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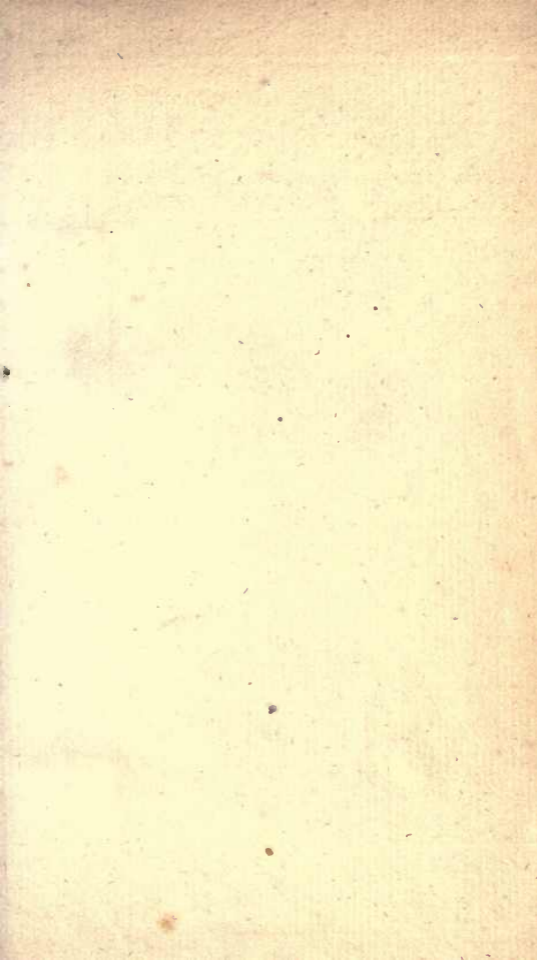
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F A M I L I A R

L E T T E R S

O N

IMPORTANT SUBJECTS,

Wrote from the Year 1618 to 1650.

By *JAMES HOWELL*, Esq; Clerk of the Privy-
Council to King CHARLES I.

The T E N T H E D I T I O N .

Ut clavis portam, sic pandit epistola pectus.

A B E R D E E N :

Printed and sold by F. DOUGLASS and W. MURRAY,
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1753

1872

IMPROVED

Wrote

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P R E F A C E

BY THE

PUBLISHERS of this EDITION.

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THE following LETTERS being of a miscellaneous nature, some of them are vastly more interesting than others. The author's reflexions on the government, manners, and then state of the countries through which he travelled, are judicious and entertaining: the many agreeable stories he relates to illustrate his subject, as most of them have a direct tendency to promote virtue and morality, cannot fail to please the reader.

THE beginning, procedure, and breaking off of the match betwixt CHARLES I. and the *Infanta of Spain*, is nowhere so fully treated of. The author was at the court of *Madrid* all the time it was on the tapis, and had good opportunities of being informed of all circumstances relating to it.

THE survey of the *Spanish* monarchy, the *United Provinces*, and the *Hanse* towns, is very agreeably wrote.

IT must be owned, the philosophy in severals of them is liable to objections; but it will be considered, they were wrote before philosophic knowledge attained to its present degree of perfection.

THE author had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of the parliament towards the end of King CHARLES I's. reign, and was for several years confined in the *Fleet* prison, without ever being told for what offence. There he had sufficient leisure to reflect upon the then unhappy situation of his country; which is very affectingly

fectingly pointed out in several letters: the public distractions are traced to their original causes, and their consequences very justly predicted.

WE hope the strain of piety and good humour which runs through most of these letters, will recommend them to many; and if the reader, sometimes meet with a word or phrase *too free* 'tis hoped he will consider how difficult it is to write on subjects of wit and humour without *sometimes* falling into indecency of expression. It will no doubt please him more to find, that 100 years ago, gentlemen were not ashamed to be thought religious, than it will disgust him to meet with a few exceptionable phrases. — Perhaps it may be necessary to make some apology for leaving out several poetical pieces, especially those upon religious subjects; but it is universally allowed, that *English* poetry at the time these letters were wrote, was far short of the elegance and perfection it has now attained.

SINCE these LETTERS were first printed, several writers have obliged the public with remarks upon most parts of *Europe*: in some of these, their towns, laws, customs, &c. are more minutely described than was consistent with the brevity of a letter. But these authors have described the countries they treat of, as they were of late; and we believe people will be well enough pleased to know how they stood about 100 years ago. The style is good for the time they were wrote.

WITH regard to the errors of former impressions, we can honestly say we have corrected a great many: perhaps some have escaped us, but those we hope, are not material.

F A M I L I A R
L E T T E R S.

P A R T I.

L E T T E R I.

To Sir J. S. at Leeds Castle.

S I R,

I T was a quaint difference the antients did put betwixt a *letter*, and an *oration*, that the one should be attired like a woman, the other like a man: the latter of the two is allowed large side robes, as long periods, parenthesis, similes, examples, and other parts of rhetorical flourishes; but a *letter* or *epistle* should be short-coated, and closely couched; a hungerlin becomes a *letter* more handsomely than a gown. Indeed we should write as we speak; and that's a true familiar letter which expresseth one's mind, as if he were discoursing with the party to whom he writes in succinct and short terms. The *tongue* and the *pen*, are both of them interpreters of the mind; but I hold the *pen* to be the more faithful of the two: the *tongue*, *in udo posita*, being seated in a moist slippery place, may fail and falter in her sudden extemporal expressions; but the *pen* having a greater advantage of premeditation, is not so subject to error, and leaves things behind it upon firm and authentic record. Now, letters though they be capable of any subject, yet commonly they are either *narratory*, *objurgatory*, *consolatory*, *monitory*, or *congratulatory*. The first consists of *relations*, the second of *reprehensions*, the third of *comfort*, the last two of *counsel* and *joy*. There are some who in lieu of letters write *homilies*, they preach when they should epistolize; there are others that turn them to tedious *tracts*: this is to make letters degenerate from their true nature. Some modern authors

there are, who have exposed their letters to the world; but most of them, I mean among you *Latin* epistolizers, go freighted with mere *Bartholomew* ware, with trite and trivial phrases only, litted with pedantic shreds of school-boy verses. Others there are among our next transmarine neighbours Eastward, who write in their own language, but their style is so soft and easy, that their letters may be said to be like bodies of loose flesh without sinews, they have neither joints of art, nor *arteries* in them; they have a kind of simpering and lank hectic expressions made up of a bombast of words and finical affected complements only: I cannot well away with such sleazy stuff, with such cobweb compositions, where there is no strength of matter, nothing for the reader to carry away with him, that may enlarge the notions of his soul: one shall hardly find an apothegm, example, simile, or any thing of philosophy, history, or solid knowledge, or as much as one new *created* phrase in a hundred of them; and to draw any observations out of them, were as if one went about to distil cream out of froth, inso-much, that it may be said of them what was said of the eccho, *That she was a mere sound and nothing else.*

I return you your *Balzac* by this bearer; and when I found those letters, wherein he is so familiar with his King, so flat, and those to *Richelieu* so puffed with profane hyperboles, and larded up and down with such gross flatteries, with others besides, which he sends as urinalls up and down the world to look into his water, for discovery of the crazy condition of his body, I forbore him further. So I am

Your most affectionate servitor,

Westminster, July 25. 1625.

J. H.

LET-

LETTER II.

To my FATHER upon my first going beyond Sea.

S I R,

I should be much wanting to myself, and to that obligation of duty, the Law of God, and his *handmaid* Nature hath imposed upon me, if I should not acquaint you with the course and quality of my affairs and fortunes, specially at this time, that I am upon the point of crossing the seas to eat my bread abroad. Nor is it the common relation of a son that only induced me hereunto, but that most indulgent and costly care you have been pleased, in so extraordinary a manner, to have had of my breeding, though but one child of *fifteen*, by placing me in a choice methodical *school*, so far distant from your dwelling under a learned (though *lashing*) master; and by transplanting me thence to *Oxford*, to be graduated; and so holding me still up by the chin, until I could swim without bladders. This patrimony of liberal education you have been pleased to endue me withal, I now carry along with me abroad as a sure inseparable treasure; nor do I feel it any burden or incumbrance unto me at all: and what danger soever my person, or other things I have about me do incur, yet, I do not fear the losing of this, either by shipwreck or pirates at sea, nor by robbers, or fire, or any other casualty ashore; and, at my return to *England*, I hope, at leastwise I shall do my endeavour, that you may find this patrimony improved somewhat to your comfort.

The main of my employment is from that gallant Knight, Sir *Robert Mansell*, who, with my Lord of *Pembroke*, and divers other of the prime Lords of the Court, have got the sole patent of making all sorts of glass with pit-coal, only to save those huge proportions of wood which were consumed formerly in the glass-furnaces: and this business being of that nature, that the workmen are to be had from *Italy*, and the chief materials

from *Spain, France*, and other foreign countries, there is need of an Agent abroad for this use; (and better then I have offered their service in this kind) so that I believe I shall have employment in all these countries before I return.

Had I continued still Steward of the glass-house in *Broad-street*, where Captain *Francis Bacon* hath succeeded me, I should in a short time have melted away to nothing, amongst those hot *Venetians*, finding myself too green for such a charge; therefore, it hath pleased God to dispose of me now to a condition more suitable to my years, and that will, I hope, prove more advantageous to my future fortunes.

In this my peregrination, if I happen, by some accident, to be disappointed of that allowance I am to subsist by, I must make my address to you, for I have no other rendezvous to fly unto; but it shall not be, unless in case of great indignance.

Touching the news of the time: Sir *George Villiers*, the new favourite, tapers up a-pace, and grows strong at Court: his predecessor, the Earl of *Somerset*, hath got a lease of ninety years for his life, and so hath his articulate lady, called so, for articling against the frigidity and impotence of her former Lord. She was afraid that *Cook* the Lord Chief Justice (who had used extraordinary art and industry in discovering all the circumstances of the poisoning of *Overbury*) would have made white broth of them, but the prerogative kept them from the pot: yet the subservient instruments, the lesser flies could not break thorough, but lay entangled in the cobweb. Amongst others, Mrs. *Turner*, the first inventress of *yellow starch*, was executed in a cobweb lawn ruff of that colour, at *Tyburn*; and with her, I believe that *yellow starch*, which so much disfigured our nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its funeral. Sir *Gervas Elwais* Lieutenant of the Tower, was made a notable example of justice and terror to all officers of trust: for being accessory, and that in a passive way only to the murder, yet he was hanged on
Tower-

Tower-hill; and the caveat is very remarkable which he gave upon the gallows, that, people should be very cautious how they make vows to heaven, for the breach of them seldom pass without a judgment, whereof he was a most ruthless example; for being in the low-countries, and much given to gaming, he once made a solemn vow, (which he brake afterwards) that if he played above such a sum, *he might be hanged*. My Lord (*William*) of *Pembroke*, did a most noble act like himself; for the King having given him all Sir *Gervas Elwaies's* estate, which came to above 1000 l. *per an.* he freely bestowed it on the widow and her children.

The latter end of this week I am to go a ship-board, and first for the low-countries. I humbly pray your blessing may accompany me in these my travels by land and sea, with a continuance of your prayers, which will be as so many good gales to blow me to safe port; for, I have been taught, *That the parents benedictions contribute very much, and have a kind of a prophetic virtue to make the child prosperous*. In this opinion, I shall ever rest

Your dutiful son,

Lond. March 1. 1618.

J. H.

L E T T E R III.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, Knight at St. Osth.

S I R,

I Could not shake hands with *England*, without kissing your hands also; and because, in regard of your distance now from *London*, I cannot do it in person, I send this paper for my deputy.

The news that keeps greatest noise here now, is the return of Sir *Walter Rawleigh* from his mine of gold in *Guinea*, the South parts of *America*; which at first was like to be such a hopeful boon voyage, but it seems that golden mine is proved a mere *chimera*, an imaginary airy

mine ; and indeed, his Majesty had never any other conceit of it. But, what will not one in captivity (as Sir *Walter* was) promise to regain his freedom? Who would not promise, not only mines but mountains of gold for liberty? And 'tis pity such a knowing well-weighed Knight had not had a better fortune ; for the *Destiny*, I mean that brave ship which he built himself of that name, that carried him thither, is like to prove a *fatal* Destiny to him, and to some of the rest of those gallant adventurers which contributed for the setting forth of thirteen ships more, who were most of them his kinsmen and younger brothers, being led into the said expedition by a general conceit the world had of the wisdom of Sir *Walter Rawleigh* ; and many of these are like to make *shipwreck* of their estates by this voyage. Sir *Walter* landed at *Plymouth*, whence he thought to make an escape ; and some say he hath tampered with his body by physick, to make him look sickly, that he may be the more pitied, and permitted to lie in his own house. Count *Gondamar* the *Spanish* Ambassador speaks high language, and sending lately to desire audience of his Majesty, he said, he had but one word to tell him : his Majesty wondering what might be delivered in one word, when he came before him, he said only, *Pirates, Pirates, Pirates*, and so departed.

It is true, that he protested against this voyage before, and that it could not be but for some predatory design : and, if it be as I hear, I fear it will go very ill with Sir *Walter* ; and that *Gondamar* will never give him over, till he hath his head off his shoulders ; which may quickly be done without any new arraignment, by virtue of the old sentence that lies still dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went ; but his Majesty could never be brought to it, for he said, he would keep this as a curb to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and the good behaviour.

Gondamar cries out, that he hath broke the sacred peace betwixt the two kingdoms ; that he hath fired and plundered *Santo Thoma*, a colony the *Spaniards* had planted

planted with so much blood, near under the *Line*, which made it prove such hot service unto him; and where, besides others, he lost his eldest son in the action: and could they have preserved the magazine of *tobacco* only, besides other things in that town, something might have been had to countervail the charge of the voyage. *Gondamar* alledgeth further, that the enterprize of the mine failing, he propounded to the rest of his fleet to go and intercept some of the plate-galleons, with other designs which would have drawn after them apparent acts of hostility, and so demands justice. Besides other disasters which fell out upon the dashing of the first design, Captain *Renish*, who was the main instrument for discovering of the mine, pistoled himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin, in the *Convertine*.

This return of Sir *Walter Rawleigh* from *Guinea*, puts me in mind of a facetious tale I read lately in *Italian*, for I have a little of that language already, how *Alphonso* King of *Naples* sent a *Moor*, who had been his captive a long time, to *Barbary* with a considerable sum of money to buy horses, and to return by such a time. Now there was about the King a kind of *buffoon* or jester, who had a table-book or journal, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage that happened upon the Court. That day the *Moor* was dispatched for *Barbary*, the said jester waiting upon the King at supper, the King called for his journal, and asked what he had observed that day; thereupon he produced his table-book, and amongst other things, he read how *Alphonso* King of *Naples* had sent *Beltram* the *Moor*, who had been a long time his prisoner, to *Morocco* (his own country) with so many thousand crowns to buy horses. The King asked him why he inserted that? Because, said he, I think he will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you have lost both man and money: but if he do come, then your jest is marred, says the King: no Sir, for if he return I will blot out your name, and put him in for a fool.

The

The application is easy and obvious: but the world wonders extremely, that so great a wise man as *Sir Walter Rawleigh* would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock, as I fear he will; and much more, that such choice men, and so great a power of ships should all come home and do nothing.

The letter you sent to my father, I conveyed safely the last week to *Wales*. I am this week by God's help for the *Netherlands*, and then I think for *France*. If in this my foreign employment I may be any way serviceable unto you: you know what power you have to dispose of me, for I honour you in a very high degree, and will live and die

Your humble and ready servant,

Lond. March 28. 1618.

J. H.

LETTER IV.

To my Brother, after *Dr. HOWEL*, and now Bishop of Bristol, from *Amsterdam*.

BROTHER,

I Am newly landed at *Amsterdam*, and it is the first foreign earth I ever set foot upon. I was pitifully sick all the voyage, for the weather was rough, and the wind untoward; and at the mouth of the *Texel* we were surprized by a furious tempest, so that the ship was like to split upon some of those old stumps of trees wherewith that river is full; for in ages past, as the Skipper told me, there grew a fair Forrest in that channel where the *Texel* makes now her bed. Having been so rocked and shaken at sea, when I came ashore I began to incline to *Copernicus* his opinion, which hath got such a sway lately in the world, viz. that the earth, as well as the rest of her fellow-elements, is in perpetual motion, for she seemed so to me a good while after I had landed. He that observes the site and position of this country, will

will never hereafter doubt the truth of that philosophical problem which keeps so great a noise in the schools, viz. that the sea is higher than the earth, because, as I sailed along these coasts, I visibly found it true; for the ground here which is all betwixt marsh and moorish, lies not only level, but, to the apparent sight of the eye, far lower than the sea, which made the Duke of *Alva* say, that the inhabitants of this country were the nearest neighbours to hell (the great abyfs) of any people upon earth, because they dwell lowest: most of that ground they tread, is plucked as it were out of the very jaws of *Neptune*, who is afterwards pent out by high dikes, which are preserved with incredible charge, infomuch, that the chief *Dike-grave* here, is one of the greatest officers of trust in all the province, it being in his power, to turn the whole country into a salt lough when he list, and so to put *Hans* to swim for his life, which makes it to be one of the chiefest parts of his litany, *From the Sea, the Spaniard, and the Devil*, the Lord deliver me. I need not tell you who preserves him from the last, but from the *Spaniard*, his best friend is the sea itself, notwithstanding that he fears him as an enemy another way: for the sea stretching himself here into divers arms, and meeting with some of those fresh rivers that descend from *Germany* to disgorge themselves into him through these provinces, most of those towns are thereby encompassed with water, which by sluices they can contract or dilate as they list: this makes their towns inaccessible, and out of the reach of cannon; so that *water* may be said to be one of their best fences, otherwise I believe they had not been able to have born up so long against the gigantick power of *Spain*.

This city of *Amsterdam*, though she be a great staple of news, yet I can impart none unto you at this time, I will defer that till I come to the *Hague*.

I am lodged here at one Monsieur *Dela Cluze*, not far from the Exchange, to make an introduction into the *French*: because I believe I shall steer my course hence next to the country where that language is spoken; but

I think I shall sojourn here about two months longer; therefore, I pray direct your letters accordingly, or any other you have for me. *one of the prime comforts of a traveller is to receive letters from his friends; they beget new spirits in him, and present joyful objects to his fancy, when his mind is clouded sometimes with the fogs of melancholy;* therefore I pray make me happy as often as your conveniency will serve, with your's: you may send or deliver them to Capt. Bacon at the Glas-house, who will see them safely sent.

So my dear brother, I pray God bless us both, and send us after this large distance, a joyful meeting.

Your loving brother,

Amsterdam, April 1. 1617.

J. H.

LETTER V.

To DAN. CALDWALL, Esq; from Amsterdam.

My dear DAN.

I Have made your friendship so necessary unto me for the contentment of my life, that happiness itself would be but a kind of infelicity without it: it is as needful to me, as fire and water, as the very air I take in, and breathe out; it is to me not only *necessitudo* but *necessitas*: therefore I pray let me enjoy it in that fair proportion, that I desire to return unto you by way of correspondence and retaliation. Our first league of love, you know, was contracted among the muses in Oxford; for no sooner was I *matriculated* to her, but I was *adopted* to you; I became her *son*, and your *friend*, at one time: you know, I followed you then to London, where our love received *confirmation* in the Temple, and elsewhere. We are now far asunder, for no less than a sea severs us, and that no narrow one, but the German ocean: *distance sometimes endears friendship, and absence sweeteneth it; it much enhanceth the value of it,*

it, and makes it more precious. Let this be verified in us; let that love which formerly used to be nourished by personal communication, and the lips, be now fed by letters; let the pen supply the office of the tongue. Letters have a strong operation, they have a kind of art-like embraces to mingle souls, and make them meet, though millions of paces asunder; by them we may converse and know how it fares with each other, as it were by intercourse of spirits. Therefore, amongst your civil speculations, I pray let your thoughts sometimes reflect on me, (your absent self) and wrap those thoughts in paper, and so send them me over; I promise you they shall be very welcome; I shall embrace and hug them with my best affections.

Commend me to *Tom Bowyer*, and enjoin him the like: I pray, be no niggard in distributing my love plentifully amongst our friends at the Inns of Court: let *Jack Toldervy* have my kind commends with this caveat, *That the pot which goes often to the water, comes home cracked at last*: therefore, I hope he will be careful how he makes the *Fleece* in *Cornhill* his thorough fare too often. So may my dear *Daniel* live happy, and love his

Amsterdam, April 10. 1619.

J. H.

LETTER VI.

To my FATHER, from Amsterdam.

S I R,

I Am lately arrived in *Holland* in a good plight of health, and continue yet in this town of *Amsterdam*, a town, I believe, that there are few her fellows, being from a mean fishing-dorp, come in a short revolution of time, by a monstrous increase of commerce and navigation, to be one of the greatest marts of *Europe*. It is admirable to see what various sorts of buildings, and fabrics are now here erecting everywhere, not in houses
only,

only, but in whole streets and suburbs: so that it is thought she will in a short time double her proportion in bigness.

I am lodged in a *Frenchman's* house, who is one of the deacons of our *English Brownists* church here; it is not far from the synagogue of *Jews*, who have free and open exercise of their religion here. I believe in this street where I lodge, there be well near as many religions as there be houses; for one neighbour knows not, nor cares not much what religion the other is of; so that the number of conventicles exceeds the number of churches here. And, let this country call itself as long as it will the *United* provinces one way, I am persuaded in this point, there is no place so *disunited*.

The dog and rag market is hard by, where every Sunday morning there is a kind of public mart for those commodities, notwithstanding their precise observance of the Sabbath.

Upon Saturday last I happened to be in a Gentleman's company, who shewed me, as I walked along in the streets, a long bearded old *Jew* of the tribe of *Aaron*; when the other *Jews* met him, they fell down and kissed his foot: this was the Rabbi with whom our countryman *Broughton* had such a dispute.

This city, notwithstanding her huge trade, is far inferior to *London* for populousness; and this I infer out of their weekly bills of mortality, which come not at most but to fifty or thereabout; whereas in *London*, the ordinary number is betwixt two and three hundred, one week with another: nor are there such wealthy men in this town as in *London*; for, by reason of the generality of commerce, the banks, adventures, the common shares and stocks which most have in the *Indian* and other companies, the wealth doth diffuse itself here in a strange kind of equality, not one of the Burghers being exceeding rich, or exceeding poor; insomuch, that I believe our four and twenty Aldermen, may buy a hundred of the richest men in *Amsterdam*. It is a rare thing to meet with a beggar here, as rare as to see

a horse, they say, upon the streets of *Venice*, and this is held to be one of their best pieces of government; for besides the strictness of their laws against mendicants, they have hospitals of all sorts for young and old, both for the relief of the one, and the employment of the other; so that there is no object here to exercise any act of charity upon. They are here very neat, tho' not so magnificent in their buildings, especially in their frontispieces and first rooms; and for cleanliness, they may serve for a pattern to all people. They will presently dress half a dozen dishes of meat without any noise or shew at all: for if one goes to the kitchen, there will be scarce appearance of any thing but a few covered pots upon a turf-fire, which is their prime fuel: after dinner they fall a scouring of their pots, so that the outside will be as bright as the inside, and the kitchen suddenly so clean as if no meat had been dressed there a month before: they have neither well nor fountain, or any spring of fresh-water in or about this city, but their fresh-water is brought unto them by boats; besides, they have cisterns to receive the rain-water which they must use; so that my laundress bringing my linen to me one day, and I commending the whiteness of them; she answered, that they must needs be white and fair, for they were washed in *aqua cœlestis*, meaning sky-water.

It were cheap living here, were it not for the monstrous excises which are imposed upon all sorts of commodities, both for belly and back; for the retailer pays the *State* almost the one moiety as much as he paid for the commodity at first; nor doth any murmur at it, because it goes not to any favourite or private purse, but to preserve them from the *Spaniard*, their common enemy as they term him; so that the saying is truly verified here, *Defend me, and spend me*: with this excise principally, they maintain all their armies by sea and land, with their garrisons at home and abroad, both here and in the *Indies*, and defray all public charges besides.

I shall hence shortly for *France*, and in my way take most of the prime towns of *Holland* and *Zealand*, especially *Leyden*, (the University) where I shall sojourn some days. So humbly craving a continuance of your blessing and prayers, I rest

Your dutiful son,

May 1. 1619.

J. H.

L E T T E R VII.

To Dr. THOMAS PRICHARD, at *Jesus College* in *Oxford*, from *Leyden*.

S I R,

IT is the Royal prerogative of love, not to be confined to that small local compass which circumscribes the body, but to make his sallies and progresses abroad, to find out and enjoy his desired object, under what region soever: nor is it the vast gulph of *Neptune*, or any distance of place, or difference of clime, can bar him of this privilege. I never found the experiment hereof so sensibly, nor felt the comfort of it so much as since I shook hands with *England*: for, tho' you be in *Oxford*, and I at *Leyden*; albeit you be upon an island, and I now upon the continent, (tho' the lowest part of *Europe*), yet those swift postillions my thoughts find you out daily, and bring you unto me. I behold you often in my chamber and in my bed; you eat, you drink, you sit down, and walk with me, and my fantasy enjoys you often in my sleep, when all my senses are locked up, and my soul wanders up and down the world, sometimes thro' pleasant fields and gardens, sometimes thro' odd uncouth places, over mountains and broken confused buildings. As my love to you doth thus exercise his power, so I desire your's to me may not be idle, but roused up sometimes to find me out, and summon me to attend you in *Jesus College*.

I am now here in *Leyden*, the only academy besides *Franiker* of all the *United Provinces*. Here are nations of all sorts, but the *Germans* swarm more than any: to compare their *Univerſity* to yours, were to caſt *New-Inn* in counterſcale with *Chriſt-Church* college, or the alms-houſe on *Tower-hill* to *Sutton's* hoſpital. Here are no colleges at all God-wot (but one for the *Dutch*), nor ſcarce the face of an *Univerſity*, only there are general ſchools where the *ſciences* are read by ſeveral Profeſſors, but all the ſtudents are *Oppidans*: a ſmall time and leſs learning will ſuffice to make one a *graduate*; nor are thoſe formalities of habits, and other decencies here, as with you, much leſs thoſe exhibitions and ſupport for ſcholars, with other encouragements; inſomuch, that the *Oxonians* and *Cantabrigians*.—*Bona ſi ſua norint*, were they ſenſible of their own felicity, are the happieſt *Academians* on earth; yet *Apollo* hath a ſtrong influence here: and as *Cicero* ſaid of them of *Athens*, *Athenis pingue cœlum, tenuia ingenia*; *The Athenians had a thick air, and thin wits*; ſo I may ſay of theſe *Lugdunensians*, *They have a groſs air, but thin ſubtle wits*, (ſome of them): witneſs, elſe *Heinſius*, *Grotius*, *Arminius* and *Baudius*: of the two laſt I was told a tale, that *Arminius* meeting *Baudius* one day diſguiſed with drink (wherewith he would be often), he told him, *Tu Baudi dedecorus noſtram Academiam, & tu Armini noſtram religionem*. Thou *Baudius* diſgraceſt our *Univerſity*, and thou *Arminius* our religion. The heaven here hath always ſome cloud in his countenance; and from this groſſneſs and ſpiffitude of air proceeds the ſlow nature of the inhabitants; yet this ſlowneſs is recompeneſed with another benefit; it makes them patient and conſtant, as in all other actions, ſo in their ſtudies and ſpeculations, tho' they uſe,

—*Cræſſus tranſire Dies, lucemque paluſtrem.*

I pray, impart my love liberally amongſt my friends in *Oxford*, and when you can make truce with your more

serious meditations, bestow a thought drawn into a few lines, upon

Your

Leyden, May 30, 1619.

