

A voyage to England : containing many things relating to the state of learning, religion, and other curiosities of that kingdom / by Mons. Sorbière. As also, Observations on the same voyage, by Dr. Thomas Sprat ... Lord Bishop of Rochester. With a letter of Monsieur Sorbière's, concerning the war between England and Holland in 1652: to all which is prefix'd his life, writ by M. Graverol. Done into English from the French original.

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T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>



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A
V O Y A G E
T O
E N G L A N D,
Containing many Things relating to the
State of Learning,
RELIGION,
And other Curiosities of that
K I N G D O M.

By Mons. S O R B I E R E.

A S A L S O
Observations on the same Voyage, by Dr. Thomas
Sprat, Fellow of the Royal Society, and now
Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

W I T H
A Letter of Monsieur *Sorbiere's*, concerning the War
between *England* and *Holland* in 1652 : To all which
is prefix'd his Life, writ by M. *Graverol*.

Done into *English* from the *French* Original.

L O N D O N.
Printed, and Sold by *J. Woodward*, in *St. Christopher's-
Alley* in *Threadneedle-Street*. 1709.

after



T H E

P R E F A C E.

Monsieur Sorbier's *Voyage into England* having of late Years been mentioned on divers Occasions, it was thought proper to oblige the Publick with a Genuine Version of that Piece, and to include the very Preface and Dedication, by reason of the Animadversions made even upon that Part, as well as the rest of the Work: And seeing the Observations made on this Voyage of Sorbier's, by that Excellent Person, Dr. Thomas Sprat, now Lord Bishop of Rochester, have been for some time out of Print, it cannot be judged amiss they should be Published, thus together, that so the Reader may be enabled to make a better Judgment of them. The Learned Animadverter has not confined himself to a regular Examination of this Voyage, Page after Page, but joined such Parts and Pieces of it together as they best suited and occurred to him; and therefore the Pages in the Margin have with Care and Pains been altered, and made answerable to the English Version, wherein the Translator has been very intent upon doing all imaginable Justice to the Author, which is the true Reason why in a Place or Two the Learned Animadverter and his Interpretation do not exactly quadrate. Sorbier's Letter to Mons. de Courcelles, about the War which broke out between England and Holland in 1652, being Printed in a Book of his, Entituled,
Letters

The Preface.

Letters and Discourses concerning divers Curious Matters, *there is something so very singular in it concerning the immense Project of the English Republick at that time to Usurp the Dominion of the Ocean, and Trade of the World, that 'twas thought worth while to Insert it here.*

The Memoirs of his Life, which we have prefixed to the rest of these Pieces, were writ by Mons. Graverol, a Learned Advocate at Nimes, and Addrest by Way of Letter to Lewis de Richignevoisin de Guron, Bishop of Comenge: His Method is engaging enough; and as he proceeds, he does more particularly give us an Historical Deduction of Sorbier's Works, and the several Occasions of Publishing them; neither does the Bonds of Friendship that had been between them hinder him to use the Freedom and Sincerity of a Faithful Biographer: These Memoirs were Printed in French, in a Book called Sorberiana, the Remains of our Author, Published by M. Colomyez, and Dedicated to the Famous M. Pelisson, Privy Councillor and Master of Requests to the French King.

We are not to forget, before we conclude, to Advertise the Reader, that there have been Two or Three Bantering Treatises, Published some Years ago in English, which bore the Title of Sorbier's Voyage, but are not really so, this being the first Translation of that Piece that ever yet was Extant in our Language.

M E-

MEMOIRS
FOR THE
LIFE
OF

M. Samuel Sorbier,

BY

Way of LETTER from Mr. Graverol,
Advocate at Nimes, to M. Lewis de
Rechignevoisin de Guron, Bishop of Co-
menge.

My Lord,

SINCE you are Desirous to know some
Particulars concerning the Life and
Writings of the late Mons. Sorbier,
I am to acquaint you he was Born in
the

the beginning of the last Century, of Protestant Parents, and an Honest Family, in the Town of *St. Ambroix*, in the Diocess of *Uzes*. I was informed several Years ago, by the only Son he left behind him, who is Married at *Gravieres*, a Sorry Place, in the same Diocess, that he was Born on the 17th of September, 1615, and yet, according to the Inscription about his Picture, which was Engraven after his Death, and Copied after that of the Celebrated *Audran*, done at *Rome*, in 1667, he must have been Born Five Years before: His Father, *Stephen Sorbier*, was a Burgher, and *Lovisa Petit*, his Mother, was the Sister of *Samuel Petit*, a Famous Minister in *Nismes*, whose Name is very well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, upon the Account of the several Things he has Published, as well as by his Observations upon *Josephus*, which Manuscript is at this Time in the *Oxford* Library, the same having been Sold by my Means to the late Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Grandfather, by the Mother Side, to the Princess of *Orange*, during the Time of his Sojourning in the City of *Montpelier*, whither he had retired for Reasons, to which you are no no Stranger.

His Father and Mother Dying while *Sorbier* was very Young, *Monf. Petit*, who was his Godfather as well as his Uncle, took him

him Home, and was as careful of his Education as if he had been his own Child : When under his Eye he had gone through the first General Rudiments of Learning, he went in 1639 to *Paris*, where having entertained an Aversion for the Study of Divinity, he applied himself to that of Physick, and made such a considerable Progress in that Science, that in a short time he drew up a Concise System of it for his own Use ; which was Printed on a large Sheet of Paper, by the Title of, *A System of Galenick Physick, to help the Memory.*

He Travelled into *Holland* in 1642, where he Printed a Letter under the borrowed Name of *Guthbertus Higlandus*, and Inscribed it to *Andrew Rivet*, against the *Crurifragium Prodrumi Rivetiani*, which had been Published by *Monf. de la Malletiere*. The Letter is to be seen at the End of the Apology of *Rivet* against *Grotius*. *Sorbriere*, during his Stay in *Holland*, help'd to Translate *Cambden's Britannia*, which was to be put into one of the Tomes of the great *Atlas*, and which one *Salabert*, a Priest, who had begun it, was not able to go through with, because of his being obliged to return into *France*. It was not long after that he also Translated *Sir Thomas Moor's Utopia* into *French*, at the Request of the *Rhinegrave*, who was then Governour of *Sluice*, and could not otherwise read

to the Custom of those Times, *A Discourse concerning his Conversion*, which he Dedicated to Cardinal *Mazarine*: The Clergy hereupon having granted him a Pension of Four Hundred Livres, he forthwith took the Habit upon him, with the Expectation of a good Benefice from the Cardinal; who obliged him, whilst he waited for it, with a Pension of Three Hundred Livres.

He went from *Paris* to *Rome*, where he came quickly to be known to Pope *Alexander VII*, by a Letter he wrote to him in *Latin*, by Way of Invective against the Protestants, who hated him for his Perversion: After his Return from *Rome* to *Paris* he caused another Letter in *Latin* to be Printed against *Monf. Riolan*, about the *venæ lacteæ*, that had been discovered by *Gaspar Asellius*, of *Cremona*, and a Famous Anatomist at *Pavia*, as if there were a Fourth Sort of Mesaraick Vessels. This Letter you have in a Book, Entituled, *The Anatomical Observations of Monf. Pecquet*, to whom it was Writ: This I do affirm, upon the Reputation of those who have assured me, that *Sorbiere* was the very *Sebastianus Aletophilus*, under which Name this Letter was Published, as well as that in 1657, which was Two or Three Years after ad-
drest

*dreft ad Lignerium de vitanda in ſcribendo
acerbitate.*

It looks as if the Preface to the Life of *Gaffendus*, which is to be met with before the Works of that Eminent Philoſopher, and Printed at *Lyons* in Six Volumes in Folio, were alſo of *Sorbriere's* Writing: He was the Author in like Manner of another to the *Syntagma Philoſophiæ Epicuri*, being the Second Edition that came out in 1659, wherein he Publiſhed *Letters and Diſcourſes upon ſeveral Curious Subjects*: A Work that ought not to be Confounded with that he put out a little while after, under the Title of *Relations, Letters and Diſcourſes, upon ſeveral Curious Subjects*, wherein are contained his Journey into *Holland*, and a *Diſcourſe of Friendſhip*, which have been Printed in ſeveral Places: In the firſt of theſe Works there are ſome Speeches made by him in the Colledge of Phyſicians, (of which he was a Member,) who were wont to meet at *Monſ. de Montmor*, Dean of the Maſters of Requeſts. Theſe Diſcourſes were Curious enough, and made upon the Nature of Motion, Rarefaction, the little Knowledge we have in the Works of Nature, in purſuing the Study whereof we ſhould not however be diſcouraged, upon the Truth of our Natural Knowledge, and the Riſe of different Opinions about the ſame Subject:

It's no very hard Thing for me to believe that those Physical Commentaries, spoken of by Abbot *Menage*, in his Notes upon *Diogenes Laercius*, and which in the Opinion of that Illustrious Person ought forthwith to be Published, are the Works of the same College of Physicians before spoken of.

I ought not, my Lord, to act the Dissembler, but be free to own that the Letters before-mentioned have been of some Prejudice to the Author, tho' writ sprightly enough, because they so very openly discover the Covetous Inclinations he had to be Rich. For a Man may say, he was continually stretching out his Hand to receive, and such Avarice should be beneath the Spirit of a Philosopher, who ought to be jealous of his Reputation, always to entertain Disinterested Sentiments, and to use all his Endeavours to Contribute to his own Fame and Glory.

To draw to a Closure of my Discourse, *Sorbiere* Printed a Letter in 1664 about the Scruples made by several of the *French* Clergy, to Sign the Form drawn up about the Five Propositions of *Jansenius*; and next Year he thought fit to Publish his Thoughts about a Comet, that had for some time put all *France* into a terrible Consternation; his Design being to prove that the Frights which
had

had seized on Mens Minds, by reason of the Appearance of this *Phænomenon*, were merely Panick and Groundless; and that the Consequence which might attend this *Phænomenon*, esteemed by some as a Frown from Heaven, was doubtful and uncertain: And indeed *Sorbriere* in the main kept close to the Sentiments of *Gassendus* upon this Subject.

Sorbriere going over afterwards with some of his Friends into *England*, he Printed an Account of his Journey, which was the Cause of his being Banish'd by an Order under the King's Signet to the City of *Nantes*, from whence he was Recalled by another Order or Letter not long after. There were various Causes of his Exile talked of, but most People attributed the same to some Complaints to the King against him from the *North*, by reason of the great Freedom he took in speaking of the Count of *Ulefeld*, who had Married the Natural Daughter of the late King of *Denmark*. *Sorbriere* after the Death of Pope *Alexander VII.* put out a large Collection of Poems in several Languages, in Praise of Cardinal *Rospigliosi*, who was, as we term it, a Papable Subject: The Event justified *Sorbriere's* Conduct; he had corresponded with that Cardinal since his first Journey to *Rome*, whither he went again in 1667 to be present at the Exaltation of

this New Pope, whose Nomination to the Papacy gave him an Occasion, as soon as he was advertised of it, to write a Letter to *Monsieur de Montmor*, wherein he describes the Person of, and makes a Panegyrick upon, this Pope, under the Title of *Clementis IX Icon*: And it was during his Stay at *Rome* that he published a Discourse about the Transfusion of another Animal's Blood into a Human Body:

Having found that his Journey into *Italy* had not the Success he expected, and his Hopes being frustrated thereby, he returned to *Paris*, and presently Printed a Collection, or rather Fragments, of the Letters of *illustrium & eruditorum virorum*, wherein he had Affectation and Vanity enough to crowd in all the Letters he had the Honour to receive from Pope *Clement IX.* when he was no more than Cardinal *Rospigliosi*: He also insinuated by Way of a short Advertisement at the End of the Book, that they were published by his Son at the Request of several Curious Gentlemen, who had solicited him to it: It's certain, my Lord, his design in Printing this Imperfect Collection, which has neither Beginning nor Ending, was no other than to justify his Journey to *Rome*, and to let the World know that he had not undertaken it upon Chimerical Pretences, but

but Well-grounded Hopes. In the mean time I have been assured from good Hands, that he had no more than an Hundred Pistoles given him to defray his Journey, of which the Bearer extorted Twenty from him. It's true indeed, they gave him some Benefices in the Province of *Bretagne*, but as they proved to be contested and litigious Titles, I do not think he ever made any great Matter of them.

Be it as it will, if *Sorbriere* had not been a Man too much addicted to his Pleasures, his Son and Successor would have had a larger Share of the Goods of Fortune: For besides that the present King in 1660. was pleased to honour him with the Place of Historiographer Royal, he gave him some Months after a Pension of a Thousand Livres upon the Abbey of *Horublieres*, a Benedictine Order, in the Diocess of *Noion*; and in and about Two Years after this, another Pension of the like Sum, as one of the Assembly of the *Scavans*: Besides these, *Alexander VII.* in 1656 not only ordered him Two Pensions, by Two different Bulls of *Reservatæ Pensionis*, in the County of *Venaissin*, one of which amounting to 150 Livres was upon the Cure of *Villes* in the Diocess of *Carpentras*, and the other of 136 upon the Prebendship of *St. Symphorian* of *Avignon*, but he likewise

Father to several Learned Persons, with their Answers, which wou'd make Two large Volumes in Folio: Besides these, he has also some Physical, Chronological, Theological, Rhetorical, and Grammatical Tracts of his Father. An Account of, or certain Memoirs, concerning the Company which began to meet at Monsieur de Montmor's on the 18th of Dec. 1657, in order to search into Natural Causes; as also a Translation of *Syntagma Philosophiae Epicuri*, inserted by Gassendus at the End of his Animadversions upon *Diogenes Laercius*, which should have been Printed in 1652, had not Sorbier, to whom Augustin Courbe sent some of the Sheets to Orange, wrote to Mons. Conrart to stop the Impression, in Complaisance to Gassendus, who for very particular Reasons was not willing to have this Translation published.

He had some Years before he died begun to Translate Crellius's Treatise, *De Causis Mortis Christi*, for which he had a very high Esteem. * He had also begun to write the

* The great Value Sorbier had for this Book confirms his Inclination to Socinianism.

History of the *Scavans*, but did not go on with it; and I could never learn what became of his Little Treatise, *De pace & Concordia inter Christianas concilianda*, no more than his Translation of a Book Printed in 1636, Entituled, *Julii Bruti Poloni vindiciæ pro Religionis Libertate*, which was not the Work of *Hubert Languet*, as some have imagin'd, tho' he had formerly disguis'd himself under that Name in his *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, and which we ought to esteem as a Sequel to a Tract, called, *De Libertate Ecclesiastica*, Printed in 1607, and was writ undoubtedly by *Casaubon*, who speaks very openly concerning it in his 539th Letter of the *Hague* Edition, tho' he had in Two or Three preceding Letters used Covert Terms enough about it.

Moreover, the World is beholden to *Sorbriere*, not only for the Memoirs and Voyage of the Duke of *Rohan*, Printed by the *Elzevirs* in 1646, which he brought in Manuscript with him from *Languedoc*; but also for some of the Works of his Friends: For 'twas he that got *Disquisitio Metaphysica Gassendi adversus Cartesium* to be Printed in *Holland*, as well as a little Treatise writ by his Unkle *Petit*, Entituled, *De Jure Principum edictis Ecclesie quæsito, nec Armis adversus temerantes, aut antiquan-*

tes

tes vindicato, to which he prefixt a large Epistle Dedicatory to the Famous *Salmatius*, wherein he makes his Unkle to have quite different Sentiments to those he would have us believe he entertain'd in process of Time from the Conversation he had with Cardinal *Bagni*, and the Illustrious Monsieur de *Peiresc*, since he makes him speak such Things as he never thought of. Finally, Monsieur *le Laboureur* having writ a Dissertation concerning the Excellency of the *French* Tongue, beyond the *Latin*, this, together with the Two Letters of the Learned Monsieur *Sluze* in Defence of the *Latin* Tongue, was published by *Sorbiere*, as also the Answers of Monsieur *Laboureur* Address to him, as if *Sorbiere* was Umpire of the Difference that hapned between them. These Small Pieces were not the only ones that were Address to him by the Learned Men of his Acquaintance: *Papin* Dedicated a Treatise to him, which he wrote against *Harvey*, concerning the *Diastole of the Heart*: *Hobbs*, that Dangerous *Englishman*, in respect to his Politicks, before-mentioned by me, Dedicated to him his Dialogue about the *Nature of Air*, and *doubling the Cube*; and the indefatigable *Caluze* Address also a Letter in *Latin* to him about the Life of Monsieur de *Marca*. Several other things inscribed to him I am willing to pass over in silence, that I may
not

not exceed the Bounds I have prescrib'd to my self in writing these *Memoirs*.

In short, Monsieur Sorbriere was acquainted with the Great and Learned Men in *France*, *Italy*, *England*, and *Germany*. *Clement IX*, before his Elevation to the Papacy, corresponded much with him; but treated him always as a Friend, without having any Regard to the bettering of his Fortune, of which Sorbriere very wittily complained when he said, That he had more need of a Waggon Load of Bread than a Dish of Sweet-meats: They send a Man Loaves, added he, who has no Shirt to wear; they send me Bread to eat with the Butter they give me not. His Learning otherwise was not very great; and we may say that perhaps he was as much esteemed for being the Nephew of Samuel Petit, as he was for his Learning: *An tuille Samuelis Petiti Nepos*, said *Alexander VII*. to him, the very first time he had the Honour to wait upon that Pope: Courcelles, an Anabaptist Minister, and his Relation, had somewhat corrupted his Mind, and the Converse he had with *Manesses Ben Israel*, who was the most Learned *Rabbin* of his Time, did not a little contribute thereunto: He was very familiar for Two Years together with *Salmasius*, whose Neighbour he was

* These Expressions are very Emphatical in French, and cannot bear a just Version in English.

at *Leyden*: He visited him twice a Week, and there it was that he improved himself very much by the Conversation he had with that Great Man, whose Memory by Way of Acknowledgment he was willing to Celebrate in an Oration he made at the Opening of the College of *Orange*, which was since Printed: There was scarce any Body so well versed in the Philosophy of *Gassendus* as *Sorbiere*, of whose Sentiments he was tenacious from the time of his first Acquaintance with him; and I have heard my Worthy good Friend, the late Monsieur *Bernier*, frequently say, that he knew no Body but *Sorbiere* that was a better *Gassendist* than himself. He admired none of the Physicians amongst the Ancients but *Galen*, whose Method he very much approved of, tho' he found many Faults with him: Give me leave to tell you, my Lord, that no Body was better acquainted with *Rabelais*, whose Memory he rever'd; and that he chose for his Heroes *Charron* and *Montagne*, to whom at last he gave the preference before *Balzac*. He had so great a Respect for them that he could not suffer *Chanet*, a Physician of *Rochel*, to say any thing against them in his Book about the Reason of Brutes; and we ought not to forget in this Place that Father *du Bosc*, as also that Good Man M. *Mauri*, who were
for

for some Years entertained by the Chapter of *Thoulouse*, at the Expence of the City, for the Improvement of the *Belles Lettres*, were his most Intimate Friends.

THE
CONTENTS.

M*emoirs of the Life of Mons. Sorbier, Historiographer to Lewis XIV, the present French King, Writ by Monsieur Graverol, Advocate at Nismes, and Dedicated to Louis de Rechignevoisin de Guron, Lord Bishop of Comenge.*

A Voyage to England, containing divers Things relating to the State of Learning and Religion there, by Monsieur Sorbier.

Observations on Monsieur Sorbier's Voyage into England, written to Dr. Wren, Professor of Astronomy in Oxford. By Dr. Thomas Sprat, Fellow of the Royal Society, now Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Monsieur Sorbier's Letter to Monsieur Courcelles, about the War that broke out between England and Holland in the Year 1652.

TO THE
KING.

S I R,

THE Present with which
Your Majesty has been
pleased to Honour me
Six Months ago, found me ready
to set out on Two Journeys I
made out of Your Dominions. I
did not think, upon the Receipt
of it, that I ought to have al-
tered my Design, to go and pro-
strate my self before Your Ma-
jesty, to make my Humble Ac-
knowledgements for it. I was of
Opinion I should do much bet-
ter in making all imaginable
Haste to Foreign Countries, in
A order

The Epistle Dedicatory.

order to publish it as far as was possible for me: And that I might avoid the detestable Sin of Ingratitude, I have not perhaps pitched upon the worst, most ungainly and disagreeable Way for it. For, Sir, my most Humble Respects, and a Book I was ready to Publish, could neither of them have made so much Noise, nor reach'd so far as my Travels. *England* and the *Netherlands* have been Witnesses of Your Royal Munificence to me; and the Figure which I made everywhere was a very Substantial Proof of what I said concerning it: I have made it appear not only to the Learned Men of the Universities, but also to People of Quality, and I have spoke of it near enough unto the Throne, to be understood there. It would have been very difficult for me, Sir, if I had attempted it, to have confined my self to the Celebrating

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ting of this Vertue alone in Your Majesty, tho' it affords very ample Matter to go upon; and so it was, that while I was answering such Questions as were put unto me, I endeavoured to touch upon all of them in as few Words as I could. Statesmen would have me recount to them Your Majesty's Application to Business, Your Penetration and Strength of Judgment; Soldiers were ravished to hear the great Things reported of Your Courage confirmed by me; the *Roman* Catholicks were charmed with the Relation of Your Piety; the Grandees with the Magnificence of Your Court; the People with the Sweetness of Your Temper; and the Fair Sex with the Goodliness of Your Person. Sir, I have everywhere found a mighty Veneration for all these Advantages which God has been pleased to bestow upon Your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Royal Person ; and methinks I see the whole World ready to submit to Your Empire. I have had some Grand Thoughts enter into my Head upon this Occasion ; but finding they could not be well comprehended within the Compass of my Understanding, I fixed my Eyes upon the Vertue Your Majesty was pleased to exercise in respect to me ; and it has been my Principal Care to make Men of Learning admire it. There are none of them but such as flatter themselves with some Hopes from it, and the little Merit found in me raised no Indignation in them : All of them made their Reflections upon the Choice Your Majesty made of me from among those of the last Form, and found it to be just, that the Love I have for the Sciences, and the Zeal wherewith I have endeavoured all my Life-time to advance the Reputation,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

tation, and sustain the Interests of them, should receive some Compensation. Indeed, Sir, I have always push'd on, and encouraged the great Masters of Knowledge to Labour, and have had some Share in the Intrigues of the Muses : I have even been so happy as to be heard by them, and to gain some Reputation amongst them. The constant Correspondence I have held with the chief Heads of *Parnassus* has emboldened me to believe, that Your Majesty has not shewn me Favour without knowing of me, and that you have called to mind the Kindness his late Eminency had for me. Your Majesty hath rightly judged that in this Warfare of Letters ; some Trumpeters are also necessary as well as Officers and Soldiers : And I may without any Vanity enumerate my self among those, who are useful no otherwise than to spur on those that are most capable to promote

The Epistle Dedicatory.

mote Learning, or to applaud their Noble Productions. I have perhaps acquired some Judgment in Things; and 'tis not likely that I should study so much, and learn nothing, and consider the State of the World so long, without making some Observations: However, Sir, I can pretend to be answerable for nothing but my Good-will. If your Majesty finds it any Ways useful to Your Service, I most humbly intreat You would do me the Honour to Employ me, and You will have a Proof upon all Occasions of the Ardour and Fidelity, wherewith Your Favours, my Birth, and particular Inclination, oblige me to be

S I R,

*Your Majesty's most Humble,
Most Obedient and Faithful
Subject and Servant,*

*Paris, Dec.
12th, 1663.*

SORBIERE.
TO

TO THE
READER.

WHEN I wrote the Account of my Journey to England, I did not design to publish it to the World, and therefore I have only slightly touched upon several things, which would have required a stricter Examination to be set in a true Light; and I have dwelt upon some others, which perhaps you were no Ways solicitous to know. I have made up my Journal of nothing but what may compleat a Letter, fit to divert a Person of Quality who Loves me extreamly, and for whom I have a very great Esteem: He is acquainted with my Stile, and will readily pardon the Uncorrectness of it. For as he knows me thoroughly, he knows very well at the same time that my good Intentions are never wanting. But as my other Friends were desirous I should let them have the Benefit of my Journal by publishing of it; I intreat the Readers to entertain the same Thoughts of me as they have had, and at least to excuse the Errata's of the Press, of which I shall here give no Particulars. If this Undertaking proves any ways agreeable to you, it may be an Encouragement

To the Reader.

ment for me to communicate some other Things that may be more useful to the World: I'll leave you to judge by the Observations I have made in the space of Three Months only, of the Reflections I may have been Capable of in Thirty Years, and of what new Things I am able to impart from the Learned Men of my time, most of whom I have seen, or have received very great Information concerning them: For other Subjects do not come within my Boundaries, and I treat of them only cursorily when I happen to say any Thing of them.

A

Journey to *England*,

CONTAINING

Many Things relating to the
State of Learning and Reli-
gion, &c.

S I R,

PUrsuant to your Command I shall give you an Account of my Journey into *Eng-land*, and the Tour I have since made into *Holland*, occasioned by your going to *Marsal*; for as I had not the good Fortune to find you at *Philipville* upon my Return from beyond Sea, I was not willing to go immediately for *Paris*: In the mean time, the Disappointment I Encountred with in not meeting you at Home, would not let me be at Ease, but I was obliged to go and find out some Diversion along the *Maes*, which is but Six Leagues off: I had so much Satisfaction in it, and the Country of *Liege* was so pleasant, especially from *Huy* to *Visay*, that I resolved to go to *Maestricht* by the Way of *Aix la Chapelle*, and of *Fuliers* along the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, by which Fine River I went down to the Province of *Utrecht*, from whence I was

B tempted

A Journey to England.

tempted to Travel by the Way of *Amsterdam* to the *Hague*: This Journey was more diverting to me than the former, tho' I have not so much to say to you concerning it, because I have already satisfied your Curiosity in the Account I formerly gave you: And after I should once speak of the Famous *Borrry*, and some other Illustrious Persons I had the Honour to see, I should have nothing else to entertain you with: For I am not so well acquainted with the Politicks of that Country as to enter upon them; but I hope we may one Day together see these Parts, of which I could give you an agreeable Description.

*Journey
from Paris
to Calais.*

I am therefore, Sir, to acquaint you, that I travelled from *Paris* to *Calais*, in the Company of some very good-humour'd Gentlemen of the *Polish* Nation, who spoke *Latin* very well, and explained themselves indifferently well in *French*. One of them play'd excellently well on the Violin, and entertained us with a Dance Twice a Day. These Diversions concluded with a Comedy, to which we went all together, before we parted, while we were at *Calais*: I was so fortunate at my coming away from the Play-house, as to meet, in the same Inn where I lodged, with Madam *de Fiennes*, who offered to give me my Passage to *Dover*, in a Ship the Duke of *York* was to send for her, which indeed Arrived next Day, and we had Notice given us, when we were entertained at Dinner by the Marquess *de Courtebonne*, that the Wind was Fair for us.

*His Stay at
Calais.*

This Dinner obliges me by the Way, and in Discharge of my Conscience, to say that which undoubtedly you know better than I, that this is one of the most Civil Gentlemen in the Kingdom, and that he does every thing with an extraordinary good Grace: He treated Madam
de

de Fiennes, who was going for *England*, and did me the Honour to make me one of his Guests: I was much pleased with the good Entertainment, and no less with the Conversation: He could have said nothing finer nor more acceptable than what he did concerning the great Parts, and consummate Prudence, which he had observed in the King from his Youth; and yet the Marquess could not say so much as that Lady, who had been Bred at Court, and was a diligent Observer of the wonderful Genius of that Prince, of which she gave us many excellent Particulars, attended with all their Circumstances, insomuch that I could have wished the Wind might have detained us Five or Six Days longer at *Calais*: For I improved mightily in so good a School; and I was less concerned than I had been about returning my Thanks to the King for the Favour which I received at that time. But these Sorts of Entertainments were obliged to give way to the Necessity we lay under of Embarking while the Wind was Fair.

We were Seven Hours in our Passage to *Dover*, ^{Passage to} tho' it be but Seven Leagues over; the Weather ^{Dover.} was very Fair, but the usual Disorder which those who are not accustomed to the Sea, are Subject to, hindered me from putting *Madam de Fiennes* upon renewing her Discourse about a Subject which I found she was very ready to talk of: She went for *London* in her own Coach, and I travelled by the Way of *Canterbury* and *Rochester* to *Gravesend*, where, for the greater Expedition, I took the Boat, and the Opportunity of the Tide, to go to that City: It's Fifty Miles from *Dover* to *London*, from the first of which *Canterbury* is distant Twelve Miles; and a good Horseman, well Mounted, may Gallop it in an Hour's Time: For those

A Journey to England.

who do not know how to Pace cannot Ride Leisurely, but are so much used to Three Quarter Speed, that the Country People who go to Market seem to Ride as if it were for a Benefice.

This Speed, they make on Horseback, appeared so much the more remarkable to me, because of its been used in a Country where the People are very lazy, which I can very well affirm without Offence; for they do perhaps glory in their Sloth, and believe that true Living consists in their knowing how to live at Ease: I have so many other Remarks to make upon the Customs and Manners of this Nation, that I must inform you to the Honour of it, (with which I shall begin,) that the Freedom I might use in doing of the same would not be resented, tho' I were to Write in their own Language: For they take Pleasure in hearing the Truth told; and the Character of the People has been more than once Printed at *London*, and that Writ by a Native, who hath not spared either Reproof or Censure, in respect to Matters truly Culpable; but has not at all fallen upon the Gentry and better Sort, who are by no means to be confounded with the Populace. As you will meet with gloomy, extravagant, and fanatical Humours everywhere, so you will in like manner with Men of good Parts, so that there is not an equal Necessity of their being Purged from these Defects: However, it may be said, that most of the *English* are liable to fall into them, without they be upon their Guard, and unless they confine themselves within the natural Inclination they have to Laziness, Presumption, and a sort of Extravagance of Thought, which is to be met with in their best Writings. but after they have Subjected these Inclinations, (for which I do not blame them, because they proceed from the

Na-

Nature of the Climate,) they are endued with very excellent Qualities; for tho' some have had the Hardiness to say, that the *English* have skimm'd the Vices of other Nations, and despise their Vertues, yet there is something in them that is great, and which they seem to retain from the *Old Romans*: They have at this Day a sort of Gladiators, Bull and Bear-baiting, and Dog-fighting; they are great lovers of their own Country; very much united amongst themselves against Strangers, intrepid in Dangers, and have a Hundred other Excellencies, which I shall take notice of as they fall in my Way.

I will not go about to give you a Methodical Description of my Journey, nor put my Relation into such an order as I might do, if I were to write the same with any other Design than to divert you. Who is there that does not know such near Neighbours? Do we not see one another every Day? And have we not Books to instruct us in what we do not see? But, Sir, I presume you will take some pleasure in the Irregularity of my Stile, and be glad to hear my Notions and Adventures: I desire therefore that you would not expect any Method or Ornament in my Writing, but be pleased with the Freedom of my Thoughts upon some very Important Subjects which fall in among the Trifles I shall recount unto you.

The Esteem which I carried along with me into *England*, for a Nation whose good Mien has given them a Name, the Etymology of which redounds much to their Advantage, withheld me from taking Offence at the difference I presently found, between the obliging Behaviour, wherewith the *English* are entertained at *Calais*, and the Contempt or Affronts put upon the *French*, for most part of the time we staid at *Dover*. You would be apt

The Account intermixed.

The French will receive in England.

to say, that those Two Towns having daily Correspondence, the *French* were never seen in the last of these Places, where the Children in the Streets run after them, Crying aloud, a *Monfieur*, a *Monfieur*, and this is the first Affront put upon them: But as they come by degrees to be heated, or that they are either provoked by their getting away as far as they can from them, or endeavouring to make them hold their Tongues, they fall then to the opprobrious Terms of *French Dogs*, *French Dogs*, which is the Epithet they give us in *England*, as I have heard them often call the *French* in *Holland Mushrooms*, which yet is more tolerable than *Matto Francefe*, i. e. *Foolish Frenchmen*, a Name by which the Common People of *Italy* are pleased to distinguish them: Altho' the Quality and Better Sort in all the Neighbouring Nations of *France* sufficiently own that we are not Indebted to them for good Sence, and other Engaging Qualities, which they envy in us.

They give
some Occa-
sion for it.

But to tell you the truth, both the one and the other make use of these opprobrious Terms with some Reason, upon Account of the Noise we make at our coming amongst them, and by Way of reprehending a certain Forwardness in us, which they call Indiscretion, which in Effect makes us appear very ridiculous to them: For this Forwardness is so opposite to their Serious Temper, and the Coolness of their Proceedings, as well as to the Patience with which they allow every one to perform what he goes about, that I my self formerly was surprized with it, when I lived for some Years in the Northern Countries: I was Conscious of nothing as to my own Part whereby I might give any Offence; but I have seen others much out of the Way; for as soon as they appear'd

appear'd upon the Key, what with the Noise they themselves and their Servants made, they drew a Kennel of Dogs about them, which with hideous Barking followed them to their Lodgings: Being offended therewith, and the Dogs likewise growing furious, they came to throw Stones at them, but the Townsmen interposing, the Storm was prevented: These things depend so much upon Men's Behaviour, that I can say I never received more Civility in all my Travels than at *Dover*, when, upon my Return, the Custom-house Officers, who were Two Rich Merchants, to whom I was recommended by another from *London*, sumptuously Treated me, and as many *Frenchmen* as I would, whom they desired I should bring along with me. Now, Sir, seeing you are desirous to know all my Adventures, I'll tell you, that I might not take Post, or be obliged to make use of the Stage Coach, I went from *Dover* to *London* in a Waggon, it was drawn by Six Horses one before another, and drove by a Waggoner, who walked by the Side of it: He was Cloathed in Black, and appainted in all things like another *St. George*; he had a Brave Mounteroo on his Head, and was a merry Fellow, fancy'd he made a Figure, and seemed mightily pleased with himself: It's necessary I should observe to you, for the better Understanding of what I shall say concerning the Humour of the Nation, and the Appearance the People make in City and Country, that you will meet with no Faces there that move Pity, nor no Habit that denotes Misery: Not but that they have Poor amongst them, as well as in other Parts; but their Poverty is not so great; they scarce want any Necessaries of Life, which when they have once obtained, their Idleness makes them careless of any

more ; their Pride keeps them back from pushing after Superfluities, which others take so much Pains to pursue.

Uncivility
to Stran-
gers.

I shall not enter upon a Detail of the Entertainment we met with upon the Road, because I understood it not ; but I learnt from a *Zealander*, with whom I spoke *Flemish*, that the *English* made large Reckonings, that the People were of a railing and backbiting Temper, as well as those on the Continent, and that an *Englishman* could not transform himself into another Man ; they are very Civil to one another, and use much Circumspection in their Conversation : But he is unhappy that cannot keep pace with them in their Language, for they are not wanting in making their Advantage of those who do not understand it. This I have experienced in Two Journeys, I mean this to *London*, and the other to *Oxford*, at both which times I found my self under great Inconveniency ; for my Fellow Travellers not only declined in their Inns to take Care as they ought of a Stranger, who could not tell how to make the People understand him, but I was as little regarded as if I had been a Bale of Goods ; nay, there were Attempts made to incommode me : I was desirous to shew my Civilities by my Interpreter to those who were not so much tainted with Rusticity, which they were so far from taking right, that they deemed it to be Railery, and an Affront, which embarrassed me so, that I must have recourse unto my Interpreter to be duly apprized of it : In my other Journey to *Oxford* I was not liable to the same Inconveniency, for I took a *French* Gentleman in the Coach with me, who spoke good *English*, and had been a Soldier under *Cromwell* for Seven Years together : He snubbed a Student that affronted him, and this
worthy

worthy Gentleman informed me that there are no People in the World so easily frightened into Subjection as the *English*: For as soon as ever you repress their Insolence, you do the same by their Courage; and all that they have is a Salley of Pride, to cover their Faint-heartedness and Cowardly Dispositions.

Kent appeared to me to be a very Fine and Fruit-^{County of}ful Country, especially in Apples and Cherries; and ^{Kent.} the Trees, which are planted in Rows every where, make as it were a continued Train of Gardens: The Country mounts up into little Hills, and the Valleys are beautified with an Eternal Verdure; and the Grass here seemed to me to be finer and of a better Colour than in other Places, and therefore 'tis fitter to make those Parterres, some of which are so even, that they Bowl upon them as easily as on a great Billiard Table: And as this is the usual Diversion of Gentlemen in the Country, they have thick Rowling Stones to keep the Green smooth: All the Country is full of Parks, which yield a delightful Prospect, and where you may see large herds of Deer; but their Gardens have no other Ornament than these Greens; and the best Castles you meet with are not to be compared with the least of above Four Thousand Pleasure Houses you have about *Paris*: However, it must be confessed the Eye cannot but be much delighted with the natural, and even neglected Beauty of the Country, and the *English* have reason to value it; for when *Clement VI.* gave the Fortunate Islands to *Lewis* of *Bavaria's* Son, and that they beat the Drum to raise Men in *Italy* for that Expedition, the *English* Ambassador who was then at *Rome* was presently alarmed, and left the Place, as supposing this Expedition could be designed against no other Country but his;

his: It's so cover'd with Trees, that it looks like a Forest when you view it from an Eminence, by reason of the Orchards and Quick-set Hedges, which enclose the Arable Lands and Meadows.

England
very well
describ'd by
Cambden.

There is no Country in the World so well known as *England*; for *Cambden*, by the Order of King *James I.* gave a Description of it, and for that end travell'd all over it, which took him up several Years: He followed the Course of the Rivers, and described every thing he met with on each Side of them: He made several Journeys into the open Countries, penetrated through Forests, and cross'd over Mountains, to compleat his Design; so that he discovered every thing that was worth observing, exactly set down the Situation of the least Castle, and imbellished the whole with History, Genealogies, and the Alliances of the most considerable Families. His Book makes up the most Curious Part of *Blaeu's Atlas*: *Cambden* says, the whole Island of *Great-Britain* is 1836 Miles in Circumference, and *Speed* makes the length of it, from *South* to *North*, to reach from 50 to 60 Degrees, and 30 Minutes, and that *England* contains 9285 Parishes, 25 Bishopricks, and Two Archbishopricks, viz. *Canterbury* and *York*.

