THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN LOCKE,

IN NINE VOLUMES.

THE NINTH EDITION.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. LONGMAN, B. LAW AND SON, J. JOHNSON,
C. DILLY, G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. SEWELL,
W. OTRIDGE, W. RICHARDSON, F. AND C. RIVINGTON,
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AND J. WALKER.

1794.

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FAMILIAR LETTERS

BETWEEN

Mr. LOCKE,

AND

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

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FAMILIAR LETTERS

BETWEEN

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SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

CUM ante dies decem, ad amicum noſtrum dom. Guenellonem ſcripſi, facilè credes quod te, V. C. non inſalutatum præteriverim: verum mei officii, tuorumque beneficiorum ratio poſtulat à me aliam & ſalutandi & gratias agendi methodum, ne aut obitèr, aut negligentèr, id quod mihi maximè incumbit, agere videar. Præſertim cum Guenellonis noſtri ſilentium me incertum reddat, an meæ ad ipſum pervenerint literæ, quas ſane minime vellem intercidiſſe; ne vobis omnibus, quibus tot nominibus obſtrictus ſum, aut parum memor, aut parum gratus appaream, credatiſque paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot tantorumque beneficiorum deleviſſe memoriam, quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valebit. In iis etiam ſignificavi, quam humaniter tuus Vander Key me excepit, quam officiosè adjuvit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas ſuadet viri iſtius ſumma humanitas, quanquam illud parum eſt, ſi cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo conferatur. Dom. Veenium & optimam illius fœminam, quibus ſalutem verbis non

facile reperio, cum nulla ſint, quæ aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & ſemper habebo gratias, æquare poſſint; tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterius pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio ad dom. Guenellonem ſcripſi. Amœnitas loci, & ſi non deſidia, ſaltem quietis amor, & moleſtiæ, quam in itinere peſſimus ſum, averſatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidie prægreſſum ulciſcor otium, valde jucundæ ſunt; ſed longe jucundiores forent, ſi aliquot veſtrum expatiandi haberem ſocios, quod tam mei quam veſtri cauſâ continuo opto, præſertim ſic favente cœlo: nec enim credo ſanitati incommodum eſſet, præſertim dominæ Guenelloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robuſtæ prodeſſet maxime, credo, hic ſerenus & liber aër. Quid agatur apud vos, præſertim noſtrorum reſpectu, ad me perſcribas rogo; præſertim me de tuâ amicorumque noſtrorum valetudine certiorem facias. Sum

Cleve, 28 Sept. 1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke S. P. D

DUAS à te, vir ampliſſime, officii & benevolentiæ plenas hic accepi literas; nec ingratus tibi videbor, ſpero, ſi ad ſingula, prout oportet, non fuſe reſpondeam, temporis anguſtiâ impeditus. Hoc unum enixè rogo, ut des operam, ut de adventu comitis Pembrokiæ per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, tranſmiſſo ea de re, vel ad me, vel ad te, nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, ſi jam non adeſt, quotidie expectatur. Meâ multum intereſt, ut quam fieri poteſt maturè illius acceſſum cognoſcam. Hoc cum dixero, ſatis ſcio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerrime id mihi innoteſcat. De aliis alias, nam tabellarius diſcedit. Amicos meos, nomine, quam officioſiſſimè quæſo, ſalutes. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama,

Cleve, 3 October 1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P D.

Vir Clariſſime,

SI duabus tuis amiciſſimis epiſtolis parum, vel nihil, à me reſponſum eſt, id inſtanti tabellarii diſceſſui imputes, rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum tuæ vero conſuetudinis & jucundiſſimi juxta ac doctiſſimi ſermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratiſſimis literis nihil dicerem, niſi gravis aliqua ſubeſſet cauſa, cur de adventu comitis Pembrokiæ, quam fieri potuit citiſſimè, certior fierem. Sed jam quo maximè propendet animus, ad te, vir optime, & ſcripta tua redeo, in quibus primo accuſo amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnificè, de veſtris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exiliter, loquentem. Hi ſunt, fateor, magnæ & non fictæ amicitiæ aliquando errores, de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iiſdem rebus ſentienti ignoſcas, & me credas amicitiæ & gratitudinis dictata ſequi, cum in eâ perſiſtam ſententiâ, aliqua me apud vos accepiſſe beneficia, quibus reſpondere verbis nec poſſim, nec debeam. Et niſi vos omnes in re, contra quam par eſt, voluntati meæ obſtare viderem, tuam ego hic opem implorarem, ut hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tuâ autoritate, quâ plurimum apud præſtantiſſimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam juſtæ finem imponeres. Si quod videris promittere, ſed heu! longum abeſt, his in collibus & ſylvarum umbrâ, tuâ frui daretur & amicorum noſtrorum conſuetudine, crederem ego ſpecimen aliquod aurei rediiſſe ſæculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in ſylvis ſolum degebant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentiâ vix datur locus. Sic cecinerunt poetæ: an aliquid aliud nos docent hiſtorici, hoc tempore non eſt mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluiſſe, & ſine graviore aliquo ſymptomate. Locum illum epiſtolæ tuæ, ubi ſcriptorum tuorum memineris, non ſine mœrore legi; ſentio quantum ex diſceſſu meo fecerim jacturam, & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod non legerim reliqua tua ſcripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem, quam ex jam lectis, multo cum fructu, percepiſſem. Si vis ut ſincerè &

apertè dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis dilucidè propositas, argumentorum rationibus melius subnixas, à partium studiis longius remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importunè, tam deditâ operâ, criticum tam paucis potuisse dentem malignum imprimere patet. Sed me miserum! magnam partem fructûs, quem ex istâ meâ criticâ severitate mihi proposui, perdidi. Plurima enim, quæ inter legendum notaveram, non tam tui corrigendi, quam mei informandi, feci animo, de quibus tecum ulterius inquirendum statueram. Non est igitur, quod mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas; satis est, si vehementi nimis inquisitori, & culpandi ansas studiosè quærenti ignoscas. Quanquam non malè pictæ tabulæ indicium est, si quis cogatur in eâ quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor, eo essent scripta idiomate, ut tu poteris vices rependere, reperires te ulciscendi copiosam materiam. Quod scribis de critici critico * facile credo; quam primum enim attigi istum undecimæ epistolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obstrepentium exclamationes, quasi de religione omnino actum esset, nôsti hujusmodi hominum mores, quo minus heterodoxum aliquid possint refellere, ne nihil in causâ Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, incusationibus, calumniis insurgunt. Fateor argumentum istud modestè proponendum fuisse, & cautè tractandum, sed tamen ejusmodi est, ut mereatur tandem summâ cum acribiâ discuti. Si omnia, quæ in sacris libris continentur, pro theopneustis paritèr habenda, sine omni discretione, magna sane præbetur philosophis de fide & sinceritate nostra dubitandi ansa. Si è contrario quædam pro scriptis pure humanis habenda: ubi constabit scripturarum divina autoritas, sine quâ corruet religio christiana? quodnam erit criterium? quis modus? adeo ut in hâc quæstione, si quà aliâ, maxime fundamentali, summâ cum cautione, prudentiâ, modestiâ agendum, præsertim ab eo cui, uti credo, jam non nimium favent ecclesiasticæ potestates & theologorum classes. Sed signa cecinerunt, & expectandus est conflictus. Ego, qui ubique solam quæro veritatem,

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* Sentimens de quelques theologiens d'Hollande sur l'histoire critique du P. Simon.

eamque,

eamque, quantum capere poſſum, ſive inter orthodoxos reperio, ſive heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Fateor aliqua eſſe in eo ſcripto, quæ mihi plenè non ſatisfaciunt, alia quibus reſpondere non poſſum; de illis ab authore libenter reſponſum acciperem, ſi commodum exiſtimas, de his tuum quæro judicium.

I. Ni fallor, author ſæpius utitur contra apoſtolorum continuam inſpirationem hoc argumento, quod ſcil. multa ab illis dicta invenimus, quæ ſine auxilio ſpiritus ſancti dici poterant; quod tamen conceſſum, contra divinam ſacræ ſcripturæ autoritatem & θεοπνευςίαν nihil concludit. Aſſeritur in ſ. ſcripturâ conſtans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit ſanctus Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. 241,) quod cœlitus ipſi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit certitudini ſcripturæ, quandoquidem ejuſmodi res eſſet, quam certò & infallibiliter cognoſcere potuit, ſine revelatione divinâ. Quæ ſenſibus & certâ cognitione apoſtolis conſtabant, non opus erat revelatione, ut earum hiſtoria, ab apoſtolis tradita, pro indubitatâ haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines ſuſpicentur hoc argumentum potius quæſitum, quam è re natum.

II. Explicatio illius promiſſi John. xvi. 13. quam fusè tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur poſſe accommodari apoſtolo Paulo, ſi quis attentè legat illius hiſtoriam Act. ix. & ſeq. Unde enim ille evangelii hoſtis, &, ut ipſe alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam cito devenire myſteriorum evangelii interpres & præco, ſine inſpiratione ſupernaturali & divinâ? V. Act. ix. 19, 20.

Hæc aliqua eorum, quæ mihi inter legendum parum ſatisfecerunt, alia fuerunt, quorum oblitus ſum: ſed quid ad hæc dicat author libenter ſcirem. Verum cum plurima alia ſunt quæ videntur omnimodam ſ. ſcripturæ infallibilitatem & inſpirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non poſſe reſpondere, enixè rogo ut quid ea de re ſentias, mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim, quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant, jamdiu ante tractatûs hujus lectionem, dubium me & anxium tenuerunt, & gratiſſimum mihi facies, ſi hunc mihi adimas ſcrupulum. Cum ſummâ, quæſo, amicitiæ, gratitudinis & exiſtimationis ſignificatione hanc incluſam hoſpiti meo optimo tradas. Illiuſque & tuam & Gueneilonis fœminam, meo nomine ſalutes,

reliquoſque noſtros omnes. Vale, & longas epiſtolas ſcribenti ignoſcas, nam tecum loqui haud facile deſiſto.

Cleve, 6 Oct. 1685.

Tibi devotiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUANQUAM longo uſu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, à conſuetudine tamen tuâ, vir doctiſſime & amicorum optime, me divelli, ſine magnâ animi ægritudine, pati non poſſum. Tu enim me eruditione tuâ inſtruere, judicio confirmare, conſilio dirigere, & amicitiâ & comitate ſolari ſolebas, quotidianum curarum mearum perfugium: ſed ita plerumque mecum agi ſolet, ut ubi & quibuſcum eſſe maxime cupio, refragante fortunâ, rarò permiſſum ſit. Devorandum igitur, ut potero, hujus abſentiæ tædium, quod frequentibus tuis literis levare debes, jam præſertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adverſarii illi, qui domi ſuæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam ſumus ſæculo expectâſſe non dubito. Si candidè, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi ſcio non diſplicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris, undecunque venientem. Sin iracundè, veteratoriè, malignè, paucis placebunt, niſi ſui ſimilibus; quicquid demum acciderit, hoc certum eſt, quod tu illæſus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem, quæris, non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego à rixoſis hujuſmodi diſputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non ſuis adſtruendis, quærunt gloriam. Artificis & laudem merentis eſt ædificare. Sed pugnaces hoſce ſibi & curis ſuis relinquamus. Si quid in B——— placidus & liberalius reperiſti, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidiè augeri numerum, præſertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidiè feruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius ſunt indolis amici, quibus hic, te favente, familiaritèr utor. Uterque Grævius ſalutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium ſæpius quæſitum nondum

domi

domi reperi; hujus ſeptimanæ dies aliquot extra urbem tranſegit; cum domum redierit, non diu inſalutatum permittam. Vale cum tuâ tuiſque, & me ama

Utrecht, 11 Oct, 1686. Tui ſtudioſiſſimum

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir reverendiſſime, amiciſſime, colendiſſime,

SINE fati & ineluctabili prædeſtinationis vi experior in me ipſo, quomodo peccandi initia quandam ſenſim afferunt ſecum peccandi neceſſitatem. Literis tuis amiciſſimis 9. & 14. Febr. datis reſpondendi, quamprimum eas acceperam, anſam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna tum feſtinatio. Sed cum, peracto cum eo quocum mihi res erat negotio, jam deceſſus illius in Angliam mihi fecerit otium, ſatis ad literas ſcribendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus ſum eam, quâ aliàs uſus ſum, ſcribendi libertatem. In hoc ſilentii crimen rebus aliis impeditus, quaſi inſcius incidi miſer, quod jam tempore auctum penè confirmat pudor. Sic delicta delictis cumulamus ſemel irretiti, & modeſti pariter & pervicaces in vitiis ſuis indureſcunt. Vides quo in ſtatu jam ſum, & niſi credere me vis omnia certa & immutabili neceſſitate evenire, negligentiæ huic meæ ignoſcere debes, ut redeat mihi antiqua mea apud te parrheſia. De Germanâ patrum theologiâ idem tecum planè ſentio. Maxima ſemper fuit, ſemperque erit Germanorum natio, & pauci ſunt in tantâ ſcriptorum multitudine, qui non videntur eo ſub aëre nati. Sed me hâc de re à tuâ opinione non eſſe alienum, non multum miraberis. Aliquid amplius fateor eſt, quod ego numeros tuos ſecretos notaverim, & quod tu hoc obſervaveris. Cave tibi & ignoſce quam primum ſilentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis ſim moleſtus, vides me in ſecretiora tua penetrare. ‘ Scire volunt ſecreta domus’— & nôſti quod ſequitur,—‘ atque inde timeri.’ Magicæ hæ

hæ metuendæ ſunt artes nimis perſpicaces, quibus ego non parum mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enaſcuntur fonte, & id mihi teſtatum faciunt, quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam à tuâ harmonicâ quâdam ſympathiâ regi planè & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum ſemper fore certum eſt. O! utinam eodem modo & ſciens fieri poſſem. Ut enim verum fatear, inſcius tuis numeris uſus ſum, ſed gaudeo me prodiiſſe tenus: vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi acciderit. Agnoſco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libenter traderem. Gratias ago quam maximas, pro omni tuâ curâ & operâ, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locatâ. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale, & me ama

18 Tui Amantiſſimum,
Rotterodami, Mar. 8. 16)(37
5 J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUID illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par eſt, nec reſpondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate à te ipſo conceſsà uti, ſine viribus, ad ea quæ decent præſtanda, neceſſariis? Jucundiſſima tua, & floribus undique referta, epiſtola ad ea, quæ ſcribis, iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitat; ut vero calamum ſumam, & aliquid meo more reſcribam valde dehortatur & deterret. Etſi enim grati ſit animi, argutis & facetis amici ſermonibus aliquid reſpondere, imprudentis tamen eſt & parum pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agreſtia, pretioſis vilia, vel in ipſo literarum commercio reponere. Fruſtra igitur à te libertate donatus ſum, munus ſane in ſpecie magnificum, ſed niſi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire poſſis ingenio, plane inutile; fruſtra enim accuſabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & juſta ſit defenſio hebetem non debere eſſe loquacem, nec decere χάλκεα χρύσεια, ut ut enim eo modo liber ſim, parum certe videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum, novi ingenium, & quam paratus

ſis

fis omnia, ab amicâ voluntate profecta, in bonam partem interpretari; hoc boni omnia conſulentis non parva laus eſt ſed male interim ſcribentis peſſima excuſatio. Ea tamen fiducia fretus, en te iterum compellare auſim, melioribus ſtudiis vacantem; ſi quid in eo pecco, nolo incuſare vim à fatis illatam, cauſam ſane, ſi qua ſit, omnium maxime improbam, ſed te ipſum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longiſſime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoſcam, & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere, etiamſi referre non poſſim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epiſtolas paratiſſimum & cupidiſſimum: ad meas reſcribendas, etiamſi cupiam, tardum, & ſane tam neceſſitate quam officio tardum. Tu cum iſta excuſatione uti non potes, & maturè ſcribas rogo, & abundè. Id ni facias, audies me graviter querentem, te non præſtare & amico & egenti id quod potes, & id quod debes, quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; ſed cum hac lege à primordiis amicitiæ ſemper viximus, ut tu properè & cumulatè omnia officia benevolentiæ præſtares, ego vel in agnoſcendo parcus & lentus eſſem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos, vetuſtate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil inſolens reperies. Vides quocum tibi res eſt; in hâc tamen culpâ non prorſus ingratus videri vellem, ſi id in ſe aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam, quâ ſe deſtitutum fatetur, in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in ea quæro mihi patrocinium, quod mihimet præſtare non poſſum. Sed de me ſatis, ad majora nunc venio tua, ſcil. typographo haud parum iraſcor quod tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procraſtinet, ſpero jam accedente ſole operarum diligentia incaleſcit. De Epiſcopii etiam tractatu gaudeo: de alio quod poſtulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res eſt fatear, ſcripſeram prius ad te, niſi ſperaveram antehac me Amſtelodamum acceſſurum, ut jucundiſſimâ illic amicorum conſuetudine fruerer, imprimis tuâ, ſine quâ hi ipſi veris non amœnè tranſeunt dies. Vale, vir præſtantiſſime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Rotterodami, 16 Maij 1687.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

NONNE satis tibi est, vir clarissime, Judæum vicisse *, nisi eodem opere inter Christianos, tui amantissimum tibi etiam prorsus subjuges? Diversis fateor armis nos aggrederis, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obstrictum tenes, è quibus ille se vix credo expediet; ego certo de me pronunciare possum, me tibi semper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro, cui non sufficit me suis cumulare beneficiis, nisi insuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum suas sibi laudes ipse detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit; & in earum partem mihi non debitam venire? Tu fateor amicâ tuà urbanitate facilius me, quocunque velis, circumducere possis, quam ille alter sua quemquam metaphysica. Sed ne expectes tamen, ut unquam eo usque me deducas, ut concedam istam festinationem, quâ exemplar ad me primum omnium misisti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & festinationis & muneris tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ acceptum refero. Tu forsan, prout tua est humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putâsti ei primo omnium donere, quem noveras debere ex jam degustato opere vehementissimè omnium expetere hanc dissertationem, & desiderare redintegratam sibi denuò legendi voluptatem. Hujusmodi meritum facile agnosco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui æque exoptatum, æque acceptum esse potuit, ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego istam tuam erga Judæum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit, vix credet ille, sibi hoc munere tantum factum esse beneficium, ut gaudeat tam maturè hunc librum in manus suas perveniisse. De eo, quod in calce epistolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam proculque fuisse. Sed patientius ferendum, quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquosque amicos

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* De veritate religionis Christianæ amica collatio cum erudito Judæo, (If. Orobio.)

nostros,

noſtros, officioſiſſimè quæſo meo nomine ſalutes. Vale, & me ama

Rotterod. 11 Sept. 1687.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

NIMIS ſeverus profectò es, vir clariſſime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, alienæ vero negligentiæ valde immemor, dum te cunctationis inſimulas, apud hominem uti nôſti omnium mortalium maxime cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas male auſpicatus es, " nihil deterius amico cunctatore," ſive de te ipſo cogites, ſive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire poſſit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodum, & tamen inter eos, qui amicitiam cum fide colunt, non ultimum mihi locum vendico. Si hoc aliquanto arrogantius dictum ſit, tu ipſe videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & ſi illis ſemel mihimet placeo, ubi tandem me ſiſtam? Iſtud ſynagogæ decretum ſatis, ut mihi videtur, à Judæis aſtutè promulgatum, ut eorum hic hyperaſpites aliquid habeat, quod aliis dicat, etiamſi nihil habeat quod tibi reſpondeat: è conſulto hoc factum credo, ut ſalvo honore & quantum fieri poſſit cauſa, poſſit ex arenâ decedere; tua enim argumentandi methodus, an naſutulis quibuſdam Chriſtianis, & nihil niſi ſua probantibus, placebit, neſcio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea ſe magis implicatos ſentient, quam fieri ſolent ab iis, qui Chriſtianam religionem ad ſuum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperirent, quod ſolidè Judæis opponere poſſent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas, ut diſtinctione opus ſit) tam incommodâ uſus ſum valetudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convaleſcens, ſpero me non diu carituram eâ voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas, & jam ſpero credes mihi ſatisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judæi ſcriptum, ſive characteres reſpicias, ſive latinitatem, plane barbarum, olim per-

perlegerim; nam de tuo si quid dicas, cogitare debes & profiteri, quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim, si verum dicere liceat, se res habet. Sed nolo ulterius ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici, quas tuis inclusas memoras, nuspiam reperio; spero eas Amstelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturum. Illum, tuam, tuos, nostros, quæso meo nomine salutes, & me ames, vir amplissime,

Rotterodami, 23 Sept. 1687.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INTER cardiaca, & uti nostri vocant, restaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio quam amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maximè recreatum sentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenis respondissem, si quid certum de valetudine meâ pronunciare ausus fuissem; subinde enim, cum me jam sanum salvumque credideram, recidivam passus, inter spem morbumque diu veratus, distuli ad te literas dare donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorsus convaluisse confiderem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitiæ plenas tibi expressit literas, & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi à Dno Veenio per Helmontium misisti, summa cum cura & festinatione: quanquam frustra, famula enim per negligentiam eversa phiola inclusum effudit liquorem. Sed jam spero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis subinde lævia quædam sentio symptomata, quæ spero non recrudescentis mali esse minas, sed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te sigillatim scribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita solicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis gratè respondere non possim. Gaudeo vehementer te pauco sanguine redemisse quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & maturè semper usurum: quamprimum

primum aliquam ſentis gravitatem corporis, præſertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæſectionem tibi ſtatim confugiendum. Hoc ni facias, de te ſano magis metuendum erit, quam de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus ſumus hypocritarum, qui eo non proficiſcimur, quo ſæpius videmur tendere. Multum tibi, collegis, cæteriſque amicis Amſteiodamenſibus debeo, quibus mea ſanitas ita cordi eſt; nec ſperare poſſum vitam mihi ſatis diuturnam fore, ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam vero imprimis, prout res meretur, poſſim agnoſcere; hoc velim tibi perſuaſum habeas me, quantulus quantulus ſum, totum tuum eſſe. Salutes, quæſo, quam humillimè, meo nomine, Veenioſque, Guenelloſque, & collegas, omnes, illiſque dicas mihi eos tam eximios eſſe medicos, ut magis mihi proſint illorum vota, quam aliorum remedia. Lectiſſimam tuam fœminam, quam officioſiſſime etiam ſalutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis, me amando pergeface.

Rotterod. 20 Oct. 1687. Tui, cum amore, obſervantiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

CUM nihil adeo corporis ſanitatem foveat & reſtauret, ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundiſſimæ tuæ literæ, amoris & benevolentiæ tuæ teſtes, in hac, in qua diu verſatus ſum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint ſolatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me ſæpe pertæſum, reficiebant illa tua ſemper grata, ſemper ſuaviſſima, & cum alia nauſeabundus reſpuerem, ſalutifera illa ſale tuo Attico condita appetentius ſemper deſideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epiſtolis tuis creâſſe moleſtiam, niſi ſimul credere velis ingratam fore convaleſcentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, ſtudio tuo maximus fuiſti fautor, nec deſtiterunt tantæ amicitiæ indicia decumbentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquanto tardius hæc cum

cum gratiarum actione agnosco, nôsti hominem, nec exspectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidisse. Quanquam, si haec tibi justa satis videri possit causa, aliquantulum procrastinavi, ut confirmatæ sanitatis nuncium tibi possem mittere, & mihi tecum gratulari convalescentiam, quæ tibi adeo curæ & cordi fuit. Doleo Orobium nobis tam cito ereptum, non quod in eo amiseris triumphi ornamentum, scio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum esse solicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confessio non displicuisset: sed destinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactum eorum quæ in inquisitione passus est historiam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujusdam Galli, quæ nuper prodiit de iis, quæ ipse, etsi Catholicus, passus est ab inquisitoribus Lusitanis, in Goâ Indiæ. Quæ à Judæo nostro confirmari omnia, vel superari posse, facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero ille jam ad silentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid istius rei tenes memoriâ, velis chartis consignare, ne intercidat quantum nobis restat methodi istius evangelicæ testimonium. Doleo me non interfuisse collegarum convivio, non quod ostreis caruerim, in hujusmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejusmodi convivarum sermo aliquid magis sapidum & jucundius salsum habet, quam ipsa ostrea Gaurana. Salutes eos, quæso, meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam fœminam, totamque Veenii & Guenellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres septimanas ad D^m^ le Clerc scripsi, unaque chartas aliquas misi; an recte acceperit aveo scire, jam enim istis rebus vacare incipio: ipsum meo etiam nomine salutes.

Vale, & ut ipse valeam, amando & scribendo effice.

Rotterod. 30 Nov. 1687.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. Locke.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

QUANTUMVIS obfirmato animo minas meas non expaveſcis, ſenties tamen aliquando, datâ occaſione, quid ſit irritâſſe crabronem, in eo enim genere, merito numerari poſſit provocatuſque iratuſque amicus. Nondum vidi acta illa Lipſienſia, ubi tu coram ſiſteris, ſed euge; jam ſalva res eſt, incepi, de iſtius operis merito pretioque aliquomodo dubitare, quod nemo ex ſyſtematicis illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod diſpliceret, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet continere, nec quod ſupra vulgus ſaperet, ſi vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulans laudo, nec vibices metuo. Benignior his pædagogis ſi non voluntas, ſaltem vis eſt, quam ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones ſubſcriptionum plus ſemel in Angliam miſi, ſed hactenus reſponſi nihil accepi: ego data occaſione iterum & ad alios mittam, quo ſucceſſu neſcio: hæc enim & hujuſmodi, niſi præſto adſis & hæſitantes impellas, immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur. Quod de Judæo narras, valde placet: brevi habebitis, ſpero, quæ ſufficient ad juſtum volumen, in quo ſanctitas officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animoſque in ſui admirationem arripiat. Dolendum plane eſſet tot et tanta ſanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere; prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis ſtabilitur & propagatur fides, tandem innoteſcat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, ante biduum ea de re ſcripſit ad te Furleius noſter. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wetſtenium convenire, eaque occaſione has incluſas illi tradendas ad te mittere auſim. Scripſi ad illum ante quindecim dies, aliquoſque miſi ad illum libros, alioſque poſtulavi, & feſtinatò ad me mittendos, ſed nihil audio, nihil reſpondet. Eoque magis ſilentium ejus me ſolicitum habet, quod ſimul miſeram duo volumina Garcilaſſi de la Vega D° Veenio (cum epiſtola, quam ad eum

ſcripſi) reddenda, quæ olim ab eo mutuo acceperam. Salutes illum, rogo, meo nomine reliquoſque collegas. Vale, vir amiciſſime, & me ama, ut facis,

Rotterd. 22 Jun. 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

SIVE iratum me ſive gratum exiſtimari vellem, ſentio me jam nimis diu tacuiſſe. Amicum amico reſpondiſſe, crabronem irritanti vindictam retuliſſe citius opportuit. Sed ego neſcio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago. An tibi hoc modo placere poſſim neſcio, me Slado noſtro (ſi cum eo ita agerem) valde diſpliciturum ſat ſcio, qui hujuſmodi lentulos æquo animo ferre non poteſt. Editionem MS.* de quo cum Wetſtenio tranſigebas, dolendum plane eſt non procedere, & metuo, ſi jam non procedat illius impreſſio, ne intereat tam luculentum hiſtoriæ monumentum; quod ſane multis, quæ jam omnium manibus verſantur, libris longe anteferendum exiſtimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici noſtri Tentamen, ut ipſe vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poeſi: non parum lucis inde affulſurum pſalmis, reliquiſque quæ in S. S. extant ſcriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum pſalmorum librum, ſibi ita reſtitutum, edi optarem: incites illum rogo, ut quantum, per alia negotia liceat, hoc opus feſtinet. Cuidam meo amico in literis Hebræis verſatiſſimo cum hoc dixiſſem, credere non potuit; exemplo perſuaſus jam credet. Plura habui dicenda, ſed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus ſint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Rotterod. 30 Julii, 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. Locke.

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* Hiſtoria inquiſitionis.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

FAMULUS meus, Amſtelodamum res ſuas agens profecturus, meam non prius rogavit veniam quam inſtaret deceſſus, adeo ut ad te ſcribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefactatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius abſens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus eſt; cum tamen amicos doctoſque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permitte ut moneam, ſi, uti ſperare videris, erumpant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis aſſumendis & ſtragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in ſanguine excitatur fervor, non ſine magno ægroti malo & diſcrimine. Hoc vel invito extorſit mihi meus in te tuoſque amor, & expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo ſpero in ſtatu eſt, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præſertim tibi haud ingratis. Furleius noſter principi ante deceſſum adfuit, & coram allocutus eſt, ut illius opem contra perſecutionem hac in provincia, ſi unquam alias, certe jam intempeſtive cœptam, efflagitaret. Rem ita urſit, ut placuerit principi epiſtolam ſcribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris miniſtrum eccleſiæ Mennonitarum juſſerat ex autoritate ſynodi, intra octiduum ſolum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Hiſtoriam iſtius Foecke Floris ex aliis, quam ex me, melius cognoſces. Furleio enim noſtro ante hanc cauſam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem chriſtianorum rem in ejus libertate agi ratus, cauſam illius prono animo ſuſcepit, & ſtrenue egit; ſi enim abfuiſſet παῤῥησία, nihil promoviſſet. Hujus epiſtolæ ſufflamine repreſſum audio in præſens perſecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas veſtros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, vir optime, cum integra tua familia: ſic animitus opto,

Rotterod. 24 Nov. 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUOD imprimis hinc decedens desideravi, ut scil. te, vir amplissime, reliquosque amicos Amstelodamenses amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quasi deditâ operâ mihi maxime adversari videntur. Primo glacies & festinatio, deinde in ipso itinere pluvia intercepit. Die enim sabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut tibi nobilem fœminam ad Amstelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem, imber satis violentus me Delphos transeuntem perfudit quod incommodum Hagæ etiam passus sum. Ita totus madidus accessi ad illam, quæ nocturnum illud iter, quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam sanitati meæ nimis periculosum non dissuasit solum sed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus mensibus pene unica, quasi designato, unius dieculæ vobiscum spem, qua hinc gestiens decessi, prorsus abstulit. In aula omnia tam parata ad abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento principem classem conscensurum nemo dubitet. Istud destinatum iter ad vos incepi, non tam vento, quam principis religioni confisus, quam vix credidi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamsi ventus orientalis invitaret; sed jam nihil aliud expectatur, quam ventus navigationi idoneus, quo simul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri vesperi huc redii, & quamdiu hic languescendum sit nescio; hoc certo scio, nihil molestius esse quam ad fastidium usque laborare otio, & tamen ad id, quod maxime velles, tempus non suppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam, vel alteram! Vultus, sermo, amplexus amicorum nescio quid habent, quo se explere anima mea anxie desiderat. Quo vos in me sitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo est dubium, nec augeri posset mutua nostrûm amicitia valedicentium alloquio; opto tamen videre, dextras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere, cujus totus sum. Hoc si mihi jam non concessum fuerit, alias spero futurum: non enim de me tam male ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem, quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa sunt, quæ hanc navigandi occasionem non mihi omittendam suadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ privatæ jam per aliquot annos neglectæ,

piratarum

piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus alias tranſitus, & nobiliſſimæ fœminæ, ſive cura, ſive amicitia, qua cum iturus ſum. Velim hoc tibi perſuadeas, me hic aliam patriam reperiſſe & pene dixeram parentes. Quod enim in illo nomine cariſſimum eſt, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad conciliandos homines conjungendoſque fortiora ſanguine habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus ſum. Habeo hic amicos ſemper mihi colendos, imo & inviſendos, ſi res & dies patiatur. Hoc certò ſcio, quod decedo cum animo revertendi, ut cum illis ſolidum aliquando et illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum eſt, ut à meis abſens, & in communi omnium mœrore nullam ſentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod attinet (vir omnium optime, amiciſſime, dilectiſſime) cum tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, ſuavitatem, amicitiam, ſatis in te uno reperi (ut cæteros taceam) quo mihi ſemper gratulari potero optime locatam & fructuoſiſſimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec ſcio an aliquod mea vita tempus æque jucundum habitura ſit, certe magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omńi felicitatum genere cumulatum, familiam, patriam incolumes conſervet & cuſtodiat, ut diu ſis eccleſiæ omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam ſit, qualis futurus ſit, nihil addam, cum meum ſpero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum eſſe quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis teſtatam habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundiſſimis dicas, jam jam penitus perſuaſo facile perſuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberiſque, Veeniis, Guenelloniſque omnibus plurimam ſalutem dicas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius ſtatuant in hominem tot beneficiis devinctum, ſi non fugientem, minus urbane certe, quam oportuit, valedicentem. Sed ita ſunt fere res humanæ, ut nihil præter voluntatem in noſtra ſit poteſtate, ea totus ad eos feror, ea ſingulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confeſſionem defutura eſt. Vale, vir colendiſſime, & me, ut facis, ama

Rotterod. 16 Feb. 1689. Tui in perpetuum amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

VEREOR ne nomine negligentiæ tibi ſuſpectus ſim, quod tam diuturno utor ſilentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati nec noſtræ denique amicitiæ omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum ſolo non animum mutâſſe qui tibi idem qui olim eſt, & ubicunque terrarum fuero, idem futurus eſt amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu, amicorum vel inviſentium, vel viſendorum conſuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde diſperſarum ad præſentem uſum quærendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (abſit verbo invidia) ſi non acceſſio, ſaltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excuſatio, & quod graviſſimum omnium eſt, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit, ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima, qua in terram deſcendi, hora, ad D^m^ Guenellonem, feſtinante calamo & vernacula lingua, inter ſalutantium turbam ſcripſi, ut per eum te, cæteroſque amicos meos Amſtelodamenſes, ſalutarem. Quicquid enim lætum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum eſſe, quod non cum minore voluptate recordarer, quam quo hic oculis uſurparem. Burnetus epiſcopus Saliſburienſis deſignatur. In parliamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum eſt ſub duplice titulo, Comprehenſio ſcil. & Indulgentia. Prima eccleſiæ pomœria extendenda ſignificat, ut ablata cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam ſignificat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſe unire vel nolunt vel non poſſunt. Quam laxa vel ſtricta hæc futura ſint, vix dum ſcio, hoc ſaltem ſentio, clerum epiſcopalem his aliiſque rebus, quæ hic aguntur, non multum favere, an cum ſuo vel reip. commodo, ipſi videant. De ſolutione, de qua ad te ante diſceſſum ſcripſi, expecto à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 12 March, 1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir doctiſſime,

TOLERANTIAM apud nos jam tandem lege ſtabilitam te ante hæc audiiſſe, nullus dubito. Non ea forſan latitudine, qua tu et tui ſimiles, veri et ſine ambitione vel invidia chriſtiani, optarent. Sed aliquid eſt prodire tenus. His initiis jacta ſpero ſunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus ſtabilienda olim erit Chriſti eccleſia. Nulli à cultu ſuo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur, niſi Romani, ſi modo juramentum fidelitatis præſtare velint, & renunciare tranſubſtantiationi & quibuſdam dogmatibus eccleſiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem quakeris diſpenſatum eſt; nec illis obtruſa fuiſſet malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confeſſio fidei, ſi aliqui eorum iſtam fidei confeſſionem non obtuliſſent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus de tolerantia & pace eccleſiaſtica, quæ mihi miſiſti, compacta recte accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fotricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquiſitionis jam pene deſcripta gaudeo, uti ſpero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia ſancitam ad D^m^ le Clerc miſi, quo interprete intelliges quouſque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale & me ama

Lond. 6 Jun. 1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

PRIORES tuas intercidiſſe valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficiſci poteſt quod mihi, uti convenit, non ſit valde carum. Noviſſimas tuas 29 Maii datas, amore & bene-

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

VEREOR ne nomine negligentiæ tibi ſuſpectus ſim, quod tam diuturno utor ſilentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati nec noſtræ denique amicitiæ omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum ſolo non animum mutâſſe qui tibi idem qui olim eſt, & ubicunque terrarum fuero, idem futurus eſt amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu, amicorum vel inviſentium, vel viſendorum conſuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde diſperſarum ad præſentem uſum quærendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (abſit verbo invidia) ſi non acceſſio, ſaltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excuſatio, & quod graviſſimum omnium eſt, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit, ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima, qua in terram deſcendi, hora, ad D^m^ Guenellonem, feſtinante calamo & vernacula lingua, inter ſalutantium turbam ſcripſi, ut per eum te, cæteroſque amicos meos Amſtelodamenſes, ſalutarem. Quicquid enim lætum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum eſſe, quod non cum minore voluptate recordarer, quam quo hic oculis uſurparem. Burnetus epiſcopus Saliſburienſis deſignatur. In parliamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum eſt ſub duplice titulo, Comprehenſio ſcil. & Indulgentia. Prima eccleſiæ pomœria extendenda ſignificat, ut ablata cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam ſignificat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſe unire vel nolunt vel non poſſunt. Quam laxa vel ſtricta hæc futura ſint, vix dum ſcio, hoc ſaltem ſentio, clerum epiſcopalem his aliiſque rebus, quæ hic aguntur, non multum favere, an cum ſuo vel reip. commodo, ipſi videant. De ſolutione, de qua ad te ante diſceſſum ſcripſi, expecto à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 12 March, 1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir doctiſſime,

TOLERANTIAM apud nos jam tandem lege ſtabilitam te ante hæc audiiſſe, nullus dubito. Non ea forſan latitudine, qua tu et tui ſimiles, veri et ſine ambitione vel invidia chriſtiani, optarent. Sed aliquid eſt prodire tenus. His initiis jacta ſpero ſunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus ſtabilienda olim erit Chriſti eccleſia. Nulli à cultu ſuo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur, niſi Romani, ſi modo juramentum fidelitatis præſtare velint, & renunciare tranſubſtantiationi & quibuſdam dogmatibus eccleſiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem quakeris diſpenſatum eſt; nec illis obtruſa fuiſſet malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confeſſio fidei, ſi aliqui eorum iſtam fidei confeſſionem non obtuliſſent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus de tolerantia & pace eccleſiaſtica, quæ mihi miſiſti, compacta recte accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fotricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquiſitionis jam pene deſcripta gaudeo, uti ſpero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia ſancitam ad D^m^ le Clerc miſi, quo interprete intelliges quouſque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale & me ama

Lond. 6 Jun. 1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

PRIORES tuas intercidiſſe valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficiſci poteſt quod mihi, uti convenit, non ſit valde carum. Noviſſimas tuas 29 Maii datas, amore & bene-

 volentia

volentia uſitata plenas, accepiſſe lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certiorem faciunt. S^ti Officii hiſtoriam oſcitantia bibliopolæ in ipſo partu ita hærere doleo. Prolegomena tua D^a Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum indicem, quem tam amice promittis, avide expectamus, ut iſta ſciagraphia operis tui ſtructuram præli-bemus, interim optantes, ut quam citiſſime integrum volumen Chriſtiano orbi maxime proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore neceſſarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis perſecutionis, ſub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis eccleſiaſticæ, quam minores ſectæ eo exemplo animatæ prædicant, affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragœdias ubique, quando parum adoleverit, editura ſit, eo in ſpeculo, qui ſibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Eus lectionem ſibi & utiliſſimam & jucundiſſimam fore ſpondet D^a Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis perſecutionem maximè averſatur. Gratulatur ſibi ſe in partem amicitiæ, qua patrem amplexus es, ſucceſſiſſe; te officioſiſſime ſalutat, plurimum æſtimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quod non utatur lingua utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiæ & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

Hiſtoriam tuam de ſurda loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare poſſum. Duo juvenes, utrique ſurdi, quorum alter à doctore Wallis, celebri illo Oxonii matheſeos profeſſore, alter à doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ uſum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audivi, diſtincte ſatis & articulate, tonus ſolum vocis parum erat ingratus & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum ſit neſcio, alter adhuc vivit, legendi ſcribendique peritus, & à quo illum primo loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures ſunt anni) uxorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir eſt ex generoſa proſapia nec diu eſt à quo illum viderim. Uxori liberiſque tuis, Veeniis Guenelloniſque & collegis noſtris plurimam ſalutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 18 Jun. 1691.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD grandem tibi jamdiu deſtinaveram epiſtolam ideo accepiſti nullam. Quæſivi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberius & fuſius colloqui poſſem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amiciſſima epiſtola, cui jamdudum reſponſum oportuit. Sed neſcio quam rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium ſublatum eſt, ut ne propriis quidem & domeſticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cum mecum repetam, quid à tribus jam menſibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti inſtar videtur, ut quiſque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis naſcentium, quæ nec ſciens prævideram, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

Indicem librorum & capitum hiſtoriæ S^ai Officii, Domina Cudwortha & ego, legimus ſimul, magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis deſiderium, quod jam ſub prælo eſſe cum gaudio, à quodam Scoto, non ita pridem ex veſtra Batavia redeunte, accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus chriſtiano orbi imprimis utile. Hoſpes mea, tyrannidi eccleſiaſticæ inimiciſſima, ſæpe mihi laudat ingenium & conſilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportune impenſum; creditque fruſtra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique ſtrepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in eccleſia, vis in rebus religionis (uti paſſim mos eſt) aliis ſub nominibus, utcunque ſpecioſis, obtinet & laudatur. Quid tandem factum eſt cum D^re iſto theologo, qui tam mira docuit de angelis, in libro ſuo, de ſpirituum exiſtentia*? an non expertus eſt fratrum ſuorum, pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxia, zelum? mirum, ſi impune evadat. Apud nos prælum, quod video, nihil pene parturit, quod alieni cives ſcire, aut le-

* Balthaſar Bekker.

gere

gere multum desiderabunt. Ita obstrepunt undique arma, ut musarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipsa theologica jam consopita magnam in partem conquiescit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordia. Sed ea spes vana est, nec tam facile componuntur theologorum controversiæ. Bene est, si incertas aliquando ferant inducias: ut mutua charitate sanentur penitus quis expectabit? Magna mihi apud te excusatione opus est, ut tam diuturno silentio ignoscas. Id tibi persuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non decrescenti & minus fervidæ amicitiæ tribuendum: te ut semper maxime æstimo, amo, amplector, semperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis, & me ama

Lond. 14 Nov. 1691.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

SI ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me suspiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor, cum res postulat, longè alienum. In hoc literarum commercio, si qua utor libertate, id plerumque evenit, cum ad eos scribendum sit, quibus benevolentiam amicitiamque meam, re potius quam verbis, testatam fore mihi in animo est. Hoc an tu probaveris nescio; ita ego tibi persuasum velim. Nemo enim omnium, qui te magis suspicit, æstimat, diligit, quam ego: id nunc facio & semper faciam.

Non placet Wetstenii in edenda Sancti Officii historia cunctatio; hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quod te idem relegente & sub incudem sæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam, jam occurrit, scil. alterum hujusmodi volumen, duodecim circiter ab hinc annis, Monspessulis extitisse, ab hoc distinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujusmodi volumina.

Zelus

Zelus theologicus, uti video, ſemper & ubique idem eſt, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor, ſcire cupio; ſi evaſit, mirum eſt, quanquam eò res inclinare videbatur, quo tempore ſcripſiſti, favente etiam Amſtelodamenſium prædicatorum deſidia, vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujuſmodi orthodoxiæ propugnatores non ſolent errantibus ignoſcere. Preſbyteriani in Scotia quid agant, mallem ex aliis quam ex me ſcires. Zelus illic in frigido iſto aere per antiperiſtaſin incaleſcere videtur. Satis fervide diſciplinæ ſuæ operam dant, an ſatis prudenter, an ſatis modeſte, ipſi videant. Sed ubi cauſa Dei agitur, ut nôſti, & ejus eccleſiæ, quid ſibi theologi non putant licere, autoritatem ſuam ſoli Deo acceptam referentes. D^m^ le Cene ſemel vidi Londini, ſed ſemel tantum, idque obiter, apud nobiliſſimum Boyleum, adeo ut ſermocinandi locus non eſſet, de rebus illius, vel amicis Amſtelodamenſibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus ſum, valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non ferunt fumum urbis. Epiſcopum illum, cui D^m^ le Cene commendaſti, credo pacis eccleſiaſticæ ſincere ſtudioſum. Solicitus ſum de valetudine Veenii noſtri, anguſto eſt pectore, & metuo pulmonibus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam à multis annis aſſuetus, rure otio intabeſcat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque ſenectam, multum illi debeo, quod ſemper gratus agnoſcam. Recte facis quod perſecutionem religionis ergo in pontificiis ſolum damnas. Si quam inter chriſtianos ſectam ſeligas, cujus crudelitatem inſecteris, à reliquis laudaberis, quanquam perſecutio ubique eadem eſt & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim eccleſia ſibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re infallibilitatem. Dr Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æſtimatione reſalutat. Saluta quæſo uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Guenellonem, omnemque iſtam ſtirpem officioſiſſime, meo nomine. Vale, Vir colendiſſime, & me, ut facis, ama,

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Oates, 29 Feb. 1692.

De

De miraculis poſt Apoſtolorum tempora certiorem fieri cupio. Non ego ſatis verſatus in hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica, ut quid de iis ſtatuam, nôrim. Rogo igitur obnixè, nam mea intereſt ſcire, an poſt apoſtolorum tempora edita fuerint, in eccleſia chriſtiana, miracula, quibus auctoribus & qua fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Conſtantini imperium, vel diutius, duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum eſt, cujus tam ſpecioſa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum, quæ in ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis memorantur, catalogum: ſed an conſtat, ex fide dignis hiſtoricis, fuiſſe vera miracula, an raro vel ſæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud eccleſiæ conceſſum.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

AB acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis, ad urbem accedens hodie primum archiepiſcopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam à te contra Judæum diſputationem, excuſavit ſilentium, quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maxime illud opus, unà cum authore, & gratias, quas nondum egit, ſe habere agnovit. Hiſtoriam Sancti Officii jam valde opportunam judicavit. Capitum indicem ſumma cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione conſilium aperuiſſem, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit; ut, ſi adfuiſſes, hoc ſibi non ingratum fore certus eſſes. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modeſtiam, & laudo conſilium tuum, quod prælectam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monſtrabo, quod ſcio honori ducet, & ſi quid mutandum videtur, indicabo. Interim dixit ſe habere librum, Luſitaniæ editum, de quodam actu Inquiſitionis in Luſitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt paparum bullæ, aliaque diplomata, quibus poteſtas Sancti Officii conceſſa & ſtabilita eſt, accuratius collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria,

memoria, & liber ipſe, illius bibliotheca nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipſo quæſitus, non repertus eſt. Volumen eſt, ut aiunt, in 8vo. Brevi ipſum iterum reviſam, eam curam cuidam domeſticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præſto ſit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris præſcribam, & ſi nondum videris ipſum librum, tibi mutuo commodabit reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus. Grævium, Guenellonem, Veenioſque omnes meo nomine ſaluta. Clerico noſtro, quem officioſiſſime ſaluto, ante aliquot ſeptimanas, an menſes dicam, ſcripſi; an pervenerint ad illum literæ meæ, ignoro; nam ab iſto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæſo illi indices, ne me tarditatis, ſi mea interciderit epiſtola, ſuſpicetur. Fœminam tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque ſummo cum affectu ſaluto. Vale, vir digniſſime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Lond. 30 Jun. 1692.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potui feſtinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis juſſeras præſens curarem. Archiepiſcopus quamprimum acceſſeram, maximas ſe tibi gratias habere profeſſus eſt, opus ſibi perplacere, ſeque à libri tui lectione, hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatiſſimo, abſtinere non poſſe: ſed magnam ejus partem ſumma cum voluptate ex quo accepit, percurriſſe. Verum quo animo accepit, legit, laudavit, tunc demum rectius intelliges ex ipſius verbis, cum ad te deſtinatas literas ſcribere vacaverit. Epiſcopus Saliſburienſis multa & his ſimilia mihi dixit, & ſe adeo detentum immerſumque eſſe argumento libri tui (quo hiſtoriam inquiſitionis, ultra quam expectari poterat, dilucidam accuratamque tradidiſti) ut ad te ſcribere, donec totum pervolverit, non potuerit; ſe interim gratias tibi ampliſſimas reddere.

Comes

Comes Pembrokienſis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agi juſſit, donec ipſe ſua manu agnoſcet acceptiſſimum à te beneficium. Bathonienſem & Wellenſem epiſcopum in domo procerum quæſivi, ſed non aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet, hora una vel altera à meo hoſpitio, eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum, uti reliquis omnibus, certo ſcio. Cæterum curavi ut D^us^ Clarke communis noſter amicus eum adeat, ut excuſet librum incompactum à te miſſum, quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo, quam horum virorum, nomine, gratias agere deberem, tantus ceſſator eſſem, ubi feſtinandum potius eſſet, ut neglecta proprioris loci commoditate, rus huc commigrarem, antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod res eſt; ſanus urbem adii, ſed unius dieculæ mora adeo mihi mutata eſt valetudo, ut reſpirare vix potuerim. Ingraveſcebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglecta maxima rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere neceſſe eſſet.

Librum tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio D^na^. Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat, quam authoris præſentia, & quos ſecum ſemper adfert, ſales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reverſus ſum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam, qua ſpe, qua voluptate, facile dijudicare potes, ſed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non eſſe minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis, quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc deſtinaveras exemplaria, egi cum hoſpite meo & bibliopola Smith, ut ſingula ſingulis quam ociſſime traderentur, antequam liber uſpiam apud nos proſtaret venalis, quod diligentiſſime factum eſt; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam opportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem ſtatuendum eſt de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutiſſimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum ſuaderem, ut in perpetuum..... effrontes adverſarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is ſit locus tutiſſimus libenter tecum inquirerem.

Epiſcopii vitam tua manu æternitati conſecrandam gaudeo: ſed qua lingua? cum enim præfigendam eam con-

concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam proditurus, metuo ne illius quoque historia prodeat, etiam in lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conservandæ.

Jam apud nos prodiit Joannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxie petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetstenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod scio maturius futurum, quam si ego unum hinc ad eum Amstelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citissime transmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adscribat, quod ego solvam. Malela author est nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico se lucem inde mutuaturum speravit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius inservire desiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratissimam.

De Palinodia, quam scripsisti, in novissimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos, quod possit ferre secundas, imo quod superat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his alias si cupias, jam enim nimis turgescit pagina.

Clerico nostro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies scripsi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice composita in ista familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos cæterosque meos omnes, imprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberosque, quæso, meo nomine officiosissime salutes, & me, ut facis, ama,

Oates, 28 Nov. 1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke:

Philippa

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUAMPRIMUM ad urbem acceſſi nudiuſtertius, reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus me ad ſe vocari curavit, & ut conveni, de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit ſe ad te ſcripſiſſe negotiorum multitudine hactenus impeditus, paratamque epiſtolam ſigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inſcriptione, illo dictante, mea manu exarata, tibi tranſmittendam curarem, quod libens ſuſcepi. Inſuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à ſe editarum, ut etiam ad te illum tranſmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiſcentem quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Hactenus de archiepiſcopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea, quam ex hiſtoriæ tuæ lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhauſiſti argumentum; certe illud myſterium iniquitatis mundo palam expoſuiſti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus interventu nondum integram perlegi, poſt brevem ac in urbe moram rus reverſurus, pergam porro ut ſatisfaciam ei quod in me excitâſti deſiderio. Noviſſimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratiſſimis reſponſum, hac in charta expectare non debes. Feſtinanas ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero, ad otii & quietis receſſus, opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occaſio, hic vix reſpirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam conſuetam agnoſco. Te maximo cum affectu ſaluto, tuoſque omnes, imprimis dilectiſſimam conjugem, liberoſque Veenios, Guenelloneſque noſtros, omniaque tibi proſpera & felicia precor. Vale & me, ut facis, ama,

Lond. 10 Jan. 1692-3.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

JUSTE meum à te reprehendi ſilentium libens fateor nec ſi ſeveriore manu delinquentem correxiſſes, queri poſſim. Etſi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuiſſe ad officia, ut non niſi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuiſſe, ut me primis vocibus male reſpondentem, iterum tentandum arbitrareris: excuſatione valetudinis, quam ipſe tibi pro me ſuggeſſiſti, uti non poſſum. Gratias enim Deo, ex quo ad te ultimas dedi, recte ſatis pro more meo valui, nec tamen ſine omni cauſa à ſcribendo abſtinui. Maximam partem libri tui ſumma cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, et ad finem uſque pervolvere, ut de toto opere, à capite ad calcem perſpecto, eas quas poſſem gratias laudeſque rederem. Non multum aberam à fine libri, & pauca illa capita, quæ mihi reſtabant legenda, ſpem quotidie fecerunt, intra paucos dies potuiſſe abſolvi. Sed ſic negotiorum & inviſentium ſeries, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine ſe invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxiſſent, niſi noviſſimæ tuæ tam amica objurgatione, labentis temporis immemorem, primiſque cogitationibus indormientem excitâſſent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnoſco; ſed eo conſilio, eo animo negligentem, quem culpare vix poſſis: aut ſi qua fuerit culpa, ei ſpei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem, quæ erga te ſemper fuit, nec minime, dum ego tacerem, ſiluiſſe profiteri geſtio. Hiſtoria tua inquiſitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libri pronuntiem, mihi maxime placet: ordine, methodo, perſpicuitate, teſtium fide mihi plane videtur opus abſolutiſſimum, nec video, quid in eo deſiderari poſſit. Et ab omnibus quotquot conſulere contigit, maxime laudatur. Clericum noſtrum nullas à me jam a pluribus hebdomadis (ut ſcribis) accepiſſe doleo; ſcripſi enim ad eum, ante duos circiter menſes, iis incluſas à Comite Pembrokienſi ad illum miſi literas, quas intercidiſſe vereor, quandoquidem D^us^ Clericus in noviſſimis ſuis 11

Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuiſſe recte memini, & credo ea in epiſtola, quandoquidem tu id hactenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Caſtellionis editionem, qualem tu narras, apud vos deſignari valde lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus, non dubito: Poſt diuturnam ruſticationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi conceſſit plurimorum doctorum colloquia; prout datur occaſio, alios conſulam, quamvis vix credi poteſt elegantem editionem, tam elegantis verſionis, notis etiam aliiſque ſcriptis eo ſpectantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placituram. Filiam tuam dilectiſſimam, quam febre continua laborâſſe ſcripſeras, tibi ſuiſque ſanam ſalvamque reſtitutam ſpero, reliquos tuos noſtroſque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes, quotquot ſunt, meo nomine, rogo, quam officioſiſſime ſalutes, quibus diuturnam ſanitatem & proſpera omnia largiatur Deus optimus maximus; te imprimis ſoſpitet. Vale, & ut facis perge me amare,

Lond. 10 Nov. 1693.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

QUALEM te, Vir ſpectatiſſime, ſemper crediderim, talem re ipſa experior, ad omnia infucatiæ amicitiæ officia narum, qui non ſolum pronus in beneficia bene merendi, nullam prætermittis occaſionem, ſed, quod difficilius eſt, eadem facilitate ignoſcis amicorum delictis, qua alii offenſiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum ſilentium graviori reprehenſione dignum, ſimulac tardas tandem à me literas acceperis, quaſi prima vocula penitus deletum condonas. Agnoſco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam æſtimas, nec ſilentio imminutam ſuſpectus fueris. Id enim tibi perſuaſum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deeſſe poſſe, amicitiam, qua te amplector, qua ſem-

ſemper amplexurus ſum, mihi deeſſe vel labefactari nunquam poſſe.

In hiſtoria tua inquiſitionis, ex quo noviſſimè ad te dedi literas, non magnos progreſſus feci, quotidianis negotiis hactenus impeditus. Quod ſi ex duobus primis libris, quos ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil poteſt eſſe in eo genere perfectius, nec ad perfectum illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid deſiderari poteſt. Laudo ſtudium tuum, quod pleriſque in locis ipſa authorum verba citaveris, etſi nihil contineant quod tu breviore & elegantiore ſtylo exprimere non potuiſſes, ſi lectori placere unica eſſet cura. Sed cum quo genere hominum tibi res eſt, recte tecum reputâſti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & fævitia ex eorum ipſorum ore optime diſcenda; vix enim credi poterant, ſi ab extraneo vel adverſario afferrentur. Quæ autem ex aliis hauſeris authoribus tam ſero, ut editioni inſeri ſuis apte in locis non potuerint, tuique in marginibus libri adſcripſeris, ea ſi nimis longa non ſint, ut tibi nimiam tranſcribendi creent moleſtiam, ſi mihi per otium excerpta tranſmittere velis, gratiſſimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & ſuis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil deſit huic myſterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas, per Hibernum illum tranſmiſſas, ille ſuis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio, qualem tu deſcripſeris, nec deſunt hic tantæ ſpei fautores. Editionem illam Caſtellionis, quam meditantur elegantem, libens viderem, & noſtratibus gratam fore, nullus dubito. Quod de harmonia evangelica doctiſſimi mei Toinardi ad me ſcribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius eſt, unquam cogitabo, niſi ut ipſum authorem ad opus ſuum luce digniſſimum edendum, qua data occaſione, & quantum poſſum, impellam & inſtigem. Non quod ego hunc theſaurum literaro orbi invideam; ego ſumma ope, donec commercio literarum uti licuit, editionem ejus ſemper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi viſum eſt) fide mihi concreditum eſt hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inſcio aut inconſulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum eſſet, ſtatim ſub prælo mitterem, ſed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à ſuis ſpes eſt proditurum, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodiit

hic liber, quem Toinardo gratiſſimum fore ſcio. Si reperire poſſis viam, qua ad illum tranſmitti poteſt mihi feceris acceptiſſimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem, eſt Joannes Mallela Antiochenus, Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si occaſionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum, ſive compactum, ſive incompactum, prout commodiſſimum erit vecturæ, quæſo ad illum mittas, à Monſieur Toinard à Orléans. Gaudio Veenium noſtrum ſanum ſalvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediiſſe. Vir, qui in artis ſuæ exercitatione à juventute uſque conſenuerat, continui tædio otii, credo, langueſceret. Illum & Guenellonem noſtrum uxoreſque cum tota familia, quæſo meo nomine officiociſſime ſalutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos ſtabilitam ſpero, omnia fauſta, uti par eſt, illis & tibi tuiſque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam fœminam tuam, liberoſque, quos ſanos ſalvoſque tibi Deus diu conſervet. Vale, vir humaniſſime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 13 Jan. 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir colendiſſime,

ETSI meam in ſcribendo tarditatem prorſus excuſare nequeam, me tamen eo proceſſiſſe negligentiæ, ut per totos novem menſes te inſalutatum præterirem nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis ſilentium haud invitus fateor, quod cum nec literarum tuarum ſatietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit, facilem apud te veniam inventurum ſpero. Puduit ſane ad te iterum ſcribere, antequam, opere tuo penitus perfecto, meam de eo ſententiam ſive potius gratulationem potuerim perſcribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua inquiſitionis hiſtoria perceperim, vix dicere poſſum. Ita ſcripta eſt, ut decet hiſtoriam ſcribi, ubi non ad faſtum aut delectationem inventa, vel ornata res eſt, quo facilius incautis lecto-

lectoribus fucum faciat, ſed omnia authorum fide & documentorum teſtimoniis rata & ſuffulta ſunt: adeo ut quorum maxime intereſt redarguere, ne hiſcere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandæ crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis ſuis protraxiſti, ut ſi qua reſtarent in iſtis eccleſiæ, ſive potius Antichriſti, ſatellitibus, humanitatis veſtigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui, tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas, & juſtitia ſuſque deque habetur. Verum ſi hæc opprobria, quæ refelli non poſſunt, nihil illos moveant, reformatis ſaltem & ex fæviſſimo hoc ergaſtulo ereptis, animos addet, contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem, quacunque ſpecie ſive religionis ſive concordiæ, irrepere iterum conantem. Ea eſt diſputantium ſæpe contentio, ea argumentorum ſubtilitas & longa ſeries, ut non ſit uniuſcujuſque ſe argutis & fallaciis innodatum expedire, & de ſumma controverſiæ judicare. Si quis vero è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat hiſtoriam, ſentiat ſtatim illic certe deeſſe religionem, charitatem, juſtitiam, ubi violata æquitatis regula, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab evangelii genio remotiſſima: ideoque dignum opus exiſtimo, quod in cujuſque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam diſtincta enim & exacta methodo omnia tradidiſti, & teſtibus exceptione majoribus confirmâſti, ut nihil in eo deſiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, litera tos inſtruat, omneſque ſtabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat, ad hoc argumentum pertinens, ex libris ante editam hiſtoriam tuam non viſis, rogo ut per otium, ſi non ſit nimis operoſum, ad me velis tranſmittere; omnia enim huc facentia in librum tuum ad marginem, aptis in locis adſcripta, conjicere animus eſt, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod ſequitur excerptum, paginæ 276. libri tui inſerui:

Le St. Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ſes injuſtices, & ſes cruautés, regne ici [à Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu'à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent funeſtes recits, donc je vous épargnerai la triſteſſe, ſeulement vous dirai-je, que les confeſſeurs, qui par tout ailleurs ſont tenus de garder le ſecret ſur peine de feu, ſont ici

l'obligation de les réveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'inquiſition, quoiqu'ils ne l'avoüent pas, car ce ſeroit le moyen d'empêcher les gens de ſe confeſſer : mais c'eſt une choſe qu'on ſçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout ſoupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux ſans dire mot après quoi l'Inquiſiteur envoye prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il ſçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait ſaiſir, alors c'eſt à lui de ſe reſſouvenir de tout ce qu'il jamais avoir dit ; que ſi malheureuſement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le délit, dont il eſt coupable, ait été ſi ſecret que le ſeul confeſſeur en ait eu connoiſſance, & que ſe repoſant la-deſſus il ne veuille pas avoüer c'eſt fait de cet homme-là, on l'étrangle dans la priſon, & puis quelque tems après on dit à ſes parens qu'il n'eſt pas beſoin de lui porter manger. *Heureux* ſont ceux qui ne ſont point aſſuejettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau voyage au Levant $\frac{1}{4}\frac{5}{7}\frac{8}{5}$. imprimè en 12° à la Haye, 1695.

Quas minatus es prolixiores literas avide expecto, & ſi ſic uiciſcaris ſilentium meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam ? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum prodituram gaudeo, pauca in ea emendanda facile crediderim ; quanta quanta addideris, ex eodem erunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æſtimatione apud eccleſiæ Anglicanæ theologos ſcio. Quid in poſterum futurum ſit, 'neſcio, audio enim nonnullos Calviniſmum amplexuros, & prædeſtinationem (ſic inter illos convenit) palam ſcriptis propugnaturos. Quot & quales in partes ſuas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata ſocietas, nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & ſecreto peraguntur, & ſi ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi amicus quidam ſecreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe evaſurum, niſi aliunde oriatur hoc conſilium, alioſque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter ſe colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint, quo tendant, rectius judicabimus. Sed hæc hactenus. Dolet certe tantam inter nos loci eſſe intercapedinem : ſi vicinus eſſem, haberes me conſultorem quotidie oſtia tua pulſantem. Pauci admodum ſunt limati judicii homines, quibuſcum poteris liberé de ſpeculationibus quibuſcunque,

multo

multo minus de rebus religionis differere. Deest mutua charitas, deest candor, & ut suæ quisque ignorantiæ velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, nisi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel censuris onustus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipso queror, tanquam aliquid passus ab iniquo amicorum judicio; sed tamen jucundum est in proximo habere, quem de maximis minimisque aperte & audacter consulas. Libri mei de Intellectu Humano secunda editio distrahitur, celerius quam credere possem, nec adhuc invenit dissertatio illa, utcunque heterodoxa, oppugnatorem. Utinam eo esset sermone conscripta, ut tuo uti, de universis eo in opere contentis, judicio liceret. Urgent aliqui versionem, quærit traductorem bibliopola, & sperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & succrescentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, nisi lento gradu & interciſis temporibus, tuam perlegere historiam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingressum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat, tamen, ut versionem recensere velim, ut si qua à meo sensu aberraverit corrigam, quod sane vix recusare possum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epistolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 26 Oct. 1694.

Tui amantissimum
J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MAGNA cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi: etsi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenus fuisse imminutum plene persuasus essem, nihilominus, post tam diuturnum silentium, literas tuas videre non potuit non esse gratissimum. Historiam meam inquisitionis calculo tuo probari, est quod mihi gratulor. Scio judicium tuum esse candidum ac limatissimum. In præconiis vero quæ addis agnosco propensissimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora

tibi repræſentavit. Ego veritati litare ſtudui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipſi doctores pontificii, imo inquiſitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando ſparſim in ipſorum libris procedendi modus deſcribitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injuſtitiam & fœditatem, quam quando omnia ſimul inter ſe connexa nude, ſine fuco, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quenquam, ne quidem ex acerrimis inquiſitionis patronis, me malæ fidei inſimulaturum; & ſi quis id auſit, ſtatim autorum, quorum nomina margini paſſim adſcripſi, teſtimoniis redargui poterit. Sed quam diſpari fato libri prodeunt? Tu hiſtoriam meam dignam judicas, quæ in cujuſque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ vero, 19 die Maii, hujus anni, edicto cardinalium, in tota rep. chriſtiana inquiſitorum generalium, condemnata eſt, ejuſque lectio ſeveriſſime prohibita, ſub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo poſt, videl. 22 Maii, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas baſilicæ principis apoſtolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis ſolitis & conſuetis urbis. Sed mitiorem ſententiam quis ab inquiſitione expectet, contra hiſtoriam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipſius, quas occultas omnibuſque ignotas eſſe cupit, à tenebris erutas, palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non ſanctitate venerandum, ſed injuſtitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & impoſturis execrandum exhibet? Aliter enim, ſi vere deſcribatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos poſtmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ in poſterum in aliis, qui forte mihi oſtendentur, reperiam, libentiſſime ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itinerario Du Mont annotâſti, quæ optime illo quem deſignâſti loco margini hiſtoriæ meæ adſcribi poſſunt. Sed, ut ingenue dicam, valde dubito, an narratio illius vera ſit. Malæ fidei ipſum neutiquam accuſo: ſed fieri facile poteſt, ut peregrinatores, non diu in regione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & conſuetudinum patriarum non admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus conſentanea, ſine accuratiore inveſtigatione, annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ noſtræ mores & conſuetudines deſcribunt, obſervavi. Ratio dubitandi eſt;

eſt: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta eccleſiaſtica ſolicite admodum urgere, arcana confeſſionis non eſſe patefacienda; imo ne hæreſin quidem ſub ſigillo confeſſionis revelatam; ſolummodo ſacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæreſin confeſſo abſolutionem impertiantur, ſed omnibus quas poſſunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquiſitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem, non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur, exacte in praxi inquiſitionis obſervari, & ſub ſpecioſo confeſſionis non revelandæ prætextu, ſimpliciores inveſcari poſſe, ut ingenue, etiam quæ inquiſitoribus ignota ſunt, confiteantur, quæ à ſacerdotibus porro inquiſitoribus revelari poſſunt, neque à tali impoſtura tribunalis illius ſanctitatem abhorrere credo; attamen, quia omnes ipſorum conſtitutiones, inſtructiones & leges, omnia illius eccleſiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare auſim, niſi autor ſit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco, quem mihi ſuggeſſiſti, ex itinerario Du Mont, addi poſſet, ſi vera ſit illius narratio, exinde evidenter liquere inquiſitorum praxin ſæpe adverſari inquiſitionis inſtructionibus & legibus: inquiſitoreſque unice tantum ſpectare, qua ratione miſeros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita, fraudibus irretitos, miſera morte perdant. Poſt haſce ſcriptas, triſtis me de ſubita optimi Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis morte nuntius non leviter perculit. Deſtinaveram ipſi Theologiæ meæ Chriſtianæ exemplar; pridie autem, antequam tradi potuerit, mortuus eſt. Eccleſiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantiſſimo antiſtiti orbatæ, ſtatum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens eſt etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis ſubſtituat, illi ſi non parem, quod vix ſperare auſim, tamen veſtigia ejus, quantum fieri poteſt, proxime prementem! Ille tibi & dominæ Maſham vitam ad ſeros uſque annos producat. Vale, & me, ut facis, amare non deſine,

Amſtelod. 12 Dec. 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LIBRUM tuum à bibliopola, & epiſtolam tuam 12 datam, recte accepi, utrumque gratiſſimum, & quia tuam, & quia à te. Epiſtolam tuam, à capite ad calcem, ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiæ tuæ nuperæ talem illi obtigiſſe patrem, cui nec mens defuit, nec viſcera. Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus chriſtiano homini eſſet mirandum, niſi inter hujuſmodi zelotas chriſtianæ religionis diu verſatus eſſem. Sed ubique ejuſdem farinæ homines reperire eſt, qui an ſalutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæſtum faciant, judicent alii; ego quod doleam, quod indignor, hic, illic, undique video. Theologiam tuam Chriſtianam, quamprimum otium nactus fuero, diligentius perſcrutabor; his enim jam fere ſtudiis mihi vacandum cenſeo, tantoque impenſius me tibi vicinum jam opto, quod erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut cæteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo, quem de dubiis theologicis libere poſſum conſulere. Quantum virum reſpublica Anglicana, quantum columen eccleſia reformata amiſerit, alii judicabunt. Ego certe à multis annis ſtabilem, candidum, ſincerum, ſummo meo cum damno & deſiderio, amiſi amicum. *Tillotſon.* V. *Birch's* Life of him, p. 364. 1. ed.

Addenda tua ad Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis, quamprimum rus rediero, locis ſuis inſeram, novum amicitiæ tuæ monumentum. Recte mones de excerptis ex itinerario Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui ſcriptores (qua uſus es cautione) pro teſte citari poteſt, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego vero illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quæ fidem facerent iſti, quæ ex tota pontificiorum œconomia enaſcitur; illos ſcil. quicquid præ ſe ferant, non omiſſuros tantam rei ſuæ bene gerendæ & hæreſeos extirpandæ occaſionem, quæ ex confeſſionibus poſſit oriri: nec aliter confeſſiones tacitas eſſe, ſi quid habeant momenti, quam ut laicis, & quibus non opus eſſet, non evulgarentur. Hæc ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut ſcïres tua munera, quibus

quibus me tam magnifice cumulâſti, ad me ſalva perveniſſe. Si ita ſilentium meum ulciſcaris, dubitari poſſit, an non commodum fuerit peccare: ſcias enim velim de tuis epiſtolis, quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici poſſe, optimam eſſe quæ longiſſima eſt. Die Veneris noviſſimo ad urbem appuli, in hoſpitio meo inveni literas Clerici noſtri 7 datas, quibus brevi reſponſurus ſum; interim rogo, ut illum Guenellonemque noſtrum meo nomine ſalutes; utrique gratias agam pro epiſtolis mea manu, ubi otiam & ſolatium ruris nactus fuero, hic enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque, Veenium noſtrum optimamque uxorem illius ſaluto & Grævium Ultrajectenſem, cui ego debeo epiſtolam, & illius humanitati nondum reſpondiſſe pudet. Vale, & perge, ut facis, ne amare,

Lond. 11 Dec. 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

ULTIMAM meam epiſtolam recte ad manus tuas perveniſſe gaudeo. Autographum ſententiarum inquiſitionis Tholoſanæ Romani in manus meas incidiſſe mirantur: quod N. N. ſacerdos quidam ab epiſcopo Hollandiæ ad ipſum miſſus, ut libri poſſeſſorem ex ipſo reſciſcat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepiſſe reſpondit; verum alium ejus eſſe poſſeſſorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim viſum Monſpeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia viſum alium eſſe ab hoc. Addit ille, ſacerdotem, rogâſſe, ut ex me nomen poſſeſſoris exquirat. Reſpondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare, illud ſemel me ex fratre ipſius audiviſſe, ſed penitus illius oblitum eſſe: & licet ſcirem inconſultum eſſe illud ſacerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam ſolicite inquiri judicem,

judicem, ut poſſeſſore detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc ſibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occaſionem habeant me falſi accuſandi. Idem ſibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optâſſe me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicâſſet; ſed quoniam vox emiſſa reverti nequit, nihil, ulterius eſſe aperiendum: ſed paucis tantum reſpondendum me poſſeſſoris nomen ignorare. Hoc in ſe ſuſcepit, ſed non recte ſervavit; nam ex fratre ſuo poſtea nomen hoc reſcivit, & proculdubio ſacerdoti indicavit. Nam à me rogatus, ſe neſcire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare ſe non poſſe, nec quod indicaverit, nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc certum eſt, nomen ſacerdoti innotuiſſe, quia alius poſtea Furlæum, ad quem hæc ſcripſeram, acceſſit, & poſſeſſorem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus ſcripſit. Spero librum à te jam emptum, ac Furlæum illius eſſe poſſeſſorem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quod à ſacerdote teſtimonium de libri authenteia exegerit, & ſacerdotis candorem, qui id tamen luculenter dedit. Interim ſi forte exemplar ipſum nacti fuiſſent, & Romam miſiſſent, non video qua ratione volumen, quod edidi, ſuppoſititium dicere poſſent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, hiſtoriaſque ſingulares illius temporis refert, ut tale quid à quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præſtat tamen id in manibus non eſſe illorum, quorum intereſt myſteria hæc iniquitatis tegi, & coram ſole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis epiſtolæ huic adſcripta, quæ, ſi opere pretium videatur, reliquis junges. Lutheranus quidam profeſſor Kilonienſis, contra theologiam meam Chriſtianam, exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapulo. Librum fatis, ut audio, craſſum nondum vidi: ſed in Actis Lipſienſibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejuſmodi antagoniſtam ego calamum non ſtringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex Actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; ſed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate eccleſiaſtica. Orthodoxiæ illis norma eſt conſenſus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales fruſtra diſputatur. Non enim operæ pretium eſt, ut inquiramus quid eccleſia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius eccleſiæ ſatis notum eſt, ſed, an illius doctrina vera ſit, & à ſcriptoribus divinis dictata,

dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & ſub ſpecioſo orthodoxiæ converſandæ prætextu propria dominatio ſtabilitur. Sic orthodoxia ſemper penes potentiorem erit, veritaſque alia erit Romæ, alia Genevæ, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, ſi humana placita orthodoxiæ κριτήριον ſunt. Quæ in illis exercitationibus maxime odioſa occurrunt, Lipſienſes accurate annotârunt. Obſervavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam, an inconſultum zelum; quod ſi in autoribus, quos recenſet, quædam reperiantur aut convitia aut inclementius in Remonſtrantes dicta, ea ſolicite indicare ſoleant, verbiſque odioſiſſimis exprimere. Neſcio quo ſuo facto Remonſtrantes inimicitiam eorum in ſe provocaverint, niſi forſan liberiore veritatis inquiſitione, & diſſentientium fraterna tolerantia. In ipſos enim calamum nunquam ſtrinximus, neque ego in eos ſcribam, aut me à criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, niſi me aliis, quibus jam placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque ſilentio & contemptu illos ulciſcar. Sed aliud quid eſt quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendiſſimi Bathonienſis ac Wellenſis in ſe ſuſcepit verſionem vitæ Epiſcopii, à me conſcriptæ, in linguam Latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epiſtolis eccleſiaſticis præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis Remonſtrantium ſynodalibus, quæ cum à me è Latino in Belgicum ſermonem tranſlata ſint, ipſe è Belgico in Latinum vertere non debet, ſed prout in ipſis libris Latine leguntur, exhibere. Deſtitutum autem ſe illis queritur, nec uſquam ſe eos reperire poſſe. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tua opera eos habere poſſit à quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, ſed & verſionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, ſi quid hac in parte illi prodeſſe queas, mihi præſtitum agnoſcam. Vale, vir ampliſſime, mihique dilectiſſime,

Amſtelod. 26 Apr. 1695.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUAMPRIMUM ego noviſſimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, ſtatim Londinum ſcripſi, & quantum in me eſt curavi, ut libri, quos ad opus ſuum deſiderat Marcus ille noſter, ſicubi reperiri poſſint, ei ſuppeditentur. Eo diutius reſponſum diſtuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholoſano factum ſit, certiorem te facerem; ſed nec D'Aranda, nec alter, cujus curæ librorum perquiſitionem commiſi, hactenus quicquam reſcripſerant, ſed ex eorum ſilentio nolim ego male ominari.

De autographo, an Furleii jam ſit, rectius ex ipſo quam ex me cognoſces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otioſus fuerim procurator: ſed cum per valetudinem Londinum ea tempeſtate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico noſtrûm communi commiſi, viro prudenti & ſedulo, cui ſcirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas tranſeuntium officeret, poſt primum quod ab amico Londinenſi accepi reſponſum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam, ut rem tranſigeret, monui ut recte ad Furleium ſcriberet, ut ex illo reſciret quod ſcitu ad rem recte perficiendam adhuc opus eſſet. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: ſi quid amplius à me præſtari poſſit, omnem operam, curam, induſtriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxonienſibus noſtris dicis, quanqûam nihil fando audiverim, facile crediderim: quod Kilonienſem adverſarium negligis, laudo; quodque ab aliis inter ſe diſſentientibus vapulas tanto magis æſtimo, veritatis enim ſinceris & incorruptis authoribus ſic fieri ſolet. Pro Theologia tua Chriſtiana jam denuo à me tibi reddendæ ſunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, ſed me ſcientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme, in qûo conſiſteret fides chriſtiana, diligenter apud me cogitando, ex ipſis ſcripturæ ſ. fontibus hauriendum duxi, ſemotis quibuſcunque ſectarum & ſyſtematum opinionibus & orthodoxiis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Teſtamenti lectione novi fœderis ſtatus & evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut

mihi

mihi videbatur meridiana luce clarior, nec quid & fides chriſtiana dubitari poſſe, ſincero evangelii lectori, mihi perſuaſiſſimum eſt. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut ea melius partium inter ſe convenientiam, & harmoniam, & fundamenta, quibus inniterentur, ſedate & per otium contemplarer. Cum omnia in hoc meo ſymbolo ſana, & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos conſulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide ſenſerint, viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum, alioſque, quos ita id argumentum tractâſſe fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint, capere nequaquam poſſim; adeo diſſona mihi in illis omnia videntur à ſenſu & ſimplicitate evangelica, ut illorum ſcripta intelligere, nedum cum ſacro codice reconciliare, non valeam. Tandem ſpe meliore tuam in manus cepi theologiam, nec ſine ſummo gaudio legi, cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquem reperiri theologum, cui ego non plane eſſem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem, nondum ſatis vacui temporis nactus ſum. Nihil mihi optatius eſſe poſſit, quam te videre, & te coram, quæ commentatus ſum, legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto judicio ſubjicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta ſunto, nam me hoc trâctaſſe argumentum tibi ſoli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 10 Maii, 1695.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke, Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

UTRI noſtrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud ſilentium imputandum ſit, ignoro. Importunus ſim, ſi à te, negotiis publicis occupatiſſimo, ad ſingulas meas reſponſum efflagitem, aut ſilentium tuum ſilentio ulciſcar. Amicitia ſincera rigorem illum adverſatur, neque epiſtolarum æquali numero,

numero, ſed fide ac charitate mutua conſtat. Interîm dulciſſimo conſuetudinis noſtræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me reſpondiſſe memini, decimo Maii die anni præcedentis ſcriptæ ſunt. Salutem mihi à te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi à te brevi ſcribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hactenus fruſtra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentiæ unice adſcribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi ſcribere geſtii; ſed veritus ſum, ne importunior ſcriptio ab amico occupatiſſimo reſponſum minus tempeſtivum extorquere videretur. Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honoratiſſimum, à primoribus Angliæ demandatum eſſe, conſtans ad nos fama pertulit; ſilentium abrumpendum cenſui, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi, quam Angliæ, gratuler, quæ in collegio ampliſſimo, una cum ſummis regni proceribus, te aſſeſſorem habet, cujus conſilia omnia prudentia, fide, candore ac ſinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium ſaluti unice deſtinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, conſiliiſque tuis ſucceſſum, quem merentur, concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac ſi otio deſidioſo torperem. Arminii ſcripta inedita me occupatum tenent: promiſi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; ſed in ſcriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut niſi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua, quam inde ad publicum rediturum video utilitas, ingrati laboris moleſtiam levaret, jam operæ promiſſæ pœnituiſſet. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius poſthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies ſæpiſſime intendenda eſt, ut characteres exiles, & vetuſtate multis in locis ferme evaneſcentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compenſare poſſit. Sed quoniam alea jacta eſt, pergendum eſt. Prodibunt de novo prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur diſputatio contra Judæos, in poſteriorem ad Theſſalonicenſes, in ſecundum & tertium caput Apocalypſeos; & diſputatio contra cardinalem Perronium: quæ cum opuſculis antehac editis juſtum conficient volumen. Præmiſet D. Caſper Brantius prolixiorem

lixiorem vitæ Arminii hiſtoriam, quæ multa hactenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, " quod Religio Chriſtiana, qualis nobis eſt re-" præſentata in ſcriptura ſacra, ſit ſumme rationalis," verſio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi eſſe amicum meum. Ego reſpondeo, mihi nihil de eo conſtare; & cum autor, quiſquis ille ſit, latere vult, noſtrum non eſſe conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego ſumma cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei chriſtianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorſus aſſentior. Hoc recte percepto, graviſſimas ac acerbiſſimas in eccleſia chriſtiana diſputationes feliciter componi poſſe puto; ſaltem eccleſiæ, non obſtante opinionum diverſitate, pacem facili negotio poſſe reſtitui: ea enim quæ nunc à pleriſque ut unicum ferme chriſtianiſmi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematiſmis, ſchiſmatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium eſt. Ego, ut videas me attente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non poſſum, quin tibi obſervationem quandam indicem, quæ licet forte non magni videri poſſet eſſe momenti, tamen argumento autoris, quo utitur, pondus aliquod afferre poteſt. Cap. iv, autor ad ſuæ ſententiæ ſtabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epiſt. Joan. ver. 7, quem optime ab ipſo allegatum judicio: verum verſio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me judice, non exacte exprimat ſenſum, qui in Græco extat, quique ſententiam autoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione eum Anglice expreſſerit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ita extat: " Que " pluſieurs impoſteurs ſe ſont élevez dans le monde, " leſquels ne confeſſent point, que Jeſus, le Meſſie, ſoit " venu en chair:" quæ ſenſum hunc continere videntur, quod impoſtores hi non confeſſi ſunt, quod Jeſus, qui eſt Meſſias, venerit in carne. Græcus autem textus ita habet: Ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ poſteriora verba ego verto, non, qui non confitentur Jeſum, qui eſt Chriſtus ſeu Meſſias, in carne veniſſe; ſed, qui non confitentur Jeſus Meſſiam, qui in carne venit: non enim eſt infinitivus in Græco, ſed participium. Hic ſenſus eſt longe alius, & autoris hujus ſcopo multo accommodatior.

Priore enim ſenſu hæc eſſe impoſtorum falſa doctrina arguitur, quod non confiteantur Jeſum, qui eſt Meſſias, in carne veniſſe. Inde ſequeretur quod qui confitetur Jeſum, de quo Joannes affirmat quod ſit Meſſias (vox enim Χριστὸς, per appoſitionem, hoc ſenſu eſt legenda) in carne veniſſe, maneat in doctrina Chriſti, ut eſt ver. 9. Atqui multi, qui non credebant Jeſum eſſe Meſſiam, credebant tamen Jeſum, qui Meſſias eſt, in carne veniſſe. Si poſteriore ſenſu vertantur, tum ſenſus eſt, impoſtores non confiteri Jeſum Chriſtum, qui in carne venit; hoc eſt, non confiteri, quod ille Jeſus, qui in carne venit, ſit Meſſias. Confiteri enim Jeſum Meſſiam, eſt, confiteri quod Jeſus ſit Meſſias, ſeque illius diſcipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jeſum, quem confiteri oportet, deſcribit Joannes, quod ſit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos verſatus eſt. Inde ſequitur, quod ille in doctrina Chriſti maneat, qui confitetur quod Jeſus, qui in carne venit, ſit Meſſias. Et hæc eſt ſincera fidei in Chriſtum confeſſio. Eundem eſſe ſenſum puto, 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi ſimiliter non reperitur infinitivus, ſed participium ἐληλυθότα. Non eſt quidem hæc obſervatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & autoris inſtituto favet. In aliis autem diſputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis noſtratibus inſtituuntur, maximi eſt uſus. Sed tempus eſt ut abrumpam. Vides tibi cum homine loquace rem eſſe, qui cum literis ſuis te compellat, calamo imperare non poteſt. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & feliciter age.

Amſtelod. . . . . Tui obſervantiſſimus,
1696.

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore, quo tu uſus es in amicitia, non majorem offenſionem inter diſſentientes parerent argumenta, quam inter nos nuper peperit diuturnum nimis ſilentium. Si epiſtolarum reciprocationem æſtimem,

æſtimem, an tua májor taciturnitas, an mea, dicere non auſim, credo me ea ex parte peccâſſe. Ea vero utcunque ſe res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoſcendo prior effeciſti, ut culpa omnino mea ſit, eoque magis probroſam mihi ſentio, quod tu & leviſſima quidem reprehenſione abſtinuiſti; negotiorum excuſatione, qua pro me apud te uſus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuiſſet, certe tibi me eo nomine excuſatum nolim, addere etiam poteram valetudinem, tota præterita hyeme valde incommodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo, tam fido amico ſcriberem, impedimento eſſe non debuit. Vis rem ipſam ut tibi ſcriberem, ſemper quæro tempus omnino vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis opportunum tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ ſuperveniens tardiorem reddit. Si hoc ignaviæ latebram dicas, non recuſo; hoc certo ſcio imminutæ amicitiæ, vel mutatæ voluntatis non eſſe crimen; & forſan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinæ uſus faſtidium menti non bene ſe explicanti oggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, vir ampliſſime, omnia ſuperat. Gratulationem tuam, eo, quo tu ſcripſiſti animo, id eſt, amiciſſimo, accipio: ſed quid tandem mihi, ſenectutis & valetudinis onere ſuccumbenti, cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Seceſſus mihi jam quærendus eſſet, & vel annis vel ſtudiis meis quies. Hoc, ſi mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo, ſed neſcio quo fato, quod alius ambitioſe & fruſtra quærit, alii vel inſcio, vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri iſtius magni ſcripta inedita, tua opera proditura, gratulor reipub. chriſtianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo, cujus lectioni, cum ad me ſcripſeras, incubuiſti, idem tecum ſentio, contentionum & ſchiſmatum radices evellit, quantum id poteſt religionis chriſtianæ veritas & fundamentum, ſi id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo ſententiam ſcire vellem. Theologis noſtris tam conformiſtis, quam non-conformiſtis, diſplicere audio; reliqui (ut fit) probant, improbantve, prout ſuo vel alieno innituntur judicio. Quod monuiſti de loco Joannis tecum ſentio: idem eſt

in verſione noſtra, quem in Gallica obſervâſti, error; ſed ad rem facit, verum appoſitè magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectiſſime, ut mihi videtur, interpretaris. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me ama,

Lond. 3 Sept. 1696.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

CITIUS tuis, decimo quinto demum Octobris die mihi redditis, reſpondiſſem, verum quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo petiiſti, tempus à reliquis curis vacuum quæſivi, ut tractatum illum elegantiſſimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta conſiderare & expendere poſſem. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis feriari ſolemus; ſed & illud frigore ſuo acutiſſimo non leviter impetum ſcribendi remoratum eſt. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem; nec unicâ lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus eſt actorum Lipſienſium menſis October, quo compendium tractatus illius, pro doctorum illorum more, nobis exhibetur. Primo aiunt autoris illius Pockii nomen eſſe dici (credo eos incerto rumori temere fidem adhibuiſſe, & in nomine una aberrâſſe litera) tum compendio quod confecere, omnia, quibus aliquam autori invidiam conflari poſſe putant, ſedulo enumerant, ut ſyſtematum theologicorum contemptum ulciſci velle videantur. Extollunt magnifice Joannem Edvardum, quod præclare hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæreſin variis ſcriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit meditationum quarundam de cauſis & occaſione atheiſmi, hodierni præſertim ſæculi; in quo paſſim autoris hujus anonymi ſententias, ut periculoſas & à ſocinianiſmo ac atheiſmo non alienas, perſtrinxit. Subjungunt hiſce compendium duorum ſcriptorum, quorum

rum alterum brevis pro tractatu illo eſt apologia: alterum Joannis Edvardi, titulo, "Socinianiſm unmaſked." Tu illos tractatus rectius me nôſti. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Edvardi ipſis ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum compendium habuiſſemus. Syſtema theologiæ me ſcripſiſſe nôſti: non tamen eo in pretio apud me ſyſtemata ſunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis ſyſtematibus præferam; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo, quam ex operoſis multorum ſyſtematibus hauſiſſe me ingenue profiteor. Sed vero theologiam autor ille tradit nimis facilem, nimis laxam, quæ ſalutem anguſtis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minime cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex ſectarum confeſſionibus, ſed ſolo verbo divino arceſſit. Hoc crimen eſt, quod ſocinianiſmi & atheiſmi infami convitio à doctoribus ſyſtematicis traduci meretur: non aliter ac ſi, qui humana placita religioſe adorare recuſant, eo ipſo omnem religionem ejurare cenſendi eſſent. Ego autoris in hoc tractatu ſcopum ſummopere laudo; ſcopum ſuum feliciter aſſecutum eſſe, ſolideque ipſum, quod intendit, probâſſe judico. Imprimis placent mihi duo: methodus accurata hiſtoriæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliis, in ſpeciem obſcura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & perſpicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus oſtendit, cur D. Jeſus Chriſtus, in terris degens, non expreſſis verbis docuerit ſe eſſe Meſſiam. Hæc autori huic peculiaria ſunt, ipſiuſque judicium ingeniique perſpicaciam clarè demonſtrant. In iis autem plurima ſunt, quibus præcipium libri ſui argumentum, quod eſt, fidem, quod Jeſus ſit Chriſtus, eam eſſe, per quam juſtificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hic judicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere ſtatui. Petis autem ut, ſi quædam in illius lectione obſervarem, tibi ſcriberem. Ego in tractatu adeo eximio vix quicquam, quod tibi proponi meretur, obſervavi: ita ſibi penitus me habet aſſentientem, ut exigua ſint, quæ obſervaverim, quæque principali ipſius ſcopo nihil officiunt, & quæ forſitan à me non plene intellecta ſunt. Quia vero judicium meum requiris, ego hæc, qualiacunque, tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii ſunt, ſed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati. Statim in initio autor dicit, ſuper lapſu

Adami fundatam esse doctrinam de redemptione. Equidem certum est, lapsum Adami à doctrinâ de redemptione non excludi; attamen & propria cujusque nostrûm peccata ab ea secludenda non sunt. Plurimorum doctorum sententia est, Dominum Jesum nos liberâsse è miseria, in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis statum, quem in Adamo amissimus, restituisse. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenso Christi beneficio sentire, ipsumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apostolus, Rom. v, loquitur, nos liberâsse, & ad statum multo feliciorem, vitam nempe æternam in cœlis perduxisse. Huic addo: quod ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amisisse immortalitem, & factum esse mortalem. Si immortalitas autori huic significet, quod Adamus si non peccâsset, moriturus non fuisset, & mortalitas, quod per peccatum necessitatem moriendi contraxerit; verissimam ejus sententiam judico. Si vero immortalitas, ut vox illa proprie sonat, illi significet moriendi impossibilitatem, non recte dici puto Adamum fuisse creatum immortalem. Ego sententiam meam plenius explicui in theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 24. Verum hæc immortalitas, hoc est, immunitas à morte, alterius plane est generis quam immortalitas Dei: sicut & mortalitas, seu moriendi potentia, multum differt à morte, seu moriendi necessitate. Quare etiam minus commode mihi dictum videtur, p. 230, quod Adami immortalitas sit imago Dei, ad quam conditus est: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei; non tamen exinde sequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem esse immortalitatem; non enim necesse est, omnia quæ alibi scriptura imagine Dei designat, ea comprehensa esse, quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: sufficit eximiam quandam in homine esse qualitatem, respectu cujus imaginem Dei referre dici possit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232, citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29, ubi dicimur à Deo præcogniti & prædestinati "ut simus conformes imagini filii ejus, ut "ipse sit primogenitus inter multos fratres." Putat autor illa imagine, cui conformes esse debemus, designari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam, quam modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi,

niendi, quo fideles Chriſti ſimiles eſſe debent, hic ſignificari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus diſcipulis indicat, Luc. xxiv. 26. " nonne oportuit Chriſtum iſta pati atque intrare in glo-" riam ſuam?" Hanc explicationem totius capitis ſeries evincit: jam enim, v. 17, dixerat " hæredes ſumus Dei, " cohæredes autem Chriſti, ſiquidem cum ipſo patimur, " ut una cùm ipſo glorificemur." Eaque occaſione multus eſt, ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii cauſa ſuſtinendas, inter alia, argumento à voluntate divina petito, quod per crucem nos ad ſalutem velit perducere: & ne id ipſis abſonum videatur, Deum, quos diligit, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Chriſti proponit, cujus imagini ut ſint conformes. Deus eos prædeſtinavit, & conſequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in ſequentibus porro oſtendit, illas afflictiones non poſſe ipſos ſeparare ab amore Dei, quo ipſos in Chriſto complectitur. Hinc & ſcriptura paſſim aliis inculcat, nos gloriæ Chriſti fore cónſortes, ſi & cum ipſo crucem ſuſtinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præſertim, Heb. ii. 10. " Decebat " ut ipſe, propter quem ſunt omnia, & per quem ſunt " omnia, multos filios in gloriam adducendo, principem " ſalutis ipſorum per afflictiones conſecraret." Et hoc potiſſimum argumento fideles ad conſtantem perſecutionum tolerantiam hortatur, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13. Heb. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo eſſe imaginem Chriſti, cui ut conformes ſimus Deum nos prædeſtinâſſe ait apoſtolus, Rom. viii. 29. conſentaneè iis quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22: 2 Tim. iii. 12. Pag. 246, ait autor ſibi non occurrere, quod D. Jeſus ipſe ſibi tribuat titulum ſacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei, quæ ad ſacerdotium refertur. Munus Chriſti ſacerdotale in apoſtolorum epiſtolis, & præcipue in epiſtola ad Hebræos nobis plenius eſſe deſcriptum, manifeſtum eſt; nec negari poteſt D. Jeſum nuſquam in evangeliis ſibi ſacerdotis titulum tribuere. Attamen negandum non videtur, quod ſibi alicubi actionem ſacerdotalem tribuat: diſerte enim ait, ſe " animam ſuam λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν daturum," Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem ſuum vocat ſanguinem novi " fœ-" deris, qui pro multis effunditur, in remiſſionem peccatorum." Matth. xxvi. 28. Negare non poſſumus hunc eſſe actum, qui ad ſacerdotium reſpectum habet. Quare fortaſſe præſtitiſſet id præteriiſſe, neque hominibus calumniandi occa-

occaſionem quærentibus quicquam ſuppeditâſſe, quod cum ſpecie aliqua carpere poſſe videatur. Præter hæc, in tractatu hoc, quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter ſe conciliari poſſunt, niſi forte autor mentem ſuam plenius explicet. Pag. 13, ait, Dum Adam pulſus ſit è paradiſo tereſtri, omniſque ejus poſteritas ea propter naſcatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter ſequi debet, omnes hominis morituros, & in æternum ſub potentia mortis manſuros, atque ita penitus fore perditos: ex eo ſtatu autem omnes per Chriſtum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam poſtea fuſe oſtendit evangelio contineri. Hæc meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non ſatis capio, quomodo cum his bene concilientur, quæ leguntur, pag. 250 & 266, quod qui juſti ſunt non indigent gratia, ſed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenus Adami poſteri, etiam ſub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per ſuam juſtitiam jus poſſint acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nulla gratia indigeant? cum antea docuerat, omnes ex illo ſtatu neceſſariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde ſequi videtur, liberationem illam non poſſe fieri, niſi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miſeria liberare gratiæ eſt, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio iſto commode ſatis conciliare poſſum, quod autor dicit, qua ratione illi, qui de Chriſto nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, ſalvari poſſint. Si enim per Adamum neceſſariæ ac æternæ morti ſunt obnoxii, è qua per ſolam legem fidei beneficio Chriſti liberentur, non videtur illis ſufficere poſſe, quod lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quod Deus ſit miſericors, ſcintillas habeant; ſed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus ſalutis obtinendæ conditionem ſtatuit, ſervari debere videntur. Video doctores ſyſtematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquieſcere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jeſum adventu ſuo in mundum hominibus contuliſſe docet autor. Ego in doctorum ſyſtematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico; & ſi quid illi præter rationem capiant, indignationem eorum ſpernendam cenſeo: ſed conſiderandum, an non majus quid dici poſſit & oporteat, quod ipſis licet non ſatisfaciat, minus tamen forſan offen-

det, & meo judicio plenius rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Chriſti, nullos vero ſacerdotalis. Quid ſi ergo hic addatur muneris ſacerdotalis fructus; quod mundus Deo ſit reconciliatus, adeo ut nunc per Chriſtum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum ſit è miſeria ſua in quam occaſione peccati Adami, propriiſque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & ſalutem æternam conſequendi? Hoc poſito, puto explicari poſſe, qua ratione, ſalvis principiis ante poſitis, ii, qui de Chriſto nihil ne fando quidem audiverunt, per Chriſtum ſalvari poſſint. Nempe quod Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait, pag. 292) inſtinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & miſericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque reſipiſcentiam agunt, eorumque veniam ſupplices petunt, gratiam per Chriſtum impetratam applicet, ipſiſque propter Chriſtum remiſſionem peccatorum & juſtitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Chriſtus prædicatus eſt, non niſi per directam in Chriſtum fidem, obtineri poteſt, illi ſine directa in Chriſtum, ipſis non prædicatum, fide conſequantur per gratioſam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia ſua latius extendere poteſt, quam promiſſorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium ſalus in ſacrificio Chriſti propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à ſententia hujus autoris differre, & iis, quæ evangelio continentur, conſentanea eſſe. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector: omnia credenda & obſervanda ut ſalutem conſequamur evangeliis & actis contineri, credo; nullumque novum articulum in epiſtolis apoſtolicis ſuperaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli ſunt, ſed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipue Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illuſtre nobis documentum præbet epiſtola ad Romanos. Hæc ſunt paucula illa, quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortaſſe autoris mentem per omnia non plene aſſecutus ſum. Verum exigua hæc ſunt, & extra principalem autoris ſcopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probâſſe judico, adeo ut me ſibi habeat penitus aſſentientem. Imprimis laudo, quod tam candide & ingenue, nec minus ſolide, demonſtret recipiſcentiæ &

bonorum

bonorum operum neceſſitatem, & per legem fidei non penitus eſſe abolitam legem operum, ſed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, quo nobis merita Chriſti applicamus, etiam ante ullum reſipiſcentiæ actum, nos coram Deo juſtificare docent. Hac enim perſuaſione imbuti, facile, mediis in ſceleribus, homines incauti ſibi juſtitiam & ſalutem adſcribunt, modo in ſe fiduciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & ſceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Chriſti meritis firmam profiteantur, ſalutem ſine ulla hæſitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in noſtra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præterita æſtate ancilla quædam, ut heri ſui ædes ſpoliare poſſet, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem ſuam in Chriſti meritis verbis emphaticis, coram miniſtro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixe profeſſa eſt: Ille ſceleratæ non tantum indubiam ſalutis ſpem fecit, ſed & poſtridie pro concione illius fidem prolixe populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus ſit, ſe, ſola ignominia excepta, talem ſibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis vero (non Remonſtrantibus modo, ſed & contra-Remonſtrantibus) non ſine indignatione talem Encomiaſten cum ſuo encomio reprehendentibus. Verum tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro ſolita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignoſces. Vale, vir ampliſſime, mihique ſemper venerande.

Amſtelod. 26 Martii, 1697.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

INTER negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut ſperem diuturnum meum ſilentium; non ex imminuta omnino in te voluntate aut

aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua eſt in amicos lenitas, excuſatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi noviſſime literas dederim, quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fructu ſuaviſſimæ tuæ conſuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolenduſque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui deſtitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus ea voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cum ſit, ex benevolentia ſolum mutuiſque amicorum ſermonibus percipitur. Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ ſanitatis rure totam abſumpſit. Niſi quod negotia nonnulla importuna ſubinde irrepentia totum, id, quicquid erat temporis, quod amicis deſtinaveram invito abriperent. Adeo ut non in tuo ſolum, ſed & multorum mihi amiciſſimorum ære alieno ſim, nec quomodo me redimam ſcio, ſi taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiæ ſuſpecta ſit. Tu, ſcio, humanior es quam ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quanquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in reſpondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & ſi quando hac utor libertate, erga eos ſolum utor, quibuſcum non ſolummodo vitam civilem, ſed intimam ſolidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me ſcio debere, & quibus inſuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus poſt octidui incommodam & anheloſam moram præpropero reditu huc me recipere coactus ſum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi ſpero reſtituet priſtino otio. Valetudinario ſeni quid reſtat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum eſt. Hoc mihi ſi concedatur, libri & literæ, amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia, optima illa ſenectutis oblectamenta, redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix ſcire vacat. Apud nos ſane diſceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur ſcripturientium atramentum. Si diſputantium fervor ſolo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda eſſet litigantium induſtria & contentio; ſed non ita ſemper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem ſtabiliendam elucidandamve quæſita, credere poſſis. In mea de Intellectu Humano diſſertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum eſt non ita ſanum, idque à viris haud infimi ſubſellii reprehenſum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehenſione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoſcerem, & haud

invitus

invitus corrigerem. Id cum non ſit, rationem mihi reddendam cenſeo, cur non mutaverim ſententiam, cum nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defenſio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror noſtris nugis? Quid tu illic, voſque alii ſtudiis utilioribus intenti agatis, aveo ſcire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor, ſi à te feſtinatas poſtulem literas in ſcribendo ipſe tantus ceſſator. Verum tu ſcio id facies ne nimis ſerio mihi iraſci videaris. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama,

Oates, 4 Mar. 1696-7.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MENSE Martio ſcripſi tibi epiſtolam ſatis prolixam. Hâc æſtate cum viris aliquot primariis ſermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit ſermo de tractatu, de quo, in ſuperioribus meis, judicium meum ſcripſi. Omnes eum ſummopere laudabant. Unus vero titulum ſibi non ſatis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ, quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longe diverſum aiebat fuiſſe inſtitutum à plerorumque ſcriptorum conſuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere ſolent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixiſſe titulum. Oportuiſſe titulum aliquatenus reſpondiſſe dignitati operis, ut & ille poſſet lectores allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum noſtrum commendatum eſſe voluit, quod tibi ſoli dictum velim) ſe bis tractatum illum perlegiſſe aiebat: laudabat illum ſummopere, autoremque fidei chriſtianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum eſt, ſolidiſſime probâſſe affirmabat; unum deſiderabat; nim. quod autor jam ſtatim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis ſententiam

tiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuiſſe autorem, intacta illa ſententia, nihilominus præcipuum tractatus ſui argumentum adſtruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus alte ſententia illa incedit, lecto libri initio, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut ſequentia non ea animi ſerenitate quæ requiritur, legant, ſicque alieniores reddi: cum potius ipſorum benevolentia captanda fuiſſet, ut judicio integro expendant ſententiam, veram quidem, ſed communi theologorum appetitui minus conſentaneam; qui omnes ferme fidei chriſtianæ aliquid de ſuo admixtum cupiunt; quaſi ea ſuo cœtui peculiaris ſit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipſorum animis eruatur, alliciendi potius ſunt, quam aſſertione alicujus dogmatis ſibi minus probati alienandi. Candide tibi ſcribo quid viri hi deſideraverint. Hac occaſione, ut fieri ſolet, ſermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem quibus argumentis ſolidiſſime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, ſe argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus probetur ens æternum, ſeu per ſe exiſtens, ſeu undiquaque perfectum, eſſe tantum unum. Deſiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ. Addebat, audiviſſe ſe tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano in linguam Gallicam verti; multum ſe tribuere judicio tuo, ac ſummopere verſionem illam deſiderare. Quæſivit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem entis à ſe exiſtentis adſtruxiſſes? Ego me ignorare reſpondi, qui tractatum, utpote lingua mihi ignota conſcriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi ſerio per me commendari, ut ſi in tractatu quo quæſtionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adſtructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque entis independentis ſolide adſtruere. Manifeſtum videtur ens independens, quod omnem in ſe complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum eſſe: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari juſſit, & à me quæri, an jam ad te ſcripſiſſem, & aliquod à te reſponſum accepiſſem. Non credideram ipſum id tam enixe voluiſſe; ſed quia video rem hanc ipſi cordi eſſe, ſcriptionem meam ulterius differendam minime ſtatui. Rogo, ſi id negotia

tua

tua permittant, ut mihi reſponſum ſcribas, quod ipſi prælegere poſſim, ita tamen temperata tua ſcriptione, ut minime ſubolere ipſi poſſit, me tibi ipſum aliquatenus indicâſſe; poſſes ita reſpondere, quaſi ego tibi ſcripſerim, viros quoſdam eruditos de hac materia differentes, ex ipſis aliquem, qui te magni æſtimat, de ea tuum voluiſſe audire judicium, & ut quæſtionem hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expenderes deſiderâſſe. Vides quam aperte tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare auſim. Hagam Comitis nuper excurri; ſalutavi honoratiſſimum Comitem Pembrokienſem, & per integram horam varios cum ipſo, etiam de rebus theologicis, ſermones habui. Virum in tam excelſa dignitate conſtitutum tantum in rebus ſacris ſtudium poſuiſſe ſummopere miror. Ita ſermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per ſemihoram ipſi adfuiſſe mihi viſus ſim, cum tamen ab eo digreſſus integram horam eſſe elapſam deprehenderim. Ego viro illi excellentiſſimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipſius auſpiciis feliciter adminiſtrentur: tibi vero valetudinem proſperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare poſſis. Vale, ampliſſime vir, & ſalveat plurimum Domina Maſham. Salutant te uxor mea & filia.

Amſtelod. 8 Oct. 1697.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monſieur,

SI mon nom eſt venu à là connoiſſance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes écrits dans les converſations que vous avez avec eux, c'eſt une faveur dont je vous ſuis entierement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une perſonne que vous voulez bien honorer de vôtre amitié les a pré-

prévenüe en ma faveur. Je ſouhaiterois que mon Eſſai concernant l'Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes pûſſent entendre, car par le jugement éxact & ſincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourrois compter ſurement ſur ce qu'il y a de vrai ou de faux, & ſur qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a ſept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere & la ſeconde édition ont eû le bonheur d'être generalement bien réçuës: mais la dernier n'a pas eû le même advantage. Aprés un ſilence de cinq ou ſix années on commence d'y découvrir je ne ſçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'étoit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu'il y a de ſingulier, on prétend trouver matiere à des controverſes de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n'ai eû deſſein de traiter que des queſtions de pure ſpéculation philoſophique. J'avois reſolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ai déja compoſé quelques-unes qui ſont aſſez amples, & qui auroient pû paroître en leur place dans la quatriéme édition que le libraire ſe diſpoſe à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers ſatisfait à vôtre deſir, ou au deſir d'aucun de vos amis en y inſerant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui ſe preſentent à mon eſprit. Car je ſuis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être auſſi évidemment démontrée que ſon exiſtence; & qu'elle peut être établie ſur des preuves qui ne laiſſeront aucun ſujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment ſi fort les criailleries & les vaines conteſtations, que je doute ſi je dois leur fournir de nouveaux ſujets de diſpute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens on fait ſur le " Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, &c." ſont ſans doute fort juſtes, & il eſt vrai que pluſieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines penſées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, leſquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-a-fait avec des doctrines communément reçuës. Mais ſur cela je ſuis obligé de renvoyer ces meſſieurs aux deux défenſes que l'auteur a fait de ſon ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit lui-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrêtienne, il ſemble qu'il à été conduit à traiter ces matieres malgrè lui; car pour rendre ſon livre utile

aux déïſtes, il ne pouvoit point ſe taire entierement ſur ces articles, auxquels ils s'aheurtent des qu'ils veulent entrer dans l'éxamen de la religion chrêtienne. Je ſuis,

Londres, 29 Oct. 1697. Monſieur,

Vôtre très-humble

& très-obéïſſant ſerviteur,

J. Locke.

Vir ampliſſime,

Ne mireris quod lingua Gallica reſponſum à me ſit acceptiſſimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus menſis mihi ſcriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excuſare & negotiorum multitudine, quæ otium negat, & linguæ Latinæ diſſuetudine, quæ expedite ſcribere prohibet. Hanc meam epiſtolam aliis vel prælegendam vel monſtrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium cenſuræ ſtyli negligentia me objicere minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excuſare ſolet, aliis vel nauſeam vel certe non condonandam moleſtiam creare poteſt. Scripſi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula feſtinatim, Galloque in ſuam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta eſt inter epiſcopum Wigornienſem (qui me quæſita cauſa aggreſſus eſt) & me diſputatio: gens theologorum togata in librum meum mire excitatur, laudataque hactenus diſſertatio illa tota jam ſcatet erroribus (vel ſaltem continet latentia errorum vel ſcepſeos fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor, in loco à te citato argumenta non abunde ſatisfaciunt. Putaſne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoſcit, poſſe dubitare numen illud eſſe unicum? Ego ſane nunquam dubitavi; etiamſi, fateor, mihi ex hac occaſione cogitandi videtur altius aliquanto elevandam eſſe mentem, & à communi philoſophandi ratione ſegregandam, ſi quis id philoſophice, vel, ſi ita dicam, phyſice probare velit; ſed hoc tibi ſoli dictum ſit. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque officioſiſſime ſaluto.

Jocius

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

GRATISSIMAS tuas 29 Octobris ſcriptas recte accepi, viroque magnifico, cujus potiſſimum rogatu ad te ſcripſi, prælegi. Res ipſa, de qua quæritur, à nemine ſano in dubium vocari poſſe videtur; ipſa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi poſſit. Quare, me judice, nemo, qui attente ſecum conſiderat, quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluritatem Deorum aſſerere poteſt. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis aſſeri videmus, & contra eos ſcripturæ autoritate pugnari non poteſt, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi ſunt. Quare ejuſmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus, quibus ſolide demonſtretur ens independens & perfectum unicum tantum eſſe poſſe. Ex ſolide ſtructa eſſentiæ divinæ unitate porro facili negotio omnia attributa divina, noſtrumque tam erga Deum, quam proximum officium deduci poſſe certiſſimus eſt. Carteſium dicit unitatem illam non probâſſe, ſed præſuppoſuiſſe. Ipſe ſibi demonſtrationem ſcripſit, ſed eam aiebat ſubtiliorem eſſe. Et quia multum tuo tribuit judicio, tua argumenta avidiſſime videre deſiderat. Prælegi illi epiſtolam tuam: gaudebat, quod in ea affirmes te id præſtare poſſe: tanto enixius jam argumenta tua deſiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortaſſe novis litibus & ſuſpicionibus præter tuam intentionem vel minimam præbeas anſam, publico ſcripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me ſcribas, ſub promiſſo ſilentii: ille hæc evulgare minime intendit, ſed ad propriam ſuam inſtructionem, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris, intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori noſtræ converſationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fiſci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos, nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, niſi fortaſſe & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii eſt, ipſo enim ignaro hæc omnia ad te ſcribo. Rem facturus es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam: &

quod fidis solummodo amicis, & quidem paucis adeo, concreditur, cujusque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id dispalescere non potest. Quinimo, ut tanto honestius apographum denegare queam, suaserim ut id in epistola tua enixe à me stipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam scepseos fundamenta jacientem, magis suspectum fieri: plerosque illorum alieno judicio, tanquam nervis alienis mobile lignum, præcipites in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus sum. Cum tuas legerem, lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in sua Utopia fabella. Refert is, cum Raphael Hythlodæus, coram Cardinale Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi doctissime de republica differuisset, legis quendam peritum commoto capite, & labiis distortis quicquid dixerat improbâsse; ac statim omnes, qui aderant, pedibus in jurisperiti illius iviisse sententiam. Cum vero Cardinalis Hythlodæi sententiam probabat, mox quæ ipso narrante contempserant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus esse prosecutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro sexennio communi applauso acceptus fuit, nunc insurgente contra te magni nominis episcopo totus erroribus scatet, & latentia continet scepseos fundamenta. Ita solet theologorum vulgus non ex suo sed alieno sapere cerebro. Verum talium judicio epistola tua nequam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ Latinæ diffuetudinem prætexis, quæ expedite scribere prohibet, plane me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me judicium esse censebo, cujus stylus cum tuo comparatus plane sordet? Epistolæ tuæ, omnes, etiam veloci calamo scriptæ, sunt non tantum puræ & tersæ, sed & vividæ ac elegantes: quæ si tibi displiceant, quid de meis judices non difficile mihi est colligere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamum venit tibi scribo, benignitatis tuæ, quæ defectus meos boni consulere novit, plane securus: in posterum vero, si ea excusatione uti pergas, timidiorem me in scribendo facies. Excusationem itaque hanc minime admitti posse facile vides. Si vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedant responsum, nolim nimia festinatione graviora negligas, sed tempus ad scribendum eligas minus occupatum. Quicquid & quandocunque scripseris, gratissimum erit: interim si cito

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des, his te dediſſe gratus agnoſcam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proxime elapſa D. Clericus tuum, de Educatione liberorum, tractatum, in linguam Belgicam verſum; pro quo dono magnifico ſummas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ ſatiatæ fuerint, integrum quod & ipſis commendo, à capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officioſiſſime juſſit vir magnificus. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

HAC occaſione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ Hiſtoriæ Inquiſitionis inſeri poſſunt. Ego autores, quos nunc evolvo, majore cum applicatione ad materiam inquiſitionis lego, quam antehac, & ſi quid, quod ad majorem illius illuſtrationem facere poſſit, occurrat, illud excerpere ſoleo, & hiſtoriam meam locupletiorem reddere. Tu, ſi velis, aliis à me antehac ad te miſſis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinerario Du Mont ſuppeditâſti, ea quanto magis conſidero, tanto magis hiſtoriæ meæ inſerenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ ſecretum confeſſionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei fiunt legibus prohibita; quas ſanciviſſe videntur eum tantum in finem, ut ſimpliciores iis irretiti facilius caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquiſitionis leges, ſed præcipue geſta acta illius, quæ cum legibus ſæpiſſime adverſa fronte pugnant, conſideranda cenſeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confeſſarios Melitenſes obligatos eſſe inquiſitoribus revelare quicquid ipſis in ſecreta confeſſione negotium fidei ſpectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confeſſiones inquiſitoribus revelari nullus dubito; legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix poſ-

ſum: fortaſſe confeſſariis hoc viva voce mandatur, licet nulla hujuſmodi lex extet. Quibus accedit, quod ſit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundum incolarum ſermonibus hauſit; quorum relationes quandoque valde eſſe incertas, imo falſas, ex itinerariis, quibus Belgium deſcribitur, ſæpius ipſe deprehendi. Quare conſiderandum, quomodo ejuſmodi cavillationes pontificiorum ſolide retundi poſſint. Quicquid vero hujus ſit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur, quæ hiſtoriæ meæ inſeratur, ſi ſcriptoris alicujus pontificiis non ſuſpecti autoritate confirmari poſſet. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

Scripſi, ante duos aut tres menſes, virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi deſiderio teneri. Ego aperte & rotunde tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia interturbare, aut aliquid tibi moleſtiæ creare. Scio, ſi ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare poſſis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratiſſima, maximi enim & acumen & judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attentæ ejuſmodi meditationi, & diffuſiori paulum ſcriptioni requiſitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam inde tibi forte creandam moleſtiam verearis (de quo tamen te ſecurum eſſe jubeo) ego à te monitus viro magnifico, prout potero, te excuſatum reddam: velim tamen eo in caſu excuſationis rationes à te mihi ſuppeditari: malim autem, ut, ſi ſine incommodo, aut incommodi metu poſſis, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiu animo volvit, tua opera explanatiorem habeat. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

Amſtelod. 11 Martii; 16$\frac{9}{3}$98

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DOCTISSIMAS tuas literas 21 Februarii datas Martii 21 die recte accepi. Paucis id eadem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis ſignificavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicámus argumentis invictis te unitatem eſſentiæ divinæ adſtruxiſſe, nihilque in argumentatione tua deſiderari. Verum nondum viro magnifico eas oſtendendas cenſuimus, niſi ſententia tua proprius explorata. Eſt enim aliquid quod mihi imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem non plene tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipſius ſermonibus percepi, agnoſcit ille quidem evidens ſatis eſſe, unum tantum hujus univerſi eſſe rectorem: ſed argumentum deſiderat, quo probetur ens, cujus exiſtentia eſt neceſſaria, tantum poſſe eſſe unum; & quidem ut id argumentum à neceſſitate exiſtentiæ deſumatur, & à priori (ut in ſcholis loquuntur) non à poſteriori concludat, hoc eſt, ex natura neceſſariæ exiſtentiæ probetur eam pluribus non poſſe eſſe communem. Narrabat enim, ſe cum aliis de materia hac diſſerentem, dixiſſe, quod ſi tale ens exiſtat, præter Deum unicum à quo nos dependemus, illud ens minime nos ſpectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis ſufficere, ut Deum unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum diſquirendum, an tale ens neceſſario exiſtens poſſit eſſe, præter Deum neceſſario exiſtentem, à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curioſitati plene ſatisfiat, addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas ſolicite aſſervabo, ac nulli oſtendam. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſi quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum ſit, benignus ignoſce.

Tui amantiſſimus,

Amſtelod. Kal. Apr. 16)(98

P. à Limborch.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monſieur,

LA queſtion que vous m'avez propoſée, vient de la part d'une perſonne d'un genie ſi vaſte, & d'un ſi profonde capacité, que je ſuis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer ſi fort à mon jugement dans une occaſion, ou il lui ſeroit plus advantageux & plus ſure de s'en rapporter à lui-même. Je ne ſçai quelle opinion vous avez pû lui donner de moi, ſéduit par l'amitie que vous me portez; mais une choſe dont je ſuis fort aſſûré, c'eſt que, ſi je ne conſultois que ma propre reputation, j'eviterois d'expoſer mes foibles penſées devant une perſonne d'un ſi grand jugement, & que je ne me hazarderois pas à regarder cet article comme une queſtion à prouver: bien des gens étant peut être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, ſelon eux, il eſt mieux établi ſur les fondemens ordinaires que ſi l'on tâchoit de l'expliquer par des ſpéculations & des raiſonnemens auxquels tout le monde n'eſt pas accoutumé. Mais je ſçai que la perſonne, par qui je crois que cette queſtion vous a été propoſée, a l'eſprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & ſa probité égalent ſa ſcience & ſes autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raiſons aſſez claires ou aſſez convainçantes, il ne ſera pour cela porté à condamner auſſitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moi ſous prétexte que mes preuves ne ſont pas auſſi bonnes qu'il l'auroit ſouhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de ſatisfaction dans mes raiſonnemens, plus il ſera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je ſois de ma foibleſſe, je n'ai pas laiſſé d'obéïr à ſes ordres. J'ecris donc ſimplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre; & je veux bien, Monſieur, que vous faſſiez voir s'il vous plâit ma lettre à cette excellent homme, & aux autres perſonnes, qui ſe trouverent dans vôtre conference. Mais c'eſt aux conditions ſuivantes: La premiere, que ces Meſſieurs me promettront de m'apprendre librement & ſincerement leur penſées ſur ce qui je dis; la ſeconde, que vous ne donnerez aucune copie

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de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce ſoit, mais que vous me promettrez de jetter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de la faire. A quoi je ſerois bien aiſe que vous euſſiez la bonté d'ajouter une troiſiéme condition, c'eſt, que ces Meſſieurs me feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raiſons ſur leſquelles ils établiſſent eux-mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

La queſtion dont vous me parlez, ſe réduit à ceci, " Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée?" ou en d'autres termes, " Comment on peut prouver qu'il " n'y a qu'un Dieu."

Pour reſoudre cette queſtion il eſt néceſſaire de ſcavoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de Dieu. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je crois, la véritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoiſſent ſon éxiſtence, c'eſt, qu'il eſt " un " Etre infini, éternel, incorporel & tout parfait." Or cette idée une fois reconnüe, il me ſemble fort aiſé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effect un être qui eſt tout parfait, ou pour ainſi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un être tout parfait ne ſçauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections ou dégrez des perfections, qu'il lui importe plus de poſſéder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entierement parfait. Par éxemple, avoir du pouvoir eſt une plus grande perfection, que de n'en avoir point; avoir plus de pouvoir eſt une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui eſt être tout puiſſant) c'eſt une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela poſé; deux êtres tout puiſſans ſont incompatibles; parce qu'on eſt obligé de ſuppoſer que l'un doit vouloir néceſſairement ce que l'autre veut; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté eſt neceſſairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'eſt pas libre, & n'a pas, par conſéquent, cette perfection-la: car il eſt mieux d'être libre, que d'être ſoumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne ſont pas tous deux réduits à la neceſſité de vouloir toûjours la même choſe, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit

pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prévaudra ſur la volonté de l'autre, & ainſi celui des deux, dont la puiſſance ne ſauroit ſeconder la volonté, n'eſt pas tout-puiſſant; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'eſt pas tout-puiſſant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne ſauroit y avoir deux tout-puiſſans, ni par conſéquent deux Dieux.

Par la même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu eſt omniſcient. Or dans la ſuppoſition de deux êtres diſtincts, qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté diſtincte, c'eſt une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ces penſées à l'autre. Mais ſi l'un des deux cache ſes penſées à l'autre, cet autre n'eſt pas omniſcient, car non ſeulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais il ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même choſe de la toute-preſence de Dieu: il vaut mieux qu'il ſoit par tout dans l'étenduë infinie de l'eſpace, que d'être exclus de quelque partie de cet eſpace, car s'il eſt exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni ſavoir ce qu'on y fait, & par conſéquent il n'eſt ni tout-puiſſant ni omniſcient.

Que ſi pour anéantir les raiſonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on ſuppoſe; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raiſon qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) ſi l'on oppoſe, dis-je, que pluſieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute-puiſſance qui ſoit éxactement la même, qu'ils ont auſſi la même connoiſſance, la même volonté, & qu'ils exiſtent également dans le même lieu, c'eſt ſeulement multiplier le même être, mais dans le fonds & dans la verité de la choſe on ne fait que réduire une pluralité ſuppoſée à une véritable unité. Car de ſuppoſer deux êtres intelligens, qui connoiſſent, veulent & font inceſſamment la même choſe, & qui n'ont pas une exiſtence ſeparée, c'eſt ſuppoſer en paroles une pluralité mais poſer effectivement une ſimple unité. Car être inſéparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu; c'eſt être autant uni qu'un être intelligent peut-être uni à lui même, & par conſéquent, ſuppoſer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux êtres, c'eſt ſuppoſer

une

une diviſion ſans diviſion, & une choſe diviſée d'avec elle-même.

Je me ſuis hazardé à vous écrire mes réflexions ſur ce ſujet, comme elles ſe ſont preſentées à mon eſprit, ſans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit ſervir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour, ſi on leur donnoit un peu plus d'étenduë. Mais ceci doit paroître devant des perſonnes d'une ſi grand pénétration, que ce ſeroit les amuſer inutilement que développer davantage mes pénſées. Telles qu'elles ſont je vous prie de m'en écrire vôtre opinion & celle de ces Meſſieurs, affin que ſelon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puiſſe, pour ma propre ſatisfaction, les éxaminer de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaiſe ſanté & le peu de loiſir qui me reſte, ne me permettent pas de faire preſentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun uſage. Je ſuis,

Oates, 2 April, 1698.

Monſieur,
Vôtre trés-humble
& trés-obéïſſant ſerviteur,
J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus a Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LITERAS tuas poſtremas recte mihi fuiſſe traditas jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud deſignavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materiæ gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad ſe vocavit; iterumque epiſtolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua, ſuppoſita illa, quam adhibes, Dei definitione; ens enim undiquaque perfectum, ſeu, quod eodem redit, omnes in ſe complectens perfectiones, non niſi unum eſſe poſſe manifeſtum eſt. Verum ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei deſumptum, ſed ex ipſa ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in definitionem

definitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo inſtituit demonſtrationem ſuam. I. Datur ens æternum, independens, neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens, & ſibi ipſi ſufficiens. II. Ens tale eſt tantum unum, & plura iſtiuſmodi entia eſſe nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia eſt unicum, omnes in ſe complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc ens eſt Deus. Primam propoſitionem ait vir magnificus te in tractatu tuo de intellectu Humano egregie abſtruxiſſe, iiſdem plane argumentis, quibus ipſe in demonſtratione ſua uſus eſt, adeo ut ſuas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expreſſas viderit. Tanto enixius ſecundam propoſitionem à te probatam videre deſiderat: qua ſolide probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci poteſt. Secundam ait, omnes theologos ac philoſophos, quin & ipſum Carteſium, non probare, ſed præſupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem ſuam argumentationem communicaturus ſit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipſe es meditatus, cum ſuis conferre poſſit. Verum hic ambigere quis poſſit, an non propoſitionum harum ordo mutari, & quæ nunc ſecunda eſt, tertia, & quæ nunc tertia eſt, ſecunda eſſe debeat: hoc eſt, an non, quando probatum eſt, dari ens æternum, independens, ſibi ipſi ſufficiens, exinde poſſit porro probari, illud in ſe omnes complecti perfectiones; quia fieri nequit, ut enti æterno, independenti, ſibique ſufficienti ulla perfectio deſit: atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur illud ens tantum eſſe unum. Verum huic methodo hæc objicitur difficultas, quod deprehendamus eſſe duas naturas tota eſſentia diverſas (loquor terminis eorum, qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem & extenſionem: ſuppoſito dari cogitationem æternam, & independentem, à qua ego dependeo, ſtatuere quis poſſit etiam eſſe extenſionem ſeu materiam æternam ſibi ipſi ſufficientem, & à cogitatione æterna minime dependentem? ſic ſtatuerentur duo entia æterna: & tamen ex poſitione materiæ æternæ & independentis minime ſequeretur, eam in ſe complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, ens æternum & independens eſſe tantum unum, antequam omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones probari poſſit.