J. H.

L E T T E R VIII.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, from the Hague.

S I R,

THE same observance that a father may challenge of his child, the like you may claim of me, in regard of the extraordinary care you have pleased to have always since I had the happiness to know you, of the course of my fortunes.

I am newly come to the *Hague*, the Court of the six (and almost seven) *confederated* provinces; the Council of State with the Prince of *Orange*, makes his firm residence here, unless he be upon a march, and in motion for some design abroad. This Prince (*Maurice*) was cast in a mould suitable to the temper of this people: he is slow, and full of wariness, and not without a mixture of fear; I do not mean pusillanimous, but politic fear. He is the most constant in the quotidian course and carriage of his life, of any that I ever heard or read of: for whosoever knows the customs of the Prince of *Orange*, may tell what he is doing here every hour of the day, though he be in *Constantinople*. In the morning he awaketh about six in summer, and seven in winter: the first thing he doth, he sends one of his grooms or pages to see how the wind sits, and he wears or leaves off his waistcoat accordingly; then he is about an hour dressing himself, and about a quarter of an hour in his closet; then comes in the Secretary, and if he hath any private or public letters to write, or any other dispatches to make, he doth it before he stirs from his chamber; then comes he abroad, and goes to his stable if it be no ser-

mon-

mon-day, to see some of his gentlemen or pages (of whose breeding he is very careful) ride the great horse. He is very accessible to any that hath business with him, and sheweth a winning kind of familiarity; for, he will shake hands with the meanest boor of the country, and he seldom hears any commander or gentleman with his hat on: he dines punctually about twelve, and his table is free for all comers, but none under the degree of a Captain sits down at it. After dinner he stays in the room a good while, and then any one may accost him, and tell his tale; then he retires to his chamber, where he answers all *petitions* that were delivered him in the morning; and toward the evening, if he goes not to council, which is seldom, he goes either to make some visits or take the air abroad, and according to this constant method he passeth his life.

There are great stirs like to arise betwixt the *Bohemians*, and the elected King the Emperor; they are come already to that height, that they consult of deposing him, and to chuse some protestant Prince to be their King; some talk of the Duke of *Saxony*, others of the *Palsgrave*. I believe the states here would rather be for the latter, in regard of conformity of religion, the other being a *Lutheran*.

I could not find in *Amsterdam* a large *Ortelius* in *French* to send you, but from *Antwerp* I will not fail to serve you.

So wishing you all happiness and health, and that the sun may make many progresses more through the *Zodiac*, before those comely gray hairs of yours go to the grave, I rest

Your very humble servant,

June 1619.

J. H.

LETTER IX.

To Captain FRANCIS BACON at the Glass-house in Broadstreet.

S I R,

MY last to you was from *Amsterdam*, since which time I have traversed the prime parts of the *United Provinces*, and am now in *Zealand*, which is much crest-fallen since the staple of *English* cloth was removed hence, as is *Flushing* also, her next neighbour, since the departure of the *English* garrison. A good intelligent gentleman told me the manner how *Flushing* and the *Brill*, our two cautionary towns here were redeemed, which was thus: the nine hundred and odd soldiers at *Flushing* and the *Rammakins* hard by, being many weeks without their pay, they borrowed divers sums of money of the States of this town; who, finding no hopes of supply from *England*, advice was sent to the *States General* at the *Hague*; they consulting with Sir *Ralph Winwood* our Ambassador, (who was a favourable instrument unto them in this business, as also in the match with the *Palsgrave*) sent instructions to the Lord *Caroon*, to acquaint the Earl of *Suffolk* (then Lord Treasurer) herewith; and in case they could find no satisfaction there, to make his address to the King himself, which *Caroon* did. His Majesty being much incensed that his subjects and soldiers should starve for want of their pay in a foreign country, sent for the Lord Treasurer; who drawing his Majesty aside, and telling how empty his exchequer was, his Majesty told the Ambassador, that if his masters the States would pay the money they owed him upon those towns, he would deliver them up. The Ambassador returning the next day to know whether his Majesty persisted in the same resolution, in regard that at his former audience he perceived him to be a little transported, his Majesty answered, that he knew the States of *Holland* to be his good friends and confederates both in point of religion

ligion and policy; therefore, he apprehended not the least fear of any difference that should fall out between them, in contemplation whereof, if they desired to have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them. Hereupon, the States made up the sum presently; which came in convenient time, for it served to defray the expenceful progress he made to *Scotland* the summer following. When that money was lent by *Queen Elizabeth*, it was articulated, that interest should be paid upon interest; and besides, that for every gentleman who should lose life in the States service, they should make good five pounds to the crown of *England*. All this his Majesty remitted, and only took the principal: and, this was done in requital of that princely entertainment and great presents which my Lady *Elizabeth* had received in divers of their towns as she passed to *Heydelberg*.

The bearer hereof is Signior *Antonio Miotti*, who was master of a crystal-glass furnace here a long time; and as I have it by good intelligence, he is one of the ablest and most knowing men for the guidance of a glass-work in christendom; therefore, according to my instructions I send him over, and hope to have done Sir *Robert* good service thereby. - So with my kind respects unto you, and my most humble service where you know it is due, I rest

Your obliged servant,

June 6. 1619.

J. H.

L E T T E R X.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS. *Antwerp*.

S I R,

I Presume that my last to you from the *Hague* came safe to hand. I am now come to a more chearful country, and amongst a people somewhat more vigorous and metalled, being not so heavy as the *Hollander*, or
homely

homely as they of *Zealand*. This goodly antient city methinks looks like a disconsolate widow, or rather some superannuated virgin that hath lost her lover, being almost quite bereft of that flourishing commerce, wherewith, before the falling off the rest of the provinces from *Spain*, she abounded to the envy of all other cities and marts of *Europe*. There are few places this side the *Alps* better built and so well streeted as this, and none at all so well girt with bastions and ramparts, which in some places are so spacious, that they usually take the air in coaches upon the very walls, which are beautified with divers rows of trees and pleasant walks. The citadel here, though it be an addition to the stateliness and strength of the town, yet it serves as a shrewd curb unto her, which makes her chomp upon the bit, and some sometimes with anger, but she cannot help it. The tumults in *Bohemia* now grow hotter and hotter: they write how the great council at *Prague* fell to such a hurliburly, that some of those Senators who adhered to the Emperor were thrown out at the windows, where some were maimed, some broke their necks. I am shortly to bid farewell to the *Netherlands*, and to bend my course to *France*, where I shall be most ready to entertain any commands of yours. So may all health and happiness attend you, according to the wishes of

Your obliged servant,

July 5. 1619.

J. H.

LETTER XI.

To my FATHER, from Rouen.

S I R,

YOURS of the third of *August* came safe to hand in an inclosed from my brother: you may make easy conjecture how welcome it was unto me, and to what

what a height of comfort it raised my spirits, in regard it was the first I received from you since I crossed the seas, I humbly thank you for the blessing you sent along with it.

I am now upon the fair continent of *France*, one of nature's choicest master-pieces, one of *Ceres'* chiefest barns of corn, one of *Bacchus'* prime wine cellars, and of *Neptune's* best salt-pits; a compleat self-sufficient country, where there is rather a superfluity than defect of any thing, either for necessity or pleasure, did the policy of the country correspond with the bounty of Nature, in the equal distribution of the wealth among the inhabitants: for, I think there is not upon the earth a richer country and poorer people. It is true, *England* hath a good repute abroad for her fertility, yet be our harvests never so kindly, and our crops never so plentiful, we have every year commonly some grain from thence, or from *Dantzick* and other places imported by the merchant; besides, there be many more heaths, commons, bleak-barren hills, and waste grounds in *England* by many degrees than I find here; and I am sorry our country of *Wales* should give more instances hereof than any other part.

This province of *Normandy*, once an appendix to the crown of *England*, though it want wine, yet it yields the King as much desmeans as any of the rest: the lower *Norman* hath cyder for his common drink; and I visibly observed that they are more plump and replete in their bodies, and of a clearer complexion than those that drink altogether wine. In this great city of *Rouen* there be many monuments of the *English* yet extant. In the outside of the highest steeple of the great church, there is the word GOD engraven in huge golden characters, every one almost as long as myself to make them the more visible. In this steeple hangs also the greatest bell of christendom, called *d'Amboise*; for it weighs near upon forty thousand pound weight. There is also here *St. Oen*, the greatest Sanctuary in this city, founded by one of our compatriots as the name imports. This province is also subject to *wardships*, and no other part of
France

France besides ; but, whether the conqueror transported that law to *England* from hence, or whether he sent it over from *England* hither I cannot resolve you. There is a marvellous quick trade beaten in this town, because of the great navigable river *Sequana* (the *Seine*) that runs hence to *Paris*, whereon there stands a strange bridge that ebbs and flows, that riseth and falls with the river, it being made of boats, whereon coaches and carts may pass over as well as men : besides, this is the nearest mercantile city that stands betwixt *Paris* and the sea.

My last unto you was from the *Low-Countries*, where I was in motion to and fro above four months ; but I fear it miscarried in regard you make no mention of it in yours.

I begin more and more to have a sense of the sweetness and advantage of foreign travel. I pray when you come to *London* find a time to visit Sir *Robert*, and acknowledge his great favours unto me, and desire a continuance thereof according as I shall endeavour to deserve them. So with my due and daily prayers for your health, and a speedy successful issue of all your law business, I humbly crave your blessing, and rest

Your dutiful son,

Sept. 7. 1619.

J. H.

L E T T E R XII.

To Capt. FRANCIS BACON from Paris.

S I R,

I Received two of yours in *Rouen*, with the bills of exchange therein inclosed, and according to your directions I sent you those things which you wrote for.

I am newly come to *Paris*, this huge magazine of men, the epitome of this large populous kingdom, and rendezvous of all foreigners. The structures here are indifferently fair, though the streets generally foul all the
four

four seasons of the year; which I impute first, to the position of the city, being built upon an isle, (the isle of *France*, made so by the branching and serpentine course of the river of *Seine*) and having some of her suburbs seated high, the filth runs down the channel and settles in many places within the body of the city, which lieth upon a flat; as also for a world of coaches, carts, and horses of all sorts, that go to and fro perpetually, so that sometimes one shall meet with a stop half a mile long of those coaches, carts, and horses, that can move neither forward nor backward by reason of some sudden encounter of others coming a cross-way; so that often times it will be an hour or two before they can disentangle: in such a stop the great *Henry* was so fatally slain by *Ravillac*. Hence comes it to pass that this town (for *Paris* is a town, a city, and an university) is always dirty, and 'tis such a dirt, that by perpetual motion is beaten into such a thick black unctious oil, that where it sticks no art can wash it off of some colours, insomuch, that it may be no improper comparison to say, that an ill name is like the *croû* (the dirt) of *Paris*, which is indelible; besides the stain this dirt leaves, it also gives so strong a scent, that it may be smelt many miles off, if the wind be in one's face as he comes from the fresh country. This may be one cause why the plague is always in some corner or other of this vast city, which may be called as once *Scythia* was, *vagina populorum*, or (as mankind was called by a great philosopher) a great mole-hill of ants: yet, I believe this city is not so populous as she seems to be, for her form being round, (as the whole kingdom is) the passengers wheel about, and meet oftner than they use to do in the long continued streets of *London*, which makes *London* appear less populous then she is indeed; so that *London* for length (though not for latitude) including *Westminster*, exceeds *Paris*, and hath in *Michaelmas* term more souls moving within her in all places. 'Tis under one hundred years that *Paris* is become so sumptuous and strong in buildings; for her houses were mean, until a mine of white stone was discovered hard by,
which

which runs in a continued vein of earth, and is digged out with ease being soft, and is between a white clay and chalk at first, but being pulled up, with the open air it receives a crusty kind of hardness, and so becomes perfect free-stone; and before it is sent up from the pit, they can reduce it to any form. Of this stone, the *Louvre*; the King's palace is built, which is a vast fabric; for the gallery wants not much of an *Italian* mile in length, and will easily lodge 3000 men; which some told me, was the end for which the last King made it so big, that lying at the fag end of this great mutinous city, if she perchance should rise, the King might pour out of the *Louvre* so many thousand men unawares into the heart of her.

I am lodged here hard by the *Bassile*, because it is furthest off from those places where the *English* resort; for I would go on to get a little language as soon as I could. In my next, I shall impart unto you what state-news *France* affords in the interim, and always I am

Your humble servant,

Paris, March 30. 1620.

J. H.

LETTER XIII.

To RICHARD ALTHAM Esq; from Paris.

Dear Sir,

LOVE is the marrow of friendship, and letters are the elixir of love; they are the best fuel of affection, and cast a sweeter odour than any franckincense can do: such an odour, such an aromatic perfume your late letter brought with it, proceeding from the fragrancy of those dainty flowers of eloquence, which I found blossoming as it were in every line; I mean those sweet expressions of love and wit, which in every period were intermingled with so much art, that they seemed to contend for mastery which was the strongest. I must confess, that you
put

put me to hard shifts to correspond with you in such exquisite strains and raptures of *love*, which were so lively, that I must needs judge them to proceed from the motions, from the *diastole* and *systole* of a heart truly affected. Certainly your heart did dictate every syllable you wrote, and guided your hand all along. Sir, give me leave to tell you, that not a dram, nor a dose, nor a scruple of this precious *love* of yours is lost, but is safely treasured up in my heart, and answered in like proportion to the full; mine to you is as cordial, it is passionate and perfect as *love* can be.

I thank you for the desire you have to know how it fares with me abroad. I thank God, I am perfectly well, and well contented with this wandering course of life a while: I never enjoyed my health better, but I was like to endanger it two nights ago; for being in some jovial company abroad, and coming late to our lodging, we were suddenly surprized by a crew of *flous* of night rogues, who drew upon us, and as we had exchanged some blows, it pleased God the *Chevalier du Guet*, an officer, who goes up and down the streets all night on horseback to prevent disorders, passed by, and so rescued us; but *Jack White* was hurt, and I had two thrusts in my cloke. There is never a night passeth, but some robbing or murder is committed in this town, so that it is not safe to go late anywhere, specially about the *Pont-Neuf*, the new-bridge, though *Henry the Great* himself lies centinel there in arms, upon a huge *Florentine* horse, and sits bare to every one that passeth; an improper posture methinks to a King on horseback. Not long since, one of the Secretaries of State (whereof there are here always four) having been invited to the suburbs of *St. Germain*s to supper, left order with one of his lacqueys to bring him his horse about nine; it so happened, that a mischance befell the horse, which lamed him as he went a watering to the *Seine*, insomuch, that the Secretary was put to beat the hoof himself, and foot it home; but, as he was passing the *Pont-Neuf* with his lacquey carrying a torch before him, he might over-hear a noise of clashing

of swords, and fighting; and looking under their torch, and perceiving they were but two, he bad his lacquey go on; they had not made many paces, but two armed men with their pistols cocked, and swords drawn, made puffing towards them, whereof one had a paper in his hand; which he said, he had casually took up in the streets, and the differences between them was about that paper; therefore, they desired the Secretary to read it, with a great deal of compliments; the Secretary took out his spectacles, and fell a reading of the said paper, whereof the substance was, *That it should be known to all men, that whosoever did pass over that bridge after nine o'clock at night in winter, and ten in summer, was to leave his cloke behind him, and in case of no cloke, his hat.* The Secretary starting at this, one of the comrades told him, that he thought that paper concerned him; so they unmantled him of a new plush cloke, and my Secretary was content to go home quietly, and *en cuerpo*. This makes me think often of the excellent nocturnal government of our city of *London*, where one may pass and repass securely all hours of the night, if he give good words to the watch. There is a gentle calmness through all *France*, and the King intends to make a progress to all the frontier towns of the kingdom, to see how they are fortified. The favorite *Luines* strengtheneth himself more and more in his minionship; but he is much murmured at in regard the access of suitors to him are so difficult; which made a Lord of the land say, that three of the hardest things in the world were; *To quadrate a circle, to find out the philosopher's stone, and to speak with the Duke of Luines.*

I have sent you by *Vacandary* the post, the *French* bever and twecses you write for: bever-hats are grown dearer of late, because the *Jesuites* have got the *monopoly* of them from the King.

Farewel dear child of virtue and minion of the muses, and continue to love

Yours,

Paris, May, 1. 1620.

J. H.
LET.

LETTER XIV.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, from Paris.

S I R,

I Am to set forward this week for *Spain*, and if I can find no commodity of embarkation at *St. Malo's*, I must be forced to journey it all the way by land, and clammer up the huge *Pyreney-hills*, but I could not bid *Paris* adieu, till I had convey'd my true and constant respect to you by this letter. I was yesterday to wait upon Sir *Herbert Crofts* at *St. Germain's*, where I met with a *French* gentleman, who amongst other curiosities which he pleas'd to shew me up and down *Paris*, brought me to that place where the late King was slain, and to that where the Marquis of *Ancre* was shot, and so made me a punctual relation of all the circumstances of those two acts, which in regard they were rare; and I believe two of the notablest accidents that ever happened in *France*, I thought it worth the labour to make you partaker of some part of his discourse.

France, as all christendom besides, (for there was then a truce betwixt *Spain* and the *Hollander*) was in a profound peace, and had continued so twenty years together. When *Henry IV.* fell upon some great martial design, the bottom whereof is not known to this day; and being rich, (for he had heaped up in the *Bastile* a mount of gold that was as high as a lance) he levied a huge army of 40,000 men; whence came the song, *The King of France with forty thousand men*; and upon a sudden he put this army in perfect equipage, and some say he invited our Prince *Henry* to come unto him to be a sharer in his exploits; but going one afternoon to the *Bastile*, to see his treasure and ammunition; his coach stopped suddenly, by reason of some colliers and other carts that were in that narrow street; *Ravillac* a lay-jesuit (who had a whole twelve month watched an opportunity to do

the act) put his foot boldly upon one of the wheels of the coach, and with a long knife stretched himself over their shoulders who were in the boot of the coach, and reached the King at the end, and stabbed him right in the left-side to the heart; and pulling out the fatal steel, he doubled his thrust: the King with a ruthless voice cried out, *Jesu suis bleffe* (I am hurt) and suddenly the blood issued out at his mouth: the regicide villain was apprehended, and command given, that no violence should be offered him, that he might be reserved for the law, and some exquisite torture. The Queen grew half-distracted hereupon, who had been crowned Queen of *France* the day before in great triumph; but a few days after she had something to countervail, if not to overmatch her sorrow; for according to St. *Lewis's* law, she was made Queen Regent of *France* during the King's minority, who was then but about ten years of age. Many consultations were held how to punish *Ravillac*, and there were some *Italian* physicians that undertook to prescribe a torment, that should last a constant torment for three days, but he escaped only with this, his body was pulled between four horses, that one might hear his bones crack, and after the dislocation they were set again, and so he was carried in a cart standing half-naked, with a torch in that hand which had committed the murder; and in the place where the act was done, it was cut off, and a gauntlet of hot oil was clapt upon the stump, to stanch the blood, whereat he gave a doleful shriek, then was he brought upon a stage, where a new pair of boots was provided for him, half-filled with boiling oil; then his body was pincered, and hot oil poured into the holes. In all the extremity of this torture, he scarce shewed any sense of pain, but when the gauntlet was clapt upon his arm to stanch the flux of reaking blood, at that time, he gave a shriek only. He bore up against all these torments about three hours before he died: all the confession that could be drawn from him, was, *That he thought he had done God good service to take away that King, which would have embroiled all christendom in an endless war.*

A fatal thing it was, that *France* should have three of her kings come to such violent deaths, in so short a *revolution* of time. *Henry II.* at tilt with *Monsieur Montgomery*, was killed by a splinter of a lance that pierced his eye: *Henry the III.* not long after, was killed by a young friar, who in lieu of a *letter* which he pretended to have for him, pulled out of his long sleeve a knife, and thrust him into the *bottom* of the belly, as he was coming from his *close-stool*, and so dispatched him; but that regicide was hacked to pieces in the place by the nobles. The same destiny attended this King by *Ravillac*, which is become now a common name of reproach and infamy in *France*.

Never was King so much lamented as this; there are a world not only of his pictures, but statues up and down *France*, and there's scarce a market-town, but hath him erected in the market-place, or over some gate, not upon sign-posts, as our *Henry the VIII.* and by a public act of parliament which was confirmed in the consistory at *Rome*, he was entitled, *Henry the Great*, and so placed in the temple of immortality. A notable Prince he was, and of an admirable temper of body and mind; he had a graceful facetious way to gain both love and awe: he would be never transported beyond himself with choller, but he would pass by any thing with some *repartee*, some witty strain, wherein he was excellent. I will instance in a few which were told me from a good hand: one day he was charged by the Duke of *Bouillon* to have changed his religion, he answered, *No cousin, I have changed no religion, but an opinion*: and the Cardinal of *Perron* being by, he enjoined him to write a treatise for his vindication; the Cardinal was long about the work, and when the King asked from time to time where his *book* was, he would still answer him, *That he expected some manuscripts from Rome, before he could finish it*. It happened, that one day the King took the Cardinal along with him to look on his workmen and new buildings at the *Louvre*; and passing by one corner which had been a long time begun, but left unfinished, the King asked the chief *mason* why

that corner was not all this while perfected? Sir, it is because I want some choice stones; *No, no*, said the King, looking upon the Cardinal, *It is because thou wantest manuscripts from Rome.* Another time, the old Duke of *Main*, who was used to play the droll with him, coming softly into his bed-chamber and thrusting in his bald-head, and long neck, in a posture to make the King merry, it happened the King was coming from doing his ease; and spying him, he took the round cover of the *close-stool*, and clapt it on his bald sconce, saying, *Ah, cousin, you thought once to have taken the crown off my head, and wear it on your own; but this of my tail shall now serve your turn.* Another time, when at the siege of *Amiens*, he having sent for the Count of *Soissons* (who had 100000 franks a year pension from the crown) to assist him in those wars, and that the Count excused himself, by reason of his years and poverty, having exhausted himself in the former wars, and all that he could do now, was to pray for his Majesty, which he would do heartily: this answer being brought to the King, he replied, *Will my cousin, the Count of Soissons, do nothing else but pray for me? Tell him that prayer without fasting, is not available; therefore I will make my cousin fast also from his pension of 100000 per annum.*

He was once troubled with a fit of the gout; and the *Spanish* Ambassador coming then to visit him, and saying he was sorry to see his Majesty so lame; he answered, *As lame as I am, if there were occasion, your master the King of Spain should no sooner have his foot in the stirrup, but he should find me on horseback.*

By these few you may guess at the *genius* of this sprightly Prince: I could make many more instances, but then I should exceed the bounds of a letter. When I am in *Spain*, you shall hear further from me; and if you can think on any thing wherein I may serve you, believe it, Sir, that any employment from you shall be welcome to

Your much obliged servant,

Paris, May, 12. 1620.

J. H.
LET-

LETTER XV.

To my Brother Dr. HOWELL.

Brother,

BEING to-morrow to part with *Paris*, and begin my journey for *Spain*, I thought it not amiss to send you this, in regard I know not when I shall have opportunity to write unto you again.

This kingdom since the young King hath taken the scepter into his own hands, doth flourish very much with quietness and commerce; nor is there any motion or the least tintamar of trouble in any part of the country, which is rare in *France*. 'Tis true, the Queen-mother is discontented since she left her regency, being confined; and I know not what it may come unto in time, for she hath a strong party, and the murdering of her Marquis of *Ancre* will yet bleed, as some fear.

I was lately in society of a gentleman who was a spectator of that tragedy, and he was pleased to relate unto me the particulars of it, which was thus: when *Henry IV.* was slain, the Queen Dowager took the reins of the government into her hands during the young King's minority; and amongst others whom she advanced, Signior *Conchino* a *Florentine*; and her foster-brother was one: her countenance came to shine so strongly upon him, that he became her only confident and favourite, insomuch, that she made him Marquis of *Ancre*, one of the twelve Marshals of *France*, Governor of *Normandy*, and conferred other honours and offices of trust upon him, and who but he. The princes of *France* could not endure this domineering of a stranger, therefore, they leagued together to suppress him by arms: the Queen Regent having intelligence hereof, surprized the Prince of *Conde*, and clapt him up in the *Bastile*: the Duke of *Main* fled hereupon to *Peronne* in *Picardy*, and other great men put themselves in an armed posture to stand upon their guard. The young King being told that the Marquis of
Ancre

Ancre was the ground of this discontentment, commanded Monsieur *de Vitry* Captain of his guard to arrest him, and in case of resistance to kill him. This business was carried very closely till the next morning, that the said Marquis was coming to the *Louvre* with a ruffling train of gallants after him, and passing over the draw-bridge at the court-gate, *Vitry* stood there with the King's guard about him; and as the Marquis entered, he told him, that he had a commission from the King to apprehend him, therefore he demanded his sword: the Marquis hereupon put his hand upon his sword, some thought to yield it up, others to make opposition; in the mean time, *Vitry* discharged a pistol at him, and so dispatched him. The King being above in his gallery, asked what noise that was below, one smilingly answered, nothing Sir, but that the Marshall of *Ancre* is slain: who slew him? The Captain of your guard: why? Because he would have drawn his sword at your Majesty's royal commission: then the King replied, *Vitry* hath done well, and I will maintain the act. Presently, the Queen-mother had all her guard taken from her, except six men and sixteen women; and so she was banished *Paris*, and commanded to retire to *Blois*. *Ancre's* body was buried that night in a church hard by the court; but the next morning, the lacqueys and pages (who are more unhappy here than the apprentices in *London*) broke up his grave, tore his coffin to pieces, ript the winding-sheet, and tied his body to an ass's tail, and so dragged him up and down the streets of *Paris*, which are none of the sweetest; they then sliced off his ears and nailed them upon the gates of the city; they cut off his genitories, (and they say he was hung like an ass) and sent them for a present to the Duke of *Main*; the rest of his body they carried to the new-bridge, and hung him his heels upwards and head downwards, upon a new gibbet that had been set up a little before to punish them who should speak ill of the present government; and it was his chance to have the maidenhead of it himself. His wife was hereupon apprehended, imprisoned, and beheaded

beheaded for a witch some few days after, upon a surmise that she had enchanted the Queen to dote so upon her husband; and they say, the young King's picture was found in her closet in *virgin-wax* with one leg melted away. A little after a process was formed against the Marquis (her husband), and so he was *condemned after death*. This was a right act of a *French* popular fury, which like an angry torrent is irresistible, nor can any banks, boundaries, or dikes stop the impetuous rage of it. How the young King will prosper after so high and an unexampled act of violence, by beginning his reign, and imbruing the walls of his own court with blood in that manner, there are divers censures.