The City of *Canterbury* is the Metropolis of the County of *Kent*; it's surrounded with a Wall, which most of the Towns in *England* have not, tho' 'tis not their Largeness that deprives them of this Ornament, or Defence: For tho' this Place has the Advantage of being the Capital of one of the finest Counties of the Kingdom, it's not much larger than *Montargis*: The Houses are low, and the Stories scarce high enough for a Man of a middle Size, who can touch the Ceiling

ing with his Hand. They glaze their Windows on the outside, and fix the same to the Wall, only they leave a Casement to open in the middle; and this they do only in the upper Rooms, for below their Windows have Iron Bars on the inside, and a Curtain to draw before them in the Night, without any Shutters, which is a Sign that they are neither afraid of Insults, nor Robbing. Besides, their Windows are very low, and scarce higher than a Man's Waste, as he goes along the Street. This is a common thing all *England* over, that they raise their Buildings Balcony-wise into several Angles, or Semi-Circles, like so many little Towers, that are an Ornament without to the Houses, when you are once accustomed to the Sight. This makes the Rooms more Commodious, Lighter, and you may see without being discerned your self what is done at the Corners of the Streets, whereas we can only behold what is straight before us. The Stories of their Houses jet out one above another, so that the highest Rooms are larger than the lowest, and you can pass along the Streets without being so much as wet with Rain. The Body of the Cathedral is 23 Rods in length, that is 512 Feet; hence you go up to Two Choirs, erected behind one another, each having 20 Steps to them; they are supported by Three Rows of a kind of Serpentine Pillars, of the *Gothick* Order, and under the Choirs they Preach in *French*, but the *English* Service is in the Chapter adjoining to the first Choir: There is a small River runs by *Canterbury*, which turns some Miles, and waters the Meadows and Gardens, that are about the City.

Rochester is much larger than *Canterbury*, *Rochester*. if you take in the Suburbs, which run out above Half a League along the *Medway*, upon which
the

the Town stands: It is distant Seven Miles from *Gravesend* and the Sea: We went out of Town over a Stone Bridge, that consists of several Arches, and is adorned with a Parapet of Iron Balusters, Six Foot high, to hinder People from going upon it, and their Hats to be blown away with the Wind. From this Bridge you have a very agreeable Prospect of the River, and of the Suburbs of *Canterbury*, as far as *Chatham*, where most of the Men of War are Built, and where, after their Return home from Sea they are usually laid up.

Gravesend. *Gravesend*, where I lay, is not much inferior to *Rocheſter*, tho' it is not a Bishop's See; but the Mouth of the *Thames*, and the Neighbourhood of *London*, makes it pleasant enough: You daily meet with something new here to divert you; and this Noble River, for near 20 Miles from hence to the Capital of *England*, is cover'd with Vessels of all Sorts: You go up and down twice aday by the Help of the Tide, and that with so much Ease, that your Passage seldom exceeds Five or Six Hours. The Banks of the *Thames* are not delightful near *Gravesend*, as they are some Miles higher up, because they are nothing but Chalk-Pits, but after you have past them, you have nothing but continued Villages till you come to *London*. There is scarce any thing to be seen on each Side of the River but Ship Carpenters, and Multitudes of all Sorts of Persons imploy'd in Building and Fitting out Vessels for Sea; you have them of all Ages and Sizes; and 'tis surprizing to see what a vast Number there is of them. *Greenwich* lyes about half Way on the Left, where the Queen-Mother has a Fine Pleasure-house.

Being

Being come to *London*, I took up as convenient Lodgings as I could, the better to satisfy my Curiosity, and pitched upon *Covent-Garden*, to which the *French* that Travel, and have Business at Court, usually resort as to an Exchange. It's not far from *Whitehall*, nor *Somerset-House*, and 'tis certainly the Finest Place in the City, or rather Suburbs; for you go into *Westminster* out of the City through *Temple-Bar*, and 'tis as long as from the *Pontneuf* to *Chailliot*, Two Thirds of this Space reaching to the breadth of Seven or Eight Parallel Streets: Most of our young *French*, who go to *London*, know no more as it were than this Quarter only, and go no farther by Land than the *Old-Exchange*, or by Water to the *Tower*, and therefore they say *London* is but a Gut of a City. As for my Part I went into all the Parts of it, and was surprized with the Vastness of this City, so that I shall not stick to say that it is larger, and has more Houses in it, than *Paris*; tho' I must add, it has not so many People, and that in many other Things it's not to be compared to it.

The Houses in *London* are not so high as those in *Paris*, nor so full of People, being not so commodious for letting Lodgings: There is scarce above One Family in a House, unless it be about the *New-Exchange* and the Court, where there are a great many Lodgers, and Rooms furnished, and lett at reasonable Rates, and a Crown a Week will serve very well. I had One at that Price, One Pair of Stairs, near *Salisbury-House*, for I was very desirous to be frequently with Mr. *Hobbs*, who lived with the Earl of *Devonshire*, his Patron, of whose Admirable Qualifications I have many Things to say to you: *Covent-Garden* is not altogether so large as the *Place-Royale*,
City of
London.

Covent-
Garden.

New-Exchange.

Old-Exchange.

Business of London.

Royale, but 'tis much finer, as well because it stands high, as that it has Houses erected only on Two Sides of it, the Third being the Front of a very Fine Church, and the Fourth the Gardens of *Bedford-House*, whose Trees you can see above the Walls, which are very low. The Houses of *Covent-Garden* are more stately than ours, by reason the Arches are higher, and the Portico larger, being raised Two Steps, and the whole paved with large Squares of Free-Stone. The *New-Exchange* is not far off, it stands in the High Street, called the *Strand*, and consists of Two double Galleries, one above another, with Eight Rows of Shops: It's Built of Black Stone, and as long as from the beginning of the *Dauphine's* Gallery, to the end of that of the *Prisoners*. I'll leave you to judge whether there are not Fine Goods to be had there, as well as Fine Shop-Women. But the *Old-Exchange*, with its Four Galleries only, claims the Preference before it, and these Galleries are Built over the Place where the Merchants meet. So far, Sir, did that Part of the Town where I fixed appear to me by much the best, because 'tis that which is frequented by our Countrymen, and also by People of Quality, and is the Finest and most Regular Building in *London*. I say, *London*, tho' 'tis usual for those who live in this Part of the Town to say, *I go to London*, for indeed 'tis a Journey for those who live near *Westminster*: 'Tis true, they may sometimes get thither in a quarter of an Hour by Water, which they cannot do in less than Two Hours by Land, for I am perswaded no less Time will be necessary to go from one end of its Suburbs to the other; and I would not undertake to walk it where 'tis broadest, and that is from *Shoreditch* over the *Bridge*, even beyond *St. George's*

George's Fields, in less than Three quarters of an Hour, by which you may compute the Bigness of *London*: But, as I observed before, our Countrymen, who go thither, do not see a quarter of it, and it requires a Year's time to live in it before you can have a very exact Idea of the Place, which yet I have not, tho' I know so much as to write to you as I do.

Lincolns-Inn-Fields is a Square, and much larger than our *Place-Royale*. It consists of Three Rows of Buildings, the Houses are stately, and each of them has a low Wall before it, which hinders the Sight of the Ground-Rooms. It were to be wished they would alter them into Iron Rails, which would not only be an Ornament to them, but make the Square appear larger. There is a Fine Inn of Court, called *Lincolns-Inn*, on one Side of it. *Moor-Fields* is another Place, forming Two great Squares, enclosed within Rails; from the first of them you go up to the second, and thence to the third, all of them beset with Trees from one Corner to another. *Smithfield-Rounds*, which is Triangular, and several other Places of less Note, I pass over, and I shall not take upon me to give an Account of the New Buildings carried on towards *St. James's*, which cannot be Inferior to those of *Belle-Court* at *Lyons*: There are but few Publick Fountains in this City, and those few that are, instead of being an Ornament to those Places and Streets where they are to be met with, do but offend the Sight, for they are nothing but nasty Square Towers, into which there is an Entrance by Two little Doors to draw Water, which goes unobserved by Strangers, without they are informed that they are Water Conduits.

Fountains.

The

A Journey to England.

The City House, which they call *Guild-Hall*, is an inconsiderable Building, and stands in a narrow Street: It serves instead of a Hall for Clothiers, where they bring all the Cloth they have to Sell on certain Days in the Week, tho' *Drapers-Hall* stands near the *Old-Exchange*, which has a Fine Garden to it. I am not to forget the vast Number of Booksellers Shops I have observed in *London*; for besides those who are set up here and there in the City, they have their particular Quarters, such as *St. Paul's-Church-Yard*, and *Little-Britain*, where there is twice as many as in the *Rue Saint Jacques* in *Paris*, and who have each of them Two or Three Ware-houses.

Shops.

I must tell you before I proceed to other more curious Observations, that perhaps there is no City in the World that has so many, and such Fine Shops; the Stallage is not very rich, but the Sight is agreeable; for they are large, and the decorations are as valuable as those of the Stage; the Scene is new everywhere, which extreamly pleases and attracts the Eye as we go along: The Publick Buildings are not very remarkable; and there are no other than *White-Hall* and Two Churches we have Occasion to speak of, and we have not much to say of them neither: The great Hall belonging to the Court is a new Building, erected for extraordinary Audiences, and to entertain Ambassadors or Members of Parliament, and therefore 'tis called the Banqueting-House: It looks very stately, because the rest of the Palace is ill Built, and nothing but a heap of Houses, erected at divers times, and of different Models, which they made Contiguous in the best Manner they could for the Residence of the Court; which yet makes it a more Commodious Habitation than the *Louvre*, for it contains above
Two

Two Thousand Rooms, and that between a Fine Park and a Noble River, so that 'tis admirably well Situated for the Conveniency of walking, and going about Business into the City.

St. James's-Park is at least as large again *St. James's* as the Garden of the Palace of *Orleans*; near *St. James's-House*, where the Duke of *York* resides, there is a *Mall* of 850 Geometrical Paces in length, beset with Two Rows of large Trees, and near a small Wood, from whence you may see a Fine Mead, a Long Canal, *Westminster-Abbey*, and the Suburbs, which afford an admirable Prospect: The King hath Erected a tall Pile in this *Park*, the better to make use of Telescopes, with which Sir Robert Murray shew'd me *Saturn* and the Satellites of *Jupiter*: The most remarkable Churches in *London* are that of *West-* *Westminster*, formerly an Abbey of Benedictines, and *ster*, the other of *Paul's*, for thus they familiarly name the Church Dedicated to that Saint.

It's the longest that I have seen, and not above *St. Paul's* half the length of it made use of; the other Part in *Cromwell's* Time was made a Stable and Guard-House for his Troopers; and there was Room enough still left for a Hall, of which *Cromwell* endeavoured to make an Advantage, as well as of the Buildings without the Church, which hide the Frontispiece of it: All the other Churches are Built after the Protestant Way, *Churches* and are no more than great Anditories, with Galleries to them, for to Preach in only, and recite some Scraps of a Liturgy, at which few Persons are present; for the People have an Aversion to it; and the National Religion, now set up, is not that which is most followed.

Religion.

And here, Sir, give me leave to tell you that the King of *England* has done the boldest thing that could have been attempted, in Re-establishing Episcopacy with so high a Hand, That having been the Stumbling-Block in his Father's Time: The Presbyterians are very numerous here, and all the other Sects may one Day Unite with them against the Hierarchy. By Hierarchy I mean the Government of the Church by Bishops, tho' to speak properly, they are no more than a Shadow of the Order, and a Corruption of the True Hierarchy, which is nowhere to be found but in the Church of *Rome*. The Bishops in *England* are not brought back under the Conduct of the Chief of their Order, and the Spiritual Power is Subordinate to the Temporal; so that the King here is accounted to be the Head of the Church of *England*, and they mention him as such in their Public Prayers. It must necessarily have come to that pass, since the Schism in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* which withdrew the Kingdom of *England* from under the Obedience of the See of *Rome*, and that for Abominable Reasons, that are known to all the World. Upon this Revolution they retained what External Face they could of the Catholick Religion, and this is what the Puritans complain of to this Day. Their Tenets, as well as those of their Adversaries, are almost equally destructive; and there is no great Matter of Difference between them as to Doctrinals. The Presbyterians make no Boggle at the Essentials of the Church and their Consciences are not squeamish in that Respect; but their Ambition is not satisfied, and their Interest makes them oppose its Discipline: The main Point is, that the Bishops have the Honour and Profit on their Side; while the inferior Clergy are mean enough,

enough, and cannot without great Difficulty Preach: However, they do not expose themselves so as to alledge these for the real Causes of their Discontent; but they find they are under a Necessity of producing more plausible Pretences.

Wherefore they are pleased to say, that the Episcoparians are not come off as much as they should from *Rome*; and that so much External Conformity with the Romanists, as is to be seen in the *English Churches*, inclines People to return to the Communion and Practice of their Ancestors, and to embrace the same Doctrine: In short, it looks as if Matters of Faith have been no otherwise regarded from the time of the first Defection of the Nation, unless it were to put them upon a Separation from the Order and Discipline of the Church, and therefore they have quarrelled only with those Articles which came nearest to them: Hereticks have done the same thing in Divinity, which 'tis said the *Turks* have been wont to do in their Empire, which was to make a vast Desolation between them and those Powers they had most Reason to fear: They have endeavoured to destroy the Harmony between the Apostles Creed, and that which is taught in the Catholick Church, in Conformity to that Abridgment of the Doctrine of Christianity; insomuch that those who are Enemies to Sound Divinity, being not able to find amidst the Defects of their own the Agreement there is between our first common Principles, and the whole of our Doctrine and Discipline, it seems to them as if there were none at all. I will not take upon me to give you a more particular Explanation of this Matter; for you cannot but of your self discern that the Controversies raised about the

The Presbyterians are Enemies to the Bishops.

Method of Hereticks.

Eucharist, Purgatory, Meritorious Works, the Primacy of *Peter*, the Succession of the Popes, Authority of Councils, Infallibility of the Catholick Church, come short of being Fundamental Points, and have been called in Question for no other End than to make Way for Schism and Rebellion, by which they would have an Opportunity of withdrawing themselves from under the Discipline, and to seize on the Revenues of the Church. The first thing they did upon their pretended Reformation, was to Seize the Church Lands, to Expel the Religious Orders; and in some Places their Fury carried them so far as to Demolish the Churches: It must be confessed that that was only done in *France*, and that the People of *England* used more Moderation than our Calvinists. And this is that which provokes the Puritans, I mean the pretended Reformed, according to the Model of *Geneva*, who are also called Presbyterians; but why I know not, unless it be that their Assemblies are Governed by Lay-Elders.

*Puritans
Envy the
Dignity
of
Bishops.*

These Men are continually Inveighing against the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which the King hath restored, and say, it's a Shame they should submit to these Prelates, or maintain that Bishops are the Apostles Successors, (which is very true in the Catholick Church,) and that they have the same Authority over the Inferior Clergy, as the others had over the Seventy Disciples; that they should have Admission to the House of Lords; and that some of them had been Lords High Treasurers of *England*: I cannot tell whether any among the Presbyterian Ministers would refuse this Great Office if it was offered them; and whether they would adjudge it to be incompatible with their Ministry and Integrity: For they cannot

not produce any Solid Reasons why the Treasury can be put into better Hands than those of Men of Fortune, or such as make a more particular Profession of Religion and Piety: Nevertheless, I have heard the Puritans exclaim against Dr. *Fuxon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his being Treasurer, as a great Crime; and 'tis certain that Archbishop *Laud*, his Predecessor, lost his Life for no other Reason but because of his being a great Favourite of the late King, and for the Vigour with which he served his Royal Master, during the time of his Prime Ministry: You are no Stranger to the History of that Time, but perhaps you do not know as well as I do all the particular Objections the Presbyterians have against Episcopal Government.

They oppose as much as possibly they can an Oath put to the Clergy, called Canonical Obedience, which is a kind of Form, whereby they acknowledge that the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and whatever else depends upon this pretended Hierarchy, hath nothing in it that is repugnant to the Word of

Presbyterians find fault with Episcopal Government.

God: They are not willing to submit to the Jurisdiction of Spiritual Courts, and to Ecclesiastical Censures: And 'tis not to be wondred that they have such an Aversion for Bishops, if what some Men lay to their Charge is true; that they very much abuse their Jurisdiction, by imposing Penalties upon People, and pronouncing Excommunications for frivolous Offences, by Virtue of which they will refuse them Christian Burials in their Church-Yards: Besides, the Presbyterians lay Pluralities to their Charge, as being incompatible with their Cures, which must be neglected, and that those who have great Benefices leave them usually to the Care of their Servants,

or other despicable Persons: They also take Notice of this Difference between a Bishop and a Clergyman of an Inferior Rank, that this last durst not speak, nor be covered in his Presence; and the Bishops have so Absolute a Disposal of every thing, that they neither consult with the Chapter or any other Council about them.

*Other
Faults
found.*

That which the Presbyterians still find more fault with is, that the Church has Festival Days, (some of which are Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,) as also Altars, Consecration of Churches, Bowing to the Name of Jesus, Burning of Candles, Kneeling, Mitres, Surplices, Copes, Crosses, Musick, and Baptizing with the Sign of the Cross: They are frightned with the Names of Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chapters, Canons, Officials, Vicars and Curates; but that which enrages them most, is the *English* Liturgy, and 'tis upon that Account that they rose up in Arms about Four and Twenty Years ago: This Matter justly requires us to look back a little, and you will not be sorry that I take up some small Part of your Time to set this Affair in its true Light.

*The Re-
suming of
Church Be-
nefices e-
rected into
Baronies,
the Cause of
the Civil
War.*

The Yearly Incomes of divers Ecclesiastical Benefices in *Scotland*, having at the Beginning of the pretended Reformation been reunited to the Demesns of the Crown, the Government was little the better for it; because the same were freely given away to the younger Sons of Gentlemen, and Noblemen, who wanted them: The Gentlemen finding the Sweet of them, and having frequently obtained Survivorships, they came to look upon these Estates to be their own; from whence pushing farther, and abusing the King's Liberality, they got the most considerable Benefices, or several

ral put together, Erected into Baronies, and this during the Minority of *James VI.* about the Year 1567. That Learned Prince came in time to be sensible he had his Hands tied up, and was by that Means become incapable of rewarding Men of Merit, or recompensing his own Servants, which put him upon recalling those Grants. But as he found much Opposition from those Lords who possess these new Baronies, he desisted in the Year 1617: But his Son, *Charles I.* out of Favour to the Clergy, undertook the Business with more Vigour in 1633. The Interested Nobility thereupon excited the Puritanical Clergy to oppose it; they took the Scent, but more especially stomach'd the *English* Liturgy, which was at that time designed to be introduced amongst them, that so there might be an Uniformity of Worship in the Three Kingdoms: Tho' it was the Interest of the poor Clergy, the King should resume those Church Lands, that he might the better augment their Livings, which were very mean. But the Animosity they bore to the Catholic Church blinded them, and they assisted the Barons to kindle a Civil War, the Origin of which is sufficient for me to observe to you, without entring upon a Detail of farther Particulars.

The Presbyterians at last having suffered by the Independents, as well as by the Conformists, (for so they call those who were inclined to receive the Liturgy,) had good Grounds to submit to the King's Pleasure, and to Conform themselves to the Thoughts of the Archbishop, his Prime Minister: In short, the Presbyterians were the People that restored the King to his Throne, and this is the Reason of their railing at present against him, now they are Persecuted by the Laws, or rather,

ther curbed by a timous Remedy provided against the pernicious Inconveniences, which, the Toleration they enjoyed, had produced: It's most certain they are of a Republican Spirit, and that according to the Rules of Policy, the Episcopal Government of the Church, as bad as 'tis, is better for the King than that of the Presbyterians. For the Hierarchy inspires People with Respect to those who are Supream over them, and is a Support to the Monarchy.

I know very well that you expect I should upon this Occasion give you an Account of the People called Quakers, and of all the other Sorts of Sectaries said to be in *England*; but they are not perhaps so many, nor such as we may imagin, or some have writ of; and indeed I have found my self formerly mistaken herein, when I thought to have met an Hundred Sort of Anabaptists or Visionaries in *Holland*; I mean so many Bodies or Societies living under some particular Discipline, and designing some Sort of Regularity in their Ways. I have found People every where making Profession of extraordinary Zeal, or distinguishing themselves from others, in order to be taken notice of upon the Account of their singular Opinions. And the Disputes which for a long time have been Rife in *France*, about a Thing of Nothing, as whether the Five Propositions of *Fansenius* are to be found in the Scripture or not, shews us plainly that we our selves are subject to Extravagances, Ambition, or Opinionativeness. But to speak the Truth, there never was but Two Sorts of Religions in *England* that were publickly exercised, and they are the Episcopal and Presbyterian; the last of which is degenerated into Arminianism, Socinianism, and Menonism. But there are several
Sub.

Subdivisions into other Sects, all which endeavoured to unite into One Body in the Time of the Civil War, under the Name of Independents. This Sort of Jumbling or Incorporation^{Independents.} was such, that nothing could be thought of that would suit so well with *Cromwell's* Designs; and the Independents were a Sort of People who gave a Loose to their Thoughts, would depend upon the Authority of no Synod, or other Political Order, but would have every thing that concerned the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church to be managed and regulated by Private Assemblies: Tho' this could never be effected, for there never was any Church or visible Society that could be called Independent; it was only the Fabrick of Private Men, who from time to time found some Materials towards it. There was indeed a certain Vintner in *Cheapside*, who went twice or thrice a Week to the Parliament-House, and committed some Extravagancies; and *London* has afforded a small Company of Fanaticks, who run up and down the Streets, to excite the People to Rebellion; but no Body followed them, and they were soon quelled: Several of them have been taken; and every Body knows the Treatment of *James Naylor*, who was another *John of Leyden*, but more Innocent than that Master Taylor, whose Skeleton^{Simony.} is still to be seen at *Munster*: As to the Conduct of the Bishops here, in respect to the Temporalities, we are not to forget that these good Prelates behave themselves in so odious a manner as in Time may occasion Disorder and Trouble; for a Person being promoted to a Bishoprick in his advanced Years, (as I have known some at the Age of Seventy) that he may raise a good Sum of Money for the Advancement of his Family, he Leases out his Revenue for Thirty Years,

Years, letting the same for less than half of what 'tis worth, and reserving only some small Acknowledgment, and by this Means receives in a manner at once all the Income they should have had in that Time, if they had granted Leases without Fraud, that is, without any Diminution of the just Revenue: So that his Successor, if the Bishop dies Three Days after, is obliged to live Thirty Years upon One Half only of the Revenue, which was not put into the Pocket of the deceased's Relations. But how can this be avoided in a Country where they laugh at Prohibiting of Priests to Marry, and where they are not afraid of Simony.

*Condition
of the Ro-
man Ca-
tholicks.*

This is, Sir, all I can say to you in reference to the many Religions *England* is pester'd with; for as to the Condition of the *Roman* Catholicks, they continue to be oppressed here, and I can see no likelihood of their being restor'd again. The Foreign Romanists are more zealous than the Natives, tho' not more numerous, the latter being Born under Servitude, and used to the Want of our Ceremonies; they have never seen the Churches open for them; they are subject to some Insults, but bating that, live easily enough, so that they neither can nor will hazard any thing to make their Condition better. Nay, they esteem it to be a Point of Merit to wait with Patience till God does his own Work, delivers them from their Captivity, and restores the Church to its Antient Splendour in the Three Kingdoms: But now to the rest of my Journal, and other less Serious Things.

Mr. Hobbs. As I went over into *England* to visit my Friends, and the Learned Men in that Nation, and to be farther instructed in Matters of Literature, and the Sciences, as well as to see the Country, and inform

my

my self as to other Things that should occur to me; the first thing I did, as soon as I came to *London*, was to seek out Mr. *Hobbs*, and Mr. *Montconis*, the better to satisfy my Curiosity: I found the first of them much the same Man as I had seen him 14 Years before, and even in the same Posture in his Chamber as he was wont to be every Afternoon, wherein he betook himself to his Studies, after he had been walking about all the Morning. This he did for his Health, of which he ought to have the greatest Regard, he being at this Time 78 Years of Age. Besides which, he plays so long at Tennis once a Week till he is quite tired. I found very little Alteration in his Face, and none at all in the Vigour of his Mind, Strength of Memory, and Cheerfulness of Spirit; all which he perfectly retain'd. As for Mr. *Montconis*, I found him in his Element, full of the Conversation of Physicians, and talking of nothing but Machines, and new Experiments.

He shewed me his Journal, which was so curious, and wherein he had so exactly collected all that he was to describe, and particularly what was done by the Royal-Society, that his Diligence made me more remiss, in collecting all those Things anew my self. We shall one time or other see what he has done, and if he will follow my Advice, he will publish it with his other Journals of *Egypt*, *Jerusalem*, and *Constantinople*, which I have so often pressed him to do. He mentions several new Inventions, which scarce can be believed, without we had seen them experimented; particularly an Instrument which of itself shews all the Alterations of the Weather that shall happen in the Space of 24 Hours, whether Wind, Rain, Cold, or Heat, which

*Mons. de**Montconis.**New Inventions.*

which is done by the Help of a Pendulum Clock, a Thermometer, a Compass, and a Weather-Cock, which makes a Rule go with a Crayon. Dr. *Willis*, I found, had a Way to make a Piece of Iron, moderately heated, to calcine, without the Help of any other Corrosive, and the same being put into Water, to melt. I was informed that Dr. *Wallis* had brought a Person that was Born Deaf and Dumb to Read at *Oxford*, by teaching him several Inflexions fitted to the Organs of his Voice, to make it articulate: They had also found out a Way to Blow up Ships with a Petard in the Water, and to join several short Boards one to another, without any thing underneath to support them, which are neither nailed nor jointed, so that you may make as large a Floor as you will. The Furnace of M. *Kuffler*, *de Dreb- bell's* Son-in-law, whom I saw formerly at the *Hague*, and who had so much Success in the Dying of Scarlet at *Arnheim*, is remarkable, because it opens and shuts of it self, as there is Occasion for more or less Heat: So is an Oven, which for Five Penniworth of Wood shall Bake a vast Quantity of Bread, without burning it. You have also Salt Water distilled, so as to make it drinkable; Five Peniworth of which shall serve a Hundred Persons. They have an Instrument, by which a Man that has never learnt, may Design and Draw all Sorts of Objects; and that is done by observing through a Quill the Head of a Pin fixed to the End of a Rule, which is convey'd through all the Lineaments of the Object, while the Rule, that moves equally with it, by the Help of a Lead, makes the same Way with One of its End as the Pin does with the other, and this impresses upon Paper with a Pencil all the Lines
you

you have a Mind to Draw: One of the most Curious Things I had a Mind to see, was a Water-Engine, invented by the Marquis of *Worcester*, of which he had made an Experiment. I went on Purpose to see it at *Fox-Hall*, on the other Side of the *Thames*, a little above *Lambeth*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Palace, standing in Sight of *London*. One Man, by the Help of this Machine, raised Four large Buckets full of Water in an Instant, Forty Foot high, and that through a Pipe of about Eight Inches long; which Invention will be of greater Use to the Publick, than that very Ingenious Machine, already made use of, and raised upon Wooden Work above *Somerſet-Houſe*, that ſupplies Part of the Town with Water, but with great Difficulty, and in leſs Quantity than could be wiſhed. This is almoſt like unto that we call our *Samaritan* at the *Pontneuf* of *Paris*; and ſome Impulſe is added to the aſpiring Pump, or that which draws up Water by Attraction, which increaſes the Force of it. But that which is done with us by the Current of the *Siene* is effected by them with a Horſe or Two, that turns the Machine round continually: Becauſe the Tide alters the Courſe of the *Thames* twice a-day; and the Wheels which ſerve at the Tide of Ebb will not do when the Water flows. It was in Company with *Monf. Montconis* that I made my firſt Viſit to *Sir Robert Murray*, and *Monf. Oldenburg*: I did not want an Excuse for viſiting them, and I found they were not Strangers to my Name. I had writ to the firſt of theſe Gentlemen about Two Years before, when he was Preſident of the Society, and it was by the Order of *Monf. Montmor*, that I had a Letter of Civility ſent me, upon the Account of a Meeting held at his Houſe, tho' at a time

*Curious and
Learned
Persons.*

Sir R. Mur-

time when some Domestick Affliction would not allow him to make me an Answer according to his Desire: I had seen the other several times at *Paris*; in my own House, and in the Meeting held at *Monf. Montmor's*, where he constantly attended with the Lord *Ranelagh*, Mr. *Boyle's* Nephew, who was under his Tuition: This Curious *German* having well improved himself by his Travels, and pursuant to the Advice of *Montagne*, rubbed his Brains against those of other People, was upon his Return into *England* entertained as a Person of great Merit, and so made Secretary to the Royal Society; and Sir *Robert Murray* was one of the Zealous Promoters of him. It was a wonderful, or rather a very edifying Thing, to find a Person imploy'd in Matters of State, and of such Excellent Merit, and one who had been engaged a great Part of his Life in Warlike Commands, and the Affairs of the Cabinet, apply himself in making Machines in *St. James's Park*, and adjusting Telescopes. All this we have seen him do with great Application, and undoubtedly to the Confusion of most of the Courtiers, who never mind the Stars, and think it a Dishonour to concern themselves with any thing, but inventing of new Fashions: Wherefore, Sir, I beheld with Astonishment the Eagerness with which this Learned *Scotchman* advanced the Knowledge of Nature, and the Conveniencies of Life, which might be attained to from this Science of Mechanism: It's certain that the Familiarity wherewith he treated me, made me entertain a far greater Respect for him, than otherwise I should have done, had he been always upon the Reserve, and made it his Business to conceal his Ignorance, under the Mask of Gravity. I made
him

him frequent Visits very much to my Satisfaction; having never had the Honour to see him, but I learnt something of him. He was so kind as to introduce me to Prince *Rupert*, who is of ^{Prince Rupert,} the same Frank Temper, Kind, Modest, very Curious, and takes no State upon him: Tho' his Birth, Excellent Genius, and Illustrious Actions, both by Sea and Land, by which he is become one of the greatest Heroes of the Age, might justly have made him more Haughty, and to keep himself at a greater Distance. Sir *Robert Murray* brought me likewise into the King's Presence, who is a Lover of the Curiosities of Art and Nature: He took the Pains to bring me into the Royal-Society, and had the Goodness almost every time, that I attended there, ^{Royal-Society.} to seat me next himself, that so he might interpret to me whatever was said in *English*. I remember the first time that I was there, a Country Gentleman made a very handsome Discourse concerning the Diseases of Corn, and recounted about an Hundred Curious Observations he had made upon the Seed before it was sown, upon the Plant before it was reaped, and upon the Ear till reduced to Meal: He spoke of a certain Grain of a vast Bigness, that suddenly sprouted out into Ear, like an Excrescence, and is a Sort of Poison, which might cause Epidemical Distempers, of which we are not yet aware. But seeing we are now come to the Royal-Society, it's proper we should say something of it, till such time as we have the History of its Foundation for our fuller Information, of which we have some Expectation.

England in all Times has produced excellent ^{English} Genius's, who have delighted in the Study of Na- ^{Physicians.} ture; and tho' there had been no other than
Gilbert,

Gilbert, Harvey, and Bacon, that had apply'd themselves to this Science, this Country might dispute for Precedency with *France* and *Italy*, who Glory in their *Galileus, Descartes, and Gas-sendus*. But to speak the Truth, the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* has surpass'd all the rest in the Vastness of his Designs, and that Learned and Judicious Tablature he has left us, usefully to reduce the Knowledge we have in Natural Things into Practice, without being incommoded with the Disputes of the Schools, to the End we may apply them to Mechanism, and resolve the Difficulties that occur to us in our Lives: This undoubtedly is the greatest Man for the Interest of Natural Philosophy that ever was, and the Person that first put the World upon making Experiments that Way. But as this is not the Business of private Men, who will but undo themselves by it, we must wait for such a Conjunction, wherein Princes and Great Men will engage in the Pursuit of such Curiosities.

*Persons of
Quality Cu-
rious.*

*The King
himself Cu-
rious.*

Wherefore it came to pass in the Civil War, which terminated in the Ruin of the late King, and the long Eclipse of the Monarchy, from which the Three Kingdoms are at this Day happily freed, that Persons of Quality having no Court to make, apply'd themselves to their Studies; some turning their Heads to Chymistry, others to Mechanism, Mathematicks, or Natural Philosophy; the King himself has been so far from being neglectful of these things, that he has attained to so much Knowledge, as made me astonished, when I had Audience of his Majesty, of which I shall give you all the Particulars: Those same Persons who had found their Account in their respective Studies, would not, after the King's Return from so tedious an Exile, and the Settlement of a firm Peace,

Peace, be guilty of so much Ingratitude, as to leave them, and take upon them an Idle Court-Life; but they chose rather to intersperse these Sorts of Entertainments with their other Diversions, than to return to their former neglect of them, and so the Lords *Digby, Boyle, Bronker, Murray, Devonshire, Worcester*, and divers others (for the *English* Nobility are all of them Learned and Polite) Built Elaboratories, made Machines, opened Mines, and made use of an Hundred Sorts of Artists, to find out some new Invention or other. The King himself is not devoid of this Curiosity; nay, he has caused a Famous Chymist to be brought over from *Paris*, for whom he has Built a very Fine Elaboratory in *St. James's-Park*: But his Majesty more particularly takes great Delight in finding out useful Experiments in Navigation, wherein he has immense Knowledge. He ordered my Lord *Bronker*, while I was at *London*, to try some sort of Timber, and what Form could swim best on the Water, or easiest sink; upon which Occasion I heard them discourse of a Ship with Two Keels, that carried Two Fore-masts, and having Two Sails, drew more Wind, but less Water, and consequently must Sail faster than others. I do not know whether the Project took Effect; but this in general is very true, that the King's Curiosity, and that of the Nobility, has deeply engaged them in the Pursuit of Natural Philosophy: Since his Majesty has readily given Ear to the Proposals made to him for erecting an Academy, of which there never was the like in the World, if the Project comes to be entirely put in Execution. What has been already done deserves to be universally approved; what some of this Learned Society have already performed fills us with great Expectations; and I should sur-
D prize

prize you shou'd I but partly give you an Account of the Curious Things which the Immortal Works of Mr. *Boyl*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Charleton*, and *Glissonius*, contain : The First has invented a *Pneumatick* Engine, with which he has tried a World of Experiments, that point out to us the Influence which the Rarefaction and Compression of the Air have upon Bodies, and by this Means we come to know the Cause of Rheumatisms, Contageous Distempers, and several other Indispositions and *Phænomena's* in Nature : But 'tis too tedious to enter now upon Particulars, I shall reserve them for our next Winter Entertainment, after I have first review'd their deep Notions in my Closet, into which I can perhaps give some farther Light, when I shall have reasoned and pondered upon them at my Leisure. The *English* Physicians have bethought themselves of a Method to make Astronomical Tables, whereby to know the true *Meridians* of the Earth, by observing the Eclipses of the *Satelites* of *Jupiter*; and as it frequently and almost daily comes to pass, the different Hour, wherein you observe them in divers Places, as they move from the West to East, will point out to you the Difference of the *Meridians* : These Excellent Persons have Noble Thoughts, and put the same very Artfully in Execution ; witness a Lunar Globe, upon which the Eminencies are represented in their due Proportion, which I saw in the King's Closet. His Majesty put me upon admiring it, and was pleased to tell me, that the Author had observed that Star, spoken of by *Hevelius*, which is in the Whale, and which appears and disappears every Four Months, removing in distance from the Earth, as upon a straight Line, without drawing nearer in Appearance to any Neighbouring Star ;
the

the Increase and Diminution of it in Bulk being a manifest Proof of its drawing nearer, and at other times removing farther off from us. The King finding me very intent in observing every thing that occurred, had the Goodness to shew me the Dimensions sent him of a *Scotch* Child of Two Years of Age, and he was pleased to give way to my Curiosity in setting down such and such certain Dimensions in my Table Book, which his Majesty had taken the Pains to measure himself, according to the *English* Foot, that is less than the *French* one. The Wrist was Six Inches and Three Quarters long, the Jaw Eight Inches and a half, the Arm above the Elbow Six and Three Quarters, the thickest Part of the Leg Eleven and Three Quarters, the Neck Fifteen and a Quarter, the Thigh Nineteen and about an Eighth Part, the Body from the Armpits downwards Nine and Twenty Inches and Three Quarters, the Body was Thirty-two Inches thick, and this Infant was Thirty-seven Inches and Three quarters long.

