

Griſons

Griſons have not forſaken their Country, that they might ſituate themſelves ſo advantageouſly: But they love their rugged Valleys, and think the Safety they enjoy in them beyond the Pleaſures of their acquired Dominions; ſo they govern them by *Bailiffs* and *Podeſtas*, and other Officers whom they ſend among them; and all the Advantages that they draw from them is, that the Magiſtrates whom they ſend to govern them, do enrich themſelves, as the *Bailiffs* in *Switzerland* do. All thoſe Offices go round the ſeveral Communities, who have the Right of Nomination in their Turn; but if there is none of the Community proper for the Employment, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that Turn, and the Community diſtribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of thoſe Parts, except the Fines, which in ſome Years amount to no conſiderable Sum; and ten or twelve Thouſand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raiſed out of them in a Year: So that their Subiects live happy, and free of all Taxes, which made their laſt Revolt appear the more extraordinary. And it was indeed the Effect of a very ſurprizing Bigotry, when a People under the gentleſt Yoke in the World, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their Magiſtrates were of another Religion, and that the Proteſtant Religion was tolerated amongſt them, would therefore throw off their Maſters, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and caſt themſelves into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who

are the terribleſt Maſters in the World.

But to give a more particular Relation of that Matter, and to tell the Circumſtances which ſeem a little to leſſen that Rebellion and Maſſacre, I muſt give an Account of a Part of this Conſtitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greateſt Men in it to tremble. The Peaſants come ſometimes in great Bodies, and demand a Chamber of Juſtice from the General Dyet, and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty Years. Commonly this Tumult of the Peaſants is ſet on by ſome of the malecontented Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is compoſed of ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them. This Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquiſition; they give the Queſtion, and do every Thing that they think neceſſary to diſcover the Truth of ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them; and the Deciſions of this Court can never be brought under a ſecond Review, tho' there is an Exception to this; for about a Hundred Years ago, one Court of Juſtice reverſed all that another had done: But that is a ſingle Inſtance. The Peaſants are in as great a Jealouſy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*; and the good Men among them are extremely ſenſible of a great Diſſolution of Morals, that the *Spaniſh* Service brings among them. For there is a *Griſon* Regiment kept ſtill in Pay by the *Spaniards*; there

there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a-piece, and the Captains have a Thouſand Crowns Pay, tho' they are not obliged to attend upon the Service. This is, upon the Matter, a Penſion paid under a more decent Name to the moſt conſiderable Men of the Country; and this is ſhared among them without any Diſtinction of Proteſtant and Papiſt, and is believed to ſway their Councils much. The Peaſants are apt to take Fire, and to believe they are betrayed by thoſe Penſioners of *Spain*; and when Rumours are blown about among them, they come in great Numbers to demand a Chamber of Juſtice. The common Queſtion that they give, which is alſo uſed all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is, That they tie the Hands of the ſuſpected Perſon behind his Back, and pull them up to his Head, and ſo draw them about, by which the Arms, and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are disjointed. And when a Perſon put to the Queſtion confeſſes his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confeſſion upon Oath at the Place of Execution; and if he goes off from it then, and ſaith, *That his Confeſſion was extorted by the Violence of the Torture*, he is put again to the Queſtion: For this paſſes for a Maxim, *That no Man muſt die, unleſs he confeſſeth himſelf guilty.* Generally when the Fury of demanding this Chamber is ſpread among the People, the Gentry run away, and leave the whole Matter in the Power of the Peaſants; for they know not where it will end: And ſo the Peaſants being named to be Judges, the Juſtice

goes quick, till ſome Sacrifices appeaſe the Rage. Two Years ago, upon the Sale of a Common to the Biſhop of *Como*, to which he had an ancient Pretenſion, the Peaſants having no more the Liberty of the Common, were enraged at their Magiſtrates, and a Report was ſpread abroad, of which the firſt Author could never be diſcovered, *That the* Spaniards *had ſent a Hundred Thouſand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magiſtrates.* Upon this they were ſo ſet on Fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this Fury: But the Gentry happened to be then ſo much united, that there was none of them engaged among the Peaſants, or that managed their Rage. A Chamber of Juſtice was granted, but the Matter was ſo ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty: Yet ſome that had dealt in that Tranſaction were fined, not ſo much for any Fault of theirs, as to raiſe a Fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber. And becauſe they could not find Colour enough to raiſe ſo much out of the Fines, there was a Fine of five Hundred Livres laid on every one of the *Spaniſh* Companies. I hope this Digreſſion will not appear tedious to you, and the rather, becauſe you will ſoon ſee that it was a little neceſſary to open the Matter of the Rebellion and Maſſacre in the *Valteline.*

In the Year 1618, there was a Report ſet about, *That the* Spaniards *had a Treaty on foot to tear away the* Valteline *from the Leagues.* This was ſupported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the

the Governor of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*. Near the *Valteline* there was one *Ganatz* a Miniſter, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that ſet on and managed the Rage of the Peaſants; and there was great Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome under-hand Dealing, tho' he threw it which way he pleaſed. A Chamber of Juſtice was appointed to ſit at *Toſſane*, which is a conſiderable Town twelve Miles from *Coire*, on the Way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and ſmall Hill, to which there is no Acceſs but on one Side, where there are yet the Ruins of a Caſtle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus*, the firſt Prince of the Country. There was ſevere Juſtice done in this Chamber; a Prieſt was put to the Queſtion, and ſo ill uſed, that he died in it, which is a crying Thing among them. The chief Suſpicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the beſt Families of the *Griſons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spaniſh* Regiment: He withdrew himſelf from the Storm; but the Peaſants, led on by *Ganatz*, purſued him ſo, that at laſt they found him, and hewed him in pieces, *Ganatz* himſelf ſtriking the firſt Stroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preſerved by his Friends; and four and twenty Years after, fifty or ſixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the ſame Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their Deſign by the ſame Tool with which their Friend was murthered. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars, abandoned both his Religion and

Profeſſion, being indeed a Diſgrace to both, and had ſerved firſt in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spaniſh* Troops. After the Peace was made, he became ſo conſiderable, being ſupported by the *Spaniſh* Faction, that he was choſen Governor of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Dyet, he being then in ſo important a Charge. But he was ſo much hated, that tho' the murthering of a Magiſtrate in Office, and at a publick Aſſembly, in ſo terrible a Manner, ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed; yet no Enquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man ſo much as queſtioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Queſtion confeſſed enough to hang them; ſome endured the Queſtion, and eſcaped with the Loſs of the Uſe of their Arms. Thoſe of the *Valteline* have made uſe of this Severity, as that which gave the Riſe to the Maſſacre; and it is very probable this might have drawn in ſome that would have been otherwiſe more moderate, and that it did likewiſe precipitate that barbarous Action. Yet it was afterwards found out, that the Plot had been formed long before; ſo that the Induſtry and Rage of the Prieſts, managed by *Spaniſh* Emiſſaries, working upon the Bigotry of the People, was the real Cauſe; and this was only made uſe of as a Pretext to give ſome more plauſible Colours to the Maſſacre, which was executed ſome Months after this Chamber was diſſolved. It began while the *Proteſtants* were at Church; there were ſome Hundreds deſtroyed, the reſt got all up to the Mountains, and ſo eſcaped into the Country of the *Griſons*; and

thoſe of *Chavannes* got likewiſe up to the Hills, for they are ſituated juſt at the bottom of them.

I ſhall not proſecute the reſt of that War; the *French* ſaw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this Paſs from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; ſo *Baſſompiere* was ſent to *Madrid*, and obtained a Promiſe, that all Things ſhould be put into the ſame State in which they were before the Year 1618. But when that Order was ſent to the Governour of *Milan*, it was plain he had ſecret Orders to the contrary, for he refuſed to execute it. So a War followed, in which the *Griſons* found it was not eaſy for them to ſupport the Charge of it, without employing the Aſſiſtance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Intereſt in the Affairs of the *Valteline*, than the Preſervation of the *Catholick* Religion; and to ſhew their Sincerity, they put the Country into the Pope's Hands, knowing that he could not preſerve it but by their Aſſiſtance, nor reſtore it, without ſecuring it from all Change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cauſe of the *Griſons*, and becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the moſt favourable General, as being of their Religion, he was ſent to command ſome Forces that marched thither. But he ſaw, that if the *French* once made themſelves Maſters of the Paſſes of the Country, it would turn to their Ruin; and finding the *Griſons* repoſed an entire Confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Inſtrument in that which he ſaw muſt be fatal to them.

The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *French* engage in the Quarrel, and fearing leſt they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, offered to reſtore all the Territory in *Italy*; for *Chavannes* and *Bormio* had likewiſe revolted, only the *Proteſtants* got away ſo quick upon the Diſorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the Prieſts. The *Spaniards* aſk'd theſe Conditions: That an Amneſty ſhould be granted for what was paſt: That there ſhould be no Exerciſe of the *Proteſtant* Religion tolerated in the Country; and that even the *Bailiffs* and other Magiſtrates of that Religion, who were to be ſent into the *Valteline*, ſhould have no Exerciſe of their Religion: And as for other Perſons, that none of that Religion might ſtay above ſix Weeks at a Time in the Country. The Duke of *Rohan* ſeeing that Conditions of ſo much Advantage to the Leagues were offered them, did under-hand adviſe thoſe of that Religion to accept of them, at the ſame Time that he ſeemed openly to oppoſe the Treaty ſet on foot on thoſe Terms; and that he might get out of his Employment with leſs Diſhonour, he adviſed their clapping him up in Priſon, till they had finiſhed their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this Day own, that they owe the Preſervation of their Country to the wiſe Advices of that Great Man. Many that were of that Religion returned to their Houſes and Eſtates; but the greateſt Part fearing ſuch another Maſſacre, have ſince changed their Religion, others have ſold their Eſtates, and leſt the Country; ſome ſtay ſtill, and go two or three Hours Journey to

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ſome of the *Proteſtant* Communities, where they have the Exerciſe of their Religion: And tho' they may not ſtay in the *Valteline* above ſix Weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a Day or two out of the Country once within that time; nor is that Matter at preſent ſo ſeverely examined, ſo that there is a Calm among them as to thoſe Matters. But when it comes to the Turn of the *Proteſtant* Communities to ſend one of their Religion to thoſe Employments, he is often much embaraſſed by the Biſhop of *Como*, to whoſe Dioceſs thoſe Territories belong: For if the Biſhop fancies, that they do any thing contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, he excommunicates them. And tho' this may appear a ridiculous thing, ſince they are already in a worſe State by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very ſenſible Effect; for the People, that are extremely ſuperſtitious, will not, after that, come near ſuch Magiſtrates: So that about three Years ago, a *Bailiff* found himſelf obliged to deſire to be recalled, tho' his Time was not out, ſince being excommunicated, he could no longer maintain the Government in his own Perſon.

Among the *Griſons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modefied a little by their Cuſtoms: One that was a little particular was executed when I was there. A Man that hath an Eſtate by his Wife, enjoys it after her Death as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children he had by her. The Juſtice is ſhort and ſimple, but it is often thought that Bribes go here, tho' but meanly in proportion to their Poverty, as well

as in other Places. The married Women here do ſcarce appear abroad, except at Church; but the young Women have more Liberty before they are married. There is ſuch a Plenty of all Things by reaſon of the Gentleneſs of the Government, and the Induſtry of the People, that in all the ten Days I ſtaid in *Coire*, I was but once aſked an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches in *Coire*; in the one there is an Organ that joins with their Voices in the ſinging of the Pſalms; and there was for the Honour of the Dyet, while we were there, an Anthem ſung by a Set of Muſicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Griſons*, except in this only, the Miniſter preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I obſerved a particular Devotion uſed here in ſaying of the Lord's Prayer, that the Miniſters, who wear Caps, put them off when this was ſaid. The Women here, as in *Bern*, turn all to the Eaſt in Time of Prayer, and alſo in their private Devotions before and after the publick Prayers: Many alſo bow at the Name of *Jeſus*. They chriſten diſcovering the whole Head, and pouring the Water on the Hind-head, uſing a trine Aſperſion; which is alſo the Practice of the *Switzers*. It was Matter of much Edification, to ſee the great Numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every Day to Prayers Morning and Evening. They give here in the middle of the Prayer a good Interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Aſſembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin*, *Greek*, and Logick; and for the reſt they ſend their Children

dren to *Zurich* or *Basil*. The Clergy here are very meanly provided; for the most part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their People. They complained much to me of a great Coldness in their People in the Matters of Religion, and of a great Corruption in their Morals. The Commons are extreme insolent, and many Crimes go unpunished, if the Persons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Ministers here are under a terrible Slavery; for the *Grisons* pretend, that in all Times they had not only the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to dismiss their Churchmen as they saw Cause. How it is among the Papists I cannot tell; but the Dean of the Synod of the *House of God* told me, they had an ill Custom of ordaining their Ministers without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally six or seven Hours; and when the Trial was thus dispatched, if the Person was found qualified, they ordained him: And it was too ordinary for those that were thus ordained, to endeavour to undermine the Ministers already in Employment, if their People grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by Age; and often the Interest and Kindred of the Intruder carried the Matter against the Incumbent without any Colour or Pretence; and in that Case the Synod was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Country they preach in *High Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a Mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they

they have a Synod; and as the People chooſe their Miniſters, ſo, in Imitation of the *Switzers*, every Synod chooſes their *Antiſtes*, or Superintendant. He is call'd the Dean among the *Griſons*, and hath a ſort of Epiſcopal Power; but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for Life; but the Synod, upon great Cauſe given, may make a Change. The People of this Country are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have ſome Tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extreme civil to Strangers; but it ſeems, in all Commonwealths Innkeepers think they have a Right to exact upon Strangers; which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerning the *Griſons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the Miniſters of *Coire*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, that ſaw in *April*, 1685, about five hundred Perſons of different Sexes and Ages that paſs'd thro' the Town, who gave this Account of themſelves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tirol*, belonging for the greateſt part to the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzburg*, but ſome of them were in the Dioceſes of *Trent* and *Breſſe*. They ſeemed to be a Remnant of the old *Waldenſes*; they worſhipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a Commemoration of the Death of Chriſt; and in many other Points they had their peculiar Opinions, different from thoſe of the Church of *Rome*: They knew nothing either of *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts*; and the *Griſons*, tho' their Neighbours, had never heard

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of this Nearneſs of theirs to the Proteſtant Religion. They had Maſs ſaid among them; but ſome Years ſince ſome of the Valley going over to *Germany* to earn ſomewhat by their Labour, happened to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better inſtructed in Matters of Religion; and theſe brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelburg* Catechiſm, together with ſome other *German* Books, which ran over the Valley; and they being before that in a good Diſpoſition, thoſe Books had ſuch an Effect upon them, that they gave over going to Maſs any more, and began to worſhip God in a Way more ſuitable to the Rules ſet down in Scripture. Some of their Prieſts concurred with them in this happy Change; but others, that adhered ſtill to the Maſs, went and gave the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* an Account of it; upon which he ſent ſome into the Country to examine the Truth of the Matter, to exhort them to return to Maſs, and to threaten them with all Severity, if they continued obſtinate: So they ſeeing a terrible Storm ready to break upon them, reſolved to abandon their Houſes, and all they had, rather than ſin againſt their Conſciences; and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley, old and young, Men and Women, to the Number of two thouſand, divided themſelves into ſeveral Bodies; ſome intended to go to *Brandenburg*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the Way of *Coire*, intending to diſperſe themſelves in *Switzerland*. The Miniſters told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity and Modeſty; for a Collection being made

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for them, they desired only a little Bread to carry them on their Way. From *Coire* we went to *Toſſane*, and from thence thro' the Way that is juſtly called *Via Mala*. It is thro' a Bottom between two Rocks, thro' which the *Rhine* runs, but under Ground, for a great part of the Way: The Way is cut out in the Middle of the Rock in ſome Places; and in ſeveral Places the Steepneſs of the Rock being ſuch, that a Way could not be cut out, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid. This Way holds an Hour; after that there is for two Hours good Way, and we paſt thro' two conſiderable Villages; there is good Lodging in both: From thence there is for two Hours Journey terrible Way, almoſt as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an Hour's Journey good Way to *Splugen*, which is a large Village of above two hundred Houſes, that are well built, and the Inhabitants ſeem all to live at their Eaſe, tho' they have no ſort of Soil but a little Meadow-Ground about them. This is the laſt Proteſtant Church that was in our Way: It was well endow'd; for the Proviſion for the Miniſter was near two hundred Crowns. Thoſe of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, ſo they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we were told, that there paſs generally a hundred Horſes thro' this Town, one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-Horſes that belong to the Town. From this Place we went mounting for three Hours, till we got to the top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that,

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the Way was tolerably good for two Hours; and for two Hours there is a conſtant Deſcent, which for the moſt part is as ſteep as if we were all the while going down Stairs. At the Foot of this is a little Village, call'd *Campdolein*; and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vaſt Difference of the Climate (for whereas we were freezing on the other Side, the Heat of the Sun was uneaſy here;) and alſo by the Number of the Beggars; tho' it may ſeem the Reverſe of what one ought to expect, ſince the richeſt Country of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Griſons*, that are one of the pooreſt States, have no Beggars at all. One Thing is alſo ſtrange, that among the *Griſons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after it is carried three Days Journey, is ſold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries where it grows at the Door; but there are no Taxes nor Impoſitions here. From *Campdolein* there are three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a ſlow Deſcent, and in ſome Places the Way is extreme rugged and ſtony. *Chavennes* is very pleaſantly ſituated at the very Foot of the Mountains; there runs thro' the Town a pleaſant little River. It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it; and the Rebound of the Sun-Beams from the Mountains doth ſo encreaſe the Heats, that the Soil is as rich here as in any Place of *Italy*. Here one begins to ſee a noble Architecture in a great many Houſes; in ſhort, all the Marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town ſtood a little more to the North about five hundred Years ago, but a Slice of the *Alps* came down

down upon it and buried it quite; and at the upper End of the Town there are ſome Rocks that look like Ruins, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit Places for Forts and Caſtles: The Marks of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one Place. I meaſured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the Length is four hundred and fifty Foot; and, as we could gueſs, the Rock was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both Sides in a Line as even as a Wall; towards the Top of one, the Name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters, a little *Gothick*. On the Tops of thoſe Rocks which are inacceſſible, except on the one Side, and to that the Aſcent is extreme uneaſy, they had Garriſons during the Wars of the *Valteline*: There were fifteen hundred in Garriſon in that which is in the middle. There fall down frequently Slices from the Hills, that do extremely fatten the Ground which they cover, ſo that it becomes fruitful beyond Expreſſion: And I ſaw a Lime-Tree that was planted eight and thirty Years ago in a Piece of Ground which has been ſo cover'd, that was two Fathom and an half of Compaſs. On both Sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it cover the whole Bottom that lies between the Hills; and at the Roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars and Grottoes, and ſtrike a Hole about a Foot Square ten or twelve Foot into the Hill, which all the Summer long blows a freſh Air into the Cellar, ſo that the Wine of thoſe Cellars drinks almoſt as cold as if it were in Ice; but

but this Wind-Pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the End of *September*: For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and ratifying the exterior Air, that which is compreſſed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, ruſhes out with a conſtant Wind; but when the Operation of the Sun is weakned, this Courſe of the Air is leſs ſenſible Before or over thoſe Vaults they build little pleaſant Rooms like Summer-Houſes, and in them they go to Collations generally at Night in Summer. I never ſaw bigger Grapes than grow here; there is one ſort bigger than the biggeſt *Damaſcene* Plumbs that we have in *England*.

There is a ſort of Wine here and in the *Valteline*, which I never heard named any where elſe, that is called *Aromatick* Wine; and as the Taſte makes one think it muſt be a Compoſition (for it taſtes like a Strong Water drawn off Spices) ſo its Strength being equal to a weak Brandy, diſpoſes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine; and yet it is the pure juice of the Grape without any Mixture. The Liquor being ſingular, I informed myſelf particularly of the Way of Preparing it. The Grapes are red, tho' it drinks white. They let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, that they are extreme ripe; then they carry them to their Garrets, and ſet them all upright on their Ends by one another for two or three Months; then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away thoſe in which there is the leaſt Appearance of Rottenneſs, ſo that they preſs none but ſound Grapes: After they are preſſed, they put the Liquor in an open Veſ-

ſel,

ſel, in which it throws up a Scum, which they take off twice a day; and when no more Scum comes up, which according to the Difference of the Seaſon is ſooner or later, (for ſometimes the Scum comes no more after eight Days, and at other times it continues a Fortnight) then they put it in a cloſe Veſſel. For the firſt Year it is extreme ſweet and luſcious, but at the End of the Year, they pierce it a little higher than the Middle of the Veſſel, almoſt two thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh ſo low, and then every Year they fill it up anew: Once a Year (in the Month of *March*) it ferments, and cannot be drank till that is over, which continues a Month; but their other Wine ferments not at that time. Madam *de Salis*, a Lady of that Country, who entertained us three Days with a Magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had Wine of this Compoſition that was forty Years old, and was ſo very ſtrong that one could hardly drink above a Spoonful; and it taſted high of Spicery, tho' ſhe aſſured me there was not one Grain of Spice in it, nor of any other Mixture whatſoever. Thus the Heat that is in this Wine becomes a Fire, and diſtils itſelf, throwing up the more ſpirituous Parts of it to the Top of the Hogſhead.

Both here and in the *Griſons* the Meat is very juicy; the Fowl are excellent, their Roots and Herbs very taſteful; but the Fiſh of their Lakes are beyond any thing I ever ſaw. They live in a great Simplicity, as to their Habit and Furniture; but they have Plenty of all things, and are extreme rich. The Family where we were

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ſo nobly entertain'd, is believed to have about two hundred thouſand Crowns. Here the *Italian* Cuſtom, of one only of a Family that marries, takes place generally. There is a ſort of Pots of Stone that is uſed not only in all the Kitchens here, but almoſt all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavege*; the Stone feels oily and ſcaly, ſo that a Scale ſticks to one's Finger that touches it, and is ſomewhat of the Nature of a Slate: There are but three Mines of it known in theſe Parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Griſons*; but the firſt is much the beſt. They generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a Foot and a half Diameter, and about a Foot and a quarter thick; and they work it in a Mill, where the Chiſſels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is ſet a going by Water, and which is ſo ordered that he who manages the Chiſſel very eaſily draws forward the Wheel out of the Courſe of the Water. They turn off firſt the outward Coat of this Stone, till it is exactly ſmooth, and then they ſeparate one Pot after another by thoſe ſmall and hooked Chiſſels, by which they make a Neſt of Pots, all one within another, the outward and biggeſt being as big as an ordinary Beef-Pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger than a ſmall Pipkin: theſe they arm with Hooks and Circles of Braſs, and ſo they are ſerved by them in their Kitchens. One of theſe Stone-Pots takes Heat and boils ſooner than any Pot of Metal; and whereas the Bottoms of Metal Pots tranſmit the Heat ſo intirely to the Liquor within, that they are not inſufferably hot, the Bot-

tom of this Stone Pot, which is about twice ſo thick as a Pot of Metal, burns extremely. It never cracks, neither gives any ſort of Taſte to the Liquor that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground, it is very brittle; yet this is repair'd by patching it up; for they piece their broken Pots ſo cloſe, tho' without any Cement, by ſowing with Iron Wire the broken Parcels together, that in the Holes which they pierce with the Wire, there is not the leaſt Breach made, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The Paſſage to this Mine is very inconvenient; for they muſt creep into it for near half a Mile through a Rock, that is ſo hard, that the Paſſage is not above three Foot high; and ſo thoſe that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their Belly, having a Candle faſtened in their Forehead, and the Stone laid on a ſort of Cuſhion made for it upon their Hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred Weight.

But having mention'd ſome Falls of Mountains in thoſe Parts, I cannot paſs by the extraordinary Fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a League from *Chavennes* to the North in the ſame Bottom, but on a Ground that is a little more raiſed. The Town was half the Bigneſs of *Chavennes*; the Number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred Perſons but it was much more noble built; for beſides the great Palace of the *Francken* that coſt ſome Millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by ſeveral rich Factors both of *Milan*, and the other Parts of *Italy*, who liked the Situation and Air, as well as the Freedom of the Government

of

of this Place; ſo they uſed to come hither during the Heats, and here they gave themſelves all the Indulgencies that a vaſt Wealth could furniſh. By one of the Palaces that was a little diſtant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the reſt. It was an Out-Houſe of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly Houſe and Gardens could not coſt ſo little as one hundred thouſand Crowns. The Voluptuouſneſs of this Place became very crying, and Madam *de Salis* told me, that ſhe had heard her Mother often relate ſome Paſſages of a Proteſtant Miniſter's Sermons, that preached in a little Church, which thoſe of that Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their Heads, and that he believed would ſuddenly break out upon them. On the twenty fifth of *Auguſt* 1618, an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he ſaw the Mountains cleaving; but he was laughed at for his Pains. He had a Daughter, whom he perſuaded to leave all and go with him; but when ſhe was gone out of Town with him, ſhe called to mind that ſhe had not lock'd the Door of a Room in which ſhe had ſome Things of Value, and ſo ſhe went back to do that, and was buried with the reſt; for at the Hour of Supper the Hill fell down, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, ſo that not one Perſon eſcaped. The Fall of the Mountains did ſo fill the Channel of the River, that the firſt News thoſe of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their River; for three or four

Hours

Hours there came not a Drop of Water, but the River wrought for itſelf a new Courſe, and returned to them. I could hear no particular Character of the Man who eſcaped, ſo I muſt leave the ſecret Reaſon of ſo ſingular a Preſervation to the great Diſcovery at the laſt Day, of thoſe Steps of Divine Providence, that are now ſo unaccountable. Some of the Family of the *Francken* got ſome Miners to work under Ground, to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace; for beſides their Plate and Furniture, there was great Store of Caſh and many Jewels in the Houſe. The Miners pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their Country of *Tirol*, and built fine Houſes, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other viſible Account could be given but this, that they had found ſome of that Treaſure. The chief Factors of *Italy* have been *Griſons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, ſo that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a *Banker* ſignified the ſame thing; ſo the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Griſons*, and to this Day the *Griſons* drive a great Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thouſand Crowns Eſtate hath not perhaps a third Part of it within the Country, but puts it out in the neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Country is ſuch, that the Natives, when they have made up Eſtates elſewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the beſt Parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among thoſe Mountains, of which the very Sight is enough to fill a Man with Horror.

From

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

The *Switzers* have here ſeveral little Provinces, or *Bailiages*, of which, during the Wars of *Italy*, between the Dukes of *Milan* and the two Crowns, in *Francis* I. and *Charles* V's Time, they poſſeſſed themſelves, as a Pledge for Payment of their Arrears; and they were then ſuch conſiderable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Duchy of *Milan* court them by Turns, and became the peaceable Poſſeſſors of

almoſt all that Tract that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Country of the *Valeſſii*, or the Valleys. The Inhabitants here are ſo well uſed, they live ſo free of all Impoſitions, and the *Switzers* Government is ſo gentle, that here I muſt tell you another Paradox; this is the worſt Country, the leaſt productive, the moſt expoſed to Cold, and the leaſt capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the beſt peopled of any that I ſaw in all *Italy*. There belongs to the *Bailiage* of *Lugane* alone, ninety nine Villages, of which a great many of them are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve ancient Cantons have their Turns of all the *Bailiages* and other Offices here; but when it comes to the Turn of thoſe of the Religion, their *Bailiffs* muſt be contented with private Devotions in their own Houſe, but can have no publick Exerciſes, nor ſo much as a Miniſter in their Houſes. For here, as in the *Valteline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the Cantons to thoſe Territories, they made an expreſs Proviſion, that no Religion except the *Popiſh* ſhould be tolerated here; ſo that the *Bailiff*, who is the Prince, often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in theſe Parts. The *Bailiffs* here make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more Caution; for they take great Care not to give the Natives any Diſtaſte, though the Miſeries to which they ſee all their Neighbours expoſed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live, ſhould by all Appearance deliver their Maſters from any great Apprehenſions of a Revolt.

A great

A great many Mechanicks of all Sorts live in theſe Parts, who go all Summer-long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all Taxes. I was told, that ſome Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberinis*, had treated with the *Switzers*, to buy this Country from them, and ſo to erect it into a Principality; and that they had reſolved to offer twelve thouſand Crowns to the twelve Cantons: But they found it would certainly be rejected, ſo they made not the Propoſition to the Dyet of the Cantons, as they once intended. And it is certain, whenſoever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the reſt of *Italy* bears, it will be ſoon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws ſo many People to live in ſo ill a Soil, when they are in Sight of the beſt Soil in *Europe*, but the Eaſineſs of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is ſix and fifty Miles long, and in moſt Places ſix Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it; it makes a great Bay to the Weſtward, and there lie here two Iſlands called the *Borromean Iſlands*, that are certainly the lovelieſt Spots of Ground in the World. There is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them; they have the full View of the Lake, and the Ground riſes ſo ſweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the *Terraſſes* here. They belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the Head of the Family, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal known by the

Name of *S. Carlo.* On the Weſt End lies the Palace, which is one of the beſt of *Italy*, for the Lodgings within, tho' the Architecture is but ordinary. There is one noble Apartment above four and twenty Foot high, and there is a vaſt Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures, beyond any Thing I ſaw out of *Rome.* The whole Iſland is a Garden, except a little Corner to the South, ſet off for a Village of about forty little Houſes. And becauſe the Figure of the Iſland was not more regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and *Porticos* along the Rock, which are all made Groteſque; and ſo they have brought it to a regular Form, by laying Earth over thoſe Vaults. There is firſt a Garden to the Eaſt, that riſes up from the Lake by five Rows of *Terraſſes*, on the three Sides of the Garden, that are watered by the Lake; the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more beautiful Spot of a Garden cannot be ſeen. There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden; the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble Summer-houſe all wainſcotted, if I may ſpeak ſo, with Alabaſter and Marble, of a fine Colour, inclining to red. From this Garden one goes in a Level to all the reſt of the Alleys and *Parterres*, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gardens; in all which there are Variety of Fountains and Arbours; but the great *Parterre* is a ſurprizing Thing: For as it is well furniſhed with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vaſt Extent, and juſtly ſituated to the Palace, ſo at the

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further End of it there is a great Mount; that Face of it that looks to the *Parterre* is made like a Theatre, all full of Fountains and Statues, the Height riſing up in five ſeveral Rows, it being about fifty Foot high, and about fourſcore Foot in Front; and round this Mount, anſwering to the five Rows into which the Theatre is divided, there go as many *Terraſſes* of noble Walks. The Walls are all as cloſe covered with Oranges and Citrons, as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel. The Top of the Mount is ſeventy Foot long, and forty broad; and here is a vaſt Ciſtern, into which the Mill plays up the Water that muſt furniſh all the Fountains. The Fountains were not quite finiſhed when I was there; but when all is finiſhed, this Place will look like an *Inchanted Iſland*. The Freſhneſs of the Air, it being both in a Lake, and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Proſpect, and the delightful Variety that is here, makes it ſuch a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Seſtio*, a miſerable Village at the End of the Lake, and here I began to feel a mighty Change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifulleſt Country that can be imagined, the Ground lies ſo even, it is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by Rows of Trees, incloſing every Piece of Ground of an Acre or two Acres Compaſs, that it cannot be denied, that here is a vaſt Extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many Places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Country is equal

to the loveliest Spots in all *England* or *France*; it hath all the Sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air. The Neighbourhood of the Mountains causes a Freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most desirable Place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Country. A Traveller in many Places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy Provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Dyet, in a Country that he should think flowed with Milk and Honey: But I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges itself in the River *Tesine*, which runs with such a Force, that we went thirty Miles in three Hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the Canal, which *Francis* I. cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty Foot broad, and on both its Banks there are such Provisions to discharge the Water when it rises to such a Height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it should be: It lies also so even, that sometimes, for six Miles together, one sees the Line so exact, that there is not the least Crook. It is thirty Miles long, and is the best Advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-Carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long Description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce either by Sea or any navigable River, and that is now the Metro-

Metropolis of a very ſmall State; for that which is not mountainous in this State is not above ſixty Miles ſquare, and yet it produces a Wealth that is ſurprizing. It pays for an Eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand Men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand Soldiers effectively in it; ſo many are eat up by thoſe in whoſe Hands the Government is lodged. But the Vaſtneſs of the Town, the Nobleneſs of the Buildings, and above all the ſurprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents, are Signs of great Wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude *Gothick* Manner; but for the Vaſtneſs and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, St. *Peter*'s itſelf not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement and Walls, both Outſide and Inſide, and on the Top 'tis all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vaſteſt Number of Niches for Statues of Marble both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. It is true, the Statues in ſome of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themſelves. The Frontiſpiece is not yet made, it is to be all over cover'd with Statues and *Bas Reliefs*; and the Pillars, of which there are four Rows in the Body of the Church, have each of them eight Niches at the Top for ſo many Statues: And though one would think this Church ſo full of Statues, that almoſt every Saint hath his Statue, yet I was aſſured they wanted ſeven thouſand to finiſh the Deſign; but theſe muſt chiefly belong to the Frontiſpiece. The Church, as I could meaſure it by walking over it in an equal Pace, is five hundred Foot long, and two

hundred wide; the Choir is wainſcotted and carved in ſo extraordinary a Manner, that I never ſaw Paſſion ſo well expreſſed in Wood. It contains ſixty Stalls, and they have almoſt all the Hiſtories of the Goſpel repreſented in them. Juſt under the *Cupola* lies *S. Carlo*'s Body, in a great Caſe of Chryſtal, of vaſt Value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holidays, and there was a perpetual Crowd about it; and the Superſtition of the People for his Body is ſuch, that on a Holiday one runs a Hazard that comes near it without doing ſome Reverence. His Canonization coſt the Town a hundred thouſand Crowns. They pretend they have Miracles too from Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but they will not ſet about his Canonization, the Price is ſo high. The Plate and other Preſents made to *S. Carlo* are Things of a prodigious Value; ſome Services for the Altar are all of Gold, ſome very maſſive, and ſet with Jewels, others ſo finely wrought, that the Faſhion is thought equal to the Value of the Metal. The Habits, and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization, are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit; and according to the Anſwer that a Friar made to *Philip de Comines*, when he aſked him, how they came to qualify one of the worſt of their Princes with the Title of *Saint*, in an Inſcription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never Man deſerved of a Town this Title ſo juſtly as Cardinal *Borromeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Fami-

Family, but the Honour of having produced ſo great a Man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it. For as there have been ſince that Time two Cardinals of that Family, ſo it is eſteemed a *Caſa Santa*, and every Time that it produces an Eccleſiaſtick of any conſiderable Merit, he is ſure, if he lives to it, to be raiſed to this Archbiſhoprick; for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might diſpoſe the State to a Rebellion; and he were a bold Man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and conſecrated it, tho' the Work will not be quite finiſhed yet for ſome Ages; that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian* Prieſts, never to finiſh a great Deſign, that ſo by keeping it ſtill in an unfiniſh'd State, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it from the Superſtition of the People. He built the Archbiſhop's Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a College for the *Switzers*, ſeveral Pariſh-Churches, and many Convents. In ſhort, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* ſtrike one with Amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every Thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all Signs both of great Wealth, and of a very powerful Superſtition: But their Libraries not only here, but all *Italy* over, are ſcandalous Things. The Room is often fine, and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen; and the

Ignorance of the Prieſts both Secular and Regular is ſuch, that no Man, that hath not had Occaſion to diſcover it, can eaſily believe it. The Convent of *S. Victor*, that is without the Town, is by much the richeſt; it is compoſed of *Canons Regular*, called in *Italy*, *The Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetan*. That of the *Barnabites* is extreme rich; there is a Pulpit and a Confeſſional all inlaid with Agates of different Colours, finely ſpotted Marbles, and *Lapis Lazuli*, that are almoſt thought ineſtimable. *S. Laurence* has a noble *Cupola*, and a Pulpit of the ſame Form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *S. Sebaſtians* are very rich. The Citadel is too well known to need a Deſcription; it is very regularly built, and is a moſt effectual Reſtraint to keep the Town in Order; but it could not ſtand out againſt a good Army three Days; for it is ſo little, and ſo full of Buildings, that it could not reſiſt a Shower of Bombs. The Hoſpital is indeed a royal Building; I was told it had ninety thouſand Crowns Revenue. The old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty Foot ſquare, and there are three Rows of *Corridors*, or Galleries, all round the Court, one in every Stage, according to the *Italian* Manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every Door. It is true, theſe take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten Foot broad; but then here is an open Space, that is extreme cool on that Side where the Sun doth

not lie: For it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only ſupported by Pillars, at the Diſtance of fifteen or twenty Foot one from another. In this Hoſpital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both Sides, as is ordinary in all Hoſpitals; but there are alſo a great many Chambers, in which Perſons whoſe Condition was formerly diſtinguiſhed, are treated with a particular Care. There is an Out-houſe which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this Hoſpital; it is an exact Quarter of a Mile ſquare, and there are three hundred and ſixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers; ſo that as the Service is convenient, the Sick have a covered Walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vaſt Square there is an octangular Chapel, ſo contrived, that the Sick from all their Beds may ſee the Elevation of the *Hoſtie*, and adore it. This Houſe is for the Plague, or for infectious Fevers; and the Sick that want a freer Air are alſo removed hither.