When I am settled in *Spain* you shall hear from me; in the interim, I pray let your prayers accompany me in this long journey, and when you write to *Wales*, I pray acquaint our friends with my welfare: so, I pray God bless us both, and send us a happy interview,

Your loving brother,

Paris, Sept. 8. 1620.

J. H.

L E T T E R XVI.

To my Cousin W. VAUGHAN, Esq; from St. Malo.

COUSIN,

I Am now in *French Britany*; I went back from *Paris* to *Rouen*, and so through all *Normandy* to a little port called *Granville*, where I embarked for this town of *St. Malo*, but I did purge so violently at sea, that it put me into a burning fever for some few days, whereof (I thank God) I am newly recovered; and finding no opportunity of shipping here, I must be forced to turn my intended sea-voyage to a land-journey.

Since I came to this province, I was curious to converse with some of the lower *Britons*, who speak no other language but our *Welsh*; for their radical words are no other;

other; but 'tis no wonder, for they were a colony of *Welsh* at first, as the *name* of this province doth imply, as also the Latin name *Armorica*; which though it pass for Latin, yet it is but pure *Welsh*, and signifies a country bordering upon the sea, as that arch-heretick was called *Pelagius*, a *Pelago*, his name being *Morgan*. I was a little curious to peruse the annals of this province; and, during the time that it was a kingdom, there were four kings of the name *Hoell*, whereof one was called *Hoell the Great*.

This town of *St. Malo* hath one rarity in it; for there is here a perpetual garrison of *English*, but they are of *English* dogs, which are let out in the night to guard the ships and eat the carrion up and down the streets, and so they are shut up again in the morning.

It will be now a good while before I shall have conveniency to send to you, or receive from you: howsoever, let me retain still some little room in your memory, and sometimes in your meditations, while I carry you about me perpetually, not only in my head, but in heart, and make you travel all along with me thus from town to country, from hill to dale, from sea to land up and down the world; and you must be contented to be subject to these uncertain removes and perambulations, until it shall please God to fix me again in *England*: nor need you, while you are thus my concomitant through new places every day, to fear any ill usage while I fare well.

Yours, *Χρησται & κλισται*

J. H.

L E T T E R XVII.

To Sir JOHN NORTH, from Rochel.

S I R,

I Am newly come to *Rochel*; nor am I sorry that I went somewhat out of my way to see this town, not (to tell you true) out of an extraordinary love I bear to the

the people; for I do not find them so gentle and debonair to strangers, nor so hospitable as the rest of *France*; but I excuse them for it, in regard it is commonly so with all republick and hanse-towns, whereof this smells very rank; nor indeed hath any *Englishman* much cause to love this town, in regard in ages past, she played the most treacherous part with *England* of any other part in *France*: for the story tells us, that this town having by a perfidious stratagem (by forging a counterfeit commission from *England*), induced the *English* Governor to make a general muster of all his forces out of the town: this being one day done, they shut their gates against him, and made him go shake his ears and shift for his lodging, and so rendered themselves to the *French* King, who sent them a blank to write their own conditions. I think they have the strongest ramparts by sea of any place of *christendom*, nor have I seen the like in any town of *Holland*, whose safety depends upon water. I am bound to-morrow for *Bordeaux*, then through *Gascogny* to *Thoulouse*, so through *Languedoc* over the hills to *Spain*: I go in the best season of the year, for I make an *autumnal* journey of it. I pray let your prayers accompany me all along, they are the best offices of love, and fruits of friendship: so God prosper you at home, as me abroad, and send us in good time a joyful conjuncture.

Yours,

Rochel, Oct. 8. 1620.

J. H.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Mr. THO. PORTER, after Capt. PORTER, from
Barcelona.

MY dear Tom, I had no sooner set foot upon this soil, and breathed *Spanish* air, but my thoughts presently reflected upon you. Of all my friends in *England*, you were the first I met here, you were the prime object of my speculation, methought the very winds in gentle

gentle whispers did breathe out your name, and blow it on me: you seemed to reverberate upon me with the beams of the sun, which you know hath such a powerful influence, and indeed too great a stroke in this country: all this you must ascribe to the operations of love, which hath such a strong virtual force, that when it fasteneth upon a pleasant subject, it sets the imagination in a strange fit of working; it employs all the faculties of the soul, so that not one cell in the brain is idle; it busieth the whole inward man, it affects the heart, amuseth the understanding; it quickeneth the fancy, and leads the will as it were by a silken thread to co-operate with them all. I have felt these motions often in me, specially at this time that my memory is fixed upon you; but the reason that I fell first upon you in *Spain*, was that I remembered I had heard you often discoursing how you have received part of your education here, which brought you to speak the language so exactly well: I think often of the relations I have heard you make of this country, and the good instructions you pleased to give me.

I am now in *Barcelona*, but the next week I intend to go on through *your* town of *Valentia* to *Alicant*, and thence you shall be sure to hear from me further, for I make account to winter there. The Duke of *Osuna* passed by here lately; and, having got leave of grace to release some slaves, he went aboard the *Cape-Gallies*, and passing through the *churma* of slaves, he asked divers of them what their offences were; every one excused himself, one saying, that he was put in out of malice, another by bribery of the judge, but all of them unjustly; amongst the rest, there was one sturdy little black man, and the Duke asking him what he was in for: Sir, said he, *I cannot deny but I am justly put in here, for I wanted money, and so took a purse hard by Tarragona to keep me from starving*: the Duke with a little staff he had in his hand, gave him two or three blows upon the shoulder, saying, *You rogue, what do you do amongst so many honest innocent men? Get you gone out of their company*;

company; so he was freed, and the rest remained still in *statu quo primus*, to tug at the oar.

I pray commend me to Signior *Camillo*, and *Mazalao*, with the rest of the *Venetians* with you; and when you go aboard the ship behind the *Exchange*, think upon

Yours,

Barcelona, Nov. 10. 1620.

J. H.

LETTER XIX.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS.

S I R,

I Am now a good way within the body of *Spain*, at *Barcelona*, a proud wealthy city, situated upon the *Mediterranean*, and is the *metropolis* of the kingdom of *Catalonia*, called of old *Hispania Terraconensis*. I had much ado to reach hither; for besides the monstrous abruptness of the way, these parts of the *Pyreneys* that border upon the *Mediterranean* are never without thieves by the land (called *Bandeleros*) and pirates on the sea-side, which lie sculking in the hollows of the rocks, and often surprize passengers unawares, and carry them slaves to *Barbary* on the other side. The safest way to pass, is to take a *Bordon* in the habit of a pilgrim, whereof there are abundance that perform their vows this way to the Lady of *Monferrat*, one of the prime places of pilgrimage in *christendom*: it is a stupenduous monastery, built on the top of a huge land-rock, whether it is impossible to go up or come down by a direct way, but a path is cut out full of windings and turning; and on the crown of this craggy-hill there is a flat upon which the monastery and pilgrimage place is founded, where there is a picture of the Virgin *Mary* sun-burnt and tanned, it seems when she went to *Egypt*; and to this picture a marvellous confluence of people from all parts of *Europe* resort.

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As I passed between the *Pyreny-hills*, I observed the poor *Labradores*, some of the country people, live no better than brute animals in point of food; for their ordinary commons, is grafs and water, only they have always within their houses a bottle of vinegar, and another of oil; and when dinner or supper time comes, they go abroad and gather their herbs, and so cast vinegar or oil upon them, and will pass thus two or three days without bread or wine; yet, they are strong lusty men, and will stand stily under a musket.

There is a tradition, that there were divers mines of gold in ages past amongst those mountains: and the shepherds that kept goats then, having made a small fire of rosemary-stubs, with other combustible stuff to warm themselves, this fire grazed along, and grew so outrageous, that it consumed the very entrails of the earth, and melted those mines; which growing fluid by liquefaction, ran down into the small rivulets that were in the valleys, and so carried all into the sea, that monstrous gulph which swalloweth all, but seldom disgorgeth any thing; and in these brooks to this day some small grains of gold are found.

The *Viceroy* of this country hath taken much pains to clear these hills of robbers, and there hath been a notable havock made of them this year; for in divers woods as I passed, I might spy some trees laden with dead carcasses, a better fruit far then *Diogenes's* tree bore, whereon a woman had hanged herself; which the *Cynic* cried out to be the best bearing tree that ever he saw.

In this place there lives neither *English* merchant or factor; which I wonder at, considering it is a maritime town, and one of the greatest in *Spain*, her chiefest arsenal for gallies, and the scale by which she conveys her monies to *Italy*: but, I believe the reason is, that there is no commodious port here for ships of any burden, but a large bay. I will enlarge myself no further at this time, but leave you to the guard and guidance of God, whose sweet hand of protection hath brought me through so many uncouth places and difficulties to this city. So hoping

ing to meet your letters in *Alicant*, where I shall anchor a good while, I rest

Yours to dispose of,

Barcelona, Nov. 24. 1620.

J. H.

L E T T E R XX.

To Dr. FR. MANSELL, from Valentia.

S I R,

THOUGH it be the same glorious sun that shines upon you in *England*, which illuminates also this part of the hemisphere; though it be the sun that ripeneth your pippins, and pomegranates, your hops, and our vineyards here, yet he dispenseth his heat in different degrees of strength: those rays that do but warm you in *England*, do half roast us here; those beams that irradiate only, and gild your honey-suckled fields, do scorch and parch this chinky gaping soil, and so put too many wrinkles upon the face of our common mother the earth. O blessed clime, O happy *England*, where there is such a rare temperature of the heat and cold, and all the rest of elementary qualities, that one may pass (and suffer little) all the year without either shade in summer, or fire in winter.

I am now in *Valentia*, one of the noblest cities of all *Spain*, situate in a large vega or valley, above sixty miles compass: here are the strongest silks, the sweetest wines, the best oils, and the beautifullest females of all *Spain*; for the prime courtfans in *Madrid* and elsewhere are had hence. The very brute animals make themselves beds of rosemary and other fragrant flowers hereabouts; and when one is at sea, if the wind blow from the shore, he may smell this soil before he come in sight of it many leagues off, by the strong odoriferous scent it casts. As it is the most pleasant, so it is also the temperatest climate of all *Spain*, and so they call it the second *Italy*; which made the *Moors*, whereof many thousands were

disterr'd and banished hence to *Barbary*, to think that paradise was in that part of the heavens which hung over this city. Some twelve miles off, is old *Sagunto*, now called *Morviedre*, through which I passed, and saw many monuments of *Roman* antiquities there ; amongst others, there is the temple dedicated to *Venus*, when the snake came about her neck, a little before *Hannibal* came thither. No more now, but that I heartily wish you were here with me, and I believe you would not desire to be a good while in *England*. So, I am

Yours,

Valentia, March 1. 1620.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXI.

To CHRISTOPHER JONES, Esq; at Grays-Inn.

I Am now (thanks be to God) come to *Alicant*, the chief rendezvous I aimed at in *Spain* ; for I am to send hence a commodity called *Barillia* to Sir *Robert Mansel*, for making of crystal-glass ; and I have treated with Signior *Andriotti* a *Genoa* merchant for a good round parcel of it, to the value of 2000 *l.* by letters of credit from Mr. *Richant* ; and upon his credit, I might have taken many thousand pounds more, he is so well known in the kingdom of *Valentia*. This *Barillia* is a strange kind of vegetable, and it grows nowhere upon the face of the earth, in that perfection as here : the *Venetians* have it hence ; and it is a commodity whereby this maritime town doth partly subsist ; for, it is an ingredient that goes to the making of the best castile soap. It grows thus : 'tis a round thick earthy shrub that bears berries like bar-berries, betwixt blue and green ; it lies close to the ground, and when it is ripe they dig it up by the roots, and put it together in cocks, where they leave it to dry many days like hay ; then they make a pit of a fathom deep in the earth, and with an instrument like one
of

of our prongs, they take the tuffs and put fire to them, and when the flame comes to the berries, they melt and dissolve into an *azure* liquor, and fall down into the pit till it be full; then they dam it up, and some days after they open it, and find this *Barillia* juice turned to a blue stone, so hard, that it is scarce malleable: it is sold at one hundred crowns a tun, but I had it for less. There is also a spurious flower called *Gazull*, that grows here, but the glass that's made of that is not so resplendent and clear. I have been here now these three months, and most of my food hath been grapes and bread, with other roots, which have made me so fat, that I think if you saw me, you would hardly know me, such nutriture this sanguine *Alicant* grape gives. I have not received a syllable from you since I was in *Antwerp*, which transforms me to wonder, and engenders odd thoughts of jealousy in me, that as my body grows fatter, your love grows lanker towards me. I pray take off these scruples, and let me hear from you, else it will make a schism in friendship, which I hold to be a very holy league, and no less than a piacle to infringe it; in which opinion, I rest

Your constant friend,

Alicant, March 27. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXII.

To Sir JOHN NORTH, Knight.

S I R,

HAVING endured the brunt of a whole summer in *Spain*, and tried the temper of all the other three seasons of the year, up and down the kingdoms of *Catalonia*, *Valentia* and *Marcia*, with some parts of *Aragon*, I am now to direct my course for *Italy*. I hoped to have embarked at *Carthagena*, the best port upon the *Mediterranean*; for what ships and gallies get in thither, are shut up as it were in a box from the violence and in-

jury of all weathers ; which made *Andrea Doria*, being asked by *Philip II.* which were his best harbours ? He answered, *June, July, and Carthagena* ; meaning that any port is good in these two months, but *Carthagena* was good at any time of the year. There was a most ruthless accident had happened there a little before I came : for whereas five ships had gone thence laden with soldiers for *Naples*, amongst whom there was the flower of the gentry of the kingdom of *Mercia* ; those ships had hardly sailed three leagues, but they met with sixteen sail of *Algier* men of war, who had been skulking in the creeks thereabout ; and they had the winds and all things else so favourable, that of those five ships, they took one, sunk another, and burnt a third, and two fled back to safe harbour. The report hereof being bruited up and down the country, the gentlewomen came from the country to have tidings, some of their children, others of their brothers and kindred, and went tearing their hair, and howling up and down the streets in a most piteous manner. The Admiral of those five ships, as I heard afterwards, was sent for to *Madrid*, and hanged at the court-gate, because he did not fight. Had I come time enough to have taken the opportunity, I might have been made, either food for haddocks, or turned to cinders, or have been by this time a slave in the banner at *Algier*, or tugging at an oar ; but I hope God hath reserved me for a better destiny : so, I came back to *Alicant*, where I lighted upon a lusty *Dutchman*, who hath carried me safe hither, but we were near upon forty days in voyage. We passed by *Majorca* and *Minorca*, the *Beleares Insule*, by some ports of *Barbary*, by *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and all the islands of the *Mediterranean* sea. We were at the mouth of *Tyber*, and thence fetched our course for *Sicily* ; we passed by those sulphureous fiery islands, *Mongibel* and *Strombolo* ; and about the dawn of the day we shot through *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and so into the phare of *Messina* ; thence we touched upon some of the *Greek* islands, and so came to our first intended course, into the *Venetian Gulph*, and are now here at
Malamocco,

Malamocco, where we remain yet aboard, and must be content to be so, to make up the month before we have *pratic*, that is, before any be permitted to go ashore, and negotiate, in regard we touched at some infected places: for there are no people upon earth so fearful of the plague as the *Italians*, especially the *Venetians*, tho' their neighbours the *Greeks* hard by, and the *Turks*, have little or no apprehension at all of the danger of it; for they will visit and commerce with the sick without any scruple, and will fix their longest finger in the midst of their forehead, and say, their destiny and manner of death is pointed there. When we have gained yon maiden city, which lieth before us, you shall hear farther from me: so leaving you to his holy protection, who hath thus graciously vouchsafed to preserve this ship, and me, in so long and dangerous a voyage, I rest

Yours,

Malamocco, April 30. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXIII.

To my Brother Dr. HOWELL, from on shipboard before Venice.

Brother,

IF this letter fail either in point of *orthography* or *style*, you must impute the first to the tumbling posture my body was in at the writing hereof, being a shipboard; the second to the muddiness of my brain, which like lees in a narrow vessel, hath been shaken at sea in divers tempests near upon forty days; I mean natural days, which include the night also, and are composed of twenty four hours, by which number the *Italian* computes his clock: for at the writing hereof, I heard one from *Malamocco* strike twenty-one hours. When I shall have saluted yonder virgin city that stands before me,
and

and hath tantalized me now this fe'n-night, I hope to cheer my spirits, and settle my *pericranium* again.

In this voyage we passed through, at least touched all those seas which *Horace* and other poets sing of so often, as the *Ionian*, the *Ægean*, the *Icarian*, the *Tyrrhene*, with others; and now we are in the *Adrian* sea, in the mouth whereof *Vetice* stands like a gold ring in a bear's muzzle. We passed also by *Ætna*, by the *Infames Scopulos*, *Acroceraunia*, and through *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, about which the antient poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, keep such a coil; but, they are nothing so horrid or dangerous as they make them to be; they are two white keen-pointed rocks, that lie under water diametrically opposed, and like two dragons defying one another; and there are pilots, that in small strallops, are ready to steer all ships that pass. This amongst divers others, may serve for an instance, that the old poets used to heighten and hoise up things by their airy fancies above the reality of truth. *Ætna* was very furious when we past by, as she useth to be sometimes more than other, especially when the wind is Southward; for, then she is more subject to belching out flakes of fire, (as stutterers use to stammer more when the wind is in that hole) some of the sparkles fell aboard us; but, they would make us believe in *Syracuse*, now *Messina*, that *Ætna* in times past hath eructated such huge gobbets of fire, that the sparks of them have burnt houses in *Malta* above fifty miles off, transported thither by a direct strong wind. We passed hard by *Corinth*, now *Ragusa*; but I was not so happy as to touch there, for you know

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

I conversed with many *Greeks*, but found none that could understand, much less practically speak any of the old dialects of the pristine *Greek*, it is so adulterated by the vulgar, as a bed of flowers by weeds: nor is there any people, either in the island, or on the continent, that speaks it conversably; yet, there are in the *Morea* seven parishes called *Zacones*, where the original *Greek* is not
much

much degenerated, but they confound divers letters of the alphabet with one sound; for in point of pronunciation, there is no difference betwixt *Epsilon*, *Iota*, and *Eta*.

The last I received from you was in *Latin*, whereof I sent you an answer from *Spain* in the same language, though in a coarser dialect. I shall be a guest to *Venice* a good while, therefore I desire a frequency of correspondence between us by letters, for there will be conveniency every week of receiving and sending. When you write to *Wales*, I pray send advice that I am come safe to *Italy*, though not landed there yet: so my dear brother, I pray God bless us both, and all our friends, and reserve me to see you again with comfort, and you me, who am

Your loving Brother,

May 5. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXIV.

To the honourable Sir ROBERT MANSELL, Vice-Admiral of England, from Venice.

S I R,

AS soon as I came to *Venice*, I applied myself to dispatch your business according to instructions, and Mr. *Seymor* was ready to contribute his best furtherance. These two *Italians*, who are the bearers hereof, by report here, are the best gentlemen-workmen that ever blew crystal; one is allied to *Antonio Miotti*, the other is cousin to *Mazalao*; for other things they shall be sent in the ship *Lion*, which rides here at *Malamocco*, as I shall send you account by conveyance of Mr. *Synns*. Herewith I have sent a letter to you from Sir *Henry Wotton*, the Lord Ambassador here, of whom I have received some favours: he wished me to write, that you have now a double interest in him; for whereas, before he was only
your

your servant, he is now your kinsman by your late marriage.

I was lately to see the *arsenal* of *Venice*, one of the worthiest things in christendom; they say there are as many gallies and galeasses of all forts, belonging to *St. Mark*, either in course, at anchor, in dock, or upon the careen, as there be days in the year: here they can build a compleat galley in half a day, and put her afloat in perfect equipage, having all the ingredients fitted beforehand; as they did in three hours, when *Henry III.* passed this way to *France* from *Poland*, who wished that besides *Paris*, and his parliament towns, he had this *arsenal* in exchange for three of his chiefest cities. There are 300 people perpetually here at work; and if one comes young, and grows old in *St. Mark's* service, he hath a pension from the State during life. Being brought to see one of the *Clarissimos* that govern this *arsenal*, this huge sea store-house; among other matters reflecting upon *England*, he was saying, that if *Cavaglier Don Roberto Mansell* were here, he thought verily the republick would make a proffer to him to be Admiral of the fleet of gallies and galeons, which are now going against the Duke of *Ossuna*, and the forces of *Naples*, you are so well known here.

I was, since I came hither, in *Murano*, a little island about the distance of *Lambeth* from *London*, where crystal-glass is made; and 'tis a rare sight to see a whole street, where on the one side there are twenty furnaces together at work. They say here, that altho' one should transplant a glass-furnace from *Murano* to *Venice* herself, or to any of the little assembly of islands about her, or to any other part of the earth besides, and use the same materials, the same workmen, the same fuel the self-same ingredients every way, yet they cannot make crystal-glass in that perfection, for beauty and lustre, as in *Murano*: some impute it to the quality of the circumambient air that hangs over the place, which is purified and attenuated by the concurrence of so many fires that are in those furnaces night and day perpetually; for they
are

are like the *vestal-fire* which never goes out. And it is well known, that some airs make more qualifying impressions than others; as a *Greek* told me in *Sicily* of the air of *Egypt*, where there be huge common furnaces to hatch eggs by the thousands in *camels* dung: for during the time of hatching, if the air happen to come to be overcast, and grow cloudy, it spoils all; if the sky continue still, serene and clear, not one egg in an hundred will miscarry.

I met with *Camillo* your *Consaorman* here lately; and could he be sure of entertainment, he would return to serve you again, and I believe for less salary.

I shall attend your commands herein by the next, and touching other particulars, whereof I have written to *Capt. Bacon*: so I rest

Your most humble and ready servant,

Venice, May 30. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXV.

To my BROTHER, from Venice.

Brother,

I Found a letter of yours that had lain dormant here a good while in *Mr. Symn's* hands, to welcome me to *Venice*, and I thank you for the variety of news wherewith she went freighted; for she was to me as a ship richly laden from *London* useth to be to our merchants here; and I esteem her *Cargazon* at no less a value, for she enriched me with the knowledge of my father's health, and your own, with the rest of my brothers and sisters in the country, with divers other passages of contentment. Besides, she went also ballasted with your good instructions; which as merchants use to do of their commodities, I will turn to the best advantage; and *Italy* is no ill market to improve any thing. The only *procede* (that I may use the mercantile term) you can expect is
thanks,

thanks, and this way shall not be wanting to make you rich returns.

Since I came to this town, I dispatched fundry busineses of good value for Sir *Robert Mansell*; which I hope will give content. The art of glass making here is very highly valued; for whosoever be of that profession, are gentlemen *ipso facto*, and it is not without reason, it being a rare kind of knowledge and *chymistry* to transmute dust and sand (for they are the only main ingredients) to such a diaphanous pellucid dainty body as you see a crystal-glass is, which hath this property above gold or silver, or any other mineral, to admit no poison; as also, that it never wastes or loses a whit of its first weight, though you use it never so long. When I saw so many sorts of curious glasses made here, I thought upon the compliment which a gentleman put upon a Lady in *England*, who having five or six comely daughters, said, *He never saw in his life such a dainty cupboard of crystal-glasses*. The compliment proceeds, it seems, from a saying they have here, *That the first handsome woman that ever was made, was made of Venice glass*; which implies beauty, but *brittleness* withal, (and *Venice* is not unfurnished with some of that mould; for no place abounds more with lasses and glasses) but considering the brittleness of the stuff, it was an odd kind of melancholy in him, that could not be persuaded but he was an *urinal*; surely he deserved to be pissed in the mouth. But, when I pryed into the materials, and observed the furnaces and calcinations, the transubstantiations, the liquefactions that are incident to this art, my thoughts were raised to a higher speculation; that if this small furnace-fire hath virtue to convert such a small lump of dark dust and sand into such a precious clear body as crystal, surely that grand universal fire at the day of judgment, may by its violent ardour *vitrify* and turn to one lump of crystal the whole body of the earth; nor am I the first that fell upon this conceit.

I will enlarge myself no further to you at this time, but conclude with this *tetastric*, which my brain ran upon in my bed this morning.

*Vitrea sunt nostræ commissa negotia curæ,
Hoc oculis speculum mittimus ergo tuis :*

*Quod speculum ? est instar speculi mea litera, per quod
Vivida fraterni cordis imago nitet.*

Adieu my dear brother, live happily, and love

Your brother,

Ven. June, 1. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXVI.

To Mr. RICHARD ALTHAM at Gray's-Inn, from
Venice.

Gentle Sir,

— *O dulcior illo
Mille quod in ceris Attica ponit apis.*

*O thou that dost in sweetness far excel
That juice the Attic bee stores in her cell.*

My dear DICK,

I Have now a good while since taken footing in *Venice*, this admired maiden-city, so called, because she was never deflowered by any enemy since she had a being, not since her *rialto* was first erected, which is now above twelve ages ago.

I protest to you, at my first landing I was for some days ravished with the high beauty of this maid, with her lovely countenance. I admired her magnificent buildings, her marvellous situation, her dainty smooth neat streets, whereon you may walk most days in the year in a silk stocking and fatten slippers, without soiling them; nor can the streets of *Paris* be so foul, as these are fair. This beauteous maid hath been often attempted to be viated; some have courted her, some bribed her, some would have forced her, yet she hath still preserved her chastity entire: and, though she hath lived so many ages,

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and

and passed so many shrewd brunts ; yet she continueth fresh to this very day without the least wrinkle of old age, or any symptom of decay, whereunto political bodies, as well as natural, use to be liable. Beside, she hath wrestled with the greatest potentates upon earth ; the Emperor, the King of *France*, and most of the other princes of christendom, in that famous league of *Cambray*, would have sunk her ; but she bore up still within her lakes, and broke that league to pieces by her wit : the Grand *Turk* hath been often at her, and though he could not have his will of her, yet he took away the richest jewel she wore in her *coronet*, and put it in his *turban*, I mean the kingdom of *Cyprus*, the only royal gem she had : he hath set upon her skirts often since, and though she closed with him sometimes, yet she came off still with her maiden-head ; though some that envy her happiness would brand her to be of late times a kind of *concubine* to him, and that she gives him ready money once a year to lie with her, which she minceth by the name of *present*, though it be indeed rather a *tribute*.