Quod

Quod si secunda propositio, ens independens esse tantum unum, non possit probari, nihil religioni, seu necessitati ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur: quia ego totus ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: illi ergo soli sum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illiusque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud ens aliud forte existat, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud neutiquam me spectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exserere potest. Imo neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere posset. Quoniam enim sibi ipsi est sufficiens, ergo nec per alterius positionem, aut remotionem, ullam acquirere potest majorem perfectionem, aut de sua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias sibi non esset sufficiens. Licet itaque veritatis scrutatori summopere gratum sit, evidenter demonstrare posse, ens independens esse tantum unum: si tamen forte contingat, illud evidenter demonstrari non posse, nihil tamen religionis necessitati & perfectioni propterea decessurum videtur, quoniam ens, à quo ego dependeo, est tantum unum. Hæc fuit sermonum viri magnifici summa, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filum, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano, non legi. Probâsse te, ens aliquod esse à quo dependes, illudque ens esse æternum & sibi ipsi sufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum, quo id probatur, evidens est & clarum. Verum, an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tantum dependere, neque fieri posse ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente æterno dependere: sed nondum vidi ab ipso probatum ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen spectat primam propositionem. Nam in secunda ponitur, præter illud ens æternum à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum esse ens æternum. Itaque similiter hic præsupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, saltem id nondum distincte probatum audivi: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propositionis secundæ procedatur. Tum & dispiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, supponi materiam æternam ac sibi sufficientem; si enim ens sibi sufficiens & æternum, necessario sit omni modo perfectum;

perfectum; ſequitur, materiam, quæ iners eſt ſubſtantia, omni motu ac vita deſtituta, non poſſe concipi æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem.

Voluit vir magnificus, ut tibi diſtinctius, qualem deſideret probationem, præſcriberem: verbis ſuis te quam officioſiſſime ſalutari juſſit; pro ſuſcepto in ſui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuam afflictam; & ſi ea minus permittat ſubtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem afflictiorem moleſtis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam; & ſi ea permittat, ut de propoſitionis ſecundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius propoſita eſt, judicium tuum ſcribas, rem facies ipſi gratiſſimam. Tu ipſe judicabis de illius methodo, & quid reſcribendum ſit. Hoc unum addo, ipſum, lecta tua epiſtola, nullum illius apographum petiiſſe; ſed conditionibus, quas ſtipularis, acquieviſſe: & ſi petiiſſet, ego modeſte negâſſem; verum ea eſt humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem tempus eſt manum de tabula tollere. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 16 Maii, 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monſieur,

SI ma ſantè ne me permettoit pas de ſatisfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d'éxécuter les ordres de ce grand homme qui reçoit ſi favorablement mes réflections, toutes médiocres qu'elles ſont, il eſt pourtant vrai que je ne ſaurois la ſacrifier pour une meilleure occaſion que celle qui me porte à examiner la ſujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de lui faire voir combien je ſuis prêt à lui obêïr. Mais je ne prétens pas qu'en cette rencontre il me ſoit obligé d'un tel ſacrifice; car ſi je ne

hazarde

hazarde point ma réputation auprès de lui, je ſuis fort aſſuré que ma ſanté ne ſera point intéreſſée par ce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raiſonne ſi nettement, & qui a ſi bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurai pas beſoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendre. Son extreme penetration lui fera ſentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais propoſer, de ſorte que, ſans qu'il ſoit néceſſaire que je m'engage dans de longues déductions, il pourra juger ſi elle eſt bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empécher de remarquer l'exactitude de ſon jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ſes propoſitions, & il eſt vrai comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troiſiéme à la place de la ſeconde, les Théologiens, les Philoſophes, & Deſcartes lui-même, ſuppoſent l'unite de Dieu, ſans la prouver.

Si par la queſtion qui me fuit d'abord propoſée, j'euſſe compris comme je fais préſentement, quel étoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la réponſe que je vous ai envoyé, mais une beaucoup plus courte & plus conforme á l'ordre de la nature & de la raiſon, où chaque choſe paroit dans ſon meilleur jour.

Je crois que quicunque réfléchira ſur ſoi-même, connoîtra évidemment ſans en pouvoir douter le moinsdu monde, qu'il y a eû de toute éternité un être intelligent. Je crois encore qu'il eſt évident à tout homme qui penſe, qu'il y a auſſi un être infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un être infini, & que cet être infini doit être auſſi l'être éternel; parce que, ce qui eſt infini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucuns additions faites dans le tems, ne ſauroient rendre une choſe infinie, ſi elle ne l'eſt pas en elle même, & par elle-même, de toute éternite. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'enſuit, que l'infini ne ſauroit être ſéparé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'eſt-la, ſelon moi, une preuve à priori, que l'étre éternel independent n'eſt qu'un; & ſi nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections poſſibles, nous avons allors l'idée d'un Dieu éternel, infini, omniſcient, & tout-puiſſant, &c.

Si ce raiſonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme, qui doit le voir, j'en ſerai extrêmement ſatisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une

grande

grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer ſa preuve, que je tiendrai ſecrete, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de ſa part, ſelon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'aſſurer de mes trés-humbles reſpects. Je ſuis, &c.

Oates, 21 Mai, 1698. J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amiciſſime,

VIRO magnifico poſtremas tuas oſtendi; illo pro labore rogatu ſuo à te ſuſcepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquieſcit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per ſe exiſtens ac ſibi ſufficiens: deinde, illud ens eſſe tantum unum: tertio, illud ens in ſe complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde eſſe Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præſupponis, omni homini attente meditanti, evidens eſſe dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi poteſt, atque id idem ipſi eſt ac ſupponere, dari ens undiquaque perfectum: quæ eſt tertia ipſius theſis; adeo ut ex præſuppoſita illius theſi tertia probes ſecundam: cum ſecunda prius probari debeat antiquam ex illa poſſit concluda tertii. Hæc fuit cauſa cur ego tibi conſiderandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia eſt non debeat eſſe ſecunda theſis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea theſis præſupponi, ſed ex prima theſi probari: aut ſi illius methodus placeat, deberet prius ex eo, quod ſit ens æternum ac ſibi ſufficiens, probari illud eſſe unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci illud eſſe infinitum, ſeu undiquaque perfectum. Argumentationem ſuam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus ſit, valdè dubito. Idem ipſum qui te ſcrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum cenſuras, qui omnia è ſchola ſua non hauſta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exoſiſſimarum hæreſium nomenclatura traducere ſolent. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum inſtituere velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere poſſim, quod ſcripto tradere gravatur. Vale, vir ampliſſime,

Amſtelod. Cal. Jul. 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

POST ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipſum conveniendi occaſio fuit: aliquandiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime ſibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, ſi ſupponamus dari cogitationem, per ſe exiſtentem, & præterea extenſionem, ſeu materiam, quod neutra ullam alterius poſſit habere cognitionem: extenſionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non poſſe, quin cogitatio cognitionem ſit habitura extenſionis: quia cum cogitatio per ſe exiſtat, ſibique ſit ſufficiens, etiam eſt infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ ſuæ cogitationis neceſſario cognoſcit extenſionem exiſtentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per ſe exiſtenti ſibique ſufficienti probantur ineſſe alia attributa, antequam probatum ſit illud eſſe tantum unicum; reſpondebat neceſſario de tali ente debere affirmari illud eſſe infinitum, ſed in ſua natura; cogitationem quidem eſſe infinitæ ſcientiæ; materiam infinitæ extenſionis, ſi quidem per ſe exiſtat. Sed inde ſequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa poſſe probari: probata enim infinitate etiam probari poſſe alia illi ineſſe, ſine quibus infinitas concipi nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum ſentire videbatur unitatem ejuſmodi entis tali methodo fruſtra quæri, ſed oportere theſin ſecundam eſſe tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc ſibi inveſtigandæ veritati præſcripſiſſe methodum, & cum ipſe, quæ ſibi ſatisfaciant, argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, ens neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens eſſe tantum unum, antequam ex neceſſaria exiſtentia, alia, quæ eam neceſſario comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

Nuper professor Vander Weeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangeliæ edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo ſcripto deſidero. In fine etiam contra me inſurgit, verum paucis, quia in Theolo-

gia mea Christiana scripsi Burmanum pleraque, quæ in sua Synopsi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina, descripsisse ex Spinosæ Cogitatis Metaphysicis. Ille non negat, sed contendit Burmannum propterea non esse Spinosistam, quod ego nusquam scripsi. Neuter nostrûm tam inepto scriptori quicquam reponet. Dedi ante paucas hebdomadas N. N. literas ad te perferendas; verum ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur: vir est eruditus & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione sentientis, alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit, de statu nostro plura dicere poterit. Hac hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis salutavit, quodque postremis meis literis nondum responderis excusavit. Gratissimæ mihi semper sunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; sed non sum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum dispendio eas à te flagitem. Scio responsi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, sed negotiis, quibus obrueris, adscribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam profectionis tuæ instante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam nostram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inservire queat, opto summis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui post tam diuturnam absentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortasse ultimum valedicendi occasio detur. *Vale.*

Amstelod. 12 Sept. 1698. Tui amantissimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime, Lond. 4 Octob. 1698.

ROGO ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicasque me magnopere rogare ut suam methodum, qua unitatem entis per se existentis sibique sufficientis adstruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipsi non penitus satisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti, falso vel fallaci innixus fundamento, mihimet imponere. Si quid stabilius, si quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit, enixè rogito. Si tectum, si tacitum velit,

velit, pro me meoque ſilentio ſpondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invideat, in proxima, quæ jam inſtat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, ſi libet, vel velato auctore.

Carteſianorum, quam in epiſtola tua reperio loquendi formulam, nullatenus capio. Quid enim ſibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere poſſum cogitationem per ſe exiſtere, ſed rem, vel ſubſtantiam, cogitantem, eamque eſſe, de qua affirmari poſſit eſſe vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant, neſcio quid obſcuri vel fraudulenti ſub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, & omnia tenebris involvere: vel ſaltem quod ſentiant clare & dilucide enuntiare non audere, faventes nimium hypotheſi non undique ſanæ. Sed de hoc forſan alias, quando majus ſuppetet otium.

Quod de profeſſore Vander Weeyen ſcribis non miror. Iſtius farinæ homines ſic ſolent, nec aliter poſſunt; recte facitis quod negligitis.

Literas tuas, quæ Roterodami hærent, avide expecto, & virum illum cui eas ad me perferendas tradidiſti. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratiſſimus. Viros probos fovendos colendoſque ſemper exiſtimavi. Ignoſcant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diverſitatem bellum indico, ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus ſum ego chriſtianus, non papiſta.

Hucuſque ſcripſeram die ſupra notato, quo autem die epiſtolam hanc finiri permiſſum eſt, infra videbis.

Quod velim cum me chriſtianum Evangelicum, vel ſi mavis orthodoxum, non papiſtam dico, paucis accipe. Inter chriſtiani nominis profeſſores duas ego tantum agnoſco claſſes, evangelicos & papiſtas. Hos, qui tanquam infallibiles dominium ſibi arrogant in aliorum conſcientias: illos, qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam & ſibi & aliis, argumentis ſolum rationibuſque perſuaſam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, ſuæ imbecillitatis haud immemores: veniam fragilitati & ignorantiæ humanæ dantes petenteſque viciſſim.

Hyems jam ingraveſcens & pulmoñibus meis infeſta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum ſuadet invaleſcens tuſſis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propoſitum langueſcere videtur: quid fiet neſcio, ubicunque fuero totus ubique

tuus ſum. Saluto uxorem tuam optimam liberoſque amicoſque noſtros communes, Veenios, Guenellones, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D^o^ Guenellone epiſtolam, 3 Octobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipſi prima data occaſione reſponſurus. Vale, vir amiciſſime, & me amà

18 Octob. Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

QUOD literis tuis hactenus non reſponderim valetudo minus proſpera in cauſa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, acceſſere dolores colici acres admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convalui, & ad intermiſſa ſtudia reverſus ſum.

Carteſianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per ſe exiſtentem non percipio, ſed quidem ſubſtantiam cogitantem: verum ne ſententiam ſuam minus candide proponi querantur, iiſdem, quibus illi eam explicant, verbis uti, neceſſe habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non ſoleo.

Quæ de chriſtianis evangelicis & papiſtis diſſeris, optima ſunt & veriſſima. Ego utramque claſſem in omnibus chriſtianorum ſectis reperiri credo. Nullum enim cœtum ita prorſus corruptum mihi perſuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero ſit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipſe profeſſionem edat papiſmi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conſcientias diſplicet, ac diſſentientibus ſalutem abjudicare religio eſt. Rurſus licet cœtus evangelicam charitatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum, ſperare auſim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui profeſſionis ſuæ obliti, tyrannidem animo fovent, libertatemque ſentiendi, quam ſibi cupiunt, aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permixta in hoc ſæculo habebimus. Evangelicos

ego,

ego, quocunque in cœtu ſunt, amo ac fraterna charitate complector. Papiſtas, licet ejuſdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam ſpurios Chriſtianos conſidero, nec genuina eſſe corporis Chriſti membra agnoſco, utpote charitate, ex qua diſcipulos ſuos agnoſci vult Chriſtus, deſtitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill tradetur faſciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis, quam cum epiſtola addita Franciſco Cudworth Maſham tradi velim: addidi tria defenſionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Weeyen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Franciſco, tertium D° Coſte deſtinavi. Adverſarius meus ſe reformatum vocat: an evangelicus, an vero papiſta ſit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obſecutus ſum: verum bonas meas horas melioribus ſtudiis deſtinavi, nec facile me iſtiuſmodi ſcriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut ſcias quo reſpiciam, quando de ſpatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adſcribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Weeyeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipſe adeo rudis, ut diſcrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorſus ignoret. Hæc ſunt ejus verba: * " Ridere in calce ſi lubeat, lege quæſo Diſſertat. " Hiſtor. p. 298. Americæ longitudinem protendit " [Spanhemius] ultra 180 gradus. Forte pars ejus in " ſpatiis imaginariis collocanda erit! cum hactenus ab " uno polo ad alium non ultra 180 gradus ponant geogra- " phi. Arcticæ & antarcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam " locus erit, ubi America ultra polos ignorantiſſime pro- " tenditur. Cave credas [Spanhemio] adeo craſſe philo- " ſophanti, cum ad matheſin ventum eſt." Monitus ab amico, reſciſſo hoc folio, aliud ſubſtituit: ſed libellus jam toto Belgio diſperſus erat, & in omnium officinis proſtabat. Vide cum quali heroë mihi res ſit. Hyemem hanc ſine gravi incommodo ruri ut tranſigas voveo. Domino ac Dominæ Maſham, totique familiæ officioſiſſimam à nobis dicas ſalutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum ſalutant, impri- mis ego.

Amſtelod. 9 Dec. 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

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* Spanhemii epiſt. ad amicum, & neceſſ. animadverſ. p. 72. & ſeq.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

LITERAS tuas vir eruditiſſimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menſes tradidit. Edidit Weeyenus diſſolutionem defenſionis meæ, verum adeo diſſolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut ſponte evanitura ſit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adverſario quicquam negotii eſſe. Ut exiguum aliquod ſpecimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi indolem, qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi eſſe innatam; atque propterea me criminatur, quod glorier de propriis meis viribus, ſe vero omnia gratiæ divinæ adſcribere jactat, idque duabus aut tribus primis foliis plus ſexies repetit: talis farinæ totus eſt liber. Si dixiſſem me natura eſſe propenſum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuiſſem illi orthodoxus. Hanc ſibi indolem naturalem agnoſcit: actiones vero ejus oſtendunt, regenerationem (quam ſibi tribuit) admodum eſſe imperfectam, partemque irregenitam multum prædominari regenitæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallice ſua Parrhaſiana, in quibus de variis differit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perſtringit: verum accuratiorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus eſt. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia oſtendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura ſint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa ſupponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertiſſima ſunt, aliis falſa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Camdeni Hiſtoriam Angliæ ſub Elizabetha, in cujus parte II. anno 1579. hæc verba reperi: "Exe-
"cranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in Deum
"Chriſtumque ejus, Norwici, hoc tempore debacchata eſt,
"& cum illius vivicomburio, ut ſpero, extincta, oblivione
"potius eſt obruenda, quam memoranda." Velim Camdenus paulo diſtinctius impietatem illam indicâſſet, ut de criminis, quod tam horrendo ſupplicio vindicatum fuit, atrocitate conſtare poſſit. Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blaſphemias & impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati, qua in diſſentientes ſæviunt, prætextum quærant. Fruſtra ego hactenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum ſunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti hiſtoriam quæſivi: non dubito tamen, quin ea in ſcriptoribus Anglis reperiri

reperiri poſſit. Si ſine tuo incommodo explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi ſuppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratiſſimam. Plura illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere ſtatui, non ut alios traducam, ſed ut omnes à ſævitia in diſſentientes, quantum in me, deterream. Guenellonus noſter plurimam tibi ſalutem ſcribi juſſit. Literas traditurus eſt nobili Muſcovitæ ad te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Anglicam trajiciet, quod tibi ſignificari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam Maſham totamque familiam uxor ac liberi: Franciſci Maſham epiſtola mihi perplacet, ſed jam non eſt reſpondendi otium: à tali indole egregia quævis expecto. Nominatim illi, ut & D° Coſte ſalutem dices à me

Amſtelod. 23 Junii, 1699.

Tui amantiſſimo,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LITERAS meas, circa menſis Junii finem ſcriptas, fideliter tibi eſſe traditas nullus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus ſibi à te miſſum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphraſtas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnoviſſe. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clare oſtendit, ab autore ignoto ſcriptus, qui duos ſcriptores Rittangelium & Voiſinum, idem quod D. Allix aſſerentes, impugnat. Commodâ mihi, per nautam mihi notum oblata occaſione exemplar illius ad bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione inſtituta, de tota controverſia judices. Ego non video cauſæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamſi argumento hoc, ex Judæorum ſcriptis deprompto, propugnari non poſſet: nec ego tali argumento, in diſputatione contra Judæos, multum tribuere auſim. Alia ſunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius ſtringunt: verum hoc ſine occultæ cum fidei hoſtibus conſpirationis

ſuſpicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ, ſemel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum eſt vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac ſtramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi ſolitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Adfuere mihi nuper aliquot præſtantiſſimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti ſint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T—— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de ſ. ſcripturæ divinitate ſentientem, aliquoties gloriatum de honore, ſibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria noſtra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi viſum, quique ater an albus ſit ignoro, moveat, falſo jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem juſtam mihi cauſam præbet ſuſpicandi, ſimilia eum de noſtra amicitia in Anglia diſſeminaturum, hac occaſione id ſcribere tibi conſultum duxi: ut ſi quid ſimile jactet rumorem illum falſi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriatus eſt; ipſum hunc bis convenit, ſed ſemel in alienis ædibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus eſt, ut de conſenſu illius ſecum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epiſtolas, quibus ſe contra criminationes Cavei, Weeyeni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus ſimul reſpondet. Vitam Epiſcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum ſermonem verſam relegi: quædam emendavi; omnia autem ſi emendare cupiam, res magni eſſet laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus Hiſtoria noſtra exteris plenius paulo explicatur: verum quoniam non Remonſtrantiſmi, ſed ſolummodo vitæ Epiſcopii Hiſtoriam conſcripſi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipſo Epiſcopio geſtarum continere me debui. Fortaſſe verſio illa, qualiſcunque ſit, brevi prælo ſubjicietur. Vale, vir ampliſſime: ſalutem dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi ſalutem precantur.

Amſtelod. 3 Auguſt. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Phillippo

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

NUDIUSTERTIUS tractatum contra Rittangelium, quem mihi miſiſti, accepi. Benigne mecum actum erit, ſi hoc nomine mihi ignoſcas tarditatem reſponſi ad literas tuas, tertio Auguſti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis ſatis datum eſt, ut Allixi librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus pleriſque primo auditu viſus eſt, quod trinitatis doctrinam è ſynagoga haurire præ ſe fert. Accingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utriuſque lectionem; multi enim, ut audio, apud nos dictitant quæſtionem hanc, prius non intellectam, jam primum in lucem produxiſſe Allixium, & ſuis fundamentis innixam mundo obtuliſſe. Quas partes hac in controverſia habent Judæi, perpenſis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas, vaniæ hujuſmodi gloriolæ avidum, ex aliis audivi: ſi de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiareſque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus ſit, ex me ſcient.

Criminationes hujuſmodi adverſariorum, quibuſcum res eſt Domino Clerico, an negligendæ, an refutandæ, haud facile eſt ſtatuere. Quidam enim non aliud quærunt niſi calumniandi rixandique anſam. Non dubito quin amicus noſter ſatis habet quod reſpondeat. Ego ſane laudo tuum conſilium, qui placide juxta ac ſolide refutaveris quæ contra te maligne ſcripſerat Weeyenus. De controverſiarum, quæ me aliquamdiu exercuerunt, eventu, etiamſi non multum habeam quod querar, piget tamen pœnitetque tantum temporis mihi ſuffuratum, quod aliis ſtudiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas in poſterum mihi negligendas cenſeo.

Vitam Epiſcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderim; Belgica enim lingua non ſatis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere poſſim. Non dubito quin multa contineat ſcitu & jucunda & utilia, ſive mores privatos reſpicias, ſive rerum eo tempore geſtarum hiſtoriam.

Hactenus ad tuas 3 Auguſti datas, ſed qua excuſatione utar, cum reſpicio ad antiquiores, ſcilicet menſe Junio

ſcriptas? Si delictum conſuetudine delinquendi defendi poſſit, habeo quod dicam: nôſti tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut ſoles, & inveteraſcentem in me delinquendi morem tu conſuetudine ignoſcendi vincas.

Cum in noviſſimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem pronus amplector. Operoſe ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet, ſed quod nuſquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forſan reperiri poſſit *.

Tractatus viri docti, quem in Angliæ videram, apud vos editus, nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certiſſimis ſuperſtructum cenſuit, minime mihi ſatisfecit, cum de iis coram diſceptavimus.

Exactiorem Hammonti hiſtoriam quæſivi, nondum autem reperi quenquam, qui eam mihi explicatius tradere poſſit, vel ſcriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen deſiſtam. Laudo enim conſilium tuum in colligendis hujuſmodi exemplis.

Guenelloni noſtri literas, quas me expectare juſſeras, nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muſcovitam, cui tradendæ erant ad me perferendæ. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit, nondum ſcio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occaſionem teſtandi, quam paratus eſſem inſervire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipſius, ſocerumque ejus Veenium noſtrum, officioſiſſime meo nomine quæſo ſalutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberoſque tuos. Vale, & me, ut facis, ama

Lond. 5 Sept. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

LICET nihil mihi literis tuis gratius ſit, abſit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac graviſſimis diſtractum negotiis, ad ſingulis meis reſpondendum conſtringi cupiam. Amicitia

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* Mirum viro clariſſ. latuiſſe quæ ſuper hac quæſtione meditatus eſt B. Spinoſa. Vide epiſt. 39, 40, 41, & oper. poſthum.

arith-

arithmeticam illam ſcribendi & reſpondendi proportionem non requirit, ſed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquieſcit, & bene ſecum actum credit, quotieſcunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis reſpirationem nactus, vel tantillum temporis, epiſtolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te recte valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continuet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium recte ad manus tuas perveniſſe gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximopere gratam, ſi vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me ſcribas.

D. Clerici epiſtolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus, qui calamum in ipſum ſtrinxerunt, ſimul reſpondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adverſarios habet parum candidos, & eorum quoſdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præſertim illum qui ipſum & me non provocatus invaſit. Homo ille omnium imperitus de omnibus judicium pronuntiat, quæque minime intelligit magno cum ſupercilio carpit. Contra Clericum ſcribit, Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum ſterquilinium: verum quod Spencerus ſcribit de fictitio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falsò tributo, quique nuſquam in Philonis operibus exſtat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros, adeo in Philone hoſpes, Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accuſare audet. Me ſibi ſeditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in ſpatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex fœcunda gente Meneni turba currum fauſtis acclamationibus proſequente: ignarus fœcundam gentem Meneni non ſeditioſos, ſed ſtolidos, quorum magna ubique copia eſt, deſignare. Clerico contra talem adverſarium ſimilem, quanquam non adeo glorioſum, propter adverſarii exiguam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio conſecutus es, prævideo. Scripſit de eo nuperrime ad me doctus quidem Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: " Non " dubito quin jamdudum audiviſti de indubitata victoria, " quam amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de epiſcopo Vi- " gornienſi, in ejus reſponſione ultima ad objectiones " epiſcopi, contra librum de intellectu Humano. Epiſ- " copus eam vidit, nec multo poſt mortuus eſt. Sed " etiamſi diutius vixiſſet, vix credo eum reſponſurum " fuiſſe: omnia enim iſtic adeo ad vivum demonſtrantur, " ut nullus locus contradictioni relinquatur."

Exactiorem

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quærendo nolo multum te fatiges: si absque tuo incommodo eam mihi suppeditare potuisses, gratum fuisset. Credidi ego lingua Anglica exstare historias ecclesiasticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermissum neutiquam est. Ejusmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæresibus triumphos zelotæ, in suis historiis, magnifice deprædicare solent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non est, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Episcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo subjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens, quod sub prælo habebat typographus, opus jam jam in lucem proditurum est, ut jam illius præla hujus opusculi editione occupari possint.

De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipso responsi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congressum meum vitare, fortasse quia me responsum flagitaturum credit: verum ego statui eum amplius non urgere, ne responsum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quæ de eo scripsisti, prælegisse testes sunt literæ ipsius, quibus has inclusas voluit. Ipse de nobili illo Muscovita pluribus ad te scribit. Salutem quam officiosissime à nobis dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi, imprimis ego

Amstelod, 2 Oct. 1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD à me petiisti, quærendo apud veterem historicum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivi-comburium.

Matthæus Hammont aratrorum faber ex vico Hetharset, tribus milliaribus à Norwico distante, reus factus coram episcopo Norwicensi accusatus, quod negaverat Christum salvatorem nostrum. Comparenti in judicio objectum est,

eſt, quod ſequentes propoſitiones hæreticas publicâſſet, nempe quod Novum Teſtamentum & evangelium Chriſti pura ſtultitia erat, inventum humanum, & mera fabula. Quod homo in gratiam reſtituitur ſola miſericordia divina, ſine ope ſanguinis, mortis, & paſſionis Chriſti. Inſuper, quod Chriſtus non eſt Deus, nec ſalvator mundi, ſed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum; & quod omnes, qui illum colunt, ſunt idololatræ abominandi. Item, quod Chriſtus non reſurrexit à morte ad vitam, poteſtate ſuæ divinitatis, neque in cœlum aſcendit. Item, quod Spiritus ſanctus non eſt Deus, nec quidem omnino eſt. Item, quod baptiſmus in eccleſia Dei non eſt neceſſarius, nec uſus ſacramenti corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti. Propter quas hæreſes condemnatus eſt in conſiſtorio, epiſcopo ſententiam pronunciante, 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicenſi. Et quia verba blaſphemiæ (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra reginam alioſque è concilio reginæ ſanctiore, condemnatus eſt à judice Norwicenſi Windamo, & prætore Norwicenſi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum eſt in foro Norwicenſi 13 Maii, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis vivicomburium paſſus eſt, in foſſa caſtelli Norwicenſis.

Hactenus Hollinſhead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. *Huic* ſimile exemplum reperio in eodem hiſtorico, ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc ſunt:

18 Die Septembris anno 1583, Johannes Lewes, hæreticus obſtinatus, qui negavit deitatem Chriſti, & profeſſus plures alias deteſtandas hæreſes, quales fere erant prædeceſſoris ſui Hammonti, combuſtus eſt Norwici.

Lubet etiam duo alia exempla ejuſmodi ex alio autore ſuggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte uſui eſſe poſſunt in eo, quod præ manibus habes, argumento. Primum eſt vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinenſis, anno 1611, & Jacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreſes, & blaſphema dogmata aſſerta & publicata, præcipue in his tredecim poſitionibus ſequentibus. Nempe quod ſymbolum dictum Nicænum, illudque alterum Athanaſii, non continent veram profeſſionem fidei chriſtianæ: vel quod ille ipſe non vult profiteri ſuam fidem ſecundum illa ſymbola. Quod Chriſtus non eſt de Deo Deus genitus, non factus: ſed & genitus & factus. Quod nullæ ſunt in Deitate perſonæ.

Quod

Quod Chriſtus non fuit Deus ab æterno, ſed incipit eſſe Deus, quando carnem aſſumpſit ex virgine Maria. Quod Mundus non fuit factus per Chriſtum. Quod apoſtoli docent Chriſtum eſſe merum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla ſit generatio niſi creaturarum. Quod hæc aſſertio, Deus factus eſt homo, contraria eſt fidei regulæ & blaſphemia enormis. Quod Chriſtus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, niſi promiſſione. Quod Chriſtus non fuit aliter Deus quam unctus Deus. Quod Chriſtus non fuit in forma Dei æqualis Deo, i. e. in ſubſtantia Dei, ſed in juſtitia & dando ſalutem. Quod Chriſtus deitate ſua nulla operatus eſt miracula. Quod preces Chriſto non ſunt offerendæ.

Hic Bartholomæus Legatt ab epiſcopo Londinenſi, aſſiſtentibus conſentientibuſque aliis reverendis epiſcopis, doctiſque clericis, hæreſeos condemnatus eſt, & brachio ſæculari traditus, & deinde igni commiſſus & combuſtus in Weſt-Smithfield Londini.

Eodem ſupplicio affectus eſt Edvardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611, ab epiſcopo Coventriæ & Lichfield, hæreſeos damnatus, ob has ſequentes opiniones:

1. Quod non eſt trinitas perſonarum, patris, filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, in unitate Deitatis.

2. Quod Jeſus Chriſtus non eſt verus, naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ, æternitatis, & majeſtatis cum patre, reſpectu deitatis ſuæ.

3. Quod Jeſus Chriſtus eſt homo ſolummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus ſimul & homo in una perſona.

4. Quod ſalvator noſter Chriſtus non ſibi ſumpſit carnem humanam ex ſubſtantia virginis Mariæ matris ſuæ; & quod promiſſio illa, "Semen mulieris conteret caput ſerpentis," non adimpleta erat in Chriſto.

5. Quod perſona ſpiritus ſancti non eſt Deus, coæqualis, coeſſentialis cum patre & filio.

6. Quod tria ſymbola, ſc. Apoſtolorum, Nicænum, & Athanaſii, continent hæreſin Nicolaïtarum.

7. Quod ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, eſt propheta ille, cujus mentio facta eſt xviii. Deuteron. his verbis: "Suſcitabo illis prophetam," &c. Et quod verba Iſaiæ, "Ego ſolus torcular calcavi," & Lucæ, "Cujus ventila-"brum in manu ejus," pertinent proprie & perſonaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, eſt perſona illa ſpiritus ſancti, cujus mentio facta eſt in ſcriptura, & paracletus ille, de quo loquitur Joannes, c. xvi. evangelii ſui.

9. Quod verba ſalvatoris noſtri Chriſti, de peccato blaſphemiæ contra ſpiritum ſanctum, de ſua perſona intelligenda ſunt.

10. Quod Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur Malach. c. iv, ſuam perſonam deſignat.

11. Quod anima æque ac corpus dormit in ſomno primæ mortis, & eſt mortalis, reſpectu ſomni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quod anima ſervatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in illo ſomno mortis dormivit, æque ac corpus ejus.

12. Quod animæ ſanctorum defunctorum non ſunt membra, quæ poſſident eccleſiam triumphantem in cœlo.

13. Quod Pædobaptiſmus eſt ritus abominandus.

14. Quod celebratio cœnæ dominicæ in elementis panis & vini in eccleſia eſſe non debet; neque baptiſmi in elemento aquæ, uti nunc in eccleſia Anglicana uſus obtinet. Sed baptiſmus in aqua adminiſtrari debet ſolis adultis à paganiſmo ad fidem converſis.

15. Quod Deus ordinavit & miſit illum, ſcil. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum ſuam partem operis ſalutis mundi, ut ſua doctrina ſuiſque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæreſi Nicolaïtarum, ut Chriſtus ordinatus fuit & miſſus ad mundum ſervandum, & à peccato liberandum morte ſua, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quod Chriſtiana religio non integra, ſed pars ſolum illius prædicatur & admittitur in eccleſia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres, verbatim pene, neglecta latinitatis elegantia & ſermonis proprietate, tranſtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia, quæ ſupplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfecte innoteſcerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, ſi cupias, ex noſtra hiſtoria eruam & ad te mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi eſt gratiſſima tua 2. hujus menſis ſcripta epiſtola, adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem ſemper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

Quamprimum per otium licebit Allixii & Anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam, nec oſcitanter. Quan-

doquidem in eo cardine ſummam quæſtionis verſari creditum eſt. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epiſtolas Criticas propediem proditurus; ut brevi confoſſis adverſariis in pace vacet ſtudiis melioribus. Controverſiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu plane ſentio, nec ultra fatigandum cenſeo. Guenellonis epiſtolæ amicæ brevi reſpondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officiociſiſſime meo nomine ſalutes, ut et uxorem tuam et filiam; Dominam Guenellonem, Veeneumque, reliquoſque amicos noſtros communes. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Lond. 7 Octob. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

PRO labore, quem meo rogatu ſuſcepiſti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literis tuis didiciſſe, quæ epiſcoporum illius temporis judicio horrenda illa crimina fuerint, non niſi atrociſſimo ignis ſupplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque dogma diverſis verbis enuntiari, atque ita, quod uno comprehendi poterat articulo, in plures diſtendi, proculdubio ut plurium hæreſium reatus tam atroci ſupplicio prætexi poſſit. Malim dogmata ipſis eorum, qui ea profeſſi fuerint, verbis legere expreſſa; ſic certus forem, me non legere conſequentias, ſed ipſa dogmata, eaque non terminis odioſis concepta, forte in alienum ſenſum detorta, ſed ipſis autorum verbis nude & candide enuntiata, nihilque continentia, niſi quod ipſe, cujus cauſa agitur, pro ſuo agnoſcit. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad ſancti tribunalis inſtar omnia exacte eſſe conformata, non ſine dolore, agnoſco. Bartholomæi Legatt, ſupplicium, verum ſuppreſſo illius nomine, laudat Caſaubonus, in epiſtola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani ſupplicium paucis narrat Gilbertus Clerke, in Antinicæniſmo contra Bullum, p. 30. Utriuſque autem

latius

latius deſcribit Gerardus Croeſius Hiſtoriæ Quakerianæ, lib. iii. p. 479. Verum licet non penitus illorum ſupplíciorum ignarus ſim, rem mihi feciſti longe gratiſſimam, quod pleniorem hæreſium ipſis attributarum hiſtoriam miſeris: multa hactenus mihi ignorata, & ſcopo meo apprime inſervientia, me docuiſti. Verum unum eſt quod deſidero, nomen autoris ex quo hiſtoriam Legatti & Wightmani habes: illud enim in epiſtola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortaſſe calami feſtinatione, commiſſum eſt. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicenſi, 13 Maii, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis illum vivicomburium paſſum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc ſupplicia legi in Burneti Hiſtoria Reform. Eccl. Engl. ad annum 1549, ſub Eduardo VI. vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, ſeu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque ſatis diſtincte deſcriptum: itaque nihil eſt quod hic deſidero.

Verum in Mennonitarum ſcriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio ſub Elizabetha, ſævam, contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos, excitatam perſecutionem. Narrant nimirum, cœtus ſuos in Anglia fuiſſe diſturbatos, aliquot ſuorum in carcerem conjectos, quorum quinque, poſt varias diſputationes & comminationes mortis, ad profeſſionem religionis reformatæ adacti ſunt: qui nihilominus in cœmeterio Divi Pauli publico ſpectaculo fuere expoſiti, ſingulorumque humero rogus fuit impoſitus, quod deſignabatur ignis ſupplicium fuiſſe meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus ſunt impoſitæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæſus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire juſſus, intentata pœna mortis ſi redirent. Quinque viri in ſqualido ac profundo carcere detenti ſunt, quorum unus in carcere diem ſuum obiit. Miniſtri Belgicarum & Gallicarum eccleſiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in ſuam ſententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julii die 22, duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord, eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis ſupplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combuſti & in cineres redacti ſunt, &c. Hiſtoriam hanc ſatis diſtincte, multiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hiſce nihil prorſus ſcribit Camdenus: ſolummodo ad annum 1560, refert Elizabetham anabaptiſtas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex tranſmarinis

marinis regionibus, ſpecie declinandæ perſecutionis, convolârant, & ſectarum virus in Anglia ſparſerant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâſſe, ſive illi indigenæ ſive exteri, ſub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amiſſionis. Velim ſcire, ſi levi labore fieri poſſit, an quæ de ſupplicio hoc narrant ſcriptores Angli conſentanea ſint illis, quæ hic ex Mennonitarum ſcriptis excerpſi. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perinde chriſtianæ charitati adverſari videtur tribunal de fide, ſive id prope Tiberim, ſive Lemanum, ſive Thameſin conſtituatur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut noſtrate proverbio dicitur, "Idem eſt monachus, ſed "alio indutus cucullo." Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire geſtio. In hoc argumento quæſtionis cardinem verti a veſtratibus credi miror. Ego nihil cauſæ principali contra Judæos deeſſe credo, etiamſi hoc argumento deſtituatur. D. Clerici Epiſtolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem vero eas expectamus. Vale, vir ampliſſime,

Amſtelod. 6 Nov. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

RECTE quidem mones, vir ampliſſime, errore feſtinantis calami tranſpoſiti ſunt characteres numerales, & 12 ſcriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maii Hammontus paſſus eſt vivicomburium. Quereris inſuper, idque non ſine cauſa, quod nomen auctoris, ex quo hiſtoriam Legatti & Wightmani hauſi, omiſerim. Id autem negligentia non factum mea eſt. Libellus proſtat Anglicè, cui titulus, "The "hiſtory of the firſt fourteen years of king James;" i. e. Hiſtoria quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi regis. Autor nomen ſuum tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus, cui titulus, "A true relation of the com-"miſſions and warrants for the condemnation and burning "of Bartholomew Legatt and Edward Wightman, the "one in Weſt-Smithfield, the other in Litchfield, in the "year 1611, ſigned with king James's own hand."

De

De Mennonitis quod quæris, nondum aliquid ex noſtris hiſtoricis eruere mihi contigit, quod tibi ſatisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forſan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus ſint ſcriptores, quos conſulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam deſiderato opere quicquam, quod in me eſt, opis tibi deſit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut ſi qua opera reperire poſſit, inter autores noſtros, illius rei monumenta, id totum quicquid eſt, excerptum ad me tranſmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua teſtimonia, ad rem tuam facientia, mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confeſtim tranſmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum, quamprimum prodiit, coëmi, animo legendi, ſed otioſe hactenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum, ſive per valetudinem, ſive per alias avocationes, legere licuit; ſpero propediem pinguius & fructuoſius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valde paradoxam credunt, doctrinam trinitatis Judæis tribuere, & ſtabilimentum iſtius dogmatis è ſynagoga petere. Alii è contra dictitant, hoc jugulum cauſæ eſſe; & hoc fundamento ſtabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipſa res doceat, aveo videre, opem enim in hac cauſa à Judæis & Rabbinis olim non expectavi. Sed lux ſemper gratiſſima, undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Maſham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum ſalvere jubent. Noſque omnes tibi tuiſque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 6 Jan. 1700. Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquoſque noſtros, quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus ſæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD hactenus ad amiciſſimas tuas ſiluerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa reſponſum diſtulere; præcipue quidem triſtis ille caſus tibi ſatis notus, & mœror inde contractus. Ego ad ſtudia, hoc infelici caſu multum languentia, reverſus ſum; recuperata jam ſanitate, quæ valde afflicta fuit. Relegi epiſtolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum reſponſum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propoſitum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur reſponſum: tu autem tarditatem facile condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hic apud nos altum eſt ſilentium. Verum vidi reverendiſſimum epiſcopum Bathonienſem & Wellenſem, in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnâſſe. Ego velim genuinum ſtatum controverſiæ ingenue ac terminis minime ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candide ac ſolide in utramque partem expendi, quod proliziorem tractatum & animum non ſtudio partium abreptum, ſed veritatis ſincere ſtudioſum, requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallice ſcriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, "Le Platoniſme dévoilé." Autorem jam obiiſſe præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia ſcriptus, indeque huc miſſus, ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus ſit tractatus, multis diſpliciturum credo: & licet ego diſcrepantes de religione ſententias, ſine ulla erga autores indignatione, inveſtigare ſoleo, non poſſum tamen diſſimulare, aculeatos ipſius ſarcaſmos in materia ſacra mihi quam maxime diſplicere: licet enim credere poſſet, adverſarios, quos oppugnat, illos meruiſſe; materiæ tamen quam tractat majeſtas cohibere eum debuiſſet, ne hic quicquam gravitati chriſtianæ adverſum immiſceret. Tum & prudentiæ fuit, mordacibus ejuſmodi ſarcaſmis adverſariorum contra ſe ac ſuos indignationem, alias ſatis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam eſſe miſſa; quare à te viſum eſſe nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, contra me tractatum ſcripſiſſe aiunt, eumque jam ſub prælo eſſe, ac brevi proditurum. Weeyenum habuere continuum

inſtigatorem, qui cum Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipſi, ſub ſpecioſo defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in ſe ac inglorium laborem ſuſciperent: non enim verba parentis ſui, nec Spinoſæ, è libris editis eradere poſſunt; neque inficiari eadem eſſe quæ in Spinoſa, & parentis ſui ſynopſi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæſtio facti eſt, quæ, prolatis ex utroque autore teſtimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia ſcripta maxima animi ſerenitate contemnere poſſum. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Salveat Domina Maſham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te ſalutant.

Amſtelod. 11 Maii, 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

ANTE hebdomadas aliquot, tuo nomine, mihi datus eſt præſtantiſſimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber, in linguam Gallicam verſus. Pro eximio illo dono grates tibi, quas poſſum maximas, ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verum nunc inſtant feriæ meæ, quibus ejus lectionem deſtinavi. Materiæ enim, quæ in illo tractatur, gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice, didici, ſummam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus, quo à quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

Legi in novellis noſtratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingraveſcentem & valetudinem minus firmam, honoratiſſimi muneris, ante aliquot annos tibi demandati, dimiſſionem obtinuiſſe. Equidem inſtitutum tuum minime improbare poſſum, quinimo laude dignum cenſeo, quod extremos vitæ tuæ dies, procul à ſtrepitu politico, quieti, ſtudiis ac meditationibus ſacris conſecrare, quam negotiis honeſtis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquillitatem ſpectantibus, implicatos habere

malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor, ut ſenectutem tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magiſque exornet, ac quicquid corpuſculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & ſpiritus robore compenſet.

Tandem prodiit contra me Burmannorum Pietas, is libri titulus eſt, mole ingens, verboſus, contumelioſis plurimis declamationibus & invectivis refertus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem ſuum uterinum, à civitate Leidenſi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis ſuæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam, ſed cum nauſea; & niſi in me ſcriptus ſuiſſet liber, lectionem abſolvere non potuiſſem. Illi in eo ſummis verbis probare nituntur, parentem ſuum à me Spinoſiſmi accuſatum; & eum prolixe excuſare contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti ſuo à me aſcribi imprudentiam, & quod ſine judicio Spinoſam ſecutus ſit. Aiunt parentem ſuum hæc ex Spinoſa cum judicio exſcripſiſſe, ut mere Carteſiana: Spinoſam enim in eo libro ſuam doctrinam nec aperte inculcâſſe, nec tecte inſinuâſſe, ſed ſola Carteſii dogmata tradidiſſe. Verum ego non credo Carteſianos hæc quatuor pro ſuis agnituros. 1. Tota natura naturata non eſt, niſi unicum ens. 2. Poſſibilitas & contingentia non ſunt affectiones rerum, ſed intellectus noſtri defectus. 3. Si homines clarè totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æque neceſſaria reperirent, ac omnia illa, quæ in matheſi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia, qua miracula facit, non immerito valde dubitari poſſe: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinoſæ libro diſertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcaſmis plurimis in paralleliſmum inter Spinoſæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere, aut falſi arguere poſſunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præſertim cum ob molem ſuam non diſtrahatur & à nemine legatur:

" Verſiculos in me narratur ſcribere Cinna;
" Non ſcribit, cujus carmina nemo legit."

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicunque meam contra Weeyenum defenſionem legerit, nova defenſione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis ſatisfecero. Vale, vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 20 Julii, 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

HAC æſtate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas perveniſſe ſpero. Dolerem ſi aberrâſſent. Nunc ad te mitto vitam Epiſcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôſti, à me lingua Belgica ſcriptam, & præfixam concionibus al quot Epiſcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te miſi. Quoniam nunc Latino ſermone prodit, à noſtro Marco Teute, cum in Anglia eſſet verſa, illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominæ Maſham trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu, rogo. Videbis ibi ſpecimen aliquod perſecutionis in patria noſtra, libertatis aſylo inſtitutæ; unde quomodo erga integras eccleſias, & ingenuos veritatis confeſſores, paſſim ſævitum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc ſævitiam deteſtentur! verum qua nunc fruimur, quietem, non moderatioribus eccleſiaſtarum conſiliis, ſed magiſtratûs prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ niſi igneum illorum zelum compeſceret, eadem nos hodie, quæ olim majores noſtros procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditiſſimi partem maxima cum voluptate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placent. Verum quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phraſium Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam diſtincte percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegenda ſunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tardiorem reddit; verum moleſtiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumentorumque quibus eam adſtruis pondere, abunde compenſas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput xxi. de la puiſſance, ubi prolixe de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo diſſeris, relegam: quædam enim ibi habeas nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candide meum tibi judicium ſcribam. Verum vix credo in quoquam à te diſſenſurum, adeo omnia, quæ legi, mihi probantur. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſalve à me ac meis: ſalutem etiam officioſiſſimam dices D. Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 30 Octob. 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

PRÆLEGIT mihi hiſce diebus Guenellonus noſter epiſtolam tuam, quæ te cum aſthmate graviter conflictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam afflictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non ſine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepiſſe; cum circa finem menſis Octobris tertias ſcripſerim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Epiſcopii, à Marco Teute latinitate donatæ, exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Franciſco Cudworth Maſham, una cum literis ad ipſum, quæ jamdudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Faſciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo deſtinata erant rev. Epiſcopis Saliſburienſi, ac Bathonienſi & Wellenſi. Doleo interim etiam epiſtolam aberrâſſe, in qua ſcripſi magnam me libri tui partem legiſſe, omniaque maximopere mihi probari. Poſtea retulit mihi amicus, ſe Carteſii quoſdam ſequaces, à quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, conveniſſe; illis maxime diſplicuiſſe duo, quæ ego veriſſima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non eſſe nudam cogitationem. Verum quid aliud à Carteſii ſequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & ſententiæ tuæ applaudentes. Ego ſumma delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verum quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phraſeon quarundam Gallicarum vim prima lectione aſſequar, præſertim in materia ſubtili & ardua, cogor nonnunquam, ut diſtincte mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratiſſimum foret, ſi librum tuum latinitate donatum conſpicere quandoque daretur; tum facilius quæ ſcripſiſti intelligerem, & fortaſſe de quibuſdam, quæ de libertate hominis in volendo ſcripſiſti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi ſcribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obſcuros aut ambiguos in illa materia elucidâſſe; ſed neſcio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & ſi quid occurrat ad quod hæſito, ingenue ac rotunde ad te ſcribam, plane perſuaſus dilucida tua explicatione, omnem

(ſi quæ

(ſi quæ ſit) obſcuritatem diſparituram. Sed & ingenue tibi conſiteor, mœrorem ſæpe meditationes meas, quas ſtudiis conſecravi, turbare. Verum dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honeſta & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tædium diluam, incepi commentarium in Acta Apoſtolorum conſcribere, ſed nova quadam ratione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius aliique, quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere poteſt. Itaque omiſſa critica, aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præſcripſi; ut ex hiſtoria apoſtolorum, variiſque illius circumſtantiis, ac præſertim eorum concionibus, religionis chriſtianæ veritatem ac divinitatem aſſeram, & quamethodo apoſtoli contra Judæos eam adſtruxerint, oſtendam. In hiſce explicandis prolixior paulo ſum: reliqua huc non ſpectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos diſputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum eſt; & apoſtolos duces ſequi præſtat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Deus priſtinam tibi reſtituat ſanitatem, ut, quoad vivis, egregiis tuis laboribus publico inſervire poſſis. Salutant te quam officioſiſſime uxor mea liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 18 Feb. 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir colendiſſime,

EX ultimis tuis 18 præſentis Februarii datis, probe ſentio, quam firma, quam immutabilis ſit tua erga me amicitia, cum, tribus ante miſſis ad me ſilentem literis, quartas addere non dedignatus es, ſine reprehenſione ulla tantæ & tam criminoſæ taciturnitatis. Ignoſcis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non cauſabor. Penultimas tuas cum faſciculo librorum vel amiſſas, vel in itinere male

hærentes, maxime doleo, quod crediderim te ſenſum tuum de libro meo, jam tum, cum ſcriberes, perlecto liberius explicuiſſe. Quod de iis, quæ de libertate hominis in volendo ſcripſerim, aliquantum hæſitas, non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omittendum cenſui; ſed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipſius & novitate & ſubtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores, aliis aſſueti ratiocinationibus, non probe perſpecto ubique animi mei ſenſu, offenderentur; & ea, quæ in iſto parergo commentatus ſum, vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconſulte errantis ſphalmata, negligerent, ſi non plane condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitus fefellit, cum plures inter amicos familiareſque meos, de hoc uno ſubjecto, mecum ſeruere ſermones, quam de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuiſſe cui ſcrupulum, quo detinebatur, non exemi, ſi modo dabatur otium ſenſim & pedetentim integram materiam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati, non meæ quantulæcunque mediocritati tribuendum cenſeo. Quod ſi tibi nova recenſione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, perſuaſum tibi ſit nihil acceptius mihi fore, quam errores meos amica manu detegi, eoque ipſo evelli: non enim famæ, nec opinioni, ſed veritati ſoli litandum cenſeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, diſputationes noſtras in unam eandemque ſententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem ſtudioſe quærimus.

Gaudeo te commentarium in Acta Apoſtolorum meditari, & ejuſmodi interpretandi methodum, quæ non hæreat in criticis obſervationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, ſcopus geniuſque religionis chriſtianæ, quam in ea hiſtoria. Quid enim magis genuinum ſincerumque evangelii ſenſum nobis indicare poſſit, quam primæ illæ apoſtolorum prædicationes, quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Chriſti convertebant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; laudo conſilium tuum quod Burmannorum Pietati minime reſpondendum cenſueris: hujuſmodi vitiligantium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum noſtrum in fermento eſt, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter diſputationes politicas eccleſiaſticaſque. Quorſum tandem res evadet neſcio. Quid minatur

turbo

turbo video: exitum non video. Tranquillitati quantum poſſum ſtudeo. Deus optimus maximus eccleſiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conſervet: ſic precatur

Oates, 22 Feb. 1700-1.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

NUPER Tranſiſalani rigoris in cauſa religionis minime excuſandi exemplum præbuere vere deteſtandum. Quidam miniſter Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim ſynodo ſuſpectus fuit Socinianiſmi, & illius hæreſeos coram ordinibus Tranſiſalanis à miniſtris eccleſiæ publicæ accuſatus. Itaque à muneris ſui functione ſuſpenſus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio eccleſia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Poſt longam actionem, cum miniſtri accuſationem ſuam probare non poſſent, ipſe ad eccleſiam ſuam fuit remiſſus, eique injunctum, ut ſibi à dogmatibus Socinianis docendis caveret, ſub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes Chriſtianorum ſectas ſuadet, etiam cum Socinianis; qua occaſione imprudentius quædam pro Socinianis ſcripſit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic ſi contemptus fuiſſet, vix inveniſſet lectores: verum ſcis gentem illam ſacram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad ſatrapam diſtrictus Vollenho, à deputatis claſſis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello ſupplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum Socinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit, ſed etiam audaciſſime edidit, & ſparſit, iiſque intolerandos ſarcaſmos ac blaſphemias admiſcuit, ab ipſo ſatrapa compellatur coram proxima ſynodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & pœnitentiam ob commiſſa teſtari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac ſupprimatur: impenſæ

quas

quas claſſis ob hanc cauſam ſuſtinere debuit ab ipſo reſtituantur, ipſeque propter crimen commiſſum pœna arbitraria afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit hominemque ad ſynodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos ſubſcribendos, quibus continebatur confeſſio, quod contra mandatum ordinum libellum iſtum edidiſſet, quod ipſum inobedientiæ illius pœniteret, quod omnia libelli ſui exemplaria eſſet ſuppreſſurus; aliaque quibus ipſe ſubſcribere recuſavit. Inſtabant aliqui ex miniſtris, imo obteſtabantur ut ſubſcriberet: verum ille conſtanter recuſavit. Poſtea dicitur compertum fuiſſe, illos id adeo ardenter cupiviſſe, ut haberent reum confitentem, & ſic propria ſua confeſſione arbitrariæ pœnæ obnoxium. Hæc geſta ſunt media æſtate anni CIↃ IↃC XC IX. Proximo Januario anni ſequentis à ſatrapa in carcerem eſt conjectus, & poſt longam novem vel decem menſium incarcerationem tandem ſententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno carceris ſqualore emaciato, mulcta irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras veſtras ſtirlingas circiter triginta, nec dimittendus à carcere pronunciatur, niſi ſoluta pecunia. Ille cum ſolvendo non eſſet, utpote pauper, in tetrum, fœtidum, ac tenebroſum carcerem ſubterraneum detruditur; ubi poſtquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aqua vitam toleravit, tandem aliud ipſi mandatum exhibetur menſe Novembri proxime elapſo, quo ipſe errores libello ipſius contentos diſſeminare prohibetur, ſub pœna ſi ſecus fecerit cataſtæ & exilii, ſine ulla ulteriore forma proceſſus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miſer ad extremam inopiam redactus eſt: omni illius divendita ſupellectile, quæ tamen neutiquam explere potuit mulctam in quam condemnatus eret. Non poſſum excuſare illius imprudentiam: verum nec poſſum quin deteſter hanc ſævitiam, præſertim quando in extenſione ſententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta, quibus dura hæc ſententia innititur. Sic ſenſim ad deteſtandum illud inquiſitionis tribunal relabimur.

Relegi magna cum attentione cap. xxi. lib. ii. tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phraſes, quas in materia hac controverſa adhibes. Puto me jam plene mentem tuam percepiſſe, à qua ego non diſſentio. § 6, optime doces, intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas facultates

cultates revera ab anima distinctas, sed mentem ipsam humanam immediate per se ipsam intelligere & velle. Inde infers non recte voluntatem dici liberam, sed hominem: recte etiam meo judicio definis libertatem. Verum quando dicis, § 24, libertatem consistere in potentia agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo solo: non puto id te restringere ad solas actiones externas, sed & extendere ad internas, seu cogitationes nostras; illæ enim, non minus quam actiones externæ, subjectæ sunt arbitrio nostro: idque consentaneum est iis, quæ in sequentibus capitis illius scribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum est, quid sit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet? Ego hactenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, seu voluptatem esse id, quod hominem allicit, illique oppositum dolorem esse malum, quod homo aversatur: adeoque quodcunque homo vult, id ab eo considerari ut jucundum, quod vero aversatur & fuit, ut molestum. Non negas tu illud, quinimo id etiam urges, § 41. & seqq. Verum ut distinctius ostendas, qua ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces, § 29. & seqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in se experitur, aut ex præsentia doloris, aut ex absentia boni, seu voluptatis, in qua vel totam, vel saltem partem suæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in statu suo acquiescit, nullam illius mutationem quærit, sed solummodo quando in statu suo non acquiescit, seu quandum inquietudinem, sive ex præsentia doloris, sive ex absentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis suæ partem considerat, in se sentit. In his facile tibi assentior. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis excitare desiderium, non tamen inde sequi majus bonum semper in nobis majus desiderium excitare. Quod veriſſimum est, & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo consistere, quod possit suspendere impletionem cujuscunque desiderii sui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum post aliud considerandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte observandi, ac inter se comparandi, antequam se determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnosco. Inde jam infers, indifferentiam, quæ non possit determinari per ultimum judicium, quod homo fert, de bono & malo, cujus electionem sequendam credit, esse summam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonstrantium scriptis sæpe VOX INDIFFERENTIA occurrit,

currit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verum ea nunquam à nobis hoc ſenſu accipitur, quod poſito illo ultimo judicio, in quo proprie actus volitionis conſiſtit, nihilominus hominis potentia agendi ſit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: ſed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet ſe in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppoſitorum determinatus eſt: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, ſeu volendi actu, indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hic etiam puto nos conſentire. Reliqua capitis iis, quæ jam recenſita ſunt, magis illuſtrandis ac confirmandis inſerviunt. Puto me hic ſententiam tuam de libertate hominis recte percepiſſe. Nec eſt quod illi quicquam opponam: imo quædam diſtinctius, & clarioribus, quam hactenus à noſtris factum eſt, terminis ac phraſibus poſſe exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut ſi quid omiſerim, quod ut ſententia tua plene percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in ſententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam, prout eam percepi etiam meam eſſe agnoſco, à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibuſdam diſſentimus, quod ego ignoro, amice tecum conferre geſtio, ut exiguus, qui forte reſtare poſſet, diſſenſus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contuliſſe non miror. Materia eſt intricata & diverſis philoſophorum ac theologorum ſententiis ſemper agitata. Primus, meo judicio, Epiſcopius in tractatu de Libero Arbitrio, & contra Cameronem, eam clarius explicuit, oſtenditque intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas facultates revera inter ſe & ab anima diſtinctas, uti hactenus in ſcholis creditum fuit, ſed animam immediate per ſeipſam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iiſdem tecum vocibus ac phraſibus utatur, in ſumma tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, eſt conſenſus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quod multa me libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iteratò evolvere ſtatui; ſecunda enim lectione multo diſtinctius eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolumem ac proſpera fruentem valetudine conſervet. Uxor ac filia te ſalutant. Salveat quam officioſiſſime à me, uxore & filia, Domina Maſham ejuſque liberi. Vale.

Amſtelod. 30 Mart. 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MAGNO honori mihi eſſe duco, quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non diſplicuiſſe gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem conſiſtere dico, § 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii, in potentia agendi & non agendi, nequaquam id reſtringo ad ſolas actiones externas, uti conſtat ex § 8, 38, aliiſque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dicis, quod "quicquid homo "vult ab eo conſiderari, ut jucundum," metuo ne voluntatem cum deſiderio confundas. Quod à pleriſque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non ſine magno veritatis, vel ſaltem perſpicuitatis, incommodo. Deſiderium fertur in jucundum, fateor; ſed voluntas fertur ſolum in actiones noſtras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia voluntas raro agit, niſi ducente deſiderio, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque ſumuntur, cum toto cœlo diſtent, § 30, 40. Cupido enim paſſio eſt mota à bono abſente. Volitio autem actus voluntatis, vel animæ, imperium excercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, ſcil. illa qua cupit aliquid, & illa qua determinat, vel imperat, aliquid agendum, niſi diſtinguantur probe, nihil dilucidè, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate ſtatui poteſt: ideòque ſpero ignoſces mihi, quod de iſta loquendi forma te monitum velim, cum de ſumma rei à me omnino non diſſentias. In uſu vocis "indifferentia," quod à veſtris differam, non mirum eſt, cum in his ſcribendis nec aliorum placita ſecutus ſum, nec vel ſcripta omnino conſuluerim, ſed quæ res ipſæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione aſſequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptiſſimis explicuerim. De terminorum igitur uſu nulla inter nos erit diſputatio, modo de re ipſa conſtet. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, iſta antecedens indifferentia hominis, qua homo, ante determinationem ſive decretum voluntatis, ſupponitur libertatem habere ſe determinandi ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, non omnino mihi videtur ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; quæ libertas unice conſiſtit in

potentia

potentia agendi, vel non agendi, ſecundum determinationem voluntatis. Diſputare autem, an homo, ante ultimum judicium intellectûs, libertatem habet ſe determinandi ad alterutrum oppoſitorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo, ſive de re impoſſibili, diſputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorſum attinet rogare, an homo poteſt ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum ſe determinare in ſtatu, in quo ſe non poteſt omnino determinare? Nam, ante judicium intellectûs, non poteſt ſe omnino determinare, ideoque fruſtra quæritur, an in illo ſtatu libertatem habet ſe determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem poteſt ſe determinare. Ideòque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate ſe in alterutram partem determinandi, ante judicium intellectûs, mihi videntur (ignoſcas fatenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæſtionem de libertate: quæ ne ſupponi quidem debet, nec poteſt, in ſtatu in quo manifeſtum eſt quod homo, ut agens liberum, non poteſt agere; cum libertas, ut dixi, conſiſtat in ſola potentia agendi, vel non agendi, conſequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ita autem ſæpe uſu venit. Diſputantium fervor & partium ſtudium rebus per ſe claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquiſitis laqueis alter alterum innodare & abſurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem viciſſim expectans; ſi enim tu meæ, vel ego tuæ opinioni aſſentior, perinde eſt veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur ſententia quæ verior, & in ea conſentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, ſi quid minus recte dictum, vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui à te cupio. Vale, vir optime, & me, ut facis, ama

Oates, 21 Maii, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Philippa

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

EODEM die quo nuperrime ad te mane ſcripſi, literas tuas 27 Maii datas veſperi accepi. Vitam Epiſcopii ſumma cum voluptate perlegi. Hiſtoria placet, res geſtæ plane diſplicent. Doleo ſane reformatos tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter queſti ſunt, imitatos. Sed ſcire juvat quod cognitum laudare non poſſis. Inquiſitionem, quæ in Eccleſia Romana lentius ſuccrevit, uno quaſi nixu inceptam & pene perfectam hic conſpicere mihi videor. An has proteſtantium inter ſe inimicitias & mutuas perſecutiones jam caſtigaturus ſit Deus, neſcio: hoc ſaltem credo, theologorum ambitioſa diſſidia, & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido, orbem reformatum antiquis hoſtibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad perſecutionem tam proclives animos perſecutione catholica puniat. Unum eſt, quod in libro tuo deſidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonſtrantium, quorum tam frequens eſt mentio. Hos vel quod in propera lectione non obſervatos præterierim, vel quod eos hiſtoriæ tuæ non inſeruiſti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eas legere poſſim; magnam enim lucem, ut mihi videtur, præbebunt cauſam Remonſtrantium penitus cognoſcere cupienti: nam iterum, credo, perlegam hanc tuam hiſtoriam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni chriſtianæ. Vale, & me ama

Oates, 1 Jun, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

VITAM Epiſcopii tibi, ſummi judicii viro, non diſplicuiſſe eſt quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi eſſe præterita, quia nobis notiſſima, nullus dubito. Quinque autem

autem articulos noſtros quorum decidendorum cauſa ſynodus Dordracena convocata fuit, nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione ſententiæ Arminii, p. 6, in vita Epiſcopii ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Extant autem in Remonſtrantia ordinibus Hollandiæ CIↃ IↃC X oblata, quam reperies in epiſtolis præſtantium virorum à me editis, n° cxlv. p. 254, vel in hiſtoria quinquarticulana Petri Heilini Anglica, cap. v. p. 50. Si altera vitæ Epiſcopii editio aliquando prodeat, poſſem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non ſine Epiſcopio geſta, aut ipſum ipſiuſve conſanguineos ſpectantia, hic illic inſerere, quæ ad hiſtoriæ noſtræ cognitionem penitiorem, haud exigui futura ſunt momenti. Continuavit Brantius noſter ſenior hiſtoriam uſque ad finem anni CIↃ IↃC XXIII, in qua gravis illa contra noſtros perſecutio exacte deſcribitur; verum illa hactenus lucem non adſpexit; & præ metu ne edatur, ſynodus Hollandica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis ſuis in mandatis dedit, ut ſolicite invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim myſteria illa iniquitatis revelari. Utinam hiſtoriam ſuam continuâſſet ad annum uſque CIↃ IↃC XXXII, quo perſecutioni ubique ferme in patria noſtra finis eſt impoſitus, nobiſque palam in cœtus religioſos convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectione deprehendere poſſes veritatem dicti cujuſdam monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epiſtola ad Caſparum Verheiden, inter epiſt. ſelectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, à Baudio & Heinſio editas, cent. ii. epiſt. 51. "Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam "calefactam fuiſſe, atque illorum quos tantopere inceſſe-"runt: videre ſe plane, antequam per ſæculorum inter-"vallum labatur, parem utrobique imperii eccleſiaſtici "fore rationem." Scripta eſt hæc epiſtola ult. Mart. 1577.

Legi, relegi, & ſerio expendi quæ de libertate ſcribis; ſed non deprehendi illum inter nos eſſe conſenſum, quem, lecto illo "de Potentia" capite, credidi. Quia uterque unice veritatem quærimus, paulo diſtinctius terminos quibus uſus ſum explicabo, & ſi qui aptiores ſint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perſpicuitatem; & in veritatis inquiſitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem, quantum fieri poteſt, vitandam judico. Putas non recte dici nos velle jucundum, illud eſſe deſiderium, non voluntatem. Deſiderium enim ferri in bonum abſens; volitionem autem eſſe actum volun-

voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc diſcrimen admitto, & ut, perſpicuitatis cauſa, unicuique verbo ſuam tribuamus ſignificationem, utile eſſe exiſtimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle, finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa deſideramus, quæ tamen non volumus. Eſt enim deſiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; ſicut & voluptas alia eſt completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in ſcholis vocant velleïtatem, qua deſignamus non quid homo proprie velit, ſed quid vellet. Prudentis eſt ex multis deſiderabilius illud eligere, ſibique omnium ſuarum actionem finem proponere, quod undequaque eſt perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes, quæ rem deſiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit ſine determinatione voluntatis, qua homo diſcernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, ſibi omnium ſuarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi recte poſſe dici hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum ſemper ab ipſo apprehendi, ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem, qua ferimur in bonum illud, improprie dici voluntatem, ſed debere appellari deſiderium, quia fertur in bonum abſens, de termino non contendam, modo de illius ſignificatione conſtet. Ut ergo omnibus ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus deſiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis deſideria confundamus, & deſideria completa diſtinguamus ab incompletis, quæ velleïtates, voce in ſcholis uſitata, appellari ſolent. Si vero aliud aptius vocabulum indicare poſſis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri poteſt, obſcuritas & ambiguitas in ſermone noſtro vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem "indifferentia," certum eſt noſtros ea non raro eſſe in hac materia uſos: verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin ſi commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi ſimus: eoque magis, quia videmus philoſophos Carteſianos ea ſenſu à noſtro plane alieno uti: illis enim indifferentia eſt fluctuatio judicii; quando mens, ex ratione pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta eſt, quid ſibi eligendum ſit. Nobis vero indifferentia eſt vis illa animæ, qua, poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere vel non agere. Verum, in tota hac de libertate diſputatione, video ſæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut ſaltem in ambiguum

biguum ſenſum detortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem ſignificatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes diſceptationes & λογομαχίαι vitari poſſent. Nunc quoniam in ſignificatione verborum convenire non poſſumus, neceſſe eſt ut quiſque explicet, quo ſignificatu unaquaque voce, de qua contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipſam video nos diſſentire. Dicis, "Iſta antecedens indifferentia, qua "homo ante determinationem, ſive decretum voluntatis, "ſupponitur libertatem habere ſe determinandi ad alter-"utram partem oppoſitorum, non omnino mihi videtur "ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; quia libertas unice "conſiſtit in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, ſecundum "determinationem voluntatis." Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice conſiſtere in potentia, qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare: & ſi eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet quod non ſit liber, neque ullus ſtatus concipi poſſit, in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum noſtrarum domina eſt, eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur, ſi determinatio voluntatis non ſit libera, nec in actionibus noſtris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones noſtræ voluntatis determinationem neceſſario ſequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dicis ante ultimum judicium intellectûs homo non poteſt ſe omnino determinare. Verum antequam hic ſententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum judicium intellectûs ſignificetur, propius explicandum eſt, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis, in oratione noſtra ſit obſcuritas. Communiter ultimum intellectus judicium vocant, quo homo diſcernit quid ſibi faciendum ſit, idque vocant ultimum judicium practicum intellectus: verum hoc judicium non eſt tam actus intellectus quam voluntatis, vel ſaltem actus mixtus, ad cujus complementum voluntas concurrit. Judicium autem quod ſolius intellectus actus eſt, non ulterius procedit, quam hoc oportet facere, hoc oportet omittere. Ulterius ſi procedat, intercedit aliqua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis confunduntur. Jam mea eſt ſententia hominem, quando recte rationi conſentaneè agit, ſemper velle, quod intellectus judicat oportere fieri: poſſe tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, antequam intellectus poſt accuratum rationum examen judicaverit

quid

quid facere oporteat, posse bruto impetu agere non quod rationi consentaneum est, sed quod concupiscentia dictat. Hic si homo non habet libertatem se determinandi, aut non determinandi, & actionem suam suspendendi, videre nequeo, in quo libertas consistat. Eandem tuam esse putabam sententiam, idque colligebam ex § 47. capitis supra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, " Animam, quæ habet " potentiam suspendendi impletionem cujuscunque desi- " derii sui, sicuti evidenter patet per experientiam, conse- " quenter, etiam habere libertatem ea successive unum post " alterum considerandi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex " omni parte observandi, & inter se comparandi; & in hoc " consistere libertatem hominis: omnemque erroris & " vitiorum originem inde arcessis, quod præcipitemus " judicium, voluntatemque nostram cito nimis determine- " mus, & actioni nos accingamus, antequam bene exami- " naverimus quid agere nos oporteat." Hæc, aliaque quæ ibi addis, verissima esse judico; iisque plane assentior. Verum hæc cum iis, quæ epistola scribis, " quod homo, " ante judicium intellectûs, se non potest omnino determi- " nare," conciliare non possum. Fortasse mentem tuam non bene percepi. Rogo itaque, si grave non sit, ut ostendas, qua ratione hæc inter se conciliare debeam, & distinctius quod ego non plene percepi, explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phrasi aut voci, ita sum addictus, quin meliora monstranti cedere paratus sim: veritatem enim unice quæro, quam si invenero, de errore triumphabo.

Hæc scripseram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono, ego summas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantissima versione Gallica conferre, quæ proculdubio Latinæ nonnunquam lucem fœnerabitur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegero, candide tibi judicium meum scribam, non quia necesse est, sed quia id à me exigis, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnosco. Verum quantum ex Gallicæ versionis lectione percepi, me sententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: si vero ad quædam hæsitavero, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut pleniorem eorum explicationem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuet, ut egregiis tuis

laboribus orbi literato porro prodeſſe poſſis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officioſiſſimam dices dominæ Maſham totique familiæ. Vale.

Amſtelod. 19 Julii, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD omnis obſcuritas & ambiguitas in verborum uſu fit vitanda tecum plane ſentio; verum liceat mihi adjicere, quod hoc ſæpe non ſit etiam à volentibus evitare obſcuritatem. Ideæ, quæ obſervantur hominum mentibus, præſertim eorum, qui veritatem attentiùs quærunt, multo plures ſunt quam voces cujuſvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ ſunt. Hinc fit, quod homines (quibus integrum non eſt nova vocabula, quoties opus eſt ad novas ideas ſignificandas, ad libitum procudere) eadem voce, pro diverſis ideis, præſertim ſi cognatæ ſint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro ſermonis obſcuritas & incertus ſenſus, quando ad præciſiones accuratas veniendum eſt, quo non ſolum audientium, ſed & ipſorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ propoſui, lib. iii. cap. xi, huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, ſc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes ſimplices ideas, quæ ingrediuntur compoſitionem cujuſlibet ideæ complexæ, cujus nomen uſurpamus, eaſque eidem voci affixas ſedulo in animo teneamus. V. g. in argumento, quod præ manibus habemus, ſi voluntas ſignificat potentiam, quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis ſui, ut ego fuſius explicui, lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 5, &c. in quo tu etiam acquieſcere videris: ſi hæc, inquam, ſit idea, quam vox voluntas ſignificat, eamque præſentem in animo habemus, quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius eſſe poteſt, quam quod voluntas terminatur ſolummodo in actionibus noſtris, nec poteſt ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bonum remotum & abſens. Adeoque ſi contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum, ut

ut finem, recedis ab ea idea, quam huic voci assignavimus, aliamque substituis; unde fit quod tu & ego diversas res designamus, quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino possumus inter nos de voluntate differentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox voluntas signum est, ut de sensu vocis, i. e. de re, de qua differimus, conveniamus.

Distinctio de desiderio completo & incompleto, sive de voluntate completa & incompleta, quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvere. Sive enim aliquod sit incompletum desiderium, vel incompleta voluntas, quod sane dubito, id nunquam efficiet ut sit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua potest esse incompleta volitio; voluntas enim hic, ni fallor, sumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facile agnosco, ut cum paralyticus manum paralysi solutam movere velit, inefficax fateor & sine successu est ista volitio, sed non incompleta. Actus enim volendi hoc in casu æque completus est, ac olim, quando manus volitioni obsequebatur. Itidem desiderium alicujus propositi boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatibile prosequi negligimus, non est incompletum desiderium, nec incompleta voluntas, sed desiderium completum brevi terminatum, eo usque non procedens, ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones, quibus obtineri possit illud bonum, in quod ferebatur breve illud desiderium: nec incompleta dici potest voluntas, ubi nulla omnino est volitio, etiamsi scholæ velleïtatem appellare ament. Quod si breve illud desiderium eousque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem excitet, voluntas illa non est incompleta, sed completus actus volendi, etiamsi omissa ulteriore inefficax sit ad obtinendum bonum propositum quod cessante desiderio negligitur. In his & hujusmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres sunt motus animi, & inter se conjuncti, ut non mirum sit, quod sæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius considerantì distinguenda sunt, ut recte conceptus nostros formemus. Vis libere dicam, quid hac de re sentio. Homo fertur in bonum absens, sive finem. Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, sibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut prosequendum; hoc facit voluntarie, adeo-

que voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit, ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione, quando vult numerare, vel in motione pedum, quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propoſitionem iſtius boni, ut finis, fateor non raro dicitur vulgo, quod voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an proprie & ut philoſophicam decet ἀκρίβειαν, tu judices.

Quanta ſit vis conſuetudinis in uſu verborum, quæ irrepit ſubinde nobis inſciis, patet, ut mihi videtur, in iis quæ in epiſtola tua ſequuntur. In priore epiſtola libens & aperte mecum conſentire videris, quod actiones ſunt agentium ſive ſubſtantiarum, & non potentiarum ſive facultatum: & tamen hic uſitata loquendi forma te abduci pateris, diciſque "quod voluntas eſt actionum noſtrarum domina, eaſque pro "arbitrio moderatur," & ſimilia paſſim, in toto illo epiſtolæ tuæ paragrapho; quod ni feciſſes, nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis eſſet. Hoc non dico, quod adeo delicatulus ſim, ut hujuſmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati poſſim: earum uſus in ſermone familiari, ſi recte intelligantur, non omnino vituperandus. Quando vero in diſceptationibus philoſophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quaſi iis inniteretur rerum veritas, omnino rejiciendæ ſunt metaphoricæ & trallatitiæ hujuſmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: reſque ipſæ, uti revera ſunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ: v. g. dicere, "quod voluntas ſit "actionum noſtrarum domina, eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur," & inde arguere, quod "niſi voluntas ſit libera, nulla "erit in homine libertas," eſt, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius nos in errorem conjicere. "Libertas, apud "me, eſt poteſtas hominis agendi vel non agendi ſecundum "ſuam voluntatem;" ſcilicet ſi homo poteſt agere hoc, ſi vult agere hoc; & abſtinere, è contra, ab agendo hoc, quando vult abſtinere ab agendo hoc, eo in caſu liber eſt homo. Hanc eſſe veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi conſtare, ex iis quæ à me dicta ſunt § 8. & ſeqq. Quæ ſi vera ſit, inde omnino ſequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monſtravi § 14. Imo inde ſequitur, quod illa antecedens indifferentia, ante decretum voluntatis, nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinet ad quæſtionem de libertate. Si enim libertas ſit potentia agendi

actionem,

actionem, quam vult homo, & viciſſim abſtinendi ab eadem actione, ſi ab ea homo vult abſtinere: quid facit, rogo, iſta antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem, quæ eſt potentia agendi vel non agendi, conſequenter ad voluntatis determinationem?

Quandoquidem vero inciderit quæſtio, de iſta veſtra antecedente indifferentia, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paulo diſtinctius inquirere. Hæc indifferentia definitur à te, "vis animi, qua, poſitis "omnibus ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere vel non "agere." Jam hic rogo, an intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio, ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum?

1. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio, ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum, veſtra antecedens indifferentia nunquam efficiet, ut voluntas ſit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adſtrui poſſit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actione ſemel intellectui propoſita, voluntas non eſt in ſtatu, in quo poteſt agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, conſiſtit libertas) neceſſario debet agere; nec poteſt obſtinere ab agendo, i. e. à volendo, actionem illam ſcilicet, vel illius omiſſionem. Imo vero voluntas, eo in ſtatu, non eſt indifferens ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, nempe actionem propoſitam, vel ejus omiſſionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus judicio, actionem illam vel ejus omiſſionem præferente.

2. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, ſive cogitatio, non ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum: videas, quæſo, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficis; & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, ſine quo nec eſſe, nec ſupponi poteſt libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu deſtitutas, nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur, quæſo, & tecum cogita, an libertas hominis recte fundari poteſt in ejuſmodi ſtatu, qui excludit cogitationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis; an illa indifferentia pertinere poteſt ad quæſtionem de libertate, quæ ſepoſita cogitatione nullum locum in ſubjecto relinquit libertati.

Hæc omnia ita ſe habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fuſius traditam invenies § 8, 13. Quod ſi tu alium iſti

voci ſenſum tribuas, forſan hæ omnes evaneſcent difficultates. Sed tunc rogandus es, ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas, ſi de diverſis rebus, ſub eodem nomine diſferentes, nolumus ſine fructu diſputare.

Ex his, quæ ſupra dixi, mihi conſtare videtur, quod libertas nullatenus conſiſtit in indifferentia hominis, ſed ſolummodo in potentia agendi, vel non agendi, prout volumus. Exemplo forſan res clarior erit. Homo, v. g. amat vinum, judicat ſibi bonum eſſe, ex voluntate ſua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia eſt, & tamen libera prorſus eſt hæc actio, quia, ſi modo mutaverit voluntatem, poteſt abſtinere. Contra, homo vinum nec amat, nec averſatur, nec judicat ſibi bonum aut malum eſſe; ſupponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abſtinet à vino in carcere, ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abſtinentia à potione vini, eſt voluntaria fateor, ſed non eſt libera: quoniam homo ille, ſi mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo caſu bibere non poteſt. Vides igitur quod indifferentia poteſt eſſe ſine libertate, & libertas ſine indifferentia, & actio voluntaria ſine utraque. Hæc me res ipſæ per ſe planæ docere videntur. Imo vero res ipſæ melius forſan & ſimplicius nos docerent multa, ſi ſcholarum ſubtilitas in procudendis facultatibus diſtinctionibus, aliiſque ſpecioſis inventis mire acuta, non obduceret ſæpe rebus in ſe claris operoſam & doctam obſcuritatem.

Dicis porro, quod, " Libertas conſiſtit in potentia, qua " homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare, vel non " determinare." Si, per actionem volendi determinare vel non determinare, ſignificas velle aut non velle; libertas in eo conſiſtere non poteſt: quia aliqua actione homini propoſita, homo non poteſt abſtinere à volitione, debet neceſſario velle aut actionem illam propoſitam, aut abſtinentiam ab iſta actione; quamtumvis levis & inſtantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio, ſemper & neceſſario ſequitur actus volendi, quo actio propoſita vel eligitur vel negligitur: & ita voluntas, præcedente cogitatione, ſemper determinatur ad agendum, i. e. ad volendum ſcil. exiſtentiam, vel non exiſtentiam, actionis propoſitæ. Quod ſi per " potentiam, " qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare, vel " non determinare," ſignificas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel ſine prævia cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium,

judicium, uti ſequentia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, "niſi determinatio voluntatis ſit libera, & loqueris "de bruto impetu:" libertas in hujuſmodi potentia non poteſt conſiſtere. Quia, ut dixi, libertas ſupponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla eſt cogitatio, nulla eſſe poteſt libertas, uti fuſius explicui § 8. & 9. Porro libertas non poteſt conſiſtere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non habet hujuſmodi potentiam. Actio enim vol-di hoc aut illud, ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat pro hic & nunc hoc eſſe melius. Ex quo facile eſt intelligere, quid velim, cum dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non poteſt omnino ſe determinare: hocque facile conciliare poſſis cum iis, quæ citas ex § 47, de ſuſpenſione impletionis cujuſcunque deſiderii, ſi modo memineris, quod ante unamquamque volitionem præcedit ſemper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agenda; judiciumque illud, quod immediate præcedit volitionem, ſive actum volendi, eſt eo in caſu ultimum judicium intellectus. Quod te in diverſum abripuit mihi videtur hoc eſſe, nempe, quod ultimum judicium intellectus videris confundere cum maturo & recto judicio, ſi recte capio ſenſum iſtius ſententiæ, ubi hæc verba lego: "Intellectus poſt accuratum rationum "examen judicaverit, quid facere oporteat," &c. Sed id non eſt ultimum judicium, de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo judicio, quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem, quod revera eſt ultimum judicium, ſive bene expenſum ſit & matura deliberatione recoctum, ſive extemporaneum & ſubito impetu enatum, & æque voluntatem determinat, ſive ſit, ſive non ſit rationi conſentaneum.

Si meum ſenſum in his ſatis recte & clare expoſui, non apparebit tibi, credo, hæc relegenti tanta inter nos opinionum diſtantia, quantum credidiſti: pro certo habeo nos, veritatem utrinque ſincere quærentes, non poſſe diu de rebus ipſis diſſentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonnunquam in diverſum abire. Sed de rebus ipſis cogitantibus facile erit phraſeologiæ nebulas diſcutere, ex quibus fere oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes controverſiæ.

En prolixiore epiſtola tibi explicationem ſententiæ

meæ

meæ poſcenti, ut potui, morem geſſi. Ignoſcas, rogo, quod toties citaverim librum meum; hoc feci brevitatis cauſa, ne hic in epiſtola ea reſcriberem, quæ in libro impreſſo melius legeres.

De duabus verſionibus monere te convenit, ut ſicubi inter ſe diſſentientes reperias de ſenſu meo ex Gallica dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegit, & ubi à ſenſu meo aberrare deprehendi, correxit. Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valetudo & negotia non ſatis otii conceſſerunt. Vale, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 12 Aug. 1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

Poſtquam, quæ ſupra habentur, ſcripſeram, mihi venit in mentem non incommodum fore, ſi aliquid libro meo inſererem, ad elucidandam indifferentiæ naturam, in qua conſiſtit libertas, in gratam eorum, qui indifferentiam hoc in argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablata vel omiſſa nihil recte vel clare ſtatui de libertate poſſe exiſtimant. En igitur quæ § 71. ſubjungenda cenſui. Ego Anglice ſcripſi: Gallice vertit D. Coſte; adeoque, ſi probas, Gallicæ verſioni libri mei inſerere poſſis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. § 71, après ces mots, " par ſon propre jugement," ajoutez ce qui ſuit.

" Je ſçai que certaines gens font conſiſter la liberté dans
" une certaine Indifference de l'homme, antecedente
" à la determination de ſa volonté. Je ſouhaiterois que
" ceux qui font tant de fonds ſur cette indifference antece-
" dente, comme ils parlent, nous euſſent dit nettement ſi
" cette indifference qu'ils ſuppoſent, précede la penſée &
" le jugement de l'entendement auſſi bien que le decret de
" la volonté; car il eſt bien malaiſé de la placer entre ces
" deux termes, je veux dire immediatement après le juge-
" ment de l'entendement, & devant la détermination de la
" volonté parce que la determination de la volonté ſuit im-
" mediatement le jugement de l'entendement: & d'ailleurs,
" placer la liberté dans une indifference, qui précede la
" penſée & le jugement de l'entendement, c'eſt, ce me ſem-
" ble.

" ble, faire conſiſter la liberté dans un état de tenebres, où,
" nous ne pouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'eſt: c'eſt du moins
" la placer dans un ſujet incapable de liberté, nul agent
" n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en conſequence de la
" penſée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoit en lui. Comme
" je ne ſuis pas délicat en matiere d'expreſſions, je conſens
" à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainſi, que la liberté
" eſt placée dans l'indifference; mais c'eſt dans une ſorte
" d'indifference qui reſte après le jugement de l'entende-
" ment, & même après la determination de la volonté: ce
" qui n'eſt pas une indifference de l'homme (car après
" que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il eſt meilleur de faire
" ou de ne pas faire, il n'eſt plus indifferent) mais une in-
" difference des puiſſances actives ou operatives de
" l'homme, leſquelles demeurant tout autant capa-
" bles d'agir ou de ne pas agir après, qu'avant le
" decret de la volonté, ſont dans un état qu'on peut
" appeller, ſi l'on veut, indifference: & auſſi loin que
" s'étend cette indifference, juſques-là l'homme eſt
" libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ai la puiſſance
" de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laiſſer en repos: cette
" faculté operative eſt indifferente au mouvement & au
" repos de ma main: je ſuis donc libre à cet égard. Ma
" volonté vient à déterminer cette puiſſance operative au
" repos, je ſuis encore libre, parce que l'indifference de cette
" puiſſance operative qui eſt en moi, d'agir ou de ne pas
" agir, reſte encore; la puiſſance de mouvoir me main
" n'étant nullement diminué par la determination de ma
" volonté, qui à preſent ordonne le repos; l'indifference
" de cette puiſſance à agir ou ne pas agir, eſt juſtement
" telle qu'elle etoit auparavant, comme il paroit ſi la vo-
" lonté veut en faire l'epreuve en ordonnant le contraire.
" Mais ſi pendant que ma main eſt en repos, elle vient à
" être ſaiſie d'une ſoudaine paralyſie, l'indifference de cette
" puiſſance operative eſt detruite, & ma liberté avec elle:
" je n'ai plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je ſuis dans la
" néceſſité de laiſſer ma main en repos. D'un autre côté, ſi
" ma main eſt miſe en mouvement par une convulſion, l'in-
" difference de cette faculté operative s' évanouït; & en ce
" cas-là ma liberté eſt detruite; car je me trouve dans la
" néceſſité de laiſſer mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajouté ceci

" pour

" pour faire voir dans quelle ſorte d'indifference il me
" paroit que la liberté conſiſte préciſement, & qu'elle ne
" peut conſiſter dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire."

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Ampliſſime vir,

QUOD tantum mea cauſa laborem ſuſceperis, ut prolixiori epiſtola ſententiam tuam mihi diſtinctius explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias: legi, relegi, expendi epiſtolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactius eam expendo, tanto magis obſervare videor, nos tam ſententiis, quam phraſibus ac loquendi modis diſcrepare, & quandoque diverſas ideas iiſdem, nunquam eaſdem ideas diverſis vocibus deſignare. Reſpondiſſem citius, verum conſulto reſponſum diſtuli, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegiſſem. Eo jam perlecto, & cum epiſtola tua collato, magis magiſque obſervare videor, omnem, qui inter nos apparet diſſenſum, non tam circa rem ipſam, quam circa voces, ac diverſam ejuſdem rei explicandæ rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phraſium mearum ſenſum recte percepiſſe videris, & ut, quicquid fortaſſe adhuc inter nos reſtat diſſenſus, paucis & in compendio comprehendi poſſit, primo ſenſum vocum ac phraſium, quibus uſus ſum, quanta poſſum perſpicuitate explicabo: deinde phraſibus claris & ambiguitati non obnoxiis ſententiam meam quanta poſſum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus conſentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat diſſenſus; utrumne ille in re ipſa, an vero in vocibus ac phraſibus, & diverſa rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione conſiſtat. Ita puto, ſi fortaſſe nondum per omnia idem ſentiamus, brevi omnem diſſenſum ſublatum iri, nec veritatem ſincere eam quærentibus diu abſconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quod ſit " potentia, quam " homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam " actionem mentis, vel corporis," ego tecum agnoſco, & ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam diſtinguo deſiderium,

quo

quo ferimur in bonum abſens, neque id unquam ſub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnoſco hic me minus exacte locutum, & deſiderium à voluntate eſſe diſtinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui, niſi quod tu ipſe in epiſtola tua dicis: "Multis ſimul intellec-" tui obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, " hominem unum, neglectis aliis, ſibi proponere ut finem, " & ut proſequendum: hoc facit voluntarie." Hæc ergo electio eſt actio voluntatis: quando hanc ſibi electionem fecit homo, deſiderio ſuo fertur in bonum illud quod ſibi elegit; & voluntate ſua dirigit actiones ſuas, quibus ſe bonum deſideratum conſecuturum credit.

Vox " libertas" mihi deſignat dominium, quod homo habet in actionem ſuam: quo nempe, poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis, poteſt agere & non agere: qui non eſt actionis ſuæ dominus, ſeu agere non poteſt quod vult, non eſt liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, ſine ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ eſt interna mentis actio, ſit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem eſſe actionum noſtrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, niſi, actiones noſtras externas dirigi à volitione noſtra, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, niſi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem deſtruit. Semel declaravi credere me animum, ſeu mentem immediate, abſque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotieſcunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo niſi potentiam ſeu facultatem ipſius animæ, qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima immediate exercet. Et hanc ſignificationem te etiam admittere puto.

Supereſt ut dicam de " indifferentia." De qua primo præmoneo, eam non eſſe noſtram, uti tu credis, id eſt, à nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adſcitam, ut pro ea tanquam neceſſario in hac quæſtione uſurpanda contendamus. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce uſi non fuimus: libertatem definientes, eam ordinarie vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem ſuam habet. In diſputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem ſtatuunt duas eſſe facultates, realiter & ab anima & à ſe invicem diſtinctas,

distinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum sententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut necessario velit quod intellectus illi præscribit: atqui tum omnis actio necessaria est, quia omnis actio intellectus est necessaria: aut non determinatur ab intellectu, sed seipsam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis est bruta & irrationalis; quia supponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, sed solummodo velle. Hujus argumenti ictum ut evitent, responderunt, radicem libertatis esse in intellectu; quia in intellectu est indifferentia, qua potest quodcunque objectum, quod sibi offertur, apprehendere & dijudicare. Responderunt nostri, eam esse tantum indifferentiam passivam, qualis est in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta sibi occurrentia potest videre, eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non potest, quin quod sibi videndum proponitur videat: sicut non potest intellectus, quin quod sibi clare proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æque graves militant rationes. Si vero libertas quæratur in indifferentia, oportere eam esse activam, qua homo dominium habet in suam actionem. Exinde, quoniam alii vocem "indifferentiæ" adhibuerunt, nos, ut omnem in disputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, distinctionis causa addidimus vocem "activæ," diximusque libertatem consistere in indifferentia activa, eamque residere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam à nobis esse excogitatam: sed nos vocem ab aliis usurpatam explicuisse, & additione vocis activæ significationem illius explanatiorem reddidisse. Interim non nego, nos postea, quandoque etiam illa in scriptis nostris esse usos, quia juxta explicationem nostram accepta, commodissima visa fuit, & idem significare cum phrasi antea à nobis usurpata, dominium in actiones nostras. Idque etiam constat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente mea epistola dedi; quod sit vis illa animi, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliud nihil est, quam quod homo dominium habet in actionem suam, ut possit, prout ipsi placuerit, vel

agere

agere, vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requisita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; alias volendi actio mere esset irrationalis. Quando autem dico, quod "possit agere & non agere," mens mea non est, quod simul possit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, seu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorum est; sed quod potentia ad neutrum sit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppositis possit eligere quodcunque ipsi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam se determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem suam sistere possit, & se rursus in partem oppositam determinare. Hoc est quod dominium habet in suam actionem. Ubi hoc non potest, non est liber. Sic recte mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abstinet, non libere abstinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed vero alia est ratio actionum internarum, quæ sola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem nihil requiritur, nisi libera determinatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiscit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiscentia se oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, libere concupiscit & peccat, licet ea concupiscentia intra solam delectationem morosam, uti scholastici loquuntur, consistat; ideoque ad ejus consummationem ipse externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per "brutum impetum," non intelligo actionem voluntatis sine ulla præcedente cogitatione; sic enim conciperem non hominem; sed præcipitatam actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: sicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu sæpe abripi, ut hoc aut illud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumstantias, rationesque ac argumenta, quibus ad eam incitari, aut ab ea deterreri possint, rite consideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut quando actio ipsi proposita est, possit vel præcipitare judicium, vel mature omnes actionis circumstantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio, maturo, ac deliberato consilio agere: ejusque libertatis unumquemque sibi esse conscium credo. Nec hoc omittendum per "indifferentiam," me non intelligere statum, in quo homo, quasi in æquilibrio est constitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendet, quam in alteram; talis enim status indifferentiæ circa actiones morales in

nullo

nullo homine reperitur: ſemper in unam partem magis propendemus quam in aliam, in actionibus præſertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut conſuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut vitia proniores reddidit: ſed ſtatum, in quo homo potentiam habet ſe determinandi in quamcunque oppoſitorum partem velit: licet enim magis ſit propenſus in unam partem quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem ſuam amiſit, ſed in alteram partem etiam ſe determinare poteſt. Verum quia vox "indifferentia" accipi poteſt pro ſtatu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinat, ſed plane in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, licet ille ſenſus directæ explicationi noſtræ adverſetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, à voce illa abſtinebo.

"Ultimum intellectus judicium" ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio; ſed ibi diſtinguo ultimum judicium, quod ſit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis ſequitur vehementem concupiſcentiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis: utrumque eſt ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium eſt.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus uſus ſum, jam quanta poſſum brevitate & perſpicuitate ſententiam meam proponam. Eam his theſibus comprehendo.

1. Homo eſt agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones ſuas, illas vel faciendi, vel omittendi.

2. Intellectus & voluntas non ſunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis & à ſe invicem diſtinctæ; ſed anima per ſuam eſſentiam immediate intelligit & vult.

3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, niſi deſiderio boni, aut ſenſu moleſtiæ ex abſentia boni deſiderati excitatus.

4. Actum volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione ſua.

5. Judicium illud vel eſt prudens, poſt adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium examen: vel eſt præcipitatum, & ab affectu magis quam ratione dictatum.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus eſt merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ultra ſuaſionem, hoc eſt eligibile, ſeu

hoc consentaneum est eligere, hoc consentaneum est rejicere: aut inter eligibilia hoc magis, hoc minus est eligibile; inter fugienda hoc magis, hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judicium, quo homo decernit hoc est faciendum, est ipsa volitio; vel ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus consummationem actus volendi concurrit.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, est necessarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. Actus volendi liber est; habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio est, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi sed volendi.

10. Actionum internarum, quæ sola mente perficiuntur, libertas consistit in libera mentis determinatione, quia actionem volendi vel elicere potest, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem vero actionum externarum, ad quarum consummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem sive potentiam faciendi quod vult, et omittendi, seu non faciendi, quod non vult; sive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum usum.

Ita paucis explicata sententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos superst dissensus. Quando epistolam tuam confero cum lib. ii. cap. xxi. de potentia, videor mihi posse dicere, nos in quinque primis thesibŭs consentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum esse dissensum. De ultima etiam nulla est inter nos controversia, nisi forte quod tu libertatem in sola potentia faciendi quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus, collocare videris, cum ego eam etiam ad ipsius voluntatis determinationem, seu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector quod in epistola tua scribis, quod homo fertur in bonum absens, sive finem; & quod multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, sibi proponit ut finem, id est, ut prosequendum: & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit, ut finem; & in ea actione terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem sequitur desiderium finis. Hac-

tenus ergo consentimus. Videamus quousque in reliquis consentiamus & quis superst dissensus.

Primo, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: "Libertas apud me est potestas hominis "agendi, vel non agendi, secundum suam voluntatem." Quæ definitio mihi angusta nimis esse videtur: & si ea agnoscatur, tum certum est, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: sicut certum est, animam nunquam posse esse sine cogitatione, si vera sit definitio, anima est cogitatio. Imo si hæc genuina sit definitio libertatis, fieri posset ut libertas consisteret cum summa necessitate. Ut mox ostendam. Ego autem puto libertatem esse dominium, quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit secundum suam voluntatem, sed & ad ipsum volendi actum, seu volitionem.

Quod sextam & septimam thesin attinet, nescio quousque in illis consentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos sit dissensus. In postrema mea epistola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epistola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus sum quousque his mecum sentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem judicium suum determinare, quia vult acquiescere rationibus quas expendit: suspendere autem judicium suum, quia nondum vult acquiescere, sed rationes aut exactius expendere, aut an sint plures, quibus judicium ejus inclinare possit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi judicii, quo homo decernit hoc est eligendum, aut faciendum, si non totam, maximam saltem partem, esse actionem volendi.

Octava thesis, qua statuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus est, esse necessarium, nescio an inter nos controversa sit. Illam enim expresse asserere videris, lib. iv. cap. xiii. § 2. & cap. xx. § 16. At ea distinctius paulum explicanda est, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea sit dissensus. Hic ergo observa, quod res, quas intellectus percipit, sunt vel meræ theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus necessaria prorsus est: proposita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus necessario assentitur seu homo necessario eam percipit, illique assensum præbet; propositis argumentis verisimilibus tantum, homo necessariò opinatur: propositis utrinque

utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, ſeu intellectus, neceſſario dubitat: omneſque hæ intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio eſt, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam neceſſaria eſt: pro rationum enim momento, quas intellectus expendit, judicat quid convenientius, quid minus conveniens, quid ex uſu ſit facere, vel non facere. Hoc judicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verum eam non plene determinat: eſt enim illud imperium tantum ſuaſionis, cui voluntas poteſt non obtemperare, ſeu homo poteſt aliud velle: determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eaque determinatio fit vel juxta ſuaſionem intellectus, & tunc eſt rationalis; vel fieri poteſt contra eam, & tunc eſt irrationalis, hoc eſt, procedit ab affectu carnali, & ſuaſioni intellectus neutiquam auſcultat: vel etiam poteſt eſſe præceps & temeraria, ita ut maturum judicium antevertat. Hic videmur diſſentire: dicis enim " hominem non habere potentiam determinandi actionem " volendi contra judicium intellectus: actio enim volend " hoc, aut illud, ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo " homo judicat hoc & nunc illud eſſe melius." Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine § 71. dicti capitis. Sed tamen, quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epiſtola, quod ſit " potentia, quam homo habet inci- " piendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis, vel " corporis," & cum § 47. cap. xxi. & aliquot anteced. & ſeqq. dubito, an multum diſſentiamus, & an non magis diverſitas ſit in modo explicandi, quam in re ipſa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoſcere libertatem quandam in judicando. Dicis enim illic, " liberum eſſe menti appeti- " tionum ſuarum objecta conſiderare, eas introſpicere peni- " tus, & utrum præponderet, trutina diligenter examinare. " In hoc libertas hominis conſiſtit:" & quæ ibi porro egregia habes. Addis mox: " indultam nobis poteſtatem " voluntatem revocandi, à proſecutione hujus aut illius " appetitionis. Hic mihi videtur fons eſſe omnis liberta- " tis," &c. Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam verſari in judicio formando, imo ibi eſſe libertatis fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explicationem) non ſolummodo conſiſtere in potentia faciendi quod volumus:

ſed etiam ante volitionis actum, imo ante judicium de actione ſua, hominem eſſe liberum, & libertatem ſuam exercere. Solummodo diſcrimen inter nos eſſet, an judicium ultimum, quo diſcernitur, non hoc convenit facere, ſed hoc eſt faciendum, ſit actio intelligendi mera; an vero ad id etiam concurrat actio volendi? &, an libertas reſideat in actione intelligendi, an volendi? ſive, an id quod in judicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum eſt, reſideat in intellectione, an volitione? Si in eo conſiſtat diſcrimen, puto facile ſententias noſtras conciliari poſſe: quamvis enim mihi perſpicuum videatur, libertatem reſidere in actione volendi, nihilque eſſe liberum, quin ſit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur poſſe diſſentire, quin facile ad conſenſum reducamur. Cum enim uterque ſtatuamus, intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas potentias realiter ab anima & à ſe invicem diſtinctas; ſed hominem, ſeu animam, immediate per ſuam eſſentiam intelligere ac velle; ſatis convenimus, quando uterque agnoſcimus judicium hominis ultimum libere determinari: quando enim adeſt potentia faciendi quod ultimum illud judicium libere à nobis determinatum dictat, non faciendi, ſeu omittendi, quod ultimo illo judicio non eſſe faciendum decernitur, homo plena fruitur libertate; ſolummodo controvertitur, an illud judicium, quod homo libere format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, ſit actio intellectus an voluntatis? Si diſquireretur, ſolummodo utra explicatio cum philoſophica ἀκριβεια melius conciliari poſſet, in re ipſa autem foret conſenſus. Si vero dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus eſſe neceſſariam, & ultimum illud judicium practicum eſſe merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua ſit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, niſi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere poſſit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut recte obſervas, repugnant libertati, & quando noſtri juris ſumus, ſemper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio ſit neceſſaria, omnia erunt neceſſaria: nam à principio neceſſario, hoc eſt, judicio intellectus, determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones ſuas determinatus eſt; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, &

non

non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata eſt. Atque ſic nera in actionibus hominis regnaret neceſſitas. Prolixior paulo fui; ſed prolixitatem, ut perſpicuementem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non recte, aut non plene, percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, me libere moneas & inſtruas, rogo: veritatem enim unice ſector. Et quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicui, brevius, quicquid tibi non probetur, indicare poſſes. Ut vero plenius ſententiam noſtram percipias, ſuaderem ut legas brevem Epiſcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui extat in vol. i. part ii. p. 198. operum ejus; & epiſtolam illius, qua judicium ſuum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito; quæ eſt IOLV. inter epiſtolas noſtras eccleſiaſticas & theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valde probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profeciſſe gratus agnoſco. Lectionem ejus repetere ſtatui. Verum verſio Gallica multum Latinæ præſtat; eam ego ſubinde conſulo, quando Latina obſcurior eſt, ſive interpretis ſive typographi culpa. Quæ epiſtolæ tuæ incluſa ſunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, neſcio an in privatum meum uſum miſeris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verum ego puto te ſententiam noſtram de indifferentia non recte percepiſſe, ideoque eam in hac epiſtola plenius & diſtinctius explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Uxor & filia te plurimum ſalvere jubent. Salutem à nobis officiociſſimam dices D. Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 11 Oct. 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

GRATISSIMAM epiſtolam tuam, 11 Oct. datam, legi relegique, & (te auctore) perlegi Epiſcopii tractatum de

de Libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnifice de me ſentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum ſcriptis quicquam reprehendere; fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius diſſertatione & in tua epiſtola occurrere, quæ, ſi coram tibi adeſſem, explicari à te peroptarem, ut melius perſpicere poſſem, quomodo inter ſe & cum rei veritate conſiſtere poſſint. Sed ſi ſingula, quæ in hoc argumento, in aliorum ſcriptis, ſuboriri poſſunt, dubia perſequi velim, & penſiculatius ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epiſtola: nec meum eſt aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in ſcribendo nec aliorum ſententiam fugi, nec autoritatem ſecutus ſum) ſed ſolum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus ipſis perſpicere poſſum, rebus ipſis conformare. Hæc cauſa eſſe poteſt quod, inconſultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in ſubjecto familiaribus non ſum uſus. Hoc mihi ignoſcendum poſtulo. Nec Epiſcopii acutiſſimi, cujus memoria ſumma apud me in veneratione eſt, mentionem hic feciſſem, niſi te ſuaſore tractatum ejus de Libero Arbitrio perlegiſſem, quem tuum feciſti, tuamque per omnia ſententiam continere mihi notum feciſſes.

Hæc à me præfanda erant, ne forſan videar aliorum ſcripta, qui me in hoc argumento præceſſerunt, inſolenter nimis negligere, vel non ſatis eorum autoritati tribuere: quod à meo animo, & à mea mediocritate, & eſt, & eſſe debet, remotiſſimum. Fateor, ego non ſector nomina, ſed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unice ſequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas, quod me, ubi errâſſe exiſtimas, in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum, quod in noviſſima hac tua epiſtola culpare videris, eſt mea definitio libertatis, quam dicis "nimis eſſe anguſtam." An tua laxior eſt quam illa, quam ego lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 8. & 12. tradidi, tum videbimus, cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis "libertatem "eſſe dominium, quod homo habet in quamcunque ſuam "actionem," hoc mihi non videtur eſſe definitio libertatis, quum nihil aliud dicit niſi hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem eſſe libertatem, quam homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem; quo evenire poteſt, ut nulla omnino ſit hominis libertas: ſcis enim eſſe aliquos, qui negant hominem ullum in actiones ſuas habere dominium, ſed omnia

præſtituto

præſtituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quod ſi dicas te ſupponere hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas, & in eo conſiſtere libertatem; tunc rogo, quid ſit dominium hominis in actiones ſuas? Dominium enim, ſive ſit vox tralatitia, ſive ob aliquam aliam cauſam, mihi videtur æque, ſi non magis obſcura quam vox Libertas ideoque non minus eget definitione. Et ſic pergam rogando, donec perventum erit ad ſimplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epiſtola, quanta ſit vis conſuetudinis, & qua conſtantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris & candide fateris, voluntatem eſſe animæ facultatem, & facultates non eſſe agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hic dicis, " ſi mea definitio libertatis agnoſcatur, certum eſt " libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati." Voluntati enim nullo modo competere poteſt libertas, niſi pro agente agnoſcatur. Quippe agentium ſolummodo eſt libertas. Scio te Epiſcopii exemplo poſſe teipſum excuſare, qui in principio diſſertationis ſuæ ſtrenue rejiciens facultatem operationis, ſubinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes, quibus ſupponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amice moneam, niſi hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi faceſſes negotium, & tenebras ſæpiſſime tibi offundes.

Ad reliqua, de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur reſponſio, rectius me & compendioſius ſatisfacturum credo, ſi aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inſeram explicationes, quibus animi mei ſenſum negligentius forſan, vel obſcurius traditum, clariorem reddam, adeo ut feſtinanti etiam, uti fit, lectori in poſterum pateat, modo quæ tradita ſunt memoria tenere non dedignetur. Hæc cum tu attente perlegeris, & cum reliquis, quæ in iſto capite expoſui, contuleris, plene tibi ſatisfactum iri ſpero. Quod ſi quæ poſtea tibi remanſerint dubia, & aliqua reſtant, quæ vel obſcura nimis, quorum te fugit ſenſus, vel parum veritati congrua, quibus aſſenſum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem, ſua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

Si qua ſunt in epiſtola tua, ad quæ non ſatis diſtincte reſponſum à me credas, ignoſcas rogo valetudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad ſcribendum minus ap-

tum reddit. Quanquam ſpero ex annexis explicationibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perſpicuum tibi fore quid ad ſingulas dubitationes tuas reſpondi poſſit. Vale, vir optime, &, ut facis, me ama

Oates, 19 Nov. 1701.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD lectionem tractatus Epiſcopii de Libero Arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo fine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar; nihil minus: ſcio enim in ſincera veritatis inquiſitione nullam valere auctoritatem humanam, ſed tantum momenta rationum, quibus veritas adſtruitur. Nec ego, licet Epiſcopii ſententiam approbem, vellem illius auctoritate conſtringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ, ſalva principali veritate, in dubium vocari poſſunt, admittam, nedum phraſibus ac loquendi formulis ab ipſo uſurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo cognoſceres, nos jam a multo tempore renuntiâſſe illi ſententiæ, quæ ſtatuit animam intermediis facultatibus agere; ſed aſſeruiſſe tecum animam immediate per ſeipſam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoſcere poſſes, quando communem loquendi uſum ſecuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, nos iis non intelligere facultates realiter ab anima diſtinctas; ſed ipſas intelligendi ac volendi actiones, quas anima immediate ex ſeipſa elicit. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus verbis ſignificatum dedi, in Theologia mea Chriſtiana, lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Itaque ſi per incogitantiam, ex inveterata conſuetudine, mihi forte exciderit voluntatem eſſe liberam, rogo ut id meo ſenſu accipias, ac ſi dixiſſem actio volendi eſt libera, ſeu homo in elicienda actione volendi eſt liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, ſi tua libertatis definitio

definitio agnoſcatur, " certum eſt libertatem nullo modo " competere voluntati," hæc ſubſtituas, " certum eſt ac- " tionem volendi neutiquam eſſe liberam, ſeu hominem " non libere velle." Gratias interim tibi ago, quod inconſideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annitar ut in poſterum omnem ambiguam locutionem vitem, & ab inſolita loquendi conſuetudine non abripiar; ne nulla in verbis meis ſit obſcuritas.

Libertatem ego definivi per dominium in actiones: quia vox dominii tibi explicatione indigere videtur, ſimplicius dico libertatem eſſe facultatem hominis actionem ſuam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterutrum tantum poteſt, non eſt liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcunque, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quaſcunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi, ſed alterutrum tantum poteſt, hæ non ſunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberas voco: quando hac facultate homo deſtitutus eſt, libere nec vult, nec velle poteſt.

Utinam facultas eſſet coram tecum de omnibus his diſſerendi, & ex ore tuo pleniorem omnium, circa quæ hæſito, explanationem audiendi; meamque ſententiam, ac loquendi phraſes diſtincte explicandi; non dubito, quin felicius totam hanc quæſtionem terminare poſſemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explicationis gratia addidiſti, hæſito, an ſtatuas judicium illud, quo formato, non amplius in homine libertas eſt non volendi, ſit actio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligendi actio ſit libera vel neceſſaria: ſi in ea elicienda hominem liberum agnoſcas, non video quis inter nos, quoad ſummam rei, maneat diſſenſus. Sed coram poſſemus hæc diſtinctius & exactius expendere; idque maxime percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia, quanta fieri poteſt perſpicuitate, nos explicemus & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus. Nunc quoniam utriuſque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ miſiſti, ſemper, quando de hac materia ago, conſulam, ne aut ipſe errem, aut aliis inconſiderata loquendi ratione errendi occaſionem præbeam. Vale, vir ampliſſime. Salutant te uxor ac filia, omneſque proſperam tibi precamur valetudinem.

nem. Generoſo Domino Maſham gratulamur continuatam dignitatem: illi, ut & Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amſtelod. 3 Jan. 1702.

Tui amantiſſimus,
P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

DE valetudine ſatis conſtanti quod ſcribis, maxime lætor, & quod palpitatio illa cordis moleſta amplius non fuerit, gaudeo. Quæ ad ſanitatem tuendam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut ſperem te diu ab illo aliiſque morbis tutum & ſoſpitem futurum: præcipue ſi dictæ mediocritati venæ ſectionem, ſi plethoram vel ſentias vel metuas, quotieſcunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum, ſi placet, ad diu intermiſſa ſtudia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarii datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego ſtatuam hominem eſſe in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæſtionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas, an actio volendi vel intelligendi ſit libera? ad quam quæſtionem ſic reſpondeo.

1. Generaliter, nempe quod mea ſententia homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber eſt, ſi ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abſtinuiſſe; ſi non, non.

2. Specialius, quoad voluntatem, aliqui ſunt caſus in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & in omnibus iſtis volendi actibus homo non eſt liber, quia non poteſt non agere. In cæteris, ubi potuit velle, vel non velle, liber eſt.

3. Quoad actus intelligendi, in iſta voce intelligendi ſuſpicor latere amphiboliam; nam ſignificare poteſt actionem cogitandi de aliquo ſubjecto, & in iſto ſenſu homo plerumque liber eſt in iſtiuſmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. poſ-

ſum

ſum cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad artem bellicam præſentis ſæculi. In quibus omnibus & hujuſmodi aliis infinitis, liber ſum, quia pro libitu meo poſſum de hoc vel illo cogitare, vel non cogitare; vel actus intelligendi poteſt ſumi pro ea actione, qua percipio aliquid eſſe verum, & in hac actione intelligendi, v. g. quod tres anguli trianguli ſunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non eſt liber, quia excuſſa demonſtratione non poteſt non hoc intelligere. Homo poteſt plerumque non aperire oculos, vel non advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verum apertis & converſis ad ſolem vel lunam oculis, neceſſario vidit & ſplendorem & figuram quæ ſe offert intuitui videndam. Quod de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par utrinque eſt ratio. Sed de his hactenus. Si ſatisfactum tibi ſit gaudeo. Sin dubia reſtent, utere libertate tua, ego paratus ſum & in his & in omnibus, quantum in me eſt, tibi obtemperare.

Oates, 28 Sept. 1702.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

MULTIS me obruis beneficiis, quorum memoriam nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego hactenus Dei gratia bene valeo: ante ſeptem circiter hebdomadas plethoram mihi moleſtam ſenſi, ſine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ ſectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa moleſtia evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intelligendi ac volendi ſcribis, tecum veriſſima agnoſco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus, à quibus homo potuit abſtinuiſſe, eſſe liberum: minime vero, ſi abſtinuiſſe non potuit.

2. Similiter, quoſdam eſſe caſus, in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi deſtitutus

deſtitutus eſt. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipſo præſtandis, & ob quos non præſtitos pœnæ reus fit, liberum credo, neque quemquam poſſe reum pœnæ fieri, ob non præſtitum actum ſibi minime poſſibilem, aut ob præſtitum ſibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum eſſe debet, quam id ob quod pœnæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem eſſe liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem ſuam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc reſpectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici poſſe, tecum agnoſco. Verum hæc actio, ſi accurate loqui velimus, proprie eſt actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes ſuas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod vero actionem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid percipit eſſe verum, eam recte dicis non eſſe liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis, quæ philoſophi per ſolam intelligentiam cognoſci dicunt; ut, bis duo ſunt quatuor; idem non poteſt ſimul eſſe & non eſſe, &c. quam illis, quæ excuſſa demonſtratione cognoſci, optime dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli eſſe æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere cenſeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res eſt obſcura aut dubia, & nullæ ſunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque ſententia rationes ſunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo neceſſario aut ſuſpenſus eſt, aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum aſſentitur, ita tamen ut falli poſſe ſe credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata ſit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima ſunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum, quibus rei veritas innititur, clarior & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejuſmodi cognitione inevidenti fieri poſſe, quin & ſæpius contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luce, aut magis diſtincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum aſſenſum, aut opinionem ſuam mutet: verum illa mutatio judicii aut aſſenſus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, ſed volendi: quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illuſtratus, judicium ſuum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus noſtros valde inclinare judicium noſtrum: itaque indulgendo affec-

tui

tui cuipiam, qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & aſſenſum meum inclinare poſſum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus intelligendi eſt actio, ſeu rem percipit, eſt neceſſaria: verum quicquid in judicio liberum eſt, procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus ſcilicet ego rationibus allatis acquieſcere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem noſtram eſſe, prout explicui in Theol. mea Chriſt. lib. v. cap. ix. § 21, 22, 23. ibique plenius oſtendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in fide chriſtiana concurrunt: ſolummodo ex inveterata loquendi conſuetudine, uſus ſum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi deſigno, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Hæc ſic diſtincte conſideranda exiſtimo: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam ſit dicenda ineſſe actioni intelligendi, dummodo conſtet hominem in actione illa liberum eſſe: & hominem libere ab una cogitatione ſe convertere in alteram. Diſtinctione tamen hac adhibita puto rem dilucidius explicari. Et ſic etiam ſimilitudo tua ab oculis deſumpta plenius applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit, quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud quale ſe oculis repræſentat, neceſſario conſpiciunt: ſi in debita diſtantia oculis objiciatur, etiam neceſſario diſtincte videtur: ſi nimis remotum ſit, diſtincte videri non poteſt; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali diſtantia ipſi diſtincte appareat: ſed ſi diſtincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puto nos conſentire, atque ita in ſumma rei nullum eſſe diſſenſum, licet forſitan in modo explicandi aliqua diſcrepantia ſit. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & ſalve ab uxore, filia, & me

Amſtelod. 27 Octob. 1702.

Tui amantiſſimo,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir ampliſſime,

POSTQUAM afflicta tua valetudo, præſertim in extrema ſenectute, nos admodum de te ſolicitos habuit, tandem gratior paulo nuntius nos recreavit calore æſtatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calorem vernum non excedit, te nonnihil reſpirare, & meliuſcule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te conſecrâſti, ſtudiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ uſura frueris, doctiſſimis tuis lucubrationibus, orbi chriſtiano inſervire poſſis! Quæ tu concordiæ chriſtianæ jeciſti ſemina, licet nunc ab ingratis conculcentur, gratæ poſteritati fructus ſuos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præſagiat, nihilominus, quando ſervilia plurimorum, & pro auctoritate humana decertantia ingenia conſidero, ægre ſperare licet, eos depoſitis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac ſincero momenta rationum, quibus veritas nititur ponderaturos, ac uni veritati candide ceſſuros. Etiam reformatos, qui ſeſe opponendo papatui nulla ſe humana auctoritate conſtringi velle, aut poſſe, proteſtati ſunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, ſcriptaque humana majore quam par eſt in veneratione habere, actus ſingulis trienniis in patria noſtra repetitus, & cujus ſolennem repetitionem novellæ noſtrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum eſt omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria eſt, quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipſa maxime diſpliceat, eam diſtinctius & cum præcipuis circumſtantiis deſcribam. Jam anno CIↃ IↃC XXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut ſingulis trienniis acta authentica ſynodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ aſſervantur, à deputatis ordinum & eccleſiarum inſpiciantur: poſtquam deinde anno CIↃ IↃC XXXVII. prodiit nova bibliorum verſio, juſſu ejuſdem ſynodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, a tranſlatoribus, & reviſoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum aſſervatur, inſpici ſolet. Redeunte itaque quolibet triennio deputati ſynodorum Hollandiæ Auſtralis & Borealis cœtum convocant, ex omnium provinciarum eccleſiis, necnon ex eccleſia Walonica. Hi patres conſcripti,

ſcripti, ubi convenere, præſidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à paſtore loci, ſi cœtus membrum ſit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præſes & ſcriba eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta præleguntur: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut ſcriptorum ſynodalium viſionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio ſuo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus ſtatuant, quin & per epiſtolam conſules Lugdunenſes præmoneant, & collegii regentem, unius clavis cuſtodem, ut adſit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inſpiciendum autographa verſionis. His peractis, certa à deputatis Ordinum conſtituta hora, comparent in Ordinum Generalium camera; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quod eccleſiam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod ſynodum ipſis conceſſerit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu adhuc incorrupta conſpexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inſpiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipſis concedat, ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipſis conſpiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conſpecta fuere. Poſtquam ſcripta inſpecta ſunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depoſitum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æque ſincerum atque incorruptum reperiatur prout nunc deponitur. Poſtridie Lugdunum proficiſcuntur, & à magiſtratu in curiam adſciti authentica verſionis inſpiciunt. Hæc inſpectio ſimilibus precibus inchoatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo à præſide cœtus & ſcriba deputatis Ordinum & magiſtratus Lugdunenſis gratiæ aguntur. Hagam reverſi in actis ſcribunt, ſcripta illis integra adhuc, & à vermibus, tinea & muribus inviolata eſſe reperta: atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc eſt illa triennalis ſolennitas, viſioni ſcriptorum ſynodalium deſtinata, quam paulo diſtinctius, variiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam tibi ſcribere volui, ut, quanta veneratione ſynodæ illius famoſæ reliquiæ hic aſſerventur, cognoſcas. Hæc ego excerpſi ex narratione cujuſdam miniſtri, qui ipſe cœtus illius membrum fuit, ſcripta inſpexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc hiſtoriolam ſcripto conſignavit. Cui etiam conſonant aliorum qui ſolennitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantiſque ſumptibus acta concilii Tridentini inſpici. Ridenda hæc forent, ſi quo-

rundum privatorum inconsiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda sunt. Quid Gallica synodus nuperrime contra D. Clerici versionem Gallicam Novi Testamenti ejusque notas decreverit, quam frivolæ illius sint criminationes, quam plene brevi scripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipse tibi aut jam scripsit, aut brevi, ut credo, scripturus est. Hæc similiaque quando considero, bonæ conscientiæ studio acquiescendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefesso studio unice litandum, laborumque nostrorum benedictionem à solo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere potest, expectandum esse certus sum. Illius te tutelæ commendo; illum oro, ut omnia tibi largiatur fausta ac salutaria, necnon honoratissimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Masham, una cum digniſſima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D° Coste.

Amstelod. Jun. 21, 1704.

Tui amantissimus,

P à Limeorch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

PUDET me sane tam diuturni silentii, nec ab infirma & plane fracta valetudine satis excusatum credo, etiamsi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me à scribendo aliquantulum detinuit, satis ex ipso morbo desidiosum. Quorsum enim attinet te eruditioribus sermonibus aptum & commerciis literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis querelis, laboriosisque verbis anhelum scriptorem redolentibus fatigare? juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum, etiamsi senio & morbo mutilum, ad sepulchrum usque prosequi. Nihil sane jucundius, nec est, quod magis animum debilem & languescentem refocillat, quam constans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cum reliqua plane insipida sunt & frustra solicitantur. Gratissimæ igitur mihi fuerunt epistolæ tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ plenæ,

nec

nec quantum ex illis ſolatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea, ſed ex voluptate quam profiteor judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus eſt, hoc ſentientis grati & animi teſtimonium.

Etiamſi ſervilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulate ſatis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi ſpes eſt de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex miſericordia ſua, ſecundo filii ſui adventu, reſtaurare eccleſiam; maxime tamen mihi placuit hiſtoria iſta, quam in noviſſimis tuis perſcripſiſti. Actus ille triennalis, cum omni ſuo apparatu partim ridiculo, partim ſuperſtitioſo, habet in ſe quod & ſtomachum & ſplenem moveat: certe cum omnibus ſuis circumſtantiis ita graphice depictus conſervari debet, etiam ubi commode fieri poteſt typis mandari, & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obverſetur, & pudeſiant qui ſic ſacris illudunt, Deique nomen ſacroſanctum, placitis inventiſque ſuis, audacter præfigunt. Vitam tibi in utilitatem religionis longam validamque, & in uſum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animitùs precor, uti & omnia proſpera tibi tuiſque. Optimam tuam fæminam filiamque, reliquoſque amicos noſtros, meo nomine, rogo officioſiſſime ſalutes. Hæc tota familia te tuoſque ſalutat. Vale, vir ampliſſime, & me ama

Oates, 4 Auguſt,
1704.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. Locke.

A

COLLECTION

OF

SEVERAL PIECES

OF

MR. JOHN LOCKE.

PUBLISHED BY

MR. DESMAIZEAUX,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

ANTHONY COLLINS, ESQ.

TO

HUGH WROTTESLEY, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

HAVING met with ſeveral of Mr. LOCKE's works, which were never printed, I thought myſelf obliged to impart them to the public, together with ſome pieces of that illuſtrious writer, which had indeed been publiſhed before, but without his name to them, and were grown very ſcarce. The value you have for every thing that was written by Mr. LOCKE, and your eſteem for ſome of his friends concerned in this collection, emboldens me to offer it to you; and I flatter myſelf that you will favour it with your acceptance.

The firſt piece in this collection, contains "The Fundamental Conſtitutions of Carolina." You know, ſir, that CHARLES II. made a grant of that country by letters patents, bearing date March 24th, 1663, to the duke of ALBEMARLE, the earl of CLARENDON, the earl of CRAVEN, the lord BERKELEY of Stratton, the lord ASHLEY, ſir GEORGE CARTERET, ſir WILLIAM BERKELEY, and ſir JOHN COLLETON; who thereupon became proprietors of that colony. My lord ASHLEY, afterwards ſo well known by the title of earl of SHAFTESBURY, was diſtinguiſhed by an exquiſite judgment, an uncommon penetration, and a deep inſight into civil affairs. The other proprietors deſired him to draw up the laws neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of their new colony; to which he the more readily conſented, becauſe he relied on the aſſiſtance of Mr. LOCKE, who had the good fortune to gain his friendſhip and confidence.

My lord ASHLEY well knew, that our philoſopher had a peculiar right to a work of this nature. He called to his mind ſo many ancient philoſophers, who had been legiſlators, and who, on this very account, had ſtatues erected to them. And indeed, ſir, if we conſider on the one hand,

that a philoſopher makes Man his particular ſtudy, knows the reach of his mind, and the ſprings of his paſſions, in fine, his good and bad qualities; and that on the other hand, not being biaſſed by any motives of ſelf-intereſt, he hath nothing in view but the general good of mankind; it will be granted, that no-body is better qualified than ſuch an one, not only to civilize a barbarous people, but to prevent the inconveniencies and diſorders which even the moſt polite nations are apt to fall into. In this reſpect it is, that the philoſopher hath the advantage over the courtier, or what we call the politician. For this latter, being accuſtomed to ſtudy the genius and inclinations of men for his own ends only, and to make his own advantage of them; it is impoſſible he ſhould entirely overcome the force of cuſtom, and the tyranny of prejudice, when the concerns of the public, and the welfare of ſociety, are under deliberation. But the philoſopher conſiders things in general, and as they really are in themſelves. He examines the moſt difficult and important points of government, with the ſame accuracy, and the ſame diſpoſition of mind, as his other philoſophical ſpeculations. And therefore, as all his views are more extenſive and impartial, they muſt needs be more beneficial and ſecure.