The Royal-Society of *London* is Founded by *Particulars* the King's Letters Patent, who gave them *Gresham* concerning *Colledge*, (Built by a Merchant of that Name *the Royal-Society* in *Bishopsgate Street*) where they meet every *Wednesday*: I do not know whether there is any Revenue yet settled for the Maintenance of those Persons who manage the Machines, and for an Usher or Beadle, who goes before the President with a Mace, which he lays down on the Table, when the Society have taken their Places: But I have been informed, that they afterwards settled a Fund of Four Thousand Livres for the Maintenance of Two Learned Men in the Colledge, whose Business it was to give the Society an Account of what was contained in those Books they

would have Read by them, and to this End they have already begun a Library adjoining to a Gallery, through which they go out of the Hall, where the Society meets: As you have on the other Side, and before the same Hall a very handsome Antichamber, and Two more, in One of which the Council is held; without reckoning the Lodgings appointed for the Two Professors, who out of Ancient Authors Collect Natural and Mechanical Experiments, which are examined in order to ascertain the Truth or Falshood of them to Posterity, whilst they in like manner make new ones of their own. The Room where the Society meets is large, and Wainscotted; there is a large Table before the Chimney, with Seven or Eight Chairs covered with Green-cloth about it, and Two Rows of Wooden and Naked Benches to lean on, the First being higher than the other, in form like an Amphitheatre. The President and Council are Elective; they mind no Precedency in the Society, but the President sits at the middle of the Table in an Elbow Chair, with his Back to the Chimney. The Secretary sits at the End of the Table on his left Hand, and they have each of them Pen, Ink and Paper before them: I saw no Body sit on the Chairs, I think they are reserved for Persons of Great Quality, or those who have occasion to draw near to the President. All the other Members take their Places as they think fit, and without any Ceremony; and if any one comes in after the Society is fixed, no Body stirs, but he takes a Place presently where he can find it, that so no Interruption may be given to him that speaks. The President has a little Wooden Mace in his Hand, with which he strikes the Table when he would command Silence: They address their Discourse to him bare-headed, till he

he makes a Sign for them to put on their Hats; and there is a Relation given in a few Words of what is thought proper to be said concerning the Experiments proposed by the Secretary. There is no body here eager to speak, that makes a long Harangue, or intent upon saying all he knows: He is never interrupted that speaks, and Differences of Opinion cause no manner of Resentment, nor as much as a disobliging Way of Speech: There is nothing seemed to me to be more civil, respectful, and better managed than this Meeting; and if there are any private Discourses held between any while a Member is speaking, they only whisper, and the least Sign from the President causes a sudden stop, tho' they have not told their Mind out. I took special notice of this Conduct, in a Body consisting of so many Persons, and of such different Nations: For they admit them all into their Society; and lay no other Obligation upon them than to Sign an Instrument, by which they promise to observe the Statutes of the Society; to be present as often as they can at their Meetings, and especially those wherein they chuse Officers; to do or say nothing that may injure the Society; to honour and promote all they can the Interest of the same, as long as they are willing to continue Members of it; and such they are reputed to be till they have made a Renunciation of their Title in Writing. They did me the Honour to admit me to take that Oath, and I very readily signed the Instrument, at the same time that another was prepared for the King, by which his Majesty promised to Protect the Society, of which he called himself the Founder. I have pointed out to you, Sir, the Disposition of this Society, and you may readily guess whether any Scepticks are welcome

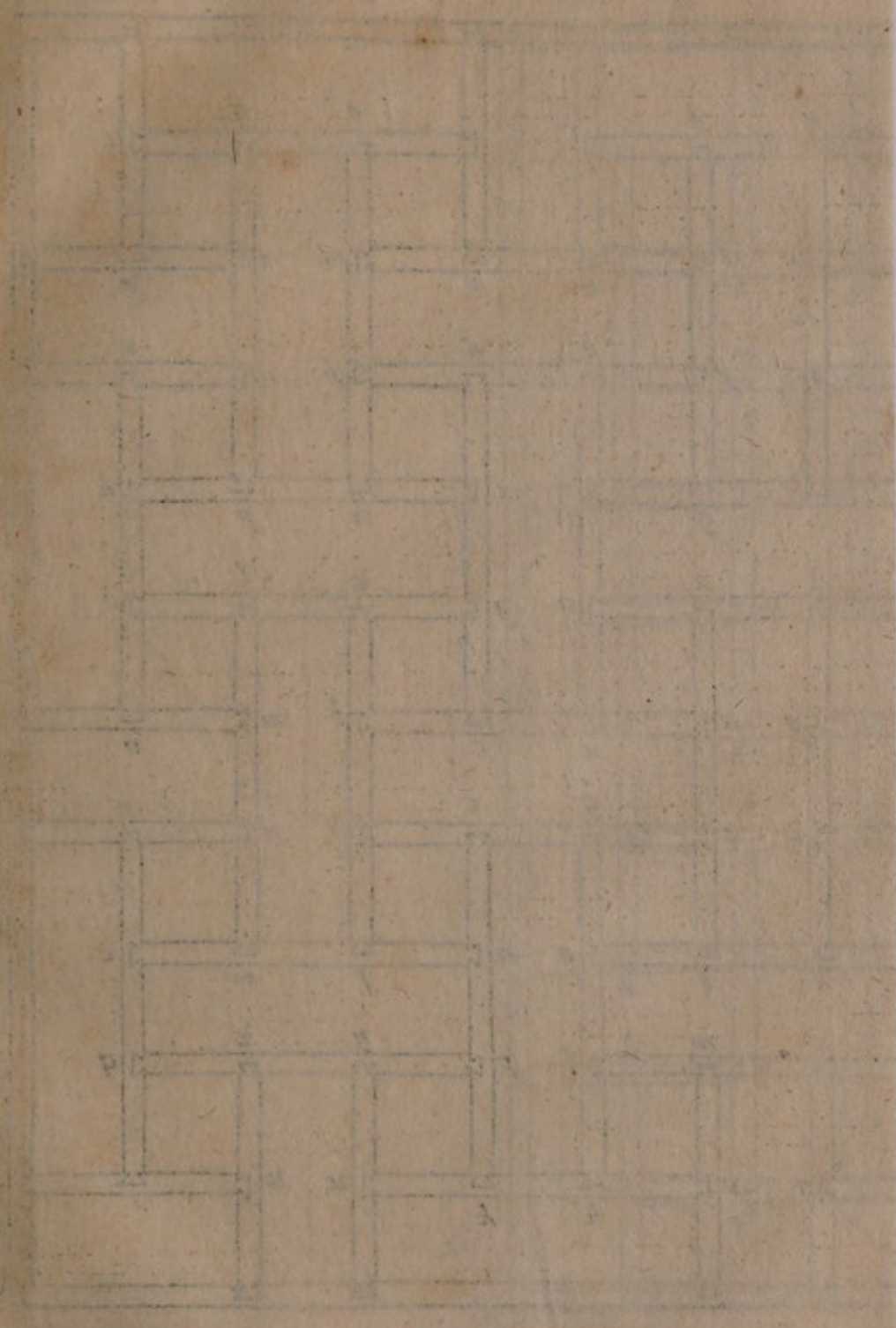
here: Their Arms are a Field Argent, representing a Blank Paper, and their Disinclination to all Sorts of Prejudices, with this Device, *Nullius in Verba*. In short, it cannot be discerned that any Authority prevails here; and whereas those who are meer Mathematicians favour *Descartes* more than *Gassendus*, the *Literati* on the other Side are more inclined to the latter. But both of them have hitherto demeaned themselves with so much Moderation, that no different Hypothesis or Principles have been a Means to break in upon the good Harmony of the Society, who know very well they aim at the same thing, tho' they pursue it by different Ways, seeing they all desire to have the same *Phænomena's* explained.

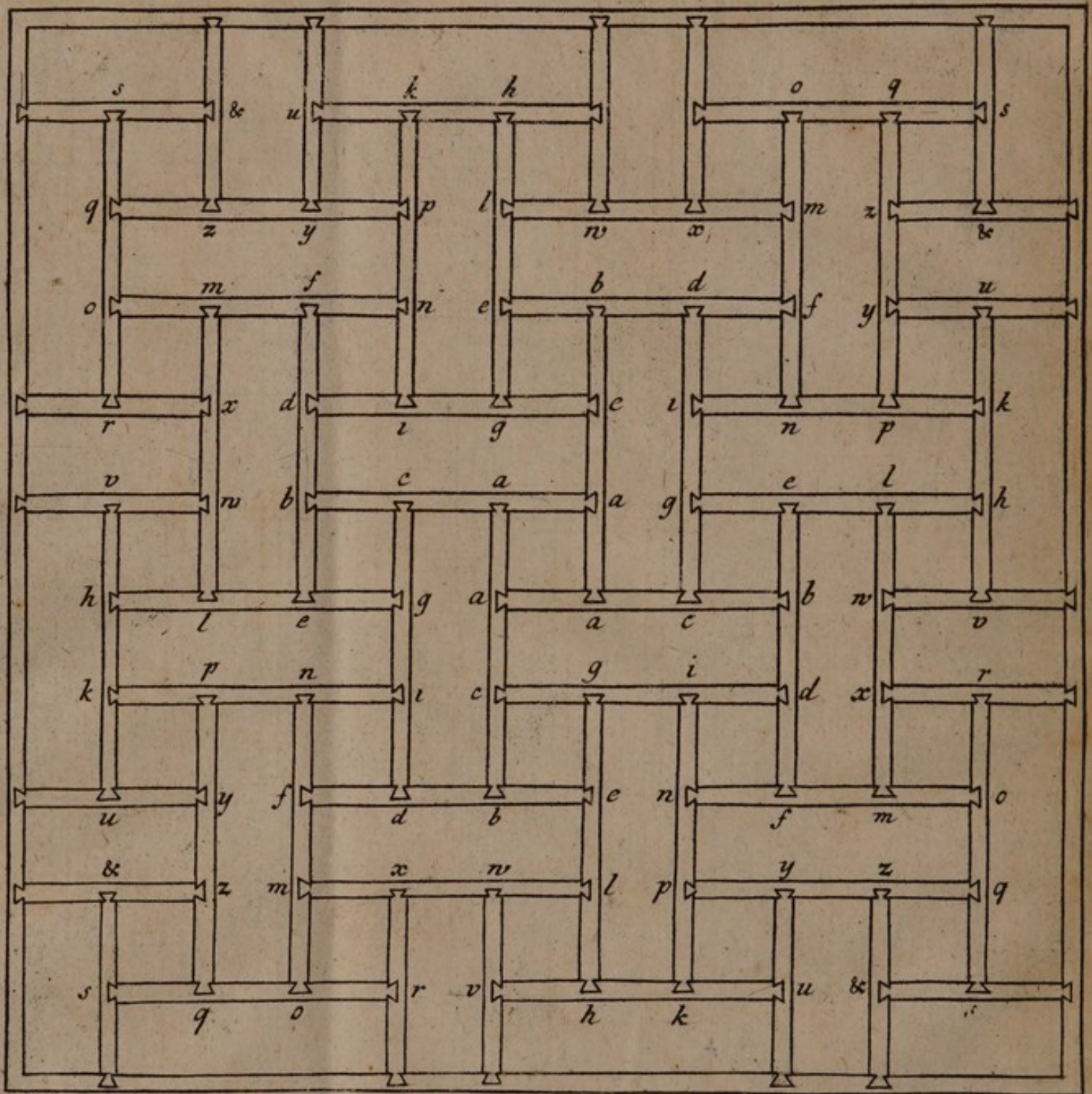
The Learned
ed not Com-
municative.

I shall say nothing to you particularly, Sir, of those Excellent Persons I saw in this Assembly, because I will not undertake the Work of making Elogies, as I must be obliged to do if I should name them. Besides, I have not had the good Fortune to be more particularly acquainted with them all, nor time to Visit, and have some Conversation with them: I am in a Doubt, if I had attempted it, whether I should have succeeded well, because the *English* live very retiredly, and have little Communication with Strangers: And being averse to the speaking of *French*, tho' they can do it very well, they speak *Latin* with such an Accent and Way of Pronunciation, that they are as hard to be understood, as if they spoke their own Language: This I sufficiently experienced in my Journey to *Oxford*, where I was much Edified by the Conversation of Dr. *Wallis*, and Dr. *Willis*, the first being Professor of Mathematicks, as the other was of Physick, and both, amidst a Multitude of other Learned Persons, the most

It's hard to
understand
their pro-
nouncing
Latin.

Journey to
Oxford.





most Famous of any in this University. However, I was mightily pleased with the Experiments I saw made by the first of these Gentlemen, ^{Two Fine Experiments.} which was to teach a Deaf Man, who was Dumb, by reason of Deafness, to Read: The other was the Model of a Floor, that could bear a great Weight, and make a very large Hall, tho' it consisted only of several short Pieces of Timber joined together, without any Mortises, Nails, and Pins, or any other Support than what they gave one another; for the Weight they bear closes them so together, as if they were but one Board, and the Floor all of a piece: I will shew you a Cut of it, and you cannot but admire the Invention of this Mathematician; and indeed I made ^{Disputes between the Learned.} Mr. Hobbs himself even admire it, tho' he is at no good Terms with Dr. Wallis, and has no reason to love him. For I must tell you by the by, that the Doctor has not used him well; seeing after he had, pursuant to the Way of Learned Men, who make themselves ridiculous to Courtiers by their Controversies and Malignity, endeavoured to refute Mr. Hobbs's Mathematicks, he fell upon his Scheme of Politicks, and pushed the Matter so far, as to make him a bad Subject; which very much provoked the good Old Man, who in the beginning of the Civil War had suffered for the Royal Cause, and never wrote any thing, either upon that Occasion, or concerning any Publick Affairs, but what might bear a favourable Interpretation. And indeed the King was so far ^{K. kind to Mr. Hobbs.} from laying any Stress upon Dr. Wallis's Arguments, that to Solace the Old Gentleman, he gave him a Yearly Pension of a Hundred *Jacobus's*. His Majesty shewed me a Copper Cut of his Picture in his Closet of Natural and Mechanical Curiosities, and ask'd me if I knew the

Face? And what Opinion I had of him? I told him what I thought best and most proper; and 'tis agreed on all Hands, that if Mr. *Hobbs* were not so very Dogmatical, he would be very Useful and Necessary to the Royal-Society; for there are few People that can see farther into things than he, or have applied themselves so long to the Study of Natural Philosophy: He is upon the Matter the very Remains of *Bacon*, to whom he was *Amanuensis* in his Youth; and by what I could hear of him, or observe by his Stile, he hath retained very much of him; he has studied his manner of turning Things, and readily runs his Discourse into *Allegory*; but he has naturally much of his good Humour, and agreeable Mien. I know not how it comes pass, the Clergy are afraid of him, and so are the *Oxford* Mathematicians, and their Adherents; wherefore his Majesty was pleased to make a very good Comparison, when he told me he was like a Bear, whom they baited with Dogs to try him. He has in his Grounds of Politicks, undoubtedly, very much obliged Crowned Heads; and if he had not fallen upon Points of Religion, or contented himself to write against the Presbyterians, and the pretended Bishops of his Country, I should have no Room to find any fault with him. But his Philosophy having had its Birth and Education in Heresie, he is a Stranger to Just Principles, in this respect, and has not as right an Idea as he ought to have of the Hierarchy: He has no Knowledge of the Catholick Church, but what he had learnt from Protestant Books of Controversie, which entertain'd him with a horrible Representation of it: And tho' he travelled to *Rome* in his younger Years, he had first read the Mystery of Iniquity in

in *France*: Let us, if it be possible, pardon the Misfortune of his Birth and Bad Education, upon the Account of his Excellent Accomplishments otherways, and let us pray God to be merciful to him: For if the Reasons given in his *Leviathan* against the *Academians* and *Ecclesiasticks* could but extirpate those of his own Sect, and gnaw off the Gangreen of the Church, they might serve for a Sovereign Remedy to a Civil Society in the Northern Parts of the Christian World. But let us return to his Adversary: The Doctor has less in him of the Gallant Man than Mr. *Hobbs*; and if you should see him with his University Cap on his Head, as if he had a *Portefeuille* on, covered with Black Cloth, and sowed to his Calot, you would be as much inclined to laugh at this diverting Sight, as you would be ready to entertain the Excellency and Civility of my Friend with Esteem and Affection. What I have said concerning Dr. *Wallis* is not intended in the least to derogate from the Praises due to one of the greatest Mathematicians in the World; and who being yet no more than Forty Years of Age, may advance his Studies much farther, and become Polite, if purified by the Air of the Court at *London*: For I must tell you, Sir, that that of the University stands in need of it; and that those who are not purified otherways, have naturally strong Breaths, that are noxious in Conversation. This I plainly discerned by having an Opportunity to compare this Subtle and Learned Professor, Mr. *Locke* with Mr. *Lockey*, the *Oxford* Librarian, who had learnt at Court and in *France* to put on an obliging Air, and courteous Behaviour. He had the Goodness, not only to conduct me to the Library, but all the Colledges, and to introduce me

to all the Professors I visited: I lodged in *Christ-Church*, which is the largest and richest Colledge of them all, its Income being 70000 Livres a Year: Cardinal *Wolsey* Built it in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* of whom he was such a Favourite, that that Prince Built *Hampton-Court* for him, which is now a Royal Palace, Twelve Miles from *London*: There are Seventeen or Eighteen Colledges at *Oxford*, which are almost all of the same Dimensions: They are Built of Free-Stone; the meanest of them is not Inferior to the *Sorbonne*, for there are some of them that do excel it. The lower Court of *Christ-Church Colledge* is little less than that which is contained within the Barriers of the *Place-Royale*: There is a Physick-Garden over-against *St. Catherine's*, towards the Gate that leads to *London*, which is small, ill kept, and more like an Orchard than a Garden. I shall not take upon me to describe all the Colledges to you: There is one, at whose Gate I saw a great Brazen Nose, like *Punchinello's* Vizard: I was told they also call it *Brazen-Nose Colledge*, and that *John Duns Scotus* taught here, in Remembrance of which they set up the Sign of his Nose at the Gate. The last Colledge I visited was *St. John's*, which is the most Regular Building of any of them, tho' not the Richest: It has Two Square Courts, as large as the Square we now have in the *Louvre*; and Two large Buildings Three Story high, with Four Wings of the same height: I saw a Fine Library in one of them, and a large Wainscotted Gallery, wherein I found no other Ornament than the Picture of King *Charles I.* which they took out of a Cover, and and shewed here for a Rarity, because the Hair of his Head was made up of Scripture Lines, wrought

wrought wonderfully small, and more particularly of the Psalms of *David* in *Latin*. This Prince, and the Queen Mother's Statues in Brass, stand in the Second Court upon the Two Gates; and the Two late Archbishops of *Canterbury*, who were Benefactors to this Colledge, are Buried in the Chapel: There are Two large Gardens belonging to this Colledge, one of which is terraced, and the other faces a Plain to the Northward.

The Famous Library of the University of Ox- Oxford Lib-
ford, where their Publick Lectures are read, re- brary.
quires we should dwell a long while upon it; but I had only a Transient View of it: It's made in the form of an *H*, has Two Stories of Books: The lowermost has Six Rows of *Folio*'s, and Three of *Quarto*'s: In the other, to which you go up by wooden Stairs, very artfully contrived for to give Light in the Middle, and at the Four Corners, there are Nine Rows more, whereof Three in *Folio*'s, and the rest of different Volumes: Those of *Selden* are on one Side, together with the Manuscripts given to the Library by the late Archbishop *Laud*, being Two Thousand Four Hundred in Number: We took a Walk in the Galleries above the Library, and saw a great Number of Medals there; and there are the Pictures of some learned Men round the Galleries, where they shewed us the Sword which the Pope sent *Henry VIII.* as Defender of the Faith: Here is a Place of Anatomy not worth seeing: The Schools were all of them shut up; and there are scarce any Lectures read there, because the private ones draw all the Scholars thither.

Oxford City would be nothing without the Oxford,
Colledges; for there are scarce any more Inhabitants in it than are enough to serve Three or
Four

A Journey to England.

Four Thousand Students, and to cultivate a very delightful Plain, where the City stands upon a small River, abounding with Fish, which falls near it into the *Thames*. We were Two Days in going by the Stage Coach to *Oxford*, thro' a Fine Country, where we were delighted with the Sight of *Uxbridge*, *Beconsfields*, *High Wickam*, and *West Wickam*, which they call Towns, tho' they are in strictness no more than large un-walled Boroughs. They frightened us with the Danger of Highway-men on the Road, which I thought they did out of Vanity, and to the end that *Paris* might have nothing to upbraid *London* with: But I am satisfied some of them appeared in Reality now and then. It's certain there are good Regulations made in this Country; and when any Robbery is committed, the Country People presently take the Alarm, and pursue so hard, that the Highway-men very seldom can make their Escape.

*Return to
London.*

I apply'd my self anew upon my Return to *London* to make all the Observations I could, and exactly to note every thing which I could not see or know any otherwise than by the Information of others. I more narrowly observed the Court than before, and had the Honour to wait upon the King, and to be entertained near an Hour in his Closet. I was several times at *Westminster*, where the Parliament Sits. I saw all the Courts of Justice. I went into several Sorts of Companies, was often upon the Walks, went to Gentlemens Country-houses, and forgot nothing that was feasible, in order to make my self acquainted with the Government, Manners, and Genius of the People; and this I am sure is what your Curiosity expects from me: But I cannot

not think I shall be able to answer your Desires. My short Stay in *England*, and Ignorance of the Language, perhaps have been a Barr to my making a right Judgment of things: For tho' I have conversed with some of the genteelest and most polite People in the Kingdom, have seen *White-Hall* and *Westminster*, the Court of Parliament, some of the greatest Lords, and some Citizens, Things serious and pleasant, Business and Diversion, the *Exchange*, *Spring-Garden*, *Hide-Park*, *St. James's*, and the *Play-house*, *Gresham-Colledge*, the *Temple*, and *St. Paul's*, that is, the Learned in all Faculties, I cannot think that is enough to make one believe that I have penetrated into the Depth of things, and that I can thoroughly know a Nation, which, under the Rose, is of a very Irregular and Fantastick Temper. Wherefore I shall relate unto you those things which appeared unto me to be so, and not perhaps what really and in truth they are: For there is a vast difference between the Idea's we conceive of a Country at first View, and those which are formed in Time, when we come to correct the first Draught. Neither do I pretend to make Use of the same Pencil to represent unto you a great Number of Excellent Persons whom I admired in this Country, and the Sceach I have made of others, reaches no farther than to those who remain *in puris Naturalibus*, and have not either by Study, Reasoning, or other Acquirements in Foreign Countries, Polished the natural Roughness incident to them in their own.

I am very ready to excuse the Roughness of a People who live in so Fine a Country, who cultivate a Soil that yields them Plenty of all Necessaries for Human Life; who want neither
The Goodness of the Country makes the People Iron, haughty.

Iron, Stone, Lead, Tin, Coal, Lime, Wood, Corn, Pulse, Pasturage, Beef, Mutton, Horses, Goats, Meadows, Fountains, Rivers ; in short, no Sorts of Beauties nor Industry, to manage all these Rich Gifts of Nature : A People, I say, who, besides all these Conveniencies, find themselves surrounded by the Sea, which is a Fence to secure them from other Nations that would disturb their Tranquility ; and who, with all this, and by ranging themselves under the Notion of a distinct Empire, have retain'd a great deal of that Humour which is naturally Predominant in the Minds of those who are in a State of Liberty. I find 'tis natural enough for People that have so good a share, to despise all the rest of Mankind, and to count those miserable that Border upon them, and come out of a Country where the *English* fancy they have not all these Conveniences : Hence arises that careless Air wherewith they look upon Strangers, or make Answer to them ; and since the Common People and Meanest Tradesmen are wont to use this Sort of Haughtiness and Indifferency towards Strangers, let them endeavour to prevent them as much as they can by their Civilities, and exert all the Gentle and Respectful Conduct imaginable towards them, all signifies nothing : Nay, sometimes their Complaisance, as well as their Silence and Seriousness, offends them ; for as they are very suspicious, and full of hollow-heartedness, they draw what dangerous Consequences they please from your Silence and Compliments ; so that 'tis very hard to guess the Way to obtain their Goodwill. They are equally apt to be offended either Way ; and the Methods by which we gain their Esteem one Day, will bring us to lose it the next ; so very much does the same depend upon
their

their Capricious and Melancholy Temper, which is so peculiar to them.

My frequent Attendance in the Royal Society did not give me an Opportunity to see Mr. Boyle, who, to my Misfortune, was not in London all the time I staid there. But I have seen several Experiments made with his *Pneumatick Machine*: The Invention of which will in all Appearance be ascrib'd to him by Posterity, as the bringing of it to Perfection will be to Mr. *Christian Hugen*: A World of things will undoubtedly be discovered by it; and some of the Experiments made with it, shew unto us the Distempers occasioned by the Air. I have seen several Rarefactions and Condensations made by it; and no Endeavours were wanting to observe what befel those Animals which were expos'd to the Influence of it: This will one time or other be the Subject of a Set Conversation, with which we may divert ourselves, in Case we should spend Part of the next Spring at *Phillipville*.

I am firmly of the Opinion, Sir, that if the Project of the Royal Society be not some Way or other blasted, (as I hope it never will, by reason of the Quality and Merit of those Persons who are Members of it, and the Care his Majesty has taken about it,) we shall find a World of People fall into an Admiration of so Excellent and Learned a Body, and *England* will afford a vast many useful Inventions to other Nations: For if Art and Sciences have been already so much improved by the Study and Hazards of some private Men, what will not the good Conduct of so many capable Persons, the Purser of several great Lords, the publick Authority, and the Magnificence of so Potent a Monarch, do? His Majesty has by this made it plainly appear that he knows the true

*The Pneu-
matick
Machine of
Mr. Boyle.*

*Advance-
ment of
Learning
brings So-
lid Glory to
Princes.*

true Way to attain Solid Glory ; if we call that Renown, which is of a long Duration, and very extensive, Solid Glory. Those who seek after it, by invading the Possessions of others, and ill-grounded Wars, or such as in the Consequence of them, whose End do not appear, in my Mind do not make a right Judgment of it : In a Word, Sir, What shall we say of the Two last Kings of Sweden, who made so much Noise in Poland, Denmark and Germany. Their Glory is in a manner quite vanished, and indifferent Persons cannot Read the Desolations made by their Armies without Horror. I am free to unbosom all my Thoughts unto you, who is a lover of Justice as well as of War : Man was not born to make War upon those of his own Kind, but to enjoy the Sweets of Peace, for otherwise God Almighty would have furnished him with Claws, Horns, Teeth, and other offensive Arms.

*Os homini sublime dedit, Cælumq; tueri
Fussit, & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

And it was only in their own Defence that they have been obliged to invent Machines to fight with. I have read in some Book or other, treating of the Affairs of China, that the Princes of that vast Kingdom did not make their Glory so much to consist in commanding Armies, taking Towns, sacking of Provinces, and winning of Battles, as in the Tranquility of their Dominions, vigour of the Laws, good Regulation of Government, Riches of Trade, Increase of Husbandry, Excellency of Manufactures, Improvement of Arts, and in the Care they took of the Publick Good, or Ornament of their Country ; insomuch, that the noblest Elogies their Historians make upon
on

on them, are that such a Prince was very Dutiful to his Parents; that he always had a very good Correspondence with all his Relations; that he was an entire Lover of his People; that he was the first that brought in such a Custom, that he Built such a Bridge, raised such a Way, planted the Rows of Trees between such a Town and such a Town; that such Medicines or such Foods were made use of from his time forward: And thus they have their Princes in perpetual Remembrance for to bless them, instead of calling them to mind by Way of Indignation, as those are who have been the Authors of such and such Devastations, whose Memories they endeavour to forget.

But perhaps, Sir, the Reflections I have thus made on the *Chinese* Histories, in reference to the good Princes *England* has been blest with for these Hundred Years past, and especially that King who now Reigns, have carried me too far: This Prince made great Improvement of his long Adversity, from which he has drawn all the Conclusions which he seems to have taken for settling the Peace, Tranquility and Imbellishment of his Country upon a Solid Foundation: I shall think the Society he has Founded very happy, if they continue, pursuant to their Orders, to go on in perfecting the Arts and useful Sciences they have begun to cultivate: And I take it to be an inestimable Honour done to me to be admitted a Member of it, and that my weak Productions have been so favourably looked on by such clear-sighted Gentlemen as they are: The King himself had the Goodness to tell me, that my Works were not displeasing to him: I must confess to you I was very much affected with his Royal Approbation, and cannot forbear hereby to give

*The Author
admitted
into the
Royal-Society.*

some publick Marks of my Acknowledgment : For I find my self as much obliged to his Majesty for the Gracious Reception he gave me, as if he had laden me with Royal Presents ; and I shall never forget that Sweetness and Affability with which he did me the favour to let me admire the Rarities in his Closet.

*The Court
of England
and Nobility.*

As the Court of *England* is not so great as ours, there is the easier Access to the Prince ; and this kind of private Life, which his Exile in his younger Years brought him to accustom himself to, inspires him with great Tenderness for his Subjects, and much Familiarity to Strangers ; besides, the Genius of the *English* does require they should be governed after this gentle manner. And tho' the Crown here is Hereditary, yet the Monarchy has some Allays in it of other Sorts of Governments ; and hence it is, that as the King must use some Freedom with the Nobility and Gentry, in order to preserve their Affection and Esteem, these last are also obliged to use the same Practice towards Tradesmen, and their Domesticks. Military Officers in like manner practice the same towards their Soldiers, who often speak to them with their Hats on, and without any Complement ; and hence it is that the *English* Nobility cannot regulate their Incomes and Expence as they ought to do, because they must Let their Lands to Farmers and Receivers at a low Rate, if they would keep up the Respect and Obedience due unto them ; and if they do not keep good Houses they will be soon despised : But the *English* may be easily brought to any thing, provided you fill their Bellies, let them have Freedom of Speech, and do not bear too hard upon their lazy Temper. But notwithstanding all the Gentleness, wherewith the King, who is
one

one of the Best Princes in the World, uses his Subjects, he can scarce restrain their Caballing from time to time against the Government; witness the Business of the Earl of *Bristol*, now on Foot, of which you have already heard, and would have me give some Account of: I heartily wish you would dispence with my Compliance herein, for I must confess to you that I have not look'd far enough into that Matter; but since you will allow of no Excuse, I'll recount all that I could learn of it unto you.

In reflecting therefore upon the present State of *England*, and the Lord Chancellor's being accused by the Earl of *Bristol*, it looks as if the least Sparks of Fire, when they meet with Combustible Matter, should make great Conflagrations; and that perhaps there was not so much Pretence for the Commotions in the late King's Time, as there would be now, if Things were disposed to it. But the last Civil War is too fresh in Memory, and continued too long to be so soon followed by another Rising; and this is the chief Reason that makes Men believe new Tumults will not so soon be raised again, but that the People will content themselves with talking of the past and present Times with all the Freedom the *English* usually take: For not to disoblige the *Italians*, the *English* are as much upon the Politicks as they, and the Great Ones much less spared than the other. In the mean time some new Circumstance may arise that may introduce a new Subject of Discourse. The Earl of *Bristol* and the Chancellor may die, and that Envy and Evil-speaking, wherewith that Favourite has been prosecuted, may alight upon some other Person, or else some other Matters may intervene to furnish People with different Discourses. These Two Men have the

*Difference
between the
Earl of
Bristol and
the Chan-
cellor.*

Reputation of being Grand Politicians. My Lord Chancellor *Hyde* is a Man of the Law, he studied and professed it in his younger Years, and therefore is skilled in the Forms of it, but otherwise knows but little, and is ignorant of the *Belles Lettres* : He is taken to be inclined in his Heart to Presbytery, and to have a Popular Spirit : He is a handsome Man, of about Threescore Years of Age, and has the Honour to be Father-in-law to the Duke of *York*, which perhaps is one of his Crimes in the Eyes of the Earl and the People. The Earl of *Bristol* is younger than the Chancellor, one of the Ancient Nobility, has gone through great Employments, and is a Person of Fine Parts, which incline him to be somewhat Presumptuous, and fill him with Romantick Thoughts : He professes himself a *Roman* Catholick, and has a middling Estate. They are both of them Bold, Eloquent, and have a strong Party on their Side. The House of Lords, all the Court-Malecontents, and a good Part of the House of Commons, take *Bristol's* Part. These last sting smartly; they are those who make the most Noise, and in Reality have the greatest Power, or to speak more adaptly, are the true Body of the Parliament, as Things stand now-a-days. The Presbyterians, whose Reformation is according to the *Geneva* Mode, have ulcerated Minds; and almost all the People in *London*, who are of this Sect, readily hearken to any Thing which tends to the bringing down of the Episcoparians, because they have got the Churches into their Possession, pursuant to the Act of Uniformity. My Lord *Clarendon* has all the Royal Family on his Side; and Three or Four Months ago he has had a Grandson Born, which strengthens his Interest : Indeed the Queen-Mother at first was much dissatisfied with her Son's

Mar.

Marrying the Chancellor's Daughter ; but finding at last the Thing was irretrievable, and that the King himself did acquiesce with it ; and withal, that the good Harmony there was between her Children, and the Unitedness of the Royal Family, were the Things which could Crown the Felicity of her Old Age, she wisely endeavoured to make her self easie, and gently to spend the rest of her Days in *Somerset-House*, where she enjoy'd a large Revenue, and kept a very regular Court. Besides, my Lord *Fermin*, (now Entitled Earl of *St. Albans*, who makes little or no Pretensions to the Prime Ministry,) being a Man of Pleasure, entertains no other Thoughts than to live at Ease ; and having undoubtedly influenced the Queen's Mind to Peace, this has effaced the Hatred which she bore unto the Chancellor. The King himself, who hitherto has been pleased with this Person's Ministry, as affording him Leisure enough to repose and divert himself, and being resolved to stand to his Protection, for fear if he should give Way, those who are disaffected to him might be so Bold as to improve this Weakness to his Disadvantage : He supports the Chancellor with a high Hand, with whom also the Nobility, chief Merchants, and all the Citizens that are not inclined to Disturbances, readily chime in : The Bishops, and such as hold good Prebends, are for the Earl of *Clarendon* ; so that it looks as if his Party were the strongest, and would he too hard for that of *Bristol*.

But nothing can be said concerning the Event, *Talk of the*
 if we consider the Instability of Humane Affairs, *People.*
 as well as that of the Nation ; the Disposition
 of the Parliament, the Common Discourses of
 the People, and what passed at Court for Three

Years last past, which is continually debated by the *English*, according to their Way: For as they are naturally lazy, and spend half their Time in taking Tobacco, they are all the while exercising their Talents about the Government; talking of new Customs, of the Chimney-Money, the management of the Publick Treasure, and the lessening of Trade: And so looking back, and calling to mind the Strength of their Fleets in *Oliver's* Time, the Glory they obtain'd in all Parts of the World, the Alliances every Body courted to make with them, the Pomp of their Republick, to whom came Ambassadors from all Parts, they cannot forbear to make odious Comparisons, and to shew the Inclination they have to New Troubles: They are fond enough of a King, for the greater Glory of their Country; they love the Title, and prefer Regal Government before any other. But they own their over-free and too arrogant Temper requires some Restraint, so as that it may not fall out to an Excess of Rudeness; and they pretend that their King ought to apply himself entirely to maintain the Publick Peace, to promote the Happiness of his People, and to advance the Honour and Reputation of his Country abroad, as much as possibly he can. They say that 'tis for this End he is allowed a Revenue to live in so much Splendor; and that their Parliament, wherein the Sovereign Power resides, never refuses him any thing he asks of them to carry on his Just Designs: But that it grieves them to see the most Important Affairs committed to the Care of a Minister, who has always Interests of his own, contrary to those of the Publick; and that they are sensible the People are made to bleed unprofitably; and that the Money

is spent either Superfluously, or upon base Lusts; that 'tis not reasonable some Court Blood-Suckers should gorge themselves alone; and that there was neither Navigation, nor Tillage, nor any Toils by Land or Sea, but was made use of to contribute to the Ease of a few Idle Packs, who abused the good Humour of their Prince. These Thoughts and Discourses very well suit with the Haughty Humour of the *English*, and the Jealousie wherewith they eye the Prosperity of others: But besides a particular Inclination they have by Nature to supply themselves with such disrespectful Arguments, they have for a long time been Bred up in this Ill Habit, through the Liberty their Parliaments have; the History of which, so far as it occurs to my Memory, or according to the Idea's I have formed of it, I shall briefly relate to you, seeing I have not at present any other Helps to give you a more exact Account of them.

England was heretofore Conquered by the *Germans*, who made a Descent there at a time when the Natives were no other than half Savages, such as the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* are at this Day. Such Irruptions as these have befallen several other Countries; for when a Nation found itself overstock'd with People, they have been put upon a Necessity of seeking out new Habitations: So it was anciently with the *Greeks*, who sent Colonies into *Asia*; and with the *Egyptians*, who did the same in *Palæstine*: The *Ostrogoths* over-run *Gaul* and *Italy*, and the Maritime People of the Northern Parts passed into *America*. The *Saxons* being informed of the Fruitfulness of the Island, which was inhabited by a more Undisciplined People than they were, resolved to transport themselves thither;

*The Origine
of the Power
of the
House of
Commons.*

ther; and several younger Sons of the best Families, and petty Princes Sons joining together, formed an Army, One of whom was chosen General. The Enterprize succeeded, they conquered the Islanders, settled in *England*, and so formed a People, consisting of Two Nations, into One Body, and called them *English-Saxons*: But a Victorious Army cannot well subsist long under the Command of the same General, but that he, if endued with Ambition and Courage, must usurp the Sovereign Power, and make himself King over them: The *Saxon* General actually became so over the Conquered Country, and gave his Officers Part of the Land, which they were to hold of him, but he at the same time granted them very large Priviledges, inso-much that their Vassals were not only liable to heavy Services, and Bind-Days, but obliged to take up Arms for their Defence; and this Authority made them frequently withdraw themselves from under the Obedience of the Prince. For tho' those Petty Tyrants, taken separately, were much inferior in Strength to the King that was to attack them, yet upon the Junction of several of them together their Power was formidable. Things continued in this State for several Ages; the King and his Barons finding some Cause or other continually to differ, and betake themselves to Arms; and these Broils were of a longer or shorter Duration, according as they were more or less united amongst themselves against the Royal Power: Nay, Things were carried so far at last, that almost all the Barons of the Kingdom having joined with the Bishops, rendred themselves a Match for King *John*, and continuing the War against *Henry III.* overpowered him. But *Edward I.* his

his Son, Sirnamed *Longshanks*, opposed them with a great deal of Courage; and to the end he might the more easily compass his Designs against the Nobility and Clergy, who had been so very troublesome to his Predecessors, he was forced to make Use of a Stratagem. It's true; indeed, that it was a Fit of Despair that put him upon it; but such as afterwards contributed very much to the weakning of the Monarchy, and was the Cause of all the Misfortunes and Tragedies that ensued. To the End therefore that he might humble the Nobility and Bishops, he called a Parliament of Commoners, with whom he consulted only about the Affairs of the Kingdom, without advising either with the Barons or Prelates, of which the House of Lords consists at this Day, and with whom the Kings formerly were wont to examine the Requests of the Lower House, and did what they thought fit in the Matter. The Ancient Way used to call the Commons together was this; the King with his Queen being at *Glocester*, and tarrying there for some time, commanded the Bailiffs to give the Burroughs and Counties Notice to send Two Burgeesses, and as many Gentlemen, to present their Requests to him: The King having received and advised with the Barons there present about the same, let the Commons know his Pleasure thereupon, and dismiss them. But in this Parliament of *Edward I.* the Commons made themselves more considerable than they had been at any time before; and the King was glad to find their Authority rise to the Diminution of the Clergy and Nobility; so that at last they had nothing left but the Titles of Counties and Diocesses, without having any Power over the Persons, Goods or Actions of their Vassals: Then

it was that they began to speak of the Rights of the People, and to form the Leaven of all the Seditious Principles, which since that have armed the Subjects against their Lawful Sovereigns, under the Cover of the Publick Good, and the Removal of State Grievances: So that Ambitious and Mutinous Spirits have frequently found a Way to make the Court odious in the House of Commons. King *Edward* was not aware of this Inconveniency; and the present Necessity he lay under of depressing his Enemies was a Bar to his farther Care and Prospect of what such a Pace might in time produce.

*Reflections
upon the
Nature
of the People.*

He did not consider that the People, tho' under never so Just and Moderate a Government, of never love those that Govern them with an Over-Tenderness: The unequal Distributions of worldly Goods and Honour, (which 'tis impossible to avoid,) cause perpetual Jealousies between the great Ones, and Hatred between those of a Lower Degree: The Love of Liberty, or rather that natural Fierceness and Pride, the Fatal Seeds of which the Heart of Man retains, since his first Disobedience to the Divine Command, and the equal Right every one had in Reality over every thing in a State of Nature, in Conjunction with a Principle of Glory, which thwarts our voluntary Submission to one another, will cause an Eternal Difference between Mankind, so as that the best of Princes, and those who are most disposed to promote the Good of their Subjects, are not able to govern them peaceably, without they are in a Capacity to use Force and Authority, after they have try'd Perswasion and the Course of Justice to no Purpose: Wherefore, seeing the *English* do not love their Sovereigns as much as could

could be desired, it's convenient that there should be a third Sort of Men between the King and the People, against whom the latter might spit their Venom, but at the same time be a Barrier against those Undisciplined Animals, and stop the Torrent from passing as far as the Throne. Princes ought for this Reason to Protect the Nobility; and when the Dikes to the Seaward are Fortified, there is no need of doing it to the Landward. Princes, in Point of good Policy, ought to Govern, so as that no Vassals should ever become Masters of their Lords, under whom they held; and to take diligent Heed lest their Nobility, by being left to live so much at their Ease, might in time so Increase in Power, as might prove disadvantageous to the Sovereign. It's their mutual Interest that each Part be kept in a just Medium: For as the Nobility cannot subsist but by the Supreme Authority, which preserves them from the Defections of their Vassals; so Kings cannot be secure on their Thrones, and have a splendid Court, without their Nobility. And therefore King *Edward* perhaps did not weigh the Matter so well, in giving the Commons in Parliament so much Authority, which from thenceforward they have endeavoured to maintain, and in our time turned the Three Kingdoms into a Republick.