I would I had you here with a wish, and you would not desire in haste to be at *Gray's-Inn*, though I hold your walks to be the pleasanter place about *London* ; and that you have there the choicest society. I pray present my kind commendations to all there, and service at *Bishopsgate-street*, and let me hear from you by the next post. So I am

Intirely yours,

Venice, June, 5. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXVII.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS Knight, from Venice.

S I R,

I Received one of yours the last week, that came in my Lord Ambassador *Wotton's* packet ; and being now upon point of parting with *Venice*, I could not do it without

out acquainting you (as far as the extent of a letter will permit) with her power, her policy, her wealth and pedigree. She was built out of the ruins of *Aquileia*, and *Padua*; for when those swarms of tough northern people over-ran *Italy*, under the conduct of that scourge of heaven, *Attila*, with others, and that this soft voluptuous nation after so long a defuétude from arms, could not repel their fury, many of the antient nobility and gentry fled into these lakes and little islands, amongst the fishermen, for their security; and finding the air good and commodious for habitation, they began to build upon those small islands, whereof there are in all sixty; and in tract of time, they conjoined and leagued them together by bridges, whereof there are now above 800; and this makes up the city of *Venice*, who is now above twelve ages old, and was contemporary with the monarchy of *France*: but the *Signory* glorieth in one thing above the monarchy, that she was born a christian, but the monarchy not. Though this city be thus hemed in with the sea, yet she spreads her wings far and wide upon the shore; she hath in *Lombardy* six considerable towns, *Padua*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, and *Bergamo*; she hath in the *marquisate*, *Bassan* and *Castelfranco*; she hath all *Friuli* and *Istria*; she commands the shores of *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*; she keeps under the power of *St. Mark* the islands of *Corfu* (anciently *Cercyra*) *Cephalonia*, *Zant*, *Cerigo*, *Lucerigo*, and *Candy* (*Jove's cradle*;) she had a long time the kingdom of *Cyprus*, but it was quite rent from her by the *Turk*; which made that high-spirited *Bassa*, being taken prisoner at the battle of *Lepanto*, where the Grand Signior lost above 200 gallies, to say, *That that defeat to his great master was but like to the shaving of his beard, or the pairing of his nails; but the taking of Cyprus was like the cutting off of a limb, which will never grow again.* This mighty potentate being so near a neighbour to her, she is forced to comply with him, and give him an annual present in gold: she hath about 30 gallies most part of the year in course to scour

and secure the *gulph*; she entertains by land in *Lombardy*, and other parts, 25000 foot, besides some of the cantons of *Suisses* whom she gives pay to; she hath also in constant pay 600 men of arms, and every of these must keep two horses a piece, for which they are allowed 120 ducats a year, and they are for the most part gentlemen of *Lombardy*. When they have any great expedition to make, they have always a stranger for their General, but he is supervised by two *proveditors*, without whom he cannot attempt any thing.

Her great council consists of above 2000 gentlemen, and some of them meet every Sunday and holiday to chuse officers and magistrates; and every gentleman being past 25 years of age, is capable to sit in this council. The *Doge*, or Duke (their *sovereign magistrate*) is chosen by lots; which would be too tedious here to demonstrate; and commonly he is an aged man, who is created like that course they hold in the popedom. When he is dead, there is *inquisitors* that examine his actions, and his misdemeanours are punishable in his heirs: there is a surintendent council of ten, and six of them may dispatch business without the *Doge*: but the *Doge* never without some of them, not as much as open a letter from any foreign state, though addressed to himself; which makes him to be called by other princes, *testa di legno*, a head of wood.

The wealth of this *republick* hath been at a stand, or rather declining since the *Portugal* found a road to the *East-Indies*, by the *Cape of Good-Hope*; for this city was used to fetch all those spices and other *Indian* commodities from *Grand Cairo* down the *Nile*, being formerly carried to *Cairo* from the *Red-sea* upon camels and dromedaries backs, sixty days Journey: and so *Venice* used to dispense those commodities through all *christendom*, which not only the *Portugal*, but the *English* and *Hollander* now transport, and are masters of the trade. Yet there is no outward appearance at all of poverty, or any decay in this city; but she is still gay, flourishing and fresh, and flowing with all kinds of bravery and delight which
may

may be had at cheap rates. Much more might be written of this antient wise republick, which cannot be comprehended within the narrow inclosure of a letter. So with my due and daily prayers for a continuance of your health, and increase of honour, I rest,

Your most humble and ready servant,

Venice, August, 1. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

To Sir WILLIAM St. JOHN Knight, from Rome.

S I R,

HAVING seen *Antenor's* tomb in *Padua*, and the *amphitheatre* of *Flaminius* in *Verona*, with other brave towns in *Lombardy*, I am now come to *Rome*; and *Rome*, they say, is every man's country, she is called *Communis Patria*; for every one that is within the compass of the *Latin* church, finds himself here, as it were, at home, and in his mother's house, in regard of interest in religion, which is the cause that for one native, there be five strangers that sojourn in this city; and without any distinction or mark of strangeness, they come to preferments and offices, both in church and state, according to merit, which is more valued and sought after here than anywhere.

But whereas I expected to have found *Rome* elevated upon seven hills, I met her rather spreading upon a flat, having humbled herself since she was made a *christian*, and descended from those hills *Campus Martius*, with *Trastevere*, and the suburbs of *St. Peter*; she hath yet in compass about fourteen miles, which is far short of that vast circuit she had in *Claudius* his time: for *Vopiscus* writes, she was then of fifty miles circumference, and she had five hundred thousand free citizens, in a famous cense that was made; which, allowing but six to every family, in women, children, and servants, came to three

million of souls : but she is now a wilderness in comparison of that number. The *Pope* is grown to be a great temporal Prince of late years, for the state of the church extends above 300 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth ; it contains *Ferrara, Bologna, Romagna*, the marquisate of *Ancona, Umbria, Sabina, Perugia*, with a part of *Tuscany*, the *Patrimony, Rome* herself, and *Latium* : in these are above fifty bishopricks ; the *Pope* hath also the dutchy of *Spoletto*, and the exarchate of *Ravenna* ; he hath the town of *Benevento* in the kingdom of *Naples*, and the country of *Venisse*, called *Avignon*, in *France* ; he hath title also good enough to *Naples* itself, but rather than offend his champion the King of *Spain*, he is contented with a white mule, and purse of pistoles about the neck, which he receives every year for a herriot or homage, or what you will call it : he pretends also to be Lord Paramount of *Sicily, Urbin, Parma*, and *Maseran*, of *Norway, Ireland* and *England*, since King *John* did prostrate our crown at *Pandulfa* his legate's feet.

The state of the apostolic See here in *Italy* lies betwixt two seas, the *Adriatic* and the *Tyrrhene* ; and it runs through the midst of *Italy*, which makes the *Pope* powerful to do good or harm, and more capable than any other to be an umpire or an enemy. His authority being mixt between temporal and spiritual, disperseth itself into so many members, that a young man may grow old here, before he can well understand the form of government.

The consistory of cardinals meet but once a week, and once a week they solemnly wait all upon the *Pope*. I am told there are now in christendom but sixty eight cardinals, whereof there are six cardinal-bishops, fifty one cardinal-priests, and eleven cardinal-deacons : the cardinal-bishops attend and sit near the *Pope*, when he celebrates any festival : the cardinal-priests assist him at mass, and the cardinal-deacons attire him. A cardinal is made by a short *breve* or *writ* from the *Pope*, in these words, *Creamus te socium regibus, superiorum ducibus, & fratrem nostrum* : We create thee a companion to kings, superior

rior to dukes, and our brother. If a cardinal-bishop should be questioned for any offence, there must be twenty four witnesses produced against him.

The Bishop of *Ostia* hath most privilege of any other, for he consecrates and instals the Pope, and goes always next to him. All these cardinals have the repute of princes, and besides other incomes, they have the annats of benefices to support their greatness.

For point of power the Pope is able to put 50000 men in the field, in case of necessity, besides his naval strength in gallies. We read how *Paul III.* sent *Charles III.* 12000 foot, and 500 horse. *Pius V.* sent a great aid to *Charles IX.* and for riches, besides the temporal dominions, he hath in all the countries before-named, the datary or dispatching of bulls. The triennial subsidies, annats, and other ecclesiastic rights, amount to an unknown sum; and it is a common saying here, *That as long as the Pope can finger a pen, he can want no pence.* *Pius V.* notwithstanding his expences in buildings, left four millions in the castle of *St. Angelo*, in less than five years; more I believe than this *Gregory XV.* will, for he hath many nephews; and better it is to be the Pope's nephew, than to be favourite to any Prince in christendom.

Touching the temporal government of *Rome*, and opidan affairs, there is a pretor, and some choice citizens, who sit in the capitol. Among other pieces of policy, there is a synagogue of *Jews* permitted here (as in other parts of *Italy*) under the Pope's nose, but they go with a mark of distinction in their hats; they are tolerated for advantage of commerce, wherein the *Jews* are very dexterous, though most of them be only brokers and lombarders; and they are held to be here, as the *Cynic* held women to be, *malum necessarium.* There be few of the *Romans* that use to pray heartily for the Pope's long life; in regard the oftner the change is, the more advantageous it is for the city, because commonly it brings Strangers, and a recruit of new people. The air of *Rome* is not so wholesome as of old; and among other reasons, one is, because of the burning of stubble to fatten their fields. For her
antiquities,

antiquities, it would take up a whole volume to write them; those which I hold the chiefest are, *Vespasian's amphitheatre*, where eighty thousand people might sit; the stoves of *Anthony*, divers rare statues at *Belveder* and *St. Peters*, especially that of *Laocoon*, the *Obelisk*; for the genius of the *Roman* hath always been much taken with imagery, limning and sculptures, insomuch, that as in former times, so now, I believe the statues and pictures in *Rome* exceed the number of living people. One antiquity, among others, is very remarkable, because of the change of language; which is an ancient column erected as a trophy for *Duillius* the Consul, after a famous naval victory obtained against the *Carthaginians* in the second *Punic* war, where these words are engraven, and remain legible to this day: *Exemet lecoines macistrates castreis exsocioent pugnandod capet enque, navebos marid Consul, &c.* and half a dozen lines after, it is called *columna restrata*, having the beaks and prows of ships engraven up and down; whereby it appears, that the *Latin* then spoken was much different from that which was used in *Cicero's* time 150 years after. Since the dismembering of the empire, *Rome* hath run through many vicissitudes and turns of fortune: and had it not been for the residence of the Pope, I believe she had become a heap of stones, a mount of rubbish by this time; and howsoever that she bears up indifferent well, yet one may say,

*Qui miseranda videt veteris vestigia Romæ,
Ille potest merito dicere Roma fuit.*

*They who the ruins of first Rome behold,
May say, Rome is not now, but was of old.*

Present *Rome* may be said to be but the monument of *Rome* passed, when she was in that flourish that *St. Austin* desired to see her in: she who tamed the world, tamed herself at last, and falling under her own weight, fell to be a prey to time; yet, there is a providence seems to have a care of her still; for though her air be not so good,

NOR

nor her circumjacent soil so kindly as it was, yet she hath wherewith to keep life and soul together still, by her ecclesiastical courts, which is the sole cause of her peopling now. So it may be said, when the Pope came to be her head, she was reduced to her first principles: for as a shepherd was founder, so a shepherd is still her Governor and preserver; but whereas the *French* have an odd saying, that

*Jamais cheval ny homme,
S'amenda pour aller à Rome;*

*Ne'er horse, or man did mend,
That unto Rome did wend:*

truly I must confess, that I find myself much bettered by it; for the sight of some of these ruins did fill me with symptoms of mortification, and made me more sensible of the frailty of all sublunary things, how all bodies, as well inanimate as animate, are subject to dissolution and change, and every thing else under the moon, except the love of

Your faithful servitor,

Sept. 13. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXIX.

To Sir T. H. Knight, from Naples.

S I R,

I Am now in the gentle city of *Naples*, a city swelling with all delight, gallantry and wealth; and truly, in my opinion, the King of *Spain's* greatness appears here more eminently than in *Spain* itself. This is a delicate luxurious city, fuller of true bred cavaliers than any place I saw yet. The clime is hot, and the constitutions of the inhabitants more hot.

The

The *Neapolitan* is accounted the best courtier of ladies, and the greatest embracer of pleasure of any other people: they say there are no less here than twenty thousand courtisans registered in the office of *Savelli*. This kingdom, with *Calabria*, may be said to be the one moiety of *Italy*; it extends itself 450 miles, and spreads in breadth 112; it contains 2700 towns; it hath 20 Archbishops, 127 Bishops, 13 Princes, 24 Dukes, 25 Marquisses, and 800 Barons. There are three pre-sidial castles in this city; and though the kingdom abound in rich staple commodities; as silks, cottons, and wine, and that there is a mighty revenue comes to the crown; yet the King of *Spain*, when he casts up his account at the year's end, makes but little benefit thereof; for, it is eaten up betwixt governors, garrisons, and officers. He is forced to maintain 4000 *Spanish* foot, called the *Tercia* of *Naples*; in the castles he hath 1600 in perpetual garrison; he hath a thousand men of arms, 450 light-horse; besides, there are five footmen enrolled for every hundred fire: and he had need to do all this, to keep this voluptuous people in awe: for, the story musters up seven and twenty famous rebellions of the *Neapolitans* in less than 300 years; but now they pay soundly for it, for one shall hear them groan up and down under the *Spanish* yoke; and commonly the King of *Spain* sends some of his *grandees* hither, to repair their decayed fortunes; whence the saying sprung, *That the Viceroy of Sicily gnaws, the Governor of Millan eats, but the Viceroy of Naples devours*. Our *English* merchants here, bear a considerable trade, and their factors live in better equipage, and in a more splendid manner than in all *Italy* besides, than their masters and principals in *London*; they ruffle in silks and sattins, and wear good *Spanish* leather shoes, while their masters shoes upon our *Exchange* in *London* shine with blacking. At *Puzzoli* not far off, amongst the *Grottoes*, there are so many strange stupenduous things, that nature herself seemed to have studied of purpose how to make herself there admired. I reserve the discoursing of them, with the nature of the

Taran-

Tarantula and *Manna*, which is gathered here and nowhere else, with other things, till I see you; for they are fitter for discourses than a letter. I will conclude with a proverb they have in *Italy* for this people:

Napolitano

Largo di bocca, stretto dimano.

The Neapolitans

Have wide mouths, but narrow hands.

They make strong masculine promises, but female performances, (*for deeds are men, but words are women*) and if in a whole flood of compliments one find a drop of reality 'tis well. The first acceptance of a courtesy is accounted the greatest incivility that can be amongst them, and a ground for a quarrel; as I heard of a *German* gentleman that was baffled for accepting only one invitation to a dinner. So desiring to be preserved still in your good opinion, and in the rank of your servants, I rest always most ready

At your disposing,

Oct. 1. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R X X X .

To CHRISTOPHER JONES, *Esq;* at Grays-Inn,
from Naples.

Honoured FATHER,

I Must still style you so, since I was adopted your son by so good a mother as *Oxford*: my mind lately prompted me, that I should commit a great solecism, if among the rest of my friends in *England*, I should leave you unsaluted; whom I love so dearly well, specially having such a fair and pregnant opportunity as the hand of this worthy gentleman your cousin *Morgan*, who is now posting hence for *England*: he will tell you how it fares

fares with me, how any time these thirty odd months I have been tossed from shore to shore, and passed under various meridians, and am now in this voluptuous city of *Naples*; and, though these frequent removes and tumblings under climes of differing temper were not without some danger, yet the delight which accompanied them was far greater; and it is impossible for any man to conceive the true pleasure of perigrination, but he who actually enjoys and puts it in practice. Believe it, Sir, that one year well employed abroad by one of mature judgment, (which you know I want very much) advantageth more in point of useful and solid knowledge than three in any of our *Universities*. You know *running waters are the purest*, so they that traverse the world up and down have the clearest understanding; being faithful eye-witnesses of those things which others receive but in trust, whereunto they must yield an intuitive consent, and a kind of implicit Faith. When I passed through some parts of *Lombardy*, among other things, I observed the physiognomies and complexions of the people, men and women; and, I thought I was in *Wales*; for divers of them have a cast of countenance, and a nearer resemblance with our nation than any I ever saw yet: and the reason is obvious, for the *Romans* having been near upon three hundred years among us, where they had four legions (before the *English* nation or language had any being) by so long a coalition and tract of time, the two nations must needs copulate and mix, insomuch, that I believe there is yet remaining in *Wales* many of the *Roman* race, and divers in *Italy* of the *British*. Among other resemblances, one was in their prosody, and vein of versifying or rhyming; which is like our *bards*, who hold agnominations, and enforcing of consonant words or syllables one upon the other, to be the greatest elegance. As for example, in *Welsh*, *tewgris, todyrris, ty'r derryn, gwillt, &c.* so have I seen divers old rhymes in *Italian* running so; *Donne, O danno, che selo affronto affronta: in selva salvo a me: piu caro cuore, &c*

Being

Being lately in *Rome*, among other pasquils, I met with one that was against the *Scots*; though it had some gall in it, yet it had a great deal of wit, especially towards the conclusion: so that I think if King *James* saw it, he would but laugh at it.

As I remember, some years since, there was a very abusive satire in verse brought to our King; and as the passages were a reading before him, he often said, that if there were no more men in *England*, the rogue should hang for it. At last being come to the conclusion, which was, after all his railing,

*Now God preserve the King, the Queen, the peers,
And grant the author long may wear his ears;*

This pleased his majesty so well, that he broke into a laughter, and said, *By my soul so thou shalt for me: thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave.*

When you write to *Monmouthshire*, I pray send my respects to my tutor, Mr. *Moor Fortune*, and my service to Sir *Charles Williams*; and according to that relation which was betwixt us at *Oxford*, I rest

Your constant son to serve you,

Naples, Octr. 8. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXI.

To Sir J. C. from Florence.

S I R,

THIS letter comes to kiss your hands from fair *Florence*, a city so beautiful, that the great Emperor *Charles V.* said, *That she was fitting to be shewn, and seen only upon holidays.* She marvellously flourisheth with buildings, with wealth and artificans; for it is thought that in serges, which is but one commodity, there are made two millions every year. All degrees of people

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live here, not only well, but splendidly well, notwithstanding the manifold exactions of the Duke upon all things: for none can buy here lands or houses, but he must pay eight in the hundred to the Duke; none can hire or build a house, but he must pay the tenth penny; none can marry or commence a suit in law, but there is a fee to the Duke: none can bring as much as an egg or fallet to the market, but the Duke hath share therein. Moreover *Leghorn*, which is the key of *Tuscany*, being a maritime and a great mercantile town, hath mightily enriched this country, by being a frank port to all comers, and a safe rendezvous to pirates as well as to merchants.

Add hereunto, that the Duke himself in some respect is a merchant; for he sometimes engrosseth all the corn of the country, and retails it at what rate he pleaseth. This enables the Duke to have perpetually 20000 men enrolled, trained up and paid, and none but they can carry arms; he hath 400 light-horse in constant pay, and 100 men at arms besides; and all these quartered in so narrow a compass, that he can command them all to *Florence* in twenty four hours. He hath twelve galleys, two galeons, and six galeasses besides; and his galleys are called, *The black fleet*, because they annoy the *Turk* more in the bottom of the *Straits* than any other.

This state is bound to keep good quarter with the Pope more than others; for all *Tuscany* is fenced by nature herself, I mean with mountains, except towards the territories of the apostolic See, and the sea itself: therefore it is called a *country of Iron*.

The Duke's palace is so spacious, that it occupieth the room of fifty houses at least; yet though his court surpasseth the bounds of a Duke's, it reacheth not to the magnificence of a King's. The Pope was solicited to make the grand Duke a King, and he answered, that he was content he should be King in *Tuscany*, not of *Tuscany*; whereupon one of his counsellors replied, that it was a more glorious thing to be a grand Duke than a petty King.

Among

Among other cities which I desired to see in *Italy*, *Genoa* was one, where I lately was, and found her to be the proudest for buildings of any I met withal; yet the people go the plainest of any other, and are also most parsimonious in their diet: they are the subtlest, I will not say the most subdalous dealers: they are wonderful wealthy, especially in money. In the year 1600, the King of *Spain* owed them 18 millions, and they say it is double as much now.

From the time they began to finger the *Indian* gold, and that this town hath been the scale by which he hath conveyed his treasure to *Flanders*, since the wars in the *Netherlands*, for the support of his armies, and that she hath got some privileges for the exportation of wools and other commodities (prohibited to others) out of *Spain*, she hath improved extremely in riches, and made *St. George's* mount swell higher than *St. Mark's* in *Venice*.

She hath been often ill-favouredly shaken by the *Venetians*, and hath had other enemies, which have put her to hard shifts for her own defence, especially in the time of *Lewis XI.* of *France*; at which time, when she would have given herself up to him for protection, King *Lewis* being told that *Genoa* was content to be his, he answered, *She should not be his long, for he would give her up to the devil, and rid his hands of her.*

Indeed the *Genoese* have not the fortune to be so well beloved, as other people in *Italy*; which proceeds, I believe, from their cunningness and over-reachings in bargaining, wherein they have something of the *Jew*. The Duke is there but biennial, being changed every two years: he hath fifty *Germans* for his guard. There be four *Centurions* that have two men a piece, which upon occasions attend the *Signory* abroad in velvet coats; there be eight chief governors, and 400 counsellors, among whom there be five sovereign *syndics*, who have authority to censure the Duke himself, his time being expired, and punish any Governor else, though after death, upon the heir.

Among

Among other customs they have in this town, one is, that none must carry a pointed knife about him; which makes the *Hollander*, who is used to *snick* and *snee*, to leave his horn-sheath and knife a shipboard when he comes ashore. I met not with an *Englishman* in all the town; nor could I learn of any factor of ours that ever resided here.

There is a notable little active republic towards the midst of *Tuscany*, called *Lucca*; which in regard she is under the Emperor's protection, he dares not meddle withal, though she lie as a partridge under a falcon's wings, in relation to the Grand Duke: besides, there is another reason of state, why he meddles not with her, because she is more beneficial to him, now that she is free, and more industrious to support this freedom, than if she were become his vassal; for then it is probable she would become more careless and idle, and so could not vent his commodities so soon, which she buys for ready money, wherein most of her wealth consists. There is no state that wins the penny more nimbly, and makes quicker returns.

She hath a council called the *Discoli*, which pries into the profession and life of every one, and once a year they rid the State of all vagabonds: so that this petty pretty republic may not be improperly paralleled to a hive of bees, which have been always the emblems of industry and order.

In this splendid city of *Florence*, there be many rarities, which if I should insert in this letter, it would make it swell too big; and indeed they are fitter for parole communication. Here is the prime dialect of the *Italian* spoken, though the pronunciation be a little more guttural than that of *Sienna*, and that of the court of *Rome*, which occasions the proverb,

Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana,

The Tuscan tongue sounds best in a Roman mouth.

The people here generally seem to be more generous,
and

and of a higher comportment than elsewhere, very cautious and circumspect in their negotiation; whence ariseth the proverb,

*Chi ha da far con Tosco,
Non bisogna che sia losco.*

*Who dealeth with a Florentine,
Must have the use of both his eyne.*

I shall bid *Italy* farewell very shortly, and make my way over the *Alps* to *France*, and so home by God's grace, to take a review of my friends in *England*; among whom the, sight of yourself will be as gladsonae to me as of any other: for I profess myself, and purpose to be ever

Your thrice affectionate servitor,

Nov. 1. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXII.

To Capt. FRANCIS BACON, from Turin.

S I R,

I Am now upon the point of shaking hands with *Ita'y*; for I am come to *Turin*, having already seen *Venice* the rich, *Padua* the learned, *Bologna* the fat, *Rome* the holy, *Naples* the gentle, *Genoa* the proud, *Florence* the fair, and *Milan* the great: from this last I came hither; and in that city also appears the grandeur of *Spain's* monarchy very much: the Governor of *Milan* is always Captain-General of the cavalry to the King of *Spain*, throughout *Italy*. The Duke of *Feria* is now Governor; and being brought to kiss his hand, he used me with extraordinary respect, as he doth all of our nation, being by maternal side a *Dormer*. The *Spaniard* entertains there also 3000 foot, 1000 light-horse, and 600 men at arms in perpetual pay; so that I believe the benefit of

that dutchy also, though seated in the richest soil of *Italy*, hardly countervails the charge. Three things are admired in *Milan*; the *dome*, or great church, (built all of white marble within and without) the hospital, and the castle, by which the citadel of *Antwerp* was traced, and is the best conditioned fortress of christendom; though *Nova Palma*, a late fortress of the *Venetian*, would go beyond it; which is built according to the exact rules of the most modern enginery, being of a round form, with nine bastions, and a street level to every bastion.

The Duke of *Savoy*, though he pass for one of the princes of *Italy*, yet the least part of his territories lie there, being squandered up and down amongst the *Alps*; but as much as he hath in *Italy*, which is *Piedmont*, is a well peopled, and passing good country.

The Duke of *Savoy*, *Emanuel*, is accounted to be of the antientest and purest extraction of any Prince in *Europe*; and his knights also of the *Annunciade*, to be one of the antientest orders: though this present Duke be little in stature, yet he is of a lofty spirit, and one of the best soldiers now living; and though he be valiant enough, yet he knows how to patch the lion's skin with a fox's tail. And, whosoever is Duke of *Savoy* had need be cunning, and more than any other Prince, in regard, that lying between two potent neighbours, the *French* and the *Spaniard*, he must comply with both.

Before I wean myself from *italy*, a word or two touching the *genius* of the nation. I find the *Italian* a degree higher in compliment than the *French*: he is longer and more grave in the delivery of it, and more prodigal of words, infomuch, that if one were to be worded to death, *Italian* is the fittest language, in regard of the fluency and softness of it: for throughout the whole body of it, you have not a word ends with a consonant, except some few monosyllable conjunctions and prepositions, and this renders the speech more smooth; which made one say, *That when the confusion of tongues happened at the building of the tower of Babel, if the*
Italian

Italian had been there, Nimrod had made him a plasterer. They are generally indulgent of themselves, and great embracers of pleasure; which may proceed from the luscious rich wines, and luxurious food, fruits and roots, wherewith the country abounds; infomuch, that in some places, nature may be said to be *Lena sui*, *A barwd to herself*. The Cardinal *de Medicis's* rule is of much authority among them, *That there is no religion under the navel*; and some of them are of the opinion of the *Asians*, who hold, that touching those natural passions, desires and motions which run up and down in the blood, God almighty and his handmaid Nature, did not intend they should be a torment to us, but to be used with comfort and delight. To conclude, in *Italy* there be *Virtutes magnæ, nec minora vitia*; *Great virtues, and no less vices*. So with a tender of my most affectionate respects unto you, I rest

Your humble servitor,

Nov. 30. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

To Sir J. H. from Lions.