But though ſome may be of opinion, that in matters of ſtate, the politician ought to have the preference of the philoſopher, this will not in the leaſt diminiſh the value of the Fundamental Conſtitutions of Carolina; ſince not only a philoſopher, but a politician of the firſt rank, was concerned therein. No man is more capable of judging of the excellence of ſuch conſtitutions, than yourſelf, ſir, who not only have acquired a complete knowledge of our laws, but ſtudied them as a philoſopher, by looking for the motives and foundations of them, in the very nature of mankind.

For the reſt, you have here thoſe conſtitutions, printed from Mr. LOCKE's copy, wherein are ſeveral amendments made with his own hand. He had preſented it, as a work of his, to one of his friends, who was pleaſed to communicate it to me.

The ſecond piece in this collection is, "A Letter from "a Perſon of Quality, to his Friend in the Country." It gives

gives an account of the debates and reſolutions of the houſe of lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a bill, intitled, "An act to prevent the dangers, which may ariſe "from perſons diſaffected to the government." By that bill, which was brought in by the court-party, all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, civil or military, to which was afterwards added, privy counſellors, juſtices of the peace, and members of parliament, were, under a penalty, to take the oath, and make the declaration and abhorrence following: "I A. B. do declare, that it is "not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms "againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous "poſition, of taking arms by his authority, againſt his "perſon; or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, "in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and I do ſwear, that "I will not, at any time, endeavour the alteration of the go-"vernment, either in church or ſtate. So help me, God."

Such of the lords as had no dependance upon the court, and were diſtinguiſhed by the name of country-lords, looked upon this bill as a ſtep the court was making to introduce arbitrary power; and they oppoſed it ſo vigorouſly, that the debate laſted five ſeveral days, before it was committed to a committee of the whole houſe; and afterwards it took up ſixteen or ſeventeen whole days; the houſe ſitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and ſometimes till midnight. However, after ſeveral alterations, which they were forced to make, it paſſed the committee; but a conteſt then ariſing between the two houſes, concerning their privileges, they were ſo inflamed againſt each other, that the king thought it adviſeable to prorogue the parliament, ſo that the bill was never reported from the committee to the houſe.

The debates, occaſioned by that bill, failed not to make a great noiſe throughout the whole kingdom: and becauſe there were but few perſons duly apprized thereof, and every body ſpoke of it as they ſtood affected; my lord SHAFTESBURY, who was at the head of the country-party, thought it neceſſary to publiſh an exact relation of every thing that had paſſed upon that occaſion; in order, not only to open the people's eyes upon the ſecret views of the court, but to do juſtice to the country-lords, and thereby to ſecure to them the continuance of the affection and attachment of ſuch as

were of the ſame opinion with themſelves, which was the moſt conſiderable part of the nation. But though this lord had all the faculties of an orator; yet, not having time to exerciſe himſelf in the art of writing, he deſired Mr. LOCKE to draw up this relation; which he did under his lordſhip's inſpection, and only committed to writing what my lord SHAFTESBURY did in a manner dictate to him. Accordingly you will find in it a great many ſtrokes, which could proceed from no-body but my lord SHAFTESBURY himſelf; and, among others, the characters and eulogiums of ſuch lords as had ſignalized themſelves in the cauſe of public liberty.

This letter was privately printed ſoon afterwards; and the court was ſo incenſed at it, that, at the next meeting of the parliament, towards the end of the year 1675, the court-party, who ſtill kept the aſcendant in the houſe of lords, ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. "The particular relation of this debate, ſays the ingenious "Mr. MARVEL, which laſted many days, with great "eagerneſs on both ſides, and the reaſons but on one, was, "in the next ſeſſion, burnt by order of the lords, but the "ſparks of it will eternally fly in their adverſaries faces*."

This piece was grown very ſcarce. It is true it was inſerted, in the year 1689, in the firſt volume of the State Tracts; but in ſuch a manner, that it had been far better not to have reprinted it at all. And, indeed, among numbers of leſſer faults, there are ſeveral whole periods left out; and many places appear to be deſignedly falſified. It is likely all this was occaſioned by the compiler's making uſe of the firſt printed copy that fell into his hands; without giving himſelf the trouble to look out for more exact ones. That I might not be guilty of the ſame fault, I have ſought after all the editions I could poſſibly hear of; and have luckily met two printed in the year 1675, both pretty exact, though one is more ſo than the other. I have collated them with each other, and with that contained in the State Tracts. In ſhort, that this piece might appear to the beſt advantage, I have taken the ſame care as if I had

* An account of the growth of popery, and arbitrary government in England, more particularly from the long prorogation of November, 1675, ending the 15th of February, 1676, till the laſt meeting of parliament; the 16th of July, 1677. By ANDREW MARVEL, Eſq; p. m. 89.

been

been to publiſh ſome Greek or Latin author from ancient manuſcripts. And truly, when a man undertakes to republiſh a work that is out of print, and which deſerves to be made more eaſy to be come at, be it either ancient or modern, it is the ſame thing; the public is equally abuſed, if, inſtead of reſtoring it according to the beſt editions, and in the moſt correct manner that is poſſible, the editor gives it from the firſt copy he chances to light upon, without troubling himſelf whether that copy be defective or not.

THE third piece in this collection conſiſts of "Remarks "upon ſome of Mr. NORRIS's Books, wherein he aſſerts "Father MALEBRANCHE's Opinion, of our ſeeing all "things in GOD." It is in a manner the ſequel of a much larger diſcourſe, printed in the year 1706, among the "Poſthumous Works of Mr. LOCKE." Our author had reſolved to give that ſubject a thorough examination; and this ſmall piece is but a ſketch, containing ſome curſory reflections, which he had thrown together, in reading over ſome of Mr. NORRIS's books. Accordingly, I find theſe words in his manuſcript, written before thoſe Remarks: "Some other thoughts, which I ſet down, as they came "in my way, in a haſty peruſal of ſome of Mr. NORRIS's "writings, to be better digeſted, when I ſhall have leiſure "to make an end of this argument." And at the end of them, he hath added theſe words; "the finiſhing of "theſe haſty thoughts muſt be deferred to another ſeaſon." But though this ſmall piece is far from being perfected, it however contains many important reflections; and therefore, I was of opinion it deſerved to be publiſhed; and I hope, ſir, you will not diſapprove my inſerting it in this collection.

It is followed here by the "Elements of Natural Philoſophy *." Mr. LOCKE had compoſed, or rather dictated, theſe Elements for the uſe of a young gentleman, whoſe education he had very much at heart. It is an abſtract or ſummary of whatever is moſt material in natural philoſophy; which Mr. LOCKE did afterwards explain more at large to that young gentleman. The ſame is practiſed in the univerſities, where, you know, it is cuſtomary for the profeſſors to dictate ſuch abridgments, to ſerve for the ſub-

* See note, page 159.

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ject and rule of their lectures. And therefore this ſmall tract is far from being what Mr. LOCKE would have made it, had he written upon that matter profeſſedly, and deſigned to make it a complete work.

However, as the generality of men expect every thing ſhould be perfect, that proceeds from ſuch a writer as Mr. LOCKE, and do not enter into the occaſions or deſigns which he propoſed to himſelf in writing; I own that ſome perſons, very good judges, whom I have taken the liberty to conſult about the impreſſion of ſome pieces in this collection, were of opinion that this little treatiſe had better been left out, for fear every reader ſhould not make the proper allowances, and leſt the memory of Mr. LOCKE ſhould ſuffer by it. I yielded to their opinion; and was reſolved to lay that piece aſide. But being informed that there were ſeveral other copies of it abroad, which it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs, or hinder from falling, one time or other, into the hands of the printers, maimed and diſfigured, as is too often the caſe on ſuch occaſions; I was obliged to take other meaſures; and I the more eaſily determined to publiſh it, becauſe I could give it more complete, more correct, and in better order, than can poſſibly be pretended to, by the copies above-mentioned.

After all, I may take upon me to ſay, that, in its kind, this piece is no way to be deſpiſed. We wanted ſuch a work in Engliſh; and it would not have been an eaſy matter to find any other perſon, who could have comprehended ſo many things in ſo few words, and in ſo clear and diſtinct a manner. Great uſe may be made of it in the inſtruction of young gentlemen, as it was originally deſigned by Mr. LOCKE. And perſons even of riper years may improve by it; either by recalling ideas that had ſlipt out of their memory; or by informing themſelves of ſeveral things, which were unknown to them.

To this treatiſe are ſubjoined, "Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman *." Mr. LOCKE having one day, in converſation, diſcourſed upon the method that a young gentleman ſhould take in his reading, and ſtudy; one of the company was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he deſired him to dictate to him the ſubſtance

* See note, page 159.

of

of what he had been ſpeaking; which Mr. LOCKE immediately did. This is one of the uſual converſations of Mr. LOCKE, reduced into writing; from whence you may judge, ſir, how agreeable and advantageous it was to converſe with that great man.

Mr. LOCKE not only points out the ſciences that a gentleman ought to ſtudy, whether as a private man, or one in a public capacity; but likewiſe directs to ſuch books as treat of thoſe ſciences, and which, in his opinion, are the propereſt for that end. As you have acquired, ſir, in Italy, the moſt refined taſte for the politer arts, and have added that ſtudy to thoſe Mr. LOCKE here recommends to a gentleman; you will perhaps wonder, that he ſays nothing of painting, ſculpture, architecture, and other arts of this kind, which make an accompliſhed gentleman. But I deſire you would conſider, that there are but few perſons, in poſſeſſion of the means neceſſary for attaining this ſort of knowledge; and that Mr. LOCKE is ſpeaking here of what may ſuit the circumſtances of the generality of people. Beſides, he was very far from imagining, that an extemporary advice, which he was giving by his fire-ſide, would ever be expoſed to common view. However, I preſume to think, that after you have peruſed it, you will be of opinion it was not unworthy to be made public.

But among the works of Mr. LOCKE, contained in this volume, I do not know that any will afford you more pleaſure than his Letters. Some of them are written upon weighty ſubjects; and are upon that very account exceeding valuable. Others are what Mr. LOCKE wrote out of the country to one of his friends in London, about private buſineſs. In theſe, one would expect nothing but what was common, and cuſtomary; but a ſubject ſo ſimple, and vulgar in itſelf, changes, as it were, its very nature, when managed by Mr. LOCKE; and becomes ſomething conſiderable and of moment, by the turn and manner in which he expreſſes the ſentiments of affection and gratitude he hath for his friend. And indeed, though true friendſhip be founded upon eſteem; yet we may ſay, if friendſhip goes no farther, there is ſomething in it auſtere, not to ſay dry, and ruſtic. But there is a certain agreeable and complaiſant way of ſhowing this eſteem, wherein conſiſts the greateſt charm of friendſhip; as it is what ſupports it,

and

and adds force and vigour to it. Now this is Mr. Locke's peculiar talent; and it is impoſſible that a perſon of your nice taſte ſhould not be ſenſibly touched with the reſpectful, endearing, and affectionate manner in which he writes here to his friend; and which he ſtill repeats with new graces. It is a pattern of urbanity, politeneſs, and gaiety. For our old philoſopher hath nothing moroſe, nor uneaſy. Whenever he ſpeaks of his infirmities, it is by way of pleaſantry, or that he may have an opportunity of ſaying ſome obliging thing to his friend.

The laſt piece in this collection contains the "Rules of "a Society, which met once a Week for their Improve- "ment in uſeful Knowledge, and the promoting of Truth "and Chriſtian Charity." Mr. Locke took a delight in forming ſuch ſocieties, wherever he made any ſtay. He had eſtabliſhed one at Amſterdam in 1687, of which Mr. Limborch, and Mr. le Clerc, were members. He ſettled this club at London, ſoon after the Revolution; and drew up the rules you will find here. But his deſign in doing this, was not only to paſs away time in an agreeable converſation of two or three hours; he had views far more ſolid and ſublime. As there is nothing that more obſtructs the advancement of truth, and the progreſs of real chriſtianity, than a certain narrow ſpirit, which leads men to cantoniſe themſelves, if I may ſo ſpeak, and to break into ſmall bodies, which at laſt grow into ſo many factions; Mr. Locke, zealous for the general good of mankind, would have gladly inſpired them with ſentiments of a higher and more extenſive nature, and united thoſe whom the ſpirit of prejudice or party had kept aſunder. This is what continually employed his thoughts. He never loſes ſight of it throughout his works. Nay, it is the principal ſubject of them. But he did not confine himſelf to bare ſpeculation; and he formed the ſociety above-mentioned with a deſign to render, as much as lay in his power, ſuch a deſirable union practicable. This appears from the diſpoſition of mind he requires in thoſe, who were to be members of it; and eſpecially by the declaration they were obliged to ſubſcribe, that, "by their becoming of that ſociety, they pro- "poſed to themſelves an improvement in uſeful know- "ledge, and the promoting of truth and chriſtian charity."

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But you will find, Sir, the ſame mind, the ſame genius, not only in this ſmall piece, but in all others in this collection. Mr. Locke every-where diſcovers a ſincere love of truth, and an invincible averſion to whatever may do it the leaſt wrong. To the quality of a great philoſopher, he every-where joins that of a true chriſtian. You ſee him full of love, reſpect, and admiration, for the chriſtian religion. And thereby he furniſhes us with the ſtrongeſt preſumption, that can be imagined, for the truth as well as excellency of that holy inſtitution. For this is not the approbation of a vulgar mind, who is ſtill fettered by the prejudices of infancy; it is the ſuffrage of a wit, a ſuperiour genius, who has laboured all his life to guard againſt errour; who, in ſeveral important points, departed from the common opinion; and made chriſtianity his ſtudy, without taking it upon truſt. It is, doubtleſs, a great advantage, not to ſay an honour, for a doctrine to be embraced and countenanced by ſuch a man. But let us return to our collection.

To make it more uſeful, I have added notes to illuſtrate certain paſſages, which ſuppoſe the knowledge of ſome facts, that may be unknown to the reader, or which would not readily occur to his memory; and therefore theſe notes are merely hiſtorical. I pretend neither to approve nor diſapprove the particulars they contain. I only act the part of an hiſtorian. There is but one of them that can be looked upon as critical; and even that is only intended to ſettle a matter of fact, miſrepreſented by a late hiſtorian. Theſe notes are not very numerous: and I do not know but the fear of ſwelling them too much may have made me ſuppreſs ſome, which would not have been wholly uſeleſs.

As for what concerns the impreſſion itſelf, in order to make it more beautiful, I have been obliged to recede, in ſeveral reſpects, from our uſual way of printing; which, if I am allowed to ſpeak freely, is extremely vicious. It is matter of wonder, that in ſuch a country as this, where there is ſo much encouragement for printing, there ſhould prevail a ſort of Gothic taſte, which deforms our Engliſh impreſſions, and makes them

them not a little ridiculous. For can any thing be more abſurd, than ſo many capital letters, that are not only prefixed to all noun ſubſtantives, but alſo often to adjectives, pronouns, particles, and even to verbs? And what ſhall we ſay of that odd mixture of italic, which, inſtead of helping the reader to diſtinguiſh matters the more clearly, does only perplex him; and breeds a confuſion ſhocking to the eye? But you are not to be informed, ſir, you, who every day enrich your library with books of the fineſt editions, that none of theſe faults were ever committed by the printers, who have been eminent in their art. Surely, if the authors on the one hand, and the readers on the other, would oppoſe this barbariſm, it would be no difficult matter to reſtore a juſt taſte, and a beautiful way of printing.

To the pieces already mentioned, I have prefixed the character of Mr. Locke, at the requeſt of ſome of his friends; as you will ſee by the letter before it, which was ſent to me together with that character.

Theſe, Sir, are all the pieces, which make up this volume. Why may I not, at the ſame time that I offer it to you, unfold to the view of the public ſo many perfections, which a too ſevere and ſcrupulous modeſty conceals from it! Why may I not make known the rare endowments of your mind, as well as the noble and generous ſentiments of your heart! But I fear I have already too much preſumed upon your goodneſs, by prefixing your name to this diſcourſe. And after having been ſo bold, as not to conſult you, upon a thing which you would never have permitted; I ought to account myſelf very fortunate, if, on conſideration of my paſſing over your excellent qualities in profound ſilence, you are pleaſed to forgive the freedom I have taken; and will give me leave to declare to you and all the world, how ſenſible I am of the friendſhip you honour me with, and to aſſure you that I ſhall always be, with the greateſt reſpect,

SIR,

March 23, 1719.

Your moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,

DES MAIZEAUX.

A

TABLE

OF THE

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Rules of a ſociety, which met once a week, for their improvement in uſeful knowledge, and for the promoting of truth and chriſtian charity.

* It has been deemed expedient, in the preſent edition, to tranſfer theſe two articles to the ſecond volume.

THE

THE

CHARACTER

OF

MR. LOCKE.

BY

MR. PETER COSTE:

WITH

A LETTER relating to that CHARACTER, and to the AUTHOR of it.

A LETTER to Mr. ******.

SIR, London, Feb. 4, 1720.

BEING informed, that you design to publish several new pieces of Mr. Locke, I here send you, at the request of some of his friends, the translation of a letter, attempting his character, and containing several passages of his life and conversation; which you are desired to prefix before that collection.

The author of that letter is Mr. Peter Coste, who has translated into French Mr. Locke's Thoughts concerning Education, his Reasonableness of Christianity, and Vindications thereof; with his principal work, the Essay concerning Human Understanding.

Mr. COSTE lived in the same family with Mr. Locke, during the seven last years of that great man's life; whereby he had all possible opportunities to know him.

The letter was written some time after Mr. Locke's death; and appears to be the production of a man in

raptures, and ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of Mr. Locke's virtue, capacity, and of the excellency of his writings; and under the deepeſt affliction for the loſs of a perſon, to whom in his life-time he had paid the moſt profound reſpect, and for whom he had conſtantly expreſſed the greateſt eſteem, and that even in writings, whereof Mr. Locke did not know him to be the author.

And therefore Mr. Locke's friends judge its publication neceſſary, not only, as they think it contains a juſt character of Mr. Locke, as far as it goes; but as it is a proper vindication of him againſt the ſaid Mr. Coſte, who in ſeveral writings, and in his common converſation throughout France, Holland, and England, has aſperſed and blackened the memory of Mr. Locke, in thoſe very reſpects, wherein he was his panegyriſt before.

For, they conceive, the eulogium contained in the following letter muſt ſtand good, till Mr. Coſte thinks fit either to deny his own experience, or to confeſs, that the ſame things, which he then thought praiſe-worthy, have ſince changed their nature. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

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The CHARACTER of Mr. LOCKE.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR of the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres. By Mr. P. COSTE*.

SIR, London, Dec. 10, 1704.

YOU muſt have heard of the death of the illuſtrious Mr. Locke. It is a general loſs. For that reaſon he is lamented by all good men, and all ſincere lovers

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* That letter was printed in the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for the month of February 1705, art. II. page 154, with this title, A LETTER of Mr. COSTE to the author of theſe Nouvelles, written on occaſion of the death of Mr. Locke.

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of truth, who were acquainted with his character. He was born for the good of mankind. Moſt of his actions were directed to that end; and I doubt whether, in his time, any man in Europe applied himſelf more earneſtly to that noble deſign, or executed it with more ſucceſs.

I will forbear to ſpeak of the valuableneſs of his works. The general eſteem they have attained, and will preſerve, as long as good ſenſe and virtue are left in the world; the ſervice they have been of to England in particular, and univerſally to all that ſet themſelves ſeriouſly to the ſearch of truth, and the ſtudy of chriſtianity; are their beſt eulogium. The love of truth is viſible in every part of them. This is allowed by all that have read them. For even they, who have not reliſhed ſome of Mr. Locke's opinions, have done him the juſtice to confeſs, that the manner, in which he defends them, ſhows he advanced nothing that he was not ſincerely convinced of himſelf. This his friends gave him an account of from ſeveral hands: "Let them "after this, anſwered he, object whatever they pleaſe "againſt my works; I ſhall never be diſturbed at it: "For ſince they grant I advance nothing in them but "what I really believe, I ſhall always be glad to prefer "truth to any of my opinions, whenever I diſcover it "by myſelf, or am ſatisfied that they are not conform-"able to it." Happy turn of mind! which, I am fully perſuaded, contributed more even than the penetration of that noble genius, to his diſcovery of thoſe great and uſeful truths which appear in his works.

But, without dwelling any longer upon conſidering Mr. Locke in the quality of an author, which often ſerves only to diſguiſe the real character of the man, I haſte to ſhow him to you in particulars much more amiable, and which will give you a higher notion of his merit.

Mr. Locke had a great knowledge of the world, and of the buſineſs of it. Prudent without being cunning; he won people's eſteem by his probity, and was always ſafe from the attacks of a falſe friend, or a ſordid flatterer. Averſe to all mean complaiſance; his wiſdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained

him the reſpect of his inferiours, the eſteem of his equals, the friendſhip and confidence of the greateſt quality.

Without ſetting up for a teacher, he inſtructed others by his own conduct. He was at firſt pretty much diſpoſed to give advice to ſuch of his friends as he thought wanted it; but at length, finding that, "good counſels "are very little effectual in making people more pru-"dent," he grew much more reſerved in that particular. I have often heard him ſay, that the firſt time he heard that maxim, he thought it very ſtrange; but that experience had fully convinced him of the truth of it. By counſels, we are here to underſtand thoſe which are given to ſuch as do not aſk them. Yet, as much as he deſpaired of rectifying thoſe whom he ſaw taking of falſe meaſures; his natural goodneſs, the averſion he had to diſorder, and the intereſt he took in thoſe about him, in a manner forced him ſometimes to break the reſolution he had made of leaving them to go their own way; and prevailed upon him to give them the advice, which he thought moſt likely to reclaim them; but this he always did in a modeſt way, and ſo as to convince the mind by fortifying his advice with ſolid arguments, which he never wanted upon a proper occaſion.

But then Mr. Locke was very liberal of his counſels, when they were deſired; and no-body ever conſulted him in vain. An extreme vivacity of mind, one of his reigning qualities, in which perhaps he never had an equal; his great experience, and the ſincere deſire he had of being ſerviceable to all mankind; ſoon furniſhed him with the expedients, which were moſt juſt and leaſt dangerous. I ſay, the leaſt dangerous; for what he propoſed to himſelf before all things was to lead thoſe, who conſulted him, into no trouble. This was one of his favourite maxims, and he never loſt ſight of it upon any occaſion.

Though Mr. Locke chiefly loved truths that were uſeful, and with ſuch fed his mind, and was generally very well pleaſed to make them the ſubject of his diſcourſe; yet he uſed to ſay, that in order to employ one part of this life in ſerious and important occupations, it was neceſſary to ſpend another in mere amuſements; and when

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an occaſion naturally offered, he gave himſelf up with pleaſure to the charms of a free and facetious converſation. He remembered a great many agreeable ſtories, which he always brought in properly; and generally made them yet more delightful, by his natural and agreeable way of telling them. He was no foe to raillery, provided it were delicate and perfectly innocent.

No-body was ever a greater maſter of the art of accommodating himſelf to the reach of all capacities; which, in my opinion, is one of the ſureſt marks of a great genius.

It was his peculiar art in converſation, to lead people to talk of what they underſtood beſt. With a gardener he diſcourſed of gardening; with a jeweller, of a diamond; with a chymiſt, of chymiſtry, &c. "By this, "ſaid he himſelf, I pleaſe all thoſe men, who commonly can ſpeak pertinently upon nothing elſe. As "they believe I have an eſteem for their profeſſion, "they are charmed with ſhowing their abilities before "me; and I, in the mean while, improve myſelf by "their diſcourſe." And indeed Mr. Locke had by this means acquired a very good inſight into all the arts, of which he daily learnt more and more. He uſed to ſay too, that the knowledge of the arts contained more true philoſophy, than all thoſe fine learned hypotheſes, which, having no relation to the nature of things, are fit for nothing at the bottom, but to make men loſe their time in inventing, or comprehending them. A thouſand times have I admired how, by the ſeveral queſtions he would put to artificers, he would find out the ſecret of their art, which they did not underſtand themſelves; and oftentimes give them views entirely new, which ſometimes they put in practice to their profit.

This eaſineſs, with which Mr. Locke knew how to converſe with all ſorts of men, and the pleaſure he took in doing it, at firſt ſurprized thoſe, who had never talked with him before. They were charmed with this condeſcenſion, not very common among men of letters; and which they ſo little expected from a perſon, whoſe great qualities raiſed him ſo very much above all other

men. Many who knew him only by his writings, or by the reputation he had gained of being one of the greateſt philoſophers of the age, having imagined to themſelves before-hand, that he was one of thoſe ſcholars, that, being always full of themſelves, and their ſublime ſpeculations, are incapable of familiarizing themſelves with the common ſort of mankind, or of entering into their little concerns, or diſcourſing of the ordinary affairs of life; were perfectly amazed to find him nothing but affability, good-humour, humanity, pleaſantneſs, always ready to hear them, to talk with them of things which they beſt underſtood, much more deſirous of informing himſelf in what they underſtood better than himſelf, than to make a ſhow of his own ſcience. I knew a very ingenious gentleman in England, that was for ſome time in the ſame prejudice. Before he ſaw Mr. Locke, he had formed a notion of him to himſelf under the idea of one of the ancient philoſophers, with a long beard, ſpeaking nothing but by ſentences, negligent of his perſon, without any other politeneſs but what might proceed from the natural goodneſs of his temper, a ſort of politeneſs often very coarſe and very troubleſome in civil ſociety. But one hour's converſation entirely cured him of his miſtake, and obliged him to declare, that he looked upon Mr. Locke to be one of the politeſt men he ever ſaw: "He is not a "philoſopher always grave, always confined to that cha- "racter, as I imagined; he is, ſaid he, a perfect cour- "tier, as agreeable for his obliging and civil behaviour, "as admirable for the profoundneſs and delicacy of his "genius."

Mr. Locke was ſo far from aſſuming thoſe airs of gravity, by which ſome folks, as well learned as unlearned, love to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the world; that, on the contrary, he looked upon them, as an infallible mark of impertinence. Nay, ſometimes he would divert himſelf with imitating that ſtudied gravity, in order to turn it the better into ridicule; and upon this occaſion he always remembered this maxim of the duke of la Rochefoucault, which he admired above all others, "that gravity is a myſtery of

the

" the body, invented to conceal the defects of the " mind." He loved alſo to confirm his opinion on this ſubject, by that of the famous earl of Shaftſbury *, to whom he took a delight to give the honour of all the things, which he thought he had learnt from his converſation.

Nothing ever gave him a more ſenſible pleaſure than the eſteem, which that earl conceived for him, almoſt the firſt moment he ſaw him, and which he afterwards preſerved as long as he lived. And, indeed, nothing ſet Mr. Locke's merit in a better light, than the conſtant eſteem of my lord Shaftſbury, the greateſt genius of his age, ſuperiour to ſo many great men that ſhone at the ſame time at the court of Charles II; not only for his reſolution and intrepidity in maintaining the true intereſts of his country, but alſo for his great abilities in the conduct of the moſt knotty affairs. When Mr. Locke ſtudied at Oxford, he fell by accident into his company, and one ſingle converſation with that great man won him his eſteem and confidence to ſuch a degree, that ſoon afterwards my lord Shaftſbury took him to be near his perſon, and kept him as long as Mr. Locke's health or affairs would permit. That earl particularly excelled in the knowledge of men. It was impoſſible to catch his eſteem by moderate qualities; this his enemies themſelves could never deny. I wiſh I could, on the other hand, give you a full notion of the idea, which Mr. Locke had of that nobleman's merit. He loſt no opportunity of ſpeaking of it; and that in a manner, which ſufficiently ſhowed he ſpoke from his heart. Though my lord Shaftſbury had not ſpent much time in reading; nothing, in Mr. Locke's opinion, could be more juſt than the judgment he paſſed upon the books, which fell into his hands. He preſently ſaw through the deſign of a work; and without much heeding the words, which he ran over with vaſt rapidity, he immediately found whether the author was maſter of his ſubject, and whether his reaſonings were exact. But,

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* Chancellor of England in the reign of Charles II.

above all, Mr. Locke admired in him that penetration, that preſence of mind, which always prompted him with the beſt expedients, in the moſt deſperate caſes; that noble boldneſs, which appeared in all his public diſcourſes, always guided by a ſolid judgment, which, never allowing him to ſay any thing but what was proper, regulated his leaſt word, and left no hold to the vigilance of his enemies.

During the time Mr. Locke lived with that illuſtrious lord, he had the advantage of becoming acquainted with all the polite, the witty, and agreeable part of the court. It was then that he got the habit of thoſe obliging and benevolent manners, which, ſupported by an eaſy and polite expreſſion, a great knowledge of the world, and a vaſt extent of capacity, made his converſation ſo agreeable to all ſorts of people. It was then too, without doubt, that he fitted himſelf for the great affairs, of which he afterwards appeared ſo capable.

I know not whether it was the ill ſtate of his health, that obliged him, in the reign of king William, to refuſe going ambaſſador to one of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe. It is certain that great prince judged him worthy of that poſt, and no-body doubts but he would have filled it glorioufly.

The ſame prince, after this, gave him a place among the lords commiſſioners, whom he eſtabliſhed for advancing the intereſt of trade and the plantations. Mr. Locke executed that employment for ſeveral years; and it is ſaid (abſit invidia verbo) that he was in a manner the ſoul of that illuſtrious body. The moſt experienced merchants were ſurpriſed, that a man, who had ſpent his life in the ſtudy of phyſic, of polite literature, or of philoſophy, ſhould have more extenſive and certain views than themſelves, in a buſineſs which they had wholly applied themſelves to from their youth. At length, when Mr. Locke could no longer paſs the ſummer at London, without endangering his life, he went and reſigned that office to the king himſelf, upon account that his health would permit him to ſtay no longer in town. This reaſon did not hinder the king from entreating Mr. Locke to continue in his poſt, telling him expreſsly,

expreſsly, that, though he could ſtay at London but a few weeks, his ſervices in that office would yet be very neceſſary to him; but at length he yielded to the repreſentations of Mr. Locke, who could not prevail upon himſelf to hold an employment of that importance, without doing the duties of it more regularly. He formed and executed this deſign without mentioning a word of it to any body whatſoever; thus avoiding, with a generoſity rarely to be found, what others would have earneſtly laid out after; for by making it known that he was about to quit that employment, which brought him in a thouſand pounds a year, he might eaſily have entered into a kind of compoſition with any pretender, who, having particular notice of this news, and being befriended with Mr. Locke's intereſt, might have carried the poſt from any other perſon. This, we may be ſure, he was told of, and that too by way of reproach. "I knew it very well, replied he; but this was the very "reaſon why I communicated my deſign to no-body. "I received this place from the king himſelf, and to "him I reſolved to reſtore it, to diſpoſe of it as he "thought proper." "Heu priſca fides!" Where are ſuch examples, at this day, to be met with?

One thing, which thoſe who lived for any time with Mr. Locke could not help obſerving in him, was, that he took a delight in making uſe of his reaſon in every thing he did; and nothing, that is attended with any uſefulneſs, ſeemed unworthy his care; ſo that we may ſay of him, what was ſaid of queen Elizabeth, that he was no leſs capable of ſmall things than of great. He uſed often to ſay himſelf, that there was an art in every thing; and it was eaſy to be convinced of it, to ſee the manner in which he went about the moſt trifling thing he did, and always with ſome good reaſon. I might here deſcend into particulars, which probably, to many, would not be unpleaſant; but the bounds I have ſet myſelf, and the fear of taking up too many pages in your journal, will not give me leave to do it.

Mr. Locke, above all things, loved order; and he had got the way of obſerving it in every thing with wonderful exactneſs.

As

As he always kept the uſeful in his eye, in all his diſquiſitions, he eſteemed the employments of men only in proportion to the good they were capable of producing; for which reaſon he had no great value for thoſe critics, or mere grammarians, that waſte their lives in comparing words and phraſes, and in coming to a determination in the choice of a various reading, in a paſſage that has nothing important in it. He cared yet leſs for thoſe profeſſed diſputants, who, being wholly taken up with the deſire of coming off with the victory, fortify themſelves behind the ambiguity of a word, to give their adverſaries the more trouble. And whenever he had to deal with this ſort of folks, if he did not beforehand take a ſtrong reſolution of keeping his temper, he quickly fell into a paſſion. And, in general, it muſt be owned, he was naturally ſomewhat choleric. But his anger never laſted long. If he retained any reſentment, it was againſt himſelf for having given way to ſo ridiculous a paſſion; which, as he uſed to ſay, may do a great deal of harm, but never yet did the leaſt good. He often would blame himſelf for this weakneſs. Upon which occaſion, I remember, that two or three weeks before his death, as he was ſitting in a garden taking the air in a bright ſun-ſhine, whoſe warmth afforded him a great deal of pleaſure, which he improved as much as poſſible, by cauſing his chair to be drawn more and more towards the ſun, as it went down; we happened to ſpeak of Horace, I know not on what occaſion, and having repeated to him theſe verſes, where that poet ſays, of himſelf, that he was

Solibus aptum;
Iraſci celerem, tamen ut placabilis eſſem:

"That he loved the warmth of the ſun, and that, "though he was naturally choleric, his anger was eaſily "appeaſed." Mr. Locke replied, that, if he durſt preſume to compare himſelf with Horace in any thing, he thought he was perfectly like him in thoſe two reſpects. But, that you may be the leſs ſurprized at his modeſty, upon this occaſion, I muſt, at the ſame time, inform you, that he looked upon Horace to be one of the

the wiſeſt and happieſt Romans that lived in the age of Auguſtus, by means of the care he took to preſerve himſelf clear of ambition and avarice, to keep his deſires within bounds, and to cultivate the friendſhip of the greateſt men of thoſe times, without living in their dependence.

Mr. Locke alſo diſliked thoſe authors that labour only to deſtroy, without eſtabliſhing any thing themſelves: "A building, ſaid he, diſpleaſes them. They "find great faults in it; let them demoliſh it, and welcome, provided they endeavour to raiſe another in its "place, if it be poſſible."

He adviſed, that, whenever we have meditated any thing new, we ſhould throw it as ſoon as poſſible upon paper, in order to be the better able to judge of it by ſeeing it all together; becauſe the mind of man is not capable of retaining clearly a long chain of conſequences, and of ſeeing, without confuſion, the relation of a great number of different ideas. Beſides, it often happens, that what we had moſt admired, when conſidered in the groſs, and in a perplexed manner, appears to be utterly inconſiſtent and unſupportable, when we ſee every part of it diſtinctly.

Mr. Locke alſo thought it neceſſary always to communicate one's thoughts to ſome friend, eſpecially if one propoſed to offer them to the public; and this was what he conſtantly obſerved himſelf. He could hardly conceive how a being of ſo limited a capacity as man, and ſo ſubject to errour, could have the confidence to neglect this precaution.

Never man employed his time better than Mr. Locke, as appears by the works he publiſhed himſelf; and perhaps, in time, we may ſee new proofs of it. He ſpent the laſt fourteen or fifteen years of his life at Oates, a country-ſeat of ſir Francis Maſham's, about five and twenty miles from London, in the county of Eſſex. I cannot but take pleaſure in imagining to myſelf, that this place, ſo well known to ſo many perſons of merit, whom I have ſeen come thither from ſo many parts of England to viſit Mr. Locke, will be famous to poſterity, for the long abode that great man made there.

Be

Be that as it may, it was there that enjoying ſometimes the converſation of his friends, and always the company of my lady Maſham, for whom Mr. Locke had long conceived a very particular eſteem and friendſhip (in ſpite of all that lady's merit, this is all the eulogium ſhe ſhall have of me now) he taſted ſweets, which were interrupted by nothing but the ill ſtate of a weakly and delicate conſtitution. During this agreeable retirement, he applied himſelf eſpecially to the ſtudy of the Holy Scripture; and employed the laſt years of his life in hardly any thing elſe. He was never weary of admiring the great views of that ſacred book, and the juſt relation of all its parts; he every day made diſcoveries in it, that gave him freſh cauſe of admiration. It is ſtrongly reported, in England, that thoſe diſcoveries will be communicated to the public. If ſo, the whole world, I am confident, will have a full proof of what was obſerved by all that were near Mr. Locke to the laſt part of his life; I mean, that his mind never ſuffered the leaſt decay, though his body grew every day viſibly weaker and weaker.

His ſtrength began to fail him more remarkably than ever, at the entrance of the laſt ſummer; a ſeaſon which, in former years, had always reſtored him ſome degrees of ſtrength. Then he foreſaw that his end was very near. He often ſpoke of it himſelf, but always with great compoſure, though he omitted none of the precautions, which his ſkill in phyſic taught him, to prolong his life. At length, his legs began to ſwell; and, that ſwelling increaſing every day, his ſtrength diminiſhed very viſibly. He then ſaw how ſhort a time he had left to live, and prepared to quit this world, with a deep ſenſe of all the bleſſings which God had granted him, which he took delight in numbering up to his friends, and full of a ſincere reſignation to his will, and of firm hopes in his promiſes, built upon the word of Jeſus Chriſt, ſent into the world to bring to light life and immortality, by his goſpel.

At length, his ſtrength failed him to ſuch a degree, that, the 26th of October, 1704, two days before his death,

death, going to ſee him in his cloſet, I found him on his knees, but unable to riſe again without aſſiſtance.

The next day, though he was not worſe, he would continue a-bed. All that day he had a greater difficulty of reſpiration than ever, and about five of the clock, in the evening, he fell into a ſweat, accompanied with an extreme weakneſs, that made us fear for his life. He was of opinion himſelf, that he was not far from his laſt moment. Then he deſired to be remembered at evening prayers; thereupon my lady Maſham told him, that, if he would, the whole family ſhould come and pray by him in his chamber. He anſwered, he ſhould be very glad to have it ſo, if it would not give too much trouble; there he was prayed for particularly. After this, he gave ſome orders with great ſerenity of mind; and, an occaſion offering of ſpeaking of the goodneſs of God, he eſpecially exalted the love which God ſhowed to man, in juſtifying him by faith in Jeſus Chriſt. He returned him thanks, in particular, for having called him to the knowledge of that divine Saviour. He exhorted all about him to read the Holy Scripture attentively, and to apply themſelves ſincerely to the practice of all their duties; adding, expreſsly, that "by this means they "would be more happy in this world, and ſecure to "themſelves the poſſeſſion of eternal felicity in the "other." He paſt the whole night without ſleep. The next day he cauſed himſelf to be carried into his cloſet, for he had not ſtrength to walk by himſelf; and there in his chair, and in a kind of dozing, though in his full ſenſes, as appeared by what he ſaid from time to time, he gave up the ghoſt about three in the afternoon, the 28th of October.

I beg you, ſir, not to take what I have ſaid of Mr. Locke's character for a finiſhed portrait. It is only a ſlight ſketch of ſome few of his excellent qualities. I am told we ſhall quickly have it done by the hand of a maſter. To that I refer you. Many features, I am ſure, have eſcaped me; but I dare affirm, that thoſe, which I have given you a draught of, are not ſet off with falſe colours, but drawn faithfully from the life.

I muſt

I muſt not omit a particular in Mr. Locke's will, which it is of no ſmall importance to the commonwealth of learning to be acquainted with; namely, that therein he declares what were the works which he had publiſhed without ſetting his name to them. The occaſion of it was this: ſome time before his death, Dr. Hudſon, keeper of the Bodleian library at Oxford, had deſired him to ſend him all the works with which he had favoured the public, as well thoſe with his name as thoſe without, that they might be all placed in that famous library. Mr. Locke ſent him only the former; but in his will he declares he is reſolved fully to ſatisfy Dr. Hudſon; and to that intent he bequeaths to the Bodleian library a copy of the reſt of his works, to which he had not prefixed his name, viz. a Latin "Letter concerning Toleration," printed at Tergou, and tranſlated ſome time afterwards into Engliſh, unknown to Mr. Locke; two other letters upon the ſame ſubject, in anſwer to the objections made againſt the firſt; "The "Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity," with two Vindications of that book; and "Two Treatiſes of Govern-"ment." Theſe are all the anonymous works which Mr. Locke owns himſelf to be the author of.

For the reſt, I ſhall not pretend to tell you at what age he died, becauſe I do not certainly know it. I have often heard him ſay, he had forgot the year of his birth; but that he believed he had ſet it down ſomewhere. It has not yet been found among his papers; but it is computed that he was about ſixty-ſix.

Though I have continued ſome time at London, a city very fruitful in literary news, I have nothing curious to tell you. Since Mr. Locke departed this life, I have hardly been able to think of any thing, but the loſs of that great man, whoſe memory will always be dear to me; happy if, as I admired him for many years, that I was near him, I could but imitate him in any one reſpect! I am, with all ſincerity, Sir, your, &c.

THE

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA.

OUR ſovereign lord the king having, out of his royal grace and bounty, granted unto us the province of Carolina, with all the royalties, properties, juriſdictions, and privileges, of a county palatine, as large and ample as the county palatine of Durham, with other great privileges, for the better ſettlement of the government of the ſaid place, and eſtabliſhing the intereſt of the lords proprietors with equality, and without confuſion; and that the government of this province may be made moſt agreeable to the monarchy under which we live, and of which this province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy: we, the lords and proprietors of the province aforeſaid, have agreed to this following form of government, to be perpetually eſtabliſhed amongſt us, unto which we do oblige ourſelves, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, in the moſt binding ways that can be deviſed.

I. THE

I. THE eldeſt of the lords proprietors ſhall be palatine; and, upon the deceaſe of the palatine, the eldeſt of the ſeven ſurviving proprietors ſhall always ſucceed him.

II. There ſhall be ſeven other chief offices erected, viz. the admiral's, chamberlain's, chancellor's, conſtable's, chief-juſtice's, high-ſteward's, and treaſurer's; which places ſhall be enjoyed by none but the lords proprietors, to be aſſigned at firſt by lot; and upon the vacancy of any one of the ſeven great offices by death, or otherwiſe, the eldeſt proprietor ſhall have his choice of the ſaid place.

III. The whole province ſhall be divided into counties; each county ſhall conſiſt of eight ſigniories, eight baronies, and four precincts; each precinct ſhall conſiſt of ſix colonies.

IV. Each ſigniory, barony, and colony, ſhall conſiſt of twelve thouſand acres; the eight ſigniories being the ſhare of the eight proprietors, and the eight baronies of the nobility; both which ſhares, being each of them one fifth part of the whole, are to be perpetually annexed, the one to the proprietors, the other to the hereditary nobility, leaving the colonies, being three fifths, amongſt the people: that ſo in ſetting out, and planting the lands, the balance of the government may be preſerved.

V. At any time before the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and one, any of the lords proprietors ſhall have power to relinquiſh, alienate, and diſpoſe to any other perſon, his proprietorſhip, and all the ſigniories, powers, and intereſt thereunto belonging, wholly and entirely together, and not otherwiſe. But, after the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, thoſe, who are then lords proprietors, ſhall not have power to alienate or make over their proprietorſhip, with the ſignories and privileges thereunto belonging, or any part thereof, to any perſon whatſoever, otherwiſe than as in § xviii. but it ſhall all deſcend unto their heirs-male; and, for want of heirs-male, it ſhall all deſcend on that landgrave, or caſſique, of Carolina, who is deſcended of the next heirs-female of the proprietor; and, for want of ſuch heirs, it ſhall deſcend on the next heir-general; and, for want of ſuch

heirs,

heirs, the remaining ſeven proprietors ſhall, upon the vacancy, chooſe a landgrave to ſucceed the deceaſed proprietor, who being choſen by the majority of the ſeven ſurviving proprietors, he and his heirs, ſucceſſively, ſhall be proprietors, as fully, to all intents and purpoſes, as any of the reſt.

VI. That the number of eight proprietors may be conſtantly kept; if, upon the vacancy of any proprietorſhip, the ſeven ſurviving proprietors ſhall not chooſe a landgrave to be a proprietor, before the ſecond biennial parliament after the vacancy; then the next biennial parliament but one after ſuch vacancy ſhall have power to chooſe any landgrave to be a proprietor.

VII. Whoſoever after the year one thouſand ſeven hundred, either by inheritance or choice, ſhall ſucceed any proprietor in his proprietorſhip, and ſigniories thereunto belonging; ſhall be obliged to take the name and arms of that proprietor, whom he ſucceeds; which from thenceforth ſhall be the name and arms of his family and their poſterity.

VIII. Whatſoever landgrave or caſſique ſhall any way come to be a proprietor, ſhall take the ſigniories annexed to the ſaid proprietorſhip; but his former dignity, with the baronies annexed, ſhall devolve into the hands of the lords proprietors.

IX. There ſhall be juſt as many landgraves as there are counties, and twice as many caſſiques, and no more. Theſe ſhall be the hereditary nobility of the province, and by right of their dignity be members of parliament. Each landgrave ſhall have four baronies, and each caſſique two baronies, hereditarily and unalterably annexed to, and ſettled upon the ſaid dignity.

X. The firſt landgraves and caſſiques of the twelve firſt counties to be planted, ſhall be nominated thus; that is to ſay, of the twelve landgraves, the lords proprietors ſhall each of them ſeparately for himſelf, nominate and chooſe one; and the remaining four landgraves of the firſt twelve, ſhall be nominated and choſen by the palatine's court. In like manner, of the twenty-four firſt caſſiques, each proprietor for himſelf ſhall nominate and chooſe two, and the remaining eight ſhall

be nominated and chosen by the palatine's court; and when the twelve first counties shall be planted, the lords proprietors shall again in the same manner nominate and choose twelve more landgraves, and twenty-four cassiques for the twelve next counties to be planted; that is to say, two-thirds of each number by the single nomination of each proprietor for himself, and the remaining one-third by the joint election of the palatine's court, and so proceed in the same manner till the whole province of Carolina be set out and planted, according to the proportions in these Fundamental Constitutions.

XI. Any landgrave or cassique at any time before the year one thousand seven hundred and one, shall have power to alienate, sell, or make over to any other person, his dignity, with the baronies thereunto belonging, all intirely together. But after the year one thousand seven hundred, no landgrave or cassique shall have power to alienate, sell, make over, or let the hereditary baronies of his dignity, or any part thereof, otherwise than as in § xviii; but they shall all intirely, with the dignity thereunto belonging, descend unto his heirs male; and for want of heirs male, all intirely and undivided, to the next heir general; and for want of such heirs, shall devolve into the hands of the lords proprietors.

XII. That the due number of landgraves and cassiques may be always kept up; if, upon the devolution of any landgraveship or cassiqueship, the palatine's court shall not settle the devolved dignity, with the baronies thereunto annexed, before the second biennial parliament after such devolution; the next biennial parliament but one after such devolution shall have power to make any one landgrave or cassique, in the room of him, who dying without heirs, his dignity and baronies devolved.

XIII. No one person shall have more than one dignity, with the signiories or baronies thereunto belonging. But whensoever it shall happen, that any one, who is already proprietor, landgrave, or cassique, shall have any of these dignities descend to him by inheritance, it shall be at his choice to keep which of the dignities,

nities, with the lands annexed, he ſhall like beſt; but ſhall leave the other, with the lands annexed, to be enjoyed by him, who not being his heir apparent, and certain ſucceſſor to his preſent dignity, is next of blood.

XIV. Whoſoever, by right of inheritance, ſhall come to be landgrave or caſſique, ſhall take the name and arms of his predeceſſor in that dignity, to be from thenceforth the name and arms of his family and their poſterity.

XV. Since the dignity of proprietor, landgrave, or caſſique, cannot be divided, and the ſigniories or baronies thereunto annexed muſt for ever all intirely deſcend with, and accompany that dignity; whenſoever for want of heirs male it ſhall deſcend on the iſſue female, the eldeſt daughter and her heirs ſhall be preferred; and in the inheritance of thoſe dignities, and in the ſigniories or baronies annexed, there ſhall be no coheirs.

XVI. In every ſigniory, barony, and manor, the reſpective lord ſhall have power in his own name to hold court-leet there, for trying of all cauſes both civil and criminal; but where it ſhall concern any perſon being no inhabitant, vaſſal, or leet-man of the ſaid ſigniory, barony, or manor, he, upon paying down of forty ſhillings to the lords proprietors uſe, ſhall have an appeal from the ſigniory or barony-court to the county-court, and from the manor-court to the precinct-court.

XVII. Every manor ſhall conſiſt of not leſs than three thouſand acres, and not above twelve thouſand acres in one entire piece and colony: but any three thouſand acres or more in one piece, and the poſſeſſion of one man, ſhall not be a manor, unleſs it be conſtituted a manor by the grant of the palatine's court.

XVIII. The lords of ſigniories and baronies ſhall have power only of granting eſtates not exceeding three lives, or thirty-one years, in two-thirds of the ſaid ſigniories or baronies, and the remaining third ſhall be always demeſne.

XIX. Any lord of a manor may alienate, ſell, or diſpoſe to any other perſon and his heirs for ever, his manor, all entirely together, with all the privileges and leet-men thereunto belonging, ſo far forth as any

colony lands; but no grant of any part thereof, either in fee, or for any longer term than three lives, or one-and-twenty years, ſhall be good againſt the next heir.

XX. No manor, for want of iſſue-male, ſhall be divided amongſt coheirs; but the manor, if there be but one, ſhall all entirely deſcend to the eldeſt daughter and her heirs. If there be more manors than one, the eldeſt daughter firſt ſhall have her choice, the ſecond next, and ſo on, beginning again at the eldeſt, till all the manors be taken up; that ſo the privileges, which belong to manors being indiviſible, the lands of the manors, to which they are annexed, may be kept entire, and the manor not loſe thoſe privileges, which, upon parcelling out to ſeveral owners, muſt neceſſarily ceaſe.

XXI. Every lord of a manor, within his manor, ſhall have all the powers, juriſdictions, and privileges, which a landgrave or caſſique hath in his baronies.

XXII. In every ſigniory, barony, and manor, all the leet-men ſhall be under the juriſdiction of the reſpective lords of the ſaid ſigniory, barony, or manor, without appeal from him. Nor ſhall any leet-man, or leet-woman, have liberty to go off from the land of their particular lord, and live any where elſe, without licence obtained from their ſaid lord, under hand and ſeal.

XXIII. All the children of leet-men ſhall be leet-men, and ſo to all generations.

XXIV. No man ſhall be capable of having a court-leet, or leet-men, but a proprietor, landgrave, caſſique, or lord of a manor.

XXV. Whoever ſhall voluntarily enter himſelf a leet-man, in the regiſtry of the county-court, ſhall be a leet-man.

XXVI. Whoever is lord of leet-men, ſhall upon the marriage of a leet-man, or leet-woman of his, give them ten acres of land for their lives; they paying to him therefore not more than one-eighth part of all the yearly produce and growth of the ſaid ten acres.

XXVII. No landgrave or caſſique ſhall be tried for any criminal cauſe, in any but the chief-juſtice's court, and that by a jury of his peers.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. There ſhall be eight ſupreme courts. The firſt called the palatine's court, conſiſting of the palatine, and the other ſeven proprietors. The other ſeven courts of the other ſeven great officers, ſhall conſiſt each of them of a proprietor, and ſix counſellors added to him. Under each of theſe latter ſeven courts, ſhall be a college of twelve aſſiſtants. The twelve aſſiſtants of the ſeveral colleges ſhall be choſen, two out of the landgraves, caſſiques, or eldeſt ſons of the proprietors, by the palatine's court; two out of the landgraves, by the landgraves chamber; two out of the caſſiques, by the caſſiques chamber; four more of the twelve ſhall be choſen by the commons chamber, out of ſuch as have been, or are members of parliament, ſheriffs, or juſtices of the county-court, or the younger ſons of proprietors, or eldeſt ſons of landgraves or caſſiques; the two other ſhall be choſen by the palatine's court, out of the ſame ſort of perſons, out of which the commons chamber is to chooſe.

XXIX. Out of theſe colleges ſhall be choſen at firſt by the palatine's court, ſix counſellors, to be joined with each proprietor in his court; of which ſix, one ſhall be of thoſe, who were choſen into any of the colleges by the palatine's court, out of the landgraves, caſſiques, or eldeſt ſons of proprietors; one out of thoſe who were choſen by the landgraves chamber; and one out of thoſe, who were choſen by the caſſiques chamber; two out of thoſe, who were choſen by the commons chamber; and one out of thoſe, who were choſen by the palatine's court, out of the proprietors younger ſons, or eldeſt ſons of landgraves, caſſiques, or commons, qualified as aforeſaid.

XXX. When it ſhall happen that any counſellor dies, and thereby there is a vacancy, the grand council ſhall have power to remove any counſellor that is willing to be removed out of any of the proprietors courts to fill up the vacancy; provided they take a man of the ſame degree and choice the other was of, whoſe vacant place is to be filled up. But if no counſellor conſent to be removed, or upon ſuch remove the laſt remaining vacant place, in any of the proprietor's courts, ſhall be

filled up by the choice of the grand council, who ſhall have power to remove out of any of the colleges any aſſiſtant, who is of the ſame degree and choice that counſellor was of, into whoſe vacant place he is to ſucceed. The grand council alſo ſhall have power to remove any aſſiſtant, that is willing, out of one college into another, provided he be of the ſame degree and choice. But the laſt remaining vacant place in any college, ſhall be filled up by the ſame choice, and out of the ſame degree of perſons the aſſiſtant was of who is dead, or removed. No place ſhall be vacant in any proprietor's court above ſix months. No place ſhall be vacant in any college longer than the next ſeſſion of parliament.

XXXI. No man, being a member of the grand council, or of any of the ſeven colleges, ſhall be turned out, but for miſdemeanor, of which the grand council ſhall be judge; and the vacancy of the perſon ſo put out ſhall be filled, not by the election of the grand council, but by thoſe, who firſt choſe him, and out of the ſame degree he was of, who is expelled. But it is not hereby to be underſtood, that the grand council hath any power to turn out any one of the lords proprietors or their deputies, the lords proprietors having in themſelves an inherent original right.

XXXII. All elections in the parliament, in the ſeveral chambers of the parliament, and in the grand council, ſhall be paſſed by balloting.

XXXIII. The palatine's court ſhall conſiſt of the palatine, and ſeven proprietors, wherein nothing ſhall be acted without the preſence and conſent of the palatine or his deputy, and three others of the proprietors or their deputies. This court ſhall have power to call parliaments, to pardon all offences, to make elections of all officers in the proprietor's diſpoſe, and to nominate and appoint port-towns; and alſo ſhall have power by their order to the treaſurer, to diſpoſe of all public treaſure, excepting money granted by the parliament, and by them directed to ſome particular public uſe; and alſo ſhall have a negative upon all acts, orders, votes, and judgments, of the grand council and the parliament, except only as in § VI. and XII. and ſhall have all

all the powers granted to the lords proprietors, by their patent from our ſovereign lord the king, except in ſuch things as are limited by theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions.

XXXIV. The palatine himſelf, when he in perſon ſhall be either in the army, or in any of the proprietors courts, ſhall then have the power of general, or of that proprietor, in whoſe court he is then preſent; and the proprietor, in whoſe court the palatine then preſides, ſhall during his preſence there be but as one of the council.

XXXV. The chancellor's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors, and his ſix counſellors, who ſhall be called vice-chancellors, ſhall have the cuſtody of the ſeal of the palatine, under which charters of lands or otherwiſe, commiſſions and grants of the palatine's court, ſhall paſs. And it ſhall not be lawful to put the ſeal of the palatinate to any writing, which is not ſigned by the palatinate or his deputy, and three other proprietors or their deputies. To this court alſo belong all ſtate matters, diſpatches, and treaties with the neighbour indians. To this court alſo belong all invaſions of the law, of liberty of conſcience, and all diſturbances of the public peace, upon pretence of religion, as alſo the licence of printing. The twelve aſſiſtants belonging to this court ſhall be called recorders.

XXXVI. Whatever paſſes under the ſeal of the palatinate, ſhall be regiſtered in that proprietor's court, to which the matter therein contained belongs.

XXXVII. The chancellor, or his deputy, ſhall be always ſpeaker in parliament, and preſident of the grand council; and in his and his deputy's abſence, one of his vice-chancellors.

XXXVIII. The chief juſtice's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors and his ſix counſellors, who ſhall be called juſtices of the bench, ſhall judge all appeals in caſes both civil and criminal, except all ſuch caſes as ſhall be under the juriſdiction and cognizance of any other of the proprietors courts, which ſhall be tried in thoſe courts reſpectively. The government and regulation of the regiſtries of writings and contracts, ſhall be-

belong to the juriſdiction of this court. The twelve aſſiſtants of this court ſhall be called maſters.

XXXIX. The conſtable's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors and his ſix counſellors, who ſhall be called marſhals, ſhall order and determine of all military affairs by land, and all land-forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, garriſons and forts, &c. and whatever belongs unto war. His twelve aſſiſtants ſhall be called lieutenant-generals.

XL. In time of actual war, the conſtable, whilſt he is in the army, ſhall be general of the army; and the ſix counſellors, or ſuch of them as the palatine's court ſhall for that time or ſervice appoint, ſhall be the immediate great officers under him, and the lieutenant-generals next to them.

XLI. The admiral's court, conſiſting of one of the proprietors, and his ſix counſellors, called conſuls, ſhall have the care and inſpection over all ports, moles, and navigable rivers, ſo far as the tide flows, and alſo all the public ſhipping of Carolina, and ſtores thereunto belonging, and all maritime affairs. This court alſo ſhall have the power of the court of admiralty; and ſhall have power to conſtitute judges in port-towns, to try caſes belonging to law-merchant, as ſhall be moſt convenient for trade. The twelve aſſiſtants, belonging to this court, ſhall be called proconſuls.

XLII. In time of actual war, the admiral, whilſt he is at ſea, ſhall command in chief, and his ſix counſellors, or ſuch of them as the palatine's court ſhall for that time and ſervice appoint, ſhall be the immediate great officers under him, and the proconſuls next to them.

XLIII. The treaſurer's court, conſiſting of a proprietor and his ſix counſellors, called under-treaſurers, ſhall take care of all matters that concern the public revenue and treaſury. The twelve aſſiſtants ſhall be called auditors.

XLIV. The high ſteward's court, conſiſting of a proprietor and his ſix counſellors, called comptrollers, ſhall have the care of all foreign and domeſtic trade, manufactures, public buildings, work-houſes, highways, paſſages by water above the flood of the tide, drains, ſewers,

ſewers, and banks againſt inundations, bridges, poſt, carriers, fairs, markets, corruption or infection of the common air or water, and all things in order to the public commerce and health; alſo ſetting out and ſurveying of lands; and alſo ſetting out and appointing places for towns to be built on in the precincts, and the preſcribing and determining the figure and bigneſs of the ſaid towns, according to ſuch models as the ſaid court ſhall order; contrary or differing from which models it ſhall not be lawful for any one to build in any town. This court ſhall have power alſo to make any public building, or any new highway, or enlarge any old highway, upon any man's land whatſoever; as alſo to make cuts, channels, banks, locks, and bridges, for making rivers navigable, or for draining fens, or any other public uſe. The damage the owner of ſuch lands, (on or through which any ſuch public things ſhall be made) ſhall receive thereby, ſhall be valued, and ſatisfaction made by ſuch ways as the grand council ſhall appoint. The twelve aſſiſtants, belonging to this court, ſhall be called ſurveyors.

XLV. The chamberlain's court, conſiſting of a proprietor and his ſix counſellors, called vice-chamberlains, ſhall have the care of all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of public meſſengers, pedigrees, the regiſtry of all births, burials, and marriages, legitimation, and all caſes concerning matrimony, or ariſing from it; and ſhall alſo have power to regulate all faſhions, habits, badges, games, and ſports. To this court alſo it ſhall belong to convocate the grand council. The twelve aſſiſtants belonging to this court ſhall be called provoſts.

XLVI. All cauſes belonging to, or under the juriſdiction of any of the proprietors courts, ſhall in them reſpectively be tried, and ultimately determined without any farther appeal.

XLVII. The proprietors courts ſhall have a power to mitigate all fines, and ſuſpend all executions in criminal cauſes, either before or after ſentence, in any of the other inferiour courts reſpectively.

XLVIII.

XLVIII. In all debates, hearings, or trials, in any of the proprietors courts, the twelve aſſiſtants belonging to the ſaid courts reſpectively, ſhall have liberty to be preſent, but ſhall not interpoſe, unleſs their opinions be required, nor have any vote at all; but their buſineſs ſhall be, by the direction of the reſpective courts, to prepare ſuch buſineſs as ſhall be committed to them; as alſo to bear ſuch offices, and diſpatch ſuch affairs, either where the court is kept, or elſewhere, as the court ſhall think fit.

XLIX. In all the proprietors courts, the proprietor, and any three of his counſellors, ſhall make a quorum; provided always, that for the better diſpatch of buſineſs, it ſhall be in the power of the palatine's court, to direct what ſort of cauſes ſhall be heard and determined by a quorum of any three.

L. The grand council ſhall conſiſt of the palatine and ſeven proprietors, and the forty-two counſellors of the ſeveral proprietors courts, who ſhall have power to determine any controverſies that may ariſe between any of the proprietor's courts, about their reſpective juriſdictions, or between the members of the ſame court, about their manner and methods of proceeding; to make peace and war, leagues, treaties, &c. with any of the neighbour indians; to iſſue out their general orders to the conſtable's and admiral's courts, for the raiſing, diſpoſing, or diſbanding the forces, by land or by ſea.

LI. The grand council ſhall prepare all matters to be propoſed in parliament. Nor ſhall any matter whatſoever be propoſed in parliament, but what hath firſt paſſed the grand council; which, after having been read three ſeveral days in the parliament, ſhall by majority of votes be paſſed or rejected.

LII. The grand council ſhall always be judges of all cauſes and appeals that concern the palatine, or any of the lords proprietors, or any counſellor of any proprietor's court, in any cauſe, which otherwiſe ſhould have been tried in the court, in which the ſaid counſellor is judge himſelf.

LIII. The grand council, by their warrants to the treaſurer's court, ſhall diſpoſe of all the money given by the

the parliament, and by them directed to any particular public uſe.

LIV. The quorum of the grand council ſhall be thirteen, whereof a proprietor, or his deputy, ſhall be always one.

LV. The grand council ſhall meet the firſt Tueſday in every month, and as much oftener as either they ſhall think fit, or they ſhall be convocated by the chamberlain's court.

LVI. The palatine, or any of the lords proprietors, ſhall have power, under hand and ſeal, to be regiſtered in the grand council, to make a deputy, who ſhall have the ſame power, to all intents and purpoſes, as he himſelf who deputes him; except in confirming acts of parliament, as in § LXXVI, and except alſo in nominating and chooſing landgraves and caſſiques, as in § X. All ſuch deputations ſhall ceaſe and determine at the end of four years, and at any time ſhall be revocable at the pleaſure of the deputator.

LVII. No deputy of any proprietor ſhall have any power, whilſt the deputator is in any part of Carolina, except the proprietor, whoſe deputy he is, be a minor.

LVIII. During the minority of any proprietor, his guardian ſhall have power to conſtitute and appoint his deputy.

LIX. The eldeſt of the lords proprietors, who ſhall be perſonally in Carolina, ſhall of courſe be the palatine's deputy, and if no proprietor be in Carolina, he ſhall chooſe his deputy out of the heirs-apparent of any of the proprietors, if any ſuch be there; and if there be no heir apparent of any of the lords proprietors above one and twenty years old, in Carolina, then he ſhall chooſe for deputy any one of the landgraves of the grand council: till he have, by deputation, under hand and ſeal, choſen any one of the fore-mentioned heirs apparent, or landgraves, to be his deputy, the eldeſt man of the landgraves, and for want of a landgrave, the eldeſt man of the caſſiques, who ſhall be perſonally in Carolina, ſhall of courſe be his deputy.

LX. Each proprietor's deputy ſhall be always one of his own ſix counſellors reſpectively; and in caſe any of the

the proprietors hath not, in his abſence out of Carolina, a deputy, commiſſioned under his hand and ſeal, the eldeſt nobleman of his court ſhall of courſe be his deputy.

LXI. In every county there ſhall be a court, conſiſting of a ſheriff and four juſtices of the county, for every precinct one. The ſheriff ſhall be an inhabitant of the county, and have at leaſt five hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid county; and the juſtices ſhall be inhabitants, and have each of them five hundred acres a-piece freehold within the precinct, for which they ſerve reſpectively. Theſe five ſhall be choſen and commiſſioned from time to time by the palatine's court.

LXII. For any perſonal cauſes exceeding the value of two hundred pounds ſterling, or in title of land, or in any criminal cauſe: either party, upon paying twenty pounds ſterling to the lords proprietors uſe, ſhall have liberty of appeal from the county-court unto the reſpective proprietor's court.

LXIII. In every precinct there ſhall be a court, conſiſting of a ſteward and four juſtices of the precinct, being inhabitants, and having three hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid precinct, who ſhall judge all criminal cauſes; except for treaſon, murder, and any other offences puniſhable with death, and except all criminal cauſes of the nobility; and ſhall judge alſo all civil cauſes whatſoever; and in all perſonal actions, not exceeding fifty pounds ſterling, without appeal; but where the cauſe ſhall exceed that value, or concern a title of land, and in all criminal cauſes; there either party, upon paying five pounds ſterling to the lords proprietors uſe, ſhall have liberty of appeal to the county-court.

LXIV. No cauſe ſhall be twice tried in any one court, upon any reaſon or pretence whatſoever.

LXV. For treaſon, murder, and all other offences puniſhable with death, there ſhall be a commiſſion, twice a year, at leaſt, granted unto one or more members of the grand council, or colleges, who ſhall come as itinerant judges to the ſeveral counties, and, with the ſheriff and four juſtices, ſhall hold aſſizes to judge all

ſuch

ſuch cauſes; but, upon paying of fifty pounds ſterling to the lords proprietors uſe, there ſhall be liberty of appeal to the reſpective proprietor's court.

LXVI. The grand jury at the ſeveral aſſizes ſhall, upon their oaths, and under their hands and ſeals, deliver in to the itinerant judges a preſentment of ſuch grievances, miſdemeanors, exigencies, or defects, which they think neceſſary for the public good of the country; which preſentments ſhall, by the itinerant judges, at the end of their circuit, be delivered in to the grand council at their next ſitting. And whatſoever therein concerns the execution of laws already made, the ſeveral proprietors courts, in the matters belonging to each of them reſpectively, ſhall take cognizance of it, and give ſuch order about it as ſhall be effectual for the due execution of the laws. But whatever concerns the making of any new law, ſhall be referred to the ſeveral reſpective courts to which that matter belongs, and be by them prepared and brought to the grand council.

LXVII. For terms, there ſhall be quarterly ſuch a certain number of days, not exceeding one and twenty at any one time, as the ſeveral reſpective courts ſhall appoint. The time for the beginning of the term, in the precinct-court, ſhall be the firſt Monday in January, April, July, and October; in the county-court, the firſt Monday in February, May, Auguſt, and November; and in the proprietors courts, the firſt Monday in March, June, September, and December.

LXVIII. In the precinct-court no man ſhall be a jury-man under fifty acres of freehold. In the county-court, or at the aſſizes, no man ſhall be a grand jury-man under three hundred acres of freehold; and no man ſhall be a petty jury-man under two hundred acres of freehold. In the proprietors courts no man ſhall be a jury-man, under five hundred acres of freehold.

LXIX. Every jury ſhall conſiſt of twelve men; and it ſhall not be neceſſary they ſhould all agree, but the verdict ſhall be according to the conſent of the majority.

LXX. It ſhall be a baſe and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor ſhall any one (except he be a near kinſman, not farther off than couſin-german to the party

party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cauſe, till before the judge, in open court, he hath taken an oath, that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath, nor will receive, nor directly, nor indirectly, bargained with the party whoſe cauſe he is going to plead, for money or any other reward, for pleading his cauſe.

LXXI. There ſhall be a parliament, conſiſting of the proprietors, or their deputies, the landgraves and caſſiques, and one freeholder out of every precinct, to be choſen by the freeholders of the ſaid precinct reſpectively. They ſhall ſit all together in one room, and have every member one vote.

LXXII. No man ſhall be choſen a member of parliament who hath leſs than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct, for which he is choſen; nor ſhall any have a vote in chooſing the ſaid member that hath leſs than fifty acres of freehold within the ſaid precinct.

LXXIII. A new parliament ſhall be aſſembled the firſt Monday of the month of November every ſecond year, and ſhall meet and ſit in the town they laſt ſat in, without any ſummons, unleſs, by the palatine's court, they be ſummoned to meet at any other place. And if there ſhall be any occaſion of a parliament in theſe intervals, it ſhall be in the power of the palatine's court to aſſemble them in forty days notice, and at ſuch time and place as the ſaid court ſhall think fit; and the palatine's court ſhall have power to diſſolve the ſaid parliament when they ſhall think fit.

LXXIV. At the opening of every parliament, the firſt thing that ſhall be done, ſhall be the reading of theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions, which the palatine and proprietors, and the reſt of the members then preſent, ſhall ſubſcribe. Nor ſhall any perſon whatſoever ſit or vote in the parliament, till he hath that ſeſſion ſubſcribed theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions, in a book kept for that purpoſe by the clerk of the parliament.

LXXV. In order to the due election of members for the biennial parliament, it ſhall be lawful for the freeholders of the reſpective precincts to meet the firſt Tueſday in September every two years, in the ſame

town

town or place that they laſt met in to chooſe parliament-men; and there chooſe thoſe members that are to ſit the next November following, unleſs the ſteward of the precinct ſhall, by ſufficient notice thirty days before, appoint ſome other place for their meeting, in order to the election.

LXXVI. No act, or order of parliament, ſhall be of any force, unleſs it be ratified in open parliament, during the ſame ſeſſion, by the palatine or his deputy, and three more of the lords proprietors, or their deputies; and then not to continue longer in force but until the next biennial parliament, unleſs, in the mean time, it be ratified under the hands and ſeals of the palatine himſelf, and three more of the lords proprietors themſelves, and by their order publiſhed at the next biennial parliament.

LXXVII. Any proprietor, or his deputy, may enter his proteſtation againſt any act of the parliament, before the palatine or his deputy's conſent be given as aforeſaid; if he ſhall conceive the ſaid act to be contrary to this eſtabliſhment, or any of theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions of the government. And in ſuch caſe, after full and free debate, the ſeveral eſtates ſhall retire into four ſeveral chambers; the palatine and proprietors into one; the landgraves into another; the caſſiques into another; and thoſe choſen by the precincts into a fourth; and if the major part of any of the four eſtates ſhall vote that the law is not agreeable to this eſtabliſhment, and theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions of the government, then it ſhall paſs no farther, but be as if it had never been propoſed.

LXXVIII. The quorum of the parliament ſhall be one half of thoſe who are members, and capable of ſitting in the houſe that preſent ſeſſion of parliament. The quorum of each of the chambers of parliament ſhall be one half of the members of that chamber.

LXXIX. To avoid multiplicity of laws, which by degrees always change the right foundations of the original government, all acts of parliament whatſoever, in whatſoever form paſſed or enacted, ſhall at the end of an hundred years after their enacting, reſpectively ceaſe

and determine of themſelves, and without any repeal become null and void, as if no ſuch acts or laws had ever been made.

LXXX. Since multiplicity of comments, as well as of laws, have great inconveniencies, and ſerve only to obſcure and perplex; all manner of comments and expoſitions, on any part of theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions, or any part of the common or ſtatute law of Carolina, are abſolutely prohibited.

LXXXI. There ſhall be a regiſtry in every precinct, wherein ſhall be enrolled all deeds, leaſes, judgments, mortgages, and other conveyances, which may concern any of the land within the ſaid precinct; and all ſuch conveyances, not ſo entered or regiſtered, ſhall not be of force againſt any perſon or party to the ſaid contract or conveyance.

LXXXII. No man ſhall be regiſter of any precinct who hath not at leaſt three hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid precinct.

LXXXIII. The freeholders of every precinct ſhall nominate three men; out of which three, the chief juſtice's court ſhall chooſe and commiſſion one to be regiſter of the ſaid precinct, whilſt he ſhall well behave himſelf.

LXXXIV. There ſhall be a regiſtry in every ſigniory, barony, and colony, wherein ſhall be recorded all the births, marriages, and deaths, that ſhall happen within the reſpective ſigniories, baronies, and colonies.

LXXXV. No man ſhall be regiſter of a colony that hath not above fifty acres of freehold within the ſaid colony.

LXXXVI. The time of every one's age, that is born in Carolina, ſhall be reckoned from the day that his birth is entered in the regiſtry, and not before.

LXXXVII. No marriage ſhall be lawful, whatever contract and ceremony they have uſed, till both the parties mutually own it before the regiſter of the place where they were married, and he regiſter it, with the names of the father and mother of each party.

LXXXVIII. No man ſhall adminiſter to the goods, or have right to them, or enter upon the eſtate of any perſon

perſon deceaſed, till his death be regiſtered in the reſpective regiſtry.

LXXXIX. He that doth not enter, in the reſpective regiſtry, the birth or death of any perſon that is born, or dies, in his houſe or ground, ſhall pay to the ſaid regiſter one ſhilling per week for each ſuch neglect, reckoning from the time of each birth, or death, reſpectively, to the time of regiſtering it.

XC. In like manner the births, marriages, and deaths, of the lords proprietors, landgraves, and caſſiques, ſhall be regiſtered in the chamberlain's court.

XCI. There ſhall be in every colony one conſtable, to be choſen annually by the freeholders of the colony; his eſtate ſhall be above a hundred acres of freehold within the ſaid colony, and ſuch ſubordinate officers appointed for his aſſiſtance, as the county-court ſhall find requiſite, and ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the ſaid county-court. The election of the ſubordinate annual officers ſhall be alſo in the freeholders of the colony.

XCII. All towns incorporate ſhall be governed by a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four of the common-council. The ſaid common-council ſhall be choſen by the preſent houſholders of the ſaid town; the aldermen ſhall be choſen out of the common-council; and the mayor out of the aldermen, by the palatine's court.

XCIII. It being of great conſequence to the plantation, that port-towns ſhould be built and preſerved; therefore whoſoever ſhall lade or unlade any commodity at any other place but a port-town, ſhall forfeit to the lords proprietors, for each tun ſo laden or unladen, the ſum of ten pounds ſterling; except only ſuch goods as the palatine's court ſhall licenſe to be laden or unladen elſewhere.

XCIV. The firſt port-town upon every river, ſhall be in a colony, and be a port-town for ever.

XCV. No man ſhall be permitted to be a freeeman of Carolina, or to have any eſtate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD; and that God is publicly and ſolemnly to be worſhipped.

XCVI. [As the country comes to be ſufficiently planted and diſtributed into fit diviſions, it ſhall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exerciſe of religion, according to the church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is ſo alſo of Carolina; and therefore it alone ſhall be allowed to receive public maintenance, by grant of parliament *].

XCVII. But ſince the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly ſtrangers to chriſtianity, whoſe idolatry, ignorance, or miſtake, gives us no right to expel, or uſe them ill; and thoſe who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reaſonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidſt the diverſity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully obſerved; the violation whereof, upon what pretence ſoever, cannot be without great offence to almighty God, and great ſcandal to the true religion, which we profeſs; and alſo that jews, heathens, and other diſſenters from the purity of the chriſtian religion, may not be ſcared and kept at a diſtance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its doctrines, and the peaceableneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, may by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſign of the goſpel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any ſeven or more perſons, agreeing in any religion, ſhall conſti-

* This article was not drawn up by Mr. Locke; but inſerted by ſome of the chief of the proprietors, againſt his judgment; as Mr. Locke himſelf informed one of his friends, to whom he preſented a copy of thoſe conſtitutions.

tute

tute a church or profeſſion, to which they ſhall give ſome name, to diſtinguiſh it from others.

XCVIII. The terms of admittance and communion with any church or profeſſion ſhall be written in a book, and therein be ſubſcribed by all the members of the ſaid church or profeſſion; which book ſhall be kept by the public regiſter of the precinct where they reſide.

XCIX. The time of every one's ſubſcription and admittance ſhall be dated in the ſaid book or religious record.

C. In the terms of communion of every church or profeſſion, theſe following ſhall be three; without which no agreement or aſſembly of men, upon pretence of religion, ſhall be accounted a church or profeſſion within theſe rules:

1. "That there is a GOD.

2. "That GOD is publicly to be worſhipped.

3. "That it is lawful and the duty of every man, "being thereunto called by thoſe that govern, to bear "witneſs to truth; and that every church or profeſſion "ſhall in their terms of communion ſet down the ex-"ternal way whereby they witneſs a truth as in the pre-"ſence of GOD, whether it be by laying hands on, or "kiſſing the bible, as in the church of England, or by "holding up the hand, or any other ſenſible way."

CI. No perſon above ſeventeen years of age ſhall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of ſome church or profeſſion, having his name recorded in ſome one, and but one religious record at once.

CII. No perſon of any other church or profeſſion ſhall diſturb or moleſt any religious aſſembly.

CIII. No perſon whatſoever ſhall ſpeak any thing in their religious aſſembly, irreverently or ſeditiouſly of the government or governors, or ſtate-matters.

CIV. Any perſon ſubſcribing the terms of communion in the record of the ſaid church or profeſſion, before the precinct regiſter, and any five members of the ſaid church or profeſſion; ſhall be thereby made a member of the ſaid church or profeſſion.

CV. Any perſon ſtriking out his own name out of any religious record, or his name being ſtruck out by any of-

ficer thereunto authoriſed by each church or profeſſion reſpectively, ſhall ceaſe to be a member of that church or profeſſion.

CVI. No man ſhall uſe any reproachful, reviling, or abuſive language, againſt any religion of any church or profeſſion; that being the certain way of diſturbing the peace, and of hindering the converſion of any to the truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animolities, to the hatred of the profeſſors and that profeſſion, which otherwiſe they might be brought to aſſent to.

CVII. Since charity obliges us to wiſh well to the ſouls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil eſtate or right, it ſhall be lawful for ſlaves, as well as others, to enter themſelves, and be of what church or profeſſion any of them ſhall think beſt, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no ſlave ſhall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his maſter hath over him, but be in all other things in the ſame ſtate and condition he was in before.

CVIII. Aſſemblies, upon what pretence ſoever of religion, not obſerving and performing the aboveſaid rules, ſhall not be eſteemed as churches, but unlawful meetings, and be puniſhed as other riots.

CIX. No perſon whatſoever ſhall diſturb, moleſt, or perſecute another for his ſpeculative opinions in religion, or his way of worſhip.

CX. Every freeman of Carolina ſhall have abſolute power and authority over his negro ſlaves, of what opinion or religion ſoever.

CXI. No cauſe, whether civil or criminal, of any freeman, ſhall be tried in any court of judicature, without a jury of his peers.

CXII. No perſon whatſoever ſhall hold or claim any land in Carolina by purchaſe or gift, or otherwiſe, from the natives or any other whatſoever; but merely from and under the lords proprietors; upon pain of forfeiture of all his eſtate, moveable or immoveable, and perpetual baniſhment.

CXIII. Whoſoever ſhall poſſeſs any freehold in Carolina, upon what title or grant ſoever, ſhall, at the fartheſt from and after the year one thouſand ſix hundred eighty-nine, pay yearly unto the lords proprietors, for

for each acre of land, Engliſh meaſure, as much fine ſilver as is at this preſent in one Engliſh penny, or the value thereof, to be as a chief rent and acknowledgment to the lords proprietors, their heirs and ſucceſſors for ever. And it ſhall be lawful for the palatine's court by their officers, at any time, to take a new ſurvey of any man's land, not to out him of any part of his poſſeſſion, but that by ſuch a ſurvey the juſt number of acres he poſſeſſeth may be known, and the rent thereupon due may be paid by him.

CXIV. All wrecks, mines, minerals, quarries of gems, and precious ſtones, with pearl-fiſhing, whale-fiſhing, and one half of all amber-greaſe, by whomſoever found, ſhall wholly belong to the lords proprietors.

CXV. All revenues and profits belonging to the lords proprietors, in common, ſhall be divided into ten parts, whereof the palatine ſhall have three, and each proprietor one; but, if the palatine ſhall govern by a deputy, his deputy ſhall have one of thoſe three tenths, and the palatine the other two tenths.

CXVI. All inhabitants and freemen of Carolina above ſeventeen years of age, and under ſixty, ſhall be bound to bear arms, and ſerve as ſoldiers whenever the grand council ſhall find it neceſſary.

CXVII. A true copy of theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions ſhall be kept in a great book by the regiſter of every precinct, to be ſubſcribed before the ſaid regiſter. Nor ſhall any perſon of what condition or degree ſoever, above ſeventeen years old, have any eſtate or poſſeſſion in Carolina, or protection or benefit of the law there, who hath not, before a precinct regiſter, ſubſcribed theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions in this form:

"I A. B. do promiſe to bear faith and true alle-
"giance to our ſovereign lord king Charles the
"Second, his heirs and ſucceſſors; and will be
"true and faithful to the palatine and lords pro-
"prietors of Carolina, their heirs and ſucceſſors;
"and with my utmoſt power will defend them,

" and maintain the government according to this
" eſtabliſhment in theſe Fundamental Conſtitu-
" tions."

CXVIII. Whatſoever alien ſhall, in this form, before any precinct regiſter, ſubſcribe theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions, ſhall be thereby naturalized.

CXIX. In the ſame manner ſhall every perſon, at his admittance into any office, ſubſcribe theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions.

CXX. Theſe Fundamental Conſtitutions, in number a hundred and twenty, and every part thereof, ſhall be and remain the ſacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever. Witneſs our hands and ſeals, the firſt day of March, 1669.

RULES OF PRECEDENCY.

I. THE lords proprietors; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

II. The eldeſt ſons of the lords proprietors; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

III. The landgraves of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

IV. The caſſiques of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

V. The ſeven commoners of the grand council that have been longeſt of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

VI. The younger ſons of the proprietors; the eldeſt firſt, and ſo in order.

VII. The landgraves; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

VIII. The ſeven commoners, who next to thoſe before-mentioned have been longeſt of the grand council

he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

IX. The caſſiques; the eldeſt in age firſt, and ſo in order.

X. The ſeven remaining commoners of the grand council; he that hath been longeſt of the grand council firſt, and ſo in order.

XI. The male line of the proprietors.

The reſt ſhall be determined by the chamberlain's court.

A

LETTER

FROM A

PERSON OF QUALITY

TO HIS

FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY;

GIVING

An Account of the Debates and Reſolutions of the Houſe of Lords, in April and May, 1675, concerning a Bill, intitled, "An Act to prevent the Dangers "which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the "Government."

SIR,

THIS ſeſſion being ended, and the bill of teſt being finiſhed at the committee of the whole houſe; I can now give you a perfect account of this ſtate maſter-piece. It was firſt hatched (as almoſt all the miſchiefs of the world have hitherto been) amongſt the great church-men; and is a project of ſeveral years ſtanding, but found not miniſters bold enough to go through with it, until theſe new ones, who, wanting a better bottom to ſupport them, betook themſelves wholly to this; which is no ſmall undertaking, if you conſider it in its whole extent.

Firſt,

Firſt, To make a diſtinct party from the reſt of the nation of the high epiſcopal men and the old cavaliers; who are to ſwallow the hopes of enjoying all the power and offices of the kingdom; being alſo tempted by the advantage they may receive from overthrowing the act of oblivion; and not a little rejoicing to think, how valiant they ſhould prove, if they could get any to fight the old quarrel over again, now they are poſſeſſed of the arms, forts, and ammunition of the nation.

Next, they deſign to have the government of the church ſworn to as unalterable; and ſo tacitly owned to be of divine right; which, though inconſiſtent with the oath of ſupremacy, yet the churchmen eaſily break through all obligations whatſoever, to attain this ſtation, the advantage which the prelate of Rome hath ſufficiently taught the world.

Then, in requital to the crown, they declare the government abſolute and arbitrary; and allow monarchy, as well as epiſcopacy, to be jure divino, and not to be bounded or limited by any human laws.

And to ſecure all this, they reſolve to take away the power and opportunity of parliaments to alter any thing in church or ſtate; only leave them as an inſtrument to raiſe money, and to paſs ſuch laws as the court and church ſhall have a mind to; the attempt of any other, how neceſſary ſoever, muſt be no leſs a crime than perjury.

And as the top ſtone of the whole fabric, a pretence ſhall be taken from the jealouſies they themſelves have raiſed, and a real neceſſity from the ſmallneſs of their party, to increaſe and keep up a ſtanding army: and then in due time the cavalier and churchman will be made greater fools, but as arrant ſlaves as the reſt of the nation.

In order to this, the firſt ſtep was made in the act for regulating corporations, wiſely beginning that, in thoſe leſſer governments, which they meant afterwards to introduce upon the government of the nation; and making them ſwear to a declaration and belief of ſuch propoſitions as they themſelves afterwards, upon debate, were enforced to alter, and could not juſtify in thoſe words*;

words*; ſo that many of the wealthieſt, worthieſt, and ſobereſt men, are ſtill kept out of the magiſtracy of thoſe places.

The next ſtep was in the act of militia†, which went for moſt of the chiefeſt nobility, and gentry, being obliged as lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, &c. to ſwear to the ſame declaration and belief; with the addition only of theſe words, "in purſuance of ſuch mi-"litary commiſſions;" which makes the matter rather worſe than better. Yet this went down ſmoothly, as an oath in faſhion, a teſtimony of loyalty; and none adventuring freely to debate the matter, the humour of the age, like a ſtrong tide, carries wiſe and good men down before it. This act is of a piece; for it eſtabliſheth a ſtanding army by a law, and ſwears us into a military government.

Immediately after this, followeth the act of uniformity, by which all the clergy of England are obliged to ſubſcribe, and declare what the corporations, nobility, and gentry had before ſworn; but with this additional clauſe of the militia act omitted. This the clergy readily complied with; for you know, that ſort of men are taught rather to obey than underſtand; and to uſe that learning they have, to juſtify, not to examine what their ſuperiours command. And yet that Bartholomew-day was fatal to our church and religion, in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to this, and other things in that act. And it is upon this occaſion worth your knowledge, that ſo great was the zeal in carrying on this church affair, and ſo blind

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* By the act for the well governing and regulating of corporations, paſſed in the year 1661, all perſons bearing any office of magiſtracy, place of truſt, or other employment, relating to the government of any city, corporation, borough, &c. were ordered to take the following oath:

"I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any pre-"tence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king; and that I do "abhor that traitorous poſition of taking arms by his authority "againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him."

† The act for ordering the forces in the ſeveral counties of this kingdom.

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was the obedience required, that if you compute the time of the paſſing this act, with the time allowed for the clergy to ſubſcribe the book of Common-Prayer thereby eſtabliſhed; you ſhall plainly find it could not be printed and diſtributed ſo, as one man in forty could have ſeen and read the book they did ſo perfectly aſſent and conſent to*.

But this matter was not complete until the five-mile act paſſed at Oxford, wherein they take an opportunity to introduce the oath in the terms they would have it†. This was then ſtrongly oppoſed by the lord treaſurer Southampton, lord Wharton, lord Aſhley‡, and others; not only in the concern of thoſe poor miniſters that were ſo ſeverely handled, but as it was in itſelf a moſt unlawful, and unjuſtifiable oath. However, the zeal of that time againſt all non-conformiſts eaſily paſſed the act.

This act was ſeconded the ſame ſeſſion at Oxford, by another bill in the houſe of commons, to have impo-

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* By the act of uniformity of public prayers, &c. which received the royal aſſent, on the 19th of May, 1662, all parſons, vicars or other miniſters, &c. were ordered to conform to the church of England, before the feaſt of St. Bartholomew, or the 24th of Auguſt following, upon pain of loſing all their eccleſiaſtical preferments, &c. And it is certain, that, "the Common-"Prayer Book, with the alterations and amendments ..... made by the "convocation, did not come out of the preſs till a few days before the "24th of Auguſt." See Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's hiſtory of his life and times, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

† By that act, paſſed in the parliament held at Oxford the 9th of October, 1665, and intitled, An act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting corporations; the non-conforming miniſters were prohibited, upon a penalty of forty pounds for every offence, to come, unleſs only in paſſing upon the road, within five miles of any city, corporation, borough, town, or place where they had been miniſters, or had preached, after the act of uniformity; unleſs they firſt ſubſcribed to the declarations of the act of uniformity, and did take and ſubſcribe the following oath:

"I A. B. do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever "to take arms againſt the king: and that I do abhor that traitor-"ous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, "or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of "ſuch commiſſions; and that I will not at any time endeavour "any alteration of government, either in church or ſtate."

‡ Anthony Aſhley-Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftſbury.

ſed that oath on the whole nation. And the providence, by which it was thrown out, was very remarkable; for Mr. Peregrine Bertie, being newly choſen, was that morning introduced into the houſe by his brother the now earl of Lindſey, and ſir Thomas Oſborn*, now lord treaſurer, who all three gave their votes againſt that bill; and the numbers were ſo even upon the diviſion, that their three votes carried the queſtion againſt it. But we owe that right to the earl of Lindſey, and the lord treaſurer, as to acknowledge that they have ſince made ample ſatisfaction for whatever offence they gave either the church or court in that vote.

Thus our church became triumphant, and continued ſo for divers years; the diſſenting proteſtant being the only enemy, and therefore only perſecuted; whilſt the papiſts remained undiſturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great biſhops not dangerous; they differing only in doctrine and fundamentals; but, as to the government of the church, that was, in their religion, in its higheſt exaltation.

This dominion continued unto them, until the lord Clifford, a man of a daring and ambitious ſpirit, made his way to the chief miniſtry of affairs by other and far different meaſures; and took the opportunity of the war with Holland, the king was then engaged in, to propoſe the declaration of indulgence†, that the diſſenters of all ſorts, as well proteſtants as papiſts, might be at reſt, and ſo a vaſt number of people not be made deſperate at home, while the king was engaged with ſo potent an enemy abroad. This was no ſooner propoſed, but the earl of Shaftſbury, a man as daring, but more able, (though of principles and intereſt diametrically oppoſite to the other) preſently cloſed with it; and perhaps the opportunity I have had, by my converſation with them both; who were men of diverſion, and of free and open diſcourſes where they

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* Sir Thomas Oſborn, created afterwards baron of Kiveton and viſcount Latimer, in 1673; earl of Danby, in 1674; marquis of Caermarthen, in 1689; and duke of Leeds, in 1694.

† That declaration bore date, March 17, 1671-2.

had a confidence; may give you more light into both their deſigns, and ſo by conſequence the aims of their parties, than you will have from any other hand.

My lord Clifford did in expreſs terms tell me one day in private diſcourſe: "That the king, if he would "be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what religion he "pleaſed, and carry the government to what height he "would. For if men were aſſured in the liberty of "their conſcience, and undiſturbed in their properties, "able and upright judges made in Weſtminſter-hall, "to judge the cauſes of meum and tuum; and if, on the "other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finiſhed to bridle "the city; the fort of Plymouth to ſecure the weſt; "and arms for 20,000 in each of theſe; and in Hull, "for the northern parts; with ſome addition, which "might be eaſily and undiſcernably made to the forces "now on foot; there were none that would have "either will, opportunity, or power to reſiſt." But he added withal, "he was ſo ſincere in the main-"tenance of property and liberty of conſcience, that "if he had his will, though he ſhould introduce a "biſhop of Durham (which was the inſtance he then "made, that ſee being then vacant) of another religion; "yet he would not diſturb any of the church beſide, "but ſuffer them to die away, and not let his change "(how haſty ſoever he was in it) overthrow either of "thoſe principles, and therefore deſired he might be "thought an honeſt man as to his part of the decla-"ration, for he meant it really."

The lord Shaftſbury (with whom I had more freedom) I with great aſſurance aſked, "What he meant by the de-"claration? for it ſeemed to me (as I then told him) that "it aſſumed a power to repeal and ſuſpend all our laws, "to deſtroy the church, to overthrow the proteſtant "religion, and to tolerate popery." He replied, all angry, "that he wondered at my objection, there being "not one of theſe in the caſe. For the king aſſumed "no power of repealing laws, or ſuſpending them, "contrary to the will of his parliament or people; "and not to argue with me at that time the power "of the king's ſupremacy, which was of another na-

ture

" ture than that he had in civils, and had been exerciſed
" without exception in this very caſe by his father,
" grandfather, and queen Elizabeth, under the great
" ſeal to foreign proteſtants, become ſubjects of En-
" gland; not to inſtance in the ſuſpending the execu-
" tion of the two acts of navigation and trade, during
" both this, and the laſt dutch war, in the ſame
" words, and upon the ſame neceſſity, and as yet
" without clamour, that ever we heard; but to paſs
" by all that, this was certain, a government could not
" be ſuppoſed, whether monarchical, or of any other
" ſort, without a ſtanding ſupreme, executive power,
" fully enabled to mitigate, or wholly to ſuſpend, the
" execution of any penal law, in the intervals of the
" legiſlative power; which when aſſembled, there was
" no doubt but, wherever there lies a negative in paſ-
" ſing of a law, there the addreſs or ſenſe known of
" either of them to the contrary (as for inſtance of
" either of our two houſes of parliament in England)
" ought to determine that indulgence, and reſtore the
" law to its full execution. For without this, the laws
" were to no purpoſe made, if the prince could annul
" them at pleaſure; and ſo on the other hand, with-
" out a power always in being, of diſpenſing upon
" occaſion, was to ſuppoſe a conſtitution extremely
" imperfect and impracticable; and to cure thoſe with
" a legiſlative power always in being, is, when con-
" ſidered, no other than a perfect tyranny.

" As to the church, he conceived the declaration
" was extremely their intereſt; for the narrow bottom
" they had placed themſelves upon, and the meaſures
" they had proceeded by, ſo contrary to the properties
" and liberties of the nation, muſt needs, in a ſhort
" time, prove fatal to them; whereas this led them into
" another way, to live peaceably with the diſſenting
" and differing proteſtants, both at home and abroad,
" and ſo by neceſſary and unavoidable conſequences, to
" become the head of them all. For that place is due
" to the church of England, being in favour, and of
" neareſt approach to the moſt powerful prince of that
" religion, and ſo always had it in their hands to be

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" the interceſſors and procurers of the greateſt good " and protection that party, throughout all chriſten- " dom, can receive. And thus the archbiſhop of Can- " terbury might become, not only " alterius orbis," " but " alterius regionis papa;" and all this addition " of honour and power attained without the leaſt loſs, " or diminution of the church; it not being intended " that one living, dignity, or preferment, ſhould " be given to any but thoſe that were ſtrictly conform- " able.

" As to the proteſtant religion, he told me plainly, " it was for the preſerving of that, and that only, " that he heartily joined in the declaration; for, be- " ſides that, he thought it his duty to have care, in his " place and ſtation, of thoſe he was convinced were " the people of God, and feared him; though of dif- " ferent perſuaſions. He alſo knew nothing elſe but " liberty and indulgence, that could poſſibly (as our " caſe ſtood) ſecure the proteſtant religion in England; " and he begged me to conſider, if the church of En- " gland ſhould attain to a rigid, blind, and undiſ- " puted conformity, and that power of our church " ſhould come into the hands of a popiſh prince; " which was not a thing ſo impoſſible, or remote, as " not to be apprehended; whether in ſuch a caſe, " would not all the arms and artillery of the govern- " ment of the church be turned againſt the preſent " religion of it? And ſhould not all good proteſtants " tremble to think what biſhops ſuch a prince was " like to make, and whom thoſe biſhops would con- " demn for heretics, and that prince might burn. " Whereas if this, which is now but a declaration, " might ever, by the experience of it, gain the advan- " tage of becoming an eſtabliſhed law; the true pro- " teſtant religion would ſtill be kept up amongſt the " cities, towns, and trading places, and the worthieſt " and ſobereſt (if not the greateſt) part of the nobility, " and gentry, and people.

As for the toleration of popery, he ſaid, " It was a " pleaſant objection, ſince he could confidently ſay, " that the papiſts had no advantage in the leaſt, by

" this

" this declaration, that they did not as fully enjoy, and " with leſs noiſe, by the favour of all the biſhops. It " was the vanity of the lord-keeper, that they were " named at all; for the whole advantage was to the " diſſenting proteſtants, which were the only men diſ- " turbed before. And yet he confeſſed to me, that it " was his opinion, and always had been, that the papiſts " ought to have no other preſſure laid upon them, but " to be made incapable of office, court, or arms, and " to pay ſo much as might bring them at leaſt to a " balance with the proteſtants, for thoſe chargeable " offices they are liable unto."

And concluded with this, " That he deſired me ſeri- " ouſly to weigh, whether liberty and property were " likely to be maintained long, in a country like ours, " where trade is ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the very " being, as well as proſperity of it, and in this age of " the world; if articles of faith, and matters of reli- " gion, ſhould become the only acceſſible ways to our " civil rights."

Thus, Sir, you have perhaps a better account of the declaration, than you can receive from any other hand; and I could have wiſhed it a longer continuance, and better reception than it had; for the biſhops took ſo great offence at it, that they gave the alarm of popery through the whole nation, and by their emiſſaries the clergy, (who, by the contexture and ſubordination of their government, and their being poſted in every pariſh, have the advantage of a quick diſperſing their orders, and a ſudden and univerſal inſinuation of whatever they pleaſed) raiſed ſuch a cry, that thoſe good and ſober men, who had really long feared the increaſe and countenance popery had hitherto received, began to believe the biſhops were in earneſt; their eyes opened, though late, and therefore joined in heartily with them; ſo that, at the next meeting of parliament*, the proteſtants intereſt was run ſo high, as an act came up from the commons to the houſe of lords in favour of the diſ-

* February 4, 1672-3.

ſenting

ſenting proteſtants, and had paſſed the lords, but for want of time. Beſides, another excellent act paſſed the royal aſſent for the excluding all papiſts from office*; in the oppoſition to which, the lord treaſurer Clifford fell, and yet, to prevent his ruin, this ſeſſion had the ſpeedier end. Notwithſtanding, the biſhops attained their ends fully; the declaration being cancelled, and the great ſeal being broken off from it; the parliament having paſſed no act in favour of the diſſenters, and yet the ſenſe of both houſes ſufficiently declared againſt all indulgence, but by act of parliament. Having got this point, they uſed it at firſt with ſeeming moderation. There were no general directions given for perſecuting the non-conformiſts; but here and there ſome of the moſt confiding juſtices were made uſe of, to try how they could revive the old perſecution. For as yet, the zeal raiſed againſt the papiſts was ſo great, that the worthieſt, and ſobereſt, of the epiſcopal party, thought it neceſſary to unite with the diſſenting proteſtants, and not to divide their party, when all their forces were little enough. In this poſture the ſeſſion of parliament, that began October 27, 1673, found matters; which being ſuddenly broken up, did nothing.

The next ſeſſion, which began January 7, following †, the biſhops continued their zeal againſt the papiſts, and ſeemed to carry on, in joining with the country lords, many excellent votes, in order to a bill, as in particular, that the princes of the blood-royal ſhould all marry proteſtants, and many others; but their favour to diſſenting proteſtants was gone, and they attempted a bargain with the country lords, with whom they then joined, not to promote any thing of that nature, except

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* By the "Act for preventing Dangers, which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants," paſſed March 29, 1673, all perſons having any office, or place of truſt, under his majeſty, &c. were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, &c. and to receive the ſacrament according to the uſage of the church of England, &c. From that time no act was paſſed till the 13th of October 1675.

† 1673-4.

the bill for taking away aſſent and conſent, and renouncing the covenant*.

This ſeſſion was no ſooner ended, without doing any thing, but the whole clergy were inſtructed to declare, that there was now no more danger of the papiſts. The fanatic (for ſo they call the diſſenting proteſtant) is again become the only dangerous enemy; and the biſhops had found a ſcotch lord, and two new miniſters, or rather great officers of England, who were deſperate and raſh enough to put their maſter's buſineſs upon ſo narrow and weak a bottom; and the old covenanter, Lauderdale†, is become the patron of the church, and has his coach and table filled with biſhops. The keeper‡, and the treaſurer, are of a juſt ſize to this affair; for it is a certain rule with the churchmen, to endure (as ſeldom as they can) in buſineſs, men abler than themſelves. But his grace of Scotland was leaſt to be excuſed, of the three; for having fallen from preſbytery, proteſtant religion, and all principles of public good, and private friendſhip; and become the ſlave of Clifford, to carry on the ruin of all that he had profeſſed to ſupport; does now alſo quit even Clifford's generous principles, and betake himſelf to a ſort of men that never forgive any man the having once been in the right; and ſuch men, who would do the worſt of things by the worſt of means, enſlave their country, and betray them, under the maſk of religion, which they have the public pay for, and the charge of; ſo ſeething the kid in the mother's milk. Our ſtateſmen and biſhops being now as well agreed, as in old Laud's time, on the ſame principles, with the ſame paſſion to attain their end; they, in the firſt place, give orders to the judges, in all their circuits, to quicken the execution of the laws againſt diſſenters; a new

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* See Dr. Calamy's "Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, &c." Vol. I. p. 340. of the 2d edit. London, 1713, in 8vo.

† John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale. He was created baron of Peterſham, and earl of Guilford, in England, in the year 1674.

‡ Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham.

declaration is publiſhed directly contrary to the former; moſt in words againſt the papiſts, but in the ſenſe, and in the cloſe, did fully ſerve againſt both; and, in the execution, it was plain who were meant. A commiſſion, beſides, comes down, directed to the principal gentlemen of each county, to ſeize the eſtates of both papiſts and fanatics, mentioned in a liſt annexed; wherein, by great misfortune, or ſkill, the names of papiſts of beſt quality and fortune (and ſo beſt known) were miſtaken, and the commiſſion rendered ineffectual as to them.

Beſides this, the great miniſters of ſtate did, in their common public talk, aſſure the party, that all the places of profit, command, and truſt, ſhould only be given to the old cavaliers; no man that had ſerved, or been of the contrary party, ſhould be left in any of them. And a direction is iſſued to the great miniſters before mentioned, and ſix or ſeven of the biſhops, to meet at Lambeth-houſe, who were, like the lords of the articles in Scotland, to prepare their complete model for the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament.

And now comes this memorable ſeſſion of April 13, 1675, than which never any came with more expectation of the court, or dread and apprehenſion of the people. The officers, court-lords, and biſhops, were clearly the major vote in the lords houſe; and they aſſured themſelves to have the commons as much at their diſpoſe, when they reckoned the number of the courtiers, officers, penſioners, increaſed by the addition of the church and cavalier party; beſides the addreſs they had made to men of the beſt quality there, by hopes of honour, great employment, and ſuch things as would take. In a word, the french king's miniſters, who are the great chapmen of the world, did not out-do ours, at this time, and, yet the over-ruling hand of God has blown upon their politics, and the nation is eſcaped this ſeſſion, like a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler.

In this ſeſſion, the biſhops wholly laid aſide their zeal againſt popery. The committee of the whole houſe for religion, which the country lords had cauſed to be ſet

up again by the example of the former ſeſſions, could hardly get, at any time, a day appointed for their ſitting; and the main thing deſigned for a bill voted in the former ſeſſion, viz. the marrying our princes to none but proteſtants, was rejected, and carried in the negative, by the unanimous votes of the biſhops bench; for I muſt acquaint you, that our great prelates were ſo near an infallibility, that they were always found in this ſeſſion of one mind in the lords houſe; yet the lay lords, not underſtanding from how excellent a principle this proceeded, commonly called them, for that reaſon, the dead weight. And they really proved ſo, in the following buſineſs; for the third day of this ſeſſions, this bill of the teſt was brought into the lords houſe by the earl of Lindſey, lord high-chamberlain, a perſon of great quality, but in this impoſed upon; and received its firſt reading, and appointment for the ſecond, without much oppoſition; the country lords being deſirous to obſerve what weight they put upon it, or how they deſigned to manage it.

At the ſecond reading, the lord-keeper, and ſome other of the court-lords, recommended the bill to the houſe in ſet and elaborate ſpeeches, the keeper calling it a moderate ſecurity to the church and crown; and that no honeſt man could refuſe it; and whoſoever did, gave great ſuſpicion of dangerous and anti-monarchical principles. The other lords declaimed very much upon the rebellion of the late times; the great number of fanatics; the dangerous principles of rebellion ſtill remaining; carrying the diſcourſe on, as if they meant to trample down the act of oblivion, and all thoſe whoſe ſecurities depended on it. But the earl of Shaftſbury, and ſome other of the country lords, earneſtly preſt that the bill might be laid aſide, and that they might not be engaged in the debate of it; or elſe that that freedom they ſhould be forced to uſe in the neceſſary defence of their opinion, and the preſerving of their laws, rights, and liberties, which this bill would overthrow, might not be miſconſtrued. For there are many things that muſt be ſpoken upon the debate, both concerning church and ſtate, that it was well known they had

had no mind to hear. Notwithſtanding this, the great officers and biſhops called out for the queſtion of referring the bill to a committee; but the earl of Shaftſbury, a man of great abilities and knowledge in affairs, and one that, in all this variety of changes of this laſt age, was never known to be either bought or frighted out of his public principles, at large opened the miſchievous and ill deſigns, and conſequences of the bill; which, as it was brought in, required all officers of church and ſtate, and all members of both houſes of parliament, to take this oath following.

" I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any
" pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the
" king; and that I do abhor that traiterous po-
" ſition of taking arms by his authority, againſt
" his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion-
" ed by him in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and
" I do ſwear, that I will not at any time endea-
" vour the alteration of the government, either in
" church or ſtate. So help me God."

The earl of Shaftſbury, and other lords, ſpake with ſuch convincing reaſon, that all the lords, who were at liberty from court engagements, reſolved to oppoſe, to the uttermoſt, a bill of ſo dangerous conſequence; and the debate laſted five ſeveral days before it was committed to a committee of the whole houſe; which hardly ever happened to any bill before. All this, and the following debates, were managed chiefly by the lords, whoſe names you will find to the following proteſtations; the firſt whereof was as followeth:

" We, whoſe names are under-written, being peers
" of this realm, do, according to our rights, and the
" ancient uſage of parliaments, declare, that the queſ-
" tion having been put whether the bill, entitled, " An
" act to prevent the dangers which may ariſe from per-
" ſons diſaffected to the government," doth ſo far in-
" trench upon the privileges of this houſe, that it ought
" therefore to be caſt out; it being reſolved in the ne-

" gative, we do humbly conceive, that any bill, which " impoſeth an oath upon the peers with a penalty, as " this doth, that upon the refuſal of that oath, they " ſhall be made incapable of ſitting and voting in this " houſe; as it is a thing unprecedented in former times, " ſo is it, in our humble opinion, the higheſt invaſion " of the liberties and privileges of the peerage, that " poſſibly may be, and moſt deſtructive of the freedom " which they ought to enjoy as members of parliament; " becauſe the privilege of ſitting and voting in parlia- " ment is an honour they have by birth, and a right ſo " inherent in them, and inſeparable from them, as that " nothing can take it away, but what by the law of the " land muſt withal take away their lives, and corrupt " their blood; upon which ground we do here enter our " diſſent from that vote, and our proteſtation againſt " it."

BUCKINGHAM	WINCHESTER
BRIDGEWATER	SALISBURY
BEDFORD	MOHUN
DORSET	STAMFORD
AILSBURY	HALLIFAX
BRISTOL	DE LA MER
DENBIGH	EURE
PAGITT	SHAFTSBURY
HOLLES	CLARENDON
PETER	GREY ROLL
HOWARD of BERKS	SAY and SEAL
	WHARTON.

The next proteſtation was againſt the vote of committing the bill, in the words following:

" The queſtion being put, whether the bill, entitled, " An act to prevent the dangers which may ariſe from " perſons diſaffected to the government," ſhould be " committed; it being carried in the affirmative, and " we, after ſeveral days debate, being in no meaſure " ſatisfied, but ſtill apprehending that this bill doth " not only ſubvert the privileges and birth-right of the " peers, by impoſing an oath upon them with the pe-

" nalty

" nalty of loſing their places in parliament, but alſo,
" as we humbly conceive, ſtrike at the very root of
" government; it being neceſſary to all government
" to have freedom of votes and debates in thoſe who
" have power to alter and make laws; and beſides, the
" expreſs words of this bill obliging every man to ab-
" jure all endeavours to alter the government in the
" church, without regard to any thing that rules of
" prudence in the government, or chriſtian compaſſion
" to proteſtant diſſenters, or the neceſſity of affairs at
" any time, ſhall or may require; upon theſe con-
" ſiderations, we humbly conceive it to be of dangerous
" conſequence to have any bill of this nature ſo much
" as committed, and do enter our diſſents from that
" vote, and proteſtation againſt it."

BUCKINGHAM
WINTON
SALISBURY
DENBIGH
BRISTOL
HOWARD of BERKS
CLARENDON
STAMFORD
SHAFTSBURY
WHARTON
MOHUN
DE LA MER.

Which proteſtation was no ſooner entered and ſubſcribed the next day, but the great officers and biſhops raiſed a ſtorm againſt the lords that had ſubſcribed it; endeavouring not only ſome ſevere proceedings againſt their perſons, if they had found the houſe would have born it, but alſo to have taken away the very liberty of entering proteſtations with reaſons. But that was defended with ſo great ability, learning, and reaſon, by the lord Holles, that they quitted the attempt; and the debate ran for ſome hours, either wholly to raze the proteſtation out of the books, or at leaſt ſome part of it; the expreſſion of " chriſtian compaſſion to prote-
" ſtant diſſenters," being that, which gave them moſt offence. But both theſe ways were ſo diſagreeable to the honour and privilege of the houſe, and the latter to common ſenſe and right; that they deſpaired of carrying it, and contented themſelves with having voted, " that

" the reaſons given, in the ſaid proteſtation, did reflect " upon the honour of the houſe, and were of dangerous " conſequence." And I cannot here forbear to mention the worth and honour of that noble lord Holles, ſuitable to all his former life; that whilſt the debate was at the height, and the proteſting lords in danger of the Tower, he begged the houſe to give him leave to put his name to that proteſt, and take his fortune with thoſe lords, becauſe his ſickneſs had forced him out of the houſe the day before; ſo that, not being at the queſtion, he could not, by the rules of the houſe, ſign it. This vote againſt thoſe twelve lords begat the next day the following proteſtation, ſigned by one and twenty:

" Whereas it is the undoubted privilege of each peer " in parliament, when a queſtion is paſt contrary to his " vote and judgment, to enter his proteſtation againſt " it; and that, in purſuance thereof, the bill, entitled, " An act to prevent the dangers which may ariſe from " perſons diſaffected to the government," being con- " ceived by ſome lords to be of ſo dangerous a nature, " as that it was not fit to receive the countenance of a " commitment; thoſe lords did proteſt againſt the " commitment of the ſaid bill; and, the houſe having " taken exceptions at ſome expreſſions in their proteſta- " tion, thoſe lords, who were preſent at the debate, " did all of them ſeverally and voluntarily declare, that " they had no intention to reflect upon any member, " much leſs upon the whole houſe; which, as is humbly " conceived, was more than in ſtrictneſs did conſiſt " with that abſolute freedom of proteſting, which is " inſeparable from every member of this houſe, and " was done by them merely out of their great reſpect " to the houſe, aud their earneſt deſire to give all ſatis- " faction concerning themſelves, and the clearneſs of " their intentions; yet the houſe, not ſatisfied with this " their declaration, but proceeding to a vote, " That the " reaſons given in the ſaid proteſtation do reflect upon " the honour of the houſe, and are of dangerous conſe- " quence;" which is, in our humble opinion, a great " diſcountenancing of the very liberty of proteſting: " we, whoſe names are underwritten, conceive ourſelves

" and

" and the whole houſe of peers extremely concerned
" that this great wound ſhould be given (as we humbly
" apprehend) to ſo eſſential a privilege of the whole
" peerage of this realm, as their liberty of proteſting;
" do now (according to our unqueſtionable right)
" make uſe of the ſame liberty to enter this our diſſent
" from, and proteſtation againſt, the ſaid vote:

BUCKS	DENBIGH
WINTON	BERKS
BEDFORD	CLARENDON
DORSET	AILSBURY
SALISBURY	SHAFTSBURY
BRIDGEWATER	SAY and SEAL
HALLIFAX	MOHUN
AUDLEY	HOLLES
FITZWALTER	DE LA MER
EURE	GREY ROLL.
WHARTON	

After this bill being committed to a committee of the whole houſe, the firſt thing inſiſted upon by the lords, againſt the bill, was, that there ought to be paſſed ſome previous votes to ſecure the rights of peerage, and privilege of parliament, before they entered upon the debate or amendments of ſuch a bill as this. And at laſt two previous votes were obtained, which I need not here ſet down, becauſe the next proteſtation hath them both in terminis:

" Whereas upon the debate on the bill, entitled,
" An act to prevent the dangers which may ariſe from
" perſons diſaffected to the government," it was ordered
" by the houſe of peers, the 30th of April laſt, that no
" oath ſhould be impoſed, by any bill, or otherwiſe,
" upon the peers, with a penalty, in caſe of refuſal, to
" loſe their places, or votes in parliament, or liberty to
" debate therein: and whereas alſo, upon debate of
" the ſame, it was ordered, the third of this inſtant
" May, that there ſhall be nothing in this bill, which
" ſhall extend to deprive either of the houſes of parlia-
" ment, or any of their members, of their juſt, ancient

" freedom

" freedom and privilege of debating any matter or
" buſineſs, which ſhall be propounded or debated in
" either of the ſaid houſes, or at any conference or com-
" mittee of both, or either of the ſaid houſes of parlia-
" ment; or touching the repeal, or alteration of any
" old, or preparing any new laws; or the redreſſing
" any public grievance; but that the ſaid members of
" either of the ſaid houſes, and the aſſiſtants of the houſe
" of peers, and every of them, ſhall have the ſame free-
" dom of ſpeech, and all other privileges whatſoever, as
" they had before the making of this act; both which
" orders were paſſed as previous directions unto the
" committee of the whole houſe, to whom the ſaid bill
" was committed, to the end that nothing ſhould re-
" main in the ſaid bill, which might any ways tend
" towards the depriving of either of the houſes of par-
" liament, or any of their members, of their antient
" freedom of debates, or votes, or other privileges what-
" ſoever; yet the houſe being pleaſed, upon the report
" from the committee, to paſs a vote, That all perſons
" who have, or ſhall have right to ſit and vote in either
" houſe of parliament, ſhould be added to the firſt
" enacted clauſe in the ſaid bill, whereby an oath is to
" be impoſed upon them as members of either houſe;
" which vote, we whoſe names are underwritten, being
" peers of the realm, do humbly conceive, is not agree-
" able to the ſaid two previous orders; and it having
" been humbly offered and inſiſted upon by divers o
" us, that the proviſo in the late act, intitled, "An act
" for preventing dangers that may happen from popiſh
" recuſants," might be added to the bill depending,
" whereby the peerage of every peer of this realm, and
" all their privileges, might be preſerved in this bill,
" as fully as in the ſaid late act; yet the houſe not pleaſing
" to admit of the ſaid proviſo, but proceeding to the
" paſſing of the ſaid vote; we do humbly, upon the
" grounds aforeſaid, and according to our undoubted
" right, enter this our diſſent from, and proteſtation
" againſt the ſame:

BUCKS

BUCKS
BEDFORD
WINTON
SALISBURY
BERKS
BRIDGEWATER
STAMFORD
CLARENDON
DENBIGH
DORSET
SHAFTSBURY
WHARTON
EURE
DE LA MER
PAGITT
MOHUN."

This was their laſt proteſtation; for, after this, they altered their method, and reported not the votes of the committee, and parts of the bill to the houſe, as they paſſed them; but took the ſame order as is obſerved in other bills, not to report unto the houſe, until they had gone through with the bill, and ſo report all the amendments together. This they thought a way of more diſpatch, and which did prevent all proteſtations, until it came to the houſe; for the votes of a committee, though of the whole houſe, are not thought of that weight, as that there ſhould be allowed the entering a diſſent of them, or proteſtation againſt them.

The bill being read over at the committee, the lord keeper objected againſt the form of it, and deſired that he might put it in another method; which was eaſily allowed him, that being not the diſpute. But it was obſervable the hand of God was upon them in this whole affair; their chariot-wheels were taken off, they drew heavily; a bill ſo long deſigned, prepared, and of that moment to all their affairs, had hardly a ſenſible compoſure.

The firſt part of the bill that was fallen upon, was, "whether there ſhould be an oath at all in the bill;" and this was the only part the court-party defended with reaſon. For, the whole bill being to enjoin an oath, the houſe might reject it, but the committee was not to deſtroy it. Yet the lord Hallifax did with that quickneſs, learning, and elegance, which are inſeparable from all his diſcourſes, make appear, that as there really was no ſecurity to any ſtate by oaths; ſo alſo no private perſon, much leſs ſtates-man, would ever order his affairs

as

as relying on it: no man would ever ſleep with open doors, or unlockt-up treaſure or plate, ſhould all the town be ſworn not to rob; ſo that the uſe of multiplying oaths had been moſt commonly to exclude or diſturb ſome honeſt conſcientious men, who would never have prejudiced the government. It was alſo inſiſted on by that lord and others, that the oath, impoſed by the bill, contained three clauſes; the two former aſſertory, and the laſt promiſſory; and that it was worthy the conſideration of the biſhops, whether aſſertory oaths, which were properly appointed to give teſtimony of a matter of fact, whereof a man is capable to be fully aſſured by the evidence of his ſenſes, be lawful to be made uſe of to confirm or invalidate doctrinal propoſitions; and whether that legiſlative power, which impoſes ſuch an oath, does not neceſſarily aſſume to itſelf an infallibility? And, as for promiſſory oaths, it was deſired that thoſe learned prelates would conſider the opinion of Grotius, "De jure belli & pacis," who ſeems to make it plain, that thoſe kind of oaths are forbidden by our Saviour Chriſt, Matt. v. 34, 37*; and whether it would not become the fathers of the church, when they have well weighed that and other places of the New Teſtament, to be more tender in multiplying oaths, than hitherto the great men of the church have been? But the biſhops carried the point, and an oath was ordered by the major vote.

The next thing in conſideration, was about the perſons that ſhould be enjoined to take this oath; and

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* Notandum hic eſt obiter, quod in Chriſti præceptis, & apud Jacobum de non jurando dicitur, proprie non ad aſſertorium juramentum, cujus apud Paulum apoſtolum exempla extant aliquot, ſed ad promiſſorium futuri incerti pertinere. Oſtendit hoc evidenter oppoſitio illa in verbis Chriſti: "Audiſtis dictum antiquis, non pejerabis, ſed reddes Domino "juramentum. Ego vero dico vobis, ne jurate omnino." Et ratio quam Jacobus adjicit: μὴ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν πέσητε, id eſt "ne fallaces invenia-"mini." Nam eum ſenſum vox ὑπόκρισις apud Helleniſtas habet..... Idem evincit illud in Chriſti verbis ἔστω δὲ λόγος ὑμων ναὶ ναὶ, ὲ, ὲ, quod ſic Jacobus explicat, ἤτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, ναὶ, τὸ δὲ ὲ, ὲ,..... Nam prius ναί & ὲ promiſſum ſignificat, poſterius ejus implementum, &c. De jure belli & pacis, lib. II. cap. xiii. § 21.

thoſe

thoſe were to be " all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial " office or employment, eccleſiaſtical, civil or military;" and no farther went the debate for ſome hours, until at laſt the lord-keeper riſes up, and with an eloquent oration, deſires to add privy-counſellors, juſtices of the peace, and members of both houſes; the two former particularly mentioned only to uſher in the latter, which was ſo directly againſt the two previous votes; the firſt of which was enrolled amongſt the ſtanding orders of the houſe, that it wanted a man of no leſs aſſurance in his eloquence to propoſe it. And he was driven hard, when he was forced to tell the houſe, that they were maſters of their own orders, and interpretation of them.

The next conſideration, at the committee, was the oath itſelf; and it was deſired by the country lords that it might be clearly known, whether it were meant all for an oath, or ſome of it for a declaration, and ſome an oath? If the latter, then it was deſired it might be diſtinctly parted; and that the declaratory part ſhould be ſubſcribed by itſelf, and not ſworn. There was no ſmall pains taken by the lord-keeper and the biſhops to prove that the two firſt parts were only a declaration, and not an oath. And though it was replied, that to declare upon one's oath, or to abhor upon one's oath, is the ſame thing with, I do ſwear; yet there was ſome difficulty to obtain the dividing of them, and that the declaratory part ſhould be only ſubſcribed, and the reſt ſworn to.

The perſons being determined, and this diviſion agreed to; the next thing was the parts of the declaration; wherein the firſt was, " I A. B. do declare, " that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, " to take up arms againſt the king." This was liable to great objections; for it was ſaid, it might introduce a great change of government, to oblige all the men in great truſt in England to declare that exact boundary and extent of the oath of allegiance, and enforce ſome things to be ſtated, that are much better involved in generals, and peradventure are not capable of another way of expreſſion, without great wrong on the one

ſide

ſide or the other. There is a law of 25th Edward III. that "arms ſhall not be taken up againſt the king, and "that it is treaſon to do ſo;" and it is a very juſt and reaſonable law. But it is an idle queſtion at beſt, to aſk, "whether arms in any caſe can be taken up againſt "a lawful prince;" becauſe it neceſſarily brings in the debate, in every man's mind, how there can be a diſtinction then left between abſolute and bounded monarchies, if monarchs have only the fear of God, and no fear of human reſiſtance to reſtrain them. And it was farther urged, that if the chance of human affairs in future ages ſhould give the french king a juſt title and inveſtiture in the crown of England, and he ſhould avowedly own a deſign by force to change the religion, and make his government here as abſolute as in France, by the extirpation of the nobility, gentry, and principal citizens of the proteſtant party; whether in ſuch, or like caſes, this declaration will be a ſervice to the government, as it is now eſtabliſhed. Nay, and it was farther ſaid, that they overthrow the government, that propoſe to place any part of it above the fear of man. For in our Engliſh government, and all bounded monarchies, where the prince is not abſolute, there every individual ſubject is under the fear of the king and his people; either for breaking the peace, or diſturbing the common intereſt that every man hath in it; for if he invades the perſon or right of his prince, he invades his whole people, who have bound up in him, and derive from him all their liberty, property, and ſafety; as alſo the prince himſelf is under the fear of breaking that golden chain and contexture between him and his people, by making his intereſt contrary to that they juſtly and rightly claim. And therefore neither our anceſtors, nor any other country free like ours, whilſt they preſerved their liberties, did ever ſuffer any mercenary or ſtanding guards to their prince; but took care that his ſafety ſhould be in them, as theirs was in him.

Though theſe were the objections to this head, yet they were but lightly touched, and not fully inſiſted upon, until the debate of the ſecond head, where the

ſcope

ſcope of the deſign was opened clearer, and more diſtinct to every man's capacity.

The ſecond was, " And that I do abhor that traitor-" ous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt " his perſon." To this was objected, that if by this be meant an explanation of the oath of allegiance, to leave men without pretence to oppoſe where the individual perſon of the king is; then it was to be conſidered, that the poſition, as it is here ſet down, is univerſal; and yet, in moſt caſes, the poſition is not to be abhorred by honeſt or wiſe men. For there is but one caſe, and that never like to happen again, where this poſition is in danger to be traitorous, which was the caſe of the Long-parliament, made perpetual by the king's own act, by which the government was perfectly altered, and made inconſiſtent with itſelf; but it is to be ſuppoſed the crown hath ſufficient warning, and full power to prevent the falling again into that danger. But the other caſes are many, and ſuch as may every day occur, wherein this poſition is ſo far from traitorous, that it would prove both neceſſary and our duty. The famous inſtance of Henry VI, who, being a ſoft and weak prince, when taken priſoner by his couſin Edward IV, that pretended to the crown, and the great earl of Warwick, was carried in their armies; gave what orders and commiſſions they pleaſed; and yet all thoſe, that were loyal to him, adhered to his wife and ſon; fought in a pitched battle againſt him in perſon; and retook him. This was directly " taking " up arms againſt his perſon, and againſt thoſe that " were commiſſioned by him:" and yet to this day no man hath ever blamed them, or thought but that, if they had done otherwiſe, they had betrayed their prince. The great caſe of Charles VI. of France, who being of a weak and crazy brain, yet governed by himſelf, or rather by his wife, a woman of a paſſionate and heady humour, that hated her ſon the dauphin, a vigorous and brave prince, and paſſionately loved her daughter; ſo that ſhe eaſily (being preſſed by the victory of Henry V. of England) complied to ſettle the crown of France upon him, to marry her daughter to him, and own his

right

right, contrary to the Salique law. This was directly oppoſed with arms and force by the dauphin and all good frenchmen, even in his father's life-time. A third inſtance is that of king James of bleſſed memory; who, when he was a child, was ſeized and taken priſoner, by thoſe, who were juſtly thought no friends to his crown or ſafety. And if the caſe ſhould be put, that a future king of England, of the ſame temper with Henry VI, or Charles VI. of France, ſhould be taken priſoner by ſpaniards, dutch, or french, whoſe overgrowing power ſhould give them thoughts of vaſt empire, and ſhould, with the perſon and commiſſion of the king, invade England for a conqueſt; were it not ſuitable to our loyalty to join with the ſon of that king, for the defence of his father's crown and dignity, even againſt his perſon and commiſſion? In all theſe and the like caſes, it was not juſtified, but that the ſtrict letter of the law might be otherwiſe conſtrued; and when wiſely conſidered, fit it ſhould be ſo; yet that it was not ſafe either for the kingdom, or perſon of the king and his crown, that it ſhould be in expreſs words ſworn againſt; for if we ſhall forſwear all diſtinctions, which ill men have made ill uſe of, either in rebellion or hereſy, we muſt extend the oath to all the particulars of divinity and politics. To this the aged biſhop of Wincheſter* replied, to take up arms, in ſuch caſes, is "not againſt, but for the perſon of the king;" but his lordſhip was told, that he might then as well, nay much better, have left it upon the old oath of allegiance, than made ſuch a wide gap in this new declaration.