But at last Justice and sound Policy prevailed; *King re-*
and I hope those Rebels Heads that are put upon *stored by*
London Bridge and *Westminster-Hall* will no *Monk.*
less frighten the Seditious, than the Blessings
heaped upon General *Monk* will prove to be a good
Example to those that love Repose, and have any
Regard to the Honour and Encomiums of Fidelity
that will attend them. For we are not to believe
that the King's good Fortune in being re-
stored,

stored, was accidental, but indeed a premeditated Design: The Duke of *Albemarle* is a Man of Sense, Courage and Conduct; so that I have no Regard at all to what those People say, who Envy his Glory, viz. that the Disagreement of the Factions, after the Death of *Cromwell*; the Disorders and Broils in Parliament; the Jealousie of his Companions, and the Attempt the Parliament made to dispossess him of his Command, by appointing Four Commissioners to govern the Army, put *Monk* upon the Thoughts that it was better to have the Glory of restoring the King to his Throne, than to fall down himself from the Post he was in, or to attempt that which the Protector had done, and what he had not Power to accomplish. But 'tis very certain that this Valiant Man did his Duty; and in taking to the Right Side, he has *Plus Dapis & Rixæ, multo minus Invidiæque*: My Meaning is, that he put a Spoke into the Wheel when Fortune had raised him high enough; and he found it to be much better for him to be the first Officer of the Crown in Tranquility, than if he had spent the rest of his Days in Tyrannizing over his Country, and been continually busied in Warding off the Punishment he should so justly deserve: For 'tis very rare to meet with such another Example as that of *Cromwell's*, who died in his Bed, and was Deposited in the Burying-place of the Kings of England: General *Monk* has now Lodgings in *White-Hall*; and if he has no Expectations of being Buried in *Henry VII's Chapel*, he need not be afraid of being one time or other dragged out from thence with Ignominy.

What

What Motives soever *Monk* had to perform Cromwel's so Glorious an Action, I have been assured in *England*, that the Protector's Government was so violent that it could not last long, and it was <sup>Govern-
ment could
not have</sup> lasted. thought the Trouble of Mind he laboured under shortned his Life. For as he was obliged to be at a prodigious Expence both by Sea and Land, and to be always upon the Guard, as well as to give away large Sums of Money to his Spies, that so he might have Intelligence of every Conspiracy and Design against his Person, he could no longer bear it; and as Absolute as he was, he was to be Tender in the Point of laying Taxes upon the People. In short, the Riches of *England* are very much Limited, and the People are not very forward to part with their own for the Use of the Publick. All Taxes must have been raised by the Parliament, and the Protector had always enough to do to manage the People, tho' the Parliament was at his Devotion. Hence it was that he died in Debt, and that the King himself has been obliged to pay his Debts. *Oliver's* Soldiers being not willing to lose any of their Arrears. Those who have not made a near Inspection into the Affairs of *England*, or not studied the Genius of the People, and the Irregularity of their Politicks, among which there is an Intermixture of all Sorts of Governments, will find it difficult to comprehend all this.

From these more Serious Matters, let us pass to some others of more Gaity; for I know, Sir, you would have me give you an Account of the Plays, Walks, Houses of Pleasure, and Feasts I have been at: The *English* are not very Dainty; and the greatest Lords Tables, who do not keep *French* Cooks, are covered only with large Dishes
of

of Meat: They are Strangers to Bisks and Pot-tage: Only I saw once some Milk-Pottage in a large and deep Dish, some of which, as a singular Favour, the Master of the House gave in a *China* Dish to some of his Guests: Their Pastry is coarse and ill baked; their Stewed Fruits and Confectionary Ware cannot be eat; they scarce ever make use of Forks or Ewers, for they wash their Hands by dipping them into a Bason of Water. It's common enough for them after Meals to Smoke Tobacco, in the interim of which they converse a long time and freely: People of Quality do not use it so much as others; and there is scarce a Day passes but a Tradesman goes to the Ale-house or Tavern to smoke with some of his Friends, and therefore Publick Houses are numerous here, and Business goes on but slowly in the Shops: For a Taylor and a Shoemaker, let his Business be never so urgent, will leave his Work, and go to drink in the Evening; and as he oftentimes comes home late, or half Seas over, he has no great Inclination to go to Work, and opens not his Shop, even in Summer-time, till after Seven in the Morning. This makes Manufactures dear, and renders the Natives angry with the *French* People; for our Tradesmen are usually more Industrious; and as they are more handy at their Work, Folks go the willinger to Buy of them, and they can Sell cheaper than the *English*, who would have as much for the little they do as the others, and the loss of their Time made up to them that Way. This, together with their voracious and lazy Temper, is the Reason why the *Dutch* always undersell the *English*; for 'tis certain that these have always more Hands on Board their Ships, do not live so cheap, and are not satisfied with so little Profit: And hence it is that

that they must necessarily fall out sometimes; and that the striking of the Flag to the *English*, which gratifies their Ambition, does not satisfy the Interest they have in Trade: Things fall out every Day, for which there is no Remedy, and frequently to the Detriment of the *English* Companies. But the happy Situation of their Island, by which their Neighbours must unavoidably pass, if they do not go North about, as the *Dutch East-India* Ships, and many of their Men of War, frequently do, makes the *Hollanders* comply with what they would have of them: Nevertheless, as to their Herring Fishery, which is a Bone of Contention between these Two Nations, who dispute the Freedom of the Sea, and have writ Books about it on both Sides, that of *Selden* being *Mare Liberum*, and *Grotius's* *Mare Clausum*, it happens that both of them having caught great Store of this Fish, and pickled them at a great Charge, the Sale of the *English* is spoilt by the Cheapness of the *Dutch* Herrings, for they Sell at a Loss; and while every Body Buys of the *Dutch*, the others Fish rots in their Warehouses, and the *English* Company is incapable to follow the Fishery another Year. The *Dutch* Company, which is the more Potent, and Trades at a less Charge, then fit out their Busses to Sea, make a great Fishery, and having the Herring Trade to themselves, they set a Price on them, and make themselves amends for the Loss of the several Millions which they had before sustained; and this is a Specimen of the Cunning of the *Dutch* in Trade, against which the *English* can oppose nothing but Threats, and the Insults they put from Time to Time upon them.

Description
of a Coun-
try House.

I will not take upon me to describe the Royal Palaces of *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court* to you; and that I may only give you an Idea of those that are Inferior to them in Dignity, I shall speak of the Earl of *Salisbury's* House, to which the Earl of *Devonshire* carried me: It's about Eighteen Miles from *London*; we dined there, and return'd to Town the same Evening, but rid hard for it: *Hatfield* then is a very Fine Castle, Built in a large Park, by the Father of this Lord, which he finished in less than a Year from the time it was begun; and this his Son-in-Law, the Earl of *Devonshire*, told me, that I might know other Countries as well as *France* could be very expeditious in Erecting Fine Buildings. It stands very advantageously, from which you have a Prospect of nothing but Woods and Meadows, Hills and Dales, which are very agreeable Objects that present themselves to us at all Sorts of Distances: Our Nobility, and even those of a more Inferior Degree, would have made Use of the Waters here, for some Excellent Uses and Inventions; and more especially of a small River, which as it were forms the Compartiments of a large *Parterre*, and rises and secretly loses itself in an Hundred Places, and whose Banks are all Lined or Boarded. I never saw a more engaging Retreat than this: The Castle is Built of Brick, with several small Towers, covered with Lead and Slate. It has Three Courts below; the First contains the Stablings and other Conveniencies for Poultry, &c. When you come through the Chief Avenue to the Park Side, and when the Gates of the lower Courts are open, there are Walks present themselves to your View, that reach to the further End of the Park, and make you lose your Sight: The Castle is wonderfully delightful,
and

and the Inside is exceeding Stately: I reckon-
ed Fifteen Pictures very finely set off on the same
Floor, also a large Gallery and a Chapel: We
Dined in a Hall that looked into a Greenplot
with Two Fountains in it, and having Espaliers
on the Sides, but a Balister before it, upon which
there are Flower-Pots and Statues: From this Pa-
terre there is a way down by Two Pair of Stairs,
of about Twelve or Fifteen Steps to another, and
from the Second to the Third: From this Terrass
you have a Prospect of the great Water Parterre
I have spoke of, which forms a Fourth; there
is a Meadow beyond it, where the Deer range
up and down, and abutting upon a Hill, whose
Top ends in a Wood, and there bounds the Ho-
rizon to us. I ought not to forget the Vineyard,
nor the several small Buildings on the side of it,
some of which serve for a Retreat to several Sorts
of Birds, which are very tame. There are al-
so Arbours or Summer-Houses, like *Turkish* Chi-
osks, upon some of the Eminences, which have
a Gallery round, and are erected in the most
Beautiful Places, in order to the Enjoying of the
Diversified Prospects of this Charming Country:
You have also in those Places, where the River
enters into and comes out of the Parterre, open
sort of Boxes, with Seats round, where you may
see a vast Number of Fish pass to and fro in the
Water, which is exceeding clear; and they seem
to come in Shoals to enjoy all the Pleasures of the
Place; and quitting their own Element by jumping
sometimes out of the Water, this they do as it were
to observe all the things I have describ'd to you.

Give me leave, Sir, before I quit this Enchanted
Castle, to give the Earl thanks for the Honour
he did to take me to see it; and to let you know that
he is a Lord of the highest Quality, and one of the
F Richest

*The Earl of
Devon-
shire.*

Richest in *England*; tho' 'tis his Vertue, and that of his whole Family, is what I would chiefly represent unto you: The Countess, his Mother, is still alive, and lives splendidly at *Robampton*, one of her Seats near *London*. His Father was Mr. *Hobbs's* first Patron; he was a Noble Lord of Fine Parts, very Curious, full of Courage and Goodness: He loved Innocent Pleasures and Men of Honour, and was desirous that every Body should enjoy themselves at his House, from whence he had banished all Melancholly: The late M. *du Bosc*, as well as Mr. *Hobbs*, told me a great many things concerning this Lord that would be worth your Hearing; but I'll confine my self to speak of my Lord, his Son, whom I found to be one of the Civilest Gentlemen in the World: He is like his Father, Free, Generous, and a Lover of Learning, being himself well versed in the Liberal Sciences. He was brought up by Mr. *Hobbs*, whom he loves and reveres, and with a far greater Deference than Persons of his Quality are wont to shew to their Governours, when they have no longer a Relation to them in that Respect: And indeed I do believe that the great Improvement he made by his Instructions puts him upon making him these Acknowledgements, for the Bent of Natural Inclination would not be of Energy enough to keep up so long and constant a Friendship for such Old Domesticks: I never saw one of a more sweet Temper, greater Humanity, and better than this Lord, among all the great Nobility, who are for the most part intolerably proud and haughty in *England*. It looks as if a Lord took himself to be of another Species than a Gentleman, so imperiously he carries himself towards him: He having been perhaps brought up in the Country, and that among Footmen, whom he kicked about at

at Will and Impunedly, without having been polished by Travelling, which is too often done with a Governour that takes no other Care than to flatter him: Noble-men in *England* cannot be arrested nor detained upon the Account of Debt, no more than Priests in other Places: It's very difficult to seize their Estates, and much more to execute the Laws. I could say something very particularly in reference to a Great Lord,

—— *Quem versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est*——

of whom I was entrusted to demand the Payment of a certain Debt, which could not have incommoded him, and which Money, a Person of Quality of my Acquaintance had lent him in *France*, when he extreemly wanted it: Tho' this Noble Lord has Two Hundred Thousand Livres a Year, is a Man of Parts, and has a good share in Vertue, his Memory as to Debts is exceeding short; and 'tis very difficult to come to his Levy, for he has Four Houses to lye in, which he makes use of as the Night overtakes him, and according as his Business lyes for the next Day: However, I got once to the Speech of him, and he gave me very good Words; for he is Courteous, Civil, Liberal, Obliging, Devout, Learned, and a Philosopher, who brings himself into Streights by his Expences upon Curious Projects, while he forgets his Creditors, and the Payment of his Debts. I lost some Time in waiting on him, and came away without Success; but this only by the By, and without naming Names. The Earl of *Devonshire* is not of this Inclination, neither does the Greatness of his Fortune admit him to make use of this Priviledge of the Peerage; neither could I observe he was any Ways tainted with the other Faults of the Nobility, or of the Nation; for

which he owns himself daily beholding to that Excellent Person, who was entrusted with his Education, and who I hope will also inspire the same Sweet, Obliging, and Ingenious Demeanor into the Lord *Cavendish*, his Eldest Son, and the Duke of *Ormond's* Son-in-law.

After my return from *Hatfield*, I staid some Days longer at *London*, where I had the Curiosity to see Two or Three Things over again, which I thought I had not so well consider'd before: I mean the Court, Play-house, and *Henry VII's* Chappel: I was mighty glad to see in the *Abby* the Tombs of *Casaubon* and *Cambden*. The Roof of the Chappel is very Curious Rose-work, and the Structure both within and without is one of the Finest Buildings in *Europe* of the kind. They shewed me a great Stone under the Chair where their Kings are Crown'd, which the Common People call *Jacob's* Stone; but that which was most remarkable were the Stately Tombs of *Richmond*, *Buckingham*, and *Henry VII.* which are equal to, if they do not exceed, those of ours in *St. Denis*. I shall say nothing of the ridiculous Report given out at *London*, as if *Cromwell* had given Secret Orders his Body should be deposited in one of these Tombs; and this they fancied from the Precaution he used in his Life-time for his Security, he having Twenty several Bed-Chambers, so that it might not be known in which of them he lay. Having mentioned the Body of the Protector, which was hang'd at *Tyburn*, and his Head set upon a Pole on *Westminster-Hall*, this puts me in Mind of a Notion that prevails among the People, and makes many of them believe that *Cromwell's* Cunning proceeded so far as to open some of the King's Tombs at *Westminster*, and to take Care that the Bodies should be removed,

ved, and others put in their stead: The Courtiers have the conveniency of walking in a large Park, which is pleasant enough, but the many *Court.* Hackney Coaches used there disgrace the Company, they are more like Carts, or ordinary Travelling Waggons, than Coaches made for State or Pleasure: In *Hide-Park* there is no further Diversion than making the Great Ring; there is nothing to be seen across it of any Moment, and but little Gallantry attends the whole. Sometimes they alight and go into *St. James's-Park*, that is like the Tuillery at *Paris*, and usually walk fast there. The Play-house is much more *Play-house.* Diverting and Commodious; the best Places are in the Pit, where Men and Women promiscuously sit, every Body with their Company, the Stage is very handsome, being covered with Green Cloth, and the Scenes often change, and you are regaled with new Perspectives. The Musick with which you are entertained diverts your time till the Play begins, and People chuse to go in betimes to hear it. The Actors and Actresses perform their Parts to Admiration, as I have been informed, and so far as I my self could judge of them by their Gestures and Speech. But the Players here wou'd be of little Esteem in *France*, so far short the *English* come of the *French* this Way: The Poets laugh at the Uniformity of the Place, and the Rules of Times: Their Plays contain the Actions of Five and Twenty Years, and after that in the First Act they represent the Marriage of a Prince; they bring in his Son Fighting in the Second, and having Travelled over many Countries: But above all things they set up for Characterizing the Passions, Vertues and Vices of Mankind admirably well; and indeed do not fall much short in the performance. In representing

*Elegance of
the Eng-
lish Lan-
guage.*

*Prose-Co-
medy.*

a Miser, they make him guilty of all the basest Actions that have been practised in several Ages, upon divers Occasions and indifferent Professions: They do not matter tho' it be a Hodch Potch, for they say, they mind only the Parts as they come on one after another, and have no regard to the whole Composition. I understand that all the *English* Eloquence consists in nothing but meer Pedantry, and that their Sermons from the Pulpit, and their pleadings at the Bar, are much of the same Stamp. I can say nothing of my self as to these Particulars, I only tell you what others have assured me to be true. The *English* Books are mostly writ after the same manner, and contain nothing but Rapsodies of things ill enough set together; and yet they are Valued, and the Authors get Reputation by them; for they frequently never cite the Books from whence they Borrow, and so their Copies are taken for Originals. They are great Admirers of their own Language; and it suits their Effeminacy very well, for it spares them the Labour of moving their Lips: It must needs be very Copious and Adapt; for tho' 'tis a Corruption of the *Teutonic* or *German* which indeed is a very narrow Tongue, yet it openly declares it to be her Business to grow Rich with the Spoils of all dead Languages, and every Day impunedly to appropriate all that is good and proper for her from the living ones: Their Comedies are a kind of Blank Verse, and suit an Ordinary Language better than our Meetre, and make some Melody: They cannot but conceive it to be a troublesome thing to have the Ear continually tickled with the same Cadence; and they say, that to hear Heroick Verses spoken for Two or Three Hours together, and to recoil back from one to the other, is a Method of Expression

pression that is not so natural and diverting: In short, it looks as if the *English* would by no means fall in with the Practices and manner of Representations in other Languages; and the *Italian* Opera's appear more extravagant, and much more disliked by them than ours. But we are not here to enter upon a Dispute about the different Tastes of Men, it's best to leave every one to abound in his own Sence. It's not upon this Occasion only that we may observe, how People many times are much pleased with Trifles; and that one of the greatest Enjoyments they have is to impose upon themselves, or to fill their Heads with some Illusion to Divert them, till another comes on, and so new Airs and Fashions seem always the best and most agreeable to our Fancies. It's the same in several other things, of which we may discourse one time or another at our leisure: But tho' the *English* Comedies are almost all Prose, I brought a Volume writ by the Marchioness of *Newcastle* along with me, by which, as also by Three other Volumes of the Poetical, Political, and Philosophical Works of this Lady, I was glad to make it appear in *France*, how much her Excellent Genius, Admirable Sence and Eloquence, abounded throughout the whole Composition.

Among the Diversions of the City of *London*, I am not to forget the *Bear-Garden* Prize-fighters; they are usually Fencing-masters, or their Ushers, who to gain themselves Reputation, and something else besides Blows, put out a Challenge, and lay a Wager of Twenty or Thirty Pounds against any that will fight them: The Money is deposited and delivered to him that accepts the Challenge; the Challenger takes up the Money that is received at the Door, which amounts

sometimes to more than Twice or Thrice the Sum he gave his Opponent, as there are more or less People there to see the Sport: They fight with Sword and Buckler, and Back-Sword. But I fancy there is some sort of Collusion between them, to make the Sport last, for they presently give over at the first Drawing of Blood; besides, the Swords are blunt: However, they sometimes give one another terrible Hacks and Slashes, so that half a Cheek hangs down; but this is done by chance, and happens not often, tho' there is always something that is fierce in this Brutish Exercise.

*Meets with
a Friend
before his
Return.*

I am to acquaint you, that before I repassed the Seas, my good Angel, in the Nick of time, brought to me a Gentleman, one of whose Parents was *English*, whose Company I had from *London* to *Paris*. I met in my return with none of those Inconveniencies I encountred before: The People did not seem to be so rude, and the Country looked better than at first. This Gentleman was the Nephew of the late *M. du Prat*, my dear Friend; he is Young, but Prudent, Discreet, and of great Merit: He had before seen almost all Parts of *Europe* with my Lord *Cavendish*; but being desirous to know as much of the World as he could, he went over into *Africa* with the Earl of *Peterborough*, when he went to take upon him the Government of *Tangier*, a Place surrendred to the Crown of *England* by the *Portuguese*. He is certainly worthy of the Name he bears; and 'tis with Delight that I saw the Vertues of his Unkle revive in him, together with those of Mr. *Hobbs*, and other Excellent Men, whom he had seen in his Travels; for he was no stupid Travel-ler, and an Observer only of the good Inns he came to, but had taken a firm Resolution to learn every

ry thing worth his Knowledge, and nicely to distinguish the Goodness of things, as he had also a design to Polish himself, to form a Sound Judgment of Matters, and to attain as far as it was possible for him to a Consummate Prudence; and it delighted my Heart to find he had succeeded so happily in all of them: For I looked upon him as no other than if he had been my Son, because of the Friendship he ever professed for me, and the Remembrance of that Esteem and Veneration I had and still retain for his late Unkle.

By the same good Fortune it fell out that *Dover* did not come short of *Calais*, in the happy Interview I had there with a *Heroine*, whom I may set up in Competition with the Lady whose Company I had been Honoured with on the other Side of the Streight: But I saw her in a Place where I was very sorry to meet with her, for it was in the Castle where she was confined that I gave her a Visit, and from whence since that she was Transported to *Denmark*; in which Country she suffered such hardships as were unworthy of her Sex and Birth, with an Heroick Courage. What was told me as to the Reason of her being seized by the King of *England's* Orders I cannot give Credit to: But I am glad of an Opportunity to relate to you the Pretence for it, and the whole History of her Life, which indeed has a great deal Romantick in it, tho' I had it from her own Mouth when I went to wait upon her.

The Countess *Eleanor* is Sister to the King of *Denmark*, now Reigning, and the Daughter of *Christian IV.* who Married a Gentlewomen with his Left Hand, to distinguish between her and Princesses, and to lessen the Quality of the Children.

Monsieur
Ulefield.

dren he might have by her : Amongst others this was one of his Daughters by her, whom he extremely loved, and when she grew up to Maturity, he gave her in Marriage to a *Danish* Lord, for whom he had a very great Esteem, and this was *Cornelius Ulefield Oxenstern* of *Denmark*, the greatest Man in his Kingdom, and who mhe took Pleasure to advance to the highest Dignities. He made him Viceroy of *Norway*, Grand Master of his Kingdoms, and heaped upon him every thing that a Favourite could hope for ; of which he has now no Remains left, but the most valuable of all, his most Illustrious Wife, for whose Confinement he is grieved to the Heart, while he himself wanders up and down in Foreign Countries under the Persecution of his Evil Fortune.

What would you say, Sir, If I should make it plainly appear to you, that the Esteem his Master had for him, the Friendship he professed to him, and the tender Affection wherewith he loved the Countess his Daughter, to say nothing of the Harmony between the Vertues of Two Persons so equally Matched, have been the only Cause of their Misfortune, their Happiness was thwarted by Envy, Domestick Jealousies interposed, and all broke out after the Death of the late King ; their great Genius came to be suspected at Court, and their Removal from it, which was followed with all their other Mortifications, came to pass in the following manner.

Treaty between the
Danes
and
Dutch.

Christian IV. Reigned very peaceably, and very long, for I think he governed the Kingdom for Two and Fifty Years : This Prince, who had gained the Hearts of his People, found they failed him after the Invasion of *Schonen* by the *Swedes* :

This

This had so exhausted their Treasure, and so much weakned or cowed *Denmark*, that in order to get out of Debt, or to keep and resume their former Courage, they found themselves under a necessity of having Recourse to *Holland* for Relief. This was it that brought the Count of *Ulefield* to the *Hague* in the Year 1649, and to enter into a Treaty with the States General about the Passage of the *Sundt*, which he would let out to Farm to them. The Goodness of the late King, and the Sweets of Peace, had made the Gentry and Commonalty negligent of a great many Priviledges, which they designed to re-establish in their former Vigour when they came to a new Election: The Grand Master must be tight to the Interest of the Court by his Office, which was to represent all the Nobility of the Kingdom, and to have a Negative Voice in their Debates: So that as nothing could pass without his Consent, he had been accustomed to Sign Placards, and publish Orders thus; *By the King and the Grand Master*. This Minister, I say, was intirely in the Interest of his Brother-in-law's, being Elected to succeed in the Throne; and perhaps, besides the Interest he had in heightning the Priviledges of those of his own Rank, he likewise considered that of his own Family, and the Animosities that had been raised between the Children of the Royal Family, by reason of the Inequality of their Condition, and the Jealousies which the Affection the late King had for the Countess *Eleanor*, wrought amongst them.

Things standing thus in *Denmark*, Monsieur *Ulefield* went for the *Hague*; the Treaty about the Passage of the *Sundt* with the *Dutch* Span into a great length before it was concluded; and I believe it will scarce ever be executed, because

Grand Master removed from Court.
it

it has not been ratified. The Court was much pleased with that, and no Endeavours were wanting to explode the whole Negotiation. On the other hand, those who were Commissionated to execute the Office of Grand Master began to relish the Place, and were not sorry that he should not soon resume it: In short, they began to form Cabals against the Count, and used all the Artifice they had to ridicule his Negotiation. Upon his Return to *Copenhagen* he was offended at the Esteem some were in, grew fretful, and would not take upon him the Administration of Affairs, as before, till the Ratification came from *Holland*. He Confined himself for Six Weeks in his Chamber under Pretence of Sickness: And this was the Second Error of this Great Man, who forgot that we must never quit an Advantageous Post at Court, not draw back under any Pretence whatever, not lose the Thread of Business, nor give any Body an Opportunity to outdo us, much less to gain ground of us, by our Absence.

Ulefield
goes to
Sweden
and Poland
and returns
to Den-
mark.

While Count *Ulefield* kept himself thus at home in a kind of a voluntary Ostracism or Banishment, his Spirits were more and more soured, his Friends began to cool, his Enemies took courage, so that at last he was accused of a Conspiracy, for which Calumny put upon him he procured the Heads of those false Witnesses to be chopt off. But whilst he continued in a just Defiance of the Evil Designs of his Enemies, yet fearing they might form new Accusations against him, he retired to *Sweden*, which made him Criminal to a Witness: After he had continued a great while out of the Kingdom, and that he found the Numerous Armies of the *Swedes* did nothing but range up and down *Poland*, he turned

turned the Torrent upon *Denmark*, and had a deep Hand in all those Wars: The Death of the King of *Sweden* having re-established the Peace of the *North*, he was comprehended in the general Pardon, and restored to his Estate, but not Employment. Finding therefore that he made but an ill Figure in his own Country, he grew uneasy, and began to suspect whether he was safe or not, because the King had made the Kingdom Hereditary, and there were a World of Malecontents amongst them; so that he might always be liable to be accused of a Design to put himself at the Head of them, whenever the Court had a Mind to divest him of his Liberty.

It's about Two Years ago that he pretended to go and Drink the *Spaw-Waters*, that he might be remote from Court; and so Travelling into *France*, he was at *Paris Incognito*, and from thence retired to *Bruges*, to pass the Winter in that Country; and 'twas from that Place that his Lady, who has accompanied him in all his Travels, went over into *England* to look after some Money due to him there, as it is from *Bruges* that they imagine her Husband forms Conspiracies in *Denmark*.

May not this Relation I have here given you, ^{Arrives at Bruges.} Sir, together with some Episodes, be a good Subject for a Romance? And doth it not exactly agree with the exalted Mien of those Two Heroick Persons? For the great Adventures of these Heroes may be easily Read in their Foreheads; and does not all this require a wonderful Fortitude of Mind, which these Two Intrepid Spirits have retained as well in Adversity as Prosperity: In short, Sir, I know not whether it would be to their Advantage to have the Tranquility of those Persons in *Denmark*, who were afraid of these

these Illustrious and Unhappy Pair residing in *Flanders*, in Exchange for the Agitations of Fortune they have been exercised with: And I do not doubt but their great Merit will at one time or other meet with due Acknowledgements, and that their Memory will be revered for their constant Fidelity to the King, as well as for the Zeal they have retained for the Fundamental Constitutions of their Country. I owed this short Digression to your Curiosity, and to the respect I have for Mr. *Ulefield* and his Lady, whom I had formerly the Honour to see at the *Hague*, in the time of his Embassie there.

Mr. Borri. I have nothing more to say to you since I fancy my self now in *France*: I have formerly given some Account of *Holland*, and I have only Two or Three Words to add concerning the Famous Chevalier *Borri*, whom I saw at *Amsterdam* in my last Journey thither. You must know that this Person made so much Noise at *Paris*, that People of Quality in *Holland* were carried to him in Litters, in order to be Cured by this Mountebank, and that others of Learning went thither on

The Credulity of Mankind.

purpose to Visit so great a Man: What can we say to this, Sir, unless it be that we find that to be true now, which was so in former Times, that the frail Nature of Man may be defined by its Inclination to Error and Credulity: *Homo est Animal Credulum & mendax*, φιλολογον ζῶον: Those who so readily give credit to the Stories told them of these Miracle Workers, such as *Borri* was esteemed to be before the World came to be undeceived, undoubtedly were exceeding attentive in their Youth to the merry Tales of a Tub that were told them, which shewed a great deal of good Nature, and tractable Dispositions. I could very freely descant upon
this

this Matter ; and I have seen so many things fall under this Head, that perhaps a Digression this Way would not prove the most disagreeable Part of my Discourse. I remember a panick Fear with which the *Dutch* Women were seiz'd about Fifteen or Sixteen Years ago, that there were Mad People ran up and down the Streets in the Night, who cut off the Noses of all they met ; there was not a Day past but there was a Hundred Stories told of what had hapned there the Night before : Peoples Names were produced, and all the Circumstances of the pretended Assassinations related. The Magistrates made very strict Searches after them ; and tho' not one Person was ever found to be wounded, and that the whole was nothing but the Chimera's of the Vulgar ; there were Guards placed at the Corners of the Streets, and a Patroul appointed, who went their Rounds upwards of Six Weeks, and met nothing. The Hairy Monk formerly frightened all *Paris* in the same manner : People Ten Years ago were terribly alarmed with an Eclipse, tho' it be a thing that frequently happens : I remember there was above once or twice a Day named on which the *Seine* was to overflow the Banks, and do a World of Damage ; and this so impudently affirmed, that some People who lived near the River removed their Effects. But Credulity takes Delight from time to time, to discover the Ascendency it has over the best Understanding, especially in Matters of Physick and the Philosophers Stone, Health and Riches being the most desirable Things in this World, and such as Vertuous Men ought not to neglect. So it happens, that after we have for a long while withstood false Perswasions in this kind, have laughed at your common Physicians, we are suddenly drawn into

into a firm Belief of the Promises of a Mountebank, and possessed with a mighty Opinion of his new Method, tho' he vends no other than the same Ware. The Person I am describing to you is a tall Black Fellow, of a good Mien enough, who walks fast, and lives tolerably handsome: But yet he is not the Man he is taken to be, and so much cried up: For Eight or Ten Thousand Livres goes a great Way at *Amsterdam* for a House that Cost Fifteen Thousand Crowns, standing in a good Place, Five or Six tall Footmen, a *French* Dress, some Collation made for the Ladies, the remains of some Money, Five or Six Rix-dollars given to the Poor in due time and place, some sort of Insolence in Discourse, and such Artifices as these, make People, that are Ccredulous, or such as would have it so, give out that he gave away Handfuls of Diamonds, did very great things, and had an Universal Medicine: The Conclusion of all is, that *Borrey* is a dextrous Cheat; he was the Son of an Able Physician in *Milan*, who left him some Fortune, and which he has increased by his Industry in the Manner I have related the Thing unto you.

*The Address
of a Mountebank.*

As he does not want Wit, he has by the help of it, and a little Study, found out the Way to gain the good Opinion of some Princes, who have allowed him Pensions in hopes he would Communicate to them the Philosophers Stone, which he was upon the Point of finding out: he has without doubt some Skill or Experience in Chymical Preparations, as well as in Minerals: a sort of a Way to imitate Pearls and Precious Stones, and perhaps some Purging Remedies and Cordials, which usually are very good; for most of the Distempers that are incident to us stand in need of these. By the help of them it is that he

has

has insinuated himself into the good Opinion of those he has occasion to speak of: Some Merchants as well as Princes have been caught with this Snare, witness the Two Hundred Thousand Livres he promised to a certain Person who supplied him with Money, and for which the Merchant's Heirs now Sue the Spagirical Doctor; for the Spark exprest the Bargain in so dark a manner as is not to be understood. This Cheat, to gain Reputation to himself, and to be much talked of, at first set up for an Arch-heretick: He understood that Physicians in general were represented as being not forward in believing the Mysteries of Religion, and therefore he made as if he believed more than he ought to have done. And as if he was pushed on out of Devotion to give greater Honour to the Virgin *Mary* than the Church allowed, he proceeded so far as to make her One of the Four Persons that Constituted the Divine Essence; for which the Inquisition went to call him to an Account, and for his Contumacy Condemned him to be Burnt: He retired to *Insprug*, where the late Arch-duke was the first that was bubbled by him: And by his Means continuing his Journey to *Holland*, he fixed in *Amsterdam*, as a proper Place to proclaim aloud the Persecution he suffered at *Rome*; and where he found their Purses open to carry on his Design of acquiring great Wealth. He quickly attained to some Credit there among the Citizens, and for some time was supported by an Old Burgo-master, whom he cherished with his Cordials, till his Roguery came to be known by Everybody, and then he exploded his Artifices: All that these Sort of Men have to do, is to find out a Method to debase the Coin impunedly, or to alter the

*He was
Condemned
at Rome.*

Goes to Insprug.

*Settles in
Holland.*

*The Cures
he performs.*

Metal one way or other, that has not yet been found out; for as to the Curing Distempers he has no better Success where he is than the Bills and *Siquis's* of a certain Person in this City, who has almost attained to as much Reputation in the Principality of *Liege* and *Holland*, as *Borri* had at *Paris*. Our Countryman however has taken a Method to hold out longer than the *Milanois*: He has not talk'd so vehemently as the other; but yet continuing unwearyed in setting forth the Excellency of his Quintessence of *Raymond Lullus*, he has found Chapmen at last, and succeeded; and it may be to the great Advantage of the Sick, who entertain a great Opinion of his Physick, for which I am not sorry: For in short, every Body lives by his Industry; for 'tis likely, that if this Mountebank, who has had long and great Business, does not make more Cures, at least he kills no more than the Physicians: The Grave hides the Faults both of the one and the other; and 'tis ever of great Moment to them, who have not Infallible Remedies, to know how to prepare Innocent ones, wherein the Patient may confide; for a strong Imagination often tends to the Advantage of the Sick Person, and of the Physician.

*Physick
ought to be
practis'd
with discre-
tion.*

Some will tell us, that *Borri* was at *Naples* in the time of the Plague and that having an Excellent Preservative, he went into the Pest-house that had been abandoned by reason of the Infection, and the Death of the People, and that he had good Success in those Parts. I know not how true it is, but after all, give me leave to tell you, Sir, if the Man were not too Dogmatical, and had not given the Inquisitors Cause to find fault with his Doctrine, his Genius might in some Measure deserve to be praised;

fed; and what remained further for us to do would be to laugh at the Credulity of those who took him for a Great Man: For in this Infancy of Physick (to speak sincerely, and call Things by their proper Names) what is there more in it than wretched Conjectures? And as long as the Humour prevails in Mankind to suffer themselves to be cheated, is there any Thing more to do than to vend the Remedies we have, which are very uncertain, to the best Advantage? The most Noble Physicians, notwithstanding the Aversion they have had to it, have made use of some Stuff or other, as well as innocent Stratagems, to make the Patient readily to swallow their Physick: A very Ingenious Method, and such as I have described in another Place, in speaking of one of my Friends who was of this Profession, and was not over-burdened with Practice; and indeed good Practice is not soon to be attained to, unless it be by a Bold Push, that has something extraordinary in it.

The *Willi's*, *Glisson's*, *Bartholine's*, *Gutschovens*, and *Regius's*, are scarce in the World; and if I could have met with many such I should not despair of the good Success of Physick as much as I do; I am ashamed to think there are such few left to Comfort us for the irreparable Loss the Publick has sustained by the Death of the *Harvey's*, *Wall's*, *Westling's*, and others: However we have some Matter of Rejoicing, to find some Young ones coming up, of whom there are great Hopes; and if the King's first Physician will but forward their good Inclinations, we ought not to be cast down. Indeed Physick stands in need of Monsieur *Vallot's* Assistance, and his Fortune is so well made, that he has leisure to promote the Publick Good, and the Glo-

ry of his Art, which they cannot but neglect who are obliged to pursue the Interests of their Family. He might concert some Measures for it, and put the King upon encouraging those that are curious in making Experiments, which are so necessary to bring an Art to Perfection, of which Princes stand in as much need as other Men, and such as cannot be done by the Attempts of private Persons: Tho' they may be done with no great Expence, when a good Method is once fixed upon, and that the Publick Authority interposes therein.

*It were to
be wished
the King's
first Physi-
cian would
promote his
Art.*

*Mr. Mont-
mont.*

I do no more herein than serve for a Trumpet; a Title, I have told you, his Majesty was pleas'd to dignifie me with amongst the *Literati*: I cannot think all my Counsels can be for ever useles; for from the time that I first came to publish them, and to make some Noise in the World, I found some of them have not been quite neglected, no, not in respect to the Founding of the Royal Society in *England*, to which, I was amongst the first, that had the Honour to contribute at Monsieur de *Montmor's*: And I am of the Opinion, that future Ages would not take it ill at the Hands of the Kings first Physician, if he would, by the Interest he has in the King, contribute as much to the Advantage of Physick, as this Illustrious Master of Requests has done of himself for all Parts of Natural Philosophy. The Blessings of Mankind attend this Excellent Person; the *Belles Lettres* and Sciences are not at all ungrateful to him; and the Praises so justly due to him, as well upon the Account of his Curiosity as Vertue, are trumpetted out in several Excellent Books everywhere. I am not afraid of overdoing the thing, if I take the freedom to say, that it seems to me as if the *Muses* were in Labour,

bour, and that there will be mighty Discoveries made of Natural Things before the end of this Century. The many Noble Efforts made among the Learned of these Times prognosticate the same unto us; and I am the more easily induced to believe this, from the Wisdom and Felicity of our King, to whom this Glory ought not to be wanting in his Reign: This ought to have been said by the way, that we may come off with Honour from Rambles wherein the Account I gave of *Borri* had plunged me, and put an End to the Wishes I have made, that Physicians may attain to that Perfection in their Practice, so as to distinguish them more than ever heretofore from Mountebanks; for People are very apt to confound Two Professions, that are so near one another, tho' indeed very different.

In the mean time it might be expected I should make an Apology for Physicians, and take upon me to refute all that *Michael de Montagne* and others have said against them; and that, Sir, by shewing that the Disorders among a Civil Society in Reference to the Improvements of Physick, and the Ignorance or Folly of those that are Sick, and others in Health, as well as the private Interest of Physicians, oblige the best Practitioners to exercise their Faculty as they do.

But, Sir, enough of those Arguments, and different Subjects, which I have perhaps ill-favouredly intermixt in my Account; I am afraid I have wearied you, but if you please I'll do the same thing as *Lewis XI.* did, who kissed a Leaden Medal that was sowed to his Hat when he was to use some Piece of Severity, by desiring you to give me leave to make a farther digression in this place. It may serve as a Corrective for

all the Ramblings of my Narrative; tho' they were Reflections made by me on the Shuffling and Fanatical Dispositions of the *English*, when they fall upon Matters of Religion and Politicks. But this may be applied to mean Genius's, who abandon their Minds to weak Meditations, as well as to all those whose Learned and Ingenious Notions are of no other use than to disturb the Tranquility of the World. Let me conclude therefore with a Touch of Septicism, and having Condemned those Speculations that are too subtil, in respect to some things that should be only handled slightly, *ut Contundantur grosso modo*, as is usual in the Practice of Physick, that requires to be treated more roughly and openly, *ex aequo & bono*, it comes to pass that it Contemns itself, and serves for a purging Medicine to all this Discourse: For as long as I clear it from all manner of Positiveness, it blots out all the Faults I may have committed: In case it should appear I have said any thing dogmatically in touching upon several things that occurred to me in *England* which might have some Affinity with what happens every Day elsewhere, and even as well among Divines as Politicians.