S I R,

I Am now got over the *Alps*, and returned to *France*: I had crossed and clambered up the *Pyreneans* to *Spain* before; they are not so high and hideous as the *Alps*; but for our mountains in *Wales*, as *Eppint*, and *Penwinmaur*, which are so much cried up among us, they are *molehills* in comparison of these: they are but *pigmies* compared to *giants*, but *blisters* compared to *imposthumes*, or *pimples* to *warts*. Besides, our mountains in *Wales* bear always something useful to man or beast, some grass at least; but these uncouth huge monstrous excrescences of nature bear nothing (most of them) but craggy stones; the tops of some of them are blanched over

over all the year long with snow; and the people who dwell in the valleys drinking, for want of other, this snow-water, are subject to a strange swelling in the throat, called *goytre*, which is common among them.

As I scaled the *Alps*, my thoughts reflected upon *Hannibal*, who with *vinegar* and *strong waters*, did eat out a passage through those hills, but of late years they have found a speedier way to do it by *gunpowder*.

Being at *Turin*, I was by some disaster brought to an extreme low ebb in money, so that I was forced to foot it along with some pilgrims, and with gentle pace and easy journeys to climb up those hills, till I came to this town of *Lions*, where a countryman of ours, one Mr. *Lewis*, whom I knew in *Alicant*, lives factor; so that now I want not any thing for my accommodation.

This is a stately rich town, and a renowned mart for the silks of *Italy*, and other *Levantine* commodities, and a great bank for money; and indeed the greatest of *France*: before this bank was founded, which was by *Henry I.* *France* had but little gold and silver, infomuch, that we read how King *John* their captive King, could not in four years raise 60000 crowns to pay his ransom to our King *Edward*, and *St. Lewis* was in the same case when he was prisoner in *Egypt*, where he had left the sacrament for a gage. But after this bank was erected, it filled *France* full of money: they of *Luca*, *Florence*, and *Genoa*, with the *Venetian*, got quickly over the hills, and brought their monies hither to get twelve in the hundred profit; which was the interest at first, though it be now much lower.

In this great mercantile town, there be two deep navigable rivers, the *Rhone* and the *Soane*: the one hath a swift rapid course, the other slow and smooth; and one day as I walked upon their banks, and observed so much difference in their course, I fell into a contemplation of the humours of the *French* and *Spaniard*, how they might be not improperly compared to these rivers; the *French* to the swift, the *Spaniard* to the slow river.

I shall write you no more letters until I present myself unto you for a speaking letter, which I shall do as soon as I may tread *London* stones.

Your most affectionate servitor,

Lions, Nov. 6. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXIV.

To Mr. THO. BOWYER, from Lions.

BEING so near the lake of *Geneva*, curiosity would carry any one to see it: the inhabitants of that town methinks are made of another paste differing from the asfable nature of those people I had conversed withal formerly: they have one policy, lest that their pretty republic should be pester'd with fugitives, their law is, *That what stranger soever flies thither for sanctuary, he is punishable there, in the same degree, as in the country where he committed the offence.*

Geneva is governed by four syndics, and four hundred senators: she lies like a bone betwixt three mastiffs; the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Duke of *Savoy*, they all three look upon the bone, but neither of them dare touch it singly, for fear the other two would fly upon him; but, they say the *Savoyard* hath the justest title; for there are imperial records extant, *That although the bishops of Geneva were lords spiritual and temporal, yet they should acknowledge the Duke of Savoy for their superior.* This man's ancestors went frequently to the town, and the keys were presently tendered to them; but since *Calvin's* time, who had been once banished and then called in again, which made him to apply that speech unto himself, *The stone which the builders refused, is become the head-stone of the corner.* I say, since they were refined by *Calvin*, they seem to shun and scorn all the world besides, being cast as it were
into

into another mould, which hath quite altered their very natural disposition in point of moral society.

Before I part with this famous city of *Lions*, I will relate unto you a wonderful accident that happened here not many years ago: there is an officer called *Le Chevalier du Guet* (which is a kind of night-guard) here as well as in *Paris*; and his Lieutenant called *Jaquette* having supped one night in a rich merchant's house, as he was passing the round afterwards, he said, *I wonder what I have eaten and drunken in the merchant's house, for I find myself so hot, that if I met with the devil's dam to-night, I should not forbear using of her.* Hereupon, a little after he overtook a young gentlewoman masked, whom he would needs usher to her lodging, but discharged all his watch except two: she brought him, to his thinking, to a little low lodging hard by the city wall, where there were only two rooms: after he had enjoyed her, he desired, that according to the custom of *French* gentlemen, his two comrades might partake also of the same pleasure, so she admitted them one after the other; and when all this was done, as they sat together, she told them, if they knew well who she was, none of them would have ventured upon her; thereupon, she whistled three times, and all vanished. The next morning, the two soldiers that had gone with Lieutenant *Jaquette* were found dead under the city wall, amongst the ordure and excrements, and *Jaquette* himself a little way off half dead, who was taken up, and coming to himself again, confessed all this, but died presently after.

The next week I am to go down the *Loire* towards *Paris*, and thence as soon as I can for *England*, where, amongst the rest of my friends, whom I so much long to see after this triennial separation, you are like to be one of my first objects. In the mean time, I wish the same happiness may attend you at *home*, as I desire to attend me *homeward*: for I am

Truly yours,

Lions, Dec. 5. 1621.

J. H.

LET-

LETTER XXXV.

To my FATHER.

S I R,

I T hath pleased God, after almost three years peregrination by land and sea, to bring me back safely to *London*; but although I am come safely, I am come sickly: for when I landed in *Venice*, after so long a voyage from *Spain*, I was afraid the same defluxion of salt rheum which fell from my temples into my throat in *Oxford*, and distilling upon the *uvula*, impeached my utterance a little to this day, had found the same channel again; which caused me to have an issue made in my left arm for the diversion of the humour. I was well ever after till I came to *Rouen*, and there I fell sick of a pain in the head, which, with the issue, I have carried with me to *England*. Dr. *Harvey* who is my physician, tells me, that it may turn to a consumption, therefore he hath stoped the issue, telling me there is no danger at all in it, in regard I have not worn it a full twelvemonth. My brother, I thank him, hath been very careful of me in this my sickness, and hath come often to visit me: I thank God I have passed the brunt of it, and am recovering and picking up my crumbs apace. There is a flaunting *French* Ambassador come over lately, and I believe his errand is nought else but compliment; for the King of *France* being lately at *Calais*, and so in sight of *England*, he sent his Ambassador M. *Cadenet*, expressly to visit our King. He had audience two days since, where he with his train of ruffling long-haired monsieurs, carried himself in such a light garb, that after the audience, the King asked my Lord Keeper *Bacon* what he thought of the *French* Ambassador; he answered, that he was a tall proper man: ay, his majesty replied, but what think you of his head-piece? Is he a proper man for the office of an Ambassador? Sir, said *Bacon*, Tall men are like high houses of four or five stories, wherein, commonly the uppermost room is worst furnished.

So

So desiring my brothers and sisters, with the rest of my cousins and friends in the country, may be acquainted with my safe return to *England*, and that you would please to let me hear from you by the next conveniency, I rest

Your dutiful son,

Lond. Feb. 2. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS at the Lord DARCY's in St. Ofish.

SIR, I am got again safely to this side of the sea, and though I was in a very sickly case when I first arrived, yet thanks be to God I am upon the point of perfect recovery, whereunto the sucking in of *English* air, and the sight of some friends, conduced not a little.

There is fearful news come from *Germany*: you know how the *Bohemians* shook off the Emperor's yoke, and how the great council of *Prague* fell to such a hurly-burly, that some of the imperial counsellors were hurled out at the windows: you heard also, I doubt not, how they offered the crown to the Duke of *Saxony*, and he waving it, they sent ambassadors to the *Palsgrave*, whom they thought might prove *par negotio*, and to be able to go through-stitch with the work, in regard of his powerful alliance, the King of *Britain* being his father-in-law, the King of *Denmark*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, the Duke of *Bouillon* his uncles, the States of *Holland* his confederates, the *French* King his friend, and the Duke of *Brunswick* his near ally: the Prince *Palsgrave* made some difficulty at first, and most of his counsellors opposed it; others incited him to it, and among other hortatives they told him, *That if he had the courage to venture upon a King of England's sole daughter, he might very well venture upon a sovereign*

crown

crown when it was tendered him. Add hereunto, that the States of *Holland* did mainly advance the work, and there was a good reason in policy for it; for their twelve years truce being then upon point of expiring with *Spain*, and finding our King so wedded to peace, that nothing could divorce him from it, they lighted upon this design to make him draw his sword, and engage him against the house of *Austria* for the defence of his sole daughter, and his grand-children. What his majesty will do hereafter. I will not presume to foretell, but hitherto he hath given little countenance to the business; nay, he utterly disliked it at first: for whereas, Dr. *Hall* gave the Prince *Palsgrave* the title of King of *Bohemia* in his pulpit-prayer, he had a check for it; for I heard his majesty should say, that there is an implicate tie among kings, which obligeth them, though there be no other interest or particular engagement, to stick to, and right one another upon an insurrection of subjects; therefore he had more reason to be against the *Bohemians*, than to adhere to them in the deposition of their sovereign Prince. The King of *Denmark* sings the same note, nor will he also allow him the appellation of King. But the fearful news I told you of at the beginning of this letter is, that there are fresh tidings brought how the Prince *Palsgrave* had a well appointed army of about 25000 horse and foot near *Prague*; but the Duke of *Bavaria* came with scarce half the number; and, notwithstanding his long march, gave them a sudden battle, and utterly routed them, insomuch, that the new King of *Bohemia* having not worn the crown a whole twelvemonth, was forced to fly with his Queen and children; and after many difficulties, they write, that they are come to the castle of *Castrein*, the Duke of *Brandenburg's* country, his uncle. The news affects both court and city here with much heaviness.

I send you my humble thanks for the noble correspondence you were pleased to hold with me abroad; and I desire to know by the next, when you come to *London*,

that I may have the comfort of the sight of you, after so long an absence.

Your true servitor,

March 1. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To Sir EUBULE THEOLALL, Knight, and Principal of Jesus College in Oxford.

SIR, I send you most due and humble thanks, that notwithstanding I have played the truant, and been absent so long from *Oxford*, you have been pleased lately to make choice of me to be fellow of your new foundation in *Jesus College*, whereof I was once a member. As the quality of my fortunes and course of life run now, I cannot make present use of this your great favour, or promotion rather; yet, I do highly value it, and humbly accept of it, and intend by your permission, to reserve and lay it by, as a good warm garment against rough weather, if any fall on me. With this my expression of thankfulness, I do congratulate the great honour you have purchased both by your beneficence, and by your painful endeavour besides, to perfect that national college, which hereafter is like to be a monument of your fame, as well as a seminary of learning, and will perpetuate your memory to all posterity.

God almighty prosper and perfect your undertakings, and provide for you in heaven those rewards which such publick works of piety use to be crowned withal; it is the appreciation of

Your truly devoted servitor,

Lond. March 5. 1621.

J. H.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To my FATHER.

SIR, according to the advice you sent me in your last, while I sought after a new course of employment, a new employment hath lately sought after me: my Lord *Savage* hath two young gentlemen to his sons, and I am to go travel with them. Sir *James Crofts* (who so much respects you) was the main agent in this business; and I am to go shortly to *Long-Melford* in *Suffolk*, and thence to *St. Osith* in *Essex* to the Lord *Darcy*. Queen *Anne* is lately dead of a dropsy in *Denmark-house*: which is held to be one of the fatal events that followed the last fearful comet that rose in the tail of the constellation of *Virgo*; which some ignorant astronomers that write of it, would fix in the heavens; and that as far above the orb of the moon, as the moon is from the earth: but this is nothing in comparison of those hideous fires that are kindled in *Germany*, blown first by the *Bohemians*, which is like to be a war without end; for the whole house of *Austria* is interested in the quarrel; and it is not the custom of that house to set by any affront, or forget it quickly. Queen *Anne* left a world of brave jewels behind, but one *Piero* an outlandish man, who had the keeping of them, embezzled many, and is run away: she left all she had to Prince *Charles*, whom she ever loved best of all her children; nor do I hear of any legacy she left at all to her daughter in *Germany*: for that match, some say, lessened something of her affection towards her ever since, so that she would often call her goody *Palsgrave*; nor could she abide Secretary *Winwood* ever after, who was one of the chiefest instruments to bring that match about, as also for the rendition of the cautionary towns in the *Low-Countries*, *Flushing* and *Brill*, with the *Rammakins*. I was lately with Sir *John Walter* and others of your counsel about law-business; and some of them told me that Mr. *J. Lloyd*, your ad-

verfary, is one of the fhrewdeft follicitors in all the thirteen fhires of *Wales*, being fo habituated to law-fuits and wrangling, that he knows any of the leaft starting-holes in every court: I could wifh you had made a fair end with him; for befides the cumber and trouble, efppecially to thofe that dwell at fuch a huge diftance from *Westminster-hall* as you do, law is a fhrewd pick-purfe, and the lawyer, as I heard one fay wittily not long fince, is like a *chriſtmass-box*, which is fure to get whofoever lofeth.

So with the continuance of my due and daily prayers for your health, with my love to my brothers and fifters, I reft

Your dutiful fon,

March, 20. 1621

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

To DANIEL CALDWALL Esq; from the Lord Savage's
House in Long-Melford.

My dear DAN.

THOUGH considering my former condition of life, I may now be called a countryman, yet you cannot call me a ruftic (as you would imply in your letter) as long as I live in fo civil and noble a family, as long as I lodge in fo virtuous and regular a houfe as any I believe in the land, both for *æconomical* government, and the choice company; for I never faw yet fuch a dainty race of children in all my life together; I never faw yet fuch an orderly and punctual attendance of fervants, nor a great houfe fo neatly kept: here one fhall fee no dog, nor a cat, nor cage to caufe any naftinefs within the body of the houfe: the kitchen and gutters and other offices of noife and drudgery are at the fag-end; there is a back-gate for the beggars and the meaner fort of fwains to come in at; the ftables butt upon the park, which for

a chearful rising ground, for groves and browings for the deer, for rivulets of water, may compare with any of its bigness in the whole land; it is opposite to the front of the great house, whence from the gallery one may see much of the game when they are a hunting. Now for the gardening and costly choice flowers, for ponds, for stately large walks green and gravelly, for orchards and choice fruits of all sorts, there are few the like in *England*: here you have your *bon chrestien pear* and *bergamot* in perfection, your *Muscadel* grapes in such plenty, that there are some bottles of wine sent every year to the King; and one Mr. *Daniel*, a worthy gentleman hard by, who hath been long abroad, makes good store in his vintage. Truly this house of *Long-Melford*, though it be not so great, yet it is so well compacted and contrived with such dainty conveniencies every way, that if you saw the landskip of it, you would be mightily taken with it, and it would serve for a choice pattern to build and contrive a house by. If you come this summer to your manor of *Sheriff* in *Essex*, you will not be far off hence: if your occasions will permit, it will be worth your coming hither, though it be only to see him, who would think it a short journey to go from *St. David's* head to *Dover* cliffs to see and serve you, were there occasion: if you would know who the same is, it is

Yours,

May, 20. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R XL.

To ROBERT BROWN Esq;

S I R,

THANKS for one courtesy, is a good usher to bring on another; therefore it is my policy at this time to thank you most heartily for your late copious letter, to draw on a second: I say, I thank you a thou-

find times over for yours of the third of this present, which abounded with such variety of news, and ample well-couched relations, that I made many friends by it ; yet I am sorry for the quality of some of your news, that Sir *Robert Mansel* being now in the *Mediterranean* with a considerable naval strength of ours against the *Moors*, to do the *Spaniards* a pleasure, Marquis *Spinola* should in a bogling way, change his master for the time, and taking commission from the Emperor, become his servant for invading the *Palatinate* with the forces of the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*. I am sorry the princes of the *union* should be so stupid as to suffer him to take *Oppenheim* by a *Parthian* kind of back stratagem, in appearing before the town, and making semblance afterwards to go to *Worms* ; and then perceiving the forces of the *united princes* to go for succouring of that, to turn back and take the town he intended first, whereby I fear he will be quickly master of the rest. Surely I believe there may be some treachery in it, and that the Marquis of *Anspach*, the General, was overcome by pistols made of *Indian* ingots, rather than of steel ; else an army of 40000 which he had under his command, might have made its party good against *Spinola's* less than 20000, though never such choice veterans ; but what will not gold do ? It will make a pigmy too hard for a giant. There is no fence or fortress against an *ass laden with gold*. It was the saying you know of *his* father, whom partial and ignorant antiquity cries up to have conquered the world, and that he fighed there were no more worlds to conquer, though he had never one of the three old parts of the then known world entirely to himself. I desire to know what is become of that handful of men his majesty sent to *Germany* under Sir *Horace Vere*, which he was bound to do as he was one of the *protestant* princes of the *union* ; and what is become of Sir *Arthur Chichester*, who is gone Ambassador to those parts ?

Dear Sir, I pray make me happy still with your letters ; it is a mighty pleasure for us country-folks to hear how matters pass in *London* and abroad : you know I have

not the opportunity to correspond with you in like kind, but may happily hereafter when the tables are turned, when I am in *London*, and you in the West. Whereas you are desirous to hear how it fares with me, I pray know that I live in one of the noblest houses, and best air in *England*. There is a dainty park adjoining; where I often wander up and down, and I have my several walks. I make one to represent the *Royal Exchange*, the other the middle isle of *Paul's*, another *Westminster-hall*; and when I pass through the herd of deer, methinks I am in *Cheapside*. So with a full return of the same measure of love, as you pleased to send me, I rest

Yours,

May, 24. 1621.

J. H.

L E T T E R X L I.

To Captain THOMAS PORTER, upon his return from
an *Algier Voyage*.

Noble Captain,

I Congratulate your safe return from the *Straits*, but am sorry you were so straitened in your commission, that you could not attempt what such a brave naval power of twenty men of war, such a gallant General, and other choice knowing commanders might have performed, if they had had line enough. I know the lightness and nimbleness of *Algier* ships; when I lived lately in *Alicant* and other places upon the *Mediterranean*, we should every week hear of some of them chased, but very seldom taken; for a great ship following one of them, may be said to be as a mastiff dog running after a hare. I wonder the *Spaniards* came short of the promised supply for furtherance of that noble adventurous design you had to fire the ships and gallies in *Algier* road: and according to the relation you pleased to send me, it was one of the bravest enterprizes, and had proved such a glorious exploit that

that no story could have paralleled; but it seems their *boggies*, *magicians* and *maribots* were tampering with the ill spirit of the air all the while, which brought down such a still cataract of rain-waters suddenly upon you, to hinder the working of your fire-works; such a disaster the story tells us befel *Charles* the Emperor, but far worse than yours, for he lost ships and multitudes of men, who were made slaves, but you came off with loss of eight men only, and *Algier* is another gets thing now than she was then, being I believe a hundred degrees stronger by land and sea; and for the latter strength, we may thank our countryman *Ward*, and *Danskey* the butter-bag *Hollander*, who may be said to have been two of the fatallest and most infamous men that ever christendom bred; for the one taking all *Englishmen*, and the other all *Dutchmen*, and bringing the ships and ordnance to *Algier*, they may be said to have been the chief raisers of those *Picaroons* to be pirates, who are now come to that height of strength, they daily endamage and affront all christendom. When I consider all the circumstances and success of this your voyage; when I consider the narrowness of your commission, which was as lame as the clerk that kept it; when I find that you secured the seas and traffick all the while, for I did not hear of one ship taken while you were abroad; when I hear how you brought back all the fleet, without the least disgrace or damage by foe or foul weather to any ship; I conclude, and so do far better judgments than mine, that you did what possibly could be done: let those that repine at the one in the hundred (which was imposed upon all the *Levant* merchants for the support of this fleet) mutter what they will, that you went first to *Gravesend*, then to the *Lands-end*, and after to no end.

I have sent you for your welcome home (in part) two barrels of *Colchester* oysters, which were provided for my Lord *Colchester* himself, therefore I presume they are good, and all green-fined: I shall shortly follow, but not to stay long in *England*, for I think I must over-
again:

again speedily to push on my fortunes : so my dear *Tom*,
I am *de todas mis entranas* from the center of my heart,

Yours,

St. Ofish, Dec. 1722.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLII.

To my FATHER, upon my second going to travel.

S I R,

I Am lately returned to *London*, having been all this while in a very noble family in the country, where I found far greater respects than I deserved ; I was to go with two of my Lord *Savage's* sons to travel, but finding my self too young for such a charge, and our religion differing, I have now made choice to go over comrade to a very worthy gentleman, Baron *Altham's* son, whom I knew in *Stanes* when my brother was there. Truly I hold him to be one of the hopefulest young men of this kingdom for parts and person ; he is full of excellent solid knowledge, as the mathematics, the law, and other material studies : besides, I should have been tied to have stayed three years abroad in the other employment at least, but I hope to get back from this by God's grace before a year be at an end ; at which time I hope the hand of providence will settle me in some stable home-fortune.

The news is, that the Prince *Palsgrave*, with his lady and children, are come to the *Hague* in *Holland*, having made a long progress or rather a pilgrimage about *Germany* from *Prague*. The old Duke of *Bavaria* his uncle, is chosen Elector and Arch-secular of the *Roman* empire in his place, (but as they say, in an imperfect diet) and with this proviso, that the transferring of this election upon the *Bavarian* shall not prejudice the next heir. There is one Count *Mansfelt* that begins to get

a great name in *Germany*, and he with the Duke of *Brunswick*, who is a temporal Bishop of *Halverstade*, have a considerable army on foot for the Lady *Elizabeth*, who in the *Low-Countries*, and some parts of *Germany* is called the Queen of *Boheme*, and for her winning princely comportment, the Queen of *Hearts*. Sir *Arthur Chichester* is come back from the *Palatinate*, much complaining of the small army that was sent thither under Sir *Horace Vere*, which should have been greater, or none at all.

My Lord of *Buckingham* having been long since master of the horse at court, is now made master also of all the *wooden-horses* in the kingdom, which indeed are our best horses, for he is to be High-Admiral of *England*; so he is become *Dominus equorum & aquarum*. The late Lord Treasurer *Cranfield* grows also very powerful, but the city hates him for having betrayed their greatest secrets, which he was capable to know more than another, having been formerly a merchant.

I think I shall have no opportunity to write to you again, until I be to the other side of the sea; therefore I humbly take my leave, and ask your blessing, that I may the better prosper in my proceedings: so I am

Your dutiful son,

March, 19. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLIII.

To Sir JOHN SMITH, Knight.

S I R,

THE first ground I set foot upon after this my second transmarine voyage, was *Trevere* (the *Scots* staple) in *Zealand*; thence we sailed to *Holland*, in which passage we might see divers steeples and turrets under water, of towns that we were told were swallowed up by a deluge within the memory of man: we went afterwards

to

to the *Hague*, where there are hard by, though in several places, two wonderful things to be seen, the one of *art*, the other of *nature*; that of *art* is a waggon, or ship, or a monster mixt of both, like the *hippocentaur*, who was half man and half horse; this engine hath wheels and sails that will hold above twenty people, and goes with the wind, being drawn or moved by nothing else, and will run, the wind being good, and the sails hoised up, above fifteen miles an hour upon the even hard sands: they say this invention was found out to entertain *Spinola* when he came hither to treat of the last truce. That wonder of *nature*, is a church-monument, where an Earl and a Lady are engraven with 365 Children about them, which were all delivered at one birth; they were half male, half female: the two basons in which they were christened hang still in the church, and the Bishop's name who did it; and the story of this miracle, with the year and the day of the month mentioned, which is not yet 200 years ago; and the story is this: that as the Countess walked about the door after dinner, there came a beggar-woman, with two children upon her back, to beg alms; the Countess asked whether those children were her own, she answered she had them both at one birth, and by one father, who was her husband. The Countess would not only not give her any alms, but reviled her bitterly, saying, it was impossible for one man to get two children at once: the beggar-woman being thus provoked with ill words, and without alms, fell to imprecations, that it should please God to shew his judgments upon her, and that she might bear at one birth as many children as there are days in the year, which she did before the years end, having never born child before. We are now in *North-Holland*, where I never saw so many, among so few, sick of leprosy; and the reason is, because they commonly eat abundance of fresh fish. A gentleman told me, that the women of this country, when they are delivered, there comes out of the womb a living creature besides the child, called *zucchie*, likest a *bat* of any other creature, which the midwives throw into the fire

fire, holding sheets before the chimney lest it should fly away. Mr. *Altham* desires his service be presented to you and your lady, to Sir *John Franklin*, and all at the *Hill*; the like do I humbly crave at your hand: the *Italian* and *French* manuscripts you pleased to favour me withal, I left at Mr. *Scil's* the stationer, whence if you have not them already, you may please to send for them. So in all affection I kiss your hands, and am

Your humble servant,

Trevere, April, 10. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLIV.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Colchester,
after Earl Rivers,

Right Honourable,

THE commands your Lordship pleased to impose upon me when I left *England*, and those high favours wherein I stand bound to your Lordship, call upon me at this time to send your Lordship some small fruits of my foreign travel: Marquis *Spinola* is returned from the *Palatinate*, where he was so fortunate, that (like *Cæsar*) he came, saw, and overcame, notwithstanding the huge army of the princes of the *Union*, consisting of 40000 men; whereas his was under twenty, but made up of old tough blades, and veteran commanders. He hath now changed his coat, and taken up his old commission again from *Don Philippo*, whereas during that expedition he called himself *Cæsar's* servant. I hear the Emperor hath transmitted the upper *Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as caution for those monies he hath expended in those wars. And the King of *Spain* is the Emperor's commissary for the lower *Palatinate*: they both pretend that they were bound to obey the imperial Summons, to assist *Cæsar* in these wars; the one as he was Duke of *Burgundy*, the other of *Bavaria*, both which countries
are

are feudatory to the empire; else they had incurred the imperial ban. It is feared this *German* war will be as the *Frenchman* said, *de longue halaine*, long breathed; for there are great powers on both sides, and they say the King of *Denmark* is arming.

Having made a leisurely sojourn in this town, I had spare hours to couch in writing a survey of these countries, which I have now traversed the second time; but in regard it would be a great bulk for a letter, I send it your Lordship apart, and when I return to *England* I shall be bold to attend your Lordship for correcting of my faults: in the interim I rest, my Lord,

Your thrice humble servant,

Antwerp, May, 1. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLV.

A Survey of the seventeen Provinces.