As for the Devotions of this Place, I ſaw here the *Ambroſian* Office, which is diſtinguiſhed from the *Roman* both in the Muſick, which is much ſimpler, and in ſome other Rites. The Goſpel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower End of the Choir, that ſo it may be heard by all the People: Tho' this is needleſs, ſince it is read in a Language that they do not underſtand. When they go to ſay high Maſs, the Prieſt comes from the high Altar to the lower End of the Choir, where the Offertory of the Bread and the Wine is made by ſome of the Laity: They were Nuns

that made it when I was there. I heard a *Capuchin* preach here; it was the firſt Sermon I heard in *Italy*, and I was much ſurprized at many comical Expreſſions and Geſtures, but moſt of all with the Concluſion; for there being in all the Pulpits of *Italy* a Crucifix on the Side of the Pulpit towards the Altar, he, after a long Addreſs to it, at laſt in a forced Tranſport took it in his Arms, and hugg'd it, and kiſs'd it; but I obſerved, that before he kiſs'd it, he ſeeing ſome Duſt on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was juſt under the Pulpit. He entertained it with a long and tender Careſs, and held it out to the People, and would have forced Tears both from himſelf and them, yet I ſaw none ſhed. But if the Sermon in the Morning ſurprized me, I wondred no leſs at two Diſcourſes that I heard in one Church at the ſame Time in the Afternoon: For there were two Bodies of Men ſet down in different Places of the Church, all cover'd, and two Laymen in ordinary Habits were entertaining them with Diſcourſes of Religion in a Catechetical Style: Theſe were *Confrairies*, and thoſe were ſome of the more devout that inſtructed the reſt. This, as I never ſaw any where elſe, ſo I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan* or not. My Conductor could not ſpeak *Latin*; and the *Italian* there is ſo different from the true *Tuſcan*, which I only knew, that I could not underſtand him when he was engaged in a long Diſcourſe, ſo I was not clearly informed of this Matter; but I am apt to think it might have been ſome Inſtitution of Cardinal *Borromeo*'s. The *Ambroſian* Library,

Library, founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromeo*, is a very noble Room and well furniſhed, only it is too full of Schoolmen and Canoniſts, which are the chief Studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more ſolid and uſeful Learning. One Part of the Diſpoſition of the Room was pleaſant: There are a great Number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent Diſtance from one another; and to every Chair there belongs a Deſk with an *Ecritoire*, that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it; ſo that every Man finds Tools here for ſuch Extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuſcripts at the End of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their St. *Charles*. I ſaw ſome Fragments of *Latin* Bibles, but none ſeemed to be above ſix hundred Years old: There are alſo ſome Fragments of St. *Ambroſe*'s Works and of St. *Jerome*'s Epiſtles, that are of the ſame Antiquity. I was ſorry not to find St. *Ambroſe*'s Works entire, that I might have ſeen whether the Books of the Sacraments aſcribed to him are in ancient Copies; for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is true, in theſe Books the Doctrine of a ſort of corporal Preſence is aſſerted in very high Expreſſions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is ſtronger againſt it than all thoſe Citations can be for it; for the Author gives us the formal Words of the Prayer of Conſecration in his Time, which he prefaces with ſome Solemnity: *Will you know how the Change is wrought? Hear the heavenly Words; for the Prieſt ſaith*, &c. But whereas in the preſent

Canon

Canon in the Maſs the Prayer of Conſecration is for a good part of it very near in the ſame Words with thoſe which he mentions, there is one eſſential Difference; for in the Canon they now pray that the *Hoſtie may be* to them the Body and Blood of Chriſt (which, by the way doth not agree too well with the Notion of Tranſubſtantiation, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*;) whereas in the Prayer cited by that Author, the *Hoſtie* is ſaid to be *the Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* Here is the Language of the whole Church of that Time, and in the moſt important Part of the Divine Office; which ſignifieth more to me than a thouſand Quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their private Opinions; but this is the Voice of the whole Body in its Addreſſes to God: And it ſeems the Church of *Rome*, when the new Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was received, ſaw that this Prayer of Conſecration could not conſiſt with it, which made her change ſuch a main Part of the Office. This gave me a Curioſity every where to ſearch for ancient Offices, but as I found none in the Abbey of St. *Germains*, that ſeemed older than the Time of *Charles the Great*, ſo I found none of any great Antiquity in all *Italy*. Thoſe publiſh'd by Cardinal *Bona*, and ſince by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the moſt ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but theſe ſeem not to be above eight hundred Years old. There are none of the ancient *Roman* Offices now to be ſeen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity;

which

which made me conclude, that either they were deſtroyed, that ſo the Difference between ancient and modern Rituals might not be turned againſt that Church, as an undeniable Evidence to prove the Changes that ſhe hath made in Divine Matters, or that they were ſo well kept, that Hereticks were not ſuffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambroſian* Library: There is in it a Manuſcript of great Antiquity, tho' not of ſuch great Conſequence, which is *Ruffinus*'s Tranſlation of *Joſephus*, that is written in the old *Roman* Hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a Deed in the curious Collection that Count *Maſcardo* hath made at *Verona*, which by the Date appears to have been written in *Theodoſius*'s Time, which is the ſame ſort of Writing with the Manuſcript of *Ruffinus*; ſo that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus*'s own Time; and this is the moſt valuable, tho' the leaſt known Curioſity in the whole Library.

I need not ſay any thing of the curious Works in Cryſtal that are to be ſeen in *Milan*; the greateſt Quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here: but this is too well known to need any farther Enlargement. It is certain, the *Alps* have much Wealth ſhut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to ſearch for it: but I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except Iron Mines; yet by the Colourings that in many Places the Fountains make as they run along the Rocks, one ſees Cauſe to believe that there are Mines and Minerals ſhut up within them. Gold has been

often

often found in the River *Arve* that runs by *Geneva*.

The laſt Curioſity that I ſhall mention of the Town of *Milan*, is the Cabinet of the Chanoine *Settala*, which is now in his Brother's Hands, where there are a great many very valuable things both of Art and Nature. There is a Lump of Ore, in which there is both Gold, and Silver, and Emeralds, and Diamonds, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious Motions, where, by an unſeen Spring, a Ball, after it hath roll'd down through many winding Deſcents, is thrown up, and ſo it ſeems to be a perpetual Motion: This is done in ſeveral Forms, and it is well enough diſguiſed to deceive the Vulgar. Many Motions of little Animals, that run about by Springs, are alſo very pretty. There is a Load-ſtone of a vaſt Force, that carries a great Chain. There is alſo a monſtrous Child, that was lately born in the Hoſpital, which is preſerved in Spirit of Wine: It is double below; it hath one Breaſt and Neck, two Pair of Ears, a vaſt Head, and but one Face. As for the Buildings in *Milan*, they are big and ſubſtantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture. The Governor's Palace hath ſome noble Apartments in it. The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homo ei*, which was built by a Banker. There is one Inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the Pleaſure that one can find in it: They have no Glaſs Windows, ſo that one is either expoſed to the Air, or ſhut up in a Dungeon; and this is ſo univer-

univerſal, that there is not one Houſe of ten that hath Glaſs in their Windows. The ſame Defect is in *Florence*, beſides all the ſmall Towns of *Italy*, which is an Effect of their Poverty; for what by the Oppreſſion of the Government, what by the no leſs ſqueezing Oppreſſion of their Prieſts, who drain all the reſt of their Wealth, that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the People here are reduced to a Poverty that cannot be eaſily believed by one that ſees the Wealth that is in their Churches; and this is going on ſo conſtantly in *Milan*, that it is ſcarce accountable from whence ſo vaſt a Treaſure can be found: But Purgatory is a Fund not eaſily exhauſted. The Wealth of the *Milaneſe* conſiſts chiefly in their Silks; and that Trade falls ſo mightily by the vaſt Importations that the *Eaſt-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very ſenſibly, and languiſhes extremely, by the great Fall that is in the Silk-Trade. There is a great Magnificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make a noble Appearance, both in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more Freedom here, than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurr'd to me, that I thought worth your Knowledge. I am, *Yours*, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

IN the Account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary Perſon that is there, Mrs. *Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-*

Shaff-houſe, ſhe loſt her Sight when ſhe was but a Year old, by being too near a Stove that was very hot. There reſts in the upper Part of her Eye ſo much Sight, that ſhe diſtinguiſhes Day from Night; and when any Perſon ſtands between her and the Light, ſhe will diſtinguiſh by the Head and its Dreſs, a Man from a Woman; but when ſhe turns down her Eyes, ſhe ſees nothing. She hath a vaſt Memory; beſides the *French*, that is her natural Language, ſhe ſpeaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*: She hath all the *Pſalms* by Heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*. She underſtands the Old Philoſophy well, and is now ſtudying the New. She hath ſtudied the Body of Divinity well, and hath the Text of the Scriptures very ready. On all which Matters I had long Converſation with her. She not only ſings well, but plays rarely on the Organ; and I was told ſhe played on the Violin, but her Violin was out of Order. But that which is moſt of all, is, ſhe writes legibly. In order to her learning to write, her Father, who is a worthy Man, and hath ſuch Tenderneſs for her, that he furniſheth her with Maſters of all ſorts, ordered Letters to be carved in Wood, and ſhe by feeling the Characters, formed ſuch an Idea of them, that ſhe writes with a *Crayon* ſo diſtinctly, that her Writing can be well read, of which I have ſeveral Eſſays. I ſaw her write; ſhe doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; ſhe hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her always in Line. But that which is above all the reſt, ſhe is a Perſon of extraordinary Devotion,

great

great Reſignation to the Will of God, and a profound Humility. The Preceptor, that her Father kept in the Houſe with her, hath likewiſe a wonderful Faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came firſt to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he ſpoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he preach'd in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent. He alſo began to ſtudy *Italian* in the Month of *November* and before the End of the following *February*, he preach'd in *Italian*. His Accent was good, and his Style was florid, which was very extraordinary; for the *Italian* Language is not ſpoken in *Geneva*, tho' the Race of the *Italians* do keep up ſtill an *Italian* Church there.

LETTER III.

I Have now another Month over my Head, ſince I writ laſt to you, and ſo I know you expect an Account of the moſt conſiderable Things that have occurred to me ſince my laſt from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we paſs'd through *Lodi*, a miſerable Garriſon, tho' a Frontier Town: But indeed the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as thoſe of the other Princes of *Italy*, ſhew, that they are not very apprehenſive one of another. And when one paſſes through thoſe Places which are repreſented in Hiſtory, as Places of great Strength, capable of reſiſting a long Siege, he muſt

muſt acknowledge, that the Sight of them brings the Idea that he had conceived of them a great many Degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was ſo long the Seat of War, could not ſtand out againſt a good Army for ſo many Days, as it did then for Years. The Garriſon of *Crema*, which is the firſt of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate ſends *Podeſtas*, much like the *Bailiffs* of the *Switzers*, who order the Juſtice and the Civil Government of the Juriſdiction aſſigned them. There is alſo a Captain-General, who hath the Military Authority in his Hands; and theſe two are Checks upon one another, as the *Baſhaws* and the *Cadis* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the Town is ſo ſmall, that, both theſe are in one Perſon. We were there in the Time of the Fair; Linnen Cloth and Cheeſe (which tho' it goes by the Name of the *Parmeſan*, is made chiefly in *Lody*) are the main Commodities of the Fair. The Magnificence of the *Podeſta* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches in which he and his Lady rid, were both extraordinary rich: His was a huge Bed-Coach, all the Out-ſide black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damaſk, flower'd with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Breſcia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth. Here they make the beſt Barrels for Muſkets for Piſtols

Piſtols and Muſkets of all *Italy*. There are great Iron-Works near it; but the War with the *Turk*, had occaſioned an Order, that none might be ſold without a Permiſſion from *Venice*. They are building a noble Dome at *Breſcia*. I was ſhewed a Nunnery there, which is now under a great Diſgrace. Some Years ago a new Biſhop coming thither, began with the Viſitation of that Nunnery: He diſcover'd two Vaults; by one Men came ordinarily into it, and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay in Child-bed. When he was examining the Nuns ſeverely concerning thoſe Vaults, ſome of them told him, that his own Prieſts did much worſe. He ſhut up the Nuns, ſo that thoſe who are profeſſed live ſtill there, but none come to take the Veil; and by this means the Houſe will ſoon come to an End. The Citadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it abſolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Compliment, within theſe laſt ten or twelve Years, to their *Podeſtas*, which is a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vaſt Charge; for they erect Statues to their *Podeſtas*; and this being once begun muſt be carried on, otherwiſe thoſe to whom the like Honour is not done, will reſent it as an high Affront; and the Revenges of the Noble *Venetians* are dreadful things to their Subjects. This Name of *Podeſta* is very ancient; for in the *Roman* Times the chief Magiſtrates of the leſſer Towns were called the *Poteſtas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*,

——*Fidenarum Gabiorumve eſſe Poteſtas.*

From *Breſcia* the Beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the Way from *Milan* to *Breſcia* is as one Garden, ſo here on the one Side we come under the Mountains, and we paſs by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty Miles long, and, where it is broadeſt, is twenty Miles over. The Miles indeed all *Lombardy* over are extreme ſhort; for I walk'd often four or five Miles in a Walk, and I found a thouſand Paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuſcany* and the Kingdom of *Naples* the Mile is fifteen hundred Paces. We paſs thro' a great Heath for ſeven or eight Miles on this Side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vaſt Town, and much of it well built. There are many rich Churches in it; but there is ſo little Trade ſtirring, and ſo little Money going, that it is not eaſy here to change a Piſtole without taking their Coin of baſe Allay, which doth not paſs out of the *Veroneſe*: For this ſeems a ſtrange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to ſuffer thoſe ſmall States to retain ſtill a Coin peculiar to them, which is extreme inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheatre, one of the leaſt of all that the *Romans* built, but the beſt preſerved; for moſt of the great Stones of the Outſide are pickt out; yet the great ſloping Vault, on which the Rows of the Seats are laid, is entire: The Rows of the Seats are alſo entire; they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a Foot and a half high, and as much in Breadth, ſo that a Man ſits conveniently in them under the Feet of thoſe of the higher Row; and allowing every Man a Foot and a half,

half, the whole Amphitheatre can hold twenty three thouſand Perſons. In the Vaults, under the Rows of Seats, were the Stalls of the Beaſts that were preſented to entertain the Company. The Thickneſs of the Building, from the outward Wall to the loweſt Row of Seats, is ninety Foot: But this noble Remnant of Antiquity is ſo often and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I will ſay no more of it. The next Thing of Value is the famous *Muſæum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of Count *Maſcardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms all furniſh'd with Antiquities and Rarities. There are ſome old Inſcriptions, made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the Honour of *M. Craſſus*; there is a great Collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the *Roman* Weights, with their Inſtruments for their Sacrifices; there are many Curioſities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veroneſe*'s Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riſes up in Terraſſes the whole Height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inſcriptions, which belongs to Count *Giuſto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*; for there is all the Way as it were a Succeſſion of Gardens: The Ground is better cultivated here than I ſaw it in any other Place of *Italy*, but the Wine is not good; for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joins: But the Soil is too rich to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry Ground. There is near the Lake of *Guarda*

da a very extraordinary Wine, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the beſt Sort of *Canary*; it is not made till *Chriſtmas*, and from thence it carries the Name of *Holy Wine*; and it is not to be drunk till *Midſummer*, for it is ſo long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept: We had it there for a Groat an *Engliſh* Quart; I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the Cattle of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bologneſe*, and there they are red. I will not enquire into the Reaſons of theſe Things; it is certain Hogs-Fleſh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France*, and *England*: Whether the Truffles, on which they feed much in Winter occaſion this or not, I know not: The Huſks of the preſſed Grapes are alſo a mighty Nouriſhment to them; but Cattle of that grayiſh Colour are certainly weaker: The Carriage of *Italy* is generally perform'd by them; and this is very hard Work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever ſo little; for the Ground being quite level, and there being no raiſed Highways or Cauſeways, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath ſtill more of its ancient Liberty reſerved than any of theſe Towns, as *Padua* hath leſs; for it deliver'd itſelf to the *Venetians*, whereas the other diſputed long with it, and brought it often very low. One ſees the Marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: They have a modern Theatre made in Imitation of the ancient *Roman* Theatres.

Count

Count *Valarano*'s Gardens at the Port of *Verona* is the fineſt Thing of the Town; there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, ſome as big as a Man's Body; but thoſe are covered all the Winter long: For in this appears the ſenſible Difference of *Lombardy* from thoſe Parts of *Italy* that lie to the South of the *Apennines*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes as we do in *England*, that ſo they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the Breezes that blow ſometimes ſo ſharp from the *Alps*, that otherwiſe they would kill thoſe delicate Plants; whereas in *Tuſcany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens; and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any Care or Cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holiday, and there I ſaw a Preparation for a Proceſſion that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French* Papiſt ſaid to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was ſo groſs. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood, ſo finely painted, that I thought the Head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was ſet full of Flowers. How they did when it was carried about, I do not know; but in the Morning all People ran to it, and ſaid their Prayers to it, and kiſſed the Ground before it, with all the Appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen Miles to *Padua*, all like a Garden: Here one ſees the Decays of a vaſt City, which was once one of the biggeſt of all *Italy*: The Compaſs is the ſame that it was, but there is much uninhabited Ground in

it, and Houſes there go almoſt for nothing. The Air is extreme good; and there is ſo great a Plenty of all Things except Money, that a little Money goes a great way. The Univerſity here, tho' ſo much ſupported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty Profeſſors, yet ſinks extremely: There are no Men of any great Fame now in it; and the Quarrels among the Students have driven away moſt of the Strangers that uſed to come and ſtudy there; for it is not ſafe to ſtir abroad here after Sun-ſet. The Number of Palaces here is incredible; and tho' the Nobility of *Padua* is almoſt quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient Palaces ſhews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels, that were in all thoſe conquer'd Cities, continue ſtill among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their Revenges afterwards, both come under the *Bando* by this means, and the Confiſcation goes to the Senate. At ſome Times of Grace, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the Numbers of the guilty Perſons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was aſſured by Monſieur *Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many Years a Profeſſor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thouſand pardoned at the laſt Grace: This I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his Word. The Nobility of *Padua* and of the other Towns ſeem not to ſee what a Profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families;

lies; for one Family in the ſame Man's Time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thouſand Ducats Revenue to leſs than three thouſand, by its falling at ſeveral Times under the *Bando*. But their Jealouſies and their Revenges are purſued by them with ſo much Vigour, that when theſe are in their Way, all other Things are forgot by them. There is here the Remnant of the Amphitheatre, tho' nothing but the outward Wall ſtands. There is here alſo, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the *City*, and an outward without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho' there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in Compaſs; it lies almoſt round: The Publick Hall is the nobleſt of *Italy*: The Dome is an ancient and mean Building: But the Church of St. *Anthony*, eſpecially the Holy Chapel in it, where the Saint lies, is one of the beſt Pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chapel the chief Miracles in the Legend of that Saint are repreſented in *Mezzo Relievo*, in a very ſurprizing Manner. The Devotion that is paid to this Saint all *Lombardy* over is amazing; he is called by way of Excellence, *Il Santo*, and the Beggars generally aſk Alms for his Sake. But among the little Vows that hang without the holy Chapel, there is one that is the higheſt Pitch of Blaſphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, ſpeaking of the Saint, *quos non audit & ipſe Deus*; i. e. *He hears thoſe whom God himſelf doth not hear*. Saint *Juſtina* is a Church ſo well ordered within, the Architecture is ſo beautiful, it is ſo well enlight-

ened, and the *Cupolas* are ſo advantageouſly placed, that if the Outſide anſwered the Inſide, it would be one of the beſt Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontiſpiece: There are many new Altars, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abbey hath an hundred thouſand Ducats of Revenue; and ſo by its Wealth one may conclude that it belonged to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Biſhop here; he ſeems to ſet St. *Carlo* before him as his Pattern; he hath founded a noble Seminary for the Secular Prieſts; he lives in a conſtant Diſcipline himſelf, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill Terms with his Canons, who are all Noble *Venetians*, and ſo allow themſelves great Liberties, of which they will not willingly be abridged. He is charitable to a high Degree, and is, in all Reſpects, a very extraordinary Man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live eaſy and happy, if they could be ſo wiſe as to give over their Quarrels; but tho' the Taxes are not high, they oppreſs their Tenants ſo ſeverely, that the Peaſants live moſt miſerably. Yet on all Hands round about them the Oppreſſions being more intolerable, they know not whither to go for Eaſe; whereas on the contrary, the Miſeries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical State, ſend in an Increaſe of People among them, ſo that they are well ſtock'd with People. But the *Venetians* are ſo jealous of their Subjects underſtanding military Matters, which may diſpoſe them to revolt,

volt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars. This Jealouſy is the true Ground of that Maxim, tho' another is pretended that is more plauſible, which is, their Care of their own People, whom they ſtudy to preſerve; and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expoſe their Subjects. It is certain, a Revolt here were no hard Matter to effectuate; for the Garriſons and Fortifications are ſo ſlight, that thoſe great Towns could eaſily ſhake off their Yoke, if it were not for the Factions that ſtill reign among them, by which one Party would chuſe rather to expoſe the other to the Rigour of the Inquiſitors, than concur with them in aſſerting their Liberty: And the Inquiſitors in ſuch Caſes proceed ſo ſecretly, and yet ſo effectually, that none dares truſt another with a Secret of ſuch Conſequence; and the oppreſſed Nobility of thoſe States retain ſtill ſo much of their old and unſubdued Inſolence, and treat ſuch as are under them ſo cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as ſecure in thoſe Conqueſts, as if they had many ſtrong Citadels, and numerous Garriſons ſpread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the noble *Venetians* on both Sides of the River, built with ſo great a Variety of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another. There is alſo the like Diverſity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months, and ſome allow themſelves all the Exceſſes of diſſolute Liberty that can poſſibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina*, which is at the Mouth of the *Brent*,

we paſs for five or ſix Miles on the *Lagunes*, or Shallows, to *Venice*. Theſe Shallows ſink of late ſo much, that the preſerving *Venice* ſtill an Iſland, is like to become as great a Charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they uſe all poſſible Induſtry to cleanſe the Channels of the *Lagunes*, and to keep them full of Water: And yet many think, that the Water hath failed ſo much in this laſt Age, that if it continues to abate at the ſame rate, within an Age or two more, *Venice* may become a Part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the moſt ſurprizing Sight in the whole World, to ſee ſo vaſt a City ſituated thus in the Sea, and ſuch a Number of Iſlands ſo united together by Bridges, brought to ſuch a regular Figure, the *Pilotty* ſupplying the want of Earth to build on, and all ſo nobly built, which is, of all the Things that one can ſee, the moſt amazing. And tho' this Republick is much ſunk from what it was, both by the great Loſſes they have ſuffered in their Wars with *Turks*, and by the great Decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vaſt Plenty of all Things in this Place. I will not offer to deſcribe either the Church or the Palace of St. *Mark*, which are too well known to need a long Digreſſion to be made for them. The Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vaſt Value. Here I ſaw that Story of Pope *Alexander* III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. The Nobleneſs of the Stair-Caſes, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much

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prejudiced by the Beaſtlineſs of thoſe that walk along, and that leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common Houſe of Office, than ſo noble a Palace. And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet in the Great Council, hath nothing but the Roof and Walls that anſwers to ſuch an Aſſembly; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of ſo glorious a Body. When the two Sides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the moſt hid, it will be one of the moſt glorious Palaces that the World can ſhew. The two Sides that are moſt ſeen, the one facing the Square of St. *Mark*, and the other the great Canal, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble; but the War of *Candy* put a Stop to the Building. St. *Mark*'s Church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vaſt Riches of the Building. It is dark and low, but the Pavement is ſo rich a Moſaick, and the whole Roof is alſo Moſaick, the Outſide and Inſide are of ſuch excellent Marble, the Frontiſpiece is adorned with ſo many Pillars of *Porphyry* and *Jaſper*, and above all, with the four Horſes of *Corinthian* Braſs that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Conſtantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the Gilding is ſtill very bright, that when all this is conſidered, one doth no where ſee ſo much Coſt brought together. I did not ſee the Goſpel of St. *Mark*, which is one of the valuableſt Things of the Treaſure; but they do not now open it to Strangers. Yet Doctor *Grandi*, a famous

Phyſician there, told me, that by a particular Order he was ſuffered to open it. He told me, it was all writ in capital Letters, but the Characters were ſo worn out, that tho' he could diſcern the Ends of ſome Letters, he could not ſee enough to help him to diſtinguiſh them, or to know whether the Manuſcript was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not ſay one Word of the Arſenal; for as I ſaw it in its worſt State, the War that is now on foot having diſfurniſhed a great deal of it, ſo it hath been often deſcribed, and it is known to be the nobleſt Magazine, the beſt ordered, and of the greateſt Variety, that is in the whole World. 'Tis true, it is all that this State hath; ſo that if the Magazines of other Princes, which lie ſpread up and down in the different Places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater Shew.

The nobleſt Convent of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called St. *John* and St. *Paul*; the Church and Chapels are vaſtly rich; there is one of St. *Luke*'s *Madona*'s here, as they pretend: The Dormitory is very great, the Room for the Library, and every thing in it, except the Books, is extreme fine. But St *George*'s, which is a Convent of the *Benedictines*, in an Iſle entirely poſſeſſed by them, over againſt St. *Mark*'s Square, is much the richeſt: The Church is well contrived, and well adorned; and not only the whole Building is very magnificent, but, which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute* are two noble Churches,

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that are the Effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague. The latter is much the finer; it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: So naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son. It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other; ſo no wonder if the Architecture and the Riches exceed that which is more ancient. The School of St. *Roch*, and the Chapel and Hall, are full of great Pieces of *Tintoret*'s; a *Cæna* of *Paulo Veroneſe* in the Refectory of St. *George*, and the Picture of St. *Peter* the Martyr of *Titian*'s, are the moſt celebrated Pieces of *Venice*. Duke *Peſaro*'s Tomb in the *Frairy* is the nobleſt I ever ſaw. But if the Riches of all the Convents and Pariſh-Churches of *Venice* amazed me, the Fronts eſpecially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with ſeveral Statues, and the Meanneſs of the Library of St. *Mark* did no leſs ſurprize me. There are, in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vaſt Value, and the whole Roof of the Library is compoſed of ſeveral Pieces of the greateſt Maſters, put in ſeveral Frames: But the Library hath nothing anſwerable to the Riches of the Caſe; for the *Greek* Manuſcripts are all modern. I turned over a great many, and ſaw none above five hundred Years old. I was indeed told, that the laſt Library-keeper was accuſed for having conveyed away many of their Manuſcripts; and that four Years ago, being clapt in Priſon for this by the Inquiſitors, he, to prevent further Severities, poiſoned himſelf. I went to the Convent of the

Servi, but I found Father *Paul* was not in ſuch Conſideration there, as he is elſewhere. I aſked for his Tomb, but they made no account of him, and ſeemed not to know where it was. It is true, the Perſon to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, ſo perhaps they refined too much in this Matter. I had great Diſcourſe with ſome at *Venice* concerning the Memorials out of which Father *Paul* drew his Hiſtory, which are no doubt all preſerved with great Care in their Archives; and ſince the Tranſactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of great Importance, ſo they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that Father *Paul* and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of that Matter. The only way to put an End to all Diſputes in Matter of Fact, is to print the Originals themſelves. A Perſon of great Credit at *Venice* promiſed me to do his utmoſt to get that Propoſition ſet on foot, tho' the great Exactneſs that the Government there hath always affected, as to the Matter of their Archives, is held ſo ſacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any ſuch Search. The Affinity of the Matter brings into my Mind a long Converſation I had with a Perſon of great Eminence at *Venice*, that as he was long at *Conſtantinople*, ſo he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*. He told me he was at *Conſtantinople*, when the Inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church was ſet on foot, occaſioned by the famous Diſpute between Mr. *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*: He being a zealous *Roman* Catholick, was dealt with to aſſiſt in that Buſineſs;

Buſineſs; but being a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he could not meddle in it. He hath a very low and bad Opinion of the *Greeks*, and told me, *That none of their Prieſts were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of* Rome, *than thoſe that were bred up at* Rome; for they, to free themſelves of the Prejudices that their Countrymen are apt to conceive againſt them, by reaſon of their Education among the *Latins*, do affect to ſhew an Oppoſition to the *Latin* Church beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was ſuch, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, ſo a very little Money, or the Hope of Protection from any of the Embaſſadors that came from the Weſt, would prevail with them to ſign any thing that could be deſired of them. He added one thing, that tho' he firmly believed *Tranſubſtantiation* himſelf, he did not think they believed it, let them ſay what they pleaſed themſelves. He took his Meaſures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they ſaid; for their Rites not being changed now for a great many Ages, were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine and very apt to prevaricate when they ſaw Advantages or Protection ſet before them. Therefore he concluded, that ſince they did not adore the Sacrament after the Conſecration, that was an evident Sign they did not believe the Corporal Preſence, and was of a Force well able to balance all

their Subſcriptions. He told me, he was often ſcandalized to ſee them open the Bag in which the Sacrament was preſerved, and ſhew it with no ſort of Reſpect, no more than when they ſhewed any Manuſcript; and he looked on Adoration as ſuch a neceſſary Conſequent of Tranſubſtantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practiſe the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick at *Paris* told me: He ſaid, the Originals of thoſe Atteſtations were in too exact and too correct a Style, to have been formed in *Greece*. He aſſured me, they were penned at *Paris*, by one that was a Maſter of the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name theſe Perſons, becauſe they are yet alive, and this might be a Prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young Woman that ſpake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two. She paſſed Doctor of Phyſick at *Padua*, according to the ordinary Forms; but which was beyond all, ſhe was a Perſon of ſuch extraordinary Virtue and Piety, that ſhe is ſpoken of as a Saint. She died ſome Months before I came to *Venice:* She was of the noble Family of the *Cornaros*, tho' not of the three chief Branches, which are, St. *Maurice*, St. *Paul*, and *Calle*, who are deſcended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the Diſtinction of her Family was *Piſcopia*. Her extraordinary Merit made all People unwilling to remember the Blemiſh of her Deſcent on the one ſide; for tho' the *Cornaros* reckon themſelves a Size of Nobility beyond

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all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier*'s Daughter ſo long, that he had ſome Children by her, at laſt, for their Sakes, he married the Mother, and paid a conſiderable Fine to ſave the Forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children muſt have undergone by reaſon of the Meanneſs of the Mother's Birth. The *Cornaros* carry it ſo high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themſelves Nuns, becauſe they thought their own Name was ſo noble, that they could not induce themſelves to change it for any other: And when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredos*, which is alſo one of the ancienteſt Families, that was extreme rich, and ſhe had ſcarce any Portion at all (for the *Cornaros* are now very low;) ſome of their Friends came to wiſh them Joy of ſo advantagious a Match; but they very coldly rejected the Compliment, and bid the others go and wiſh the *Sagredos* Joy, ſince they thought the Advantage was wholly on their ſide.