*Whether it
be proper to
use Subtil
Arguments
about every
thing,
&c.*

We are very often imposed upon by some Discourses, which seem to proceed from more refined Understandings, uncommon Probity, and the severest Vertue; and we are apt to take those for the greatest Politicians, the most intelligent and clear-sighted Persons in the World, who have but a mean Share of Vertue, Wisdom and Penetration; or rather are guilty of divers Follies, Seditions, and disguised Impieties. We usually judge of the severe Virtues of these Persons, who always magnifie their own Generosity, Candour,

dour, and other Excellencies, and yet are sometimes guilty of very extravagant Actions, as also of the boundless Politicks of others, which never come to pass; I say, we judge of these things as we do of the Gentry, that wear Feathers and Ribbons among the Common People, who by that take them to be very Rich, and Generous: None are generally more Beggarly and Sordid than these Rich and Liberal Men in Trifles: Their Tenants, if they have any, are continually plagued with advancing them Money beforehand; their Creditors are forced to break, their Servants starve, and the most wary of them are at last necessitated to quit their Service: There is nothing in the World more surprizing than the Maxims of our Chimerical *Virtuosi*, *ignava opera*, *Philosophæ Sententia*, and of our unwearied Politicians; they mortally hate the most innocent Lie, they take pity on Dogs, and little Birds, and do not stick to lose their Lives, that they may never so little serve the Interest of an ordinary Friend; they will allow of nothing that ought to be more inviolable than the publick Faith, and never will admit of any Exception; they are so exact to their Words, that if they should promise to bring all they are worth to Highway-men, they would not fail one Moment, and never resent the Violence offered them. If all the Revenues of the Government were in their Hands, their own private Necessities should never oblige them to make use of any of it: They cannot endure to hear that any Misdemeanor should be connived at, or that we should be confident from some Conjectures that there are Seditious Persons amongst us; they would be very ready to serve Twenty Years together without receiving any other Profits than their Salary, and to govern a

Sick State without the use of Bleeding, since some Drops of good Blood might happen to be spilt : There can be nothing so great and magnificent as what they say, and scarce any thing more impossible to be done; and they find themselves come much short, when they are about to act pursuant to any of the strict Rules of their Theory. They are necessitated to do that which they Condemned, and with more Shame and Contradiction than others, who do not pretend to so much Delicacy and Sublimity of Thoughts. But their Fine Genius's, if you will believe them, thoroughly justifies all the Contrariety we meet with in their Conduct; they are always mounted upon tall Horses, talk high of their Prudence and Equity, when they are farthest from them: Like the Baron *de Feneste*, who instead of bestowing something upon a poor Man that came to beg to him, bethought himself of some Questions about the Place of his Birth, and finding he did not answer him pertinently enough, dismiss him without an Alms, but would lay an Hundred Pistoles that he was not a Native of *Cadillac*, as he said he was. Those Hyperbolical Gentlemen and Politicians in the Commonwealth of *Plato* are daily guilty of a Hundred Extravagancies of this kind; and there is nothing seems more easie to them than to govern the World, nor more commodious than to live according to their Philosophy. These Men commonly value inferior and mean Arguments at a great Rate; they have a vast Esteem for Sophistries; they are very easie in believing such Things as they would have to be so, and are not forward to entertain Solid Reasoning: There are some Painters who do Wonders in Miniature, but the Pencil would fall out of their Hands, if they should go about to paint large Pictures. Their Figures are all lame, and
their

their Contrivance ridiculous: However, they may perhaps have the good Fortune to please the Unskilful in the Noble Art of Painting, who commonly value the Red and Blue of bad Copies, more than the Shadowing of Admirable Originals: A Wooden Statue, well Guilt in a Closet, strikes the Eye more than the dark Yellow of an Ingot, that is left careless on a Table, till there is an Opportunity to make use of it: A plain Argument, either written or spoke, does not make such an Impression upon weak Understandings, as a Piece of Sophistry that has a good Turn given it, or an Impertinent Story told with a good Grace, if told especially by those for whom we have a previous Esteem and Affection.

It's certain, that the Expressions and Authority of those who Communicate their Experiments, or their Arguments unto us, are great Helps to make us wise, and to attain to good Sence: But they are often very faulty; and our Error in Reckoning ought to be Corrected by a Representation of the Species; and we should ourselves weigh those Things that seem to be True, Just, and Expedient, and not refer them to the Judgment and Determination of another; we should sometimes lose Sight of all Sorts of Authors, and not be for ever casting up the Account with a Pen or Counters: We must lay Words and Authorities aside, if we would look into Things, and make an immediate Representation of them to our selves.

We have very Fine Speculations of Justice, Politics, Honour, Knowledge and Vertue, at our setting out from the University, according to the Instructions we have received from some Excellent Authors, who have eloquently treated of them; but when we have advanced a little farther into the World, we are amazed we do not find every

*'Tis good
to reason a
little with
our selves.*

*Things are
not the same
in practice,
as they are
in the Ab-
stract.*

every thing in the same manner as had been represented to us when we learnt Ethicks; but Vertues taken from the Abstract, and applied to Individuals, suffer a great deal of Allay and Diminution: The Magistrate who holds the Ballance of Justice does not always keep his Eye fixed to the Interest of it: A Gentleman does not always keep his Word: The Learned cannot resolve all the Doubts we meet with; the wisest Politicians are not for ever free from Mistakes and the most Vertuous Persons do not constantly lead an unblameable Life.

We ought to strive for Perfection, tho' we cannot attain to it.

The Infirmitie of Human Race is such, that 'tis to be met with in the greatest Men in the World: But this should not discourage us in the Pursuit of Vertue, nor divert us in our Applications to follow the finest Maxims of sound Sence, the most strict Rules of Honour, and the severest Laws of Justice: We must look high, to the End we may attain to some middling Degree of Elevation; for all these things are drawn downwards by our own Weight: Should we lay the best Qualities that are practised in the World exactly before our selves, in order to use them, we should find them at Second-hand much worse than they were before. We draw them from the Spring Head, we consider them in the Abstract, and yet when we come to make a particular Application of them, they will alter, and very suddenly corrupt: What then would they be if we should take them out of the Channel, where they are already corrupted, and draw them after an ill Copy?

Neither by the Truth of History.

Those who from the Reading of Fables and Romances apply their Minds to History, find themselves in a strange Country, where Things are not so agreeably set forth: For as to those who in their
Time

Time are the Subject of History, their Actions and Designs do not always suit well with the Genius and Inclinations of the Persons that write them: We find Things are much better concerted in Romances than History: For the Events proceed only from one Head, who brings them along to the End he aimed at: Whereas the Historian meets often with Cross Matter, and such as does not always please his Fancy. But if you pass from History to the Court, Camp, Bar, or some other Assembly, you meet still with a greater Difference between Romance and History. For tho' this last has a greater Foundation of Truth, and the Persons, Places and Actions, set out therein, are not meerly Invention, yet the Method and Expressions are the labour only of one Man, who very frequently sets off the Things he relates with greater Order and Management than really they were transacted. In a word, an Historian in Writing Forms a certain Design to himself: for Example, when he has a Mind to set forth, the manner by which a Favourite attained to the Ministry, and how he managed Affairs for so many Years, he recollects every thing he has heard said upon that Subject, gets together all the Memoirs he can meet with; and having formed the rest from the Consequences, his Imagination suggested to him; he enters the Lists, entertains us with an orderly and well-compacted Relation, and without any Interruption comes to the End of his Course. He removes all Obstacles out of the Way, and strews Roses and Flowers where-ever he thinks fit: And yet perhaps what he so very boldly asserts for Truth comes much short of it. No doubt but he is ignorant of many Things, the least of which would give his History another Face,

Face, and Truth is to be seen after the same manner in the Representation he makes, as the Resemblance of Persons remains in those base Pictures, wherein a Man, and some other Animal like him, are painted: The Lineaments both of the one and the other are to be seen there; but tho' you know them to be such and such, yet the Skill of the Painter has come short in giving a true Portraiture of them: I dare say, in Case the chief Actors in History were to come into the World again, to examine the Particulars, they would strike out the greatest Part of them; because the most powerful Motives and true Causes, the hidden Resorts, and secret Intrigues, the Temerity of unforeseen Rencounters, and the Hazard of innumerable Incidences, give a Turn to the very Persons themselves, who do not stir from Court, and have some Share in the Management of Affairs.

*Nor Philosophical
Conjectures.*

I do not know but we may find the same Gradation, that is between Romance and Truth, which passes for History in our Philosophy about the Sensible, Intelligible and Natural World. It is all Romantick from its Infancy; setting Things at too high a Price, and easily determining and resolving the greatest Difficulties in Nature: That Philosophy we learn in the Schools, or read in Books, is more Historical, and does not so often stand in need of Miracles to resolve its Problems by; makes a better Distinction between Things; and as we learn a great deal by it, we are at the same time given to understand that we are very ignorant in other Matters: But I am of Opinion there may be a much more terrible Distance between the Conclusions of this Sort of Philosophy and Truth, than there is between History and the
real

real Subject of it ; and the new Systems which the most Ingenious Physicians have entertained us with, amount to no more than their advancing by another Way some Paces farther than where their Masters left them ; and this very often serves us in no other Stead than to let us know the Uncertainty of the Accounts they have given us, the Defects of the Hypothesis, and the Falsity of the Principles. But pardon me, Sir, I have proceeded too far, the Pleasure I take in diverting you has carry'd me beyond the Bounds I first propos'd to my self : As to the Subject Matter of Philosophical Truths, which you are so desirous to know, I must refer you to what I have argued before at Mons. de Montmor's : And as to Moral Virtue, which we cherish as much as we do other Truths, I'll give you an Account of what I have formed to my self in my Closet, and which I believe I shall find among my Papers ; for I have dived as deep as I could to discover the Nature of it.

However, let us conclude even with Geometry, that we must not push all Sorts of Things to the utmost, nor be always making use of the Subtilty we are capable of. *Philosophandum paucis, nam omnino non bonum est* : For it seems to me, if every Body takes the Freedom to argue as subtilty as he can, you will find it on the other Hand impossible to act in all Things pursuant to this Subtilty. Hence it is that Mathematical Speculations cannot always be put in Practice in Mechanism, nor resolve all the Questions, or demonstrate all the Theorems that are propos'd by them. And without doubt One of our Friends *Mr. Hobbs* was well aware of this, and therefore went about

Nor by the Subtilty of Mathematical Arguments.

to

to lay down new Principles of Geometry, and to introduce new Definitions too. For as he has observed, that those of *Euclid* are not satisfactory in all Respects; and that when you take a strait Line and bend it, or a crooked Line to make it strait, you cannot retain the Measure, nor know the Proportion of it; he was of Opinion that the Defect proceeded from the Definition given of this Dimension: Insomuch, that instead of saying a Line is long, and not broad, he allows of some very little breadth, of no manner of Account, unless it be upon very few Occasions: In short, 'tis in the Solution of Problems, that have hitherto remained insoluble; that 'tis of use; such as the squaring of a Circle, and doubling a Cube. The Argument was about the indivisible Line of the Mathematicians, which is a meer Chimera, of which we can have no Idea; whereas in reasoning about that of our *Archimedes*, some Representation of which our Fancy does suggest to us, the Loss is discovered which a strait Line sustains, in being made crooked; and you may perceive the Variation which in the convex Part happens to the Points that give it some breadth. This does not hinder us to observe the Proportion of these Lines, the Loss that is sustained in some or other of its Minute Parts (which does not happen upon other Occasions, and even in this Case cannot be computed,) being not so considerable, that we may say, we do not know the Measure of them, at least-wise as exactly as 'tis possible to demonstrate the same: And this, Sir, is enough to shew you whether it be convenient at all times to use all the Subtilty of Reasoning we are capable of about every thing; and whether

a Man

a Man can always promise to act in Conformity to all this Subtilty. This, it seems, neither the Practice of the World in Civil Society, nor that Converſe by Way of Hiſtory which we have with thoſe who are no longer in Being, neither the Knowledge of Natural Things and Cauſes, nor Mathematical Reaſons can allow of.

I do not doubt, Sir, but you will be much pleaſed to hear me give an Account of ſome Learned Perſons, whom I viſited in this my laſt Journey: But becauſe I have formerly entertained *Monf. de Bautru* with ſomewhat of this Nature; I ſhould make too great an Excuſion if I ſhould take upon me to Communicate my Thoughts to you concerning the *Wickefort's*, *Grafwinkell's*, *Voffius's*, *Van Beninghen's*, *Aitſma's*, *Horne's*, *Ryckward's*, *Bornius's*, *Huddes's*, and ſeveral other Excellent Perſons in all Faculties, who are my Old Acquaintance: And therefore I ſhall only ſay a few Words about Two Perſons whom I admired at *Liege* and *Cologn*.

One of them is the Nuncio *Marcus Gallius*, The Nuncio at Cologn. Biſhop of *Arimini*, Brother to the Duke of *Aviti*, a *Milaneze*, of the Family of *St. Charles Boromeo*. This Prelate, beſides his Piety and Love of Learning, is a Man of admirable Prudence, great Knowledge and Elocution, and very curious in the Choice of good Books: Beſides which I found him to be a Perſon full of Wit and Goodneſs. I have no Reaſon to doubt but in Time I ſhall Congratulate him upon being dignified with the Purple, which his great Virtue juſtly merits: But he can never attain to it as ſoon as I could wiſh. The other Learned Perſon

M. Rene
Francis
Sluyze.

Dispute a-
bout dou-
bling of a
Cube.

Person is *Monf. Rene Francis de Sluyze*, a Canon of *St. Lambert*, the Cathedral of *Liege*, a Man of great Accomplishments every Way: He is about Forty Years of Age, of a Noble Family, Beautiful Countenance, has seen the World, is much honoured by his Prince, and whose vast Skill in Languages, in the Civil and Canon Law, as also in the Mathematicks, can never divest him of that Modesty, which is so very natural to him: I occasioned a small Controversie between him and *Mr. Hobbs*, about doubling the Cube, which the latter thought he had found out by his new Principle of Geometry; and the Method I have touched upon in my last Digression; and as I laid the Demonstration thereof before *Monf. de Sluyze*, he imagined he had presently detected a fallacious Syllogism in it, which was the Cause of exchanging of some Letters upon the Subject; and I hope the Curious will not take it ill if I publish them one time or other, together with what *Messieurs de Carcani* and *de Fermat* can say, in relation to it. I was charmed with the Friendship of these Two Great Men, which put me upon seeing *Liege* and *Cologne*; and would willingly have purchased it by a much more troublesome and longer Journey, than 'tis from *Philipville*, by the Way of *Dinant*, *Namur* and *Huy*, to *Liege*, from whence, I told you, I went down to *Holland*; for 'tis another Sort of a Way from *Liege*, to *Sedan*, through the Forrest of *Ardenne*, which is difficult to cross, and by which I returned to *France*: You may well guess at it, Sir, by the Road to *Rocroy* and *Marienburg*, so that you will not at all wonder that I should take a little Rest with my Friends at *Rheims*; where having

Lei-

Leisure to revise my Journal, I have given my self the Diversion to make a Relation of it to you according to your Commands, for which I must humbly thank you; for I had a great deal of Pleasure in going over the Things again, in travelling a second time, and in recollecting several Things, that perhaps I might have forgot, concerning the Value of which I have nothing to say to you: It's enough for me to assure you that I wrote nothing but what is true, and that I am with the utmost Affection,

S I R,

Rheims, Oct.
25th.

Your most Humble

and most Obedient Servant,

SORBIERE.

H

A N

27
By Miss Gorbier.
I write to you my dear, I have given my
self the pleasure of a Relation of it to
you according to your Comments, for which
I most humbly thank you; for I had a great
deal of pleasure in going over the things again,
in recollecting a long time, and in recollecting
several things, that perhaps I might have
forgot, concerning the Value of which I have
nothing to say to you; it's enough for me to
think you that I wrote nothing but what is
true, and that I am with the utmost Affection,

Yours &c.
Miss Gorbier.

SORBIERE

AM

OBSERVATIONS

ON

Monf. de Sorbier's Voyage

INTO

ENGLAND.

Written to Dr. *W R E N*,
Professor of Astronomy in
Oxford.

By *T H O M A S S P R A T*, Fellow
of the Royal-Society.

Sed poterat tutior esse Domi.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year 1708.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

Mont de Sorbier's Voyage

INTO

ENGLAND.

Written to Dr. W. R. F. N.
Professor of Astronomy in
Oxford.

By THOMAS SPURAT, Fellow
of the Royal Society.

Sold by the Author at the Book

LONDON

Printed in the Year 1708.

*A LETTER, containing
some Observations on Mons.
de Sorbriere's Voyage into
ENGLAND.*

S I R,

I Here send you the Account which Mons. *de Sorbriere* has given of his Voyage into *England*; and though it be an Insolent Libel on our Nation, yet I doubt not but you will peruse it with Delight. For when you have beheld how many Errors and Falshoods he has committed in this small Relation, you cannot but be pleas'd to find, that whoever undertakes to defame your Country, he must at the same time forfeit his Wit, and his Understanding, as well as his good Manners.

The King of *France* has already given him an effectual Answer. And it became the Justice of so great a Monarch, while he was defending the Interest of Faith with his Arms, to punish a pragmatcal Reviler of one of the most powerful Kingdoms in Christendom: And while he was exacting Satisfaction from the Pope himself, for an Affront offer'd to his Ambassador, to take Care that none of his own Subjects should presume to injure the Reputation of his Neighbours, and nearest Allies.

H 3

This

This Just Reply which has been publickly made to this Rude Satyr, was the Cause that it has not been hitherto confuted by an *English* Gentleman of your Acquaintance, who had undertaken it, whose Wit we might have oppos'd against him, if he had still flourish'd at *Paris*, with the Title of *Historiographer Royal*, though all his mighty Boasts of his own Abilities had been true. But however, though he is now below our Excellent Friends Consideration, yet I think myself engaged to see him corrected. For having now under my Hands the History of the *Royal Society*, it will be in vain for me to try to represent its Design to be Advantageous to the Glory of *England*, if my Countrymen shall know that one who calls himself a Member of that *Assembly* has escaped unanswered in the publick Disgraces which he has cast on our whole Nation.

I will therefore, Sir, briefly take him into a calm Examination; and that you may understand how I intend to proceed with him, I do here in the Beginning profess, that I will not vindicate the Honour of the *English* by making Reflections on the *French*. I will not endeavour to repair our own Fame on the Ruins of others. I have no Contention but with himself. I will only put together, and compare the Mistakes, the Incoherences, the Vanities of his Book. And (to confess a Secret to you, Sir,) I am resolved to take this Course in answering him; not only because I abhor the Sordid Way of Wit, of abusing whole Nations, but also because I am not much inamour'd of the Glory of his Punishment. For I cannot think that it is worth a Man's while, that can live quietly here at *London*, to have the Honour of making Three or Four Ill-natur'd Jest on a whole Kingdom, with the hazard of being
justly

justly banish'd into some remote Country for one's Labour.

I must confess, Sir, I came at first to read him him with some Expectations. I had before seen what he had Written in Praise of those Two Great Men, the Ornaments of *France*, *Gassendus*, and *De Marca*, the Archbishop of *Paris*. And I had some good hope that the Familiarity which he pretended to have had with them had taught him some of their good Qualities: That from the first he had taken that Candour and Modesty which the World admires in his Writings: And from the other he had learned, with what respect he ought to treat the Fame of whole Nations, Churches, and Sovereign Princes, by that Admirable Defence which he has made of the *Gallican* Priviledges. Besides this, Sir, I took his Book into my Hands with the greater Goodwill, because I had some Knowledge of his Person. I had been informed what Kindness he had received at *Oxford*: I had heard what Favour the King had shewn him, by admitting him to private Discourses with him in his Cabinet. And from all this I was encouraged to believe that he had given an Honourable, or at least a Just, Description of *England*. But I quickly perceiv'd how much I was disappointed: I presently saw what Difference there is between Scribbling Fine Harangues on Virtuous Men, and real Virtue itself. I straight found, that instead of the *good Intentions*, which, he says, he never wants, the greatest Part of his Treatise consists of ill grounded Reproaches: That he has ventur'd on many Things, whereof it was impossible he should receive an Account: That where he might be suppos'd to have some tolerable Knowledge, his Malice has perverted his Understanding: And that

Pref.

through the whole Course of his Observations, he has by his own Example make good that Character, which he often in this Book bestows on Humane Nature in general, *That Mankind is most pleas'd with Trifles, and that we are all Credulous, and Liars.*

In his *Epistle Dedicatory* he assures the most Christian King, that the most Principal Motive of his Journey was a Desire to advance his Majesty's Glory. The Design was Commendable, and Worthy an *Historiographer Royal*. But what Course did he take to increase his Renown? He says, *That he travelled Abroad on purpose to spread throughout the World the Fame of his Majesty's Munificence to himself.* I beseech you, Sir, how long will your *English* Modesty overwhelm you? How much Reason have you Real Philosophers, and Mathematicians, to have good Thoughts of your selves, if it be allow'd to a Man, who has only got some Name by creeping into your Companies, to believe himself so Considerable, that his Master's Liberality to him ought to make all Mankind admire his Magnificence? The Christian World has better Signs of the Greatness of the King of France's Mind; his Armies and Money have been Honourably imployed against *Algiers* and *Constantinople*. Amidst all these Glorious Expences what a mighty Sound does it make, that *the Famous Monsieur de Sorbier did receive a small Stipend out of his Treasury?*

But that you may the better understand who this great Man is, that can either exalt or diminish the Honour of Princes with a Word of his Mouth, I intreat you to hear his own Description of himself. I will only repeat, in his own Words, the Praises, which in the compass of a few Leaves, he has given his own Merits; by which you may
guess

gues how unjustly he has misplac'd the Titles of Proud and Arrogant, when he bestowed them *P. 55.* on one of the best Natured and Bashfulness Nations in the World. He brags, *That he has spent E. Ded.* all his Life in advancing the Reputation, and sustaining the Interests of the Sciences: *That he has always push'd on and encouraged the Great E. Ded.* Masters of Knowledge to labour: *That he has made a Noise where-ever he came: That he has got Discretion how to judge of good Things: That he has E. Ded.* mingled himself in the Intrigues of the Muses: *That he has been so happy as to be heard by them, E. Ded.* and to get some Credit amongst them: *That he holds a constant Commerce with the Chief Heads E. Ded.* of Parnassus: *That he has either been acquainted Pref.* with all the Learned Men of the Age, or has had certain Information concerning them: *That his King E. Ded.* did not favour him without Understanding him well.

Now, Sir, would not any Man that reads this conclude that *Monsieur de Sorbriere* is his own Historian more than the King of France's? Is this conformable to his own Rule, which he says he prescribes to himself, not to make *Elogies on P. 38.* any Man? Before he had dar'd to have said so much of himself, ought he not to have exceeded *Julius Scaliger* in his Learning, and his Nobility, as well as he had done in his Spite to our Country? Whereas the plain and the true Story of *Monsieur de Sorbriere's* Life is only this; he was Born at *Orange*, and for a long time profess'd the Protestant Religion. All or the greatest part of his Writings have been only some few Letters, a small Panegyrick or Two, a Translation of *Mr. Hobbes's de Cive* into French, this Description of England, and another of Holland. His First Employment was to teach a younger Son of the *Count de la Suze*, then he was made Usher to a School

School in his Native City. Both these Places he lost upon Suspicion of some Heterodox Opinions in the Fundamentals of *Christianity*. In this Discontent he came to *Paris*, renounc'd his Religion, and turned Papist; and at last, by many Insinuations and Flatteries, he obtained to have the Profits of a small *Cannonship of Avignon* settled on him. This, Sir, is all the *Brute* that *Monsieur de Sorbierre* has made in the World. And this Confident of the *Muses*, this Darling of *Parnassus*, this Favourite of Cardinals, this Companion of Governours of Provinces, this Censurer of Nations, this Judge of Kings, though he strove to advance himself by *Two Religions*, in the One did never rise to a higher Office than of a Pedant, in the other never got a greater Preferment than a pitiful *Sine Cure of Two Hundred Crowns a Year*.

E. Ded. And that you have no Reason to think that he has been wanting to himself all this while, seeing in this very *Epistle* you find him in plain Terms beseeching his Majesty that he would employ him. 'Tis a modest Request. But what other Place is that which he can desire? He says, E. Ded. That he has already been Glorified with the Title of *Trumpeter*. After this whither would his Ambition lead him? In this Warfare of Letters (give me leave to prosecute his own Metaphor) the Name of *Trumpeter* best becomes him. For (according to his Brother *Trumpeter's* Defence of himself in the Fable) it is never required of such Officers that they should ingage in the Fight, or do any real Service, but they are only us'd for a Show, and to make a Noise.

E. Ded. As for his other Qualification of *Historiographer Royal*, I will shew you in one Instance how he deserves it. He tells his King, That he has reported

reported in every Country where he came the prodigious Benefits that Heaven has heap'd on him: That to the Statesmen he has proclaimed his Industry in Business, and the Strength of his Judgment: To the Soldiers his Valour: To the Friends of the Church of Rome his Piety: To the Grandees the Pomp of his Court: And to the Fair Sex his Mien. These, Sir, are all Brave Words, and he had a Glorious Subject whereon to amplify. But let us consider the Authority of his Testimony: For *Monsieur de Sorbierre*, the King's Historiographer, when he might have had so much better Intelligence, when he might have alledged the Witness of all the Brave Men in France, does yet openly declare, *That he received the Image of his own Prince's Vertues from the Report of Madam Fiennes, a Lady whom P. 3. he met with accidentally at Calais.*

Upon the very entrance of his Journey, as soon as he sets forth from Paris, he gives Evident Proofs of the Lightness and Vanity of his Mind. From what he had said before in his own Commendation, I began to fancy in my Thoughts, a grave Philosopher, going forth with the Intent to survey all Civil States, that he might bring back their profitable Arts, and enrich his Native Country with them. I called to mind the Examples of *Pythagoras, Solon, Thales, Plato*, and almost all the first Wise Men amongst the *Gracians*, who were wont to make long Voyages into *Ægypt*, and the East, for such Honourable Purposes; and upon this Thought I was inclined to forgive him all his former Boastings, and to look on them only as pardonable Imperfections, which sometimes accompany Great Wits. And hence, Sir, you may think how much I was surpriz'd when I saw the first Fruits of his Travels were an Account of the pleasant

P. 2.

*sant Company that he had on the Way, of certain Polacks, that spoke Latin, that could play on the Violin, and that gave him a Dance Twice a Day. But hold, Sir, I will not give him this Occasion to confirm the Sentence which he has past upon us, that the English are of a Gloomy, Extravagant, Fanatick, Melancholly Humour; I am content to allow him these Divertisements. It was fit that he who went forth to Civilize Barbarous Nations, should be attended, as they were of Old, with Harmony. Yet you cannot but be delighted when you observe the Choice that he made: That he who undertook to Censure and Refine Manners, and Promote Inventions, he who talks of nothing less than Intrigues with the *Muses*, should find nothing worth mentioning in his Journey from *Paris* to *Calais*, but the Musick, and the Dancing of *Poland*. Seeing his Skill is so good in One of the Liberal Arts, seeing he was so well satisfied in *France* itself with a Fiddle of *Cracaw*, or *Warsaw*, I wonder he would come into *England* to search for Philosophy, and had not rather gone to the Famous University of *Moscow*.*

And yet, Sir, to speak the Truth, I can easily pardon *Monsieur de Sorbriere's* Affection to a *Polish Jig*. This is not the worst thing in which he has express'd his Inclination to that Country. He was turned out of his School at *Orange* for being a *Socinian*, and therefore we may well allow him to be an *Heretick* in their Musick, seeing he was so in their Divinity.

P. 23.

In this Jolly Posture he arrives at *Calais*. In the same Inn lay *Madam Fiennes*. She was invited the next Day to Dinner by *Mons. de Courtebonne*. *Mons. de Sorbriere* waits on her thither. The Entertainment pleas'd him. For this he commends

commends his Host for one of the most Accomplish'd and Obliging Gentlemen in France. And he professes he thought himself bound in Conscience to make him this Publick Acknowledgment. What is to be blam'd in all this? What could be more courtly? What a greater Sign of a Scrupulous and Tender Conscience, than to believe himself so much engag'd to be grateful for a good Postage? What greater Recompence could a Royal Trumpeter make to Mons. de Courtebonne than thus to sound up his Meat? Hitherto all is well. But now, Sir, I pray recollect whether he deals so fairly and religiously with your Fellow-Professor, Dr. Wallis? To whom, for all his good Cheer, for a hearty Welcome, for shewing him the University of Oxford, for imparting to him many Curiosities, which he himself confesses were Admirable, he has return'd no other Thanks P. 38.
than only a ridiculous Description of his Cap. P. 41.

At his landing at Dover he was saluted with P. 6.
 ill Language by the Boys. Methinks the handsome Entertainment that he met with there at his Return might have mov'd him to conceal this P. 7.
 ill Usage; though the Matter itself, at the worst, was not worth speaking of; for he might have consider'd that it is an ordinary thing for Boys not to have any great Kindness for School-Masters: Yet hence he takes Occasion to inveigh against the Rudeness of the whole English P. 6.
 Nation. I have already, Sir, engaged my self to forbear Comparisons, or else I might perhaps very justly contradict what he says, That the P. 6.
 English are always welcom'd at Diep and Calais with so much obliging Care. We are indeed with Care enough; for the Inhabitants of those Places seize on every Part of us, some catch our Cloaks, some our Hats, some our Portmantua's, and
 when

when we are by Piece-meals brought to Shore, our officious Friends demand their own Rates for having thus oblig'd us; so that sometimes we can scarce know whether we should call it a Landing, or a Wreck. This, Sir, is more than a verbal Incivility; yet I make no Conclusion from hence against the *French Nation*, but only against the Porters and Mariners of *Diep* and *Calais*. And the same Right ought *Monf. de Sorbierre* to have done us. He should not have presently exclaim'd against the whole Kingdom, for that which is only to be attributed to the ill Discipline of *Dover School*. This, Sir, may serve to give you some Light what kind of Judge we are like to find him in Matters of greater Weight: And when you read, *That he alledges no other Sign of the English Courage, than that their Butchers are delighted with the Noble Combats of Bulls, Bears and Dogs*: I hope you will remember, that it is the same Man who is here wise enough to pass a *General Rule* concerning the *English Ill Manners, from the Rude Behaviour of the Children of one of our Sea-Towns*.

P. 5.

P. 6.

P. 6.

Ep. Ded.

Yet, to do him Right in this Particular, he does not cast all the Blame on the *English*, but he involves the *Dutch* and *Italians* in the same common Crime. He here complains, that as we call the *Frenchmen* Dogs, so the *Dutch* upbraid them with the Opprobrious Name of Mushrooms, and the *Italians* with the worse Term of Fools. For my part I think all this by no Means to be justify'd if the Accusation be true. But however, how does this consist with that Flattery which he uses to his King, *That where ever he came he found the whole World ready to submit to the French Empire*? What says he now? Is it probable that all Nations are

are willing to make *France* the Seat of an Universal Monarchy, when at the same time he assures us from his own Experience, *That the usual Titles which their Neighbours bestow on them, are those of Dogs, Fools, and Mushrooms?*

The next Part of his Journey is from *Dover* to *London*. His Error about the Distance between these Two Places I forgive, though in *Three- P. 3.*
score Miles he mistakes *Ten*. All the Evil Touches which he here gives concerning the Disposition of the *English* I reserve for their proper Place. But I must take Notice how particularly the Historiographer Royal describes the Waggoner of *Canterbury*. *The Horses were ty'd P. 7.*
one before another, the Driver cloath'd in Black, a brave Mounteeiro on his Head, a jocund Fellow, mighty well satisfy'd with himself, a great Droll, in all Things appointed like another St. George. What think you now, Sir? May we not after this believe that *Tom Coriat* is One of the chief Heads of *Parnassus*, with whom he has convers'd? Where lyes the Difference between these Two Learned Authors? That Famous Countryman of ours was just so curious in his Relations; neither Horse nor Man could escape his Pen; on his Host's Beard and Sign-post he still declaim'd: Here are only wanting the *Frenchman's* Bills of Fare every Night, and you might have sworn that *Monf. de Sorbiere* had inherited the Great and Inquisitive Spirit of the Noble Traveller of *Odcomb*.

I will not here much insist on the Irreverence of this Zealous *Roman Catholick*, as we shall afterwards find him to be; though methinks it *P. 42.*
was not well done of him to object to the *English* their calling *St. Paul* by the familiar Name of *Paul*, when he himself has compar'd One of our
chief

chief Saints to a Waggoner. Nor am I much concern'd to see him so punctual in describing the Waggoner of *Canterbury* to his Shirt, and yet not to make any Mention of *Thomas Becket*, and *Austin* the Monk, the Renowned Saints of that Place. But yet I will here tell him, that though he was so careless of his Religion, he might have conceal'd the Character of the Waggoner upon another Account: For he will hardly be able to perswade his Reader, that the best

P. 7. *Way to spread the Report of the Magnificence of his Patron*, was to ride to *London* in a Waggon.

But to give you farther Evidence of the Solidity of his Humour. In all the Road between *London* to *Dover* he forgets not to enlarge upon every thing that he saw, except only that which is One of the *bravest Spectacles* in the World.

P. 11. He is very exact in surveying the *Bay-Windows* of *Canterbury*. He fully describes the *Bowling-Greens*, and the very *Rowlers* that make them

P. 9. *smooth*. He speaks so Romantically of the *Valleys*, the *Hills*, and the *Hedges* of *Kent*, that the Authors of *Clelia*, or *Astrea*, scarce ever venture to say so much on the like Occasion. He com-

P. 9. mends the convenient Form of *Rocheſter Bridge*; which he says is so contriv'd, that *Mens Hats* cannot be blown over. Who can deny but in all this he is a very Circumstantial and Faithful Relator? But I pray, Sir, mark, that he spends very many more Lines in speaking of each of those Toys, than of the most Magnificent Arsenal at *Chatham*, which lyes just below that Bridge. Of this he only in passing says, *That here our Ships of War are built, and here they are laid up when they re-*

P. 12. *turn*. And has he not here unawares betray'd the Levity of his own Mind? Where then was his Philosophical Curiosity? Where his Discre-

tion

tion to know good Things? Where his Love for Great and Wonderful Arts? What was a fitter Prospect to have stopp'd at? Where could the antient or present World have shewn a nobler Sight? For there, in one View, he might have seen the Ships that command the Ocean: That make this small People that he despises terrible to the Ends of the Earth. We confess we yield to the *French* in the Beauty of their Cities, and Palaces, but in our floating Castles we outgo them as much. He is in the right that about *Paris* there is a far greater number of Buildings: But the Suburbs which *London* has on the *Thames* and *Medway* make a sufficient Recompence for this defect. As long as we exceed all the World in the Fabricks of Strength and Empire, we may easily allow him to object to us our want of those of Pleasure. And without question, the *Sovereign*, the *Charles*, the *Prince*, the *James*, the *Henry*, the *London*, the *Resolution*, and above an hundred more, the best in the World, might have been thought worthy naming by him, that almost reckons up the Windows and the Cellars in *Canterbury*, and expresses himself so well satisfy'd to see, that *there was Care taken that a Plume of Feathers should not be disorder'd upon Rochester Bridge.*

In his Description of *London* he affirms, *That* P. 13.
it is bigger than Paris; and that it is a vulgar Errour of his Countrymen to think otherwise.
 And to manifest how vast he believes its Extent to be, he professes, *That he would not undertake to frame an exact Idea of it in his Mind under a* P. 15.
whole Year's time. This, Sir, methinks might have admonish'd him, that if he was not able to take a full Draught of our City in less than Twelve Months, he has been very presumptuous
 I (let

(let me return upon him his own Word) to conceive that he could give a Character of the Genius and Vices of our Nation, of the Constitution and Corruptions of our Church, of the Weaknesses of our Government, of the Pedantry of our Learning, and of the Barbarousness of our Language, in Three Months time. This Consideration ought certainly to have stopp'd his Pen a little, especially seeing the Streets and Alleys of London stand still, and represent themselves always in the same Fashion; to our Eyes, and it is enough to know them perfectly only to Travel them often through: Whereas it is so intricate a Work to take a right Prospect of the Manners of Men, the Humours of Nations, and the Secrets of Princes Counsels, that it is perhaps the most difficult Employment of Human Wit.

- P. 4. 'Tis true indeed, he endeavours to fetch a Justification of his Insolence from the *English* themselves: But the *Apology* which he makes rather aggravates his Offence. He says, *he is confident that if he writ in our own Language he should not displease us.* And he gives this Reason for it, that the *English* have often caus'd their
- P. 4. Character to be publish'd; and that they have this peculiar good Quality, that they love to have themselves handled plainly, and ill-spoken of. This he professes to mention in our Praise. And if this be his Courtesie, I now find that the Passengers with him in the Waggon had Reason when (as he complains) *they interpreted his very Civilities for Affronts.* But hold, Sir, what is this that he here says? Has the *English* Nation ever caus'd its Character to be Printed? He speaks of it as if it had been a thing done by Act of Parliament, and by the Authority of the whole State. 'Tis true, Sir, there was (as you may perhaps

P. 8.

perhaps remember) a small Pamphlet, that came out with the Title of the Character of *England*, about Six Years ago, but that was pretended to be a Translation out of *French*. Or let us suppose that it was an *Englishman* that writ it under that Disguise ; yet has Monsieur de Sorbriere from thence any ground to say that the whole *English* Nation has often printed its own Character? I will give him one Instance to shew how absurdly he did thus conclude, from one particular Man, to a whole Country. Monsieur de Sorbriere, in his Book of Letters, has inserted (as he calls it) a Sceptical Discourse concerning the City of *Paris*; wherein he uses the Metropolis of all *France* almost as injuriously as he does the *English* in this Relation, with Language as foul as the Dirt of *Paris* itself. Now then, because Monsieur de Sorbriere, a private Inhabitant of *Paris*, has presum'd to slander it in that manner, does it become me to affirm that the whole City of *Paris* has written a scandalous Libel on itself?

But perhaps by this Instance which I have here mention'd Monsieur de Sorbriere will raise an Argument that shall be very much to his own advantage. For now he will be ready to say, that the *English* have no great Reason to take his Affronts unkindly, seeing he has been already so free of his Corrections and Reproofs, as not to spare his own Countrymen themselves. I accept of his Apology. 'Tis *Pietatis plena Defensio* : 'Tis an excellent good-natur'd Defence, for his railing against Strangers, that he has done the same before against his own Fellow-Citizens.