The third and laſt part of the declaration was, "or "againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him." Here the maſk was plainly plucked off, and arbitrary government appeared bare-faced, and a ſtanding army to be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament. For it was ſaid by ſeveral of the lords, that, if whatever is by the kings commiſſion be not oppoſed by the king's authority, then a ſtanding army is law, whenever the king pleaſes; and

* George Morley. He was then 78 years old.

yet

yet the king's commiſſion was never thought ſufficient to protect, or juſtify any man, where it is againſt his authority, which is the law. This allowed, alters the whole law of England, in the moſt eſſential and fundamental parts of it; and makes the whole law of property to become arbitrary, and without effect whenever the king pleaſes.

For inſtance, if in ſuit with a great favourite, a man recovers houſe and lands, and by courſe of law be put into poſſeſſion by the ſheriff; and afterwards a warrant is obtained by the intereſt of the perſon to command ſome ſoldiers of the ſtanding army to take the poſſeſſion, and deliver it back; in ſuch a caſe, the man in poſſeſſion may juſtify to defend himſelf, and killing thoſe, who ſhall violently endeavour to enter his houſe. The party, whoſe houſe is invaded, "takes up arms by the king's authority againſt thoſe "who are commiſſioned by him." And it is the ſame caſe, if the ſoldiers had been commiſſioned to defend the houſe againſt the ſheriff, when he firſt endeavoured to take poſſeſſion according to law. Neither could any order or commiſſion of the king's put a ſtop to the ſheriff, if he had done his duty in raiſing the whole force of that county to put the law in execution; neither can the court, from whom that order proceeds, (if they obſerve their oaths and duty) put any ſtop to the execution of the law in ſuch a caſe, by any command or commiſſion from the king whatſoever; nay, all the guards and ſtanding forces in England cannot be ſecured by any cominiſſion from being a direct riot and unlawful aſſembly, unleſs in time of open war and rebellion. And it is not out of the way to ſuppoſe, that if any king hereafter ſhall, contrary to the Petition of Right, demand and levy money by privy ſeal, or otherwiſe, and cauſe ſoldiers to enter and diſtrain for ſuch-like illegal taxes; that in ſuch a caſe any man may by law defend his houſe againſt them; and yet this is of the ſame nature with the former, and againſt the words of the declaration. Theſe inſtances may ſeem ſomewhat rough, and not with the uſual reverence towards

the crown; but they alleged, they were to be excuſed, when all was concerned; and without ſpeaking thus plain, it is refuſed to be underſtood; and, however happy we are now, either in the preſent prince, or thoſe we have in proſpect, yet the ſuppoſitions are not extravagant, when we conſider kings are but men, and compaſſed with more temptations than others: and as the earl of Saliſbury, who ſtood like a rock of nobility, and Engliſh principles, excellently replied to the lord-keeper, who was pleaſed to term them remote inſtances; that they would not hereafter prove ſo, when this declaration had made the practice of them juſtifiable.

Theſe arguments enforced the lords for the bill, to a change of this part of the declaration; ſo that they agreed the ſecond and third parts of it ſhould run thus, "And I do abhor that traitorous poſition of taking "arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt "thoſe that are commiſſioned by him according to "law, in time of rebellion or war, acting in purſu-"ance of ſuch commiſſion." Which mends the matter very little; for if they mean the king's authority, and his lawful commiſſion, to be two things, and ſuch as are capable of oppoſition; then it is as dangerous to the liberties of the nation, as when it ran in the former words, and we are only cheated by new phraſing of it. But if they underſtand them to be one and the ſame thing, as really and truly they are; then we are only to abhor the treaſon of the poſition of taking arms by the king's authority againſt the king's authority, becauſe it is nonſenſe, and not practicable. And ſo they had done little but confeſſed, that all the clergy, and many other perſons, have been forced, by former acts of this preſent parliament, to make this declaration in other words, that now are found ſo far from being juſtifiable, that they are directly contrary to Magna Charta, our properties, and the eſtabliſhed law and government of the nation.

The next thing in courſe was the oath itſelf, againſt which the objection lay ſo plain and ſo ſtrong at the firſt entrance, viz. That there was no care taken of the

doctrine

doctrine, but only the diſcipline of the church. The papiſts need not ſcruple the taking this oath; for epiſcopacy remains in its greateſt luſtre, though the popiſh religion was introduced; but the king's ſupremacy is juſtled aſide by this oath, and makes better room for an eccleſiaſtical one. Inſomuch that, with this and much more, they were enforced to change their oath, and the next day bring it in as followeth:

> " I do ſwear, that I will not endeavour to alter the
> " proteſtant religion, or the government either of
> " church or ſtate."

By this they thought they had ſalved all, and now began to call their oath, " A ſecurity for the pro-
" teſtant religion, and the only good deſign to pre-
" vent popery," if we ſhould have a popiſh prince. But the country lords wondered at their confidence in this, ſince they had never thought of it before; and had been, but the laſt preceding day of the debate, by pure ſhame, compelled to this addition. For it was not unknown to them, that ſome of the biſhops themſelves had told ſome of the roman catholic lords of the houſe, that " care had been taken that it might
" be ſuch an oath as might not bear upon them."
But let it be whatever they would have it, yet the country lords thought the addition was unreaſonable, and of as dangerous conſequence as the reſt of the oath. And it was not to be wondered at, if the addition of the beſt things, wanting the authority of an expreſs divine inſtitution, ſhould make an oath not to endeavour to alter, juſt ſo much worſe by the addition. For, as the earl of Shaftſbury very well urged, that it is a far different thing to believe, or to be fully perſuaded of the truth of the doctrine of our church, and to ſwear never to endeavour to alter; which laſt muſt be utterly uulawful, unleſs you place an infallibility either in the church or yourſelf; you being otherwiſe obliged to alter, whenever a clearer or better light comes to you. And he deſired leave to aſk, where are the boundaries, or

where ſhall we find how much is meant by the proteſtant religion?

The lord-keeper, thinking he had now got an advantage, with his uſual eloquence, deſires, "that it "might not be told in Gath, nor publiſhed in the ſtreets "of Aſkalon," that a lord of ſo great parts and eminence, and profeſſing himſelf for the church of England, ſhould not know what is meant by the proteſtant religion! This was ſeconded with great pleaſantneſs by divers of the lords the biſhops. But the biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſome others of them, were pleaſed to condeſcend to inſtruct that lord, that the proteſtant religion was comprehended in XXXIX articles, the liturgy, the catechiſm, the homilies, and the canons.

To this the earl of Shaftſbury replied, that he begged ſo much charity of them to believe, that he knew the proteſtant religion ſo well, and was ſo confirmed in it, that he hoped he ſhould burn for the witneſs of it, if providence ſhould call him to it. But he might perhaps think ſome things not neceſſary, that they accounted eſſential; nay, he might think ſome things not true, or agreeable to the ſcripture, that they might call doctrines of the church. Beſides, when he was to ſwear "never to endeavour to alter," it was certainly neceſſary to know "how far the juſt extent of this oath was." But ſince they had told him that the proteſtant religion was in thoſe five tracts; he had ſtill to aſk, whether they meant thoſe whole tracts were the proteſtant religion; or only that the proteſtant religion was contained in all thoſe, but that every part of theſe was not the proteſtant religion?

If they meant the former of theſe, then he was extremely in the dark to find the doctrine of predeſtination, in the 17th and 18th articles, to be owned by ſo few great doctors of the church, and to find the 19th article to define the church directly, as the independents do. Beſides, the 20th article, ſtating the authority of the church, is very dark; and either contradicts itſelf, or ſays nothing, or what is contrary to the known laws of the land. Beſides ſeveral other things in the

XXXIX

XXXIX articles have been preached and writ againſt, by men of great favour, power, and preferment, in the church.

He humbly conceived the liturgy was not ſo ſacred, being made by men the other day, and thought to be more differing from the diſſenting proteſtants, and leſs eaſy to be complied with, upon the advantage of a pretence well known unto us all, of making alterations as might the better unite us; inſtead whereof, there is ſcarce one alteration but widens the breach. And no ordination allowed by it here, (as it now ſtands laſt reformed in the act of uniformity) but what is epiſcopal; inſomuch that a popiſh prieſt is capable, when converted, of any church preferment, without re-ordination; but no proteſtant miniſter not epiſcopally ordained but is required to be re-ordained; as much as in us lies unchurching all the foreign proteſtants that have not biſhops; though the contrary was both allowed and practiſed, from the beginning of the reformation till the time of that act, and ſeveral biſhops made of ſuch as were never ordained prieſts by biſhops. Moreover, the uncharitableneſs of it was ſo much againſt the intereſt of the crown and church of England, (caſting off the dependency of the whole proteſtant party abroad) that it would have been bought by the pope and the french king at a vaſt ſum of money; and it is difficult to conceive ſo great an advantage fell to them merely by chance, and without their help. So that he thought to endeavour to alter and reſtore the liturgy to what it was in queen Elizabeth's days, might conſiſt with his being a very good proteſtant.

As to the catechiſm, he really thought it might be mended; and durſt declare to them, it was not well that there was not a better made.

For the homilies, he thought there might be a better book made; and the third homily, of "repairing "and keeping clean of churches," might be omitted.

What is yet ſtranger than all this, the canons of our church are directly the old popiſh canons, which are ſtill in force, and no other; which will appear, if

you turn to the ſtat. 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19. confirmed and received by 1 Eliz. where all thoſe canons are eſtabliſhed, until an alteration ſhould be made by the king, in purſuance of that act; which thing was attempted by Edward VI, but not perfected, and let alone ever ſince; for what reaſons, the lords the biſhops could beſt tell. And it was very hard to be obliged by oath "not "to endeavour to alter either the engliſh common-"prayer-book, or the canon of the maſs."

But if they meant the latter, that the proteſtant religion is contained in all thoſe, but that every part of thoſe is not the proteſtant religion; then he apprehended it might be in the biſhops power to declare "ex poſt facto," what is the proteſtant religion or not, or elſe they muſt leave it to every man to judge for himſelf, what parts of thoſe books are or are not; and then their oath had been much better let alone.

Much of this nature was ſaid by that lord and others; and the great officers and biſhops were ſo hard put to it, that they ſeemed willing and convinced to admit of an expedient.

The lord Wharton, an old and expert parliament-man, of eminent piety and abilities, beſides a great friend to the proteſtant religion, and intereſt of England, offered, as a cure to the whole oath, and what might make it paſs in all the three parts of it, without any farther debate; the addition of theſe words, at the latter end of the oath, viz. "as the ſame is, or ſhall be eſtabliſhed "by act of parliament." But this was not endured at all; when the lord Grey of Rolſton, a worthy and true engliſh lord, offered another expedient; which was the addition of theſe words, "by force or fraud," to the beginning of the oath; and then it would run thus, "I do ſwear not to endeavour, by force or fraud, to "alter." This was alſo a cure that would have paſſed the whole oath, and ſeemed as if it would have carried the whole houſe; the duke of York, and biſhop of Rocheſter, both ſeconding it; but the lord-treaſurer, who had privately before conſented to it, ſpeaking againſt it, gave the word and ſign to that party; and it being put to the queſtion, the major vote anſwered all arguments,

guments, and the lord Grey's propoſition was laid aſide.

Having thus carried the queſtion, relying upon their ſtrength of votes, taking advantage that thoſe expedients that had been offered, extended to the whole oath, though but one of the three clauſes in the oath had been debated, the other two not mentioned at all; they attempted ſtrongly, at nine of the clock at night, to have the whole oath put to the queſtion; and though it was reſolutely oppoſed by the lord Mohun, a lord of great courage and reſolution in the public intereſt, and one whoſe own perſonal merits, as well as his father's, gave him a juſt title to the beſt favours of the court; yet they were not diverted, but by as great a diſorder as ever was ſeen in that houſe, proceeding from the rage thoſe unreaſonable proceedings had cauſed in the country lords; they ſtanding up together, and crying out with ſo loud a continued voice, adjourn, that when ſilence was obtained, fear did what reaſon could not do, cauſe the queſtion to be put only upon the firſt clauſe, concerning the proteſtant religion, to which the biſhops deſired might be added, "as it is now eſtabliſhed." And one of the eminenteſt of thoſe who were for the bill, added the words, "by law." So that, as it was paſſed, it ran, "I A. B. do ſwear, that I will not endea-
"vour to alter the proteſtant religion, now by law eſtab-
"liſhed in the church of England."

And here obſerve the words, "by law," do directly take in the canons, though the biſhops had never mentioned them.

And now comes the conſideration of the latter part of the oath, which comprehends theſe two clauſes, viz. "nor the government either in church or ſtate," wherein the church came firſt to be conſidered. And it was objected by the lords againſt the bill, that it was not agreeable to the king's crown and dignity, to have his ſubjects ſworn to the government of the church equally as to himſelf; that for the kings of England to ſwear to maintain the church, was a different thing from enjoining all his officers, and both his houſes of parliament, to ſwear to them; it would be well underſtood, before

the bill paſſed, what the "government of the church" (we are to ſwear to) is, and what the boundaries of it; whether it derives no power nor authority, nor the exerciſe of any power, authority, or function, but from the king, as head of the church, and from God, as through him, as all his other officers do.

For no church or religion can juſtify itſelf to the government, but the ſtate religion, that owes an entire dependency on, and is but a branch of it; or the independent congregations, whilſt they claim no other power, but the excluſion of their own members from their particular communion; and endeavour not to ſet up a kingdom of Chriſt to their own uſe, in this world, whilſt our Saviour hath told us, that "his kingdom is "not of it." For otherwiſe there ſhould be "imperium in imperio," and two diſtinct ſupreme powers inconſiſtent with each other, in the ſame place, and over the ſame perſons. The biſhops alleged that prieſthood, and the power thereof, and the authorities belonging thereunto, were derived immediately from Chriſt, but that the licence of exerciſing that authority and power in any country, is derived from the civil magiſtrate. To which was replied, that it was a dangerous thing to ſecure, by oath and act of parliament, thoſe in the exerciſe of an authority and power in the king's country, and over his ſubjects, which being received from Chriſt himſelf, cannot be altered, or limited, by the king's laws; and that this was directly to ſet the mitre above the crown. And it was farther offered, that this oath was the greateſt attempt that had been made againſt the king's ſupremacy ſince the reformation; for the king, in parliament, may alter, diminiſh, enlarge, or take away, any biſhopric; he may take any part of a dioceſe, or a whole dioceſe, and put them under deans, or other perſons. For if this be not lawful, but that epiſcopacy ſhould be "jure divino," the maintaining the government, as it is now, is unlawful; ſince the deans of Hereford and Saliſbury have very large tracts under their juriſdiction; and ſeveral parſons of pariſhes have epiſcopal juriſdiction; ſo that at beſt that government wants alteration, that is ſo imperfectly

perfectly ſettled. The biſhop of Wincheſter affirmed in this debate, ſeveral times, that there was no chriſtian church before Calvin, that had not biſhops; to which he was anſwered, that the Albigenſes, a very numerous people, and the only viſible known church of true believers, of ſome ages, had no biſhops. It is very true what the biſhop of Wincheſter replied, that they had ſome amongſt them who alone had power to ordain; but that was only to commit that power to the wiſeſt and graveſt men amongſt them, and to ſecure ill and unfit men from being admitted into the miniſtry; but they exerciſed no juriſdiction over the others.

And it was ſaid by divers of the lords, that they thought epiſcopal government beſt for the church, and moſt ſuitable for the monarchy; but they muſt ſay, with the lord of Southampton, upon the occaſion of this oath in the parliament of Oxford, "I will not be ſworn not "to take away epiſcopacy;" there being nothing that is not of divine precept, but ſuch circumſtances may come in human affairs, as may render it not eligible by the beſt of men. And it was alſo ſaid, that if epiſcopacy be to be received as by divine precept, the king's ſupremacy is overthrown; and ſo is alſo the opinion of the parliaments both in Edward the VIth, and queen Elizabeth's time; and the conſtitution of our church ought to be altered, as hath been ſhowed. But the church of Rome itſelf hath contradicted that opinion, when ſhe hath made ſuch vaſt tracts of ground, and great numbers of men, exempt from epiſcopal juriſdiction.

The lord Wharton, upon the biſhop's claim to a divine right, aſked a very hard queſtion, viz. "whether "they then did not claim withal a power of excommu-"nicating their prince?" which they evading to anſwer, and being preſſed by ſome other lords, ſaid, "they "never had done it." Upon which the lord Hallifax told them, that that might well be; for ſince the reformation they had hitherto had too great a dependence on the crown, to venture on that or any other offence to it.

And

And ſo the debate paſſed on to the third clauſe, which had the ſame exceptions againſt it with the two former, of being unbounded, how far any man might meddle, and how far not; and is of that extent, that it overthrew all parliaments, and left them capable of nothing but giving money. For what is the buſineſs of parliaments, but the alteration, either by adding, or taking away, ſome part of the government, either in church or ſtate? And every new act of parliament is an alteration; and what kind of government in church or ſtate muſt that be, which I muſt ſwear, upon no alteration of time, emergency of affairs, nor variation of human things, never to endeavour to alter? Would it not be requiſite that ſuch a government ſhould be given by God himſelf; and that with all the ceremony of thunder and lightning, and viſible appearance to the whole people, which God vouchſafed to the children of Iſrael at Mount Sinai? And yet you ſhall no-where read that they were ſworn to it by any oath like this; nay, on the contrary, the princes and the rulers, even thoſe recorded for the beſt of them, did make ſeveral variations.

The lord Stafford a nobleman of great honour and candour, but who had been all along for the bill, yet was ſo far convinced with the debate, that he freely declared, there ought to be an addition to the oath, for preſerving the freedom of debates in parliament. This was ſtrongly urged by the never to be forgotten earl of Bridgewater, who gave reputation and ſtrength to this cauſe of England; as did alſo thoſe worthy earls, Denbigh, Clarendon, and Ailſbury, men of great worth and honour. To ſalve all that was ſaid by theſe and the other lords, the lord-keeper and the biſhops urged, that there was a proviſo, which fully preſerved the privileges of parliament; and, upon farther inquiry, there appearing no ſuch, but only a previous vote, as is before-mentioned, they allowed that that previous vote ſhould be drawn into a proviſo, and added to the bill; and then, in their opinion, the exception to the oath for this cauſe was perfectly removed. But on the other ſide it was offered, that a poſitive abſolute oath being taken, a proviſo

viſo in the act could not diſpenſe with it, without ſome reference in the body of the oath unto that proviſo. But this alſo was utterly denied, until the next day, the debate going on upon other matters; the lord-treaſurer, whoſe authority eaſily obtained with the major-vote, reaſſumed what was mentioned in the debates of the preceding days, and allowed a reference to the proviſo; ſo that it then paſſed in theſe words:

> " I A. B. do ſwear, that I will not endeavour to alter
> " the proteſtant religion now by law eſtabliſhed in the
> " church of England; nor the government of this
> " kingdom in church or ſtate, as it is now by law
> " eſtabliſhed; and I do take this oath according
> " to the meaning of this act, and the proviſo con-
> " tained in the ſame. So help me God."

There was a paſſage of the greateſt obſervation in the whole debate, and which with moſt clearneſs ſhowed what the great men and biſhops aimed at; and ſhould in order have come in before, but that it deſerved ſo particular a conſideration, that I thought beſt to place it here by itſelf; which was, that upon paſſing of the proviſo for preſerving the rights and privileges of parliaments, made out of the previous votes, it was excellently obſerved by the earl of Bolingbroke, a man of great ability and learning in the laws of the land, and perfectly ſtedfaſt in all good Engliſh principles; that though that proviſo did preſerve the freedom of debates and votes in parliaments, yet the oath remained, notwithſtanding that proviſo, upon all men, that ſhall take it as a prohibition, either by ſpeech or writing, or addreſs, to " endeavour any alteration in religion, church, or ſtate:" nay, alſo upon the members of both houſes otherwiſe than as they ſpeak and vote in open parliaments or committees. For this oath takes away all private converſe upon any ſuch affairs even with one another. This was ſeconded by the lord De La Mer, whoſe name is well known, as alſo his worth, piety, and learning; I ſhould mention his merits too, but I know

know not whether that be lawful, they lying yet unrewarded.

The lord Shaftſbury preſently drew up ſome words for preſerving the ſame rights, privileges, and freedoms, which men now enjoy by the laws eſtabliſhed; ſo that by a ſide-wind we might not be deprived of the great liberty we enjoy as Engliſhmen; and deſired thoſe words might be inſerted in that proviſo before it paſſed. This was ſeconded by many of the fore-mentioned lords; and preſſed upon thoſe terms, that they deſired not to countenance, or make in the leaſt degree any thing lawful, that was not already ſo; but that they might not be deprived, by this dark way of proceeding, of that liberty, which was neceſſary to them as men, and without which parliaments would be rendered uſeleſs.

Upon this all the great officers ſhowed themſelves; nay, the duke of Lauderdale himſelf, though under the load of two addreſſes *, opened his mouth, and, together with the lord-keeper, and the lord treaſurer, told the committee in plain terms; that they intended, and deſigned to prevent caballing and conſpiracies againſt the government; that they knew no reaſon why any of the king's officers ſhould conſult with parliament-men about parliament-buſineſs; and particularly mentioned thoſe of the army, treaſury, and navy. And when it was objected to them, that the greateſt part of the moſt knowing gentry were either juſtices of the peace, or of the militia; and that this took away all converſe, or diſcourſe of any alteration, which was in truth of any buſineſs, in parliament; and that the officers of the navy and treaſury might be beſt able to adviſe what ſhould be fit in many caſes; and that withal none of their lordſhips did offer any thing to ſalve the inconvenience of parliament-men being deprived of diſcourſing one with another, upon the matters that were before them; beſides it muſt be again remembered, that nothing was herein deſired to be countenanced, or made lawful, but

* The houſe of commons addreſſed the king to remove the duke of Lauderdale from his employments, and from his majeſty's preſence and councils, for ever; as a man of arbitrary principles, and a perſon obnoxious and dangerous to the government.

to

to preſerve that which is already law, and avowedly juſtified by it; for, without this addition to the proviſo, the oath rendered parliaments but a ſnare, not a ſecurity, to the people; yet to all this was anſwered, ſometimes with paſſion and high words, ſometimes with jeſts and raillery, (the beſt they had) and at the laſt the major vote anſwered all objections, and laid aſide the addition tendered.

There was another thing before the finiſhing of the oath, which I ſhall here alſo mention, which was an additional oath, tendered by the marquis of Wincheſter; who ought to have been mentioned in the firſt and chiefeſt place, for his conduct and ſupport in the whole debate, being an expert parliament-man, and one, whoſe quality, parts, and fortune, and owning of good principles, concur to give him one of the greateſt places in the eſteem of good men. The additional oath tendered was as followeth:

> " I do ſwear that I will never by threats, injunctions,
> " promiſes, advantages, or invitation, by or from
> " any perſon whatſoever, nor from the hopes or
> " proſpect of any gift, place, office, or benefit
> " whatſoever; give my vote other than according
> " to my opinion and conſcience, as I ſhall be truly
> " and really perſuaded upon the debate of any
> " buſineſs in parliament. So help me God."

This oath was offered upon the occaſion of ſwearing members of parliament; and upon this ſcore only, that if any new oath was thought fit (which that noble lord declared his own judgment perfectly againſt) this certainly was (all conſiderations and circumſtances taken in) moſt neceſſary to be a part; and the nature of it was not ſo ſtrange, if they conſidered the judges oath, which was not much different from this. To this the lord-keeper ſeemed very averſe, and declared in a very fine ſpeech, that it was an uſeleſs oath; for all gifts, places, and offices were likelieſt to come from the king; and no member of parliament in either houſe could do too much for the king, or be too much of his ſide; and that men

men might lawfully and worthily have in their proſpect ſuch offices or benefits from him. With this the lords againſt the bill were in no terms ſatisfied, but plainly ſpoke out, that men had been, might, and were likely to be, in either houſe, too much for the king, as they called it; and that whoever did endeavour to give more power to the king than the law and conſtitution of the government had given, eſpecially if it tended to the introducing an abſolute and arbitrary government; might juſtly be ſaid to do too much for the king, and to be corrupted in his judgment by the proſpect of advantages and rewards; though, when it is conſidered that every deviation of the crown towards abſolute power, leſſens the king in the love and affection of his people, making him become leſs in their intereſt; a wiſe prince will not think it a ſervice done him.

And now remains only the laſt part of the bill, which is the penalty, different according to the qualifications of the perſons: "all that are, or ſhall be privy-coun-" ſellors, juſtices of the peace, or poſſeſſors of any bene-" ficial office, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; are to " take the oath when ſummoned, upon pain of 500l. " and being made incapable of bearing office; the mem-" bers of both houſes are not made incapable, but liable " to the penalty of 500l. if they take it not." Upon all which, the conſiderations of the debate were, that thoſe officers, and members of both houſes, are, of all the nation, the moſt dangerous to be ſworn into a miſtake, or change of the government; and that, as to the members of both houſes, the penalty of 500l. was directly againſt the latter of the two previous votes; and although they had not applied the penalty of incapacity unto the members of both houſes, becauſe of the firſt previous vote in the caſe of the lords; neither durſt they admit of a propoſition made by ſome of themſelves, that thoſe that did not come up, and ſit as members, ſhould be liable to the taking the oath, or penalty, until they did ſo; yet their ends were not to be compaſſed without invading the latter previous vote, and, contrary to the rights and privileges of parliament, enforce them to ſwear, or pay 500l. every parliament. And this they

carried

carried through with ſo ſtrong a reſolution, that having experienced their misfortunes in replies for ſeveral hours, not one of the party could be provoked to ſpeak one word.

Though, beſides the former arguments, it was ſtrongly urged, that this oath ought not to be put upon officers with a heavier penalty than the teſt was in the act of the immediate preceding ſeſſion againſt the papiſts; by which any man might ſit down with the loſs of his office, without being in the danger of the penalty of 500l. And alſo that this act had a direct retroſpect, which ought never to be in penal laws; for this act puniſhes men for having an office without taking this oath; which office, before this law paſs, they may lawfully enjoy without it. Yet notwithſtanding it provides not a power, in many caſes, for them to part with it, before this oath overtake them. For the clauſe, "whoever is "in office the 1ſt of September," will not relieve a juſtice of the peace, who, being once ſworn, is not in his own power to be left out of commiſſion. And ſo might be inſtanced in ſeveral other caſes. As alſo the members of the houſe of commons were not in their own power to be unchoſen; and as to the lords, they were ſubjected by it to the meaneſt condition of mankind, if they could not enjoy their birthright, without playing tricks ſuitable to the humour of every age, and be enforced to ſwear to every fancy of the preſent times. Three years ago it was all liberty and indulgence, and now it is ſtrict and rigid conformity; and what it may be, in ſome ſhort time hereafter, without the ſpirit of propheſying, might be ſhrewdly gueſſed by a conſidering man.

This being anſwered with ſilence, the duke of Buckingham, whoſe quality, admirable wit, and unuſual pains that he took all along in the debate againſt this bill, makes me mention him in this place, as general of the party, and coming laſt out of the field; made a ſpeech late at night of eloquent and well-placed nonſenſe; ſhowing how excellently well he could do both ways, and hoping that might do, when ſenſe (which he often before uſed with the higheſt advantage of wit and reaſon) would

would not. But the earl of Winchelſea, readily apprehending the dialect, in a ſhort reply put an end to the debate; and the major vote, "ultima ratio ſenatuum & "conciliorum," carried the queſtion as the court and biſhops would have it *.

This was the laſt act of this tragi-comedy, which had taken up ſixteen or ſeventeen whole days debate; the houſe ſitting many times till eight or nine of the clock at night, and ſometimes till midnight; but the buſineſs of privilege between the two houſes † gave ſuch an interruption, that this bill was never reported from the committee to the houſe.

I have mentioned to you divers lords, that wer ſpeakers, as it fell in the debate; but I have not diſtributed the arguments of the debate to every particular lord. Now you know the ſpeakers, your curioſity may be ſatisfied, and the lords I am ſure will not quarrel about the diviſion. I muſt not forget to mention thoſe great lords, Bedford, Devonſhire, and Burlington, for the countenance and ſupport they gave to the Engliſh intereſt. The earl of Bedford was ſo brave in it, that

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* Mr. Echard in his hiſtory of England (Vol. III. ad an. 1675, page 383) hath tranſcribed ſeveral paragraphs out of this letter, though he never cites it; and ends his account of the debate thus: "The debate, "ſays he, laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen whole days, the houſe often ſitting "till nine at night, and ſometimes till midnight; in the concluſion of "which, the Duke of Buckingham, as general of the party, and laſt in "the field, made a famous ſpeech, conſiſting of eloquent, regular, and "well-placed nonſenſe, hoping that that might prevail, when nothing "elſe would; and ſo brought confuſion into the houſe;" where, beſides the inaccuracy of bringing into his narrative and making his own the expreſſions, which the author of the letter hath uſed, by way of compliment or encomium, and thereby miſrepreſenting the matter, he affirms, that the debate was put to an end, by the confuſion, which the duke of Buckingham's ſpeech brought into the houſe; whereas it appears by the letter itſelf, that no confuſion was brought into the houſe by that ſpeech; but, on the contrary, that, after a ſhort reply of the earl of Winchelſea, the queſtion was put regularly to the vote, and carried as the court and biſhops would have it.

† Dr. Shirley having brought an appeal in the houſe of lords, from a decree in chancery, againſt ſir John Flagg, a member of the houſe of commons; the commons looked upon it as an infringement of their privileges; and this occaſioned a conteſt between the two houſes, which ran ſo high, that the king thought fit to put a ſtop to it, by proroguing the parliament, on the 9th of June 1675, after they had ſat near two months.

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he joined in three of the proteſts; ſo alſo did the earl of Dorſet; and the earl of Stamford, a young nobleman of great hopes; the lord viſcount Say and Seal and the lord Pagitt in two; the lord Audley and the lord Fitz-walter in the third; and the lord Peter, a nobleman of great eſtate, and always true to the maintenance of liberty and property, in the firſt. And I ſhould not have omitted the earl of Dorſet, lord Audley, and the lord Peter, amongſt the ſpeakers; for I will aſſure you they did their parts excellently well. The lord viſcount Hereford was a ſteady man among the country lords; ſo alſo was the lord Townſhend, a man juſtly of great eſteem and power in his own country, and amongſt all thoſe that well know him. The earl of Carnarvon ought not to be mentioned in the laſt place; for he came out of the country on purpoſe to oppoſe the bill, ſtuck very faſt to the country party, and ſpoke many excellent things againſt it. I dare not mention the Roman catholic lords, and ſome others, for fear I hurt them; but thus much I ſhall ſay of the Roman catholic peers, that if they were ſafe in their eſtates, and yet kept out of office, their votes in that houſe would not be the moſt unſafe to England of any ſort of men in it. As for the abſent lords, the earl of Rutland, lord Sandys, lord Herbert of Cherbury, lord North, and lord Crew, ought to be mentioned with honour; having taken care their votes ſhould maintain their own intereſt and opinions. But the earls of Exeter and Cheſterfield, that gave no proxies this ſeſſion; the lord Montague of Boughton, that gave his to the treaſurer; and the lord Roberts his to the Earl of Northampton; are not eaſily to be underſtood. If you aſk after the earl of Carliſle, the lord viſcount Falconberg, and the lord Berkley of Berkley-Caſtle, becauſe you find them not mentioned amongſt all their old friends; all I have to ſay is, that the earl of Carliſle ſtepped aſide to receive his penſion; the lord Berkley to dine with the lord-treaſurer; but the lord viſcount Falconberg, like the nobleman in the goſpel, went away ſorrowful, for he had a great office at court. But I deſpair not of giving you a better account of them next ſeſſion, for it is not poſſible, when they conſider, that

Cromwell's major-general, ſon-in-law, and friend, ſhould think to find their accounts amongſt men that ſet up on ſuch a bottom.

Thus, Sir, you ſee the ſtandard of the new party is not yet ſet up, but muſt be the work of another ſeſſion; though it be admirable to me, how the king can be induced to venture his affairs upon ſuch weak counſels, and of ſo fatal conſequences. For I believe it is the firſt time in the world, that ever it was thought adviſeable, after fifteen years of the higheſt peace, quiet, and obedience, that ever was in any country, that there ſhould be a pretence taken up, and a reviving of former miſcarriages, eſpecially after ſo many promiſes and declarations, as well as acts of oblivion, and ſo much merit of the offending party, in being the inſtruments of the king's happy return; beſides the putting ſo vaſt a number of the king's ſubjects in utter deſpair of having their crimes ever forgotten. And it muſt be a great miſtake in counſels, or worſe, that there ſhould be ſo much pains taken by the court to debaſe and bring low the houſe of peers, if a military government be not intended by ſome. For the power of the peerage, and a ſtanding army, are like two buckets, in the proportion that one goes down, the other exactly goes up. And I refer you to the conſideration of all the hiſtories of ours, or any of our neighbour northern monarchies; whether ſtanding forces, military and arbitrary government, came not plainly in by the ſame ſteps that the nobility were leſſened; and whether, whenever they were in power and greatneſs, they permitted the leaſt ſhadow of any of them. Our own country is a clear inſtance of it; for though the white roſe and the red changed fortunes often, to the ruin, ſlaughter, and beheading the great men of the other ſide; yet nothing could enforce them to ſecure themſelves by a ſtanding force. But I cannot believe that the king himſelf will ever deſign any ſuch thing; for he is not of a temper robuſt and laborious enough to deal with ſuch a ſort of men, or reap the advantages, if there be any, of ſuch a government. And I think he can hardly have forgot

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the treatment his father received from the officers of his army, both at Oxford and Newark; it was an hard, but almoſt an even choice, to be the parliament's priſoner, or their ſlave; but I am ſure the greateſt proſperity of his arms could have brought him to no happier condition, than our king his ſon has before him, whenever he pleaſes. However, this may be ſaid for the honour of this ſeſſion, that there is no prince in Chriſtendom hath, at a greater expence of money, maintained for two months ſpace a nobler or more uſeful diſpute of the politics, myſtery, and ſecrets of government, both in church and ſtate, than this hath been; of which noble deſign no part is owing to any of the country lords, for ſeveral of them begged, at the firſt entrance into the debate, that they might not be engaged in ſuch diſputes as would unavoidably produce divers things to be ſaid, which they were willing to let alone. But I muſt bear them witneſs, and ſo will you, having read this; that they did their parts in it, when it came to it, and ſpoke plain, like old Engliſh lords.

I ſhall conclude with what, upon the whole matter, is moſt worthy your conſideration, that the deſign is "to "declare us firſt into another government more abſo-"lute and arbitrary than the oath of allegiance, or old "law, knew; and then "make us ſwear unto it," as it is ſo eſtabliſhed. And leſs than this the biſhops could not offer in requital to the crown for parting with its ſupremacy, and ſuffering them to be ſworn to be equal with itſelf. Archbiſhop Laud was the firſt founder of this device. In his canons of 1640, you ſhall find an oath very like this, and a declaratory canon preceding, "that monarchy is of divine right*;" which was alſo affirmed

* In the conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical; treated upon by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, &c. in the year 1640, and publiſhed for the due obſervation of them, by his majeſty's authority, under the great ſeal of England; the I. canon contains an explanation of the regal power, ordained and decreed to be read by every parſon, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon ſome one Sunday in every quarter of the year at morning prayer; wherein it is ſaid: "The moſt high and ſacred order of "kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himſelf, founded

affirmed in this debate by our reverend prelates, and is owned in print by no leſs men than archbiſhop Uſher,

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" in the prime laws of nature, and clearly eſtabliſhed by expreſs texts both " of the Old and New Teſtament. . . . . "

" For any perſon or perſons to ſet up, maintain, or avow in any " (king's) realms or territories reſpectively, under any pretence what- " ſoever, any independent co-active power, either papal or popular (whe- " ther directly or indirectly) is to undermine the great royal office, and " cunningly to overthrow that moſt ſacred ordinance, which God himſelf " hath eſtabliſhed: and ſo is treaſonable againſt God, as well as againſt " the king."

" For ſubjects to bear arms againſt their kings, offenſive or defenſive, " upon any pretence whatſoever, is at the leaſt to reſiſt the powers, which " are ordained of God: and though they do not invade, but only reſiſt, " St. Paul tells them plainly, they ſhall receive to themſelves damna- " tion."

And, by the VI. canon, an oath againſt all innovation of doctrine or diſcipline is decreed and ordained to be taken, not only by all archbiſhops, and biſhops, and all other prieſts and deacons; upon pain, if they refuſe to take it, of being deprived of all their eccleſiaſtical promotions whatſoever, and execution of their functions, which they hold in the church of England; but likewiſe by all maſters of arts, bachelors, and doctors in divinity, law or phyſic; all ſchoolmaſters, &c. which hath theſe words: " I A. B. do ſwear, that I do approve the doctrine and diſcipline or go- " vernment eſtabliſhed in the church of England, as containing all things " neceſſary to ſalvation. . . . . Nor will I ever give my conſent to " alter the government of this church by arch-biſhops, biſhops, deans, " and arch-deacons, &c. as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it " ought to ſtand," &c.

Theſe canons were no ſooner publiſhed, but there was a general outcry made againſt them. How they were treated by the puritans, may be ſeen in a pamphlet printed in 1640, with this title: " England's complaint to " Jeſus Chriſt, againſt the biſhops canons, of the late ſinful ſynod, a ſedi- " tious conventicle, a packe of hypocrites, a ſworn confederacy, a traite- " rous conſpiracy againſt the true religion of Chriſt, and the weale pub- " licke of the land, and conſequently againſt the kingdome and crowne. " In this complaint are ſpecified thoſe impieties and inſolencies which " are moſt notorious, ſcattered through the canons and conſtitutions of " the ſaid ſinful ſynod. And confuted by arguments annexed hereunto," in 4to. Several petitions being at the ſame time preſented to the king againſt the new canons, and particularly againſt the oath before-mentioned: his majeſty was pleaſed to ſuſpend their execution: which, however, could not prevent their falling under the cenſure of the houſe of commons; for on the 16th of December 1640, they declared that thoſe canons did contain many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the ſubject, and matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſequence. " Theſe public cenſures of the canons," ſays a learned and ingenious hiſtorian, " however grounded on prejudice " and faction, have made them ever ſince reputed null and void, &c." See the Complete Hiſtory of England, &c. Vol. III. ad, ann. 1640. p. 113. Lond. 1719, in fol.

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and biſhop Sanderſon †; and I am afraid it is the avowed opinion of much the greater part of our dignified

† Archbiſhop Uſher did, by order of king Charles I, write a treatiſe, intitled, "The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject, &c." which was publiſhed, in the year 1660, by Dr. Sanderſon, biſhop of Lincoln; and in that treatiſe, after having obſerved that the commands of princes are either of ſuch things as may and ought to be done, or of ſuch as cannot or ought not to be done, he puts this queſtion: but how are ſubjects to carry themſelves, when ſuch things are enjoined as cannot or ought not to be done? To which he anſwers, "Surely not to accuſe the commander, but humbly to avoid the "command . . . . . And, when nothing elſe will ſerve the turn, as "in things that may be done, we are to expreſs our ſubmiſſion by active, ſo "in things that cannot be done, we are to declare the ſame by paſſive obedience, without reſiſtance and repugnancy; ſuch a kind of ſuffering "being as ſure a ſign of ſubjection as any thing elſe whatſoever." And ſome pages lower, he propoſes an objection, and anſwers it. "But, ſays "he, if men's hands be thus tied, will ſome ſay, no man's ſtate can be "ſecure; nay, the whole frame of the commonwealth would be in danger "to be ſubverted and utterly ruined, by the unbridled luſt of a diſtempered "governor."

"I anſwer, God's word is clear in the point, (Rom. xiii. 2, 5.) Whoſoever reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that "reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation; and thereby a neceſſity is "impoſed upon us of being ſubject even for conſcience ſake; which may "not be avoided by the pretext of any enſuing miſchief whatſoever. For, "by this means we ſhould have liberty given unto us to (James iv. 11,) "ſpeak evil of the law, and to judge the law. But if thou judge the law, "thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge, ſaith St. James. It becomes us, in obedience, to perform our part; and leave the ordering of "events to God, whoſe part only that is." The power communicated by God to the Prince, &c. pag. 147, 149, 150, 157. London, 1683, in 8vo.

Dr. Sanderſon was of the ſame opinion, as it appears by his long preface to archbiſhop Uſher's treatiſe juſt mentioned; wherein, among other things, he ſays, that a mixt monarchy is an arrant bull, a contradiction in adjecto, and deſtroyeth itſelf; but more particularly by that famous paſſage in a ſermon of his preached at Hampton-Court, in the year 1640: "No conjuncture of circumſtances whatſoever can make that expedient to be "done at any time, that is of itſelf, and in the kind (Οὐ γὰρ ὦ μὴ καλὸν, "ἅποτ' ἔφυ καλὸν. Eurip. Phœniſſ. Act. 3.) unlawful. For a man to blaſpheme the holy name of God, to ſacrifice to idols, to give wrong ſentence in judgment, by his power to oppreſs thoſe that are not able to "withſtand him, by ſubtilty to over-reach others in bargaining, to take "up arms, (offenſive or defenſive) againſt a lawful ſovereign; none of "theſe, and ſundry other things of like nature, being all of them ſimply, "and de toto genere, unlawful, may be done by any man, at any time, in "any caſe, upon any colour or pretenſion whatſoever; the expreſs command of God himſelf only excepted, as in the caſe of Abraham for "ſacrificing his ſon (Gen. xxii.) Not for the avoiding of ſcandal, not "at the inſtance of any friend, or command of any power upon earth,

fied clergy. If ſo, I am ſure they are the moſt dangerous ſort of men alive to our Engliſh government; and it is the firſt thing ought to be looked into, and ſtrictly examined by our parliaments. It is the leaven that corrupts the whole lump. For if that be true, I am ſure monarchy is not to be bounded by human laws; and the 8th chapter of 1 Samuel will prove (as many of our divines would have it) the great charter of the royal prerogative; and our "Magna Charta;" that ſays, "Our kings may not take our fields, our vineyards, our "corn, and our ſheep," is not in force, but void and null; becauſe againſt divine inſtitution. And you have the riddle out, why the clergy are ſo ready to take themſelves, and to impoſe upon others, ſuch kind of oaths as theſe. They have placed themſelves and their poſſeſſions upon a better and ſurer bottom (as they think) than "Magna Charta;" and ſo have no more need of, or concern for it. Nay, what is worſe, they have trucked away the rights and liberties of the people, in this and all other countries, wherever they have had opportunity; that they might be owned by the prince to be "jure divino," maintained in that pretenſion by that abſolute power and force they have contributed ſo much to put into his hands; and that prieſt and prince may, like Caſtor and Pollux, be worſhipped together as divine, in the ſame temple, by us poor lay-ſubjects; and that ſenſe and reaſon, law, properties, rights, and liberties, ſhall be underſtood, as the oracles of thoſe deities ſhall interpret, or give ſignification to them; and never be made uſe of in the world to oppoſe the abſolute and free will of either of them.

Sir, I have no more to ſay, but beg your pardon for this tedious trouble, and that you will be very careful to whom you communicate any of this.

"nor for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourſelves or "others; nor for the defence of religion; nor for the preſervation of a "church or ſtate; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined poſſible, for the "ſalvation of a ſoul, no, not for the redemption of the whole world. "Sermon XII. ad Aulam, preached at Hampton-Court, July 26, 1640, "on 1 Cor. x. 23. But all things are not expedient. . . . . But all things "edify not." See XXXIV Sermons, &c. by Robert Sanderſon, &c. pag. 522, of the 5th edit. London, 1686, in fol.

REMARKS

REMARKS

UPON SOME OF

Mr. NORRIS'S BOOKS,

Wherein he aſſerts P. MALEBRANCHE's Opinion of our ſeeing all Things in God.

THERE are ſome, who think they have given an account of the nature of ideas, by telling us, "we ſee them in God" (1), as if we underſtood, what ideas in the underſtanding of God are, better than when they are in our own underſtandings; or their nature were better known, when it is ſaid, that "the immediate "object of our underſtandings are the divine ideas, the "omniform eſſence of God, partially repreſented or "exhibited" (2). So that this now has made the matter clear, there can be no difficulty left, when we are told that our ideas are the divine ideas; and the "divine ideas the omniform eſſence of God." For what the divine ideas are, we know as plainly, as we know what 1, 2, and 3, is; and it is a ſatisfactory explication of what our ideas are to tell us, they are no other than the divine ideas; and the divine eſſence is more familiar, and level to our knowledge, than any thing we think of. Beſides, there can be no difficulty

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(1) See Curſory Reflections upon a book called, "An Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding." Written by John Norris, M. A. rector of Newton St. Loe, in Somerſetſhire, and late fellow of All-Souls college: in a letter to a friend; printed at the end of his "Chriſtian Bleſſedneſs, or "Diſcourſes upon the Beatitudes of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt;" pag. 30. Lond. 1690. in 8vo. (2) Ibid. pag. 31.

in understanding how the "divine ideas are God's "essence."

2. I am complained of for not having "given an "account of, or defined the nature of our ideas" (3). By "giving an account of the nature of ideas," is not meant, that I should make known to men their ideas; for I think no-body can imagine that any articulate sounds of mine, or any body else, can make known to another what his ideas, that is, what his perceptions are, better than what he himself knows and perceives them to be; which is enough for affirmations, or negations, about them. By the "nature of ideas," therefore, is meant here their causes and manner of production in the mind, i. e. in what alteration of the mind this perception consists; and as to that, I answer, no man can tell; for which I not only appeal to experience, which were enough, but shall add this reason, viz. because no man can give any account of any alteration made in any simple substance whatsoever; all the alteration we can conceive, being only of the alteration of compounded substances; and that only by a transposition of parts. Our ideas, say these men, are the "divine ideas, or the omniform essence of God," which the mind sometimes sees, and sometimes not. Now I ask these men, what alteration is made in the mind upon seeing? for there lies the difficulty, which occasions the inquiry.

For what difference a man finds in himself, when he sees a marygold, and sees not a marygold, has no difficulty, and needs not be inquired after: he has the idea now, which he had not before. The difficulty is, what alteration is made in his mind; what changes that has in itself, when it sees what it did not see before, either the divine idea in the understanding of God, or, as the ignorant think, the marygold in the garden. Either supposition, as to this matter, is all one; for they are both things extrinsical to the mind, till it has that perception; and when it has it, I desire them to explain to me, what the alteration in the mind is, besides saying,

(3) Cursory Reflections, &c. pag. 3.

as

as we vulgar do, it is having a perception, which it had not the moment before; which is only the difference between perceiving and not perceiving; a difference in matter of fact agreed on all hands; which, wherein it conſiſts, is, for aught I ſee, unknown to one ſide as well as the other; only the one have the ingenuity to confeſs their ignorance; and the other pretend to be knowing.

3. P. Malebranche ſays, "God does all things by "the ſimpleſt and ſhorteſt ways," i. e. as it is interpreted in Mr. Norris's Reaſon and Religion, "God "never does any thing in vain" (4). This will eaſily be granted them; but how will they reconcile to this principle of theirs, on which their whole ſyſtem is built, the curious ſtructure of the eye and ear; not to mention the other parts of the body? For if the perception of colours and ſounds depended on nothing but the preſence of the object affording an occaſional cauſe to God Almighty to exhibit to the mind the idea of figures, colours, and ſounds; all that nice and curious ſtructure of thoſe organs is wholly in vain: ſince the ſun by day, and the ſtars by night, and the viſible objects that ſurround us, and the beating of a drum, the talk of people, and the change made in the air by thunder; are as much preſent to a blind and deaf man, as to thoſe who have their eyes and ears in the greateſt perfection. He that underſtands optics ever ſo little, muſt needs admire the wonderful make of the eye, not only for the variety and neatneſs of the parts; but as ſuited to the nature of refraction, ſo as to paint the image of the object in the retina; which theſe men muſt confeſs to be all loſt labour, if it contributes nothing at all, in the ordinary way of cauſes and effects, to the producing that idea in the mind. But that only the preſence of the object gave occaſion to God to ſhow to the mind that idea in

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(4) "Reaſon and Religion; or, the Grounds and Meaſures of Devo-"tion, conſidered from the nature of God, and the nature of man. In "ſeveral contemplations. With exerciſes of devotion applied to every "contemplation." By John Norris, M. A. and fellow of All-ſouls college in Oxford, Part II. Contemplation II. § 17. p. 195. Lond. 1689. in 8vo.

himſelf,

himſelf, which certainly is as preſent to one that has a gutta ſerena, as to the quickſightedeſt man living. But we do not know how, by any natural operation, this can produce an idea in the mind; and therefore (a good concluſion!) God, the author of nature, cannot this way produce it. As if it were impoſſible for the Almighty to produce any thing, but by ways we muſt conceive, and are able to comprehend; when he that is beſt ſatisfied of his omniſcient underſtanding, and knows ſo well how God perceives, and man thinks, cannot explain the coheſion of parts in the loweſt degree of created beings, unorganiſed bodies.

4. The perception of univerſals alſo proves that all beings are preſent to our minds; and that can only be by the preſence of God, becauſe all "created things are "individuals" (5). Are not all things that exiſt individuals? If ſo, then ſay not, all created, but all exiſting things are individuals; and if ſo, then the having any general idea proves not that we have all objects preſent to our minds. But this is for want of conſidering wherein univerſality conſiſts; which is only in repreſentation, abſtracting from particulars. An idea of a circle, of an inch diameter, will repreſent, where, or whenſoever exiſting, all the circles of an inch diameter; and that by abſtracting from time and place. And it will alſo repréſent all circles of any bigneſs, by abſtracting alſo from that particular bigneſs, and by retaining only the relation of equidiſtance of the circumference from the centre, in all the parts of it.

5. We have a "diſtinct idea of God" (6), whereby we clearly enough diſtinguiſh him from the creatures; but I fear it would be preſumption for us to ſay, we have a clear idea of him, as he is in himſelf.

6. The argument, that "we have the idea of infinite, "before the idea of finite, becauſe we conceive infinite "being, barely by conceiving being, without conſider-"ing, whether it be finite or infinite" (7); I ſhall

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(5) "Reaſon and Religion, &c. Part II. Contemp. II. § 19. p. 197.
(6) Ibid. § 20. p. 198. (7) Ibid. § 21. p. 198.

leave

leave to be considered, whether it is not a mistake, of priority of nature, for priority of conception.

7. "God made all things for himself" (8); therefore, we "see all things in him." This is called demonstration. As if all things were as well made for God, and mankind had not as much reason to magnify him, if their perception of things were any other way than such an one of seeing them in him; as shows not God more than the other, and wherein not one of a million takes more notice of him, than those who think they perceive things, where they are, by their senses.

8. If God should create a mind, and give it the sun, suppose, for its idea, "or immediate object of know-"ledge, God would then make that mind for the sun, "and not for himself" (9). This supposes, that those that see things in God, see at the same time God also, and thereby show that their minds are made for God, having him for the "immediate object of their know-"ledge." But for this I must appeal to common experience, whether every one, as often as he sees any thing else, sees and perceives God in the case; or whether it be not true of men, who see other things every moment, that God is not in all their thoughts? Yet, says he, "when the mind sees his works, it sees him in some "manner" (10). This some manner, is no manner at all to the purpose of being made only for God, for his idea, or for his immediate object of knowledge. A man bred up in the obscurity of a dungeon, where, by a dim and almost no light, he perceives the objects about him; it is true, he owes this idea to the light of the sun; but having never heard, nor thought of the sun, can one say that the idea of the sun is "his immediate object of "knowledge," or that therefore "his mind was made "for the sun?" This is the case of a great part of mankind; and how many can we imagine of those, who have got some notion of God, either from tradition or reason; have an idea of him present in their minds as often as they think of any thing else?

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(8) Reason and Religion, Part II. Contemp. II. § 22. p. 199.
(9) Ibid. § 22. p. 199. (10) Ibid. § 23. p. 200.

9. But if our being made for God neceſſarily demonſtrates that we ſhould "ſee all things in him;" this, at laſt, will demonſtrate, that we are not half made for him, ſince it is confeſſed by our author, that we ſee no other ideas in God, but thoſe of number, extenſion, and eſſences; which are not half the ideas that take up men's minds.

10. "The ſimple eſſences of things are nothing elſe "but the divine eſſence itſelf conſidered with his con-"notation, as variouſly repreſentative, or exhibitive of "things, and as varioully imitable or participable by "them" (11); and this he tells us are ideas (12). The meaning, I take it, of all this, put into plain intelligible words, is this; God has always a power to produce any thing that involves not a contradiction. He alſo knows what we can do. But what is all this to ideas in him, as real beings viſible by us? God knew, from eternity, he could produce a pebble, a muſhroom, and a man. Were theſe, which are diſtinct ideas, part of his ſimple eſſence? It ſeems then we know very well the eſſence of God, and uſe the word ſimple, which comprehends all ſorts of variety, in a very proper way. But God knew he could produce ſuch creatures; therefore, where ſhall we place thoſe ideas he ſaw of them, but in his own eſſence? There theſe ideas exiſted "eminenter;" and ſo they are the eſſence of God. There are things themſelves exiſted too "eminenter," and therefore all the creatures, as they really exiſt, are the eſſence of God. For if finite real beings of one kind, as ideas are ſaid to be, are the eſſence of the infinite God; other finite beings, as the creatures, may be alſo the eſſence of God. But after this rate we muſt talk, when we will allow ourſelves to be ignorant of nothing; but will know even the knowledge of God, and the way of his underſtanding!

11. The "eſſences of things, or ideas exiſting in "God" (13). There are many of them that exiſt in

(11) Reaſon and Religion, Part I. Contempl. V. § 19. p. 82.
(12) Ibid. § 20. (13) Ibid. § 21. p. 83.

God;

God; and ſo the ſimple eſſence of God has actually exiſting in it as great a variety of ideas as there are of creatures; all of them real beings, and diſtinct one from another. If it be ſaid, this means, God can, and knows he can produce them; what doth this ſay more than every one ſays? If it doth ſay more, and ſhows us not this infinite number of real diſtinct beings in God, ſo as to be his very eſſence; what is this better than what thoſe ſay, who make God to be nothing but the univerſe; though it be covered under unintelligible expreſſions of ſimplicity and variety, at the ſame time, in the eſſence of God? But thoſe who would not be thought ignorant of any thing to attain it, make God like themſelves; or elſe they could not talk as they do, of "the mind of "God, and the ideas in the mind of God, exhibitive "of all the whole poſſibility of being" (14).

12. It is "in the divine nature that theſe univerſal "natures, which are the proper object of ſcience, are "to be found. And conſequently it is in God that we "know all the truth which we know" (15). Doth any univerſal nature therefore exiſt? Or can any thing that exiſts any where, or any how, be any other than ſingular? I think it cannot be denied that God, having a power to produce ideas in us, can give that power to another; or, to expreſs it otherwiſe, make any idea the effect of any operation on our bodies. This has no contradiction in it, and therefore is poſſible. But you will ſay, you conceive not the way how this is done. If you ſtand to that rule, that it cannot be done, becauſe you conceive not the manner how it is brought to paſs; you muſt deny that God can do this, becauſe you cannot conceive the manner how he produces any idea in us. If viſible objects are ſeen only by God's exhibiting their ideas to our minds, on occaſion of the preſence of theſe objects, what hinders the Almighty from exhibiting their ideas to a blind man, to whom, being ſet before his face, and as near his eyes, and in as good

(14) Reaſon and Religion, Part I. Contempl. V. § 30. p. 92, 93.
(15) Ibid. Part II. Contempl. II. § 30. p. 206.

a light

a light as to one not blind, they are, according to this ſuppoſition, as much the occaſional cauſe to one as the other? But yet under this equality of occaſional cauſes, one has the idea, and the other not; and this conſtantly; which would give one reaſon to ſuſpect ſomething more than a preſential occaſional cauſe in the object.

13. Farther, if light ſtriking upon the eyes be but the occaſional cauſe of ſeeing; God, in making the eyes of ſo curious a ſtructure, operates not by the ſimpleſt ways; for God could have produced viſible ideas upon the occaſion of light upon the eye-lids or fore-head.

14. Outward objects are not, when preſent, always occaſional cauſes. He that has long continued in a room perfumed with ſweet odours, ceaſes to ſmell, though the room be filled with thoſe flowers; though, as often as after a little abſence he returns again, he ſmells them afreſh. He that comes out of bright ſunſhine into a room where the curtains are drawn, at firſt ſees nothing in the room; though thoſe who have been there ſome time, ſee him and every thing plainly. It is hard to account for either of theſe phenomena, by God's producing theſe ideas upon the account of occaſional cauſes. But by the production of ideas in the mind, by the operation of the object on the organs of ſenſe, this difference is eaſy to be explained.

15. Whether the ideas of light and colours come in by the eyes, or no; it is all one as if they did; for thoſe who have no eyes, never have them. And whether, or no, God has appointed that a certain modified motion of the fibres, or ſpirits in the optic nerve, ſhould excite, or produce, or cauſe them in us; call it what you pleaſe: it is all one as if it did; ſince where there is no ſuch motion, there is no ſuch perception or idea. For I hope they will not deny God the privilege to give ſuch a power to motion, if he pleaſes. Yes, ſay they, they be the occaſional, but not the efficient cauſe; for that they cannot be, becauſe that is in effect to ſay, he has given this motion in the optic nerve a power to operate on himſelf, but cannot give it a power to operate on the mind of man; it may by this appointment operate on himſelf, the impaſſible infinite ſpirit, and put him in mind when he is to operate on the mind

of

of man, and exhibit to it the idea which is in himſelf of any colour. The infinite eternal God is cértainly the cauſe of all things, the fountain of all being and power. But, becauſe all being was from him, can there be nothing but God himſelf? or, becauſe all power was originally in him, can there be nothing of it communicated to his creatures? This is to ſet very narrow bounds to the power of God, and, by pretending to extend it, takes it away. For which (I beſeech you, as we can comprehend) is the perfecteſt power; to make a machine, a watch, for example, that when the watchmaker has withdrawn his hands, ſhall go and ſtrike by the fit contrivance of the parts; or elſe requires that whenever the hand by pointing to the hours, minds him of it, he ſhould ſtrike twelve upon the bell? No machine of God's making can go of itſelf. Why? becauſe the creatures have no power; can neither move themſelves, nor any thing elſe. How then comes about all that we ſee? Do they do nothing? Yes, they are the occaſional cauſes to God, why he ſhould produce certain thoughts and motions in them. The creatures cannot produce any idea, any thought in man. How then comes he to perceive or think? God upon the occaſion of ſome motion in the optic nerve, exhibits the colour of a marygold or a roſe to his mind. How came that motion in his optic nerve? On occaſion of the motion of ſome particles of light ſtriking on the retina, God producing it, and ſo on. And ſo whatever a man thinks, God produces the thought; let it be infidelity, murmuring, or blaſphemy. The mind doth nothing; his mind is only the mirrour that receives the ideas that God exhibits to it, and juſt as God exhibits them; the man is altogether paſſive in the whole buſineſs of thinking.

16. A man cannot move his arm or his tongue; he has no power; only upon occaſion, the man willing it, God moves it. The man wills, he doth ſomething; or elſe God, upon the occaſion of ſomething, which he himſelf did before, produced this will, and this action in him. This is the hypotheſis that clears doubts, and brings us at laſt to the religion of Hobbes and Spinoſa,

by

by reſolving all, even the thoughts and will of men, into an irreſiſtible fatal neceſſity. For, whether the original of it be from the continued motion of eternal all-doing matter, or from an omnipotent immaterial being which, having begun matter and motion, continues it by the direction of occaſions which he himſelf has alſo made; as to religion and morality, it is juſt the ſame thing. But we muſt know how every thing is brought to paſs, and thus we have it reſolved, without leaving any difficulty to perplex us. But perhaps it would better become us to acknowledge our ignorance, than to talk ſuch things boldly of the Holy One of Iſrael, and condemn others for not daring to be as unmannerly as ourſelves.

17. Ideas may be real beings, though not ſubſtances; as motion is a real being, though not a ſubſtance; and it ſeems probable that, in us, ideas depend on, and are ſome way or other the effect of motion; ſince they are ſo fleeting; it being, as I have elſewhere obſerved, ſo hard, and almoſt impoſſible, to keep in our minds the ſame unvaried idea, long together, unleſs when the object that produces it is preſent to the ſenſes; from which the ſame motion that firſt produced it being continued, the idea itſelf may continue.

18. This therefore may be a ſufficient excuſe of the ignorance I have owned of what our ideas are, any farther than as they are perceptions we experiment in ourſelves; and the dull unphiloſophical way I have taken of examining their production, only ſo far as experience and obſervation lead me; wherein my dim ſight went not beyond ſenſation and reflection.

19. Truth (16) lies only in propoſitions. The foundation of this truth is the relation that is between our ideas. The knowledge of truth is that perception of the relation between our ideas to be as it is expreſſed.

20. The immutability of eſſences lies in the ſame ſounds, ſuppoſed to ſtand for the ſame ideas. Theſe

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(16) See Reaſon and Religion, &c. Part II. Contempl. II. § 29. p. 204.

things

things conſidered, would have ſaved this learned diſcourſe.

21. Whatever exiſts, whether in God, or out of God, is ſingular (17).

22. If no propoſition ſhould be made, there would be no truth nor falſhood; though the ſame relations ſtill ſubſiſting between the ſame ideas, is a foundation of the immutability of truth (18) in the ſame propoſitions, whenever made.

23. What wonder is it that the ſame idea (19) ſhould always be the ſame idea? For if the word triangle be ſuppoſed to have the ſame ſignification always, that is all this amounts to.

24. "I deſire to know (20) what things they are "that God has prepared for them that love him." Therefore I have ſome knowledge of them already, though they be ſuch as "eye hath not ſeen, nor ear "heard, nor have entered into the heart of man to con-"ceive."

25. If I "have all things actually preſent to my mind;" why do I not know all things diſtinctly?

26. He that conſiders (21) the force of ſuch ways of ſpeaking as theſe, "I deſire it, pray give it me, ſhe was "afraid of the ſnake, and ran away trembling;" will eaſily conceive how the meaning of the words "de-"ſire" and "fear," and ſo all thoſe which ſtand for intellectual notions, may be taught by words of ſenſible ſignifications.

27. This, however otherwiſe in experience, ſhould be ſo on this hypotheſis; v. g. the uniformity of the ideas, that different men have when they uſe ſuch words as theſe, "glory, worſhip, religion," are clear proofs that "God exhibited to their minds that part "of the ideal world, as is ſignified by that ſign."

28. Strange! that truth being, in any queſtion, but one; the more we diſcover of it, the more uniform our judgments ſhould be about it (22).

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(17) See Reaſon and Religion, Part II. Contempl. II. § 30. p. 206.
(18) Ibid. § 32. p. 207. (19) Ibid. § 33. p. 208, 209.
(20) Ibid. § 34. p. 210. (21) Ibid. § 35. p. 211, 212, 213.
(22) Ibid. § 36. p. 214.

29. This argues that the ground of it is the always immutable relations of the same ideas. Several ideas that we have once got acquainted with, we can revive; and so they are present to us when we please. But the knowledge of their relations, so as to know what we may affirm or deny of them, is not always present to our minds; but we often miss truth, even after study. But in many, and possibly not the fewest, we have neither the ideas, nor the truth, constantly, or so much as at all, present to our minds.

And I think I may, without any disparagement to the author, doubt whether he ever had, or, with all his application, ever would have, the ideas of truth present to the mind, that Mr. Newton had in writing his book.

30. This section (23) supposes we are better acquainted with God's understanding than our own. But this pretty argument would perhaps look as smilingly thus: We are like God in our understandings; he sees what he sees, by ideas in his own mind; therefore we see what we see, by ideas that are in our own minds.

31. These texts (24) do not prove that we shall "hereafter see all things in God." There will be objects in a future state, and we shall have bodies and senses.

32. Is he, whilst we see through the veil of our mortal flesh here, intimately present to our minds?

33. To think of any thing (25) is to contemplate that precise idea. The idea of Being, in general, is the idea of Being abstracted from whatever may limit or determine it to any inferiour species; so that he that thinks always of being in general, thinks never of any particular species of being; unless he can think of it with and without precision, at the same time. But if he means, that he thinks of being in general, whenever he thinks of this or that particular being, or sort of being; then it is certain he may always think of being

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(23) See Reason and Religion, Part II. Contempl. II. § 37. p. 215.
(24) Ibid. § 38. p. 216, 217. (25) Ibid. § 39. p. 217, 218

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in general, till he can find out a way of thinking on nothing.

34. Being in general, is being (26) abſtracted from wiſdom, goodneſs, power, and any particular ſort of duration; and I have as true an idea of being, when theſe are excluded out of it, as when extenſion, place, ſolidity, and mobility, are excluded out of my idea. And therefore, if being in general, and God, be the ſame, I have a true idea of God, when I exclude out of it power, goodneſs, wiſdom, and eternity.

35. As if there was no difference (27) between "man's being his own light," and "not ſeeing things "in God." Man may be enlightened by God, though it be not by "ſeeing all things in God."

The finiſhing of theſe haſty thoughts muſt be deferred to another ſeaſon.

Oates, 1693. JOHN LOCKE.

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(26) Reaſon and Religion, Part II. Contempl. II. § 40. p. 219.
(27) Ibid. § 43. p. 223.

SEVERAL

LETTERS

TO

ANTH. COLLINS, Esq;

AND

OTHER PERSONS.

A Letter from Mr. Locke to Mr. Oldenburg, concerning a poisonous Fish about the Bahama Islands.

SIR,

I HEREWITH send you an account, I lately received from New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, concerning a fish there; which is as followeth:

" I have not met with any rarities here, worth your " acceptance, though I have been diligent in inquiring " after them. Of those, which I have heard of, this " seems most remarkable to me. The fish, which are " here, are many of them poisonous, bringing a great " pain on their joints who eat them, and continue for " some short time; and at last, with two or three days " itching, the pain is rubbed off. Those of the same " species, size, shape, colour, taste, are, one of them " poison; the other not in the least hurtful: and those " that are, only to some of the company The distem- " per to men never proves mortal. Dogs and cats " sometimes eat their last. Men, who have once had

" that

" that diſeaſe, upon the eating of fiſh, though it be " thoſe which are wholeſome, the poiſonous ferment " in their body is revived thereby, and their pain in- " creaſed."

Thus far the ingenious perſon, from whom I had this relation, who having been but a very little while upon the iſland, when he writ this, could not ſend ſo perfect an account of this odd obſervation, as one could wiſh, or as I expect to receive from him, in anſwer to ſome queries I lately ſent him by a ſhip bound thither. When his anſwer comes to my hand, if there be any thing in it, which may gratify your curioſity, I ſhall be glad of that or any other occaſion to aſſure you that I am,

SIR, Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to Anthony Collins, Eſq;

SIR, Oates, 4 May 1703.

NONE of your concerns are of indifference to me. You may from thence conclude I take part in your late great loſs. But I conſider you as a philoſopher, and a chriſtian; and ſo ſpare you the trouble of reading from me, what your own thoughts will much better ſuggeſt to you.

You have exceedingly obliged me, in the books of yours that you have ſent me, and thoſe of mine you have been at ſo much trouble about. I received but juſt now the packet, wherein they and your obliging letter were; that muſt be my excuſe for ſo tardy a return of my thanks.

I am overjoyed with an intimation I have received alſo, that gives me hopes of ſeeing you here the next week. You are a charitable good friend, and are reſolved to make the decays and dregs of my life the pleaſanteſt part of it. For I know nothing calls me ſo much

much back to a pleaſant ſenſe of enjoyment, and makes my days ſo gay and lively, as your good company. Come then, and multiply happy minutes upon, and rejoice here in the good you do me. For I am, with a perfect eſteem and reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 3 June 1703.

IT is not enough to have heard from my couſin King* that you got ſafe to town, or from others that you were ſince well there. I am too much concerned in it, not to inquire of yourſelf, how you do. Beſides that I owe you my thanks, for the greateſt favour I can receive, the confirmation of your friendſhip, by the viſit I lately received from you. If you knew what ſatisfaction I feel ſpread over my mind by it, you would take this acknowledgment as coming from ſomething beyond civility; my heart goes with it, and that you may be ſure of; and ſo uſeleſs a thing as I am have nothing elſe to offer you.

As a mark that I think we are paſt ceremony, I here ſend you a new book† in quires, with a deſire you will get it bound by your binder. In the parts of good binding beſides folding, beating, and ſewing, will I count ſtrong paſteboards, and as large margins as the paper will poſſibly afford; and, for lettering, I deſire it ſhould be upon the ſame leather blacked, and barely the name of the author, as, in this caſe, Voſſius.

Pardon this liberty, and believe me with perfect ſincerity and reſpect, &c.

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* Sir Peter King.

† "G. J. Voſſii Etymologicum Linguæ Latinæ," Amſtelodami 1695.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, 18 June, 1703.

IT would be strange, if after all those marks of friendship and esteem I have received from you, in the little time I have had the honour of your acquaintance, I should quarrel with you; and should repay the continuance of your good offices, employed even in things beneath you, with grumbling at you; and yet this I can hardly forbear to do. Do not, I beseech you, take this to be altogether ill-nature, but a due estimate of what I enjoy in you. And, since upon just measures I count it the great treasure of my life, I cannot with patience hear you talk of condescension in me, when I stick not to waste your time in looking after the binding of my books. If you please, let us live upon fairer terms; and when you oblige me, give me leave to be sensible of it. And pray remember, that there is one Mr. Collins, with whom, if I desire to live upon equal terms, it is not that I forget how much he is superiour to me, in many things wherein he will always have the precedency; but I assume it upon the account of that friendship that is between us; friendship levelling all inequalities between those whom it joins, that it may leave nothing that may keep them at a distance, and hinder a perfect union and enjoyment.

This is what I would be at with you; and were I not in earnest in it, out of a sincere love of you, I would not be so foolish to rob myself of the only way wherein I might pretend to enter the lists with you. I am old and useless, and out of the way; all the real services are then like to be on your side. In words, expressions, and acknowledgment, there might have been perhaps some room to have made some offers of holding up to you. But I desire that nothing of the court-guise may mix in our conversation. Put not, I beseech you, any thing into your letters to make me forget how much I am obliged to you by the liberty you allow me to tell you that I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 24 June, 1703.

MR. Bold*, who leaves us to-day, intends to ſee you; and I cannot forbear going, as far as I can, to make the third in the company. Would my health ſecond my deſires, not only my name, and a few words of friendſhip, ſhould go with him to you; but I myſelf would get to horſe; and had I nothing elſe to do in town, I ſhould think it worth a longer journey than it is thither, to ſee and enjoy you. But I muſt ſubmit to the reſtraints of old age, and expect that happineſs from your charity.

It is but ſix days ſince, that I writ to you; and ſee here another letter. You are like to be troubled with me. If it be ſo, why do you make yourſelf beloved? Why do you make yourſelf ſo neceſſary to me? I thought myſelf pretty looſe from the world, but I feel you begin to faſten me to it again. For you make my life, ſince I have had your friendſhip, much more valuable to me than it was before.

You thanked me in your laſt, for the employment I gave you; I wiſh I do not make you repent it; for you are likely to have my cuſtom. I deſire you would do me the favour to get me Dr. Barrow's Engliſh works, bound as Voſſius's Etymologicum was. I am in no manner of haſte for them, and therefore you may get them from your bookſeller in quires, when you go to his ſhop upon any other occaſion; and put them to your binder at leiſure. I have them for my own uſe already;

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* Mr. Samuel Bold died in Auguſt 1737, aged 88. He had been rector of Steeple, in Dorſetſhire, 56 years. He was author of ſeveral books; and, among others, ſome in defence of Mr. Locke's "Eſſay "concerning Human Underſtanding," and his "Reaſonableneſs of "Chriſtianity." He was impriſoned and perſecuted in the reign of James II. for a ſermon againſt perſecution, and for a pamphlet intitled, "A Plea for Moderation;" doctrines which neither the court nor prelates of thoſe times could bear. He was a man of true learning and genuine piety, of ſound doctrine and moſt exemplary life; a moſt uſeful man in his ſtation, and a zealous promoter of true religion.

theſe

theſe are to give away to a young lady here in the country. When they are bound, I deſire your binder would pack them up carefully, and cover them with paper enough to keep their corners and edges from being hurt in the carriage. For carriers are a ſort of brutes, and declared enemies to books. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 9 July, 1703.

YOURS, of the 30th of June, I received juſt now, and cannot forbear a moment to tell you, that if there were any thing in my laſt letter, that gave you an occaſion, after having mentioned diſguiſe, to ſay, you "have made uſe of no way to ſhow your eſteem of me, "but ſtill your heart went with it," I am very ſorry for it. For, however I might think the expreſſions in your letter above what I could deſerve, yet my blaming your exceſs of civility to me tended not to any doubt of the ſincerity of your affection. Had I not been ſecure of that, I could not have talked to you with the ſame freedom I did, nor have endeavoured to perſuade you, that you were lodged ſo near my heart as you are. Though my friendſhip be of very little value, or uſe; yet being the beſt thing I have to give, I ſhall not forwardly beſtow it, where I do not think there is worth and ſincerity; and therefore, pray, pardon me the forwardneſs wherewith I throw my arms about your neck; and holding you ſo, tell you, you muſt not hope, by any thing that looks like compliment, to keep me at a civiler, and morē faſhionable diſtance.

You comply with me, I ſee, by the reſt of your letter; and you bear with my treating you with the familiarity of an eſtabliſhed friendſhip. You pretend you have got the advantage by it. I wiſh it may be ſo; for I ſhould be very glad there were any thing, wherein I could be uſeful to you. Find it out, I beſeech you; and tell me of it, with as little ceremony and ſcruple, as you ſee I uſe with you.

The

The New Teſtament, you mention*, I ſhall be glad to ſee, ſince Mr. Bold has told you how deſirous I was to ſee it. I have expected one of them from Holland ever ſince they have been out; and ſo I hope to reſtore it to you again in a few days.

The other book, you mentioned †, I have ſeen; and am ſo well ſatisfied, by his 5th ſection, what a doughty 'ſquire he is like to prove in the reſt, that I think not to trouble myſelf to look farther into him. He has there argued very weakly againſt his adverſary, but very ſtrongly againſt himſelf.

But this will be better entertainment for you when we meet, than matter for a letter, wherein I make it my buſineſs to aſſure you, that I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 10 September, 1703.

YOURS of the 7th, which I juſt now received, is the only letter I have a long time wiſhed for, and the welcomeſt that could come; for I longed to hear that you were well, that you were returned, and that I might have the opportunity to return you my thanks for the books you ſent me, which came ſafe; and to acknowledge my great obligations to you for one of the moſt villainous books, that, I think, ever was printed ‡. It is a preſent that I highly value. I had heard ſomething of it, when a young man in the univerſity; but poſſibly

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* Mr. Le Clerc's French Tranſlation of the New Teſtament.

† "Pſychologia; or, an Account of the Nature of the Rational Soul," &c. By John Broughton, M. A. Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. Lond. 1703, in 8vo.

‡ Chillingworthi Noviſſima. Or the ſickneſs, hereſy, death, and burial of William Chillingworth, (in his own phraſe) clerk, of Oxford, and in the conceit of his fellow-ſoldiers, the Queen's arch-engineer and grand-intelligencer . . . . . By Francis Cheynell, late fellow of Merton College. Lond. 1644, in 4to." See the article of Mr. Chillingworth, in my "Attempt towards an hiſtorical and critical Engliſh Dictionary."

ſhould

ſhould never have ſeen this quinteſſence of railing, but for your kindneſs. It ought to be kept as the pattern and ſtandard of that ſort of writing, as the man he ſpends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear and ſtrong arguing. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 1 October, 1703.

YOU are a good man, and one may depend upon your promiſe. This makes me paſs my days in comfortable hopes, when I remember you are not far off. I have your word for it, and that is better than city-ſecurity. But for fear villainous buſineſs ſhould impertinently ſtep in again, between you and your kind purpoſes to us here; give me leave to beg the favour of you, that if you write again, before I have the happineſs to ſee you, you will do me the favour to ſend me a note of what you have laid out for me, that I may pay you that part of the debt I am able, of what I owe you, and may not have ſo much to interrupt the advantages I am to reap from your converſation, when you honour me with your company, as an apology to be made, if I am not out of your debt before we meet.

Doth Mr. Le Clerc's New Teſtament make any noiſe amongſt the men of letters or divinity in your town? The divines of Brandenburg or Cleve have got the king of Pruſſia to prohibit it in his dominions; and the Walloon divines in Holland are ſoliciting the ſame at the Hague, but it is thought will not prevail *. I have not yet heard what are the exceptions made in particular, either by the one, or the other. If there be need of authentic interpreters of the word of God, what is the way to find them out? That is worth your thinking of, unleſs you would have every one interpret for himſelf;

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* See Mr. Bayle's "Entretiens de Maxime et de Themiſte; ou Reſponſe "à ce que Mr. Le Clerc a ecrit dans ſon X. tome de la Bibliotheque "Choiſie contre Mr. Bayle." A. Rotterdam 1707, in 8vo. page 70 & ſuiv.

and

and what work would that make? Betwixt theſe two find ſomething if you can; for the world is in want of peace, which is much better than everlaſting Billingſgate.

I thought not to have troubled you with hard queſtions, or any thing that ſhould have required a ſerious thought, any farther than what day you ſhould pitch on to come hither. But everlaſting wrangling, and calling of names, is ſo odious a thing, that you will pardon me, if it puts me out of temper a little. But I think of you, and ſome few ſuch as you in the world, and that reconciles me to it; or elſe it would not be worth ſtaying in an hour. I am, &c.

A Letter to the Lady Calverley in Yorkſhire.

MADAM,

WHATEVER reaſon you have to look on me, as one of the ſlow men of London, you have this time given me an excuſe for being ſo; for you cannot expect a quick anſwer to a letter, which took me up a good deal of time to get to the beginning of it. I turned and turned it on every ſide; looked at it again and again, at the top of every page; but could not get into the ſenſe and ſecret of it, till I applied myſelf to the middle.

You, Madam, who are acquainted with all the ſkill and methods of the ancients, have not, I ſuppoſe, taken up with this hieroglyphical way of writing for nothing; and ſince you were going to put into your letter things that might be the reward of the higheſt merit, you would, by this myſtical intimation, put me into the way of virtue, to deſerve them.

But whatever your ladyſhip intended, this is certain, that, in the beſt words in the world, you gave me the greateſt humiliation imaginable. Had I as much vanity as a pert citizen, that ſets up for a wit in his pariſh, you have ſaid enough in your letter to content me; and if I could be ſwoln that way, you have taken a great deal of pains to blow me up, and make me the fineſt gaudy bubble

bubble in the world, as I am painted by your colours. I know the emperors of the East ſuffer not ſtrangers to appear before them, till they are dreſſed up out of their own wardrobes; is it ſo too in the empire of wit? and muſt you cover me with your own embroidery, that I may be a fit object for your thoughts and converſation? This, Madam, may ſuit your greatneſs, but doth not at all ſatisfy my ambition. He, who has once flattered himſelf with the hopes of your friendſhip, knows not the true value of things, if he can content himſelf with theſe ſplendid ornaments.

As ſoon as I had read your letter, I looked in my glaſs, felt my pulſe, and ſighed; for I found, in neither of thoſe, the promiſes of thirty years to come. For at the rate I have hitherto advanced, and at the diſtance, I ſee, by this complimental way of treatment, I ſtill am, I ſhall not have time enough in this world to get to you. I do not mean to the place where you now ſee the pole elevated, as you ſay, 54 degrees. A poſt-horſe, or a coach, would quickly carry me thither. But when ſhall we be acquainted at this rate? Is that happineſs reſerved to be completed by the goſſipping bowl, at your grand-daughter's lying-in?

If I were ſure that, when you leave this dirty place, I ſhould meet you in the ſame ſtar where you are to ſhine next, and that you would then admit me to your converſation, I might perhaps have a little more patience. But, methinks, it is much better to be ſure of ſomething, than to be put off to expectations of ſo much uncertainty. If there be different elevations of the pole here, that keep you at ſo great a diſtance from thoſe who languiſh in your abſence; who knows but, in the other world, there are different elevations of perſons? And you, perhaps, will be out of ſight, among the ſeraphims, while we are left behind in ſome dull planet. This the high flights of your elevated genius give us juſt augury of, whilſt you are here. But yet, pray take not your place there before your time; nor keep not us poor mortals at a greater diſtance than you need. When you have granted me all the nearneſs that acquaintance and friendſhip can give, you have other advantages enough

ſtill

ſtill to make me ſee how much I am beneath you. This will be only an enlargement of your goodneſs, without leſſening the adoration due to your other excellencies.

You ſeem to have ſome thoughts of the town again. If the parliament, or the term, which draw ſome by the name and appearance of buſineſs; or if company, and muſic-meetings, and other ſuch entertainments, which have the attractions of pleaſure and delight, were of any conſideration with you; you would not have much to ſay for Yorkſhire, at this time of the year. But theſe are no arguments to you, who carry your own ſatisfaction, and I know not how many worlds always about you. I would be glad you would think of putting all theſe up in a coach, and bringing them this way. For though you ſhould be never the better; yet there be a great many here that would, and amongſt them

The humbleſt of your Ladyſhip's ſervants,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to Anthony Collins, Eſq.

SIR, Oates, October 29, 1703.

YOU, in yours of the 21ſt, ſay a great many very kind things; and I believe all that you ſay; and yet I am not very well ſatisfied with you. And how then is it poſſible to pleaſe you? will you be ready to ſay. Think that I am as much pleaſed with your company, as much obliged by your converſation, as you are by mine; and you ſet me at reſt, and I am the moſt ſatisfied man in the world. You complain of a great many defects; and that very complaint is the higheſt recommendation I could deſire, to make me love and eſteem you, and deſire your friendſhip. And if I were now ſetting out in the world, I ſhould think it my great happineſs to have ſuch a companion as you, who had a true reliſh of truth, would in earneſt ſeek it with me, from whom I might receive it undiſguiſed, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true freely.

Believe

Believe it, my good friend, to love truth, for truth's ſake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the ſeed-plot of all other virtues; and, if I miſtake not, you have as much of it as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the beſt; a friend for any one to be proud of? Would you have me take upon me, becauſe I have the ſtart of you in the number of years, and be ſupercilious, conceited, for having in a long ramble travelled ſome countries, which a young voyager has not yet had time to ſee, and from whence one may be ſure he will bring larger collections of ſolid knowledge?

In good earneſt, Sir, when I conſider how much of my life has been trifled away in beaten tracts, where I vamped on with others, only to follow thoſe that went before us; I cannot but think I have juſt as much reaſon to be proud, as if I had travelled all England, and (if you will) France too, only to acquaint myſelf with the roads, and be able to tell how the highways lie, wherein thoſe of equipage, and even the herd too, travel.

Now, methinks, (and theſe are often old men's dreams) I ſee openings to truth, and direct paths leading to it; wherein a little induſtry and application would ſettle one's mind with ſatisfaction, even in thoſe matters which you mention, and leave no darkneſs or doubt, even with the moſt ſcrupulous. But this is at the end of my day, when my ſun is ſetting. And though the proſpect it has given me be what I would not, for any thing, be without; there is ſo much irreſiſtible truth, beauty, and conſiſtency, in it; yet it is for one of your age, I think I ought to ſay for yourſelf, to ſet about it, as a work you would put into order, and oblige the world with.

You ſee whither my juſt thoughts of you have led me; and that I ſhall have no quarrel with you, if you will ceaſe to ſet me, as you do, on the higher ground, and to think that I have not as much pleaſure and ſatisfaction from your company as you have from mine. If I were able to live in your neighbourhood in town, I ſhould quickly convince you of that; and you eſcape being haunted by me only by being out of my reach.

A little

A little better acquaintance will let you ſee that, in the communication of truth, between thoſe who receive it in the love of it, he that anſwers, is no leſs obliged, than he who aſks the queſtion; and therefore you owe me not thoſe mighty thanks you ſend me, for having the good luck to ſay ſomething that pleaſed you. If it were good ſeed, I am ſure it was ſown in good ground, and may expect a great increaſe.

I think you have a familiar, ready to diſpatch what you undertake for your friends. How is it poſſible elſe, you ſhould ſo ſoon procure for me Kircher's Concordance? "Show me the man, and I will ſhow you his cauſe;" will hold now-a-days almoſt in all other caſes, as well as that of προσκυνεῖν*; and yet they muſt be all thought lovers and promoters of truth. But my letter is too long already, to enter into ſo copious a ſubject.

I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, Nov. 16, 1703.

IF I aſk you, how you do; it is becauſe I am concerned for your health. If I aſk you, whether you have ſent me any books ſince you went to town; it is not that I am in haſte for them, but to know how the carrier uſes me. And if I aſk, whether you are of Lincoln's-Inn; it is to know of what place you write yourſelf, which I deſire you to tell me in your next, and what good new books there are. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, Nov. 17, 1703.

THE books I received from you to-night, with the kind letter accompanying them, far more valuable than

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* Mr. Locke had been informed that one of the objections of the Walloon Divines, againſt Mr. Le Clerc's New Teſtament, was his tranſlating προσκυνεῖν in St. Matthew (chap. II. v. 2.) ſo as to ſignify the civil, but not religious, worſhip of the wiſe men.

the books, give matter of enlarging myſelf this evening. The common offices of friendſhip, that I conſtantly receive from you, in a very obliging manner, give me ſcope enough, and afford me large matter of acknowledgement. But when I think of you, I feel ſomething of nearer concernment that touches me; and that noble principle of the love of truth, which poſſeſſes you, makes me almoſt forget thoſe other obligations, which I ſhould be very thankful for to another.

In good earneſt, ſir, you cannot think what a comfort it is to me to have found out ſuch a man; and not only ſo, but I have the ſatisfaction that he is my friend. This gives a guſto to all the good things you ſay to me, in your letter. For though I cannot attribute them to myſelf, (for I know my own defects too well) yet I am ready to perſuade myſelf you mean as you ſay; and to confeſs the truth to you, I almoſt loathe to undeceive you, ſo much do I value your good opinion.

But to ſet it upon the right ground, you muſt know that I am a poor ignorant man, and, if I have any thing to boaſt of, it is that I ſincerely love and ſeek truth, with indifferency whom it pleaſes or diſpleaſes. I take you to be of the ſame ſchool, and ſo embrace you. And if it pleaſe God to afford me ſo much life as to ſee you again, I ſhall communicate to you ſome of my thoughts tending that way.

You need not make any apology for any book that is not yet come. I thank you for thoſe you have ſent me; they are more I think, than I ſhall uſe; for the indiſpoſition of my health has beaten me almoſt quite out of the uſe of books; and the growing uneaſineſs of my diſtemper * makes me good for nothing. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, January 24, 1703-4.

TILL your confidence in my friendſhip, and freedom with me, can preſerve you from thinking you have need

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* An aſthma.

to make apologies for your ſilence, whenever you omit a poſt or two, when in your kind way of reckoning, you judge a letter to be due; you know me not ſo well as I could wiſh; nor am I ſo little burthenſome to you as I deſire. I could be pleaſed to hear from you every day; becauſe the very thoughts of you, every day, afford me pleaſure and ſatisfaction. But I beſeech you to believe, that I meaſure not your kindneſs by your opportunities of writing; nor do ſuſpect that your friendſhip flattens, whenever your pen lies a little ſtill. The ſincerity you profeſs, and I am convinced of, has charms in it, againſt all the little phantoms of ceremony. If it be not ſo, that true friendſhip ſets one free from a ſcrupulous obſervance of all thoſe little circumſtances, I ſhall be able to give but a very ill account of myſelf to my friends; to whom, when I have given poſſeſſion of my heart, I am leſs punctual in making of legs, and kiſſing my hand, than to other people, to whom that out-ſide civility is all that belongs.

I received the three books you ſent me. That which the author ſent me* deſerves my acknowledgement more ways than one; and I muſt beg you to return it. His demonſtrations are ſo plain, that, if this were an age that followed reaſon, I ſhould not doubt but his would prevail. But to be rational is ſo glorious a thing, that two-legged creatures generally content themſelves with the title; but will not debaſe ſo excellent a faculty, about the conduct of ſo trivial a thing, as they make themſelves.

There never was a man better ſuited to your wiſhes than I am. You take a pleaſure in being troubled with my commiſſions; and I have no other way of commerce with you, but by ſuch importunities. I can only ſay, that, were the tables changed, I ſhould, being in your place, have the ſame ſatisfaction; and therefore confidently make uſe of your kind offer. I therefore beg the favour of you to get me Mr. Le Clerc's "Harmony "of the Evangeliſts" in engliſh, bound very finely in

* "Reaſons againſt reſtraining the preſs." Lond. 1704, in 4to.

calf,

calf, gilt, and lettered on the back, and gilt on the leaves. So alſo I would have Moliere's works (of the beſt edition you can get them) bound. Theſe books are for ladies; and therefore I would have them fine, and the leaves gilt, as well as the back. Moliere of the Paris edition, I think is the beſt, if it can be got in London in quires. You ſee the liberty I take. I ſhould be glad you could find out ſomething for me to do for you here. I am perfectly, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, Feb. 7, 1703-4.

IT is with regret I conſider you ſo long in Eſſex, without enjoying you, any part of the time. Eſſex, methinks, (pardon the extravagancy, extraordinary paſſions and caſes excuſe it) when you are to go into it, ſhould all be Oates; and your journey be no whither, but thither. But land, and tenements ſay other things, whilſt we have carcaſes that muſt be clothed and fed; and books, you know, the fodder of our underſtandings, cannot be had without them. What think you? are not thoſe ſpirits in a fine ſtate that need none of all this luggage; that live without ploughing and ſowing; travel as eaſy as we wiſh; and inform themſelves, not by a tireſome rummaging in the miſtakes and jargon of pretenders to knowledge, but by looking into things themſelves?

Sir, I forgot you had an eſtate in the country, a library in town, friends every-where, amongſt which you are to while away, as pleaſantly, I hope, as any one of this our planet, a large number of years, (if my wiſhes may prevail) yet to come; and am got, I know not how, into remote viſions, that help us not in our preſent ſtate, though they ſhow us ſomething of a better. To return therefore to myſelf and you, I conclude, by this time, you are got to town again, and then, in a little time, I ſhall hear from you. I am, &c.

To the same.

SIR, Oates, Feb. 21, 1703-4.

I MUST acknowledge it as an effect of your zeal to serve me, that you have sent me Le Clerc's Harmony, and Moliere's works, by the Bishop-Stortford Coach; and I return you my thanks as much as if it exactly answered my purpose. I ought not to think it strange, that you in town, amidst a hurry of business, should not keep precisely in mind my little affairs; when I here, where I have nothing to disturb my thoughts, do so often forget. When I wrote to you to do me the favour to get these books for me carefully bound, I think I made it my request to you, I am sure I intended it, to write word when they were done, and then I would acquaint you how they were to be disposed of; for the truth is, they were to be disposed of in town. But whether I only meant this, and said nothing; or you forgot it; the matter is not much. I expect to receive the books to-morrow, and shall do well enough with them.

I should not have taken notice of this to you at all, did I not intend it for an excuse for an ill-mannered thing, very necessary in business, which perhaps you will find me use with you for the future; which is, to repeat the little circumstances of business which are apt to be forgotten in every letter till the danger be over. This, if you observe to do, will prevent many cross accidents in your affairs; I assure it you upon experience.

I desire you to stop your hand a little, and forbear putting to the press the two discourses you mention*. They are very touchy subjects at this time; and that good man, who is the author, may, for aught I know, be crippled by those, who will be sure to be offended

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* "A discourse concerning the resurrection of the same body, with "two letters concerning the necessary immateriality of a created thinking "substance." These pieces, written by Mr. Bold, were printed at London 1705, in 8vo.

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at him, right or wrong. Remember what you ſay, a little lower in your letter, in the caſe of another friend of your's, " that in the way of reaſon they are not to " be dealt with."

It will be a kindneſs to get a particular account of thoſe proceedings*; but therein muſt be contained the day, the names of thoſe preſent, and the very words of the order or reſolution; and to learn, if you can, from whence it had its riſe. When theſe particulars are obtained, it will be fit to conſider what uſe to make of them. In the mean time I take what has been done, as a recommendation of that book to the world, as you do; and I conclude, when you and I meet next, we ſhall be merry upon the ſubject. For this is certain, that becauſe ſome men wink, or turn away their heads, and will not ſee, others will not conſent to have their eyes put out. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, Feb. 24, 1703-4.

YOU know me not yet as you ought, if you do not think I live with you with the ſame confidence I do with myſelf, and with the ſame ſincerity of affection too. This makes me talk to you with the ſame freedom I think; which though it has not all the ceremony of good breeding, yet it makes amends with ſomething more ſubſtantial, and is of better reliſh in the ſtomach. Believe it, therefore, that you need not trouble yourſelf with apologies for having ſent the books hither. You have obliged me as much by it, as you could by any thing of that nature, which I had deſired; neither need you be concerned for the future. It

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* It was propoſed, at a meeting of the heads of the houſes of the univerſity of Oxford, to cenſure and diſcourage the reading of Mr. Locke's " Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding;" and, after various debates among themſelves, it was concluded, that each head of a houſe ſhould endeavour to prevent its being read in his college, without coming to any public cenſure,

is convenient to make it a rule not to let one's friends forget little circumſtances, whereby ſuch croſs purpoſes ſometimes happen; but when they do happen between friends, they are to be made matter of mirth.

The gentleman that writ you the letter, which you ſent to me, is an extraordinary man, and the fitteſt in the world to go on with that inquiry. Pray, let him, at any rate, get the preciſe time, the perſons preſent, and the minutes of the regiſter taken of their proceedings; and this without noiſe, or ſeeming concern to have them, as much as may be; and I would beg you not to talk of this matter, till we have got the whole matter of fact, which will be a pleaſant ſtory, and of good uſe.

I wiſh the books, you mentioned*, were not gone to the preſs, and that they might not be printed; for when they are printed, I am ſure they will get abroad; and then it will be too late to wiſh it had not been ſo. However, if the fates will have it ſo, and their printing cannot be avoided; yet, at leaſt, let care be taken to conceal his name. I doubt not of his reaſoning right, and making good his points; but what will that boot, if he and his family ſhould be diſturbed, or diſeaſed?

I ſhall, as you deſire, ſend Moliere, and Le Clerc, back to you, by the firſt opportunity. I am, with perfect ſincerity and reſpect, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 28 February, 1703-4.

I SAW the packet was exactly well made up, and I knew the books in it were well bound; whereupon I let it alone, and was likely to have ſent it back to you unopened; but my good genius would not ſuffer me to loſe a letter of yours in it, which I value more than all the books it accompanied. Since my laſt therefore to you, I opened the packet, and therein found yours of the 16th inſtant, which makes me love and value you, if it were poſ-

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* Mr. Bold's Treatiſes mentioned in the preceding letter.

ſible,

ſible, more than I did before; you having therein, in ſhort, ſo well deſcribed, wherein the happineſs of a rational creature in this world conſiſts; though there are very few that make any other uſe of their half employed and undervalued reaſon, but to bandy againſt it. It is well, as you obſerve, that they agree as ill with one another, as they do with common ſenſe. For when, by the influence of ſome prevailing head, they all lean one way; truth is ſure to be born down, and there is nothing ſo dangerous, as to make any inquiry after her; and to own her, for her own ſake, is a moſt unpardonable crime.

You aſk me, how I like the binding of Moliere, and Le Clerc. You will wonder to hear me ſay, not at all; but you muſt take the other part of my anſwer, which is, nor do I diſlike it. It is probable, that this yet doth not ſatisfy you, after you have taken ſuch eſpecial care with your binder, that they ſhould be exactly well done. Know then, that upon moving the firſt book, having luckily eſpied your letter, I only juſt looked into it to ſee the Paris print of Moliere; and, without ſo much as taking it out of the paper it was wrapped up in, caſt my eye upon the cover, which looked very fine, and curiouſly done, and ſo put it up again, haſting to your letter. This was examining, more than enough, of books whoſe binding you had told me you had taken care of; and more than enough, for a man who had your letter in his hand unopened.

Pray ſend me word what you think or hear of Dr. Pitt's laſt book*. For as for the firſt of the other authors you mention†, by what I have ſeen of him already, I can eaſily think his arguments not worth your reciting. And as for the other, though he has parts, yet that is

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* "The Antidote; or the preſervative of health and life, and the reſtorative of phyſic to its ſincerity and perfection; &c. By R. Pitt, M. D. Fellow and cenſor of the college of phyſicians, &c." Lond. 1704, 8vo.

† "The grand eſſay; or a vindication of reaſon and religion, againſt the impoſture of philoſophy, &c." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

not all which I require in an author I am covetous of, and expect to find ſatisfaction in.

Pray, forget not to write to your friend in Oxford, to the purpoſe I mentioned in my laſt to you. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 6 March, 1703-4.

WERE you of Oxenford itſelf, bred under thoſe ſharp heads, which were for damning my book, becauſe of its diſcouraging the ſtaple commodity of the place; which in my time was called hog's-ſhearing, (which is, as I hear, given out for the cauſe of their decree); you could not be a more ſubtle diſputant than you are. You do every thing that I deſire of you, with the utmoſt care and concern; and becauſe I underſtand and accept it ſo, you contend that you are the party obliged. This, I think, requires ſome of the moſt refined logic to make good; and if you will have me believe it, you muſt forbid me too to read my own book, and oblige me to take to my help more learned and ſcholaſtic notions. But the miſchief is, I am too old to go to ſchool again; and too reſty now to ſtudy arts, however authorized, or wherever taught, to impoſe upon my own underſtanding. Let me therefore, if you pleaſe, be ſenſible of your kindneſs; and I give you leave to pleaſe yourſelf, with my interpreting them as I ought, as much as you think fit. For it would be hard in me to deny you ſo ſmall a ſatisfaction, where I receive ſo great and real advantage.

To convince you, that you are not like to loſe what you ſo much value, and is all you can expect in our commerce, I put into your hands a freſh opportunity of doing ſomething for me, which I ſhall have reaſon to take well. I have this day ſent back the bundle of books. I have taken what care I can to ſecure them from any harm, that might threaten them in the carriage. For I ſhould be extremely vexed that books, ſo curiouſly finiſhed by your care, ſhould be in the leaſt injured,

injured, or loſe any thing of their perfect beauty, till they came to the hands, for whom they are deſigned.

You have you ſee by your kind offer, drawn upon yourſelf a farther trouble with them, which was deſigned for my couſin King. But he ſetting out for the circuit to-morrow morning, I muſt beg you, that may be my excuſe for taking this liberty with you. Moliere's works are for the counteſs of Peterborough, which I deſire you to preſent to her from me, with the encloſed for her, and my moſt humble ſervice. I am in truth, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 13 March, 1703-4.

IF the diſputers of this world were but half ſo good at doing as you, the mart of logic and ſyllogiſms would no doubt be the only place for the young fry "ad capiendum ingenii cultum;" (pardon, I beſeech you, this ſcrap of latin, my thoughts were in a place that authoriſes it, and one cannot chop logic half ſo well in unlearned modern vulgar languages.) But the traders in ſubtilty have not your way of recommending it, by turning it into ſubſtantial ſolidity, whereby you prevail ſo much on me, that I can ſcarce avoid being perſuaded by you, that when I ſend you of a jaunt beyond Piccadilly, you are the perſon obliged, and I ought to expect thanks of you for it. Excuſe me, I intreat you, if, for decency's ſake, I ſtop a little ſhort of that; and let it ſatisfy you, that I believe, nay ſuch is the power of your logic, that I cannot help believing, that you ſpare no pains for your friends, and that you take a pleaſure in doing me kindneſs. All that remains for me to aſk of you, is to do me this right in your turn, to believe I am not inſenſible of your favours, and know how to value ſuch a friend.

Though you ſaw not my lady, when you delivered Moliere and my letter at her houſe; yet had you no meſſage from her? Or did you not go in, or ſtay, when you heard ſhe was indiſpoſed?

Mr.

Mr. Le Clerc's Harmony is for Mr. Secretary Johnſton's lady. The book ſent to his lodgings, with a note to inform him, that it is for his lady from me, will do the buſineſs; ſo that, for this errand, I am glad your ſervant is ſufficient without ſending you; for you muſt give me leave ſometimes on ſuch occaſions to be a little ſtingy, and ſparing of my favours.

I perceive, by the encloſed you did me the favour to ſend me, that thoſe worthy heads are not yet grown up to perfect infallibility. I am ſorry, however, that their mighty thoughts wanted utterance. However, I would very gladly know the true matter of fact, and what was really propoſed, reſolved, or done; this, if poſſible, I would be aſſured of, that I might not be miſtaken in what gratitude I ought to have.

You baulked my having the biſhop of St. Aſaph's* ſermon, by telling my couſin King, that I care not for ſermons; and, at the ſame time, you ſend my lady plays. This has raiſed a diſpute between her ladyſhip and me, which of us two it is, you think beſt of. Methinks you are of opinion, that my lady is well enough ſatisfied with the unreformed ſtage; but that I ſhould be glad, that ſome things were reformed in the pulpit itſelf. The reſult is, that my lady thinks it neceſſary for you to come, and appeaſe theſe broils you have raiſed in the family. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 21 March, 1703-4.

GIVE me leave to tell you, ſir, that you are miſtaken in me. I am not a young lady, a beauty, and a fortune. And unleſs you thought me all this, and deſigned your addreſſes to me; how is it poſſible you ſhould be afraid you acquitted not yourſelf well in my commiſſion beyond Piccadilly? Your waiting in the parlour a quarter of an hour was more than any reaſonable man could de-

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* Dr. George Hooper.

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mand of you; and if either of us ought to be troubled in the caſe, it is I, becauſe you did ſo much; and not you, becauſe you did ſo little. But the reality of your friendſhip has ſo blended our concerns into one, that you will not permit me to obſerve, whether I do, or receive the favour, in what paſſes between us; and I am almoſt perſuaded by you to believe, that ſitting here by the fire I trudge up and down for you in London. Give me leave however to thank you, as if you had delivered Mr. Le Clerc's Harmony to Mr. Secretary Johnſton for me, and ſent me the two bibles, which I received.

As for the rummaging over Mr. Norris's late book *, I will be ſworn, it is not I have done that; for however I may be miſtaken in what paſſes without me, I am infallible in what paſſes in my own mind; and I am ſure, the ideas that are put together in your letter out of him, were never ſo in my thoughts, till I ſaw them there. What did I ſay, "put ideas together?" I aſk your pardon, it is "put words together without "ideas;" juſt as I ſhould ſuſpect I did, if I ſhould ſay you diſparaged a very good ſtraight ruler I had, if you told me it would not enable me to write ſenſe, though it were very good and uſeful, to ſhow me whether I writ ſtraight or no.

Men of Mr. Norris's way ſeem to me to decree, rather than to argue. They, againſt all evidence of ſenſe and reaſon, decree brutes to be machines, only becauſe their hypotheſis requires it; and then with a like authority, ſuppoſe, as you rightly obſerve, what they ſhould prove; viz. that whatſoever thinks, is immaterial. Cogitation, ſays Mr. Norris, "is more excellent than motion, or "vegetation; and therefore muſt belong to another "ſubſtance than that of matter, in the idea whereof, "motion and vegetation are contained." This latter part, I think, would be hard for him to prove, viz.

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* "An eſſay towards the theory of the ideal or intelligible world. Be-
"ing the relative part of it. Wherein the intelligible world is conſidered,
"with relation to human underſtanding. Whereof ſome account
"is here attempted, and propoſed. Part II. By John Norris, rector of
"Bemerton, near Sarum." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

"that

" that motion and vegetation are contained in the idea " of the ſubſtance of matter." But to let that paſs at preſent; I aſk, whether if this way of arguing be good, it will not turn upon him thus: " If the idea of a ſpirit " does not comprehend motion and vegetation; then they " muſt belong to another ſubſtance than a ſpirit; " and therefore are more excellent than cogitation, or " the affections of a ſpirit." For if its greater excellency proves any mode or affection to " belong to an- " other ſubſtance;" will not its " belonging to another " ſubſtance," by the ſame rule, prove it to be more excellent? But this is only to deal with theſe men of logic and ſubtilty, in their own way, who uſe the term " excellent," to prove a material queſtion by, without having, as you remark, a clear and determined idea of what they mean by more or leſs excellent.

But not to waſte your time, in playing with the arguments of men, that examine not ſtrictly the meaning of the words they uſe; I will ſhow you the fallacy whereby they impoſe on themſelves; for ſuch talkers commonly cozen themſelves, as well as others. Cogitation, ſay they, "is not comprehended in the idea of ex- " tenſion and ſolidity;" for that is it which they mean, when they ſay, the " idea of matter;" from whence they conclude right, that " cogitation belongs not to "extenſion or ſolidity; or is not included in either of " them, or both together;" but this is not the conſequence that they draw, but infer a concluſion that is not contained in the premiſes, and is quite beſides them; as Mr. Norris, if he would make uſe of ſyllogiſm to its proper purpoſe, might ſee. Extenſion, and ſolidity, we have the ideas of; and ſee, that cogitation has no neceſſary connexion with them, nor has any conſequential reſult from them; and therefore is not a proper affection of extenſion and ſolidity, nor doth naturally belong to them; but how doth it follow from hence, that it may not be made an affection of, or be annexed to that ſubſtance, which is veſted with ſolidity and extenſion? Of this ſubſtance we have no idea, that excludes cogitation, any more than ſolidity. Their concluſion, therefore, ſhould be the excluſion of cogitation from

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the ſubſtance of matter, and not from the other affections of that ſubſtance. But they either overlook this, which is the true ſtate of that argument, or elſe avoid to ſet it in its clear light; leſt it ſhow too plainly, that their great argument either proves nothing, or, if it doth, it is againſt them.

What you ſay about my Eſſay of Human Underſtanding, that nothing can be advanced againſt it, but upon the principle of innate ideas, is certainly ſo; and therefore all who do not argue againſt it, from innate ideas, in the ſenſe I ſpeak of innate ideas; though they make a noiſe againſt me, yet at laſt they ſo draw and twiſt their improper ways of ſpeaking, which have the appearance and ſound of contradiction to me, that at laſt they ſtate the queſtion ſo, as to leave no contradiction in it to my Eſſay; as you have obſerved in Mr. Lee *, Mr. Lowde †, and Mr. Norris in his late treatiſe. It is reward enough for the writing my book, to have the approbation of one ſuch a reader as you are. You have done me and my book a great honour, in having beſtowed ſo much of your thoughts upon it. You have a comprehenſive knowledge of it, and do not ſtick in the incidents; which I find many people do; which, whether true or falſe, make nothing to the main deſign of the Eſſay, that lies in a little compaſs; and yet, I hope, may be of great uſe to thoſe who ſee and follow that plain and eaſy method of nature, to carry them the ſhorteſt and cleareſt way to knowledge. Pardon me this vanity; it was with a deſign of inquiring into the nature and powers of the underſtanding, that I writ it; and nothing but the hope that it might do ſome ſervice to truth and knowledge, could excuſe the publiſhing of it.

I know not whether I ever ſhowed you an occaſional ſketch of mine, about "ſeeing all things in God." If

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* "Anti-Scepticiſm; or notes upon each chapter of Mr. Locke's Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, with an explanation of all the particulars of which he treats, and in the ſame order. In four books. By Henry Lee, B. D. formerly fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, now Rector of Tichmarſh in Northamptonſhire," Lond, 1702, in fol.

† In his "Diſcourſe concerning the Nature of Man," &c. and his "Moral Eſſays," &c.

I did not, if it pleaſe God I live to ſee you here again, I will ſhow it you *; and ſome other things. If you will let me know before-hand, when you deſign us that favour; it will be an addition to it. I beg your pardon for holding you ſo long from better employment. I do not, you ſee, willingly quit your converſation. If you were nearer me, you would ſee it more, for I am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 3 April, 1704.

IN good ſooth, ſir, you are an obſtinate lover; there is no help for it, you muſt carry your point. Only give me leave to tell you, that I do not like the puling fit you fall into, at the lower end of the page; where you tell me, "I have given you an argument againſt preſuming "ſo far again upon the liberty I allow you." That is to ſay, you may give me books, you may buy books for me, you may get books bound for me, you may trudge up and down with them on my errand to ladies; but my book you may not preſume to read, uſe your judgment about, and talk to me freely of; though I know no-body that underſtands it ſo well, nor can give me better light concerning it. Away with this ſqueamiſhneſs, I beſeech you; and be aſſured, that, among the many good offices you daily do for me in London, there is none whereby I ſhall reap ſo much profit and pleaſure, as your ſtudying for me; and let us both, without ſcruple or reſerve, help one another the beſt we can, in the way to truth and knowledge. And whenever you find me preſume, that I know all that belongs to the ſubject of my own book, and diſdain to receive light and inſtruction from another, though of much lower form than you; conclude that I am an arrant coxcomb, and know nothing at all.

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* That Diſſertation was publiſhed in Mr. Locke's Poſthumous Works; Lond. 1706, in 8vo.

You will ſee by the encloſed, that I can find buſineſs for you at Oxford, as well as at London. I have left it open, that you may read it before you ſeal and deliver it. In it you will ſee what he writ to me, on that affair. He is well acquainted with them in the univerſity; and if he has not, may be prevailed on by you to fiſh out the bottom of that matter, and inform you in all the particulars of it. But you muſt not take his conjectures for matter of fact; but know his authors, for any matter of fact he affirms to you. You will think I intend to engage you in a thouſand diſputes with him; quite the contrary. You may avoid all diſpute with him; if you will but ſay after him; though you put him upon things that ſhow you queſtion all he ſays.

If Mr. Wynne of Jeſus-College, who epitomiſed my book *, be in the univerſity, it is like you will ſee him, and talk to him of the matter. Pray, give him my ſervice. But be ſure, forget me not, with all manner of reſpect, to Mr. Wright, for whom I have, as I ought, a very peculiar eſteem.

I hope you will be pleaſed with me; for you ſee I have cut out work for you; and that is all that is left for me to do, to oblige you. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 19 May, 1704.

NOTHING works ſo ſteadily and effectually as friendſhip. Had I hired a man to have gone to town in my buſineſs, and paid him well, my commiſſions would not have been ſo ſoon, nor ſo well diſpatched, as I find, by yours of the 16th, they have been by you. You ſpeak of my affairs, and act in them with ſuch an air of intereſt and ſatisfaction, that I can hardly avoid thinking, that I oblige you with employing you in them. It is no ſmall advantage to me, to have found ſuch a

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* Mr. Wynne, afterwards lord biſhop of St. Aſaph, was the author of "An Abridgment of Mr. Locke's *Eſſay* concerning Human Underſtanding." Lond. 1696, in 8vo.

friend,

friend, at the laſt ſcene of my life; when I am good for nothing, and am grown ſo uſeleſs, that I cannot but be ſure that, in every good office you do me, you can propoſe to yourſelf no other advantage but the pleaſure of doing it.

Every one here finds himſelf obliged, by your late good company. As for myſelf, if you had not convinced me by a ſenſible experiment, I could not have believed I could have had ſo many happy days together. I ſhall always pray that yours may be multiplied. Could I, in the leaſt, contribute any thing thereunto, I ſhould think myſelf happy in this poor decaying ſtate of my health; which, though it affords me little in this world to enjoy, yet I find the charms of your company make me not feel the want of ſtrength, or breath, or any thing elſe.

The biſhop of Gloceſter came hither the day you went from hence, and in no very good ſtate of health. I find two groaning people make but an uncomfortable concert. He returned yeſterday, and went away in ſomewhat a better ſtate. I hope he got well to town.

Enjoy your health, and youth, whilſt you have it, to all the advantages and improvements of an innocent and pleaſant life; remembering that mercileſs old age is in purſuit of you, and when it overtakes you, will not fail, ſome way or other, to impair the enjoyments both of body and mind. You know how apt I am to preach. I believe it is one of the diſeaſes of old age. But my friends will forgive me, when I have nothing to perſuade them to, but that they ſhould endeavour to be as happy as it is poſſible for them to be; and to you I have no more to ſay, but that you go on in the courſe you are in. I reflect often upon it, with a ſecret joy, that you promiſed I ſhould, in a ſhort time, ſee you again. You are very good, and I dare not preſs you. But I cannot but remember how well I paſſed my time, when you were here. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 25 May, 1704.

WHEN you come to my age, you will know that, with us old fellows, convenient always carries it before ornamental. And I would have as much of the free air when I go abroad in it*, as is poſſible. Only I aſk whether thoſe, which fall back, ſo as to give as free a proſpect behind as before, be as eaſily managed, and brought over you again, in caſe of need, as in a ſhower; as one that falls back, upon two ſtanding corner pillars? And next, whether that which falls back ſo well, doth, when it is drawn up over you, come ſo far over your head, when it is erected, as to ſhelter it from the dew, without ſhutting you up from the free open air? For I think ſometimes in the evening of a warm day to ſit abroad in it, to take the freſco; but would have a canopy over my head, to keep the dew off. If this be ſo, I am plainly, and without balancing, for that which falls flatteſt. One queſtion more, and I have done. Pray, what place is there for a footman in any of them? Moſt of my time being ſpent in ſitting, I deſire ſpecial care may be taken, in making the ſeat broad enough, and the two cuſhions ſoft, plump, and thick enough.

You know I have great liking to be canonical; but I little thought, that you, of all others, was the man to make me ſo. I ſhall love it the better for your ſake; and wiſh that canonical were ready, that you might have the handſelling of it hither ſpeedily. If I did not take you for myſelf, as you have taught me to do, I ſhould not be thus free with you. Count me in your turn all yourſelf, except my age and infirmities, thoſe I deſire to keep to myſelf; all the reſt of me is yours.

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* That is, in a chaiſe, which Mr. Locke deſired to have made for him.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 26 May, 1704.

MY letter yeſterday went away without an anſwer to one of your demands; and that was, whether I would have any braſs on the harneſs? To which, give me leave to tell you, that, in my whole life, I have been conſtantly againſt any thing that makes a ſhow; no maxim being more agreeable to my condition and temper, than "qui bene latuit bene vixit." I like to have things ſubſtantially good of their kind, and uſeful, and handſomely made, and fitly adapted to their uſes; for, if either were neceſſary, I had rather be taken notice of for ſomething that is faſhionably gaudy, than ridiculouſly uncouth, or for its poorneſs and meanneſs remarkable. Therefore, if you pleaſe, let the harneſs, and all the whole accoutrements be of as good materials, and as handſomely made and put together as may be; but for ornaments of braſs, or any ſuch thing, I deſire it may be ſpared.

One queſtion more comes into my mind to aſk you, and that is, whether the back of thoſe, that fall down ſo flat, are ſo made that, when it is up, one may lean and loll againſt it at one's eaſe, as in a coach or a chariot; for I am grown a very lazy fellow, and have now three eaſy chairs to lean and loll in, and would not be without that relief in my chaiſe.

You ſee I am as nice as a young fond girl, that is coming into the world, with a face and a fortune, as ſhe preſumes, to command it. Let not this, however, deter you; for I ſhall not be ſo hard to be pleaſed. For what you do will be as if I did it myſelf. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, 29 May, 1704.

HOW ſhould I value the chaiſe you take ſo much pains about, if I could hope I could have your company with

with me abroad in it, every two or three days. However, it wears the ſignature of your friendſhip, and ſo will always have ſomething in it to pleaſe me.

I know not whether it be worth while to clog it with any thing, to make a place for a footman. That muſt, I ſuppoſe, make it bigger and heavier, which I would avoid; and I think, upon the whole matter, there will be no great need of it. But when I hear from you again, I ſhall know that. In the mean time, all the reſt, I think, is reſolved; for, I ſuppoſe of courſe, you will chooſe a cloth for the lining of a duſt colour; that is the proper colour for ſuch a prieſt as you mention in your letter.

If poor Pſalmanaſſar be really a convert from paganiſm (which I would be glad to be aſſured of); he has very ill luck, not to herd any where among the variety of ſorts that are among us. But I think it ſo, that the parties are more for doing one another harm, than for doing any body good. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR. Oates, 9 June, 1704.

I MIGHT number my days, (and it is a pleaſant ſort of almanac) by the kindneſſes I receive from you. Your packet I received, and have reaſon to thank you for all the particulars in it; however, you thought fit to prepare me for being diſappointed, in the binding my Greek Teſtament. There is nothing in it that offends me, but the running of his paring-knife too deep into the margin; a knaviſh and intolerable fault in all our Engliſh book-binders.

Books ſeem to me to be peſtilent things, and infect all that trade in them; that is, all but one ſort of men, with ſomething very perverſe and brutal. Printers, binders, ſellers, and others that make a trade and gain out of them; have univerſally ſo odd a turn and corruption of mind, that they have a way of dealing peculiar to them-

ſelves, and not conformed to the good of ſociety, and that general fairneſs that cements mankind.

Whether it be, that theſe inſtruments of truth and knowledge will not bear being ſubjected to any thing but thoſe noble ends, without revenging themſelves on thoſe who meddle with them to any other purpoſe, and proſtitute them to mean and miſbecoming deſigns; I will not inquire. The matter of fact, I think, you will find true; and there we will leave it to thoſe who fully themſelves with printer's ink, till they wholly expunge all the candour that nature gives, and become the worſt ſort of black cattle.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, June 29, 1704.

IF the chaiſe you have had ſo much trouble about gives me as much ſatisfaction afterwards, as it will in the firſt ſervice I ſhall receive from it; the conquerors of the world will not ride in their triumphant chariots with more pleaſure, than I ſhall in my little tumbrel. It will bring me what I prefer to glory. For, methinks, he underſtands but little of the true ſweetneſs of life, that doth not more reliſh the converſation of a worthy and ingenuous friend in retirement, than the noiſe and rout of the croud in the ſtreets, with all their acclamations and huzza's. I long, therefore, that the machine ſhould be diſpatched; and expect it as greedily as a hungry merchant doth a ſhip from the Eaſt-Indies, which is to bring him a rich cargo. I hope the coach-maker doth not live far from you; for if he be a ſlow man of London, I would have him quickened once a day, that he may make as much haſte as if the ſatisfaction of two lovers depended on his diſpatch. In the mean time, give me leave to deſire you to beſtow ſome of your ſpare hours on the epiſtles to the Corinthians, and to try whether you can find them intelligible or no.

You

You will eaſily gueſs the reaſon of this*; and when I have you here, I hope to convince you it will not be loſt labour; only permit me to tell you, you muſt read them with ſomething more than an ordinary application.

The ſamples you have ſent me†, I muſt conclude, from the abilities of the author, to be very excellent. But what ſhall I be the better for the moſt exact and beſt proportioned picture that ever was drawn, if I have not eyes to ſee the correſpondence of the parts? I confeſs the lines are too ſubtile for me, and my dull ſight cannot perceive their connexions. I am not envious, and therefore ſhall not be troubled, if others find themſelves inſtructed with ſo extraordinary and ſublime a way of reaſoning. I am content with my own mediocrity. And though I call the thinking faculty in me, mind; yet I cannot, becauſe of that name, equal it in any thing to that infinite and incomprehenſible being, which, for want of right and diſtinct conceptions, is called mind alſo, or the eternal mind. I endeavour to make the beſt uſe I can of every thing; and therefore, though I am in deſpair to be the wiſer for theſe learned inſtructions; yet I hope I ſhall be the merrier for them, when you and I take an air in the calaſh together. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, July 23, 1704.

THE gentlemen you ſpeak of, have a great deal of reaſon to be pleaſed with the Diſcourſe‡ you mention;

* Mr. Locke writ this to Mr. Collins, in order to prepare him to read afterwards with him his "Paraphraſe and Notes on the Epiſtles of St. Paul "to the Corinthians;" which have been publiſhed ſince his death.

† That is, out of Dr. Sherlock's "Digreſſion concerning Connate Ideas, "or Inbred Knowledge," againſt Mr. Locke; inſerted in the 3d ſection of the 2d chapter of his "Diſcourſe concerning the happineſs of good "men, and the puniſhment of the wicked, in the next world, &c." Lond. 1704, in 8vo.

‡ Dr. Sherlock's "Digreſſion concerning Connate Ideas, &c." mentioned in the foregoing letter.

there being nothing ever writ in their ſtrain and way more perfectly than it is; and it may ſtand for a pattern to thoſe that have a mind to excel in their admirable uſe of language and method of talking; if, at leaſt, there be any need of a pattern to thoſe, who ſo naturally, and by a peculiar genius of their own, fall into that, which the profane illiterate vulgar, poor wretches, are ſtrangers to, and cannot imitate. But more of this to make us merry, when the chaiſe brings us together.

I now every moment wiſh the chaiſe done; not out of any impatience I am for the machine, but for the man; the man, I ſay, that is to come in it. A man, that has not his fellow; and, to all that, loves me. If I regret my old age, it is you that make me, and call me back to the world juſt as I was leaving it, and leaving it as a place that has very little valuable in it; but who would not be glad to ſpend ſome years with you? Make haſte, therefore, and let me engroſs what of you I can. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, Auguſt 2, 1704.

THOUGH I cannot, by writing, make you a ſurer title to myſelf than you have already; yet I cannot forbear to acknowledge, under my hand and ſeal, the great ſenſe I have of the late favour you did me. Whether that, or any thing elſe, will be able to add any duration to my mouldering carcaſe, I cannot ſay; but this I am ſure, your company and kindneſs have added to the length of my life, which, in my way of meaſuring, doth not lie in counting of minutes, but taſting of enjoyments. I wiſh the continuance and increaſe of yours, without ſtint, and am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, Auguſt 11, 1704.

KIND and good-natured friends do, like you, beſtow their favours, and thank thoſe that receive them. I was never

never more obliged, nor better entertained, than by your company here; and you heap upon me your acknowledgments, as if I had made a journey to London for your ſake, and there done you I know not how many courteſies. This, however, has the effect you could wiſh upon me. I believe all that you would have me. And ſince one naturally loves as well thoſe that one has done good to, as thoſe whom one has received good from; I leave it to you, to manage the account as you pleaſe. So the affection and good-will between us doth but increaſe, whoſe hands lay moſt fuel on the fire, that warms us both, I ſhall not be nicely ſolicitous; ſince I am ſure you cannot impute to me more than I really wiſh, but at the ſame time know that wiſhing in me is all, for I can do juſt nothing. Make no apologies to me, I beſeech you, for what you ſaid to me about the digreſſion*. It is no more, but what I find other people agree with you in; and it would afford as much diverſion as any hunting you could imagine, had I ſtrength and breath enough to purſue the chace.

But of this we may, perhaps, have better opportunity to talk, when I ſee you next. For this I tell you beforehand, I muſt not have you be under any reſtraint to ſpeak to me, whatever you think fit for me to do; whether I am of the ſame mind or no. The uſe of a friend is to perſuade us to the right, not to ſuppoſe always that we are in it. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, Auguſt 16, 1704.

WHICH way ſoever I turn myſelf, I meet on all ſides your friendſhip, in all manner of ſhapes, and upon all ſorts of occaſions, beſetting me. Were I as averſe, as I am pleaſed, with my happineſs in your kindneſs; I muſt, however, yield to ſo powerful and conſtant at-

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* See above, page 293.

tacks*. But it is paſt that time of day. I have long ſince ſurrendered myſelf to you. And I am as certainly in your coach, as count Tallard in the duke of Marlborough's, to be diſpoſed as you pleaſe; only with this difference, that he was a priſoner of war againſt his will; I am your captive, by the ſoft, but ſtronger, force of your irreſiſtible obligations, and with the conſent and joy of my own mind.

Judge then, whether I am willing my ſhadow ſhould be in poſſeſſion of one with whom my heart is; and to whom all that I am, had I any thing beſides my heart, worth the preſenting, doth belong. Sir Godfrey, I doubt not, will make it very like. If it were poſſible for his pencil to make a ſpeaking picture, it ſhould tell you every day how much I love and eſteem you; and how pleaſed I am to be, ſo much as in effigy, near a perſon, with whom I ſhould be glad to ſpend an age to come. I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, September 11, 1704.

He that has any thing to do with you, muſt own that friendſhip is the natural product of your conſtitution; and your ſoul, a noble ſoil, is enriched with the two moſt valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendſhip. What a treaſure have I then in ſuch a friend, with whom I can converſe, and be enlightened about the higheſt ſpeculations! When one hears you upon the principles of knowledge, or the foundations of government, one would hardly imagine your thoughts ever deſcended to a bruſh, or a curry-comb, or other ſuch trumpery of life; and yet, if one employ you but to get a pair of ſhoe-buckles, you are as ready and dexterous at it, as if the whole buſineſs of your life had been with nothing but ſhoe-buckles.

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* Mr. Collins had deſired Mr. Locke to let ſir Godfrey Kneller come down into the country, to draw Mr. Locke's picture; which ſir Godfrey did.

As

As to my lady's picture, pray, in the firſt place, ſee it, and tell me how you like it. In the next place, pray get ſir Godfrey to write upon it, on the back-ſide, lady Maſham, 1704; and on the back-ſide of mine, John Locke, 1704. This he did on Mr. Molyneux's and mine, the laſt he drew; and this is neceſſary to be done, or elſe the pictures of private perſons are loſt in two or three generations; and ſo the picture loſes of its value, it being not known whom it was made to repreſent.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR, Oates, October 1, 1704.

TO complete the ſatisfaction I have lately had here, there has been nothing wanting but your company. The coming of his father-in-law*, joined with the ſtraitneſs of the lodging in this houſe, hindered me from having my couſin King and you together; and ſo cut off one part of the enjoyment, which you know is very valuable to me. I muſt leave it to your kindneſs and charity, to make up this loſs to me. How far the good company I have had here has been able to raiſe me into a forgetfulneſs of the decays of age, and the uneaſineſs of my indiſpoſition, my couſin King is judge. But this I believe he will aſſure you, that my infirmities prevail ſo faſt on me, that, unleſs you make haſte hither, I may loſe the ſatisfaction of ever ſeeing again a man, that I value in the firſt rank of thoſe that I leave behind me†.

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* Sir Peter King's father-in-law.

† Mr. Locke died on the 28th of October, 1704; that is, 27 days after the writing of this letter.

To the ſame. [Directed thus:]

For ANTHONY COLLINS, Eſq.

To be delivered to him after my deceaſe.

DEAR SIR, Oates, Auguſt 23, 1704.