There are of the truly ancient Noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining; and even among theſe there are twelve that are thought ſuperior to the reſt in Rank. Since the firſt Formation of their Senate they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genoa* they conferred that Honour on thirty Families: Several of their Generals have had that Honour given them as a Reward of their Service: They have alſo offered this Honour to ſome Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry* III. when he came through *Venice* and *Poland*, to take

take Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, went and ſate among them, and drew his Ballot as a Noble *Venetian:* Many Popes have procured this Honour for their Nephews; only the *Barberinis* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their aſking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others aſked it, and ſo it ſtuck at this. But during the War of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francis Barberini* gave twelve thouſand Crowns a Year towards the War; and the Temper found for making them Noble *Venetians* was, that the Queen-Mother of *France* moved the Senate to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators, before the laſt War of *Candy*, they were free; and the Conſiderations were either great Services, or the great Dignity of thoſe on whom they beſtowed this Honour: Thoſe new Families are divided into thoſe that are called *Ducal Families*, and thoſe that were called ſimply *New Families:* The Reaſon of the former Deſignation is not rightly underſtood; but one that knew all that related to that Conſtitution particularly well, gave me a good Account of it: That which naturally occurs as the Reaſon of it, is, that all thoſe Families that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their Houſe: But as all the old Families have had the ſame Honour, tho' they carry not that Title, ſo ſome of the new Families have alſo had it, that yet are not called *Ducal.* Others ſay, that thoſe Families that have had Branches, who have been made Dukes without their being firſt Procurators of St. *Mark*, or that have been choſen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are

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called *Ducal.* But the true Account of this is, that from the Year 1450 to the Year 1620, for an hundred and ſeventy Years, there was a Combination made among thoſe *New Families*, to preſerve the Dukedom ſtill among them; for the *Old Families* carrying it high, and excluding the *New Families* from the chief Honours, nineteen of the *New Families* entred into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility. It is true, they made the Dukedom ſometimes fall on ſome of the *New Families* that were not of this Aſſociation; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were ſhut out, and that it appeared that they bore the chief Sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, though the Inquiſitors did all they could to break it, or at leaſt to hide it; ſo that I never met with it in any of their Authors. But this failed in the Year 1620, when *Memmio* was choſen Duke, who was deſcended of one of the ancient Nobility; which was ſo great a Mortification to the *Caſe Ducale*, that one of them *(Veniero)* hang'd himſelf thro' the Rage to which that Diſgrace drove him; but his Man came into the Room in time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better Mind. Since that time one of the *Bembos*, two of the *Cornaros*, and one of the *Contarinis*, and the preſent Prince of the *Juſtiniani*, the firſt of that Family that hath had that Honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now ſo entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* itſelf) that it

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was ever amongſt them. And thus Time and other Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Induſtry could produce; for that which all the Endeavours of the Inquiſitors could not compaſs, was brought about of itſelf. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, though violent enough in the Perſons of thoſe who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Poſterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who, though they value themſelves as a Size of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they deſpiſe as a phlegmatick and dull Race of People, yet ſhew'd how little they underſtood, with all their Vivacity, to conduct their State; ſince by their Domeſtick Heats they loſt their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wiſdom ſtill to preſerve. This Faction of the *Caſe Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the Matter fall; for they loſt more than they got by it; for the ancient Families in Revenge ſet themſelves againſt them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous Employments of the State. For the others being only united in that ſingle Point relating to the Dukedom, the ancient Families let them carry it; but in all other Competitions they ſet up always ſuch Competitors againſt the Pretenders that were of the *Ducal Families*, who were much more eſteemed than theſe where, ſo that they ſhut them out of all the beſt Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been ſtill kept up, might in the Concluſion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a Wonder to ſee the Dignity of the Duke ſo much courted; for he is

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only a Priſoner of State, tied up to ſuch Rules, ſo ſeverely reſtrained, and ſhut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of St. *Mark*, that it is not ſtrange to ſee ſome of the greateſt Families, in particular the *Cornaros*, decline it. All the Family, how numerous ſoever, muſt retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is choſen out of it; only one that is next of Kin to him ſits ſtill, but without a Vote: and the only real Privilege that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himſelf, without communicating with the *Savii*, propoſe Matters either to the Council of Ten, to the Senate, or to the Great Council; whereas all other Propoſitions muſt be firſt offer'd to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a ſort of Tribunitian Power, to reject what they diſlike: and tho' they cannot hinder the Duke to make a Propoſition, yet they can mortify him when he hath made it; they can hinder it from being voted; and, after it is voted, they can ſuſpend the Execution of it till it is examined over again: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit muſt reſolve to endure many of theſe Mortifications; for it is certain that the *Savii* do ſometimes affect to ſhew the Greatneſs of their Authority, and exerciſe a ſort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propoſitions, when they intend to humble thoſe that make them: Yet the greateſt Part of the beſt Families court this Honour of Dukedom extremely. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being choſen Duke, there was ſo violent an Outcry againſt it over all *Venice*, becauſe of the Diſgrace that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a Prince

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whoſe Noſe had miſcarried in ſome unfortunate Diſorders, that tho' the Senate complied ſo far with this Averſion that the People teſtified, and the Inquiſitors took Care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the Deſign for *Sagredo* fall; upon which he was ſo much diſguſted, that he retired to a Houſe he had in the *Terra Firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which Time of his Retirement he wrote two Books; the one, *Memoire Ottomaniche*, which is printed, and he is accounted the beſt of all their modern Authors; the other was, *Memoirs of the Government and Hiſtory of Venice*, which hath never been printed; and ſome ſay it is too ſincere and too particular, ſo that it is thought it will be reſerved among their *Archives*.

It hath been a ſort of Maxim now for ſome Time, not to chooſe a married Man to be Duke; for the Coronation of a Dutcheſs goes high, and hath coſt above a hundred thouſand Ducats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of *Prince*, and have called their Branches *Princes of the Blood*; and tho' the *Cornaros* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of ſome Principalities that their Anceſtors had in the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, have alſo affected thoſe vain Titles: But the Inquiſitors have long ago obliged them to lay aſide all thoſe high Titles; and ſuch of them as boaſt too much of their Blood, find the Diſlike which that brings on them very ſenſibly; for whenſoever they pretend to any great Employments, they find themſelves always excluded. When

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an Election of Ambaſſadors was propoſed, or to any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in thoſe Terms, that the Council muſt chuſe one of its Principal Members for ſuch an Employment. But becauſe this look'd like a Term of Diſtinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty Years ago; and inſtead of *Principal*, they uſe now the Term *Honourable*, which comprehends the whole Body of their Nobility, without any Diſtinction. It is at *Venice*, in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title, and particular Honours done him; whereas in the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and under theſe big Words there is lodged only a light Shadow of Authority; for their Biſhop has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the Duke is call'd their *Prince* and *His Serenity*, and hath his Name ſtamped upon their Coin: So the Patriarch, with all this high Title, hath really no Authority; for not only St. *Mark*'s Church is entirely exempted from his Juriſdiction, and is immediately ſubject to the Duke; but his Authority is in all other Things ſo ſubject to the Senate, and ſo regulated by them, that he hath no more Power than they are pleaſed to allow him: So that the Senate is as really the Supreme Governor over all Perſons and in all Cauſes, as the Kings of *England* have pretended to be in their own Dominions ſince the Reformation. But beſides all this, the Clergy of *Venice* have a very extraordinary ſort of Exemption, and are a ſort of Body like a Preſbytery independent of the Biſhop. The Curates are

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choſen by the Inhabitants of every Pariſh; and this makes that no Noble *Venetian* is ſuffer'd to pretend to any Curacy; for they think it below that Dignity, to ſuffer one of their Body to engage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the Hazard of being rejected. I was told, the Manner of thoſe Elections was the moſt ſcandalous Thing poſſible; for the ſeveral Candidates appear on the Day of Election, and ſet out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the fouleſt Language, and in the moſt ſcurrilous Manner imaginable; the Secrets of all their Lives are publiſh'd in moſt reproachful Terms; and nothing is ſo abject and ridiculous, that is not put in Practice on thoſe Occaſions. There is a ſort of an Aſſociation among the Curates for judging of their common Concerns; and ſome of the Laity of the ſeveral Pariſhes aſſiſt in thoſe Courts; ſo that here is a real Preſbytery. The great Libertinage that is ſo undecently practiſed by moſt Sorts of People at *Venice*, extends itſelf to the Clergy to ſuch a Degree, that tho' Ignorance and Vice ſeem the only indelible Characters that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet thoſe appear here in a much more conſpicuous Manner than elſewhere, and upon theſe popular Elections all comes out. The Nuns of *Venice* have been under much Scandal for a great while; there are ſome Nunneries that are as famous for their Strictneſs and Exactneſs to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take; chiefly thoſe of St. *Zachary* and St. *Laurence*, where none but Noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not ſo much

much as pretended that they have retired for Devotion, but it is owned to be done merely that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled; their Neck and Breaſt are bare, and they receive much Company; but that which I ſaw was in a publick Room, in which there were many Grills for ſeveral Parlours, ſo that the Converſation is very confuſed; for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the *Italians* ſpeaking generally very loud, the Noiſe of ſo many loud Talkers is very diſagreeable. The Nuns talk much, and very ungracefully, and allow themſelves a Liberty in rallying, that other Places could not bear. About four Years ago the Patriarch intended to bring a Reform into thoſe Houſes; but the Nuns of St. *Laurence*, with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians*, who had choſen that Way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not ſubject themſelves to his Regulations; yet he came and would have ſhut up their Houſe, ſo they went to ſet fire to it; upon which the Senate interpoſed, and ordered the Patriarch to deſiſt. There is no Chriſtian State in the World, that hath expreſſed a Jealouſy of Churchmen's getting into the publick Councils ſo much as the *Venetians*; for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders loſes thereby his Right of going to vote in the Great Council; ſo when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family muſt, during their Lives, withdraw from the Great Council, and are alſo incapable of all Employments: And by

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a Clauſe which they added when they received the Inquiſition, which ſeemed of no great Conſequence, they have made it to become a Court abſolutely ſubject to them; for it being provided, that the Inquiſitors ſhould do nothing but in the Preſence of ſuch as ſhould be deputed by the Senate to be the Witneſſes of their Proceedings, thoſe Deputies either will not come but when they think fit, or will not ſtay longer than they are pleaſed with their Proceedings; ſo that either their Abſence, or their withdrawing, diſſolves the Court; for a Citation cannot be made, a Witneſs cannot be examined, nor the leaſt Point of Form carried on, if the Deputies of the Senate are not preſent. And thus it is, that tho' there is a Court of Inquiſition at *Venice*, yet there is ſcarce any Perſon brought into Trouble by it; and there are many of the Proteſtant Religion that live there without any Trouble; and tho' there is a Congregation of them there, that hath their Exerciſes of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no Trouble. It is true, the *Hoſtie*'s not being carried about in Proceſſion, but ſecretly by the Prieſt to the Sick, makes that this uneaſy Diſcrimination of Proteſtant and Papiſt doth not offer itſelf here, as in other Places; for the Narrowneſs of the Streets, and the Channels thro' which one muſt go almoſt every Foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice*, as it is elſewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole Territory, tho' the like Reaſon doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the Matters of Religion to a Scandal; and they

are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them: So that all that vaſt Pomp in their Ceremonies, and Wealth in their Churches, is affected rather as a Point of Magnificence, or a Matter of Emulation among Families, than that Superſtition hath here ſuch a Power over the Spirits of the People, as it hath elſewhere; for the Atheiſm that is received by many here, is the dulleſt and coarſeſt Thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are ſo generally corrupted in their Morals, and ſo given up to a moſt ſupine Ignorance of all Sorts of Knowledge, that a Man cannot eaſily imagine to what a Height this is grown; and for Military Courage, there is ſcarce ſo much as the Ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater Part of them. It ſeemed to me a ſtrange Thing to ſee the *Broglio* ſo full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was ſo glorious a War on Foot with the *Turks*; but inſtead of being heated in Point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they rather think it an extravagant Piece of Folly for them to go and hazard them, when a little Money can hire Strangers that do it on ſuch eaſy Terms: And thus their Arms are in the Hands of Strangers, while they ſtay at Home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and diſſolving their Spirits among their Courtizans: And the Reputation of their Service is of late Years ſo much ſunk, that it is very ſtrange to ſee ſo many come to a Service ſo decried, where there is ſo little Care had of the Soldiers, and ſo little Regard had to the Officers: The Arrears are ſo ſlowly paid, and the Rewards are ſo ſcantily

tily diſtributed, that if they do not change their Maxims, they may come to feel this very ſenſibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike Matters, ſo their Nobility have no ſort of Ambition that Way, and Strangers are extremely diſguſted. It is chiefly to the Conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their Safety; for the Feebleneſs of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the *Emperor*, the King of *Spain*, the *Pope*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preſerves them from the Apprehenſion of an Invaſion, and the Quarrels and Degeneracy of their Subjects, ſave them from the Fears of a Revolt; but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occaſion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for ſome conſiderable Time, *that for the Preſervation of their Families it is fit that only one of a Family ſhould marry:* To which I will not add, that it is generally believed, that the Wife is in common to the whole Family. By this means the younger Brothers, that have Appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not ſtirr'd up by any Ambition to ſignalize themſelves, or to make Families, and ſo they give way to all the Lazineſs of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it: Whereas the beſt Services done in other States, flow from the Neceſſities, as well as the Aſpirings of younger Brothers, or their Families, whoſe Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and Neceſſities puſh them on, to acquire firſt a Reputation, and then a Fortune. But all this

is a Myſtery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend ſo much from the active Spirits of a neceſſitous Nobility, that, to lay thoſe aſleep, they encourage them in all thoſe Things that may blunt and depreſs their Minds; and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleaſure, when it is ſo far from being reſtrained, that it is rather puſhed on to all the Licentiouſneſs of unlimited Diſorders.

Yet I muſt add one Thing, that tho' *Venice* is the Place in the whole World, where Pleaſure is moſt ſtudied, and where the Youth have both the greateſt Wealth, and the moſt Leiſure to purſue it; yet it is the Place that I ever ſaw, where true and innocent Pleaſure is the leaſt underſtood: In which I will make a little Digreſſion, that perhaps will not be unpleaſant. As for the Pleaſures of Friendſhip, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible Diſtruſt, in which they all live, of one another, makes, that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but moſt of all in *Venice:* And tho' we have been told of ſeveral Stories of celebrated Friendſhips there, yet theſe are now very rare. As for their Wives, they are bred to ſo much Ignorance, and they converſe ſo little, that they know nothing but the dull Superſtition on 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 their domeſtick Affairs, and generally they underſtand no ſort of Work; ſo that I was told, they were the inſipideſt Crea-

tures imaginable. They are perhaps as vicious as in other Places, but it is among them downright Lewdneſs; for they are not drawn into it by the Entanglements of Amour, that inveigle and lead many Perſons much farther than they imagined or intended at firſt; but in them the firſt Step, without any Preamble or Preparative, is downright Beaſtlineſs. And an *Italian*, that knew the World well, ſaid upon this Matter a very lively Thing to me: He ſaid, *Their Jealouſy made them reſtrain their Daughters and their Wives ſo much, that they could have none of thoſe domeſtick Entertainments of Wit, Converſation, and Friendſhip, that the* French *or* Engliſh *have at home.* It is true, thoſe he ſaid hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their exceſſive Caution, made that they had none of the true Delights of a married State: And notwithſtanding all their uneaſy Jealouſy, they were ſtill in Danger of a contraband Nobility. Therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain Satisfaction, than to watch ſo anxiouſly, and thereby have an inſipid Companion, inſtead of a lively Friend, tho' ſhe might perhaps have ſome ill Moments. As for their Houſes, they have nothing convenient at *Venice*; for the Architecture is almoſt all the ſame, one Stair-Caſe, a Hall that runs along the Body of the Houſe, and Chambers on both Hands; but there are no Apartments, no Cloſets or Back-ſtairs: So that in Houſes that are of an exceſſive Wealth, they have yet no ſort of Convenience. Their Bed-

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ſteads are of Iron, becauſe of the Vermin that their Moiſture produces. The Bottoms are of Boards, upon which they lay ſo many Quilts, that it is a huge Step to get up to them. Their great Chairs are all upright, without a Slope in the Back, hard in the Bottom, and the Wood of the Arms is not covered. They mix Water with their Wine in their Hogſheads; ſo that for above half the Year, the Wine is either dead or ſour. They do not leaven their Bread, ſo that it is extreme heavy; and the Oven is too much heated, ſo that the Crumb is as Dough, when the Cruſt is as hard as a Stone. In all Inns they boil Meat firſt before it is roaſted; and thus as indeed they make it tender, ſo it is quite taſtleſs and inſipid. And as for their Land-Carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extreme inconvenient; for their Coaches are faſtened to the Pearch, which makes them as uneaſy as a Cart. It is true, they begin to have at *Rome* and *Naples*, Coaches that are faſtened to a ſort of double Pearch, that runs along the Bottom of the Coach on both Sides, which are ſo thin, that they ply to the Motion of the Coach, and are extreme eaſy; but thoſe are not known in *Lombardy*. And beſides this, their Calaſhes are open; ſo that one is expoſed to the Sun and Duſt in Summer, and to the Weather in Winter. But tho' they are covered as ours are, on the other Side of the *Appennines*, yet I ſaw none that were covered in *Lombardy*. And thus by an Enumeration of many of the innocent Pleaſures and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* purſue ſo violently forbidden Pleaſures,

that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their conſtant Practices in the *Broglio* are their chief Buſineſs, where thoſe that are neceſſitous are ſuing for Employments of Advantage, and thoſe that are full of Wealth take a ſort of Pleaſure in croſſing their Pretenſions, and in embroiling Matters. The Walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them; and they change the Side of the Square of St. *Mark*, as the Sun and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a Derivation that Mr. *Patin* gave me of *Broglio* from the *Greek Peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forc'd: And ſince they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in thoſe Walks, I am apt to think that *Broils*, *Brouillons*, and *Imbroilments*, are all derived from the Agitations that are managed in thoſe Walks.

As for the laſt created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know ſome Particulars that I have not yet ſeen in any Books, which I ſuppoſe will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreſeen, at the Beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vaſt Expence in which the Length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Iſle, rather than waſted their Treaſure, and debaſed their Nobility. This laſt was extreme ſenſible to them; for as the Dignity of the Rank they hold is ſo much the more eminent, as it is reſtrained to a ſmall Number; ſo all the beſt Employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting ſuch a Number into it, as muſt riſe out of ſeventy eight Families, was, in effect, the ſharing their

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Inheritance among ſo many adopted Brothers. This had been leſs infamous, if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of thoſe States that they have ſubdued in the *Terra Firma*: For as there are many Citizens, who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Anceſtors not happening to be of that Council that aſſumed the Government about four hundred Years ago, they have not been raiſed to that Honour: So there had been no Infamy in creating ſome of them to be of the Nobility. It had been alſo brought under Conſultation long ago, upon the Reduction of thoſe States in the *Terra Firma*, whether it was not adviſable, according to the Maxims of the ancient *Romans*, to communicate that Dignity to ſome of their chief Families, as being the ſureſt Way to give ſome Contentment to thoſe States, it being alſo a real as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in thoſe Cities were admitted to a Share in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true, ſome of the Nobility of thoſe States thought they had Honour enough by their Birth, and ſo *Zambara* of *Breſcia* refuſed to accept an Honour from thoſe that had robbed his Country of its Liberty; yet his Poſterity are now of another Mind: For they came and bought in this laſt Sale of Honour, that which was freely offered to their Anceſtor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found itſelf extremely preſſed for Money, during the War, it was at firſt propoſed, that ſome Families, to the Number of five, might be ennobled, they offering ſixty thouſand Ducats, if

they were *Venetians*, and ſeventy thouſand if they were Strangers. There was but one Perſon that oppoſed this in the Senate; ſo it being paſſed there, was preſented to the Great Council, and there it was like to have paſſed without any Difficulty: But one Perſon oppoſed it with ſo much Vigour, that tho' the Duke deſired him to give over his Oppoſition, ſince the Neceſſities of the War required a great Supply, yet he perſiſted ſtill; and tho' one of the *Savii* ſet forth with Tears the Extremities to which the State was reduced, he ſtill inſiſted, and fell upon one Conceit that turned the whole Council. He ſaid, they were not ſure, if five Perſons could be found, that would purchaſe that Honour at ſuch a Rate, and then it would be a vaſt Diſgrace to expoſe the Offer of Nobility firſt to Sale; and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be ſold: And by this means he put by the Reſolution for that Time. But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended Conſequence. *Labia* was the firſt that preſented a Petition to the Great Council, ſetting forth his Merits towards the Republick, and deſiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thouſand Ducats toward the Service of the State. This was underſtood to be aſking to be made Noble at that Price. *Delfino* ſaid, he thought every Man might be well judged worthy to offer ſuch an Aſſiſtance to the Publick, and that ſuch as brought that Supply might expect a ſuitable Acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards, of their own Accord, beſtow that

Honour

Honour on thoſe that expreſſed ſo much Zeal for the Publick: And this would, in ſome ſort, maintain that Degree, which would be too much debaſed, if it were thus bought and ſold. But it ſeems the Purchaſers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to the Gratitude of the Council; ſo the Petition was granted in plain Terms, and the Nobility ſo acquired was not only to deſcend to the Children of him that was ennobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family, to ſuch a Degree. After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions; and it was not unpleaſant to ſee, in what Terms, Merchants, that came to buy this Honour, ſet forth their own Merits; which were, that they had taken care to furniſh the Republick with ſuch Things as were neceſſary for its Preſervation. There was a ſort of a *Triumvirate* formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers, and found out the Merchants, and at laſt brought down the Price from a hundred thouſand to ſixty thouſand Ducats; and no other Qualifications were required, if they had Money enough. For when *Correge* ſaid to the Duke, that he was afraid to aſk that Honour for want of Merit, the Duke aſked him, *If he had a hundred thouſand Ducats?* And when the other anſwered, *The Sum was ready*, the Duke told him, *That was a great Merit.* At laſt ſeventy eight purchaſed this Honour, to the great Regret of *Labia*, who ſaid, that if he had imagined, that ſo many would have followed him in that Demand, he would have bid ſo high for it, that it ſhould have

been out of their Power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchaſers were ancient and noble Families; but many others were not only Merchants, but of the loweſt ſort of them; who, as they had enriched themſelves by Trade, did then impoveriſh themſelves by the Acquiſition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, ſo it hath not brought them yet in any Advantage to balance that Loſs; for they are ſo much deſpiſed, that they are generally excluded, when they contend with the ancient Nobility; tho' this is done with that Diſcretion, that the old Families do not declare always againſt the new: For that would throw the new into a Faction againſt them, which might be a great Prejudice to them; for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great Prejudice that the Republick feels by this great Promotion is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practiſed in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor that is the Head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the Head of the Nobility, are to be choſen, having purchaſed the chief Honour of the State, there is not now a ſufficient Number of capable Citzens left for ſerving the State in thoſe Employments: But this Defect will be redreſs'd with the Help of a little Time. But if this Increaſe of the Nobility hath leſſened the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this Age, that ſtill preſerves a conſiderable Diſtinction of Authority in their Hands.

Hands. Crimes againſt the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were always judged by the Inquiſitors, and the Council of Ten, but all other Crimes were judged by the Council of Forty. But in the Year 1624, one of the Nobles was accuſed of *Peculat* committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore*, in the Pleading, as he ſet forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber. Yet tho' his Crimes were manifeſt, there being but ſix and twenty Judges preſent, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him. This gave great Offence; for tho' he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, ſo that his Fame could not be reſtored: For the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and the *Avogadore*'s (or the *Attorney-General*'s) Charge were heard by the People.* So it was propoſed to make a Difference between the Nobility and the other Subjects; and ſince all Tryals before the Forty were publick, and the Tryals before the Ten in ſecret, it ſeemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tryed by the Ten. Some foreſaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raiſe the Dignity of the ancient Families (of whom the Council of Ten is always compoſed) too high; therefore they oppoſed it upon this Ground, that ſince the Council of Forty ſent out many Orders to the Governours, it would very much leſſen their Authority, if they were not to be the Judges of thoſe who were obliged to receive their Orders. But, to qualify this Oppoſition, a Proviſo was made, that reſerved to the Council of Forty a Power to judge of the Obedience that was given.

to their Orders; but all other Accuſations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten. And the Body of the Nobility were ſo pleaſed with this Diſtinction that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not ſee that this did really enſlave them ſo much the more, and brought them under more Danger; ſince thoſe who judge in ſecret have a freer Scope to their Paſſions, than thoſe whoſe Proceedings are publick, and ſo are, in effect, judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual Reſtraint upon the Judges themſelves. But the Council of Ten being generally in the Hands of the great Families; whereas thoſe of all ſorts are of the Council of Forty, which was the chief Judicatory of the State, and is much ancienter than that of Ten: It had been much more wiſely done of them to have been ſtill judged by the Forty. And if they had thought it for their Honour to have a Difference made in the way of judging the Nobility and the other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought their Tryals to this, that whereas the Forty judge all other Offenders with open Doors, the Nobility ſhould be judged, the Doors being ſhut, which is a Thing they very much deſire now, but without any Hope of ever obtaining it. For this Power of judging the Nobility is now conſidered as the Right of the Ten; and if any Man would go about to change it, the Inquiſitors would be perhaps very quick with him, as a Mover of Sedition, and be, in that Caſe, both Judge and Party. Yet the Inquiſitors being apprehenſive of the Diſtaſte that this might breed

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in the Body of the Nobility, have made a ſort of Regulation, tho' it doth not amount to much; which is, that the Nobility ſhould be judged before the Council of Ten for atrocious Caſes, ſuch as Matters of State, Robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other Matters, they are to be judged by the Forty: Yet the Council of Ten draws all Caſes before them, and none dare diſpute with them.

But this leads me to ſay a little to you of that Part of this Conſtitution, which is ſo much cenſured by Strangers; but is really both the greateſt Glory, and the chief Security of this Republick: Which is, *The unlimited Power of the Inquiſitors*, that extends not only to the chief of the Nobility, but to the Duke himſelf, who is ſo ſubject to them, that they may not only give him ſevere Reprimands, but ſearch his Papers, make his Proceſs, and, in concluſion, put him to Death, without being bound to give an Account of their Proceedings, except to the Council of Ten. This is the Dread not only of all the Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of all that bear Office in the Republick, and makes the greateſt among them tremble, and ſo obliges them to an exact Conduct. But tho' it is not to be denied, that, upon ſome Occaſions, they may have been a little too ſudden, particularly in the known Story of *Foſcarini*; yet ſuch unjuſtifiable Severities have occurred ſo ſeldom, that as the Wiſdom of this Body in making and preſerving ſuch an Inſtitution, cannot be enough admired; ſo the dextrous Conduct of thoſe who

manage this vaſt Truſt, ſo as not to force the Body to take it out of their Hands, is likewiſe highly to be wondered at. In ſhort, the Inſolence, the Factions, the Revenges, the Neceſſities and Ambition, that muſt needs poſſeſs a great many Members of ſo vaſt a Body, as is the Nobility of *Venice*, muſt have thrown them often into many fatal Convulſions, if it were not for the Dread in which they all ſtand of this Court, which hath ſo many Spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to diſcover all the ſecret Commerce of *Venice*: Beſides the ſecret Advices that are thrown in at ſo many of thoſe Lions Mouths, that are in ſeveral Places of St. *Mark*'s Palace, within which there are Boxes that are under the Keys of the Inquiſitors; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for a Man to be long in any Deſign againſt the State, and not to be diſcovered by them. And when they find any in Fault, they are ſo inexorable, and ſo quick, as well as ſevere in their Juſtice, that the very Fear of this is ſo effectual a Reſtraint, that perhaps the long Preſervation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to this ſingle Piece of their Conſtitution. And the Inquiſitors are Perſons generally ſo diſtinguiſhed for their Merit, who muſt be all of different Families, and their Authority laſts ſo ſhort a while, that the Advantages of this vaſt Authority, that is lodged with them, are conſtant and viſible; whereas the unhappy Inſtances of their being impoſed on, and carrying their Suſpicions too far, are ſo few, that whenever the Nobility grows weary of this Yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the

Glory

Glory and Proſperity of *Venice* at an End. It was terribly attack'd not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to Death for his Correſpondence with *Spain*. He was not near a-kin to the great Family of that Name; yet the Family thought their Honour was ſo much touch'd, when one of its remoteſt Branches was condemn'd of Treaſon, that they offered a hundred thouſand Crowns to have ſaved him, and by Conſequence to have preſerved the Family from that Infamy. But tho' this was not accepted (for he ſuffered as he well deſerved) yet it was ſo viſible, that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their Prejudice. But upon the firſt Occaſion that offered itſelf after that, to quarrel with the Proceedings of the Inquiſitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the Matter extremely, and moved for the limiting of their Authority. But the Great Council was wiſer than to touch ſo ſacred a Part of the Government; ſo they retain their Power very entire, but they manage it with all poſſible Caution. A Foreigner that hath been many Years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the arbitrary Power that was veſted in thoſe Inquiſitors, were ſlight Things in compariſon of the Advantages they found from it: And after eleven Years ſpent in their Service, he ſaid, he never was ſo much as once ſent for to receive a Reprimand from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confeſs it ſincerely to the Inquiſitors, they are in no Danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any

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main Circumſtances of it, their Proceſs will be ſoon diſpatched. Theſe are the moſt remarkable Things that I could pick up, during my Stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to ſay any Thing relating to their ſeveral Councils, Officers, and Judicatories, or to the other Parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the Forms by which they give their Votes by Ballot are ſo well known, that it were an abuſing of your Time, to enlarge myſelf concerning them. Nor was I ſufficiently informed concerning the Particulars of the Sale of Nobility that is now on foot, ſince this laſt War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this eaſy way of raiſing Money. Nor could I give Credit to that of which a Perſon of great Eminence there aſſured me, that there was a *Poiſoner General* in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was employed by the Inquiſitors to diſpatch thoſe againſt whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a Noiſe. This I could not believe, tho' my Author proteſted, that the Brother of one that was ſollicited to accept of the Employment diſcovered it to him. There is no Place in the World where Strangers live with more Freedom; and I was amazed to ſee ſo little Exactneſs among the Searchers of the Cuſtom-houſe; for tho' we had a Mullet's Load of Trunks and Portmanteaus, yet none offered to aſk us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us? But the beſt and nobleſt Entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the Company of *Mr. de la Haye*, the *French* Embaſſador, who, as he hath

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ſpent his whole Life in publick Embaſſies, ſo he hath acquired ſo great a Knowledge of the World, with ſo true a Judgment, and ſo obliging a Civility, that he may well paſs for a Pattern: And it is no wonder to ſee him ſtill engaged in a conſtant Succeſſion of publick Employments. And his Lady is ſo wonderful a Perſon, that I pay them both but a very ſmall Part of what I owe them, in this Acknowledgement which I judge myſelf bound to make of their extraordinary Civilities to me; And indeed, without the Advantage of ſuch a Rendezvous as I had there, a Fortnights Stay at *Venice* had been à very tedious Matter.

From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*, from thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a ſmall Town, and ſo to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the Republick from the *Ferrareſe*, which is now the Pope's Country; and here one ſees what a Difference a good and a bad Government makes in a Country: for tho' the Soil is the ſame on both Sides of the River, and the *Ferrareſe* was once one of the beautifulleſt Spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its beſt Towns, while they had Princes of their own, who for a Courſe of ſome Ages were Princes of ſuch eminent Virtue, and of ſo heroical a Nobleneſs, that they were really the Fathers of their Country. Nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned and uncultivated, nor were there Hands enough ſo much as to mow their Graſs, which we ſaw withering in their Meadows, to our no ſmall Wonder. We were amazed to ſee ſo rich a Soil thus forſaken

ſaken of its Inhabitants; and much more when we paſſed through that vaſt Town, which, by its Extent, ſhews what is was about an Age ago, and is now ſo much deſerted, that there are whole Sides of Streets without Inhabitants; and the Poverty of the Place appears ſignally in the Churches, which are mean, and poorly adorned: For the Superſtition of *Italy* is ſo ravenous, and makes ſuch a Progreſs in this Age, that one may juſtly take the Meaſures of the Wealth of any Place from the Churches. The Superſtition, or Vanity of this Age, is ſo much beyond that of the paſt (tho' the contrary to this is commonly believed) that all the vaſt Buildings of great Churches, or rich Convents, and the ſurprizing Wealth that appears in them on Feſtival Days, are the Donatives of the preſent Age. So that it is a vulgar Error that ſome have taken up, who fancy, that *Superſtition is at a Stand, if not in a Decay*; unleſs it be acknowledged, that the Craft of the Prieſts hath opened to them a new Method to ſupport their Riches, when the old ones of *Purgatory* and *Indulgences* were become leſs effectual in an Age of more Knowledge, and better enlightned: And that is, to engage Men in an Emulation and a Vanity in enriching their Churches, as much as other *Italians* have in the enriching their Palaces. So that as they have a Pleaſure as well as a Vanity, in ſeeing ſo much dead Wealth in their Houſes, they have tranſlated the ſame Humour to their Churches; and the Vanity of the preſent Age, that believes little or nothing of thoſe Contrivances of *Purgatory*, or the like, produceth the ſame, if not

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greater Effects, in the building and enriching their Churches, and ſo carries it in Expence and Prodigality, from the Superſtition of the former Ages, that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrara*: I could not but aſk all I ſaw, how it came, that ſo rich a Soil was ſo ſtrangely abandoned? Some ſaid, the Air was become ſo unhealthy, that thoſe who ſtay in it were very ſhort-lived: But it is well known, that four-ſcore 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 makes that there is a great deal of Water that lies on the Ground and rots, which infects the Air in the ſame manner, as is obſerved in that vaſt and rich, but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*. So that the ill Air is the Effect, rather than the Cauſe, of the diſpeopling of the Pope's Dominions. The true Cauſe is the Severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes and frequent Confiſcations, by which the Nephews of ſeveral Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, ſo they have driven away many more. And this appears more viſibly, by the different State as well as the Conſtitution of *Bologna*, which is full of People that abound in Wealth; and as the Soil is extreme rich, ſo it is cultivated with all due Care. For *Bologna* deliver'd itſelf to the Popedom upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Privileges reſerved to it: Crimes there are only puniſhed in the Perſons of thoſe who commit them; but there are no Confiſcations of Eſtates: And tho' the Authority in Criminal Matters,

Matters belongs to the Pope and is managed by a Legate and his Officers; yet the Civil Government, the Magiſtracy, and the Power of Judicature in Civil Matters, is entirely in the Hands of the State. And by this Regulation it is, that as the Riches of *Bologna* amaze a Stranger, it neither being on a navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the Centre of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept: ſo the Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are ſo conſiderable, that he draws much more from this Place of Liberty, than from thoſe where his Authority is unlimited and abſolute, but that are by thoſe Means almoſt quite abandoned: For the Greatneſs of a Prince or State riſing from the Numbers of the Subjects, thoſe Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw Strangers to come among them, are certainly the trueſt Maxims for advancing the Greatneſs of the Maſter. And I could not but with much Scorn obſerve the Folly of ſome *Frenchmen*, who made uſe of this Argument to ſhew the Greatneſs of their Nation, that one found many *Frenchmen* in all Places to which one could come; whereas there were no *Engliſh* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*: But this is juſt contrary to the right Conſequence that ought to be drawn from this Obſervation; for it is certain, that few leave their Country and go to ſettle elſewhere, if they are not preſſed with ſo much Uneaſineſs at Home, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred: So that a mild Government drives out no Swarms; whereas it is the ſure Mark of a ſevere Government that weakens itſelf,

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when many of the Subjects find it ſo hard to ſubſiſt at Home, that they are forced to ſeek that Abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if Impoſitions and other Severities did not force them to change their Habitations.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and all round it, tho' its Situation is not very favourable; for it lies at the Foot of the *Appennines*, on the North ſide, and is extreme cold in Winter. The Houſes are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, ſo that one walks all the Town over cover'd under *Piazzas*; but the Walks here are both higher and larger than any where elſe. There are many noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich: Within the Town the richeſt are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief Houſe of the Order, where their Founder's Body is laid in one of the beſt Chapels of *Italy*; and next to them are the *Franciſcans*, the *Servites*, the *Jeſuites*, and the Canons Regular of St. *Salvator*. In this laſt there is a Scroll of the *Hebrew* Bible, which though it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible; and they were made believe by ſome *Jew*, that hath no doubt ſold it at a high Rate, that it was written by *Ezra*'s own Hand; and this hath paſs'd long for current; but the Manuſcript is only a fine Copy, like thoſe that the *Jews* uſe in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hundred Years old: That Part of it on which I caſt my Eye was the Book of *Eſther*; ſo by the Bulk of the Scroll, I judg'd it to be the Collection of thoſe

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ſmall Books of the Old Teſtament, that the *Jews* ſet after the Law. But thoſe of the Houſe fancy they have a great Treaſure in it; and perhaps ſuch *Jews* as have ſeen it, are willing to laugh at their Ignorance, and ſo ſuffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church of the Town is St. *Petrone*'s, and there one ſees the curious and exact Meridional Line, which that rare Aſtronomer *Caſſini* laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a Braſs Circle: It marks the true Point of Mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the beſt Performances that perhaps the World ever ſaw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one ſide of which is the Legate's Palace, among other Statues, one ſurprized me much; it was Pope *Joan*'s, which is ſo named by the People of the Town: It is true, the Learned Men ſay, it is the Statue of Pope *Nicholas* IV. who had indeed a youthly and womaniſh Face; but as I looked at this Statue very attentively, thro' a little Perſpective that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope *Nicholas* IV. which is in St. *Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*; for the Statue of that Pope, tho' it hath no Beard, yet hath an Age in it that is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any Thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all; and I myſelf ſaw in *England* a Manuſcript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not ſeem to be written long after the Author's Time; in it this Sto-

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ry is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another Hand.