My Lord,

TO attempt a precise description of each of the seventeen provinces, and of its progression, privileges, and primitive government, were a task of no less confusion than labour: let it suffice to know, that since *Flanders* and *Holland* were erected to earldoms, and so left to be an appendix to the crown of *France*, some of them have had absolute and supreme governors, some subaltern and subject to a superior power. Among the rest, the earls of *Flanders* and *Holland* were most considerable; but of them two, he of *Holland* being homageable to none, and having *Friesland* and *Zealand* added, was the more potent. In process of time all the seventeen met in one; some by conquest, others by donation and legacy, but most by alliance. In the house of *Burgundy* this union received most growth, but in the house of *Austria* it came to its full perfection; for in *Charles V.* they all met as so many lines drawn from the circumference to

the centre ; who lording as supreme head, not only over the fifteen temporal, but the two spiritual, *Liege* and *Utrecht*, had a design to reduce them to a kingdom, which his son *Philip II.* attempted after him ; but they could not bring their intents home to their aim ; the cause is imputed to that multiplicity and difference of privileges which they are so eager to maintain, and whereof some cannot stand with a monarchy without incongruity. *Philip II.* at his inauguration was sworn to observe them, and at his departure he obliged himself by an oath to send still one of his own blood to govern them. Moreover, at the request of the knights of the golden fleece, he promised that all foreign soldiers should retire, and that he himself would come to visit them once every seven years ; but being once gone, and leaving in lieu of a sword a distaff, an unweildy woman to govern, he came not only short of his promise, but procured a dispensation from the Pope to be absolved of his oath ; and all this by the counsel of Cardinal *Granvill*, who, as the States chronicler writes, was the first firebrand that kindled that lamentable and longsome war wherein the *Netherlands* have traded above fifty years in blood : for intending to increase the number of *bishops*, to establish the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and to chip the power of the council of state composed of the natives of the land, by making it appealable to the council of *Spain*, and by adding to the former oath of allegiance, (all which conduced to settle the inquisition, and to curb the conscience) the broils began ; to appease which, ambassadors were dispatched to *Spain*, whereof the two first came to violent deaths, the one being beheaded, the other poisoned ; but the two last, *Egmond* and *Horn*, were nourished still with hopes, until *Philip II.* had prepared an army under the conduct of the Duke of *Alva*, to compose the difference by arms. For as soon as he came to the government, he established the *Bloet-rad*, as the complainants termed it, a council of blood, made up most of *Spaniards*: *Egmond* and *Horn* were apprehended, and afterwards beheaded ; citadels were erected, and the oath of allegiance,

giance, with the political government of the country, in divers things altered. This poured oil on the fire formerly kindled, and put all in combustion: the Prince of *Orange* retires, thereupon his eldest son was surprized, and sent as hostage to *Spain*, and above 5000 families quit the country; many towns revolted, but were afterwards reduced to obedience; which made the Duke of *Alva* say, that the *Netherlands* appertained to the King of *Spain* not only by *descent*, but *conquest*; and for a cunble of his victories, when he attempted to impose the tenth-penny for the maintenance of the garrisons in the citadels he had erected at *Grave*, *Utrecht* and *Antwerp* (where he caused his statue made of *cannon-brass* to be erected, trampling the *Belgians* under his feet) all the towns withstood this imposition; so that at last matters succeeded ill with him, and having had his cousin *Pacccio* hanged at *Flushing* gate, after he had traced out the plat-form of a citadel in that town also, he received letters of revocation from *Spain*. To him succeeded *Don Luys de Requilus*, who came short of his predecessor in exploits; and dying suddenly in the field, the government was vested for a time in the council of state: the *Spanish* soldiers being without a head, gathered together to the number of 1600, and committed such outrages up and down, that they were proclaimed enemies to the state. Hereupon the pacification of *Ghent* was transacted, whereof, among other articles one was, that all foreign soldiers should quite the country. This was ratified by the King, and observed by *Don John* of *Austria*, who succeeded in the government; yet *Don John* retained the *Lands-knechts* at his devotion still for some secret design, and as some conjectured for the invasion of *England*; he kept the *Spaniards* also still hovering about the frontiers ready upon all occasions. Certain letters were intercepted that made a discovery of some projects, which made the war to bleed afresh: *Don John* was proclaimed enemy to the state; so the Archduke *Matthias* was sent for, who being a man of small performance and improper for the times, was dismissed, but upon honourable terms.

Don John a little after dies, and as some gave out, of the pox; then comes in the Duke of *Parma*, a man as of a different nation, being an *Italian*, so of a different temper, and more moderate spirit, and of greater performances than all the rest; for whereas all the provinces except *Luxemburg*, and *Hainault* had revolted, he reduced *Ghent*, *Tournay*, *Bruges*, *Malines*, *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, (which three last he beleaguered at one time) and divers other great towns to the *Spanish* obedience again: he had 60,000 men in pay, and the choicest which *Spain* and *Italy* could afford. The *French* and *English* ambassadors interceding for a peace, had a short answer of *Philip II.* who said, that he needed not the help of any to reconcile himself to his own subjects, and reduce them to conformity; but the difference that was, he would refer to his cousin the Emperor: hereupon the business was agitated at *Colin*, where the *Spaniards* stood as high a-tiptoe as ever, and notwithstanding the vast expence of treasure and blood he had been at for so many years, and that matters began to exasperate more and more, which were like to prolong the wars *in infinitum*, he would abate nothing in point of ecclesiastic government: hereupon, the States perceived that King *Philip* could not be wrought either by the solicitations of other princes, or their own supplications so often reiterated, that they might enjoy the freedom of religion, with other infranchisements; and finding him inexorable, being incited also by the ban which was published against the Prince of *Orange*, that whosoever killed him should have 5000 crowns; they at last absolutely renounced and abjured the King of *Spain* for their sovereign: they broke his seals, changed the oath of allegiance, and fled to *France* for shelter; they inaugurated the Duke of *Anjou* (recommended to them by the Queen of *England*, to whom he was a suitor) for their Prince, who attempted to render himself absolute, and so thought to surprize *Antwerp*, where he received an ill-favoured repulse; yet nevertheless the *United Provinces*, for so they termed themselves ever after, fearing to distaste their next great neighbour

France,

France, made a second proffer of their protection and sovereignty to that King, who having too many irons in the fire at his own home, the *league* growing stronger and stronger, he answered them, that his *shirt* was nearer to him than his *doublet*. Then had they recourse to Queen *Elizabeth*, who partly for her own security, partly for interest in religion, reached them a supporting hand, and so sent them men, money, and a Governor, (the Earl of *Leicester*,) who not symbolizing with their humour, was quickly revoked, yet without any outward dislike on the Queen's side, for she left her forces still with them, but upon their expence: she lent them afterwards some considerable sums of money, and she received *Flushing* and the *Brill* for caution. Ever since, the *English* have been the best sinews of their war, and achievers of the greatest exploits amongst them. Having thus made sure work with the *English*, they made young Count *Maurice* their Governor, who for twenty-five years together held tack with the *Spaniard*; and during those traverses of war was very fortunate: an overture of peace was then propounded, which the States would not hearken to singly with the King of *Spain*, unless the provinces that yet remained under him would engage themselves for the performance of what was articulated; besides, they would not treat either of peace, or truce, unless they were declared *free States*; all which was granted: so, by the intervention of the *English* and *French* ambassadors, a truce was concluded for twelve years.

These wars did so drain and discommodate the King of *Spain*, by reason of his distance, (every soldier that he sent either from *Spain* or *Italy* costing him near upon 100 crowns before he could be rendered in *Flanders*) that notwithstanding his mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, it plunged him so deeply in debt, that having taken up monies in all the chief banks of *christendom*, he was forced to publish a *diploma*, wherein, he dispensed with himself (as the *Holland* story hath it) from payment; alledging that he had employed those monies for the public peace of *christendom*: this broke many great bankers; and, they

say, his credit was not current in *Sevil* or *Lisbon*, his own towns; and which was worse, while he stood wrestling thus with his own subjects, the *Turk* took his opportunity to get from him *Tunis* and the *Goletta*, the trophies of *Charles V.* his father. So eager he was in this quarrel, that he employed the utmost of his strength and industry to reduce his people to his will, in regard he had an intent to make these provinces his main rendezvous and magazine of men of war; which his neighbours perceiving, and that he had a kind of aim to be *Western Monarch*, being led not so much for love as reasons of state, they stuck close to the revolted provinces: and, this was the bone that Secretary *Walsingham* told *Queen Elizabeth*, he would cast the King of *Spain*, that should last him twenty years, and perhaps make his teeth shake in his head.

But to return to my first discourse, whence this digression hath snatched me: the *Netherlands*, who had been formerly knit and centred under one sovereign Prince, were thus dismembered; and as they subsist now, they are a state, and a province: the province having ten of the seventeen at least, is far greater, more populous, better soiled and more stored with gentry. The state is the richer and stronger, the one proceeding from their vast navigation and commerce, the other from the quality of their country, being defensible by rivers and sluices, by means whereof they can suddenly overwhelm all the whole country; witness that stupendous siege of *Leyden* and *Haerlem*; for most of their towns, the marks being taken away, are inaccessible, by reason of shelves of sands. Touching the transaction of these provinces, which the King of *Spain* made as a dowry to the Archduke *Albertus*, upon marriage with the *Infanta*, (who thereupon lesthis red hat, and *Toledo* miter, the chiefest spiritual dignity in *christendom* for revenue, after the *papacy*) it was fringed with such cautelous restraints, that he was sure to keep the better end of the staff still to himself; for he was to have the tutelage and ward of his children, that, they were to marry with one of the *Austrian*

Strian family recommended by *Spain*, and in default of issue, and in case *Albertus* should survive the *Infanta*, he should be but Governor only. Add hereunto, that King *Philip* reserved still to himself all the citadels and castles, with the order of the golden fleece, whereof he is master, as he is Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Archduke for the time hath a very princely command, all coins bear his stamp, all placarts or edicts are published in his name; he hath the election of all civil officers and magistrates; he nominates also bishops and abbots, for the Pope hath only the confirmation of them here; nor can he adjourn any out of the country to answer any thing, neither are his bulls of any strength without the princes *placet*, which makes him have always some commissioners to execute his authority. The people here grow hotter and hotter in the *Roman* cause, by reason of the mixture with *Spaniards* and *Italians*; as also, by the example of the Archduke and the *Infanta*, who are devout in an intense degree. There are two supreme councils, the Privy-council, and that of the State; this treats of confederations and intelligence with foreign princes, of peace and war, of entertaining or of dismissing colonels and captains of fortifications; and they have the surintendency of the highest affairs that concern the Prince and the polity of the provinces; the private hath the granting of all patents and requests, the publishing of all edicts and proclamations, the prizing of coin, the looking to the confines and extent of the provinces, and the enacting of all new ordinances. Of these two councils there is never a *Spaniard*, but in the actual council of war their voices are predominant. There is also a court of finances, or exchequer, whence all they that have the fingering of the King's money must draw a discharge. Touching matters of justice, their law is mixt between civil and common; with some clauses of canonical. The high-court of parliament is at *Maline*, whether all civil causes may be brought by appeal from other towns, except some that have municipal privileges, and
are

are sovereign in their own jurisdictions, as *Mons in Hainault*, and a few more.

The prime province for dignity is *Brabant*, which amongst many other privileges it enjoyeth, hath this for one, not to appear upon any summons out of its own precinct, which is one of the reasons why the Prince makes his residence there: but the prime for extent and fame is *Flanders*, the chiefest earldom in christendom, which is three days journey in length; *Ghent* its metropolis, is reputed the greatest town in *Europe*, whence arose the proverb, *Les flamene tient un Gan, qui tiendra Paris dedans*. But the beautifullest, richest, strongest, and most privileged city is *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, being the *marquisate* of the holy empire, and drawing near to the nature of a hanse-town, for she pays the Prince no other tax but the impost. Before the dissociation of the seventeen provinces, this town was one of the greatest marts of *Europe*, and greatest bank on this side the *Alps*, most princes having their factors here, to take up or let out monies; and here our *Gresham* got all his wealth, and built our royal-exchange by model of that here. The merchandize which was brought hither from *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, by land, and from *England*, *Spain*, and the hanse-towns by sea was estimated at above twenty millions of crowns every year; but as no violent thing is long lasting, and as 'tis fatal to all kingdoms, states, towns and languages to have their period, so this renowned mart hath suffered a shrewd eclipse, yet no utter downfal, the exchange of the King of *Spain's* money and some land-traffick keeping still life in her, though nothing so full of vigour as it was; therefore, there is no town under the Archduke where the States have more concealed friends than in *Antwerp*, who would willingly make them her masters in hope to recover her former commerce; which, after the last twelve years truce began to revive a little, the States permitting to pass by *Lillo's* sponce (which commands the river of *Scheld*, and lieth in the teeth of the town) some small cross-ailed ships to pass hither. There is no place hath been more passive than

than this, and more often pillaged; amongst other times, she was once plundered most miserably by the *Spaniards* under the conduct of a priest, immediately upon *Don John of Austria's* death; she had then her *Stadt-house* burned, which had cost a few years before above 20,000 crowns the building; and the spoils that were carried away thence amounted to forty tuns of gold: thus she was reduced not only to poverty, but a kind of captivity, being commanded by a citadel, which she preferred before a garrison: this made the merchants retire and seek a more free rendezvous, some in *Zealand*, some in *Holland*, specially in *Amsterdam*, which rose upon the fall of this town, as *Lisbon* did from *Venice* upon the discovery of the *Cape of good Hope*, though *Venice* be not near so much crest-fallen.

I will now steer my discourse to the *United Provinces*, as they term themselves, which are six in number, *viz.* *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friesland*, *Overysse*, *Gronighen* and *Utrecht*, three parts of *Gilderland*, and some frontier towns and places of contribution in *Brabant* and *Flanders*. In all these there is no innovation at all introduced, notwithstanding this great change in point of government, except that the college of States represents the Duke or Earl in times past; which college consists of the chiefest gentry of the country, surintendants of towns, and the principal magistrates. Every province and great town chuse yearly certain deputies, to whom they give plenary power to deliberate with the other States of all affairs touching the public welfare of the whole province, and what they vote stands for law. These being assembled, consult of all matters of state, justice, and war: the Advocate, who is prime in the assembly propounds the business, and after, collects the suffrages, first of the provinces, then of the towns; which being put in form, he delivers in pregnant and moving speeches; and in case there be a dissonance and reluctancy of opinions, he labours to accord and reconcile them, concluding always with the major voices.

Touching

Touching the administration of justice, the President who is monthly changed, with the great council, have the supreme judicature, from whose decrees there is no appeal but a revision; and then, some of the choicest lawyers amongst them are appointed.

For their *oppidan* government, they have variety of offices, a scout, burgomasters, a balue, and *Vroetschappens*. The scout is chosen by the States, who with the balues have the judging of all criminal matters in last resort, without appeal: they have also the determining of civil causes, but those are appealable to the *Hague*. Touching their chiefest Governor (or General rather now) having made proof of the *Spaniard*, *German*, *French* and *English*, and agreeing with none of them, they lighted at last upon a man of their own mould, Prince *Maurice*, now their General, in whom concurred divers parts suitable to such a charge, having been trained up in the wars by his father, who with three of his uncles, and divers of his kindred, sacrificed their lives in the States quarrel: he hath thriven well since he came to the government; he cleared *Friesland*, *Overyssell* and *Gronighen*, in less than eighteen months. He hath now continued their Governor and General by sea and land above thirty-three years: he hath the election of magistrates, the pardoning of malefactors, and divers other prerogatives, yet they are short of the reach of sovereignty, and of the authority of the antient counts of *Holland*. Though I cannot say 'tis a mercenary employment, yet he hath a limited allowance; nor hath he any implicite command when he goes to the field: for either the council of war marcheth with him, or else he receives daily directions from them. Moreover, the States themselves reserve the power of nominating all commanders in the army, which being of fundry nations, deprive him of those advantages he might have to make himself absolute. Martial discipline is nowhere so regular as amongst the States; nowhere are there lesser insolencies committed upon the burgher, nor robberies upon the countryboors; nor are the officers permitted to insult over
the

the common foldiers. When the army marcheth, not one dares take fo much as an apple off a tree, or a root out of the earth in their paffage; and the reason is, they are punctually paid their pay, elfe I believe they would be infolent enough; and were not the pay fo certain, I think few or none would ferve them. They fpeak of 60,000 they have in perpetual pay by land and fea, at home, and in the *Indies*: the King of *France* was ufed to maintain a regiment, but fince *Henry the Great's* death the payment hath been neglected. The means they have to maintain thefe forces, to pay their Governor, to difcharge all other expence; as the prefervation of their dikes, which comes to a vaft expence yearly, is the antient revenue of the counts of *Holland*, the impropriate church-livings, imposts upon all merchandize, which is greater upon exported than imported goods; excife upon all commodities, as well for neceffity as plea-fure; taxes upon every acre of ground, which is fuch, that the whole country returns into their hands every three years. Add hereunto the art they ufe in their bank by the rife and fall of money, the fifhing upon our coafts, whither they fend every autumn above 700 holks or buffes; which in the voyages they make, return above a million in herrings. Moreover, their fifhing for green-fifh and falmond, amounts to fo much more; and for their cheefe and butter, 'tis thought they vent as much every year as *Lifbon* doth fpices. This keeps the common treafury always full, that upon any extraordinary fervice or defign there is feldom any new tax upon the people. Traffick is their general profefion, being all either merchants or mariners; and having no land to manure, they furrow the fea for their living; and, this univerfallity of trade, and their banks of adventures, diftributes the wealth fo equally, that few amongft them are exceeding rich or exceeding poor. Gentry amongft them is very thin, and as in all democracies, little refpected; and coming to dwell in towns, they foon mingle with the merchants, and fo degenerate: their foil being all betwixt marfh and meadow is fo fat in paffurage, that one

cow will give eight quarts of milk a-day, so that as a boor told me, in four little dorps near *Harlem*, 'tis thought there is as much milk milked in the year as there is *Rhenish* wine brought to *Dort*, which is the staple of it. Their towns are beautiful and neatly built, and with such uniformity, that who sees one sees all. In some places, as in *Amsterdam*, the foundation costs more than the superstructure; for the ground being soft, they are constrained to ram in huge stakes of timber (with wool about it to preserve it from putrifaction) till they come to a firm basis; so that as one said, whosoever could see *Amsterdam* under ground should see a huge winter-forrest.

Among all the confederate provinces, *Holland* is most predominant, which being but six hours journey in breadth, contains forty-nine walled towns, and all these within a day's journey one of another. *Amsterdam* for the present is one of the greatest mercantile towns in *Europe*. To her is appropriated the *East* and *West-India* trade, whether she sends yearly forty great ships, with another fleet to the *Baltick* sea; but they send not near so many to the *Mediterranean* as *England*: other towns are passably rich, and stored with shipping, but not one very poor; which proceeds from the wholesome policy they use, to assign every town some firm staple commodity; as to (their maiden-town) *Dort* the *German* wines and corn, to *Middleburgh* the *French* and *Spanish* wines, to *Trevere* (the Prince of *Orange's* town (the *Scots* trade: *Leyden* in recompence of her long siege was erected to an university, which with *Franeker* in *Friesland* is all they have; *Harlem* for knitting and weaving hath some privilege; *Rotterdam* hath the *English* cloth: and this renders their towns so equally rich and populous. They allow free harbour to all nations, with liberty of religion, (the *Roman* only excepted) as far as the *Jew*, who hath two *synagogues* allowed him, but only in *Amsterdam*; which piece of policy they borrow of the *Venetians*, with whom they have very intimate intelligence: only the *Jews* in *Venice*, in *Rome*, and other places, go with some outward mark of distinction, but here they wear none; and these

these two republics, that in the *East*, and this in the *West*, are the two *remoras* that stick to the great vessel of *Spain*, that it cannot fail to the Western monarchy.

I have been long in the survey of these provinces, yet not long enough; for much more might be said, which is fitter for a story than a survey: I will conclude with a *mot* or two of the people, whereof some have been renowned in time past for feats of war. Among the States, the *Hollander* or *Batavian* hath been most known, for some of the *Roman* emperors have had a selected guard of them about their persons for their fidelity and valour, as now the King of *France* hath of the *Swisse*. The *Frisians* also have been famous for those large privileges wherewith *Charlemain* endued them; the *Flemings* also have been illustrious for the martial exploits they achieved in the East, where two of the earls of *Flanders* were crowned emperors. They have all a *genius* inclined to commerce, very inventive and witty in manufactures, witness the art of *printing*, *painting*, and *colouring* in glass; those curious quadrants, chimes and dials, those kind of waggons which are used up and down *christendom*, were first used by them; and for the mariners compass, though the matter be disputable betwixt the *Neapolitan*, the *Portugal* and them, yet there is a strong argument on their side, in regard they were the first that subdivided the four cardinal winds to thirty two, others naming them in their language.

There is no part of *Europe* so haunted with all sorts of foreigners as the *Netherlands*, which makes the inhabitants, as well women as men, so well versed in all sorts of languages, so that in exchange-time one may hear seven or eight sorts of tongues spoken upon their burses; nor are the men only expert herein, but the women and maids also in their common hostries; and in *Holland* the wives are so well versed in bargaining, cyphering and writing, that in the absence of their husbands in long sea-voyages, they beat the trade at home, and their words will pass in equal credit. These women are wonderfully sober, though their husbands make commonly their bargains

gains in drink, and then are they more cautelous. This confluence of strangers makes them very populous, which was the cause that *Charles* the Emperor said, that all the *Netherlands* seemed to him but as one continued town. He and his grandfather *Maximilian*, notwithstanding the choice of kingdoms they had, kept their courts most frequently in them, which shewed how highly they esteemed them; and, I believe if *Philip II.* had visited them sometimes, matters had not gone so ill.

There is no part of the earth, considering the small circuit of the country, which is estimated to be but as big as the fifth part of *Italy*, where one may find more differing customs, tempers and humours of people, than in the *Netherlands*: the *Walloon* is quick and sprightly; accostable and full of compliment, and gaudy in apparel, like his next neighbour the *French*: the *Fleming* and *Brabanter*, somewhat more slow and more sparing of speech: the *Hollander* slower than he, more surly and respectless of gentry and strangers, homely in his clothing, of very few words, and heavy in action; which may be well imputed to the quality of the soil, which works so strongly upon the humours, that when people of a more vivacious and nimble temper come to mingle with them, their children are observed to partake rather of the soil than the fire; and so it is in all animals besides.

Thus have I huddled up some observations of the *Low-Countries*, beseeching your Lordship would be pleased to pardon the imperfections, and correct the errors of them; for I know none so capable to do it as your Lordship, to whom I am

A most humble and ready servant,

Antwerp, May, 1. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER XLVI.

To my Brother Dr. HOWELL from Brussels.

S I R,

I Had yours in *Latin* at *Rotterdam*, whence I corresponded with you in the same language; I heard, though not from you, since I came from *Brussels*, that our sister *Anne* is lately married to Mr. *Hugh Penry*, I am heartily glad of it, and wish the rest of our sisters were so well bestowed, for I know Mr. *Penry* to be a gentleman of a great deal of solid worth and integrity, and one that will prove a good husband, and a great economist.

Here is news that *Mansfelt* hath received a foil in *Germany*, and that the Duke of *Brunswick*, alias Bishop of *Halverstadt*, hath lost one of his arms: this makes them vapour here extremely; and the last week I heard of a play the jesuits of *Antwerp* made in derogation, or rather derision of the proceedings of the Prince *Palsgrave*, where, amongst divers other passages, they feigned a post to come puffing upon the stage; and being asked what news, he answered how the *Palsgrave* was like to have shortly a huge formidable army; for the King of *Denmark* was to send him 100,000, the *Hollanders* 100,000, and the King of *Great Britain* 100,000; but being asked thousands of what? He replied, the first would send 100,000 red herring, the second 100,000 cheeses, and the last 100,000 ambassadors, alluding to Sir *Richard Weston*, and Sir *Edward Conway*, my Lord *Carlisle*, Sir *Arthur Chichester*, and lastly, the Lord *Digby*, who have been all employed in quality of ambassadors in less than two years, since the beginning of these *German* broils. Touching the last, having been with the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*, and carried himself with such high wisdom in his negotiations with the one, and stoutness with the other; and having preserved Count *Mansfelt's* troops from disbanding, by pawning his own argen-

try and jewels, he passed this way, where they say the Archduke did esteem him more than any Ambassador that ever was in this Court; and the report is yet very fresh of his high abilities.

We are to remove hence in coach towards *Paris* the next week, where we intend to winter, or hard by; when you have opportunity to write to *Wales*, I pray present my duty to my father, and my love to the rest; I pray remember me also to all at the *Hill* and the *Dale*, especially to that most virtuous gentleman, Sir *John Frankling*. So my dear brother, I pray God continue and improve his blessings to us both, and bring us together again with comfort.

Your Brother,

June, 10. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLVII.

To Dr. THOMAS PRICHARD at Worcester House.

S I R,

FRIENDSHIP is the great chain of human society; and intercourse of letters is one of the chiefest links of that chain: you know this as well as I; therefore, I pray let our friendship, let our love, that nationality of *British* love, that virtuous tie of *academic* love be still strengthened (as heretofore) and receive daily more and more vigour. I am now in *Paris*, and there is weekly opportunity to receive and send; and if you please to send, you shall be sure to receive; for I make it a kind of religion to be punctual in this kind of payment. I am heartily glad to hear that you are become a *domestic* member to that most noble family of the *Worcesters*; and I hold it to be a very good foundation for future preferment; I wish you may be as happy in them, as I know they will be happy in you. *France* is now barren of news, only there was a shrewd brush lately betwixt the young King

King and his mother, who having the Duke of *Espernon* and others for her champions, met him in open field about *pont de ce*, but she went away with the worst; such was the rare dutifulness of the King, that he forgave her upon his knees, and pardoned all her complices: and now there is an universal peace in this country, which it is thought will not last long, for there is a war intended against them of the reformed religion; for this King, though he be slow in speech, yet he is active in spirit, and loves motion. I am here comrade to a gallant young gentleman, my old acquaintance, who is full of excellent parts, which he hath acquired by a choice breeding, the Baron his father gave him both in the university, and in the inns of court; so that for the time, I envy no man's happiness. So with my hearty commends, and much endeared love unto you, I rest.

Yours while,

Paris, August 3. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

To the Honourable Sir THOMAS SAVAGE (after Lord SAVAGE) at his House upon Tower-Hill.

Honourable S I R,

THOSE many undeserved favours for which I stand obliged to yourself and my noble Lady, since the time I had the happiness to come first under your roof, and the command you pleased to lay upon me at my departure thence, called upon me at this time to give you account how matters pass in *France*.