BY my will, you will ſee that I had ſome kindneſs for * * * *. And I knew no better way to take care of him, than to put him, and what I deſigned for him, into your hands and management. The knowledge I have of your virtue, of all kinds, ſecures the truſt which, by your permiſſion, I have placed in you; and the peculiar eſteem and love I have obſerved in the young man for you, will diſpoſe him to be ruled and influenced by you, ſo that of that I need ſay nothing.

But there is one thing, which it is neceſſary for me to recommend to your eſpecial care and memory * * * * * *

May you live long and happy in the enjoyment of health, freedom, content, and all thoſe bleſſings which providence has beſtowed on you, and your virtue intitles you to. I know you loved me living, and will preſerve my memory now I am dead. All the uſe to be made of it is, that this life is a ſcene of vanity, that ſoon paſſes away; and affords no ſolid ſatisfaction, but in the conſciouſneſs of doing well, and in the hopes of another life. This is what I can ſay upon experience; and what you will find to be true, when you come to make up the account. Adieu; I leave my beſt wiſhes with you.

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Richard King.

SIR, Oates, July 23, 1703.

I CANNOT but think myſelf beholden to any occaſion that procures me the honour of a letter from you. I return

I return my acknowledgments for thoſe great expreſſions of civility, and marks of friendſhip, I received in yours of the 8th inſtant; and wiſh I had the opportunity to ſhow the eſteem I have of your merit, and the ſenſe of your kindneſs to me, in any real ſervice.

The deſire of your friend, in the encloſed letter you ſent me, is what of myſelf I am inclined to ſatisfy; and am only ſorry, that ſo copious a ſubject has loſt, in my bad memory, ſo much of what heretofore I could have ſaid concerning that great and good man, of whom he inquires*. Time, I daily find, blots out apace the little ſtock of my mind, and has diſabled me from furniſhing all that I would willingly contribute, to the memory of that learned man. But give me leave to aſſure you, that I have not known a fitter perſon than he, to be preſerved as an example, and propoſed to the imitation of men of letters. I therefore wiſh well to your friend's deſign, though my mite be all I have been able to contribute to it.

I wiſh you all happineſs, and am, with a very particular reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to ****

SIR, Oates, July 23, 1703.

I HAVE ſo great a veneration for the memory of that excellent man, whoſe life you tell me you are writing†, that when I ſet myſelf to recollect what memoirs

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* Dr. Pococke. See the following letter.

† Dr. Edward Pococke, regius profeſſor of Hebrew, in the univerſity of Oxford. He was born at Oxford on the 8th of November 1603, and he died on the 10th of September 1691.

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I can (in anſwer to your deſire) furniſh you with; I am aſhamed I have ſo little in particular to ſay, on a ſubject that afforded ſo much. For I conclude you ſo well acquainted with his learning and virtue, that I ſuppoſe it would be ſuperfluous to trouble you on thoſe heads. However, give me leave not to be wholly ſilent upon this occaſion. So extraordinary an example, in ſo degenerate an age, deſerves, for the rarity, and, as I was going to ſay, for the incredibility of it, the atteſtation of all that knew him, and conſidered his worth.

The chriſtian world is a witneſs of his great learning, that the works he publiſhed would not ſuffer to be concealed. Nor could his devotion and piety lie hid, and be unobſerved in a college; where his conſtant and regular aſſiſting at the cathedral ſervice, never interrupted by ſharpneſs of weather, and ſcarce reſtrained by downright want of health, ſhowed the temper and diſpoſition of his mind.

But his other virtues and excellent qualities, had ſo ſtrong and cloſe a covering of modeſty and unaffected humility; that, though they ſhone the brighter to thoſe who had the opportunities to be more intimately acquainted with him, and eyes to diſcern and diſtinguiſh ſolidity from ſhow, and eſteem virtue that ſought not reputation; yet they were the leſs taken notice, and talked of, by the generality of thoſe to whom he was not wholly unknown. Not that he was at all cloſe and reſerved; but, on the contrary, the readieſt to communicate to any one that conſulted him.

Indeed he was not forward to talk, nor ever would be the leading man in the diſcourſe, though it were on a ſubject that he underſtood better than any of the company; and would often content himſelf to ſit ſtill and hear others debate matters which he himſelf was more a maſter of. He had often the ſilence of a learner, where he had the knowledge of a maſter; and that not with a deſign, as is often, that the ignorance any one betrayed might give him the opportunity to diſplay his own knowledge, with the more luſtre and advantage, to their ſhame; or cenſure them when they were gone. For theſe arts of triumph and oſtentation, frequently

practiſed

practiſed by men of ſkill and ability, were utterly unknown to him. It was very ſeldom that he contradicted any one; or if it were neceſſary at any time to inform any one better, who was in a miſtake, it was in ſo ſoft and gentle a manner, that it had nothing of the air of diſpute or correction, and ſeemed to have little of oppoſition in it. I never heard him ſay any thing that put any one that was preſent the leaſt out of countenance; nor ever cenſure, or ſo much as ſpeak diminiſhingly, of any one that was abſent.

He was a man of no irregular appetites. If he indulged any one too much, it was that of ſtudy, which his wife would often complain of, (and, I think, not without reaſon) that a due conſideration of his age and health could not make him abate.

Though he was a man of the greateſt temperance in himſelf, and the fartheſt from oſtentation and vanity in his way of living; yet he was of a liberal mind, and given to hoſpitality; which conſidering the ſmallneſs of his preferments, and the numerous family of children he had to provide for, might be thought to have out-done thoſe who made more noiſe and ſhow.

His name, which was in great eſteem beyond ſea, and that deſervedly, drew on him viſits from all foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford, to ſee that univerſity. They never failed to be highly ſatisfied with his great knowledge and civility, which was not always without expence.

Though at the reſtoration of king Charles, when preferment rained down upon ſome men's heads, his merits were ſo overlooked or forgotten, that he was barely reſtored to what was his before, without receiving any new preferment then, or at any time after; yet I never heard him take any the leaſt notice of it, or make the leaſt complaint in a caſe that would have grated ſorely on ſome men's patience, and have filled their mouths with murmuring, and their lives with diſcontent. But he was always unaffectedly cheerful; no marks of any thing that lay heavy at his heart, for his being neglected, ever broke from him. He was ſo far from having any diſpleaſure lie concealed there, that whenever any expreſ-

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ſions of diſſatisfaction, for what they thought hard uſage, broke from others in his preſence, he always diverted the diſcourſe; and if it were any body with whom he thought he might take that liberty, he ſilenced it with viſible marks of diſlike.

Though he was not, as I ſaid, a forward, much leſs an aſſuming talker; yet he was the fartheſt in the world from being ſullen or moroſe. He would talk very freely, and very well, of all parts of learning, beſides that wherein he was known to excel. But this was not all; he could diſcourſe very well of other things. He was not unacquainted with the world, though he made no ſhow of it.

His backwardneſs to meddle in other people's matters, or to enter into debates, where names and perſons were brought upon the ſtage, and judgments and cenſure were hardly avoided; concealed his abilities, in matters of buſineſs and conduct, from moſt people. But yet I can truly ſay, that I knew not any one in that univerſity, whom I would more willingly conſult, in any affair that required conſideration, nor whoſe opinion I thought it better worth the hearing than his, if he could be drawn to enter into it, and give his advice.

Though in company he never uſed himſelf, nor willingly heard from others, any perſonal reflections on other men, though ſet off with a ſharpneſs that uſually tickles, and by moſt men is miſtaken for the beſt, if not the only ſeaſoning of pleaſant converſation; yet he would often bear his part in innocent mirth, and, by ſome appoſite and diverting ſtory, continue and heighten the good-humour.

I ſhall give you an inſtance of it in a ſtory of his, which on this occaſion comes to my mind; and I tell it you not as belonging to his life, but that it may give you ſome part of his character; which, poſſibly, the very ſerious temper of this good man may be apt to make men overſee. The ſtory was this: There was at Corpus-Chriſti college, when he was a young man there, a proper fellow, with a long grey beard, that was porter of the college. A waggiſh fellow-commoner of the houſe would be often handling and ſtroking this grey beard,

and

and jeſtingly told the porter, he would, one of theſe days, fetch it off. The porter, who took his beard for the great ornament that added grace and authority to his perſon, could ſcarce hear the mention, in jeſt, of his beard being cut off, with any patience. However, he could not eſcape the mortal agony that ſuch a loſs would cauſe him. The fatal hour came; and ſee what happened. The young gentleman, as the porter was ſtanding at the college-gate with other people about him, took hold of his beard with his left hand, and with a pair of ſciſſars, which he had ready in his right, did that execution, that the porter and by-ſtanders heard the cutting of ſciſſars, and ſaw a handful of grey hairs fall to the ground. The porter, on that ſight, in the utmoſt rage, ran immediately away to the preſident of the college; and there, with a loud and lamentable out-cry, deſired juſtice to be done on the gentleman-commoner, for the great indignity and injury he had received from him. The preſident demanding what harm the other had done, the porter replied, an affront never to be forgiven; he had cut off his beard. The preſident, not without laughing, told him that his barber was a bungler, and that therefore he would do him that juſtice, that he ſhould have nothing for his pains, having done his work ſo negligently; for he had left him, for aught he could ſee, after all his cutting, the largeſt and moſt reverend beard in the town. The porter, ſcarce able to believe what he ſaid, put up his hand to his chin, on which he found as full a grown beard as ever. Out of countenance for his complaint for want of a beard, he ſneaked away, and would not ſhow his face for ſome time after.

The contrivance of the young gentleman was innocent and ingenious. He had provided a handful of white horſe-hair, which he cut, under the covert of the other's beard, and ſo let it drop; which the teſty fellow, without any farther examination, concluded to be of his own growth; and ſo, with open mouth, drew on himſelf every one's laughter; which could not be refuſed to ſuch ſad complaints, and ſo reverend a beard.

Speaking

Speaking of the expedite way of juſtice in Turky, he told this pleaſant ſtory; whereof he was an eye-witneſs at Aleppo. A fellow, who was carrying about bread to ſell, at the turn of a ſtreet ſpying the cadee coming towards him, ſet down his baſket of bread, and betook himſelf to his heels. The cadee coming on, and finding the baſket of bread in his way, bid ſome of his under officers weigh it; (for he always goes attended, for preſent execution of any fault he ſhall meet with) who finding it as it ſhould be, left it, and went on. The fellow watching, at the corner of the ſtreet, what would become of his bread; when he found all was ſafe, returned to his baſket. The by-ſtanders aſked him why he ran away, his bread being weight? That was more than I knew, ſays he; for though it be not mine, but I ſell it for another; yet if it had been leſs than weight, and taken upon me, I ſhould have been drubbed.

Many things of this nature, worth notice, would often drop from him in converſation; which would inform the world of ſeveral particularities, concerning that country and people, among whom he ſpent ſeveral years. You will pardon me, if on the ſudden my bad memory cannot, after ſuch a diſtance of time, recollect more of them. Neither perhaps had this now occurred, had I not, on an occaſion that revived it in my memory ſome time ſince by telling it to others, refreſhed it in my own thoughts.

I know not whether you find amongſt the papers of his, that are, as you ſay, put into your hands, any arabic proverbs, tranſlated by him. He has told me that he had a collection of 3000, as I remember; and that they were for the moſt part very good. He had, as he intimated, ſome thoughts of tranſlating them, and adding ſome notes, where they were neceſſary to clear any obſcurities; but whether he ever did any thing in it before he died, I have not heard. But to return to what I can call to mind, and recover of him.

I do not remember that, in all my converſation with him, I ever ſaw him once angry, or to be ſo far provoked as to change colour or countenance, or tone of voice.

Diſpleaſing

Diſpleaſing actions and accidents would ſometimes occur; there is no help for that; but nothing of that kind moved him, that I ſaw, to any paſſionate words; much leſs to chiding or clamour. His life appeared to me one conſtant calm.

How great his patience was in his long and dangerous lameneſs (wherein there were very terrible and painful operations) you have, no doubt, learnt from others. I happened to be abſent from Oxford moſt of that time; but I have heard, and believed it, that it was ſuitable to the other parts of his life.

To conclude, I can ſay of him, what few men can ſay of any friend of theirs, nor I of any other of my acquaintance: that I do not remember I ever ſaw in him any one action that I did, or could in my own mind blame, or thought amiſs in him.

Sir, if I had been put upon this taſk ſoon after his death, I might poſſibly have ſent you a paper better furniſhed than this is, and with particularities fitter for your purpoſe, to fill up the character of ſo good and extraordinary a man, and ſo exemplary a life. The eſteem and honour I have ſtill for him would not ſuffer me to ſay nothing; though my decaying bad memory did ill ſecond my deſire to obey your commands. Pray accept this, as a mark of my willingneſs, and believe that I am

Your moſt humble ſervant,

JOHN LOCKE.

A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Richard King.

SIR, Oates, 25 Aug. 1703.

YOURS of the 4th inſtant I received; and though I am conſcious I do not deſerve thoſe advantageous things, which your civility ſays of me in it; yet give me leave to aſſure you, that the offers of my ſervice to you, which you are pleaſed to take notice of, is that part, which I ſhall not fail to make good on all occaſions.

You aſk me, " what is the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way, " for a young gentleman, to attain a true knowledge " of the chriſtian religion, in the full and juſt extent " of it?" For ſo I underſtand your queſtion; if I have miſtaken in it, you muſt ſet me right. And to this I have a ſhort and plain anſwer: " Let him ſtudy the holy " ſcripture, eſpecially the New Teſtament." Therein are contained the words of eternal life. It has God for its author; ſalvation for its end; and truth, without any mixture of errour, for its matter. So that it is a wonder to me, how any one profeſſing chriſtianity, that would ſeriouſly ſet himſelf to know his religion, ſhould be in doubt where to employ his ſearch, and lay out his pains for his information; when he knows a book, where it is all contained, pure and entire; and whither, at laſt, every one muſt have recourſe, to verify that of it, which he finds any where elſe.

Your other queſtion, which I think I may call two or three, will require a larger anſwer.

As to morality, which, I take it, is the firſt in thoſe things you inquire after; that is beſt to be found in the book that I have already commended to you. But becauſe you may perhaps think, that the better to obſerve thoſe rules, a little warning may not be inconvenient, and ſome method of ranging them be uſeful for the memory; I recommend to you the " Whole " Duty of Man," as a methodical ſyſtem; and if you deſire a larger view of the parts of morality, I know not where you will find them ſo well and diſtinctly explained, and ſo ſtrongly enforced, as in the practical divines of the church of England. The ſermons of Dr. Barrow, archbiſhop Tillotſon, and Dr. Whichcote, are maſterpieces in this kind; not to name abundance of others, who excel on that ſubject. If you have a mind to ſee how far human reaſon advanced in the diſcovery of morality, you will have a good ſpecimen of it in " Tully's Offices;" unleſs you have a mind to look farther back into the ſource from whence he drew his rules; and then you muſt conſult Ariſtotle, and the other greek philoſophers.

Though

Though prudence be reckoned among the cardinal virtues, yet I do not remember any profeſſed treatiſe of morality, where it is treated in its full extent, and with that accuracy that it ought. For which poſſibly this may be a reaſon, that every imprudent action does not make a man culpable "in foro conſcientiæ." The buſineſs of morality I look upon to be the avoiding of crimes; of prudence, inconveniencies, the foundation whereof lies in knowing men and manners. Hiſtory teaches this beſt, next to experience; which is the only effectual way to get a knowledge of the world. As to the rules of prudence, in the conduct of common life, though there be ſeveral that have employed their pens therein; yet thoſe writers have their eyes ſo fixed on convenience, that they ſometimes loſe the ſight of virtue; and do not take care to keep themſelves always clear from the borders of diſhoneſty, whilſt they are tracing out what they take to be, ſometimes, the ſecureſt way to ſucceſs; moſt of thoſe that I have ſeen on this ſubject having, as it ſeemed to me, ſomething of this defect. So that I know none that I can confidently recommend to your young gentleman, but the ſon of Sirach.

To "complete a man in the practice of human of-"fices," (for to that tend your inquiries) there is one thing more required; which, though it be ordinarily conſidered, as diſtinct both from virtue and prudence, yet I think it ſo nearly allied to them, that he will ſcarce keep himſelf from ſlips in both, who is without it. That, which I mean, is good breeding. The ſchool, for a young gentleman to learn it in, is the converſation of thoſe who are well-bred.

As to the laſt part of your inquiry, which is after "books that will give an inſight into the conſtitution "of the government, and real intereſt of his country;" to proceed orderly in this, I think the foundation ſhould be laid in inquiring into the ground and nature of civil ſociety; and how it is formed into different models of government; and what are the ſeveral ſpecies of it. Ariſtotle is allowed a maſter in this ſcience, and few enter upon the conſideration of government, without reading his "Politics." Hereunto ſhould be added,

true notions of laws in general; and property, the ſubject-matter about which laws are made. He, that would acquaint himſelf with the former of theſe, ſhould thoroughly ſtudy the judicious Hooker's firſt book of "Eccleſiaſtical Polity." And property I have nowhere found more clearly explained, than in a book intitled, "Two Treatiſes of Government." But not to load your young gentleman with too many books on this ſubject, which require more meditation than reading; give me leave to recommend to him Puffendorf's little Treatiſe, "De Officio Hominis & Civis."

To get an inſight into the particular conſtitution of the government of his own country, will require a little more reading; unleſs he will content himſelf with ſuch a ſuperficial knowledge of it as is contained in Chamberlayne's "State of England;" or Smith "De Republica Anglicana." Your inquiry manifeſtly looks farther than that; and to attain ſuch a knowledge of it, as becomes a gentleman of England to have, to the purpoſes that you mention, I think he ſhould read our ancient lawyers; ſuch as Bracton, "Fleta," "The Mirror "of Juſtice," &c. which our couſin King* can better direct you to, than I; joining with them the "Hiſtory "of England under the Normans," and ſo continuing it down quite to our times; reading it always in thoſe authors who lived neareſt thoſe times; their names you will find, and characters often in Mr. Tyrrel's "Hiſ-"tory of England." To which, if there be added a ſerious conſideration of the laws made in each reign, and how far any of them influenced the conſtitution; all theſe together will give him a full inſight into what you deſire.

As to the intereſt of any country, that, it is manifeſt, lies in its proſperity and ſecurity. Plenty of well employed people, and riches within, and good alliances abroad, make it ſtrength. But the ways of attaining theſe comprehend all the arts of peace and war; the management of trade; the employment of the poor; and all thoſe other things that belong to the adminiſtration of the pub-

* Sir Peter King.

lic; which are ſo many, ſo various, and ſo changeable, according to the mutable ſtate of men, and things, in this world; that it is not ſtrange, if a very ſmall part of this conſiſts in book-learning. He, that would know it, muſt have eyes open upon the preſent ſtate of affairs; and from thence take his meaſures of what is good, or prejudicial, to the intereſt of his country.

You ſee how ready I am to obey your commands, though in matters wherein I am ſenſible of my own ignorance. I am ſo little acquainted with books, eſpecially on theſe ſubjects relating to politics, that you muſt forgive, if perhaps I have not named to you the beſt in every kind. And you muſt take it as a mark of my readineſs to ſerve you, that I have ventured ſo far out of what lay in my way of reading, in the days that I had leiſure to converſe with books. The knowledge of the bible, and the buſineſs of his calling, is enough for an ordinary man; a gentleman ought to go farther.

Thoſe of this place return their ſervice and thanks, for the honour of your remembrance.

I am, &c.

To the ſame.

DEAR SIR,

I AM ſorry to find, that the queſtion, which was the moſt material, and my mind was moſt upon, was anſwered ſo little to your ſatisfaction, that you are fain to aſk it again. Since therefore you aſk me a ſecond time, "what is the beſt method to ſtudy religion?" I muſt aſk you, "what religion you mean?" For if it be, as I underſtood you before, the "chriſtian religion in its full extent and purity;" I can make you no other anſwer but what I did, viz. that "the only way to attain a certain knowledge of that, is the ſtudy of the "holy ſcripture." And my reaſon is, becauſe the chriſtian religion is a revelation from God Almighty, which

is contained in the bible; and ſo all the knowledge we can have of it muſt be derived from thence. "But if "you aſk, which is the beſt way to get the knowledge "of the romiſh, lutheran, or reformed religion, of "this or that particular church, &c." each whereof intitles itſelf to be the true chriſtian religion, with ſome kind of excluſion or diminution to the reſt; that will not be hard to tell you. But then it is plain that the books, that beſt teach you any one of theſe do moſt remove you from all the reſt; and in this way of ſtudying, you pitch upon one as the right, before you know it to be ſo; whereas that choice ſhould be the reſult of your ſtudy of the chriſtian religion, in the ſacred ſcriptures. And the method I have propoſed would, I preſume, bring you the ſureſt way to that church, which, I imagine, you already think moſt conformable to the word of God.

I find the letter you laſt honoured me with contains a new queſtion, and that a very material one, viz. "what "is the beſt way of interpreting the ſacred ſcripture?" Taking "interpreting" to mean "underſtanding," I think the beſt way for underſtanding the ſcripture, or the New Teſtament, (for of that the queſtion will here be in the firſt place) is to read it aſſiduouſly and diligently; and, if it can be, in the original. I do not mean, to read every day ſome certain number of chapters, as is uſual; but to read it ſo, as to ſtudy and conſider, and not to leave till you are ſatisfied that you have got the true meaning.

To this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to take the aſſiſtance of interpreters and commentators; ſuch as are thoſe called the critics, and Pool's "Synopſis Criticorum;" Dr. Hammond on the New Teſtament, and Dr. Whitby, &c.

I ſhould not think it convenient to multiply books of this kind, were there any one that I could direct you to, that was infallible. But you will not think it ſtrange, if I tell you, that after all, you muſt make uſe of your own judgment; when you conſider, that it is and always will be, impoſſible to find an expoſitor, whom you can blind-fold rely upon, and cannot be miſtaken in following. Such a reſignation as that, is due to the holy

ſcriptures

ſcriptures alone; which were dictated by the infallible ſpirit of God.

Such writings alſo as Mr. Mede's and Dr. Lightfoot's are very much conducing to lead us into a true ſenſe of the ſacred ſcriptures.

As to the method of reading them, order requires that the four Evangeliſts ſhould, in the firſt place, be well ſtudied, and thoroughly underſtood. They all treating of the ſame ſubject do give great light to one another; and, I think, may with the greateſt advantage, be read in harmony. To this purpoſe, Monſieur Le Clerc's, or Mr. Whiſton's "Harmony of the four Evangeliſts," will be of uſe, and ſave a great deal of time and trouble, in turning the bible. They are now both in engliſh, and Le Clerc's has a paraphraſe. But if you would read the Evangeliſts in the original, Mr. Le Clerc's edition of his "Harmony" in greek and latin will be the beſt.

If you find that, by this method, you advance in the knowledge of the goſpel; when you have laid a foundation there to your ſatisfaction, it will not be hard to add what may help you forwards, in the ſtudy of other parts of the New Teſtament.

But I have troubled you too much already, for which I beg your pardon; and am, &c.

To the ſame.

SIR, Oates, 20 January, 1703-4.

THE ſmall acknowledgments I was able to make, for the honour of your viſit, and enjoyment of your company here, left the debt on my ſide, and deſerve not the notice you are pleaſed to take of them.

In your obliging letter of the 13th, you do me favours, and you thank me too. If you intend by this a perfect acquiſition of ſo inconſiderable a thing as I am, your worth and virtue diſpoſe me to be as much at your ſervice as you pleaſe; I wiſh I found any thing in myſelf that might promiſe you any uſefulneſs from me. That defect I ſhall endeavour to make up the beſt I can, with

a perfect esteem, and a readiness of will; which must supply the want of abilities of doing.

I thank you for the printed paper you sent me *, and am very glad to see such a spirit raised, for the support and enlargement of religion. Protestants, I think, are as much concerned now, as ever, to be vigorous in their joint endeavours for the maintenance of the reformation. I wish all, that call themselves so, may be prevailed with by those, whom your paper intimates, to imitate the zeal, and pursue the principles of those great and pious men, who were instrumental to bring us out of roman darkness and bondage. I heartily pray for good success on all such endeavours.

If I may guess at the intention of the society, by the only man you let me know of it, I may be confident that the glory of God, and the propagation of true religion, is the only aim of it. May God eminently prosper all endeavours that way, and increase the number of those who seriously lay it to heart.

Sir Francis †, my lady, and the rest of this family, return you their humble service. I am, &c.

RULES of a SOCIETY,

Which met once a week, for their improvement in useful knowledge, and for the promoting of truth and christian charity.

I. THAT it begin at six in the evening, and end at eight; unless a majority of two thirds present are inclined to continue it longer.

II. That no person be admitted into this society, without the suffrage of two thirds of the parties present, after the person, desiring such admission, hath subscribed to the rules contained in this paper, and answered in the affirmative to the following questions:

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* "An Account of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge."
† Sir Francis Masham.

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1. Whether he loves all men, of what profeſſion or religion ſoever?

2. Whether he thinks no perſon ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere ſpeculative opinions, or his external way of worſhip?

3. Whether he loves and ſeeks truth for truth's ſake; and will endeavour impartially to find and receive it himſelf, and to communicate it to others?

III. That no perſon be admitted occaſionally, without a good teſtimony from ſome of the ſociety that knows him, and he anſwering in the affirmative to the above-mentioned queſtions.

IV. That every member in his courſe, if he pleaſe, be moderator; (and the courſe here meant, is that of their ſirnames, according to the alphabet); whoſe care muſt be to keep good order, to propoſe the queſtion to be debated, recite what may have been ſaid to it already, briefly deliver the ſenſe of the queſtion, and keep the parties cloſe to it; or, if he pleaſe, he may name one to be moderator for him. The queſtion for the enſuing conference to be always agreed, before the company departs.

V. That no perſon or opinion be unhandſomely reflected on; but every member behave himſelf with all the temper, judgment, modeſty, and diſcretion he is maſter of.

VI. That every member place himſelf to the left hand of the moderator, in order, as he happens to come in; and in his turn ſpeak as plainly, diſtinctly, and conciſely as he can to the queſtion propoſed, directing his diſcourſe to the moderator.

VII. That no more than one perſon ſpeak at once; and none object, till it come to his turn to ſpeak.

VIII. That, the queſtion having gone round, if the time will permit, and the company pleaſes, it may be diſcourſed again in the ſame order; and no weighty queſtion to be quitted, till a majority of two thirds be ſatisfied, and are willing to proceed to a new one. That when a controverſy is not thought, by two thirds of the company, likely to be ended in a convenient time; then thoſe two thirds may diſmiſs it, and, if they pleaſe, another

other queſtion may be propoſed. That two thirds of the company may adjourn the ordinary ſubject in queſtion, for good and ſufficient reaſons.

IX. That no queſtion be propoſed, that is contrary to religion, civil government, or good manners; unleſs it be agreed to debate ſuch queſtion, merely and only the better to confute it.

We whoſe names are here under-written, propoſing to ourſelves an improvement in uſeful knowledge, and the promoting of truth and Chriſtian charity, by our becoming of this ſociety, do hereby declare our approbation of, and conſent to, the rules before written.

A Letter to Mrs. Cockburn.

MADAM,

THERE was nothing more public than the obligation I received from you, nor any thing more concealed than the perſon I was obliged to. This is a generoſity above the ſtrain of this groveling age, and like that of ſuperiour ſpirits, who aſſiſt without ſhowing themſelves. I uſed my beſt endeavours to draw from you by your bookſeller the confeſſion of your name, for want whereof I could, whilſt you kept yourſelf under that reſerve, no more addreſs myſelf directly to you with good manners, than I could have pulled off your maſk by force, in a place where you were reſolved to conceal yourſelf. Had not this been ſo, the bearer hereof would not the firſt time have come to you without a letter from me to acknowledge the favour you had done me. You not affording me an opportunity for that, I deſigned to make you ſome ſmall acknowledgment, in a way that chance had opened to me, without your conſent. But this gentleman tranſgreſſed my order in two main points of it. The one was in delaying it ſo long. The other was in naming me to you, and talking of matters which he had no commiſſion from me to mention. What he deſerves

deſerves from you for it, muſt be left to your mercy. For I cannot in earneſt be angry with him for procuring me, without any guilt of mine, an opportunity to own you for my protectreſs, which is the greateſt honour my Eſſay could have procured me. Give me leave therefore to aſſure you, that as the reſt of the world take notice of the ſtrength and clearneſs of your reaſoning, ſo I cannot but be extremely ſenſible that it was employed in my defence. You have herein not only vanquiſhed my adverſary, but reduced me alſo abſolutely under your power, and left no deſires more ſtrong in me than thoſe of meeting with ſome opportunity to aſſure you with what reſpect and ſubmiſſion I am, Madam,

Your moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervant,

Oates, 30 Dec. 1702. J. Locke.

A Letter from Mr. Locke to Mr. Samuel Bold.

Sir, Oates, 16 May, 1699.

YOURS of the 11th of April I received not till the laſt week. I ſuppoſe Mr. Churchill ſtaid it till that diſcourſe wherein you have been pleaſed to defend my Eſſay was printed, that they might come together, though neither of them need a companion to recommend it to me. Your reaſonings are ſo ſtrong and juſt, and your friendſhip to me ſo viſible, that every thing muſt be welcome to me that comes from your pen, let it be of what kind ſoever. I promiſe myſelf that to all thoſe who are willing to open their eyes and to enlarge their minds to a true knowledge of things, this little treatiſe of yours will be greatly acceptable and uſeful; and for thoſe who will ſhut their eyes for fear they ſhould ſee more than others have ſeen before them, or rather for fear they ſhould make uſe of them, and not blindly and lazily follow the ſayings of others; what can be done

done to them? They are to be let alone to join in the cry of the herd they have placed themſelves in, and take that for applauſe which is nothing but the noiſe that of courſe they make to one another, which way ever they are going: ſo that the greatneſs of it is no manner of proof that they are in the right.—I ſay not this becauſe it is a diſcourſe wherein you favour any opinions of mine, (for I take care not to be deceived by the reaſonings of my friends) but I ſay it from thoſe who are ſtrangers to you, and who own themſelves to have received light and conviction from the clearneſs and cloſeneſs of your reaſonings, and that in a matter at firſt ſight very abſtruſe and remote from ordinary conceptions.---There is nothing that would more rejoice me than to have you for my neighbour. The advantages that you promiſe yourſelf from mine, I ſhould receive from your converſation. The impartial lovers and ſearchers of truth are a great deal fewer than one could wiſh or imagine. It is a rare thing to find any one to whom one can communicate one's thoughts freely, and from whom one may expect a careful examination and impartial judgment of them. To be learned in the lump by other men's thoughts, and to be in the right by ſaying after others, is the much eaſier and quicker way; but how a rational man that ſhould inquire and know for himſelf, can content himſelf with a faith or religion taken upon truſt, or with ſuch a ſervile ſubmiſſion of his underſtanding, as to admit all and nothing elſe but what faſhion makes at preſent paſſable amongſt ſome men, is to me aſtoniſhing. I do not wonder that concerning many points you ſhould have different apprehenſions from what you meet with in authors; with a free mind, that unbiaſſedly purſues truth, it cannot be otherwiſe; 1ſt, becauſe all authors did not write unbiaſſedly for truth's ſake; and, 2dly, becauſe there are ſcarce any two men that have perfectly the ſame views of the ſame thing till they come with attention, and perhaps mutual aſſiſtance, to examine it. A conſideration that makes converſation with the living much more deſirable and uſeful than conſulting the dead, would the living but be inquiſitive after truth, apply their thoughts

thoughts with attention to the gaining of it, and be indifferent with whom it was found, ſo they could but find it. The firſt requiſite to the profiting by books is not to judge of opinions by the authority of the writers. None have the right of dictating but God himſelf, and that becauſe he is truth itſelf. All others have a right to be followed as far as I have, and no farther, i. e. as far as the evidence of what they ſay convinces, and of that my own underſtanding alone muſt be judge for me, and nothing elſe. If we made our own eyes our own guides, admitted or rejected opinions only by the evidence of reaſon, we ſhould neither embrace nor refuſe any tenet, becauſe we find it publiſhed by another, of what name or character ſoever he was.

You ſay you loſe many things becauſe they ſlip from you. I have had experience of that myſelf, but for that my lord Bacon has provided a ſure remedy. For, as I remember, he adviſes ſomewhere never to go without pen and ink, or ſomething to write with, and to be ſure not to neglect to write down all thoughts of moment that come into the mind. I muſt own I have omitted it often, and often repented it. The thoughts that come often unſought, and, as it were, drop into the mind, are commonly the moſt valuable of any we have, and therefore ſhould be ſecured, becauſe they ſeldom return again.

You ſay alſo that you loſe many things, becauſe your own thoughts are not ſteady and ſtrong enough to follow and purſue them to a juſt iſſue. Give me leave to think that herein you miſtake yourſelf, and your own abilities. Write down your thoughts upon any point as far as you have at any time purſued them, and go on with them again ſome other time, when you find your mind diſpoſed to it, and ſo till you have carried them as far as you can, and you will be convinced that, if you have loſt any, it has not been for want of ſtrength of mind to bring them to an iſſue, but for want of memory to retain a long train of reaſonings which the mind, having once beat out, is loth to be at the pains to go over again, and ſo the connexion and train having ſlipped the memory, the purſuit ſtops, and the reaſoning is neglected

glected before it comes to the laſt concluſion. If you have not tried it, you cannot imagine the difference there is in ſtudying with and without a pen in your hand. Your ideas, if the connexions of them that you have traced be ſet down, ſo that, without the pains of recollecting them in your memory, you can take an eaſy view of them again, will lead you farther than you could expect. Try, and tell me if it be not ſo. I ſay not this that I ſhould not be glad to have any converſation with you, upon any points you ſhall employ your thoughts about. Propoſe what you have of this kind freely, and do not ſuſpect it will interfere with any of my affairs. Know that beſides the pleaſure it is to converſe with a thinking man, and a lover of truth, I ſhall profit by it more than you. This you would ſee by the frequency of my viſits, if you were within the reach of them.

That which I think of Deut. xii. 15. is this, that the reaſon why it is ſaid, *as the roebuck and the hart*, is, becauſe, Lev. xvii. to prevent idolatry in offering the blood to other gods, they were commanded to kill all the cattle that they ate at the door of the Tabernacle, as a peace-offering, and ſprinkle the blood on the altar. But wild beaſts that were clean might be eaten, though their blood were not offered to God, ver. 13. becauſe being commonly killed before they were taken, their blood could not be ſprinkled on the altar, and therefore it ſufficed in ſuch caſes to pour out their blood whereever they were killed, and cover it with duſt, and for the ſame reaſon, when the camp was broken up, wherein the whole people was in the neighbourhood of the Tabernacle, during their 40 years paſſage from Egypt to Canaan, and the people were ſcattered in their habitations through all the Land of Promiſe, thoſe who were too far off from the Temple were excuſed (Deut. xii. 21, 22.) from killing their tame cattle at Jeruſalem and ſprinkling their blood on the altar. No more was required of them than was required in killing a roebuck, or any other clean wild beaſt: they were only to pour out the blood, and cover it with duſt, and ſo they might eat of the fleſh.

Theſe

Theſe are my thoughts concerning that paſſage. What you ſay about critics and critical interpretations, particularly of the holy ſcriptures, is not only in my opinion very true, but of great uſe to be obſerved on reading learned commentators, who not ſeldom make it their buſineſs to ſhow in what ſenſe a word has been uſed by other authors; whereas the proper buſineſs of a commentator is barely to ſhow in what ſenſe it was uſed by the author in that place; which in the ſcripture we have reaſon to conclude was moſt commonly in the ordinary vulgar ſenſe of that word or phraſe known in that time, becauſe the books were writ, as you juſtly obſerve, and adapted to the people. If the critics had obſerved this, we ſhould have had in their works leſs oſtentation, and more truth, and a great deal of the darkneſs and doubtfulneſs now ſpread upon the ſcriptures had been avoided. I have had a late proof of this in myſelf, who have lately found in ſome large paſſages of ſcripture a ſenſe quite different from what I underſtood it in before, and from what I find in commentators; and yet it appears ſo clear to me, that when I ſee you next I ſhall dare to appeal to you in it. But I read the word of God without prepoſſeſſion or bias, and come to it with a reſolution to take my ſenſe from it, and not with a deſign to bring it to the ſenſe of my ſyſtem. How much that had made men wind and twiſt and pull the text in all the ſeveral ſects of chriſtians, I need not tell you. I deſire to take my religion from the ſcriptures, and then whether it ſuits or ſuits not any other denomination, I am not much concerned; for I think at the laſt day it will not be inquired whether I were of the church of england, or church of geneva, but whether I ſought and embraced the truth in the love of it. The proofs I have ſet down in my book, of one infinite, independent, eternal Being, ſatisfied me; and the gentleman that deſired others, and pretended that the next propoſition to that of the exiſtence of a ſelf-ſufficient, independent Being, ſhould be this, that ſuch a Being is but one, and that he could prove it antecedent to his attributes, v. g. of infinity, omnipotence, &c. I am pretty well ſatisfied, pretended to what he had not, and

therefore

therefore trouble not myſelf any farther about that matter. As to what you ſay upon this occaſion, I agree with you, that the ideas of the modes and actions of ſubſtances are uſually in our minds before the idea of ſubſtance itſelf; but in this I differ from you, that I do not think the ideas of the operations of things are antecedent to the ideas of their exiſtence, for they muſt exiſt before they can any way affect us, or make us ſenſible of their operations, and we muſt ſuppoſe them to be before they operate. My Eſſay is going to be printed again; I wiſh you were near me, that I might ſhow you the ſeveral alterations and additions I have made, before they go to the preſs.

The warm weather that begins now with us makes me hope I ſhall now ſpeedily get to town; if any buſineſs draws you thither this ſummer, I hope you will order it ſo that I may have a good ſhare of your company. No body values it more than I do; and I have a great many things to talk with you. I am, Sir,

Your moſt affectionate,

and moſt humble Servant,

For Mr. Samuel Bold,
at Steeple.

J. Locke.

Oates, April 24, 1696.

Dear Coll,

I SEE by the temper the country is in, (and I doubt not but there are thoſe who will blow the coal) that if London does not ſet them a good example, the act will be broken through, and clipping will be continued upon us.---I am ſure the trade goes on as briſk as ever; a company was lately taken at or about Ware. Somebody ready, as ſoon as the day comes, to arreſt a goldſmith that refuſed to pay money according to the law, would ſpoil the trick, eſpecially if ſeveral of them were made examples.---If clipped money once get but currency

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in London amongſt thoſe blades, but for the firſt week after the 4th of May, I look upon it as irretrievable, but if it be ſtopped there, the reſt of the kingdom will fall into it, eſpecially if receiving clipped money by weight be introduced. Theſe are at preſent my thoughts, which I trouble thoſe with who I know are able to make uſe of them, if they may be of any. Duty and ſervice from all here.

I am, dear Col, &c.

J. Locke.

Lord Aſhley to Dr. Fell.

Sir, Dec. 8, 1670.

YOU are well acquainted with the kindneſſe I have great reaſon to have to Mr. Locke, in whoſe behalf I had prevailed with the duke of Ormond for his aſſiſtance towards the attaining his doctor's degree, at the reception of the prince of Aurange; and I am apt to think the inſtance of your chancellor, and the relation he has to me, would not have been denied by the univerſity. But Mr. Locke underſtanding the provoſt of Eaton declared himſelf, and you, diſſatisfied with it, has importuned me to give him leave to decline it, which, upon conference with my worthy friend the biſhop of Rocheſter, I have donne, and returned his grace's letter, though my lord biſhop of Rocheſter can tell you I could not but complain to him, that your chapter had not been ſo kinde to me, in Mr. Locke's affairs, as I thought I might juſtly expect, conſidering him a member of their houſe, having done both my life and family that ſervice I owne from him, and I being of that quality I am under his majeſtie, under which title only I pretend to any favour from them. All that I requeſt now, of you and them, is, that ſince he will not allow me to doe him this kindneſſe, you will give me leave to beſpeake your favour for the next faculty place, and that a more powerful hand may not take it from him.

I rely very much on my lord Rochester's mediation, and your own kindneſſe to me, that may induce you to believe, that an obligation will not be abſolutely caſt away on,

SIR,

Your affectionate friend and ſervant.

MY LORD,

I DOUBT not but your lordſhip hath before this time heard of the death of Mr. Locke, who was in the full poſſeſſion of his reaſon and underſtanding to the laſt minute of his life; he hath made me his executor, by means whereof his writings are come to my hands, amongſt which I find three or four ſheets of memoirs of your grandfather's life, with an epitaph on your grandfather. Mr. Locke deſigned, if he had lived longer, to have gone on farther with thoſe memoirs. I beg your lordſhip's pardon that I have not acquainted your lordſhip herewith ſooner; but Mr. Locke happening to dye in the term, I had not leiſure to look into his concerns, beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary, till within theſe few days. Theſe papers properly belong to your lordſhip, and I thought it my duty to acquaint your lordſhip therewith, and ſhall diſpoſe of them as your lordſhip ſhall direct.

I am, with all ſincerity,

Your lordſhip's moſt dutiful,

and affectionate ſervant,

Inner Temple,
Dec. 9, 1704.

PETER KING.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

GROWTH AND CULTURE

OF

VINES AND OLIVES:

THE

PRODUCTION of SILK:

THE

PRESERVATION of FRUITS.

Written at the REQUEST of

The EARL of SHAFTSBURY.

To whom it is inſcribed.

(FIRST PUBLISHED in M.DCC.LXVI.)

THE

EDITOR TO THE READER.

AT this time, when every improvement of the garden is so much the study and delight of our countrymen; when artificial means have been discovered to supply every defect of climate, and the vegetable productions of every other region of the globe have been raised in our own soil; it is presumed the following small tract, printed from a manuscript very neatly written by Mr. John Locke, with his usual accuracy, will be no unwelcome present to the public.

Subjects of curiosity and instruction, to the inquisitive philosopher and his noble patron, will, doubtless, be entertaining to every reader.

Should it gain a passage to America, it will be of far more extensive use both to that country and to Britain.

No union, no alliance, is so firm and lasting as that which is founded upon the solid basis of a mutual interest.

Necessity, natural or artificial, is the real cause and support of trade and navigation. Our commerce with Spain and Portugal, and other countries, will subsist under every change of government or inhabitants, whilst we are in want of the productions of their soil and industry.

Politicians, who ought to know how commerce, and consequently naval force, has fluctuated in the world, will take care not to oppress, by very heavy and impro-

vident taxations, their manufactures, and other articles of trade at home, nor ſuch commodities imported from abroad, as may diſpoſe other nations to cultivate thoſe very articles among themſelves, which they have hitherto received from us.

However populous and great, induſtrious and rich, the ſettlements in the vaſt continent of America may hereafter become, this the mother-country may for ever be connected with it more intimately than the ſouthern nations, by encouraging the growth and produce of vines and olives, ſilk and fruits, which cannot advantageouſly be raiſed in England: and ſound policy will always engage the ſubjects in England and America not to be rivals in trade, by ſetting up ſuch manufactures in one country as muſt neceſſarily diſtreſs the other.

The wiſdom of this country will inſtruct governors to do all that is poſſible to promote the linen manufacture in Ireland; and the wiſe and good in both kingdoms will never deſire ſuch uſe of their wool and their ports as muſt be directly prejudicial to England.

The moſt perfect harmony will ſubſiſt between Great Britain and her colonies, as long as britiſh ſubjects, cemented by blood, by mutual intereſt and commerce, continue friends to liberty and the proteſtant religion, and ſucceſſion in the preſent royal family; this is a true and laſting family-compact: all which ineſtimable bleſſings will be rendered permanent and inviolable by the fleets of England, which, whilſt the britiſh empire is united, will be ſuperiour to all other powers in the world.

The editor cannot take his leave of the reader without obſerving, that very important ſervices have been done to America, by a plan of government drawn up for the province of Carolina by Mr. Locke, under the direction of that eminent and able ſtateſman the firſt earl of Shaftſbury; and by the preſent earl of Shaftſ-

bury,

bury, as an active and zealous truſtee for the colony of Georgia; from which, in time, we may expect a conſiderable quantity of raw ſilk will be imported into England.

Vines are natural to the ſoil of many parts in America; and, if olive-trees are planted in ſuch provinces as are moſt proper for the growth of them, the planters will ſoon be enriched, and England relieved in ſeveral articles made from this profitable fruit, and which are neceſſary to the ſupport of every individual, and every manufacture in the kingdom.

Temple, March 1766.

G. S.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ANTHONY EARL OF SHAFTSBURY.

MY LORD,

THE country, where theſe obſervations were made, hath vanity enough to over-value every thing it produces: and it is hard to live in a place, and not take ſome tincture from the manners of the people. Yet I think I ſhould ſcarce have ventured to trouble your lordſhip with theſe french trifles, had not your lordſhip yourſelf encouraged me to believe, that it would not be unacceptable to you, if I took this way (for I ought all manner of ways) to expreſs that duty and obſervance wherewith I am,

MY LORD,

Your lordſhip's moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervant,

Ch. Ch. Feb. 1, 1679.

JOHN LOCKE.

WINE.

IN Languedoc they plant their vineyards in February; and they chooſe the quarter before the full, as the fitteſt time of the moon to do it in.

They ſet the cuttings they plant exactly in quincunx, and the rows at four and a half, five, and ſix pans diſtance.—A pan is $9\frac{5}{6}$ inches.

About Tholoun in Provence, and alſo about Bourdeaux, I have ſeen vines and corn interchangeably; viz. two or three rows of vines, and then a ridge or two of corn.

They ſet their plants about a ſpit deep, and always leave two knots above ground.

In ſetting the vines, they dig the ground ſometimes all over, ſometimes only in trenches.

They plant their vineyards both in plains and on hills, with indifferency; but ſay that on hills, eſpecially opening to the eaſt or ſouth, the wine is beſt: in plains they produce moſt. The ſoil about Frontignan, where the beſt muſcat grows, is ſo ſtony, that one can ſee no earth at all. And the vine de Pontac, ſo much eſteemed in England, grows on a riſing open to the weſt, in a white ſand mixed with a little gravel, which one would think would bear nothing; but there is ſuch a particularity in the ſoil, that at Mr. Pontac's, near Bourdeaux, the merchants aſſured me that the wine growing in the very next vineyards, where there was only a ditch between, and the ſoil, to appearance, perfectly the ſame, was by no means ſo good. The ſame alſo they obſerve about Montpelier, where two vineyards, bounding one

upon another, conſtantly produce the one good and the other bad wine.

A vineyard, from its planting, will laſt fifty, eighty, or an hundred years. The older the vineyard, the fewer the grapes, but the better the wine. New planted vineyards produce more, but the wine not ſo good: it is generally green, i. e. more inclining to verjuice.

The vineyard thus planted, the next year at pruning they cut them, ſo that (if conveniently there can) there may be four ſhoots next year, near the ground, at leaſt three, ſpreading ſeveral ways, which may come to be ſo many ſtanding branches, out of which the ſhoots are to ſprout. There being thus left the beginnings of three or four branches ſpreading different ways, ever afterwards, when they come to prune, they leave about an inch of that laſt year's ſhoot, which grew ſtrait out of the top of each of the four ſtanding branches; all the reſt they cut off clean to the old ſtock.

If by chance they find (when they are pruning) a vine decayed, or gone in any place, they dig a trench from the next ſtock to that place, and laying the old ſtock along in the trench, order it ſo that one laſt year's ſhoot of the ſaid ſtock ſhall come out juſt where the laid ſtock grew, and another where there was one wanting: theſe they cut off about eight or nine inches above the ground, which being fed by the great old root (which they move not when they lay the old ſtock, but ſo looſen it only as it may let the old ſtock be gently bent down, and ſo be buried in the trench) will bear the next vintage; whereas, if they planted a cutting in the place where they found a ſtock wanting, it would not bear in three or four years. By theſe young plants, they ſtick in a good ſtrong branch, a pretty deal longer than the plant, which they leave there to defend it.

They prune their vines in december, january, february, and march: they that do it ſo late as the latter end of february, or the month of march, are ſuch as have vineyards apt to ſhoot early in the ſpring; and, if cold weather nip the young ſhoots, they have the fewer grapes at the vintage. And in pruning their vines they obſerve

obſerve to do it in one year in the new and another in the old of the moon, or elſe they ſay they will grow too much to wood.

They turn the ground of their vineyards twice a year; about the end of february or in march, and again in may; they do it either by ploughing betwixt the rows of vines, or, which they count better, by digging, in which they ſometimes uſe little ſpades, but moſt commonly large houghs, the uſual way of delving in this country; in which way they turn up the earth as deep and much faſter than our men do with ſpades in England.

Pigeons dung and hens dung they make uſe of in their vineyards, as an improvement that will increaſe the quantity without injuring the goodneſs of their wine: but horſe dung, or that of any beaſt, they ſay, ſpoils the goodneſs of their wine. This they have ſo ſtrong an opinion of at Galliac, a place about thirty leagues from Montpelier, that, if a peaſant there ſhould uſe any but birds dung about his vines, his neighbours would burn his houſe; becauſe they would not have the wine of that place loſe its reputation.

I have been told that a ſheep's horn buried at the root of a vine will make it bear well even in barren ground. I have no great faith in it, but mention it, becauſe it may ſo eaſily be tried.

But I ſuppoſe the huſbandry in their vineyards differs much, both according to the faſhion of ſeveral countries, and the difference of ſoil; for I remember that, at Mr. Pontac's vineyard near Bourdeaux, the vines in ſome parts of the vineyard grew four or five feet high, and were tied to ſtakes; and in another part of the ſame vineyard they were directed along upon the ground, not above a foot from it, between little low ſtakes or laths, ſo that the old branches ſtand on each ſide the root like a pair of arms ſpread out, and lying open towards the ſouth. The reaſon of this different way of culture I could not learn of the labourers for want of underſtanding Gaſcoin. In Languedoc they uſe no ſtakes at all to ſupport their vines, but they truſt them to the ſtrength of their own growth, pruning them as I have above mentioned;

mentioned; which makes them ſay in the more northerly parts of France, that in Languedoc they have wine without taking pains for it.

When the grapes are ready to turn, they go into the vineyards, and there taking four, five, or ſix of the neighbour ſhoots, twiſt them together at the top; and thus the ſhoots all through the vineyard, being as it were tied together, ſtand upright, whereby the grapes have more ſun, and perhaps the ſap too is hindered from running into the wood and leaves.

They have about Montpelier theſe following ſorts of grapes:

1. Eſpiran.
2. Eſpiran verdau.
3. Tarret.
4. Barbaroux.
5. Grumeau negre.
6. Grumeau blanc.
7. Grumeau blanc muſcat.
8. Laugeby.
9. L'ougré.
10. Raiſin de St. Jean.
11. Marroquin.
12. Marroquin gris.
13. Marroquin bleu.
14. Clarette.
15. Clarette rouge.
16. Ovilla de negre.
17. Ovilla de blanc.
18. Covilla de Gal.
19. Ramounen.
20. Unio negro.
21. Unio blanquo.
22. Corinth.
23. Effouimu.
24. Iragnou.
25. Piquepoul.
26. Farret.
27. Piquardan.
28. Muſquat negre.
29. Muſquat blanc.
30. Muſquat d'Eſpagne.
31. Paloſedo.
32. Servan.
33. Damas violet.
34. Raiſon de la fon.
35. Sadoulo boyyier.
36. Sergouſan.
37. L'ambruſque.
38. Rovergas.
39. Coltort.
40. Muſquadaſſas.
41. Criſpata.

Theſe are the names of grapes they have about Montpelier, as they are called in the pattoy of that country.

1. The eſpiran, a round, black, very ſweet and very wholeſome grape: they eat them in great quantities when thorough ripe (which is about the middle of auguſt ſtylo novo) without any fear of ſurfeit; and they are

are oſten preſcribed by phyſicians to be eaten plentifully. I think them one of the beſt fruits in the world. Theſe alone, of all the red grapes, make good wine by themſelves; but they plant them not in ſo great quantities as the other ſorts, becauſe in hot and dry ſeaſons they will dry up before they are ripe.

2. Eſpiran verdau, or the green eſpiran, called ſo from its colour; an admirable grape alſo to eat, though not altogether ſo delicate as the black eſpiran; but its excellency is, that it will keep long in the winter for eating; and I have eat very good of them at Chriſtmas. Their way of keeping them is to gather them when ripe, and ſo hang them up, every bunch ſingle, to the roof of a cloſe room.

3. Tarret is a black, very large, but not very ſweet grape, and therefore uſed only for wine; wherein it gives a very large quantity, but not much ſtrength.

5. Grumeau negre, or the black grumeau, is an excellent large grape, very fleſhy, and well enough taſted, of the faſhion of a pear. I have ſeen one ſingle grape of this ſort which was in compaſs above $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches engliſh meaſure, and in compaſs the long way $3\frac{3}{4}$, and weighed of their weights ℥ſs. ℈j. gr. iij. and all the reſt of the grapes of the ſame bunch proportionable; but I have not obſerved them ordinarily planted in their vineyards.

10. Raiſin de St. Jean is a ſort of grape which they have only at the phyſic-garden at Montpelier: it came from India; it is a black grape, very good, ripe at Midſummer (and therefore called St. John's grape) two months before any of the other ſorts.

11. Marroquin, a very black, large, fleſhy, round grape, very good to eat, but ſeldom uſed in wine.

14. Clarette, white, longiſh, middle-ſized, ſweet, good to eat, and good for wine.

19. Ramounen, black, very ſweet, middle-ſized, good for wine, and eating.

22. Corinth; this we have in England; and I do not find they uſe it much there for wine.

25. Piquepoul, black and very ſweet, good for wine and for eating.

27. Piquardan,

27. Piquardan, white, long, large, very ſweet, with a very little of the muſcat taſte in it; makes very good wine alone or mingled.

29. Muſquat blanc, or white muſcat; this is uſually planted and preſſed alone, and makes the wine we uſually call Frontiniac, from Frontignan, a town on the Mediterranean, near two or three leagues from Montpelier, where the moſt and beſt ſort of this wine is made. It is a pleaſant grape, and early ripe, before the ordinary ſorts; but they are not near ſo good to eat as the eſpiran, being apt to fume to the head and make it ache.

32. Servan, a long, large, white, fleſhy, ſweet grape, called ſo, becauſe they keep well, and you have of theſe always lateſt in winter.

41. Criſpata; this I ſaw no-where but in the phyſic-garden at Montpelier: a good ſweet white grape; called ſo from its jagged leaves, and I ſuppoſe the ſame with our parſley grape in England.

At Marmouſtier, the great abbey of benedictins near Tours, I ſaw in their garden a ſort of grapes pretty ripe, which they called raiſins de Ste. Magdalene, becauſe they uſed to be ripe about that time, which is the 22d of july.

Upon the ſkilful mixture of theſe ſeveral ſorts of grapes, as well as on the propriety of the ſoil, depends in a great meaſure the goodneſs of their wine: though, as far as I could obſerve, it was not ſo far improved as it might; nor any other great care taken, but that there ſhould be always a mixture of white grapes when they made their red wine, which will otherwiſe be too thick and deep-coloured: and therefore, if they have a ſufficient quantity of claret or piquardin grapes in their vineyards, they ſeem not over curious of an exact proportion of the other ſorts, which are planted there promiſcuouſly.

When their grapes are ripe, and they have leave, they cut them, carry them home, and tread them immediately; for they will not keep without ſpoiling: this is the reaſon they muſt have leave; for, the parſon being to have his tithe, and of that make his wine, if the pariſhioners were not obliged to vintage all at the ſame

ſame time, he could not make wine of his ſhare, ſince one parcel of grapes could not ſtay till the other was cut to be preſſed with them.

The grapes being brought in great tubs, either on mules or men's backs, to the place where the wine is to be made, they put them in a kind of grate over the kuve, and there tread them till they are all broken, and then they throw them, huſks, ſtalks, and all, into the kuve: and thus till all their whole crop of grapes are trod.

When all the maſs is in the kuve, they let it work there one, two, or three days, as they think fit to have their wine: the longer it works, and the more ſtalks are in it (for ſometimes they put them not all in) the rougher and deeper-coloured will the wine be, but keep the longer.

When it has wrought its time in the kuve, they put it into buts, and there let it work as long as it will, filling up the working veſſel every day with ſome of the ſame muſt kept on purpoſe, for it waſtes much in working.

Of the marc (which is huſks, ſtalks, and other ſediment, left at the bottom of the kuve when the muſt is taken out) they make a worſe and coarſe ſort of wine for the ſervants, and this they preſs as we do our apples, to make cyder.

The ſtones, after preſſing, ſome people cleanſe from the reſt of the marc, and ſell for food for pigeons: the ſtalks alſo cleanſed they uſe in making of verdigris. And in ſome places they take the remaining marc after preſſing, put it in great tubs, and cover it with water, keeping the marc down with weights, and of this they give to their horſes, which very much cools and refreſhes them there in the hot ſeaſon. This may give one reaſon to conſider, whether any ſuch uſe might be made of the marc of our apples, after making cyder.

When they have a mind to have their wine fine ſooner than ordinary, they put into the caſk a pretty good quantity of ſhavings of fir, and in ſome places of hazel, and with it they ſometimes put ſome whole white grapes.

A little bread or oil (they ſay ever ſo little, and therefore they are very careful in this point) mixed with the muſt,

muſt, turns the wine to vinegar; and ſo does thunder: but they ſay iron laid upon the veſſels will keep wine from ſouring by thunder.

The kuve is, in ſome places, a great veſſel made of wood (witneſs the great kuve that is yet to be ſeen at Marmouſtier, which, they ſay, will hold two hundred tun of wine) as our brewers veſſels for the working of their kuve is in England. But, at Montpelier, it is uſually a place made in the ground in ſome part of the houſe, proportionably big accordingly to the quantity they ordinarily make, and lined with plaſter of Paris, to keep it from leaking. In the kuve (which is made uſe of but once a year) as well as all other parts of their making wine, they are, according to their manner, ſufficiently naſty: the grapes often are alſo very rotten, and always full of ſpiders. Beſides that, I have been told by thoſe of the country, that they often put ſalt, dung, and other filthineſs, in their wine to help, as they think, its purging. But, without theſe additions, the very ſight of their treading and making their wine (walking without any ſcruple out of the grapes into the dirt, and out of the dirt into grapes they are treading) were enough to ſet one's ſtomach ever after againſt this ſort of liquor.

In ſome parts of Languedoc, out of the great roads, their wine is ſo cheap, that one may ordinarily buy three pints a penny.

It is uſual to ſet fig-trees, pear-trees, &c. up and down in their vineyards, and ſometimes I have ſeen olive-trees. Here at Montpelier, as in other parts of France, it is no diſcredit for any man to hang out a buſh at his door, and ſell his wine by retail, either to thoſe that fetch it out of doors, or will come and drink it at his houſe; for which they uſually, for that time, ſet apart a room or quarter of the houſe, and have a ſervant on purpoſe to attend it. This I have known both gentlemen and churchmen do. But whoever, in Languedoc, ſells his own wine at his houſe, muſt not afford his cuſtomers ſo much as a bit of bread, or any thing elſe, to eat with it; for then it will come under the notion of a cabaret, or common drinking-houſe, and their tax or

exciſe

exciſe overtake them. I mention Languedoc, becauſe in other parts of France they who ſell their own wine by retail, are not excuſed from paying the king a part of what they ſell it for. At Saumur, I remember I was told, they then ſold their wine (which is a very good ſort of white wine) at their buſhons, i. e. private houſes, for 18 deniers per pint, which is more than our quart; out of which 18d. the king had 10d. and the proprietor the remaining 8d.

OIL.

THE ſorts of olives, as well as grapes, are very various about Montpelier: the names of ſome of them are as followeth:

1. Grooſau, a large olive.
2. Pichulina, little.
3. Verdal, middle-ſized.

Theſe three ſorts are good to eat, and the laſt alſo is good for oil, and a great bearer.

4. Olivera.
5. Corneau.
6. Salierna.
7. Clarmonteſa.
8. Redonau.

} Good bearers.

9. Bootiliau.
10. Argentau.
11. Moorau.
12. Marſilieſa.
13. Pigau.

All theſe are little olives, and uſed only for oil: they plant them promiſcuouſly in their olive-yards, and mingle the olives in making oil. That which they principally regard in the plants is, that they be of the ſorts that are the beſt bearers, and if they have not enough of thoſe, they plant others, and inoculate them. The ſlips will grow, but they commonly uſe off-ſets from the roots.

Their time of planting is february, march, and april. Their olive-trees laſt to a great age; they ſay two hundred years. When the old ſtocks are faulty or decayed, they let up young off-ſets from the roots round about, and

and when they are grown up to any conſiderable bigneſs, cut away the old ſtock cloſe to the ground; and when the remaining young trees have not room to ſpread, becauſe of their neighbourhood, they tranſplant them, till they leave at laſt but one ſtanding.

They ſet their olive-trees ordinarily in quincunx, the rows at thirty or forty feet diſtance in their arable ground; for this hinders them not from ploughing and ſowing corn in the ſame ground.

They dig about their olive-trees every year, and about the ſame time they dig their vineyards, and ſometimes at others; and lay ſoil in the trenches they open about their roots; this is uſually done in march, and the ſoil they uſe is horſe-dung.

In pruning their olive-trees, which they do about the beginning of march, I obſerved them to cut off the top branches, I ſuppoſe to make them ſpread.

About the beginning of october they gather the olives, yet green, that they intend to pickle for eating (for about the end of october they turn black) and having carefully picked out thoſe that have worms, they ſoak the ſound ones, in the ſtrongeſt ley they can get, four, ſix, or eight hours, according as they deſign to eat them ſooner or later: the longer they ſoak in the ley, the more of their bitterneſs is taken way, but they will keep the leſs while. This ley they buy for this purpoſe at the ſoap-boilers. After they have been ſoaked in ley, they put them into water, which, for the three or four firſt days, they change two or three times a day, and afterwards once; in all a fortnight: this they do to take away the taſte of the ley. The ley and water they uſe both cold. When this is done, they put them into pickle of ſalt and water, and ſo keep them.

I have been told, that cutting each olive in two or three places to the ſtone, and ſo ſoaking them in fair water ſeven or eight days, changing it every day, will take away their bitterneſs, and prepare them well enough for the pickle: but they count the ley the better way.

They often pickle them alſo after they are turned black, cutting them in two or three places to the ſtone,

and then ſoaking them about a fortnight in water changed every day, and then boiling them in ſalt and water, which is the pickle they keep them in. Theſe have a much worſe taſte than the green, having no very pleaſant mixture of bitter and oily: but the good houſe-wives think they will go much farther (for they are oftener food than ſauce there) and ſo in their private families are commonly uſed.

They count their olives ripe enough for oil about St. Catharine's day, the 25th of november; and about that time they begin to gather them: though I have ſeen them let them hang on the trees, and not gathered till the latter end of january.

In the gathering there will be leaves and branches mixed with them; to ſeparate theſe they lay them down in a heap in a field, and a workman, taking up a few in a ſhovel, throws them into a winnowing ſheet ſet up at a good diſtance from him, whither the olives come alone, the leaves and branches falling by the way.

The manner of making oil is this;

They take four ſeptiés of olives a little heaped, and put them into a mill, which is drawn by a mule, where they grind them, as tanners grind bark, to a fine pulp, one ſtanding by as the mill goes round, and ſhovelling in a little of the olives or pulp towards the centre, and clearing a part of the ſtone at the bottom, where he ſtands with a ſhovel, which he doth ſo by degrees and in ſucceſſion, that I believe the mule goes round forty or fifty times for his once.

They being ſufficiently ground, they put them into a ſtone trough, two whereof ſtand between the mill and the preſs; out of theſe troughs they take the pulp, and put it into frails, and ſpread it in them equally, ſo that they may lay them plain one upon another. Of theſe frails there were, when I ſaw them preſs, twenty-four upon each pedeſtal; viz. in all forty-eight; in which were contained ten ſeptiés of olives. Sometimes they preſs twelve ſeptiés of olives at once, and then they uſe more frails proportionably.

The frails being filled with pulp, and placed evenly and upright upon the two pedeſtals in equal number, they

they ſet the preſs a-working, firſt lifting up the ſcrew end, and ſo the other end of the beam, ſinking upon the hinder pile of frails, and preſſing them, may make way for the putting in the wedges into the great mortiſe, and diſcharge the wedge in the little mortiſe, which, whilſt they were placing the frails upon the pedeſtals, ſupported the beam; which being taken out, they work the ſcrew the other way, and ſo bringing down the ſcrew end of the beam preſs both on the fore and hinder pile of frails; a man attending in the mean time at each pile of frails with a lever in his hand, which reſting in the groove or gutter where the oil runs, he thruſts againſt the ſide of the pile of frails, whenever he perceives it begin to ſwell out on any ſide, and thus keeps it upright from leaning any way whilſt it is preſſing, eſpecially at the beginning; another man in the mean time not ceaſing to turn the ſcrew till the great ſtone at the end of it be clear off from the ground.

When the oil ceaſes to run, or but in ſmall quantity, they lift up the ſcrew end of the beam, and then putting a wedge in the little mortiſe, bring down the ſcrew end of the beam again, and ſo lift up the great end that preſſed the frails, and ſo bringing the beam to a level (the whole weight whereof lies upon the wedge in the little mortiſe, which ſupports it in the middle) diſcharge it clear from the frails.

Then they take off all the frails, except the eight or ten lower, on each pedeſtal, and ſtirring the pulp in one of the frails taken off, replace it again upon thoſe that remained ſtill on the pedeſtal; and then one pours on it a bucket of ſcalding water; after which he ſtirs the pulp again, and lays it flat and equal as at firſt, and then ſtirs and puts on another frail as before, with a bucket of ſcalding water poured on it; and ſo they ſerve them all, till all the frails that were taken off are replaced on the two piles as at firſt; and then they ſet the preſs a-working again as long as any quantity will run; and then lifting up the beam again, take off all the frails, ſtir the pulp, and pour on freſh hot water upon every frail, a little bucket-full as at firſt, and then preſs as long as any thing will run, ſcrewing the ſtone up clear from the

ground, and letting it hang ſo a good while. When not one jot more of liquor will be preſſed from the frails, and they perfectly ceaſe running, they let down the ſtone, and that preſſing is done; and then one with a broad, but very ſhallow ſkimming-diſh of braſs, ſkims off the oil from the water, puts it into a braſs veſſel like a tumbler, but holding, as I gueſs, about three pints, and out of that pouring it into the veſſels of the owners by a braſs funnel.

When the oil is well ſkimmed off from the water, they pull out a ſtopple in the bottom of the ciſtern, and ſo let go the water, which runs into a great ciſtern called hell, which is locked up and out of ſight; into this hell all the water that hath ſerved in preſſing the oil, runs, and is made ſo, that though it be always full of this water, yet the water alone runs out, and the oil that ſwims on top ſtays behind, by which means all the oil that eſcaped the ſkimming-diſh is here caught: but this I ſuppoſe belongs to the maſter of the oil-preſs, for every body's water runs in here to the former oil and water.

N. B.

1°. That the mill which grinds the olives is much after the ſame faſhion with that which our tanners uſe to grind bark, only with ſome difference.

As, 1°, that in the centre of the oil-mill there ſtands up a round ſtone, very ſmooth and true wrought, about two feet Engliſh in diameter, and about the ſame height, which the inſide of the great grinding ſtone touches in its going round about it, ſo that no olives can eſcape the great ſtone towards the centre, nor get beſide it that way.

2°. That the floor of the mill, upon which the great turning ſtone bears in its turning round, is alſo of hard ſtone and ſmooth, and a little ſhelving, the declivity being towards the centre; to anſwer which, the edge of the turning ſtone which is to grind the olives, that it may bear in its whole breadth upon the ſtones in the floor, is not cut with a direct perpendicular to the ſides, but the line of the inſide of the ſaid grinding ſtone, and of the edge or circumference, make an angle ſomething

leſs

leſs than a right one, and on the outſide there is left no angle, but it is cut off with a round; by which means, I ſuppoſe the great grinding ſtone ſlides conſtantly towards and is kept cloſe to the round ſtone that ſtands fixed in the center, deſcribed N° 1°, upon which the perpendicular turning beam ſtands.

3°. So much of the floor or inſide of the mill as the grinding ſtone does not touch, or is a little without his breadth, is covered with boards lying more ſhelving than the ſtone-floor within it; on which board-floor the olives to be ground are at firſt laid, which are not thrown all at once under the grinding ſtone, but are by ſmall parcels ſhovelled down under the grinding ſtone by the man that attends the mill; every paſſing round of the ſtone a few; and here lies alſo the pulp which the ſtone works out in its grinding, which is alſo ſhovelled in its turn; for the floor of the mill, where the grinding ſtone bears on it, has always very little upon it, its great weight working it ſtill out towards the circumference of the floor, for the ſtone in the middle hinders it from going inwards.

4°. The grinding ſtone is about ſix feet diameter, and about eleven inches thick, and on the edge and inſide is wrought very ſmooth, and ſtands upright without leaning, that I could perceive; though, as I have ſaid, the edge be not ſquare to the ſides, which is recompenſed in the ſinking of the floor towards the centre. The ſtone whereof it is made ſeems to be very hard, and it need be hard and heavy to break olive-ſtones and grind them to powder.

II°. That the ſhovels which they uſe to ſhovel in the pulp under the grinder, and when it is fine enough to take it out, and put it in the ſtone troughs, and then into the frails, are more like bakers peels than ſhovels, and there is not any iron upon any of them.

III°. That there are between the mill and the preſs two great ſtone troughs to put the pulp in when ground; two pedeſtals and two ſtone ciſterns, into which the oil runs from the two pedeſtals by diſtinct paſſages, ſo that two people's oil may be preſſed at once, without the danger of mingling a drop.

IV°. The preſs is made thus: there are two pedeſtals about nineteen or twenty inches aſunder, which lie juſt under the great end of the great beam; that which I call a pedeſtal is a round plain ſtone about twenty-ſix inches diameter, round about which is cut a groove or little trench in the ſame ſtone nine or ten inches broad; from the groove of each pedeſtal there is made a diſtinct paſſage for the oil to run to the two ciſterns: upon theſe pedeſtals the frails are laid, and into theſe grooves or trenches the oil runs when preſſed out of the frails, and ſo is conveyed ſeparately to the two ciſterns.

V°. Behind the hindmoſt pedeſtal ſtand erect in the ground two great beams, well faſtened in the ground, as far on ſunder from each other as the breadth of the preſſing beam which is to paſs up and down between them. From the neareſt ſide of the neareſt pedeſtal to the middle of the thickneſs of theſe beams horizontally is about twenty-nine inches: in the middle of each of theſe beams, in reſpect of their thickneſs, is cut a mortiſe or ſlit quite through, about forty-four or forty-five inches long, and about five or ſix inches broad; the bottom of this mortiſe is about forty-four inches higher than the pedeſtal.

IV°. This which I call the great mortiſe, they fill with ſeveral pieces of wood reaching quite athwart from outſide to outſide, and more, of the two erect beams; theſe pieces of wood, or, as I call them, wedges, are as thick as juſt eaſily to go into the mortiſe, and ſomewhat broader; with theſe they fill up this mortiſe when this end of the preſſing beam is ſunk below the loweſt part of it, and thereby pin down the great end of the ſaid beam to keep it down upon the frails, when the other end is drawn down by the ſcrew; for by more or leſs of the wedges put into this mortiſe, they keep down the great end of the beam to the height that is fitteſt to preſs with.

VII°. The preſſing beam is thirty-eight pans, or about thirty-two feet long, and about thirty-four inches broad; and, to increaſe its weight and ſtrength, another great beam was faſtened to it all along with bands of iron.

VIII°. At

VIII°. At the little end is a ſcrew, whereof the very ſcrew (for it ſtanding upright I could not meaſure it) was, as I gueſs, about thirteen or fourteen feet; the ſquare of it, wherein the holes for the levers were cut, ſomething above a yard; and at the bottom was a great round ſtone, in which this lower end of the ſcrew is faſtened with iron-work, ſo as to have the liberty to turn. The ſcrew, when it is turned faſter than this end of the preſſing beam ſinks, lifts up this great ſtone from the ground, which is as broad, thick, and heavy as an ordinary mill-ſtone.

IX°. Between the ſcrew and the two erect beams placed behind the pedeſtals before deſcribed, ſtand two other beams, erect as the former, with a mortiſe in them long enough to hold only one wedge; this I call the little mortiſe, the top whereof is higher than the level of the higheſt frail, when they lay on moſt: upon this wedge the beam is to reſt, when they are laying in or taking out the frails. So that the length of the great beam is thus divided: behind the pinning wedges three pans, from the pinning to the ſupporting wedge twenty pans, from the ſupporting wedge to the ſcrew fifteen pans.

There is a piece of wood faſtened on to the great beam, croſs it, hanging over on each ſide, and placed juſt by the middle erect beams on the ſide towards the pedeſtals, to keep the great beam from ſliding towards the ſcrew.

X°. The ground where the great ſcrew-ſtone lies is much lower than the level of the pedeſtals, which affords alſo a convenience for the placing the two ciſterns, which are juſt under the great beam, and a little diſtance from the outmoſt pedeſtal.

XI°. The matter of the frails they uſe in preſſing, and the texture, is the ſame with the frails that bring raiſins to England; but the figure juſt the ſame with that of an hat-caſe, the crown being taken away: they are exactly all of a breadth, and ſcarce diſcernibly narrower than the pedeſtal; the hole to put in the pulp about one third of the breadth or diameter.

XII°. The

XII°. The oil that runs at firſt preſſing, before the mixture of water, they call virgin oil, which is better than the other; but they all ſay it will not keep, but ſpoil in a month or two, unleſs you put to it ſalt or ſugar, ſalt is the better of the two, and then it will keep ſix months: as much as you can hold in your two hands is enough to put into a ſeptié of oil.——A ſeptié is thirty-two pots, and their pot is more than our quart.

XIII°. They uſually, therefore, let the virgin and other oil, of the ſecond and third preſſing, mingle all together in the ciſtern, which being afterwards put up in jars, and kept in cool cellars, will keep good ſeven years: but the mingling of ſome of the hot water, after preſſing, with the virgin oil, will not preſerve it. So that it ſeems to be ſomething either in the ſkins or ſtones of the olives, that comes not out but by the mixture of hot water and hard preſſing, that ſerves to preſerve it.

XIV°. They begin to gather their olives, as I have ſaid, about St. Catharine's day, i. e. the 25th of november.

XV°. All confeſs that oil is better which is made of olives freſh gathered, than thoſe that have been kept a month or two: but ſome tell me they delay ſo long (for when I ſaw them making oil, it was almoſt the middle of february) becauſe olives that are kept yield the more oil; others ſay, the reaſon why they are not preſſed ſooner, is, becauſe every body's griſt cannot be ground at once, and they muſt ſtay till they can get a turn; and by keeping, they ſay alſo, they grind better, for the new gathered ſpirt away from the mill.

XVI°. After they have gathered their olives, they lay them in heaps in the corner of a cellar, or ſome ſuch other place, upon little faggots of dried vine branches (a good part of the fuel of the country) between the olives and the ground, where ſometimes a black water will run from them; this they call purging them. In theſe heaps they lie till they preſs them; none lie leſs than fifteen days; but, for the reaſons above-mentioned, they ſometimes lie two months.

XVII°. Though

XVII°. Though they begin to gather their olives about the end of november, as has been ſaid; yet they never ſet their mills on work till after Twelfth-day, or New-year's-day, at ſooneſt: the reaſon whereof is this: the maſter of the mill hires a great many men, for the time that oil is made, who keep the mill going day and night. Thoſe whoſe oil is making give theſe workmen meat and drink, whilſt they are employed about their olives; ſo that if the maſter ſhould entertain them before Chriſtmas, he muſt not only pay them for ſo many holidays, whilſt they ſtand ſtill, but maintain them too.

XVIII°. Four ſeptiés of olives uſually yield one ſeptić of oil; but I obſerved they were ſomewhat heaped.

XIX°. The goodneſs of the oil depends exceedingly on the property of the ſoil: this makes the oil of Aramont in Provence, not far from Avignon, the beſt in France.

XX°. When they are either filling the frails, or new ſtirring the pulp in them, there are two men at work at each pedeſtal, beſides a fifth, that takes the pulp out of the trough thereby, wherein it lies ready ground, and with a ſhovel puts it into the frails as they bring them; or elſe lades boiling water out of the furnace (which is alſo by, and the top of it level with the ground, with a trap-door over) and pours it into the frails as they are ready for it.

XXI°. When the oil is made, carried home, and has ſettled, they uſually take three-fourths of the upper part; this they call the flower, and put it into earthen pots for eating; the remainder, being thicker, is kept for lamps and ſuch other uſes: and the very thick ſediment they put in the ſun, to get as much oil out as they can.

XXII°. The pulp, that is left after all the preſſing and affuſion of boiling water, belongs to the maſter of the mill, who ſells it for a groat, or five-pence a mill-full, to others, who preſs it again, and make a coarſe oil for ſoap, and other ſuch uſes.

XXIII°. The

XXIII°. The remaining pulp the bakers uſe to throw a little of it into their ovens as they are heating, it making a very violent fire.

XXIV°. Oil they count one of the beſt and ſureſt commodities of their country. The ordinary rate of good oil at Montpelier is ſome years three, ſome four, and ſome years four livres and a half per quartal, i. e. one fourth of a ſeptié, or eight pots.

FRUIT.

PLUMS.

THE beſt plums are,

1. Perdrigon.
2. D'Apricot.
3. Diapré.
4. Ste. Catherine.
5. Vert & long.
6. Damar violett.
7. Roche corbon.
8. Mirabell.
9. Catalane.

Of theſe the beſt to dry is the roche corbon, a large red plum; and the next to that the Ste. Catherine, large and yellow; becauſe they are large and fleſhy: not but that they dry of the other ſorts too.

The way they take in drying them is this:

1°. They let them be ſo ripe, that they drop off from the tree of themſelves, which is beſt; or elſe fall with a little ſhaking.

2. When you have them thus ripe, the beſt way (though not always obſerved) is to put them two or three days in the hot ſun-ſhine, which will dry up gently ſome part of the ſuperfluous moiſture.

3°. When they have been thus a little dried in the ſun, you muſt heat the oven gently; one little bruſh faggot is enough the firſt time; and having placed them ſingly upon wicker driers about two feet broad, and four or five feet long (or of a round figure ſo large as will go into the oven's mouth) put them into the oven, and ſo let them dry there till the oven is cold; and then they muſt be taken out and turned, whilſt the oven is heating again. The oven may be thus heated twice a day, at eight in the morning, and at eight at night.

4°. The ſecond time the oven may be made a little hotter than the firſt; and thus the heating of the oven,

and

and turning the plums, be repeated till they are dry enough, which is when they are of a due conſiſtence and browniſh colour.

5°. When they are ſo far dried as to be capable of preſſing, the beſt way is to preſs them gently with the fingers, not into a flat, but round figure, for that way they keep beſt.

6°. The great care to be taken is in the firſt putting them into the oven, that the oven be not too hot; for if it be, it makes them crack their ſkins and run out, which makes them much worſe.

PEACHES.

After the ſame manner one dries peaches, with this difference, that after the firſt time they have been in the oven, one peels them with a knife, for the ſkin will eaſily ſtrip; and the ſtone then is to be taken out, and, if one will, a little peach thruſt into its place, which makes the other large and better. This alſo they often do in drying their plums, when they take out the ſtone of a great one, thruſt a little plum into the place of it.

PEARS.

Thus alſo pears are to be dried; but that the oven may be made a little hotter for pears than plums; they are to be ſtripped alſo after their firſt coming out of the oven.

The beſt pears to be dried, are the rouſelette de Champagne.

The pears in moſt eſteem amongſt them about Tours and Saumur (for this is the part of France where are the beſt pears, plums, peaches, and melons) are,

1. Moule bouche.
2. Virgoleuſe.
3. Martin ſec.
4. Double fleur.
5. Rouſelette.
6. Colmar.
7. St. Marſiac.
8. Vert & long.
9. Burée Blanche.
10. Rouſelette de Champagne.
11. La poire de citron.
12. La citron de carmes.
13. La poire de monſieur.
14. La verate.
15. L'amadote muſquée.
16. La muſcate d'Almagne.

The

The 10, 11, 12, 13, are their beſt ſummer pears.

The Virgoleuſe, Amadote muſquée,
Verate, Muſcate d'Almagne,

are their beſt winter pears.

In the recolets garden at Saumur there is abundance of good fruit, amongſt the reſt a ſort of pear, which they call

17. Poire ſans peau,

which is ripe at the ſame time cherries are. They told me it was a very good pear, and a great bearer. Before the middle of auguſt, when I was there, they were all gone.

They have in the ſame garden another pear, which they call

18. Poire de jaſmin.

which, as they ſay, hath ſomething of the flavour of jaſmin.

MELONS.

The melons of Langers (a town upon the Loire, ſix leagues above Saumur) are counted the beſt in France; and from hence the court is ſupplied with them. Here, and at Saumur (where they are loth to give any preference to the melons of Langers) they ſet them in the common earth of their gardens without dung, or any other art, but barely nipping the tops of the branches when the young melons are knit, to hinder the ſap from running too much into leaves and branches.

PRUNES.

The prunes we have from France are a great black plum, that grows about Montauban and thoſe parts: they dry them as much as they can in the ſun, and what wants to dry them perfectly, they make out by the heat of the oven.

Prunella's, or rather brignols, are a ſort of plums that grow in Provence, not far from Aix: they gather them thorough ripe, and having ſtripped off the ſkins, they ſtick them on ſcuers about ſix inches long, and very ſlender; they take care not to put them too cloſe to one another

another on theſe ſcuers. Theſe little ſpits, loaded thus with plums, they faſten one above another, either in a cane, or a rope of ſtraw like that we make for onions; and as we hang them up in our houſes to keep, ſo do they thoſe in the ſun to dry.

When they are a little hardened, or half dry, they take out the ſtones, and preſs them with their fingers into that flat figure we ſee them, wetting their fingers a little to hinder them from ſticking to them in handling: when this is done, they put them to dry again in the ſun till they are quite cured; ſome ſay on the ſcuers again, others on boards. Thoſe that grow at Brignol are the beſt, and hence they have their name.

They ſometimes dry them with their ſtones in, and ſo they are better, as ſome that have eaten of them have told me.

SILK.

THEY uſually put the eggs a hatching in the holy week, i. e. the week before Eaſter; but that which beſt regulates the time is the budding of the mulberry-trees, that, when the worms are hatched, they may have food.

To hatch them, they commonly wrap them up in a linen rag, and ſo wear them in ſome warm place about them night and day till they are hatched, which will be in about three days.

When they are hatched, they feed them with the leaves of the white mulberry-tree: the leaves of the young trees are beſt whilſt the worms are young; but when they are grown pretty big, and towards the latter end of their feeding, they muſt be fed with the leaves of old trees, elſe they will not be ſtrong to get up into the branches to work. The leaves of young trees given them in the beginning make the ſilk the finer: they take care alſo not to give them yellow or withered leaves; but to avoid the trouble of gathering freſh leaves every day, they will keep two or three days well enough in an earthen pot covered, or in a cellar.

They take great care alſo that no wet leaves or other moiſture come to them, for that will kill them; and in feeding them they throw away the tender deep coloured young leaves at the top of the branches, becauſe theſe, they ſay, will make the worms very big and yellow, and die alſo without working.

Whilſt they are young, they keep them up in ſome box or cheſt from the cold, which will kill them: they ſay alſo that thunder will kill them, if it happen when they begin to work.

They change their ſkins four times, from ten days to ten days, or thereabouts; this they call their ſickneſs; for about the time they change their ſkins they forbear to eat, and therefore they feed them but once a day; but at other times they give them freſh leaves oftener. At the time alſo of their ſickneſs they change them, taking away the cake of dry leaves and dung that was under them, by removing them with freſh leaves, which they will ſtick to: but after the fourth ſickneſs is over, they change them every day till they begin to work, which is about ten days after.

The woman of the houſe where I lay, put her eggs to hatch on good friday, april the 3d; they were hatched the monday following, and they began to work on tueſday, june the 2d: ſo that, allowing one day for every ſickneſs, it fell out pretty near according to their reckoning.

When the worms are ripe as they call it, they cull out the ripe ones, i. e. thoſe that are ready to work, from among thoſe that are feeding, and put them upon ſhelves, where they are to work. They know thoſe that are ripe by their clearneſs; for if you hold them up againſt the light with their bellies upwards, you will find them clear about the fore legs, ſome yellow, ſome white, according to the ſeveral colours of the ſilk they will ſpin; and by this clearneſs one may eaſily diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that are not yet ripe.

The ſhelves they put them on to work are thus ordered: they place deal ſhelves one over another, as if they were for books; they make them about thirty inches broad, and the diſtance between them is about twenty-two inches: betwixt theſe ſhelves they ſet rows of a ſmall bruſhy plant, ſomewhat like our heath, which reaching from one ſhelf to another are at the top turned partly one way, partly the other; ſo that the tops of the branches of theſe ſeveral rows or partitions reaching to one another touch, ſo that the whole length of each ſhelf is by theſe branches divided as it were into ſo many little caves, each of about nine or ten inches breadth; for the rows of branches that are ſet up to make theſe caves, which are as deep as the ſhelves are

broad

broad, are ſet at that diſtance. Into one of theſe caves they put the worms that are firſt ripe, which creeping up the branches find amongſt the little twigs places to work in. When one cave has as many of theſe ſpinners as it hath well room for, they fill the next, and ſo on.

They never give them any leaves of the red mulberry-tree when they are young, becauſe it being a ſtrong nouriſhment, will hurt them; but if one give them red mulberry-leaves towards the latter end, they will be the ſtronger, and mount the branches the better, which when they are weak they cannot do; and the ſilk of thoſe that thus eat red mulberry-leaves is as good as the other.

About a fortnight after they begin to work, they take the cocons (i. e. the pods of ſilk they have wrought) out of the branches; if you take them down too ſoon, they will not have done working, and if you ſtay too long, they will have eat their way out of the pods, and the ſilk will be ſpoiled. It is time to take them down out of the branches as ſoon as any of the papilions, i. e. the flies that come out of the pods, appear amongſt them.

As many of the cocons as they think neceſſary to keep for a breed for the next year they ſtrip off the looſe ſilk from, and then thread them; but paſs the needle warily through the ſide of the cocon, ſo as it may be ſure not to hurt the worm within. They count that a pound of cocons will yield an ounce of eggs. The cocons, thus threaded, they hang up or lay in a convenient room, that ſo the papilions may come out, and make love to one another, and then lay their eggs on white paper laid there on purpoſe.

From the remaining cocons they preſently either wind off the ſilk, or if they cannot do that (for it is not every body can do it) they either with the heat of the ſun, or oven, or hot water, kill the worms in the cocons, ſo that they may keep them without having them ſpoiled by the worm, till they can get their ſilk wound.

Eight pounds of cocons uſually yield one pound of ſilk.

The way of winding ſilk off from the cocons is a thing that cannot be taught without ſeeing; and there are but

few amongſt them that can do it well, it lying in a dexterity not eaſy to be learnt, as they ſay: they put the cocons in hot water, and ſo ſtirring them about with a kind of rod, the ends of the ſilk twires of the cocons ſtick to it, which they laying on upon a turning reel draw off from the cocons, which lie all the while in the hot water; but the great ſkill is to have ſuch a number of theſe ſingle twires of the cocons running at a time, as may make the thread of ſilk which they compoſe of a due bigneſs; for in turning (which they do apace) many of the twires of the cocons break, and ſo by degrees the ſilk thread, made of ſundry of theſe drawn together, grows too little, and then the woman that is winding ſtirs her rod or little beeſom again with her left hand amongſt the cocons, to get new ends of twires to add to the thread, which all this while keeps running. To know when to make this addition of new twires and in what quantity, ſo as to keep an even thread all along, is the great ſkill of theſe winders; for they do it by gueſs, and keep the reel turning and the thread running all the while; for ſhould they, as oft as is occaſion, ſtand ſtill to count the twires or conſider the thread, and how many new twires were fit to be added, it would be an endleſs labour, and they could never make wages.

The engines alſo that they uſe for twiſting this ſilk afterwards, are too curious to be deſcribed, but by a model. I have ſeen one, where one woman has turned a hundred and thirty-four ſpindles, and twiſted as many threads at a time; and I have ſeen another, wherein two women going in a wheel, like that of a crane, turned three hundred and ſixty.

Their mulberry-trees, where they ſtand near towns, yield them good profit; I have known the leaves of four white mulberry-trees (ſome whereof were not very large) ſold for a piſtole, i. e. between ſixteen and ſeventeen ſhillings ſterling.

THE WHOLE

HISTORY

OF

NAVIGATION

FROM ITS

ORIGINAL TO THIS TIME.

(1704.)

PREFIXED TO

CHURCHILL'S COLLECTION OF VOYAGES.

THE WHOLE

HISTORY

OF

NAVIGATION

FROM ITS

ORIGINAL TO THIS TIME.

OF all the inventions and improvements the wit and induſtry of man has diſcovered and brought to perfection, none ſeems to be ſo univerſally uſeful, profitable and neceſſary, as the art of navigation. There are thoſe that will not allow it to be called the invention of man, but rather the execution of the direction given by Almighty God, ſince the firſt veſſel we read of in the world, was the ark Noah built by the immediate command and appointment of the Almighty. But this is not a place to enter upon ſuch a controverſy, where ſome will aſk, why it ſhould be believed there were not ſhips before the flood as well as after, ſince doubtleſs thoſe firſt men extending their lives to eight or nine hundred years, were more capable of improving the world than we whoſe days are reduced to fourſcore years, and all beyond them only miſery or dotage? It is impertinent to ſpend time upon ſuch frivolous arguments, which only depend on opinion or fancy. If then we give any credit to hiſtory, on

which all our knowledge of what is paſt depends, we ſhall find that navigation had but a mean and obſcure original, that it was gradually and but very leiſurely improved, ſince in many ages it ſcarce ventured out of ſight of land; and that it did not receive its final perfection till theſe latter times, if we may be allowed to call that perfect which is ſtill doubtleſs capable of a further improvement: but I give it that epithet only, with regard to the infinite advancement it has received ſince its firſt appearance in the world.

The firſt veſſel ever known to have floated on the waters, was the ark made by God's appointment, in which Noah and his three ſons were ſaved from the univerſal deluge. But this ark, ſhip, or whatever elſe it may be called, had neither oars, ſails, maſts, yards, rudder, or any ſort of rigging whatſoever, being only guided by divine providence, and having no particular port, or coaſt to ſteer to, only to float upon the waters, till thoſe being dried up, it reſted on the mountains of Ararat, as we read in Gen. viii. 4. From this time till after the confuſion of tongues there was no uſe of navigation, there being as yet no ſufficient multitude to people the earth, and thoſe men there were, having undertaken to build the tower of Babel, from thence were diſperſed into all other parts of the known world. Theſe firſt travellers doubtleſs met with many rivers before they came to the ſea, as plainly appears by the ſituation of Babel, generally agreed upon by all that treat of ſcriptural geography; and thoſe rivers they paſſed in a hollowed piece of timber, no better than a trough, or a ſort of baſkets covered over with raw hides, being the eaſieſt that occurred to invention, and ſufficient for their preſent purpoſe, which was only to paſs on in their way to other parts, without the proſpect of trade or commerce, which cannot be ſuppoſed to have then entered into their thoughts. What veſſels they built when they came to the ſea no hiſtory deſcribes, and therefore it would be a raſhneſs to pretend to any knowledge of them. That they were ſmall, ill rigged, and only durſt creep along the ſhores, is out of all diſpute; if we conſider that many

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ſucceeding ages were no better furniſhed, though they never failed from time to time to correct the defects they found in their ſhipping, and induſtriouſly laboured to improve the art of navigation. Not to ſpeak therefore of what is abſolutely fabulous, or only ſuppoſitious, let us come to the firſt ſailors famed in hiſtory; and touching thoſe times lightly, deſcend to matters of more certainty and better authority.

If we give credit to poets and poetical writers, we ſhall find Neptune covering the Mediterranean ſea with his mighty fleets, as admiral under his father Saturn, ſuppoſed to be Noah, as Neptune is to be Japheth; and to him is aſcribed the firſt building of ſhips, with ſharp ſtems, or heads ſhod with iron or braſs, to run againſt other ſhips, and ſplit them, and with towers on them for men to fight when they came to lie board and board. Yet there are others that give the honour of inventing of ſhips, and ſteering them to Glaucus, affirming it was he that built and piloted the ſhip Argo in Jaſon's expedition againſt the tyrrhenians; which others attribute to Argos, making him the builder and pilot. Theſe notions, or rather poetical fictions, are rejected by the learned Bochartus in his Geographia Sacra, p. 819, 820. where he ſhows that the ſhip Argo ought properly to be called Arco, which in the phœnician tongue ſignifies long, a name given it becauſe it was the firſt long ſhip built by the greeks, who learned it of the phœnicians, and called it by their name, whereas all the veſſels uſed by them before that time were round. This ſhip Argo, or rather galley, he ſays had fifty oars, that is twenty five on each ſide, and therefore muſt be fifty cubits in length. Here it appears that the greeks had round veſſels before that time, and all that we can reaſonably conclude is, that this ſhip or galley Argo, or Arco, was larger, and perhaps better built and contrived than any before it, and might perform the longer voyage, which rendered it famous, as if it had been the firſt ſhip. But it is certain there were many fleets, ſuch as they were, before this time; for the argonauts expedition was about the year of the world 2801, which was after the flood 1144 years: whereas

whereas we find Semiramis built a fleet of two thouſand ſail on the coaſts of Cyprus, Syria, and Phœnicia, and had them tranſported on carriages and camels backs to the river Indus, where they fought and defeated the fleet of Staurobates king of India, conſiſting of four thouſand boats made of cane, as Diodorus Siculus writes. About the year of the world 2622, and 965 after the flood, Jupiter king of Crete, or Candia, with his fleet ſtole away Europa the daughter of Agenor king of the ſidonians. In 2700 of the world, and after the flood 1043, Perſeus went on the expedition by ſea againſt Meduſa in Afric. Now to return to the argonauts ſo much celebrated by the poets, upon the ſtricteſt examination into truth, we ſhall only find them inconſiderable coaſters in the Mediterranean, and ſet out by the public to ſuppreſs pirates, though fabulous Greece has extolled their expedition beyond all meaſure. Next follows the trojan war about the year of the world 2871, and 1214 after the flood, where we find a fleet of one thouſand one hundred and forty ſail of all ſorts, ſtill creeping along the ſhores, without daring to venture out of ſight of land,

Now leaving the Greeks it is fit we return to the phœnicians, who are the ſame the ſcripture calls the philiſtines or canaanites, as is largely proved by Bochartus, certainly the earlieſt and ableſt mariners in thoſe firſt ages: they made the greateſt diſcoveries of any nation, they planted colonies of their own in moſt of thoſe countries ſo diſcovered, and ſettled trade and commerce in the moſt diſtant regions. There can be no greater teſtimonies of their wealth and naval power than what we find in holy writ, Ezek. xxvii. where the prophet ſpeaking of Tyre, ſays it is ſituate at the entrance of the ſea, is a merchant for many iſles, its ſhip-boards are of fir-trees of Senir, their maſts of cedars, their oars of oak of Baſhan, their benches of ivory, their ſails of fine embroidered linen, and ſo goes on through moſt of the chapter, extolling its mariners, pilots, ſhips, all things belonging to them. This, though from the undeniable oracle of ſcripture, were no ſufficient proof of their knowledge in this art, were not

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all hiſtories full of their many expeditions. The firſt was on the coaſt of Afric, where they founded the moſt powerful city of Carthage, which ſo long contended with Rome for the ſovereignty of the world: thence they extended their dominions into Spain, and not ſo ſatisfied, coaſted it round, ſtill purſuing their diſcoveries along the coaſt of France, and even into this iſland of Great Britain, where they afterwards had a ſettled trade for tin, and ſuch other commodities as the country then afforded, as may be ſeen at large in Procopius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and many other ancient authors. Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 69. with others affirms, that in the flouriſhing times of the republic of Carthage, Hanno being ſent out from thence to diſcover ſouthward, ſailed quite round Afric into the Red-ſea, and returned the ſame way; and that Kimilco ſetting out at the ſame time northwards, ſailed as far as Thule or Iceland. Both theſe relations are in part rejected by moſt authors as fabulous, becauſe it does not appear that the utmoſt extent of Afric was ever known till the portugueſes in theſe latter times diſcovered it; and the very northern parts of Europe were not thoroughly diſcovered even in the time of the roman greatneſs. However, no doubt is to be made but that they ſailed very far both ways, and might perhaps add ſomething of their own invention, to gain the more reputation to their undertaking. Nor were they confined to the Mediterranean and weſtward ocean, it was they that conducted Solomon's fleets to Ophir; and we read in 1 Kings ix. 27. that Hiram (who was king of Tyre, and conſequently his men phœnicians) ſent in the navy his ſervants, ſhipmen that had knowledge of the ſea. And again, chap. x. ver. 11. And the navy alſo of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir. Thus we ſee the phœnicians traded to Ophir before king Solomon, and for him. To enter into the controverſy where this Ophir was, is not proper for this place, but the moſt probable opinions conclude it to be ſome part of the Eaſt-Indies, and indeed there is not the leaſt ſhow of reaſon to place it elſewhere. How they performed theſe long voyages without the help of the compaſs, or magnetical needle, would

would be another no leſs difficult inquiry, conſidering they could not always ſail by day, and lie by at night, or continually keep within ſight of land, whence tempeſts at leaſt would often drive them into the open ſea; but this is eaſily ſolved by all authors, who with one conſent inform us, that they were directed by the courſe of the ſun in the day, and by the ſtars at night. And in this knowledge of the heavens the phœnicians exceeded all other nations, as may be gathered from Pliny, lib. 5. c. 12, and 19. where he ſhows that mankind is obliged to the phœnicians for five things of the greateſt uſe, viz. letters, the knowledge of the ſtars, the art of navigation, military diſcipline, and the building of many towns. By this their knowledge of the ſtars, they recovered themſelves when loſt in foul weather, and knew how to ſhape their courſe acroſs ſpacious gulphs, and bays which would have ſpent them much time in coaſting round. However it muſt not hence be inferred that they were capable of traverſing the vaſt ocean betwixt Europe and America, as ſome would endeavour to make out; becauſe it is well known that voyage even with the help of the compaſs was at firſt thought impracticable, and when diſcovered, for ſome time proved very difficult and dangerous, till time and experience had made it more familiar. The very reaſon alleged for the poſſibility of their ſailing to the Weſt-Indies, which is the certainty of the trade-winds blowing always at eaſt within the tropics, makes againſt them, becauſe had thoſe winds carried them thither, the vaſt difficulty in returning the ſame way would deter them from that enterpriſe, they being altogether ignorant, and we may ſay incapable of coming away north, which was accidentally found out many years after the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies.

The greeks, though occaſionally mentioned before them, were the next in order to the phœnicians in maritime affairs, and learned the art of them. They not only equalled their maſters in this art, but ſoon excelled them, and gave them ſeveral notable overthrows on their own element; for we often find them, though

much inferiour in numbers, gaining glorious victories over the perſians, whoſe fleets were all managed by phœnicians. One inſtance or two may ſerve for all; the firſt is the famous battle of Salamis, where the confederate greeks, whoſe whole force conſiſted but of three hundred and eighty ſhips, defeated thirteen hundred of the perſians, with inconſiderable loſs to themſelves, and incredible to their enemies; as may be ſeen in Plutarch's lives of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, in Diod. Sic. lib. XI. Herod. lib. VII, and VIII. and others. Again the athenian fleet commanded by Cimon lorded it along the coaſts of Aſia, where cloſely purſuing the perſian admiral Titrauſtes, he obliged him to run his ſhips aground, of which he took two hundred, beſides all that periſhed on the ſhore. And not ſo ſatisfied, Cimon proceeded to Hydrope, where he deſtroyed ſeventy ſail, which were the peculiar ſquadron of the phœnicians; for which particulars ſee Thucydid. lib. I. cap. 11, and 12. Plutarch in vit. Cimon. and Diod. Sic. lib. XII. Theſe victories were the bane of Greece, which growing rich with the ſpoils of the perſians fell into thoſe vices it had before been a ſtranger to, and which broke that union which had preſerved it againſt the common enemy. Hence followed the war betwixt the athenians and lacedemonians, and ſeveral others, where thoſe little ſtates confederating one againſt another ſet out many numerous fleets, and ſtrove for the ſovereignty of the ſea, till having ſufficiently weakened themſelves they at length became a prey to others. Yet during their flouriſhing times, and even in adverſity, when driven from home by diſaſters, they never ceaſed ſending out colonies upon all the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and particularly of Aſia, Spain, France, Italy, and Sicily. In all which countries they ſo far extended their empire, that it would fill a volume to give but an indifferent account of them. Yet under Alexander the great, the founder of the grecian empire, there are ſome things ſo ſingular that they well deſerve a place here. That theſe latter ages may not boaſt of the invention of fireſhips, we find in Curtius, lib. IV. that

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at the ſiege of Tyre, when a mole was carrying on to join that city to the continent, the inhabitants having loaded a large ſhip heavily a-ſtern with ſand and ſtones, to the end the head might riſe above the water, and prepared it for their purpoſe with combuſtible matter, they drove it violently with ſails and oars againſt the mole, where they ſet fire to it, the ſeamen in it eſcaping in their boats. The mole being in a great meaſure made of wood, with wooden towers on it, was by this device utterly deſtroyed. Thus we ſee the tyrians ſucceſsfully invented the firſt fireſhip we read of in hiſtory. The next thing remarkable in this mighty conqueror's reign in relation to navigation, was his ſailing down the river Indus into the indian ocean, where we may by the by obſerve the wonderful ignorance, not only of his landmen, but even of the ſailors, who, as Curtius, lib. IX. teſtifies, were all aſtoniſhed and beſide themſelves at the ebbing and flowing of the river. From hence the ſame author tells us, Alexander ſent his admiral Nearchus to coaſt along the ocean as far as he could, and return to him with an account of what he ſhould diſcover. Nearchus accordingly keeping along the indian and perſian ſhores, and entering the Perſian Gulph, returned to him up the river Euphrates, which was then looked upon as a wonderful diſcovery, and a great maſterpiece of that admiral, for which he received a crown of gold from Alexander. Thus much we have concerning this expedition in Curtius quoted above, and in Plutarch in vit. Alex. Purchas in his firſt vol. p. 86, 87, 88. gives a very particular account day by day of this voyage of Nearchus, taken out of Arianus, lib. VIII. who delivers it as Nearchus's journal of the expedition.

Next to the phœnicians and greeks, the romans became ſovereigns of the ſea; yet not all at once, but after hard ſtruggling with the carthaginians, then in the height of their power, having by their naval force made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of Spain, and the coaſt of Afric, of many iſlands in the Mediterranean, and being intent upon the conqueſt of Sicily. This iſland furniſhed theſe mighty cities with an occaſion

ſion of trying their forces on pretence of protecting their allies, but in reality out of a deſire of ſovereignty. The romans were altogether unacquainted with naval affairs, inſomuch that they knew not how to build a galley, but that the carthaginians cruizing on the coaſt of Italy, as we find in Polybius, lib. I. one of their quinquereme galleys happened to fall into the hands of the romans, who by that model built an hundred of the ſame ſort, and twenty triremes. Whilſt the galleys were building, they exerciſed the ſeamen in rowing upon the dry ſhore, cauſing them to ſit in ranks as if they were aboard, with oars in their hands and an officer in the middle, who by ſigns inſtructed them how they ſhould all at once dip their oars and recover them out of the water. When the fleet was launched, finding the galleys not artificially built, but ſluggiſh and unweildy, they invented an engine to grapple faſt with the enemy at the firſt ſhock, that ſo they might come to handy-ſtrokes, at which they knew themſelves ſuperiour, and prevent being circumvented by the ſwiftneſs of the carthaginian galleys, and experience of their mariners. This engine they called corvus, it conſiſted of a large piece of timber ſet upright on the prow of of the veſſel, about which was a ſtage of ſeveral aſcents of boards well faſtened with iron, and at the end of it two maſſive irons ſharp pointed. The whole could be hoiſted or lowered by a pulley at the top of the upright timber. This engine they hoiſted to the top when the enemy drew near, and when they came to ſhock ſhip to ſhip, they let it run down amain into the enemy's veſſel, with which its own weight grappled it ſo faſt that there was no breaking looſe; and if the attack happened on the bow, the men went down two and two into the enemy's veſſel by the help of the aforementioned ſcaffold; all which may be ſeen more fully deſcribed in Polybius above quoted. By the help of theſe engines Duillius the roman admiral overthrew Hannibal the carthaginian, though ſuperiour to him in number of veſſels and experience in maritime affairs, taking his own ſeptireme and fifty other veſſels, with great ſlaughter of his men, though he himſelf eſcaped in his boat. This

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was in the year of Rome 493. In 497. M. Attilius Regulus, and L. Manlius Volſo conſuls, commanded another fleet, in which were above one hundred and forty thouſand men; the Carthaginians had then in their fleet one hundred and fifty thouſand men under the conduct of Hamilcar, who was intirely overthrown, fifty of his ſhips taken, and ſixty four ſunk. Thus far the ſea had proved favourable to the romans; but in the year of Rome 499. having ſet out a fleet of quinqueremes, they loſt one hundred and forty by ſtorms, which made them reſolve to lay aſide all naval enterprizes, keeping only ſeventy ſail of ſhips to ſerve as tranſports, till in the year 503, perceiving their affairs in Sicily decline, the Carthaginians being abſolute maſters at ſea, they again ſet out two hundred ſail, and the following year received a mighty overthrow with the loſs of ninety three galleys. Reſolving now to put an end to the war, they again fit out two hundred quinqueremes, built by the model of a Rhodian they had before taken, and with them gave the carthaginians ſuch a fatal overthrow, as reduced them to accept of a diſhonourable peace. This was the riſe of the roman power at ſea, which they after not only held, but increaſed as long as their empire ſubſiſted. Their actions are too many and too great for this place; thoſe that deſire to ſee more may read them in Livy, Plutarch, Appian, and many other authors who deliver them at large; thus much having been ſaid only to deduce the ſucceſſion of navigation from one people to another. Now though the Romans at this time gained the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and held it for ſome ages, yet we do not find that they applied themſelves to new diſcoveries, or ever exceeded the bounds of what the phœnicians had before made known, their greateſt voyage being that which Pliny, lib. VI. cap. 23. gives an account of, being from Egypt to India beforementioned, to have been frequently performed by the phœnicians, and therefore had nothing new in it. What occurs in this place is, to ſay ſomething of the ſeveral ſorts of galleys called triremes, quadriremes, quinqueremes, and ſo forth, whereof mention was made above. Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus agree, that

that Aminocles the Corinthian was the firſt that invented the trireme galley, about three hundred yéars after the deſtruction of Troy. Pliny will have it that Ariſtotle a carthaginian firſt built a quadrireme, and Neſichton of Salamis a quinquereme; but Diodorus contradicts it, attributing the invention of the quinqueremes to Dionyſius the ſicilian. Pliny further adds, that Zenagoras the ſyracuſan built the firſt veſſel of ſix ranks, Neſigiton one of ten; Alexander the great is reported to have proceeded to twelve; Philoſtephanus makes Ptolomy Soter the firſt that made one of fifteen ranks, Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus of thirty, Ptolomy Philadelphus of forty, and Ptolomy Philopator of fifty. Thus we have thé original of them all; but what ſort of veſſels theſe were, that is, how the ſeveral degrees or ranks of oars were diſpoſed, has been much controverted, and is a moſt difficult point to be determined. The ſhortneſs of this diſcourſe will not allow much canvaſſing of the point, yet a few words out of two or three learned authors will give ſome ſatisfaction to the curious. Moriſotus in his Orbis Maritimus, p. 608. poſitively affirms that each of theſe veſſels had its name from the number of ranks of oars placed one above another, ſo that the trireme had three, the quinquereme five ranks; and ſo every one according to its name, even till we come to Ptolomy Philopator's teſſeraconteres, which he aſſerts, had forty ranks of oars placed one over another, wherein he agrees with Baiſius, whom he quotes, as he does the emperor Leo, whoſe words are theſe; Every ſhip of war muſt be of its due length, having two ranks of oars, the one higher, and the other lower. This which to him ſeems concluding, to others appears of no force; for allowing there might be veſſels that had two ranks of oars one above another, that does not at all prove the poſſibility of having twenty or forty, which muſt of neceſſity riſe to ſuch a height as would look more like a mountain than a ſhip; and thoſe upper oars muſt be ſo long, and in proportion ſo large and unwieldy, that no ſtrength of hands could ever manage them. Others will have theſe ſeveral ranks of oars to be taken lengthways, and not in

height; that is, ſo many in the prow, ſo many in the midſhips, and ſo many in the poop; whence will follow that Ptolomy's galley had forty ſeveral ranks in length, with intervals betwixt them, in one line from ſtem to ſtern, which allowing but a ſmall number of oars to each of theſe ranks, will quite outrun the length aſſigned that veſſel, being two hundred and eighty cubits. This opinion is followed by Stewechius, Caſtilionius, and ſeveral others; but ſir Henry Savil is of another mind, and ſuppoſes theſe ranks not to lie in length from head to ſtern, nor in height one above another, but athwart; which muſt appear prepoſterous, becauſe allowing ſo many ranks this way, that is athwart the galley, its breadth would exceed all proportion. The fourth ſolution of this difficulty, and that very much received, is, that the veſſel had its name from ſo many men tugging at one oar, that is three in a trireme, five in a quinquereme, and ſo of the reſt; which indeed as far as ſix or ſeven men to an oar has the moſt reſemblance of truth; but when we come to forty or fifty men to an oar, it will be difficult either to reconcile either to the breadth of the veſſel, not to be ſuppoſed capable of eighty men in a rank, or to the height of the men, becauſe though the firſt man next the ſide of the galley had the oar under hand, yet the end of it when it came to the fortieth muſt of neceſſity riſe above his reach. Theſe two objections are again anſwered, the firſt by allowing each oar to reach quite athwart the galley, and ſo the forty men to fill up the whole breadth, rowing as they do in our wherries or barges; and the ſecond by allowing an aſcent from one ſide of the galley to the other for each ſeat or ſtanding of thoſe that rowed; and for the ſoldiers and ſailors, we muſt imagine a deck over the heads of the ſlaves at the oar. This carries much of reaſon, but little of ancient authority, for we find no ancient monuments that deſcribe any thing of this nature. We will conclude this matter with the opinion of Schefferus de militia navali, lib. II. cap. 2. where allowing a competent diſtance according to the length of the veſſel betwixt each bank of oars, he ſuppoſes the firſt row

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to be as in our galleys next the level of the water; then in the intervals another row, not diſtinguiſhed by a deck, but raiſed ſo high by their ſeat that their feet reſted againſt that which was the back of the bank below them, and ſo one above the other in thoſe intervals, which takes off much of the height, that muſt have been, allowing them ſeveral decks, and conſequently ſhortens the upper oars in proportion; yet cannot at all leſſen the difficulty that will occur upon plying ſo many oars, which will come to dip ſo cloſe together in the water, that it ſeems impracticable to avoid clattering of them, and falling into confuſion, not to mention many more inconveniencies obvious enough to every man's reaſon that has ſeen any veſſels of this nature: and therefore it is beſt to determine nothing amidſt ſuch uncertainties, but leave every one to approve that which ſhall beſt ſuit with his notion of the matter. Therefore leaving theſe obſcurities, it is better to proceed upon the hiſtory of navigation where we left off, and ſee in what ſtate it continued from the time of the romans laſt ſpoken of, till the fortunate diſcovery of the magnetical needle, from which time is to be dated its greateſt advancement, as will be viſible in that place.

As long as the roman empire continued in ſplendour, it ſupported what it had found of navigation, but added little or nothing to it, that people being altogether intent upon making new conqueſts, and finding ſtill more work than they were able to compaſs upon dry land, without venturing far out to ſea. But when the barbarous nations began to diſmember that monarchy, this art inſtead of improving, doubtleſs declined, as did all others. The firſt of theſe barbarians were the goths and vandals, of whom no great actions appear on the ſea, their fartheſt expeditions on this element being in the Mediterranean, betwixt Italy and Afric, Spain and the iſlands, where nothing occurs worth mentioning. The ſaracens were next to them as to order of time, though much ſuperiour in naval power, yet contained within the ſame bounds, and conſequently did nothing more memorable. After the ſaracens may be reckoned

the normans, who for ſeveral years infeſted the coaſts of Britain and France with their fleets from Norway, till having ſettled themſelves in Normandy, they ran out plundering all the coaſts of Spain, and entering the ſtreights conquered a great part of the kingdom of Naples, and the whole iſland of Sicily. Still theſe, though they undertook longer voyages, were but coaſters, and ſatisfied with what they found, did not endeavour to add any thing to the art of navigation, eſpecially for that they were as then but rude and barbarous, war and rapine being their only profeſſion. Other nations famous at ſea were the genoeſes and venetians, betwixt whom there were bloody wars for ſeveral years; and the latter, till the portugueſes diſcovered the way by ſea to the Eaſt-Indies, had all the trade of thoſe parts in their own hands, either brought up the Red ſea into Egypt, or by caravans to the ſea-port towns of Aſia. We might here mention the expeditions of engliſh, french, danes, dutch, and other nations, but ſhould find nothing new in them all. They all in their turns were powerful at ſea, they all ventured ſometimes far from home, either to rob, conquer, or trade, but all in the ſame manner creeping along the ſhores, without daring to venture far out to ſea, having no guides out of ſight of land but the ſtars which in cloudy nights muſt fail them. It is therefore time to leave theſe blind ſailors and come to the magnet or loadſtone, and to the compaſs or magnetical needle, which has opened ways in the unknown ocean, and made them as plain and eaſy in the blackeſt night as in the brighteſt day. To come then to the point.

The loadſtone, or magnet, ſo called from the latin word magnes, had this name given it becauſe found in the country of Magneſia, which is a part of Lydia in Aſia; or becauſe the magneſians firſt diſcovered its virtue of attracting iron: for both theſe reaſons are given by the learned Bochartus Geogr. Sacr. p. 717. What other virtues and qualities it has, does not belong to this place. But it is certain the magnet has two poles anſwering to the two poles of the world, and to which they naturally incline (if nothing obſtructs) to lie parallel. This property is not confined to itſelf,

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but communicative, as daily experience shows us in the nautical needles, which by the touch of this stone partake so much of its nature, that the point so touched, unless otherwise hindered, will always look towards the north-pole. Let the learned naturalist plunge himself into the inscrutable abyss of nature to find out reasons for this sympathy; it shall suffice here to show the benefits and advantages navigation, and in it mankind, has reaped by the discovery of this most wonderful secret. The magnesians, as was said above, were counted the first discoverers of the loadstone's virtue of attracting iron; but this greater virtue of pointing out the northpole, was never found till about the year 1300, if we will believe all the best modern inquirers into antiquity, who upon diligent search unanimously agree they cannot find the least ground to believe it was known before, rather than give credit to some few writers, who rather suppose such a thing to have been used by the phœnicians, than pretend to prove it, having nothing but their own fancies, raised upon weak and groundless surmises, to build upon. The great advocate I find for this opinion in Bochart. Geog. Sac. p. 716. and in Purchas's pilgrims, p. 26. is Fuller in his miscellanies, l. 4. c. 19. yet neither of them mentions any proof or strong argument he brings to corroborate his opinion, and therefore they both with reason reject him. These two authors, and Pancirol. lib. ii. tit. 11. do not forget the verse often urged out of Plautus in Mercat.

Hic secundus ventus nunc est, cape modo versoriam.

Which versoria some will have to be the compass. But there is nothing solid in this argument, it is only catching at straws, when all history and practice of former ages make against it. History, because it could not but have made some mention of a thing so universally useful and necessary; and practice, because it is well known no such voyages were then performed, as are now daily by the help of the compass. It has sufficiently been proved before, that in all former ages they

they were but coaſters, ſcarce daring to venture out of ſight of land; that if out at night they had no other rule to go by but the ſtars: and what is ſtill more, it is manifeſt they ſcarce ventured at all to ſea in the winter months. That this is ſo, appears by Vegetius, lib. IV. where ſpeaking of the months, he ſays, the ſeas are ſhut from the third of the ides of november to the ſixth of the ides of march, and from that time till the ides of may it is dangerous venturing to ſea. Thus much may ſuffice to ſhow the compaſs was not known to antiquity; let us ſee when it firſt appeared in the world.

Its ancient uſe being rejected by general conſent, there have ſtill been ſome who have endeavoured to rob the diſcoverer of this honour: among them Goropius, quoted by Moriſotus, will have this invention attributed to the cimbrians, teutonics or germans, for this weak reaſon, becauſe the names of the thirty two winds about it are teutonic, and uſed by almoſt all europeans. Others will not allow this to be the product of any part of europe, and therefore go as far as China for it, alleging that M. Paulus Venetus brought it from thence about the year 1260: but this is aſſerted without any the leaſt authority, only becauſe Paulus Venetus travelled into China, and when afterwards the portugueſes came thither, they found the uſe of the needle common among all thoſe eaſtern nations, which they affirmed they had enjoyed for many ages. Not to dwell upon groundleſs ſuppoſitions, the general conſent of the beſt authors on this ſubject is, that the magnetical needle or compaſs was firſt found out in Europe by one John Gioia, whom others call Flavio Gioia, of the city of Amalfi, on the coaſt of that part of the kingdom of Naples called Terra di Lavoro. This happened about the year of our Lord 1300, and though the thing be of ſuch ſtupendous advantage to the world, yet it did not prove ſo greatly profitable to the firſt finder, whoſe bare name is all that remains to poſterity, without the leaſt knowledge of his profeſſion, or after what manner he made this wonderful diſcovery. So wonderful that it ſeems to contradict the opinion of Solomon, who ſo

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many ages ſince ſaid there was nothing new under the ſun; whereas this certainly appears, though ſo long after him, to be altogether new, and never ſo much as thought of before, which cannot ſo plainly be made out of any other of thoſe we look upon as modern inventions or improvements. For to inſtance in a few things, we find the uſe of fire-ſhips among the tyrians in the time of Alexander the great, as was mentioned before out of Curtius, lib. IV. and therefore not repeated here. Our ſea charts, on which latter times have ſo much valued themſelves, are of ſuch ancient date, that we cannot find their original; yet Moriſotus, p. 12. ſays that Eolus gave Ulyſſes a ſea chart drawn on a ram's ſkin, that is, a parchment. Again, p. 14. the ſame author out of Trogus obſerves, that Democedes the cratonian, employed by Darius Hyſtaſpes to view the coaſts of Greece, ſent him charts of them all, with the ports, roads and ſtrong holds exactly marked down. Then, p. 215. he ſhows out of Ælianus and Ariſtophanes, that there were maps of the world in Socrates's time. This, he ſays, was about the eightieth Olympiad, and then quotes Strabo, who from Eratoſthenes affirms, Anaximander the mileſian was the firſt that made geographical tables about the fiftieth Olympiad. Sheathing of ſhips is a thing in appearance ſo abſolutely new, that ſcarce any will doubt to aſſert it altogether a modern invention; yet how vain this notion is, will ſoon appear in two inſtances. Leo Baptiſti Alberti in his book of architecture, lib. V. cap. 12. has theſe words. But Trajan's ſhip weighed out of the lake of Riccia at this time, while I was compiling this work, where it had lain ſunk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I obſerved that the pine and cypreſs of it had laſted moſt remarkably. On the outſide it was built with double planks, daubed over with greek pitch, caulked with linen rags, and over all a ſheet of lead faſtened on with little copper nails. Raphael Volaterranus in his geography ſays, this ſhip was weighed by the order of cardinal Proſpero Colonna. Here we have caulking and ſheathing together above ſixteen hundred years ago; for I ſuppoſe no man can

doubt that the ſheet of lead nailed over the outſide with copper nails was ſheathing, and that in great perfection, the copper nails being uſed rather than iron, which, when once ruſted in the water, with the working of the ſhip ſoon loſe their hold and drop out. The other inſtance we find in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. I. lib. IV. in captain Saris's voyage to the court of Japan, p. 371. where the captain giving an account of his voyage ſays, that rowing betwixt Firando and Fuccate, about eight or ten leagues on this ſide Xemina-ſeque, he found a great town where there lay in a dock a junck of eight or ten hundred tun burden, ſheathed all with iron. This was in the year 1613, about which time the engliſh came firſt acquainted with Japan; and it is evident, that nation had not learned the way of ſheathing of them, or the portugueſes, who were there before, but were themſelves ignorant of the art of ſheathing.

Now to return to the magnetical needle, or ſea-compaſs; its diſcoverer, as has been ſaid, appears to be Flavius, or John Gioia of Amalfi, and the time of its diſcovery about the year 1300. The reaſon of its tending to or pointing out the north, is what many natural philoſophers have in vain laboured to find; and all their ſtudy has brought them only to be ſenſible of the imperfection of human knowledge, which when plunged into the inquiry after the ſecrets of nature, finds no other way to come off but by calling them occult qualities, which is no other than owning our ignorance, and granting they are things altogether unknown to us. Yet theſe are not all the wonders of this magnetic virtue. The variation of it is another as inſcrutable a ſecret. This variation is when the needle does not point out the true pole, but inclines more or leſs either to the eaſt or weſt; and is not certain, but differs according to places, yet holding always the ſame in the ſame place, and is found by obſerving the ſun or ſtars. The cauſe of this variation ſome philoſophers aſcribe to magnetical mountains, ſome to the pole itſelf, ſome to the heavens, and ſome to a magnetical power even beyond the heavens; but theſe are

all

all blind gueſſes, and fond oſtentations of learning without any thing in them to convince one's reaſon. There is nothing of it certain but the variation itſelf. Nor is this variation alone, there is a variation of the variation, a ſubject to be handled by none but ſuch as have made it a peculiar ſtudy, and which deſerving a peculiar volume is daily expected from a moſt able pen. But let us leave theſe myſteries, and come to the hiſtorical part, as the principal ſcope of this diſcourſe; where we ſhall find, that though the uſe of the needle was ſo long ſince found out, yet either through its being kept private by ſome few perſons at firſt as a ſecret of great value, or through the dulneſs of ſailors, at firſt not comprehending this wonderful phenomenon; or through fear of venturing too far out of the known ſhores; or laſtly, out of a conceit that there could not be more habitable world to diſcover: whether for theſe, or any other cauſe, we do not find any conſiderable advantage made of this wonderful diſcovery for above an age after it: nay, what is more, it does not appear how the world received it, who firſt uſed it upon the ſea, and how it ſpread abroad into other parts. This is not a little ſtrange in a matter of ſuch conſequence, that the hiſtories of nations ſhould not mention when they received ſo great an advantage, or what benefit they found at firſt by it. But ſo it is; and therefore to ſhow the advancement of navigation ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to begin ſeveral years after it, before which nothing appears to be done. This ſhall be performed with all poſſible brevity, and by way of annals, containing a ſummary account of all diſcoveries from year to year: yet leſt the diſtance and variety of places ſhould too much diſtract the reader, if all lay intermixed, the european northern diſcoveries ſhall be firſt run through in their order of years; next to them, as next in order of time, ſhall follow the african, and ſo the eaſt-indian, or aſiatic, the one being the conſequence of the other; and in the laſt place ſhall appear the weſt-indian, or american. The firſt part of the northern european diſcoveries is all taken out of Hakluyt, beginning with the neareſt after the diſcovery of

the needle, quoting the authors out of him, and the page where they are to be found.

An. 1360. Nicholas de Linna, or of Linn, a friar of Oxford, who was an able aſtronomer, took a voyage with others into the moſt northern iſlands of the world; where leaving his company he travelled alone, and made draughts of all thoſe northern parts, which at his return he preſented to king Edward III. This friar made five voyages into thoſe parts; for this he quotes Gerardus Mercator, and Mr. John Dee, Hak. p. 122. And this, though it is not there mentioned, being ſixty years after the diſcovery of the compaſs, we may look upon as one of the firſt trials of this nature made upon the ſecurity of the magnetical direction in theſe northern ſeas. Yet after this for many years we find no other diſcovery attempted this way, but rather all ſuch enterpriſes ſeemed to be wholly laid aſide, till

An. 1553. and in the reign of king Edward VI. ſir Hugh Willoughby was ſent out with three ſhips to diſcover Cathay and other northern parts. He ſailed in may, and having ſpent much time about the northern iſlands ſubject to Denmark, where he found no commodity but dried fiſh and train oil, he was forced about the middle of ſeptember, after loſing the company of his other two ſhips, to put into a harbour in Lapland called Arzina, where they could find no inhabitants, but thinking to have wintered there were all frozen to death. However the Edward, which was the ſecond ſhip in this expedition, and commanded by Richard Chancellor, who was chief pilot for the voyage, having loſt ſir Hugh Willoughby, made its way for the port of Wardhouſe in Norway, where they had appointed to meet if parted by ſtorms. Chancellor ſtaid there ſeven days, and perceiving none of his company came to join him, proceeded on his voyage ſo fortunately, that within a few days he arrived in the bay of St. Nicholas on the coaſt of Muſcovy, where he was friendly received by the natives, being the firſt ſhip that ever came upon that coaſt. Chancellor himſelf went to the court of Moſco, where he ſettled a trade betwixt England and Muſcovy, with John Baſilowitz the great duke,

duke, or czar, then reigning. This done, Chancellor returned home with the honour of the firſt diſcoverer of Ruſſia.

An. 1556. Stephen Burrough was ſent out in a ſmall veſſel to diſcover the river Ob: he ſailed in april, and in may came upon the coaſt of Norway; whence continuing his voyage, in july he arrived at Nova Zembla, that is, the new land, where he received directions how to ſhape his courſe for the river Ob. He ſpent ſome time in ſearch of it, but coming to the ſtraits of Weygats found no paſſage, and the ſummer-ſeaſon being almoſt ſpent, returned to Colmogro in Muſcovy, where he wintered, deſigning to proſecute his voyage the next ſummer, but was countermanded, and ſo this was all the event of the expedition.