On the Hill above *Bologna* ſtands the Monaſtery of St. *Michael* in *Boſco*, which hath a moſt charming Situation and Proſpect, and is one of the beſt Monaſteries in *Italy*; it hath many Courts, and one that is cloiſtered and is octangular; which is ſo nobly painted in *Freſco*, that it is great pity to ſee ſuch Work expoſed to the Air; all was retouch'd by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again much decay'd: The Dormitory is very magnificent; the Chapel is little, but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other ſide of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthuſians* have alſo a very rich Monaſtery. Four Miles from *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of St. *Luke*'s; and becauſe many go thither in great Devotion, there is a *Portico* building, which is already carried on almoſt half way; it is walled towards the North, but ſtands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve Foot broad and fifteen Foot high: It is carried on very vigorouſly; for in eight or ten Years the Half is built, ſo that in a little Time the Whole will very probably be finiſhed; and this may prove the Beginning of many ſuch like *Porticos* in *Italy*; for Things of this kind want only a Beginning, and when they are once ſet on foot, they quickly ſpread themſelves in a Country that is ſo entirely ſubdued by Superſtition and the Artifices of their Prieſts. In *Bologna* they reckon there are ſeventy thouſand Perſons. I ſaw not one of the chief Glories of this Place; for the famous *Malpighius* was out of

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Town while I was there. I ſaw a Play there; but the Poeſy was ſo bad, the Farces ſo rude, and all was ſo ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to ſee the Company expreſs ſo great a Satisfaction in that which would have been hiſs'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we engage into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Appennines*; tho' that is ſtrictly given only to one that is the higheſt. All the Way to *Florence* this Track of Hills continues, tho' there are ſeveral Bottoms, and ſome conſiderable little Towns in them; but all is up-hill and down-hill; and *Florence* itſelf is juſt at the Bottom of the laſt Hill. The Highways all along theſe Hills are kept in ſo very good Caſe, that in few of the beſt-inhabited Countries doth one find the Highways ſo well maintain'd as in theſe forſaken Mountains; but this is ſo great a Paſſage, that all that are concerned in it, find their account in the Expence they lay out upon it. On the laſt of theſe Hills, tho' in a little Bottom, in the midſt of the Hill, ſtands *Pratolino*, one of the Great Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer muſt be very agreeable, for the Air of thoſe Mountains is extreme thin and pure. The Gardens in *Italy* are made at a great Coſt; the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble; the Grounds are well laid out; and the Walks are long and even; but as they have no Gravel, to give them thoſe firm and beautiful Walks that we have in *England*, ſo the conſtant Greenneſs of the Box doth ſo much pleaſe them, that they preferring the Sight

to the Smell, have their Gardens ſo high-ſcented by Plots made with them, that there is no Pleaſure to walk in them; they alſo lay their Walks ſo between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I ſaw firſt in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was extreme convenient; there went a Courſe of Water round the Walls; about a Foot from the Ground is a Channel of Stone, that went along the Side of the Wall; and in this there were Holes ſo made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to ſuch Plants as in a dry Seaſon wanted watring; and a Cock ſet the Water a running in this Courſe, ſo that without the Trouble of carrying Water, one Perſon could eaſily manage the watring of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and ſtately Convents. The Streets are paved, in Imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stone, bigger than our common Pavement-Stone, but much thicker, which are ſo hollowed in their Joinings to one another, that Horſes find Faſtening enough to their Feet. There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, ſo that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Deſcription of the Great Duke's Palace and Gardens, or of the Old Palace, and the Gallery that joins to it, and of the vaſt Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curioſities, that muſt needs amaze every one that ſees them; the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate and the great Coach, are

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all ſuch extraordinary Things, that they would require a very copious Deſcription, if that had not been done ſo often, that it were to very little purpoſe to copy what others have ſaid; and theſe Things are ſo exactly ſeen by every Traveller, that I can ſay nothing that is more particular of theſe Subjects, than you will find in the common Itineraries of all Travellers. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontiſpiece to the great Gate is not yet made: The *Cupola* is after St. *Peter*'s, the greateſt and higheſt that I ſaw in *Italy*; it is three hundred Foot high, and of a vaſt Compaſs; and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very ſingular, as well as regular: Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, leſſened it very much in my Thoughts; for the Walls, that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble, laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that Air of Nobleneſs which in my Opinion becomes ſo glorious a Fabrick. The Baptiſtery, that ſtands before it, was a noble Heathen Temple; its Gates of Braſs are the beſt of that ſort that are in the World; there are ſo many Hiſtories ſo well repreſented in *Bas Reliefs*, in them, with ſo much Exactneſs, the Work is ſo natural, and yet ſo fine, that a curious Man could find Entertainment for many Days, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical Exactneſs. The *Annunciata*, St. *Mark*'s, St. *Croce*, and St. *Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vaſt Riches; but the Church and Chapel of St. *Laurence* exceeds them all, as much

much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the Outſide, which is quite flay'd, if I may ſo ſpeak, but on deſign to give it a rich Outſide of Marble. In a Chapel within this Church the Bodies of the Great Dukes lie depoſited, till the famous Chapel is finiſhed: But I was much ſcandalized to ſee Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have ſeen any where elſe in Churches. I will not offer at a Deſcription of the glorious Chapel, which as it is without doubt the richeſt Piece of Building that perhaps the World ever ſaw, ſo it goes on ſo ſlowly, that tho' there are many always at work, yet it doth not ſeem to advance proportionably to the Number of Hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, 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 that I ever ſaw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my Time than all the other Curioſities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuſcripts, moſt of them *Greek*, that were gather'd together by Pope *Clement* VII. and given to his Country: There are very few printed Books mixed with them; and thoſe Books that are there, are ſo rare, that they are almoſt as curious as Manuſcripts. I ſaw ſome of *Virgil*'s Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuſcript in which ſome Parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written; and in one Place one in a different Hand had writ, that he had compared thoſe Manuſcripts; and he adds a Date to this

in *Olibrius*'s Time, which is about twelve hundred Years ago: I found ſome Diphthongs in it caſt into one Letter, which ſurprized me; for I thought that way of Writing had not been ſo ancient. But that which pleaſed me moſt was, that the Library-Keeper aſſured me, that one had lately found the famous Epiſtle of St. *Chryſoſtom* to *Ceſarius* in *Greek*, in the End of a Volume full of other Things, and not among the Manuſcripts of that Father's Books, of which they have a great many: He thought he remembred well the Place where the Book ſtood; ſo we turned over all the Books that ſtood near it, but I found it not: He promiſed to look it out for me, if I came back that Way; but I changing my Deſign, and going back another Way, could not ſee the Bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the Great Duke's Library-Keeper, and is a Perſon of moſt wonderful Civility, and full of Candour, as well as he is learned beyond Imagination, aſſured me, that this could be no other than a Miſtake of the Library-Keeper's; he ſaid, ſuch a Diſcovery could not have been made without making ſo much Noiſe that he muſt have heard of it: He added, there was not one Man in *Florence* that either underſtood *Greek*, or that examin'd Manuſcripts; ſo that, he aſſured me, I could not build on what an ignorant Library-Keeper had told me; ſo I ſet down this Matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much ſunk from what it was, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thouſand Souls in it; and the other States, that

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were once great Republicks, ſuch as *Siena* and *Piſa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now ſhrunk almoſt into nothing; it is certain, that all three together are now not ſo numerous as any one of them was two hundred Years ago. *Leghorn* is full of People, and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuſcany*, it appears ſo diſpeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of ſo much Action, and ſo many Wars, now ſo forſaken and ſo poor, and that in many Places the Soil is quite neglected for want of Hands to cultivate it; and in other Places where there are more People, they look ſo poor, and their Houſes are ſuch miſerable Ruins, that it is ſcarce accountable how there ſhould be ſo much Poverty in ſo rich a Country, which is all over full of Beggars: And here the Style of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the Sake of St. *Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in Purgatory; and this was the Style in all the other Parts of *Italy*, thro' which I paſſed. In ſhort, the diſpeopling of *Tuſcany*, and moſt of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly of the Pope's Dominions, which are more abandoned than any other Part of *Italy*, ſeemed to flow from nothing but the Severity of the Government, and the great Decay of Trade; for the greateſt Trade of *Italy* being in Silk, the vaſt Importation of Silks that the *Eaſt-India* Companies bring into *Europe* hath quite ruined all thoſe that deal in this Manufacture: Yet this is not the chief Cauſe of the Diſpeopling of

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

ſevere Government and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of Man, and to human Society, to Juſtice and Equity, and to that eſſential Equality that Nature hath made among Men; yet, on the other hand, all Men cannot bear that Eaſe and Liberty that become the human Nature. The Superſtition of *Italy*, and the great Waſte of Wealth that one ſees in their Churches, particularly thoſe prodigious Maſſes of Plate with which their Altars are cover'd on Holidays, doth alſo ſink their Trade extremely; for Silver being in Commerce what Blood is in the Body, when ſo much of that is dead, and circulates no more, it is no Wonder if ſuch an Extravaſation (if I may uſe ſo long and ſo hard a Word) of Silver, occaſions a great Deadneſs in Trade. I had almoſt forgot one Remark that I made on the laſt Hill of the *Appennines*, juſt above *Florence*, that I never ſaw ſuch tall and big Cypreſſes any where, as grew all over that Hill; which ſeemed a little ſtrange, that Tree being apt to be ſtarved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are ſevere. All the Ways in *Tuſcany* are very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arne*: But the Uneaſineſs of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the Highways, which are all in very good Caſe. The Inns are wretched, and ill furniſhed both for Lodging and Diet: This is the Plague of all *Italy*, when once one has paſs'd the *Appennines*; for, except in the great Towns, one really ſuffers ſo much that Way, that the Pleaſure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconveniences

that one meets in every Stage thro' which he paſſes. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

LETTER IV.

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

All the Way from *Florence* through the Great Duke's Country looked ſo ſad, that I concluded

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it muſt be the moſt diſpeopled of all *Italy:* But indeed I changed my Note when I came into the Pope's Territories at *Pont Centino*, where there was a rich Bottom all uncultivated, and not ſo much as ſtocked with Cattle. But as I paſſed from *Mont Fiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vaſt Champain Country lay almoſt quite deſerted; and that wide Town, which is of ſo great a Compaſs, hath yet ſo few Inabitants, and thoſe look ſo poor and miſerable, that the People in the ordinary Towns in *Scotland*, and in its worſt Places, make a better Appearance. When I was within a Days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of ſo great a City muſt mend the Matter; but I was much diſappointed; for a Soil that was ſo rich, and lay ſo ſweetly, that it far exceeded any Thing I ever ſaw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattle upon it, to the tenth Part of what it could bear: The Surprize that this gave me, increaſed upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other Side, chiefly all the Way to *Naples*, and on the Way to *Civita Vecchia:* For that vaſt and rich Champaign Country that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above a hundred Miles long, and is in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to ſuch a Degree, that as far as one's Eye can carry one, there is often not ſo much as a Houſe to be ſeen, but on the Hills that are on the North Side of this Valley: And by this diſpeopling of the Country, the Air is now become ſo unwholſome, that it is not ſafe to be a Night in it all the Summer long;

for the Water that lies upon many Places not being drained, it rots; and in the Summer this produces ſo many noiſome Steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* itſelf; and if it were not for the Breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intolerable: When one ſees all this large, but waſte Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve Miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a Word, it is the Rigour of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants; and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to ſuch a paſs, that it is hardly poſſible to repeople it; for ſuch as would come to drain and cultivate it muſt run a great Hazard; and few can reſolve on that, when they can hope for no other Reward of their Induſtry, but an uneaſy Government. It is the greateſt Soleciſm in Government, for the Prince to be Elective, and yet Abſolute; for an Hereditary Prince is induced to conſider his Poſterity, and to maintain his People ſo, that thoſe that come after him may ſtill ſupport the Rank which they hold in the World: But an Elective Prince hath nothing of that in his Eye, unleſs he hath a Pitch of Generoſity which is not ordinary among Men, and leaſt of all among *Italians*, who have a Paſſion for their Families which is not known in other Places: And thus a Pope, who comes in late to this Dignity, which by Conſequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn to thoſe Counſels, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sunſhine. And tho' anciently the Cardinals were a Check upon the Pope, and a ſort of a

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Council, without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they have quite loſt that; and they have no other Share in Affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them; ſo that he is the moſt Abſolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true, as to Spirituals, they retain ſtill a large Share; ſo that in Cenſures and Definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly without their Concurrence; tho' it is certain, that they have not ſo good a Title to pretend to that, as to a Share in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any thing from St. *Peter*, all *that* is ſingly in himſelf, and it is free to him to proceed by what Method he thinks beſt; ſince the Infallibility, according to their Pretenſions, reſts ſingly in him: Yet becauſe there was not ſo much to be got by acting arbitrarily in thoſe Matters, and a ſummary Way of exerciſing this Authority might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the Grounds on which it is built; therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain ſtill a Share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho' they have no Claim to it, neither by any Divine or Eccleſiaſtical Warrants: But as for the Endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may juſtly lay claim, as being in a Manner the Chapter of that See; there is ſo much to be got by this, that the Popes have ingroſſed it wholly to themſelves. And thus it is, that the Government of this Principality is very unſteady. Sometimes the Pope's Family are extremely glorious and magnificent; at other times they think of nothing but of eſtabliſhing their Houſe. Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Senſe himſelf; ſometimes he is quite ſunk, and as the

laſt Pope was, becomes a Child again thro' old Age: Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffneſs of Temper, with a great Slowneſs of Underſtanding, and an inſatiable Deſire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns. By this Diverſity, which appears eminently in every new Pontificate, that commonly avoids thoſe Exceſſes that made the former Reign odious, the Counſels of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is ſenſible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more viſible in the Principality itſelf, that is ſubject to ſo variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succeſſion of four ravenous Reigns; and tho' there was a ſhort Interruption in the Reign of the *Roſpiglioſi*, that coming after the *Barberini*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigis*, did not enrich itſelf; and yet it diſorder'd the Revenue, by the vaſt Magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine Months time, than any other had done in ſo many Years. The *Altieri* did in a moſt ſcandalous Manner raiſe themſelves in a very ſhort and deſpiſed Reign, and built one of the nobleſt Palaces in *Rome*. He that reigns now doth not indeed raiſe his Family avowedly, but he doth not eaſe the People of their Taxes; and as there is no Magnificence in his Court, nor any publick Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; ſo the many vacant Caps occaſion many empty Palaces: And by this Means there is ſo little Expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not poſſible for the People to live and pay the Taxes; which hath driven, as is believ'd, almoſt a

fourth

fourth Part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome* during this Pontificate. And as the Pre-emption of the Corn makes, that there is no Profit made by the Owners out of the Cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope: So there are no Ways left here of employing one's Money to any conſiderable Advantage; for the publick Banks which are all in the Pope's Hand, do not pay in effect Three *per Cent.* though they pretend to give Four *per Cent.* Intereſt: The Settlement is indeed Four *per Cent.* and this was thought ſo great an Advantage, that Actions on the Pope's Bank were bought at an Hundred and ſixteen *per Cent.* But this Pope broke through all this, and declared he would give all Men their Money again, unleſs they would pay him Thirty *per Cent.* for the continuing of this Intereſt: And thus for a hundred Crowns Principal, one not only paid at firſt an hundred and ſixteen, but afterwards thirty, in all, an hundred forty ſix for the hundred; which is almoſt the Half loſt; for whenſoever the Pope will pay back their Money, all the reſt is loſt. And while I am here, there is a Report, that the Pope is treating with the *Genoeſe* for Money at Two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on thoſe Terms, he will then pay his Debts; and the Subjects that have put in Money in this Bank, will by this means loſe ſix and forty *per Cent.* which is almoſt the Half of their Stock. A Man of Quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Churchman, who took me likewiſe for one of their Clergy, becauſe I wore the Habit of a Churchman, ſaid, that it was a horrible Scandal to the whole Chri-

ſtian World, and made one Doubt of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, to ſee more Oppreſſion and Cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turky*; tho' it being in the Hands of Chriſt's Vicar, one ſhould expect to find there the Pattern of a mild and gentle Government: And how (ſaid he) can a Man expect to find his Religion here, where the common Maxims of Juſtice and Mercy were not ſo much as known? And I can never forget the lively Reflection that a *Roman* Prince made to me upon the Folly of all thoſe ſevere Oppreſſions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, ſo they reduce thoſe that are left to ſuch a Degeneracy of Spirit by their Neceſſities, that the *Spaniards*, whoſe Dominions look ſo big in the Map, are now brought ſo low; and if they had kept ſtill the Poſſeſſion they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would ſignify no more towards their Preſervation, than their other Provinces did, which, by their unſkilful Conduct, they have both diſpeopled and exhauſted: Whereas, by their loſing thoſe *Seven Provinces*, thoſe States have fallen upon ſuch wiſe Notions of Government, and have drawn ſo much Wealth, and ſuch Numbers of People together, that *Spain* itſelf was now preſerved by them, and was ſaved in this Age by the Loſs it made of thoſe Provinces in the laſt: And thoſe States, that if they had remained ſubject to *Spain*, would have ſignified little to its Support, did that now much more conſiderably, by being Allies, than they could have done, if they had not ſhaken off their Yoke.

Indeed,

Indeed, if *Spain* had been ſo happy as to have ſuch Viceroys and Governours, as it has now in *Naples*, their Affairs could not have declined ſo faſt as they have done. The Marqueſs of *Carpy*, in his Youth, intended to have taken ſo ſevere a Revenge of an Injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he deſigned the blowing him up by Gunpowder, when he was in the Council-Chamber. But that Crime was diſcovered in time, and was not only forgiven him, in Conſideration of the Greatneſs of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for ſeveral Years Ambaſſador at *Rome*. He is now Viceroy of *Naples*, and is the only Governour of all the Places through which I paſſed, that is, without Exception, beloved and eſteemed by all ſorts of People; for during the few Years of his Miniſtry, he hath redreſſed ſuch Abuſes as ſeemed paſt Cure, and that required an Age to correct them. He hath repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Spaniards* ſo much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no Occaſion to complain of the Haughtineſs of their Maſters; for he proceeds againſt the *Spaniards* with no leſs Severity, when they give Cauſe for it, than againſt the *Neapolitans*. He hath taken the Pay of the Soldiers ſo immediately into his own Care, that they, who, before his coming, were half naked, and robbed ſuch as paſſed on the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well diſciplined, and ſo decently cloathed, that it is a Pleaſure to ſee them. He examines their Muſters alſo ſo exactly, that he is ſure not to be

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cheated by falſe Liſts. He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactneſs: And whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has ſent for Loaves out of the ſeveral Places of the Markets, and weighed them himſelf; and by ſome ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the Bread too light, he hath brought this Matter to a juſt Regulation. He hath alſo brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again; and 'tis believed he hath Spies to watch, in caſe the Trade of Bribes is found to be ſtill going on. He hath fortified the Palace, which was before his Time ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard Thing to have made a Deſcent upon it. But the two Things, that raiſe his Reputation moſt, are, his extirpating of the *Banditti*, and the Regulation of the Coin which he hath taken in hand. It is well known, what a Plague the *Banditti* have been to the Kingdom; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to reſiſt an ordinary Body of Soldiers, if they had ſet on them. Theſe travelled about ſeeking for Spoil all the Summer long; but in Winter they were harboured by ſome of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters, and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as ſo many Inſtruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a Council that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditti* committed to them, who, as they catched ſome few, and hanged them, ſo they fined ſuch Barons as gave them

them Harbour; and it was believed, that thoſe Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns a Year. And thus the Diſeaſe went on, only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the Bottom of the Diſtemper. But when the preſent Viceroy entered upon the Government, he reſolved to extirpate all the *Banditti*; and he firſt let all the Barons underſtand, that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not ſave them, but that he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt Severity; and by this means the *Banditti* could find no Winter Quarters. So they betook themſelves to ſome Faſtneſſes among the Hills, and reſolved to make good the Paſſes, and to accommodate themſelves the beſt they could amidſt the Mountains. The Viceroy ſent a great Body againſt them, but they defended themſelves for ſome time vigorouſly, and in one Sally they killed five hundred Men: But at laſt, ſeeing that they were like to be hard preſs'd, and that the Viceroy intended to come againſt them in Perſon, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which were, a Pardon for what was paſt, both as to Life and Gallies, and Six-pence a Day for their Subſiſtence in Priſon during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleaſure; and ſo they rendred themſelves. They are kept in a large Priſon, and now and then, as he ſees Cauſe for it, he ſends ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in Garriſons. And thus beyond all Mens Expectation, he finiſhed this Matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of *Naples*, that hath been ſo long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery,

bery, is now ſo much changed, that in no Place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it, as all the other *Spaniſh* Money, is ſo ſubject to Clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true Value: So the Viceroy hath reſolved to redreſs this. He conſiders, that the crying down of Money that paſſeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of thoſe in whoſe Hands the Money happens to be, when ſuch Proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one will bear his Share, ſo that none will be cruſhed by it. He hath laid ſome Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and hath got a great many to bring in ſome Plate to be coined: And when he hath thus prepared ſuch a Quantity, as may ſerve for the Circulation that is neceſſary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy ſet ſuch a Pattern to the other Miniſters of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their Affairs would be ſoon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richeſt Part of all *Italy*; for the very Mountains, that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oil in great Abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is exceſſive hot, and in ſome Years all is burnt up. The *Jeſuits* are the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the ſame Rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally uſe towards their Farmers. For the Com-

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mons here are ſo miſerably oppreſſed, that in many Places they die of Hunger, even amidſt the great Plenty of their beſt Years; for the Corn is exported to *Spain*, but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neapolitans* underſtand Trade ſo well, as to be their own Merchants or Carriers; ſo that the *Engliſh* do generally carry away the Profit of this Trade. The Oil of this Kingdom is ſtill a vaſt Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wooll and Soap of *England* conſumes yearly ſome thouſands of Tuns. The Silk Trade is ſo low, that it only ſerves themſelves, but the Exportation is inconſiderable. The Sloth and Lazineſs of this People render them incapable of making thoſe Advantages of ſo rich a Soil, that a more induſtrious ſort of People would find out. For it amazes a Stranger to ſee in their little Towns the whole Men of the Town walking in the Market-places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing. And tho' in ſome big Towns, ſuch as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is ſo miſerable, that the beſt Room and Bed in it is ſo bad, that our Footmen in *England* would make a grievous Outcry, if they were no better lodged. Nor is there any Thing to be had in them; the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil is rotten. In ſhort, except one carries his whole Proviſion from *Rome* or *Naples*, he muſt reſolve to endure a good deal of Miſery in the four Days Journey that is between thoſe two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that ſees the Riches of the Soil, cannot comprehend. But as they have not Hands enough for their Soil,

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ſo thoſe they have are generally ſo little employed, that it is no wonder to ſee their Soil produce ſo little, that in the midſt of all that Abundance that Nature hath ſet before them, they are one of the pooreſt Nations of *Europe*. But beſide this which I have named, the vaſt and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cauſe of their Miſery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, aſſured me, that if it were divided into five Parts, upon a ſtrict Survey, it would be found, that the Churchmen had four Parts of the five; which he made out thus. They have in Soil above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in Tithes, and Gifts, and Legacies, they have one and a half more: For no Man dieth without leaving a conſiderable Legacy to ſome Church or Convent. The Wealth that one ſees in the City of *Naples* alone, paſſeth Imagination. There are four and twenty Houſes of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciſcans*; ſeven of the *Jeſuits*, beſide the Convents of the *Olivatines*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*: And above all, for Situation and Riches, the *Carthuſians*, on the Top of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The Riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious; it is the greateſt Hoſpital in the World; the Revenue is ſaid to be four hundred thouſand Crowns a Year. The Number of the Sick is not ſo great as at *Milan*; yet one Convenience for their Sick I obſerved in their Galleries, which was conſiderable, that every Bed ſtood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall

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on both Sides, ſeperating it from the Beds on both Hands, and as much void Space on both Sides of the Bed, that the Bed itſelf took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are ſo many, that one can hardly believe the Numbers that they boaſt of; for they talk of many thouſands that are not ſeen, but are at Nurſe. A great Part of the Wealth of this Houſe goeth to the enriching their Church, which will be all over within cruſted with Inlayings of lovely Marble, in a great Variety and Beauty of Colours. The Plate that is in the Treaſury here, and in the Dome, (which is but a mean Building, becauſe it is ancient, but hath a noble Chapel, and a vaſt Treaſure) and in a great many other Churches, are ſo prodigious, that, upon the moſt modeſt Eſtimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the *Jeſuits*, that of St. *John the Apoſtle*, and that of St. *Paul*, are ſurprizingly rich. The Gilding and Painting that is on the Roofs of thoſe Churches have coſt Millions: And as there are about a hundred Convents in *Naples*, ſo every one of theſe, if it were in another Place, would be thought well worth ſeeing, tho' the Riches of the greater Convents here make many of them to be leſs viſited. Every Year there is a new Governour of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thouſand Crowns; and, to make ſome Compenſation, when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vaſt Piece of Plate to the Houſe, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or ſome *Coloſs* of a Candleſtick; for ſeveral

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of thoſe Pieces of Plate are ſaid to be worth ten thouſand Crowns. And thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and uſeleſs. The *Jeſuits* are great Merchants here; their Wine-Cellar is a vaſt Vault, and holds above a thouſand Hogſheads, and the beſt Wine of *Naples* is ſold by them: Yet they do not retail it out ſo ſcandalouſly as the *Minims* do, who live on the Great Square before the Viceroy's Palace, and ſell out their Wine by Retail. They pay no Duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the beſt Place of the Town for this Retail. It is true, the *Neapolitans* are no great Drinkers, ſo the Profits of this Tavern are not ſo great as they would be in colder Countries: For here Men go only in for a Draught in the Mornings, or when they are a-thirſt. Yet the Houſe groweth extreme rich, and has one of the fineſt Chapels that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade ſeems very unbecoming Men of that Profeſſion, and of ſo ſtrict an Order. The Convents have a very particular Privilege in this Town; for they may buy all the Houſes that lie on either Side, till the firſt Street that diſcontinueth the Houſes; and there being ſcarce a Street in *Naples*, in which there is not a Convent, by this means they may come to buy the whole Town: And the Progreſs that the Wealth of the Clergy makes in this Kingdom is ſo viſible, that if there is not ſome Stop put to it, within an Age they will make themſelves Maſters of the whole Kingdom. It is an amazing Thing to ſee ſo profound an Ignorance, as reigns among the Clergy, prevail ſo effectually: For tho' all the ſecular Perſons here

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ſpeak of them with all poſſible Scorn, yet they are the Maſters of the Spirits of the People. The Women are infinitely ſuperſtitious, and give their Huſbands no Reſt, but as they draw from them great Preſents to the Church. It is true, there are Societies of Men at *Naples*, of freer Thoughts than can be found in any other Place of *Italy*. The *Greek* Learning begins to flouriſh there, and the New Philoſophy is much ſtudied; and there is an Aſſembly that is held in *D. Joſeph Valeta*'s Library (where there is a vaſt Collection of well-choſen Books) compoſed of Men that have a right Taſte of true Learning and good Senſe. They are ill looked on by the Clergy, and repreſented as a Set of Atheiſts, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius*'s School. But I found no ſuch Thing among them: For I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a conſiderable Number of them, during the ſhort Stay that I made among them. There is a learned Lawyer *Franciſco Andria*, that is conſidered as one of the moſt inquiſitive Men of the Aſſembly. There is alſo a Grandchild of the Great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come into this Attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all Things. Only one eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, that is Archdeacon of *Capua*, aſſociates himſelf with them. He was once of the *Jeſuits* Order, but left it; and as that alone ſerved to give a good Character of him to me, ſo upon a long Converſation with him, I found a great many other Things that poſſeſſed me with a high Value

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for him. Some Phyſicians in *Naples* are brought under the Scandal of Atheiſm; and it is certain, that, in *Italy*, Men of ſearching Underſtandings, who have no other Idea of the Chriſtian Religion, but that which they ſee received among them, are very naturally tempted to diſbelieve it quite: For they believing it all alike in groſs, without Diſtinction, and finding ſuch notorious Cheats as appear in many Parts of their Religion, are, upon that, induced to diſbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible Things. I ſaw a *Jeſuit* go in a ſort of Proceſſion, with a great Company about him, and calling upon all that he ſaw to follow him to a Place where a Mountebank was ſelling his Medicines, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the People with a ſort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over, fearing leſt his Action ſhould grow tedious, and diſperſe the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor Men of any Reputation for Learning among the *Jeſuits*. I was told they had not Men capable to teach their Schools, and that they were forced to hire Strangers. The Order of the *Oratory* hath not that Reputation in *Italy* that it hath gained in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the Clergy at *Naples* is among ſome few Secular Prieſts.

The new Method of *Molinos* doth ſo much prevail in *Naples*, that 'tis believed he hath above twenty thouſand Followers in this City. And ſince this hath made ſome Noiſe in the World, and yet is generally but little underſtood,

ſtood, I will give you ſome Account of him. He is a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, that ſeems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill Reaſoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions. He hath writ a Book which is intitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a ſhort Abſtract of the myſtical Divinity. The Subſtance of the whole is reduced to this, *That in our Prayers and other Devotions, the beſt Methods are to retire the Mind from all groſs Images, and ſo to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to preſent ourſelves before God, and then to ſink into a Silence and Ceſſation of new Acts, and ſo let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his Conduct.* This way he prefers to the Multiplication of many new Acts, and different Forms of Devotion; and he makes ſmall Account of corporal Auſterities, and reduces all the Exerciſes of Religion to this Simplicity of Mind. He thinks this is not only to be propoſed to ſuch as live in religious Houſes, but even to Secular Perſons, and by this he hath propoſed a great Reformation of Men's Minds and Manners. He hath many Prieſts in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that diſpoſe thoſe who confeſs themſelves to them, to follow his Method. The *Jeſuits* have ſet themſelves much againſt this Conduct, as foreſeeing, that it may much weaken the Empire that Superſtition hath over the Minds of People, that it may make Religion become a more plain and ſimple Thing, and may alſo open a Door to Enthuſiaſms. They alſo pretend, that his Conduct is factious and ſeditious; that this may breed a Schiſm in the Church. And becauſe he ſaith in ſome

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Places of his Book, *That the Mind may riſe up to ſuch a Simplicity in its Acts, that it may riſe in ſome of its Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Chriſt*, they have accuſed him as intending to lay aſide the Doctrine of *Chriſt's Humanity*; tho' 'tis plain that he ſpeaks only *of the Purity of ſome ſingle Acts*. Upon all thoſe Heads they have ſet themſelves much againſt *Molinos*; and they have alſo pretended, that ſome of his Diſciples have infuſed into their Penitents, *That they may go and communicate, as they find themſelves diſpoſed, without going firſt to Confeſſion*; which they thought weakned much the Yoke by which the Prieſts ſubdue the Conſciences of the People to their Conduct. Yet he was much ſupported, both in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and in *Sicily*: He had alſo many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the *Jeſuits*, as a Provincial of the Order aſſured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own Force, got a great King, that is now extremely in the Intereſts of their Order, to interpoſe, and to repreſent to the Pope the Danger of ſuch Innovations. It is certain, the Pope underſtands the Matter very little, and that he is poſſeſſed with a great Opinion of *Molinos*'s Sanctity; yet, upon the Complaints of ſome Cardinals, that ſeconded the Zeal of that King, he and ſome of his Followers were clapt in the Inquiſition, where they have been now for ſome Months: But they are ſtill well uſed, which is believed to flow from the good Opinion that the Pope hath of him, who ſaith ſtill, that tho' he may have erred, yet he is certainly a

good Man. Upon this Impriſonment, *Paſquin* ſaid a pleaſant Thing. In one Week, one Man had been condemned to the Gallies for ſomewhat he had ſaid, another had been hanged for ſomewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Priſon, whoſe Doctrine conſiſted chiefly in this, *That Men ought to bring their Minds to a State of inward Quietneſs*; from which the Name of *Quietiſts* was given to all his Followers. The *Paſquinade* upon all this was, *Si parliamo, in Galere*; *ſi ſcrivemmo, Impiccati*; *ſi ſtiamo in quiete, all' Sant' Officio: e che biſogna fare?* If we ſpeak, we are ſent to the Gallies; if we write, we are hanged; if we ſtand quiet, we are clapt up in the Inquiſition: What muſt we do then? Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this Trial victorious.

The City of *Naples*, as it is the beſt ſituated, and in the beſt Climate, ſo it is one of the nobleſt Cities of *Europe*; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more Beauty than either of them. The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and noble, the Stones being generally above a Foot ſquare; and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings. The Town is well ſupplied by daily Markets, ſo that Proviſions are ever freſh, and in great Plenty. The Wine is the beſt in *Europe*, and both the Fiſh and Fleſh are extreme good. It is ſcarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a freſh Air comes, both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Vice-roy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only

the Stair-Caſe is great; but it is now very richly furniſhed within, in Pictures and Statues. There are in it ſome Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities, of Touchſtone, that are of great Value. There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient *Roman Portico*, that is very noble, before St. *Paul*'s Church. But without the City, near the Church and Hoſpital of St. *Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the noble Catacombs; which, becauſe they were beyond any Thing I ſaw in *Italy*, and to which the Catacombs of *Rome* are not to be compared; and ſince I do not find any Account of them in all the Books that I have yet ſeen concerning *Naples*, I ſhall deſcribe them more particularly.