That which for the present affords most plenty of news, is *Rochel*, which the King threateneth to block up this spring with an army by sea, under the command of the Duke of *Nevers*, and by a land army under his own conduct: both sides prepare, he to assault, the *Rochellers* to defend. The King declares that he proceeds not

against them for their religion, which he is still contented to tolerate, but for holding an assembly against his declarations: they answer, that their assembly is grounded upon his Majesty's royal warrant, given at the dissolution of the last assembly at *Lodun*, where he solemnly gave his word to permit them to reassemble when they would, six months after, if the breaches of their liberty and grievances which they then propounded were not redressed; and they say, this being unperformed, it stands not with the sacred person of a King to violate his promise, being the first that ever he made them. The King is so incensed against them, that their deputies can have neither access to his person, nor audience of his counsel, as they stile themselves the deputies of the assembly at *Rochel*; but if they say, they come from the whole body of them of the *pretended reformed religion*, he will hear them. The breach between them is grown so wide, that the King resolves on a siege. This resolution of the King is much fomented by the *Roman* clergy; especially by the *Celestines*, who have 200,000 crowns of gold in the arsenal of *Paris*, which they would sacrifice all to this service; besides, the Pope sent him a bull to levy what sums he would of the *Gallican* church, for the advancement of his design. This resolution also is much pushed on by the gentry, who besides the particular employments and pay they shall receive hereby, are glad to have their young King trained up in arms, to make him a martial man; but for the merchant and poor peasant, they tremble at the name of this war, fearing their teeth should be set on edge with those four grapes their fathers tasted in the time of the *league*: for, if the King begins with *Rochel*, 'tis feared all the four corners of the kingdom will be set on fire.

Of all the towns of surety which they of the religion hold, *Rochel* is the chiefest, a place strong by nature, but stronger by art. It is a maritime town, and landward they can by sluices drown a league's distance; 'tis fortified with mighty thick walls, bastions, and counterescarps; and those according to the modern rules of enginery.

This,

This, among other cautionary towns, was granted by *Henry IV.* to them of the religion for a certain term of years; which being expired, the King saith, they are devolved again to the crown, and so demands them. They of the religion pretend to have divers grievances; first, they have not been paid these two years the 160,000 crowns which the last King gave them annually, to maintain their ministers and garrisons: they complain of the King's carriage lately at *Bearn* (*Henry the Great's* country) which was merely protestant, where he hath introduced two years since the publick exercise of the *mass*, which had not been sung there fifty years before; he altered also there the government of the country, and in lieu of a *Viceroy*, left a *Governor* only: and whereas, *Navarrin* was formerly a court of parliament for the whole kingdom of *Navarre* (that is under *France*) he hath put it down, and published an edict, that the *Navarrois* should come to *Tolouse*, the chief town of *Languedoc*; and lastly, he left behind him a garrison in the said town of *Navarrin*. These and other grievances they of the religion proposed to the King lately, desiring his Majesty would let them enjoy still those privileges his predecessor *Henry III.* and his father *Henry IV.* afforded them by act of pacification; but, he made them a short answer, that what the one did in this point, he did it out of *fear*; what the other did, he did it out of *love*; but, he would have them know, that he neither *loved* them nor *feared* them; so the business is like to bleed sore on both sides, nor is there yet any appearance of prevention.

There was a scuffle lately here betwixt the Duke of *Nevers* and the Cardinal of *Guise*, who have had a long suit in law about an abbey; and meeting the last week about the palace, from words they fell to blows, the Cardinal struck the Duke first, and so were parted; but in the afternoon there appeared on both sides no less than 3000 horse in a field hard by, which shews the populousness and sudden strength of this huge city; but the matter was taken up by the King himself, and the Cardinal clapt

clapt up in the *Bastile*, where the King saith he shall abide to *ripen*: for he is but young, and they speak of a *bull* that is to come from *Rome* to decardinalize him. I fear to have trespassed too much upon your patience, therefore I will conclude for the present, but will never cease to profess myself

Your thrice humble and ready servitor,
Paris, August 18. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLIX.

To DAN. CALDWALL, Esq; from Poissy.

My dear DAN.

TO be free from *English*, and to have the more conveniency to fall close to our business, Mr. *Altham* and I are lately retired from *Paris* to this town of *Poissy*, a pretty genteel place, at the foot of the great forest of *St. Germain*, upon the river *Sequana*, and within a mile of one of the King's chiefest standing houses, and about fifteen miles from *Paris*: here is one of the prime nunneries of all *France*. *Lewis IX.* who in the catalogue of the *French* kings is called *St. Lewis*, which title was confirmed by the *Pope*, was baptized in this little town; and after his return from *Egypt* and other places against the *Saracens*, being asked by what title he would be distinguished from the rest of his predecessors after his death, he answered, that he desired to be called *Lewis of Poissy*. Reply being made, that there were divers other places and cities of renown, where he had performed brave exploits and obtained famous victories, therefore, it was more fitting that some of those places should denominate him: no, said he, I desire to be called *Lewis of Poissy*, because there I got the most glorious victory that ever I had, for *there I overcame the devil*; meaning, that he was christened there.

I sent you from *Antwerp* a silver *Dutch* table-book; I desire to hear of the receipt of it in your next. I must desire you (as I did once at *Rouen*) to send me a dozen pairs of the whitest kidskin gloves for women, and half a dozen pairs of knives by the merchants post; and if you want any thing that *France* can afford, I hope you know what power you have to dispose of

Yours,

Peissy, Sept. 7. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R L.

To my FATHER, from Paris.

S I R,

I Was afraid I should never have had ability to write to you again, I had lately such a dangerous fit of sickness, but I have now past the brunt of it. God hath been pleased to reprieve me, and reserve me for more days, which I hope to have grace to number better, Mr. *Altham* and I having retired to a small town from *Paris* for more privacy, and sole conversation with the nation: I tied myself to a task for the reading of so many books in such a compass of time; and thereupon, to make good my word to myself, I used to watch many nights together, though it was in the depth of winter; but returning to this town, I took cold in the head, and so that mass of rheum which had gathered by my former watching, turned to an imposthume in my head, whereof I was sick above forty days; at the end they cauterized and made an issue in my cheek to make vent for the imposthume, and that saved my life. At first they let me blood, and I parted with above fifty ounces in less than a fortnight: for *phlebotomy* is so much practised here, that if one's little finger ache they presently open a vein, and to ballance the blood on both sides, they usually let blood in both arms; and, the commonness of the thing
seems

seems to take away all fear, insomuch, that the very women when they find themselves indisposed, will open a vein themselves: for they hold, that the blood which hath a circulation and fetcheth a round every twenty four hours about the body is quickly repaired again. I was eighteen days and nights that I had no sleep, but short imperfect slumbers, and those too procured by potions: the tumour at last came so about my throat, that I had scarce vent left for respiration, and my body was brought so low with all sorts of physick, that I appeared like a mere *skeleton*. When I was indifferently well recovered, some of the doctors and chirurgeons that tended me, gave me a visit; and amongst other things, they fell in discourse of wines, which was the best, and so by degrees they fell upon other beverages; and one doctor in the company who had been in *England*, told me, that we have a drink in *England* called ale, which he thought was the wholesomest liquor that could go into one's guts: for, whereas the body of man is supported by two columns, *viz.* the natural heat, and radical moisture, he said, there is no drink conduceth more to the preservation of the one and the increase of the other than ale; for, while the *Englishmen* drank only ale, they were strong brawny able men, and could draw an arrow an ell long, but since they fell to wine and beer, they are found to be much impaired in their strength and age; so the ale bore away the bell among the doctors.

The next week we advance our course further into *France*, towards the river of *Loire* to *Orleans*, whence I shall continue to convey my duty to you. In the meantime, I humbly crave your blessing, and your acknowledgment to God almighty for my recovery: be pleased further, to impart my love amongst my brothers and sisters, with all my kinsmen and friends in the country: so I rest,

Your dutiful son,

Paris, Dec. 10. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LI.

To Sir THO. SAVAGE, Knight and Baronet.

Honourable Sir,

THAT of the fifth of this present which you pleased to send me was received, and I begin to think myself something more than I was, that you value so much the slender endeavours of my pen to do you service, I shall continue to improve your good opinion of me as opportunity shall serve.

Touching the great threats against *Rochel*, whereof I gave you an ample relation in my last, matters are become now more calm, and rather inclining to an accommodation; for 'tis thought a sum of money will make up the breach; and to this end some think all these brava-does were made. The Duke of *Luynes* is at last made Lord High Constable of *France*, the prime officer of the crown: he hath a peculiar court to himself, a guard of 100 men in rich liveries, and 100,000 livres every year pension: the old Duke of *Lesdiguieres*, one of the antientest soldiers of *France*, and a protestant, is made his Lieutenant.

But in regard all christendom rings of this favourite, being the greatest that ever was in *France*, since the *Maires of the palace* who came to be kings afterwards, I will send you herein his legend. He was born in *Provence*, and is a gentleman by descent, though of a petty extraction; in the last King's time he was preferred to be one of his *pages*, who finding him industrious, and a good waiter, allowed him 300 crowns pension *per annum*; which he husbanded so well, that he maintained himself and two brothers in passable good fashion therewith. The King observing that, doubled his pension, and taking notice that he was a serviceable instrument and apt to please, he thought him fit to be about his son, in whose service he hath continued above fifteen years; and he hath *flown* so high into his favour by a singular dexterity and art he hath

bath in *faulconry*, and by shooting at birds flying, wherein the King took great pleasure, that he hath *soared* to this pitch of honour. He is a man of a passable good understanding and forecast, of a mild comportment, humble and debonair to all, and of a winning conversation: he hath about him choice and solid heads, who prescribe to him rules of policy, by whose compass he steers his course; which 'tis likely will make him subsist long: he is now come to that transcendent altitude, that he seems to have mounted above the reach of envy, and made all hopes of supplanting him frustrate, both by the politic guidance of his own actions, and the powerful alliances he hath got for himself and his two brothers: he is married to the Duke of *Montbazon's* daughter, one of the prime peers of *France*: his second brother *Cadenet* (who is reputed the wisest of the three) married the heiress of *Picardy*, with whom he had 9000*l.* lands a-year; his third brother *Brand*, to the great heiress of *Luxemburgh*, of which house there have been five emperors: so that these three brothers and their allies would be able to counterbalance any one faction in *France*, the eldest and youngest being made dukes and peers of *France*, the other Marshal. There are lately two ambassadors extraordinary come hither from *Venice* about the *Valtolin*, but their negotiation is at a stand, until the return of an ambassador extraordinary, who is gone to *Spain*. Ambassadors also are come from the *Hague* for payment of the *French* regiment there, which hath been neglected these ten years, and to know whether his Majesty will be pleased to continue their pay any longer; but their answer is yet suspended. They have brought news that the seven ships which were built for his Majesty in the *Tessel* are ready: to this he answered, that he desires to have ten more built; for he intends to finish that design which his father had a-foot a little before his death, to establish a royal company of merchants.

This is all the news that *France* affords for the present, the relation whereof if it proves as acceptable, as my endeavours to serve you herein are pleasing unto me, I shall

shall esteem myself happy: so, wishing you and my noble Lady continuance of health, and increase of honour, I rest

Your most humble servant,

Paris, Dec. 15. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R LII.

To Sir JOHN NORTH, Knight.

S I R,

I Confess you have made a perfect conquest of me by your late favours, and I yield myself your captive; a day may come that will enable me to pay my ransom: in the interim, let a most thankful acknowledgment be my bail and enterprize.

I am now removed from off the *Seine* to the *Loire*, to the fair town of *Orleans*: there was here lately a mixt procession betwixt military and ecclesiastic for the maid of *Orleans*, which is performed every year very solemnly: her statue stands upon the bridge, and her cloaths are preserved to this day, which a young man wore in the procession; which makes me think that her story (though it sound like a romance) is very true; and I read it thus, in two or three chronicles: when the *English* had made such firm invasions in *France*, that their armies had marched into the heart of the country, besieged *Orleans*, and driven *Charles VII.* to *Bourges* in *Berry*, which made him to be called (for the time) King of *Berry*, there came to his army a shepherdes, one *Anne de Arque*, who with a confident look and language told the King, that she was designed by heaven to beat the *English*, and drive them out of *France*: therefore, she desired a command in the army; which by her extraordinary confidence and importunity she obtained; and putting on man's apparel, she proved so prosperous, that the siege was raised from before *Orleans*, and the *English*

were pursued to *Paris*, and forced to quit that, and driven to *Normandy*. She used to go on with marvellous courage and resolution, and her word was *har à ha*; but in *Normandy* she was taken prisoner, and the *English* had a fair revenge upon her; for, by an arrest of the parliament of *Rouen* she was burnt for a witch. There is a great business now a-foot in *Paris*, called the *Polette*; which if it take effect, will tend to correct, at leastwise to cover a great error in the *French* government. The custom is, that all the chief places of justice throughout all the eight courts of parliament in *France*, besides a great number of other offices, are set to sale by the King, and they return to him unless the buyer liveth forty days after his resignation to another. It is now propounded that these casual offices shall be absolutely hereditary, provided that every officer pay a yearly revenue unto the King, according to the valuation of, and perquisites of the office. This business is now in agitation, but the issue is yet doubtful.

The last you sent I received by *Vacandary* in *Paris*: so, highly honouring your excellent parts and merit, I rest, now that I understand *French* indifferent well, no more your (*she*) servant, but

Your most faithful servitor,

Orleans, March 3. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LIII.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, Knight.

S I R,

WERE I to freight a Letter with compliments, this country would furnish me with variety, but of news a small store at this present; and for compliments it is dangerous to use any to you who have such a piercing judgment to discern semblances from realities.

The

The Queen-mother is at last come to *Paris*, where she hath not been since *Ancre's* death. The King is also returned post from *Bordeaux*, having traversed most part of his kingdom, he settled peace everywhere he passed, and quashed divers insurrections; and by his obedience to his mother, and his lenity towards all her partisans at *pont de Ce*, where above 400 were slain; and notwithstanding that he was victorious, yet he gave a general pardon, he hath gained much upon the affections of his people. His council of state went ambulatory always with him; and as they say here, never did men manage things with more wisdom. There is a war questionless a fermenting against the protestants: the Duke of *Espernon* in a kind of *rodomantado* way, desired leave of the King to block up *Rochel*, and in six weeks he would undertake to deliver her to his hands, but I believe he reckons without his host. I was told a merry passage of this little *Gascon* Duke, who is now the oldest foldier of *France*; having come lately to *Paris*, he treated with a pander to procure him a courtesan; and if she was a *damoysel* (a gentlewoman) he would give so much, and if a *citizen* he would give so much: the pander did his office, but brought him a citizen clad in *damoisels* apparel; so she and her maquerel were paid accordingly: the next day after, some of his familiars having understood hereof, began to be pleasant with the Duke, and to jeer him, that he being a *vieil routier*, an old tried soldier should suffer himself to be so cozened, as to pay for a citizen after the rate of a gentlewoman: the little Duke grew wild hereupon, and commenced an action of fraud against the pander, but what became of it I cannot tell you, but all *Paris* rung of it. I hope to return now very shortly to *England*, where, amongst the rest of my noble friends, I shall much rejoice to see and serve you whom I honour with no vulgar affection, so I am

Your true servitor,

Orleans, March 5. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LIV.

To my Cousin Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN at Brussels,
from Paris.

Dear Cousin,

I Find you are very punctual in your performances, and a precise observer of the promise you made here to correspond with Mr. *Altham* and me by letters. I thank you for the variety of *German* news you imparted unto me, which was so neatly couched and curiously knit together, that your letter might serve for a pattern to the best intelligencer. I am sorry the affairs of the Prince *Palsgrave* go on so untowardly; the wheel of war may turn, and that spoke which is now up may down again. For *French* occurrences, there is a war certainly intended against them of the religion here; and there are visible preparations a-foot already: amongst others that shrink in the shoulders at it, the King's servants are not very well pleased with it, in regard besides *Scots* and *Swissers*, there are divers of the King's servants that are protestants. If a man go to *ragion' di stato*, to reason of state; the *French* King hath something to justify this design; for, the protestants being so numerous, and having near upon fifty presidary walled towns in their hands for caution, they have power to disturb *France* when they please, and being abetted by a foreign Prince to give the King law; and you know as well as I, how they have been made use of to kindle a fire in *France*: therefore, rather than they should be utterly suppressed, I believe the *Spaniard* himself would reach them his *ragged-staff* to defend them.

I send you here inclosed another from Mr. *Altham*, who respects you dearly; and we remembered you lately at *la pomme du pin* in the best liquor of the *French* grape. I shall be shortly for *London*, where I shall not rejoice a little to meet you: the *English* air may confirm what foreign begun, I mean our friendship and affection:
ons:

ons; and in *me*, (that I may return you in *English* the *Latin* verses you sent me)

*As soon a little ant
Shall bibe the ocean dry,
A snail shall creep about the world,
E'er these affections die.*

So my dear cousin, may virtue be your guide, and fortune your companion.

Yours while,

Paris, March 18. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LV.

To my FATHER.

S I R,

I Am safely returned now the second time from beyond the seas, but I have yet no employment. God and good friends I hope will shortly provide one for me.

The *Spanish* Ambassador Count *Gondamar* doth strongly negotiate a match betwixt our Prince and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, but at his first audience there happened an ill-favoured accident, (I pray God it prove no ill augury) for my Lord of *Arundell* being sent to accompany him to *Whitehall* upon a *Sunday* in the afternoon, as they were going over the terrafs, it broke under them, but only one was hurt in the arm. *Gondamar* said, that he had not cared to have died in so good company: he saith, there is no other way to regain the *Palatinate*, but by this match, and to settle an eternal peace in *christendom*.

The Marquis of *Buckingham* continueth still in fulness of grace and favour: the Countess his mother sways also much at court; she brought Sir *Henry Montague* from delivering law on the *King's Bench* to look to his bags in the *Exchequer*; for, she made him Lord High Treasurer of *England*, but he parted with his white staff before the

year's end, though his purse had bled deeply for it; (above 20,000 *l.*) which made a Lord of this land to ask him at his return from court, *Whether he did not find that wood was extreme dear at Newmarket*, for there he received the white staff. There is now a notable stirring man in the place, my Lord *Granfield*, who from walking about the *Exchange*, is come to sit chief Judge in the *Chequer-Chamber*, and to have one of the highest places at the Council-table. He is married to one of the tribe of fortune, a kinswoman of the Marquis of *Buckingham*. Thus there is rising and falling at court; and as in our natural pace one foot cannot be up till the other be down, so it is in the affairs of the world commonly, one man riseth at the fall of the other.

I have no more to write at this time, but that with tender of my duty to you, I desire a continuance of your blessing and prayers.

Your dutiful son,

Lond. March 22. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LVI.

To the Honourable M. JOHN SAVAGE (now Earl Rivers) at Florence.

S I R,

MY love is not so short but it can reach to *Florence* to find you out, and further too if occasion required; nor are these affections I have to serve you so dull but they can clamber over the *Alps* and *Apennine* to wait upon you, as they have adventured to do now in this paper. I am sorry I was not in *London* to kiss your hands before you set to sea; and much more sorry, that I had not the happiness to meet you in *Holland* or *Brabant*, for we went the very same road, and lay in *Dort* and *Antwerp* in the same lodgings you had lain in a fortnight before. I presume you have by this time tasted of the sweetness

sweetness of travel, and that you have weaned your affections from *England* for a good while, you must now think upon home, (as one said) good men think upon heaven, aiming still to go thither, but not till they finish their course; and yours I understand will be three years: in the mean time, you must not suffer any melting tenderness of thoughts, or loving desires, to distract or interrupt you in that fair road you are in to virtue; and to beautify within, that comely edifice which nature hath built without you. I know your reputation is precious to you, as it should be to every noble mind: you have exposed it now to the hazard, therefore you must be careful it receive no taint at your return, by not answering that expectation which your Prince and noble parents have of you. You are now under the chiefest clime of wisdom, fair *Italy*, the darling of nature, the nurse of policy, the theatre of virtue; but, though *Italy* give milk to *virtue* with one dug, she often suffers *vice* to suck at the other, therefore you must take heed you mistake not the dug: for, there is an ill-favoured saying, that *Inglese Italionato è diavolo incarnato*; an *Englishman* Italianate, is a devil incarnate. I fear no such thing of you, I have had such pregnant proofs of your ingenuity, and noble inclinations to virtue and honour. I know you have a mind to both, but I must tell you, that you will hardly get the good-will of the latter, unless the first speak a good word for you: when you go to *Rome*, you may happily see the ruins of two temples, one dedicated to *virtue*, the other to *honour*; and there was no way to enter into the last, but through the first. Noble Sir, I wish your good very seriously; and if you please to call to memory and examine the circumstance of things, and my carriage towards you since I had the happiness to be known first to your honourable family, I know you will conclude that I love and honour you in no vulgar way.

My Lord, your grandfather was complaining lately that he had not heard from you a good while. By the next shipping to *Leghorn*, amongst other things, he intends to send you a whole brawn in collers. I pray be pleased

pleased to remember my affectionate service to Mr. *Thomas Savage*, and my kind respects to Mr. *Bold*: for *English* news, I know this packet comes freighted to you, therefore I forbear to send any. Farewel noble heir of honour, and command always

Your true servitor,

Lond. March 24. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R LVII.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, Knight at St. Osth in Essex.

S I R,

I Had yours upon *Tuesday* last; and whereas, you are desirous to know the proceedings of the parliament, I am sorry I must write to you that matters begin to grow boisterous: the King retired not long since to *Newmarket* not very well pleased, and this week there went thither twelve from the house of commons, to whom Sir *Richard Weston* was the mouth: the King not liking the message they brought, called them ambassadors; and in the large answer which he hath sent to the Speaker, he saith, that he must apply unto them a speech of Queen *Elizabeth's* to an Ambassador of *Poland*, *Legatum expectavimus, Heraldum accepimus*; we expected an Ambassador, we have received a Herald. He takes it not well that they should meddle with the match betwixt his son and the *Infanta*, alleging an example of one of the kings of *France*, which would not marry his son without the advice of his parliament; but, afterwards that King grew so despicable abroad, that no foreign state would treat with him about any thing without his parliament. Sundry other high passages there was as a caveat he gave them, not to touch the honour of the King of *Spain*, with whom he was so far engaged in a matrimonial treaty that he could not go back. He gave them also a check for

for taking cognizance of those things which had their motion in the ordinary courts of justice; and that Sir *Edward Coke*, (though these words were not inserted in the answer) whom he thought to be *the fittest instrument for a tyrant that ever was in England*, should be so bold as to call the *prerogative* of the crown a *great monster*. The parliament after this was not long-lived, but broke up in discontent, and upon the point of dissolution, they made a protest against divers particulars in the aforesaid answer of his Majesty. My Lord *Digby* is preparing for *Spain*, in quality of an Ambassador extraordinary, to perfect the match betwixt our Prince and the Lady *Infanta*; in which business *Gondamar* hath waded already very deep, and been very active, and ingratiated himself with divers persons of quality, ladies especially, yet he could do no good upon the Lady *Hatton* whom he desired lately, that in regard he was her next neighbour, (at *Ely* house) he might have the benefit of her back-gate to go abroad into the fields, but she put him off with a compliment, whereupon, in a private audience lately with the King, amongst other passages of merriment, he told him, that my Lady *Hatton* was a *strange Lady*, for she would not suffer her husband Sir *Edward Coke* to come in at her fore-door, nor him to go out at her back-door, and so related the whole business. He was also dispatching a post lately for *Spain*; and the post having received his packet, and kissed his hands, he called him back and told him he had forgot one thing, which was, that when he came to *Spain*, he should commend him to the sun, for he had not seen him a good while, and in *Spain* he should be sure to find him. So, with my most humble service to my Lord of *Colchester*, I rest

Your most humble servitor,

Lond. March 24. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LVIII.

To my Brother, Mr. HUGH PENRY.

S I R,

THE *Welsh* nag you sent me, was delivered me in a very good plight, and I give you a thousand thanks for him; I had occasion lately to try his mettle and his lungs; and every one tells me he is right, and of no mungrel race, but a true mountaineer; for besides his toughness and strength of lungs up a hill, he is quickly carried, and content with short commons. I believe he hath not been long a highway traveller; for whereas other horses, when they pass by an inn or alehouse, use to make towards them, to give them a friendly visit, this nag roundly goes on, and scorns to cast as much as a glance upon any of them; which I know not whether I shall impute it to his ignorance, or height of spirit; but conversing with the soft horses in *England*, I believe he will quickly be brought to be more courteous.

The greatest news we have now, is the return of the Lord Bishop of *Landaff, Davenant, Ward, and Belcanquell*, from the synod of *Dort*, where the Bishop had precedence given him according to his episcopal dignity. *Arminius* and *Vorstius* were sore baited there concerning predestination, election, and reprobation; as also touching *Christ's* death, and man's redemption by it; then concerning man's corruption, and conversion; lastly, concerning the perseverance of the saints. I shall have shortly the transactions of the synod. The *Jesuits* have put out a jeering libel against it, and these two verses I remember in it:

Dordrechtii synodus? nodus; chorus integer? - ager;
Conventus? ventus; sessio stramen? amen.

But I will confront this *distich* with another I read in *France* of the *Jesuits* in the town of *Dole*, towards *Lorraine*; they had a great house given them called *L'arc*
(*arcum*)

(*arcum*) and upon the river of *Loire*, *Henry IV.* gave them *la fleche*, *sagittam* in *Latin*, where they have two stately convents, that is, *bow* and *arrow*; whereupon one made these verses :

*Arcum Dole dedit, dedit illis alma sagittam
Francia ; quis chordam, quam meruere, dabit ?*

Fair *France* the *arrow*, *Dole* gave them the *bow* ;
Who shall the *string*, which they deserve bestow ?

No more now, but that with my dear love to my
sister, I rest

Your most affectionate brother,

London, April 16. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R L I X.

To The Lord Viscount Colchester.

My good Lord,

I Received your Lordship's of the last week, and according to your commands, I send here inclosed the *Venetian* gazette : of foreign *aviso's*, they write that *Mansfelt* hath been beaten out of *Germany*, and is come to *Sedan* ; and it is thought that the Duke of *Bovillon* will set him up again with a new army. Marquis *Spinola* hath newly sat down before *Berghen op zoom* : your Lordship knows well what consequence that town is of, therefore it is likely this will be a hot summer in the *Netherlands*. The *French King* is in open war against them of the religion ; he hath already cleared the *Loire*, by taking *Ferfeau* and *Saumur*, where Monsieur *du Plessis* sent him the keys, which are promised to be delivered him again, but I think *ad Græcis Calendas*. He hath been also before *St. John d'Angeli*, where the young Cardinal of *Guise* died, being struck down by the puff of a cannon-bullet, which put him in a burning fever, and made

made an end of him. The last town that is taken was *Glerac*, which was put to 50,000 Crowns ransom; many were put to the sword, and divers gentlemen drowned as they thought to escape. This is the fifteenth cautionary town the King hath taken: and now they say he marcheth towards *Montauban*, and so to *Montpellier* and *Nismes*, and then have at *Rochel*. My Lord *Hays* is by this time, it is thought, with the army; for Sir *Edward Herbert* is returned, having had some clashings and counterbuffs with the favourite *Luynes*, wherein he comported himself gallantly. There is a fresh report blown over, that *Luynes* is lately dead in the army of the plague, some say of the purples, the next cousin-german to it; which the protestants give out to be the just judgment of heaven fallen upon him, because he incited his master to these wars against them. If he be not dead, let him die when he will, he will leave a fame behind him, to have been the greatest favourite for the time that ever was in *France*, having from a simple *falconer* come to be high Constable, and made himself and his younger brother grand dukes and peers; and his second brother *Cadenat*, Marshal; and all three married into princely families.