An. 1558. Anthony Jenkinſon ſailed for Muſcovy with four ſhips under his command: he left his ſhips, and travelled by land to Moſco, where having been nobly entertained by the czar, he obtained his paſs, and continued his journey through Muſcovy acroſs the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan, where ſhipping himſelf on the river Volga he ſailed down into the Caſpian ſea, having travelled by land about ſix hundred leagues in the czar's dominions from Moſco. On the Caſpian ſea he ſpent twenty ſeven days, after which landing, he proceeded five days journey by land among a ſort of wild tartars with a caravan of one thouſand camels; then twenty days more through a deſert, ſuffering much through hunger and thirſt. This brought him again to another part of the Caſpian ſea, where formerly the river Oxus fell into it, which now he ſays runs into another river not far from hence called Ardock, which runs toward the north and under ground above five hundred miles, after which it riſes again, and unburdens itſelf in the lake of Kitay. Hence he continued his diſcovery amidſt thoſe countries of tartars to Boghar in Bactria, whence he returned to Moſco.

An. 1561. He returned to Muſcovy with letters from queen Elizabeth to the czar; and taking the ſame way as before down to the Caſpian ſea, croſſed over it into Hircania, where being nobly entertained, and conducted by

by the princes of that country, he paſſed through to the court of the king of Perſia at Caſbin, where he obtained ſeveral privileges for the engliſh nation, and returned home in ſafety the ſame way he went.

An. 1580. Mr. Arthur Pet, and Mr. Charles Jackman ſailed in may from Harwich in two barks to make diſcoveries in the north-eaſt beyond Weygats. In june they doubled the north cape of Norway, and having ſpent ſome days in that part of Norway, continued their voyage into the bay of Petzora; where Jackman's veſſel being in no good ſailing condition he left Pet, who proceeded on to the coaſt of Nova Zembla, where in july he met with much ice, yet making his way through part of it, though with great difficulty, he at laſt came to the ſtraits of Weygats: there he drew as cloſe as the ſhoal water would permit, coming into two fathom and a half water, and ſending his boat to ſound till he found there was not water enough even for the boat in the ſtrait, and therefore returned the ſame way he came. A few days after Pet met with Jackman again in ſome diſtreſs, as not being able to ſteer, his ſhip's ſtern-poſt being broken, and the rudder hanging from the ſtern. Having remedied this the beſt they could for the preſent, they both ſtood northward to endeavour to find ſome paſſage that way; but meeting with much ice, they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and reſolved to turn again to Weygats, there to conſult what was farther to be done. All the way thither they met with ſuch quantities of ice, that ſome days they were not able to make any way. Being come again upon the Weygats, they made another attempt that way, but to as little purpoſe as before, the ice obſtructing their progreſs. Wherefore winter now coming on, they found it neceſſary to quit their deſign for the preſent. Accordingly Pet being parted from Jackman, arrived ſafe in the river of Thames about the end of december this ſame year: Jackman put into a port in Norway betwixt Tronden and Roſtock in october, where he wintered. In february following, he departed thence in company of a ſhip of the king of Denmark's towards Iceland, and was never more heard of. The

engliſh

engliſh having made theſe unſucceſsful attempts, gave them over for many years; and the dutch growing powerful at ſea, reſolved to try their fortune, hoping the failures of the engliſh might help to point out to them what courſe they were to avoid, and what to follow; and accordingly,

An. 1594. The ſtates fitted out three ſhips, commanded by William Barentz, Cornelius Corneliſſen and John Hugens: they all ſailed together, but Barentz ran further up to the northward than the others, till he came into ſeventy eight degrees of latitude, and in auguſt met with much ice and abundance of ſea-monſters, at which the ſeamen being diſcouraged they reſolved to return home. The other two ſhips diſcovered ſome iſlands, and at laſt a ſtrait or paſſage capable of the greateſt ſhips, and above five or ſix leagues in length: being paſſed it, they came into an open and warmer ſea, and upon the coaſt of Tartary near the river Ob or Oby, a very fruitful country. This they called the ſtrait of Naſſau, and might have gone further but for want of proviſions. This done, they came back the ſame way very joyful to Holland. Meteren hiſt. of the Low-countries, lib. XVIII. This we ſee poſitively delivered, but with how much of truth I dare not decide; only muſt think it ſtrange, that if ſuch a ſtrait had been once found it ſhould never be met with ſince, though often ſearched for, and once by the ſame perſons that pretended to have been the firſt diſcoverers, as may be ſeen in the year 1596, yet we ſee this aſſertion repeated by the ſame author, who takes it from the relations of the ſailors, and in the ſame place before quoted ſays, that

An. 1595. The ſtates being much encouraged by the relation of theſe diſcoverers, fitted out ſeven ſhips, ſix of them to proceed on their voyage to China, Japan, &c. this way, and the ſeventh to bring back the news of their being paſſed the ſtrait; but they met with too much ice at ſtrait Naſſau, coming to it too late by reaſon of the contrary winds they had in their paſſage thither: yet the inhabitants of the place told them many

particulars more than they knew before: but they returned re infecta. Meteren. ubi ſup.

An. 1596. The dutch not diſcouraged by the former diſappointment, fitted out two ſhips under the command of William Barentſen and John Corneliſſen, who ſailed on the eighteenth of may, and on the nineteenth of june found themſelves in the latitude of 80 degrees, and eleven minutes, where they found a country they ſuppoſed to be Greenland, with graſs, and beaſts grazing like deer, &c. and leſs cold and ice than in 76 degrees: they turned back to an iſland they had before called the Iſland of Bears, becauſe of the many bears they ſaw in it, and there parted company. Corneliſſen went up again into 80 degrees of latitude, thinking to find a paſſage eaſt of the land they had diſcovered, but returned home without doing any thing conſiderable. Barentſen made towards Nova Zembla, and coaſted along it till he met with an iſland which he called Orange, in 77 degrees of latitude; thence he ſteered ſouth and doubled a cape, but was ſtopped by ice, and making towards the land, on the laſt of auguſt, was ſo incloſed that there was no ſtirring. They landed and built a houſe with timber and planks, into which they put all their proviſions and goods, where they continued ſuffering much hardſhip all the winter. On the twenty ſecond of june they ſet out from thence in two boats they had repaired, leaving their ſhip among the ice, and an account in writing of their being there. Thus with much difficulty, they arrived at Cola in Lapland on the ſecond of octobcr 1597, where they found Corneliſſen, who had made a voyage to Holland in the mean while, and was returned thither. Barentſen died by the way, but the ſurvivors arrived in Holland on the twenty ninth of october. Meteren. lib. XIX.

An. 1676. Captain John Wood in his majeſty's ſhip the Speedwell, with the Proſperous Pink to attend him, ſailed from the buoy of the Nore to diſcover the north eaſt paſſage. June the fourth he anchored in the iſland of Shetland, and the tenth ſailed out again, directing his courſe north north eaſt, and north eaſt by eaſt,

eaſt, till the twenty ſecond, when at noon he ſaw ice right a head about a league from him, and ſailed cloſe to it, as they did the next day, entering into many openings which they perceived to be bays. Sometimes the weather proved foggy, and then they made little way; but as faſt as the fog fell, it froze on their ſails and rigging: they perceived the ice here joined to the land of Nova Zembla, and run out five leagues to ſea. They continued coaſting the ice to find a paſſage, till on the twenty ninth of june at near midnight the Proſperous Pink fired a gun and bore down upon the man of war, crying out, ice on the weather-bow; whereupon he clapped the helm hard a weather to come about, but before ſhe could be brought upon the other tack ſtruck upon a ledge of rocks that lay ſunk, the pink got clear, but the ſhip ſtuck faſt, and there being no getting her off, the men got all aſhore in their boats with what proviſion they could ſave, ſome arms and other neceſſaries; only two men were loſt with the pinnace. Here they ſet up a tent, and ſaw no other inhabitants but white bears. The following days the ſhip broke and much wreck drove aſhore, which was a great help to them, there being wood for firing, ſome meal, oil, brandy and beer. They killed a white bear and eat her, which they ſaid was very good meat. Thus they continued, contriving to build a deck to their long boat to carry off ſome of the men, and others to travel afoot towards the Weygats; till on the eighth of july to their great joy they diſcovered the pink, and making a fire for a ſignal, ſhe ſent her boat to help bring them off, and by noon they all got aboard. They preſently ſtood off to weſtward, and made the beſt of their way home, arriving on the twenty third of auguſt at the buoy of the Nore. Taken out of captain Wood's own journal.

Theſe are the principal diſcoveries attempted and performed at the north eaſt, which have proved unſucceſsful, as failing of the main deſign of finding a paſſage that way to the Eaſt-Indies.

Let us now leave the barren frozen north, where ſo many have miſerably periſhed, and yet ſo little been

diſcovered of what was intended; ice, ſhoals, rocks, darkneſs, and many other obſtacles having diſappointed the bold undertakings of ſo many daring ſailors, and for ſo many loſſes made us no return but the bare trade of Ruſſia, whilſt our intentions were levelled at that of the mighty kingdom of Cathay, and a paſſage to China, Japan, and all the other eaſtern regions. Let us, I ſay, quit theſe unfortunate attempts, and come now to ſpeak of thoſe ſo ſucceſsful, made towards the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, along the coaſt of Afric firſt, and then to thoſe of the more frequented, as more profitable Aſia. The firſt we find in this order, if the authority we have for it be good, is of an engliſhman, by name Macham, who

An. 1344. having ſtolen a woman, with whom he was in love, and intending to fly with her into Spain, was by a ſtorm caſt upon the iſland Madeira in 32 degrees of north-latitude. Going aſhore there with his miſtreſs to refreſh her after the toils of the ſea, the ſhip taking the opportunity of a favourable gale ſailed away, leaving them behind. The lady ſoon died for grief of being left in that deſolate iſland; and Macham with what companions he had, erected a little chapel and hermitage under the invocation of the name of Jeſus, to bury her. This done, they contrived a boat made of one ſingle tree, in which they got over to the coaſt of Afric, where they were taken by the moors, and preſented to their king for the rarity of the accident. He for the ſame reaſon ſent them to the king of Caſtile, where giving an account of what had befallen them, it moved many to venture out in ſearch of this iſland. This ſtory we find in Hakluyt, vol. II. part 2. p. 1. where he quotes Anthony Galvao a portugueſe author for it; and D. Antonio Manoel in his works among his epanaforas, has one on this particular ſubject, which he calls epanafora amoroſa. Upon this information, as was ſaid, ſeveral adventurers went out, but to no effect that we can hear of, till

An. 1348. John Betancourt a frenchman, obtained a grant of king John the ſecond of Caſtile, and went to conquer the Canary iſlands long before diſcovered, and made

made himſelf maſter of five of them, but could not ſubdue the two greateſt, as moſt populous and beſt defended. Theſe were afterwards ſubdued by king Ferdinand, as may be ſeen in Mariana, lib. XVI. p. 29. Theſe were ſmall beginnings, and out of regular courſe; next follow the gradual diſcoveries made by the portugueſes, which may be ſaid to have been the ground work of all the enſuing navigations, which happened in this manner. King John of Portugal enjoying peace at home after his wars with Caſtile, was perſuaded by his ſons to undertake the conqueſt of Ceuta on the african ſhore. Prince Henry his fifth ſon accompanied him in this expedition, and at his return home brought with him a ſtrong inclination to diſcover new ſeas and lands, and the more on account of the information he had received from ſeveral moors concerning the coaſts of Afric to the ſouthward, which were as yet unknown to europeans, who never pretended to venture beyond cape Nao, which had therefore this name given it, ſignifying in portugueſe No, to imply there was no ſailing further; and the reaſon was, becauſe the cape running far out into ſea, cauſed it to break and appear dangerous; and they as yet not daring to venture too far from land, were ignorant that by keeping off to ſea they ſhould avoid that danger. Prince Henry reſolving to overcome all difficulties, fitted out two ſmall veſſels,

An. 1417. Commanding them to coaſt along Afric, and doubling that cape to diſcover further towards the equinoctial. They ventured to run ſixty leagues beyond cape Nao, as far as cape Bojador, ſo called becauſe it ſtretches itſelf out almoſt forty leagues to the weſtward, which in ſpaniſh they call Bojar. Here finding the difficulty of paſſing further, greater than at cape Nao, for the ſame reaſon of the ſea's breaking upon the cape, they returned home ſatisfied with what they had done. The following year,

An. 1418. The prince ſent John Gonzalez Zarco and Triſtan Vaz, with orders to paſs that cape; but before they could come upon the coaſt of Afric they were carried away by a ſtorm, and not knowing where,

they accidentally fell in with an iſland, which they called Porto Santo, or Holy Haven, becauſe of their deliverance there after the ſtorm. It is a ſmall iſland a little to the northward of the Madera: thither the prince, being informed of what had happened, ſent Bartholomew Pereſtrello with ſeeds to ſow, and cattle to ſtock the place; but one couple of rabbits put in among the reſt, increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that all corn and plants being deſtroyed by them, it was found neceſſary to unpeople the iſland.

An. 1419. John Gonzalez and Triſtan Vaz making another voyage by order of the prince, diſcovered the iſland Madera, before mentioned to have been accidentally found by Macham the engliſhman, and loſt again till this time. The reaſon of calling it Madera was, becauſe they found it all over-grown with trees, this word in portugueſe ſignifying wood. They ſet fire to the woods to clear them, which are ſaid to have burnt ſeven years continually, and ſince the greateſt want is of wood. The following years were employed in peopling and furniſhing the iſlands diſcovered, till

An. 1434. Gilianez was ſent by the prince to paſs that dreadful cape Bojador, though at the ſame time many blamed the attempt, imagining, that in caſe they ſhould happen to paſs much farther on thoſe coaſts, all that did it would turn black; others ſaying there was nothing there but deſerts, like thoſe of Lybia; and others alleging other abſurdities of this nature, ſuitable to the ignorance the world was then in of all parts yet undiſcovered. Gilianez was ſatisfied with ſailing 30 leagues beyond the cape, giving name there to the bay called Angra de Ruyvas, or Bay of Gurnets, becauſe he there found many of that ſort of fiſh. The next year,

An. 1435. The ſame commanders paſſed twelve leagues further, where they alſo landed, but the people fled from them: whereupon they proceeded twelve leagues further, where they found a vaſt multitude of ſea-wolves, of which they killed many, and returned

home.

home with their ſkins, which was the greateſt return made this voyage, they being valued for their rarity.

An. 1440. Antony Gonzalez was ſent to the place of the ſea-wolves to load his veſſel with their ſkins. He landed, took ſome of the natives, and killed others; then coaſted on as far as Cabo Blanco, or White Cape, and returned to Portugal.

An. 1442. Antony Gonzalez returned and carrying theſe perſons he had taken in his former voyage, exchanged them for ſome Guinea ſlaves and a quantity of gold duſt; for which reaſon the river that there runs into the country was called Rio del Ora, or the River of Gold.

An. 1443. The gold above-mentioned ſharpening mens appetites, Nunho Triſtan undertook the voyage, and paſſing further than the others, diſcovered one of the iſlands of Arguim, called Adeget, and another De las Garzas, or of the Herons, becauſe they ſaw many herons in it.

An. 1444. A ſmall company was erected, paying an acknowledgment to the prince, to trade to thoſe parts lately diſcovered, whither they ſent ſix caravels; which coming to the iſles of Arguim took there about two hundred ſlaves, which yielded them good profit in Portugal.

An. 1445. Gonzalo de Cintra ſailed to the iſland of Arguim, and venturing up a creek in the night to ſurprize the inhabitants, the tide left his boat aſhore; ſo that two hundred moors coming down upon him, he was killed with ſeven of his men, and from him the place was called Angra de Gonzalo de Cintra, fourteen leagues beyond Rio del Oro.

An. 1446. The caravels ſailed for the ſame river to ſettle commerce, but effected nothing, and only brought away one of the natives, and left a portugueſe there to view the country. But Dinis Fernandez the ſame year paſſed beyond the river Sanaga, which divides the Azanagi from Jalof, and diſcovered the famous cape called Cabo Verde, or the Green Cape.

An. 1447. Three caravels performed the ſame voyage without doing any thing remarkable, more than

taking up the portugueſe left there before, whom they found in good health, and he gave them ſome account of the country. This year likewiſe Nunho Triſtan ſailed ſixty leagues beyond Cabo Verde, and anchoring at the mouth of Rio Grande, or the great river, ventured up in his boat, where he and moſt of his men were killed by the blacks with their poiſoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez the ſame year went forty leagues beyond Rio Grande. Prince Henry the great encourager, or rather undertaker in all theſe diſcoveries, dying, they were afterwards managed by his nephew Alonſo the fifth king of Portugal. Under him,

An. 1449. Gonſalo Vello diſcovered the iſlands called Azores, or of Hawks, becauſe many of thoſe birds were ſeen about them. They are eight in number, viz. S. Michael, S. Mary, Jeſus or Tercera, Gracioſa, Pico, Fayal, Flores and Corvo. They are near about the latitude of Liſbon. In the laſt of them was found the ſtatue of a man on horſe-back with a cloak, but no hat, his left-hand on the horſe's mane, the right pointing to the weſt, and ſome characters carved on the rock under it, but not underſtood.

An. 1460. Antony Nole a genoeſe in the portugueſe ſervice, diſcovered the iſlands of Cabo Verde, the names whereof are Fogo, Brava, Boaviſta, Sal, S. Nicholáo, S. Lucia, S. Vincente, and S. Antonio. They lie about a hundred leagues weſt of Cabo Verde, and therefore take name from that cape. He alſo found the iſlands Maya, S. Philip, and S. Jacob. This ſame year Peter de Cintra, and Suero de Coſta ſailed as far as Serra Leona.

An. 1471. John de Santarem and Peter de Eſcobar advanced as far as the place they called Mina, or the Mine, becauſe of the trade of gold there; and then proceeded to cape S. Catharine, thirty ſeven leagues beyond cape Lope Gonzalez in two degrees and a half of ſouth latitude. Ferdinand Po the ſame year found the iſland by him called Hermoſa, or Beautiful, which name it loſt, and ſtill keeps that of the diſcoverer. At the ſame time were found the iſlands of S. Thomas, Anno Bom, and Principe. Some years paſſed without

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going beyond what was known; but in the mean time king John the ſecond, who ſucceeded his father Alonſo, cauſed a fort to be built at Mina, which he called fort S. George, and ſettled a trade there.

An. 1480. James Cam proceeded as far as the river Congo in the kingdom of the ſame name, called by the natives Zayre, whence he continued his voyage as far as 22 degrees of ſouth-latitude, and thence home again.

An. 1486. King John being informed by an embaſſador from the king of Benin on the coaſt of Afric, that there was a mighty prince two hundred and fifty leagues from his country, from whom his maſter received his confirmation in his throne; and imagining this to be the ſo much talked of Preſter John, he ſent Peter de Covillam and Alonſo de Payva by land to get intelligence of this great potentate, and ſome account of India. They went together by the way of Grand Cair to Tor on the coaſt of Arabia, where they parted, Covillam for India, and Payva for Ethiopia, agreeing to meet by a certain time at Grand Cair: the firſt went to Cananor, Calicut and Goa, paſſed thence to Zofala in Afric, then to Aden at the mouth of the Red-ſea on the ſide of Arabia, and at laſt to Grand Cair, where he found his companion had died. Hence he ſent an account to the king of his proceedings by a jew come from Portugal, and with another embarked for Ormuz, then went over into Ethiopia, where he was kindly entertained, but never ſuffered to return home. At the ſame time theſe were ſent away by land, Bartholomew Diaz put to ſea with three ſhips, and out-going all that had been before him a hundred and twenty leagues, diſcovered the mountains he called Sierra Parda, and paſſed on in ſight of the bay called De los Vaqueros, or of the Herdſmen, becauſe of the great herds of cattle they ſaw there; beyond which he touched at the ſmall iſland Santa Cruz, entered the mouth of the river called Del Infante, and at laſt came to the now famous, and till then unknown cape, which he called Tormentoſo, becauſe he there met with ſtorms; but the king, in hopes of diſcovering the Eaſt-Indies,

changed its name to that of Cabo de Buena Eſperanza, or cape of Good Hope: this done he returned home, having diſcovered more than any man before him. The ſtrange conceit which poſſeſſed the heads of the ſailors, that there was no poſſibility of paſſing beyond Cabo Tormentoſo, as they called it, and the great employment the kings of Portugal found in their great diſcoveries upon the coaſt of Afric, very much retarded the proſecution of further deſigns, ſo that nothing was advanced till

An. 1497. King Emanuel, who with the crown of Portugal had inherited the ambition of enlarging his dominions, and the deſire of finding a way by ſea to the Eaſt-Indies, appointed Vaſco de Gama, a gentleman of an undaunted ſpirit, admiral of thoſe ſhips he deſigned for this expedition, which were only three, and a tender; their names were the S. Gabriel, the S. Raphael and Berrio; the captains Vaſco de Gama admiral, Paul de Gama his brother, and Nicholas Nunez, and Gonzalo Nunez of the tender, which was laden with proviſions. Gama ſailed from Liſbon on the eighth of july, and the firſt land he came to after almoſt five months ſail was the bay of S. Helena, where he took ſome blacks. The twentieth of november he ſailed thence, and doubled the cape of Good Hope, and on the twenty fifth touched at the bay of S. Blas, ſixty leagues beyond the aforeſaid cape, where he exchanged ſome merchandize with the natives. Here he took all the proviſions out of the tender, and burnt it. On Chriſtmas-day they ſaw the land; which for that reaſon they called Terra do Natol, that is Chriſtmas-land; then the river they named De los Reyes, that is of the kings, becauſe diſcovered on the feaſt of the epiphany; and after that cape Corrientes, paſſing fifty leagues beyond Zofala without ſeeing it, where they went up a river in which were boats with ſails made of palm-tree leaves: the people were not ſo black as thoſe they had ſeen before, and underſtood the arabic character, who ſaid that to the eaſtward lived people who ſailed in veſſels like thoſe of the portugueſes. This river Gama called De Bons Sinays,

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or of good tokens, becauſe it put him in hopes of finding what he came in ſearch of. Sailing hence, he again came to an anchor among the iſlands of S. George oppoſite to Mozambique, and removing thence anchored again above the town of Mozambique, in 14 degrees and a half of ſouth latitude; whence after a ſhort ſtay, with the aſſiſtance of a mooriſh pilot, he touched at Quiloa and Monbaza; and having at Melinde ſettled a peace with the mooriſh king of that place, and taking in a guzarat pilot, he ſet ſail for India, and croſſing that great gulph of ſeven hundred leagues in twenty days, anchored two leagues below Calicut on the twentieth of may. To this place had Gama diſcovered twelve hundred leagues beyond what was known before, drawing a ſtraight line from the river Del Infante, diſcovered by Bartholomew Diaz, to the port of Calicut, for in ſailing about by the coaſt it is much more. Returning home not far from the coaſt, he fell in with the iſlands of Anchediva, ſignifying in the indian language five iſlands, becauſe they are ſo many; and having had ſight of Goa at a diſtance, ſailed over again to the coaſt of Afric, and anchored near the town of Magadoxa. At Melinde he was friendly received by the king, but being again under ſail, the ſhip S. Raphael ſtruck aſhore and was loſt, giving her name to thoſe ſands: all the men were ſaved aboard the other two ſhips, which parted in a ſtorm near Cabo Verde. Nicholas Coello arrived firſt at Liſbon, and ſoon after him Vaſco de Gama, having ſpent in this voyage two years and almoſt two months. Of a hundred and ſixty men he carried out, only fifty five returned home, who were all well rewarded.

An. 1500. King Emanuel, encouraged by the ſucceſs of Vaſco de Gama, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſail under the command of Peter Alvarez Cabral, and in it twelve hundred men, to gain footing in India. He ſailed on the eighth of march, and meeting with violent ſtorms was caſt off from the coaſt of Afric ſo far, that on eaſter eve the fleet came into a port, which for the ſafety found in it was called Seguro, and the country at that time Santa Cruz, being the ſame now known by the name of Brazil, on the ſouth continent of America. Hence the admiral ſent back a ſhip to advertiſe

the king of the accidental new diſcovery, leaving two portugueſes aſhore to inquire into the cuſtoms and product of the land. Sailing thence on the twelfth of may for the cape of Good Hope, the fleet was for twenty days in a moſt dreadful ſtorm, inſomuch, that the ſea ſwallowed up four ſhips, and the admiral arrived with only ſix at Zofala on the ſixteenth of july, and on the twentieth at Mozambique; where having refitted, he proſecuted his voyage to Quiloa, and thence to Melinde, whence the fleet ſtood over for India, and reached Anchediva on the twenty fourth of auguſt: then coming to Calicut, peace and commerce was there agreed on with Zamori, the king of Calicut, but as ſoon broken, and the portugueſes entered into ſtrict amity with the kings of Cochin and Cananor, where they took in their lading and returned to Portugal.

An. 1501. John de Nova departed from Liſbon with four ſhips and four hundred men, and in his way diſcovered the iſland of Conception, in 8 degrees of ſouth latitude, and on the eaſt ſide of Afric that which from him was called the iſland of John de Nova. At Cananor and Cochin he took in all his lading, deſtroying many veſſels of Calicut, and in his return home found the iſland of St. Helena in 15 degrees of ſouth latitude, diſtant fifteen hundred forty nine leagues from Goa, and eleven hundred from Liſbon, being then unpeopled, but ſince of great advantage to all that uſe the trade of India.

An. 1502. The king ſet out a fleet of twenty ſail commanded by the firſt diſcoverer of India, Vaſco de Gama, whoſe ſecond voyage this was. No new diſcoveries were made by him, but only trade ſecured at Cochin and Cananor, ſeveral ſhips of Calicut taken and deſtroyed, the king of Quiloa on the coaſt of Afric brought to ſubmit himſelf to Portugal, paying tribute; and ſo Vaſco de Gama returned home with nine ſhips richly laden, leaving Vincent Sodre behind with five ſhips to ſcour the coaſts of India, and ſecure the factories there.

An. 1503. Nine ſhips were ſent under three ſeveral commanders, Alfonſo de Albuquerque, Francis de Albuquerque,

buquerque, and Antony de Saldanha, each of them having three ſhips. The Albuquerques, with permiſſion of that king, built a port at Cochin, burnt ſome towns, took many ſhips of Calicut, and then returned richly laden homewards, where Alfonſo arrived ſafe with his ſhips, but Francis and his were never more heard of. Saldanha the third of theſe commanders, gave his name to a bay ſhort of the cape of Good Hope, where he endeavoured to water; but it coſt the blood of ſome of his men, and therefore the place was called Aguada de Saldanha, or Saldanha's watering-place. Thence proceeding on his voyage, he obliged the king of Monbaza on the other coaſt of Afric to accept of peace; and then went away to cruize upon the moors at the mouth of the Red-ſea, which was the poſt appointed him.

An. 1504. Finding no good was to be done in India without a conſiderable force, king Emanuel fitted out thirteen ſhips, the biggeſt that had been yet built in Portugal, and in them twelve hundred men, all under the command of Lope Soarez, who made no further diſcoveries, only concluded a peace with Zamori, and returned rich home.

An. 1505. D. Franciſco de Almeyda was ſent to India, with the title of viceroy, carrying with him twenty two ſhips, and in them fifteen hundred men, with whom he attacked and took the town of Quiloa on the eaſt coaſt of Afric, and in about 9 degrees of ſouth latitude, where he built a fort; then burnt Monbaza on the ſame coaſt in four degrees, and ſailing over to India erected another fort in the iſland Anchediva, and a third at Cananor on the Malabar coaſt.

An. 1506. James Fernandez Pereyra commander of one of the ſhips left to cruize upon the mouth of the Red-ſea, returned to Liſbon with the news of his having diſcovered the iſland Zocotora, not far diſtant from the ſaid mouth, and famous for producing the beſt aloes, from it called ſuccotrina. In march this year ſailed from Liſbon Alonſo de Albuquerque, and Triſtan da Cunha, with thirteen ſhips, and thirteen hundred men, the former to command the trading ſhips, the

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latter to cruize on the coaſt of Arabia: in their paſſage they had a ſight of cape S. Auguſtin in Braſil; and ſtanding over from thence for the cape of Good Hope, Triſtan da Cunha ran far away to the ſouth, and diſcovered the iſlands which ſtill retain his name. Sailing hence, ſome diſcovery was made upon the iſland of Madagaſcar, that of Zocotora ſubdued, and the fleet ſailed part for the coaſt of Arabia, and part for India. In the former Albuquerque took and plundered the town of Calayate, the ſame he did to Maſcate, Soar ſubmitted, and Orfuzam they found abandoned by the inhabitants. This done, Albuquerque ſailed away to Ormuz, then firſt ſeen by europeans. This city is ſeated in an iſland called Gerum, at the mouth of the Perſian gulph, ſo barren that it produces nothing but ſalt and ſulphur, but it is one of the greateſt marts in thoſe countries. Hence Albuquerque ſailed to India, where he ſerved ſome time under the command of the viceroy Almeyda, till he was himſelf made governor of the portugueſe conqueſts in thoſe parts, which was in the year 1510, during which time the whole buſineſs was to ſettle trade, build forts, and erect factories along thoſe coaſts already known, that is all the eaſt-ſide of Afric, the ſhores of Arabia, Perſia, Guzarat, Cambaya, Decan, Canara and Malabar; and indeed they had employment enough, if well followed, to have held them many more years. But avarice and ambition know no bounds; the portugueſes had not yet paſſed cape Comori, the utmoſt extent of the Malabar coaſt, and therefore

An. 1510. James Lopes de Sequeira was ſent from Liſbon with orders to paſs as far as Malaca: this is a city ſeated on that peninſula, formerly called Aurea Cherſoneſus, running out into the indian ſea from the main land, to which it is joined by a narrow neck of land on the north, and on the ſouth ſeparated from the iſland of Sumatra by a ſmall ſtrait or channel: Malaca was at that time the greateſt emporium of all the farther India. Thither Sequeira was ſent to ſettle trade, or rather to diſcover what advantages might be gained; but the moors who watched to deſtroy him, having

having failed of their deſign to murder him at an entertainment, contrived to get thirty of his men aſhore on pretence of loading ſpice, and then falling on them and the ſhips at the ſame time killed eight portugueſes, took ſixty, and the ſhips with difficulty got away. However here we have Malaca diſcovered, and a way open to all the further parts of India. In his way to Malaca, Sequeira made peace with the kings of Achem, Pedir and Pacem, all at that time ſmall princes at the northweſt end of the iſland Sumatra. Whilſt Sequeira was thus employed, Albuquerque aſſaults the famous city of Goa, ſeated in a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of Decan, and taking the inhabitants unprovided made himſelf maſter of it, but enjoyed it not long; for Hidalcan the former owner returning with ſixty thouſand men, drove him out of it after a ſiege of twenty days: yet the next year he again took it by force, and it has ever ſince continued in the hands of the portugueſes, and been the metropolis of all their dominions in the eaſt, being made an archbiſhop's ſee, and the reſidence of the viceroy who has the government of all the conqueſts in thoſe parts. Albuquerque fluſhed with this ſucceſs, as ſoon as he had ſettled all ſafe at Goa, ſailed for Malaca with fourteen hundred fighting men in nineteen ſhips. By the way he took five ſhips, and at his arrival at the coaſt of Sumatra was complimented by the kings of Pedir and Pacem. It is not unworthy relating in this place, that in one of the ſhips taken at this time was found Nehoada Beeguea, one of the chief contrivers of the treachery againſt Sequeira; and though he had received ſeveral mortal wounds, yet not one drop of blood came from him; but as ſoon as a bracelet of bone was taken off his arm, the blood guſhed out at all parts. The indians ſaid this was the bone of a beaſt called cabis, which ſome will have to be found in Siam, and others in the iſland of Java, which has this ſtrange virtue, but none has ever been found ſince. This being looked upon as a great treaſure, was ſent by Albuquerque to the king of Portugal, but the ſhip it went in was caſt away, ſo that we have loſt that rarity, if it be true there ever was any ſuch.

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Albuquerque ſailing over to Malaca had the portugueſes that had been taken from Sequeira delivered; but that not being all he came for, he landed his men, and at the ſecond aſſault made himſelf maſter of the city, killing or driving out all the moors, and peopling it again with ſtrangers and malays.

An. 1513. Albuquerque made an attempt upon the city of Aden, but failed, being repulſed with loſs. This place is ſeated on the coaſt of Arabia Fœlix, near the mouth of the Red-ſea, under the mountain Arzira, which is all a barren rock: it is rich, becauſe reſorted to by many merchants of ſeveral nations; but the ſoil exceſſive dry, ſo that it ſcarce produces any thing. Being diſappointed here, Albuquerque ſteered his courſe towards the Red-ſea, being the firſt european that ever entered it with european ſhips.

An. 1517. Lope Soarez de Albergoria governor of India ſailed over to the iſland of Ceylon with ſeven galleys, two ſhips, and eight ſmaller veſſels, carrying in them all ſeven hundred portugueſe ſoldiers. This iſland had been before ſeen by the portugueſes paſſing to Malaca, but not much known. Here Lope Soarez built a fort, and in proceſs of time the portugueſes made themſelves maſters of all the ſea-coaſts of this wealthy iſland.

About the ſame time John de Silveyra, who had the command of four ſail, made a farther progreſs than had been done before in the diſcovery of the Maldivy iſlands, which are ſo many that the number of them is not yet known, lying in cluſters, and theſe in a line, N. W. and S. E. and twelve of theſe cluſters in the line, beſides two other little parcels lying together eaſt and weſt from one another at the ſouth-end of the aforeſaid twelve. Theſe, though ſo numerous, are ſo very ſmall, that no great account is made of them. From them he ſailed to the kingdom of Bengala, lying in the upper part of the gulph of the ſame name in about 23 degrees of north latitude, being all the country about the mouth of the river Ganges. To this joins the kingdom of Arracam deſcending ſouthward, then that of Pegu, and next to it that of Siam,

which joins to the Aurea Cherſoneſus, or peninſula of Malaca. All theſe countries abound in wealth, producing infinite plenty of ſilk and cotton, of which laſt they make the fineſt callicoes and muſlins, with much reaſon admired by all the nations of Europe. They have numerous droves of elephants, and conſequently great plenty of ivory, beſides plenty of black cattle and buffaloes.

An. 1517. Fernan Perez de Andrade, ſent by the king of Portugal to make new diſcoveries, leaving all behind that had been before known, and paſſing the ſtrait betwixt Malaca and the iſland Sumatra, came upon the coaſt of the kingdom of Camboia, whence he proceeded to that of Chiampa, where taking of freſh water had like to have coſt him his life. He went on to Patane, and eſtabliſhed peace and commerce with the governor there: which done, the ſeaſon being unfit to proceed further, he returned to Malaca to refit. As ſoon as the weather was ſeaſonable he ſet out again, and continued his diſcoveries till he arrived at Canton, or Quantung, the moſt remarkable ſea-port town on the ſouthern coaſt of the vaſt empire of China. He treated with the governor of Canton, and ſent an embaſſador to the emperor of China, and ſettled trade and commerce in that city for the preſent. Though this was not laſting, (for the very next portugueſes that arrived behaved themſelves ſo inſolently, that the fleet of China attacked them, and they had much difficulty to get off; and their embaſſador being ſent back from Peking by the emperor of Canton unheard, was there put to death) nevertheleſs ſome years after the portugueſes obtained leave to ſettle in a little iſland oppoſite to the port of Canton, where they built the city Macao, which they hold to this day, though ſubject to the emperor of China.

An. 1520. James Lopez de Sequeira, then governor of India, ſailed for the Red-ſea with a fleet of twenty four ſhips, and in it eighteen hundred portugueſes, and as many malabars and canarins. Coming to the iſland Mazua in the Red-ſea, he found it forſaken by the inhabitants, who were fled over to Arquico, a port belonging

longing to Preſter John, or the emperor of Ethiopia, which was now firſt diſcovered by ſea. At this time it was a vaſt monarchy, and extended along the ſhores of the Red-ſea above a hundred and twenty leagues, which was counted the leaſt of its ſides; but ſince then all the ſea-coaſt has been taken from them by the turks. Here the portugueſes in following years made ſome progreſs into the country, five hundred of them being ſent under the command of D. Chriſtopher de Gama to aſſiſt the emperor againſt his rebellious ſubjects, and his enemies the turks. The actions performed by this handful of men being all by land, do not belong to us; but they travelled a great part of the country, and opened a way for the jeſuits, who for ſeveral years after continued there.

An. 1521. Antony de Brito was ſent to the Molucco iſlands from Malaca. Theſe had been before diſcovered by Antony de Abreu. The Molucco iſlands are five in number, their names, Ternate, Tidore, Mouſel, Machien, Bacham. Theſe iſlands were afterwards long ſtruggled for by the portugueſes and dutch, till at laſt the dutch prevailed, and continue in poſſeſſion of that trade till this day. A few years now paſt without any conſiderable diſcoveries by ſea, though ſtill they found ſeveral little iſlands, and advanced far by land, too long for this diſcourſe, deſigned only to ſhow the progreſs of navigation. Let us then proceed to the next conſiderable voyage, which was

An. 1540. Which furniſhes as remarkable a piece of ſea-ſervice as any we ſhall read undertaken by a private man. Peter do Faria governor of Malaca ſent his kinſman Antony de Faria y Souſa, to ſecure a peace with the king of Patane. He carried with him goods to the value of twelve thouſand ducats; and finding no ſale for them there, ſent them to Lugor in the kingdom of Siam, by one Chriſtopher Borallo, who coming to an anchor in the mouth of that river was ſurpriſed by a moor of Guzarat called Coje Hazem, a ſworn enemy to the portugueſes. Borallo having loſt his ſhip ſwam himſelf aſhore, and carried the news of what had happened to Faria at Patane, who vowed never

to

to deſiſt till he had deſtroyed that moor, and in order to it fitted out a ſmall veſſel with fifty men, in which he ſailed from Patane towards the kingdom of Champa, to ſeek the pirate there. In the latitude of 3 degrees 20 minutes, he found the iſland of Pulo Condor, whence he ſailed into the port of Bralapiſam in the kingdom of Camboia, and ſo coaſted long to the river Pulo Cambier, which divides the kingdoms of Camboia and Tſiompa. Coaſting ſtill along, he came to an anchor at the mouth of the river of Toobaſoy, where he took two ſhips belonging to the pirate Similau, and burnt ſome others. The booty was very rich, beſides the addition of ſtrength, the ſhips being of conſiderable force: Thus increaſed, he goes on to the river Tinacoreu, or Varela, where the Siam and Malaca ſhips trading to China, barter their goods for gold, calamba wood and ivory. Hence he directed his courſe to the iſland Aynan on the coaſt of China, and paſſed in ſight of Champiloo in the latitude of 13 degrees, and at the entrance of the bay of Cochinchina; then diſcovered the promontory Pulocampas, weſtward whereof is a river, near which ſpying a large veſſel at anchor, and imagining it might be Coje Hazem, he fell upon and took it, but found it belonged to Quiay Tayjam a pirate. In this veſſel were found ſeventy thouſand quintals, or hundred weight of pepper, beſides other ſpice, ivory, tin, wax and powder, the whole valued at ſixty thouſand crowns, beſides ſeveral good pieces of cannon, and ſome plate. Then coaſting along the iſland Aynan, he came to the river Tananquir, where two great veſſels attacked him, both which he took, and burnt the one for want of men to ſail her. Further on at C. Tilaure he ſurpriſed four ſmall veſſels, and then made to Mutipinam, where he ſold his prizes for the value of two hundred thouſand crowns of uncoined ſilver. Thence he ſailed to the port of Madel in the iſland Aynan, where meeting Himilan a bold pirate, who exerciſed great cruelties towards chriſtians, he took and practiſed the ſame on him. This done he run along that coaſt, diſcovering many large towns and a fruitful country. And now the men weary

of

of ſeeking Coje Hazem in vain, demanded their ſhare of the prizes to be gone, which was granted: but as they ſhaped their courſe for the kingdom of Siam, where the dividend was to be made, by a furious ſtorm they were caſt away on the iſland called de los Ladrones, which lies ſouth of China, where of five hundred men only eighty ſix got aſhore naked, whereof twenty eight were portugueſes: here they continued fifteen days with ſcarce any thing to eat, the iſland not being inhabited. Being in deſpair of relief, they diſcovered a ſmall veſſel which made to the ſhore, and anchoring, ſent thirty men for wood and water. Theſe were chineſes, whom the portugueſes, upon a ſign given as had been agreed, ſurpriſed, running on a ſudden and poſſeſſing themſelves of their boat and veſſel; and leaving them aſhore, directed their courſe towards Liampo, a ſea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, joining by the way a chineſe pirate, who was a great friend to the portugueſes, and had thirty of them aboard. At the river Anay they refitted and came to Chincheo, where Faria hired thirty five portugueſes he found, and putting to ſea met with eight more naked in a fiſher-boat, who had their ſhip taken from them by the pirate Coje Hazem; which news of him rejoiced Faria, and he provided to fight him, having now four veſſels with five hundred men, whereof ninety five were portugueſes. He found his enemy in the river Tinlau, where he killed him and four hundred of his men, and took all his ſhips but one that ſunk, with abundance of wealth: but it proſpered very little, for the next night Faria's ſhip and another were caſt away, and moſt of the goods aboard the others thrown over board, and one hundred and eleven men loſt; Faria eſcaped, and taking another rich ſhip of pirates by the way, came at laſt to winter at Liampo, as was ſaid before, a ſea-port town in the province of Chequiang in China, but built by the portugueſes, who governed there. Having ſpent five months here, he directed his courſe for the iſland Calempluy on the coaſt of China, where he was informed were the monuments of the ancient kings of China,

which

which he deſigned to rob, being reported to be full of treaſure. After many days ſail through ſeas never before known to the portugueſes, he came into the bay of Nanking, but durſt not make any ſtay there, perceiving about three thouſand ſail lie at anchor about it. Here the chineſes he had with him being ill uſed fled, but ſome natives informed him he was but ten leagues from the iſland Calempluy: he arrived there the next day, and intending to rob all the tombs, the old keepers of them gave the alarm, which prevented his deſign, and he was obliged to put to ſea again, where having wandered a month he periſhed in a ſtorm, both his ſhips being caſt away, and only fourteen men ſaved. Thus ended this voyage, famous for ſeveral particulars, and eſpecially for having diſcovered more of the north of China than was known before, though the deſign of the undertaker was only piracy. The city Liampo before mentioned was ſoon after utterly deſtroyed by the governor of the province of Chequiang, for the robberies and inſolences committed in the country by the portugueſes.

An. 1542. Antony de Mota, Francis Zeimoto, and Antony Peixoto ſailing for China, were by ſtorms drove upon the iſlands of Nipongi, or Nifon, by the chineſes called Gipon, and by us Japan. Here they were well received, and had the honour, though accidentally, of being the firſt diſcoverers of theſe iſlands. Their ſituation is eaſt of China, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees of north-latitude: there are many of them, but the principal is Nipongi, or Japan, in which the emperor keeps his court at the city of Meaco. The chief iſlands about it are Cikoko, Tokoeſi, Sando, Siſime, Bacaſa, Vuoqui, Saycock or Ximo, Goto, Ceuxima, Toy, Giſima, Jaſima, Tanaxuma and Firando. Hitherto we have mentioned none but the portugueſes, they being the only diſcoverers of all thoſe parts, and all other nations having followed their track, yet not till ſome years after this time, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. I do not here mention the diſcovery of the Philippine iſlands, though properly belonging to the eaſt, as not very remote from China, becauſe they were diſcovered

and conquered the other way, that is from America; and therefore we ſhall ſpeak of them in their place among the weſtern diſcoveries. What have been hitherto ſaid concerning theſe portugueſe voyages is collected out of John de Barros's decads of India, Oſorius's hiſtory of India, Alvarez of Abaſſia, and Faria's portugueſe Aſia. Having ſeen what has been done by theſe diſcoverers, let us next lightly touch upon the voyages of thoſe who followed their footſteps.

An. 1551. We meet with the firſt engliſh voyage on the coaſt of Afric, performed by Mr. Thomas Windham, but no particulars of it.

An. 1552. The ſame Windham returned with three ſail, and traded at the ports of Zafim and Santa Cruz; the commodities he brought from thence being ſugar, dates, almonds and moloſſes.

An. 1553. This Windham, with Antony Anes Pinteado, a portugueſe and promoter of this voyage, ſailed with three ſhips from Portſmouth: they traded for gold along the coaſt of Guinea, and from thence proceeded to the kingdom of Benin, where they were promiſed loading of pepper: but both the commanders and moſt of the men dying through the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather, the reſt, being ſcarce forty, returned to Plymouth with but one ſhip and little wealth.

An. 1554. Mr. John Lock undertook a voyage for Guinea with three ſhips, and trading along that coaſt brought away a conſiderable quantity of gold and ivory, but proceeded no further. The following years Mr. William Towerſon and others performed ſeveral voyages to the coaſt of Guinea, which having nothing peculiar but a continuation of trade in the ſame parts, there is no occaſion for giving any particulars of them. Nor do we find any account of a further progreſs made along this coaſt by the engliſh, till we come to their voyages to the Eaſt-Indies, and thoſe begun but late; for the firſt engliſhman we find in thoſe parts was one Thomas Stephens, who

An. 1579. wrote an account of his voyage thither to his father in London; but he having ſailed aboard a portugueſe ſhip, this voyage makes nothing to the engliſh

gliſh nation, whoſe firſt undertaking to India in ſhips of their own was,

An. 1591. Three ſtately ſhips called the Penelope, the Merchant Royal, and the Edward Bonaventure, were fitted out at Plymouth, and ſailed thence under the command of Mr. George Raymond: they departed on the tenth of april, and on the firſt of auguſt came to an anchor in the bay called Aguada de Saldanha, fifteen leagues north of the cape of Good Hope. Here they continued ſeveral days, and traded with the blacks for cattle, when finding many of their men had died, they thought fit to ſend back Mr. Abraham Kendal in the Royal Merchant with fifty men, there being too few to manage the three ſhips if they proceeded on their voyage: Kendal accordingly returned, and Raymond and Lancaſter in the Penelope and Edward Bonaventure proceeded, and doubled the cape of Good Hope; but coming to cape Corrientes on the fourteenth of ſeptember, a violent ſtorm parted them, and they never met again; for Raymond was never heard of, but Lancaſter held on his voyage. Paſſing by Mozambique he came to the iſland Comera, where after much ſhow of friendſhip, the mooriſh inhabitants killed thirty two of his men, and took his boat, which obliged him to hoiſt ſail and be gone; and after much delay by contrary winds he doubled cape Comori, oppoſite to the iſland of Ceylon in India, in the month of may 1592. Thence in ſix days, with a large wind which blew hard, he came upon the iſland of Gomes Polo, which lies near the northermoſt point of the iſland Sumatra; and the winter ſeaſon coming on, ſtood over to the iſland of Pulo Pinao, lying near the coaſt of Malaca, and betwixt it and the iſland Sumatra, in 7 degrees of north latitude, where he continued till the end of auguſt refreſhing his men the beſt the place would allow, which afforded little but fiſh, yet twenty ſix of them died there. Then the captain running along the coaſt of Malaca, and adjacent iſlands, more like a pirate than merchant or diſcoverer, took ſome prizes, and ſo thought to have returned home: but his proviſions being ſpent when they came to croſs the equinoctial,

where he was ſtaid by calms and contrary winds ſix weeks, he ran away to the Weſt-Indies to get ſome ſupply, where after touching at ſeveral places, the captain and eighteen men went aſhore in the little iſland Mona, lying betwixt thoſe of Portorico and Hiſpaniola, but five men and a boy left in the ſhip cut the cable and ſailed away. Lancaſter and eleven of his men ſome days after ſpying a ſail, made a fire; upon which ſignal the frenchman, for ſuch a one it proved to be, took in his topſails, and drawing near the iſland received them aboard, treating them with extraordinary civility, and ſo brought them to Diepe in Normandy, whence they paſſed over to Rye in Suſſex, and landed there in may 1594, having ſpent three years, ſix weeks, and two days in this voyage. Hitherto Hakluit, vol. II.

An. 1595. The dutch reſolving to try their fortune in the Eaſt-Indies, fitted out four ſhips at Amſterdam under the command of Cornelius Hootman, which ſailed on the ſecond of april, and on the fourth of auguſt anchored in the bay of S. Blaſe, about forty five leagues beyond the cape of Good Hope, where they continued ſome days trading with the natives for cattle in exchange for iron. Auguſt the eleventh they departed that place, and coaſting along part of the iſland of Madagaſcar, came at laſt into the bay of S. Auguſtin, where they exchanged pewter ſpoons and other trifles with the natives for cattle, till they fell at variance; and the natives keeping away, no more proviſions were to be had: and therefore on the tenth of december they weighed, directing their courſe for Java, but meeting with bad weather and ſtrong currents were kept back till the tenth of january, when they were forced for want of refreſhments to put into the iſland of S. Mary, lying on the eaſtern coaſt of Madagaſcar in 17 degrees of ſouth latitude, whence they removed to the great bay of Antongil, and continued there till the twelfth of february: then putting to ſea again, they arrived on the coaſt of the great iſland Sumatra on the eleventh of june, and ſpending ſome days along that coaſt, came at laſt to Bantam in the iſland of Java. They lay here,

here, very favourably entertained by the emperor of Java, till falling at variance many hoſtilities paſſed betwixt them; and in november the dutch removed from before Bantam to Jacatra, which is no great diſtance. In january finding themſelves much weakened by loſs of men, and the Amſterdam one of the biggeſt ſhips leaky, they unladed and burnt her. Having thoughts of ſailing for the Molucco iſlands, they ran along as far as the ſtrait of Balambuon at the eaſt end of Java; but the ſeamen refuſing to paſs any further, they made through the ſtrait, and on the twenty ſeventh of february ſailed along the coaſt of Java towards the cape of Good Hope; and three of their four ſhips, beſides the pinnace that was a tender, and eighty nine ſeamen, being all that were left of four hundred and forty nine, returned to Holland in auguſt following, having been abroad twenty nine months. This and the voyage ſoon after following in 1598, may ſeem to be miſtaken, becauſe it is ſaid in both, that the commander in chief was Cornelius Hootman; but it muſt be obſerved, they differ not only in time, but in all other circumſtances, and this is certainly the firſt voyage the dutch made to India, whereas in the other there is mention of thoſe people having been there before. This is to be ſeen at large in the collection of voyages undertaken by the dutch Eaſt-India company, printed this preſent year 1703.

An. 1596. Sir Robert Dudley, as principal adventurer, ſet out three ſhips under the command of Benjamin Wood, deſigning to trade in China; for which purpoſe he carried letters from queen Elizabeth to the emperor of China: but theſe ſhips and the men all periſhed, ſo we have no account of their voyage. Purchas, vol. I. p. 110.

An. 1598. Three merchants of Middleburgh fitted out two ſhips under the command of Cornelius Howteman for the Eaſt-Indies, which ſailed on the fifteenth of march. In november they put into the bay of Saldanha on the coaſt of Afric, in 34 degrees of ſouth latitude, and ten leagues from the cape of Good Hope. Here pretending to trade with the natives, they

offered them ſome violence; to revenge which, three days after they came down in great numbers, and ſurprizing the dutch ſlew thirteen of them, and drove the reſt to their ſhip. January the third they again anchored in the bay of S. Auguſtin in the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland Madagaſcar, and 23 degrees of ſouth latitude, where the natives would not trade with them; and being in great want of proviſions, they ſailed to the iſland Magotta, or S. Chriſtopher, on the north of Madagaſcar, and having got ſome relief went on to Anſwame, or Angovan, another ſmall iſland, where they took in more proviſions. Then proceeding on their voyage, they paſſed by the Maldivy iſlands, thence by Cochin, and in june arrived in Sumatra at the port of Achen, where after being kindly received by the king, he ſent many men aboard on pretence of friendſhip, but with a deſign to ſurprize the ſhips, which they had near accompliſhed, but were with difficulty beaten off, yet ſo that the dutch loſt ſixty eight of their men, two pinnaces of twenty tun each, and one of their boats. Sailing hence they watered and refreſhed at Pulo Batun off Queda, which is on the coaſt of Malaca; and having ſpent much time about thoſe parts, in november anchored at the iſlands of Nicobar in 8 degrees of latitude, where they had ſome refreſhment, but little; to remedy which, in their way towards Ceylon, they took a ſhip of Negapatan and plundered it. Then directing their courſe home in march 1600, they doubled the cape of Good Hope, and in july returned to Middleburg. Purchas, vol. I. p. 116.

This ſame year 1598, the Holland Eaſt-India company ſet out ſix great ſhips and two yatchs for India under the command of Cornelius Hemſkirke, which ſailed out of the Texel on the firſt of may, and coming together to the cape of Good Hope in auguſt, were there ſeparated by a terrible ſtorm: four of them and a yatch put into the iſland Maurice eaſt of Madagaſcar; the other two ſhips and yatch put into the iſland S. Mary on the eaſt alſo of Madagaſcar, where they made no ſtay, but ſailing thence arrived on the twenty ſixth of november 1598, before Bantam; and a month after

after them came the other four ſhips and a yatch from the iſland Maurice. The firſt comers having got their lading, departed from before Bantam on the eleventh of january 1599, and arrived happily in the Texel on the ninth of june 1599, richly laden with pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs and cinnamon, having ſpent but fifteen months in the whole voyage. The other four ſhips and yatch left in India under the command of Wybrant, ſailed from Bantam along the north ſide of Javan to the eaſt end of it, where the town of Aroſoya is ſeated. Here the natives, in revenge for ſome of their people killed by the dutch in their firſt voyage, ſeized ſeventeen of them that were ſent aſhore for proviſions; and fifty more being ſent to their relief in ſloops and boats, were all of them killed, drowned, or taken. The priſoners were ranſomed for two thouſand pieces of eight, and then the ſhips put to ſea, and on the third of march 1599, came into the ſtrait of Amboina, where they anchored before a ſmall town in that iſland, called Itan. This is near the Moluccos, and produces plenty of cloves. There being lading but for two ſhips here, the other two were ſent to Banda, where they took their lading of cloves, nutmegs and mace, and returned home in april 1600. The other two ſhips left behind at Amboina having taken in what lading of cloves they could get, ſailed away to get what they wanted at the Moluccos, and anchored at Ternate, where having got the reſt of their lading, they departed thence on the nineteenth of auguſt 1599, and came to Jacatra in the iſland Java on the thirteenth of november, being then reduced to extremity for want of proviſions: whence after a few days ſtay they proceeded to Bantam, and thence on the twenty firſt of january for Holland, where after a tedious voyage they arrived in ſafety, having loſt many men through ſickneſs and want of proviſions. Every year after the dutch failed not to ſet out new fleets, being allured by the vaſt returns they made; yet there was nothing in theſe voyages but trade, and ſome encounters with the ſpaniards, and therefore it will be needleſs to mention them all in particular, till in the

year 1606, the dutch poſſeſſed themſelves of Tidore, one of the Molucco iſlands, and Amboina, expelling the portugueſes firſt, and afterwards the engliſh. In 1608 the dutch admiral Matelief laid ſiege to Malaca, but without ſucceſs. Soon after they grew formidable at Jacatra, or Batavia, on the iſland Java, where they continue to this day, that being the chief ſeat of all their dominions in the eaſt. Not ſo ſatisfied, they at length made themſelves maſters of Malaca, and expelled the portugueſes the iſland of Ceylon, by which means they are poſſeſſed of the moſt conſiderable trade of the eaſt, all the cinnamon, nutmegs and cloves being entirely in their own hands. Nor is this all, for they have conquered the iſland Formoſa on the coaſt of China, whence they trade to Japan, with the excluſion of all chriſtian nations from that iſland. And here we will leave the dutch, to give ſome further relation of the engliſh proceedings, and ſo conclude with the Eaſt-Indies.

An. 1600. A company of merchant adventurers was by patent from queen Elizabeth authorized to trade in the Eaſt-Indies, and accordingly in january $16\frac{00}{01}$ they fitted out four great ſhips and a victualler, all under the command of captain James Lancaſter, who ſailed out of the river of Thames on the thirteenth of february, having four hundred and eighty men aboard his ſhips, yet got not beyond Torbay till the ſecond of april, and on the firſt of november doubled the cape of Good Hope. In april following they anchored at the iſlands of Nicobar, north eaſt of the great iſland of Sumatra, and in june came before Achem, where they had a good reception, and ſettled peace and commerce with that king; but having little to trade with, put to ſea, and took a great portugueſe ſhip richly laden, and returned to Achem, whence they ſailed to Bantam in the iſland of Java: here they had alſo good entertainment, and liberty of trade was agreed on; and having taken in what more lading was wanting, which conſiſted in pepper and cloves, on the twentieth of february they ſet ſail in order to return for England, but meeting with violent ſtorms were carried into 40 degrees

grees of ſouth latitude, where Lancaſter loſt his rudder, which was reſtored with much labour, and ſo they arrived at the iſland of St. Helena in june, and having refreſhed themſelves there put to ſea again, and returned ſafe to England in auguſt. Purchas, vol. I. p. 147.

An. 1604. The aforeſaid company ſent four ſhips more to the Eaſt-Indies under the command of ſir Henry Middleton, who ſailed on the ſecond of april, and arrived at Bantam on the twenty third of december. Two of the ſhips loaded pepper at Bantam; ſir Henry with the others ſailed to the iſles of Banda, where he continued twenty one weeks, and then returned to Bantam, and arrived in the Downs on the ſixth of may 1606. The ſame year captain John Davis and ſir Edward Michelburn with one ſhip and a pinnace ſailed into the Eaſt-Indies, trading at Bantam, and taking ſome prizes, but performed nothing elſe remarkable. Purchas, vol. I. p. 185.

An. 1607. The company fitted out their third voyage, being three ſhips under the command of William Keeling, but only two of them kept company; and ſetting out in april, arrived not at Priaman in the iſland Sumatra till july the following year; having ſpent all this time along the coaſts of Afric, and beating at ſea againſt contrary winds. Here they took in ſome pepper, and then ſailed to Bantam, where a Siam embaſſador invited them to ſettle commerce in his maſter's dominions; and ſo they proceeded to Banda, where they were hindered taking in their lading of ſpice by the dutch, who had built a fort on that iſland. So being diſappointed they returned to Bantam, loaded pepper, and ſettled a factory there, which continued in proſperity till overthrown by the dutch. Purchas, vol. I. p. 188.

The third ſhip mentioned above, which did not keep company with the other two, but ſet out at the ſame time, after touching at the bay of Saldanha on the coaſt of Afric, and at Bantam in the iſland of Java, proceeded to the Molucco iſlands, where with the permiſſion of the Spaniards then poſſeſſed of thoſe iſlands, they

they had a trade for ſome days, but were afterwards commanded away. Then ſailing towards the iſland Celebes at the iſland Button, or Buton, they were friendly entertained by the king, and brought their full loading of cloves; which done, they returned to Bantam, and thence to England. Purchas, vol. I. p. 226.

An. 1608. The Eaſt-India company for its fourth voyage ſet out two ſhips, the Union and Aſcenſion, commanded by Alexander Sharpey and Richard Rowles, who ſailed on the fourteenth of march; and having ſpent above a year by the way, and loſt the Union in a ſtorm, the Aſcenſion came on the eighth of april 1609 to an anchor before the city Aden on the coaſt of Arabia Felix, whence they ſailed into the Red-ſea, being the firſt engliſh ſhip that ever entered it, and on the eleventh of june anchored in the road of the city of Mocha; and having made a ſhort ſtay to refit, ſailed away for the coaſt of Cambaya, where refuſing to take in a pilot the ſhip was loſt on the ſhoals, but all the men ſaved in two boats, who got aſhore at the ſmall town of Gandevel, about forty miles from Surat, whither they travelled by land, and were relieved by the engliſh factor there. The captain and moſt of the company went from thence to Agra the court of the mogul, reſolving to take their journey through Perſia to return into Europe. But Thomas Jones, the author of this account, with three others, committed themſelves to a portugueſe religious man, who promiſed to ſend them home, and accordingly carried them through Damam and Chaul to Goa, where in january they were ſhipped aboard the admiral of four portugueſe ſhips homeward bound, and arrived at Liſbon in auguſt, where embarking in an engliſh ſhip they came ſafe into England in ſeptember 1610. The reſt of the company that went with the captain diſperſed, and few of them came home.

The Union, mentioned before to be ſeparated from the Aſcenſion in a ſtorm, touched at the bay of St. Auguſtin in the iſland Madagaſcar, where the captain and five more going aſhore upon friendly invitation were killed by the natives, who thought to have ſur-

prized the ship with their boats, but were beaten off with great loss. So sailing hence, they directed their course to Achem on the island Sumatra, where and at Priaman they took in their lading of basts and pepper, and directed their course to return home. But their voyage proved so unfortunate, that all her men died by the way, except three english and an indian, who were scarce alive; and not being able to hand the sails, the ship was carried upon the coast of Britany in France, where the french conveyed her into harbour, and most of the lading was saved for the company.

An. 1609. The English East-India company for its fifth voyage set out but one ship, commanded by David Middleton, who arriving at Banda was by the dutch there hindered loading any spice, and therefore sailed to Puloway a small island not far distant, where with much difficulty and hazard he got loading of spice, and returned home safe. Purchas, vol. I. p. 238.

An. 1610. Sir Henry Middleton sailed with three ships under his command; and being informed by the natives of the island Zocotora, that he would be friendly received at Mocha in the Red-sea, and find good vent for his goods, he ventured up thither, and after much deceitful kindness shown him by the turks, was himself with many of his men secured, and sent up the country several miles to another bassa. Some men were also killed by the infidels, who attempted to surprize one of the ships, and were possessed of the upper decks, till the seamen blew up some, shot others, and drove the rest into the sea, so that only one of them that hid himself escaped, and was afterwards received to mercy. After much solicitation sir Henry Middleton and his men were sent back to Mocha, where most of them made their escape aboard their ships. Many fruitless contests having afterwards passed with the bassas about the restitution of the goods taken; at last he sailed to Surat, where he arrived in september 1611, and having, notwithstanding the opposition made by the portugueses, sold some of his goods, and departing thence to Dabul, had some more trade in that place, yet not so much as to dispose of all

all he had. Whereupon he reſolved to return to the Red-ſea, there to traffic with the ſhips of India, which uſually reſort to thoſe parts; he detained many of them by force, and bartered with them as he thought fit, the indians being under reſtraint, and in no condition to oppoſe whatever was offered them. Being thus furniſhed, he ſailed for Sumatra, where he got loading of ſpice, and ſent one ſhip home with her burden, his own having been on a rock, and therefore unfit for the voyage till repaired, which could not be done ſo ſoon. This ſhip arrived ſafe in England, but ſir Henry Middleton and his were caſt away in India. Purchas, vol. I. p. 247. Other ſhips ſailed the latter end of the year 1610, and beginning of 1611, which ſtill ran much the ſame courſe with the former, and have nothing ſingular to relate. But,

An. 1611. In april ſailed captain John Saris with three ſhips, who having run the ſame courſe all the reſt had done ſeverally before, entering the Red-ſea, and touching at Java, he received a letter from one Adams an engliſhman, who ſailed aboard ſome dutch ſhips to Japan, and was there detained, in which he gave an account of that country. Captain Saris diſmiſſing his other two ſhips, directed his courſe for that iſland; and paſſing by thoſe of Bouro, Xula, Bachian, Celebes, Silolo, the Moluccos, and others, came to an anchor on the eleventh of june 1613, at the ſmall iſland and port of Firando, lying ſouthweſt of the ſouthweſt point of the great iſland of Japan. This and ſeveral other ſmall iſlands about it are ſubject to petty kings, who all acknowledge the emperor of Japan for their ſovereign. Theſe little princes ſhowed all imaginable kindneſs to the engliſh, being the firſt that ever appeared in thoſe parts. Captain Saris, with the aſſiſtance of the king of Firando, was conducted to the emperor's court at Meaco, where he had audience of him, and ſettled peace and commerce in as authentic manner as if he had been ſent from England only upon that errand; the emperor granting to the engliſh free liberty of trade, and ſeveral privileges and immunities for their encouragement. All things being ſettled there,

there, captain Saris returned to Firando well pleaſed with his ſucceſs; and there the goods he brought being not yet all diſpoſed of, he erected a factory, leaving in it eight engliſh, three Japaneſes for interpreters, and two ſervants. Theſe were to diſpoſe of the goods left behind, and provide loading for ſuch ſhips as were to continue the trade now begun. This done, he left Firando on the fifth of december, and ſtood for the coaſt of China, along which he kept to that of Cochinchina and Camboya, whence he ſtruck over to the ſouthward, and came into Bantam road, where he continued ſome time, and laſtly put into Plymouth in ſeptember 1614. Purchas, vol. I. p. 334. Thus have we brought the engliſh to Japan, the furtheſt extent of what vulgarly is comprehended under the name of the Eaſt-Indies, and therefore think it needleſs to proſecute their voyages this way any longer, ſince they can afford nothing new; nor indeed have theſe hitherto added any thing to what was diſcovered by the portugueſes, to whom all theſe countries were well known long before, as has been made appear. Of the dutch navigations this way ſomewhat has been ſaid, and it ſeems needleſs to add any thing concerning the french, who are not ſo conſiderable there as any of thoſe nations already mentioned, beſides that they came thither the lateſt, and therefore not as diſcoverers, but tracing the beaten road; ſo that all that can be ſaid of them will be only a repetition of things already ſpoken of. Having thus given an account of the firſt diſcoverers, and the ſucceſs of all the firſt voyages to Afric and Aſia, it now remains to ſhow what a vaſt extent of land is by theſe means made known, which before Europe was wholly a ſtranger to, and the commodities it ſupplies us with; which is one great point of this diſcourſe, viz. to ſhow what benefit is reaped by navigation, and the vaſt improvement it has received ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, or ſea compaſs. Then having performed this with all poſſible brevity, it will be fit to proceed to give the like relation of the diſcovery and other affairs of America, or the new world, which

will

will lead us to the voyages round the globe, where this diſcourſe will end.

To begin then where the diſcoveries commenced, that is, at cape Nam, or Nao, which is on the coaſt of the kingdom of Morocco, and in the twenty eighth degree of latitude; we find the extent made known from thence, taking it only from north to ſouth, from 18 degrees of north latitude to 35 degrees of ſouth latitude, in all 53 degrees in length, at twenty leagues to a degree, to be one thouſand ſixty leagues, but very much more if we run along the coaſt, eſpecially upon that of Guinea, which lies eaſt and weſt for above 25 degrees, which at the ſame rate as before amounts to five hundred leagues. So that we have here a coaſt, only reckoning to the cape of Good Hope, of above fifteen hundred leagues in length made known to us, and in it the further Lybia, the country of the Blacks, Guinea, the kingdoms of Benin, Conga, Angola, and the weſtern coaſt of the Cafres. Theſe are the general names by which theſe vaſt regions are known. The natives are for the moſt part black, or elſe inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence, are gold-duſt, ivory, and ſlaves; thoſe black people ſelling one another, which is a very conſiderable trade, and has been a great ſupport to all the American plantations. This is all that mighty continent affords for exportation, the greateſt part of it being ſcorched under the torrid zone, and the natives almoſt naked, no where induſtrious, and for the moſt part ſcarce civilized. In the ſouthermoſt parts among the wild cafres, there is plenty of good cattle, which the firſt traders to India uſed to buy for knives and other toys at the bay of Saldanha, and other places thereabouts. The portugueſes here have the largeſt dominions on this coaſt of any nation, which are in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola. The engliſh and dutch have ſome ſmall forts on the coaſt of Guinea, and the dutch, a large ſtrong town, with all manner of improvements about it, at the cape of Good Hope. From this cape of Good Hope to cape Guardafu at the entrance into the Red-

ſea,

ſea, the coaſt running north eaſt and ſouth weſt, extends above twelve hundred leagues in a ſtraight line, containing the eaſtern Cafres and Zanguebar, which are the two great diviſions of this ſide; the latter of theſe ſubdivided into the kingdoms of Mozambique, Pemba, Quiloa, Monbaca, Melinde, Magadoxa and Adel. Of theſe the portugueſes poſſeſs the town and fort of Mozambique, having loſt Monbaca within theſe few years, taken from them by the moors. No other european nation has any dominions on this coaſt, which is all in the poſſeſſion of the natives or moors. The commodities here are the ſame as on the weſt ſide of Afric, gold, ivory and ſlaves. All this vaſt continent produces many ſorts of fruit and grain unknown to us, as alſo beaſts and fowl, which being no part of trade, are not mentioned here. Yet before we leave this coaſt we muſt not omit to mention the iſland Zocotora, famous for producing the beſt aloes, and ſituate not far diſtant from cape Guardafu. Next in courſe follows the Red-ſea, the mouth whereof is about a hundred and twenty leagues from cape Guardafu, and its length from the mouth to Suez at the bottom of it above four hundred leagues, lying north weſt and ſouth weſt: on one ſide of it is the coaſt of Aben and Egypt, on the other that of Arabia Petrea, and Arabia Felix, all in the poſſeſſion of the turks, and not at all reſorted to by any european nation, but ſomewhat known to them by the way of Egypt, before the diſcovery of India. From the mouth of the Red-ſea to the gulph of Perſia lies the coaſt of Arabia, extending about four hundred leagues north eaſt and ſouth weſt to cape Roſalgate at the entrance into the bay of Ormuz. This coaſt is partly ſubject to the turk, and partly to arabian princes; and its principal commodities are rich gums, and coffee. Turning cape Roſalgate to the north weſt is the great bay of Ormuz, along which runs ſtill the coaſt of Arabia, where ſtands Maſcate, once poſſeſſed by the portugueſes, now by the arabs. Next we come into the gulph of Bazora, or of Perſia, almoſt two hundred leagues in length, and encloſed by Arabia on the one ſide, and Perſia on the other. At the mouth

of

of this bay in a ſmall iſland is the famous city Ormuz, conquered and kept many years by the portugueſes, but at laſt taken from them by the Perſians, with the aſſiſtance of the engliſh. Within the bay on the arabian ſide is the iſland Baharem, famous for a great fiſhery of pearls. From the mouth of the perſian gulph to that of Indus are about three hundred and forty leagues, being the coaſt of Perſia, where no prince poſſeſſes any thing but that great monarch. The chiefeſt commodities here are raw ſilk, rhubarb, wormſeed, carpets of all ſorts, wrought and plain ſilks, ſilks wrought with gold or ſilver, half ſilks and half cottons. From the mouth of Indus to cape Comori, taking in the bend of the coaſt from Indus to Cambaya, lying north weſt and ſouth eaſt, and from that bay to the cape almoſt north and ſouth, are near four hundred leagues, including the ſhores of Guzarat, Cambaya, Decan, Canara and Malabar: of theſe Guzarat and Cambaya, with part of Decan, are ſubject to the great Mogul, the other parts to ſeveral indian princes. Yet the portugueſes have the fort of Diu in Guzarat, Damam in Cambaya, and the great city of Goa in Decan, beſides other forts of leſſer conſequence: the engliſh the iſland of Bombaim, and the dutch ſome forts. Doubling cape Comori, and running in a ſtraight line north eaſt, there are about four hundred and forty leagues to the bottom of the bay of Bengala; and turning thence ſouth eaſt, ſomewhat more than the ſame number of leagues to the ſouthermoſt point of the Aurea Cherſoneſus, or the coaſt of Malaca; and in this ſpace the ſhores of Coromandel, Biſnagar, Golconda, Orixa, Bengala, Arracan, Pegu, Martaban, and the Aurea Cherſoneſus, or Peninſula of Malaca. Hence we will make but one line more for brevity ſake up to Japan on the northern coaſt of China, which in a ſtraight line, without allowing any thing for the bays of Siam and Cochinchina, is at leaſt eight hundred leagues, and in it the eaſt ſide of the Peninſula of Malaca, the kingdoms of Siam, Camboia, Chiampa, and Cochinchina, and the vaſt empire of China. All theſe immenſe regions from Perſia eaſt-ward are vulgarly, though

though improperly, comprehended under the name of the Eaſt-Indies. The product of theſe countries is no leſs to be admired, being all ſorts of metals, all beaſts and birds, and the moſt delicious of fruits. But to ſpeak by way of trade, the commodities here are diamonds, ſilk raw and wrought in prodigious quantities, cotton unwrought, and infinite plenty of it in callicoes and muſlins, all ſorts of ſweet and rich woods, all the gums, drugs and dyes, all the precious plants, and rich perfumes, not to mention the ſpices, which I leave to the iſlands; in fine, all that is precious, delightful, or uſeful: inſomuch, that though here be mines of ſilver and gold, yet none is ſent abroad, but hither it flows from all other parts and is here ſwallowed up. But ſomething muſt be ſaid of the iſlands belonging to this great continent, for the value of them is immenſe, as well as their number, and the extent of ſome of them. The firſt in order that are any thing conſiderable, are the Maldivy iſlands, rather remarkable for their multitude than any other thing, being ſo many that the number is not known, yet ſo ſmall, that no great account is made of them: they lie ſouth eaſt of cape Comori, betwixt three and 8 degrees of north latitude; for ſo far they run, being diſpoſed in twelve ſeveral cluſters or parcels that lie north weſt and ſouth eaſt, at the ſouth end whereof lie two other leſs cluſters or parcels eaſt and weſt from one another. As for trade, or commerce, though theſe iſlands are very fruitful, they have not any thing conſiderable to promote it, eſpecially to ſupply Europe, which is the thing here to be conſidered. Next to theſe is the great and rich iſland of Ceylon beyond cape Comori, formerly divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, till the portugueſes firſt reduced all the ſea coaſts under their dominion, and were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the dutch, who ſtill remain maſters of them, but could never yet conquer the inland. This is a place of mighty traffick, for it produces the beſt cinnamon in the world, and ſupplies all Europe: here are alſo found the fineſt rubies, and ſeveral other ſorts of precious ſtones. The elephants of this iſland are counted the beſt in all India, and as

ſuch coveted by all the eaſtern princes, who, though they have herds of them in their own dominions, do not ſpare to give conſiderable prices for theſe, which is a great enriching of the country. The iſlands of Sunda, or the Sound, are that great parcel lying ſouth and ſouth eaſt of Malaca, the principal whereof are Sumatra, Borneo and Java; the two firſt directly under the line, Sumatra above three hundred leagues in length, lying north weſt and ſouth eaſt, and about ſixty in breadth in the wideſt place; Borneo is almoſt round, and about ſix hundred in circumference; Java the laſt of them lies betwixt 7 and 10 degrees of ſouth latitude, is about two hundred leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and not above forty in breadth in the wideſt place from north to ſouth. There are many more, but all ſmall in compariſon of theſe, unleſs we reckon Celebes, lying under the line, near an hundred and eighty leagues in length, the longeſt way north eaſt and ſouth weſt, and about eighty in breadth in the broadeſt place from eaſt to weſt: as alſo Gilolo, under the equator as well as the laſt, of an irregular ſhape, and not above one fourth part of the bigneſs of Celebes. All theſe iſlands have a prodigious trade, being reſorted to from all parts, not only of India, but even from Europe. Their wealth is incredible, for they produce whatſoever man can wiſh; but the principal commodities exported are ginger, pepper, camphor, agaric, caſſia, wax, honey, ſilk, cotton; they have alſo mines of gold, tin, iron and ſulphur, all ſorts of cattle and fowl, but no vines nor olive-trees. In Sumatra the dutch have ſome forts, and are very powerful, but much more in Java, where Batavia, a populous city, is the metropolis of their eaſtern dominions. The engliſh had a great trade and factory at Bantam in the ſame iſland, but were expelled by the dutch in the year 1682. After theſe follow the Molucco iſlands, which are five in number properly ſo called, viz. Ternate, Tidore, Machian, Moutil or Mouſil, and Bachian: they lie along the weſt ſide of Gilolo, ſo near the equinoctial, that the laſt of them lies 24 or 25 minutes ſouth, and the firſt of them about 50 minutes north of it. They are ſo ſmall, that all

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of them do not take up above 1 degree, and 10 or 15 minutes of latitude. Ternate is the northermoſt, and in order from it lie to the ſouth Tidore, Moutil, Machian and Bachian. The whole product of theſe iſlands is cloves, which are ſcarce found elſewhere, and here little beſides them; which is the reaſon why the dutch have poſſeſſed themſelves of them, expelling the portugueſes, who after long conteſts had bought out the ſpaniards claim to them. With the Moluccos may be reckoned the iſlands of Amboina and Banda: the firſt of theſe produces cloves like the other, and was once much reſorted to by the engliſh, till the dutch deſtroyed their factory, of which action there are particular printed accounts. Banda is a larger iſland than any of the others, and in five degrees of ſouth latitude, poſſeſſed alſo by the dutch, who have here all the trade of nutmegs and mace, which ſcarce grow any where but in this and two or three neighbouring iſlands. A vaſt multitude of other little iſlands are ſcattered about this ſea, but thoſe already mentioned are the moſt conſiderable; for though thoſe of Chiram and Papous be large, there is very little of them known, by which it is natural to gueſs they are not of much value; for if they were, the ſame avarice that has carried ſo many european nations into their neighbourhood to deſtroy not only the natives, but one another, would have made them long ſince as familiar to us as the reſt. Of Japan enough was ſaid when firſt diſcovered by the portugueſes, and in captain Saris's voyage thither, where the reader may ſatisfy his curioſity. All that needs be added is, that it produces ſome gold, and great plenty of ſilver. For other commodities, here is abundance of hemp, excellent dyes, red, blue and green, rice, brimſtone, ſaltpetre, cotton, and the moſt excellent varniſh in the world, commonly called Japan, whereof abundance of cabinets, tables, and many other things are brought into Europe. Thus are we come to Japan the utmoſt of theſe eaſtern diſcoveries, omitting to ſay any thing of the Philippine iſlands, and thoſe called De las Ladrones, though within this compaſs, becauſe they were diſcovered from the Weſt-Indies; and therefore they are

left to be treated of among the american affairs, as are the isles of Solomon, whereof hitherto the world has had but a very imperfect account. This summary shows the improvement of navigation on this side the world since the discovery of the magnetical needle, or sea-compass, it having made known to us as much of the coast of Afric and Asia, as running along only the greatest turnings and windings, amounts to about five thousand leagues; an incredible extent of land, were it not so universally known to be true, and so very demonstrable. The benefit we reap is so visible, it seems not to require any thing should be said of it. For now all Europe abounds in all such things as those vast, wealthy, exuberant eastern regions can afford; whereas before these discoveries it had nothing but what it received by retail, and at excessive rates from the venetians, who took in the precious drugs, rich spices, and other valuable commodities of the east in Egypt, or the coast of Turky, whither it was brought from India, either by caravans or up the Red-sea; and they supplied all other countries with them at their own prices. But now the sea is open, every nation has the liberty of supplying itself from the fountain-head; and if some have encroached upon others, and confined them to a narrower trade in those parts, yet the returns from thence are yearly so great, that all those goods may be purchased here at the second-hand infinitely cheaper than they could when one nation had the supplying of all the rest, and that by so expensive a way, as being themselves served by caravans, and a few small ships on the Red-sea. To conclude; these parts, the discovery whereof has been the subject of this discourse, supply the christian world with all gums, drugs, spices, silks and cottons, precious stones, sulphur, gold, salt-petre, rice, tea, china-ware, coffee, japan varnished works, all sorts of dyes, of cordials, and perfumes, pearls, ivory, ostrich-feathers, parrots, monkeys, and an endless number of necessaries, conveniences, curiosities, and other comforts and supports of human life, whereof enough has been said for the intended brevity of this discourse. It is now time to proceed

ceed to a ſtill greater part, greater in extent of land, as reaching from north to ſouth, and its bounds not yet known, and greater in wealth, as containing the inexhauſtible treaſures of the ſilver mines of Peru and Mexico, and of the gold mines of Chile, and very many other parts. A fourth part of the world, not much inferiour to the other three in extent, and no way yielding to them for all the bleſſings nature could beſtow upon the earth. A world concealed from the reſt for above five thouſand years, and reſerved by providence to be made known three hundred years ago. A region yet not wholly known, the extent being ſo immenſe, that three hundred years have not been a ſufficient time to lay it all open. A portion of the univerſe wonderful in all reſpects: 1. For that being ſo large it could lie ſo long hid. 2. For that being well inhabited, the wit of man cannot conclude which way thoſe people could come thither, and that none others could find the way ſince. 3. For its endleſs ſources of gold and ſilver, which ſupplying all parts, ſince their firſt diſcovery, are ſo far from being impoveriſhed, that they only want more hands to draw out more. 4. For its mighty rivers, ſo far exceeding all others, that they look like little ſeas, compared with the greateſt in other parts. 5. For its prodigious mountains, running many hundred leagues, and whoſe tops are almoſt inacceſſible. 6. For the ſtrange variety of ſeaſons, and temperature of air to be found at very few leagues diſtance. And laſtly, For its ſtupendous fertility of ſoil, producing all ſorts of fruits and plants which the other parts of the world afford, in greater perfection than in their native land, beſides an infinity of others which will not come to perfection elſewhere.

To come to the diſcovery of this fourth and greateſt part of the earth, it was undertaken and performed by Chriſtopher Columbus, a genoeſe, excellently ſkilled in ſea-affairs, an able coſmographer, and well verſed in all thoſe parts of the mathematics, which might capacitate him for ſuch an enterpriſe. This perſon being convinced by natural reaſon, that ſo great a part of the world as till then was unknown could not be all ſea, or created to no purpoſe; and believing that the earth

being round, a ſhorter way might be found to India by the weſt, than by compaſſing all Afric to the ſouthward, as the portugueſes were then attempting to do; he reſolved to apply himſelf wholly to the diſcovery of thoſe rich countries, which he poſitively concluded muſt extend, from what was known of the Eaſt-Indies, ſtill to the eaſt-ward one way, and to be the eaſier met with by ſailing round to the weſtward. Having been long fully poſſeſſed with this notion, and provided to anſwer all objections that might be ſtarted againſt it, he thought the undertaking too great for any leſs than a ſovereign prince, or ſtate; and therefore, not to be unjuſt to his country, he firſt propoſed it to the ſtate of Genoa, where it was rather ridiculed than any way encouraged. This repulſe made him have recourſe to king John the ſecond of Portugal, who having cauſed the matter to be examined by thoſe that had the direction of the diſcoveries along the coaſt of Afric, by their advice he held him in hand till he had ſent out a caravel with private orders to attempt this diſcovery. This caravel having wandered long in the wide ocean, and ſuffered much by ſtorms, returned without finding any thing. Columbus underſtanding what had been done, reſented it ſo highly, that in hatred to Portugal he reſolved to go over to Caſtile and offer his ſervice there; but for fear of any diſappointment, at the ſame time he ſent his brother Bartholomew Columbus into England, to make the ſame overture to king Henry the ſeventh. His brother had the ill fortune to be taken at ſea by pirates, which much retarded his coming to the court of England; where when at laſt he came, being poor and deſtitute of friends, it was long before he could be heard, or at leaſt be looked upon; ſo that in fine, Columbus was gone before he returned to Spain with his anſwer. Columbus in the mean while ſtole away out of Portugal, and coming to the court of Ferdinánd and Iſabel, king and queen of Caſtile and Aragon, he there ſpent eight years ſoliciting with little hopes, and many difficulties; till at laſt, when he had utterly deſpaired of ſucceſs, he met with it, through the aſſiſtance of ſome few friends he had gained at court. At his earneſt ſuit he had all the

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conditions he required granted, which were, that he ſhould be admiral of all thoſe ſeas he diſcovered, and viceroy and governor general of all the lands; that he ſhould have the tenth of all things whatſoever brought from thoſe parts, and that he might at all times be an eighth part in all fleets ſent thither, and to receive the eighth of all the returns. This to him and his heirs for ever. With theſe titles, and ſufficient power from the queen, who eſpouſed the undertaking, he repaired to the port of Palos de Moguer, on the coaſt of Andaluzia, where there was furniſhed for him a ſhip called the S. Mary, and two caravels, the one called la Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the other la Nina, by Vincent Yanez Pinzon. In theſe veſſels he had ninety men, and proviſions for a year; and thus equipped he ſailed from Palos de Moguer.

An. 1492. On the twenty third of auguſt, directing his courſe to the Canary iſlands, where he made a new rudder to the caravel Pinta, which had hers broke off at ſea, he took in freſh proviſions, wood, and water with all poſſible expedition; and on the ſixth of ſeptember put to ſea again, ſteering due weſt, and on the ſeventh loſt ſight of land. The eleventh, at a hundred and fifty leagues diſtance from the iſland of Ferro, they ſaw a great piece of a maſt drove by the current, which ſet ſtrong towards the north; and the fourteenth the admiral obſerved the variation of the needle to the weſtward about two points. On ſunday the ſixteenth the men were ſurpriſed to ſee green and yellow weeds ſcattered about in ſmall parcels on the ſuperficies of the water, as if it had been newly torn off from ſome iſland or rock; and the next day they ſaw much more, which made ſome conclude they were near land, and others ſuppoſing it only to be rocks or ſhoals, began to mutter. Every day they ſaw ſome birds flying to the ſhips, and abundance of weeds in the water, which ſtill made them conceive hopes of land; but when theſe failed, then they began again to murmur, ſo that the admiral was forced to uſe all his art to keep them quiet, ſometimes with fair words, and ſometimes with threats and ſeverity, they imagining, that ſince for the moſt part they ſailed before the wind, it would

be impoſſible for them ever to return. Thus their mutinous temper daily increaſed, and began to appear more open, ſome being ſo bold as to adviſe throwing the admiral over board. The firſt of october the pilot told the admiral, he found by his account they were five hundred and eighty eight leagues weſt of the iſland of Ferro, which is the weſtermoſt of the Canaries; who anſwered, his reckoning was five hundred and eighty four, whereas in reality his computation was ſeven hundred and ſeven; and on the third the pilot of the caravel Nina reckoned ſix hundred and fifty, he of the caravel Pinta ſix hundred and thirty four: but they were out, and Columbus made it leſs for fear of diſcouraging the men, who nevertheleſs continued very mutinous, but were ſomewhat appeaſed on the fourth, ſeeing above forty ſparrows fly about the ſhips, beſides other birds. The eleventh of october there appeared manifeſt tokens of their being near land; for from the admiral's ſhip they ſaw a green ruſh in the water, from the Nina they ſaw a cane and a ſtick, and took up another that was artificially wrought, and a little board, beſides abundance of weeds freſh pulled up; from the Pinta they beheld ſuch-like tokens, and a branch of a thorn-tree with the berries on it: beſides that, ſounding they found bottom, and the wind grew variable. For theſe reaſons the admiral ordered, they ſhould make but little ſail at night, for fear of being aground in the dark, and about ten of the clock that night the admiral himſelf ſaw a light, and ſhowed it to others. About two in the morning the caravel Pinta, which was furtheſt a-head, gave the ſignal of land; and when day appeared, they perceived it was an iſland about fifteen leagues in length, plain, well wooded and watered, and very populous; the natives ſtanding on the ſhore, admiring what the ſhips were. The admiral and captains went aſhore in their boats, and called that iſland S. Salvador, the natives calling it Guanahani, and is one of the Lucayos in about 26 degrees of north latitude, nine hundred and fifty leagues weſt of the Canaries, and diſcovered the thirty third day after they ſailed from them. Columbus took poſſeſſion for the king and queen

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of Spain, and all the ſpaniards joyfully took an oath to him, as their admiral and viceroy. He gave the indians, who ſtood in admiration to ſee him and his men, ſome red caps, glaſs-beads, and other trifles, which they valued at a high rate. The admiral returning aboard, the natives followed, ſome ſwimming, others in their canoes, carrying with them bottoms of ſpun cotton, parrots and javelins pointed with fiſh-bones, to exchange for glaſs baubles and horſe-bells. Both men and women were all naked, their hair ſhort and tied with a cotton ſtring, and well enough featured, of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, and of an olive colour, ſome painted white, ſome black, and ſome red. They knew nothing of iron, and did all their work with ſharp ſtones. No beaſts, or fowl were ſeen here but only parrots. Being aſked by ſigns, whence they had the gold, whereof they wore little plates hanging at their noſes, they pointed to the ſouth. The admiral underſtanding there were other countries not far off, reſolved to ſeek them out; and taking ſeven indians that they might learn ſpaniſh, ſailed on the fifteenth to another iſland, which he called the Conception, ſeven leagues from the other. The ſixteenth he proceeded to another iſland, and called it Ferdinanda, and ſo to a fourth, to which he gave the name of Iſabella; but finding nothing more in theſe than in the firſt, he proceeded on to the iſland of Cuba, which he called Juana, and entered the port on the eaſt end called Baracoa, whence after ſending two men to diſcover without finding what he ſought for, he went on to Hiſpaniola, and anchored on the north ſide of it. Here the admiral finding there were gold mines, and plenty of cotton, the people ſimple, and one of the caciques, or princes, ſhowing all tokens of love and affection; and having loſt his own ſhip, which through the careleſſneſs of the ſailors in the night run upon a ſand, he reſolved to build a fort, which with the aſſiſtance of the indians was performed in ten days, and called the Nativity: here he left thirty nine men, with proviſions for a year, ſeeds to ſow, baubles to trade with the natives; all the cannon and arms belonging

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to his own ship, and the boat. This done, he departed the port of the Nativity on the fourth of january 1493, steering eastward, and the sixth discovered the caravel Pinta, which had left him some days before, the captain hoping to get much gold to himself. Columbus having sailed some days along the coast of the island, discovered more of it, and trafficking with the natives, and seeing some other islands at a distance, at length launched out to sea to return for Spain. In the way they struggled with the dreadfullest storms any of them had ever seen, which separated the admiral from the caravel Pinta, so that he saw her no more; but at last it pleased God to bring his shattered caravel into the river of Lisbon, where the people flocked with admiration to see him, and some advised the king of Portugal to murder him, but he having entertained him generously dismissed him; and he putting to sea again, arrived safe at Palos de Moguer, from whence he set out on the fifteenth of march, having been out six months and a half upon his discovery. The court was then at Barcelona, whither the admiral repaired, carrying with him the indians he brought, some gold, and other samples of what the discovery afforded. The king and queen received him with all possible demonstrations of honour, making him sit down in their presence, and ordering all the privileges and titles before granted him to be confirmed. After some time spent in these entertainments, the admiral desired to be fitted out as became his dignity, to conquer and plant those new countries; which was granted, and he departed for Seville to set out on his second voyage, which we are to speak of next; we have been very particular in this, because being the first, it required a more exact account to be given of it, and shall therefore be more succinct in those that follow.

An. 1493. A fleet of seventeen sail of all sorts was fitted out at Seville, well furnished with provisions, ammunition, cannon, corn, seeds, mares and horses, tools to work in the gold mines, and abundance of commodities to barter with the natives. There were aboard fifteen hundred men, many of them labouring people,

people, and artificers, ſeveral gentlemen, and twenty horſe. With this fleet Columbus ſet ſail from Seville on the fifteenth of September the aforeſaid year, and on the fifth of october came to the Gomeru, one of the Canary iſlands, where he took in wood and water, as alſo cattle, calves, ſheep, goats and ſwine to ſtock the Indies, beſides hens and garden-ſeeds. Sailing hence more to the ſouthward than the firſt voyage, on the third of november in the morning, all the fleet ſpied an iſland, which Columbus called Dominica, becauſe diſcovered on a ſunday, and ſoon after many others, the firſt of which he called Marigalanti, the name of the ſhip he was in, the next Guadalupe, then Montſerrate, Santa Maria Redonda, Santa Maria el Antigua, S. Martin, Santa Cruz; theſe are the Caribbe iſlands. Next he came to the large iſland, which he called S. John Baptiſt, but the indians Borriquen, and it is now known by the name of Puerto Rico. November the twenty ſecond the fleet arrived on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, where they found the fort burnt down, and none of the ſpaniards, they being all deſtroyed either by diſcord among themſelves, or by the indians. Not liking the place he had choſen the firſt voyage to plant his colony, he turned back to the eaſtward, and finding a ſeat to his mind, landed and built a little town which he called Iſabella, in honour of Iſabel then queen of Caſtile. Then keeping five ſhips of the fleet with him for his uſe there, he ſent back twelve to Spain, under the command of Antony de Torres, with ſome quantity of gold, and a full account of what had been done. Thus ended this year 1493, and here it muſt be obſerved, that all the actions done aſhore muſt be omitted, as too great for this diſcourſe, and in reality no way belonging to it, the deſign of it being only to ſhow what advantages have been made by ſea ſince the diſcovery of the magnetical needle, as has been declared before.

An. 1494. Columbus ſailed from his new colony of Iſabella with one great ſhip and two caravels on the twenty fourth of april, directing his courſe weſtward, and came upon the point of Cuba on the eighteenth of may,

may, where ſailing along the coaſt he ſaw an infinite number of ſmall iſlands; ſo that it being impoſſible to give them all names, he in general called them the Queen's Garden. Thus he proceeded as far as the iſland de Pinos, near the weſtermoſt end of Cuba, having diſcovered 330 leagues to the weſtward from his colony of Iſabella. He ſuffered very much in this voyage by the continual ſtorms of rain, wind, thunder and lightning; and therefore reſolved to return, taking his way more to the ſouthward, and on the twenty ſecond of july found the iſland of Jamaica; whence he directed his courſe to Hiſpaniola, and coaſting about it, arrived at the town of Iſabella on the twenty ninth of ſeptember, where he found his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who was come with four ſhips from Spain. The admiral built many forts in the iſland, and being much offended at the ill behaviour of many of the ſpaniards, who began to uſe him diſreſpectfully, and ſent complaints againſt him to court, returned into Spain to juſtify his proceedings, and ſecure his authority. Thus far out of Herrera's firſt decade, lib. I, II, and III.

The fame of theſe mighty diſcoveries being ſpread abroad throughout Europe, Sebaſtian Cabot, a venetian, but reſiding in England, made application to king Henry the ſeventh, to be employed in finding out a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies through the north-weſt. The king admitted of his propoſal, and

An. 1497. Ordered him two ſhips provided with all neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking, with which he ſailed from Briſtol in the beginning of ſummer (for here does not appear a particular journal) and directing his courſe north-weſt came into 56, Herrera ſays 68 degrees of north latitude, where he diſcovered land running ſtill to the northward, which made him deſpair of finding a paſſage that way, as he had projected, and therefore came about to the ſouthward, hoping to meet it in leſs latitude. Thus he ſoon fell in upon the now much frequented iſland of Newfoundland, reaching from 54 to 48 degrees, where he found a wild people clad in ſkins of beaſts, and armed with bows and arrows, as alſo bears and ſtags, and great plenty of fiſh,

fish, but the earth yielding little fruit. Here he took three of the savages, whom at his return he carried into England, where they lived long after. Hence he continued his course along the american coast as far as 38 degrees of latitude, where his provisions beginning to fall short he returned to England. Hakluyt, vol. III. p. 6. & seq. This imperfect account is all we have of this voyage, which was not prosecuted by the english in many years after; and Cabot finding little encouragement went away into Spain, where he was entertained,

An. 1498. On the thirtieth of may admiral Columbus having been again well received and honoured by the king and queen of Castile and Aragon, and provided as he desired, sailed from S. Lucar with six ships upon new discoveries, and coming to the island Gomeru, one of the Canaries, on the nineteenth, sent thence three of his ships with provisions to sail directly for Hispaniola. He with the other three made the islands of Cabo Verde, resolving to sail southward as far as the equinoctial; and therefore steering south west on the thirteenth of july he felt such violent heat, that they all thought they should there have ended their days: and this continued till the nineteenth, when the wind freshening they stood away to the westward, and the first of august came to an anchor in the island which he called La Trinidad, near the continent of south America, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Discovering land from this place, which he supposed to be another island, but it was the continent, he sailed over and came upon the point of Paria, and run many leagues along the coast of the continent, without knowing it was so, trading with the indians for gold and abundance of pearls. However thinking his presence necessary at Hispaniola, he could not continue his discovery, but returned the same way he came to the island Trinidad, and found that he called Margarita, where was afterwards the great pearl-fishery, and that of Cubagua, besides many others of less note, and arrived at Santo Domingo, a town newly built on the

ſouth coaſt of the iſland Hiſpaniola on the twenty ſecond of auguſt. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IV.

An. 1499. The news having been brought to Spain of the diſcovery Columbus had made on the continent, though it was not yet certainly known whether it was continent or an iſland; Alonſo de Ojeda and ſome other private men fitted out four ſhips to make diſcoveries, and ſailed from port S. Mary on the twentieth of may. John de la Coſa, a biſcainer, went with him as pilot, and Americus Veſpucius as merchant. They took their courſe to the ſouth weſt, and in twenty ſeven days had ſight of land, which they ſuppoſed to be the continent. Being within a league of the ſhore, they ſent ſome men in the boat, who ſaw abundance of naked people, who preſently fled to the mountains; and therefore they followed the coaſt to find ſome harbour, which they found two days after, with multitudes of natives, thronging to ſee the ſhips. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, broad faced, and of a ruddy complexion: they covered their nakedneſs with leaves or cotton clouts. Their wealth conſiſted in fine feathers, fiſh-bones, and green and white ſtones, but they had neither gold nor pearls. Ojeda ran along this coaſt till he came to a town ſeated like Venice in the water, but containing only twenty ſix great houſes; for which reaſon he called it Venezuela, or little Venice, in about 11 degrees of north latitude. Still he kept along the coaſt of Paria, before diſcovered by Columbus, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues, and then proceeded two hundred further to the point called Cabo de la Vela. Then turning back he came to the iſland Margarita, where he careened, and on the fifth of november arrived at the iſland of Hiſpaniola, where we may put an end to his diſcovery.

This ſame year Peter Alonſo Nino and Chriſtopher Guevara ſailed from Sevil with one ſhip to diſcover, but did nothing more than had been done before, trading along the coaſt where Columbus and Ojeda had been. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IV.

An. 1500, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who was with Columbus the firſt voyage, ſet out four ſhips at his own

own charge, and failing to the ſouthward was the firſt ſpaniard that ever cut the equinoctial line. Then ſailing to the weſtward, on the twenty ſixth of january he diſcovered land at a diſtance, which was the point of land now called cape S. Auguſtin, on the coaſt of Braſil, where he took poſſeſſion for the king of Spain: but not being able to bring the natives to trade with him, he paſſed on to a river, where landing, eight of his men were killed by the indians; which made him remove again down to the mouth of the river Maranon, which is thirty leagues over, and runs with ſuch force, that the water is freſh forty leagues out at ſea. Finding no benefit could be made along this coaſt, he held on his courſe to Paria, whence he ſailed over to the iſlands in the way to Hiſpaniola; and being at an anchor among them, a furious ſtorm ſunk two of their ſhips downright, the other two eſcaping repaired to Hiſpaniola, and having refitted returned to Spain. In this voyage they diſcovered ſix hundred leagues along the coaſt lying ſouth eaſt from Paria.

In december this ſame year James de Lepe ſailed from Palos de Moguer to diſcover, and went ſome way to the ſouthward of cape S. Auguſtin, but did little conſiderable. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IV.

This year alſo Emanuel king of Portugal fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſail for the Eaſt-Indies, commanded by Peter Alvarez Cabral, who ſailing from Liſbon in march, to avoid the calms on the coaſt of Guinea, ſtood out far to ſea; and being carried away further to the weſtward than he intended by a ſtorm, on the twenty fourth of april fell in upon the coaſt of Braſil in America, in 10 degrees of ſouth latitude. He ſailed along it one day, and going aſhore found a tawny people; but the weather ſtill forced him to the ſouthward, to a harbour he called Porto Seguro, in 17 degrees of ſouth latitude, where he landed, and found the country abounding in cotton and indian wheat. Here he erected a croſs in token of poſſeſſion, and therefore called the country Santa Cruz, but the name of Braſil prevailed, becauſe of that ſort of wood brought from thence. Peter Alvarez ſent a ſhip to Portugal to give advice of this diſ-

covery.

covery, and he with the reſt proſecuted his voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, as may be ſeen in the account of them, Herrera ubi ſup. and Faria in Aſia, part I. p. 53.

Again this year 1500, Gaſper de Cortereal a portugueſe, ſailed to the north parts of America with two caravels, where he run along a great part of what was ſaid before to have been diſcovered by Cabot, and gave his name to ſome ſmall iſlands about the north of Newfoundland, bringing away ſixty of the natives. He made a ſecond voyage into thoſe parts, but was caſt away. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VI.

An. 1501. Roderick de Baſtidas fitted out two ſhips at Cadiz, and taking John de la Coſa, who was beſt acquainted with the weſtern ſeas for his pilot, put to ſea in the beginning of february, following the ſame courſe Columbus had taken when he diſcovered the continent; and coaſting all along where he and the others had been, he traded with the indians. Not ſo ſatisfied, he run to the weſtward, and diſcovered Santa Marta, Carthagena, and as far as Nombre de Dios, being above an hundred leagues more than was known before. His ſhips being now leaky and worm-eaten, ſo that they could not long keep the ſea, and having traded for a conſiderable quantity of gold and pearls, he with difficulty made over to Xaragua in Hiſpaniola, where his ſhips ſunk after ſaving the treaſure; and he after being impriſoned in this iſland got over into Spain with his wealth. He carried ſome indians from the continent to Hiſpaniola, who went ſtark naked, only carrying their privities in a gold caſe made like a funnel. Herrera ubi ſup.

An. 1502. Admiral Columbus, being through the malicious inſinuations of his enemies removed from the government of Hiſpaniola, but ſtill fed by the king with fair words, obtained of him four ſhips to go upon ſome new diſcovery, and ſailed with them from Cadiz on the ninth of may. On the twenty ninth of june he came before Santo Domingo in the iſland Hiſpaniola, where the governor refuſed to admit him into the port. On the fourteenth of july he ſailed away to the weſtward, and after driving ſome days with the currents in calms,

calms, ſtruggled for ſixty days with violent ſtorms; after which he diſcovered the little iſland Guanaja, northward of cape Honduras, in 19 degrees of latitude. He ſent his brother aſhore, who met with a canoe as long as a ſpaniſh galley, and eight foot wide, covered with mats, and in it many men, women and children, with abundance of commodities to barter, which were large cotton cloths of ſeveral colours, ſhort cotton ſhirts without ſleeves curiouſly wrought, clouts of the ſame to cover their privities, wooden ſwords edged with flint, copper hatchets to cut wood, horſe-bells of the ſame metal, and broad flat plates of it, crucibles to melt the copper, cocoa-nuts, bread made of indian wheat, and drink of the ſame. Being carried aboard the admiral, he exchanged ſome commodities with them, and then diſmiſſed them, only keeping an old man, of whom when he inquired for gold, he pointed eaſtward, which made Columbus alter his deſign of ſailing weſtward. Therefore taking the way he was directed, the firſt land he came to was cape Caſinas on the continent of the province of Honduras, where his brother landed and took poſſeſſion, the natives coming down in peaceable manner, wearing ſhort jackets of cotton, and clouts of the ſame before their privy-parts, and bringing him plenty of proviſions. Sailing hence many days to the eaſtward againſt the wind, he came to a great point of land, from which perceiving the ſhore run to the ſouthward, he called it Cabo de Gracias a Dios, or cape Thanks be to God, becauſe then the eaſterly winds would carry him down the coaſt. He run along trading with the natives, and touched at Porto Bello, Nombre de Dios, Belen and Veragua, where he heard there were gold mines, and ſent his brother up the country, who returned to him with a conſiderable quantity of that metal, exchanged for inconſiderable trifles. Upon this encouragement Columbus reſolved to leave his brother there with eighty men, and accordingly built houſes for them; yet after all, the indians becoming their enemies, and the ſpaniards mutinous, he was forced to take them aboard again, and then ſailed away for Hiſpaniola. The ſhips being quite ſhaken with the many ſtorms, and eaten through with

the worms, could not reach that iſland, and therefore he was forced to run them a-ground on the coaſt of Jamaica, cloſe board and board by one another, ſhoring them up with piles drove in the ſand, and making huts on the decks for the men to live in, becauſe they were full of water up to the deck. Hence with incredible difficulty and danger he ſent meſſengers in a canoe over to Hiſpaniola for ſome veſſels to carry him and his men away, and after ſuffering much was at laſt tranſported to that iſland, and thence into Spain, where he died. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. V, VI. So that we have here an end of his diſcoverics, and all the continent of America made known from cape Honduras in 18 degrees of north latitude, to Porto Seguro on the coaſt of Braſil in 17 degrees of ſouth latitude, being above fifteen hundred leagues, taking only the greater windings of the coaſt.

An. 1506. The news of Columbus's new diſcovery being ſpread abroad in Caſtile, John Diaz de Solis, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon reſolved to proſecute what he had begun; and coming to the iſland Guanaja, whence Columbus had turned back to the eaſtward, they held on their courſe ſtill weſtward, running along the coaſt of Honduras till they came to the bottom of that deep bay, which they called Baia de Navidad, now called the gulph of Honduras. Then turning to the north-eaſt, they diſcovered a great part of the province of Yucatan, whereof little was afterwards known till the diſcovery of New-Spain.

An. 1507. It being ſtill unknown whether Cuba was an iſland or part of the continent, Nicholas de Obando governor of Hiſpaniola ſent Sebaſtian de Ocampo to diſcover it: he ſailed along the north ſide of it, touching at ſeveral places and careened his ſhips at the port now well known by the name of the Havana, which then he called de Carenas. Then continuing his voyage to the weſtermoſt end of the iſland now called Cabo de S. Anton, he turned to the eaſtward along the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, and put into the port of Xagua, which is one of the beſt in the world, and capable of containing a thouſand ſhips. Here he was moſt courteouſly

teouſly entertained, and ſupplied with abundance of partridges and good fiſh. Having reſted here a few days, he held on his way along the coaſt, and returned to Hiſpaniola, with the certain news of Cuba's being an iſland. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1508. John Ponce de Leon ſailed over from Hiſpaniola to the iſland called by the indians Borriquen, by the ſpaniards S. Juan de Puerto Rico, and by the engliſh Porto Rico: it is but fifteen leagues diſtant from Hiſpaniola, has a good harbour, which with the plenty of gold found in it gave it the name of Puerto Rico, or the Rich Harbour. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

The ſame year 1508. John Diaz de Solis, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who before diſcovered the gulph of Honduras, ſailed with two caravels fitted out at the king's expence to diſcover the ſouth coaſt of America; and coming upon cape S. Auguſtin in about 11 degrees of ſouth latitude, continued thence their navigation along the coaſt, often landing and trading with the natives till they came into 40 degrees of the ſame latitude, whence they returned with an account of what they had found into Spain. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1509. John de Eſquibel was ſent from Hiſpaniola, by the admiral James Columbus, ſon to Chriſtopher Columbus, with ſeventy men to ſettle a colony in the iſland of Jamaica.

This ſame year John de la Coſa ſailed from Spain with one ſhip and two brigantines, to join Alonſo de Ojeda in the iſland Hiſpaniola, thence to go and ſettle on the continent. James de Nicueſſa ſet out ſoon after him with four ſhips upon the ſame deſign. After ſome diſpute about the limits of their provinces, they agreed that the river of Darien ſhould part them, and then they ſet out towards their ſeveral governments. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII.

An. 1510. Ojeda landed at Carthagena, where after endeavouring to gain the indians by fair means without ſucceſs he came to a battle with them, in which John de la Coſa was killed, and he eſcaped by flight having loſt ſeventy ſpaniards. Nicueſſa arrived a few days

after, and joining the other ſpaniards belonging to Ojeda, revenged the death of the former ſeventy, and took a great booty. However Ojeda removed thence to the gulph of Uraba, where he founded the town of S. Sebaſtian, being the ſecond built on the continent, if we reckon that before founded by Columbus near the ſame place, which did not ſtand as has been mentioned, nor did this continue long at that time, being removed after moſt of the ſpaniards were conſumed to Darien. Hence the indians carried ſwine, ſalt and fiſh up the country, and in return brought home gold and cotton-cloth. Nicueſſa with his ſhips ſailed to Veragua, and after many miſeries and calamities, at laſt founded the town of Nombre de Dios on the ſmall iſthmus that joins the two continents of north and ſouth America. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. VII, VIII.

An. 1511. The admiral James Columbus from the iſland Hiſpaniola ſent James Velaſquez with about three hundred men to plant in the iſland of Cuba, where no ſettlement had yet been made.

An. 1512. John Ponce de Leon, before mentioned as firſt planter of the iſland of Puerto Rico, being grown rich, fitted out three ſhips in that iſland, reſolving to diſcover to the northward. He ſailed on the third of march, ſteering north-weſt and by north, and on the eighth anchored at Baxos de Babueca, near the iſland del Viejo, in 22 degrees and a half of north latitude, and on the fourteenth at the iſland Guanahani, which was the firſt diſcovered by Columbus. Hence he directed his courſe north-weſt, and on the twenty ſeventh, being Eaſter ſunday, diſcovered an iſland not known before; whence he proceeded, weſt-north-weſt, till the ſecond of april, when they came to an anchor near a part of the continent they had run along in 30 degrees and eight minutes of north latitude, which he believed to be an iſland, and called Florida, that is, flowry, or flouriſhing, both becauſe it looked green and pleaſant, and becauſe it was eaſter time, which the ſpaniards call paſqua florida. After landing to take poſſeſſion, he ſailed ſouth and by eaſt till the twenty firſt of april, when he met ſo ſtrong a current, that though they had the

the wind large, his ſhips could not ſtem it, which obliged him to come to an anchor; this being the now well known channel of Bahama, through which moſt ſhips return out of thoſe parts into Europe. Here he landed, and had a ſkirmiſh with the indians who were warlike. On the eighth of may he doubled the point of Florida, which he called cape Corrientes, becauſe of the great ſtrength of the current there. Being come about, they ſpent many days along the coaſt and neighbouring iſlands, watering and careening, and dealing with the indians for hides and guanines, which are plates of a mixture of gold and copper. In june he had two battles with the indians, who in their canoes came out to draw his ſhips aſhore, or at leaſt to cut his cables. Having beaten them off he came upon the coaſt of Cuba, though he knew it not to be that iſland, and thence returned to Puerto Rico, whence he ſailed into Spain to beg of the king the government of what he had diſcovered. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. IX.

An. 1513. Baſco Nunez de Balboa, who had ſubtilely wound himſelf into the government of the ſpaniards, who were before mentioned to have built the town of Darien, having uſed all his endeavours as others did to find out more gold, and being told by an indian, that there was a mighty prince beyond the mountains who had a vaſt plenty of it, and that there was alſo an open ſea, he reſolved to venture over to find theſe treaſures, and gain the honour of being the firſt that found this ſo long looked for ſea. Accordingly he ſet out from Darien in ſeptember with indian guides, and others given him by the caciques his friends to carry burdens. Entering upon the mountains, he had a fight with a cacique that would have ſtopped him, in which he killed the cacique and ſix hundred of his men. On the twenty fifth of ſeptember he reached the top of the mountains, from whence, to his unſpeakable joy, he ſaw the ſouth ſea; with this ſatisfaction he went down, and coming to the ſhore walked into the ſea to take poſſeſſion of it for the king of Spain. This done, he with eighty of his men, and a cacique his friend,

friend, went into nine canoes, and put out to ſea, where a ſtorm riſing, they had all like to have periſhed; however, with much difficulty they got into a ſmall iſland, where ſome of their canoes were beaten to pieces and all their proviſions loſt. The next day with what canoes remained they landed on the further ſide of the bay, where after ſome oppoſition from the indians they made peace, and the cacique brought a good quantity of gold as a preſent, and two hundred and forty large pearls; and ſeeing the ſpaniards valued them, he ſent ſome indians to fiſh, who in four days brought twelve mark-weight of them, each mark being eight ounces. Baſco Nunez would have gone over to the iſland of pearls, five leagues diſtant, but was adviſed by the indians his friends to put it off till ſummer, becauſe of the danger of the ſea at that time. Here he had ſome information of the wealth of Peru, and was aſſured that the coaſt ran along to the ſouthward without end, as the indians thought. Baſco Nunez having made ſo great a diſcovery, and gathered much wealth, returned over the mountains to Darien, whence he preſently ſent advice to the king of what he had found. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. X.

An. 1515. John Diaz de Solis was ſent out by the king to diſcover to the ſouthward: he ſailed on the eighth of october, and came to Rio de Janeiro on the coaſt of Braſil in 22 degrees twenty minutes of ſouth latitude, whence he continued his courſe down the coaſt which lies ſouth-weſt to cape S. Mary in 35 degrees of latitude, where he landed and took poſſeſſion. Then turning with one of his caravels into the river of Plate, which becauſe it was ſo large and freſh, they called the freſh ſea, and by another name, the river of Solis, he ſpied along the ſhore abundance of houſes of indians, and the people coming down to gaze at the ſhips, and offering what they had. Solis landed with as many men as his boat could carry, who going a little up from the ſhore, were ſet upon by the natives, who lay in ambuſh in the woods, and every man of them killed, notwithſtanding the cannon fired from aboard. When they had killed the men they removed them

them further from the ſhore, yet not ſo far but that the ſpaniards aboard might ſee them, where cutting off their heads, arms and legs, they roaſted the whole bodies and eat them. Having ſeen this diſmal ſight, the caravel returned to the other veſſel, and both together repaired to capé S. Auguſtin, where having loaded with Braſil wood, they ſailed back to Spain. Thus ended the famous ſeaman John Diaz de Solis. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. I.

An. 1516. Padrarias governor of Darien before ſpoken of, ſent the licentiate Eſpinoſa with a good body of men over the mountains to Panama, who had ſome encounters with the indians in thoſe parts, and made ſome conſiderable diſcoveries along that coaſt. But having gathered a great quantity of gold, and abundance of ſlaves, he returned to Darien, leaving Hernan Ponce de Leon with a ſmall force at Panama. This commander loſt no time, though he had no good veſſels but ſome ſmall barks, for in them he ventured to run up to the north-weſt as far as the port of Nicoya in the province of Nicaragua, a hundred and forty leagues from Nata, which is at the mouth of the bay of Panama; where finding the people in arms, and that they fled to the mountains upon the firſt firing, he concluded there was not much good to be done there at that time, and returned to Panama. At the ſame time Baſco Nunez de Balboa, who firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, cut timber at Ada on the north-ſea, and having hewed it out fit to put together, had it all carried up twelve leagues to the top of the mountains by indians, blacks and ſpaniards, and thence down to the South-ſea, which was an incredible labour, there being all the timber, iron-work and rigging for two brigantines. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.

This ſame year 1516. Hackluyt mentions a voyage made by ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabot, by order of king Henry the eighth of England, to Braſil, but gives no particulars of it. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 498.

An. 1517. James Velaſquez, governor of Hiſpaniola, gave commiſſion to Francis Hernandez de Cordova to make ſome further diſcovery on the continent. He

bought two ſhips and a brigantine, furniſhed them with all neceſſaries, and a hundred and ten men, and ſailed from Havana on the eighth of february to the weſtward. At the end of twenty one days they ſaw land, and drawing near perceived a town. Five canoes came to the ſhip, and thirty men went aboard, wearing ſhort jackets without ſleeves, and clouts about their waſtes inſtead of breeches, who being well entertained were diſmiſſed: and the next day twelve canoes came with a cacique, who ſaid conez cotoche, that is, come to my houſe; and the ſpaniards not underſtanding it, called that point of land cape Cotoche, being the weſtermoſt of the province of Yucatan, in 22 degrees of latitude. The ſpaniards going aſhore with this invitation, were ſet upon by indians that lay in ambuſh, whom they put to flight. Here they found three ſtructures like little temples with idols, built with lime and ſtone, which were the firſt that had been ſeen in America. Returning to their ſhips, they kept along the coaſt weſtward till they came to Campeche, where they took water out of a well, there being no other, and retired to their ſhips, the indians purſuing at their heels, yet without engaging. Further on at a place called Potonchan, being aſhore again to water, they were beſet by the indians, who killed fifty of them, and the reſt, whereof many were wounded, with much difficulty got aboard their ſhips. Wanting hands for them all they burnt one, and with the other two veſſels in great want of water, ſtood over for the coaſt of Florida, where as they were watering the indians fell on them and killed four or five more, but were put to flight, ſo that the ſpaniards had time to carry off their water, and ſo returned to Cuba, where James Fernandez the commander died of his wounds. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. II.

An. 1518. The report of the diſcovery made in Yucatan pleaſing the undertaker James Velaſquez governor of Cuba, he provided three ſhips and a brigantine, with two hundred and fifty men, to proſecute that enterpriſe, under the command of John de Grijalva, who ſailed from Cuba on the eighth of april, and driving to the ſouthward with the currents came upon the iſland

of

of Cozumel, in the 20th degree of latitude, not known before, and ſouth of the cape of Cotoche; where keeping along its coaſt, they anchored at a place they called Santa Cruz, becauſe that was the third of may and the feaſt of the finding of the croſs. Landing he could not prevail with any of the natives to come to trade, yet found in the iſland good honey, ſwine with their navels on their backs, and ſeveral ſmall temples of ſtone, as alſo an indian woman of Jamaica, who went aboard, and was afterwards of great uſe to them. Grijalva ſailed on to Potonchan, where Francis Hernandez, the firſt diſcoverer of that country, had been; and after defeating the natives held on to the river of his own name, ſaying this country was like a new Spain, becauſe of the many ſtructures he ſaw of lime and ſtone, whence the name remained to the adjacent kingdom of Mexico. Coming to the river of Tabaſco, he treated with the natives, and a cacique there with his own hand put upon Grijalva a ſuit of complete armour all of beaten gold, beſides many other rich preſents he gave him. Then coaſting along, he ſaw the great mountains of S. Martin, and the rivers of Alvarado and Banderas on the coaſt of New-Spain, at which laſt place he was ſupplied with proviſions, and traded for much gold with the governor, who had received orders ſo to do from Montezuma the great monarch of Mexico, upon the news brought him of the firſt ſhips that appeared on that coaſt. He ſpent ſeven days at S. John de Ulva, trading with the natives, and then went on as far as the province of Panuco, from whence he returned to Cuba, having in this voyage diſcovered all the coaſt of New-Spain, almoſt as far as the province of Florida. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. III.

This ſame year the licentiate Eſpinoſa, by order of Peter Arias Davila governor of Darien, founded the town of Panama on the South-ſea. Ibid.

An. 1519. Ferdinand Cortes, with eleven ſail fitted out at the charge of James Velaſquez, ſailed from Cuba in february, and landing on the coaſt of New-Spain before diſcovered by Grijalva, marched up to Mexico, made himſelf maſter of that mighty city, and

ſubdued

ſubdued all the provinces about it till he came to the South-ſea. Here were found thoſe rich mines of ſilver, which with the others of Peru have ever ſince enriched the univerſe, not to ſpeak of the abundance of cotton, and very many other precious commodities. In fine, his actions and the wealth of this country are the ſubject of large volumes, and too great for ſo ſhort a diſcourſe. Therefore we will proceed to the diſcoveries. Ibid.

This year alſo Ferdinand Magalhaens, or as we call him, Magellan, ſailed from Spain to diſcover the ſtrait of his name, the particulars of which voyage are the ſubject of the firſt of thoſe round the world, to be found together at the latter end of this diſcourſe, and therefore need not be repeated at this place, for there the reader may find it at large, with an account of thoſe ſouthern parts of America.

This ſame year 1519. an engliſh ſhip of two hundred and fifty tun came to the iſland of Puerto Rico, pretending it came out with another to diſcover a paſſage to Tartary, and had been at Newfoundland, where there were fifty ſpaniſh, french and portugueſe ſhips fiſhing, and that offering to go aſhore their pilot was killed. They further ſaid they came to load Braſil wood, and carry the king of England an account of thoſe countries. Hence they ſailed over to Hiſpaniola, where being fired at from the caſtle they returned to Puerto Rico, where they traded with the inhabitants, and going thence were never more heard of. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. V. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 499. gives the ſame account out of Ramuſio, only differing in that he ſays it was in the year 1517.

An. 1522. Cortes having ſubdued the mighty kingdom of Mexico, and greateſt part of the provinces of Mechoacan, Panuco, Guaxaca, Tabaſco and Soconuſco, a conqueſt above two hundred leagues in length, above a hundred and fifty in breadth in the wideſt part, and lying betwixt 14 and 24 degrees of north latitude; and having diſcovered the South-ſea, which waſhes the ſhores of ſeveral of the provinces mentioned, he reſolved that way to ſend to the Molucco iſlands,

iſlands, and in order to it ſent ſhip-wrights to the port of Zacatula to build two ſhips to diſcover along the coaſt, and two caravels to ſail to the Moluccos, cauſing all the iron-work, ſails and rigging to be carried upon mens backs from Vera Cruz acroſs the country, which is at leaſt a hundred and forty leagues.

Whilſt theſe veſſels were preparing in New-Spain, Giles Gonzalez Davila with incredible labour had built four in the iſland Tarrarequi, not far from Panama, whence he ſailed on the twenty firſt of january this ſame year 1522, taking Andrew Nino along with him as his pilot. Having ſailed an hundred leagues along the coaſt to the northweſt, they were forced to ſend to Panama for neceſſaries to refit their ſhips, which being brought they proceeded. At Nicoya Giles Gonzales landed, and travelled into the province of Nicaragua, where abundance of indians with their cacique ſubmitted themſelves: but afterwards meeting with a more warlike nation, he was forced to retire to the ſea. Whilſt Gonzales travelled by land, Andrew Nino had ſailed along the coaſt as far as the bay of Fonſeca in the province of Guatimala, diſcovering three hundred leagues that way further than was known before; which done, they both returned to Panama with great wealth in gold and pearls. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IV.

An. 1524. Francis the firſt, king of France, employed John Varrazona a florentine, to make ſome diſcovery to the north-weſt. He ſet out from Diep with four ſhips, and after ſome time ſpent privateering on the coaſt of Spain, he ſteered to the iſland of Madera, whence diſmiſing the reſt, he departed with one ſhip and fifty men upon his enterpriſe. The firſt twenty five days he ran five hundred leagues to the weſtward, after which followed a dreadful ſtorm; and that ceaſing, in twenty five days more ran four hundred leagues, and then diſcovered a land before unknown, which was low and well peopled, running to the ſouthward. He ſailed fifty leagues along the coaſt to the ſouth without finding any harbour, which made him ſtand about to the northward, and at laſt come to an anchor, where he traded with the indians, who

who went naked, covering only their privities with furs like ſables, and garlands about their heads made of fine feathers; their complexion like the other indians, their hair black and long, tied up behind like a tail. His ſhort ſtay there gave him not leiſure to learn any thing of their cuſtoms, but the country ſeemed delightful, with pleaſant plains, and plenty of woods of ſeveral ſorts of trees, great variety of beaſts and birds, and ſome tokens of gold. This country was in 34 degrees of north latitude, a temperate climate, and is the northern part of the province of Florida. Sailing hence fifty leagues to the north-eaſt, they came upon another coaſt, where they took a boy, and ſo run on, ſeeing all the way abundance of trees, variety of herbs and flowers for two hundred leagues, where they again anchored, and were well entertained by the natives, a cacique coming often aboard, and ſeeming well pleaſed with the french. Hence they held on their courſe above a hundred leagues, and ſaw people cloathed with feathers, and a very pleaſant country; but paſſed on ſtill to a great iſland, and anchored betwixt it and the continent, where the people were ſtill naked, with only furs before their privities, and valued copper beyond gold. Thus he proceeded, landing and taking a view of the ſhores, till he came into fifty degrees of north latitude, where his proviſions falling ſhort, he reſolved to return into France, having diſcovered ſeven hundred leagues along the coaſt, and giving it the name of New-France. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VI. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 295. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1603.

The ſame year 1524. Francis Pizarro ſailed from Panama in november with one ſhip and two canoes, in which were eighty ſpaniards, and four horſes to diſcover to the ſouthward. Coming under the equinoctial, which was further than any had diſcovered on that ſide, he landed, and proviſions failing ſent back the ſhip for them, remaining himſelf aſhore with moſt of the men, where they were drove to ſuch extremities, that twenty ſeven of them died for want, and therefore they called this place Puerto de Lahambre, that is, Port Famine. The ſhip returning with proviſions, they pro-

proceeded on their voyage to the port they called De la Candelaria, where they again went aſhore and travelled up the country; but all the people fled from them, and the continual rains rotted their clothes. Though all the reſt of his actions in this expedition were in the enſuing years, yet the ſummary of them ſhall here be delivered together, to avoid the confuſion that might be cauſed by the diſmembering of them. Hence they went on to a place they called Pueblo Quemado, where they had two bloody encounters with the indians, and therefore proceeded to Chicama, whence they again ſent back the ſhip to Panama for proviſions. Whilſt the ſhip was returning, James de Almagro, who was at the chief expence of this enterpriſe, went out of Panama with a ſhip full of proviſions, and ſixty men in it, and running along the coaſt, at length found Pizarro at Chicama; and having relieved and conferred with him, returned to Panama for more men, whence he brought two ſhips and two canoes with arms, men, ammunition and proviſions. Leaving Chicama, they proceeded along the coaſt; and after many delays, and ſeveral times ſending back to Panama, during which time the reſt of the men were left aſhore, and ſuffered incredible hardſhips, Pizarro came to Tumbez, where he ſent men aſhore, who were friendly entertained by the natives, ſupplied with proviſions, and returned aboard with the joyful news, that they had ſeen ſtately palaces, and all ſorts of veſſels of ſilver and gold. Here he was invited aſhore, and went twice, having much diſcourſe with the indians, who gave him an account of the great city of Cuſco, and of the immenſe wealth of the mighty monarch of Guaynacapa. This done, having gathered a good quantity of gold, and got ſome of the large peru ſheep, and other things to ſhow the wealth of the country, he returned to Panama to gather a force ſufficient to make a conqueſt in that rich country, he had diſcovered. In this voyage he reached as far as the port of Santa in 9 degrees of ſouth latitude, having run above two hundred leagues, in which he ſpent three years, being detained ſo long by the misfortunes and wants above-mentioned, beſides many more too tedious to inſert here. The conqueſt and further

diſcoveries ſhall fall in their due place. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, and X. and dec. 4. lib. II.