P. 8.

But to return to the *English* Book, which he proposes as his Patern; seeing we have but one Libel in our Language against a whole Countrey in general, let us permit the Historiographer Royal to imitate it. Yet I cannot imagine how he came to understand that Book alone, when he professes that he was utterly ignorant of the *English Tongue* in all things else. It seems that Reviling and Satyr is so natural to his Mind, that he is able to conceive the Sense of it, though the Language in which it is written be never so much unknown to him. However, if we compare the Times of their Publication, we shall find that there is a great distinction between the Crimes of the *English*, and the *French* Satyrists. The first of these was publish'd during the Tyranny of the late Usurpers: And though it was very severe on the *English* in many Passages, yet the greatest part was spoken with a good Intention, in reproof of the miserable Distractions of that Age, and the many ill Customs which a long Civil War had introduc'd. I beg of you now, Sir, to consider by what an Example he clears himself. Because there was one Satyr written on our Nation, in a time of Licentiousness, and Confusion, he will second it now with a Worse, when we are settled in Peace and Prosperity. Seeing he thinks this Plea sufficient for what he says against the Manners of the *English*, that an *Englishman* did the same under *Oliver*, or *Richard*, I would have him also defend himself in all his Slanders on our Court, and the King's Ministers, with an Argument that will resemble the other. For why may he not assert, that it is lawful for him now to use such Liberty, because *Milton* was allow'd by the *Rump* to write a Villanous

a Villainous Book against the late King of Blessed Memory?

This weak excuse therefore, Sir, that he makes for his Barbarous way of handling us, shall not serve his Turn. He is so far from having receiv'd Incouragement from the *English*, that I can shew him several Volumes of the Voyages of some of our Countrymen into *Russia*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, the *Turkish Empire*, the *East-Indies*, and *America*, which have given a more advantageous Account of those Infidels and Barbarians, than he has done of the most Polite Countries in *Europe*. The *English* have describ'd and illustrated all Parts of the Earth by their Writings; many they have discover'd, they have visited all. And I dare assure him, that they have been always most tender of the Reputation of Foreign States, which they have gone to visit, as they have been most merciful in sparing the Natives Blood in those Countries which they discover'd.

Let us now behold how *Monsieur de Sorbriere* has conformed himself to this generous *English* Spirit. I will give you in a short View some of the good Terms that he has bestowed on our Nation in general. He says, *That we have skimmed all the Vices, and disdain'd the Vertues of other Countries: That we condemn all the rest of the World: That we esteem all Mankind besides* P. 5.
miserable: That we scorn to look on them, or to speak to them, when they travel hither: That P. 46.
we frequently menace and insult over our Neighbours: That it is very hard to know how to get our good Will: That we have a strong Union amongst our selves against Strangers: That we re- P. 5.
gard the Prosperity of others with an Evil Eye: That we have a Natural Inclination to Idleness, P. 55.
to Presumption, to a certain Extravagance of P. 11.
Thoughts,

- P. 4. Thoughts, which is to be found in our most
 Excellent Writings: That almost all the English
 are guilty of these Faults, because they proceed
 from our Soyl: That our Humour is too Free and
 P. 4. Arrogant: That we are Voracious and Luxurious:
 P. 62. That we submit to any that will fill our Bellies;
 P. 50. let us Rail, and will not disturb our Slothfulness:
 P. 8. That we are Scoffers, and Malicious Speakers: That
 P. 46. we are very Irregular and Suspicious: That we
 P. 47. are fill'd with dark Thoughts: That we are Fierce
 and Capricious: That we have a Melancholy pe-
 culiar to us: That if we once get Necessaries to
 support Life, our Idleness makes us Careless of a-
 ny more: That there are everywhere Do-littles,
 P. 8. Proud and Fanatick Persons to be met with: That
 there is nothing so couching as an Englishman,
 P. 9. if once you can find the Means to make him a-
 fraid: That if you take away their Insolence
 you take away their Courage: And that they make
 but one Leap from the greatest Huff of Pride
 into the basest Cowardice.

He has wearied me, Sir, and I can follow him
 no further, in heaping up such ignominious
 Trash. He acknowledges that *England* is bet-
 ter known than any other Part of the World,
 by the *Britannia* of the most Learned Mr *Camb-*
den; and it is happy for us that it is so. For
 if Foreigners should have nothing else to direct
 them concerning us but this Fair Idea which he
 has here given, I suppose they would Travel
 hither with the same caution as we do into
Greenland to fish for Whales, they would only
 touch upon our Shores, and stand upon their
 guard at every Noise, lest the wild Bears should
 surprize them unawares. I intreat you to recal
 into your Mind the Description which *Cesar*
 makes of the Salvage Manners of this Island, at
 the

the time that he conquer'd *Gaul* and *Britain* together; you will find that *Monsieur de Sorbiere* is less mild in his Expressions on us now than that Great Conqueror was on the Untrought and Original Inhabitants, that liv'd in Forests, and painted their Bodies, to make them appear more dreadful. Whatever Reflections had been made on our Imperfections, we might perhaps have patiently receiv'd them from the Hands of the Master of *Rome*, that had civiliz'd us; and it may be too from one of his Trumpeters, so he had been a *Roman*: But we cannot from a School-Master of *Orange*, from a Trumpeter of *Little-Britain*, from a Man that came hither to pick up Presents of Gloves, and Ribbons, and (as he himself confesses) to collect some certain Debts that were here owing to his Friends. P. 67.

When I first, Sir, beheld all this good Language which he has given us, I did presently cast about and examine what might be the Cause of his Rage; and at last I had from one of his Acquaintance Intimation enough to guess why he was pleas'd to be thus incens'd. When he return'd from his second Visit to the King, this Gentleman ask'd him how his Majesty had receiv'd him? He reply'd, kindly enough; he expected he would have presented him with some Medal. This, Sir, was the Provocation, and this was the Occasion, that made him lay about terribly. What Indignation can be great enough against such Baseness? Are these Writers of Letters, and Flatteries, and Romances, such dangerous men? Must the King of *England* deal with them as some petty Bordering Princes are forc'd to do with the *Turk*? Must he Buy them off, and pay Tribute to them, lest they should invade his Territories at their Pleasure? *Monsieur*

de Sorbier, Sir, is a Man of ripe Age; he pretends to have been familiar with Embassadors, Generals, and Nuntios; he lays Claim to the Title of Philosopher, and to the most generous Sect of Philosophy; he tells us he is a Sceptick. But did he ever yet hear of an Example of a Philosopher that prefer'd a petty Gift before the Sweetness and the Obligation of so Great and so Magnanimous a Prince's Conversation? It has indeed been told us that some Philosophers of old have transgress'd on the contrary, and have refused the Bounty of Monarchs, that they might preserve the liberty of their Minds; but in all History there can be no such Instance shewn, that a Man should forfeit his Truth and Honesty for the want of a Medal, unless it be of him that first renounc'd his Conscience, and chang'd his Religion, to obtain a Pension.

In answer to these Calumnies with which he has aspersed us, I will only in plain and simple Terms say as much as may confute his Reproaches, but I will not set upon a long and a solemn Panegyrick of our own Nation: For it is not my Business here to paint, but only to wash.

The first Slander, of which I shall take notice, he pretends to be a Proverbial Speech; that we have despis'd all the good, and skimm'd all the bad, of other People. As for the first part of it, whether we have scorn'd all the good Qualities of others, I am content to have try'd by his own Words. He grants that in very many things we imitate the Magnanimous Spirit of the Antient Romans. And if we have been so careful to learn Vertue, from an Empire that was long ago at an end, how could he imagine that we condemn all that is commendable in the Living? I thank him that he has resembled us to the greatest

greatest Men of all Antiquity : But in the Instance which he alledges he does well express what Sence he has of greatness of Mind, and honourable Actions ; for *he reckons the Fights of their Gladiators to be one Chief Sign of their Virtue*, which was a Cruelty that all the Civil World does blame them for. Besides, I will confess *Monsieur de Sorbierre* to be a better Master of Defence than any *that he saw at the Red Bull*, if after this he can prove to me that he is a fit Man to distinguish what is Insolence, and what is Courage, in the *English*, seeing he counts it to have been a great Piece of Bravery in the *Romans*, that they were delighted in beholding their Slaves and their Captives Murder one another. And whereas he says that we are infected with Outlandish Vices, I cannot forbear telling him that if this should be granted partly true, that we are in some Measure degenerated from the Native Vertue and Innocence of our Ancestors in *Edward the Third* and *Henry the Fifth's* Time, yet it is easie to tell from what Coast the Infection was transported hither ; and we may say with *Horace* in a like Case, though in respect of worse Arts than he intended,

*Gracia capta ferum victorem cepit, & Artes
Intulit Agresti Latio.*

He next objects to us, That we have a strong Union amongst our selves against Strangers, and that it is almost impossible to get our Good-will. This, Sir, is so far from being true, that (you know) it may well be computed that we have more Foreigners in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and *London*, who are permitted to Trade, and to enjoy the Priviledge of Natives, than there are constantly residing

residing in any Twenty Cities of *Italy, Spain, or France.*

Pref.

He upbraids us with frequent menacing and insulting over our Neighbours. This he speaks with particular respect to the *Hollanders Trade.* But who made him Judge of the Rights of Peace and War? He acknowledg'd before, *That all other Affairs, except only those of the Sciences, and Learned Men, lye out of his Way.*

Why does he then thrust in to be Arbitrator of the Differences between the *Dutch* and *Us*? To call those Menaces and Affronts, which an Assembly that represents a mighty Nation has already stil'd Demands of Just Satisfaction? And which the great Sovereign of the Seas will shortly make appear to be a Vindication of the Law of Nations. But if Monsieur *de Sorbriere* believes that our present Contentions with the Low Countrymen are only rude Affronts, and not just Grievances, I am certain he was once of another Mind, when he writ his Letter to Monsieur *de Courcelles* in the Year 1652, wherein he extols the *Rumps* Victories over them, and presages a Glorious Empire to those Tyrants from their absolute subduing them.

He says, *That we will not vouchsafe to speak to those that Travel hither, and yet he calls us Presumptuous, Railers, Arrogant, and Evil Speakers.* But to this it shall suffice me to reply, that seeing the same Man condemns our Silence, and our Speech, it is a good Argument that we are moderate and unblameable in both.

He declares, *That we regard the Prosperity of others with Jealousie*: Whereas there is not one of our Neighbours, to whom our Assistance could reach, but we have aided in their Calamities. The *United Provinces*, notwithstanding their present Appre-

Apprehensions of us, will still confess that their Commonwealth was founded upon *English* Valour. The Great *Henry* of *France* was establish'd in his Throne by Queen *Elizabeth's* Succours. And while I am writing this, the *Portuguese* behold one of the surest Ramparts of their Liberty to be the Breasts of *English* Soldiers.

He proceeds to affirm, That *we will serve any Man that will Feed us, suffer us to Rail, and be Idle.* But to give him a full Testimony how careful the *English* are of their own Liberty, it is enough to say that they endeavour more than most other Nations to preserve inviolable the Freedom of Mankind in general; for they never make Slaves of their Prisoners of War in any Part of *Europe*, which perhaps few other Nations have forborn; and that the World has a better Opinion of us, he may be convinc'd by this, that the Natives of all Trading Countries have still maintained a peculiar Respect for the *English* Integrity; and that where-ever the Bounds of our Empire have reached in Antient Times, there still remains on the Minds of the People a Remembrance of the Easiness of the *English* Government. If all this will not satisfy him, that the *English* are not of a more Servile Disposition than other Countries, I will put him upon an Employment which may well become his Abilities: Let him make a Computation of the Footmen, Grooms of Chambers, and Cooks in *Europe*, and then let him tell me whether he finds those of the *English* Nation to be the most numerous.

He asserts, That *the English are Suspicious, Dark, Irregular, Capricious, and that they have a Melancholy peculiar to themselves.* In this methinks his small Philosophy should have instructed him

P. 7.

him better, that such dismal Qualities are not the necessary Companions of the Complexion of *Angels*, which he allows them. But he that went dancing from *Paris* to *Calais*, and at *Calais*, as soon as he alighted out of the *Chasse Mare*, could not abstain from going to a Puppet-Play, (for that I suppose he means when he says, *He saw a Comedy there*,) is not a fit Man to Censure what is the difference between what is Fantastical and good Humour, between the Serious and the Sullen. However, he has made some Recompence to us for this Disgrace. He has describ'd the Vigorous and Sprightly Humour of the *French* in such a manner as makes it no very desirable Accomplishment. For he tells us, *That where-ever they come they make such a Noise, as to draw all the Children and the Dogs in the Town after them.* And I suppose it is such a kind of Brute as this that *Monseigneur de Sorbriere* says he has made in all Places where he arrived.

He often says that we are all Idle, Sluggish, and Do-littles. Upon this he insists so frequently, that I conceive his *French* Readers, that never saw *England*, will be apt to believe that he found it such a Country as *Lubberland*: That he caught all the Inhabitants stretch'd out on their Backs, and sleeping under Trees. But whence could he gather this Conception of our Stupidity? The Places that he visited were only those on the Road to *Oxford* and *London*, and some few other Noblemens Houses besides. I hope he did not conclude our Nation to be so Lazy, from the quiet of the Streets, and the Retirement of the Colleges in the University. Yet when I remember what Judgment he made on our Rudeness at *Dover*, and from whence he took his Conjecture, I am likewise inclined to think that he
has

has Discretion enough to determine upon the *English* Sluggishness from the private Way of Living of our Scholars. It must be so, for everywhere else he beheld many Marks of Diligence. In his Journey to *London* he confesses, *It was* P. 9. *admirable to see what an Infinite Number of Seamen and Shipwrights were at work on the Banks of the Thames.* In *London* itself he reports, that P. 16. *there are more Shops, and better Beautified, than in any City in the World. He found everywhere in England Men busie about Natural Experiments, from whose Labours he is confident Man-* P. 32. *kind may expect prodigious Inventions.* And are all these the Signs of an overgrown Slothfulness? But besides these, Sir, he never saw any of the Chief Seats of the *English* Industry; he beheld not the Coal-pits of *Newcastle*, the Cloth-works of the West, and the North, the Lead-mines of *Derby*, the Orchards of *Hereford*, the Plough-lands of *Devon*, the New-rivers of the *Fenns*, the Tin-mines of *Cornwal*. These, and many more, he should have view'd. He should thence have passed into our Western Colonies: He should have considered the Sugar-works of the *Barbadoes*, the Tobacco Plantations of *Virginia*, the Silk Trade that is begun there, and the vast Mole which goes on at *Tangier*, that pitiful Place (as he terms it:) After all these Surveys he might have been a fitter Judge of the *English* Labours. This Exactness of Information might have been expected from an Historiographer Royal. But he has been as careful in this as in most of the rest of his Intelligence. For as soon as ever he sets his Foot on the *English* Shore, he straight po- P. 4. *sitively condemns all the whole Nation of Laziness from the first Post-horse that he saw Gallop.*

His

P. 8.

His last Disgrace is the *English* Cowardice ; and the Occasion from whence he takes this Observation is very remarkable. *He saw at Oxford a Scholar affronted by a Frenchman that had been Seven Years the Protector's Soldier : And thence he passes Sentence on the Baseness of our Nation.* What, Sir, will the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* think of this? The One, when they remember the Battels of *Portland*, and the *Northforland* ; and the other, when they call to mind *Tenariff*, and the *Sandy Hills of Dunkirk*? Will they not take it very ill at his Hands that he should reckon all those for Cowards whom *Cromwell's Soldiers* had defeated? But if our late Civil Wars have not given an unconfutable Evidence of the *English* Valour ; if the Immortal *Sir Richard Greenville* ; if our Conquests of *Ireland* and *Scotland* be forgotten ; if the joint Testimony of almost all the Historical Writers for these last Six Hundred Years be of no Account ; yet (to say no more) I could never have believed that any *French* Historiographer would have given it under his Hand that the *English* are Cowards.

And now, Sir, having laid all these Ignominies together, would you not have guess'd that he would never have dar'd to pronounce so boldly upon us, unless he had convers'd all his Lifetime with us : Unless he had thoroughly studied our Temper, and deeply pierc'd by a long Search into the Composition of our Nature? But when I find, that as soon as ever he was called *Monsieur* by the Children of *Dover*, he straight makes a Conclusion of our general Inhospitallity : And of our Insolence from the next Carrier : that he employ'd : And of our Abusiveness from a silly Zealander, that was his Fellow-Traveller : And of our want of Courage from a pitiful Fray between a
Naked

Naked Scholar and an Armed French Souldier at Beaconsfield. This puts me in mind of the Judgment which one of the greatest Men that ever liv'd did pass on the Antient Gauls. It was the Experience of *Cesar* himself, of their Trifling and Changeable Humour, that in their most Solemn Councils they determin'd on the weightiest Affairs upon the Authority of any slender Report of the next wandering Pedlar. This I hope I may repeat without offending the present French Nation. For I do not say, (as *Monsieur de Sorbiere* of us,) That it came from the Nature of their Soil, and that therefore it must needs descend on all that are Born on the same Earth. But I only affirm, that I know a certain French Trumpeter that has made good this Observation of *Cesar's*.

This, Sir, being the Form which he has fancied in his Brain of the Wild Manners of the *English*, it is easie to guess what Thoughts he has of their Religion. And the Truth is, having represented us as such Monsters in our Civil Customs and Behaviour, he could do no other than paint us out to be as bad as Infidels in our Spiritual Condition. For whosoever are Barbarous in their Lives, can never be good Christians in their Hearts. It is the peculiar Glory of the true Christianity, that it does not only Save, but Civilize, its real Professors.

We shall therefore find that his Reproaches are proportionable concerning our Religion. And by the Irreverence of the Language which he uses towards it, you may perceive that he did not only learn from the Trooper that was his Companion to *Oxford* that the *English* are Insolent and Cowards, but that he also furnish'd him with this Intelligence of our Church. For this Account,

- count, which he has here set down, could have been given by no Man living so properly as by one that had been a Soldier in Cromwell's Army. To pass by the Friendly Names of *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks*, which he as freely bestows on us as if they were our National Titles, he has ventur'd to say, That *We separated from the Church of Rome for shameful Causes that are known to all the World: That the People has a Universal Aversion for the Religion establish'd by Law: That there is a probability that all our Sects may shortly unite to destroy it: That our solemn Publick Prayers are only a Morsel of a Liturgy: That the King did the most hazardous thing he could undertake when he restored Episcopacy: That our Ecclesiastical Government is nothing else but the Shadow and the Corruption of the true Hierarchy: That the Introduction of our Church Service into Scotland was the Cause of the shedding of so much Blood in the Three Nations: That our chief Clergymen, who have Pluralities of Benefices, make their Grooms their Curates: That our Bishops do horribly abuse their Jurisdiction in their Excommunications and Impositions: That they are so Haughty that none of the Inferiour Priests dare speak to them: That they Rob the Church by letting its Leases for Thirty Years; getting all the Money into their own Pockets, and leaving only a small Revenue to their Successors: That England is a Country where no Man is afraid of committing Simony.* This, Sir, is his Judgment of our Church. And you may be pleas'd to observe, that this Catalogue of Slanders is equally made up of those which the most furious of the *Romanists* on the one Side, and the most Fanatick amongst the *Nonconformists* on the other, are wont to Revile us withal: So that in repeating them, he

he does at once act both the Parts, which he had before play'd in the World at several times, that of a Violent Calvinist, and a Jesuitical Papist.

And first, it is false that our *English* Reformation began upon a shameful Occasion, or from the Extravagance of a private Passion. I know he has the Famous Story of King *Henry's* Divorce to oppose against what I say; but I am not startled at that, no more than at the Fable of our Bishops Consecration at the *Nags-Head-Tavern*; or of the *Kentishmen* having long Tails for the Murder of *Thomas Becket*; such Frivolous Arguments as these might have served well enough in the Mouths of the *Monks* Two Hundreds Years ago, but they will not pass so easily in a Philosophical and Inquisitive Age. In brief therefore, Sir, it is evident that King *Henry* the Eighth did never intend to proceed to a much greater distance from the *Roman See* than the *Gallican Church* maintains at this Day. There is no Man of our Church that looks on his Breach with the Pope to have been a Reformation; we only esteem it to be of the Nature of those Quarrels which many Princes in the most Catholick Countries have managed against the Holy Chair: The Reformation to which we stand is of latter Date. The Primitive Reformers amongst us beheld the Reason of Men tamely subjected to one Man's Command, and the Sovereign Powers of all *Christendom* still expos'd to be check'd and destroy'd by the Resolutions of his private Will: Upon this they arose to perform Two of the greatest Works in the World at once, to deliver the Minds of Christians from Tyranny, and the Dignity of the Throne from Spiritual Bondage. Whatever was the accidental, this was the real Cause of our first Reformation, and of their

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Separation

P. 19.

Separation from us, not ours from them. And this was the Event which must needs have come to pass near the time in which it did, though King *Henry* had never forsaken his Wife. Let him therefore know, that our Doctrine (*as much spoil'd as it is, in his Opinion,*) was establish'd by Christ and his Apostles: And that the Ceremonies of our Worship were not set up by Faction, or by a popular Fury, but by the deliberate Counsels of Wise Men, and by the Authority of that Power which bears the Immediate Image of God. This, Sir, I have said in Vindication of our Church; not so much to satisfy this Idle Dreamer on *Parnassus*, as out of the Love which I bear to many well-meaning Catholicks amongst us, who have this Argument sometimes in their Mouths; of whom I know very many, whose Wishes for the Happiness of their Country, and for its Freedom from Foreign Usurpations, are as honourable as any *Englishmen* Living. As for Monsieur de Sorbier's Part, it had been a sufficient Reply to him, that I can Name a Man who has indeed *separated from the Religion wherein he was Born for a shameful Cause which is known to all the World.*

P. 41.

He declares that *the People of England has a universal Aversion for the Establish'd Worship.* But here I cannot say that of him for which he commends Doctor Wallis, that *He is one of the best Accomptants in the World.* This positive Computation he never was in any Capacity to make. He never saw any of the middle, or the remoter Parts of our Nation, where Nonconformity is but very sparingly spread: He never convers'd with the vast Body of Gentry and Yeomanry that live Country Lives, who are generally

nerally uninfected. It is *London* alone on which he must rely for this Calculation. And yet even in this too I dare openly assure him, that the far greater Number is for the Rites of the Church than against them. But I advise Monsieur *de Sorbierre*, that before he thinks himself able to make an exact Judgment of the Number of our Religious Sects, he would first correct all his Errors in Arithmetick, which are to be found in this Book, about the most obvious Things, in reckoning of which it was enough to have only had the Understanding of the least Child that he ever taught. I will only produce one in this Place. Have we not reason to rely upon his Opinion of the Difference of the Parties in the whole Kingdom, when in the least Number that can be he has mistaken half? For he says, that *the double-bottom'd Vessel has Two Masts in the Front*, when every Sculler on the *Thames* knows it has but One.

He affirms, that *the Government of our Bishops is nothing else but the Shadow, and the Corruption of a true Hierarchy*. And he gives this Excellent Reason for it, *because here the Spiritual submits to the Temporal*. This very Argument I will turn on himself. It is therefore the True, the Sound, the Apostolical Episcopacy, *because it does yield to the Temporal Power, which else could be nothing but a Shadow?* It is the Glory of the Church of England, that it never resisted Authority, nor engag'd in Rebellion: Which is a Praise that makes much to its Advantage in the Minds of all those who have read of the dismal Effects of the *Scotch Covenant*, and the Holy League.

He says, that *our King did put himself on the most dangerous Enterprize that could be attempted*

P. 24.

when he restored Episcopacy; and yet he confesses that our other Sects are inconsistent with any Government but a Commonwealth. What dreadful Danger could be imagined in a Monarch's destroying that which must need fall of itself in a Monarchy? But to shew how much he was mistaken, it is evident, that on his Majesty's most Glorious Return the Church soon recovered all its Rights of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, of sitting in Parliament, and even all its Lands, which had been long held by Armed Ufurpers, without any other Opposition than what was made by General Venner, and his Forty Men, who it seems did run the greatest hazard of the Two.

He declares that there is so great a distance between our Bishops and our inferior Clergy, that these dare not speak to, nor stand cover'd before them. This, Sir, you and I can prove to be a manifest Untruth by several Instances. But however, what Course can we take to please this grave Censurer of our Civility? He here dislikes the Respects that we shew to our chief Churchmen: And in another Place He condemns the familiar Behaviour of our Soldiers towards their Officers. He abuses the Clergymen for standing bare to those Reverend and Aged Persons, and the Red-coats for keeping on their Hats in the presence of their Captains. How sufficient a Judge is he of good Manners, that would bring rude Customs of a Camp into the Church, and the Punctilio's of Observance and Courtship into an Army.

But he accuses us of a greater Crime. It is but Just that there should be so great a distance, if our Clergymen that have Pluralities make their Grooms supply their Cures. In this part
of

of his Character he certainly, Sir, mistook the Country, and intended this for some other Kingdom in *Europe*, where he had also miss'd of a Medal. It is a sign that he is as little acquainted with his own Church, as he is with ours, or else he would never have objected to us our Pluralities, which are infinitely fewer, and more confin'd amongst us: He would never have ventur'd to upbraid us with the Ignorance of our Parish Priests, lest we should have provoked the whole Church of *Rome* to a Comparifon. In brief, Sir, our Slaves do not serve at our Altars: And I will also add, that our chief Spiritual Dignities are not entailed on Families, nor possess'd by Children. In all the Parishes of *England*, I dare challenge not only him that is a Stranger, but the most bitter Enemies to our Discipline, to shew me Twenty Pulpits that are filled with Men who have not spent their Youth in Studies to prepare them, and who have not the Authority of Holy Orders.

That he has presum'd to call our Publick Solemn Prayers only a Morsel, or a Scrap of a Liturgy, I do not much wonder. For he that has long made his own Religion his Cook, (as one of our Poets expresses it,) may well be thought Irreligious enough to take a Metaphor for ours from a Kitchen. But besides this, he asserts, that *the Introduction of the English Liturgy into Scotland, was the Cause of the shedding of all the Blood in the Three Nations.* This Speech might have well fitted the Mouth of *Bradshaw*, or the Pen of *Ireton*; for it lays all the guilt of so much Slaughter on the most Innocent, and most Merciful Prince that ever wore a Crown; by whose special Care, an Uniformity of Worship was attempted in that Kingdom,

dom. But to give him better light, and to let him see that there were other Causes of our Miseries in one of these Three Countries at least, I would fain have him ask this Question of the Pope's Legate that was in *Ireland*, whether the horrible *Irish* Massacre was committed for no other Reason, but only out of a Tender Brotherly Sense of the Yoke which was laid by the Common-Prayer on the *Scotchmens* Consciences?

He tells us, that *it is an ordinary thing with our Bishops to exercise their Ecclesiastical Censures on frivolous Accounts*. But methinks he might have remembred, that it was not probable they should seek out any trifling Occasions of Excommunication, when, by his own Confession, they have so many weighty Provocations, if that be true, that the whole Nation neglects their Discipline. But, Sir, you know it is apparent to all indifferent Men, that the Bishops have been most remarkably moderate in their Visitations: And that the Punishments which have been inflicted on the Obstinate have for the most part proceeded from the Temporal Sword, and not the Spiritual. But because he here quarrels at the Absoluteness of our Bishop's Power, I leave him to be answered by the whole Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, who ought to be alarm'd by this. For if ours shall be reputed so Tyrannical, what will they be esteemed whose Jurisdiction is so much larger?

He goes on to defame our Bishops. He says, *they have imbezzelled the Church Lands to make their own Families Rich*. This, Sir, is an Objection, which though it was at first managed against them with great Clamour, by the common Enemies of the King, and the Church, yet now on

a calmer Consideration of things it has universally lost its Credit, even in those Places where he says, *The English take Tobacco half the Day* P. 54. *together; from whence he acknowledges that he had a good part of his Relations.* The first Murmurs against them were rais'd, because they receiv'd altogether some part of that which was their due for Twenty Years before. But the Envy of that was quickly scatter'd, when it was manifest how many publick and generous Works they have promoted. Besides the First-fruits, and Tenths, and above all, the Subsidies, which have swept away a good part of their Gains, they have compounded with a very great Number of the Purchasers; they have increas'd the Vicaridges in their Gift to Fourscore Pounds a Year; they have indow'd Alms-houses, and Colleges; they have built Chapels; they have repaired the Episcopal Palaces, and Cathedrals, which were generally gone to ruin; they have redeemed at once all the *English* that were Slaves at *Algiers*; and that too I dare assure him without any Intent to make Curates of them.

The *Account* which he gives of their letting *Leases* is most ridiculous. There is no Man amongst them *that lets a Lease for Thirty Years.* The Reserved Rent is that which was always the standing Revenue of the Church. Nor ought this Custom to be objected against the Church of *England*; it is the same Course which is taken in *France*, and most other Parts of *Christendom*. Nay, to go farther, the letting of Church Leases is a Business whose Regulation was brought about since the time that the Church of *Rome* divided from us. Before Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign the Churchmen had a Power of Farming out their Lands, not only for Thirty, but for

Ninety-nine Years. It was She that first confin'd the Term to One and Twenty, and so it still remains. He ought not therefore to reckon this Practice as our Disgrace, when the good Order that is now us'd about it is the peculiar Honour that belongs to the *English* Reformation.

But to conclude, if no Man fears Simony in *England*, then there is no Man that is affrighted with Punishment; for our Laws are as strict against it, and as severely executed as any where else. However, if it were true, (which is far from being so,) that we Simoniacally imploy the Church Estate to Secular Uses, yet this sounds very ill from that *Layman's* Pen, who, when he writ this Voyage, was maintain'd out of the Ecclesiastical Revenue. This, Sir, was Monsieur *de Sorbier's* Case. And the first Office of a Churchman that ever he perform'd was in this Book, where *he devoutly prays to God to make Mr. Hobbs a Roman Catholick*. Which if his Prayers can obtain from Heaven, he deserves not only to be made a Priest, or Bishop, but even a Saint too; for this will be a far greater Miracle than any of those for which many have been Canoniz'd.

And now, Sir, can you require any greater Signs of Monsieur *de Sorbier's* Sincerity in his Religion? He has accus'd of *Simony*, the most Incorrupt: Of *Pride*, the Humblest: Of *Rapacity*, the most Innocent: Of *Ignorance*, the most Learned: Of *False Doctrine*, the most Primitive: Of *Ill Discipline*, the most Decent Church under Heaven. And when nothing else could be said, he even upbraids it with its Submission and Obedience, to shew, (that he is as ill a Disciple of *Mr. Hobbs's*, whom he pretends to admire,

as he is of the Apostles.) Notwithstanding all which impudent Disgraces, there remains this one Comfort to the Church of *England*, that the same Man, who now vilifies her so basely, had once as mean Thoughts of the Godhead of her Blessed Founder himself.

But it is easie to conjecture at the Cause of this his harsh Usage of our Church. He had but lately Apostatiz'd from the Reformed Religion in *France*: He was but just enter'd into the *Romish* Communion: And he suspected that there might be some Doubts still remaining on Mens Minds of the Reality of his Conversion, which might turn to the Prejudice not only of his Spiritual, but of his Temporal Estate. He had given himself out for a great Philosopher: And he understood well enough that few Philosophers are thought to alter their Minds that have once been Protestants. He was therefore resolved to give an unquestionable Proof of his Establishment in the Faith by reviling the Church of *England*; and in performing this, I confess, Sir, he has Counterfeited the Zealot very well: He has prosecuted us with all the Violence and Bigottry which commonly accompanies new Converts: But yet I believe this will hardly do his Business. Even in this very Book he gives Evidence enough Calvinism and Heresie are not wholly rooted out of his Heart. He grossly abuses the most devoted Children of the Church of *Rome*, the *English* Roman Catholicks. He complains of them, *That they have no mind to disturb* P. 26. *the Peace of their Country towards the Restoration of their Religion*: Which is indeed spoken to their Honour, though he intends it to their Shame. He says, *that they are not so zealous in* P. 26. *their Way as Foreign Papists*; the quite contra-

- P. 26. ry to which is true : He makes *as if they never saw the true Mass perform'd* : He affirms, *that they are all Born in Servitude*, and debases so many Antient, Rich, and Honourable Families, to the Condition and the Minds of Slaves. In all these Speeches he does not express any certain Mark of a True Profelyte. But above all, he has set down such a Determination of his Faith, that if he had made it in *Italy* or *Spain* he had undoubtedly fallen into the Inquisition. He boldly pronounces, that *Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the Merit of Works, Invocation of Saints, the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, the Authority of Councils, and the Infallibility of the Pope, are none of them Fundamental Doctrines*. What greater Apology could be made for the Church of *England*, which he has so much defam'd, seeing these are the only shameful Causes for which we dissented from *Rome*?
- P. 20. But I leave him to be corrected by the Pope's Sentence for these Heresies; which perhaps the Holy Father has reason to think do more shake the Holy Chair than the Five Points of *Jansenius* that he condemn'd, which Monsieur de Sorbriere says *did raise a Dispute about a Matter of nothing*.
- P. 24. From our Religion let us follow him to our Government; and here, Sir, I was at first a little at a stand how to deal with him. But I have heard of the Magnanimous Resolution of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, who would never permit any Apology to be written for him. And I consider, that it is almost as great an Arrogance for one obscure Writer to undertake to defend the Actions of Great Princes, as it is for another to defame them. I will not therefore enlarge my Speech in the Praises of the present Happiness of

England

England, or in paying all the Acknowledgments which are due to our Sovereign for the Blessings of his Reign ; that is a Subject fitter for a more Elaborate Volume than a single Letter, and for a far more Elegant Pen than mine ; I will only shew the Vanity of our Historiographer's groundless Suggestions. And as an Introduction to what he says concerning the Political Condition of this Nation, I will first observe how he deals with some others of the chief Crown'd Heads in *Europe*. You will perhaps, Sir, be very hardly induc'd to believe that he can be guilty of Disrespect to Monarchy, or Sovereign Princes, when you behold him so Panegyrically given towards that Government, as to take the Pains to go Five or Six Thousand Miles to find out a Race of Kings to commend ; for he here speaks very Zealously *in praise of the most Vertuous and most Religious Kings of China*. This, Sir, I cannot but applaud in him ; and to shew how much this Testimony of his good Manners has wrought with me, I will not be harsh upon him in this Place. I will not call in question the Credit of his Intelligence from the farthest East, which you see is so false about a Country that lyes only Seven Leagues distant from his own. Nay, I will not so much as inquire whether ever he met with any *Chinese Madam Fiennes to give him this Information*. I will grant, that the Kings of *China* have been Great Menders of Bridges, and Planters of Orchards. But I will only now softly put him in mind, that while his Pen did overflow with sweet Words upon the Kings of *China*, he has handled the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* more cruelly than *Dionysius* the Tyrant would have done when he was a King, nay, even when he was a School-master.

75

P. 48.

Of the Two last Kings of *Sweden* he affirms, That that *Glory* is almost wholly vanish'd: And that all moderate Men must needs read the *Desolations*, which they caus'd, with Horror. You see, Sir, what an Excellent Occasion he has here given me of Triumphant over him: You know very well how many great and irresistible Arguments this Matter might suggest to me: What might not be said of that Victorious Nation? How copious might I be in extolling the indefatigable Industry, the Conduct, the Good Fortune, the Generosity of those Kings? What Passions might here be rais'd in appealing to all Mankind, and in aggravating the common Misery of all Great Commanders of Armies, if it shall be permitted to every small Pamphleteer to invade their Lives, and to arreign their Ashes, when he pleases? But there is no need of going so powerfully to work, or of imploying against him any of the Lofty and Tragical Forces of Eloquence. It will suffice if I recal to his Memory the Title in which he boasts so much. I will only ask him how the Historiographer of *France* can assert the Wars of *Gustavus Adolphus* to have been horrible Devastations, without casting some Share of the Dishonour on the Crown of *France* itself? For (if we will believe all the *French* Writers of that time) there was a strict Confederacy, and a real Union of Interests between those Two Mighty Monarchs. I will give him leave to use the Fame of the Kings of *Sweden* as he pleases. Let them in his Account pass for Thieves and Oppressors. They deserve so to be us'd: For they were Mortal Enemies to that Beloved Country, with whose Musick, and *Latin*, and Dancing, he was before so much ravish'd,

vish'd. I only bid him look back on the Relation which *Lewis* the Just had to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and then let him try to vindicate himself for overturning the Trophies of the Father in the same Book, wherein he declares, that *He travell'd abroad in a Waggon*, to spread the Glory of the Son.

But the Fame of those Dead Princes is plac'd above the Reach of his Envy: Let us, Sir, consider how he behaves himself towards the Living. What a long Story (or rather, as he himself styles it, Romance) has he here made of the Life of *Ulefelt* the Dane, on which he builds the Justification of his Crimes, and condemns the King of Denmark's Justice? And yet at the same time he acknowledges that *He took the whole Relation only from the Mouth of Ulefelt's own Wife*. After this, have the Kings of China any great Reason to be proud of this Man's Good-will? When he has here express'd no more Judgment, nor Integrity, than from the single and partial Information of a Woman, to acquit a Man that had been Hang'd in *Effigie* in Denmark, and has been since kill'd as he was pursued for High Treason?

On the sight of all this I may well return securely Home to examine his Opinion of our State. And here I must not forget to acquaint you that he is not all over Satyrical, but in several Places he sprinkles some few kind Words to our Advantage. Yet his Commendations are so directly contrary to his Reproaches, that instead of reconciling me to him, they rather supply me with new Arguments against him. And who can desire an easier Adversary to deal with, than such an one, who, when he speaks against
us,

us, opposes evident Truth, when he speaks for us, contradicts himself?

P. 51. This Inconsistence of his own Mind with itself is apparent in this Political Part of his Relation, which now comes under my Censure: He confesses *Our King to be one of the best Princes in the World*. He declares, that *His Majesty us'd him with all imaginable Sweetness; and that by the Charms of his Discourse he sent him away as well pleas'd as if he had loaded him with his Presents*. I intreat you now, Sir, to recollect how this and that which follows hang together.

P. 51. First, He suggests, *that perhaps there was not so much Pretence for the People to Rebel in the late King's Time as there is at this present*. In the Reply which I shall make to this Passage, I cannot, Sir, confine my self to the bare Limits of a Satisfactory Answer; but I must permit my Zeal for the Prosperity of our Country to break forth into Expressions of Joy and Gratitude. It is fit that all the World should know, that as our King was Restor'd with the most Miraculous Submissions of Minds and Interests that ever any History can shew: As he was establish'd on the Throne of his Ancestors, while there were Two mighty Armies on Foot, that had fought against him and his Father: So there can be no Difficulty in continuing this Quiet, now he has all the Power of the Nation in his Hands, and now his Enemies are Scatter'd and Disarm'd, (if yet he can be thought to have any real Enemies, after so many Heroick Testimonies of his Mercy.) The Condition of all his Affairs abroad is in such a Posture, in respect of his Neighbours, that he is as far from being liable to receive Injuries unreveng'd, as he is averse in his own Disposition from doing Wrongs unprovok'd. And the small Dissentions that still remain on some of his Subjects

jects Minds at Home, are so far from hazarding the Safety, that they will rather make for the Honour of his Reign. For by his renew'd and generous Endeavours towards the composing of these Differences, there will arise for him a continued Succession of Peaceful Triumphs, of which the Occasions had been wanting to him if he had found us all of one Mind. And many such Victories as these we may justly presage to our Sovereign's future Government. The Forces which he employs against those few that are still Contumacious, which are those of Affability and Forgiveness, are impossible to be resisted. Whoever contends with those Weapons, he has not only his own Virtues, but theirs on his side. And as these are the surest Conquests, so they are of the greatest Renown. In the Triumphs of War, his Soldiers, his Commanders, and even Fortune itself, would come in for a Share in the Fame: But those which are obtain'd by Pity, and by Pardoning, have no Partners in the Honour, but are wholly to be attributed to the King himself.