They are vaſt and long Galleries cut out of the Rock; there are three Stories of them one above another: I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the loweſt, ſo that one cannot go into it; but I ſaw the Paſſage to it. Theſe Galleries are generally about twenty Foot broad, and about fifteen Foot high; ſo that they are noble and ſpacious Places, and not little and narrow as the Catacombs at *Rome*, which are only three or four Foot broad, and five or ſix Foot high. I was made believe, that theſe Catacombs of *Naples* went into the Rock nine Miles long; but for that I have it only by Report: Yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzuolo*, and ſo they may have been the Burial-Places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no Certainty. I walked indeed a great Way, and found Galleries going off on all Hands without end: And whereas in the *Roman*

Catacombs there are not above three or four Rows of Niches, that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid; here there are generally ſix or ſeven Rows of thoſe Niches, and they are both larger and higher: Some Niches are for Childrens Bodies, and in many Places there are in the Floors, as it were great Cheſts hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the Dead as they are dried, in them; but I could ſee no Marks either of a Cover for theſe Holes, which look'd like the Bellies of Cheſts, or of a Facing to ſhut up the Niches when a dead Body was laid in them; ſo that it ſeems they were monſtrous, unwholſome, and ſtinking Places, where ſome thouſands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to ſhut in ſo loathſome a Sight, and ſo odious a Smell; for the Niches ſhew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapped in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In ſome Places of the Rock there is as it were a little Chapel hewn out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about; but I ſaw no Marks of any Wall that ſhut in ſuch Places; tho' I am apt to think, theſe might be Burying-Places appropriated to particular Families. There is in ſome Places on the Walls and Arch old *Moſaick* Work, and ſome Painting; the Colours are freſh, and the Manner and Characters are *Gothick*; which made me conclude that this might have been done by the *Normans* about ſix hundred Years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*. In ſome Places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines

in other Places: The Freſhneſs of the Colours ſhews theſe could not have been done while this Place was employ'd for Burying; for the Steams and Rottenneſs of the Air, occaſioned by ſo much Corruption, muſt have diſſolved both Plaiſter and Colours. In one Place there is a Man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head; there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Laud* is written; and this is repeated in another Place right over againſt it. In another Place I found a Croſs painted, and about the upper Part of it theſe Letters, J. C. X. O. and on the lower Part N J K A. are painted. A learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me, that the Manner of the Painting and Characters did not ſeem to be above ſix hundred Years old; but neither of us knew what to make of theſe Letters: The lower ſeemed to relate to the laſt Word of the Viſion, which it is ſaid that *Conſtantine* ſaw with the Croſs that appeared to him: But though the firſt two Letters might be for *Jeſus*, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inſcriptions to put a C for an S, and X ſtands for *Chriſt*, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unleſs it were for the *Greek* Θ, and that the little Line in the Boſom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it ſtands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inſcription is, *Jeſus Chriſt God overcometh.* Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta Johannes*, which was a clear Sign of a barbarous Age. In another Place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it; that at top had no Inſcription; thoſe below

below it had theſe Inſcriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita :* Theſe Letters are clearly modern ; beſides that, *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern Names ; and the Addition of *ta* a little above the *S*, were manifeſt Evidences that the higheſt Antiquity that can be aſcribed to this Painting is ſix hundred Years. I ſaw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the Darkneſs and the thick Air of the Place ; ſo I ſtaid not above an Hour in the Catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of *Rome* than I had done ; I could imagine no Reaſon why ſo little Mention is made of thoſe of *Naples*, when there is ſo much ſaid concerning thoſe of *Rome* ; and could give myſelf no other Account of the Matter, but that it being a Maxim to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman* Catacombs, as the Repoſitories of the Reliques of the primitive Chriſtians, it would have much leſſened their Credit, if it had been thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all Reſpects, that yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have been the Work of the primitive Chriſtians : And indeed, nothing ſeems more evident, than that theſe were the common Burying-Places of the ancient Heathens ; one enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables ; and ſuch are the Catacombs of *Rome* that I ſaw, which were thoſe of St. *Agnes* and St. *Sebaſtian*, the Entry into them being without the Town : This anſwers the Law, tho' in Effect they run under it ; for in thoſe Days, when they had not the Uſe of the Needle, they

could not know which Way they carried on thoſe Works, when they were once ſo far engaged under Ground as to loſe themſelves. It is a vain Imagination, to think that the Chriſtians in the primitive Times were able to carry on ſuch a Work; for as this prodigious Digging into ſuch Rocks muſt have been a very viſible Thing, by the Mountains of Rubbiſh that muſt have been brought out, and by the vaſt Number of Hands that muſt have been employed in it; ſo it is abſurd to think, that they could hold their Aſſemblies amidſt the Annoyance of ſo much Corruption. I found the Steams ſo ſtrong, that tho' I am as little ſubject to Vapours as moſt Men, yet I had all the Day long after I was in them, which was not near an Hour, a Confuſion, and as it were a Boiling in my Head, that diſordered me 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 rotting in thoſe Niches. But beſides this Improbability that preſents itſelf from the Nature of the Thing, I called to Mind a Paſſage of a Letter of *Cornelius* that was Biſhop of *Rome* after the middle of the third Century, which is preſerved by *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book, Chap. XLIII. in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that Time ſet forth. There were forty ſix Preſbyters, ſeven Deacons, as many Subdeacons, and ninety four of the inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: There were alſo fifteen hundred Widows, and other Poor maintained out of the publick Charities.

It

It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the Numbers of the Chriſtians were as great when this Epiſtle was writ, as they were at any time before *Conſtantine*'s Days: For as this was writ at the End of that long Peace, of which both St. *Cyprian* and *Lactantius* ſpeak, that had continued above an hundred Years; ſo after this Time there was ſuch a Succeſſion of Perſecutions, that came ſo thick one upon another after ſhort Intervals of Quiet, that we cannot think the Numbers of the Chriſtians encreaſed much beyond what they were at this Time. Now there are two Particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable Eſtimate of the Numbers of the Chriſtians; the one is, their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred: Now upon an exact Survey it will be found, that where the Poor are well looked to, their Number riſes generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth Part of Mankind; and this may be well believ'd to be the Proportion of the Poor among the Chriſtians of that Age; for as their Charity was vigorous and tender, ſo we find *Celſus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Chriſtians of that Time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vaſt Numbers of the lower Sort among them, who made themſelves Chriſtians, that they might be ſupplied by their Brethren. So that this being the State of the Chriſtians then, we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth Part; and ſo fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty produce five and forty thouſand: And I am the more inclined to think that this riſes near to the full Sum of their Numbers, by the other Cha-

racter of the Numbers of the Clergy; for as there were forty ſix Preſbyters, ſo there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were two more than double the Number of the Prieſts; and this was in a Time when the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more Work on their Hands, the inſtructing their Catechumens, the viſiting their Sick, and the ſupporting and comforting the Weak, being Taſks that required ſo much Application, that in ſo vaſt a City as *Rome* was in thoſe Days, in which it is probable the Chriſtians were ſcattered over the City, and mixed in all the Parts of it, we make a Conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every Preſbyter had perhaps about a thouſand Souls committed to his Care; ſo this riſes to ſix and forty thouſand, which comes very near the Sum that may be gather'd from the other Hint, taken from the Number of their Poor: So that about fifty thouſand is the higheſt Accompt to which we can reaſonably raiſe the Numbers of the Chriſtians of *Rome* in that Time; and of ſo many Perſons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; ſo that the Men who were in Condition to work were not above twelve thouſand, and by conſequence they were in no Condition to undertake and carry on ſo vaſt a Work. If *Cornelius* in that Letter ſpeaks of the Numbers of the Chriſtians in exceſſive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his Apology hath alſo ſet out the Numbers of the Chriſtians of his Time in a very high Strain,

that

that is only to be aſcribed to a pompous Eloquence, which diſpoſeth People to magnify their own Party; and we muſt allow a good deal to an Hyperbole, that is very natural to all that ſet forth their Forces in general Terms. It is true, it is not ſo clear *when* thoſe vaſt Cavities were dug out of the Rocks: We know, that when the Laws of the Twelve Tables were made, Sepulture was then in uſe; and *Rome* being then grown to a vaſt Bigneſs, no doubt they had Repoſitories for their Dead; ſo that ſince none of the *Roman* Authors mention any ſuch Work, it may not be unreaſonable to imagine, that theſe Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firſt Beginnings of the City, and ſo the later Authors had no Occaſion to take Notice of it. It is alſo certain, that tho' Burning came to be in uſe among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their firſt Cuſtom of burying Bodies long before *Conſtantine*'s Time; ſo that it was not the Chriſtian Religion that produced this Change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that the Change was made in the Times of the *Antonines*; yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no Mention being made in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for Burying-Places, *Velſerus*'s Opinion ſeems more 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, that the Slaves and the meaner Sort of People were ſtill buried, that being a leſs expenſive and a more ſimple Way of beſtowing their Bodies than Burning, which was both pompous and

chargeable; and, if there were already Burying-Places prepared, it is much eaſier to imagine how the Cuſtom of Burying grew univerſal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for ſome Time find out upon what Grounds the modern Criticks take it for granted, that Burying began in the Times of the *Antonines*, till I had the Happineſs to talk of this Matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who ſeems to be ſuch a Maſter of all the ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: He told me, that it was certain the Change from Burning to Burying was not made by the Chriſtian Emperors; for *Macrobius (Lib. 7. Cap. 7.)* ſays, in plain Terms, that the Cuſtom of Burning the Bodies of the Dead was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aſide ſo late as *Conſtantine*; and as there was no Law made by him on that Head, ſo he and the ſucceeding Emperors gave ſuch an entire Toleration to Paganiſm, admitting thoſe of that Religion to the greateſt Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any Order given againſt Burning: So that it is clear, the Heathens had changed it of their own Accord; otherways we ſhould have found that among the Complaints that they made of the Grievances under which they lay from the Chriſtians. But it is more difficult to fix the Time when this Change was made. *Gronovius* ſhewed me a Paſſage of *Phlegon*'s, that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the Cuſtoms

Cuſtoms of burying that might be elſewhere; and ſo *Petronius* gives the Account of the Burial of the *Epheſian* Matron's Huſband: But he made it apparent to me, that Burying was commonly practiſed in *Commodus*'s Time; for *Xiphilinus* tells us, that in *Pertinax*'s Time the Friends of thoſe whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their Bodies, ſome bringing out only ſome Parts of them, and others raiſing their entire Bodies. The ſame Author alſo tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus*'s Body, and ſo ſaved it from the Rage of the People; and here is a poſitive Evidence, that Burying was the common Practice of that Time. The ſame learned Perſon has, ſince my firſt Converſation with him upon this Subject, ſuggeſted to me two Paſſages of *Feſtus Pompeius*, that ſeem to determine this whole Matter; and that tell us by what Names thoſe Catacombs were known in the *Roman* Time, whereabouts they were, and what Sort of Perſons were laid in them; we have alſo the Deſignation by which the Bearers were commonly known, and the Time when they carried out the dead Bodies: And it appears particularly by them, that in the Repoſitories of which that Author makes Mention, there was no Care taken to preſerve the Bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His Words are: *Puticulos antiquiſſimum genus ſepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis ſepelirentur homines; qualis fuerit locus, quo nunc cadavera projici ſolent extra portam Eſquilinam: quæ, quod ibi puteſcerent, inde priùs appellatos exiſtimat* Puticulos *Ælius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris*

 fuiſſe,

fuiſſe, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea puteſcerent, nomen eſſe factum Puticuli. The other Paſſage runs thus: *Veſpæ & Veſpillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucribus, ſed quia veſpertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompâ duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees ſo exactly to the Thoughts, that a general View of thoſe Repoſitories give a Man, that it will not be hard to perſuade him, that thoſe Burying-Places that are now graced with the pompous Title of *Catacombs*, are no other than the *Puticuli* of *Feſtus Pompeius*, where the meaneſt Sort of the *Roman* Slaves were laid, and ſo, without any farther Care about them, were left to rot.

It is true, 'tis very probable, that as we ſee ſome of the *Roman* Families continue to bury their Dead, even when Burning was the more common Cuſtom; ſo perhaps others continued after this to burn their Dead, the Thing being indifferent, and no Law made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the Chriſtians after this Time, that they abhorred the Cuſtom of Burning the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Fælix*; but this or any other Evidences that may be brought from Medals of Conſecrations after this Time, will only prove that ſome were ſtill burnt, and that the Chriſtians practiſed Burying univerſally, as expreſſing their Belief of the Reſurrection; whereas the Heathens held the Thing indifferent. It is alſo clear from the many genuine Inſcriptions

tions that have been found in the Catacombs, which bear the Dates of the Conſuls, that theſe were the common Burial-Places of all the Chriſtians of the fourth and fifth Century; for I do not remember that there is any one Date that is ancienter; and yet not one of the Writers of thoſe Ages ſpeak of them as the Work of the primitive Chriſtians: They ſpeak indeed of the Burial-Places of the Martyrs; but that will prove no more, but that the Chriſtians might have had their Quarters and their Walks in thoſe common Burial-Places, where they laid their Dead, and which might have been known among them, tho' it is not likely that they would in Times of Perſecution make ſuch Inſcriptions as might have expoſed the Bodies of their dead Friends to the Rage of their Enemies: And the ſpurious Acts of ſome Saints and Martyrs are of too little Credit to give any Support to the common Opinion. *Damaſus*'s Poetry is of no better Authority. And tho' thoſe Ages were inclined enough to give Credit to Fables, yet it ſeems this of thoſe Catacombs having been the Work of the primitive Chriſtians, was too groſs a Thing to have been ſo early impoſed on the World. And this Silence in an Age in which Superſtition was going on at ſo great a rate, has much Force in it; for ſo vaſt a Work as thoſe Catacombs are, muſt have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were eaſy to carry this much farther, and to ſhew that the *Bas Reliefs*, that have been found in ſome of thoſe Catacombs, have nothing of the Beauty of the ancient *Roman* Time. This is alſo more diſcernable in many Inſcriptions that

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are more *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are ſo many Inſcriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain theſe were of later Times; and we ſee by Saint *Jerome*, that the Monks began even in his Time to drive a Trade of Reliques; ſo it is no Wonder that to raiſe the Credit of ſuch a Heap as was never to be exhauſted, they made ſome miſerable Sculptures and ſome Inſcriptions, and perhaps ſhut up the Entries into them with much Care and Secreſy, intending to open them upon ſome Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation; which was often practiſed in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion even to ſome ſingle Relique; and a few being upon this Secret, either thoſe might have died, or by the many Revolutions that happened at *Rome*, they might have been diſperſed before they made the Diſcovery: And thus the Knowledge of thoſe Places was loſt, and came to be diſcover'd by Accident in the laſt Age, and hath ever ſince ſupplied them with an inexhauſtible Magazine of Bones, which by all Appearance are no other than the Bones of the Pagan *Romans*, which are now ſent over the World to feed a Superſtition that is as blind as it proves expenſive. And thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at leaſt thoſe of the meaner Sort, are now ſet in Silver and Gold, with a great deal of other coſtly Garniture, and entertain the Superſtition of thoſe who are willing to be deceived, as well as they ſerve the Ends of thoſe that ſeek to deceive the World. But becauſe it cannot be pretended, that there was ſuch a Number of Chriſtians at *Naples*, as could have wrought ſuch Catacombs;

and

and if it had been once thought, that thoſe were the common Burial-places of the ancient Heathens, that might have induced the World to think, that the *Roman* Catacombs were no other: Therefore there hath been no Care taken to examine theſe. I thought this deſerved a large Diſcourſe, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this Subject.

I will not enter upon a long Deſcription of that which is ſo well known, as *Mont Veſuvio*: It had roared ſo loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly ſleep in the Nights, and ſome old Houſes were ſo ſhaken by the Earthquake, that was occaſioned by this Convulſion of the Hill, that they fell to the Ground. And the great Convulſion above fifty Years ago, was ſo terrible, that there was no ſmall Fear in *Naples*, tho' it lies at the Diſtance of ſeven Miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under Ground; for tho' it ſmok'd much more than ordinary, yet there was no Eruption. It was indeed ſmoking, not only in the Mouth of the little Mount that is formed within the great Waſte that the Fire hath made, but alſo all along the Bottom that is between the outward Mouth of this Mountain (which is four Miles in Compaſs) and that inward Hill. When one ſees the Mouth of this Fire, and ſo great a Part of the Hill, which is covered ſome foot deep with Aſhes and Stones of a metallick Compoſition, that the Fire throws out, he cannot but ſtand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fuel of ſo laſting a Burning, that hath calcined ſo much Matter, and ſpewed

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out ſuch prodigious Quantities. It is plain, there are vaſt Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it ſeems in this Mountain they run along through ſome Mines and Rocks; and as their ſlow Conſumption produceth a perpetual Smoke, ſo when the Air within is ſo much rarified, that it muſt open itſelf, it throws up thoſe Maſſes of Metal and Rock that ſhut it in. But how this Fire draws in Air to nouriſh its Flame, is not ſo eaſily apprehended, unleſs there is either a Conveyance of Air under-ground, by ſome undiſcovered Vacuity, or a more inſenſible Tranſmiſſion of Air thro' the Pores of the Earth. The Heat of this Hill operates ſo much upon the Soil that lies upon it towards the Foot of it, that it produceth the richeſt Wine about *Naples*, and it alſo purifieth the Air ſo much, that the Village at the Bottom is thought the beſt Air of the Country; ſo that many come from *Naples* thither for their Health. *Iſchia*, that is an Iſland not far from *Naples*, doth alſo ſometimes ſpue out Fire.

On the other Side of *Naples*, to the Weſt, one paſſeth thro' the Cave that pierceth the *Pauſalippe*, and is four hundred and forty Paces long; for I walked it on Foot, to take its true Meaſure. It is twenty Foot broad, and at firſt forty Foot high, but afterwards it is but twenty Foot high. The Stone cut out here is good for Building; ſo that as this opened the Way from *Puzzuolo* to *Naples*, it was alſo a Quarry for the building of the Town. All along the Way here, one diſcovers a ſtrange Boiling within the Ground; for a little beyond this Grott of *Pau-*

ſalippe,

ſalippe, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one Hand a Bath, occaſioned by a Steam that riſeth ſo hot out of the Ground, that as ſoon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himſelf all over in a Sweat, which is very proper for ſome Diſeaſes, eſpecially that which carries its Name from *Naples*. And about twenty Paces from thence, there is another little Grott, that ſends out a poiſonous Steam, that as it puts out a Candle, as ſoon as it cometh near it, ſo it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a Minute of Time; for in half that Time a Dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly try'd (the Grott being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a Convulſion. From that one goeth to ſee the poor Remains of *Puzzuolo*, and of all that Bay, that was once all about a Tract of Towns, it having been the Retreat of the *Romans*, during the Heats of the Summer. All the Rarities here have been ſo often, and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I am ſenſible I can add nothing to what is ſo well known. I will ſay nothing of the *Amphitheatre*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil*'s Houſes, for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition. They are ancient Brick-Buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil*'s Houſe are ſtill entire. The *Sulfatara* is a ſurprizing Thing; here is a Bottom, out of which the Force of the Fire, that breaks out ſtill in many Places, in a thick ſteaming Smoke that is full of Brimſtone, did throw up about an hundred and fifty Years ago a vaſt Quantity of Earth, which was carried about three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*,

upon

upon the Ruins of a Town that was overwhelmed with this Eruption, which is of a very conſiderable Height. They told me, that there was before that Time a Channel, that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one ſees the Beginnings in the Bay, at ſome Diſtance from the Shore: It carrieth ſtill the Name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Cæſar*. But by the Swelling of the Ground, upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this Paſſage is ſtopt, and the *Averno* is now freſh Water. It is eighteen Fathom deep. On the Side of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sybil* is ſaid to have given out her Inſpirations. The hewing it out of the Rock hath been a prodigious Work; for the Rock is one of the hardeſt Stones in the World, and the Cave goeth in ſeven hundred Foot long, twenty Foot broad, and, as I could gueſs, eighteen Foot high: And from the End of this great Gallery, there is a narrow Paſſage of three Foot broad, two hundred Foot long, and ſeven high, to a little Apartment, to which we go in a conſtant ſloping Deſcent from the great Cave. Here are three little Rooms; in one of them there are ſome Remains of an old *Moſaick*, with which the Walls and the Roof were laid over. There is alſo a Spring of Water, and a Bath, in which it is ſuppoſed the *Sybil* bathed herſelf; and from this Cave it is ſaid, that there runs a Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long Miles, but the Paſſage is now choak'd by the falling in of the Rock in ſeveral Places. This Piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the

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popular Opinion that is eaſily received there, that all this was done by the Devil. The Marks of the Chiſſel in all Parts of the Rock ſhew, that this is not a Work of Nature. Certainly they had both much Leiſure, and many Hands at their Command, who ſet about it; and it ſeems to have been wrought out with no other Deſign, but to ſubject the People more entirely to the Conduct of the Prieſts that managed this Impoſture: So buſy and induſtrious hath the Ambition and Fraud of the Prieſts been in all Ages, and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of noble Objects that preſent themſelves in the Bay of *Puzzuolo*, the Remains of *Caligula*'s Bridge are the moſt amazing; for there are yet ſtanding eight or ten of the Pillars that ſupported the Arches, and of ſome of the Arches the half is yet entire. I had not a Line with me to examine the Depth of the Water, where the furtheſt of thoſe Pillars is built; but my Waterman aſſured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have, ſince my being in *Naples*, inſtructed one that was going thither in this Particular, and have received this Account from him: That he had taken care to plum the Water at the furtheſt Pillar of *Caligula*'s Bridge, on the *Puzzuolo* Side, and found it was ſeven Fathom and a half deep: But he adds, that the Waterman aſſured him, that on the other Side before *Baia*, the Water was twenty ſix Fathom deep. But as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, ſo he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Waterman had aſſured him, that the Water was ten Fathom deep on the *Puzzuolo* Side, tho', upon Trial, he found it

was

was only ſeven and a half: And by this Meaſure one may ſuppoſe that the Water is twenty Fathom deep on the other Side. So that it is one of the moſt aſtoniſhing Things that one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in ſuch a Depth of Water.

This I cannot believe, but it is certainly ſo deep, that one can ſcarce imagine how it was poſſible to build in ſuch a Depth; and for the carrying off of the Sea, that ſeems yet more impoſſible. It is a noble Monument of the profuſe and extravagant Expence of a brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vaſteſt Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of Sea, merely to ſacrifice ſo great a Treaſure to his Vanity. As for *Agrippina*'s Tomb, it is no great Matter, only the *Bas Reliefs* are yet entire. The marvellous Fiſh-pond is a great Baſin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, ſtanding upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hew'd out of the Rock, and they are laid over with four Cruſts of the old Plaiſter, which is now as hard as Stone. This is believed to be a Work of *Nero*'s. And about a Quarter of a Mile from thence, there is another vaſt Work, which goeth into a Rock, but at the Entrance there is a noble *Portico* built of Pillars of Brick; and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many Rooms regularly ſhaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaiſter, which is ſtill entire, and ſo white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been waſhed over ſince it was firſt made. There are a vaſt Number of thoſe Rooms; they are ſaid to be a hundred,

from

from whence this Cave carrieth the Name of the *Centum Cameræ*. This hath been as expenſive a Work as it is uſeleſs. It is entitled to *Nero*, and here they ſay he kept his Priſoners. But there is nothing in all this Bay that is both ſo curious and ſo uſeful as the Baths, which ſeem to flow from the ſame Reaſon that is the Cauſe of theſe Eruptions in the *Veſuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned, that as this Heat makes ſome Fountains there to be boiling hot, ſo it ſends up a Steam thro' the Rock, that doth not break thro' the Pores of the Stone where it is hard, but where the Rock is ſoft and ſpungy, there the Steams come thro' with ſo melting a Heat, that a Man is ſoon, as it were, diſſolved in Sweat: But if he ſtoops low in the Paſſages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no Heat, becauſe there the Rock is hard. Thoſe Steams, as they are all hot, ſo they are impregnated with ſuch Minerals as they find in their way thro' the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out of the Rock, and faced with a Building, in which there are, as it were, Bedſteads made in the Walls, upon which thoſe that come thither to ſweat for their Health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and ſo come regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain, that a Man can no where paſs a Day of his Life, both with ſo much Pleaſure, and with ſuch Advantage as he finds in this Journey to *Puzzuolo*, and all along the Bay. But tho' anciently this was all ſo well built, ſo peopled, and ſo beautifully laid out; yet no where doth one ſee more viſibly what a Change

Time

Time brings upon all Places: For *Naples* hath ſo entirely eat out this Place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that as *Puzzuolo* itſelf is but a ſmall Village, ſo there is now no other in all this Bay, which was anciently built almoſt all round; for there were ſeven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found moſt conſiderable in *Naples*, I cannot paſs by that noble Remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty Miles of the Way between it and *Rome*, without making ſome mention of it. This Highway is twelve Foot broad, all made of huge Stones, moſt of them blue, and they are generally a Foot and half large on all Sides. The Strength of this Cauſeway appears in its 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 many Botches that have been made in mending ſuch Places as have been worn out by Time, ſhews a very viſible Difference between the ancient and the modern way of Paving. One Thing ſeems ſtrange, that the Way is level with the Earth on both Sides: Whereas ſo much Weight as thoſe Stones carry, ſhould have ſunk the Ground under them by its Preſſure. Beſides, that the Earth, eſpecially in low Grounds, receives a conſtant Increaſe chiefly by the Duſt which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills; both which Reaſons ſhould make a more ſenſible Difference between thoſe Ways and the Soil on both Sides: And this makes me apt to believe, that anciently thoſe Ways were a little raiſed above the Level of the Ground, and that a Courſe of ſo many

Ages

Ages hath now brought them to an Equality. Thoſe Ways were chiefly made for ſuch as go on Foot: For as nothing is more pleaſant than to walk along them, ſo nothing more inconvenient for Horſes and all ſorts of Carriage; and indeed *Mules* are the only Beaſts of Burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beat all Horſes, after they have gone it a little while. There are ſeveral Remains of *Roman* Antiquities at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the Iſle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a ſtrange Idea of *Tiberius*'s Reign; ſince it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to ſee a Prince abandon the beſt Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and ſhut himſelf up in a little Iſland, in which I was told there was a Tradition of ſeven little Palaces that he built in it; or to ſee ſo vaſt a Body as the *Roman* Empire, ſo governed by ſuch a tyrannical Prince, at ſuch a Diſtance from the chief Seat, ſo that all might have been reverſed long before the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to ſee ſo vaſt a State, that had ſo great a Senſe of Liberty, ſubdued by ſo brutal, and ſo voluptuous a Man as *Anthony*, and ſo raw a Youth as *Auguſtus*; ſo the Wonder is much improved, when we ſee a Prince, at a hundred and fifty Miles diſtance, ſhut up in an Iſland, carry the Reins of ſo great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which Way he pleaſed.

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

curious Things to entertain the Attention of a Traveller, than any other Place in *Europe*. On the ſide of *Tuſcany*, the Entry into *Rome* is very ſurprizing to Strangers; for one cometh along for a great many Miles upon the Remains of the *Via Flaminia*, which is not indeed ſo entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raiſe a juſt Idea of the *Roman* Greatneſs, who laid ſuch Cauſeways all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Populo* there is a noble Obeliſk, a vaſt Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, reſembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on ſeveral hands one ſees a long *Viſta* of Streets. There is not a Town in theſe Parts of the World where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces are ſo noble, and where the other Buildings are ſo mean; which indeed diſcovers very viſibly the Miſery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are ſo well known, that I will not adventure on any Deſcription of them; and indeed I had too tranſient a View of them, to make it with that Degree of Exactneſs which the Subject requires: St. *Peter*'s alone would make a long Letter, not to ſay a big Book; its Length, Height, and Breadth are all ſo exactly proportioned, and the Eye is ſo equally poſſeſſed with all theſe, that the whole upon the firſt View doth not appear ſo vaſt as it is found to be upon a more particular Attention; and as the four Pillars, upon which the Cupola riſes, are of ſuch a prodigious Bigneſs, that one would think they were ſtrong enough to bear any Superſtructure whatſoever; ſo when one climbs up to the top of

that vaſt Height, he wonders what Foundation can bear ſo huge a Weight; for as the Church is of a vaſt Height, ſo the Cupola riſes four hundred and fifteen large Steps above the Roof of the Church. In the Height of the Concave of this Cupola there is a Repreſentation, that tho' it can hardly be ſeen from the Floor below, unleſs one hath a good Sight, and ſo it doth not perhaps give much Scandal, yet it is a groſs Indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient Man compaſſed about with Angels. I will ſay nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of St. *Peter*, of the great Tombs, of which the three chief are *Paul* III. *Urban* VIII. and *Alexander* VII. nor of the vaſt Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are reſerved in them; nor will I undertake a Deſcription of the adjoining Palace, where the Painting of the *Corridori*, and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are ſo rich, that one is ſorry to ſee a Work of that Value laid on *Freſco*, and which muſt by Conſequence wear out too ſoon, as in ſeveral Places 'tis almoſt quite loſt already. I could not but obſerve in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous Chapel of *Siſto* V. and that is all painted in *Freſco*, one Corner that repreſents the Murther of the renowned Admiral *Chaſtillon*, and that hath written under it theſe Words, *Rex Colinii necem probat.* The vaſt Length of the Gallery on one ſide, and of the Library on another, do ſurprize one. The Gardens have many Statues of a moſt exceſſive Value, and ſome good Fountains; but the Gar-

dens are ill maintained both here and in the Palace of the *Quirinal*. And indeed, in moſt of the Palaces of *Rome*, if there were but a ſmall Coſt laid out to keep all in good Caſe, that is brought together at ſo vaſt a Charge, they would make another ſort of Shew, and be looked at with much more Pleaſure. In the Apartments of *Rome* there are a great many Things that offend the Sight; the Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince *Borgheſe*; where, as there is the vaſteſt Collection of the beſt Pieces, and of the Hands of the greateſt Maſters that are in all *Europe*; ſo the Doors and Locks give not that Diſtaſte to the Eye that one finds elſewhere. The Flooring of the Palace is all of Brick, which is ſo very mean, that one ſees the Diſproportion that is between the Floors and the reſt of the Room, not without a ſenſible Perception and Diſlike. It is true, they ſay their Air is ſo cold and moiſt in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble; and the Heat is ſometimes ſo great in Summer, that a Flooring of Wood would crack with Heat, as well as be eat up by the Vermin that would neſtle in it: But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to waſh their Floors with that Care that is uſed in *Holland*, where the Air is moiſter, and the Climate more productive of Vermin, they would not find ſuch Effects from wooden Floors as they pretend. In a Word, there are none that lay out ſo much Wealth all at once as the *Italians* do upon building and finiſhing of their Palaces and Gardens, and that afterwards beſtow ſo little on the preſerving of them. Another Thing

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I obſerved in their Palaces: There is indeed a great Series of Noble Rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are compoſed; but I did not find at the End of the Apartments, where the Bed-chamber is, ſuch a Diſpoſition of Rooms for Back-Stairs, Dreſſing-Rooms, Cloſets, Servants-Rooms, and other Conveniences as are neceſſary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not ſo neceſſary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more conſider'd than Convenience; but I found the ſame Want in thoſe Apartments in which they lodged; ſo that notwithſtanding all the Riches of their Palaces, it cannot be ſaid that they are *well* lodged in them: And their Gardens are yet leſs underſtood, and worſe kept than their Palaces. It is true, the *Villa Borgheſe* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious Collection of *Bas Reliefs*, with which the Walls are as it were covered all over, that are of a vaſt Value; ſo the Statues within, of which ſome are of Porphyry, and others of Touchſtone, are amazing Things. The whole Ground of this Park, which is about three Miles in Compaſs, and in which there are ſix or ſeven Lodges, are laid out ſo ſweetly, that I thought I was in an *Engliſh* Park when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better ſituated, upon a higher Ground, and hath more Water-Works, and twice the Extent of the other in Soil; but neither doth the Houſe nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the Ground ſo well laid out, nor ſo well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the Publick

Apartments are all covered over with Pictures; and as for thoſe Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furniſhed either with red Velvet or red Damaſk, with a broad Gold Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom; but there is very little Tapeſtry in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digreſſion, from the general View that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one Part of it, which will engage me into a new Digreſſion, as it well deſerves one, and that is, the Library of the *Vatican*: The Caſe is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that filleth a Man's Eye: There is firſt a great Hall, and at the End of it there runs out on both Sides two Galleries of ſo vaſt a Length, that tho' the Half of them is already furniſhed with Books, yet one would hope, that there is Room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg* Library ſtands by itſelf, and filleth one Side of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urbin*'s Library of Manuſcripts filleth the other. But tho' theſe laſt are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of ſuch Antiquity as thoſe of *Heidelberg*. When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry* VIII's Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, with an Inſcription writ upon it with his own Hand to Pope *Leo* X. was ſhewed me, together with a Collection of ſome Letters that he writ to *Anna Bullen*, of which ſome are in *Engliſh* and ſome in *French*: I, that knew his Hand well, ſaw clearly that they were no Forgeries.

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There are not many *Latin* Manuſcripts of great Antiquity in this Library; ſome few of *Virgil*'s I ſaw writ in Capitals. But that which took up almoſt Half of one Day that I ſpent at one time in this Place, related to the preſent Diſpute which is on foot between Mr. *Schelſtrat* the Library-Keeper, and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the Council of *Conſtance*. The two Points in Debate are the Words of the Decree made in the fourth Seſſion, and the Pope's Confirmation. In the fourth Seſſion according to the *French* Manuſcripts, a Decree was made, ſubjecting the Pope, and all other Perſons whatſoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to eſtabliſh both in the Head and the Members; which, as it implies that the Head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, ſo it ſets the Council ſo directly above the Pope, that this Seſſion being confirmed by the Pope, putteth thoſe who aſſert the Pope's Infallibility to no ſmall Straits: For if Pope *Martin*, that approved this Decree was infallible, then this Decree is good ſtill; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this *Schelſtrat* anſwers from his Manuſcripts, that the Words *of a Reformation in Head and Members* are not in the Decree of that Seſſion; and he did ſhew me ſeveral Manuſcripts, of which two were evidently writ during the Sitting of the Council, and were not at all daſhed, in which theſe Words were not. I know the Hand and Way of Writing of that Age too well to be eaſily miſtaken in my Judgment concerning thoſe Manuſcripts:

But if thoſe Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that ſeem to be much ſtronger for the Superiority of the Council above that Pope; for it is decreed, that *Popes and all other Perſons were bound to ſubmit to the Deciſions of the Council, as to Faith*; which Words were not in the *French* Manuſcripts: Upon this I told Mr. *Schelſtrat*, that I thought the Words in theſe Manuſcripts were ſtronger than the other; ſince the Word *Reformation*, as it was uſed in the Time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abuſes, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the Monaſtick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact Obſervation of the Rules of their Order: So tho' the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head and Members, I do not ſee that this would import more, than that the Papacy had fallen into ſome Diſorders that needed a Reformation; and this is not denied even by thoſe who aſſert the Pope's Infallibility. But a Submiſſion to Points of Faith, that is expreſly aſſerted in the *Roman* Manuſcripts, is a much more poſitive Evidence againſt the Pope's Infallibility; and the Word *Faith* is not capable of ſo large a Senſe, as may be juſtly aſcribed to *Reformation*. But this Difference in ſo main a Point, between Manuſcripts concerning ſo late a Tranſaction, gave me an Occaſion to reflect on the vaſt Uncertainty of Tradition, eſpecially of Matters that are at a great Diſtance from us; when thoſe that were ſo lately tranſacted, are ſo differently repreſented in Manuſcripts, and in which both thoſe of *Paris* and *Rome* ſeem to

carry

carry all poſſible Evidences of Sincerity. As for the Pope's Confirmation of that Decree, it is true, by a general Bull Pope *Martin* confirmed the Council of *Conſtance* to ſuch a Period; but beſides that, he made a particular Bull, as *Schelſtrat* aſſured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among thoſe, this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named. This ſeemed to be of much more Importance, and therefore I deſired to ſee the Original of the Bull, for there ſeem to be juſt Reaſons to apprehend a Forgery here: He promiſed to do his Endeavour, tho' he told me that would not be eaſy, for the Bulls were ſtrictly kept; and the next Day when I came hoping to ſee it, I could not be admitted; but he aſſured me, that if that had not been the laſt Day of my Stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my ſeeing the Original: So this is all I can ſay as to the Authenticalneſs of that Bull. But ſuppoſing it to be genuine, I could not agree with Mr. *Schelſtrat*, that the general Bull of Confirmation ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: For ſince that particular Bull was never diſcover'd till he found it out, it ſeems it was ſecretly made, and did not paſs according to the Forms of the Conſiſtory, and was a fraudulent Thing, of which no Noiſe was to be made in that Age; and therefore in all the Diſpute that followed in the Council of *Baſil*, between the Pope and the Council upon this very Point, no Mention was ever made of it by either Side; and thus it can have no Force, unleſs it be to diſ-

cover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the ſame time in which the Neceſſity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a ſecret Bull, which in another Age might be made uſe of to weaken the Authority of the general Confirmation that he gave; and therefore a Bull that doth not paſs in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority, and ſo this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. There were ſome other Things relating to this Debate, that were ſhewed me by Mr. *Schelſtrat*; but theſe being the moſt important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large Account of the learned Men at *Rome*; *Bellori* is deſervedly famous for his Knowledge of the *Greek* and *Egyptian* Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superſtitions of the Heathens, and hath a Cloſet richly furniſhed with Things relating to thoſe Matters. *Fabretti* is juſtly celebrated for his underſtanding of the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jeſuits* College, and is much above the common Rate both for Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and Church-Hiſtory. And he to whom I was the moſt obliged, Abbot *Nazari*, hath ſo general a View of the ſeveral Parts of Learning, tho' he hath chiefly applied himſelf to Philoſophy and Mathematicks, and is a Man of ſo engaging a Civility, and uſed me in ſo particular a Manner, that I owe him, as well as thoſe others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to ſee, all the Acknowledg-

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ments of Eſteem and Gratitude that I can poſſibly make them.