An. 1525. The emperor Charles the fifth fitted out ſix ſhips and a tender at Corunna, under the command of D. Garcia Jofre de Loayſa, and well furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition and commodities to trade, as alſo four hundred and fifty ſpaniards. Theſe ſhips were to paſs through the ſtraits of Magellan to the Molucco iſlands, and ſailed from Corunna in july. On the fifth of december they came upon the coaſt of Braſil in 21 degrees and a half of ſouth latitude. December the twenty eighth the ſhips were parted in a ſtorm, but met all again except the admiral. January the fifth they came to cape Blanco in 37 degrees, and thence to Santa Cruz in 51 degrees, where the admiral and another ſhip being miſſing, they put up ſome ſigns to direct them. Coming to the mouth of the ſtraits, one of the ſhips was caſt away in a ſtorm, the other three with much difficulty got into the ſtrait. January the twenty ſixth the admiral, with the other ſhip that was miſſing, and the tender came to the mouth of the ſtrait, where it was near periſhing in a ſtorm: and on the fifth of april the five ſhips being again joined, put into the ſtrait, whence the foul weather had beaten them out. May the twenty fifth they came out into the South-ſea, where a violent ſtorm parted them all; and the tender being left alone with very little proviſion ſailed to the northward, till it came upon the coaſt of New-Spain, where the men were plentifully relieved by the indians for the preſent, and afterwards by Cortes from Mexico. The admiral was parted from the other ſhips, and never ſaw them more, for he died on this ſide the line, and ſoon after him John Sebaſtian Cano his ſucceſſor, who had brought the ſhip called the Victory home, after ſailing round the world in the voyage undertaken by Magellan. Then they choſe Toribio Alonſo de Salazar for their admiral, and ſo directing their courſe for the iſlands Ladrones, on the thirteenth of ſeptember diſcovered an iſland, which they called S. Bartholomew; and the wind not permitting them to come near it, followed on their courſe to the Ladrones, and came to the two ſouthermoſt of them, where there came to

them

them a ſpaniard that had been left there when a ſhip of Magellan's company left at the Moluccos attempted to return to New Spain, as may be ſeen in that voyage. Five days this which was the admiral's ſhip continued in the iſland Bataha, and then proſecuted its voyage to the Moluccos on the tenth of ſeptember 1526, and on the ſecond of october came to the great iſland Mindanao, one of the Philippines, where they got ſome freſh proviſions, and then ſailed away towards the Moluccos, and arrived ſafe at Tidore on the laſt day of december, and there built a fort, whence for a long time after they made war with the portugueſes of Ternate; where we will leave them, having ended their navigation, and ſhall hear of them again in the following years. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. VII, VIII, IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

An. 1526. Sebaſtian Cabot, who made the great diſcovery in north America for king Henry the ſeventh of England, being now in the ſpaniſh ſervice, ſailed from Cadiz with four ſhips, deſigning for the Moluccos through the ſtrait of Magellan: but when he came upon the coaſt of Braſil, his proviſions began to fail, and the men to mutiny, both which things obliged him to lay aſide his firſt deſign, and run up the river then called of Solis, now of Plate; and going up it thirty leagues, he came to the iſland of S. Gabriel, and ſeven leagues above it to the river S. Salvador, where he landed and built a fort, in which he left ſome men, whilſt he diſcovered higher. Thirty leagues further up he found the river of Zarcarana, and erected another fort, which was called by his name. Then continuing the ſame courſe, after running up two hundred leagues he came to the river Paraguay, up which he turned leaving the great river, and at the end of thirty leagues found a people that tilled the ground, which he had not ſeen before, and they oppoſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he was forced to return down the river after loſing twenty eight of his men: where we muſt leave him a-while, to ſhow that this ſame year James Garcia was ſent from Galicia with one ſhip, a ſmall tender, and a brigantine to diſcover this ſame river of Plate, and came upon that part of the coaſt of Braſil which for its

its many rocks and ſhoals is called Abrelojo, or Open your Eyes, at the end of the year.

An. 1527. At the beginning of the year he came into the river of Plate, and there found two of Cabot's ſhips, but ſent back his own to carry ſlaves into Portugal. Then he run up the river, and found Cabot in that of Paraguay, where we ſaid he loſt his men, whence they returned together to the ſhips. Cabot ſent one of them back into Spain, with an account of what he had diſcovered, the reaſons why he went not to the Moluccos, and ſome ſilver and gold, deſiring to be reinforced, and to have leave to plant there, which was not done till ſome time after, when it ſhall be mentioned in its place. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. IX. and dec. 4. lib. I.

This ſame year Cortes fitted out three ſhips on the coaſt of New Spain in the South ſea, and ſent them to the Molucco iſlands, where they joined the ſpaniards before-mentioned, and proſecuted the war with the portugueſes. One of the ſhips attempted to return with cloves to New Spain, but was beaten back to Tidore by contrary winds, where the continual wars reduced the ſpaniards to only twenty, who were forced to put themſelves into the power of the portugueſes, and by them were carried into India, where ſome of them returned into Spain. Theſe ſhips were in ſeveral of the Philippine iſlands, and took poſſeſſion of them for the king of Spain. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. I.

This year alſo Francis de Montejo ſailed from Sevil with three ſhips, and five hundred men in them, to conquer the province of Yucatan, and Peter de Alvarado for that of Guatimala. Of the diſcovery of both ſomething has been ſaid already, and therefore there needs no repetition.

The ſame year ſtill Pamphilo de Narvaez ſailed from Sanlucar on the ſeventeenth of june with five veſſels, and in them ſeven hundred men, and ſpent much time at Hiſpaniola and Cuba, where after eſcaping a dreadful ſtorm, he was forced to winter. In march following he put to ſea with four ſhips and above four hundred

hundred men, and on the twelfth of april after many ſtorms and dangers came upon the coaſt of Florida; he landed his men and forty horſes, and then travelled with them by land, ſending the ſhips at the ſame time to coaſt along and find a ſafe harbour where they might ſettle a town. Thoſe that marched by land, after incredible ſuffering aſhore, and loſing their ſhips, built ſome barks to carry them off, making ſails of their ſhirts, and ropes of their horſes tails and manes. By the twenty ſecond of ſeptember they had eaten all their horſes, and then went aboard their barks: they crept along the ſhore ſeven days in thoſe creeks almoſt ſtarved, till they found ſome dry fiſh in an indian houſe, but after this ſuffered ſuch extremity of thirſt, that five of them died with drinking of ſalt water. They landed again and got ſome refreſhment, but the indians proving treacherous, they loſt ſome men, and ſo put to ſea again, where they ranged many days in foul weather, and were all parted. At laſt all the barks were caſt upon the ſhore and ſeveral men drowned, thoſe that eſcaped almoſt naked and ſtarved met with charitable indians, who came down and lamented their misfortune with tears, fetching wood to make fire to warm them, carrying them to their houſes, and giving them all the beſt they had; but this laſted not long; for the indians though ſo loving were poor, and ſoon after ſuffered extreme want themſelves, ſo that the ſpaniards diſperſed to ſhift, and the ſixty that landed were ſoon reduced to fifteen. Such was their miſery, that five of them who had kept together ate up one another till only one was left. Three or four that ſurvived theſe calamites travelled ſome hundreds of leagues acroſs the country, and with incredible hardſhips at length came to New Spain, the reſt with their officers all periſhed; and this was the end of the expedition. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. II, IV.

Before we procced, it muſt be here noted, that this ſame year king Henry the eighth of England ſent out two ſhips to diſcover to the northward, which ſailed out of the Thames on the twentieth of may, and entering between the north of Newfoundland and the continent one of them was caſt away. The other di-

rected its courſe towards cape Breton, and the coaſt of Arambec, often ſending men aſhore to get information of the country, and returned home in october; which is all the account we have of this voyage. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1530. Francis Pizarro having been in Spain, and obtained many favours of the emperor, and power to conquer what he had diſcovered, ſailed from Panama with a hundred and eighty five ſpaniards, and thirty ſeven horſes. At the bay of S. Matthew he landed the horſes and moſt of the men to march along the ſhore, whilſt the ſhips coaſted; and falling upon the town of Quapel, he took a vaſt booty of gold, ſilver, and emeralds: then he ſent three ſhips to Panama and Nicaragua to bring recruits of men and proviſions. Being reduced to great ſtraits, and ready to abandon the country, a ſhip arrived with ſupplies. Hence they ſailed to the iſland Puna, which lies between three and four degrees of ſouth latitude; where after much feigned friendſhip from the indians, he came to a battle with them, and having gained the victory, continued there, ſetting at liberty ſix hundred indians of Tumbez, kept there in ſlavery, which gained him the affection of thoſe people. Two ſhips coming to him with recruits from Panama, Pizarro ſailed over to Tumbez, of which place he poſſeſſed himſelf after killing many indians, who uſed all means by open force and treachery to deſtroy him. Here inquiring into the affairs of the country, he was informed of the greatneſs and infinite wealth of the city of Cuzco, and of the vaſt power and large dominion of the emperor of Peru. Then moving ſtill to the ſouthward, he founded the city of S. Michael, and ſtaid there long to ſettle that new colony, to get more ſupplies and further intelligence into the affairs of the country; and though theſe things happened in the following years, we will conclude with them at once, according to the intended brevity. At that time two brothers contended for the monarchy of Peru, theſe were Atahaulpa and Guaſcar, of whom the former had been ſucceſsful in ſeveral battles. Pizarro reſolved to make his advantage of their diviſions. He therefore marched

marched into the country with ſcarce two hundred men, and coming to Caxamalca, whence Atahaulpa drew out with his army, he ſent to invite him back. The inga came with an infinite multitude of indians; and having filled the great market of Caxamalca, he ordered they ſhould ſeize all the ſpaniards, and take care that not one eſcaped: upon which as his horns and other warlike inſtruments began to make a dreadful noiſe, Pizarro gave the ſignal in like manner; and falling on, routed that multitude, and took the inga priſoner, and with him an incredible treaſure of gold, ſilver, and cotton cloth. The inga being priſoner, offered for his ranſom ten thouſand ingots of gold, and a great room full to the top of ſilver; which he had almoſt performed, when new troubles ariſing, he was put to death. After which Pizarro marched to the great city of Cuzco, near two hundred leagues from Caxamalca, to the ſouth-eaſt; whence moving to the ſea, he founded the city of Lima in 18 degrees of ſouth latitude, and ſubdued all that vaſt empire of Peru. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. VII. and IX. and dec. 5. throughout the greateſt part of it.

An. 1532. Nunho de Guzman, ſent out by Cortes from Mexico by land to reduce the province of Mechoacan, diſcovered and ſubdued the provinces of Culiacan and Cinaloa, extending to 28 degrees of north latitude on the coaſt of the ſouth ſea, and oppoſite to the ſouth end of California; all which was done by land, and a conſequence of the former navigations. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. I.

Some ſhips were ſent out theſe years by Cortes from New-Spain, to diſcover to the north-weſt; but they having gone no further than has been already mentioned, it is needleſs to give any account of them.

An. 1534. Simon de Alcazova, a portugueſe in the king of Spain's ſervice, undertook to diſcover to the ſouthward of Peru; paſſing the ſtrait of Magellan, and fitting out two good ſhips with two hundred and fifty men, he ſailed from S. Lucar on the twenty firſt of ſeptember, and entered the mouth of the ſtraits of Magellan in january following. Having ſpent ſome

time in it, and being half way through, the violent ſtorms, which laſted many days, were the occaſion that his men in a mutinous manner obliged him to turn back out of the ſtrait, and put into port Lobos, a little above the mouth of it. Here he landed a hundred men to diſcover up the country, appointing his lieutenant to command them, becauſe he could not himſelf, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. They marched ninety leagues through a deſart country, ſeeing ſcarce any inhabitants, and being ready to periſh ſometimes for want of water; and by this time all the proviſions they brought from aboard were ſpent, the country affording little or nothing. This done, they returned towards the ſhips, and ſome of them mutinying by the way, ſecured thoſe that oppoſed their wicked deſigns; and coming aboard, murdered Alcazova their commander in chief and his pilot, deſigning to leave the reſt that had oppoſed them on ſhore, and turn pirates. But being divided among themſelves, the loyal party took the advantage to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſhips, and executed many of them. This done they directed their courſe for the iſlands of America. The greateſt ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of Braſil, the other in much diſtreſs arrived at the iſland Hiſpaniola. Thus ended this enterpriſe. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. VII. and VIII.

This ſame year 1534. Jaques Cartier ſailed from the port of S. Malo, by order of Francis I. king of France, to diſcover the north part of America. He ſet out on the twentieth of april, and on the tenth of may put into the port of S. Catherine in Newfoundland; where having ſpent ſome days in refitting, he ſailed all the length of the iſland from cape Raz to cape de Grace; and entering between the iſland and the continent, run to the weſtward along the ſhore, till at the mouth of the great river Canada, he turned to the ſouthward, came to the bay called du Chaleur, and traded with the natives in a very peaceable manner, as they did all along thoſe ſhores on the back of Newfoundland, viewing all the creeks and harbours; till the fifteenth of auguſt, when they departed thence homeward, and arrived at S. Malo,

Malo on the fifth of ſeptember. Hackluyt; vol. III. p. 201.

An. 1535. The ſame Jaques Cartier ſailed again from S. Malo, may the nineteenth, with three ſhips upon the ſame diſcovery; and after ſuffering much by ſtorms, which parted them, Cartier upon the twenty fifth of june came upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, in 49 degrees and 40 minutes of latitude, and ſtaying ſome days, was there joined by his other two ſhips. Then they all together entered the great bay on the back of Newfoundland, ſailing to the weſtward, and foul weather coming on, anchored in the port of S. Nicholas, where they ſtaid till the ſeventh of auguſt; and then ſteering to the ſouthward, on the fifteenth came upon the iſland of the Aſſumption. Thence he turned again into the great river, and coaſting along it, came to the iſland he called of Orleans, in the country of Canada, where he traded amicably with the indians; and leaving the ſhips there, with fifty men in the boats, he ran fifty leagues higher, where he ſaw the town of Hochelaga, conſiſting of about fifty great houſes, each capable of a great number of people, and the town incloſed with a triple fence, all of timber. Returning hence to his ſhips, he went to Stadacona, a town about a league from them, to viſit the prince of that part of Canada. In theſe parts he found much fiſh, indian wheat, and tobacco. He continued here all the winter, diſcovering what was neareſt, and inquiring into the further parts of the country; and in may following returned home with a particular account of the great river of Canada, and the whole country called by that name, or New-France. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 212.

This year D. Peter de Mendoza ſailed from S. Lucar with eleven ſhips and eight hundred men in them, for the river of Plate, where he happily arrived, and ſettled the colony of Buenos Ayres, which continues and is famous to this day; though the greateſt part of his people periſhed there for want, before they were relieved from Spain. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. IX.

An. 1536. Two ſhips were fitted out at London, under the command of Mr. Hore, with a hundred and

twenty men, for north America; of whom we find no account that they did any more than get to Newfoundland, where they were in ſuch want, that they eat up one another; and thoſe that were left, ſurpriſed a french ſhip that came into thoſe parts, and ſo returned home. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 129.

An. 1539. F. Mark de Niza, with his companion F. Honoratus, a black, whoſe name was Stephen, and ſome indians for interpreters, ſet out on the ſeventh of march from the town of Culiacan at the entrance into the ſtrait of California on the South-ſea ſhore, to diſcover the country to the northward by land. F. Honoratus fell ſick, and was left behind; and F. Mark proceeded to Petathen, ſixty leagues from Culiacan; the people there and all the way paying him extraordinary reſpect, and ſupplying him plentifully with all neceſſaries. Hence he went on to Vacapa, and ſent the black towards the ſea to diſcover that port, who ſoon after ſent meſſengers, deſiring the father to come ſpeedily to him, becauſe he had received information of a country called Cibola, where there were ſeven great cities, built with ſtone two ſtories high, and the people well clad; and that it was but thirty days journey from the place where he then was. F. Mark ſet out towards this country, and all the way he went, the people offered him not only proviſions, but turky ſtones, earthen diſhes, and other things, whereof he would receive nothing, but what was barely for his and his company's maintenance. He paſſed through a deſart of four days journey, and coming out of it, the people of the firſt towns ran to meet him all clad in cotton cloth, or ſkins, with collars and other ornaments of turky ſtones. Having travelled a hundred and twenty leagues from Vacapa, he came into a moſt delightful plain, all inhabited by very civilized people, and ſix days journey over; and then entered into a deſart of fifteen days journey, where an indian brought him the news that Stephen his black, who had gone all the way before, was killed at Cibola by the governor's order; which was confirmed by other indians that went with him, and had eſcaped. F. Mark having

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with much difficulty perſuaded ſome few indians to follow him, went on till he came in ſight of Cibola, which he viewed from a riſing ground, and afterwards declared it was the beſt city he had ſeen in America, the houſes being two or three ſtories high, and very beautiful; but durſt not go into it, for fear if they ſhould kill him, there would be none to carry back an account of that diſcovery. He therefore returned, having ſeen many good towns in his way, and found people very much civilized; whereof he ſent an account to the viceroy. He alſo was informed, that beyond Cibola there were three great and powerful kingdoms, called Marata, Acus, and Tonteac, where the people lived very politely, wove cloth, and had great riches. Cibola lies in about 38 or 39 degrees of north latitude. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. VII.

Upon the news of this great diſcovery by land, Cortes ſet out three ſhips from New Spain, under the command of D. Franciſco de Ulloa; who directed his courſe to the north-weſt, run along the back of California, ſearching all that coaſt as far as cape Enganho in the latitude of 30 degrees: but here was no diſcovery of any conſequence made, and Ulloa reſolving to go further, was never more heard of; another of his three ſhips had been loſt before, and the third, which now left him, returned to New Spain. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1540. Don Antony Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, upon the information above given by F. Mark of the country of Cibola, ordered Francis Vaſquez de Cornado, governor of New Galicia, to march thither with ſome forces, and plant colonies where he thought convenient. Cornado ſet out from Culiacan in may, with an hundred and fifty horſe and two hundred foot, and ſtore of ammunition and proviſions. He directed his courſe almoſt north-eaſt, and after a long march of many days came to the firſt town, where Stephen the black above-mentioned was killed. Here they ſaw five towns, each of about two hundred inhabitants, and the houſes of ſtone and mud, and flat at the top; the country cold, but plentiful, the people clad in ſkins of

beaſts. Five days journey to the north-eaſt of Cibola is a province called Tucayan. All theſe places gave the ſpaniards friendly reception, except the firſt town of Cibola. They travelled ſeven days further ſtill north-eaſt, and came to the river Cicuique, where they found abundance of cows, and then proceeded twenty days without knowing where they were. Here Cornado ordered all his forces to ſtay, except thirty men, and with them he travelled thirty days to the northward always among abundance of cattle, and on the feaſt of St. Peter and Paul came to the river to which he gave thoſe names. Hence they turned into the province of Quivira, which is a finer country than moſt in Europe, and where they ſaw grapes and ſeveral ſorts of european fruits, as alſo flax growing wild. Having taken an account of all this country, he returned to his government. In his way outwards he travelled three hundred and thirty leagues, and but two hundred in his return, becauſe he came back the direct way. Quivira is in 40 degrees of latitude. Cornado was out two years upon his diſcovery, and was blamed at his return for not having planted a colony.

The ſame year the viceroy of Mexico ſet out two ſhips at Acapulco on the South-ſea, to diſcover on that element, whilſt Cornado travelled by land, and gave the command of them to Ferdinand de Alarcon, who ſet ſail on the ninth of may. Coming to the flats at the entrance of the ſtrait of California, he ſent his boats before to ſound, and yet run aground; but the tide riſing, brought him off, and he run up till he came to a great river, up which he went with his boats, and traded with the indians for proviſions and hides. Having gone very far up this river, Alarcon heard tidings of Cibola, which was what he looked for, and of the death of Stephen the black. He called the river Buena Guia, and returning to his ſhips, put aboard his boats abundance of proviſions and commodities to trade with; reſolving to join Francis Vaſquez de Cornado that way. Alarcon went up this river eighty five leagues, and then hearing no news of Cornado,

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in ſearch of whom he went, he took down the river again to his ſhips. He proceeded on his voyage many days after up the coaſt, inquiring for Cornado and Cibola, till perceiving at laſt there were no hopes of finding them, he returned to New Spain; having ſailed 4 degrees further than the ſhips ſent by Cortes. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.

This year ſtill, James Cartier before mentioned ſailed from S. Malo with five ſhips on the twenty third of may for the coaſt of Canada and Saguenay; and meeting with very bad weather at ſea, were parted, and came together again after long beating at ſea, in the port of Carpont in Newfoundland; and on the twenty third of auguſt put into the haven of Santa Croix, or the holy croſs in Canada. Hence the lord of Roberval ſailed four leagues further, where he thought a convenient place, and there erected a fort, into which he landed the proviſions and ammunition; and keeping three ſhips with him, ſent back the other two into France. This is the firſt colony I find in north America, and the firſt in all that continent of any nation, except the ſpaniards or portugueſes. Hackluyt, vol. 3. p. 232.

There occurs another navigation this year, no leſs remarkable in its way, than any of thoſe already mentioned. Pizarro having conquered the mighty empire of Peru, guided by his boundleſs ambition, travelled up into the inland, and wanting proviſions, ſent captain Orellana down the river of the Amazons with eighty men in a boat and ſeveral canoes. He ſet out about the latter end of this year, and being carried two hundred leagues from the place where he entered, the violence of the current driving the boats twenty five leagues a day; he thought he was too far gone to return againſt the ſtream, and therefore held on his way, till in january for want of proviſions his men eat all the leather they had. Being ready to periſh, they came to an indian town, where they found proviſions, the indians abandoning it at firſt; but Orellana ſpeaking to ſome in the indian tongue, they all returned, and plentifully furniſhed him with turkeys, partridges, fiſh, and other neceſſaries. Finding theſe indians ſincere, they ſtaid here twenty days; in which time they

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built a brigantine, and ſet out again on candlemas day, and ran two hundred leagues farther without ſeeing any town; when being again in great want, they ſpied ſome indian dwellings, where they civilly aſked for ſome ſuſtenance, and had abundance of tortoiſes and parrots given them. In the way hence they ſaw good towns, and the next day two canoes came aboard, bringing tortoiſes and good partridges, and much fiſh, which they gave to Orellana, who in return gave them ſuch things as he had. Then he landed, and all the caciques of the country about came to ſee and preſent him with proviſions: ſo that he ſtaid here thirty five days, and built another brigantine, which he caulked with cotton, and was ſupplied by the indians with pitch for it. They left this place on the twenty fourth of april, and running eighty leagues without meeting any warlike indians, came to a deſart country. May the twelfth they came to the province of Machiparo, where many canoes full of indians ſet upon them; yet they landed ſome men, who brought proviſions from the town in ſpite of the multitude of natives that oppoſed it, and repulſed the indians from their boats. Yet when he went off, they purſued him two days and two nights, and therefore when they left him, he reſted three days in a town, whence he drove the inhabitants, and found much proviſion, whereof he laid in good ſtore. Two days after he came to another town as plentiful as the laſt, and where they ſaw much ſilver and gold, but valued it not, being now intent only upon ſaving their lives. In fine, with ſuch like accidents he run down this vaſt river, ſeeing many towns and large rivers that fell into this; fighting often with the indians, till he came into the North-ſea. Theſe ſpaniards judged the mouth of the river to be fifty leagues over, that the freſh water ran twenty leagues into the ſea, that the tide riſes and falls five or ſix fathoms, and that they had run along this vaſt river eighteen hundred leagues, reckoning all the windings. Being out at ſea, they coaſted along by gueſs with their ſmall veſſels, and after many labours and ſufferings, arrived at laſt in ſeptember at the iſland Cubagua on the coaſt of Paria, where

where was then a ſpaniſh town, and great pearl-fiſhery. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. IX.

An. 1542. John Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberval, whom Francis I. king of France had conſtituted his lieutenant in the countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, ſailed from Rochel with three ſhips, and in them two hundred perſons, as well women as men, on the ſixteenth of april; and by reaſon of contrary winds did not reach Newfoundland till the ſeventh of june. Here he made ſome ſtay to refit, and there came into the ſame port James Cartier with all his company, who we mentioned went into Canada two years before. He left the country becauſe he was too weak to withſtand the natives; and Roberval commanding him now to return with him who had ſtrength enough, he ſtole away in the night, and returned into France. The laſt of june the general ſailed out of port S. John in Newfoundland, and run up the river of Canada, till four leagues above the iſland of Orleans, the place now called Quebec. Finding here a convenient harbour, he landed and erected a ſtrong and beautiful fort, into which he conveyed his men, proviſions, and all neceſſaries, ſending two ſhips back into France with the account of his proceedings. Being ſettled in this place they ſuffered much hardſhip, their proviſions falling ſhort, but were relieved by the natives. Roberval took a journey into the country of Saguenay to diſcover, but we have no particulars of this his expedition. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 240.

The ſame year 1542. D. Antony de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, fitted out two ſhips on the coaſt of the South-ſea to diſcover to the northward, under the command of John Rodriguez Cabrillo a portugueſe. He ſailed from the port of Navidad on the twenty ſeventh of june, and on the twentieth of auguſt came up with cape Engano on the back of California in 31 degrees of latitude, where Cortes his diſcoverers had been before. September the fourteenth they anchored at a cape they called de la Cruz, or of the croſs, in 33 degrees of latitude. October the tenth they traded with ſome peaceable indians in 35 degrees 20 minutes, and called thoſe the

the towns of the canoes, becauſe they ſaw many there. On the eighteenth of the ſaid month they anchored at cape Galera, and above it in a port they called Of Poſſeſſion, trading with the natives, who go naked, have their faces painted in chequers, and are all fiſhermen. From this time they had many ſtorms, which obliged them to turn back to the iſland Of Poſſeſſion, where they continued many days by reaſon of the foul weather. At length they put to ſea again, and ſailed to the northward as far as 44 degrees, where the cold was ſo intenſe they could not bear it; and their proviſions now failing, they returned to New-Spain; having ſailed further to the northward, than any had done on that ſide. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1543. The viceroy laſt mentioned gave the command of two ſhips, a galley, and two ſmall tenders, to Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, to diſcover the iſlands to the weſtward. He ſailed from the coaſt of New-Spain on the firſt of november, and having run a hundred and eighty leagues in 18 degrees and a half of latitude, came to two deſart iſlands about twelve leagues diſtant from one another, which he called S. Thoma and Anublada. Eighty leagues further they ſaw another, and called it Roca Portida. Seventy two leagues beyond it they found an Archipelago of ſmall iſlands inhabited by a poor people, where they watered; and on the ſixth of january paſſed by ten other iſlands, which for their pleaſantneſs they called the Gardens, all of them in about 9 or 10 degrees of latitude. January the 10th, after a great ſtorm, in which they loſt their galley, they diſcovered another iſland, from which ſome indians came in boats making the ſign of the croſs, and bidding them good-morrow in ſpaniſh. February the ſecond they came to an iſland they called Cæſarea Caroli, about fifteen hundred leagues from New-Spain, where Villalobos would have planted a colony, but forbore becauſe the place was unwholſome. This iſland by its bigneſs, for he coaſted along it ſixty leagues to the ſouth, muſt be Luzon or Manila, the biggeſt of the Philippines, and he ſays it is three hundred and fifty leagues in compaſs. In a ſmall iſland near to it

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he found china ware, muſk, amber, civet, benjamin, ſtorax, and other perfumes, as alſo ſome gold. Here they reſolved to ſtay, and ſowed ſome grain, which being little they were reduced to extremity. Hence they removed to the iſland of Gilolo near the Moluccos, at the invitation of the king of it; whence they ſent two ſhips at ſeveral times to carry news of them to New-Spain, which were both forced back by contrary winds. Between the Moluccos and Philippine iſlands the ſpaniards were long toſſed, ſometimes removing to one, ſometimes to another, ever perſecuted by the portugueſes, and ſuffering great wants: till being quite ſpent and without hopes of relief, they put themſelves into the hands of the portugueſes, and were by them ſent through India into Spain. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V.

An. 1562. The french admiral Chaſtillon fitted out two of the king's ſhips under the command of captain John Ribault who ſailed with them on the eighteenth of february, and two months after arrived on the coaſt of Florida, where he landed at cape Francois in about 30 degrees of latitude, but made no ſtay. Running hence to the northward, he came into the river of May, where he was friendly entertained by the indians, who preſented him with fiſh, indian wheat, curious baſkets, and ſkins. He proceeded ſtill northward to the river of Port Royal, about which he ſaw turkey-cocks, partridges, and ſeveral other ſorts of birds and wild beaſts. The mouth of the river is three leagues over, and he ſailed twelve leagues up it, where landing, the natives preſented him chamois ſkins, fine baſkets, and ſome pearls; and here he erected a pillar with the arms of France. Having taken a view of all the ſhores of this river, he built a fort here but ſixteen fathom in length and thirteen in breadth, with proportionable flanks, in which he left only twenty ſix men with proviſions, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries, and called it Charles Fort. This done, he ſailed ſome leagues further along the coaſt, and finding it dangerous, and his proviſions almoſt ſpent, returned to France. Thoſe left in the new fort diſcovered up the river, and con-

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tracted great friendſhip with five indian princes, whoſe ſubjects, when their proviſions failed them, gave them all they had; and when that was ſpent guided them to other princes ſouthward, who freely preſented them with what they wanted. The fort happening accidentally to be burnt down, the indians of their own accord rebuilt it. The french had lived long in a peaceable manner, and having no enemy abroad they fell out among themſelves, and murdered their captain chooſing another in his ſtead. After which growing weary of the place, they built a ſmall bark and put to ſea in it; but their proviſions failing, they were all like to periſh, and eat one of their company. In this diſtreſs they met an engliſh veſſel which ſet ſome of them aſhore, and carried the reſt into England. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 308.

This ſame year Mr. Hawkins made a voyage to Guinea, where having got three hundred blacks, he ſailed over with them to Hiſpaniola, and ſold them at good rates. But this being a trading voyage, and not upon diſcovery, deſerves no further mention. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 500.

An. 1564. Captain Laudonniere had the command of three ſhips given him by the king of France, and ſailed with them on the twenty ſecond of april for Florida. He paſſed by the iſlands Antilles, and arrived on the coaſt of Florida on the twenty ſecond of june. After ſpending ſome days along the coaſt, every where entertained with the greateſt tokens of affection by the indians, he ſailed up the river of May, and finding a convenient place erected a fort, which he called Caroline in honour of Charles king of France. The fort finiſhed, Laudonniere ſent ſome of his men up the river, who at ſeveral times run eighty leagues, always meeting with natives that courted their friendſhip. After ſome time many mutinies happened among the french, of whom ſeveral went away with two brigantines to the ſpaniſh iſlands, and having committed ſome rapine were cloſely purſued and drove back to Florida, where four of them were hanged. Whilſt theſe mutineers were abroad, Laudonniere ſent ſome of his men

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up the river, who diſcovered as far as the great lake out of which it runs, and the mountain Apalache, in which the indians ſaid there were rich mines. The following winter the french having exchanged away all their commodities, the indians forſook them, and they were reduced to great ſtraits, being obliged to uſe force to get proviſions. In the height of their diſtreſs, when they had thoughts of venturing to return to France in a ſmall veſſel ſcarce able to contain them, with very ſlender proviſions; Mr. Hawkins beforementioned, who this ſame year had made another voyage to Guinea, and thence to the Weſt-Indies to ſell blacks, and in his way home run along the coaſt of Florida, coming to the river of May found the french in this diſtreſs, and therefore ſold them a ſhip upon credit, generouſly ſupplying them with all they wanted, which done, he ſailed away and returned into England. The french were now preparing to depart for France, this being

An. 1565. When in auguſt captain John Ribault arrived with ſeven ſail of french ſhips to take poſſeſſion of that country. A few days after ſix great ſpaniſh ſhips came upon the coaſt, and gave chaſe to four of Ribault's that were without the port, which being better ſailers eſcaped; and Ribault made out with the other three after them, leaving Laudonniere in the fort with eighty five men, where the ſpaniards attacked him, and made themſelves maſters of the fort. Laudonniere with ſome of his men eſcaped aboard two ſhips they had in the river, in one of which he arrived in England, and thence into France. Ribault with his ſhips as ſoon as he was out of May river met with a dreadful ſtorm, which wrecked them all on the coaſt of Florida, where abundance of his men ſaved themſelves from the ſea, but were afterwards deſtroyed by the ſpaniards. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 319. and 349. and Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1567. Captain Gourgues ſailed from France with three ſhips, and coming to the river of May in Florida, revenged the death of his countrymen, killing all the Spaniards he found there, but did nothing as to

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diſcoveries. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 356. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1604.

An. 1576. Mr. Martin Forbiſher with two barks and a pinnace ſet out from Graveſend for the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Cathay by the north-weſt, on the twelfth of june. Sailing about the north of Scotland, on the twenty eighth of july, and in 62 degrees of latitude, he diſcovered land which he ſuppoſed to be the continent of America, called Tierra de Labrador, with abundance of ice about it. Within a cable's length of the ſhore he found an hundred fathom water, and not being able to anchor ſtood to the north-eaſt, as the coaſt there lies, and by reaſon of the ice could not come within five leagues of the ſhore. The tenth of auguſt he landed on a deſart iſland: the eleventh in 63 degrees and 8 minutes latitude he entered a ſtrait which is called by his own name; the twelfth he came to S. Gabriel's iſland, and anchored in a bay which he called Prior's ſound. The eighteenth having ſailed north-north-weſt, he came to Butcher's iſland, where landing they ſpied ſeven boats. Theſe people came aboard and looked like tartars, with long black hair, broad faces and flat noſes, of a tawny complexion, clad in ſeal-ſkins, the boats alſo made of ſeal-ſkins with a wooden keel. The twenty ſixth one of thoſe men came aboard, and the boat going to ſet him aſhore, was taken by thoſe ſavages with all the men. Having ſtaid a day in hopes to recover them, and no ſigns appearing, he ſailed homewards, and arrived at Harwich on the firſt of october. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 29, 57.

An. 1577. Mr. Forbiſher ſailed the ſecond time on the twenty ſixth of may with a ſhip of two hundred tons and two barks, and in them an hundred and forty men, upon the ſame diſcovery he had attempted the foregoing year. June the ſeventh he arrived at the iſles of Orkney, and july the fourth at Frieſland: the ſixteenth he came to his ſtrait diſcovered the laſt year, and much ice appearing durſt not venture in with his ſhip, but went with two pinnaces, and took one of the ſavages aſhore. July the nineteenth the ice driving away

away the ſhips, he run into the ſtrait, and anchored in a bay which they called Jackman's ſound: here he landed with moſt of his men, and having travelled ſome way and found nothing to ſatisfy his deſires, he coaſted a little in the barks and boats both eaſt and weſt; and though he ſaw ſeveral people, could take none but a woman and her child; and therefore on the fourth of auguſt came to that he called Anne Warwick's ſound and iſland. Here he uſed all poſſible means to bring the natives to trade, or give ſome account of themſelves, but they were ſo wild, that they only ſtudied how to deſtroy the engliſh. Forbiſher this year did not run above thirty leagues up the ſtrait, and the winter drawing on returned into England, having loaded his veſſels with a ſort of ſhining ſand and ſtones, which he imagined to be gold, but it proved a fallacy. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 32, 60.

An. 1578. The noiſe of gold pretended to be found, and the hopes of a paſſage, encouraged people to proſecute this voyage; and fifteen ſail of ſhips provided for it met at Harwich, carrying a wooden fort ready framed to be ſet up in the golden country diſcovered, and an hundred men that were to be left there. The thirty firſt of may they left Harwich, and the ſecond of july came into Forbiſher's ſtrait, which they found choaked up with ice, and as they ſtruggled to work through it, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, and ſo incloſed them with mountains of ice, that it was wonderful they did not all periſh. One veſſel of an hundred tons was loſt, but the men ſaved; two others had not been ſeen in twenty days before, and four that were fartheſt out at ſea beſt eſcaped the danger of the ice, clearing themſelves of it in time. Being got out of this danger by the wind turning to the north-weſt, and into ſea-room, they were driven down by the current to the ſouthward of Forbiſher's ſtrait, and run into another about 60 leagues, without knowing where they were, the cloudy weather obſtructing their making an obſervation. Returning out of it again, moſt of the ſcattered fleet met and made for Forbiſher's ſtrait, in hopes of thoſe golden mountains, but found others of ice to obſtruct their paſſage. After many other difficulties Forbiſher with

moſt of the ſhips worked his way through, and on the thirty firſt of july reached his long deſired port of the counteſs of Warwick's ſound. Here they landed, and thought of erecting the houſe or fort brought from England; but part of it being loſt in the ſhip caſt away, and more of it, as alſo of the proviſions not yet come, being in four ſhips, the deſign of inhabiting there was laid aſide. The other ſhips that had been miſſing, after hard ſtruggling with ice and ſtorms, joined the fleet. Here they ſet their miners to work, and loaded abundance of ore, which done they directed their courſe for England, whither they returned in ſafety. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 39, 74.

The ſame year 1582. Francis de Ovalle ſailed from Acapulco, and running to the weſtward about eighteen hundred leagues, came to the iſland del Engano, the fartheſt of thoſe called de los Ladrones, in thirteen degrees of north latitude: thence he held on his courſe weſtward two hundred and eighty leagues, to Cabo del Eſpiritu Santo, or the cape of the Holy Ghoſt in the iſland of Tandaya, the firſt of the Philippines. He ſpent ſeveral days in the narrow channels among theſe iſlands, ſhaping his courſe diverſly as they would permit; and coming out into the open ſea run up into the bay of Manila, now the metropolis of the Philippine iſlands, lying in 14 degrees and a quarter. Returning out of this bay, he made over to the coaſt of China, and arrived in the port of Macao. Here he furniſhed himſelf with neceſſaries, and turning again to the eaſtward paſſed through the iſlands called Lequios, whence he held his courſe eaſt, and eaſt by north, never touching any where, or meeting with any land till he came upon the coaſt of California in 38 degrees and a half of latitude. From this place he ran ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth to cape S. Lucas, which is five hundred leagues from the north cape called Mendocino, whence he continued his voyage ſucceſsfully back to the port of Acapulco. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 442. This voyage is inſerted becauſe it is the firſt from New-Spain to China, and the firſt that found the way of returning to New Spain by the north-ward; for want of which knowledge, many ſhips that attempted to return from the Moluccos

luccos to America, were ſtill beaten back, there being no poſſibility of returning the way they go, which is near the line, where the eaſterly winds continually reign.

An. 1583. On the eleventh of june ſir Humphrey Gilbert ſailed from the weſt of England with five veſſels, and in them two hundred and ſixty men, deſigning to plant a colony in ſome part of north America. On the thirteenth the biggeſt ſhip ſtole away by night, and returned to Plymouth, there being a contagious diſtemper among the men. July the thirtieth he came upon the back of Newfoundland, which is about fifty leagues from the coaſt, and has at leaſt twenty five or thirty fathom water, and about ten leagues over, lying like a long ridge of mountains in the ſea, for on each ſide of it there are above two hundred fathom water. He came upon the coaſt, and running along it put into S. John's harbour, where he anchored among abundance of fiſhermen of ſeveral countries, who were there before. Here he went aſhore and took poſſeſſion. One of his ſhips had before played the pirate at ſea, robbing a french veſſel, and here his men run away with a ſhip laden with fiſh, and others hid themſelves; ſo that finding too few men for his ſhips, ſome being ſick, he put them into one of his veſſels, and ſent it home, remaining now with only three. Auguſt the twentieth he ſailed from port S. John, and the next day came up with cape Raz in 46 degrees 25 minutes latitude. Turning from hence to the weſtward towards cape Breton, eighty ſeven leagues diſtant, they ſpent eight days in the paſſage; and coming among the flats, the biggeſt ſhip of the three was caſt away, and nothing ſaved except a few men in the boat. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was not aboard the ſhip caſt away: the other two left reſolved to return home, but by the way the ſmall veſſel ſir Humphrey was in periſhed, the other arrived ſafe at Dartmouth. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 143.

An. 1584. Mr. Philip Amadas and Mr. Arthur Barlow ſailed on the twenty ſeventh of april from the weſt of England in two barks, to diſcover in America. On the tenth of june they came among the iſlands of America, much more to the ſouthward than they had de-

ſigned. July the fourth they diſcovered the continent, and ſailed along the coaſt four leagues till they came to a river on the thirteenth, where they anchored, and going aſhore took poſſeſſion. This place they afterwards found to be the iſland of Wokoken, on the coaſt of Virginia, in 34 degrees of latitude, and in it deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, vines, cedars, pines, ſaſſafras, cypreſs and maſtich trees. The natives from the continent repaired to the ſhips, and exchanged ſeveral ſorts of ſkins, white coral, and ſome pearls, for tin things, and other trifles. The country is fruitful, producing all things in a very ſhort time. The natives called it Wingandacao, and the engliſh Virginia. Going aſhore they were entertained with extraordinary civility at a little village, and heard news of a great city up the country, but ſaw it not. They made no long ſtay here, nor proceeded any further upon diſcovery, only juſt to the neighbouring parts in their boats, and returned to England in ſeptember, bringing two of the natives with them. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 246.

An. 1585. On the ninth of april ſir Richard Greenvil departed from Plymouth with ſeven ſail; and after touching at the iſlands of Puerto Rico, and Hiſpaniola, on the twenty ſixth of june came to an anchor at the iſland Wokoken in Virginia, where the admiral's ſhip was loſt through the ignorance of the pilot. Here Mr. Lane was ſet aſhore with above an hundred men to ſettle a colony, with all neceſſaries for that purpoſe. Then the admiral returned to England, and the new planters made ſeveral diſcoveries up the country, finding it every where plentiful and pleaſant. Here they continued a year, at the end whereof the natives conſpiring to deſtroy them, and no relief as yet coming from England, they returned home on board ſir Francis Drake's ſhips, which happened to touch there after his expedition to the ſpaniſh plantations. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 251. Purch. vol. IV. p. 1645.

The ſame year 1585, on the ſeventh of june, Mr. John Davis ſailed from Dartmouth with two barks for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage to China. July the nineteenth they met with much ice, and on the twenty ninth diſcovered land bearing north-eaſt of them

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in 64 degrees 15 minutes latitude. Here they went aſhore, and found a tractable ſort of people, with whom they dealt for ſeal ſkins, and ſeveral ſorts of leather. Auguſt the firſt they proceeded on their diſcovery to the north-weſt, and on the ſixth came into 66 degrees and 40 minutes free from ice, and landed under a hill which they called mount Raleigh, where they ſaw no inhabitants, but many white bears. The eighth they coaſted on, and the eleventh found themſelves in a paſſage twenty leagues wide, and free from ice, along which they ſailed ſixty leagues; and ſearching all about found many iſlands and ſeveral harbours, with all appearances of a further paſſage, yet the winds proving contrary to proceed, they returned for England, and arrived at Dartmouth on the thirtieth of ſeptember. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 98.

An. 1586. Mr. Davis ſailed the ſecond time on the ſeventh of may with one ſhip, two barks, and a ſmall pinnace, upon the ſame diſcovery. The fifteenth of june he diſcovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees, but could not come near it for ice, till the twenty ninth he came to land in 64 degrees latitude, and went aſhore on an iſland, where he traded very friendly with the natives for ſeals, ſtags, and white hares ſkins, and dried fiſh and ſome fowl. Here he continued ſome days trading with the natives who were very thieviſh; at his departure he brought away one of them with him. He run into 66 degrees 20 minutes latitude, and then coaſted ſouthward again to 56 degrees, where in a good harbour he continued till ſeptember; and ſailing thence in 54 degrees found an open ſea tending weſtward, which they hoped might be the paſſage ſo long ſought for; but the weather proving tempeſtuous, they returned to England in october. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 103.

The ſame year 1586, ſir Richard Greenvil returned to Virginia with three ſhips to relieve the colony left by him there; which being gone, as was ſaid before, he left fifteen men on the iſland Roanoak with proviſions for two years, and then returned to England. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 265.

This year alſo was begun the voyage round the world by ſir Thomas Candiſh, which may be ſeen among the voyages about the globe after theſe Weſt-India diſcoveries.

An 1587. Mr. John Davis on the nineteenth of may ſailed with three ſmall veſſels, upon his third voyage for his diſcovery of a paſſage to the north-weſt. June the eighteenth they came to an anchor on the northern American coaſt, and the twentieth were in 67 degrees 40 minutes latitude in an open ſea; and then ſteering weſtward ran forty leagues, where meeting with much ice, and the north wind driving them from their intended northerly courſe, they were forced to ſeek the open ſea again. The twentieth they had ſight of the ſtrait they diſcovered the year before, and ſailed up it 60 leagues; and having landed without finding any thing more than the year before, came out again to the wide ſea: then they coaſted along to the ſouthward as far as 52 degrees of latitude, whence they returned home, without doing any thing of note. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 111.

The ſame year 1587, ſir Walter Raleigh provided three veſſels to carry over to Virginia a hundred and fifty men to ſettle a colony there under the command of John White. They ſailed from Plymouth on the eighth of may, and having ſpent ſeveral days among the ſpaniſh american iſlands, arrived at laſt on the twenty ſecond of july at Hatoraſk in Virginia; whence croſſing over to the iſland Roanoak, they found the fifteen engliſh left there the year before were killed by the natives. Here the new planters were ſet aſhore with all their proviſions, goods, and ammunition, and the ſhips returned into England, carrying with them the governor to ſollicit for ſpeedy ſupplies to be ſent to the new colony. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 280.

An. 1590. John White returned to Virginia to the place where he had left the colony, but found none of the men; only an inſcription on a tree, ſignifying they were removed to Croatoan, another iſland on the coaſt, and many cheſts broke up, and ſome lumber belonging to them, ſcattered about the place. In going aſhore here

here a boat was overſet, and a captain with ſix men drowned; the reſt with much difficulty got aboard again, leaving behind them ſeveral caſks they had carried to fill with freſh water. They had ſpent much time before they came hither, ranging about the ſpaniſh iſlands; and the ſeaſon being now ſtormy, they were forced to return to England, without ſo much as knowing what was become of the colony. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 288.

An. 1602. Captain Goſnols ſailed from Falmouth on the twenty ſixth of march, and on the fourteenth of april diſcovered land in about 40 degrees of north latitude; and having ſpent ſome days ſounding along the coaſt, on the twenty fourth came upon Elizabeth's iſland, in 41 degrees 10 minutes, and four leagues from the continent. This iſland was not inhabited, but over-grown with trees and ſhrubs of all ſorts, and in it a pool of freſh water, about two miles in compaſs, one ſide of it not above thirty yards from the ſea, and in the midſt of it a ſmall rocky iſland about an acre in extent, all covered with wood, where the captain deſigned to build a fort, and leave ſome men. The thirty firſt he went over to take a view of the continent, which he found a moſt delicious and fruitful country, and the natives peaceable and friendly. Having taken this ſmall view of the country, and the men refuſing to be left on that deſart place, he returned for England. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1651.

An. 1603. Captain Samuel Champlain of Brouage, ſailed from the port of Honfleur in Normandy on the fifth of march for Canada. The ſecond of may they came upon the bank of Newfoundland in 44 degrees 20 minutes of latitude. The twelfth they came upon cape S. Mary, and the twentieth to the iſland of the Aſſumption, at the mouth of the river of Canada. He run up it a hundred leagues to the little port of Tadouſſac on the north ſide of Canada, and at the mouth of Saguenay river, where they contracted ſtrict friendſhip with the natives. He ran twelve leagues up the river Sanguenay, all which way is a mountainous country, and the river deep and wide. Next they run up the great river of Canada as far as that of the Iro-

quois, and thence to the firſt great fall of the river, which tumbles down there about two fathom with an incredible fury; and the indians told them there were ten more falls, though not ſo great, beyond the firſt. After diſcovering thus much, and getting information of ſeveral great lakes up the country, and of a boundleſs ocean at four hundred leagues diſtance weſtward, they returned to Tadouſſac, and ſpending ſome days more in ſearching the great and leſſer rivers, and getting intelligence of the country, they ſailed back into France. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1605.

The ſame year 1603. Two veſſels of Briſtol, and one of London, made their voyages to Virginia, in which there was nothing remarkable, except that the laſt of them run up into Cheſapeac bay in about 37 degrees of latitude, where the captain going aſhore, was killed with four men; upon which the reſt preſently returned home. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1654, and 1656.

An. 1604. Monſieur de Monts having obtained a patent from Henry IV. king of France for peopling the countries of Acadie and Canada, he ſailed for thoſe parts with two ſhips well manned, and monſieur de Potrincourt with him. They were kept long at ſea by contrary winds, and met with much ice; but on the ſixth of may they put into a port in the ſouth of Acadie, which they called Roſſignol, becauſe there they took a french ſhip, commanded by a captain of that name, being confiſcate for trading there contrary to the king's patent. Then doubling cape Sable, the ſouthermoſt of that country, they ran up to the northward in a large bay to that of S. Mary, and thence to a convenient harbour, which they called Port Royal; which monſieur de Potrincourt demanded a grant of, to ſettle a colony and inhabit there, and had it given him. They proceeded ſtill further up to cape Mines, ſo called becauſe of ſome found there, and into the river of S. John; and then turning back, erected a fort in a ſmall iſland twenty leagues from the ſaid river, reſolving to ſettle there, and calling it the iſland of Sante Croix, or the Holy Croſs. It is ſmall but very fruitful, and lies as it were among many others. Here

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winter coming on, and the fort being ill ſeated as expoſed to the north, the men ſuffered very much through extremity of cold and deep ſnows; and being forced to croſs a great river for water and wood, many of them were dangerouſly ſick. This hard ſeaſon being over, monſieur de Monts ſearched all the coaſt in a ſmall veſſel he built to diſcover a more convenient place to ſettle, and at laſt pitched upon Port Royal, where he left part of his men, and returned himſelf to France. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1620.

An. 1605. and on the laſt day of march, captain George Weymouth with one ſhip ſailed from the Downs, and on the eighteenth of may came to an anchor in S. George's iſland on the coaſt of Virginia, where he found great plenty of fiſh; and two days after removed into an excellent port, which he called Pentecoſt harbour. Then he run up a great river twenty ſix miles, and found it fit to receive and ſecure any number of ſhips. The natives of this coaſt traded in a friendly manner for ſeveral days, but were found at laſt to be treacherous, as only contriving by their fair ſhow of kindneſs to draw the engliſh into their power; who being aware of them in time broke off the correſpondence, and returned into England without making any conſiderable advantage of this ſmall diſcovery. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1659.

An. 1606. Monſieur de Monts and monſieur de Potrincourt ſailed again from Rochel with one ſhip of an hundred and fifty tun. The twenty eighth of june they came upon the bank of Newfoundland, and making the ſhore, coaſted all along to Port Royal, where they had before left their colony, and anchored at the mouth of the harbour on the twenty ſixth of july. Here they found but two frenchmen, the reſt being gone with their ſmall veſſel towards Newfoundland; but ſoon returned, being met by a pinnace belonging to this laſt come ſhip, left to coaſt along cloſe by the ſhore. Here they ſettled a-new, viewed all the country about for a more convenient ſeat for their town, were moſt obligingly treated by the natives, and planted, and had crops of all ſorts of european grain and garden-ſtuff: yet after all,

all, the colony was forſaken, not for any defect in the country, as may appear by what has been ſaid; but becauſe new meaſures were taken in France, and the ſupplies that ſhould have been ſent them were employed another way. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1627.

The ſame year 1606, on the twentieth of december, three ſhips ſailed from London, commanded by captain Newport, to ſettle a colony in Virginia; and paſſing among the ſpaniſh american iſlands, on the twenty ſixth of april came into the bay of Cheſapeac, where they preſently landed, and had ſome men hurt in ſkirmiſh with the natives. The twenty ſeventh they marched eight miles up the country, and the twenty eighth went up the bay in their boats, where they always found ſhallow water; but returning, they fell into a channel ſix, eight, and ten fathom deep, which was a ſatisfaction, and therefore they called the point of land next it cape Comfort. The point at the mouth of the bay they called cape Henry. The following days they ſurveyed all the ſhores in their boats, being civilly treated every where by the indians; and running up Powhatan river, found a place where their ſhips could lie moored to the trees in ſix fathom water. Here on the fourteenth of may they landed all their men, and fell to work to fortify themſelves, reſolving to ſettle their colony, as they did, giving it the name of James Town; which is the firſt plantation of the engliſh in Virginia that continued, as it does to this day. June the twenty ſecond captain Newport in the admiral was ſent back into England. In the colony were left an hundred and four men with little proviſion, and therefore they were ſoon reduced to great extremities; many alſo dying of diſeaſes peculiar to that country. But in their greateſt diſtreſs, the natives, who before had been their enemies, ſupplied them with plenty of all ſorts of victuals, which recovered the ſick men, and was the ſaving of the colony. Every year after ſhips arrived from England with ſupplies, till the new town grew to a conſiderable body, and ſent out other colonies to the parts adjacent, where they were thought neceſſary, till they made themſelves maſters of

that

that northern part of America. The relation is too long any more than to be hinted as above, but to be ſeen at large in Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1705.

An. 1610. Mr. Hudſon again undertook the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, which had been laid aſide for ſome years, and proceeded an hundred leagues further than any before him had done, giving names to ſome places, to be ſeen in the maps; as Deſire provokes, Iſle of God's Mercies, Prince Henry's Cape, King James's Cape, and Queen Anne's Cape: but he could proceed no farther for ice.

An. 1611. Sir Thomas Button, at the inſtigation of prince Henry, whoſe ſervant he was, purſued the north-weſt diſcovery. He paſſed Hudſon's ſtrait, and leaving Hudſon's bay to the ſouth, ſailed above two hundred leagues to the ſouth-weſtward, through a ſea above eighty fathom deep, and diſcovered a great continent called by him New-Wales; where after much miſery and ſickneſs, wintering at port Nelſon, he carefully ſearched all the bay, from him called Button's bay, back again almoſt to Digg's iſland. He diſcovered the great land called Cary's Swanſneſt. He loſt many men during his ſtay in the river called Port Nelſon, in 57 degrees 10 minutes of north latitude; though he kept three fires in his ſhip all winter, and had great ſtore of white partridges, and other fowl, beſides deer, bears and foxes.

An. 1612. Mr. Richard Moore was ſent in april with one ſhip and ſixty men to inhabit the Summer iſlands, otherwiſe called Bermudas, long before diſcovered by the ſpaniards, who after ſome attempts to ſettle there, abandoned them; and were after accidentally found by ſir Thomas Gate and ſir George Summers, who were ſhipwrecked upon them, and lived there nine months, during which time they built a ſhip and a pinnace [illegible] the cedar growing there, and in 1610 ſailed [illegible] Virginia, leaving only two men in the [illegible] ſhip ſent thither from Virginia left only [illegible] the iſland, who found there amber-[illegible] of nine or ten thouſand pounds. Mr. [illegible] coming this year found thoſe three men [illegible]

health. He ſettled a colony, and continued there three years, being relieved from time to time, till they amounted to above ſix hundred inhabitants, who built ſeveral forts, but had like to have been themſelves deſtroyed by an infinite number of rats, which increaſed from a few coming aſhore out of a ſhip, and continued for four years devouring all the growth of the country, notwithſtanding all poſſible means were uſed to deſtroy them.

An. 1612. James Hall and William Baffin returned into England, having diſcovered Cockin's ſound in 65 degrees 2 minutes latitude, and tried the mine at Cunningham's River, which they found to be worth nothing.

An. 1615. Mr. Baffin went again, and the chief thing he diſcovered was, that there is no paſſage in the north of Davis's Strait.

An. 1616. Mr. Baffin was ſent the third time, and entered ſir Thomas Smith's bay in 78 degrees of latitude; and returned, deſpairing of finding any paſſage that way.

An. 1620. A ſhip ſailed from Plymouth for New England on the ſixth of ſeptember; though we have not the commander's name, nor what force his ſhip was of. It is alſo here to be obſerved, that all the northern coaſt from about 60 to 40 degrees of north latitude, was firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot, and afterwards at ſeveral times by Cortereal a portugueſe, as has been ſet down in their proper places, and by ſundry engliſh and french diſcoverers; to particularize every one of whoſe voyages would ſwell a volume, and therefore only the principal diſcoveries and plantations are here ſet down, as moſt ſuitable to the nature of this diſcourſe, and the intended brevity. This ſhip we now ſpeak of, anchored in the bay of cape Cod in New England, and in 41 degrees and a half of north latitude on the eleventh of november. Here they put out their boat, and landed men, who went ſome miles into the country ſeveral ways without meeting any people, and only found ſome little indian wheat buried, the boat coaſting along the ſhore. This they continued for ſeveral days,

days, ſeeking out ſome proper place to ſettle. At length on the twenty third of december, they pitched upon a place to their mind, and fell to work to building their houſes, dividing themſelves into nineteen families, that the fewer houſes might ſerve. About this place they found no people, but were told by an indian, who came to them from the next part inhabited, that the natives there had all died lately of a plague. This ſavage brought ſome of the neighbouring people to them, by whom they were conducted to their king, a very poor one, with whom they concluded peace and amity. The following year this new colony was reinforced with thirty five men from England, and ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries, and called New Plymouth in New England. A war ſoon breaking out with another indian prince, the engliſh fortified their colony to ſecure themſelves againſt all attempts of their enemies. From hence all other colonies were by degrees ſent into other parts of the country; of which it were too tedious to give any further account. Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1842.

An. 1631. Captain James ſailing into the north-weſt, was much peſtered with ice in june and july; and entering a great bay near port Nelſon, he named the land New South-Wales. Roving up and down theſe ſeas, he gave names to theſe places diſcovered by him, viz. cape Henrietta Maria, Lord Weſton's Iſland, Earl of Briſtol's Iſland, Sir Thomas Roe's Iſland, Earl of Danby's Iſland, and Charlton Iſland. He wintered there in 52 degrees 3 minutes latitude, and returned home the following year 1632, having diſcovered much beyond Hudſon, Button, and Baffin. The danes have attempted to diſcover in theſe northern parts, but there is nothing remarkable in their actions.

An. 1667. Zachariah Gillam in the Nonſuch ketch paſſed through Hudſon's Strait, and then into Baffin's bay to 75 degrees of latitude, and thence ſoutherly into 51 degrees; where in a river called Prince Rupert's River, he had a friendly correſpondence with the natives, built a fort, which he called Charles Fort, and returned with ſucceſs; having laid the foundation of an advantageous trade in thoſe parts.

An.

An. 1669. Captain John Narbrough, afterwards ſir John Narbrough, ſailed in the Sweepſtakes, a man of war of three hundred tun, thirty ſix guns, and eighty men and boys, with a pink of ſeventy tun and nineteen men, both ſet out at the charge of his majeſty king Charles II. and his royal highneſs the duke of York, to make a farther diſcovery on the coaſt of Chile. On the twenty firſt of october the year following, he came to the mouth of the ſtraits of Magellan, and through them to the South-ſea, about the middle of november; having taken a moſt exact ſurvey of that paſſage, which is made public in his voyage. On the twenty ſixth of november he went aſhore on the ſmall iſland called Neuſtra Senora del Socorro, or Our Lady of Succour; where he watered, but found no people. Holding on his courſe to the northward, on the fifteenth of december he ſent his boat, with the lieutenant in her, aſhore on the ſouth ſide of port Baldivia, which is in 39 degrees 56 minutes of ſouth latitude. Here the lieutenant and three others going aſhore to a ſpaniſh fort, were detained, and the ſhip ſailed away without them. From hence captain Narbrough turned again to the ſouthward, and through the ſtrait of Magellan returned into England; where he arrived in june following, having been out above two years.

An. 1673. On the thirteenth of may F. Marquette a jeſuit, with only ſix other frenchmen, ſet out in two canoes from the Lac des Puans, or the Stinking Lake, in the province of Canada in North America; and paſſing through the provinces of Folle Avoine and Iliquois, indians in peace with France, ſometimes carrying their boats by land, and ſometimes being carried in them, they came at length to the great river Miſſiſſipi. They ran many leagues along this river through a deſart country, their courſe always ſouth, though ſometimes bending eaſt, and ſometimes weſt. At the end of ſeveral days ſolitude, they came among ſavage indians, were friendly received, and heard that the ſea was within two or three days ſail of them; which was the gulph of Mexico. Thus he diſcovered all that inland part of North-America along the river, from 38

to

to 34 degrees of north latitude, lying on the back of Canada, Virginia, &c. down to Florida. The particulars of this voyage may be ſeen in Thevenot's ſmall collection of voyages in octavo.

An. 1680, and 1681. Captain Sharp having been buccaneering in the South-ſea, and not able to recover the ſtrait of Magellan to return home, he ran further to the ſouth beyond le Maire's and Brower's, till he came into 60 degrees of ſouth latitude; meeting with many iſlands of ice, and abundance of ſnow, froſt, and whales, and called a ſmall place he found the Duke of York's iſland. Thus he came into the north ſea a new way, and made it appear that the land in the ſtraits of le Maire and Brower muſt be iſlands, and not joined to any continent. Introduction to the account of ſeveral late diſcoveries printed in 1694. p. 13.

Here we may conclude with the american voyages and diſcoveries, having run along from north to ſouth on the eaſt ſide of that new world, or along that commonly called the north ſea; and back from ſouth to north along the weſt ſide, or South-ſea. It follows next, as was done after the eaſtern diſcoveries, to ſhow the extent of this vaſt tract of land thus found, and what benefits the world has received by this navigation. The whole length of what has been diſcovered, is from 78 degrees of north latitude, in which ſir Thomas Smith's bay lies, to 60 degrees of ſouth latitude, in all a hundred and thirty eight degrees; which, allowing twenty leagues to a degree, in a ſtrait line amounts to two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty leagues, a thing almoſt incredible, were it not ſo well known, and ſtupendous that ſo great a part of the world ſhould lie concealed ſo many ages; being never known ſince the creation, till about three hundred years ago. Now to deſcend to particulars; from 80 to almoſt 50 degrees of north latitude being 30 degrees, and according to the rate above of twenty leagues to a degree, ſix hundred leagues; the extremity of the cold, which is there more fierce than in the parts of Europe under the like elevation, renders that part little regarded, and conſequently not inhabited by any european nation, though much of it be peopled by ſavages,

vages, living there little better than brutes: and all the advantage made of thoſe northern nations is the fiſhery of whales and morſes; the former for their oil and bone, and the latter for their teeth, which are finer than ivory. The next diviſion beginning above 50 degrees of north latitude, and reaching to about 44, is Canada or New-France; running up the river of Canada above two hundred leagues into the continent, and poſſeſſed by the french, who have there ſeveral colonies, and trade with the natives for furs. Next to Canada is New England, lying along the ſea-coaſt north-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt about 70 miles, ſubject to the crown of England, and their chief trade furs, flax, hemp, and ſome corn. After it follows New-York, the trade much the ſame with thoſe ſpoken of. Then comes Penſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, almoſt north and ſouth for above a hundred leagues of engliſh conqueſt, and the principal commodity tobacco. Carolina is next in courſe, being a part of the great province of Florida, lying between 29 and 36 degrees of latitude, and therefore about a hundred and forty leagues in length; it has been poſſeſſed by the engliſh but of later years, in the reign of king Charles II. from whom it took the name; and being ſo lately ſubdued, the returns of it are not yet great, but much is hoped from it. Florida is a vaſt part of the continent, reaching above two hundred and fifty leagues from north to ſouth, and above four hundred from eaſt to weſt, beſides a large province of it ſhooting out into the ſea, where begins the channel of Bahama: part of it is ſubject to the ſpaniards, and a greater part not yet conquered; ſo that it affords no great profit. But now follows the great and wealthy kingdom of Mexico, running above a hundred and thirty leagues almoſt north and ſouth, and about the ſame length upon a turn it makes in the ſouth part towards the eaſt, including the great peninſula of Yucatan, above three hundred leagues in compaſs. In this vaſt dominion, entirely ſubject to Spain, is to be found in great plenty all that is neceſſary and convenient for human life, except wine and oil; and from it Europe is ſupplied with great ſtore of ſilver,

cochineal, indigo, cacao, bairullas, cotton, mechoacan, and many other precious commodities. Whence to Porto Bello the coaſt runs partly near eaſt and weſt, and partly almoſt north and ſouth, above three hundred and fifty leagues of countries incredibly rich, and affording all the commodities abovementioned, more plenty of gold, and many other precious things. From Nombre de Dios to Cabo de Galera, taking it in a ſtraight line, the coaſt runs eaſt and weſt about four hundred and fifty leagues, all ſtill ſpaniſh, and abounding in wealth; particularly the pearl-fiſhery on the coaſt of Paria, and the rich emeralds up the inland. From cape Galera to Cabo de Conde, along the coaſt of Caribana, lying ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt about two hundred and fifty leagues, and thence to Caparare more ſoutherly about a hundred and twenty leagues, in all three hundred and ſeventy; all this for the moſt part unconquered, and peopled by ſavage indians. From cape Caparare to Cabo do Natal about four hundred leagues eaſt and weſt, ſomewhat ſoutherly, and from Cabo do Natal to Rio de Janeiro almoſt north and ſouth near four hundred leagues, and ſo to Lagoa de Pernaba a hundred and fifty leagues, in all nine hundred leagues; all this tract of land, commonly known by the name of Braſil, and ſubject to the crown of Portugal, yielding abundance of tobacco and ſugar, infinite quantities of braſil wood, which gives the name to the country, and of late years a gold mine found in it, which yields conſiderable treaſure. From Lagoa de Pernaba to the river of Plate, about three hundred leagues ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt, under the dominion of Spain. From the mouth of the river of Plate, running up the continent on the back of Braſil, the ſpaniſh dominions reach quite acroſs to Peru, being at leaſt four hundred leagues, and above as much north and ſouth in the inland; being fruitful countries, almoſt overrun with flocks and herds of all ſorts of cattle, whence they ſend abundance of hides to Spain, and much ſilver, which they have from Peru by way of trade. From the mouth of the river of Plate, to the entrance into the ſtrait of Magellan, ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt four hundred leagues; all this country is inhabited only by

ſavage indians, and was never ſubdued by any european nation: therefore yielding no profit, though fruitful and good land. Terra del Fuogo, or terra Magellanica lying to the ſouth of the ſtrait, is little known, and not worth conquering by reaſon of its coldneſs, and therefore no more needs be ſaid of it. The ſtrait of Magellan is about a hundred leagues in length, and coming out of it into the South-ſea, from cape Victoria to Rio de los Gallegos, about two hundred leagues; all ſtill the country of the patagones, never inhabited by chriſtians, nor yielding them any benefit. But here begins the coaſt of Chile, extending above three hundred leagues; a country infinitely rich in gold, for which the ſilver is neglected, though it has plenty of it, and yielding the moſt precious natural balſam in the world; all ſubject to Spain, as is the whole coaſt on the South-ſea up to 40 degrees of north latitude, for which reaſon it will be needleſs to repeat it. Peru reaches four hundred leagues north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, well known for its inexhauſtible ſilver mines of Potoſi and Porco. Next is the province of Quito, about an hundred leagues along the coaſt north and ſouth. Then the firm land, or continent ſo called peculiarly, and provinces of Panama and Veragua, above an hundred leagues north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. After this follows the government of Guatemala, near three hundred and fifty leagues along the coaſt north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt; and then that of Mexico two hundred and fifty leagues, abounding in gold, ſilver, all uſeful woods, rich drugs, cotton, and many other precious commodities. Laſtly, New-Mexico reaching up to 40 degrees of north latitude, being about four hundred leagues; a rich country in ſilver mines, and plentiful in cattle, corn, and all other bleſſings for human life. Having run along both ſides of America, and given a particular of each diviſion, as to extent, product, and by whom poſſeſſed, as far as the brevity of this diſcourſe would permit; it is fit to note that all the lengths are here taken in a ſtraight line, and not winding with the ſhores, which would make them double what is computed; and, as in ſuch vaſt extents, not pretended to be meaſured to exactneſs, but according

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ing to the general computation of ſailors. The total thus amounts to ſix thouſand five hundred leagues, taking only the greateſt windings of the coaſt, and this along what is conquered by europeans; excepting only the ſeven hundred leagues of the land of the Patagones about the ſtrait of Magellan, and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts, of Caribana, not ſo well ſubdued. And to ſum up the commodities we have from theſe countries; the principal are gold, ſilver, pearls, emeralds, amethiſts, cochineal of ſeveral ſorts, indigo, anatto, logwood, braſil, Nicaragua wood, braſilette, fuſtic, lignum vitæ, ſugar, ginger, cacao, bairullas, cotton, red wool, tobacco of various ſorts, ſnuff, hides raw and tanned, amber-greece of all ſorts, bezoar, balſam of Tolu, of Peru, and of Chile, jeſuit's bark, jalap, mechoacan, ſarſaparilla, ſaſſafras, tamarinds, caſſia, and many other things of leſſer note. It only remains now to add a word concerning the iſlands belonging to this mighty continent. The firſt of theſe beginning northerly, is Newfoundland, above three hundred leagues in compaſs, peopled by french and engliſh, who have ſome colonies in it fruitful enough, were it well cultivated; yet it yields no commodity to export from the land: but the ſea is an inexhauſted treaſure, furniſhing all Europe with ſalt and dried fiſh; which yield a mighty profit to thoſe that follow the fiſhery, and is a general benefit to all men. The next are the Bermudas, or Summer-iſlands, lying above three hundred leagues eaſt from the coaſt of Virginia; the biggeſt of them is not twenty miles long, and not above two or three in breadth, the others much ſmaller: yet here is a ſtrong colony of engliſh, the land being delightful to live in, producing all things for human life plentifully, and the trade is ſome cochineal, ambergreece and pearl: it uſed to ſend abroad the faireſt oranges in theſe parts, but they have failed of late years. Off the coaſt of Florida are the iſlands called Lucayos, the firſt diſcovered by Columbus; but they are ſmall and of no account. South of the point of Florida is Cuba, above two hundred leagues in length, and about forty in breadth in the wideſt place;

a pleaſant place, has gold and copper mines, and yields tobacco, ſugar and cotton. Eaſt of Cuba lies Hiſpaniola an hundred and fifty leagues in length, and about ſixty in breadth, producing the ſame commodities as Cuba; and both ſubject to Spain. Jamaica lies ſouth of Cuba, about ſeventy leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, poſſeſſed by the engliſh, and producing ſugar, indigo and cotton. The iſland of Puerto Rico is leſs than Jamaica, yields the ſame commodities, and belongs to Spain. The Caribbe iſlands are many, but ſmall; ſome of them poſſeſſed by the engliſh, french and dutch, others not inhabited: they produce ſugar, indigo, cotton and tobacco, and run from the coaſt of Paria to Puerto Rico. The Leeward-iſlands lie along the coaſt of Paria, the moſt remarkable of them being Margarita, and Cubagua, famous for the pearl fiſhery. La Trinidad is a large iſland before the gulph of Paria, near which there are many ſmall ones, but not conſiderable. All the coaſt ſouthward has no iſland of any note, till we come to the ſtrait of Magellan, the ſouth part whereof is made by Terra del Fuego and other iſlands, of which little is known. Nor is there any aſcending again northward worth ſpeaking of, till the mouth of the bay of Panama, where are the iſlands of Pearls, ſo called from a pearl-fiſhery there; they are ſmall, and of no conſideration in any other reſpect. The only great iſland on this ſide America is California, found to be ſo but of late years, running from the tropic of cancer to 45 degrees of north latitude, northweſt and ſouth-eaſt, above five hundred leagues in length, and an hundred in breadth in the northern part, whence it runs tapering down to the ſouth. It has hitherto yielded no great profit to the ſpaniards, who have not had leiſure to build colonies there till within theſe very few years, and not above two as yet. This is all that belongs to America; it remains to add ſome few voyages to the iſles of Solomon, Terra Auſtralis incognita, and the land of Yeſſo, or Jedſo; which being properly no part of the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies, and but little of them as yet known, they have been reſerved to be ſpoke of by themſelves.

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An. 1595. Alvaro de Mendana with the title of governor and lord-lieutenant, ſet out from Peru for the iſlands of Solomon, whereof ſome uncertain knowledge was had before by ſhips that accidentally had ſeen ſome of them: he had four ſail, with men and women, and all other neceſſaries to ſettle a colony. In about 9 or 10 degrees of ſouth latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues weſt of the city of Lima in Peru, he diſcovered four ſmall iſlands inhabited by very handſome and civilized people. Hence holding on his courſe ſtill weſtward, he found ſeveral other more conſiderable iſlands, where he intended to have ſettled his colony, but was hindered by many misfortunes, and among the reſt ſickneſs. All that is extant of this relation, is only a fragment in ſpaniſh taken out of Thevenot's ſecond volume; which being inſerted in this collection, it will be needleſs to add any more in this place, only that three of the ſhips periſhed; two were never heard of, a third caſt away on the Philippine iſlands, the men ſaved; and the fourth, being the admiral, arrived at Manila, with the men almoſt ſtarved: and thus this enterpriſe was diſappointed.

An. 1600. Four ſhips ſailing from Peru for the Philippine iſlands, were by northerly winds driven ſouth of the equinoctial, where they fell upon ſeveral rich countries and iſlands, not far from the iſles of Solomon: they called one place Monte de Plata, or Mountain of Silver, becauſe they found plenty of it there. After which a captain of note went out on purpoſe, and ſaw theſe diſcoveries. This is all we have of it in Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1432; only he adds two petitions of captain Peter Fernandez de Quiros to the king of Spain, ſuing to be employed in conducting colonies to thoſe ſouthern parts, alleging the vaſt extent and riches of the continent, and great value of the iſlands, which he ſpeaks of as an eye-witneſs, and by the report of natives he brought away from thence, as may be ſeen more at large in Purchas, vol. IV. p. 1422.

An. 1628. On the twenty eighth of october, the dutch ſet out eleven ſail for India, among which was the Batavia, commanded by captain Francis Pelſart, which

being parted from the reſt was caſt away on the rocks near ſome ſmall iſlands not inhabited, and having no freſh water, in upwards of 38 degrees of ſouth latitude, but all the people ſaved on the iſlands. This want obliged them to build a deck to their long boat and put out to ſea, where they ſoon diſcovered the continent, bearing north and by weſt about ſix miles from them. This was on the eighth of june,

An. 1629, and the weather being rough, and the coaſt high, they were forced to beat at ſea till the fourteenth, when they found themſelves in 24 degrees of ſouth latitude; and ſix men ſwimming aſhore, ſaw four ſavages quite naked, who fled from them: they went to ſeek freſh water, but finding none, ſwam back to their boat. The fifteenth the boat made into ſhore, and found no freſh water, but the remains of the rain that lay in the hollow of the rocks, which relieved them, being almoſt choaked. The ſixteenth they went aſhore again, but found no water, the latitude here 22 degrees; the twentieth in 19 degrees, the twenty ſecond in 16 degrees 10 minutes. Thus Pelſart failed along this coaſt to the northward till he came among the indian iſlands, and then ſtruck over to Java, where he met two dutch ſhips, which carried him to Batavia, whence he returned with a veſſel to ſave as much as might be of the wreck. Thevenot, vol. 1.

An. 1642. Abel Janſen Taſman ſet ſail from Batavia in the iſland of Java with a yacht and a flyboat, and ſeptember the fifth anchored at the iſland Mauritius in 20 degrees of ſouth latitude. The eighth they departed thence ſouth till 40 or 41 degrees, then bore away eaſt ſomewhat ſoutherly, till the ſixth of november they were in 49 degrees. The twenty fourth in 42 degrees 25 minutes they ſaw land eaſt and by north at ten miles diſtance, and called it Antony van Diemen's land, and after running along the coaſt came to an anchor on the firſt of december in a bay they named Frederick Hendrick's bay: they heard ſome noiſe as of people, but ſaw none, and only the footing of wild beaſts, and ſome ſmokes. Departing hence, on the thirteenth of december they anchored in the country called in the

maps

maps New-Zealand; here they ſaw ſome natives luſty people, and half naked, who coming aboard on pretence to traffic, fell upon the men in the boat and killed four of them, for which reaſon it was called Murderers Bay. Here they ſeemed to be embayed, but on the fourth of january 1643, came up with the N. W. cape of this land, and finding an iſland there, called it Three Kings Iſland; and going thither to refreſh, they ſaw ſome large men, but could not underſtand them. Hence they directed their courſe north-eaſt, till in 22 degrees 35 minutes they ſaw a ſmall iſland, which they could not come at, but called it Piilſtreet's iſland. Jan. 21 in 21 degrees 20 minutes they called two iſlands, the one Amſterdam, the other Zealand: on the firſt they got many hogs, hens, and all ſorts of fruit. The inhabitants were friendly, had no weapons, and ſeemed to know no evil, but that they would ſteal. In the latter of theſe iſlands they ſaw gardens with ſquare beds and trees regularly planted. Leaving this place they ſaw many iſlands as they ſtood north-ward, and in 17 degrees 19 minutes they run among eighteen or twenty iſlands, which in the charts are called Prince William's Iſlands, or Hemſkirk's Shoals. Directing their courſe now N. or N. N. W. after much foul weather, on the twenty ſecond of march in 5 degrees 2 minutes ſouth latitude they had ſight of land four miles weſt of them, being about twenty iſlands, called in the charts Onthong Java, about ninety miles from the coaſt of New-Guinea. March the twenty fifth in 4 degrees 35 minutes they were up with the iſlands of Mark, found before by William Schouten, and John le Mair: the natives are ſavage and have their hair tied up. March the twenty ninth they paſſed by Green-Iſland, the thirtieth by S. John's Iſland, and april the firſt in 4 degrees 30 minutes they reached the coaſt of New-Guinea at a cape called by the ſpaniards, Santa Maria, and run along the coaſt to the promontory called Struis Hook, where the land bends to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, as they did to find a paſſage to the ſouth, but were forced to turn to the weſt. April the twenty eighth they came to the burning iſland, where they

ſaw à great fire come out of the hill, and ſailing betwixt the iſland and the main ſaw many fires. At the iſlands Jama and Moa they got refreſhment. May the twelfth in only 54 minutes of ſouth latitude, they ſailed along the ſide of William Schouten's iſland, which ſeems to be well inhabited; and the eighteenth they came to the weſt-end of New-Guinea, and on the fifteenth of june returned to Batavia, having finiſhed the voyage in ten months. Thevenot, vol. 2.

An. 1643. A dutch ſhip ſailing to the northward of Japan, came upon a coaſt in 39 degrees 45 minutes latitude. Running up as far as 43 degrees, they ſaw ſeveral villages near one another, and ſay there are about them many mines of ſilver. The land in ſome places ſeemed to bear no graſs, but the ſea was very full of fiſh. In 44 degrees 30 minutes, they went aſhore in a mountainous country, ſuppoſed to be full of ſilver mines. In 46 degrees the land reſembled the coaſt of England, the ſoil being good, but the natives do not till it. In 48 degrees there are ſmall hills covered with ſhort graſs. In 45 degrees 50 minutes is an iſland which the dutch call Staten iſland, and beyond it the companies land, another iſland: in this they found a ſort of mineral earth, that looked as if it had been all ſilver. In 45 degrees they obſerved, that though the land was not cultivated it yielded very good fruit of ſeveral ſorts, the ſea-ſhore was covered with roſe-trees, and on the rocks many large oyſters, but on the land they ſaw no beaſt but one bear. The inhabitants of this land of Eſo or Yedſo, for ſo it is called, are all ſtrong ſet, thick, with long hair and beards, good features, no flat noſes, black eyes, a ſallow complexion, and very hairy about their bodies: the women are not ſo black as the men, ſome of them cut their hair, and others tie it up. They ſeem to have no religion nor government, every man has two wives, who ſerve him at home and abroad: they are very jealous of their women, love drinking, look like ſavages, but yet are very civil and obliging to ſtrangers: their houſes are only ſmall cottages, and but a few of them together: they eat the fat and oil of whales, all ſorts of fiſh and herbs, and roſe-buds

are

are their greateſt dainty. Their clothes are ſome of ſilk and ſome of the ſkins of beaſts. They uſe bows and arrows to kill wild beaſts, and they ſpin hemp. They trade with the japoneſes, whom they furniſh with train-oil, whales tongues ſmoaked, furs, ſeveral ſorts of feathers, for which they receive rice, ſugar, ſilk, and other coarſer garments, copper-pipes, tobacco-boxes, and varniſhed diſhes and veſſels for their meat and drink, pendants for their ears, copper ear-rings, hatchets, knives, &c. The capital of the country is ſmall, they call it Matſmay, where the prince or governor of the country reſides, who every year goes over to pay his reſpects to the emperor of Japan, and carry him preſents. This is what the dutch diſcovered, but a Japoneſe told them this land of Eſo or Yedſo, was an iſland. Thevenot, tom. 1.

Anno $169\frac{8}{9}$. On the fourteenth of january captain Dampier, in his majeſty's ſhip the Roe-Buck, ſailed from the Downs upon a new diſcovery, touched at the Canaries and iſles of Cabo Verde, and the twenty fifth of march came to an anchor in Bakia de Todos Santos, or the Bay of all Saints in Braſil. April the third he left this place, and the twenty third of april ſaw the land about the cape of Good Hope. Auguſt the firſt having run from Braſil a hundred and fourteen degrees, he made in to the ſhore of New-Holland in 26 degrees ſouth latitude, thinking to put into ſome harbour; but finding rocks and foul ground, ſtood out to ſea again till auguſt the ſixth, when he came to an anchor in 25 degrees at an opening, which he called Sharks Bay, where he could get no freſh water, but plenty of wood, and refreſhed the men with racoons, tortoiſes, ſharks, and other fiſh, and ſome ſorts of fowl. He ſounded moſt of this bay, and on the fourteenth ſailed out of it, coaſting as the weather would permit to the north-ward, and then to the north-eaſt, as the coaſt runs, where in 20 degrees 21 minutes he found ſeveral iſlands, and going aſhore on ſome of them could get no freſh water, nor ſee any inhabitants; ſo he continued along the ſhore as near as could be with ſafety, till on the thirtieth he anchored in eight fathom water, where

where he ſaw ſome of the natives, but could not take any. Looking for water none was found, and digging pits they got ſome that was brackiſh and not fit to drink. Finding no water or other refreſhment on this coaſt, in the beginning of ſeptember he ſtood over for the iſland Timor, where he took in freſh water, and on the third of december arrived on the coaſt of New-Guinea, and had ſome commerce with the inhabitants of an iſland called Pulo Sabuti. Then paſſing to the northward, and to the eaſtermoſt part of New-Guinea, he found it did not join to the main land of New-Guinea, but was an iſland which he called New-Britain. Having diſcovered thus far, and being unprovided to proceed, he returned by Timor and Java, ſo to the cape of Good Hope, and iſland of S. Helena. At the iſland of the Aſcenſion his ſhip foundered, but the men were ſaved, and returned to England aboard the eaſt-india ſhip called the Canterbury. Dampier's voyage to New-Holland, being his third volume.

The voyages round the world, which, for ſo many thouſand years as paſt from the creation till the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, could never ſo much as enter into the thoughts of man, and which after they were performed gave juſt ſubject of admiration, do well deſerve to be mentioned apart from all others, as being the boldeſt action that could be undertaken, and to be performed but one way, though ſeveral attempts have been made to find out others, as has been ſhowed in the fruitleſs voyages for diſcovery of the north-eaſt and north-weſt paſſages: for this reaſon they have been reſerved for this place, where ſomething ſhall be ſaid of all hitherto performed, but more particularly of the firſt, as the moſt glorious and honourable, becauſe it ſhowed the way to all that followed. This wonderful enterpriſe was undertaken and performed after this manner.

An. 1519. Ferdinand de Magalhaens, or as we corruptly call him, Magellan, by nation a portugueſe, by deſcent a gentleman, and by profeſſion a ſoldier and ſeaman, having ſerved his prince well both in Afric and India, and being ill rewarded, renounced his country, diſnaturalizing himſelf as the cuſtom then was,

and

and offered his ſervice to the emperor Charles the fifth then king of Spain. He had long before conceived an opinion, that another way might be found to India, and particularly to the Molucco iſlands, beſides the common track by the cape of Good Hope followed by the portugueſes. This he propoſed to the emperor with ſuch aſſurance of performing what he promiſed, that he had the command of five ſhips given him, and in them two hundred and fifty men: with this ſquadron he ſailed from S. Lucar de Barrameda on the twentieth of ſeptember, the aforeſaid year 1519. Being come to the river called Rio de Janeiro on the coaſt of Braſil, and near 23 degrees of ſouth latitude, ſome diſcontent began to appear among the men, which was ſoon blown over; but proceeding to the bay of S. Julian in 49 degrees of latitude, where they were forced to winter, the mutiny grew ſo high, three of the captains and moſt of the men being engaged, that Magellan having in vain endeavoured to appeaſe it by fair means, was forced to uſe his authority, executing two of the ſaid captains, and ſetting the third with a prieſt who had ſided with them aſhore among the wild indians. This done, he proceeded on his voyage, and on the twenty firſt of october 1520, having been out above a year diſcovered the cape, which he called Cabo de la Virgines, or the Virgin's Cape, becauſe that day was the feaſt of S. Urſula and the eleven thouſand virgins; and there turned into the ſtrait he went in ſearch of, which from him to this day is called the ſtrait of Magellan: it lies in 52 degrees of ſouth latitude, is about a hundred leagues in length, in ſome parts a league wide, in ſome more, in ſome leſs, but all narrow, and encloſed with high land on both ſides, ſome bare, ſome covered with woods, and ſome of the loftieſt mountains with ſnow. Having ſailed about fifty leagues in this ſtrait, they diſcovered another branch of it, and Magellan ſent one of his ſhips to bring him ſome account of it; but the ſeamen being parted from him took the opportunity, and confining their captain for oppoſing their deſign, returned into Spain, ſpending eight months in their return. Magellan having expected beyond the time appointed,

pointed, and finding they did not return to him, proceeded through the ſtrait, and came into the South-ſea with only three ſhips, having loſt one in his paſſage, but all the men ſaved, and another as was ſaid being ſtolen away from him. The laſt land of the ſtrait he called Cabo Deſeado, or the Deſired Cape, becauſe it was the end of his deſired paſſage to the South-ſea. The cold being ſomewhat ſharp, he thought good to draw nearer to the equinoctial, and accordingly ſteered weſt north-weſt. In this manner he ſailed three months and twenty days without ſeeing land, which reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to eat all the old leather they had aboard, and to drink ſtinking water, of which nineteen men died, and near thirty were ſo weak, that they could do no ſervice. After fifteen hundred leagues ſailing he found a ſmall iſland in 15 degrees of ſouth latitude, and two hundred leagues further another, but nothing conſiderable in them; and therefore held on his courſe, till in about 12 degrees of north latitude, he came to thoſe iſlands which he called De los Ladrones, or of Thieves, becauſe the natives hovered about his ſhips in their boats, and coming aboard ſtole every thing they could lay hold of. Finding no good to be done here, he ſailed again, and diſcovered a great number of iſlands together, he gave that ſea the name of Archipelago de S. Lazaro, the iſlands being thoſe we now call the Philippines. On the twenty eighth of march he anchored by the iſland of Buthuan, where he was friendly received, and got ſome gold; then removed to the iſle of Meſiana, at a ſmall diſtance from the other, and thence to that of Cebu. Magellan having hitherto ſucceeded ſo well, ſtood over to the iſland Matan, where not agreeing with the natives he came to a battle, and was killed in it with eight of his men. After this diſaſter the reſt ſailed over to the iſland Bohol, and being too weak to carry home their three ſhips, burnt one of them, after taking out the cannon and all that could be of uſe to them. Being now reduced to two ſhips, they made away to the ſouth-weſt in ſearch of the Molucco iſlands, and inſtead of them fell in with the great one of Borneo,

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where they made ſome ſhort ſtay, being friendly received: and departing thence, with the aſſiſtance of indian pilots arrived at length at the Moluccòs on the eighth of november 1521, in the twenty ſeventh month after their departure from Spain, and anchored in the port of Tidore, one of the chief of thoſe iſlands, where they were lovingly treated by the king, who concluded a peace, and took an oath ever to continue in amity with the king of Spain. Here they traded for cloves, exchanging the commodities they brought to their own content: when they were to depart, finding one of the ſhips leaky, and unfit for ſo long a voyage, they left her behind to refit, and then ſailed for Spain as ſoon as poſſible. The other ſhip called the Victory, commanded by John Sebaſtian Cano, and carrying forty ſix ſpaniards, and thirteen indians, took its courſe to the ſouth-weſt, and coming to the iſland Malva, near that of Timor, in 11 degrees of ſouth latitude, ſtaid there fifteen days to ſtop ſome leaks they diſcovered in her. On the twenty fifth of january 1522, they left this place, and the next day touched at Timor, whence they went not till the eleventh of february, when they took their way to the ſouthward, reſolving to leave all India, and the iſlands to the northward, to avoid meeting the portugueſes, who were powerful in thoſe ſeas, and would obſtruct their paſſage: therefore they run into 40 degrees of ſouth latitude before they doubled the cape of Good Hope, about which they ſpent ſeven weeks beating it out againſt contrary winds, ſo that their proviſions began to fail, and many men grew ſick, which made ſome entertain thoughts of turning back to Mozambique, but others oppoſed it. In fine, after two months more hardſhips, in which they loſt twenty one of their company, they were forced to put into the iſland of S. James, being one of thoſe of Cabo Verde, where with much intreaty they obtained ſome ſmall relief of proviſions; but thirteen of them going aſhore again for ſome rice the portugueſes had promiſed to ſupply them with, were detained aſhore, which made thoſe that were left aboard the ſhip hoiſt ſail and put to ſea, fearing the like treachery might ſurpriſe them, and

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on the ſeventh of ſeptember arrived ſafe at S. Lucar, below the city Sevil, where after firing all their guns for joy, they repaired to the great church in their ſhirts and barefoot to return thanks to God. The ſhip that performed this wonderful voyage was called the Victory, as was ſaid before, the commander's name was John Sebaſtian Cano, who was well rewarded and honoured by the emperor. This was the firſt voyage round the world, which we ſhall ſoon ſee followed by other nations; and this was the diſcovery of the ſtrait of Magellan, which made the voyage practicable. The other ſpaniſh ſhip we mentioned to be left at the Moluccos to ſtop her leaks, attempted to return the way it came to Panama, but after ſtruggling above four months with the eaſterly winds, moſt of the men dying, and the reſt being almoſt ſtarved, it went back to the Moluccos, where it was taken by the portugueſes; and the few men that ſurvived after being kept two years in India, were ſent to Spain in the portugueſes ſhips. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. IV, IX. and dec. 3. lib. I. IV. Hackluyt, vol. III. and Purchas, vol. I.

The ſecond voyage round the world was begun

An. 1577. By Mr. Francis, afterwards ſir Francis Drake, with five ſhips and barks, and a hundred and ſixty four men, who ſailed from Plymouth on the thirteenth of december, and on the twenty fifth of the ſame month touched at cape Cantin on the African coaſt, in 31 degrees of north latitude; on the ſeventeenth of january 1578, at cape Blanco on the ſame coaſt, and twenty one degrees of latitude, and then at the iſlands of Cabo Verde. Departing thence, they ſailed fifty four days without ſeeing land, and on the fifth of april came upon the coaſt of Braſil, where they watered, and proceeded to the mouth of the river of Plate in 36 degrees of ſouth latitude. Sailing hence, on the twenty ſeventh of april they put into a port in the latitude of 46 degrees, where Drake burnt a flyboat that attended him, after ſaving all that could be of uſe. On the twentieth of june he again put into a good harbour, called Port S. Julian, in the latitude of 49 degrees, and continued there till the ſeventeenth of auguſt, when

when putting to ſea again, he entered the ſtraits of Magellan on the twenty firſt of the ſame month. What ſort of ſtraits theſe are was deſcribed in Magellan's voyage, and therefore needs no repetition. Here on an iſland they found fowl that could not fly, as big as geeſe, whereof they killed three thouſand, which was good proviſion; and they entered the South-ſea on the ſixth of ſeptember. Hence they were drove by a ſtorm to the ſouthward as far as the latitude of 57 degrees 20 minutes, and anchored among certain iſlands; whence removing to a good bay, they ſaw many men and women naked in canoes, and traded with them for ſuch things as they had. Steering away again to the northward, they found three iſlands, and in one of them an incredible quantity of fowl; but on the eighth of october they loſt ſight of one of their ſhips commanded by Mr. Winter, which the reſt ſuppoſed to be caſt away, but it was put back by the tempeſt into the ſtrait of Magellan, and returned home the ſame way it came. Drake with the reſt ſailed for the coaſt of Chile, and ſending for water at the iſland of Mocha, two of his men were killed by the indians, which made him depart without it. This iſland is on the coaſt of Chile in 39 degrees of ſouth latitude. Coaſting ſtill along, he came to the bay of Valparaiſo, where he found a ſpaniſh ſhip with only eight ſpaniards and three blacks in her, whom he ſurpriſed and took, and then going aſhore plundered nine houſes, being all there were in that which they called the town of Santiago. At Coquimbo in 29 degrees 30 minutes of latitude fourteen men landing, one of them was killed by the ſpaniards, the reſt fled back to their ſhips. Not far from thence landing for freſh water, they met one ſingle ſpaniard and an indian boy driving eight lamas, or peru ſheep loaded with ſilver, which they took. Running on thence to Arica on the coaſt of Peru in 18 degrees 30 minutes latitude, he plundered three barks, in which was ſome quantity of ſilver, but not one man. Hence he advanced to the port of Lima in 12 degrees of latitude, and after rifling what little was in them cut the cables of 12 veſſels that lay there, letting them drive

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whereſoever the water would carry them, there being no man aboard, as having never ſeen an enemy in thoſe ſeas. Near cape S. Francis in one degree of north latitude he took a rich ſhip called Cacafuego, and a little further another. Then he plundered Guatulco, and after refitting his ſhip in a ſmall iſland run away to the northward in 43 degrees of latitude, where feeling much cold he returned into 38 degrees, and there put into a large bay on the coaſt of California, which Drake called Nova Albion. Here he was well received by the people, and continued ſome time, and ſailing hence directed his courſe for the Molucco iſlands, ſeeing no land till the thirtieth of october, when he diſcovered the iſlands de los Ladrones in eight degrees of north latitude. On the fourteenth of november he fell in with the Molucco iſlands, and came to an anchor in that of Ternate, the king whereof came aboard Drake's ſhip, offering him all the iſland could afford; and he having taken in what was moſt neceſſary and could be had there, went over to a ſmall iſland ſouth of Celebes, where he graved his ſhip, and fitted her to return home, which took him up twenty ſix days. Thinking to return to the Moluccos, they were drove by contary winds to the northward of the iſland Celebes, till turning again to the ſouthward for fear of the many ſmall iſlands in that ſea, the ſhip on a ſudden ſat upon a rock, where it was feared ſhe would have periſhed; but lightening her of three tun of cloves, eight guns and ſome proviſions, ſhe got off. On the eighth of februbruary 1579, they fell in with the iſland Barateve, where they refreſhed themſelves after their fatigues, and took in ſtore of ſuch proviſions as the place afforded, the natives proving very friendly, and bartering their commodities for linen. Being well furniſhed with all neceſſaries, they left this place, and again made ſome ſtay at the iſland of Java, the natives by their civility inviting them to it. Thence they ſteered directly for the cape of Good Hope, which was the firſt land they came near from Java, yet touched not there, nor at any other place till they came to Sierra Leona, the weſtermoſt point of Guinea, in 8 degrees of north latitude

tude, on the twenty ſecond of july, and there recruited themſelves with proviſions. Departing thence on the twenty fourth, they arrived in England on the third of november 1580, and the third year after their departure. This relation is to be ſeen at large in Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 742. and in Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 46.

An. 1586. Mr. Thomas, afterwards ſir Thomas Candiſh, undertook the third voyage round the world with three ſmall veſſels, one of a hundred and twenty, the ſecond of ſixty, and the third of forty tuns burden, all fitted out at his own charges; and ſailed from Plymouth on the twenty firſt of july 1586. On the twenty third of auguſt he put into a bay on the coaſt of Afric, and deſtroyed there a village of the blacks, becauſe they killed a man with a poiſoned arrow. After ſome days ſpent about this place, he ſailed away ſouth-weſt, and on the firſt of november put in between the iſland of S. Sebaſtian, and the continent of Braſil, in 24 degrees of ſouth latitude, where the men were ſet to work aſhore to build a pinnace, make hoops for the caſks, and fill freſh water, which took them up till the twenty third of the month, when ſailing again on the ſeventeenth of december, they entered port Deſire, in 47 degrees and a half of latitude, and that being a convenient place for the purpoſe careened their ſhips, and refitted what was amiſs. The third day of january 1587, they anchored at the mouth of the ſtraits of Magellan, the weather being very ſtormy, which laſted three days, all which time they continued there, but loſt an anchor, and the ſixth day entered the ſtrait. The ſeventh, as they drew near the narrow part of the ſtrait, they took a ſpaniard, being one of the twenty three that ſtill remained alive, which were all then left of five hundred there three years before to guard the ſtrait, the reſt being dead with hunger. Theſe had built a town, which they called king Philip's city, and fortified it, but they could make no works againſt famine, which conſumed them all to thoſe before mentioned, who except him that was taken were gone along the coaſt, hoping to get to the river of Plate. Candiſh

having wooded and watered here, called this place Port Famine. The weather proving very boiſterous and foul, he was forced to ride it out often at anchor, and therefore did not get out into the South-ſea till the twenty fourth of february. On the firſt of march a violent ſtorm parted the bark of forty tuns from the other two ſhips, and they met not before the fifteenth betwixt the iſland of S. Mary and the continent of Chile, in 37 degrees and a half of ſouth latitude. Here they took in as much corn as they would have, and abundance of potatoes, all which had been laid up in the iſland for the ſpaniards, beſides as many hogs as they could ſalt, abundance of hens, and five hundred dried dog-fiſhes. The eighteenth they left this place, and on the laſt of the month landed at Punta de Quenuro in 33 degrees of latitude, but ſaw no man, though they travelled ſome miles, only ſpied ſome herds of very wild cattle; but the firſt of april going to water, the men were ſet upon by the ſpaniards, and twelve of them cut off. Proceeding hence along the coaſt of Chile and Peru, they took ſome coaſting veſſels carrying proviſions from one place to another. In this manner they ran along to the iſland Puna, in about 3 degrees of ſouth latitude, being a famous place for ſupplying all thoſe coaſts with cables. Here the engliſh took what they found for their uſe, the iſland being inhabited by none but indians, except ſome few ſpaniards that lived in the chief town, who killed twelve of the engliſh, but were put to flight, and the town burnt, as was the church particularly, and the bells carried away. This ſecond loſs of men obliged Candiſh to ſink his bark of forty tun, that had attended him out of England. On the twelfth of june they cut the equinoctial line, and holding on their courſe to the northward all that month, on the firſt of july came upon the coaſt of New-Spain; where on the ninth they took and burnt a ſhip with ſeven men in her, and ſoon after a bark, whoſe men were fled to ſhore. The twenty ſixth day they anchored at Copalita, in 16 degrees of north latitude, whence they went with thirty men to Aguatulco a ſmall indian town, which they burnt and rifled. Then keeping along that coaſt, they

continued

continued ravaging the indian towns, till they came to a ſmall iſland in 23 degrees of latitude, and eleven leagues from the city Chiametlan; where having watered, and ſtaid till the ninth of november, they then ſtood over to cape S. Lucar, which is the ſouthermoſt point of California, and beating about it till the fourth of november, met then with the S. Anne, being the ſpaniſh galeon bound from the Philippine iſlands to the port of Acapulco in New-Spain. After a fight of ſix hours the galeon was taken and carried into the port called Puerto Seguro; where ſetting aſhore the ſpaniards, and taking out what goods they could carry, they burnt the galeon, and on the nineteenth of november ſailed thence towards India. This night Candiſh, who was in the Deſire, loſt his other ſhip called the Content, and never ſaw her after. Being thus left alone he ſailed before the wind, as is uſual there, for the ſpace of forty five days, and on the third of january 1588, came up with the iſlands de los Ladrones, having run about eighteen hundred leagues; on the fourteenth with cape Eſpiritu Santo, a great head-land of one of the Philippine iſlands to the weſtward in 13 degrees of latitude, and about three hundred leagues from the iſlands Ladrones. At the iſland Cabul he continued ſome days getting freſh proviſions, and then ſailing amidſt all thoſe iſlands ſouth-weſt and by ſouth, on the eighth of february diſcovered the iſland Batochina near Gilolo, in 1 degree of ſouth latitude; whence he ſteered to the ſouth ſide of the great iſland of Java, and touching there on the twelfth of march, traded with the natives for proviſions, which were brought him in great plenty. On the ſixteenth he ſet ſail for the cape of Good Hope, and doubled it about the middle of may; having ſpent nine weeks betwixt the iſland of Java and this place, which is about eighteen hundred leagues diſtance: On the ninth of june he anchored at the iſland of S. Helena, about five hundred leagues diſtant from the cape of Good Hope, lying betwixt the coaſt of Afric and Braſil, in about 15 degrees of ſouth latitude. This iſland is generally touched at by ſhips going to and returning from the Eaſt-Indies, becauſe

of the conveniency of watering, beſides the great plenty it produces of excellent fruit, as alſo abundance of fowl, ſwine, and goats, the place being extremely pleaſant, but very ſmall. Having taken in wood and water here, and made clean the ſhip, on the twentieth of june, Candiſh ſailed for England; on the twenty fourth of auguſt he diſcovered the iſlands Flores and Corvo, two of the Azores, and on the ninth of ſeptember after a terrible ſtorm, which carried away part of his ſails, put into the port of Plymouth. Hackluyt, vol. III. p. 803. and Purchas, vol. I. lib. II. p. 57.

An. 1598. The dutch reſolving to perform as much as had been done before by Magellan's ſhip, and by ſir Francis Drake and ſir Thomas Candiſh, they fitted out four ſhips under the command of captain Oliver d'Oirt, as Van Meteren calls him, or Oliver Noort, according to Purchas. The reſt proceeded on their voyage upon the nineteenth of july; and to omit particulars of leſs moment, and their touching at places not material, on the tenth of december they came to the Prince's Iſland, or Ilha do Principe on the coaſt of Congo, in 2 degrees of north latitude; where the portugueſes killed ſome of their men, and the dutch commander in revenge aſſaulting their fort, was repulſed with greater loſs. This made him deſiſt; and ſailing thence, on the fifth of february 1599, came on the coaſt of Braſil. Here they ſpent much time, ſeeking refreſhment and water along the ſhore, and being much ſhaken by a ſtorm, and abundance of the men ſick, beſides, that it was the winter ſeaſon there, they put into a little iſland called S. Clare, on the coaſt of Braſil, in about 21 degrees of ſouth latitude. Here the ſick men being ſet aſhore, ſome of them preſently died; the reſt ailing nothing but the ſcurvy, were cured with eating four plumbs they found there. One of the ſhips being very leaky, was here burnt, after all that could be of uſe had been taken out of her. On the ſixteenth of july they left this place, ſteering for Port Deſire in 47 degrees; and after many ſtorms put into it on the twentieth of ſeptember, careened their ſhips, and took abundance

of fowl. Some men were here killed by the indians. Departing hence on the twenty ninth, they came to cape Virgines at the mouth of the ſtrait of Magellan, on the fourth of november; where they met with ſtorms of wind, rain, hail, and ſnow, beſides much ſickneſs and contention among themſelves, having been from home fifteen months, before they could get into the ſtrait; ſo that it was the laſt of february 1600, before they came into the South-ſea. March the twelfth they loſt ſight of the vice-admiral, and ſailed without him to the iſland Mocha, in 38 degrees ſouth. Another ſhip miſſing the iſland of S. Maries, and being drove by neceſſity to make the continent for proviſions, loſt moſt of its men aſhore, the reſt putting to ſea with the veſſel. Being now in fear of the ſpaniſh men of war, he directed his courſe with the two ſhips he had left for the iſlands de los Ladrones, which he had ſight of on the fifteenth of ſeptember; and on the fourteenth of october diſcovered the iſland of Luzon or Manila, the chief of the Philippines. Near this iſland he met the two ſpaniſh ſhips bound thence for New-Spain; and after a deſperate fight, Noort ſunk one of them; but at the ſame time the other took his ſecond ſhip, and he made all haſte away to Borneo, but made no ſtay there for fear of the natives, who attempted to cut his cable; and therefore ſailing hence, he traded for pepper at Java, and at length returned by the cape of Good Hope, and iſle of S. Helena, arriving at Amſterdam on the twenty ſixth of auguſt 1601. Purchas, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 71. Van Metcren, lib. XXIII.

An. 1614. George Spilbergen, commander of five dutch ſhips, ſailed out of the Texel on the eighth of auguſt, and entered the ſtrait of Magellan on the twenty eighth of march 1615, but being drove out again by contrary winds, he re-entered on the ſecond of april. In the ſtrait they continued going aſhore on the ſouth ſide upon the land called Tierra del Fuego, known ſince to be an iſland, till the ſixth of may, when they came out into the South-ſea, which received them with ſtorms, and on the twenty ſixth came up with the iſland

la Mocha, on the coaſt of Chile, mentioned in all the former voyages. Here they traded with the indians, exchanging hatchets, and other utenſils, as alſo coral, for large peru ſheep, which ſerve not only to eat, but to carry burdens. Landing at the iſland of S. Mary on the 29th, they had a ſkirmiſh with ſome few ſpaniards, and got ſome booty of ſheep. Running along the coaſt, they touched at Valparaiſo, cape Quintero, and other places; but finding the ſpaniards every where had taken the alarm, they durſt not do any thing aſhore. July the ſeventeenth keeping along the ſhores of Peru, they diſcovered eight ſpaniſh ſhips ſet out to engage them. That very night they engaged, and after a hot diſpute, three of the ſpaniſh ſhips ſunk. In this action they had forty men killed, and ſixty wounded. Drawing too near the ſhore at Callao the port of Lima, the Huntſman, one of the dutch ſhips, was almoſt ſunk with a thirty ſix pounder, which made them keep further off: and holding their courſe to the northward, they took the little town of Peita. Therefore auguſt the twenty firſt they ſet out to ſea again, and beat about in bad weather till the eleventh of october, when they put into the harbour of Acapulco in New-Spain, and there exchanged the priſoners they had taken for proviſions. Which done, they run up into twenty degrees of north latitude, and on the twenty ſixth of november ſtood over for the iſlands de los Ladrones. In january following, which was the year 1616, many of the men died of diſeaſes. On the twenty third of the ſame month they diſcovered the Ladrones, and on the ninth of february cape Eſpiritu Santo, the eaſtermoſt point of the Philippine iſlands to the northward; paſſing among which, they arrived at Ternate, the chief of the Moluccos, on the twenty ninth of march, which the dutch in the iſland reckoned the twenty eighth; the fleet by following the courſe of the ſun having loſt a day, whereas they that ſail round to the eaſtward gain a day. About theſe iſlands they continued ſome months, and arrived at Jacatra in the iſland of Java on the ſifteenth of ſeptember, on the thirtieth of march

1617 at the iſland of S. Helena, and in july following in Zealand. Purchas, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 80.

An. 1615. Iſaac le Maire a merchant of Amſterdam, and William Corneliſon Schouten of Horn, reſolving to find out a new way to the Eaſt Indies, beſides thoſe already known by the cape of Good Hope and ſtrait of Magellan; at their own charges fitted out a good ſhip of three hundred and ſixty tun and twenty guns, and a ſmaller of an hundred and ten tun and eight guns, in which they ſailed themſelves out of the Texel on the ſixteenth of june in the aforeſaid year, reſolving to find another paſſage into the South-ſea, to the ſouthward of the ſtrait of Magellan; which their deſign they kept ſecret, till they caine near the line, where they diſcovered it to the ſeamen, who were well pleaſed with the undertaking. To paſs by all other particulars, as too like thoſe in the foregoing voyages, on the ninth of december they ſailed up into Port Deſire, on the coaſt of America, in 47 degrees and 40 minutes of ſouth latitude: where bringing their ſhips aſhore to clean them, as they were burning reeds under the leſſer of them, ſhe took fire, and burnt till the tide coming up, quenched the flame; yet ſo that nothing of her could be ſaved, but a little wood for fuel and the iron-work. The thirteenth of january 1616, the great ſhip now left alone ſailed out of Port Deſire, and the twenty fifth diſcovered the iſland they called Staten-land to the eaſtward, and the point of Tierra del Fuego to the weſtward, which they called Maurice-land, in almoſt 55 degrees of ſouth latitude. Entering betwixt theſe two lands, they ſteered ſouth ſouth-weſt, till coming under 55 degrees 36 minutes, they ſtood ſouth-weſt and then ſouth. Thus the twenty ſixth they came under 57 degrees, and the twenty ninth diſcovered thoſe they called Barnevelts iſlands. The third of february they were under 59 degrees 25 minutes, and the twelfth found the ſtraits of Magellan lay eaſt of them; and therefore being ſatisfied that they were in the South-ſea, they called the new-found paſſage the ſtrait of le Maire. March the firſt they came near the iſlands of John Fernandez, in 33 degrees 40 minutes of ſouth latitude, and at ſome

distance from the coast of Chile: but though they endeavoured it, could never come near enough to anchor, being still beaten off by the wind and current, and therefore steered away to the westward to prosecute their voyage; and in april they discovered several small islands inhabited by naked people, none of whom would come aboard, nor could they come to an anchor. These islands were in about 14 and 15 degrees of south latitude. Sailing on still westward, they saw many more islands in may, and had some trade with the natives, who attempted to surprize the ship, or at least the boat; but were soon scared away by the fire arms, when they saw they did execution, for before they thought they had only made a noise. Finding no continent, and perceiving they were at least sixteen hundred leagues to the westward of Chile or Peru, they steered to the northward, for fear they should fall south of New-Guinea, and perhaps not be able to clear themselves of the coast, the winds being always at east. Many more islands are mentioned in the journal, at some of which they touched and got refreshment; but on the first of july they anchored near the coast of New-Guinea, whence they sailed still along the shore, and amidst a multitude of islands, till they came into half a degree of south latitude, where they saw a small island off the shore of the land of Papous, and called it William Schouten's Island, after the captain's name, and the westermost point of it the cape of Good Hope. September the 17th they arrived at the island Ternate, and thence in october to Jacatra, or Batavia in the island of Java; where the president of the dutch east-india company seized the ship and goods. Whereupon William Cornelison Schouten the master, Jacob le Maire the merchant, and ten seamen put themselves aboard the Amsterdam, a dutch ship homeward bound, and twelve others aboard the Zealand, and arrived in safety at Amsterdam in july; having discovered the new strait called le Maire, as was said before, and performed the voyage round the world in two years and eighteen days. Purchas, vol. I. lib. 2. p. 88.

An.

An. 1643. Brewer, or Brower, went another way into the South-ſea, by a paſſage called after his own name, which is eaſt of le Maire's ſtrait; but whether this was a ſtrait with land on each ſide, or an open ſea, is not known, his diary not being made public; but moſt maps make it a new ſtrait.

An. 1683. One John Cook ſailed from Virginia in a ſhip of eight guns and fifty two men a buccaneering; and with him one Cowley, as maſter. On the coaſt of Guinea they took a ſhip of forty guns by ſurpriſe, in which they ſailed away to the South-ſea, meeting by the way another ſhip commanded by one Eaton, who joined them to follow the ſame trade. They ran into 60 degrees of ſouth latitude, and paſſed that way into the South-ſea, where Cowley ſays they diſcovered ſeveral iſlands about the line. Thence they ſailed over to the Ladrones, whence they continued their courſe, and anchored at Canton in China. Departing from Canton, they came to the iſland Borneo, where Cowley, the author of this relation, with nineteen others, got a great boat in which they went away to Java. At Batavia the author, with two others, ſhipped himſelf on board a dutch veſſel, and ſo returned to Europe. The relation of this voyage is ſhortened, becauſe there have been ſo many voyages round the world before, and all of them performed in the ſame ſhip; whereas in this there was much ſhifting. Thoſe that deſire may ſee it at large in the collection of original voyages, publiſhed by captain William Hack, An. 1699.

Captain Dampier in his firſt book of voyages gives an account of this ſame laſt mentioned, but more at large, he being aboard with the ſame Cook; and therefore no more needs be ſaid of it, though there may be many circumſtances which this diſcourſe cannot deſcend to: wherefore here ſhall end the voyages round the world, it being time to proceed to what remains.

After ſo long a diſcourſe of voyages and diſcoveries, it may ſeem ſuperfluous to treat of the advantages the public receives by navigation, and the faithful journals and accounts of travellers. The matter is natural, and no man can read the one without being ſenſible of the

other;

other; and therefore a few words may ſuffice on this ſubject, to avoid cloying the judicious reader with what is ſo viſible and plain, and to ſave running out this introduction to an unreaſonable length. What was coſmography before theſe diſcoveries, but an imperfect fragment of a ſcience, ſcarce deſerving ſo good a name? When all the known world was only Europe, a ſmall part of Afric, and the leſſer portion of Aſia; ſo that of this terraqueous globe not one ſixth part had ever been ſeen or heard of. Nay, ſo great was the ignorance of man in this particular, that learned perſons made a doubt of its being round; others no leſs knowing imagined all they were not acquainted with, deſart and uninhabitable. But now geography and hydrography have received ſome perfection by the pains of ſo many mariners and travellers, who to evince the rotundity of the earth and water, have ſailed and travelled round it, as has been here made appear; to ſhow there is no part uninhabitable, unleſs the frozen polar regions, have viſited all other countries, though never ſo remote, which they have found well peopled, and moſt of them rich and delightful; and to demonſtrate the antipodes, have pointed them out to us. Aſtronomy has received the addition of many conſtellations never ſeen before. Natural and moral hiſtory is embelliſhed with the moſt beneficial increaſe of ſo many thouſands of plants it had never before received, ſo many drugs and ſpices, ſuch variety of beaſts, birds, and fiſhes, ſuch rarities in minerals, mountains and waters, ſuch unaccountable diverſity of climates and men, and in them of complexions, tempers, habits, manners, politics, and religions. Trade is raiſed to the higheſt pitch, each part of the world ſupplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is accounted moſt precious and valuable; and this not in a niggard and ſcanty manner, as when the venetians ſerved all Europe with ſpice and drugs from India by the way of Turky and the Red-ſea; or, as when gold and ſilver were only drawn from ſome poor european and african mines; but with plenty and affluence, as we now ſee, moſt nations reſorting freely to the Eaſt-Indies, and the Weſt, yearly ſending forth

forth prodigious quantities of the moſt eſteemed and valuable metals. To conclude, the empire of Europe is now extended to the utmoſt bounds of the earth where ſeveral of its nations have conqueſts and colonies. Theſe and many more are the advantages drawn from the labours of thoſe who expoſe themſelves to the dangers of the vaſt ocean, and of unknown nations; which thoſe who ſit ſtill at home abundantly reap in every kind: and the relation of one traveller is an incentive to ſtir up another to imitate him, whilſt the reſt of mankind, in their accounts, without ſtirring a foot, compaſs the earth and ſeas, viſit all countries, and converſe with all nations.

It only remains to give ſome few directions for ſuch as go on long voyages; which ſhall be thoſe drawn up by Mr. Rook, a fellow of the Royal Society, and geometry profeſſor of greſham college, by order of the ſaid ſociety, and publiſhed in the philoſophical tranſactions of the eighth of january 1665-6, being Numb. 8. They are as follow:

1. To obſerve the declination of the compaſs, or its variation from the meridian of the place, frequently; marking withal the latitude and longitude of the place where ſuch obſervation is made, as exactly as may be, and ſetting down the method by which they made them.

2. To carry dipping needles with them, and obſerve the inclination of the needle in like manner.

3. To remark carefully the ebbings and flowings of the ſea in as many places as they can, together with all the accidents ordinary and extraordinary of the tides; as, their preciſe time of ebbing and flowing in rivers, at promontories or capes, which way the current runs, what perpendicular diſtance there is between the higheſt tide and loweſt ebb, during the ſpring tides and neep tides, what day of the moon's age, and what times of the year the higheſt and loweſt tides fall out: and all other conſiderable accidents they can obſerve in the tides, chiefly near ports, and about iſlands, as in S. Helena's iſland, and the three rivers there, at the Bermudas, &c.

4. To

4. To make plots and draughts of prospect of coasts, promontories, islands and ports, marking the bearings and distances as near as they can.

5. To sound and mark the depth of coasts and ports, and such other places near the shore as they shall think fit.

6. To take notice of the nature of the ground at the bottom of the sea, in all soundings, whether it be clay, sand, rock, &c.

7. To keep a register of all changes of wind and weather at all hours, by night and by day, showing the point the wind blows from, whether strong or weak: the rains, hail, snow, and the like; the precise times of their beginnings and continuance, especially hurricanes and spouts; but above all, to take exact care to observe the trade-winds, about what degree of latitude and longitude they first begin, where and when they cease or change, or grow stronger or weaker, and how much, as near and exact as may be.

8. To observe and record all extraordinary meteors, lightnings, thunders, ignes fatui, comets, &c. marking still the places and times of their appearing, continuance, &c.

9. To carry with them good scales, and glass-vials of a pint, or so, with very narrow mouths, which are to be filled with sea-water in different degrees of latitude, as often as they please, and the weight of the vial full of water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the degree of latitude, and the day of the month; and that as well of water near the top, as at a greater depth.

This may suffice for sea-voyages; but in regard it may be expected something should be said for those who travel by land, a few instructions have been collected from experienced travellers, who are best able to direct such as design to follow them into remote countries. We will therefore begin with monsieur de Bourges, who with the bishop of Berytus made a journey through Turky, Persia and India, as far as Cochinchina. He advises such as intend for those parts so to order their affairs

affairs, that they may come into Turky in october, to avoid the exceſſive heats of thoſe countries for four or five months before that time. If our traveller will hold on his journey to Perſia, he muſt go with the caravan from Aleppo to Babylon, or Bagdat, which will take him up a month; thence he embarks upon the river Euphrates, which carries him down to Baſſora, whence he proceeds by ſea to Bander, where he may find convenience by land to Iſpahan, the capital of Perſia: from Iſpahan the difficulties of travelling by land to India are almoſt invincible, and therefore the proper way is to repair to the port of Gomrom, whence there is a conſtant and ſafe paſſage to Suratte, or any other part of India. All perſons that travel in Turky muſt change their habit into that of the country, and muſt lay aſide the hat, and wear a turbant, and the meaner the habit the ſafer they will be from extortions and robberies: they muſt endeavour to have a turkiſh interpreter on the road with them, who may own whatever goods they carry, and protect them againſt any affronts that may be offered them; but above all, they muſt endeavour to be well recommended to the captain of the caravan, which will be their greateſt ſafeguard. This recommendation muſt be from ſome of the chriſtian conſuls, but generally the beſt from the french, who are much regarded in thoſe parts. Such as will not carry all their ſtock in ready money, muſt be careful to carry thoſe commodities that will turn to beſt account, amongſt which the brighteſt yellow amber, and the largeſt red coral, are in great eſteem. Theſe, though not wrought, are profitable; and to avoid the duties paid at ſeveral places, may be carried in a bag, or portmanteau on the horſe the traveller rides, for thoſe are not ſearched. The beſt money they can carry are ſpaniſh pieces of eight, provided they be full weight, and not of Peru, which are not ſo fine ſilver as the others. By this money they will have ſeven or eight per cent. profit in ſome parts, and ten per cent. in others, and the ſame in french crowns. As for gold, the greateſt profit is made of the venetian and hungarian, and it is very conſiderable. There is ſo great an

advantage

advantage to be made by thoſe who rightly underſtand the beſt coins and their value, that thoſe who are well inſtructed in it can travel for a very inconſiderable expence. It is abſolutely neceſſary to carry good arms to defend themſelves upon all occaſions, but more particularly to fight the arabs, and other rovers. Above all, it is requiſite in Turky that travellers be armed with patience to bear many affronts the infidels will put upon them, and with prudence and moderation to prevent, as much as poſſibly may be, any ſuch inſolencies. They will do well never to go without proviſions, becauſe the caravans never ſtop to bait, and very often at night have no other inn but the open fields, where they lie in tents, and eat what they carry. When they travel with the caravan, they muſt take care never to be far from it, for fear of being devoured by wild beaſts, or by the wilder arabs. This in Turky, for in Perſia it is quite otherwiſe; here we may travel in the european habit, and wear hats, which are better againſt the heat than turbants; the roads are ſafe, and the perſians courteous to ſtrangers, eſpecially the better ſort. However the traveller muſt watch the ſervants, and meaner ſort of people of the country, who elſe will impoſe on him in matter of payments, of buying and ſelling; and therefore his beſt way is, where there are miſſioners to repair to them, who will aſſiſt and inſtruct him. He muſt carry no gold into Perſia, becauſe it bears a low price, and he will be a great loſer by it: the beſt way is to change his money on the turkiſh frontiers into perſian coin, or elſe to carry a quantity of good amber and coral, which will yield profit, as will alſo good watches. In India ſpaniſh gold yields ſome profit, though ſmall, which the traveller may take notice of, in caſe he has no goods to carry that may yield a greater profit: this at Suratte; but further in India, and particularly at Golconda, gold yields more, and eſpecially old gold: however, at Siam again there is great loſs in ſpaniſh gold, and all other ſorts, for there it is lower than in any other part of the Eaſt-Indies nearer to us, and ſtill decreaſes beyond it, as in Cochinchina, Tonquin and China. In India the way

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of travelling by land is commonly in carts drawn by oxen, and in ſome parts on elephants, but in China the moſt common carriage is in palankenes, or chairs on mens ſhoulders, who travel ſwift and cheap.

Theſe particulars may ſerve in relation to the eaſtern nations; and as for Europe, the methods of travelling are too well known to require any particular inſtructions, therefore it only remains to ſet down ſome general rules which may concern all travellers to obſerve. They are in the firſt place to conſider, that they do not go into other countries to paſs through them, and divert themſelves with the preſent ſight of ſuch curioſities as they meet with, nor to learn the vices of thoſe people, for which they need not take the pains of going abroad, nor to obſerve their faults that they may have matter to rail when they come home. If they will make an advantage of their trouble and coſt, they muſt not paſs through a country as if they carried an expreſs, but make a reaſonable ſtay at all places where there are antiquities, or any rarities to be obſerved; and not think that becauſe others have writ on that ſubject, there is no more to be ſaid; for upon comparing their obſervations with other mens, they will often find a very conſiderable difference. Let them therefore always have a table-book at hand to ſet down every thing worth remembering, and then at night more methodically tranſcribe the notes they have taken in the day. The principal heads by which to regulate their obſervations are theſe, the climate, government, power, places of ſtrength, cities of note, religion, language, coins, trade, manufactures, wealth, biſhoprics, univerſities, antiquities, libraries, collections of rarities, arts and artiſts, public ſtructures, roads, bridges, woods, mountains, cuſtoms, habits, laws, privileges, ſtrange adventures, ſurpriſing accidents, rarities both natural and artificial, the ſoil, plants, animals, and whatſoever may be curious, diverting or profitable. It is not amiſs, if it may be, to view all rarities in the company of other ſtrangers, becauſe many together are apt to remark more than one alone can do. Every traveller ought to carry about him ſeveral ſorts of meaſures, to

take

take the dimenſions of ſuch things as require it; a watch by which, and the pace he travels, he may give ſome gueſs at the diſtances of places, or rather at the length of the computed leagues, or miles; a proſpective-glaſs, or rather a great one and a leſs, to take views of objects at greater and leſs diſtances; a ſmall ſea compaſs or needle, to obſerve the ſituation of places, and a parcel of the beſt maps to make curious remarks of their exactneſs, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a traveller muſt endeavour to ſee the courts of princes, to keep the beſt company, and to converſe with the moſt celebrated men in all arts and ſciences.

Thus much for travellers; but that every man may have his due, as we owned the inſtructions for the eaſtern countries to be thoſe given by monſieur de Bourges, ſo we muſt here confeſs, that moſt of theſe general rules may be found in monſieur Miſſon's travels. Having given an account of the advancement of navigation, and all diſcoveries made by help of it, of the countries ſo diſcovered, of the advantages the public receives by the relations of travellers, and ſome directions for them; it now only remains to ſubjoin a catalogue and character of books of travels, for the information of ſuch as take delight in this ſort of pleaſant and profitable reading.

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AND

CHARACTER

OF MOST

BOOKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Latin.

DEscriptio Africæ, 8°.
Descriptiones Asiæ.
De Lege Mahumetica, and
De Rebus Mahumeticis.

These four by John Leo, a spaniard by birth, and a mahometan by education, but afterwards converted, who before his conversion travelled through the greatest part of Afric, and has given the best light into it of any writer, as Johannes Bodinus affirms. He first writ them in the arabic for his own nation, but afterwards translated them himself into italian, and John Florianus into latin. He gives an excellent account of the religion, laws, customs and manners of the people of Afric, but is too brief in martial affairs and the lives of the african princes.

Epistolæ viginti sex de rebus Japonicis, or twenty-six letters concerning the affairs of Japan, to be seen in several collections of this sort of letters.

Historica relatio de legatione regis Sinensium ad regem Japonum: or an account of the embassy sent by the emperor of China to Taicosoma

cosoma king of Japan, An. 1596. and of the strange prodigies that happened before the embassy, Rome 1599. 8°.

Historica relatio de rebus per Japoniam, An. 1596. *à patribus societatis durante persecutione gestis:* or an account of the proceedings of the jesuits in Japan, in the year 1596, during the persecution. These three by F. Lewis Froes, a jesuit who lived forty-nine years in the east, and thirty-six of them in the island of Japan as a missioner. It is believed these relations were writ in portuguese by the author, and afterwards translated into latin.

De Abassinorum rebus, deque Æthiopiæ patriarchis, Lions 1615. 8°. The author was F. Nicholas Godinho, a portuguese jesuit, who divides his work into three books, and in it refutes the fabulous history writ by F. Urreta.

Itinerarium ab oppido Complutensi Toletanæ provinciæ usque ad urbem Romanam. A journal of a journey from the university of Alcala in Spain to Rome, by Dr. James Lopez de Zuniga, a pious and learned man.

Literæ annuæ. The annual or yearly letters out of Ethiopia, China, India, and other parts, give much light into the affairs of those countries, and are to be found in several volumes, and scattered in collections of travels; of all which it will be needless to give any account in this place.