But for a Proof of our Calm and Well-secur'd Condition, I appeal from this Trifler's Conjectures to the Parliament itself, which is the true Representative of the Affection of the whole Kingdom. If he would have been willing to refer the Matter to their Decision, he might have found all things so free from any likelihood of New Disturbances, that they have been still as inclin'd to be severe towards the King's Ill-willers, as he himself has been to be Gentle: And as solicitous to guard his Royal Person with their Lives and Fortunes, as he has been careful that he might need no other Defence but his own Goodness.

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Yet since he is resolv'd not to stand to the Determination of that great Assembly, which he modestly terms an *Extravagant Body*, let us see what Reports he has pick'd up amongst the Malecontents of the Vulgar: He says, that they everywhere complain of the Neglect of the Interest of Trade, of the Mis-spending of the Treasure, of the Oppressions of the Court, and of the Decrease of our Glory at Sea.

All this, Sir, he professes to take from the *Murmurs of the Multitude*. And if they are guilty of such Discourses more than the Commonalty of other Countries, they justly deserve the Titles that he gives them, of a Suspicious, a Sullen, an Insolent, and an Envious Generation. But then, Sir, if the Mean and Ignorant People ought so much to be condemn'd for upbraiding their Governours, tho' they only do it in private, when they are heated with Drink, and under the protection of a *Cloud of Tobacco-Smoke*, what Punishment does that Historian deserve who thought good to collect their Discontents, and to make himself worse than the Authors of them, by being the first that reports them in this publick Way? What Credit could he expect to get by repeating these low Scandals, when it was dishonourable for him only to confess that he came into such Places, and Companies, where he might over-hear them? This Reprehension, Sir, he ought to have undergone, if all this that he relates had been true: But if we take it in pieces we shall find that he Libels the very Suburbs; and that his Ink is Black enough to represent the worst Slanders of the Rabble in darker Colours than their own.

As for the Repinings which he heard concerning the Diminution of Trade; you know, Sir, that

it is the Publick, and the Cheerful Voice of all *Englishmen*, that there have been far more Incouragements for Merchants, and more vigorous Attempts for the Advancement of Commerce, within these Four Years and half than in many Ages before. I might for a Proof of this alledge the *Royal Council* that is particularly set up for that Purpose. I might instance in the Increase of the Customs, which from Thirty or Forty Thousand Pounds in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign do now amount to almost Four Hundred Thousand a Year. I might urge all the Proclamations for the prohibiting of Foreign Manufactures, and for the Improvement of our own. I might reckon up the many new Statutes for the Repairing of Havens, the Mending of Highways, and the Cutting of Rivers, but it is enough only to mention the Institution of the Royal Fishing and the Royal Company, in both which our King has Prosperously begun a Design which will Infallibly make the *English* the Masters of the Trade of the World, and that is the bringing in of our *Gentry* and *Nobility* to contribute towards it. When this shall be brought about, not all the little Crafts of the *Hollanders*, (which he magnifies so much) will serve their Turn; but the *English* will outgo them in Industry and Stock, as much as they do already in Shores, in Ports, in Ships, in Valour, in Vertue. This, Sir, we shall undoubtedly live to see accomplish'd, seeing the Gentlemen of *England* have so great an Example before them; of a King, who does not only make the Arts of Commerce and Navigation his Business, and his Interest, but his very Delight and Recreation.

What he says of our Treasure is most Impudently objected against that Prince, who has

P. 55.

P. 54.

retrench'd those Expences which his Predecessors maintain'd, when the Revenue of the Crown was far less. And he chose a very unseasonable time to Proclaim, *that the Blood-suckers of the Court devour the People*, when those Blood-suckers have parted with their very Food, and the Antient Dues of their Offices, to lessen the Charge of the Publick. But his loudest Outcry concerns the Loss of our Dominion at Sea. And here *he most invidiously compares the Times of the Rump with our Present Naval Power*. First of all he might have understood, that the Fleets which were then set forth against the *Dutch* did mainly consist of the late King's Ships; and also that the whole Estates of the Crown, the Clergy, most of the Nobility and Gentry, and indeed well nigh of the whole Nation, were then at the Usurper's Disposal. From thence he might have concluded, that even the Glory of their Victories is not so much to be given to the Riches and Interest of *Scot, Haslrigg, or Vane*, as to the Treasures of the King, and the Royal Party. But besides this, Sir, what will he be able to answer me, when I shall tell him, that our King has made our Sea-provisions far stronger than ever they were in any Age or Country before, and that too only by the help of a Revenue bounded by Law, and limited to the strict Rules of Justice? Of the Truth of this he might speedily have been convinc'd if he had visited any one of our Royal Stores, instead of describing *Smithfield, Bedford Garden, the Conduits of London, Morefields, Hatfield Fishponds, and St. Catherine's College in Oxford*. Never was there a greater abundance of Materials in readiness! Never more skilful Builders! Never more formidable Preparations! Never more valiant Commanders! And in One Word to perfect all, never a Braver Admiral!

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An Admiral of whose undaunted Courage, unwearied Diligence, and fortunate Conduct, all the Nations round about us have beheld so many unquestionable Proofs, even from the very first Years of his Youth. And if I thought that all the Men of Honour, wherewith *France* now abounds, were not yet satisfied how little *Monsieur de Sorbier* deserves to be Historiographer Royal, I would desire no other Instance to prove it but only this, that when he declares he came into *England* to content his Curiosity, to see all the Rare Things and Men amongst us, yet he scarce mentions the Duke of *York*.

I will admit that hitherto he has only recited the Extravagances of the Rabble; let us now, Sir, come to that Place wherein he has chiefly exercised the Profoundness of his skill, his own Speculations on the Defects of our Monarchy, and the Factions of our Court; and that you may know how Conversant he has been in all Intrigues of State, as well as those of the Muses, I will give you his Positive Determination of one of the gravest Points of Policy that ever was debated at a Council Table; and it shall be in his own Words, to his Intimate Friend *Monsieur de Vaubrun*, To you, *Monsieur de Vaubrun*, (says he,) being my Bosom Friend, a Man that esteems me much, and one whom I honour Infinitely, being also a Gentleman that Loves Justice, as well as Fighting, I will reveal the Bottom of my Heart, and tell you the most Secret of all my Thoughts. What weighty Matter does he introduce with this Solemn Preface? He complains that the Learned Men of the English are not enough communicative. Certainly we shall find him of a better Temper, no doubt he will now unfold some New Principle of Policy, and of the Laws of Humane Society, which

Pref.

P. 48.

P. 38.

P. 48.

he has discover'd, that is not yet ripe for the Publick, and only fit to be committed to the Trust of a Particular Confident. It proves so indeed! The Oracle he immediately pronounces, is this, *That Man was not made by Nature to fight with Man, but rather to enjoy the Benefits of Peace, that God has not given us Horns, Hoofs, or Claws; but*

Os homini sublime dedit.

This, Sir, is all the mighty Mystery of which he discharges his Breast with so much Ceremony. And in which is he now more ridiculous, his History or his Policy? His History, in speaking so many false Reproaches aloud, his Policy, in whispering such Trifles with so much caution. I beseech you, Sir, let us allow him the Reputation of this new Invention intire. Though he did not think fit to name the Famous Author of the Lunar Globe, which he saw in the King's Closet, yet I intend to be juster to him; and I will propose this Epitaph to be grav'd on his Tomb, *Hic jacet primus Author hujus sententiæ, Pax Bello potior.*

P. 53.

This, Sir, is one Trial of his Contemplative, you shall have more of his Practical Politicks. He has ventur'd to declare the *Queen Mother's* Thoughts about the most Private and Domestic Concernments, which were so near to her that it was impossible for a Thousand *Madam Fiennes* to have given him any Instruction about them. And in this he had no Reverence for the Greatest and the most Virtuous Princess of this Age, for the Mother of our King, nor for the Daughter of *Henry the Great*. He has made a disadvantageous Character on my Lord *St. Albans* to the *French Nation*, where he was before so well known, and where he liv'd long in

P. 53.

so

so much Honour. He has presum'd on the King himself; he saucily Conjectures at the Reasons of the Choice of his Ministers, as if he had been admitted into his Royal Breast as well as his Cabinet. He says that *his Majesty is forc'd to be familiar with his Nobility and Gentry, to keep their Esteem and Good-will*, and so he endeavours to bring down those Virtues of which he himself receiv'd so many Proofs to be only Works of Necessity. But seeing he confesses this generous Affability to be able to hinder the King's Subjects from Rebellion, methinks it might have prevail'd on a mean Stranger to spare the Reputation of his Kingdoms. He insinuates, that *the true Sovereign Power amongst us resides in the People*, which is a Doctrine that was scarce ever heard of in England till the Year Forty-eight, and vanish'd in Sixty. He affirms, that *there is a mixture of all Sorts of Government in the Composition of our State*, notwithstanding that we have so many Acts of Parliament that Devolve the whole Power on the Crown. His long Discourse of the Priviledges of the House of Commons, and the Degrees of their Increase, is nothing but a wild Whimsie of his own Brain. There is no mention in any English Historian, that Edward the First call'd Knights and Burgessees to sit in Parliament; or that when they were so conven'd, he only us'd their Counsel, and rejected those of the Nobility and Gentry; and yet upon these Imaginary Faults, of which he supposes Edward the First guilty, he here takes him into his Discipline, reads to him a tedious Lecture of the Arts of Government, and treats the Wisest and most Victorious Prince of Christendom in that time as imperiously as if he had been a Cadet of the House of Suze. But I am weary,

P. 23.

Sir, of taking notice of such Errors, which are only Mistakes in History or Chronology. At least I need not go Three Hundred Years back for them, seeing he is so much besides the Truth in his Account of the most Renown'd Action in this Age, the King's Return, *which he wholly attributes to the Presbyterians*. All the Circumstances of that Glorious Restauration are still, Sir, fresh in our Memories, the very Noise of those Triumphs which fill'd the whole World with admiration seems to be yet scarce out of our Ears; and shall we suffer him to fix all the Honour of that Immortal Work on a Private Sect? Whereas it was Accomplish'd by the immediate Favour of Divine Providence, by the Wisdom of a Victorious General, by the Perpetual and Immoveable Fidelity of the Royal Party, by the Hands, the Wishes, the Tongues, and the United Desires of Three Kingdoms. 'Tis True indeed, the *Presbyterians* went along with the Mighty Torrent, but the whole Course of this Happy Violence is not therefore to be Attributed to them. You see, Sir, I am unawares fallen into a Metaphor, which does best Resemble that Enterprize. It was in that, as in a sudden Land-flood, which, as it comes down, carries with it Trees, and Stones, and Houses, and all that it meets in the Way. And even all these which lay before quiet, nay, which resisted the first Waters while they were weak, do add to the Impetuosity of the Current when it is going. But we must not therefore say that the Flood itself took its rise from thence, seeing it was in Truth caus'd by Rain coming down from Heaven, and by Streams flowing in from every Part of the Country. This Allusion, Sir, I think does represent the whole Matter to your Mind.

If

If it does not, however I have return'd *Monsieur de Sorbier* an ill Similitude for one of his, where he compares the Protestants to the Ottoman Empire, which is so much an Intrigue of the *Muses*, that I will Challenge all the Wits of England and France to Interpret it. But if the Covenanters shall still be fond of this Praise, which he here allows them, let them remember of how little Value his Panegyricks are, seeing he calls *Ulfelt* a Heroe; and if they will still maintain that they restor'd the King, let them take heed lest some Mischievous Royalist should tell them that in one Sence they did indeed occasion the King's Restoration, but in the same that *Quintus Maximus* meant after he had recover'd *Tarentum*, who gave this answer to another Roman that had lost that Place before, and yet boasted what share he had in regaining it, 'tis true, (says he,) it was by your Means indeed; *Nam nisi tu perdidisses Tarentum, ego nunquam recepissem.*

But the Chief Secret into which he has pierc'd is the late Controversie between my Lord Chancellor and the Earl of *Bristol*. What Subtle Conclusions does he draw from it? What Prophetical Visions does he here reveal, concerning the Terrible Disturbances that shall arise to our Government many Ages hence, from an Accident which was at an end before he got back to *Paris*? What a formal Division has he made of the whole Nation? *Homer* himself is not so Punctual in Marshalling the Forces of the *Greeks* and the *Trojans*; nor is there less Fiction in this History than in his Poetry. On the Earl of *Bristol's* Quarter he places the Discontented against
 the Court, the City of London, the Presbyterians that brought in the King, the House of Lords,

P. 52,
53.

a great and strong Party of the House of Commons, which he says is the True Body of that Extravagant Body the Parliament. An Army numerous and formidable. On the Lord Chancellor's side he ranks the Royal Family, the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, all the Nobility, all the Rich Merchants, and Burgeſſes, (though he had before beſtow'd the House of Lords and the City of London on the Earl of Briſtol.) Thus he has drawn the whole Kingdom into Battalia ; it is but now performing his Office of Trumpeter, and a dreadful Battel will no doubt enſue. But how comes it to paſs that all theſe Rumours of mighty Wars did vaniſh on the ſudden ? Was it becauſe they were *Engliſh* Cowards, and dar'd not fight ? Alas, Sir, all this was only a Fine Story of Encounters in the Air, whereof there was no other Foundation than in the wild Fancies of his own making. And may we not give that Character of our Hiſtorian, which he does of one of the Noble Combatants, *that his great Wit has inclin'd him to be Romantick* ? Is not this the True Trick of a Romancer, to bring in many Princes fighting together in a Wood, without giving any Account how they came thither ?

P. 9.

P. 52.

But the Danger is over. All is quiet again, and long may it ſo keep. For to ſpeak t'ye, Sir, *from the bottom of Monſieur de Sorbier's Heart, Peace is better than War.* Well then, He grants *that the Victory did a little incline to my Lord Chancellor's Party*; yet he has ſhewn the Bravery of his own Mind by Defying the Conqueror. And here, Sir, I confeſs he has driven me on one of the Tenderest Points in the World, which is the ſpeaking concerning the Fame of a great Man while he is living. But I intreat you to lay before your Eyes the many Powerful Arguments
by

P. 53.

by which I am mov'd at least to give a true Testimony, though not a long Elogy, concerning him. My Lord Chancellor is a Man through whose Hands the greatest part of all the Publick and Private Busineses of our Country do pass; and it will be most dishonourable for us to suffer his Name to be revil'd in this manner, while he is scarce at leisure to look to its Defence himself, by reason of his Eternal Labours for the Publick Justice and Safety. And besides this, Sir, I can for my own Particular alledge another Motive of nearer Concernment; for I am to consider my self as a Member of the Royal Society, and the University of *Oxford*, and the the Earl of *Clarendon* as Protector of one of them, and Chancellor of the other.

These, Sir, are some of his True Titles, however *Monsieur de Sorbriere* is pleas'd to pass them over, and give him worse in their stead. First of all he says that he is a *Presbyterian*. At this Ridiculous Scandal, I assure you, Sir, I am not much griev'd. I was (to tell you true) in a terrible Affright, when I read what he Reports, *that almost all the City of London are Presbyterian*. But now this Passage has compos'd my Mind again, for it is like to be a very exact Computation, which he has made of that Sect when the first Man that he names for *Presbyterian* is my Lotd Chancellor. He next tells us, that he is a Man of the Law; a shameful Disgrace, the Lord Chancellor of *England*, whose Office it is to govern and moderate the Law, is a *Lawyer*. As if I should endeavour to lessen the Credit of *Monsieur de Vaubrun*, and prove him unfit to be Governour of *Phillippe Ville*, and Colonel of Light-Horse, by objecting that he is a Soldier, or of *Monsieur de Sorbriere* to be Histo-

Historiographer Royal, by saying that he is skill'd
 in History. But he is a Lawyer and Statesman
 at once. Can this be any more Disparagement
 to him than it is to the whole Body of Law-
 yers in France, who in all Times have manag'd
 the greatest Employments of that State? Could
 he not have recollected, before he writ this, that
Monsieur de Seguier, the present Chancellor of
 France, is a Gentleman of the Long Robe? You
 see, Sir, what a good Satyrist we have here got,
 who would undertake to abuse an *English* Statef-
 man with such an Argument, which must at the
 same time reflect as much upon his own Coun-
 trymen, his Chief Friends and Patrons, to whom
 he directs his Speech. But the worst is still be-
 hind. *My Lord Chancellor is utterly Ignorant*
of the Belles Lettres: This Accusation is as
 Decent as all the former. *He dislikes our Car-*
riers for not being Courtly, our Soldiers for not
putting off their Hats well, our Bishops for their
Gravity, and our Statesmen for not being Gram-
marians and Criticks. But I will prove to
 him, by his own Confession, that my Lord Chan-
 cellor deserves not this Reprehension; and that he
 is a Man skilful in all *Polite Learning*. *He*
himself allows him to be a Great Politician, and a
very Eloquent Man. I have obtain'd, Sir, what I
 desir'd. You see how easie it is to justify the
 Earl of *Clarendon*, seeing the very Man that vili-
 fies him, does at the same time gainsay himself,
 and suggest to me his Praises, without my inter-
 posing any Word in his Commendation. If we
 should grant that a Man may Chance to be a
 great Dealer in Politicks, without understanding
 any thing else, (which yet nothing but *Monsieur*
de Sorbriere's own Example in this Place can
 perswade us to be possible,) yet how can he be
 thought

P. 52.

P. 52.

thought to attain to a perfect Eloquence without any skill in the Civil Arts? Where now is his Polite Learning? Whence did he fetch this Idea of Eloquence? Let him produce his Notes out of *Aristotle*, *Tully*, *Quintilian*, *Seneca*, or any of the Rhetoricians of Antiquity, and then let him tell me whether they do not all with one Voice consent that an Orator must of necessity be acquainted with all Sorts of useful Knowledge? But because he is so free in his Reproof of my Lord Chancellor's unskilfulness in the *Belles Lettres*, I pray, Sir, what Signs has this great *Aristarchus* himself given of his own Proficiency in them? Where do we find in him any Footsteps of the True Spirit of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Wit? What Reason have we to envy his Judgment in the Classical Authors, when all the Proof that he has given in this Book of his being conversant in them, are only Three or Four Pedantical Quotations, of which the chief is,

Os homini sublime dedit.

Thus far, Sir, in reply to him: But more is to be added concerning the Honourable Person, of whom he speaks in such mean Terms. My Lord Chancellor is a Gentleman of a very Antient Family, of which Mr. *Cambden* makes mention in his *Britannia*. His Education and first Years were spent in a strict Familiarity with many of the most Famous Men, not only of that Age, but perhaps of any other; of whom (to pass by some Reverend and Learned Churchmen that are living) it is enough to name Mr. *Chillingworth* and the Lord *Falkland*. His first Application to the Affairs of his Country was in a time wherein extraordinary Fidelity and Sufficiency

ency were requir'd. His Services to the late King were requited by the committing of many Eminent Busineses to his Management; and by a very high Share in his Majesties Favour; of which there are incredible Proofs in that Excellent Prince's Letters. Under him he was Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Privy-Counsellor, and designed Secretary of State. Since 'that time he was Extraordinary Ambassador into *Spain*, and attended his present Master in his Misfortunes, which was undoubtedly the most Glorious Scene of Honour in the World. By these several Degrees of Great Employments he ascended to that Illustrious Station which he now enjoys. And as for the Qualifications of his Mind, if it be needful to add any thing to the Votes of the Royal Society, and the University of *Oxford*, I will declare, that of all the Men of Great Worth, who have possessed that High Office, since Learning and the Civil Arts came amongst us, there was never any Man that has so much resembled Sir *Thomas More*, and the Lord *Bacon*, in their several Excellencies, as the Earl of *Clarendon*.

There might, Sir, much more be answer'd against all his false Insinuations concerning the Political Condition of *England*. But I have seen a Book of *Monsieur de Sorbier's* Discourses and Letters, whereof many were written to the late Cardinal *Mazarin*; and they are so full of gross Flatteries, that they have wholly turned my Stomach from speaking any more of State Affairs: So that in truth, in the present Humour into which the Reading of them has put me, I had much rather offend on the other Extream, by an unjust Silence, than by impertinent Praises of the *English* Government. I will therefore conclude
this

this whole Matter, as I began it, by reflecting on a Passage of his own, in the Story of *Ulefelt*; wherein he has given undeniable Testimony that he is wholly ignorant of the Rights of Princes, the true Policy, and the Law of Nations. He affirms, that *Ulefelt* fled into Sweden; that he became therefore effectually a Traitor; that he was the Cause of the Swedes last Invasion into Denmark, by advising *Carolus Gustavus* to turn his Army from the Poles against Copenhagen. These are his own Words. And what more apparent Crime could be than this, which had like to have drawn after it the utter Ruin of that Kingdom? And yet immediately after he professes, That he makes no doubt but the *Illustrious Hero's*, *Ulefelt* and his Wife, will live to see their great Merits acknowledged, and to enjoy in Peace the Applauses that are due to them for their Fidelity to their King, and their Zeal for the Fundamental Laws of their Country.

But this, Sir, I suppose, is one of those which *Pref.* he himself calls the *Besueues* of his Stile: Which though (as he says) *Monsieur de Vaubrun* uses to forgive, yet the King of France did not think fit to pass by.

This is the Idea that he has drawn of the Manners, the Religion, and the Government of the *English*; but these are not the Subjects which he principally regards: Such Matters as these, he confesses, that he only uses to touch on as they *Pref.* come in his Way. I will now therefore, Sir, consider his Commerce with the chief Heads of *Par-* *E. Ded.* *nassus*, and his Intrigues of the *Muses*; that is, (to speak plain Sense, without the help of *Phæbus*) I will examine some Particulars in the Account that he gives of the State of Knowledge amongst us. This is the Argument in which he Triumphs:

E. Ded: Triumphs : This is a Business in *whose Promotion he has spent the whole Course of his Life.* And that he may appear not to have bestow'd all his Labour in vain, I will allow that he ought to be numbred amongst the Men of Learning ; provided that he be content with that Definition which he himself has laid down of Learned Men in general : For he says, *That it is the good Custom of such Men to render themselves ridiculous by their Malignity, and their Billingsgate Language.* In conformity to this Description, besides what is already past, let us now behold what he reports of Dr. Wallis, Dr. Willis, Mr. Hobbs, the Royal Society, the English Stage, their Eloquence, their Language, and their Authors.

P. 39.

Dr. Wallis he condemns for all his ill Usage of Mr. Hobbs in the Mathematical Controversies that have pass'd between them. I will not endeavour to make any Defence for this Knowing and Acute Professor, as he grants him to be ; but yet let me say, that if *Monsieur de Sorbier* himself being the Judge, so much Modesty of Language ought to be preserv'd, even in the Contentions of Wit and Argument, when Passion is apt to overbear the most temperate Minds, then certainly he himself ought to have been careful of keeping to the same Rule, in an Historical Relation, wherein he had no Adversary to put him into a Heat, and nothing but his own Natural Peevishness to exasperate his Anger. Dr. Wallis entertained him at his House, made him partake of his Experiment on a Dumb Man, and behold the Model of a Flat Floor, which (he says) did raise Admiration in Mr. Hobbs himself. And for all this, he might have been pass'd by in silence ; but he had a good Subject to be merry with, for want of

P. 39.

of Polish Mufick, and he must needs give the Receipt of making an University Cap. *Take a Portefueille, cover it with Black Cloth, fix a Tuff of Silk upon it, and sew it with a Calot, and you have a perfect Four-corner'd Scholastical Bonnet.* Do you not now wonder, Sir, why he did not call himself Taylor, as well as Trumpeter, to the Commonwealth of Learning? What kind of Breeding is this? How can he after this object to Dr. Wallis that *he has little in him of the Gallant Man?* Whose Behaviour has the strongest Scent, and wants most to be purified by the Air of the Court? The Geometrician receives him kindly at his Table, the Historiographer laughs at the Habit of his Host. While he allows him extraordinary Abilities that are proper to himself, he abuses him for that which is common with him to the Sorbonists in France, and almost all the Universities and Clergymen in Christendom.

He declares that *he profited very little by Dr. Willis's Company, because he could not understand his Latin:* And upon this he objects, *that all the English pronounce that Language with such an odd Tone, as renders it almost as difficult to Strangers as our own Tongue.* I might here, Sir, alledge in defence of our Pronunciation, that we do as all our Neighbours besides: We speak the Ancient Latin after the same Way that we pronounce our Mother Tongue: So the Germans do, so the Italians, so the French. But the obscurity of our Speech being not only his Complaint, but of many other Foreigners, I will not stand long in its Justification. There are so many peculiar Slanders of greater Concernment, which he alone has fixed upon us, that I will not regard this small Objection, wherein there may be others that agree with

with him. But however, Sir, from hence I may observe, that it was therefore impossible for him to take a right Measure of the *English* Manners and Disposition, seeing he was incapable of holding any Sort of Correspondence with us. He was not in a Condition of being inform'd by our Gentry, our Farmers, or our Tradesmen, because he understood no *English*: Nor by our Scholars, our Physicians, our Divines, our Mathematicians, because he professes that our Latin was unintelligible to him.

But to return, Sir, to Dr. Willis: I am able to give another Reason *Monsieur de Sorbier* did profit so little by his Conversation; the Substance of it was reported to me from Dr. Willis's own Mouth. And I doubt not but the remarkable Sincerity and Integrity which that Excellent Man preserves in all his Writings, would make this Character of the other's Vanity to be believed, though we had not so many other Proofs of it. When *Monsieur de Sorbier* came first to visit him, the Doctor esteem'd him to be a Man of some real and solid Knowledge; the Great Name of *Des Cartes*, and *Marsennus*, which he hath frequently in his Mouth, might have perswaded him as much: He began to treat him accordingly, he enter'd into Discourse with him about some Parts of Chymistry and Physick, in which he desired his Opinion. The Professor deliver'd it frankly and plainly, as it became a Philosopher, without Deceit or Ornament: But expecting that he would have continued the Argument, with some Material Objection, he soon found that the Traveller understood nothing of the whole Matter; but answered him as little to the Purpose as if he had only said *Pax Bello potior*. He try'd him in other Subjects.

But

But nothing could he get from him, except only some few Philosophical Terms, and Ends of Poetry, as, *In puris naturalibus, Ex equo & bono*; P. 86: *contundantur grosso modo. Homo est animal credulum & mendax*; and *Os homini*. Upon this he gave him over, as he would have done a young Traveller of Twenty Years Old, and left him to reckon the Colledge Quadrangle, to tell the Pillars in St. John's Cloysters, to commend their Grove, to measure King Harry's Sword, to describe Saint Catherine's College (if there be any such there,) to examine why one of the Colleges took its Name from a Brazen Nose, to number the Books in the Bodleian Library, to consider why it was Built in the Form of an H, and to count how many Folio's and how many Quarto's are above and below on every Shelf. These, Sir, he perceived were fitter Subjects for Monsieur de Sorbriere to handle. And he confirmed this his Opinion of him to be true. For his long Tale of his Journey to Oxford is made up of Childish Contemplations: While he was speaking of that Place, which for the Beauty and Convenience of its Buildings, for the Vastness of its Revenue, and above all, for the Sobriety, the Virtue, and the Piety of its Discipline, is to be preferr'd before all others that have been ever Dedicated to the Liberal Studies in the past or present Times.

But here, Sir, I confess I have been a little too rigid towards him. It was ill done of me to expect that he should on the sudden turn so unlike himself, as to give a good Account of our University alone. I will not therefore bestir myself against him for having omitted the most Memorable Things in Oxford; my Quarrel to him now is on another Score. He has here committed a gross Oversight in his own Way: For

in this exact Enumeration of all our Fine Rarities, he has wholly pass'd by one Famous Curiosity, which was of all others the most proper for such an Historiographer, or at least for such a Trumpeter, to mention, and that is *Queen-College Horn*.

From his new Acquaintance, I proceed to his Rudeness towards the only Man in England, to whom he professes himself to have been long familiar. Mr. Hobbs was the chief Man for whose Sake he came over, and he speaks very many great Things in his Commendation: He praises his good Humour, his excellent Wit, the vigour of his Old Age, and his long and diligent Search into Nature. After this, Sir, you will perhaps think that this Philosopher is safe from his Invectives, but will find it otherwise; he commends him indeed for that, on which Mr. Hobbs lays not so much stress, for his good Breeding, but he wounds him in the most dangerous Place, his Philosophy, and his Understanding. He very kindly reports of him, that he is too dogmatical in his Opinions: That he writ against the Church of Rome, because he never had a right Idea of it in his Thoughts, and because he had only read the Controversies on the Protestant Side. How d'ye think, Sir, this will sound to Mr. Hobbs, who professes to have reduced all the Politicks to Demonstrations, when his Translator shall tell him, that he concluded against a Church, and a Religion, before he had heard one Word that could be said in their Defence? The Title of Dogmatical which he gives him being objected by a declar'd Sceptick, was the worst Fault that could be charg'd on a Philosopher; and indeed it is the same that he bestows on Borri, while he strives in a long Story to render him to appear nothing

P. 26.

P. 27.

P. Ib.

P. 40.

P. Ib.

From

P. 78,

to 82.

nothing but a foolish Charletan. But let him not fear; I have no mind to aggravate this Injury to Mr. Hobbs. It is the particular Manner of his P. 40. passing this Judgment on him, of which I will take notice. He tells the World *that Mr. Hobbs was censur'd for Dogmatical, between his Majesty and himself, in his private Discourse with him.* And is not Monsieur de Sorbriere a very fit Man to upbraid to Dr. Wallis his want of good Manners, when he himself is at once rude to his Ancient Friend, and insolent to the King himself, in betraying what he was pleas'd to whisper to him in his Cabinet?

But however, to comfort Mr. Hobbs for this affront, I dare assure him, that as for Monsieur de Sorbriere's Part he understands not his Philosophy. Of this I will give an unanswerable Testimony, and that is *the Resemblance that he* P. 40. *makes of him to the Lord Verulam,* between whom there is no more likeness than there was between St. George and the Waggoner. He says P. 40. *that Mr. Hobbs was once his Amanuensis; that from thence he has retain'd very much of him: That he has Studied his manner of turning Things: That he just expresses himself in that Way of Allegory, wherein the other excell'd: And that he is in Truth a very Remain of my Lord Bacon.* This, Sir, is his Opinion: But how far from being true let any Man judge that has but tasted of their Writings. I scarce know Two Men in the World that have more different Colours of Speech than these Two Great Wits: The Lord Bacon short, allusive, and abounding with Metaphors, Mr. Hobbs round, close, sparing of Similitudes, but ever extraordinary decent in them. The one's Way of Reasoning proceeds on Particulars, and pleasant Images, only suggesting

gesting new Ways of experimenting, without any Pretence to the Mathematicks. The other's bold, resolv'd, settled upon general Conclusions, and in them, if we will believe his Friend, *Dogmatical*.

P. 35.

But it is the Royal Society to which he is most favourable; and that he may shew himself a great Benefactor to their Design, *he has bestowed Gresham College on them*. Whereas you know, Sir, they only hold their present Meetings there by the Permission of the Professors of the Foundation of Sir Thomas Gresham, to whom that House does belong. We are beholden to him for this Noble Bounty. But perhaps the Citizens of London, who are the Overseers of Sir Thomas Gresham's Will, may take it ill at his Hands, especially having such just Ground to quarrel with him already: For he said before, *that they are almost all Presbyterians or Phanaticks*.

P. 36.

He comes to describe the Weekly Assemblies of the Royal Society; and he does it in Words becoming a Meeting of Natural Philosophers. *The Usher carries a great Silver Mace before the President, which is laid on the Cushion where he sits: They have a large Hall, and a handsome Anti-chamber; the Place where they assemble is Wainscotted: There is a long Table before the Chimney, Seven or Eight Grey Chairs about it; some Benches behind that are bare; the hindermost higher than the first: The President sits in a Chair with Arms, his Back to the Chimney, holding a Wooden Hammer in his Hand, wherewith he sometimes knocks the Table to make Silence.* Can you, Sir, indure to read all this Stuff with any Patience? I suffered his Tittle-tattle on Rochester Bridge, on the Eternal Greenness of the Fields of Kent, on the Walls of Lincolns-Inn-Fields,

Fields, on the *Guild-Hall*, on the Ranks of Trees in *Moorfields*, and many more such pretty Philosophical Discourses : But is not this a shameful Sign of his Weakness, that he has insisted so long on such mean Circumstances, while he was describing a Subject that might have yielded him so much Noble Matter for his Pen? And when the *Royal Society* itself is so careful that such Ceremonies should be just no more than what are necessary to avoid Confusion? What other Language should he have us'd than this, if he had been to inform the World of his own School at *Orange*? Just so he should have proceeded. He should first have declar'd whether the Room was Hung or Wainscotted: Next, whether the Master sat with his Back towards the Window, or the Chimney: Then how many Seats there were for the Boys to sit on: At last, he should have drawn himself in a Majestick Chair, his Ferula in his Hand, and the poor Scholars trembling for fear at every Rap on the Table.

But all this is still pardonable: He has been utterly mistaken in the Report of their main Design. There are Two Things that they have most industriously avoided, which he attributes to them: The one is, *a dividing into Parties and Sects*, and the other, *a reliance on Books* P. 32. *for their Intelligence of Nature*. He first says, that *they are not all guided by the Authority of Gassendus or Des Cartes; but that the Mathematicians are for Des Cartes, and the Men of General Learning for Gassendus*, whereas neither of these Two Men bear any Sway amongst them: They are never nam'd there as Dictators over Mens Reasons; nor is there any extraordinary Reference to their Judgments. He also asserts, that

P. 36. the Royal Society has appointed Lodgings, and established Four Thousand Livres a Year, on Two Professors, who shall read to them out of Authors, and that they have begun a Library for that Purpose; whereas they have as yet no Library, but only a Repository for their Instruments and Rarities; they never intend a Professorian Philosophy, but declare against it; with Books they meddle not farther than to see what Experiments have been try'd before; their Revenue they design for Operators, and not Lecturers.

I now pass over to his chief Delight, the *Belles Lettres* of the English. He grants our Stage to be handsome, the Musick tolerable, better I suppose than that of the Polack Gentleman. But yet he says, that our Poets laugh at the Rules of Time and Place: That all our Plays contain the Actions of Five and Twenty Years: That we Marry a Prince in the First Act, and bring in his Son fighting in the Second, and his Grandchild in the Third.

P. 69. But here, Sir, he has committed a greater Disorder of Time than that whereof he accuses our Stage: For he has confounded the Reign of King Charles the Second with that of Q. Elizabeth. 'Tis true, about an Hundred Years ago the English Poets were not very exact in such Decencies; but no more then were the Dramatists of any other Countries. The English themselves did laugh away such Absurdities as soon as any; and for these last Fifty Years our Stage has been as regular in those Circumstances as the best in Europe. Seeing he thinks fit to upbraid our present Poets with the Errors of which their Predecessors were guilty so long since, I might as justly impute the vile Absurdities that are to be found in *Amadis de Gaul* to Monsieur de Cornielle, de Scudery, de Chapelaine, de

de Voiture, and the rest of the Famous Modern French Wits.

He next blames the *Meanness of Humours* which *P. 69.*
we represent. And here, because he has thrust
 this Occasion upon me, I will venture to make a
 short Comparison between the *French* Dramati-
 cal Poetry and ours. I doubt not, Sir, but I
 may do this with the leave of that witty Nation:
 For as long as I do not presume to slander their
 Manners, (from which you see I have carefully
 forbore,) I hope they will allow me to examine
 that which is but Matter of Wit and Delight:
 I will not enter into open defiance of them on
Monsieur de Sorbier's Account, but I intreat
 them to permit me only to try a Civil Turnament
 with them in his War of Letters. I will there-
 fore make no Scruple to maintain that the *English*
 Plays ought to be preferr'd before the *French*:
 And to prove this I will not insist on an Argument
 which is plain to any Observer, that the greatest
 Part of their most Excellent Pieces has been taken
 from the *Spaniard*; whereas the *English* have for
 the most part trodden in New Ways of Invention.
 From hence I will not draw much Advantage, tho'
 it may serve to balance that which he afterwards
 says of our Books, that *they are generally stoln P. 75.*
out of other Authors; but I will fetch the Grounds
 of my Perswasion from the very Nature and Use
 of the Stage itself. It is beyond all Dispute, that
 the true Intention of such Representations is to
 give to mankind a Picture of themselves, and
 thereby to make Virtue belov'd, Vice abhorr'd,
 and the little Irregularities of Mens Tempers, cal-
 led Humours, expos'd to laughter. The Two
 First of these are the proper Subjects of Tragedy,
 and Trage-Comedy. And in these I will first try
 to shew why our Way ought to be preferr'd be-
 fore

fore theirs. The *French* for the most part take only One or Two Great Men, and chiefly insist on some one Remarkable Accident of their Story; to this End they admit no more Persons than will serve to adorn that: And they manage all in Rhime, with long Speeches, almost in the Way of Dialogues, in making high Idea's of Honour, and in speaking Noble things. The *English* on the other side make their chief Plot to consist of a greater variety of Actions; and besides the main Design, add many other little Contrivances. By this Means their Scenes are shorter, their Stage fuller, many more Persons of different Humours are introduc'd. And in carrying on of this they generally do only confine themselves to Blank Verse. This is the Difference, and hence the *English* have these Advantages. By the Liberty of Prose they render their Speech and Pronunciation more Natural, and are never put to make a Contention between the Rhime and the Sense. By their Underplots they often change the Minds of their Spectators: Which is a mighty Benefit, seeing one of the greatest Arts of Wit and Persuasion is the right ordering of Digressions. By their full Stage they prevent Mens being continually tir'd with the same Objects: And so they make the Doctrine of the Scene to be more lively and diverting than the Precepts of Philosophers, or the grave Delight of Heroick Poetry; which the *French* Tragedies do resemble. Nor is it sufficient to object against this, that it is undecent to thrust in Men of mean Condition amongst the Actions of Princes. For why should that misbecome the Stage, which is always found to be acted on the true Theatre of the World? There being no Court which only consists of Kings, and Queens, and Counsellors of State. Upon these

these Accounts, Sir, in my weak Judgment, the *French Drama* ought to give place to the *English* in the Tragical and Lofty Part of it. And now having obtained this, I suppose they will of their own Accord resign the other Excellence, and confess that we have far exceeded them in the Representation of the different Humours. The Truth is, the *French* have always seem'd almost ashamed of the true Comedy; making it not much more than the Subject of their *Farces*: Whereas the *English* Stage has so much abounded with it, that perhaps there is scarce any Sort of Extravagance of which the Minds of Men are capable but they have in some Measure express'd. It is in Comedies, and not in Solemn Histories, that the *English* use to relate the Speeches of Waggoners, of Fencers, and of Common Soldiers. And this I dare assure *Monsieur de Sorbierre*, that if he had understood our Language, he might have seen himself in all Shapes, as a vain Traveller, an empty Politician, an insolent Pedant, and an idle Pretender to Learning. But though he was not in a Condition of taking Advice from our Stage, for the correcting of his own Vices, yet methinks he might thereby have rectified his Judgment about ours: He might well have concluded, that the *English* Temper is not so universally heavy and dumpish, when he beheld their Theatres to be the gayest and merriest in Europe.