One ſees in Cardinal *d'Eſtrée* all the Advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a Meaſure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a Perſon of his Rank: But as he gave a noble Protection to one of the moſt learned Men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launoy*, who lived many Years with him, ſo it is viſible, that he made a great Progreſs by the Converſation of ſo extraordinary a Perſon: And as for Theological Learning, there is now none of the College equal to him. Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England*, to need any Character from me. The Elevation of his preſent Condition hath not in the leaſt changed him: He hath all the Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs of Temper that we ſaw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected Simplicity and Humility of a Friar, amidſt all the Dignity of the Purple. And as he ſheweth all the generous Care and Concern for his Countrymen that they can expect from him; ſo I met with ſo much of it, in ſo many obliging Marks of his Goodneſs to myſelf, that went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the Pope's Confeſſor was a very extraordinary Man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*. He is a Maſter of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the moſt learned Book againſt the *Mahometan* Religion, that the World hath yet ſeen, but is not yet printed. He is not ſo much eſteemed in *Rome*, as he would be elſe-

where; for his Learning is not in vogue: And the School Divinity, and Caſuiſtical Learning, being that for which Divines are moſt eſteemed there, he whoſe Studies lead him another way is not ſo much valued as he ought to be. And perhaps the ſmall Account that the Pope makes of learned Men turns ſomewhat upon the Confeſſor; for it is certain, that this is a Reign in which Learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have, for the preſent Pontificate, one made a pleaſant Reflection to me. He ſaid, thoſe Popes that intended to raiſe their Families, as they ſaw the Cenſure that this brought upon them, ſo they ſtudied to leſſen it by other Things that might ſoften the Spirits of the People. No Man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finiſhing *St. Peter*'s and the Library, and for furniſhing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul* V. tho' at the ſame Time he did not forget his Family. And tho' the other Popes, that have raiſed great Families, have not done this to ſo eminent a Degree as he did, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence: Whereas thoſe Popes that have not raiſed Families, have, it ſeems, thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and ſo they have not done much, either to recommend their Government to their Subjects, or their Reign to Poſterity. And it is very plain, that the preſent Pope taketh no Care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free from all thoſe publick Scandals that make a Noiſe in the World: And there is, at preſent, a Regularity in *Rome*, that deſerveth great

great Commendation; for publick Vices are not to be ſeen there. His perſonal Sobriety is alſo ſingular. One aſſured me, that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a Day; tho' this is indeed ſhort of *Siſto* V. who gave Order to his Steward, never to exceed five and twenty *Bajokes*, that is, eighteen Pence a Day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and doth never expoſe it; for, upon the leaſt Diſorder, he ſhuts himſelf up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed, for the leaſt Indiſpoſition, many Days: But his Government is ſevere, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one Thing cometh into my Mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation not only diſpeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakening the natural Fertility of the Subjects: For as Men and Women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhauſted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing Anxieties that Want brings with it, muſt be more lively than thoſe that are preſſed with Want; ſo it is very likely, that the one muſt be much more diſpoſed to propagate than the other. And this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the Fruitfulneſs of *Geneva* and *Switzerland* with the Barrenneſs that reigns over all *Italy*. I ſaw two extraordinary Inſtances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*. Mr. *Tronchin*, that was Profeſſor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Profeſſor of the ſame Name that is now there, died at the Age of ſeventy ſix Years, and had a hundred and fifteen Perſons all alive, that had either deſcend-

ed from him, or by Marriage with thoſe that deſcended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is deſcended from the Family of the *Calendrini*, who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty Years ago, left *Lucca* their native City, with the *Turretini*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and ſome others that came and ſettled at *Geneva*: He is now but ſeven and forty Years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five Perſons that are deſcended of his Brothers and Siſters, or married to them. So that, if he liveth but to eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done, he may ſee ſome hundreds that will be in the ſame Relation to him: But ſuch Things as theſe are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, than to ſee the great Fountains of Water, that are almoſt in all the Corners of it. That old Aqueduct which *Paul* V. reſtored, cometh from a Collection of Sources five and thirty Miles diſtant from *Rome*, that runs all the Way upon an Aqueduct in a Canal that is vaulted, and is liker a River than a Fountain. It breaketh out in five ſeveral Fountains, of which ſome give Water about a Foot ſquare. That of *Sixtus* V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but diſchargeth a prodigious Quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an Air of Greatneſs in it 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

that almoſt every private Houſe hath a Fountain that runs continually. All theſe, I ſay, are noble Decorations, that carry an Uſefulneſs with them that cannot be enough commended; and give a much greater Idea of thoſe who have taken Care to ſupply this City with one of the chief Pleaſures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out Millions merely to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diverſion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and uſefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been employed as the *Romans* did their Treaſures, in furniſhing great Towns with Water.

There is an univerſal Civility that reigns among all ſorts of People at *Rome*, which, in a great meaſure, flows from their Government; for every Man being capable of all the Advancements of that State, ſince a ſimple Eccleſiaſtick may become one of the *Monſignori*, and one of theſe may be a Cardinal, and one of theſe may be choſen Pope; this makes every Man behave himſelf towards all other Perſons with an Exactneſs of Reſpect; for no Man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Profeſſions of Eſteem and Kindneſs go ſo promiſcuouſly to all ſorts of Perſons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The Converſation of *Rome* is generally upon News; for tho' there is no News printed there, yet in the ſeveral Antichambers of the Cardinals (where if they make any conſiderable Figure, there are Aſſemblies of thoſe that make their Court to them) one is ſure to hear all the News of *Europe*, together with

with many Speculations upon what paſſeth. At the Queen of *Sweden*'s, all that relateth to *Germany*, or the North, is ever to be found; and that Princeſs, that muſt ever reign among all that have a true Taſte either of Wit or Learning, hath ſtill in her Drawing-Rooms the beſt Court of the Strangers: And her Civility, together with the vaſt Variety with which ſhe furniſheth her Converſation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one ſees in *Rome*. I will not uſe her own Words to myſelf, which were, *That ſhe now grew to be one of the Antiquities of* Rome. The Ambaſſadors of Crowns, who live here in another Form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the ſeveral Nations, that do all meet and centre here, make, that there is more News in *Rome* than any where: For Prieſts, and the Men of religious Orders, write larger, and more particular Letters, than any other ſort of Men. But ſuch as apply themſelves to make their Court here, are condemned to a Loſs of Time that had need be well recompenſed, for it is very great. As for one that ſtudies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Muſick, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all the reſt of *Europe*: But if he hath not a Taſte of theſe Things, he will ſoon be weary of a Place where the Converſation is always general, and where there is little Sincerity or Openneſs practiſed, and, by Conſequence, where Friendſhip is little underſtood. The Women here begin to be a little more converſable, tho' a Nation naturally jealous will hardly allow a great Liberty in

a City

a City that is compoſed of Eccleſiaſticks, who being denied the Privilege of Wives of their own, are ſuſpected ſometimes of being too bold with the Wives of others. The Liberties that were taken in the Conſtable of *Naples*'s Palace had indeed diſguſted the *Romans* much at that Freedom which had no Bounds. But the Dutcheſs of *Bracciano*, that is a *Frenchwoman*, hath, by the Exactneſs of her Deportment, amidſt all the innocent Freedoms of a noble Converſation, recovered, in a great meaſure, the Credit of thoſe Liberties that Ladies beyond the Mountains practiſe with all the Strictneſs of Virtue: For ſhe receiveth Viſits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms; and by the Livelineſs of her Converſation, maketh that her Court is the pleaſanteſt Aſſembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not engage in a Deſcription of *Rome*, either ancient or modern: This hath been done ſo oft, and with ſuch Exactneſs, that nothing can be added to what hath been already publiſhed. It is certain, that when one is in the *Capitol*, and ſees thoſe poor Remains of what once it was, he is ſurprized to ſee a Building of ſo great a Fame ſunk ſo low, that one can ſcarce imagine that it was once a Caſtle ſituated upon a Hill, able to hold out againſt a Siege of the *Gauls*. The *Tarpeian* Rock is now of ſo ſmall a Fall, that a Man would think it no great Matter, for his Diverſion, to leap over it: And the Shape of the Ground hath not been ſo much altered on one Side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus*'s Triumphal

phal Arch, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other Side, is not now buried above two Foot within the Ground, as the vaſt Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three Foot ſunk under the Level of the Ground. Within the *Capitol* one ſees many noble Remnants of Antiquity; but none is more glorious, as well as more uſeful, than the Tables of their Conſuls, which are upon the Walls; and the Inſcription on the *Columna Roſtrata* in the Time of the firſt *Punick* War, is without doubt the moſt valuable Antiquity in *Rome*. From this all along the *Sacred Way*, one findeth ſuch Remnants of Old *Rome* in the Ruins of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in the *Porticos*, and other Remains of that glorious Body; that as one cannot ſee theſe too often, ſo every Time one ſees them, they kindle in him vaſt Ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on that which he learnt in his Youth with great Pleaſure. From the Height of the Convent of *Araceli*, a Man hath a full View of all the Extent of *Rome*, but litterally it is now *Seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the Parts of the City that were moſt inhabited anciently, are thoſe that are now laid in great Gardens, or, as they call them, Vineyards, of which ſome are half a Mile in Compaſs. The Vaſtneſs of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury is that which paſſeth Imagination: The prodigious Amphitheatre of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thouſand Spectators: The great Extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the Vaults where the Waters were reſerved that furniſhed *Titus*'s Baths; and above all, *Dioclefian*'s Baths, tho' built when the Empire was in its

its Decay, are ſo far above all modern Buildings, that there is not ſo much as Room for a Compariſon. The Extent of thoſe Baths is above half a Mile in Compaſs; the Vaſtneſs of the Rooms, in which the Bathers might ſwim, of which the *Carthuſians* Church, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great Pillars, all of one Stone of Marble, beautifully ſpotted, are Things of which theſe latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the *Porticos* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looketh as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold; for it riſeth up in a Vault, and yet at the Top there is an Open left of thirty Foot in Diameter; which, as it is the only Window of the Church, ſo it filleth it with Light, and is the hardieſt Piece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the *Portico* are alſo the nobleſt in *Rome*; they are the higheſt and biggeſt that one can ſee any where all of one Stone: And the Numbers of thoſe ancient Pillars, with which not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houſes are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are ſuch Multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Profuſeneſs of the old *Romans* in their Buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of thoſe Pillars muſt have coſt more than whole Palaces do now, ſince moſt of them were brought from *Greece*. Many of theſe Pillars are of *Porphyry*, others of *Jaſp*, others of granated Marble, but the greateſt

eſt Number are of white Marble. The two Columns, *Trajan*'s and *Antonin*'s; the two Horſes that are in the Mount *Cavallo*, and the other two Horſes in the *Capitol*, which have not indeed the Poſtures and Motion of the other; the Braſs Horſe that, as is believed, carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the Remains of *Nero*'s *Coloſſus*; the Temple of *Bacchus* near the Catacomb of St. *Agnes*, which is the entireſt and the leaſt altered of all the ancient Temples. The great Temple of *Peace*, thoſe of the *Sun* and *Moon*, that of *Romulus* and *Rhemus*, (which I conſidered as the ancienteſt Fabrick that is now left; for it is little and ſimple, and ſtandeth in ſuch a Place, that when *Rome* grew ſo coſtly, it could not have been left alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its Antiquity) the many other *Porticos*, the Arches of *Severus*, of *Titus* and *Conſtantine*, in the laſt of which one ſees, that the Sculpture of his Age was much ſunk from what it had been, only in the Top there are ſome *Bas Reliefs*, that are clearly of a much ancienter Time, and of a better Manner: And that which exceeded all the reſt, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands, and run over a vaſt Diſtance, are Things which a Man cannot ſee oft enough, if he would form in himſelf a juſt Idea of the Vaſtneſs of that Republick, or rather Empire. There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great Value, dug up in all the Quarters of *Rome*, theſe laſt hundred and fourſcore Years, ſince Pope *Leo* X's Time; who, as he was the greateſt Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever

was,

was, ſo he was the moſt generous Prince that ever reign'd: And it was he that firſt ſet on foot the enquiring into the Riches of Old *Rome*, that lay, till his Time, for the moſt part, hid under Ground. And indeed, if he had been leſs ſcandalous in his Impiety and Atheiſm, of which neither he nor his Court were ſo much as aſhamed, he had been one of the moſt celebrated Perſons of any Age. Soon after him, Pope *Paul* III. gave the Ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family: But I was told, that this large Piece of Ground, in which one ſhould look for the greateſt Collection of the Antiquities of the higheſt Value, ſince this is the Ruin of the Palace of the *Roman* Emperors, hath never been yet ſearched into with any Exactneſs. So that when a curious Prince cometh, that is willing to employ many Hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of *Roman* Antiquities. But all this Matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named theſe Things, becauſe I can add nothing to thoſe copious Deſcriptions that have been ſo oft made of them. Nor will I ſay any Thing of the modern Palaces, or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are Things that carry one ſo far, that it is not eaſy to give Bounds to the Deſcriptions into which one findeth himſelf carried, when he once enters upon ſo fruitful a Subject. The Number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the Attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his Thoughts. It is true, the *Paleſtrina*, the *Borgheſe*, and the

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Farneſe, have ſomewhat in them that leaves an Impreſſion which no new Objects can wear out; and as the laſt hath a noble Square before it, with two great Fountains in it, ſo the Statue of *Hercules* and the Bull, that are below, and the Gallery above-ſtairs, are invaluable. The Roof of the Gallery is one of the beſt Pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Carrachio's* Hand; and there are in that Gallery the greateſt Number of Heads of the *Greek* Philoſophers and Poets that I ever ſaw together. That of *Homer*, and that of *Socrates*, were the two that ſtruck me moſt; chiefly the latter: Which, as it is, without Diſpute, a true Antique, ſo it carrieth in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*: The flat Noſe, the broad Face, the Simplicity of Look, and the mean Appearance which that great Philoſopher made, ſo that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the Wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the Hiſtory of it is not well known, ſo there are ſuch Faults in the Sculpture, that tho' it is all extremely fine, yet one ſeeth it hath not the Exactneſs of the beſt Times. As for the Churches and Convents of *Rome*, as the Number, the Vaſtneſs, the Riches, both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting, and other Ornaments, amaze one; ſo here again a Stranger is loſt, and the Convent that one ſeeth laſt is always the moſt admired. I confeſs the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the Inquiſition ſifteth, is that which maketh the moſt ſenſible Impreſſion upon

upon one that paſſeth at *Rome* for an Heretick; tho' except one committeth great Follies, he is in no Danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their Intereſt ſo much in uſing Strangers well, whatſoever their Religion may be, that no Man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary Reaſon to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the Liberty I had taken in writing my Thoughts freely both of the Church and See of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I converſed there; yet met with the higheſt Civilities poſſible among all ſorts of People, and in particular both among the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh Jeſuits*, tho' they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the *Engliſh Jeſuits*, among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that Name is ſo well known, that they would not expoſe a Picture with ſuch a Name on it to all Strangers; yet *Oldcorn*, being a Name leſs known, is hung there among their Martyrs, though he was as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder-Treaſon as the other was: And it ſeemed a little ſtrange to me to ſee, that at a Time in which for other Reaſons the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit to deny the Truth of that Conſpiracy, a *Jeſuit* convicted of the blackeſt Crime that ever was projected, ſhould be reckoned among their Martyrs. I ſaw likewiſe there the Original of thoſe Emblematical Prophecies relating to *England*, that the *Jeſuits* have had at *Rome* near ſixty Years, and of which I had ſome time ago

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procured a Copy, ſo I found my Copy was true. I happened to be at *Rome* during St. *Gregory*'s Fair and Feaſt, which laſted ſeveral Days. In his Church the *Hoſtie* was expoſed; and from that all that came thither went to the Chapel, that was once his Houſe, in which his Statue, and the Table where he ſerved the Poor are preſerved. I ſaw ſuch vaſt Numbers of People there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together: They all kneeled down to his Statue, and, after a Prayer ſaid to it, they kiſſed his Foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw ſome Virtue from it. I will add nothing of the ſeveral Obeliſks and Pillars that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated Chapels that are in ſome of the great Churches, in particular thoſe of *Sixtus* V. and *Paul* V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*; of the Water-Works in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to deſcribe *Freſcati* (for *Tivoli* I did not ſee.) The young Prince *Borgheſe*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome*, as well for his Learning as for his Virtue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with thoſe two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive. The Water-Works in the *Aldobrandin* Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever ſaw in *France*; the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunder and Storms that this maketh is noble. The Water-Works of the *Ludoviſio* and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewiſe a Greatneſs in them that is natu-

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ral. And indeed, the Riches that one meets with in all Places within-doors in *Italy*, and the Poverty that one ſeeth every where abroad, are the moſt unſuitable Things imaginable: But it is very likely, that a great Part of their moveable Wealth will be e'er long carried into *France*; for as ſoon as any Picture or Statue of great Value is offered to be ſold, thoſe that are employed by the King of *France*, preſently buy it up; ſo that as that King hath already the greateſt Collection of Pictures that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few Years more bring together the chief Treaſures of *Italy*.

I have now given you an Account of all that appeared moſt remarkable to me at *Rome*. I ſhall to this add a very extraordinary Piece of Natural Hiſtory, that fell out there within theſe two Years, which I had firſt from thoſe two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal *Howard*, who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the Matter. There were two Nuns near *Rome*, one, as I remember, was in the City, and the other not far from it, who after they had been for ſome Years in a Nunnery, perceived a very ſtrange Change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by ſome Degrees to a total Alteration in one; and though the other was not ſo entire a Change, yet it was viſible that ſhe was more Man than Woman: Upon this the Matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth itſelf here is, *That theſe two had been always what they then appeared to*

be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a Diſguiſe, to gratify a brutal Appetite. But to this, when I propoſed it, Anſwer was made, that as the Breaſts of a Woman, that remained ſtill, did in a great Meaſure ſhake off that Objection, ſo the Proofs were given ſo fully of their having been real Females, that there was no Doubt left of that, nor had they given any ſort of Scandal in the Change of their Sex: And if there had been any room left to ſuſpect a Cheat or Diſguiſe, the Proceedings would have been both more ſevere and more ſecret; and theſe Perſons would have been burnt, or at leaſt put to Death in ſome terrible Manner. Some Phyſicians and Surgeons were appointed to examine the Matter, and at laſt, after a long and exact Enquiry, they were judged to be abſolved from their Vows, and were diſmiſſed from the Obligation of a Religious Life, and required to go in Men's Habits. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman* Marquis when I was there. I heard of this Matter only two Days before I left *Rome*, ſo that I had not Time to enquire after it more particularly; but I judg'd it ſo extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to ſo curious an Enquirer into Nature.

And ſince I am upon the Subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I ſhall add one of another ſort, that I examined while I was at *Geneva*. There is a Miniſter of St. *Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a Daughter that is now ſixteen Years old; her Nurſe had an extraordinary Thickneſs of Hearing; at a Year old the

Child

Child ſpoke all thoſe little Words that Children begin uſually to learn at that Age, but ſhe made no Progreſs; yet this was not obſerved till it was too late; and as ſhe grew to be two Years old, they perceived then that ſhe had loſt her Hearing, and was ſo deaf, that ever ſince, tho' ſhe hears great Noiſes, yet ſhe hears nothing that one can ſpeak to her. It ſeems while the Milk of her Nurſe was more abundant, and that the Child ſuckt more moderately the firſt Year, thoſe Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that Effect on her that appeared after ſhe came to ſuck more violently; and that her Nurſe's Milk, being in leſs Quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occaſion'd the Deafneſs. But this Child hath, by obſerving the Motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired ſo many Words, that out of theſe ſhe hath formed a ſort of Jargon, in which ſhe can hold Converſation whole Days with thoſe that can ſpeak her own Language. I could underſtand ſome of her Words, but could not comprehend a Period, for it ſeemed to be a confuſed Noiſe. She knows nothing that is ſaid to her, unleſs ſhe ſeeth the Motion of their Mouths that ſpeak to her; ſo that in the Night, when it is neceſſary to ſpeak to her, they muſt light a Candle: Only one Thing appeared the ſtrangeſt Part of the whole Narration; ſhe hath a Siſter, with whom ſhe has practiſed her Language more than with any other; and in the Night, by laying her Hand on her Siſter's Mouth, ſhe can perceive by that what ſhe ſays, and ſo can diſcourſe with her in the Night. It's true, her Mother told me

that this did not go far, and that ſhe found out only ſome ſhort Period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long. Thus this young Woman, without any Pains taken on her, hath merely by a natural Sagacity found out a Method of holding Diſcourſe, that doth in a great meaſure leſſen the Miſery of her Deafneſs. I examined this Matter critically, but only the Siſter was not preſent, ſo that I could not ſee how the Converſation paſt between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning *Rome*, I cannot hinder myſelf from giving you an Account of a Converſation that I had with one of the moſt celebrated Perſons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the Credit that the Order of the *Jeſuits* had every where; it was ſaid, that *all the World miſtruſted them*, and yet, by a ſtrange ſort of Contradiction, *all the World truſted them*; and tho' it was well known that every *Jeſuit* was truer to the Intereſts of his Order, than he could be to the Intereſts of any Prince whatſoever; yet thoſe Princes that would be very careful not to ſuffer Spies to come into their Courts, or into their Councils, ſuffer'd thoſe Spies to come into their Breaſts and Conſciences; and tho' Princes were not generally very tender in thoſe Parts, yet, as they had often as much Guilt, ſo they had ſometimes as much Fear as other People, which a dextrous Spy knew well how to manage. Upon which that Perſon, that pretended to be a zealous Catholick, added, that for their part they conſidered only the Character that the Church gave to a Prieſt; and if the Church qualified him to

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do the Functions of a Prieſt, they thought it very needleſs to enquire after other perſonal Qualities, which were but common Things, whereas the other was all divine: On the contrary, they thought it was ſo much the better to have to do with a poor ignorant Prieſt; for then they had to do only with the Church, and not with the Man. Purſuant to this, that Perſon's Confeſſor was the greateſt and the moſt notorious Blockhead that could be found; and when they were aſked, *Why they made uſe of ſo weak a Man?* they anſwered, *Becauſe they could not find a weaker:* And whenever they found one better qualified that Way, if it were a Groom or a Footman that got into Prieſts Orders, they would certainly make uſe of him. For they would aſk Counſel of a Friend; but they knew no other Uſe of a Confeſſor, but to confeſs to him, and to receive Abſolution from him; and in ſo doing, they pretended they acted as became true Catholicks, that conſidered only the Power of the Church in the Prieſt, without regarding any thing elſe.

So far have I entertained you with the ſhort Ramble that I made, which was too ſhort to deſerve the Name of Travelling; and therefore the Inquiries or Obſervations that I could make, muſt be received with the Abatement that ought to be made for ſo ſhort a Stay: And all will be of a piece, when the Remarks are as ſlight as the Abode I made in the Places through which I paſt was ſhort. As I have avoided the troubling you with Things that are commonly known, ſo if I have not entertained you with a long Reci-

tal of ordinary Matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I ſaw and knew to be true, or that I had from ſuch Hands, that I have very good Reaſon to believe it. And I fancy, that the Things which made the greateſt Impreſſion on myſelf, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as, upon many Accounts, I owe all the Expreſſions of Eſteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay; ſo I had a more particular Reaſon that determined me to give you ſo full an Account of all that I ſaw and obſerved: For as you were pleaſed, at parting, to do me the Honour, to deſire me to communicate to you ſuch Things as appeared moſt remarkable to me, ſo I found ſuch a vaſt Advantage in many Places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the Happineſs I have of being known to you, and of being ſo far conſidered by you, that I could give a copious Account both of your Perſon and Studies, to thoſe in whom your curious Diſcoveries had kindled that Eſteem for you, which all the World payeth to you and to your immortal Inquiries into Nature, which are among the peculiar Bleſſings of this Age, and that are read with no leſs Care and Pleaſure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was ſo well received, that I found the great Advantage of this Honour I did myſelf in aſſuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends; and I owe a great Part of that Diſtinction which I met with, to this favourable Character that I gave myſelf: So that if I made any Progreſs in the Inquiries that ſo ſhort a Stay could enable one to make, I owe it in ſo peculiar a manner to you, that this Return that I make is

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but a very ſmall Part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the laſt Moment of my Life.

LETTER V.

SIR,

I Thought I had made ſo full a Point at the Concluſion of my laſt Letter, that I ſhould not have given you the Trouble of reading any more Letters of the Volume of the former: But new Scenes and new Matter offering themſelves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I engage you again to two or three Hours Reading.

From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marſeilles*, where if there were a Road as ſafe as the Harbour is covered; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the moſt important Places in the World. All is ſo well defended, that it is with reſpect either to Storms or Enemies, the ſecureſt Port that can be ſeen any where. The Freedoms of this Place, tho' it is now at the Mercy of the Citadel, are ſuch, and its Situation draweth ſo much Trade to it, that there one ſeeth another Appearance of Wealth than I found in any Town of *France*; and there is a new Street lately built there, that for the Beauty of the Buildings, and the Largeneſs of the Street, is the nobleſt I ever ſaw. There is in that Port a perpetual Heat, and the

Sun was ſo ſtrong in the *Chriſtmas* Week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Tour from thence thro' *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no Account of *Niſmes*, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the *Pont du Gar* near it; which, as they are ſtupendious Things, ſo they are copiouſly deſcribed by many, and are ſo generally known to the *Engliſh* Nation, that if you have never gone that Way yourſelf, yet you muſt needs have received ſo particular a Relation of them from thoſe that have ſeen them on their Way to *Montpellier*, that I judge it needleſs to enlarge upon them: Nor will I ſay any thing of the Soil, the Towns, or any other remarkable Things that I found there.

I have a much ſtronger Inclination to ſay ſomewhat concerning the Perſecution, which I ſaw in its utmoſt Rage and Fury; and of which I could give you many Inſtances, that are ſo much beyond all the common Meaſures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confeſs they ought not to be believed, unleſs I could give more poſitive Proofs of them, than are fitting now to be brought forth: And the Particulars that I could tell you are ſuch, that if I ſhould relate them with the neceſſary Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons, theſe might be ſo fatal to many that are yet in the Power of their Enemies, that my Regard to them reſtrains me. In ſhort, I do not think that in any Age there ever was ſuch a Violation of all that is ſacred, either with relation to God or Man; and what I ſaw and knew there from the firſt hand, hath ſo confirmed all the I-

deas

deas that I had taken from Books, of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the Impreſſion that this hath made upon me, ſhall never end but with my Life. The Applauſes that the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many Panegyricks that are already writ upon it, of which, beſides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are Numbers writ by ſmaller Authors in every Town of any Note there; and the Sermons, that are all Flights of Flattery upon this Subject, are ſuch evident Demonſtrations of their Senſe of this Matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *The Act of the whole Clergy of France*, which yet hath been hitherto eſteemed the moſt moderate Part of the *Roman* Communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not ſo far laid off the human Nature, as to go in entirely into thoſe bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whiſper it in ſecret, as if it were half Treaſon; but for the greater part, they do not only magnify all that is done, but they animate even the Dragoons to higher Degrees of Rage: And there was ſuch a Heat ſpread over all the Country on this Occaſion, that one could not go into any Ordinary, or mix in any promiſcuous Converſation, without finding ſuch Effects of it, that it was not eaſy for ſuch as were touch'd with the leaſt Degree of Compaſſion for the Miſeries that the poor Proteſtants ſuffered, to be a Witneſs to the Inſultings that they muſt meet with in all Places. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*; and it is true, there were not any publick Rejoicings upon it at *Rome*,

no Indulgencies nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spaniſh* Faction being ſo prevalent there, it is not ſtrange if a Courſe of Proceedings that is without an Example, was ſet forth by all that were of that Intereſt in its proper Colours; of which I met with ſome Inſtances myſelf, and could not but ſmile, to ſee ſome of the *Spaniſh* Faction ſo far forget their Courts of Inquiſition, as to argue againſt the Converſions by Dragoons as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion. Yet the Pope was of another Mind; for the Duke *d'Eſtrée* gave him an Account of the King's Proceedings in this Matter very copiouſly, as he himſelf related it; upon which the Pope approved all, and expreſſed a great Satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that Matter; and the Pope added, that he found ſome Cardinals (as I remember, the Duke *d'Eſtrée* ſaid two) were not pleaſed with it, and had taken the Liberty to cenſure it; but the Pope ſaid they were to blame: The Duke *d'Eſtrée* did not name the two Cardinals, tho' he ſaid, he believed he knew who they were; and it is very likely that Cardinal *Pio* was one; for I was told that he ſpoke freely enough of this Matter. I muſt take the Liberty to add one Thing to you, that I do not ſee that the *French* King is to be ſo much blamed in this Matter, as his Religion, which, without queſtion obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith with them; ſo that inſtead of cenſuring him, I muſt only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to diveſt himſelf of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, when-

whenſoever the Cauſe of his Church, and his Religion require it; or if there is any thing in this Conduct, that cannot be entirely juſtified from the Principles of that Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to Death out of hand, but forceth them, by all the Extremities poſſible, to ſign an Abjuration, that all the World muſt needs ſee is done againſt their Conſciences; and being the only End of their Miſeries, thoſe that would think any ſort of Death a happy Concluſion of their Sufferings, ſeeing no Proſpect of ſuch a glorious Iſſue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingring Deaths, of which they ſee no End, to make *Shipwreck of the Faith:* This Appearance of Mercy, in not putting Men to Death, doth truly verify the Character that *Solomon* giveth of the tender Mercies of the Wicked, that *they are cruel.*

But I will ſtop here, tho' it is not eaſy to retire from ſo copious a Subject, that as it affordeth ſo much Matter, ſo upon many Accounts raiſeth a Heat of Thought that is not eaſily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth leſs Paſſion.

I paſt the Winter at *Geneva* with more Satisfaction than I had thought it was poſſible for me to have found any where out of *England*; tho' that received great Allays from the moſt lamentable Stories that we had every Day from *France*; but *there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better.* I ought to make the moſt publick Acknowledgments poſſible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in my own particular; but that is too low a Subject to entertain you

with. That which pleaſed me moſt was of a more publick Nature: Before I left *Geneva*, the Number of the *Engliſh* there was ſuch, that I found we could make a ſmall Congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen; ſo I addreſſed myſelf to the Council of *Twenty five*, for Liberty to have our own Worſhip in our own Language, according to the *Engliſh* Liturgy. This was immediately granted in ſo obliging a Manner, that as there was not one Perſon that made any Exception to it, ſo they ſent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in caſe our Number ſhould grow to be ſo great that it were fit for us to aſſemble in a Church, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen *Mary*'s Reign; but till then, we might hold our Aſſemblies as we thought fit: So after that Time, during the reſt of my Stay there, we had every *Sunday* our Devotions according to the Common Prayer Morning and Evening; and at the Evening-Prayer I preach'd in a Room that was indeed too large for our ſmall Company: But there being a conſiderable Number in *Geneva* that underſtand *Engliſh*, and in particular ſome of the Profeſſors and Miniſters, we had a great many Strangers that met with us; and the laſt *Sunday* I gave the Sacrament according to the Way of the Church of *England*; and upon this Occaſion I found a general Joy in the Town for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expreſſing the Reſpect they had for our Church: And as in their publick Prayers they always pray'd for the Churches of *Great-Britain*, as well as for the King, ſo in private Diſcourſe they ſhewed all

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poſſible Eſteem for our Conſtitutions; and they ſpoke of the unhappy Diviſions among us, and of the Seperation that was made from us upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies, with great Regret and Diſlike. I ſhall name to you only two of their Profeſſors, that, as they are Men of great Diſtinction, ſo they were the Perſons with whom I converſed the moſt: The one is Mr. *Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and waſted his Strength, amidſt all the Affluence of a great Plenty of Fortune to which he was born: One diſcerns in him all the Modeſty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his Abundance, or rather beyond it; and there is in him ſuch a melting Zeal for Religion, as the preſent Conjuncture calls for, with all the Seriouſneſs of Piety and Devotion, which ſhews itſelf both in private Converſation and in his moſt edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Conſciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a Man of a ſtrong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment, who has all his Thoughts well digeſted: His Converſation has an engaging Charm in it, that cannot be reſiſted: He is a Man of extraordinary Virtue, and of a Readineſs to oblige and ſerve all Perſons, that has ſcarce any Meaſures: His Sermons have a Sublimity in them that ſtrikes the Hearer, as well as it edifies him; his Thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is maſculine and exact, and has all the Majeſty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softneſs of Perſuaſion; ſo

that he not only convinces his Hearers, but ſubdues them, and triumphs over them. In ſuch Company it was no wonder if Time ſeemed to go off too faſt, ſo that I left *Geneva* with a Concern that I could not have felt in leaving any Place out of the Iſle of *Britain*.

From *Geneva* I went a ſecond Time through *Switzerland* to *Baſil*. At *Avanche* I ſaw the noble Fragments of a great *Roman* Work, which ſeems to have been the *Portico* to ſome Temple. The Heads of the Pillars are about four Foot ſquare, of the *Ionick* Order: The Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or ſome Sea God; for on the Fragments of the Architrave, which are very beautiful, there are Dolphins and Sea-Horſes in *Bas Reliefs*; and the Neighbourhood of the Place to the Lakes of *Iverdun* and *Morat* maketh this more evident. There is alſo a Pillar ſtanding up in its full Height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one ſeeth the Remains of a regular Architecture in two Ranks of Pillars. If the Ground near this were carefully ſearch'd, no doubt it would diſcover more Remains of that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this Side of it is a Chapel full of the Bones of the *Burgundians* that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this Place was beſieged by the famous *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who loſt a great Army before it, that was entirely cut off by the Beſieged. The Inſcription is very extraordinary, eſpecially for that Age: For the Bones being ſo piled up, that the Chapel is quite filled with them, the Inſcription bears, that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army having be-

beſieged *Morat*, *Hoc ſui monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but ſeem ſtrange to one that views *Morat*, to imagine how it was poſſible for a Town ſo ſituated, and ſo ſlightly fortified, to hold out againſt ſo powerful a Prince, and ſo great an Army, that brought Cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Baſil*, except that I ſtaid ſome time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this ſecond time it was, that my Lord *Advoyer d'Erlach* gave Order to ſhew me the original Records of the famous Proceſs of the four *Dominicans*: Upon which I have retouch'd the Letter that I writ to you laſt Year; ſo that I now ſend it to you with the Corrections and Enlargements that this ſecond Stay at *Bern* gave me Occaſion to make.