Athanasii Kircheri è societate Jesu China, monumentis qua sacris qua profanis, illustrata, fol. This is a complete history of China, and held in great reputation for some years, but of late its reputation has declined, since so many books of that empire have appeared writ by missioners, who have resided there many years, and discovered great mistakes in Kircher.

Jobi Ludolfi historia Æthiopica, fol. This history of Æthiopia is written by a german, who having gathered most of it from the writings of the jesuits, yet makes it his business to contradict them, from the information given him by an ethiopian he was acquainted with in Germany, for he was never near Ethiopia himself; and his whole book has more of controversy, and of the ethiopian language, than of history.

Relatio eorum que circa S. Cæs. Majest. ad magnum Moscorum Czarum ablegatos anno æræ christianæ 1675. *gesta sunt, strictim recensita per Adolphum Lyseck, dictæ legationis secretarium,* 8°. *Saltzburg* 1676. In this account of an embassy to the czar of Muscovy, we have an account of his travels through Silesia, Pomerania, Prussia, Lithuania, and Muscovy, to the court of Moscow, and of all things of note the author saw or heard of, being an ingenious person, and having a greater privilege than common travellers, as secretary to the embassy. Giorn. de Letter.

Johannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponiæ, id est regionis Laponum & gentis nova & verissima descriptio, 4°. *Lipsiæ* 1674. An account

account of Lapland, which though it be not by way of travels, well deſerves a place here, becauſe we ſhall ſcarce find travellers that will go into that frozen region to bring us a juſt relation of it. This however is authentic, as gathered from the ſwediſh writers, who are beſt acquainted with thoſe parts.

Theodori & Johannis de Brye India orientalis & occidentalis, 6 vols. fol. *Francfort* 1624. This collection being three volumes of the Eaſt and three of the Weſt-Indies, begins with a particular account of the kingdom of Congo in Afric, as lying in the way to, and having accordingly been diſcovered before India; this account tranſlated from the italian writ by Philip Pigaſetta. Next follows five voyages of Samuel Bruno of Baſil, the three firſt to Congo, Ethiopia, and other parts round the coaſt of Afric; the fourth to ſeveral parts in the Straits, and the fifth to Portugal and Spain, &c. tranſlated into latin from the author's original in high dutch. The next are Linſchoten's indian voyages, tranſlated from the dutch, and containing a very full account of all things remarkable in thoſe parts. Then three dutch voyages to the north-eaſt paſſage, and after them a great number of cuts and maps, beſides very many diſperſed throughout the book, and a conſiderable number at the beginning. Theſe are the contents of the firſt volume. The ſecond begins with a large account of Bantam, Banda, Ternate, and other parts of India, being a voyage of eight dutch ſhips into thoſe parts in the year 1598, tranſlated out of high dutch. After that the deſcription of Guinea, out of high dutch. Spilberg's voyage, An. 1601. Gaſpar Balbi's voyage, An. 1579. In the third volume Jacob Neck's voyage, An. 1603, Jo. Hermon de Bree, An. 1602. Corn. Nicolas, Cornelius Ven, and Stephen de Hagen, all to India. Verhuff's voyage to India, An. 1607. Dialogues in latin and the malaye language. Hudſon's voyage to the north-eaſt paſſage. An account of Terra Auſtralis incognita, by capt. Peter Ferdinand de Quir; and the deſcription of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoeſia. Two voyages of Americus Veſputius to the Eaſt-Indies. A very ſtrange relation of an engliſhman, who being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Cambaia, travelled through many of thoſe eaſtern countries; and the deſcription of the northern country of Spitzbergen: the whole illuſtrated with a vaſt number of maps, and other cuts. Thus far the three volumes of the Eaſt-Indies. The three of the Weſt are compoſed of theſe parts. Vol. I. an ample account of Virginia. The unfortunate expedition of the french to Florida, An. 1565. Laudonniere's voyage thither, An. 1574. Two voyages of John Stadius to Brazil and the river of Plate, where he lived among the Indians. Leri's account of Brazil. Villagano's voyage to South America. Benzo's hiſtory of the diſcovery of America. Vol. II. The ſecond and third parts of Benzo's hiſtory of the Weſt-Indies. Faber's deſcription of ſeveral parts of America, where he travelled. Voyages of ſir

F. Drake, Cavendiſh and Raleigh. Dutch expedition to the Canaries. General account of America. Sebald de Weert's voyage through the ſtraits of Magellan. Noort round the world. Vol. III. Two voyages of Americus Veſputius. Hamor's account of the ſtate of Virginia. Captain Smith's deſcription of New-England. Schouten and Le Maire's diſcovery of a new paſſage into the South-ſea, called Strait le Maire. Spilbergen's voyage through the ſtraits of Magellan. Herrera's deſcription of the Weſt-Indies. Theſe are the contents of the ſix volumes, the whole illuſtrated and adorned with ſuch a vaſt number of maps and cuts, repreſenting all ſuch things as require it, that the like is not in any other collection, nor is it likely that any will be at ſo exceſſive an expence. To be ſhort, this collection is a ſmall library, including all the voyages and diſcoveries of any note till the time it was publiſhed, when moſt of the remote parts began to be well known, and therefore is of excellent uſe and great value.

Italian.

Delle navigationi & viaggi, raccolſe da M. Gio Battiſta Ramuſio, Venice, 3 vols. fol. 1613. Ramuſio's collection of voyages and travels, the moſt perfect work of that nature extant in any language whatſoever: containing all the diſcoveries to the eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth; with full deſcriptions of all the countries diſcovered; judiciouſly compiled, and free from that great maſs of uſeleſs matter, which ſwells our engliſh Hackluyt and Purchas; much more complete and full than the latin de Brye, and in fine, the nobleſt work of this nature. The contents of it as briefly as may be ſet down, are as follow. In the firſt volume, John Leo's deſcription of Afric. Alviſe de ca da Moſto's voyage, and that of Peter de Santra to the coaſt of Afric. Hanno the carthaginian's navigation on the coaſt of Afric. Voyage from Liſbon to the iſland of S. Thomas. Gama's voyage to Calicut. Peter Alvarez to India. Two voyages of Americus Veſputius. Voyages to India by Tho. Lopez and Gio. da Empoli. Barthema's travels to, and account of India. Corſali to India. Alvarez to Ethiopia. Diſcourſe of the overflowing of the Nile. Nearchus admiral to Alexander the great, his navigation. Voyage down the Red-ſea to Diu. Barboſa of the Eaſt-Indies. Voyages of Conti, and S. Stephano. Firſt voyage round the world performed by the ſpaniards. Gaeton of the diſcovery of the Molucco Iſlands. Account of Japan. Extracts of Barros's hiſtory of India. The ſecond volume; Marcus Paulus Venetus's travels. Hayton the armenian of the great chams or emperors of Tartary. Angiolello of the wars betwixt Uſſuncaſſan king of Perſia, and Mahomet emperor of the turks; of Iſmael Sophy and the ſultan of Babylon, and of Selim the

turk's

turk's ſubduing the mamalucks. Barbaro's travels to Tartary and Perſia. Contarino's embaſſy from the republic of Venice to Uſſuncaſſan king of Perſia. Campenſe of Muſcovy. Jovius of Muſcovy. Arianus of the Euxine, or Black-ſea. Geor. Interiano of the circaſſians. Quini's ſhipwreck and adventures in 60 degrees of north latitude. The ſame by Chriſt. Fioravante and J. de Michele, who were with him. Baron Herberſtain of Muſcovy and Ruſſia. Zeno's voyage to Perſia. Nich. and Ant. Zeni's diſcovery of Frizeland, Iceland, and to the north pole. Two voyages to Tartary by dominicans ſent by pope Innocent IV. Odoricus's two voyages into the eaſt. Cabot's voyage into the north-weſt. Guagnino's deſcription of Poland, Muſcovy, and part of Tartary. The ſame by Micheorus. In the third volume; an abridgment of Peter Martyr of Angleria, his decads of the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies. An abridgment of Oviedo's hiſtory of the Weſt-Indies. Cortes's account of his diſcovery and conqueſt of Mexico. Alvarado of his conqueſt and diſcovery of other provinces above Mexico. Godoy of ſeveral diſcoveries and conqueſts in New-Spain. Account of Mexico and New-Spain, by a gentleman belonging to Cortes. Alvar Nunez of the ſucceſs of the fleet ſet out by Pamphilo de Narvaez, and his ſtrange adventures for ten years. Nunno de Guzman of ſeveral cities and provinces of New-Spain. Francis de Ulloa's voyage to California. Vaſquez Coronado and Marco de Nizza of the provinces north of New-Spain. Alarcon's voyage by ſea to diſcover the ſeven cities north of Mexico. Diſcovery and conqueſt of Peru, writ by a ſpaniſh captain. Xeres's conqueſt of Peru. The ſame by Pizarro's ſecretary. Oviedo's account of a voyage up the great river of Maranon. Verazzano's diſcovery of north America. Jaques Cortier's firſt and ſecond voyages to Canada or New-France. Federici's voyage to India, with a large account of the ſpice, drugs, jewels, and pearls in thoſe parts. Three voyages of the dutch to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage to China and Japan, in which they found the ſtraits of Weygats and Nova Zembla, and the coaſt of Greenland running to 80 degrees of north latitude. Theſe, with many learned diſcourſes and obſervations of the author's are the contents of the three volumes.

Prima ſpeditione all' Indie orientali del P. F. Gioſeppe di Santa Maria, 4°. *Roma* 1668. This author was ſent by pope Alexander VII. to the malabar chriſtians of S. Thomas, being himſelf a barefoot carmelite, and has in this left a moſt excellent piece of curioſity. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he ſaw, of birds, beaſts, and other animals, and of the philoſophy of the brachmans, their ſecrets, and of all the other malabars, as alſo of the infinite number of their gods. Hence he proceeds further, to treat of the vaſt empire of the mogul, of the pearl fiſhery, of the ſabeans about Baſſora, who pretend they received their religion from S. John Baptiſt; and

concludes with the errors of the jacobites, neſtorians, greeks, armenians, and other eaſtern ſects.

Hiſtoria delle Guerre Civili di Polonia, progreſſi dell' arme Mocovite contro a Polacchi, relationi della Moſcovia e Suetia, e loro governi, di D. Alberto Vinina Belluneſo, 4°. *Venetia* 1672. Though the wars of Poland may not ſeem relating to travels, this work is inſerted, as giving a good account of the poles, tartars, and coſſacks, their government, manners, &c. then follows that of Muſcovy and Sweden, where the author travelled, and made his excellent obſervations.

Il viaggio all' Indie orientali del P. F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, fol. Roma 1673. A voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, performed by F. Vincent Maria of S. Catherine of Siena, procurator general of the barefoot carmelites, and ſent to India by the way of Turky and Perſia by the pope, together with F. Joſeph of S. Mary, who writ alſo an account of his travels, which is mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books: in the firſt and laſt is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels thither and back again. The ſecond treats of the affairs of the Malabar chriſtians. The third and fourth of all the nations of India, their manners, cuſtoms, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. The whole is ſo faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in thoſe parts, that ſcarce any other can equal it.

Iſtorica deſcrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, & Angola, & delle miſſione apoſtoliche eſſercitaevi da religioſi Capuccini, compilata dal P. Gio. Antonio Cavazzi, & nel preſente ſtile ridotta dal P. Fortunato Alamandini, fol. Bologna, 1687. An hiſtorical deſcription of the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba and Angola; the authors were capuchin miſſioners, who compiled it by order of the congregation de propaganda fide, and have given a moſt accurate deſcription of thoſe countries, and all things of note in them; as alſo of the miſſions thither, which was the principal end of their painful travels.

Relatione della citta d' Attene, colle provincie dell' Attica, Focia, Beotia, e Negroponte, ne tempi che furono queſte paſſegiate da Cornelio Magni l'anno 1674. 4°. *Parma* 1688. An account of Athens, and the provinces of Attica, Focia, Beotia, and Negropont, which the author viewed, and took a particular account of, and for further ſatisfaction conferred with Mr. Spon, who had travelled the ſame parts, for his approbation of what he delivers. He treats very briefly of Syria, Chaldea, and Meſopotamia, and principally inlarges himſelf upon the city of Athens, the condition whereof he deſcribes more fully than any other has done.

Relatione e viaggio della Moſcovia del ſignor cavaliere D. Ercole Zani, Bologns, 12°. *Bolognia* 1690. This voyage to Muſcovy is writ by a moſt judicious perſon, and who had ſpent a great part of his life in travelling, and deſerves to be highly valued, as

coming from ſuch a hand; and the more, becauſe we have but very imperfect accounts of that country.

Viaggio del monte Libano del R. R. Jeronimo Dandina, 12°. He performed this voyage to mount Libanus by order of pope Clement VIII. to inquire into the faith of the maronite chriſtians; he deſcribes the country, gives an account of the peoples doctrines, their manner of living, their books, learning, biſhops, prieſts, and religious men. A work very curious and uſeful. It is tranſlated into french, and the tranſlator has added many uſeful remarks of his own.

Relazione del viaggio fatto a Conſtantinopoli, &c. da Gio. Benaglia, 12°. *Bologna* 1664. This is an account of count Caprara's embaſſy to the great turk, the author being his ſecretary, and has many good remarks of that court, and of the turkiſh army, taken by him upon the ſpot, and therefore well worth the obſervation of the curious. Biblioth. Univ. vol. XV. p. 75.

French.

Relations de divers voyages curieux par M. Melchiſedec Thevenot. There is no need to give a character of this author, any further than that he has received the general approbation of the learned, for compiling a collection of curious travels in two volumes in folio. The firſt contains Greaves's deſcription of the pyramids of Egypt, and Buratini's account of the mummies. An account of the coſſacks, another of the tartars, another of Mingrelia, and another of Georgia. Jenkinſon's voyage to Cathay. An extract of the dutch embaſſy to the tartar. A relation of the conqueſt of the iſland Formoſa by the chineſes; another of the court of the mogol. Sir Thomas Roe's and Terry's voyage to the mogol. A greek deſcription of the Eaſt-Indies. The arabic geography of Abulfeda. The antiquities of Perſepolis. The beginning of a book of the chaldeans of Baſſora. Relations of the kingdoms of Golconda, Tanaſſari, and Aracan, of the gulph of Bengala, and of Siam. Bontekoue's voyages to India. The diſcovery of Terra Auſtralis. The ſailing courſe to India. Inſtructions upon the trade of India and Japan. Beaulieu's voyage to the Weſt-Indies, Accounts of the Philippine iſlands, of Japan, of the diſcovery of the land of Yedſo. A deſcription of the plants and flowers of China. Ancient monuments of chriſtian religion in China. The ſecond volume; the dutch embaſſy to China; the chineſe atlas, The ſtate of India. The portraiture of the indians. Acarete's voyage on the river Plate, and thence to Peru and Chile. Journey by land to China. The ſecond book of Confucius the chineſe philoſopher. The hiſtory of Ethiopia, and of ſome countries about it. Travels to the province of Zaide in Egypt. The hiſtory of Mexico in figures explained. Taſman's voyage to Terra Auſtra-

lis. Inſtructions for the navigation from Holland to Batavia. Two embaſſies to the emperor of Cathay. A chronological ſynopſis of the Chineſe monarchy. Barros's Aſia, or conqueſt of India. An account of the chriſtians of S. John. A voyage to Tercera. The elements of the tartar language. A fragment concerning the iſles of Solomon; another of the hiſtory of ſome eaſtern princes.

Thevenot has alſo compoſed one volume in 8°. in which is an embaſſy from the czar of Moſcovy to China by land. The diſcovery of ſome countries in north America, and of the great river Miſſiſſippi. A diſcourſe of Navigation. The natural hiſtories of the ephemera, or fly that lives but a day, and the cancellus.

Les ſix voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier en Turquie, en Perſe, & aux Indes. Theſe travels are printed in ſeveral ſorts of volumes in french, according to the ſeveral editions, and have been tranſlated into engliſh. He is a faithful writer, and deſerves full credit in what he delivers upon his own ſight and knowledge; but in ſome relations taken from others, he was impoſed upon, being a perſon of integrity, and not ſuſpecting others would give a falſe information. His accounts are very particular and curious, and the extent he travelled very great, having taken ſeveral ways in his ſix journies. But above all, he gives the beſt deſcription of the diamonds, mines and rivers where they are found, and manner of finding them; having been upon the ſpot, as being a great dealer in thoſe precious ſtones.

Receuil de pluſieurs relations & traites ſinguliers & curieux de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, diviſe en cinque parties, 4°. This is an addition to his voyages, in which he treats of the dutch practices to exclude all chriſtians from Japan, negotiations of french deputies in Perſia and India, remarks on the trade of India, an account of the kingdom of Tunquin, and the hiſtory of the proceedings of the dutch in Aſia.

Relation nouvelle de la Caroline, par un gentilhomme françois, arrive depuis deux mois de ce nouveau pais, ou il parle de la route qu'il faut tenir pour y aller le plus ſurement; & de l'etat ou il a trouve cette nouvelle contrée. A la Haye 1686. 12°. This is a modern account of Florida, its eſtate in the year 1684, and the beſt way to it. The book has a good reputation; and as Florida is one of thoſe american countries we have not the beſt account of, this is a conſiderable light into it.

Relation du voyage de monſieur l'eveſque de Beryte par la Turquie, la Perſe, les Indes juſques au Royaume de Siam, & autres lieux, eſcrit par monſieur de Bourges, Preſtre, 8°. An account of the biſhop of Berytus's journey by land through Turkey, Perſia, and India, into China, by a prieſt that went with him; very curious in the deſcription of thoſe countries and manners of the

people,

people, with inſtructions for travellers to thoſe parts. Journ. des Scav. vol. I. p. 591.

L'embaſſade de D. Garcia de Silva Figuerra. This is a tranſlation out of ſpaniſh, and the account of the book is among the ſpaniſh under the title, Embaxada, &c. to which the reader may turn; only he is advertiſed that he may ſee more concerning this tranſlation in Journ. de Scav. vol. I. p. 205.

Les voyages de monſieur de Monconys. Monſieur Monconys's travels in three volumes, 4°. The firſt through Portugal, Italy, Egypt, Syria and Conſtantinople. The ſecond into England, the Low-Countries, Germany and Italy. The third into Spain. Beſides the general account of thoſe countries and particular places, they contain abundance of rare and extraordinary obſervations and ſecrets in phyſic and chemiſtry, and mathematical inventions. But the author dying before the work was fitted for the preſs, it is in ſome meaſure imperfect, and has many particulars of no uſe to any but himſelf; which there is no doubt he would have omitted, had he lived. Journ. de Scav. vol. I. p. 339, and 424.

Deſcription des coſtes de l'Amerique ſeptentrional; avec l'hiſtoire de ce pays, par monſieur Denys, 2 vols. 12°. The firſt volume is a deſcription of the northern coaſts of America and the countries adjacent, with a map of them, rendered extraordinary diverting by ſeveral ſtories related. The ſecond is the natural hiſtory, very curious and learned. Journ. des Scav. vol. III. p. 141.

Relation ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais, & les eſtabliſſements des pluſieurs nations, &c. 12°. This author ſet out on his voyage in the year 1671. He is worth reading for ſeveral obſervations not eaſily to be found in others; but moſt for his account of the ſettlements of european nations, yet all ſhort.

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypt, par le P. Vanſleb en 1672, & 1673. 12°. The author to what he ſaw himſelf, for the better information of his reader, adds all that is to be found remarkable in other late travellers relating to Egypt.

Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, & du Levant, aux années 1675 & 1676. *par Jacob Spon*, 12°. 3 vols. This work, beſides the general obſervations of travellers, is ſingular for its curioſity in the ſearch of antiquities. Journ. des Scav. vol. VI. p. 128 and 185.

Voyage de François Pirard de la Val aux Indes orientales, Maldives, Moluques, & au Braſil, &c. 4°. This is one of the exacteſt pieces of travels, and the moſt diverting hitherto made public. M. Pirard the traveller furniſhed the materials, which were digeſted and methodiſed by ſeveral very able men in France. Many who have travelled after him mention much of what he does, and

yet

yet he has ſome curioſities which others have not touched upon. Journ. des Scav. vol. VII. p. 85.

Ambaſſade de la compagnie des Indes orientales des Provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon, An. 1641. *fol.* It is a perfect account of all that happened to the ſaid embaſſadors, and full deſcription of the country, towns, cities, &c. with variety of cuts. Journ. des Scav. vol. VIII. p. 130. and Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. IV. p. 499.

Nouvelle relation d'un voyage de Conſtantinople, preſentée au roi par le Sieur Grelot, An. 1680, in 4°. A curious account not only of that city, but of all places to it, with cuts drawn by the author upon the ſpot. Journ. des Scav. vol. VIII. p. 296.

Relations des miſſions & des voyages des eveques vicaries apoſtoliques, & de leurs eccleſiaſtiques en années 1676 & 1677. in 8°. This is a relation of what thoſe preachers obſerved in their travels in Aſia.

Les voyages de Jean Struys en Moſcovie, &c. in 4°. In theſe travels through Muſcovy, Tartary, Perſia, India, the iſle of Madagaſcar, and other places, being a vaſt extent of ground, and to be travelled many ſeveral ways, there are abundance of notable obſervations, not to be found in other books of this ſort; the whole very inſtructive and diverting. Journ. des Scav. vol. IX. p. 260.

Relation nouvelle particulier du voyage des peres de la mercy aux royaumes de Fez & de Moroc, en l'an 1681, 12°. Beſides what theſe fathers did, as the peculiar buſineſs of their religious profeſſion, this book contains many curioſities relating to the king of Morocco and the cuſtoms of the country. Journ. des Scav. vol. X. p. 354.

Relation de la riviere des Amazons traduit par M. Gomberville, ſur l'original eſpagnol du P. d'Acuſia jeſuite. This is a relation of the ſaid father's voyage down this vaſt river; to which the tranſlator has added a diſſertation, the principal matters treated of therein being the towns of Manoa, Dorado, and the lake of Parima. Journ. des Scav. vol. XI. p. 107.

Relation du voyages de Veniſe à Conſtantinople de Jaques Gaſſot, 12°. This author, though he writ above a hundred years ago, is valuable for many curious obſervations not to be found in later travellers. Journ. des Scav. vol. XII. p. 139.

Relation du voyage des Indes orientales, par M. Dellon, two volumes 12°. The author affirms, he has inſerted nothing but what he ſaw; much of what he relates has been delivered by other authors; but he is very particular, and out-does them all in his account of the coaſt of Malabar; and concludes with a treatiſe of diſeaſes in thoſe parts, and their cures. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIII. p. 121.

Hiſtoire de la conqueſte de la Floride par les eſpagnols, traduit du portugais, 12°. This is a very exact account of that country, and

and all that happened in the conqueſt of it, writ by a portugueſe gentleman, who ſerved in that war, and was an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIII. p. 394.

Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie, auſquels on a joint une nouvelle decouverte au Mexique, 12°. It treats of two journies the emperor of China made into the eaſtern and the weſtern Tartary. The other part ſhows the ſettlement made by the ſpaniards in the iſland of California, An. 1683. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIII. p. 446.

Relation de l'embaſſade de Mr. le chevalier de Chaumont à la cour du roi de Siam, 12°. He writes not like a common traveller, but like an embaſſador, and is therefore more political, and treats of higher matters than others, though often deſcending to things of leſs moment worth the general obſervation, as the deſcription of the country, cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants, and other things of that nature. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIV. p. 396. and Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. III. p. 521.

Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perſe, & aux Indes orientales par la mer Noire, & par la Colchide, fol. Though ſo many travellers as have viſited thoſe parts before him, ſeem to have left him nothing new to write of, yet in him are found abundance of rarities not to be ſeen in any other, and remarks no where elſe to be found, and particularly the expoſition of ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, which the author makes out by cuſtoms preſerved in the eaſt from the time of Moſes till our day. Journ. des Scavans, vol. XIV. p. 535. and Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. III. p. 520.

Ambaſſades de la compagnie hollandoiſe d'orient vers l'empereur du Japon, 2 vols. 12°. It is an abridgment of a volume in folio, printed in the year 1680, and is divided into three parts: the firſt is the deſcription of Japan; the ſecond an account of the embaſſy there; and the third of five other embaſſies. To which is added a relation of the civil wars in Japan. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 139.

Journal du voyage de Siam, fait par monſieur l'abbé de Choiſi, 4°. It is compoſed of ſeveral letters writ by this gentleman, who was ſent by the king of France with the character of embaſſador in caſe the king of Siam had embraced chriſtianity, as was hoped; and does not only inform as to all particulars of that great kingdom, but of many others about it as far as Tonquin and Cochinchina, without neglecting in the way to treat very accurately of the dutch colony at the cape of Good Hope. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 301.

Hiſtoire des Indes orientales, 4°. It is divided into two parts. The firſt treats of the voyage to, and obſervations at cape Verde, of the iſle of Madagaſcar, and ſeveral paſſages which happened in Argier and Conſtantinople. The ſecond of two voyages into

India.

India. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 436. and Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans, vol. II. p. 307.

Hiſtoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, 4°. It is divided into four parts, which treat, 1. Of the ſituation and nature of the country. 2. The laws and cuſtoms of the people. 3. Their religion; and, 4. Of the king and court. Monſieur Gervaiſe the author of it reſided there four years, underſtood the language perfectly, read their books, and converſed with the moſt intelligent perſons, and therefore got good information of what he writes, having been careful to deliver as little as he could of what others had before made public. Journ. des Scav. vol. XV. p. 612.

Relation nouvelle & exact d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, 12°. Contains an exact deſcription of all the places where the principal paſſages of our Saviour's paſſion happened, and many other things well worth obſerving, being very ſhort, and yet full enough. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVI. p. 204. and Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans, vol. III. p. 417.

Voyage en Moſcovie d'un ambaſſadeur de l'empereur Leopold, 12°. *An.* 1661. He deſcribes the great rivers, the chief towns on the banks of them, the manners, government, and religion of the people. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVI. p. 232.

Deſcription hiſtorique du royaume de Macaçar, 12°. It is divided into three books, the firſt the deſcription of the country, the ſecond the manners and government of the people and kingdom, the third the religion. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVI. p. 532. and Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scavans, vol. V. p. 324.

Relation de la Nigritie, 12°. It contains an exact deſcription of the kingdoms of the blacks, their government, religion, manners, rarities of the country, with the diſcovery of the river Senega, and a map of it. By four franciſcan friars, who went thither upon the miſſion in the year 1689, from France. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 311.

Voyage du pere Tachard & des jeſuites envoyez par la roi au royaume de Siam, An. 1685, 4°. This is an hiſtorical, phyſical, geographical and aſtronomical account, being taken by learned men, and great mathematicians. The firſt book is moſtly aſtronomical obſervations in the voyage to the cape of Good Hope; the ſecond a relation of the table-mountain, and many other things about the aforeſaid cape; the third paſſages at Batavia and Macaſſar; the fourth of affairs of Siam and others; the fifth continues the ſame matter; the ſixth much natural hiſtory, concluding with the king of Siam's letters to the pope, king of France, and F. le Chaiſe; the ſeventh the father's return home; and the eighth from thence to Rome. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 415. and Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. IV. p. 472.

Second Voyage du pere Tachard & des jeſuites envoyez par le roi au royaume de Siam, 1689, 8°. This father returned from his firſt

voyage

voyage to carry more miſſioners; and this ſecond voyage, which he divides into eight books, like the other contains many hiſtorical, phyſical, geographical, and aſtronomical remarks, beſides abundance of other obſervations and curioſities omitted in the firſt voyage. Biblioth. univerſ. vol. XIV. p. 445.

Hiſtoire de l'egliſe du Japon, par Mr. l'abbé de T. 2 vols. 4°. It was writ by F. Solier, a jeſuit, and publiſhed by l'abbé, who refined the language. This, though an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, contains all the diverting particulars to be found in books of travels, as being compoſed by thoſe fathers, who were all travellers in that country. It is an excellent work, in twenty books. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 486.

Journal du voyage fait à la mer du Sud, avec les flibuſtiers de l'Amerique, en 1684, *& années ſuivantes, par le ſieur Ravenau de Luſſand,* 12°. It is a buccaneering expedition, containing very much of robbery, with an account of the iſthmus of America and countries about it, where the author with his gang travelled much by land. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVII. p. 721.

Hiſtoire de monſieur Conſtance premier miniſtre du roi de Siam, & de la derniere revolution de cet eſtat. Par le P. d'Orleans, 12°. It is a relation of that gentleman's wonderful adventures in Siam, where he attained to be firſt miniſter to that great monarch in the year 1685 and thoſe that followed, with the revolution of that kingdom, and the perſecution that enſued againſt the chriſtians. Journ. des Scav. vol. XVIII. p. 373.

Du royaume de Siam. Par Mr. de la Loubere, envoye extraordinaire du roi apres du roi de Siam, en 1687, & 1688. 2 vols. 12°. In this there are many particulars not to be found in other relations. The firſt volume divided into three parts; the firſt geographical, the ſecond of cuſtoms in general, and the third of manners in particular. The ſecond volume begins with ſtrange fables and ſuperſtitions, proceeds to the practices of the religious men, and many other particulars extraordinary curious and remarkable. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIX. p. 256 & 269.

Relation du voyage d'Eſpagne, 3 vols. 12°. Treats of the country in general, of the ſituation of its towns, of public and private ſtructures, of palaces and churches, with their ornaments, &c. of the king's power, government, councils, employments, benefices, and their revenues; of the orders of knighthood, and the inquiſition; with many pleaſant adventures, in which there is much of the romantic. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIX. p. 364. It is writ by the counteſs d'Aunoi, and has much of the woman.

Nouvelle relation de la Gaſpeſie. Par le P. Chretien le Clercq. 12°. This is a complete account of the manners and religion of the ſavages called gaſpeſians, carrying croſſes, and worſhipping the ſun; and others nations of Canada in north America. It was

taken

taken in twelve years, the author reſiding there as miſſioner, beginning An. 1675. Journ. des Scav. vol. XIX. p. 395. and Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. XXIII. p. 86.

Premier eſtabliſſement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le P. le Clercq, miſſionaire, 2 vols. 12°. It is the complete hiſtory of Canada, or New-France, from the firſt diſcovery of it till this time, containing the diſcoveries, ſettling of colonies, conqueſts, and all other paſſages from thoſe northern parts down to the gulph of Mexico, with the battles with the engliſh and iroquois, An. 1690. Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 131.

Voyages en divers eſtats d'Europe & d'Aſie, pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin a la Chine, 4°. Theſe travels were writ and performed by F. Avril, a jeſuit, who ſpent five years traverſing Turky, Perſia, Muſcovy, Poland, Pruſſia, Moldavia and Tartary, and embarked in ſeveral ſeas to find out this way to China, to avoid the tedious voyage by the cape of Good Hope and India. The relation is phyſical, geographical, hydrographical, and hiſtorical. Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 187.

Les avantures de Jaques Sadeur dans la decouverte, & le voyage de la Terre Auſtrale, 12°. This is a very extraordinary account of Terra Auſtralis incognita, infinitely exceeding all that has been writ of it by others; the author being caſt upon that country after the loſs of the ſhip he was in, and living thirty years among thoſe ſavages. He therefore treats of the manners of the people, their religion, employments, ſtudies, wars, of the birds and beaſts, and other rarities. Journ. des Scav. vol. XX. p. 256.

Voyages hiſtoriques de l'Europe, 8 vols. 12°. The firſt of theſe volumes treats only of France; the ſecond of Spain and Portugal; the third of Italy; the fourth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the fifth of the ſeven United Provinces; the ſixth of the empire; the ſeventh of Muſcovy; the eighth of Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. Theſe volumes are travels into the moſt conſiderable parts of Europe, and contain abundance of ſingularities not obſerved by other travellers and writers. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXI. p. 93, 95, 276.

Relation du voyage, & retour des Indes orientales, pendant les années 1690, 1691, *par un garde de la marine ſervant ſur le bord de M. Duqueſne commandant de l'Eſcadre*, 12°. It has many curious obſervations during the voyage outward and homeward bound, and an account of all places the ſquadron touched at. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXI. p. 177.

Les voyages du ſieur le Maire aux iſles Canaries, Cape Verde, Senegal & Gambie, 12°. In this are many particulars of thoſe african countries, little known, and ſcarce to be found in other travellers. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXIII. p. 364.

Nouvelle relation de la Chine, en l'année 1668, *par le R. P. Gabriel de Magaillans, de la compagnie de Jeſus*, 8°. This was originally

ginally writ in portugueſe, and ought to have been among the travels in that language, had we any number of them. It was thought worth tranſlating into french firſt, and from that into engliſh, but was never printed in its original language. It has the reputation of an exact and faithful account. Hiſt. des ouvrages des Scav. vol. II. p. 203.

Relation univerſelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le ſieur de la Croix, 12°. 4 vols. Beſides the chronology and geography, it has the cuſtoms, manners, religion, trade, plants and other particulars of the continent and iſlands, and what the king of France has done againſt the barbary corſairs, An. 1688. A Lyon.

Le bouclier de l'Europe, contenant des avis politiques & chretiens, &c. Avec une relation de voyages faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaide, & la Barbarie. Par le R. R. Jean Coppin, 4°. This father was firſt a ſoldier, then conſul for the french nation at Damietta in Egypt, and laſtly, a religious man. The deſign of his work is to ſtir up chriſtian princes to make war on the turk, and accordingly his firſt and ſecond books are taken up in ſhowing of how great conſequence that war is, the methods of managing it, the cauſes of the riſe and decay of the Ottoman empire, and much more to that effect. In the following books he proceeds to his travels; firſt in Egypt, where he has many curious obſervations not to be found in other travellers, but more particularly, in that he took the pains to travel the great deſart of Thebaida, where few beſides him have been in theſe latter times; and this is the ſubject of his third and fourth books. The fifth treats of Barbary, Phœnicia and the Holy Land: and the work concludes with an exact deſcription of the city Damietta, where he reſided ſome years. His relation is faithful, and deſerves all credit, eſpecially in thoſe things he delivers as an eye-witneſs. It was publiſhed at Paris in the year 1686. Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. V. p. 103.

Journal, ou ſuite du voyage de Siam, en forme de lettres familieres, fait en 1685 & 1686, *par monſieur l'abbé de Choiſi*, 8°. It is the third account of the french ambaſſadors ſent to Siam; monſieur de Chaumont, and P. Tachard, both before mentioned, being the two others. It contains an exact journal of that voyage, has all the ſea-terms, much of the ſame as F. Tachard, and ſeveral other remarks. He treats of the war in Bantam, of the iſland of Java, of Batavia, the power of the dutch in India, of Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c. Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. VI. p. 274.

Hiſtoire naturelle & politique du royaume de Siam, par monſieur Gervaiſe, 1688. 4°. The author lived four years at the court of Siam, and affirms nothing but what he ſaw, or found in the beſt books of that country, as alſo by diſcourſe by the beſt people there. He ſays little or nothing of what has been mentioned by other

other travellers to Siam, and adds much, which they, as being only paſſengers, could not obſerve. The work is divided into four parts: the firſt contains the deſcription of the country; the ſecond the laws, cuſtoms, manners and government of that nation; the third the religion; the fourth ſpeaks of the king, royal family and court. Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. X. p. 516.

Relation nouvelle & exacte d'un voyage de la Terre Sainte, ou deſcription de l'etat preſent dies lieux, ou ſe ſont paſſées les principales actions de la vie de Jeſus Chriſt. Paris 1688. 8°. This is a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and therefore writ in a religious ſtyle, and contains an account of all the holy places in Paleſtine, and deſcription of Malta; and is a good guide for ſuch as deſire to travel into thoſe parts.

Voyages de M. de Thevenot en Aſie & en Afrique. Paris 1689. 3 vols. 12°. It is to be obſerved, that whereas before mention is made of Thevenot's travels, that is a collection of other men, as appears there, but theſe are M. Thevenot's own travels, divided into three parts; the firſt of the eaſtern countries under the turk; the ſecond continues other eaſtern parts, proceeding towards Perſia; and the third the Eaſt-Indies. It is one of the moſt curious and exact works of this nature hitherto publiſhed, and well deſerving to be read by all that are curious of travels. Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. XIII. p. 246.

Voyages d'Amerique, hiſtoire des avanturieres qui ſe ſont ſignalez dans les Indes, &c. Par Alexander Olivier Oexmelin. Paris 1688. 2 vols. 12°. This was a ſurgeon ſent over in the ſervice of the french weſt-india company, and ſold in America, where he lived ſeveral years. The author of the Biblioth. Univerſ. gives a great character of this work, and ſays, no man has yet given ſo good an account of the manner of living in thoſe parts, beſides very good deſcriptions, and all that is requiſite in ſuch a work; of which ſee more in the ſaid Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. XVIII. p. 129.

Nouveau voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688, *avec un memoire contenant des avis utiles à ceux qui voudront faire le meme voyage. A la Haye,* 1691. 2 vols. 12°. *Par monſieur Miſſon.* This author gives a general account of all things obſervable in Italy, and therefore is the more diverting. He begins his travels in Holland, of which he gives a ſhort account; then croſſing Germany and Tirol, he runs down Italy by the Adriatick ſhore, and returns on the other ſide through Tuſcany, Genoa, Piedmont, Swiſſerland.

Voyage en divers etats d'Europe & d'Aſie, entrepris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine. Par le P. Avril. Paris 1693. 12°. The firſt book contains the author's travels from Marſeilles to Erivan in Perſia; the ſecond from Erivan to Moſcow; in the third he gives an account of Tartary, but it was ſuch as he received from

from others, for he was not in that country; and in the fourth, of his return to Poland, thence to Conſtantinople, and thence for want of health to France. Biblioth. Univerſ. vol. XXIV. p. 203.

Hiſtoire de la revolution de l'empire du mogol. Par monſieur F. Bernier, 8°. This hiſtory of the revolution of the empire of the mogul, contains the whole account of Aurenge Zeb dethroning his father, with all the intrigues and wars on that account; the deſcription of Agra and Delhi, capital cities of that empire, many particulars of that court, the doctrines, cuſtoms, &c. of the indians, the mogul's journey to Cachemire, and many other curious obſervations made by the author in his travels in that country.

Relation d'un voyage en la Mauritanie. Par le ſieur Roland Frejus, 8°. The author of this voyage into Mauritania was ſent by the king of France's order in the year 1666, to ſettle trade in the kingdom of Fez, and gives a very juſt, though brief account of his voyage and negotiation. There is added to it a letter of monſieur Charant, who lived twenty-five years in Suez and Morocco, giving an account of the religion, manners, trade, &c. of thoſe people.

Voyages en Aſie, Afrique, & l'Amerique. Par monſieur Jean Mocquet, 8°. See this among the engliſh, 8°.

Voyage par monſieur du Queſne aux Indes en 1691 & 1692, &c. See more of this among the engliſh, 8°.

Voyages hiſtoriques & curieux en Allemagne, Boheme, Suiſſe, Holland, &c. de monſieur Charles Patin, 8°. See this among the engliſh.

Voyages aux Indes, de Dellon, 2 vols. 12°.

Hiſtoire de la Chine ſous la domination des Tartares. Par le P. Greſlon de la comp. de Jeſus, 8°. *Paris* 1672. We have here a ſuccinct hiſtory of China from the year 1651, till 1669, delivered by a miſſioner reſident there many years; his principal ſubject is the aſtronomy of China, which gained the firſt admiſſion to the miſſioners; of which, and all its parts, and how uſed and practiſed there, he treats very ingeniouſly and learnedly. Giorn. de Letter.

Voyage du Levant. Par monſieur de Loir, 12°. A voyage to the Levant in ten letters, containing all things remarkable in the iſlands of the Archipelago, Epheſus, Smyrna, Conſtantinople, Scutari, Negropont, Greece, the Morea, and all the coaſts to Venice; in which are all the ancient and modern names of places, and what authors have ſaid of them, compared with what was when the author travelled. A work no leſs learned than curious. Giorn. de Letter. An. 1673.

Voyage d'Angleterre, par monſieur Sorbierre, 12°. This account of England is not methodical, but contains ſome obſervations worth reading.

Relation univerſelle de l'Afrique ancienne & moderne, par le ſieur de la Croix, 4 vols. 12°. *Lyon* 1688. This is the fulleſt and moſt perfect account yet extant of that great part of the world, being a judicious and laborious collection of all the beſt that has been writ on the ſubject. Giorn. de Letter. An. 1689.

Hiſtoire de l'iſle de Ceylon, par le capitaine Jean Ribeyro, traduite du portugais en françois, 12°. *Paris* 1701. This ſhort hiſtory of Ceylon, though writ originally in portugueſe, and publiſhed in the year 1685, is here inſerted in the french tranſlation, becauſe the tranſlator Mr. le Grand has added to it ſeveral chapters, collected from the beſt authors that have writ of that iſland. It is divided into three books: the firſt is the deſcription of the iſland, its government, religion, product, &c. the ſecond treats of the wars there between the portugueſes, the natives, and the dutch: and the third, of the errours the portugueſes committed in their conqueſts of India, and the power of the dutch in thoſe parts. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXIX. p. 389.

Nouveau memoires ſur l'eſtat preſent de la Chine, par le P. Louis le Comte, 2 vols. 12°. *Paris* 1696. F. le Comte's memoirs of China have appeared in engliſh; they have abundance of very remarkable paſſages and ſingular curioſities, and have been too much talked of to require much to be ſaid of them. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXV. p. 58.

Dernieres deſcouvertes dans l'Amerique ſeptentrionale de monſieur de la Sale, miſes au jour par monſieur le chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du fort S. Louis aux Iſlinois, 12°. *Paris* 1697. This is an account of a vaſt diſcovery in North America, being the whole length of the river Miſſiſſipi, from the french plantations in Canada down to the gulph of Mexico to the ſouthward, and from the ſame plantation to the ſource of the ſaid river northwards. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXV. p. 311.

Relation d'un voyage fait en 1696 & 1697, *aux coſtes de l'Afrique, detroit de Magellan, Brezil, Cayenne, & iſles Antilles, par le ſieur Froger.* This is a relation of an expedition of ſix french ſhips fitted out during the war with Spain in thoſe years; it is looked upon as very faithful, and adorned with a great number of maps and cuts of all ſorts. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 164.

Memoirs du chevalier Beaujeu, contenant divers voyages en Pologne, Allemagne, & en Hongrie, 12°. *Paris* 1679. The author of theſe memoirs having travelled in Poland, Germany and Hungary, undertakes to rectify many miſtakes in the maps as to diſtances of places; he gives a particular account of theſe countries; and moſt eſpecially of Poland, and all things relating to it. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 284.

Relation du voyage du ſieur de Montauban capitain des Flibuſtiers en Guinée, dans l'année 1695. This was a privateer voyage, which ended in the blowing up the ſhip; but ſo that the captain eſcaped,

eſcaped, and got aſhore on the coaſt of Afric, of which he gives ſome account; thence he got over to Barbadoes, and thence into France.

Relation curieuſe & nouvelle de Moſcovie, contenant l'etat de cet empire, 12°. *Paris* 1698. This account of Muſcovy is compoſed by Mr. de Neuville, envoy from the king of Poland to the czar, who during his reſidence there collected the beſt account of a way through Muſcovy and Tartary to China, as convenient as any for travellers in Europe, which he ſays he was told by one that travelled it twice; but that the czar at the requeſt of the dutch has prohibited merchants trading that way.

Journal du voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui ſ'y eſt fait & paſſé par l'eſcadre de ſa majeſté, envoye ſous le commandement de M. de la Haye, 12°. *Orleans* 1697. This is a voyage of the french fleet to the Indies in the year 1670, it deſcribes Goa, and gives ſome account of theſe coaſts, of taking the city of S. Thomas or Meliapor, and the loſing it again to the dutch and infidels, with the return of the french.

Voyage d'Italie & de Grece, avec une diſſertation ſur la bizarrerie des opinions des hommes, 12°. *Paris* 1698. This author ſet out from France in the year 1691, and gives ſuch a deſcription of the countries he paſſed through, and of the adventures that befel him, as renders it extremely diverting; concluding with a reflection upon the extravagant humours of men, whoſe behaviour he condemns in many particulars, which are rather pleaſant and diverting than ſolid. Journ. des Scav. vol. XXVI. p. 535.

Spaniſh.

Hiſtoria del Gran Tamorlan. Itinerario, y relacion de la embaxada que Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo le hizo por mandado del ſenor Rey D. Henrique tercero de Caſtilla. Sevil 1582. fol. This is the firſt ſpaniſh book of travels, at leaſt of any reputation, now extant, and is of no leſs than 300 years antiquity; for though the book was publiſhed as above, the embaſſy was in the year 1403, in which the author ſpent three years, ſaw a conſiderable part of Aſia, following Tamerlan's camp, and beſides what he ſaw during thoſe years, had an ample account of all that mighty prince's wars: it is a book rare and of great value.

Comentarios do grande Alphonſo de Albuquerque capitao general da India, collegidos por ſeu filho das proprias cartas, que elle eſcrivio ao rey D. Manoel. Liſboa 1576. fol. This is a large relation of the actions of that great man, who was one of the firſt portugueſe conquerors of the Eaſt-Indies; and a particular encomium of it is given by Anthony Ferreira in his poems.

Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, y

Comentarios de Alvar Nunez Adelantado y governador de la provincia del Rio de la Plata. Valladolid 1555. 4°. The firſt was

writ by Alvar Nunez himſelf, wherein he gives an account of his ſhipwreck, and unparallelled ſufferings in Florida. The ſecond was compoſed by his order by Peter Fernandez his ſecretary, and is an account of the province of the river of Plate, where he was governor: both curious and ſcarce.

Nuevo deſcubrimiento del gran Catayo, o reynos de Tibet en el anno de 1624. Madrid 1627. It is writ by F. Anthony de Andrada, a jeſuit, who in it gives an account of his travels in the moſt remote eaſtern countries.

Verdadera deſcription de la Tierra Santa como eſtava el anno de 1530. Alcala 1531. 8°. It is an exact account of the Holy Land at that time, writ by F. Anthony de Aranda, who travelled it all over as a pilgrim at that time.

El devoto peregrino viage de la Tierra Santa. Madrid 1654. 4°. The deſcription of the Holy Land in a pious ſtyle, for the help of pilgrims, by F. Antony del Caſtillo, a franciſcan; who was ſuperiour of the monaſtery at Bethlehem.

Relacion de lo ſucecido a los padres de la compania de Jeſus en la India, y Japon, en los anos de 1630 *y* 1631. Valladolid 4°. An account of the travels and actions of the jeſuits in India and Japan, by F. Antony Collaco.

Jornada de arcebiſpo de Goa D. F. Aleino de Meneſes, &c. as ſerras de Malabar, & lugares em que moram os antigos chriſtaos de S. Thome. Coimbra 1606. fol. It was writ by F. Antony de Gouve of the order of St. Auguſtin, who treats very curiouſly of the inland parts of Malabar, and chriſtians of S. Thomas there.

Hiſtoria general de los hechos de los caſtellanos en las iſlas, y tierra firma del mar oceano, eſcrita por Antonio de Herrera. Madrid 1615. 4 vols. fol. A moſt excellent and complete hiſtory of the diſcovery and conqueſt of America by the ſpaniards, not omitting to mention the diſcoveries made at the ſame time by other nations. It reaches from Columbus's firſt diſcovery An. 1492 till 1554. divided into four volumes, and thoſe into eight decads, with a very juſt deſcription of that vaſt continent.

Hiſtoria general de la India oriental, los deſcubriemientos y conquiſta que hon hecho los armos de Portugal en el Braſil, &c. hoſta el ano de 1562. Valladolid 1603. fol. This though ancient is the fulleſt account there was till that time of the portugueſes in the Eaſt-Indies and Braſil, writ by F. Antony de S. Roman of the order of S. Benedict.

Hiſtoria de la conquiſta eſpiritual de la provincia del Paraguay. Madrid 1639. 4°. It is an account of the progreſs of the preaching jeſuits in that province, and written by one of them, who was rector of ſome colleges in that country.

Itinerario da India a Portugal per terra anno 1520. Coimbra 1565. 16°. A journal of Antony Tenreiro's travels from India by land into Portugal. It was more rare in thoſe days than now, yet there are good remarks to be found in it.

Viage

Viage deſde Manila a la China. This voyage was performed by F. Auguſtin de Tordeſillas, a franciſcan, but publiſhed by John Gonzales de Mendoza, An. 1585, being a voyage from the Philippine iſlands to China; which I have not ſeen, nor met with any further account of it.

Hiſtoria del deſcubrimiento, y conquiſta del Peru, de Auguſtin de Zarate. Sevilla 1577. 8°. The author was an examiner or controler of accounts in the king's houſhold, and ſent over to Peru to inquire into the king's revenue, during the rebellion in thoſe parts, where he gathered materials for his hiſtory, which has always been in good eſteem where known, as appears by its having been twice tranſlated into italian.

Hiſtoria da Ethiopia alta, do P. Baltaſar Tellez. fol. He was a portugueſe jeſuit, who collected this hiſtory of Ethiopia from the writings of the jeſuits, who reſided there. He is highly commended by D. Franciſco Manoel in his epiſtles and his hiſtory, and no leſs by Georgius Cordoſus in Agiologio.

Conquiſta de las iſlas Molucas, de Bartolome Leonardo de Argenſola. Madrid 1609. fol. This author was hiſtoriographer of the kingdom of Arragon, and the moſt accompliſhed maſter of the ſpaniſh tongue in his time: ſo that his hiſtory is not only valuable for his excellent account of the Molucco iſlands, but for its language, wherein he has outdone moſt men.

Manual y relacion de las coſas del Peru, de F. Bernardino de Cardenas. Madrid 1634. 4°. The author was a native of Peru, and biſhop of Paraguay; ſo that his birth, education, and learning, qualified him to give a good account of that country.

Navigacion de oriente y noticias de la China, 1577. 8°. It is a ſhort but ingenious treatiſe of the eaſtern voyages, and ſome affairs of China.

Hiſtoria de Yucatan, de Bernardo de Lizana. The author was a miſſioner in the province of Yucatan, whoſe hiſtory he writes, but intermixed with much devotion.

Hiſtoria de las coſas antiguas que los indios uſavan en ſu infidelidad, por F. Bernardino de Sahagun. This hiſtory treats of the idolatry, rites and ceremonies of the indians, and of their government, laws and politics. The ſame author alſo writ La Conquiſta, or the conqueſt of Mexico.

Hiſtoria verdadera de la Conquiſta de la Nueva Eſpana, por Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo. fol. The author of this hiſtory of the conqueſt of Mexico, ſerved in it under Cortes, from the beginning till the laſt; and therefore ſpeaks as an eye-witneſs, having been in all the expeditions of note, and received what he could not be preſent at from thoſe that were. He ſays he finiſhed his work in the year 1568, but it was not publiſhed till ſome years after.

Relacion de las grandezas de Peru, Mexico, y los Angelos, de Bernardo de la Vega. Mexico 1601. 8°. This is only a collection of

rarities in thoſe parts, as the title imports. The author was canon of the church of Tucaman in South America.

Sitio naturaleza y propriedades de Mexico, de Diego de Ciſneros, 1618. The author was phyſician to the marquis De Guadalcacar viceroy of Peru, and gives a very good account of that place.

Decadas de Aſia, de Joao de Barros. He finiſhed three decades, in as many volumes, of the hiſtory of India; of which work the learned Nicholaus Antonius, in his Bibliotheca Hiſpana, p. 498. ſays it is a moſt complete work, which will laſt for ever to the honour of the compiler. His 4th volume and decade, which he left imperfect, was finiſhed by John Baptiſt Labanha, hiſtoriographer to k. Philip II. But after that James de Couto undertook to continue the hiſtory from the third decade, where Barros ended, and writ nine more; ſo that the whole work conſiſts of twelve decades, but of theſe only ſeven have been printed at Liſbon.

Relaciones del Pegu, de Duarte Fernandez. Of this relation I find no further account.

Relacion de la provincia de Tucuman, de Fernando de Quintana. This relation is of good authority, and the author was one of the firſt that went over to inhabit that country.

Memorial y relacion las iſlas Philippinas, de Fernando de los rios Coronel. The author was a prieſt in good repute, and gives an account of the wealth, not only of the Philippine, but of the Molucco iſlands, repreſenting at the ſame time what faults there are in the governments of thoſe parts to be redreſſed.

Verdadeira informazao do Preſſe Joao das Indias, de Franciſco Alvarez. Liſboa 1540. fol. The author, a man of great probity, was ſent by king Emanuel of Portugal into Ethiopia, with his embaſſador Edward Galvao, and reſided there ſix years, returning thence in the year 1533, and during his ſtay there had time to collect this hiſtorical account, in which he gives a deſcription of the country, of its trade, and all things that happened there during the ſtay of the portugueſes.

Relazao das provincias de Japao, Malabar, Cochinchina, &c. do P. Franciſco Cordim. The author was a portugueſe jeſuit, who had been in thoſe parts; and his work was ſo well approved of, that it was thought worthy to be tranſlated into french, and printed at Paris 1645.

Hiſtoria general de las Indias de Franciſco Lopez de Gomara. This author wrote in a commendable ſtyle; but his hiſtory is of no credit, being full of falſe relations, as is made out by all other authors that write of thoſe parts, ſome of whom were eye-witneſſes of the things he miſrepreſents, and others received them upon much better information.

Conquiſta del Peru, por Franciſco de Xeres. Salamanca 1547. fol. The author was ſecretary to Francis Pizarro the great diſcoverer

verer and conqueror of Peru, and wrote this account of the conqueſt of that vaſt kingdom, as an eye-witneſs, which he preſented to the emperor Charles the fifth.

Commentarios de los reges Incas del Peru. Liſboa 1609. fol.

Hiſtoria general del Peru, 1617. Fol.

Hiſtoria de la Florida, y jornada que hizo a ella el governador Hernando de Soto. 1695. 4°. Theſe three by Garcilaſo de la Vega, who calls himſelf inca, as being the ſon of a ſpaniard, who who was one of the conquerors of the kingdom of Peru, by an indian woman of the imperial race of the incas, from whom he took that name. The hiſtory of the ancient incas he received from the natives, that of the actions of the ſpaniards from his father and others, who had a ſhare in them.

Traſado em que ſe contam muitopor eſtenſo as couſas da China, e aſſi do regno de Ormuz, pelo P. Gaſparda Cruz. Ebora 1569. 4°. The author, a dominican friar, travelled as a miſſioner in India, Perſia and China, where he made his obſervations, and dedicated his work to king Sebaſtian of Portugal. Several authors of note make mention of him.

Hiſtoria general de las Indias. Salamanca 1547. fol.

Hiſtoria del Eſtrecho de Magallones, 1552. fol.

Navigacion del Rio Marannon. Theſe three by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, who after many honourable employments in Spain, was ſent governor of the city of Santo Domingo in Hiſpaniola, where he reſided ten years, and compiled his hiſtory of the Indies mentioned in the firſt place, which he had divided into fifty books, whereof only nineteen are in the volume abovementioned; to which is added one called, Of ſhipwrecks. The reſt have not appeared, unleſs we allow his hiſtory of the ſtraits of Magellan, the ſecond here ſpoke of, to be his 20th book, which is publiſhed by itſelf. His account of the river Marannon is in the 3d volume of Ramuſio's travels.

Tratado de la conquiſta de las iſlas de Perſia y Arabia, de las muchas gentes, diverſas gentes, y eſtranas y grandes batallas que vio, por Juan Angier. Salamanca 1512. 4°. The author, of whom we have no further account, aſſures he ſaw all he writes, which is all the character we can here give his work, but only that he treats of the conqueſt of the iſlands on the coaſts of Arabia and Perſia, and of ſeveral nations where he travelled, and the battles he was in.

Hiſtoria de las coſas mas notables, ritos y coſtumbres del gran regno de la China. Madrid 1586. 8°. This hiſtory of the moſt remarkable things, and the cuſtoms and manners of China, was writ by F. John Gonzales de Mendoza, of the order of St. Auguſtin, who in the year 1580 was ſent into China by k. Philip the 2d. of Spain, where he gathered the materials of his hiſtory, and compoſed it at his return.

Virtudes del Indio, de D. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obiſpo de la Puebla de los Angelos, 4°. This is a treatiſe writ in defence of

the indians by the good biſhop, and gives an account of their diſpoſition and manners, in oppoſition to thoſe that repreſented them as brutal, and ſcarce endued with reaſon. This, tho' it ſeems not a book of travels, being the manners and cuſtoms of ſtrange nations, and by a traveller to thoſe parts, very well deſerves admittance among them.

Ethiopia oriental, e varia hiſtoria de couſas notaveis do oriente, do P. F. Joao dos Santos. Ebora 1609. fol. It treats of the eaſtern parts of Afric, where the author, who was a dominican, reſided eleven years as a miſſioner, making his collections on the ſpot, which he after methodiſed in his own country.

Hiſtoria natural y moral de las Indias, por el P. Joſeph de Acoſta. Madrid 1610. 4°. This hiſtory is ſo well known and generally eſteemed, that little needs be ſaid of it; the univerſal character of it being better than what it can here receive, being the hiſtory natural and moral of the Weſt-Indies.

Deſcription del nuevo orbe, y de los naturalez del, por el P. F. Luis Jeronymo de Orc. Lima 1598. fol. The author was an american by birth, a great traveller in thoſe parts, an able ſcholar, and of excellent natural parts; all which rendered him capable to write well upon this ſubject.

Deſcription general de Africa, por Luis del Marmol Caravajal. 3 vols. fol. This is the fulleſt account extant of Afric, generally eſteemed in all parts, and has been tranſlated into french. The author being a ſlave at Morocco, there read and heard thoſe accounts he afterwards publiſhed, of the interiour parts of Afric which remain inacceſſible to chriſtians. Thuanus and Ambroſius Morales, in their hiſtories commend this work.

Hiſtoria de Ethiopia, y.

Hiſtoria de la orden de predicadores en Ethiopia, por F. Luis de Urreta, 2 vols. 4°. Both theſe generally condemned as fabulous, and particularly by F. Nicholas Godinho in his book de Abyſſinorum rebus.

Hiſtoria de las iſlas del Archipelago, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboja, y Japon, por el P. Morcello de Ribadencira. Barcelona 1601. 4°. This hiſtory of thoſe eaſtern countries was collected there by the author, who travelled the greateſt part of them as a miſſioner.

Relacion del nombre, ſitio, plantas, &c. de regno de Sardenha, por el Dr. Martin Camillo. Barcelona 1612. 4°. This was a doctor of the civil law, who being ſent by king Philip of Spain into Sardinia, to inſpect all the courts there, travelled over the whole iſland of Sardinia, and took that opportunity to write this learned treatiſe of its name, ſituation, plants, conqueſts, converſion, fertility, towns, cities, and government.

Relacion del Govierno de los Quixos en Indias. 1608. 4°. An account of the province called Los Quixos in South America writ

by

by Dr. Peter de Caſtro Eorle of Lemos. What more to ſay of it I do not find.

Relacion de Philippinas, por el P. Pedro Chirino. Roma 1604. 4°. The author of this account of the Phillippine iſlands, ſpent the greateſt part of his life, and ended his days there, ſo that he was well acquainted with what he writ; but a great part of it conſiſts of the actions of the jeſuits in thoſe parts, he being of that ſociety.

Primera parte de la Chronica de Peru, de Pedro Cieca de Leon. Antwerp 1554. 8°. It treats of the limits and deſcription of the provinces of Peru, the founding of cities, and the cuſtoms and manners of the indians. Only this firſt part is extant, the other four, which the author promiſes, and were hiſtorical, having never been publiſhed; which is a great loſs, for by the value of this firſt we may judge of the reſt.

Hiſtoria da provincia de Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Braſil. The hiſtory of the province of Santa Cruz, vulgarly Braſil, by Peter de Magalhaens Gandavo. Liſbon 1579. 4°. It is commended by Antonius Leo, in his Bibliotheca Indica.

Relacion dos reges de Perſia y Ormuz, viage da India oriental a Italia por terra no anno de 1604. An account of the kings of Perſia and Ormuz, and travels from India to Italy by land, in the year 1614. 4°. The author Peter Texeira a portugueſe, who performed the journey.

Itinerario de las miſſiones orientales, con une ſumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor. An account of the eaſtern miſſions, and of the empire of the mogol. Rome 1649. 4°. Compoſed by Sebaſtian Manrique, of which we have no other particulars.

Cortas de D. Hernando Cortes Marque del Valle, de la conquiſta de Mexico, al emperador. The original letter writ by Cortes the famous conqueror of Mexico, giving the emperor Charles the 5th an account of his expedition. There is no need to ſpeak of the value of ſuch papers, than which nothing can be more authentic, as being the relation of a commander in chief to his ſovereign.

Corta do P. Gonzalo Rodrigues do ſua embaixado a Ethiopia, e do que la le ſucedeo com o ſeu Rey Claudio. A letter giving an account of the embaſſy of F. Gonzalo Rodriguez, ſent by the king of Portugal to the emperor of Ethiopia. It is to be ſeen in F. Nicholas Godinho de rebus Abyſſinorum, lib. II. cap. 58.

Relacion del viage que hizieron los capitones Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonſalo de Nodal hermanos al deſcubrimento del Eſtreco Nuevo de S. Vincente, y reconocimiento del de Magalhanes. This is an account of a voyage performed by the two captains above-named to the ſtraits of St. Vincent, which we call ſtrait Le Mayre, and to view that of Magellan, in the years 1618 and 1619. Madrid 1621. 4°. It is an exact journal of their voyage and obſervations

whilſt

whilſt they were out, which was 11 months; and they were both able ſeamen, who had ſerved the king many years.

Viage a la ſanta ciudad de Jeruſalem, deſcripcion ſuya y de toda la Tierra Santa, y peregrinacion al monte Sinai, por el P. Bernardo Italiano. *Naples* 1632. 8°. A journey to Jeruſalem, the deſcription of that holy city and country, and a pilgrimage to mount Sinai, performed by the author a franciſcan friar.

Relacion de los ſagrados lugares de Jeruſalem, y toda la Tierra Santa. The author F. Blaze de Buiza, a franciſcan, and collector of the charity gathered to pay the turks the tribute for the privilege of thoſe holy places. It is a curious relation, printed at Salamanca 1624. 8°.

Tratado de las drogas, y medicinas de las Indias orientales. *Burgos* 1578. 4°.

Tratado del viage de las Indias orientales y loque ſe navega por aquellas partes. Both theſe by Chriſtopher da Coſta, a native of Tangier, who ſpent many years in his travels in Afric and Aſia, and was a doctor of phyſic, which enabled him to write that moſt excellent treatiſe firſt mentioned of theſe two, of the plants and drugs of the Eaſt-Indies. The ſecond is of the Eaſt-India voyage, and of thoſe ſeas.

Relazao da navigazao de Duarte Lopez a Africa, e Congo, no anno de 1578. Or Lopez his voyage to Afric, and the kingdom of Congo, which is to be ſeen in latin in Theodore de Bry's collection.

Viage de D. Fradrique Henriquez de Ribera a Jeruſalem. *Liſboa* 1580. 4°. This is a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem performed by this nobleman, who was marquis of Tarifa, and ſpent two years in it, ſetting out in november 1518, and returning in october 1520. when he left this monument of his piety and ingenuity.

Peregrinacao de Fernan Mendez Pinto. *Liſboa* 1614. fol. Pinto's travels in India, ſo fabulous that the general conſent of the world has exploded them, though ſome few have taken the pains to defend thoſe chimeras.

Viage que hizo a Jeruſalem Franciſco Guerero. *Sevil* 1645. This is another pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, by a demi-canon of the cathedral of Sevil, and can only be a repetition of what we ſee in the others above mentioned.

Chorographia de alguns lugares que ſtam em hum caminho que Fez Gaſpor Barreiras, o anno de 1546, *de Badajoz em Caſſel la ate Milan en Italia.* *Coimbra* 1561. 4°. The author gives an account of the places he paſſed through in his journey from Badajoz in Spain, to the city of Milan. But Andrew de Reſende complains that he ſtole notes which he friendly communicated to him, and inſerted them as his own.

Itinerario da India per terra ate Portugal, com a deſcripzao de Jeruſalem. *Liſboa* 1611. 4°. This journey was performed and

book

book writ by F. Gaſpar de Sa, a portugueſe franciſcan, being a journal of his travels from India to Portugal by land, and a deſcription of Jeruſalem; but of this ſort there are ſeveral, and this I do not find has any thing more remarkable above others.

Viage de Jeronimo de Santiſtevan de Genova por el Cairo a la India, y ſa buelta a Portugal. A voyage by Jerome de Santiſtevan from Genoa by the way of Grand Cairo to India, and his return to Portugal. It is to be ſeen in italian in the firſt volume of Ramuſio's collection.

Itinerario de Eſparca a las Philippinas, y de alli ala China, y buelta por la India oriental. This is a voyage round the world by F. Martin Ignatius de Loyala, a franciſcan, who took his way from Spain to America, thence to the Philippine iſlands, thence to China, and ſo round home by the Eaſt-Indies. It is printed in F. John Gonzales de Mendoza's hiſtory of China, with the author's name to it, in the edition of the year 1585, but the name is left out in that of 1586.

Jornada da Terra Santa. Another holy land pilgrimage, by F. Nicholas Diaz, of the order of St. Dominic.

Itinerario da Terra Santa, e odas las ſuas particularidades. Another pilgrimage ſtill to the Holy Land, by F. Pantaleo de Aveiro. Liſbon 1593. 4°.

Relazao de Pedro Alvarez Cabral da ſua navegazao a India oriental. This Cabral was the next after Gama ſent by Emanuel king of Portugal into India; and accidentally being drove thither by ſtorms, diſcovered Braſil. This relation is to be ſeen in italian in John Baptiſta Ramuſio's collection.

Relazao de Pedro de Cintra, da ſua navegazao a coſta de Guinée, y a India. A voyage to the coaſt of Guinea and India, by Peter de Cintra, of which I find no more, but that it was tranſlated into italian by Aloiſius Cadamuſtus.

Relazao do viage de Pedro Covillam de Liſboa a India per terra, e volta ao Cairo. 1587. This Covillam was one of the firſt ſent from Portugal to diſcover India by land, before the way to it had been opened by ſea; and this is the account of his travels thither, and back to Grand Cairo.

Viage que hizo a Jeruſalem el P. F. Pedro de Santo Domingo, de la orden del miſmo ſanto. This was a dominican lay-brother, who gave an account of his pilgrimage; but enough of them. It was in the year 1600, and printed at Naples in 1604. 8°.

Viage de Jeruſalem de Pedro Gonzales Gallardo. Another Holy-Land voyage printed at Sevil 1605. 8°.

Naufragio y peregrinacion en la coſta del Peru, de Pedro Goveo de Victoria. This is an account of a ſhipwreck and travels in America by this Goveo in his youth, a book of no great fame, and therefore hard to find any account of it. Printed in 1610. 8°.

Viage del mundo, por Pedro Ordonez de Zevallos. 4°. This though the author calls it the voyage of the world, only ſhows a piece of vanity, for it reaches no further than America, a part whereof the author ſaw, and writes of.

Relacion del voyage que hizo a la India Tomas Lopez, el anno de 1502. This voyage to India by Lopez, is to be ſeen in italian in Ramuſio's collection.

Nuevo deſcubrimiento del gran Rio de las Amazonas. A new diſcovery of the great river of Amazons, by Chriſtopher de Acuna, a jeſuit who went upon that expedition by order of the king of Spain. Madrid 1641. 4°.

Relacion del voyage de los hermanos Nodales, de Diego Ramirez. This is a relation of the voyage made by the two brothers Bartholomew and Garcia de Nodal to the ſtraits of Le Mayre; their own journal of this voyage was mentioned before, yet this relation is much commended by Anthony de Leon in his Biblioth. Ind. occident. p. 91.

Relacion del naufragio de la nao Santiago, y itinerario de la gente, que della ſe ſalvo el anno de 1585. This is an account of a portugueſe ſhip caſt away, and of the great ſufferings of thoſe that were ſaved. It is a very remarkable relation, and printed An. 1602. 8°.

Relacion del deſcubrimiento de las ſiete ciudades, de Fernando de Alarcon. The diſcovery of ſeven cities in the north America by Ferdinand de Alarcon. It is to be found in italian in Ramuſio's collection, vol. III.

Relacion del deſcubrimiento de las ſiete ciudades, de Franciſco Vaſquez Coronado. The diſcovery of the ſeven cities laſt mentioned by Coronado, and to be found in the ſame volume of Ramuſio.

Tratado de las guerras de los chichimecas. An account of thoſe northern people in America, called chichimecas, and the wars with them, by Gonzalo de los Caſas, a native of Mexico, and lord of the province of Zanguitan in that country.

Relacion de lo ſuccedido a los padres de la compania de Jeſus en la India oriental y Japon en los anos 1600, 1601, 1607, *y* 1608. This account was firſt writ in portugueſe, and tranſlated into ſpaniſh, and has not very much but what relates to religious affairs.

Hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica del Japon deſde del ano 1602, *hoſta el de* 1621. This is an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Japan for thoſe years above-mentioned, compoſed by F. James Collado, and printed at Madrid, An. 1623. in 4°. It was continued to the year 1622, by F. Jacintus Offanel of the order of St. Dominic, as was the other.

Hiſtoria evangelica del regno de la China del P. F. Juan Baptiſta Morales. This hiſtory of China has been always in good repute; the author was a dominican and miſſioner firſt in Camboya, and

then

then in China, where he ſuffered much, being put to the rack, twice whipped, and then baniſhed. Coming to Rome he gave the pope a good account of the affairs of that country, whither he returned and ſpent there the remainder of his life, dying at 70 years of age in the province of Fokien. Thus much has been ſaid of him, to ſhow that he was well acquainted with what he writ, and well deſerves the general approbation he has met with.

Embaxada de D. Garcia de Silva Figueroa a la Perſia. This embaſſador was a man curious and knowing, and obſerved many conſiderable things which other authors have not ſpoke of, and made learned reflections on what ancient hiſtorians have writ of the eaſtern countries. He gives an account of the manners and cuſtoms of the people, and deſcription of all places in the way he went from Goa to Iſpahan, the capital of Perſia. The relation of the perſians taking Ormuz from the portugueſes, a deſcription of Chilminara the ancient palace of Perſepolis, burnt by Alexander the great when he was drunk. This is a book of great value in the original ſpaniſh, the french tranſlation being vitiated by the tranſlator, ſo that there is no relying on it.

Conquiſta y antiquedades de las iſlas de la Gran Canaria, ſu deſcripcion, &c. Per el licenciado Juan Nunez de la Pena. 4°. *Madrid.* The conqueſt and antiquities of the Canary iſlands, being perhaps the beſt relation we have of them, both as to their preſent ſtate and antiquities.

Engliſh.

Hackluyt a miniſter by profeſſion, is the firſt engliſhman that compiled any collection of travels now extant: he himſelf was no traveller, but only delivers what he could gather from others. His work was publiſhed in the year 1598, and reaches down to 1597; it is divided into three parts, compoſing one thick volume in folio. The firſt contains the following voyages: 1. K. Arthur to Iſeland, an. 517. 2. K. Malgo to Iſeland, Gotland, &c. an. 580. 3. K. Edwin to Angleſey and Man, an. 624. 4. Bertus to Ireland, an. 684. 5. Octher beyond Norway, an. 890. 6. Octher into the ſound. 7. Wolſtan into the ſound. 8. K. Edgar round his monarchy, an. 973. 9. Edmund and Edward into Hungary, an. 1017. 10. Harald into Ruſſia, an. 1067. 11. An engliſhman into Tartary, Poland and Hungary, an. 1243. 12. F. de Plano's wonderful voyage, an. 1246. 13. F. de Rubricis's journal, an. 1253. 14. F. de Linna towards the north pole, an. 1360. 15. Hen. e. of Derby into Pruſſia, an. 1390. 16. F. of Woodſtock into Pruſſia, an. 1391. 17. Sir H. Willoughby to Lapland, an. 1553. 18. Chancellor's diſcovery of Muſcovy by ſea, an. 1553. 19. Burrough to the river Ob, an. 1556.

1556. 20. Johnſon to the Samoeds, an. 1556. 21. Burrough to Wardhouſe, an. 1557. 22. Jenkinſon to Ruſſia, an. 1557. 23. Jenkinſon from Moſcow into Bactria, an. 1558. 24. Jenkinſon through Ruſſia into Perſia, an. 1561. 25. Alcock, &c. by land to Perſia, an. 1563. 26. Johnſon, &c. by land to Perſia, 1565. 27. Southam and Spark to Novogrod, an. 1566. 28. Jenkinſon to Ruſſia, an. 1566. 29. Edwards, &c. by land to Perſia, an. 1568. 30. Baniſter and Ducket by land to Perſia, an. 1569. 31. Burrough to Livonia, an. 1570. 32. Jenkinſon to Ruſſia, an. 1571. 33. Burrough by land to Perſia, an. 1579. 34. Pet and Jackman to the north-eaſt, an. 1580. 35. Horſey by land from Moſcow to England, an. 1584. 36. Ruſſians to the north-eaſt. 37. Voyage to Siberia and the river Ob. 38. Vanquiſhing the ſpaniſh armada, an. 1588. 39. Voyage to Cadiz, an. 1596. Thus far the firſt volume; the firſt 16 of which voyages are not of much moment or authority, and the two laſt are warlike expeditions, which were not properly placed among diſcoveries; the reſt of the volume is filled with treaties, patents and letters. Thus it appears all theſe, except the two laſt are northern voyages. The ſecond volume contains voyages to the ſtraits, coaſt of Afric, and the Eaſt-Indies. Of theſe the greateſt part are pilgrimages to Jeruſalem, many of very little moment, expeditions for the Holy Land, common trading voyages, that have little or nothing of curioſity, and ſea-fights; all which being a great number, and of no moment, are not worth inſerting here: the ſmall remaining part are voyages to Guinea, and other coaſts of Afric, and ſome few to the Eaſt-Indies; of all which there is a much better account in Purchas and others, and therefore they are not inſerted in this place. Beſides, as in the firſt part, there are abundance of letters, diſcourſes, patents, and ſuch original papers. The third volume, not to mention many of no worth, has theſe conſiderable voyages, Sebaſtian Cabot's to north America, three of ſir Martin Forbiſher to the north-weſt paſſage, two of Davis's to the north-weſt, Hore and Gilbert to Newfoundland; Granpre, and others to the iſle of Ramea; three of Jacques Cartier to Newfoundland, Canada, &c. Roberval to Canada; Amadas, Balow, Greenvil and others, to Virginia; Verazzano, Ribault, Laudonnierre, and Gourges to Florida; Marco de Nica, Francis Vaſques Coronado, and Antony de Eſpejo to Cibola, Culiacon and New Galicia; Ulloa, Alarcon and Drake to California; Ovalle to the Philippine iſlands, Lequeos, China, and back to Acapulco; Tonſon, Bodenham, Chilton, Hawks, Philips, and Hortop to New Spain, Peru and Panuco; Pert and Cabot to Braſil; Tiſon and Hawkins to the Weſt-Indies; Hawkins to Guinea and the Weſt-Indies; Drake to Nombre de Dios; Oxnam, Barker, Drake, Michelſon to Mexico, &c. Newport to Puerto Rico, &c. May to the ſtraits of Magellan; Dudley, Preſton, Drake, Sherley, Parker, to ſeveral

parts

parts of the Weſt-Indies; Raleigh to the iſland Trinidad, and to Guiana; Hawkins, Reniger, Hare, Lancaſter to Braſil; two engliſhmen and Drake up the river of Plate; Drake round the world; Silva through the ſtraits of Magellan; Winter into the South-ſea; Fenton to Braſil; Withrington to 44 degrees of ſouth latitude; Candiſh round the world; Ship Delight to the ſtraits of Magellan; Candiſh his laſt voyage. Thus have we briefly run over the contents of Hackluyt's collection, preciſely ſetting down all in the firſt volume, to give the reader a taſte of the author's method of heaping together all things good and bad, which has been abridged in relation to the ſecond and third volumes, to avoid being tedious. The collection is ſcarce and valuable for the good there is to be picked out; but it might be wiſhed the author had been leſs voluminous, delivering what was really authentic and uſeful, and not ſtuffing his work with ſo many ſtories taken upon truſt, ſo many trading voyages that have nothing new in them, ſo many warlike exploits not at all pertinent to his undertaking, and ſuch a multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations, and other things little to the purpoſe of travels and diſcoveries.

Purchas was the next great engliſh collector of travels after Hackluyt, whom he has imitated too much, ſwelling his work into five volumes in folio. The whole collection is very valuable, as having preſerved many conſiderable voyages which might otherwiſe have periſhed. But to particularize with him, as has been done before with Hackluyt; his firſt volume is divided into five books. The firſt contains the travels of the ancient patriarchs, the apoſtles and philoſophers, with the warlike expeditions of Alexander the great, and other princes; to which is added an inquiry into languages, and an account of the ſeveral ſorts of religions. The ſecond book treats of navigation in general, the diſcoveries made by Henry prince of Portugal, king John of Portugal, Columbus of the Weſt and Gama of the Eaſt-Indies; then follow Magellan, Drake, Candiſh, Noort and Spilbergen round the world, and Le Maire's diſcovery of the new ſtrait of his name. The third book is filled with ſome private voyages to the Eaſt-Indies, and the ſeven firſt made by the eaſt-india company, with deſcriptions, and an account of all thoſe parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. but all, as delivered by the firſt that reſorted there and made no long ſtay, imperfect, and far ſhort of what we have had ſince. The fourth book contains the 8th voyage of the eaſt-india company, capt. Saris to Japan; Finch to India; 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th voyages of the company; obſervations for ſailors; Steel to the mogul's court; Milward to India; Peyton to India; an extract of ſir Thomas Roe, embaſſador from king James to the mogul, his journal; Coryat's travels. The fifth book ſtill continues upon accounts of the Eaſt-Indies, of all parts thereof, and from many

many ſeveral hands, upon differences between the dutch and engliſh, wars of the natives, engagements of the engliſh and portugueſes, and many other paſſages and occurrences to the ſame purpoſe. The ſixth book, being the firſt in the ſecond volume, begins with collections of John Leo's hiſtory of Afric, and R. C.'s hiſtory of Barbary: then follow Nicholay's deſcription of Argier: an expedition to Argier under ſir Robert Manſel; and ſome relations of Afric. The ſeventh book begins Jobſon's voyage to Guinea; Battle's account of Angola is next, then Pigaſetta's relation of Congo, Alvarez's voyage to Ethiopia; D. John de Caſtro from India to Suez; Bermudez the patriarch to Ethiopia, and Nunhes Barreto of the ſame country. The eighth contains ſeveral pilgrimages to Jeruſalem, chriſtian expeditions to the Holy Land; Barton's (q. Elizabeth's embaſſador to the great turk) account of his voyage and the adventures of J. Smith. The ninth book conſiſts of Sherley's travels into Perſia; Benjamin the ſon of Jonas his peregrination; Terrey's voyage to the mogul; Barthema's to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Perſia and India; collections of Aſia out of arabic; Meneſes's account of India; Figueroa to Iſpahan; J. de Santos to Ethiopia; Jobſon on Gambra river; account of the grand ſignior's ſeraglio; Sanderſon's voyages in the ſtraits; Timberley from Cairo to Jeruſalem: Newberry of the eaſtern parts of the world; Fran. Pyrard de la Vol to the Eaſt-Indies. The tenth book has a collection of ſpaniſh and portugueſe voyages out of Galvan; Trigautius his voyage to India; letter touching Japan; Frederick's indian obſervations; Balbi to Pegu; Fitz to Goa, and other parts of India; Pimenta's obſervations of India; Linſchoten's voyages to India; relation of Ormuz; ſir Rob. Sherley to Perſia; Coryate's travels; Lithgow Scot to the Holy Land, &c. Intelligence out of Turky; Brown's indian voyage; Dutch proceedings at Amboyna; and deſcription of the bay of Todos os Santos. The third volume, book the firſt, contains as follows: W. de Rubricis' travels into the eaſt; relations of Bacon, and Balvacenſis; Wendover of the Tartars; Mr. Paulus Venetus his voyages; S. J. Mandevile's travels; extracts of an Arabic hiſtory of Tamerlan; travels of Chaggi Memet, a Perſian; treatiſe of China, of F. Gaſpar da Cruz; Pereira of China. The ſecond book has, Sir H. Willoughby, Chanceller, and Jenkinſon's voyages to the north-eaſt; Extracts of Fernan Mendez Pinto's travels; diſcovery and planting of the Philippine iſlands; Goes travels from Lahor to China by land; Jeſuits firſt entrance into China and Japan; Pantoja's account of China; Diſcourſe of China out of Riccius and Trigautius. The third book, Fletcher's treatiſe of Ruſſia; Edge's northern voyages; Barents into the north-ſea; Gerart de Veer's northern voyages; Iver Boty of Iceland and Greenland; deſcription of Siberia, Samoieda and Tingoeſia; Gourdon to Pecora; Logan to Pecora, and his wintering there; Puſglove to Pecora, and wintering there; Gourdon wintering at Puſtozra;

Voyages

Voyages to Cherry iſland; Hudſon's northern voyages; diſcovery of Nicholas and Anthony Zeni; Quirino's ſhipwreck; Barkley's travels in Europe, Aſia, Afric and America; Broniovius embaſſador to the crim tartar; Blefken's voyages and hiſtory of Iceland and Greenland; Angrim Jonas's hiſtory of Iceland. The fourth book, ſir T. Smith to Cherry iſland; Poole to Greenland; Baffin to Greenland; Foſterby to Greenland; ſeveral northern voyages; revolutions in Ruſſia; Coſſac's travels out of Siberia to Catay; diſcovery of the river Ob; Cabot, Thorn and Weymouth's voyages to the ſouth-weſt; Hall to diſcover Greenland; Knight to the north-weſt paſſage. Other northern voyages. The fifth book, Herrera's deſcription of the Weſt-Indies, Acoſta and Oviedo of the Weſt-Indies, Mexican hiſtory in cuts, conqueſt of Mexico by Cortes, other particulars of America. The fourth volume begins with the ſixth book, and in it as follows; the firſt book, earl of Cumberland's voyage, Cabot, Pert, Hawkins and Drake's voyages and ſea-fights, Carder living among the ſavages in Braſil, Candiſh's unfortunate voyage to the ſtraits of Magellan, Knivet's adventures with Candiſh, Turner in Braſil, Parker taking Puerto Bello, Middleton and Geare to the Weſt-Indies. Deſcription of the iſland Trinidad, country of Guiana, and river Oronoko, by F. Sparrey. Leigh's voyages to Guiana, maſſacre of engliſh in Guiana, Wilſon's relation of Guiana, Harcourt to Guiana, deſcription of the river of the amazons. The ſeventh book, a treatiſe of Braſil written by a portugueſe; extracts of Leri's hiſtory of Braſil; Schnirdel's 20 years travels, Hawkins to the South-ſea, Ellis of the ſame voyage, relation of an engliſhman 13 years priſoner in Peru, Urſino of the coaſt of the firm land, and ſecrets of Peru and Chili; notes of the Weſt-Indies out of Peter Ordonez de Cevallos. New diſcovery in the South-ſea by Peter Fernandez Quiros, Lope Vas of american affairs, extracts of Benzo of the new world, and of Garcilaſſo incas of Peru; Pizarro's conqueſt of Peru, occurrences in Peru after the conqueſt. The eighth book, Alvar Nunez of Florida, Soto to Florida, diſcoveries to the northward of Mexico by Nuno de Guzman, Marco de Nica, D. Fr. Vaſquez Coronada, and D. Ant. de Eſpejo; Caſas of the cruelties of the ſpaniards, voyages and plantations of french in North-America, Goſnol to Virginia, other voyages to Virginia. Deſcription of the Azores. The ninth book, deſcription of Virginia, and proceeding of the engliſh colonies there, wreck of ſir Thomas Gate, and account of the Bermudas; Argol from Virginia to Bermudas, affairs relating to Virginia, fight of an engliſh and two ſpaniſh ſhips, voyages to the Summer Iſlands, and hiſtory of them. The tenth book, diſcovery and plantation of New England, Chalton's voyage for North Virginia, extracts of Smith of New England's trials, other accounts of New England; New Scotland the firſt planting of it, Newfoundland the firſt ſettle-

ments there, and account of the iſland; warlike fleets ſet out by queen Elizabeth againſt the ſpaniards, the duke of Medina's for invaſion of England, ſquadron of the galeons of Portugal; the expedition to Portugal by ſir John Norris and ſir Francis Drake, ſuppoſed to be writ by colonel Antony Wingfield; expedition to Cadiz, and the ſucceſs againſt the ſpaniſh ſhips, and in taking the town; the earl of Eſſex his fruitleſs expedition to the Azores, the concluſion of the work. The fifth volume is a theological and geographical hiſtory of the world, conſiſting of the deſcription, and an account of the religions of all nations. This author like Hackluyt, as was obſerved at firſt, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up ſo many volumes, and is exceſſive full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet for ſuch as can make choice of the beſt the collection is very valuable.

A voyage to Surat in the year 1689, giving a large account of that city, its inhabitants and factory of engliſh, deſcribing Madeira, Santiago, Annoboa, Cablanda, Malamba, S. Helena, Bomba, Maſcate, Mycate, the cape of Good Hope, and iſland of Aſcenſion, the revolution of Golconda, deſcription of Aracan and Pegu, an account of the coins of India and Perſia, and obſervations concerning ſilk-worms. By J. Ovington, 8°. London 1696. This account was by a perſon well qualified to make ſuch obſervations.

Travels and voyages into Aſia, Afric, and America, performed by monſ. John Morquet, keeper of the cabinet of rarities to the king of France in the Tuilleries, in ſix books with cuts. Tranſlated from the french by Nathaniel Pullen gent. 8°. London 1696. For ſo many travels the relation is too ſhort, however there are things in it worth obſerving.

A new voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, in the years 1690 and 1691, with a deſcription of ſeveral iſlands, and of all the forts and garriſons in thoſe parts, now in poſſeſſion of the french, the cuſtoms, &c. of the indians, by monſ. du Quiſne. It has alſo a deſcription of the Canaries, and of Senega and Gambia on the coaſt of Afric, with ſeveral cuts and a map of the Indies, and another of the Canaries. Made engliſh from the Paris edition, 12°. London 1696. Of the french factories in thoſe parts we have no ſuch account; and few better for the bulk, of all other places the author undertakes to ſpeak of.

The voyages and travels of ſir John Mandevil knt. ſhowing the way to the Holy Land and Jeruſalem, to the Great Cham, Preſter John, India, and other countries, 4°. London, 1696. It is needleſs to ſay much of this book, as being ſo univerſally allowed to be fabulous.

Two journies to Jeruſalem, the firſt an account of the travels of two engliſh pilgrims, and accidents that befel them in their journey to Jeruſalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c. The ſecond

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of 14 engliſhmen in 1669, with the antiquities, monuments, and memorable places mentioned in ſcripture; there are alſo ancient and modern remarks of the jewiſh nation, the deſcription of the Holy Land, captivities of the jews, what became of the ten tribes, &c. Here is very much promiſed, but the performance ſcarce anſwers, the volume being too ſmall, and looks more like a collection out of ſome real travels, than any true pilgrimage performed.

Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Swiſſerland, Holland, and other parts of Europe, deſcribing the moſt conſiderable cities and palaces of princes; with hiſtorical relations and critical obſervations, upon ancient medals and inſcriptions, by Charles Patin, M. D. of the faculty of Paris, made engliſh and illuſtrated with copper cuts, 8°. London, 169$\frac{6}{7}$. For thoſe who are curious in medals this piece will be moſt acceptable, yet this does not leſſen the value of the deſcriptions and other relations.

A new diſcovery of a vaſt country in America extending above 4000 miles between New France and New Mexico, with a deſcription of rivers, lakes, plants, and animals, manners, cuſtoms, and languages of the indians, &c. by L. Hennepin; to which are added new diſcoveries in North America, and not publiſhed in the french edition, 8°. The promiſe is very great, but there is little or rather no proof of ſuch a vaſt extent of land, which no man has yet ſeen, and is all framed upon conjectures, or what is as groundleſs, idle relations of indians; the other parts have more in them, yet only what is collections out of better authors.

A late voyage to S. Kilda, the remoteſt of all the Hebrides or weſtern iſles of Scotland; with a hiſtory of the iſland natural, moral and topographical, containing an account of the people's religion and cuſtoms, of the fiſh, fowl, &c. As alſo of a late impoſtor there, pretending to be ſent by St. John Baptiſt. By M. Martin, gent. 8°. London 1698. We have here the only hiſtory and account of this iſland, that ever perhaps appeared in any language; and being ſuch, its reputation ought to hold good, till any better can appear to leſſen it.

The hiſtory of the buccaniers of America. 8°.

A new account of Eaſt-India and Perſia in eight letters, being nine years travels, containing obſervations of the moral, natural and artificial ſtate of thoſe countries, as the government, religion, laws, cuſtoms, ſoil, ſeaſons, diſeaſes, animals, vegetables, manufactures, trade, weights and meaſures, in the principal places there. By John Fryer, M. D. with maps and tables, London 1698.

A voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, giving an account of the iſles of Madagaſcar and Maſcarenhas, of Surat, the coaſt of Malabar, Goa, Gomron, Ormuz; and the coaſt of Braſil, &c. and of the religion, cuſtoms, trade, &c. of the inhabitants, alſo a treatiſe of

diſtempers peculiar to the eaſtern countries. There is annexed an abſtract of monſ. Reneford's hiſtory of the Eaſt-Indies, with his propoſals for improvement of the eaſt-india company; written originally in french, by monſ. Dellon, M. D. 8°. London, 1698. This work has been well received both in french and engliſh.

A new voyage and deſcription of the iſthmus of America, giving an account of the author's abode there, the form of the country, coaſts, hills, rivers, wood, ſoil, weather, &c. trees, fruit, beaſts, birds, fiſh, &c. the indian inhabitants, their features, complexion, manners, cuſtoms, employments, marriages, feaſts, hunting, computation, language, &c. with remarkable occurrences on the South-ſea and other places, by Lionel Wafer, with cuts, 8°. London 1698. A work that has been well received by the public.

A new account of North-America, as it was lately preſented to the french king; containing a more particular account of that vaſt country, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, than has been hitherto publiſhed, 8°. London, 1698. We have here a french account of thoſe countries, but more particularly what belongs to them, more exact than any other has delivered.

The new Atlas, or travels and voyages in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, &c. 8°. London, 1699. A little volume, which ſeems rather ſome collections out of books and travels, than any real voyage.

An account of a voyage from Archangel in Ruſſia, in the year 1697, of the ſhip and company wintering near the north cape, in the latitude of 71 degrees: their manner of living, and what they ſuffered by the extreme cold; alſo remarkable obſervations of the climate, country and inhabitants; with a chart deſcribing the place where they lay, land in view, ſoundings, &c. By Thomas Alliſon commander of the ſhip. This is the lateſt relation we have of any ſuch northerly wintering, and well worth comparing with ſuch others as write of thoſe northern parts.

A relation of two ſeveral voyages made into the Eaſt-Indies, by Chriſtopher Fryke ſurgeon, and Chriſtopher Schwartzer, particularly deſcribing thoſe countries that are under the dutch, 8°. London, 1699. There is nothing extraordinary in them.

An account of a dutch embaſſy to the emperor of China, writ by one of the ambaſſador's retinue, fol. It is a tranſlation from the dutch original, and contains a deſcription of the country, and all places they paſſed through, with 200 cuts drawn upon the ſpot; it treats alſo of the government of China, and manners of the people.

The deſcription of the iſland of Ceylon by captain Knox. He lived 19 years upon the iſland, being taken, and kept there all this

this while by the dutch, and had the opportunity of ſeeing the greateſt part, and being informed of the reſt by the natives. He gives a particular account of his manner of living, and accidents that befel him till he made his eſcape, and then treats very fully of all things that relate to the iſland. The dutch who are maſters of Ceylon, have thought this account worth tranſlating into their language, and it has found a good reception among them, which muſt add to its reputation.

Travels to Dalmatia, Greece and the Levant, by Mr. George Wheeler. He travelled with Mr. Spon, who publiſhed the ſame travels in french, but Mr. Wheeler remaining there behind him, has ſeveral curioſities that eſcaped the other, many medals and curious cuts of antiquities; ſo that his work ſeems the moſt complete, or at leaſt both together confirm one another.

Terry's voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, begun in the year 1615. 12°. He was chaplain to ſir Thomas Roe, ambaſſador to the mogol from K. James the firſt, and gives an account of ſome things in that country omitted by ſir Thomas in his relation; but a great part of his book is filled up with diſcourſes of his own, very little to the purpoſe.

An account of ſeveral late voyages and diſcoveries to the ſouth and north, containing ſir John Narbrough's voyage through the ſtraits of Magellan, to the coaſt of Chile, in the year 1669. Capt. Wood's voyage for the diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage, an. 1676. Capt. Taſman's round Terra Auſtralis, an. 1642, and Frederick Marten's to Spitſberg and Greenland, an. 1671. With a ſupplement, containing obſervations and navigations to other northern parts; and an introduction, giving a brief account of ſeveral voyages. This collection has generally a good reputation, and ſeems very well to deſerve it.

Collection of original voyages, publiſhed by capt. Hack, 8°. It contains Cowley's voyage round the world, which is the ſame with Dampier's mentioned in the next place: capt. Sharp's voyage into the South-ſea, both buccanier voyages. The third is capt. Wood's voyage through the ſtraits of Magellan, which is the ſame as ſir John Narbrough's before-mentioned: and the fourth Mr. Roberts's adventures among the corſairs of the Levant; ſo that there is little new in them, the three firſt being in other collections, and the laſt a very indifferent piece.

Dampier's voyages in three volumes, 8°. The firſt a new voyage round the world begun, an. 1697. It deſcribes the iſthmus of America, and ſeveral of its coaſts and iſlands, the paſſage by Tierra del Fuego, the iſle of Guam, one of the Ladrones, the Philippines, Formoſa, Luconia, Celebes, the cape of Good Hope, and iſland of S. Helena.

The ſecond volume he calls a ſupplement to his voyage round the world, where he deſcribes Tonquin, Achen, Malaca, &c.

their product, inhabitants, manners, trade, &c. the countries of Campeche, Yucatan, New Spain in America; and diſcourſes of trade, wind, breezes, ſtorms, ſeaſons, tides, currents of the torrid zone.

The third volume is his voyage to New Holland, which has no great matter of new diſcovery, but gives an account of the Canary iſlands, ſome of thoſe of Cabo Verde, and the town and port of Baya de Totos los Santos in Braſil. All the three volumes have cuts and maps.

A collection of voyages by the dutch eaſt-india company, being three to the north-eaſt, two to the Eaſt-Indies, and one to the ſtraits of Magellan. Little can be ſaid in behalf of this work, being no more than what is to be ſeen in ſeveral other collections. 8°.

An hiſtorical relation of the iſland of Ceylon in the Eaſt-Indies, &c. illuſtrated with cuts and a map of the iſland, fol. The author who lived long in that country, gives a general deſcription of it, referring the reader to the map; and then the whole natural hiſtory.

Laſſel's travels through Italy, firſt printed in one volume 12°. then in two. He was there four times, and gives a particular and curious account of moſt things of note there.

Relation of the diſcovery of the iſland Madeira, 4°. This is a diſcovery before it was peopled, and it continued loſt again for ſeveral years, and has little of certainty.

Gage's ſurvey of the Weſt-Indies, 8°. This book has gained ſome reputation.

The diſcoveries of John Lederer in three ſeveral marches from Virginia to the weſt of Carolina, and other parts of the continent, begun in march 1669, and ended in ſeptember 1670. 4°. This is a ſmall account of the author's, who was a german, and travelled further up the inland in that part, than any has yet done; is contained in about four ſheets, publiſhed by ſir William Talbot, in which there is much worth obſerving.

Relation of the travels and captivity of W. Davies, 4°. A ſmall pamphlet of a few ſheets.

Account of the captivity of Thomas Phelps at Machaneſs in Barbary, and his eſcape. Another ſmall 4°. pamphlet.

The golden coaſt, or deſcription of Guinea, in which are four engliſh voyages to Guinea. A 4°. pamphlet and has ſeveral pretty obſervations.

Herbert's travels into divers parts of Africa, and Aſia the Great, more particularly into Perſia and Indoſtan, fol. Theſe travels have always deſervedly had a great reputation, being the beſt account of thoſe parts written by an engliſhman, and not inferiour to the beſt of foreigners. What is peculiar in them, is the excellent deſcription of all antiquities, the curious remarks on them, and the extraordinary accidents which often occur; not

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to mention other particulars common in the books of all other travellers, which would be too tedious for this place.

Brown's travels in divers parts of Europe, fol. The author, a doctor of phyſic, has ſhowed himſelf excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the obſervation of ſo curious a perſon, having ſpent much time in the diſcovery of european rarities, and that in thoſe parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themſelves with ſeeing France, and Italy, and the Low-Countries; whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Friuli; adding to theſe Germany, the Low-Countries, and a great part of Italy, of all which he has compoſed a work of great uſe and benefit.

The voyages and travels of J. Albert de Mandelſlo, a gentleman belonging to the embaſſy ſent by the duke of Holſtein, to the duke of Moſcovy and king of Perſia, fol. Theſe are alſo known by the name of Olearius's travels; the firſt part, which is of Muſcovy and Perſia, being altogether his, who was ſecretary to the aforeſaid embaſſy: but then the following part, which treats of all parts of the Eaſt-Indies, is ſolely Mandelſlo's, who left the embaſſadors and Olearius at Iſpahan, and proceeded to view thoſe remoter parts. It is needleſs to give any other character of this work, than to inform ſuch as are unacquainted with it, that it has generally the reputation of being one of the moſt accompliſhed books of travels now extant.

Blunt's travels to the Levant, is a very ſhort account of a journey through Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Boſnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Theſſaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt. The whole very conciſe, and without any curious obſervations, or any notable deſcriptions; his account of the religions, and cuſtoms of thoſe people, only a brief collection of ſome other travellers, the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on, if we credit others who have writ better.

A deſcription of the preſent ſtate of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and mount Athos; by Joſ. Georgirenes, archbiſhop of Samos, 8°. This prelate reſided long as archbiſhop at Samos, and ſaw Nicaria, as being a dependance of his dioceſe; but being weary of that function, he retired to Patmos, where he continued ſome time, and after viſited mount Athos; ſo that all he delivers of theſe places is as an eye-witneſs, and indeed the moſt particular account we have of them. The deſcription is very exact, and what he ſays of the greek religion may be relied on, as having ſo much reaſon to know it. All that can be excepted againſt, is what he ſays of the people in Nicaria, converſing at four or five miles diſtance, which indeed is not very credible. The preface the reader muſt obſerve is the tranſlator's, not the author's, which is requiſite to be known.

A voyage to Conſtantinople, by monſ. Grelot, 8°. tranſlated into engliſh by J. Philips. This though perhaps in the relation it may not contain much more than what may be picked out of other travellers who have writ of thoſe parts, yet it exceeds them in fourteen curious cuts, the exactneſs of which is atteſted by ſeveral travellers that have been at Conſtantinople, and ſeen the places they repreſent; beſides that all the ingenious people of Paris gave their approbation of the work, and upon their teſtimony the king himſelf having ſeen the draughts, thought fit to order the author to print it. So that we need not make any ſcruple to reckon it among the beſt books of travels; for as far as it reaches, which is to Conſtantinople, the Propontis, Helleſpont and Dardanels, with the places adjoining, the remarks of the religion, worſhip, government, manners, &c. of the turks, are ſingular.

A deſcription of the iſlands and inhabitants of Færoe, being 17 iſlands, ſubject to the king of Denmark, in 62 deg. of north lat. written in daniſh, and tranſlated into engliſh, 12°. The deſcription is very particular and curious, and indeed more than could well be expected of thoſe miſerable northern iſlands; but the author was provoſt of the churches there, and had time to gather ſuch an account, which is ſomewhat enlarged with philoſophical obſervations on whirlpools and other ſecrets of nature. His character of the people is very favourable, and ſavours more of affection than ſincerity; but the worſt part of this ſmall book, is firſt a collection of ſome romantic ſtories of the ancient inhabitants of Færoe; and in the next place, what is yet worſe, a parcel of inſignificant tales of ſpectres and illuſions of ſatan, as the author calls them.

Joſſelin's two voyages to New England, 8°. In the firſt of theſe there is little beſides the ſea journal and common obſervations, unleſs it be an account of neceſſaries for planters. The ſecond is a very particular deſcription of all the country, its beaſts, fowl, fiſh, plants and trees, the manners and cuſtoms of the engliſh inhabitants, the time of their ſettling there, with many other matters well worth obſerving. Of the indians he has very little or nothing. The relation is curious and faithful, but in many places, where the author makes his own remarks, there are the oddeſt uncouth expreſſions imaginable, which look very conceited; but that is only as to his ſtyle. He concludes with what he calls chronological obſervations of America, much whereof no way relates to that part of the world, and the reſt is of no great uſe, eſpecially for that there are ſeveral errorus in it.

Joſſelin's New England rarities, a very ſmall 8°. is a more particular account of the fowl, beaſts, fiſhes, ſerpents, inſects, plants, ſtones, minerals, metals, and earth of that country, than he has given in his voyages.

The

The adventures of M. T. S. an engliſh merchant, taken priſoner by the turks of Argier, and carried into the inland country of Afric, 12°. Containing a ſhoſt account of Argier in the year 1648, of the country about it, and more particularly of the city Tremizen, where the author reſided three years, going abroad with ſeveral parties which his maſter commanded, and relates ſome love intrigues he had with mooriſh women, as alſo very ſtrange metamorphoſes of men and other creatures turned into ſtone. The relation is plain and without artifice. At the end are added directions how to turn it out at the ſtraits mouth with a weſterly wind.

Wyche's relation of the river Nile, its ſource and current, a ſmall 8°. This is only a tranſlation of a portugueſe jeſuit's account who lived in Ethiopia ſome years, being the ſame that is given by F. Alvarez, and others of the ſociety who lived there, and no doubt is very authentic, as delivered by an eye-witneſs, who was a perſon of probity. Other things relating to the unicorn, rhinoceros, bird of paradiſe, pelican and phœnix, he writes upon hearſay, which deſerve not the ſame credit, particularly when he ſays that the rhinoceros has two horns, which we have ſeen in England to be otherwiſe; and of the great rarity of pelicans, which are alſo ſufficiently known. But theſe are trifles: he diſcourſes well of the reaſon of calling the ethiopian emperor Preſter John, on the Red-ſea, and of the palm or cocoa-tree.

Ray's travels, or his obſervations topographical, moral and phyſiological, made in a journey through part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France. He throughout it gives a very brief, yet ingenious deſcription of every town he ſaw; obſerves ſome particulars of the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of the people; and curioully lays before us any thing that is rare in itſelf, or not known to us: but in his account of mineral waters, and of foreign plants, as one ſo underſtanding in thoſe particulars, he outdoes any thing that could be expected from other travellers. He makes an excuſe for the language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain notes of a traveller. Venice he deſcribes more particularly than any other place; but of all univerſities, as being himſelf a ſcholar, he ſays more than of other towns. Of France not much, as having made but a ſhort ſtay there. He cloſes his work with a latin catalogue of plants he obſerved abroad, which either do not grow or are very rare in England. He has inſerted Willoughby's travels in Spain.

Thus have we run through all the books of travels of any note now extant, latin, italian, ſpaniſh, french and engliſh, placing each as near as we could in its own original language; and therefore thoſe who miſs any in the engliſh, may look for them in the other languages, where they will certainly find them, if they were not originally in that tongue. We have not made any particular catalogue of dutch, becauſe they are not very many,

many, and all of them will be found, as they were tranſlated into other languages. As for the characters given of books, in ſome places it is quoted where they were had; but if ſuch authority be not quoted, it is becauſe the books have been purpoſely peruſed and examined, where ſuch account could not be found of them. Laſtly the reader muſt obſerve, that in this catalogue, there is no mention made of any of the travels contained in this collection, which would be a needleſs repetition, they being all mentioned and characteriſed in the general preface.

An Account of the Books contained in this Collection.

THE firſt volume begins with Navarette's hiſtorical, political, moral and religious account of China. The author was a dominican friar ſent over by his order in the year 1646, to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical function in the Philippine iſlands. But there finding no great encouragement, he ventured over into China, where he ſpent ſeveral years in the ſervice of the chriſtians he found there, learning the chineſe language, reading their hiſtories, ſtudying the points in controverſy among the miſſionaries, and thoroughly qualifying himſelf to give a juſt account of that mighty monarchy. He wrote in ſpaniſh, and was never tranſlated till now. Thoſe that have read him in the original give a high commendation of his learning, judgment, and ſincerity; for in handling the particulars mentioned in the title of his book, he delivers nothing but upon the beſt grounds, as an eye witneſs, where he could be ſo, or elſe upon the authority of chineſe hiſtories, which he ſearched and very well underſtood, or upon the information of credible perſons; ever mentioning on which of theſe the reader is to rely for the truth of what he relates. He often quotes his ſecond volume, calling it, of controverſies, the main ſubject of it being thoſe points ſtill in diſpute among the miſſioners; this book (as we are informed) was printed, but by the intereſt and artifice of the jeſuits, the edition was ſeized by the inquiſition before it was publiſhed, ſo that very few copies of it got abroad.

He gives us an exact hiſtory of the empire of China, both ancient and modern; a deſcription of the country and people, perfect in all circumſtances; a genuine tranſlation of the morals of Confucius their great philoſopher; a full view of the chineſe learning, and a judicious explication of their opinions in religious matters: in which he is ſo careful and particular, that no other author whatſoever has given ſo complete an account of the religion of that nation. Nor does he confine himſelf to China, but in his way thither delivers many curious obſervations he made in his

voyage

voyage to New-Spain, and gives a very good account of that country, as alſo of the Philippine iſlands (where he made a conſiderable ſtay,) of the iſlands lying about them, and of other parts of India; and the accidents he met with in his return home, which was in the year 1673, after he had been abroad 26 years. On his arrival in Europe he repaired to the court of Rome, upon the matter of the controverſies between the miſſionaries; where he was treated with all the honour due to a perſon of his merit: and ſoon after his return to Spain, he was promoted to an archbiſhopric in Hiſpaniola.

II. Baumgarten, whoſe travels we have here into Egypt, Arabia, Paleſtine, and Syria, was a german nobleman, as appears by his life prefixed to his travels. His journal was not publiſhed by himſelf, but after his death collected from his own and his ſervant's obſervations, both of them having kept diaries of all they ſaw; and therefore are two ſeveral witneſſes for the truth of what is delivered. Here is not only a deſcription of the countries abovementioned, but a great deal of their ancient hiſtory inſerted; and what renders the relation yet more agreeable, is the great variety of occurrences in this voyage well worth the relating. In particular, we are obliged to him for his account of the diſcipline and manners of that ſtrange and unparalleled ſociety of men, the mamalukes, who for a long time held the dominion of Egypt, and of whom there is ſcarce to be found any where elſe a tolerable relation. His obſervations on the lives of the chriſtian religious men in thoſe parts, will be delightful to the curious reader, as will alſo his remarks on the ſuperſtitions of the mamalukes, arabs, and other infidels. This author travelled in the year 1507. His journal never appeared before in engliſh. The latin copy here tranſlated was corrected by Joſeph Scaliger's own hand.

III. Henry Brawern and Elias Herckemann were ſent to the kingdom of Chili by the dutch weſt-india company in the years 1642 and 1643. Brawern was ordered to endeavour to ſettle among the indians of that country, who were then revolted from the ſpaniards, as may appear by the advertiſement before the voyage; but he died there, and ſo that deſign came to nothing. The main thing in this journal is an account of the voyage, and a deſcription of the iſland of Caſtro lying off the ſouth coaſt of Chili, as alſo of the river of Baldivia in that kingdom.

IV. The next tract in order in this collection is a deſcription of the iſland of Formoſa near the coaſt of China, where the dutch had a conſiderable fort. Of the author we know no more, but that he was miniſter to the dutch in that iſland. The deſcription is but ſhort, yet contains the moſt material points uſually treated of in ſuch relations.

V. The remarks on the empire of Japan give a particular account of the revenues of the emperor and all the great men of that

that empire. The reſt of it may almoſt as ſoon be read as characterized, and is therefore left to the reader's cenſure.

VI. Captain John Monck's voyage into the northern parts, was performed by order of Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, in the years 1619 and 1620. The particular preface to it mentions the moſt material points, which therefore need not be repeated here. What may be added concerning the captain is, that he was one of the ableſt ſeamen of his time; that he had excellent natural parts; was of a bold and daring ſpirit, proper to attempt thoſe dangerous diſcoveries; and hardy to endure all the rigours of thoſe frozen climates: but what is his greateſt commendation in this place is, that he was a man of truth and integrity, as may appear by his narrative, in which all that have followed him could find nothing to contradict.

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V. The deſcriptions of Iceland and Greenland were written about the year 1645, by Mr. la Peyrere, a learned frenchman, author of the book about the Præ-Adamites, ſecretary to the french embaſſy at Copenhagen, at the requeſt of the ingenious monſ. de le Mothe la Vayer, and ſent to him: of Iceland, a country long inhabited, though ſo cold and northerly; he delivers ſomething of ancient hiſtory, beſides the deſcription of the land, the manners of the people, and other things remarkable. In Greenland he follows much the ſame method, and both of them are well worthy to be read with attention, as delivering one of the moſt accompliſhed narratives we have of thoſe parts, and eſteemed as ſuch by monſ. de la Mothe la Vayer, who was a very competent judge.

VI. The next in order is captain Thomas James's voyage, an. 1631, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage into the South-ſea: ſetting ſail in may, he ran into the latitude of 63 degrees and upwards. 'Tis very obſervable throughout the voyage, that we ſhall ſcarce meet with ſo continual a ſeries of ſtorms, and all ſorts of hardſhips, miſeries and calamities, as this captain run through; who after ſtruggling till ſeptember with tempeſts, cold and uninhabited ſhores, at laſt was driven upon a deſert frozen iſland, and there forced to winter in miſerable diſtreſs. The account he gives of the extremity of the cold in thoſe quarters, and his obſervations on it, are curious, and were very uſeful to Mr. Boyle, in the experiments he made about cold. But the general eſteem his relation is in among the ingenious, will ſufficiently recommend it. He returned ſafe home with moſt of his crew.

VII. The muſcovite embaſſador's journey by land from Moſcow to China in 1645 is ſo ſhort that it requires little to be ſaid of it, but that it deſcribes the way from Moſcow to Peking, and ſhows

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III. Next to Smith's adventures the reader will find two journals of men left in the frozen regions of Greenland and Spitzbergen, to winter there, and make ſome obſervations on thoſe countries.

The firſt of theſe is of ſeven ſailors, who voluntarily conſented to ſtay in the iſle of Maurice, on the coaſt of Greenland. Theſe kept an exact diary, ſetting down the wind, weather, and all other particulars they could obſerve, from the twenty-ſixth of auguſt 1633, till the twenty-ninth of april 1634. The method is plain, and ſuch as might be expected from ſailors; and as there is nothing in the relation that ſeems incredible; ſo neither is there any ground to call the truth of it in queſtion, becauſe they all died one after another, and left this journal behind them without any alteration: and doubtleſs as they felt themſelves declining, they would have no inclination to impoſe on the world.

The ſecond journal is of ſeven other dutch ſailors, left to winter at Spitzbergen in the year 1634, where they alſo kept a diary from the eleventh of ſeptember till the twenty-ſixth of february, when being ſpent with the ſcurvy, and their limbs benumbed with the winter's cold, they could not help themſelves, and like the others were all found dead at the return of the dutch fleet in 1635.

IV. The next is a very brief relation of a ſhipwreck in Spitzbergen in 1646, and of the taking up of four of the men who eſcaped, after a wonderful manner; yet three of them died ſoon after, and only one returned home

V. The

V. The deſcriptions of Iceland and Greenland were written about the year 1645, by Mr. la Peyrere, a learned frenchman, author of the book about the Præ-Adamites, ſecretary to the french embaſſy at Copenhagen, at the requeſt of the ingenious monſ. de le Mothe la Vayer, and ſent to him: of Iceland, a country long inhabited, though ſo cold and northerly, he delivers ſomething of ancient hiſtory, beſides the deſcription of the land, the manners of the people, and other things remarkable. In Greenland he follows much the ſame method, and both of them are well worthy to be read with attention, as delivering one of the moſt accompliſhed narratives we have of thoſe parts, and eſteemed as ſuch by monſ. de la Mothe la Vayer, who was a very competent judge.

VI. The next in order is captain Thomas James's voyage, an. 1631, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage into the South-ſea: ſetting ſail in may, he ran into the latitude of 63 degrees and upwards. 'Tis very obſervable throughout the voyage, that we ſhall ſcarce meet with ſo continual a ſeries of ſtorms, and all ſorts of hardſhips, miſeries and calamities, as this captain run through; who after ſtruggling till ſeptember with tempeſts, cold and uninhabited ſhores, at laſt was driven upon a deſert frozen iſland, and there forced to winter in miſerable diſtreſs. The account he gives of the extremity of the cold in thoſe quarters, and his obſervations on it, are curious, and were very uſeful to Mr. Boyle, in the experiments he made about cold. But the general eſteem his relation is in among the ingenious, will ſufficiently recommend it. He returned ſafe home with moſt of his crew.

VII. The muſcovite embaſſador's journey by land from Moſcow to China in 1645 is ſo ſhort that it requires little to be ſaid of it, but that it deſcribes the way from Moſcow to Peking, and ſhows us that the city is the ſame with the ſo much talked of and little known Cambalu, miſtakenly ſuppoſed to be in Tartary. This embaſſador being never admitted to audience, could learn nothing of the chineſe court, and therefore does not pretend to inform us of any thing that relates to it.

VIII. Wagner's travels in Brazil and the Eaſt Indies about 1633, which are annexed to this embaſſy, are as ſhort, and may ſo ſoon be read over, that it is needleſs to give a character of them.

IX. The life of Chriſtopher Columbus has a ſhort preface to it, partly the author's, and partly the tranſlator's, which is ſufficient to inform the reader both of the contents of the book, and the value of it above others that treat of the ſame ſubject. And indeed nothing can be deſcribed more authentic, if we will give credit to original papers, and thoſe from ſo good a hand as the admiral himſelf and his own ſon, who bore part with him in ſome of his enterpiſes. But we muſt not omit to obſerve, that

under

under the title of his life, is contained the narration of all that was done in the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies in his time, about 1492, beſides abundance of curious remarks, ſcarce to be found in any other author that writes upon this ſubject.

X. Greaves's account of the pyramids, needs little to be ſaid of it. The univerſal approbation it has received is a greater character than can be here given of it; the judicious monſ. Thevenot ſet ſuch a value upon it, that he tranſlated it into french. In a word, it is the moſt accompliſhed narrative we have of thoſe wonderful piles, and may ſpare all other travellers the trouble of writing of them. He has ſaid all that can be expected; he inſtructs us who were the founders of the pyramids, the time of erecting them, the motive and deſign of them, and then deſcribes them exactly, and gives draughts of them.

XI. His roman foot and denarius added to his pyramids, is another piece of excellent literature, to give light into the weights and meaſures of the antients.

XII. Chriſtopher Borri's account of Cochin-China, where he lived about the year 1620, cloſes the ſecond volume. It is ſhort, but contains many curious things, being full of matter, without ſuperfluity of words to ſwell it to a volume.

I. The hiſtorical relation of the kingdom of Chili, by Alonſo de Ovalle, about the year 1646, has the firſt place in the third volume. It is the only good account of that kingdom; the author, being a jeſuit, inſerted the relations of ſeveral miracles in this work, which the tranſlator has in great meaſure retrenched; for the reſt, his veracity is unqueſtioned. The author himſelf is ſo modeſt, as to excuſe any fault that may be found with his work, alleging its being written at Rome, where he was procurator for thoſe of his order in Chili; and, being ſo far from home, ill-provided with papers and all materials for compoſing a hiſtory of this ſort: but whoſoever reads it, will find more ground for commendation than need of excuſe, nothing of the kind being more complete, full and accurate. Something might be here ſaid as to the particulars contained in this book, but that the author and tranſlator have done it already in two ſeveral prefaces before the book. The tranſlator gives the author and his work that honourable character they deſerve. The author in his preface ſums up the contents of his book, declares how ſincerely he has dealt, in order to deliver nothing but the truth; gives his reaſons for what he ſays relating to Peru and Mexico, and laſtly demonſtrates how this work may be diverting and uſeful to all ſorts of readers.

II. After Ovalle, follow ſir William Monſon's naval tracts. Sir William was a gentleman well deſcended, but of ſmall fortune, as he confeſſes, which made him take to the ſea, where he ſerved many years in ſeveral capacities, till merit raiſed him to the degree of an admiral, firſt under queen Elizabeth, and then under king James

and

and king Charles the firſt. Being bred from his youth at ſea, and being a man of excellent natural parts, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon to make a doubt of his capacity in maritime affairs. His integrity will ſufficiently appear to any that reads him, for he every where carries ſuch a viſible ingenuity in what he delivers, that it plainly appears to be written with a true zeal for the public, and without prejudice or affectation. The excellent advice he gives to his eldeſt ſon, is a good inſtance of his virtuous inclination; and the ſmall eſtate he declares he leaves him, after ſo many toils and dangers, plainly ſhows the honeſty of his life. Thus much as to the author; as to his tracts there is a preface before them, to which the reader is referred for other particulars not touched upon in this place.

The firſt book is chiefly a collection of every year's actions in the war againſt Spain, on our own and the *ſpaniſh coaſts*, and in the Weſt-Indies. Here the reader is not to expect a full narrative of theſe affairs, for many of them are ſo brief that no more is ſaid of them, but the force they are undertaken with, and the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe; yet the deſign is to ſhow the reaſons, either why they miſcarried, or why ſo little advantage was made where they ſucceeded. In ſome he is more particular than in others; and what perhaps may be ſtill of uſe, he at laſt ſets down the abuſes in the fleet, and the methods for redreſſing them.

His ſecond book continues ſomewhat of the method of the firſt; beginning with fatherly inſtructions to his ſon; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which put an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being employed againſt pirates. He inveighs againſt the dutch, ſhows the ill management of a deſign againſt Algier, and makes very notable remarks on the attempt uponCadiz by king Charles the firſt, propoſing methods how Spain might have been much more endamaged, with other particulars about the ſhipping of England, and ſovereignty of the ſeas.

The third book treats only of the admiralty, that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high admiral to the meaneſt perſons employed aſhore, and to the cabbin-boys at ſea; and from a complete fleet to the ſmalleſt veſſel and part of it, with inſtructions for all officers, the ſize of all ſorts of guns, all ſorts of allowances on board the king's ſhips, and excellent directions for fighting at ſea; an account of all the harbours in theſe three kingdoms, with many more curious matters accurately handled.

The fourth book is of another nature from any of the reſt, being a brief collection of ſpaniſh and portugueſe diſcoveries and conqueſts in Afric, Aſia and America, with ſome voyages round the world, and ſomewhat of engliſh and french plantations.

The fifth book is full of projects or ſchemes, for managing affairs at ſea to the beſt advantage for the nation.

This ſixth and laſt treats of fiſhing, to ſhow the infinite addition of wealth and ſtrength it would bring to England; with all inſtructions neceſſary for putting ſuch a deſign in execution.

III. This third volume ends with the deſcription of the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the iſland of Ceylon in the Eaſt Indies, about the year 1649, by Philip Baldæus, a dutch miniſter, who lived ſeveral years in thoſe parts. The preface to the work gives a general idea of it, and of the author, to which the reader may recur to avoid repetition; but for his further information let it be obſerved, that he firſt gives a brief account of the actions and conqueſts of the portugueſes in thoſe parts, and then an ample and full relation how the dutch expelled them; where we ſhall find more particulars concerning thoſe affairs than have been hitherto made public in engliſh, which is a very conſiderable piece of hiſtory. And though he only promiſes to treat of the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel on the continent, yet to lead the more methodically into it, he begins with the deſcription of Cambaya, the treaties of the dutch with the great mogul, the trade of ſeveral european nations along that coaſt; and leads us even into the Red-ſea, deſcribing many places of note upon thoſe ſhores, and even up the inland country, acquainting the reader, at the ſame time, with all that is requiſite to be known of the mahometans in thoſe parts. Hence he deſcends to treat of all the great peninſula on this ſide Ganges, of its product, the rivers Nile and Ganges, and more particularly than any other has done of the malabar language. After this he proceeds to Ceylon, where he enlarges more than upon the reſt, as having lived longeſt there, and concludes with a large account of the idolatry of the Eaſt-India pagans.

I. The firſt voyage in the fourth volume is that of Dr. Francis Gemelli Careri round the world, a piece of extraordinary curioſity, altogether new, and but lately publiſhed in italian in ſix octavo volumes, and now firſt in engliſh, the author returning home from his long travels but at the end of the year 1698. His learning, as being a doctor of the civil law, and his excellent natural qualifications, have rendered his work ſo complete, that indeed it ſeems to be one of the moſt excellent pieces of this nature now extant. Nothing can be more diverting, as having that extraordinary variety which the whole compaſs of the earth affords, and that in the nobleſt and beſt parts of it. An air of truth appears throughout it, there being nothing but what is told with much modeſty, and what is probable and natural enough in itſelf; beſides that the moſt part of what is here related may be found diſperſed in many other travellers, who ſaw but pieces of what Gemelli took a view of entire. His remarks and obſervations are extraordinary curious, becauſe he was not only capable

pable to make them, but had leiſure, that being his only buſineſs, and money to carry him through. In fine, he has an excellent brief collection of hiſtory annexed to every part of his travels, which informs the reader of the ancient as well as the preſent ſtate of the countries there ſpoken of. He is exact for the moſt part in ſetting down the diſtances of places, a great help to future travellers. His account of plants and fruits peculiar to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, with the draughts and repreſentations of them, is a good help to natural hiſtory, together with his other deſcriptions, and his obſervations of cuſtoms, manners, habits, laws, religions, and all other things in thoſe vaſt regions he paſſed through. In particular, what he ſays in that part of his voyage which is from Aquapulco till his leaving the continent of America, is, beſides what is in Gage, almoſt the only account we have of the inland parts of that continent. There is a preface to the work which gives a full account of it.

II. An account of the ſhipwreck of a dutch veſſel on the coaſt of the iſle of Quelpaert, which happened in the year 1653, together with the deſcription of the kingdom of Corea. This was originally writ in dutch by one that calls himſelf the ſecretary of the ſhip then loſt, who lived thirteen years in thoſe countries, and at laſt made his eſcape with ſome others. It was thought worthy to be tranſlated into french, and now laſtly into engliſh. 'Tis the only account yet extant of the kingdom of Corea, which lies on the eaſt of China, being a peninſula joined to that mighty empire by a ſmall neck of land: and it is no wonder we ſhould be ſo very much ſtrangers to this country, ſince beſides its remoteneſs, the author tells us they admit of no ſtrangers; or if any have the misfortune, as he had, to fall into their hands, they never return home, unleſs they can make as wonderful an eſcape as he did. The relation itſelf has a particular preface annexed to it by the tranſlator, to which the reader is referred.

III. Next follows a relation of a voyage from Spain to Paraguay, about 1691, by F. Antony Sepp, and F. Antony Behme, german jeſuits; with a deſcription of that country, the remarkable things in it, and reſidences of the miſſioners. We have a particular account of their voyage; they landed at Buenos Ayres, of which town they give a very good deſcription, and of the great river of Plate which runs by it; and proceeding up into the country from Buenos Ayres, they treat diſtinctly of the ſeveral cantons of Paraguay.

IV. After this is placed a fragment tranſlated out of ſpaniſh, concerning the iſlands of Salomon in the South-ſea, diſcovered by the ſpaniards about 1695, but hitherto never conquered or inhabited by any european nation. It was inſerted in Thevenot's collection of voyages. Both the beginning and concluſion are wanting; which, it ſeems, have periſhed through the negligence of thoſe intruſted with the original papers. However, by good

ſfortune, as much has been preſerved, as ſerves to give us ome knowledge of thoſe iſlands, and of the nature and diſpoſition of their inhabitants. And becauſe ſo little is known of thoſe places, this fragment was judged not unworthy a place in this collection.

V. The hiſtory of the provinces of Paraguay, Tucumany, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guaira, Urvaica, and Chili; was written in latin by F. Nicholas del Techo a jeſuit. The antecedent account of Paraguay by F. Sepp, has lightly touched upon part of this ſubject, but that only relates to one of the provinces here named; whereas this extends from the North to the South-ſea, and includes all that vaſt tract of land in America, lying ſouth of Peru and Braſil. The greateſt part of theſe countries have not been ſo fully deſcribed, nor the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe ſavage indians ſo fully made known, as they are by this author, who ſpent no leſs than twenty-five years among them. But to avoid repetitions, what more is performed in this work, may be ſeen in the particular preface before it.

VI. Pelham's wonderful preſervation of eight men left a whole winter in Greenland 1630, is the ſixth treatiſe in this volume. The preſervation was indeed very remarkable, eſpecially conſidering how unprovided they were left of all neceſſaries for wintering in ſuch a diſmal country, it being accidental and no way deſigned. This narrative has nothing of art or language, being left by an ignorant ſailor, who, as he confeſſes, was in no better a poſt than gunner's mate, and that to a greenland fiſher; and therefore the reader can expect no more than bare matter of fact, delivered in a homely ſtyle, which it was not fit to alter, leſt it might breed a jealouſy that ſomething had been changed more than the bare language.

VII. Dr. John Baptiſt Morin's journey to the mines in Hungary, about 1650, is a very ſhort relation of thoſe mines, the ore they afford, the damps, the ſprings in them, the miners, the manner of diſcharging the water, and other particulars relating to them.

VIII. Ten-Rhyne's account of the cape of Good Hope, about 1673, and of the hottentots, the natives of that country, is very curious. After a ſhort deſcription of the cape and table mountain, he deſcribes the birds, beaſts, fiſhes, inſects and plants found in that part of the world; and then ſuccinctly treats of people, their perſons, garments, dwellings, furniture, diſpoſition, manners, way of living, and making war, traffic, ſports, religion, magiſtrates, laws, marriages, children, trades, phyſic and language.

IX. The fourth volume concludes with captain Richard Bolland's draught of the ſtraits of Gibraltar, in 1675, and his obſervations on its currents.

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