Concerning the *English* Eloquence, he bravely P. 70. declares, that *all their Sermons in the Pulpit, and Pleadings at the Bar, consist of nothing but mean Pedantry*. The Censure is Bold, especially from a Man that is so far from Understanding our Language, that he scarce knew *Whether we move our Lips or no when we speak*, But to shew P. 70. him,

P. 65.

him that we can better judge of *Monsieur de Sorbier's* Eloquence, I must tell him, that the *Muses* and *Parnassus* are almost whipt out of our very Schools: That there are many Hundreds of Lawyers and Preachers in *England*, who have long known how to contemn such Delicacies of his Stile. I will only give one Instance for all. I believe he cou'd scarce have Brib'd any Scivener's Clerk to describe *Hatfield* as he has done, and so to conclude, *That the Fishes in the Ponds did often leap out of the Water into the Air to behold, and to delight themselves with the Beauties of that Place.*

I will not attempt to defend the Ornaments or the Copiousness of our Language against one that is utterly ignorant of it. But to shew how plentiful it is, I will only repeat an Observation which the Earl of *Clarendon* has made, that there is scarce any Language in the World which can properly signifie one *English* Expression, and that is *Good Nature*; though *Monsieur de Sorbier* will not allow the Noble Author of this Note to have any Skill in Grammar Learning, yet he must pardon me if I still believe the Observation to be true: At least, I assure you, Sir, that after all my Search I cannot find any one Word in his Book which might incline me to think otherwise.

P. 70.

But I will be content to lay the whole Authority of his Judgment in Matters of Wit and Elegance on what he says concerning the *English* Books. He affirms, *That they are only impudent Thefts out of others, without citing their Authors; and that they contain nothing but ill Rapsodies of Matter, worse put together.* And here, Sir, I will for once do him a Courtesie. I will suppose him not to have taken this one Character

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of us from the Soldier, the *Zealander*, the *Puritans*, or the Rabble of the Streets : I will grant he might have taken an ill Conceit of our Writings before he came over, from the usual Judgment which the Southern Wits of this World are wont to pass on the Wit of all Northern Countries. 'Tis true indeed, I think the *French* and the *Italians* would scarce be so unneighbourly as to assert, that *all our Authors are Thievish Pedants* ; that is *Monsieur de Sorbier's* own Addition; but yet they generally agree, that there is scarce any Thing of late Written that is worth looking upon, but in their own Languages. The *Italians* did at first endeavour to have it thought that all Matters of Elegance had never yet passed over the *Alps* : But being soon overwhelmed by Number, they were content to admit the *French* and the *Spaniards* into some Share of the Honour. But they all Three still maintain this United Opinion, that all Wit is to be sought for nowhere but amongst themselves: It is their Established Rule, that Good Sense has always kept near the warm Sun, and scarce ever yet dared to come farther than the Forty-ninth Degree Northward. This, Sir, is a pretty Imagination of theirs, to think they have confin'd all Art to a Geographical Circle; and to fancy that it is there so charm'd, as not to be able to go out of the Bounds which they have set it. It were certainly an easie and apleasant Work to confute this Arrogant Conception by particular Examples: It might quickly be shewn, that *England*, *Germany*, nay, even *Denmark* and *Scotland*, have produced very many Men, who may justly come into Competition with the best of these Southern Wits, in the Advancement of the true Arts of Life, in all the Works of Solid Reason, nay, even in the Lighter Studies

Studies of Ornament and Humanity. And, to speak particularly of *England*, there might be a whole Volume composed in comparing the Chastity, the Newness, the Vigour of many of our *English* Fancies, with the corrupt and the swelling Metaphors wherewith some of our Neighbours, who most admire themselves, do still adorn their Books. But this, Sir, will require a larger Discourse than I intend to bestow on Monsieur de Sorbriere. I am able to dispatch him in fewer Words. For I wonder how, of all Men living, it could enter into his Thoughts to condemn in gross the *English Writings*, when the best Course that he has taken to make himself consider'd as a Writer was the Translation of an *English* Author.

But I beg your Leave, Sir, that I may briefly add, that in the first Restoration of Learning the *English* began to write well as soon as any, the *Italians* only excepted; and that if we may guess by what we see of the *Italians* at this Day, the *English* have continued to write well longer than they. Sir Thomas Moor was Contemporary with Erasmus; and though he was a Man of the Law too, yet he yielded not much to that Incomparable Man in the Plenty of his Invention, or the Masculine Easiness of the Style. And ever since that Time down to this, (if we may take a Measure of the *English* by what Tully says of the *Romans* in their most flourishing Condition, That they had scarce above One Excellent Poet or Orator in an Age,) we may make a very Advantageous Computation for the Honour of our Country. We have at this Present as many Masters of true and real Wit as ever *Greece* produc'd in One Age, whose Names, though I conceal, yet Posterity shall declare. We have had many Ad-
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mirable Genius's in Poetry, who have handled most of the Ancient and Modern Subjects of Fancy with wonderful Success. We can name many Faithful and Diligent Historians, such as never strove to *frame a Romance out of every Story that they managed*. And the Number of these will be shortly encreased by the Labours of a Great Man, from whom we hope to receive the History of our Wars; a Subject fit for the Pen of a Privy-Counsellor to Kings, who had himself a great Share in the Conduct of those Affairs which he is to relate. Our Mathematicians we may almost equal to those of all *Europe* besides. Our Physicians have long been applauded by all the Learned World; and certainly their Renown'd College at *London* deserv'd to have been mention'd, as well as the Fencers at the *Red Bull*. Our Famous Divines have been innumerable, as the *Dutch* Men may witness, who, in some of their Theological Treatises, have been as Bold with the *English* Sermons, as with our Fishing; and their Robberies have been so manifest, that our Church ought to have Reprizals against them, as well as our Merchants. We have had many Philosophers of a strong, vigorous and forcible Judgment, of happy and laborious Hands, of a sincere, a modest, a solid and unaffected Expression; such who have not thought it enough to set up for Philosophers, only to have got a large Stock of Fine Words, and to have insinuated into the Acquaintance of some of the Great Philosophers of the Age. And above all, we have one small Book which we dare oppose to all the Treasures of the *Eastern* and *Western* Languages; it is that which was written by our late King and Martyr; whose Majestical Stile and Divine Conceptions have not only mov'd all his Readers
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to admire his Eloquence, but inclin'd some of the worst of his Enemies to relent their Cruelty towards him.

After all these Signs of his Excellent Judgment and Generous Mind, there still, Sir, remains that which he has given of his good *Palate*; For he has boldly determin'd the Controversie that had long depended in all the Kitchens of England and France, which is the best way of eating Chines of Beef and Mutton, or Bisques and Pottages. This, I confess, was a Matter fit to be decided by that *Historian, Critick, Mathematician, Orator and Physician*, who had travell'd throughout the World to acquaint himself with all the Learned Men of all Countries, and to push on all Sciences to Perfection. He has here indeed behaved himself like the true, natural and experimental Philosopher, whose Business it is to take in all manner of Observations that can be got from the Senses. You see, Sir, how fairly I treat him; I allow the very Criticisms of his Appetite to be a Part of his Philosophy; and I look upon his Affection to Fricacies before whole Joints, to proceed from his Love to the Doctrines of Atoms before that of the Two great standing Dishes of Matter and Form. But yet I must tell him, that perhaps his rigid Condemning of the *English Cookery* did not so well suit with his beloved Title of *Sceptick*. According to the Laws of that Profession, he should first have long debated whether there be any Taste, or no; whether the Steam of a Pot be only a Fancy, or a real Thing; whether the Kitchen Fire has indeed the good Qualities of Roasting and Boiling, or whether it be only an Appearance. This had been a Dispute more becoming a Sceptick, than thus to conclude Dogmatically on all

all the Intrigues of Hautgoufts, and to raise an endless speculative Quarrel between those that had been hitherto peaceful and practical Sects, the *Hashes* and the *Surloiners*.

You may now, Sir, perhaps expect that I shou'd make some Comparison between the *French Diet* and the *English*. It were, I confess, a pleasant and a weighty Argument; but I am resolv'd to pass it over: Not that I think we have the worst of the Cause, but for a particular Reason of my own. It is that Monsieur *de Sorbierre* may still remain in his Error; for as long as he is ignorant that there is any good Housekeeping in *England* we are like to have no more of his Company. Yet I cannot but say to the Advantage of Boil'd Beef and Roast, that the *English* have the same Sincerity in their Diet which they have in their Manners; and as they have less Mixture in their Dishes, so they have less Sophisticate Compositions in their Hearts, than the People of some other Nations.

But now, Sir, I confess he has quite tired my Hand; and I am almost as much ashamed to behold the Heaps of his Vanities arise to such a Bulk, as he ought to be that he has given me this Occasion to collect them: I will therefore, in a few Words, come to an Issue with him: I will satisfy him in the Request which he makes to his Reader. I am content to conclude from these his *Three Months Travels* what kind of Observations he has made in the World these Thirty Years. This, Sir, is his own Desire, and I obey him; but then I know not how he will be able to avoid the Imputation of those Crimes with which he has so often slander'd the *English*, of being a Do-little, an Idle, a Lazy and Useless Person. The Description of his Voyage into *England* is
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not yet come to my Hands: But if it be of the same Thread with this, he had been much better employ'd if he had only imitated the Roman Emperor's Journey thither, and gone to gather Cockle-shells on that Shore. If he has any Friends amongst all the Learned Men of Europe, that were once his Familiars, they would do well to advise him what Weight his Mind will bear; he is himself in the Right when he acknowledges, that *these Matters of State, Characters of Nations, Descriptions of Governments, Churches and Courts, are far above the Weakness of his Spirit.* But yet the Man's Abilities are not wholly to be discouraged; he may still prove a tolerable good Flatterer of his Patrons: He may still bring in his *Votre Tres Humble* artificially enough in the End of an empty Letter of Complements: He may serve to commend Philosophers when they are dead; or (to conclude with his own dear Epirhet) he may make a sufficient Trumpeter in the Commonwealth of Learning. And in truth he has behaved himself in this Account of his Voyage like a Trumpeter; for Trumpeters, when they are sent into Foreign Armies or Countries, are always blinded, on purpose that they might not be able to give any certain Intelligence of the Places through which they pass'd.

And now, Sir, having dismiss'd the Historiographer Royal, that I may speedily put an end to your Trouble, I will only in few Words apply my Speech to your self. You may perhaps remember that we have sometimes debated together what Place and Time of all the past or present we would have chosen to live in, if our Fates had been at our own Disposal; and in that Discourse, instead of *desiring to have been Born*
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in China, we both agreed, that *Rome*, in the Reign of *Augustus*, was to be preferr'd before all others. The Prerogatives of that Time were very many : That City was then become the establish'd Seat of the Empire of the World : That Emperor had the good Fortune to succeed a long Civil War : The Minds of all Men were easily compos'd into Obedience by the Remembrance of their past Misfortunes : The Arts of Wit, Reason and Delight, were in their highest Perfection : The Court was the Place of Resort for all the Lovers of Generous Knowledge : And such was the Freedom of their Manners, that *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Varius*, were admitted into the Privacies and Friendship of *Agrippa*, *Mecænas* and *Augustus*. Beyond this we could fancy nothing pleasanter to a Philosophical Mind ; which was resolv'd to live according to the Convenience and Rules of Nature ; seeing it might have enjoy'd at once all the Varieties of an Active Life, and all the Quiet and Peace of a Retir'd.

This, Sir, was then our Opinion : But it was before the King's Return. For since that Blessed Time the Condition of our own Country appears to me to be such, that we need not search into Ancient History for a real Idea of Happiness. 'Tis true that *England* is not the Seat of the Empire of the World ; but it may be of that which confines the World it self, the Ocean. To this Dominion our Nation is invited by the Situation of our Shores, the Inclination of our People, and the Genius of a Vigorous and Skilful Prince. The Time wherein we live is upon the Recovery of an Universal Peace ; a Peace establish'd on the Two surest Foundations of Fear and Love : A Peace that was accomplish'd without Proscripti-

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ons, and even without the Ruin of those that resisted it: A Peace that was produced by Peaceful Arts, though it was by the Conduct of an Army. The Footsteps of the late dreadful War are not only vanish'd from our Eyes, but now almost from our Thoughts. If any of it still remains, it is only the good Effect which it had on our Country, the Industry that was excited by it, and the Wisdom which such woful Experience has taught us. The Government which we enjoy is justly compos'd of a sufficient Liberty and Restraint. And though it may be suspected in a querulous and discontented Age, a little to incline the People to Disobedience, yet in a calm and a secure Time (such as this at present) it serves admirably well to breed a Generous, an Honourable and Invincible Spirit. The Temper of the *English* is Free, Modest, Sincere, Kind, hard to be Provok'd. If they are not so Talkative as others, yet they are more careful of what they Speak. If they are thought by some of their Neighbours to be a little defective in the Gentleness and the Pliableness of their Humour, yet that Want is abundantly supplied by their firm and their masculine Vertues: And perhaps the same Observation may be found true in Men which is in Metals, and that the Noblest Substance are hardest to be polish'd. The Arts that now prevail amongst us are not only all the useful Sciences of Antiquity, but most especially all the late Discoveries of this Age in the real Knowledge of Mankind and Nature. For the Improvement of this kind of Light the *English* Disposition is of all others the fittest. And an Universal Zeal towards the Advancement of such Designs has not only overspread our Court and Universities, but the Shops of our Mechanics,

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'Tis true indeed, that after all these Advantages there may be some Room still left for future Amendments in the Union of our Minds, the Smoothness of our Manners, and the Beauty of our Buildings. This last was the peculiar Honour of *Augustus*, who is said to have found Rome of Brick, and to have left it in Marble. In this kind too we every Day behold a wonderful Progress, by the powerful Influence of a Royal Example: And the Fishes in the *Thames* have as much Reason as those at *Hatfield* to leap out of the Water, to behold the New Buildings of *London* and *Westminster*: So that I may in general affirm, that never any Nation in the World has proceeded by swifter Degrees to excel in Convenience and Magnificence. But whatever is to be added in this, or any other such Way, we can never receive it from the petulant Corrections of such vain Observers as this, whom I have here consider'd. No, Sir, we are to expect it from the many Noble and Practical *English* Wits of this Age; and chiefly from your self. For you must give me Leave, Sir, to preface, that to you your Country is to owe very much of its Ornament, as well as Experimental Knowledge, its Reputation, and indeed all the Living and Beneficial Arts, the Enlargement of

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their Bounds. This, Sir, I know will offend your Modesty; but he is an ill *Englishman*, who would not have said as much as this when your Name was mention'd; which if I had omitted I had been almost as injurious to our Nation as this very Traveller whom I censure; for as he was unjust in aggravating the Faults, so I my self had been in concealing one of the principal Glories of *England*.

I beg of you now, Sir, only to permit me to conclude with some Apology for my self. You may, perhaps, wonder all this while to see me undertake such an Argument, and to prosecute it in a manner which may appear a little too sharp for your Eye, or my Pen. You know, Sir, that I am an Enemy to all manner of Controversies; that I hate Contention, though in Matters of the greatest Concernment; and that I had much rather defend than accuse. To this I can therefore only reply for my Excuse, That this Letter may not so properly be call'd an *Accusation*, as a *Defence*: For though I have confuted the Sauciness of one particular Man, yet I have pleaded for a Great, a Valiant, and a Vertuous People.

S I R, I am

Your most Humble and

Affectionate Servant,

THO. SPRAT.

SORBIERE'S
LETTER

TO

Monf. *de Courcelles*

AT

AMSTERDAM,

CONCERNING

The Designs of the *English* in the
War against the *Dutch*, 1652.

COSIN,

I Should be very glad to see the Sentiments of Monf. *Blondel*, about the State of Religion, and the Civil Government, upon the Account of the War with the *English*, in the Book he has published, which you have promised to send me; seeing we have made many

Reflections upon that Important Subject in these Parts, of whose Weight and Consequence we can make a much better Judgment, in comparing them with those of more intelligent Persons in Things of this Kind, and such as are upon the Spot, where this War was kindled. In the mean time I cannot forbear communicating to you the Thoughts we have entertained upon this singular Occasion.

It's in a manner visible to us, that during the Life of the Late King, even to the time that after his Death the Three Kingdoms were reduced into a Republican State, the main Design, at least of many People in *England*, was utterly to efface the Monarchy; those who were set at a Distance from the Administration of Publick Affairs being very eager to come at it, and the People easily induced to withdraw themselves from under the Subjection of the Grandees of the Kingdom; all which could not be effected without the Destruction of the Monarchy, by putting the King to Death, which was the Heart and Soul of the Nobility. Now seeing they had the Address to bring about this Fatal Design, which their Neighbours took no manner of Care to prevent; and that the Almighty was pleased to tolerate a small Number of Men to set up a New Government, and to fix it in Peace and Order, it seemed as if they had no farther Work to do, and that the Faction could have no farther Thoughts than peaceably to enjoy the Authority acquired by them: In Short, to make Descents on the Continent, and Conquests of their Neighbours Territories, looked by no Means a prudent Undertaking, in the Infancy of a popular Government;

vernment; and the General himself might rationally enough expect some Reverse of Fortune in it. For in Case he was personally engaged in a Foreign War, he would upon the least ill Success run a very great Risque of losing his Reputation in his own Country; and if he tarry'd at Home, he must in a manner be left Naked, by being obliged to send the best Part of his Army out of the Kingdom, to defend their Conquests, and to make new ones; and this was not to be done without much Toil, and continued Fatigues: It would have been difficult for him, after having made many Conquests, to secure them; and the People finding the Money of the Nation spent abroad, would at last look upon these Conquests a Burden upon them, and refuse to grant any farther Supplies. In the mean time, since it would be absolutely necessary to keep an armed Force on Foot, and to find Employment for Soldiers, and other idle Persons, as well to support the Design, as to maintain the present Establishment, and to cut off all Hopes of restoring Monarchical Government, was there a shorter and more seasonable Way to accomplish all this than by a Naval War? For by an Absolute Dominion of the Seas the Republick of *England* must acquire all the Trade of the World, and thereby all the Habitable Earth must be Subject and Tributary to it.

It's true, the Person who was at the Head of Affairs was not obliged to make this vast and prodigious Design known unto others, a greater than which perhaps was never entertained by any Ambitious Soul in the World: It was sufficient that he gave the People in general to understand, that his Intention was to

make Trade flourish, and to put a Check upon his Neighbours, who had Engrossed all Commerce to themselves, so far as to Usurp the Fishery upon their own Coasts; as if the *English* were a People that did not understand the Profits they might make of the Produce of the Sea, and how by their Industry to make Advantage of that which Nature so bountifully conferred upon them. So profitable a Proposal was readily hearkened to, the Minds of the People being so much the more inclined to it, not only upon Account of the Difference there is between the Customs and Manners of the Two Nations, but because the *English* had for a long time been jealous of the Prosperity of the *Dutch*, who advanc'd in Power by their Prudent Management, Parcimony and Sobriety, Virtues the *English* were not capable of. For an *English* Ship usually is as expensive as Two *Dutchmen*, so that the *Dutch* Merchants can sell the same Goods much cheaper than the other; and this is the Reason why they had a greater Vent for their Commodities, and at last all the Trade: The *English* Republicans took Things exactly right, and that in order to the accomplishing of a Design that would take up all their Life-time, (for such Sort of Men ought never to conceive Mean ones, after the execution whereof they must be put to the Trouble of Projecting anew, or live lazily, and be expos'd to Conspiracies against them,) they thought it would be their best Way to begin with the Ruin of the *United Provinces*, which lay next their Coasts, and flourished in Trade above any other Country in the World; and when once they had effected this, they were in
Hopes,

Hopes they should easily remove any Obstacle in their Way to attain the Dominion of the Seas: Infomuch that if the Fortune of War should favour their first Enterprizes, I do not think they have any Design to make a Peace with a Nation they have a mind utterly to destroy, and to whom they will propose such hard Terms, that upon the Refusal of them you will at last find them prepared to make terrible Descents in divers Parts of *Zealand* and *North Holland*, to break the Banks, and the other Dikes, that keep the flat Country from being Drowned. There needs no more than this Sort of Blood-letting to make *Amsterdam*, and all the other Cities, Desolate: For it would signifie little to them to Seize the *Brill*, or some other Place, seeing their Design is to destroy the Trade of *Holland*, and to Transfer it into their own Country; and it would be of little Importance to them that the King of *Spain* should in the mean time recover the Seven Provinces; that the Merchants of *Amsterdam* should remove to *Antwerp*, and the Manufacturers of *Leyden* and *Harlem* to *Ghent* and *Bruges*: For it would require many Years to settle Things there, and the *English* would have Opportunity enough to hinder them from having any necessary Materials, but such as passed through their own Hands, and their Manufactures to be Transported any where but in *English* Bottoms: For it would be very easie for them to stop up the Mouths of the Ports, and to go up the *Schelde*, even in Sight of *Antwerp*, from whence nothing must come out but will be taken by their Ships. By this means, and the Notion I have of their Designs, no Nation in the World, in a few Years Time, would have
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any Seamen, Ships, or Skill in Maritime Affairs, besides themselves: For *Holland* being entirely ruin'd, the *Dutch* must serve on Board their Fleets, and all the Shipwrights, Sailmakers and Ropemakers, would be obliged to go and Earn their Living in the Sea-port Towns of *England*; and this they would be the more inclined to do, because there is more Wages given there, and People live better. When this Noble and Rich Province, which within the Extent of less than Five and Twenty Leagues, contains Eighteen large Towns, and Four Hundred Villages, of which the *Hague* is the finest in the World, shall be reduced to this sad Plight; it's then likely that the *English* will turn their Arms against *Denmark*, in order to Sieze the Passage of the *Sundt*, either by main Force, or rather some Treaty, by which they will be willing to give the King more than the Profit it brought him, but at the same time will oblige *Norway* to Sell their Wood to no other Nation but the *English*: The Cities of *Embden*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Lubec*, all the Coast of the *Baltick*, and the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*, durst appear no longer at Sea, but under *English* Colours; and perhaps the Formidable Republick will be content, in Consideration of her Commissions granted to them, to receive certain Duties from the Goods she allows them in her Name to Transport, only along these Northern Parts. They will in time send a more powerful Fleet to block up the River of *Lisbon*, while another sails to *Brasil*, *Guinea*, and the *East-Indies*, with a Design to spare the *Portuguese* Merchants, and the *East-India* Companies, the Labour of Transporting the Sugars, Silks, Spices, and other Commodities they come thither

thither for, into *Europe*: And if *Spain* pretends to say any Thing against them, they will without any more ado Sieze the *Streights-Mouth*, and send an Hundred and Fifty Ships of War into the *Mediterranean*, out of which they can very easily drive the Naval Force of the other Potentates of *Europe*, were they all joined together against them.

The *English* having in this Manner usurped the Dominion of the Seas, the Trade of all the *European* Nations, and part of the rest of the World: All the Earth must Submit to them, Work for no body but them, and they'll from Time to Time come into their Ports, and sweep away all their Treasure: Every Thing that is Rare, and all the Conveniences of Life, produced either by Art or Nature, will be reserved for *England*, which will be the only Country that can purchase them, or possess them of their own. For as we see, that since the settling of Trade in *Holland* that Province is become the Store-house for Linen, Woollen, and all Sorts of Manufactures; tho' there is neither Flax, Wooll, nor in a manner any other Commodities which they Work up, grows there, but they must fetch them from other Countries; so every Thing that *England* wants at this time will abound there, and the Best Artificers will flock thither; insomuch that if they would have any fine Linen, or good Cloath for Wear, in another Country, the Flax and Wooll was to be sent to be Manufactured in *England*: Pray consider then what vast Wealth this Country must acquire in less than Fifty Years? And how miserable must the rest of *Europe* be, since they can Transport nothing by Sea from one Nation to another but in *English* Ships? They will

will always have Money to receive in all the Ports they come at, and never leave any of their own there: What the *English* want they'll make Compensation for, by Way of Exchange, or readily send over into *England*, upon the Score of the Manufactures there they have Occasion for: As we have seen the *Dutch East-India* Company have Pearl, and Precious Stones, in Return for some Wares sent into those Countries, which they got Fitted up at *Amsterdam*, and then Sold them at a very dear Rate in those Places from whence they were first brought, and where there is not that Perfection of Workmanship as there is with us. Hundreds of Ships richly Laden will daily put into the *Thames*, and other Ports of this fortunate Island; and the General can scarce ever lose the Sight of his Forces, which, I may say, return every Evening to lye at Home; for they stay no longer in Foreign Parts than to refresh themselves, to vend their Goods, and to take in new Cargoes: They will be no Way solicitous of making Conquests by Land, that they may save the Charge of maintaining them, seeing they are sure of reaping the Profit of them; neither will they plant any Colonies, and ease their Country, as populous as 'tis grown, of the vast Multitudes that are in it, because the Produce of all *Europe* is Consumed there, and their great Naval Trade renders their Stores Inexhaustible: In the mean time all the Neighbouring Kingdoms will in a manner become like the Sea-coasts of *America*, where our *Europeans* Trade: There will be only Tillage, and some Coarse Manufactures for plain Ware, and to serve Peoples Necessities only in the Heart of the Country, and the Maritime Towns will be no other than the Granaries and Magazines of *England*.

These

These are my Sentiments about this War, which in the Opinion of some may seem Romantick, and of Kin to *Utopia*, or the Republick of *Plato*; especially of those who do not consider that the Wars that have been waged for Twenty Years past, I know not under what Pretences or Designs, had nothing so Great and Sublime in them, as that which *Cromwel* proposes: For in Reality there is nothing can come up to the Thoughts of subjecting all the Earth to his Country, and rendering it the most Haughty and Flourishing State in the World: It appears to me to be so vast and Magnificent a Thought, that there is nothing in all the Conquests of *Alexander*, and the Pomp of all the *Roman* Empire, that comes near this Maritime Dominion, which I have represented to you: And this seems to me to be so very feasible, that if *Holland* be once ruined I am afraid it will be too late to prevent it: And therefore I would have all the Potentates of *Europe* take it to Heart in time; for if they do not quickly put an end to the War they are engaged in on the Continent, we shall run the Risque in a few Ages of becoming perfect *Barbarians*. For the *English*, by the means of their Navigation, will Transfer all the Politeness of *Europe*, together with its Plenty, Power, and Conveniences of Life, into their own Country: But we ought to submit to Divine Providence: VVe, I say, who can contribute no more than our Vows for the Tranquility of the *United Provinces*, and the Glory of his Highness. It may be they'll make some Reflections upon what I have said at last; and that there will be Time enough still left to prevent the Designs of this new Commonwealth: But perhaps the Arguments we have used upon this Occasion may be Frivolous,
that

that our Fears are only Panick, and that there is nothing less thought of than what I have advanced: I heartily wish it, and that this Maritime Dominion may be only, and for ever, the Romantick Imagination of Bad Politicians, such as perhaps may be,

S I R,

Your Affectionate Cofin

Orange,

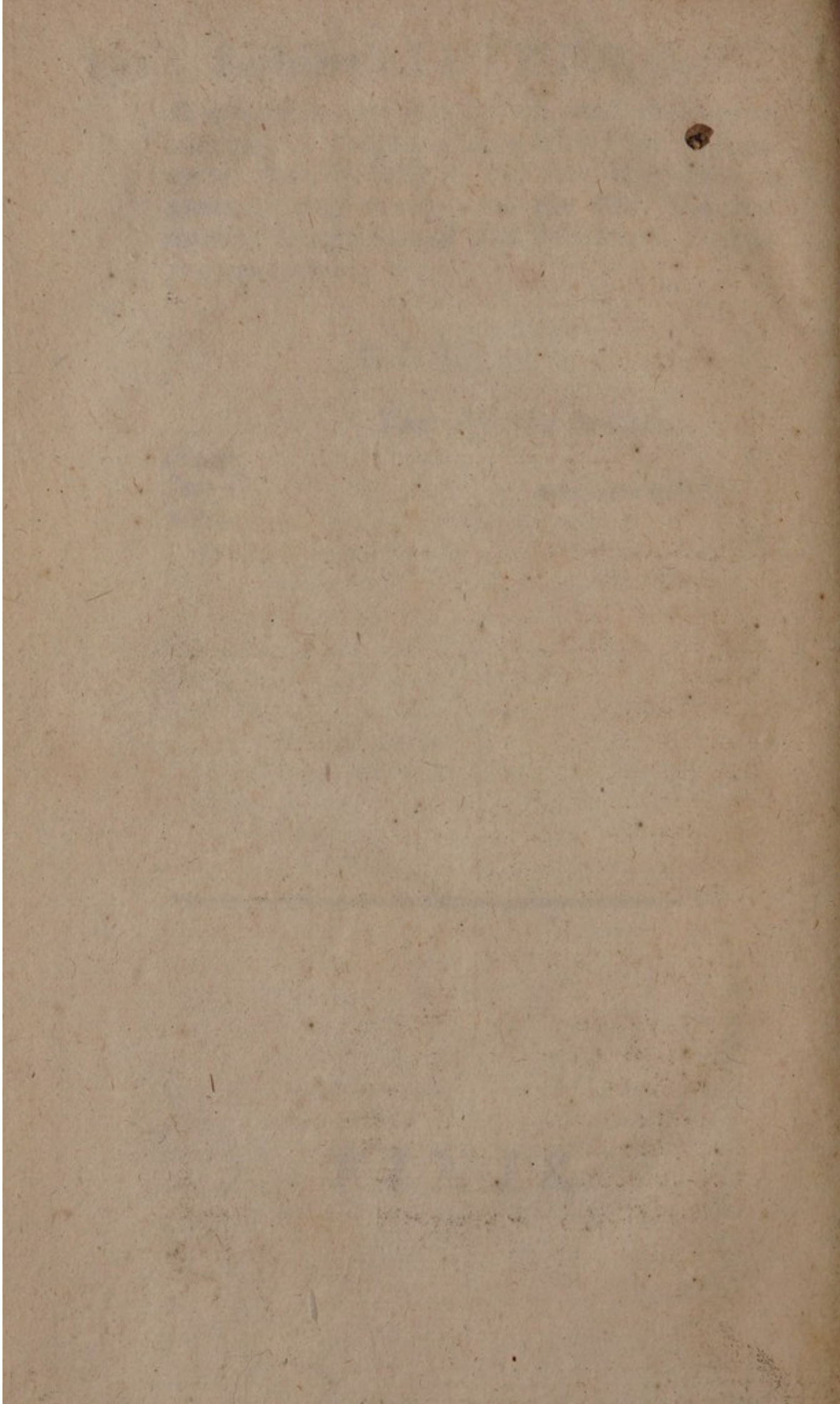
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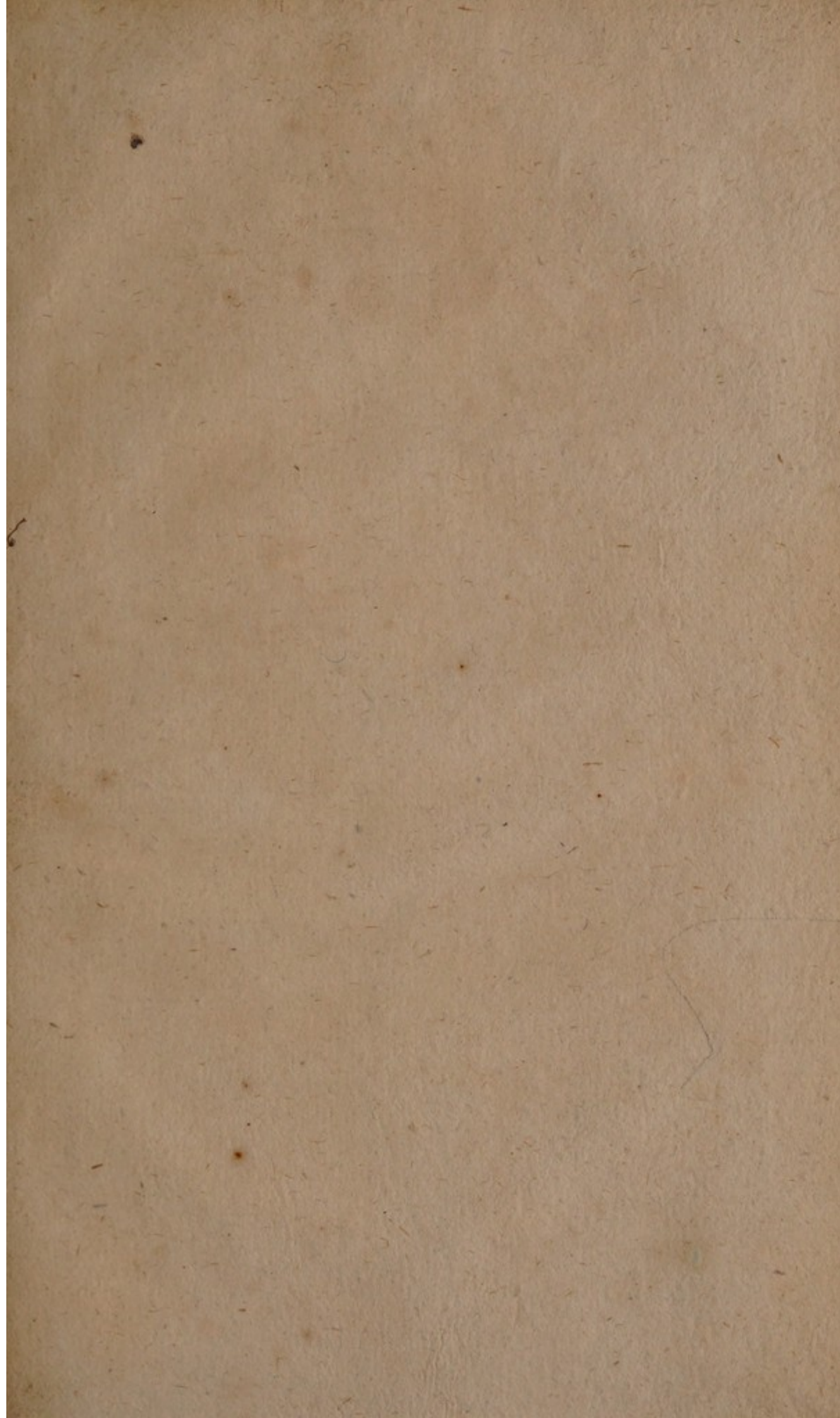
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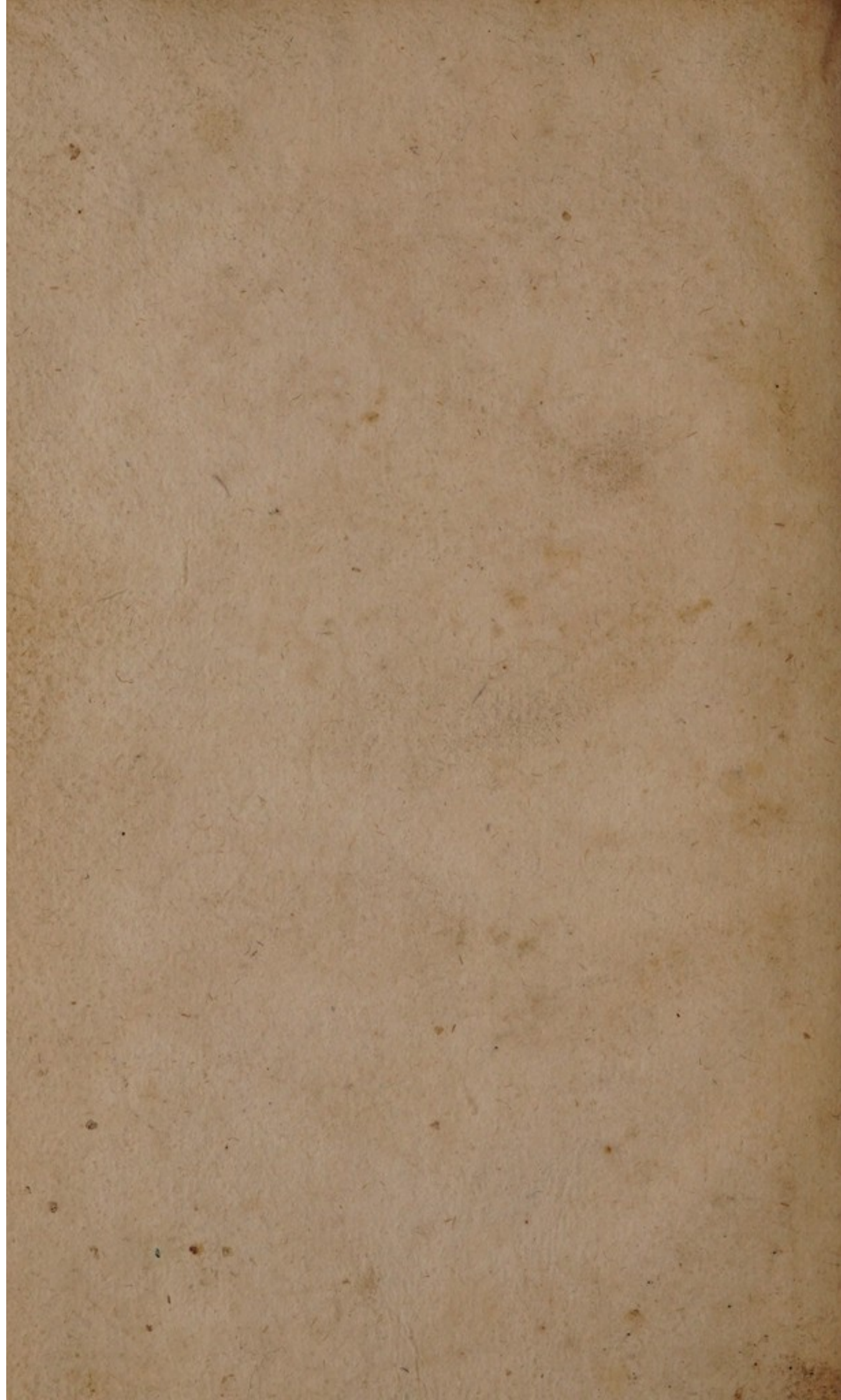
and Servant.

FINIS.









Cottrell
Co.