Baſil is the Town of the greateſt Extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its Extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it, and the Town is ſituated on a riſing Ground, which hath a noble Effect on the Eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looketh like a Theatre. Little *Baſil*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, is almoſt a fourth Part of the whole. The Town is ſurrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is expoſed on ſo many Sides, and hath now ſo dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of *Hunningen*, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanly ſpeaking, but its Union with the other *Cantons*. The Maxims of this *Canton* have hindred its being better peopled than it is: The Advantages of the Burgherſhip are ſuch, that the Citizens will

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not ſhare them with Strangers, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the laſt War, that *Alſatia* was ſo often the Seat of both Armies, *Baſil* having then a Neutrality, it might be given well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happineſs to all the *Cantons*, if they could have different Degrees of Burgherſhip, ſo that the lower Degrees might be given to Strangers for their Encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher Degrees, which qualify Men for the advantageous Employments of the State, might be reſerved for the ancient Families of the Natives. *Baſil* is divided into ſixteen Companies, and every one of theſe hath four Members in the little Council, ſo that it conſiſteth of ſixty four: But of thoſe four two are choſen by the Company itſelf, who are called the Maſters, and the other two are choſen by the Council out of the Company; and thus, as there are two Sorts of Counſellors choſen in thoſe different manners, there are alſo two chief Magiſtrates. There are two *Burgo-maſters*, that reign by Turns, and two *Zunft-maſters*, that have alſo their Turns, and all is for Life; and the laſt are the Heads of the Companies, like the *Roman* Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the Stadt-Houſe is ancient. There is very good Painting in *Freſco* upon the Walls. One Piece hath given much Offence to the *Papiſts*, tho' they have no reaſon to blame the Reformation for it, ſince it was done ſeveral Years before it, 1510. It is a Repreſentation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given,

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the Devil is repreſented driving many before him to Hell, and among theſe there is a Pope and ſeveral Eccleſiaſticks. But it is believed, that the Council, which ſat ſo long in this Place, acting ſo vigorouſly againſt the Pope, engaged the Town into ſuch a Hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Riſe to this Repreſentation. The more learned in the Town aſcribe the Beginning of the Cuſtom in *Baſil* of the Clocks anticipating the Time a full Hour, to the Sitting of the Council; and they ſay, that, in order to the advancing of Buſineſs, and the ſhortning their Seſſions, they ordered their Clocks to be ſet forward an Hour, which continueth to this Day. The Cathedral is a great old *Gothick* Building; the Chamber where the Council ſat is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room. *Eraſmus*'s Tomb is only a plain Inſcription upon a great Braſs Plate. There are a great many of *Holben*'s Pictures here, who was a Native of *Baſil*, and was recommended by *Eraſmus* to King *Henry* VIII. The two beſt are a *Corpo*, or Chriſt Dead, which is certainly one of the beſt Pictures in the World. There is another Piece of his in the *Stadt-Houſe* (for this is in the publick Library) of about three or four Foot ſquare, in which, in ſix ſeveral *Cantons*, the ſeveral Parts of our Saviour's Paſſion are repreſented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired. It is valued at ten thouſand Crowns. It is on Wood, but hath that Freſhneſs of Colour ſtill on it that ſeems peculiar to *Holben*'s Pencil. There is alſo a Dance that he painted on the Walls of an Houſe where he uſed to drink, that

is ſo worn out, that very little is now to be ſeen, except Shapes and Poſtures; but theſe ſhew the Exquiſiteneſs of the Hand. There is another longer Dance, that runneth all along the Side of the Convent of the *Auguſtinians*, which is now the *French* Church, and that is *Death's Dance.* There are above threeſcore Figures in it at full Length, of Perſons of all Ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meaneſt ſorts of People, and of all Ages and Profeſſions, to whom Death appeareth in an inſolent and ſurprizing Poſture: And the ſeveral Paſſions that they expreſs are ſo well laid out, that this was certainly a great Deſign. But the *Freſco* being expoſed to the Air, this was ſo worn out ſome time ago, that they ordered the beſt Painter they had, to lay new Colours on it; but this is ſo ill done, that one had rather ſee the dead Shadows of *Holben*'s Pencil, than this coarſe Work. There is in *Baſil* a Gunſmith, that maketh Wind-Guns, and he ſhewed me one, that as it received at once Air for ten Shot, ſo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends was his own Invention, that he can diſcharge all the Air that can be parcelled out in ten Shot at once to give a home Blow. I confeſs thoſe are terrible Inſtruments, and it ſeems the Intereſt of Mankind to forbid them quite, ſince they can be employed to aſſaſſinate Perſons ſo dextrouſly, that neither Noiſe nor Fire will diſcover from what Hand the Shot cometh. The Library of *Baſil* is by much the beſt in all *Switzerland.* There is a fine Collection of Medals in it, and a very handſome Library of Manuſcripts. The Room is noble, and diſpoſed in

a very

a very good Method. Their Manuſcripts are chiefly the *Latin* Fathers, or *Latin* Tranſlations, of the *Greek* Fathers; ſome good Bibles. They have the Goſpel in *Greek* Capitals, but they are viciouſly writ in many Places. There is an infinite Number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without Number. All the Books that were in the ſeveral Monaſteries at the Time of the Reformation, were carefully preſerved; and they believe, that the Biſhops who ſat here in the Council brought with them a great many Manuſcripts which they never carried away. Among their Manuſcripts, I ſaw four of *Huſs*'s Letters that he writ to the *Bohemians* the Day before his Death, which are very devout, but exceſſively ſimple. The Manuſcripts of this Library are far more numerous than thoſe of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarſius*, and left by him to the publick Library there. They are indeed very little conſidered there, and are the worſt kept that ever I ſaw. But it is a noble Collection of all the ancient *Latin* Authors. They have ſome few of the beſt of the *Roman* Times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are ſeven or eight hundred Years old. There is in *Baſil* one of the beſt Collections of Medals that I ever ſaw in private Hands, together with a noble Library, in which there are Manuſcripts of good Antiquity, that belong to the Family of *Feſch*, and that go from one learned Man of the Family to another: For this Inheritance can only paſs to a Man of Learning; and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the Publick. In *Baſil*, as the

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ſeveral Companies have been more or leſs ſtrict, in admitting ſome to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, ſo they retain their Privileges to this Day. For, in ſuch Companies, that have once received ſuch a Number that have not been of the Trade, as grew to be the Majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their Intereſt. But ſome Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but thoſe that were of the Trade; ſo that they retain their Intereſt ſtill in Government. Of theſe the *Butchers* were named for one; ſo that there are always four Butchers in the Council. The Great Council conſiſteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power leſt them, and they are only aſſembled upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions, when the Little Council thinketh fit to communicate any important Matter to them. There are but ſix *Bailiages* that belong to *Baſil*, which are not Employments of great Advantage; for the beſt of them doth afford to the *Bailiff* only a thouſand Livres a Year. They reckon that there are in *Baſil* three thouſand Men that can bear Arms, and that they could raiſe four thouſand more out of the *Canton*, ſo that the Town is almoſt the Half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty Pariſhes. There are eighteen Profeſſors in this Univerſity; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning ſtirring there, than I ſaw in all thoſe Parts. There is a great Decency of Habit in *Baſil*; and the Garb both of the Counſellors, Miniſters, and Profeſſors, their ſtiff Ruffs, and their long Beards,

have

have an Air that is auguſt. The Appointments are but ſmall, for Counſellors, Miniſters, and Profeſſors have but an hundred Crowns a-piece: It is true, many Miniſters are Profeſſors, ſo this mendeth the Matter a little; but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the Number of Profeſſors, and if thoſe were a little better encouraged. No where is the Rule of St. *Paul* [of Women's having on their Heads the Badge of the Authority under which they are brought, which by a Phraſe that is not extraordinary he calleth *Power*] better obſerved than at *Baſil*; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their Heads, that is ſo folded, that as it cometh down ſo far as to cover their Eyes, ſo another Folding covered alſo their Mouth and Chin, ſo that nothing but their Noſe appears; and then all turns backward in a Folding that hangeth down to their Mid-leg: This is always white; ſo that there is ſuch a Sight of white Heads in their Churches, as cannot be found any where elſe. The unmarried Women wear Hats turned up in the Brims before and behind; and the Brims of the Sides being about a Foot broad, ſtand out far on both hands: This Faſhion is alſo at *Straſburg*, and is worn there alſo by the married Women.

I mentioned formerly the conſtant Danger to which this Place is expoſed from the Neighbourhood of *Hunningen*: I was told, that at firſt it was pretended, that the *French* King intended to build only a ſmall Fort there; and it was believed, that one of the Burgo-maſters of *Baſil*, who

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was thought not only the wiſeſt Man of that Canton, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all Men aſleep, and to aſſure them, that the ſuffering this Fort to be built ſo near them, was of no Importance to them; but now they ſee too late their fatal Error; for the Place is great, and will hold a Garriſon of three or four thouſand Men. It is a Pentagon, only the Side towards the *Rhine* is ſo large, that if it went round on that Side, I believe it muſt have been an Hexagon. The *Baſtions* have all *Orillons*, and in the Middle of them there is a void Space not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built ſo thick in the Vault, that it is Proof againſt Bombs. The *Ramparts* are ſtrongly faced; there is a large *Ditch*, and before the *Cortin* in the middle of the *Ditch* there runs all along a *Horn-Work*, which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the Bottom of the *Rampart* there goeth a *Vault* to this *Horn-Work*, that is for conveying of Men for its Defence. Before this *Horn-Work* there is a *Half-Moon*, with this that is peculiar to thoſe new Fortifications, that there is a *Ditch* that cuts the *Half-Moon* in an Angle, and maketh one *Half-Moon* within another: Beyond that there is a *Counterſcarp* about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a *Cover'd Way*, and a *Glacis* deſigned, tho' not executed. There is alſo a great *Horn-Work* beſides all this, which runs out a huge Way with its Outworks towards *Baſil*. There is alſo a Bridge laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an Iſland in the River where the Bridge is laid, there is a *Horn-Work* that filleth and fortifieth it. The

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Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thouſand Men: The Works are not yet quite finiſhed, but when all is completed, this will be one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Europe*. There is a *Cavalier* on one or two of the *Baſtions*, and there are *Half-Moons* before the *Baſtions*, ſo that the *Switzers* ſee their Danger now when it is not eaſy to redreſs it. This Place is ſituated in a great Plain, ſo that it is commanded by no riſing Ground on any Side of it. I made a little Tour into *Alſace*, as far as *Mountbelliard*; the Soil is extreme rich, but it hath been ſo long a Frontier Country, and is by Conſequence ſo ill peopled, that it is in many Places overgrown with Woods. In one Reſpect it is fit to be the Seat of War, for it is full of Iron-Works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I ſaw nothing peculiar in the Iron-Works there, except that the Sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather, but of Wood, which ſaves much Money; ſo I will not ſtand to deſcribe them. The River *Rhine* all from *Baſil* to *Spire* is ſo low, and is on both Sides ſo cover'd with Woods, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no Sight of the Country. The River runneth ſometimes with ſuch a Force, that nothing but ſuch Woods could preſerve its Banks, and even theſe are not able to ſave them quite; for the Trees are often waſhed away by the very Roots, ſo that in many Places thoſe Trees lie along in the Channel of the River. It hath been alſo thought a ſort of a Fortification to both Sides of the River to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the

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paſſing of Men dangerous, when they muſt march for ſome Time after their Paſſage through a *Defilé*. The firſt Night, from *Baſil* we came to *Briſac*, which is a poor and miſerable Town; but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the Weſt Side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five *Baſtions*. The Town of *Briſac* riſeth all on a Hill, which is a conſiderable Height. There were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is ſo well levelled with the Ground, that one cannot ſo much as find out where it was. All the Ground about for many Miles is plain; ſo that from the Hill, as from a *Cavalier*, one can ſee exactly well, eſpecially with the Help of a Perſpective, all the Motions of an Enemy in caſe of a Siege. The Fortification is of a huge Compaſs, above a *French* League, indeed almoſt a *German* League. The *Baſtions* are quite filled with Earth; they are faced with Brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water round them: The *Counterſcarp*, the *Cover'd Way*, which hath a *Paliſade* within a *Parapet*, and the *Glacis*, are all well executed: There is a *Half Moon* before every *Cortin*; the *Baſtions* have no *Orillons*, except one or two, and the *Cortins* are ſo diſpoſed, that a good part of them defend the *Baſtion*. The Garriſon of this Place in Time of War muſt needs be eight or ten thouſand Men. There hath not been much done of late to this Place, only the Ditch is ſo adjuſted, that it is all defended by the *Flanks* of the *Baſtions*. But the nobleſt Place on the *Rhine* is *Straſburg*; it is a Town of a huge Extent,

and

and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it; the inner Wall is old, and of no Strength, nor is the outward Wall very good; it hath a *Fauſſe-braye*, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen Foot above the Ditch: The *Counterſcarp* is in an ill Condition, ſo that the Town was not in Caſe to make any long Reſiſtance; but it is now ſtrongly fortified. There is a Citadel built on that Side that goeth towards the *Rhine*, that is much ſuch a Fort as that of *Hunningen*; and on the Side of the Citadel towards the Bridge there is a great *Horn-Work*, that runs out a great Way with Outworks belonging to it. There are alſo ſmall Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alſace*, by which the City is ſo bridled, that theſe can cut off all its Communication with the Country about in caſe of a Revolt. The Bridge is alſo well fortified; there are alſo Forts in ſome Iſlands in the *Rhine*, and ſome Redoubts; ſo that all round this Place there is one of the greateſt Fortifications that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation, with relation to Religion, hath been well kept; and there is ſo ſmall a Number of new Converts, and theſe are for the greateſt part ſo inconſiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the new-faſhioned Miſſionaries *à la Dragonne*, the old ones are not like to have ſo great a Harveſt there as they promiſed themſelves, though they are *Jeſuits*. The *Lutherans* for the greateſt part retain their Animoſities almoſt to an equal Degree both againſt *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. I was in their Church, where, if the Muſick of their Pſalms pleaſed me much,

much, the Irreverence in ſinging (it being free to keep on or put off the Hat) did appear very ſtrange to me. The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Paſſages of our Saviour's Life are repreſented, but there is no ſort of religious Reſpect paid them: They bow when they name the Holy Ghoſt, as well as at the Name of *Jeſus*; but they have not the Ceremonies that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* uſe, which Mr. *Bebel*, their Profeſſor of Divinity, ſaid was a great Happineſs; for a Similitude in outward Rites might diſpoſe the ignorant People to change too eaſily. I found ſeveral good People both of the *Lutheran* Miniſters and others acknowledge, that there was ſuch a Corruption of Morals ſpread over the whole City, that as they had juſtly drawn down on their Heads the Plague of the Loſs of their Liberty, ſo this having touch'd them ſo little, they had reaſon to look for ſeverer Strokes. One ſeeth in the Ruin of this City, what a miſchievous Thing the popular Pride of a free City is: They fancied they were able to defend themſelves, and ſo they refuſed to let an Imperial Garriſon come within their Town; for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that ſmall Number would not have been able to have oppreſs'd their Liberties, ſo it would have ſo ſecured the Town, that the *French* could not have beſieged it without making War on the Empire: But the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and ſo choſe rather to pay a Garriſon of three thouſand Soldiers, which as it exhauſted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, ſo it proved too weak

for

for their Defence when the *French* Army came before them. The Town begins to ſink in its Trade, notwithſtanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it; but when that is at an end, it will ſink more ſenſibly; for it is impoſſible for a Place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten thouſand Soldiers in it, to continue long in a flouriſhing State. There was a great Animoſity between two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the Burgo-maſter, and was once almoſt run down by a Faction that the other had raiſed againſt him; but he turned the Tide, and got ſuch an Advantage againſt *Obrecht*, who had writ ſomewhat againſt the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels againſt the Government. His Son is a learned Man, and was Profeſſor of the Civil Law; and he to have his Turn of Revenge againſt *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* laſt Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always looked on as one of the chief of the *French* Faction, tho' he had been at firſt an *Imperialiſt*, ſo it was thought that he ſhould have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himſelf capable of that, he ſhould have changed his Religion; but he was an antient Man, and would not purchaſe his Court at that Rate; ſo without any Reaſon given, and againſt the expreſs Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of *France* (as I remember, it was *Lom-*

ſin:) And thus he, that had been thought the chief Cauſe of this Town's falling under the Power of the *French*, is the firſt Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The Library here is conſiderable: The Caſe is a great Room very well contrived; for it is divided into Cloſets all over the Body of the Room, which runs about theſe as a Gallery, and in theſe Cloſets all round there are the Books of the ſeveral Profeſſions lodged apart: There is one for Manuſcripts, in which there are ſome of conſiderable Antiquity. I need ſay nothing to you of the vaſt Height, and the *Gothick* Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is ſo vaſt a Variety of Motions; for theſe are well known. The *Bas Reliefs* upon the Tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not ſo viſible, but they are ſurprizing; for this being a Fabrick of three or four Hundred Years old, it is very ſtrange to ſee ſuch Repreſentations as are there. There is a Proceſſion repreſented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Aſſes and Hogs in Prieſtly Veſtments follow to make up the Proceſſion; there is alſo an Aſs ſtanding before an Altar, as if he were going to conſecrate; and one carrieth a Caſe with Reliques, within which one ſeeth a Fox; and the Trains of all that go in this Proceſſion are ſupported by Monkies. This ſeems to have been made in Hatred of the Monks, whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that Time, becauſe they had drawn the Wealth and the following of the World after them; and they had expoſed the

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Secular Clergy ſo much for their Ignorance, that, it is probable, after ſome Ages the Monks falling under the ſame Contempt, the Secular Clergy took their Turn in expoſing them in ſo laſting a Repreſentation to the Scorn of the World. There is alſo in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood lying along, and a Friar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nun's Habit, and the Nun's Feet are ſhod with Iron Shoes. I confeſs, I did not look for theſe Things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble Friend Mr. *Ablancourt* view'd them with great Exactneſs while he was the *French* King's Reſident at *Straſburg*, in the Company of one of the Magiſtrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

From *Straſburg* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipſburg*, which lieth at a Quarter of a Mile's Diſtance from the River; it is but a ſmall Place, and the *Baſtions* are but little; there is a *Ravelin* before almoſt all the *Cortins*; and there lie ſuch Marſhes all round it, that in theſe lieth the chief Strength of the Place. The *French* had begun a great *Crown-Work* on the Side that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had caſt out a *Horn-Work* beyond that; but by all that appears, it ſeems they intended to continue that *Crown-Work* quite round the Town, and to make a ſecond Wall and Ditch all round it, which would have enlarged the Place vaſtly, and made a Compaſs capable enough to lodge above ten

thouſand Men; and this would have been ſo terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate* and all *Franconia*, that it was a Maſterpiece in *Charles-Lewis*, the late Elector *Palatine*, to engage the Empire into this Siege: He ſaw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the *French*; ſo that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Camp ſo well ſupplied with all Things neceſſary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the leaſt Uneaſineſs all the while. From thence in three Hours we came to *Spire*, which is ſo naked a Town, that if it were attacked, it could not make the leaſt Reſiſtance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and is ſubſiſted chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that ſitteth here, though there is a conſtant Diſpute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Privileges; for the Government of the Town pretends, that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are ſubject to them; and ſo about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Priſon: On the other hand the Judges pretend, that their Perſons are ſacred. It was the Conſideration of the Chamber, that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the laſt War. I thought to have ſeen the Forms of this Court, and the Way of laying up and preſerving their Records, but the Court was not then ſitting. The Building, the Halls and Chambers of this famous Court, are mean beyond Imagination, and look liker the Halls of ſome ſmall Company, than of ſo great a Body; and I could not ſee the Places

where

where they lay up their Archives. The Government of the City is all *Lutheran*; but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Biſhop and Chapter, but there are likewiſe ſeveral Convents of both Sexes, and the *Jeſuits* have alſo a College there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the *Gothick* Manner, of the worſt Sort: The Tombs of many Emperors that lie buried there are remarkable for their Meanneſs, they being only great Flag-ſtones laid on ſmall Stone Balliſters of a Foot and a half high: There are alſo the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning Saint *Bernard*, which is too fooliſh to be related; yet ſince they have taken ſuch Pains to preſerve the Remembrance of it, I ſhall venture to write it. There are from the Gate all along the Nave of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Choir, four round Plates of Braſs, above a Foot Diameter, and at the Diſtance of thirty Foot one from another laid in the Pavement; on the firſt of theſe is engraven *O Clemens*, on the ſecond *O Pia*, on the third *O Fælix*, and on the fourth *Maria!* The laſt is about thirty Foot diſtant from a Statue of the Virgin; ſo they ſay that St. *Bernard* came up the whole Length of the Church at four Steps, and that thoſe four Plates were laid where he ſtept; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is engraven on the Plate; and when he came to the laſt, the Image of the Virgin anſwered him, *Salve Bernarde*; upon which he anſwered, *Let a Woman keep Silence in the Church*; and that the Virgin's Statue has kept Silence ever ſince.

This laſt Part of the Story is certainly very credible: He was a Man of Learning that ſhewed me this; and he repeated it ſo gravely to me, that I ſaw he either believed it, or at leaſt that he had a mind to make me believe it; and I aſked him as gravely, if that was as firmly believed there; he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the Truth of it, as I remember, it was a *Jeſuit*: He acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, ſo I was ſatisfied. There is in the Cloiſter an old *Gothick* Repreſentation of our Saviour's Agony in Stone, with a great many Figures of his Apoſtles and the Company that came to ſeize him, that is not an ill Sculpture for the Age in which it was made, it being ſome Ages old. The *Calviniſts* have a Church in this Town, but their Numbers are not conſiderable. I was told there were ſome ancient Manuſcripts in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral; but one of the Prebendaries to whom I addreſſed myſelf, being, according to the *German* Cuſtom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me, he heard they had ſome ancient Manuſcripts, but he knew nothing of them; and the Dean was abſent, ſo I could not ſee them, for he kept one of the Keys. The *Lower Palatinate* is certainly one of the ſweeteſt Countries of all *Germany*; it is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of *Heidelberg*; the Town is ill ſituated juſt in a Bottom between two Ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended. I need ſay nothing of the Caſtle, nor of the prodigious Wine-Cellar, in which though there is but one celebrated Tun, *that* is ſeventeen Foot high,

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and twenty ſix Foot long, and is built with a Strength, more like that of the Ribs of a Ship, than the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of ſuch a prodigious Bigneſs, that they would ſeem very extraordinary, if this vaſt one did not eclipſe them. The late Prince *Charles-Lewis* ſhewed his Capacity in the peopling and ſettling his State, that had been ſo entirely ruined, being for many Years the Seat of War; for in four Years Time he brought it to a flouriſhing Condition: he raiſed the Taxes as high as was poſſible without diſpeopling his Country; all Men's Eſtates were valued, and they were taxed at Five *per Cent.* of the Value of their Eſtates; but their Eſtates were not valued to the Rigour, but with ſuch Abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the Times of Subſidies; ſo that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to Two *per Cent.* of the real Value, the Subjects all deſired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in *Germany* that is more abſolute than the Elector *Palatine*; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaſeth, without being limited to any Forms of Government. And here I ſaw that which I had always believ'd to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince; for they ſwear Allegiance ſingly to the Elector, without any Reſerve for the Emperor; and in their Prayers for him, they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under ſome Ties to the Emperor; but the Subjects are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious Profeſſor there, explain-

ed thoſe Words of *Pareus*'s Commentary on the *Romans*, which had reſpect only to the Princes of the Empire, and were quite miſunderſtood by thoſe who fancied that they favour'd Rebellion; for there is no Place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than here. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to thoſe ſmall Controverſies that have occaſioned ſuch Heat in the Proteſtant Churches reigning in the Univerſity there, which is in a great Meaſure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of *D. Fabritius* and *D. Miek*, who, as they were long in *England*, ſo they have that generous Largeneſs of Soul which is the noble Ornament of many of the *Engliſh* Divines. Prince *Charles-Lewis* ſaw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the moſt important Place of all his Territory, it being ſituated in the Point where the *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*; ſo that thoſe two Rivers defending it on two Sides, it was capable of a good Fortification. It is true, the Air is not thought wholſom, and the Water is not good; yet he made a fine Town there, and a noble Citadel, with a regular Fortification about it; and he deſigned a great Palace there, but he did not live to build it. He ſaw of what Advantage Liberty of Conſcience was to the peopling of his Country; ſo as he ſuffered the *Jews* to come and ſettle there, he reſolv'd alſo not only to ſuffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be profeſſed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called *The Church of the Concord*, in which both *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans*, and

and *Papiſts* had, in the Order in which I have ſet them down, the Exerciſe of their Religion; and he maintain'd the Peace of his Principality ſo entirely, that there was not the leaſt Diſorder occaſion'd by this Toleration: This indeed made him to be look'd on as a Prince that did not much conſider Religion himſelf. He had a wonderful Application to all Affairs, and was not only his own chief Miniſter, but he alone did the Work of many.

But I were unjuſt, if I ſhould not ſay ſomewhat to you of the princely Virtues, and the celebrated Probity of the preſent Pr. Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of ſo many Princes, that in this Age compoſed the moſt numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince, as he is in many Reſpects an Honour to the Religion that he profeſſes, ſo he is in nothing more to be commended by thoſe who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promiſes he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion; in which he has not (even in the ſmalleſt Matters) broke in upon their eſtabliſh'd Laws: And tho' an Order of Men that have turned the World upſide down, have great Credit with him; yet it is hitherto viſible, that they cannot carry ſo far, as to make him do any Thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed Religion, and to thoſe ſacred Promiſes that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World, that he does not conſider thoſe, *as ſo many Words ſpoken at firſt to lay his People aſleep, which he may now explain and obſerve as he thinks fit:* But as ſo

many Ties upon his Conſcience and Honour, which he will religiouſly obſerve. And as in the other Parts of his Life he has ſet a noble Pattern to all the Princes of *Europe*, ſo his Exactneſs to his Promiſes, is that which cannot be too much commended; of which this extraordinary Inſtance has been communicated to me ſince I am come into this Country. The Elector had a Proceſſion in his Court laſt *Corpus Chriſti* Day; upon which one of the Miniſters of *Heidelberg* preach'd a very ſevere Sermon againſt Popery, and in particular taxed that Proceſſion perhaps with greater Plainneſs than Diſcretion. This being brought to the Elector's Ears, he ſent preſently an Order to the Eccleſiaſtical Senate to ſuſpend him. That Court is compoſed of ſome Secular Men, and ſome Churchmen; and as the Prince's Authority is delegated to them, ſo they have a ſort of an Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over all the Clergy. This Order was a Surprize to them, as being a direct Breach upon their Laws and the Liberty of their Religion: So they ſent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reaſons that hindred them from obeying his Orders; which were heard with ſo much Juſtice and Gentleneſs, that the Prince, inſtead of expreſſing any Diſpleaſure againſt them, recalled the Order that he had ſent them. The Way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort* is, for the firſt twelve or fifteeen Miles, the moſt beautiful Piece of Ground that can be imagined; for we went under a Ridge of little Hills that are all covered with Vines; and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn Fields

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and Meadows, all ſweetly divided and incloſed with Rows of Trees, ſo that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this Advantage, that here all was not of a Piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the Hills, as they made a pleaſant Inequality in the Proſpect, ſo they made the Air purer, and produced a pleaſant Wine. The Way near *Darmſtadt*, and all forwards to *Frankfort*, becometh more wild and more ſandy. There is a good Suburb on the South Side of the *Maine* over againſt *Franckfort*, which hath a very conſiderable Fortification. There is a double Wall and a double Ditch that goeth round it; and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, ſo it is faced with Brick to a conſiderable Height. The Town of *Franckfort* is of a great Extent, and ſeemed to be but about a third Part leſs than *Straſburg*. The three Religions are alſo tolerated there; and tho' the Number of the *Papiſts* is very inconſiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building: They have alſo ſeveral other Churches, and ſome Convents there. There are ſeveral open Squares for Market-places, and the Houſes about them look very well without. Among their Archives they preſerve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in *High Dutch*, without any Beauty anſwering to its Title: And ſince I could not have underſtood it, I was not at the Pains of deſiring to ſee it; for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called St. *Katherine*'s, in which there is as much Painting as ever I ſaw in any *Popiſh* Church; and over the

high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other Places of their Church. The Pulpit is extreme fine, of Marble of different Colours, very well poliſhed and joined. I was here at Sermon, where I underſtood nothing; but I liked one Thing that I ſaw both at *Straſburg* and here, that at the End of Prayers there was a conſiderable Interval of Silence left, before the Concluſion, for all People's private Devotions. In the Houſe of their publick Diſcipline, they retain ſtill the old *Roman Piſtrina*, or Hand-Mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Mill-ſtones go. There is a great Number of *Jews* there, tho' their two Synagogues are very little, and by Conſequence, the Numbers being great, they are very naſty. I was told, they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the moſt of a tawdry Embroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I ſaw; for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the Top and the Bottom, there was a Border above a Hand's breadth of Embroidery. The Fortification of *Frankfort* is conſiderable; their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water; all the Baſtions have a Countermine that runneth along by the Brim of the Ditch, but the Counterſcarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and ſo in many Places it is in an ill Condition. The Covered Way and the Glacis are alſo in an ill Caſe. The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleaſantly ſituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the beſt Wine of

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thoſe Parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my Way from *Heidelderg* to *Mentz*, I could not paſs by *Worms*, for which I was ſorry. I had a great Mind to ſee that Place where *Luther* made his firſt Appearance before the Emperor and the Dyet, and in that ſolemn Audience expreſſed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious Cauſe in which God made him ſuch a bleſſed Inſtrument. I had another Piece of Curioſity on me, which will perhaps appear to you ſomewhat ridiculous. I had a Mind to ſee a Picture that, as I was told, is over one of the *Popiſh* Altars there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of *Tranſubſtantiation*, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Chriſt into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which ſome Prieſts take up to give to the People. This is ſo coarſe an Emblem, that one would think it too groſs even for *Laplanders*; but a Man that can ſwallow *Tranſubſtantiation* itſelf will digeſt this likewiſe. *Mentz* is very nobly ſituated, on a riſing Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Maine*. It is of too great a Compaſs, and too ill peopled, to be capable of a great Defence. There is a Citadel upon the higheſt Part of the Hill, that commandeth the Town; it is compaſſed about with a dry Ditch that is conſiderably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly fortified; but the Counterſcarp is not faced with Brick, ſo all is in a ſad Condition, and the Fortification is weakeſt on that Side where the Elector's Palace is. There is one Side

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of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the *Germans* do ſtill retain ſomewhat of the *Gothick* Manner. It is of a great Length, and the Deſign is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Baſil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red Stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an abſolute Prince: His Subjects preſent Liſts of their Magiſtrates to him, but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The ancient Demeaſn of the Electorate is about forty thouſand Crowns; but the Taxes riſe to about three hundred thouſand Crowns: So that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*. There are twelve thouſand Crowns a Year given the Elector for his Privy-Purſe, and the State bears the reſt of his whole Expence. It can arm ten thouſand Men, and there is a Garriſon of two thouſand Men in *Mentz*. This Elector hath three Councils; one, as he is Chancellor of the Empire, conſiſting of three Perſons: The other two are for the Policy and Juſtice of his Principality. He and his Chapter have Months by Turns, for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the Month of *January* he names, if any die; and they chuſe in the room of ſuch as die in *February*, and ſo all the Year round. The Prebendaries, or *Dome-Heers*, have about three thouſand Crowns a Year a-piece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperor ſendeth one to ſee the Election made, and he recommendeth one, but the Canons may chuſe whom they

they pleaſe; and the preſent Elector was not of the Emperor's Recommendation. Beſides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the beſt that is in thoſe Parts of *Germany*. The Cathedral is a huge *Gothick* Building: There is a great *Cupola* in the Weſt End, and there the Choir ſingeth Maſs. I could not learn whether this was done only becauſe the Place here was of greater Reception than at the Eaſt End, or if any Burying-place and Endowment obliged them to the Weſt End. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chapel of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great Braſs Gates with a long Inſcription, which I had not Time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperor *Lotharius*'s Time. There are a vaſt Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almoſt half an *Engliſh* Mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach* (which ſeems to carry its Name [*Bacchi Ara*] from ſome famous Altar that the *Romans* probably erected, by reaſon of the good Wine that grows in the Neighbourhood.) There are a great Number of very conſiderable Villages on both Sides of the River. Here the Rats-Tower is ſhewed, and the People of the Country do all firmly believe the Story of the Rats eating up an Elector; and that though he fled to this Iſland, where he built a ſmall high Tower, they purſued him ſtill, and ſwimmed after him, and eat him up: And they told us, they were ſome of his Bones to be ſeen ſtill in the Tower. This extra-

extraordinary Death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlook'd-for ſort of Death, that carried a poor Labourer off the Ground a few Days before I left *Geneva*. The Foot of one of his Cattle, as he was ploughing, went into a Neſt of Waſps, upon which the whole Swarm came out, and ſet upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little Time; and his Body was prodigiouſly ſwelled with the Poiſon of ſo many Stings. But to return to the *Rhine*: All the Way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both Sides of the River hanging Grounds, or little Hills, ſo laid, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich *Rheniſh* Wine. They are indeed as well expoſed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be imagined; and the Ground in thoſe Hills, which are in ſome Places of a conſiderable Height, is ſo cultivated, that there is not an Inch loſt that is capable of Improvement; and this bringeth ſo much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of conſiderable Villages. *Coblentz* is the ſtrongeſt Place that I ſaw of all that belong to the Empire; the Situation is noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moſelle* paſſing along the Side of the Town. It is well fortified; the Ditch is large, the Counterſcarp is high, and the Covered Way is in a good Condition. Both Walls and Counterſcarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelins before the Cortins: But on the Side of the *Moſelle* it is very ſlightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the End of the Stone Bridge that is laid over the *Moſelle*, ſo that

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it lieth quite open on that Side; which ſeemeth a ſtrange Defect in a Place of that Conſequence. But tho' the Fortifications of this Place are very conſiderable, yet its chief Defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanſtan*, which is built on the Top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and which commandeth this Place ſo abſolutely, that he who is Maſter of *Hermanſtan*, is always Maſter of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the Elector of *Triers*, whoſe Palace lieth on the Eaſt Side of the *Rhine*, juſt at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanſtan*, and over-againſt the Point where the *Moſelle* falleth into the *Rhine*: So that nothing can be more pleaſantly ſituated; only the Ground begins to riſe juſt at the Back of the Houſe with ſo much Steepneſs, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The Houſe maketh a great Shew upon the River, but we were told, that the Apartments within were not anſwerable to the Outſide. I ſay, we were told; for the *German* Princes keep ſuch Forms, that, without a great deal ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unleſs it be when they are abroad themſelves. So that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanſtan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Elector of *Colen* keepeth his Court. The Place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho' the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterſcarp is in ſo ill a Condition, that it is not able to make a great Defence. This Elector is the nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the *German* Clergy; for he is Brother to the Great *Maximilian* Duke of

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Bavaria, and beſides *Colen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munſter*, and *Hildeſheim*, which are all great Biſhopricks. He hath been alſo ſix and thirty Years in the Electorate. His Palace is very mean, conſiſting but of one Court, the half of which is caſt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court. The lower Part of the Court was a Stable; but he hath made an Apartment here that is all furniſhed with Pictures; where, as there are ſome of the Hands of the greateſt Maſters, ſo there are a great many Foils to ſet theſe off, that are ſcarce good enough for Sign-poſts.

The Elector has a great many Gold Medals, which will give me Occaſion to tell you one of the moſt extravagant Pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was, which happened to be found out at the laſt Siege of *Bonne*: For while they were clearing the Ground for planting a Battery, they diſcovered a Vault in which there was an Iron Cheſt that was full of Medals of Gold, to the Value of an hundred thouſand Crowns, and of which I was told the Elector bought to the Value of thirty thouſand Crowns. They are huge big; one weighed eight hundred Ducats, and the Gold was of the Fineneſs of Ducat Gold: But tho' they bore the Impreſſions of *Roman* Medals, or rather *Medaillons*, they were all counterfeit; and the Imitation was ſo coarſely done, that one muſt be extreme ignorant in Medals to be deceived by them. Some few that ſeemed true were of the late *Greek* Emperors. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a Man to make a Forgery upon ſuch Metal, and in ſo

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vaſt a Quantity, and then to bury all this under Ground, eſpecially in an Age in which ſo much Gold was ten times the Value of what it is at preſent; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred Years ago.

The Prince went out a Hunting while we were there, with a very handſome Guard of about fourſcore Horſe well mounted, ſo we ſaw the Palace, but were not ſuffered to ſee the Apartment where he lodged. There is a great Silver *Caſolette* gilt, all ſet with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho' they made a fine Appearance, yet were a Compoſition of the Prince's own making. His Officers alſo ſhewed us a Baſon and Ewer, which they ſaid were of *Mercury* fixed by the Prince himſelf; but they added, that now for many Years he wrought no more in his Elaboratory. I did not eaſily believe this; and as the Weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick-ſilver, ſo the medicinal Virtues of fixed *Mercury* (if there is any ſuch Thing) are ſo extraordinary, that it ſeemed very ſtrange to ſee twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two Pieces of Plate. A quarter of a Mile without the Town, the beſt Garden of thoſe Parts of *Germany* is to be ſeen, in which there is a great Variety of Water-works, and very many noble Alleys in the *French* Manner, and the whole is of a very conſiderable Extent. But as it hath no Statues of any Value to adorn it, ſo the Houſe, about which it lieth, is in Ruins: And it is ſtrange to ſee, that ſo rich and ſo great a Prince, during ſo long a Regency, hath done ſo little to enlarge or beautify his Buildings. *Bonne*

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and *Coblentz* are both poor and ſmall Towns. *Colen* is three Hours diſtant from *Bonne*: It is of a prodigious Extent, but ill built, and worſe peopled in the remote Parts of it; and as the Walls are all in an ill Caſe, ſo it is not poſſible to fortify ſo vaſt a Compaſs as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a Charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The *Jews* live in a little Suburb on the other Side of the River, and may not come over, without Leave obtained, for which they pay conſiderably. There is no Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion ſuffered within the Town, but thoſe of that Religion are ſuffered to live there, and they have a Church at two Miles Diſtance. The Arſenal here is ſuitable to the Fortifications, very mean and ill furniſhed. The Choir of the Great Church is as high in the Roof as any Church I ever ſaw; but it ſeemeth the Wealth of this Place could not finiſh the whole Fabrick, ſo as to anſwer the Height of the Choir, for the Body of the Church is very low. Thoſe that are diſpoſed to believe Legends, have enough here to overſet even a good Degree of Credulity, both in the Story of the Three Kings, whoſe Chapel is viſited with great Devotion, and ſtandeth at the Eaſt End of the Great Choir; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thouſand *Urſulins*, whoſe Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of a vaſt Number of Bones, that are piled up in Rows about the Walls of the Church. Theſe Fables are ſo firmly believed by the Papiſts there, that the leaſt Sign which one giveth of doubting of their Truth, paſſeth for

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an infallible Mark of an Heretick. The *Jeſuits* have a great and noble College and Church here. And for *Thauler*'s Sake I went to the *Dominicans* Houſe and Church, which is alſo very great. One grows extreme weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of Entertainment in it. The preſent Subject of their Diſcourſe is alſo very melancholy. The late Rebellion that was there is ſo generally known, that I need not ſay much concerning it. A Report was ſet about the Town by ſome Incendiaries, that the Magiſtrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruin the City. I could not learn what Ground there was for theſe Reports; for it is not ordinary to ſee Reports of that kind fly through a Body of Men without ſome Foundation. It is certain, this came to be ſo generally believed, that there was a horrible Diſorder occaſioned by it. The Magiſtrates were glad to ſave themſelves from the Storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular Fury, ſome of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long. But within this laſt Year, after near two Years diſorder, thoſe that were ſent by the Emperor and Dyet to judge the Matter, having threaten'd to put the Town under the Imperial Bann, if it had ſtood longer out, were received, and have put the Magiſtrates again in the Poſſeſſion of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Priſon. Many have already ſuffered, and a great many more are ſtill in Priſon. They told us, that ſome Executions were to be made within a Week, when we were there. *Duſſeldorp* is the

firſt conſiderable Town below *Colen*: It is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburgh*, eldeſt Son to the preſent Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old, and *Gothick* enough; but the *Jeſuits* have there a fine College, and a noble Chapel, though there are manifeſt Faults in the Architecture. The Proteſtant Religion is tolerated, and they have a Church built here within theſe few Years, that was procured by the Interceſſion of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who obſerving exactly the Liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had Reaſon to ſee the ſame as duly obſerved in his Neighbourhood, in favour of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few Feet high with Brick. But *Keiſerſwart*, ſome Hours lower on the ſame Side, which belongeth to the Elector of *Colen*, tho' it is a much worſe Town than *Duſſeldorp*, yet is much better fortified. It hath a very broad Ditch, and a very regular Fortification; the Walls are conſiderably high, faced with Brick, and ſo is the Counterſcarp, which is alſo in a very good Condition. The Fortification of *Orſoy* is now quite demoliſhed. *Rhineberg* continueth as it was, but the Fortification is very mean, only of Earth, ſo that it is not capable of making a great Reſiſtance. And *Weſel*, tho' it is a very fine Town, yet is a very poor Fortification; nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaſt Expence; for the Ground all about it being ſandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unleſs the Foundation go very deep,

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or that it be laid upon *Piloty*. In all theſe Towns one ſees another Air of Wealth and Abundance, than in much richer Countries that are exhauſted with Taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined; ſo that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at preſent very little Defence, except what it hath from its Situation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place; the Situation and Proſpect are charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came hither in three Hours.

I will not ſay one Word of the Country into which I am now come; for as I know that is needleſs to you on many Accounts, ſo a Picture that I ſee here in the Stadt-Houſe puts me in mind of the perfecteſt Book of its Kind that is perhaps in being; for Sir *William Temple*, whoſe Picture hangeth here at the upper End of the Plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimeguen*, hath indeed ſet a Pattern to the World, which is done with ſuch Life, that it may juſtly make others bluſh to copy after it; ſince it muſt be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an Account of the other Places, as he hath given us of one of the leaſt, but yet one of the nobleſt Parcels of the Univerſe, Travelling would become a needleſs Thing, unleſs it were for Diverſion; ſince one findeth no farther Occaſion for his Curioſity in this Country, than what is fully ſatisfied by his rare Performance: Yet I cannot give over writing without reflecting on the Reſiſtance that this Place made, when ſo many other Places were ſo baſe-

ly

ly delivered up; tho' one doth not ſee in the Ruins of the Fortification here, how it could make ſo long a Reſiſtance; yet it was *that* that ſtemm'd the Tide of a Progreſs that made all the World ſtand amazed; and it gave a little Time to the *Dutch* to recover themſelves out of the Conſternation, into which ſo many Blows, that came ſo thick one after another, had ſtruck them.

But then the World ſaw a Change, that tho' it hath not had ſo much Incenſe given to it, as the happy Conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it with ſo much Exceſs, that all the Topicks of Flattery ſeem exhauſted by it, yet will appear to Poſterity one of the moſt ſurprizing Scenes in Hiſtory, and that which may be well matched with the Recovery of the *Roman* State after the Battel of *Canne*. When a young Prince, that had never before borne Arms, or ſo much as ſeen a Campaign, who had little or no Council about him, but that which was ſuggeſted from his own Thoughts, and that had no extraordinary Advantage by his Education, either for Literature or Affairs, was of a ſudden ſet at the Head of a State and Army, that was ſunk with ſo many Loſſes, and that ſaw the beſt half of its Soil torn from it, and the powerfulleſt Enemy in the World, ſurrounded with a victorious Army, that was commanded by the beſt Generals that the Age hath produceth, come within Sight, and ſettle his Court in one of its beſt Towns, and had at the ſame Time the greateſt Force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together

ther for its Deſtruction: When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might ſave themſelves from ſo formidable an Enemy, to let looſe that which on all other Occaſions is the moſt dreadful to them, and to drown ſo great a Part of their Soil for the Preſervation of the reſt; and to complicate together all the Miſeries that a Nation can dread; when to the general Conſternation with which ſo diſmal a Scene poſſeſſed them, a Diſtraction within Doors ſeemed to threaten them with the laſt Strokes; and while their Army was ſo ill diſciplined, that they durſt ſcarce promiſe themſelves any thing from ſuch feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almoſt thirty Years Continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the moſt concerned in their Preſervation was, like a great paralytick Body, more like to fall on thoſe it pretended to ſupport, and to cruſh them, than to give them any conſiderable Aſſiſtance: When, I ſay, a young Prince came at the Head of all this, the very Proſpect of which would have quite dampt an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the Scene; he animated the publick Councils with a generous Vigour; he found them ſinking into a Feebleneſs of hearkening to Propoſitions for a Peace that were as little ſafe as honourable; but he diſpoſed them to reſolve on hazarding all, rather than to ſubmit to ſuch infamous Terms. His Credit alſo among the Populace ſeemed to inſpire them with a new Life: They eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had form'd their State, ſo here

another of the ſame Name ſeemed marked out to recover and preſerve it: It was this Spirit of Courage, which he derived from his own Breaſt, and infuſed into the whole People, as well as into the Magiſtracy, that preſerved this Country. Something there was in all this that was divine. The publick Councils were again ſettled, and the People were at quiet, when they ſaw him veſted with a full Authority for that Time with relation to Peace and War, and concluded they were ſafe, becauſe they were in his Hands. It ſoon appeared how faithfully he purſued the Intereſt of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propoſitions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without ſo much as conſidering the Advantages that were offer'd to himſelf (in which you know that I write upon ſure Grounds;) he refuſed the Offer of the Sovereignty of its chief City, that was made to him by a ſolemn Deputation, being ſatisfied with that Authority which had been ſo long maintain'd by his Anceſtors with ſo much Glory, and being juſtly ſenſible how much the breaking in upon eſtabliſhed Laws and Liberties is fatal even to thoſe that ſeem to get by it. He thus began his publick Appearance on the Stage, with all the Diſadvantages that a Spirit aſpiring to true Glory could wiſh for; ſince it was viſible that he had nothing to truſt to but a good Cauſe, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage. Nor was Succeſs wanting to ſuch noble Beginnings; for he in a ſhort Time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the

World

World hath yet ſeen, recover'd this State out of ſo deſperate a Diſtemper, took ſome Places by main Force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in ſo feeble a Manner. And if a raw Army had not always Succeſs againſt more numerous and better-trained Troops; and if the Want of Magazines and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the War, made that he could not poſt his Army and wait for favourable Circumſtances, ſo that he was ſometimes forced to run to Action with a Haſte that his Neceſſities impoſed upon him; yet the forcing of the Beginnings of a Victory out of the Hands of the greateſt General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an Engagement; and in ſhort, the forming the *Dutch* Army to ſuch a Pitch that it became viſibly ſuperior to the *French*, that ſeemed to have been fed with Conqueſts; and the continuing the War till the Prince that had ſacrificed the Quiet of *Europe* to his Glory, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very Place, and to ſet all Engines on work to obtain that, by the Mediation of ſome, and the Jealouſies of other Princes: All theſe are ſuch Performances, that Poſterity will be diſpoſed to rank them rather among the Ideas of what an imaginary Hero could do, than with what could be really tranſacted in ſo ſhort a Time, and in ſuch a Manner. And in Concluſion every Place that belonged to theſe States, and to their Neigh-

bours along the *Rhine*, together with a great great many in *Flanders*, being reſtored, theſe Provinces, do now ſee themſelves under his happy Conduct re-eſtabliſhed in their former Peace and Security. And though ſome Scars of ſuch deep Wounds do ſtill remain, yet they find themſelves conſidered on all Hands as the Bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the Fears of a new Monarchy, and as the Preſervers of the Peace and Liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harveſt, not for forced Rhetorick or falſe Eloquence, but for a ſevere and ſincere Hiſtorian, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all thoſe luſcious Panegyricks of mercenary Pens: But a ſmall or a counterfeit Jewel muſt be ſet with all poſſible Advantages, when a true one of great Value needs only to be ſhewed. I cannot end with a greater Subject; and I muſt acknowledge myſelf to be ſo inflamed with this Hint, that as I cannot after this bring my Pen down to lower Matters, ſo I dare not truſt myſelf too long to the Heat that ſo noble an Object inſpires; therefore I break off abruptly,

Yours.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Some REMARKS *that have been ſent me by a Perſon of Quality.*

A Perſon of great Rank, that is of *Italian* Extraction, and that by Conſequence knows the Country well, having ſpent much of his Time in it, had heard that I was giving the World an Account of the Reflections that I had made on the preſent State of *Italy*, and upon that he wrote the following Paper to one of his Friends to be communicated to me, for I have not the Honour of any Commerce with himſelf. The Obſervations that he had made, agreed ſo exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no ſmall Advantage towards the ſupporting the Credit of thoſe I had made, to find them confirmed by ſo extraordinary a Perſon, whoſe Character (as thoſe who know him well have aſſured me) is ſo undiſputed, that if I durſt name him, this alone would ſerve to eſtabliſh the Belief of the moſt critical Parts of

my Letters in the Minds of all that ſhould read his Paper. There are two Particulars in which he and I differ; and in ſo great a Variety of Obſervations that are ſo Critical, and ſo much out of the common Road, it will not appear ſtrange, if there ſhould be ſome Diſagreement. When he mentions the Tax that the Pope has laid on the Corn, he does not add one Thing which I mention, and that is, that the Meaſure by which the Pope ſells, is by a fifth Part leſs than that by which he buys. The other is more conſiderable; for in the Account he gives of the preſent Pope's breaking in upon the Settlement of the Bank, tho' it is upon the Matter very near the ſame with that which I give, yet there is a Difference of ſome Importance as to the Manner of doing it: But as to that, all I can ſay is, that the firſt Account I had of that Tranſaction, was the ſame that is in this Gentleman's Paper; but afterwards I had Occaſion to talk of this Matter very copiouſly with one that has lived many Years in the Pope's Dominions, and that has dealt much in thoſe Affairs; he has now a Character upon him, and ſo it is not expedient to name him: It was from him that I had the particular Recital of this Matter; and therefore I thought it ſurer to go upon the Information I had from him, than upon the general Report that all Strangers may find at *Rome*. This Paper had been more copious, if the Perſon that wrote it had not been reſtrain'd by ſome particular Conſiderations from ſaying any Thing relating to the Government of *Venice*.

Remarks

Remarks upon Switzerland.

IT is very ſurprizing, when one comes out of *France* (which is an extraordinary good Country) into *Switzerland*, which is not near ſo fertile, to ſee ſo great a Difference between the People of thoſe two Countries. The People in *France*, and eſpecially the Peaſants, are very poor, and moſt of them reduced to great Miſery and Want. The People in *Switzerland* cannot be ſaid to be very rich; but yet there are very few, even amongſt the Peaſants themſelves, that are miſerably poor: The moſt Part of them have enough to live upon, from their Labour and the Fruits of the Earth. Every where in *France*, even in the beſt Cities, there are Swarms of Beggars; and yet ſcarce any to be ſeen throughout all *Switzerland*. The Houſes of the Peaſants or Country-people in *France* are extremely mean, and in them no other Furniture to be found, beſides poor naſty Beds, ſtraw Chairs, and Plates and Diſhes of Wood and Earth. In *Switzerland*, the Peaſants have their Houſes furniſhed with good Feather-beds, good Chairs, and other Houſhold-ſtuff for their Convenience, as well as their Neceſſity. Their Windows are all of Glaſs, always kept mended and whole, and their Linnen very neat

and white, as well for their Bedding as their Tables.

Of the GRISONS *Country.*

THE *Griſons* Country is much more barren than *Switzerland*, becauſe 'tis wholly upon the Mountains, which produce nothing at all; yet notwithſtanding (all Exceſs and Luxury being baniſhed from amongſt them, and the Inhabitants being extremely laborious) there are none to be ſeen there that are very poor and needy, but they live at Eaſe, and there are a great many Gentry of good Eſtates. Their Government is altogether popular. There are but three or four Royalties belonging to Nobility in all the Country. All the reſt of their Lands are in Demean, which may yet well be called Royalties too, becauſe exempt from all Dues and Payments whatſoever. There is nothing at all to be paid for bringing into the Country any ſort of Goods or Merchandiſes, or for exporting of them thence: Every one there fully enjoys the Fruit of his own Labours, and the Revenues of his Land. Altho' the Wine they drink is brought upon Horſes four or five Days Journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in moſt Parts of *Italy* or *France*, where it grows ſo plentifully. There are Villages upon the very Tops of the Mountains, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty, and two hundred Houſes a-piece: And altho' they have no Corn or Grain that grows there, and but very little Graſs; yet the Peaſants keep three or four hundred Horſes, which they employ to carry

carry Goods and Merchandiſes, which turns to ſo good Account, that they live very well, and want nothing either for the Neceſſity or Convenience of Life. The Inns upon the Mountains are very good, and there is always to be had, beſides good Bread and Wine, great Quantity of Game and Veniſon, according to the Seaſon of the Year; good Trouts, very good Chambers, and Beds after the manner of the Country. When you leave the *Griſons* Country, and are come into the Country of *Chavanne*, the People begin to ſpeak broken *Italian*. Altho' this latter is a more fertile Country, yet the Inhabitants and Peaſants do not live ſo well as in the *Griſons* Country, for that the Natives are more ſlothful and lazy: And here again there are abundance of poor People as you will find in all Parts of *Italy*.

Of the Bailiage of LUGANE.

THere are on the other Side of the Mountains four Bailiages, which were formerly Part of the Duchy of *Milan*. *Lewis* XII. when he loſt that Duchy, gave theſe Bailiages to ſome of the *Switz Cantons*. Theſe Bailiages are called, *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belintſon*. I ſhall only take notice of the Bailiage of *Lugane*, which contains ninety nine Villages. The Territories of this Bailiage, and of the others, are not near ſo good as that of *Milan*, to which it joins; yet the Villages of this Bailiage are very populous, the Land is very fruitful, becauſe it is well cultivated, and all the Inhabitants live

contented and well. There are no Beggars amongſt them, nor hardly any Object of Miſery and Want. Their Houſes are all good, well built, and kept in good Repair. The Territory of *Milan* is certainly one of the beſt in all *Italy*; it produceth Wine, Corn, and Oil in abundance, very great Quantity of Silk, and (generally ſpeaking) all ſorts of Fruits. There is alſo excellent Paſture for Cattle, and yet the Peaſants there do not live ſo well, by much, as in the Bailiage of *Lugane*; for there is a great deal of Land that lies unmanur'd, and the Country is not near ſo populous as in *Lugane*. There can be no other Reaſon given for this Difference, but that *Milan* is under the Dominion of *Spain*: That the People are loaden with Impoſts, Subſidies, and Taxes, which makes them very poor; whereas the People of *Lugane* are under the Government of *Switzerland*, who put no Taxes or Subſidies upon them.

Remarks on the LAKES.

I Do not know that in the Kingdom of *France*, as it was thirty Years ſince, there were any Lakes, except perhaps in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*. From the Lake of *Jour* to the Lake of *Garde*, which is at *Deſeneſan*, between *Breſſe* and *Veronne*, in the Territories of *Venice*, there are a great Number of Lakes; one of the moſt conſiderable is that of *Geneva*; then there is the Lake of *Neufchaſtel*, the Lake *d'Yverdun*, the Lake of *Morat*, the Lake of *Bienne*, the Lake of *Quinti*, the Lake of *Lucerne*, the Lake of

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Conſtance, the Lake of *Valeſtat*, and many others in the Mountains of *Switzerland*. There is on the other ſide of the Mountains a great and conſiderable Lake, called *Come*, alſo the Lake of *Lugane*, the Lake *Major*, which is above ſixty Miles long, and likewiſe the Lake *de Garde*. All theſe Lakes are repleniſhed with moſt excellent Fiſh, and particularly Trouts; but in the Lake *de Garde* there is found an admirable Fiſh, called *Carpion*, which is far more delicate than either Trout or Salmon, but they are not ſo great, for thoſe of the largeſt Size do not weigh above fifteen Pounds. I do not think, that in any Part of *Europe* there are ſo many fine Lakes to be found in ſo narrow a Compaſs as thoſe which I have here mentioned.

Concerning the Dutchy of FERRARA.

THE Duke of *Ferrara* hath always been but a little Prince, becauſe his Dominions are not very great; yet there have been ſeveral of the ſaid Dukes, for above one hundred and fifty Years ago and ſince, that have made a handſome Figure, and held a conſiderable Rank amongſt the Princes of *Italy*. The Country was formerly very populous; and the Lands being fertile and well cultivated, the Revenues of the Prince were conſiderable, and he kept a good Court. But ſince that Duchy is devolved upon the See of *Rome* by the Death of the laſt Duke, who died without Iſſue Male, the Country is almoſt depopulated: The moſt part of the Lands are deſolate; and for ſeveral Years laſt paſt the

Duchy is infected with Diſeaſes, purely for Want of Inhabitants. There were formerly, in the Time of the Dukes of *Ferrara*, more than one hundred thouſand People, and at preſent there are not fifteen thouſand. The Graſs grows in the Streets, and moſt of the Houſes are void.

Poleſino is one of the beſt Parts of *Italy*; and that Part of it which is poſſeſſed by the *Venetians* is very well cultivated and populous, and 'tis one of the beſt of their ſmall Provinces. As ſoon as you paſs the great Arm of the River *Po*, which is called the *Lagoſcouro*, which ſeperates that Part of the *Poleſino* which belongs to the *Venetians* from that which belongs to the Pope, although the Land and Country is the very ſame, yet the moſt part of thoſe Lands of the *Poleſino* which belong to the Eccleſiaſtical State, are deſolate and waſte. The Graſs lies withered and rotten upon the Ground, becauſe there is no body takes care to mow it; and in paſſing through great Villages, you'll find all the Houſes abandon'd, and not one Inhabitant to be found. It is not eaſily to be imagined, how it is poſſible that a Country ſo populous and flouriſhing, ſhould in leſs than eighty Years be ſo entirely ruined and diſpeopled. By this it is very apparent, that no Subjects are ſo unhappy, as thoſe that live under the Domination of the Clergy.

Concern-

Concerning the Eſtates of BOLOGNA.

IF the Popes had been able to have made themſelves Maſters of *Bologna*, as they have done of *Ferrara*, they would thereby have reduced it to the ſame miſerable Condition; but *Bologna* hath always preſerved their Privileges and the Civil Government by means of the *Gonfalonniers*, under whom they are governed. They have the Right of ſending Ambaſſadors to the Pope, who enjoy the ſame Prerogatives as the Ambaſſadors of other free Princes and States. The Pope cannot confiſcate the Goods of any Subject of *Bologna* for any Crime whatſoever. The great Miſchiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other Parts, are Aſſaſſinations and Murthers; thoſe that commit them fly for Shelter to ſome of the Churches as to an inviolable Aſylum, from whence the Legates themſelves cannot bring them to be puniſhed; or perhaps they retire into the Country, into ſome Stronghold, or into the Territories of ſome neighbouring Prince, where they are certainly ſecure, and there remain until the Legation of the then Cardinal be finiſhed; and afterwards make an Agreement with the Succeſſor, who for Money pardons them (having Power ſo to do) all the Crimes and Murthers they have committed. In other Reſpects the People of *Bologna* are very happy, and live in great Plenty, for that the Country is mighty fruitful, and they pay no Taxes to the Prince.

Remarks

Remarks upon the Country of the Grand Duke of *TUSCANY*.

THERE are in this great Dukedom three conſiderable Cities, *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Sienna*. All thoſe who have read the Hiſtory of *Italy*, do know that *Piſa* was formerly a very powerful Commonwealth, that it flouriſhed in Trade and Commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy Citizens belonging to it. There needs no other Proof of this than what we read, that upon a certain Occaſion a hundred of the Citizens equipt each of them a Galley at their own Charges, which they maintained during all the War. The great Actions are well known which they have done in the *Levant* by their Fleets; and how they a long Time oppoſed the Duke of *Florence*, who at length ſubdued them by the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Arms.

Piſa is one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful Cities of *Italy*; the Buildings are ſtately and fine, and ſo is one of their Churches, which with its Dependencies is one of the fineſt in all *Italy*. The City is built upon the River *Arne*, which divides it in the midſt; it is navigable for Veſſels of a great Burthen, and at *Leghorne*, which is twelve Miles Diſtance, it falls into the Sea. It is one of the beſt ſituated Towns in all *Italy* for Trade, with which it flouriſhed extremely whilſt it was a Republick; at preſent not only the City, but the Country belonging to it is wholly depopulated. Writers ſay, that there were

were formerly above one hundred and fifty thouſand Inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thouſand. The Graſs grows in moſt of the Places and Streets of the City, and moſt of the Houſes are deſerted and lie void. I was myſelf in a fair large Palace, which was let for ſix Piſtoles *per Annum*. The greateſt Part of their Lands lie waſte, and the Air is very unhealthy in moſt Parts, becauſe of the ſmall Number of Inhabitants. The Duke of *Florence* thought there was no Way to ſecure himſelf of this great City, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the Trade, which rendred it ſo potent; ſo that at preſent there is not any Trade there at all.

The City of *Sienna* was alſo formerly a very fine Commonwealth, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful Families; but ſince that the Duke of *Florence* hath reduced it to his Obedience, he hath ruined moſt of the Nobility and Gentry, many of them retiring into *France*, and into the Territories of ſome of the Princes of *Italy*.

As to the City of *Florence* itſelf, it is extremely decayed to what it was ſince it came under the Government of the Houſe of *Medicis*. It is plain from the Hiſtory of *Machiavel*, and other *Italian* Authors that lived in thoſe Times, that it was three times more populous when it was a Republick than it is now. The Great Duke keeping his Court and Reſidence there, one would think ſhould make the City flouriſh the more; yet it wants a great deal of that Luſtre

ſtre and Splendor it had when it was a Commonwealth.

Remarks upon the Temporal Government of the POPE.

THERE are certainly very few People ſo miſerable as thoſe who live under the Dominion of the Pope. Moſt of the States of *Italy*, and where there are the moſt Subſidies and Impoſitions, have not put any Tax upon Corn and Grain, which make Bread; becauſe there is no Perſon, tho' never ſo miſerable, that can ſubſiſt without it: There is that Humanity and Regard had to the People, in not laying Taxes upon Bread, becauſe 'tis the common Nouriſhment, and abſolutely neceſſary even for the moſt Indigent and Poor: Tho' Impoſitions are laid without ſcruple upon Wine and other Merchandiſes, becauſe they are not ſo neceſſary as Bread; yet the Pope makes no ſcruple to lay very great Impoſitions upon Corn and Bread throughout all his Dominions, except in thoſe Places that have yet preſerved their Liberties. It was *Donna Olympia* that during the Pontificate of *Innocent* X. began to put Taxes and Impoſts upon Corn, and made ſuch Laws which have ruined the moſt part of the great Nobility and Gentry that live under the Eccleſiaſtical Government, who had their Revenues conſiſting in Corn. All the Popes who have reigned ſince *Innocent*'s Time, have found ſuch a great Advantage to themſelves by theſe Laws of *Donna Olympia*, that they have continued them

them ever ſince, and it is at preſent a very conſiderable Part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue. The Subſtance of which ſaid Law or Ordinance is this, *That no Perſon whatſoever is ſuffered to ſell Corn to any Strangers*; *but all thoſe that have any are obliged to ſell it at a Price certain to the Eccleſiaſtical Chamber*, which is not at the moſt above one Moiety of the real Value; and then the Eccleſiaſtical Chamber ſells it again at double the Price. In *Italy* there is no Perſon either in City or Country in the Pope's Dominions, who is permitted to make their own Bread, but every one is obliged to buy it of the Bakers, who are appointed by the Chamber. In each Village and Borough there is but one Baker eſtabliſhed by the Chamber to make and ſell Bread. The Baker is obliged to take the Corn of the Chamber at a certain Price, and to make the Bread of ſuch a Quality and Weight, and to ſell it at a Price certain. In the great Cities, as at *Rome*, there are very many Bakers, who are all obliged to buy a certain Quantity of Corn of the Eccleſiaſtical Chamber for a whole Year to come, which they pay for before-hand, and give ten Crowns the *Salme*, or Meaſure, when at the ſame time the Chamber bought it of the particular Perſons for five Crowns. At the Beginning of the Year all the Bakers are obliged to take the ſame Quantity of Corn for the Year enſuing, altho' ſometimes they have a great deal of the laſt Year's Corn upon their Hands, which they muſt deliver to the Chamber for five Crowns the *Salme*, or Meaſure, and then the very ſame Corn is ſold them again for ten Crowns. I do not believe that there is

any

any Country in the World that draws more Profit from their Subjects for Corn, than the Pope doth in his Dominions, which hath been partly the Cauſe of the Ruin of the Eccleſiaſtical State, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the ſaid Law, which was about thirty Years ſince. The Country is unpeopled, and great Part of the Lands lie void uncultivated, becauſe it is not worth while to manure them, when the greateſt Advantage and Profit ariſing thereby goes to the Pope. In travelling through the Eccleſiaſtical Territories in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, there are vaſt Quantities of Land unmanured. A Traveller paſſing through the Eſtate of a *Roman* Prince, told the Prince upon his Return to *Naples*, *He would, if he pleaſed, ſend him Huſbandmen that ſhould manure his Lands*; thinking it had been for want of Labourers that the Lands lay void and waſte. The Prince told him, *That he did not want People to cultivate his Lands; but becauſe they were obliged to ſell all their Corn and Grain to the Chamber at a very low Price, it would not quit Coſt to manure and cultivate it.*

Touching the Reduction of the Intereſt of Money due by the Montes *at* Rome, *from Four to Three* per Cent.

EVery Body almoſt knows what 'tis which in *Italy*, and eſpecially at *Rome*, they call the *Montes*; it is much like the Rents upon the Town-houſe at *Paris*. The Popes having Occaſion for Money, borrow great Sums of particular

ticular Perſons at Four *per Cent.* Intereſt. This they call at *Rome* the Eſtabliſhment of the *Monte*, that is, the Creation of certain Officers, and the Aſſignment of ſeveral Rents for the Payment of thoſe who have lent Money to the Pope. The preſent Pope finding the Chamber engaged to the annual Payments of I know not how many Millions of *Roman* Crowns Intereſt, to thoſe that had lent Money upon the *Monte*, reſolved in part to reduce and leſſen the great Sum of Money which the Intereſt amounted to; and having for this Purpoſe raiſed ſeveral Millions of *Roman* Crowns, he acquainted thoſe that had Money upon the *Monte*, that they ſhould come and receive their principal Money, unleſs they would take Three *per Cent.* Intereſt for the Four *per Cent.* which they formerly received: Whereupon, there being really no Trade in all the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, and the Lands worth nothing, and the Eſtates of the Nobility being all ſold to a Penny, all Perſons who had Money upon the *Monte*, not knowing how to employ it to Advantage elſewhere, let it there remain, contenting themſelves with Three *per Cent.* inſtead of Four *per Cent.* which they had before: So that by this Means every one concerned loſt a fourth Part of their yearly Income, and the Chamber got I know not how many Millions of Crowns yearly, by this Retrenchment of One *per Cent.*

It is almoſt incredible, what immenſe Sums the Pope hath raiſed by retrenching of many ſuperfluous Expences, and extinguiſhing ſeveral Offices to which great Salaries were paid by the Eccle-

Eccleſiaſtical Chamber, and by divers other Means. Thoſe who are well informed in theſe Matters, do for certain affirm, that all the Subſidies which the Pope hath remitted to the Emperor and King of *Poland*, to carry on the War againſt the *Turks*, are not the thirtieth Part of the Money which he hath treaſured up; altho' likewiſe he hath paid many Debts of the Chamber, which were not chargeable upon the *Montes*.

I ought not here to omit relating, that the Inns, eſpecially in *Tuſcany*, in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, are very ſordid and incommodious.

One may give a pretty good Gueſs at the prodigious Wealth belonging to the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the great Quantity of Plate, Veſſels, and Statues of Silver in the Churches, and by the Riches and magnificent Furniture of their Habitations, and Veſtments of the Prieſts. One may, upon the whole Matter, make this important Reflection, That if the King of *Spain* doth not think of ſome Expedient to hinder the Clergy from increaſing their Eſtates in Lands, which they do daily, they will in a very little Time become Maſters of the greateſt Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*; for they are already poſſeſſed of more than half of the Lands of that Kingdom, beſides the other vaſt Profits they make continually under Pretence of Service to the Church, for their Maſſes, Buildings, Burials, Marriages, Confeſſions, and by their Indulgences and the Legacies left them by Will.

Tho'

Tho' theſe are Remarks made in Haſte, yet they may be of Uſe to the Author.

I know ſeveral pleaſant Stories of the *Jeſuits* at *Naples*. The Prince of *Salerme* gave them the Moiety of a great Houſe which he had at *Naples*, and thereupon an Inſcription was engraven in capital Letters, upon the Frontiſpiece of the Houſe, of the Donation thereof given to the *Jeſuits* by the ſaid Prince. Within theſe few Years the *Jeſuits* have turn'd the Heirs of the Prince of *Salerme* out of Poſſeſſion of the other Moiety of the ſaid Houſe, and have defaced the Inſcription upon the Houſe: And all this they have done by Colour of Law and Juſtice.

Upon the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Society of *Jeſuits*, the *Carthuſians* of *Naples*, who are very rich, voluntarily aſſigned them an yearly Penſion of ſeveral thouſand Ducats; but the *Carthuſians* perceiving, that, of late Years, ſeveral of the *Jeſuits* were grown mighty rich, reſolved to withdraw the ſaid Penſion. The *Jeſuits* went to Law with them, and obtained Sentence, that the ſaid Penſion ſhould be continued. The *Jeſuits* have got a very conſiderable Part of the Lands of the Nobility in the Kingdom of *Naples*. All the Religious, of what Order ſoever they be, who have Houſes at *Naples*, have the Privilege of purchaſing all Houſes that are contiguous to them, on the one Side or the other, to the very End of the Street, in order to make their Houſes entire, and to ſtand alone like an Iſland: And for this Purpoſe they have no more to do, than only pay the Proprietor for his Houſe, not according to the preſent Value,

but

but as it was laſt ſold, perhaps fifty, ſixty, or a hundred Years ago, and ſo hath deſcended from Father to Son ſucceſſively to the Perſon then in Poſſeſſion.

Many other very conſiderable Remarks might be made of the divers Tricks and Methods the Clergy of this Kingdom make uſe of to wheedle and trepan the Laity out of their Eſtates.

FINIS.

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