No more now, but that I most humbly kiss your Lordship's hands, and shall be always most ready and cheerful to receive your commandments, because I am

Your Lordship's obliged servitor,

London, Aug. 12. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R LX.

To my FATHER, from London.

S I R,

I Was at a dead stand in the course of my fortunes, when it pleased God to provide me lately an employment to *Spain*, whence I hope there may arise both repute and profit. Some of the cape merchants of the
Turky

Turky company; among whom the chiefest were Sir *Robert Napper*, and Captain *Leat*, proposed to me, that they had a great business in the court of *Spain* in agitation many years, nor was it now their business but the King's, in whose name it is followed: they could have gentlemen of good quality, that would undertake it, yet if I would take it upon me, they would employ no other; and assured me, that the employment should tend both to my benefit and credit. Now the business is this: there was a great *Turky* ship called the *Vineyard*, sailing through the *Straits* towards *Constantinople*, but by distress of weather she was forced to put into a little port called *Milo*, in *Sardinia*; the searchers came aboard of her, and finding her richly laden, for her cargazon of broad-cloth was worth the first penny, near upon 30,000 *l.* they cavilled at some small proportion of lead and tin which they had only for the use of the ship; which the searchers alledged to be *ropa de contrabando*, prohibited goods; for by article of peace, nothing is to be carried to *Turky* that may arm or vittle. The Viceroy of *Sardinia* hereupon seized upon the whole ship, and all their goods, landed the master and men in *Spain*, who coming to Sir *Charles Cornwallles* then Ambassador at that court, Sir *Charles* could do them little good at present, therefore they came to *England*, and complained to the King and council: his Majesty was so sensible hereof, that he sent a particular commission in his own royal name, to demand a restitution of the ship and goods, and justice upon the Viceroy of *Sardinia*, who had so apparently broke the peace, and wronged his subjects. Sir *Charles* (with Sir *Paul Pindar* a while) laboured in the business, and commenced a suit in law, but he was called home before he could do any thing to purpose. After him Sir *John Digby* (now Lord *Digby*) went Ambassador to *Spain*; and among other things he had that particular commission from his Majesty invested in him, to prosecute the suit in his own royal name: thereupon he sent a well qualified gentleman, Mr. *Walsingham Greysy*, to *Sardinia*,

who unfortunately meeting with some men of war in the passage, was carried prisoner to *Algier*. My Lord *Digby* being remanded home, left the business in Mr. *Cottington's* hands, the Agent, but resumed it at his return; yet it proved such a tedious intricate suit, that he returned again without finishing the work, in regard of the remoteness of the island of *Sardinia*, whence the witnesses and other dispatches were to be fetcht. The Lord *Digby* is going now Ambassador extraordinary to the court of *Spain*, upon the business of the match, the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and other high affairs of state; therefore, he is desirous to transmit the King's commission touching this particular business to any gentleman that is capable to follow it, and promiseth to assist him with the utmost of his power; and in faith he hath good reason to do so, in regard he hath now a good round share himself in it. About this business I am now preparing to go to *Spain*, in company of the Ambassador; and I shall kiss the King's hands as his Agent touching this particular commission. I humbly intreat that your blessing and prayers may accompany me in this my new employment, which I have undertaken upon very good terms, touching expences and reward: so, with my dear love to my brothers and sisters, with other kindred and friends in the country, I am

Your dutiful son,

London, Sept. 8. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXI.

To Sir THOMAS SAVAGE, Knight and Baronet, at his House in Long-Melford.

Honourable Sir,

I Received your commands in a letter which you sent me by Sir *John North*, and I shall not fail to answer you in those particulars. It hath pleased God to dispose of

of me once more for *Spain*, upon a business which I hope will make me good returns: there have two ambassadors and a royal Agent followed it hitherto, and I am the fourth that is employed in it. I defer to trouble you with the particulars of it, in regard I hope to have the happiness to kiss your hand at *Tower-hill* before my departure, which will not be till my Lord *Digby* sets forward. He goes in a gallant splendid equipage, and one of the King's ships is to take him in at *Plymouth*, and transport him to the *Corunna*, or *St. Anderas*.

Since that sad disaster which befel Archbishop *Abbot*, to kill the man by the glancing of an arrow as he was shooting at a deer, (which kind of death befel one of our kings once in *New-Forest*) there hath been a commission awarded to debate whether upon this fact, whereby he hath shed human blood, he be not to be deprived of his Archbishoprick, and pronounced irregular: some were against him; but Bishop *Andrews*, and Sir *Henry Martin* stood stilly for him, that in regard it was no spontaneous act, but a mere contingency, and that there is no degree of men but is subject to misfortunes, and casualties, they declared positively that he was not to fall from his dignity or function, but should still remain regular, and in *statu quo prius*. During this debate, he petitioned the King that he might be permitted to retire to his alms-house at *Guilford* where he was born, to pass the remainder of his life; but he is now come to be again *rectus in curia*, absolutely quitted, and restored to all things: but for the wife of him who was killed, it was no misfortune to her, for he hath endued herself, and her children with such an estate, that they say her husband could never have got. So I humbly kiss your hands, and rest

Your most obliged servant,

London, Nov. 9. 1622.

J. H.

LETTER LXII.

To Capt. NICH. LEAT at his House in London.

S I R,

I Am safely come to the court of *Spain*; and although by reason of that misfortune which befel Mr. *Altham* and me, of wounding the serjeants in *Lombard-street*, we staid three weeks behind my Lord Ambassador, yet we came hither time enough to attend him to court at his first audience.

The *English* nation is better looked on now in *Spain* than ordinary, because of the hopes there are of a match, which the merchants and commonalty much desire, though the nobility and gentry be not so forward for it: so that in this point the pulse of *Spain* beats quite contrary to that of *England*, where the people are averse to this match, and the nobility with most part of the gentry inclinable.

I have perused all the papers I could get into my hands, touching the business of the ship *Vineyard*, and I find that they are higher than I in bulk, though closely prest together: I have cast up what is awarded by all the sentences of view and review, by the council of state and war; and I find the whole sum, as well principal, as interest upon interest, all sorts of damages, and processal charges, come to about 250,000 crowns. The *Conde del Real*, quondam Viceory of *Sardinia*, who is adjudged to pay most part of this money, is here; and he is *Majordomo*, Lord Steward to the *Infant* Cardinal: if he hath wherewith, I doubt not but to recover the money; for, I hope to have come in a favourable conjuncture of time, and my Lord Ambassador who is so highly esteemed here, doth assure me of his best furtherance. So praying I may prove as successful, as I shall be faithful in this great business, I rest

Yours to dispose of,

Madrid, Dec 28. 1622.

J. H.
LET

LETTER LXIII.

To Mr. ARTHUR HOPTON, from Madrid.

S I R,

SINCE I was made happy with your acquaintance, I have received sundry strong evidences of your love and good wishes unto me, which have tied me to you in no common obligation of thanks: I am in despair ever to cancel this bond, nor would I do it, but rather endear the engagements more and more.

The treaty of the match betwixt our Prince and the Lady *Infanta* is now strongly afoot: she is a very comely Lady, rather of a *Flemish* complexion than *Spanish*, fair haired, and carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face; she is full and big liped; which is held a beauty rather than a blemish, or any excess, in the *Austrian* family, it being a thing incident to most of that race; she goes now upon sixteen, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years. The King is also of such a complexion, and is under twenty; he hath two brothers, *Don Carlos*, and *Don Hernando*, who, though a youth of twelve, yet is the Cardinal and Archbishop of *Toledo*; which, in regard it hath the chancellorship of *Castile* annexed to it, is the greatest spiritual dignity in christendom after the papacy, for it is valued at 300,000 crowns *per annum*. *Don Carlos* is of a different complexion from all the rest, for he is black haired, and of a *Spanish* hue; he hath neither office, command, dignity, or title, but is an individual companion to the King; and what cloaths soever are provided for the King, he hath the very same, and as often, from top to toe: he is the better beloved of the people for his complexion; for one shall hear the *Spaniards* sigh and lament, saying, O when shall we have a King again of our own colour!

I pray recommend me kindly to all at your house, and send me word when the young gentleman returns.

L 3.

from

from *Italy*. So with my most affectionate respects to yourself, I rest.

Your true friend to serve you,

Madrid, Jan. 5. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXIV.

To the Lord Viscount Colchester, from Madrid.

Right Honourable,

THE grand business of the match goes so fairly on, that a special *junta* is appointed to treat of it, the names whereof I send you here inclosed: they have proceeded so far, that most of the articles are agreed upon. Mr. *George Gage* is lately come hither from *Rome*, a polite and prudent gentleman, who hath negotiated some things in that court for the advancement of the business, with the cardinals *Bandino*, *Ludovisio*, and *la Susanna*, who are the main men there, to whom the drawing of the dispensation, is referred.

The late taking of *Ormuz* by the *Persian* from the crown of *Portugal* keeps a great noise here, and the rather because the exploit was done by the assistance of the *English* ships that were then thereabout. My Lord *Digby* went to court, and gave a round satisfaction in this point; for it was no voluntary, but a constrained act in the *English*, who being in the *Persian's* port, were suddenly embargoed for the service; and the *Persian* herein did no more than what is usual among *christian* princes themselves, and which is oftner put in practice by the King of *Spain* and his *Viceroy*s, than by any other, *viz.* to make an embargo of any stranger ships that rides within his port upon all occasions. It was feared this surprisal of *Ormuz*, which was the greatest mart in all the *Orient* for all sorts of jewels, would have bred ill blood, and prejudiced the proceedings of the match; but the

Spaniard

Spaniard is a rational man, and will be satisfied with reason. Count *Olivares* is the main man who sways all, and it is thought he is not so much affected to an alliance with *England* as his predecessor the Duke of *Lerma* was, who set it first afoot betwixt Prince *Henry* and this Queen of *France*: the Duke of *Lerma* was the greatest *privado*, the greatest favourite that ever was in *Spain*, since *Don Alvaro de Luna*; he brought himself, the Duke of *Uzeda* his son, and the Duke of *Cea* his grandchild, to be all *grandees* of *Spain*; which is the greatest title that a *Spanish* subject is capable of: they have a privilege to stand covered before the King, and at their election there is no other ceremony but only these three words by the King, *cobbrese por grande*, cover yourself for a grandee; and that is all. The Cardinal Duke of *Lerma* lives at *Volladolid*, he officiates and sings mass, and passes his old age in devotion and exercises of piety. It is a common, and indeed a commendable custom of the *Spaniard*, when he hath passed his *grand climacteric*, and is grown decrepit, to make a voluntary resignation of offices, be they never so great and profitable (though I cannot say *Lerma* did so) and sequestering and weaning themselves, as it were, from all mundane negotiations and incumbrances, to return to some place of devotion, and spend the residue of their days in meditation, and in preparing themselves for another world. *Charles* the Emperor shewed them the way, who left the empire to his brother, and all the rest of his dominions to his son *Philip* II. and so taking with him his two sisters, he retired into a monastery, they into a nunnery. This does not suit with the genius of an *Englishman*, who loves not to pull off his cloaths till he goes to bed. I will conclude with some verses I saw under a huge *rodomontado* picture of the Duke of *Lerma*, wherein he is painted like a giant, bearing up the monarchy of *Spain*, that of *France*, and the *pope*dom upon his shoulders, with this stanza:

*Sobre les ombres d'este Atlante
Tazen en aquestos dias
Estas tres monarquias.*

Upon the shoulders of this *Atlas* lies
The *popedom*, and two mighty *monarchies*.

So I most humbly kifs your Lordship's hands, and rest
ever most ready

At your Lordship's command,
Madrid, Feb. 3. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R L X V .

To my FATHER.

S I R,

AL L affairs went on fairly here, especially that of the match, when Mr. *Endymion Porter* brought lately my Lord of *Bristol* a dispatch from *England* of a high nature, wherein the Earl is commanded to represent to this King, how much his Majesty of *Great Britain* since the beginning of these *German* wars hath laboured to merit well of this crown, and of the whole house of *Austria*, by a long and lingering patience, grounded still upon assurances hence, that care should be had of his honour, his daughter's jointure, and grandchildren's patrimony; yet how grossly all things had proceeded in the treaty at *Brussels*, managed by Sir *Richard Weston*, as also that in the *Palatinate* by the Lord *Chichester*; how in treating-time the town and castle of *Heidelberg* were taken, *Manheim* besieged, and all acts of hostility used, notwithstanding the fair professions made by this King, the *Infanta* at *Brussels*, and other his ministers; how merely out of respect to this King he had neglected all martial means, which probably might have preserved the *Palatinate*; those thin garrisons which he had sent
thither,

thither, being rather for honour's sake to keep a footing until a general accommodation, than that he relied any way upon their strength: and since that there are no other fruits of all this but reproach and scorn, and that those good offices which he used towards the Emperor on the behalf of his son-in-law, which he was so much encouraged by letters from hence should take effect, have notorted to any other issue than to a plain affront, and a high injuring of both their majesties, though in a differing degree. The Earl is to tell him, that his Majesty of *Great Britain* hopes and desires, that out of a true apprehension of these wrongs offered unto them both, he will, as his dear and loving brother, faithfully promise and undertake upon his honour, confirming the same under his hand and seal, either that *Heidelberg* shall be within seventy days rendered into his hands; as also, that there shall be within the said term of seventy days a suspension of arms in the *Palatinate*; and, that a treaty shall recommence upon such terms as he propounded in *November* last; which this King held then to be reasonable: and, in case that this be not yielded to by the Emperor, that then this King join forces with his Majesty of *England* for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which upon this trust hath been lost; or in case his forces at this time be otherwise employed, that they cannot give his Majesty that assistance he desires and deserves, that at least he will permit a free and friendly passage through his territories, such forces as his Majesty of *Great Britain* shall employ into *Germany*: of all which, if the Earl of *Bristol* hath not from the King of *Spain* a direct assurance under his hand and seal ten days after his audience, that then he take his leave and return to *England* to his Majesty's presence, also to proceed in the negotiation of the match according to former instructions.

This was the main substance of his Majesty's late letter; yet, there was a postil added, that in case a rupture happen betwixt the two crowns, the Earl should not come instantly and abruptly away, but that he should send
advice

advice first to *England*, and carry the business so, that the world should not presently know of it.

Notwithstanding all these traverses, we are confident here that the match will take, otherwise my cake is dough. There was a great difference in one of the capitulations betwixt the two kings, how long the children which should issue of this marriage were to continue *sub regimine matris*, under the tutelage of the mother. This King demanded fourteen years at first, then twelve, but now he is come to nine, which is newly condescended unto. I received yours of the first of *September*, in another from Sir *James Crofts*, wherein it was no small comfort to me to hear of your health. I am to go hence shortly for *Sardinia*, a dangerous voyage, by reason of *Algier* pirates. I humbly desire your prayers may accompany

Your dutiful son,

Madrid, Feb. 23. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXVI.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, Knight.

S I R,

YOURS of the second of *October* came safe to hand with the inclosed: you write that there came dispatches lately from *Rome*, wherein the Pope seems to endeavour to insinuate himself into a direct treaty with *England*, and to negotiate immediately with our King touching the dispensation, which he not only labours to evade, but utterly disclaims, it being by article the task of this King to procure all dispatches thence. I thank you for sending me this news. You shall understand there came lately an express from *Rome* also to this court, touching the business of the match, which gave very good content; but, the dispatch and new instructions which Mr. *Endymion Porter* brought my Lord of *Bristol* lately from *England* touching the Prince *Palatine*,

naté, fills us with apprehensions of fear. Our ambassadors here have had an audience of this King already about those propositions; and we hope, that Mr. *Porter* will carry back such things as will satisfy, touching the two points in the treaty wherein the two kings differed most, *viz.* about the education of the children, and the exemption of the *Infanta's* ecclesiastical servants from secular jurisdiction. Both these points are cleared, for the *Spaniard* is come from fourteen years to ten, and for so long time the *Infant* princes shall remain under the mothers government: and for the other point, the ecclesiastical superior shall first take notice of the offence that shall be committed by any spiritual person belonging to the *Infanta's* family; and according to the merit thereof, either deliver him by degradation to the secular justice, or banish him the kingdom, according to the quality of the delict; and it is the same that is practised in this kingdom, and other parts that adhere to *Rome*.

The *Conde de Monterey* goes *Viceroy* to *Naples*, the *Marquis de Montefclaros* being put by, the gallanter man of the two. I was told of a witty saying of his, when the Duke of *Lerma* had the vogue in this court: for, going one morning to speak with the Duke, and having danced attendance a long time, he peeped through a slit in the hanging, and spied *Don Rodrigo Calderon*, a great man, (who was lately beheaded here for poisoning the late Queen Dowager) delivering the Duke a paper upon his knees, whereat the *Marquis* smiled, and said, *Voto tal, aquel hombre sube mas a las rodillas, que yo no hago a los pies; I swear, that man climbs higher upon his knees, than I can upon my feet.* Indeed, I have read it to be a true court rule, that *descendendo ascendendum est in aula*, descending is the way to ascend at court. There is a kind of humility and compliance that is far from any servile baseness, or sordid flattery, and may be termed discretion rather than adulation. I intend, God willing, to go for *Sardinia* this spring. I hope to have better luck than Mr. *Walsingham Gresley* had, who some few years since in his passage thither upon the same business

ness that I have in agitation, met with some *Turky* men of war, and so was carried slave to *Algier*: so, with my true respects to you, I rest

Your faithful servant,

Madrid, March 12. 1622.

J. H.

L E T T E R L X V I I .

To the Honourable Sir THOMAS SAVAGE, Knight
and Baronet.

Honourable Sir,

THE great business of the match was tending to a period, the articles reflecting both upon church and state, being capitulated, and interchangeably accorded on both sides; and there wanted nothing to consummate all things, when to the wonderment of the world the Prince and the Marquis of *Buckingham* arrived at this court on *Friday* last, upon the close of the evening: they lighted at my Lord of *Bristol*'s house, and the Marquis (Mr. *Thomas Smith*) came in first with a portmantle under his arm, then (Mr. *John Smith*) the Prince was sent for, who staid a while at the other side of the street in the dark, my Lord of *Bristol* in a kind of astonishment brought him up to his bed-chamber, where he presently called for pen and ink, and dispatched a post that night to *England*, to acquaint his Majesty how in less than sixteen days he was come safely to the court of *Spain*; that post went lightly laden, for he carried but three letters. The next day came Sir *Francis Cottington* and Mr. *Porter*, and dark rumours ran in every corner, how some great man was come from *England*; and some would not stick to say amongst the vulgar, it was the King, but towards the evening on *Saturday*, the Marquis went in a close coach to court, where he had private audience of this King, who sent *Olivares* to accompany him back to the Prince, where he kneeled, and kissed his hands, and hugged his thighs,

thighs, and delivered how unmeasurably glad his Catholick Majesty was of his coming, with other high compliments, which Mr. *Porter* did interpret. About ten o'clock that night, the King himself came in a close coach with intent to visit the Prince; who hearing of it, met him half way, and after salutations and divers embraces which passed in the first interview, they parted late. I forgot to tell you, that Count *Gondamar* being sworn counsellor of state that morning, having been before but one of the council of war, he came in great haste to visit the Prince, saying, he had strange news to tell him, which was, that an *Englishman* was sworn Privy-counsellor of *Spain*; meaning himself, who he said was an *Englishman* in his heart. On *Sunday* following, the King in the afternoon came abroad to take the air with the Queen, his two brothers and the *Infanta*, who were all in one coach; but the *Infanta* sat in the boot with a blue ribband about her arm, of purpose that the Prince might distinguish her: there were above twenty coaches besides, of grandees, noblemen, and ladies that attended them. And now, it was publicly known amongst the vulgar, that it was the Prince of *Wales* who was come; and the confluence of people before my Lord of *Bristol's* house was so great and greedy to see the Prince, that to clear the way, Sir *Lewis Dives* went out and took coach, and all the crowd of people went after him; so, the Prince himself took a coach, wherein were the Earl of *Bristol*, Sir *Walter Ashton*, and Count *Gondamar*, and so went to the *Prado*, a place hard by, of purpose to take the air, where they staid till the King passed by. As soon as the *Infanta* saw the Prince her colour rose very high; which, we hold to be an impression of love and affection, for the face is often-times a true index of the heart. Upon *Monday* morning after, the King sent some of his prime nobles, and other gentlemen, to attend the Prince in quality of officers; as one to be his mayordom, (his steward) another to be master of the horse, and so to inferior officers, so that there is a compleat court now at my Lord of *Bristol's* house;

but upon *Sunday* next the Prince is to remove to the King's palace, where there is one of the chief quarters of the house providing for him. By the next opportunity you shall hear more: in the interim, I take my leave and rest

Your most humble and ready servitor,

March 26. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXVIII.

To Sir FRANCIS COTTINGTON, Secretary to his Highness the Prince of Wales, at St. James's.

S I R,

I Believe it will not be unpleasing unto you to hear of the procedure and success of that business wherein you have been so long versant; I mean, the great suit against the *quondam Viceroy* of *Sardinia*, the *Conde del Real*. Count *Gondamar's* coming was a great advantage unto me; who hath done me many favours: besides a confirmation of the two sentences of view and review, and of the execution against the *Viceroy*, I have procured a royal *cedule*, which I caused to be printed, and whereof I send you here inclosed a copy; by which *cedule*, I have power to arrest his very person; and my lawyers tell me, there never was such a *cedule* granted before. I have also by virtue of it priority of all other his creditors. He hath made an imperfect overture of a composition, and shewed me some trivial old fashioned jewels, but nothing equivalent to the debt; and, now that I speak of jewels, the late surprisal of *Ormuz* by the assistance of our ships sink deep in their stomachs here, and we were afraid it would have spoiled all proceedings, but my Lord *Digby*, now Earl of *Bristol* (for Count *Gondamar* brought him over his patent) hath calmed all things at his last audience.

There

There were luminaries of joy lately here for the victory that *Don Gonzalez de Cordova* got over Count *Mansfelt* in the *Netherlands*, with that army which the Duke of *Bovillon* had levied for him; but some say, they have not much reason to rejoice, for though the *infantry* suffered, yet *Mansfelt* got clear with all his horse by a notable retreat; and they say here, it was the greatest piece of service and art that ever he did, it being a maxim, that there is nothing so difficult in the art of war as an honourable retreat. Besides, the report of his coming to *Breda* caused Marquis *Spinola* to raise the siege before *Bergben*, to burn his tents, and to pack away suddenly, for which he is much censured here.

Captain *Leat* and others have written to me of the favourable report you pleased to make of my endeavours here: for which, I return you humble thanks; and though you have left behind you a multitude of servants in this court, yet if occasion were offered, none should be more forward to go on your errand than

Your humble and faithful servitor,

Madrid, March 15. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R L X I X .

To Sir EUBULE THELOALL, Knight, at Grays-Inn.

S I R,

I Know the eyes of all *England* are earnestly fixed now upon *Spain*, her best jewel being here; but his journey was like to be spoiled in *France*, for if he had staid but a little longer, at *Bayonne*, the last town of that kingdom hitherwards, he had been discovered; for Monsieur *Gramond* the Governor had notice of him not long after he had taken post. The people here do mightily magnify the gallantry of the journey, and cry out, that he deserved to have the *Infanta* thrown into his arms the first night he came. He hath been entertained with

all the magnificence that possibly could be devised. On *Sunday* last in the morning betimes he went to St. *Hierome's* monastery, whence the kings of *Spain* use to be fetched the day they are crowned; and thither the King came in person with his two brothers, his eight councils, and the flower of the nobility: he rode upon the King's right-hand through the heart of the town, under a great canopy, and was brought so into his lodgings to the King's palace; and the King himself accompanied him to his very bed-chamber. It was a very glorious sight to behold; for the custom of the *Spaniard* is, though he go plain in his ordinary habit, yet upon some festival or cause of triumph, there is none goes beyond him in gaudiness.

We daily hope for the Pope's *breve*, or *dispensation*, to perfect the business, though there be dark whispers abroad that it is come already, but that upon this unexpected coming of the Prince, it was sent back to *Rome*, and some new clauses thrust in for their further advantage. Until this dispatch comes, matters are at a kind of a stand, yet, his Highness makes account to be back in *England* about the latter end of *May*. God almighty turn all to the best, and to what shall be most conducive to his glory: so, with my due respects unto you, I rest

Your much obliged servitor,

April 1. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXX.

To Captain LEAT.

S I R,

HAVING brought up the law to the highest point against the Viceroy of *Sardinia*, and that in an extraordinary manner, as may appear unto you by that printed *cedule* I sent you in my last; and finding an apparent disability in him to satisfy the debt, I thought upon

upon a new design, and framed a memorial to the King, and wrought good strong means to have it seconded, that, in regard that predatory act of seizing upon the ship *Vineyard* in *Sardinia* with all her goods, was done by his Majesty's Viceroy, his sovereign Minister of State; one that immediately represented his own royal person, and that the said Viceroy was insolvent, I desired his Majesty would be pleased to grant a warrant for the relief of both parties to lade so many thousand *sterils*, or measures of corn, out of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* custom free. I had gone far in the business when Sir *Francis Cottington* sent for me, and required me in the Prince's name to proceed no further herein till he was departed: so, his Highness's presence here hath turned rather to my disadvantage than otherwise. Amongst other *grandezas* which the King of *Spain* conferred upon our Prince, one was the releasement of prisoners, and that all petitions of grace should come to him for the first month; but he hath been wonderful sparing in receiving any, especially from any *English*, *Irish*, or *Scot*. Your son *Nicolas* is come hither from *Alicant*, about the ship *Amity*, and I shall be ready to second him in getting satisfaction: so I rest

Yours ready to serve you,

Madrid, June 3. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXI.

To Captain THOMAS PORTER.

Noble Captain,

MY last unto you was in *Spanish*, in answer to one of yours in the same language; and amongst that confluence of *English* gallants, which upon the occasion of his Highness being here, are come to this court, I fed myself with hopes a long while to have seen you; but, I find now that those hopes were impeded with false feathers.

feathers. I know your heart is here, and your best affections, therefore I wonder what keeps back your person; but I conceive the reason to be, that you intend to come like yourself, to come commander in chief of one of the castles of the crown, one of the ships royal. If you come to this shore side, I hope you will have time to come to the court: I have at any time a good lodging for you, and my landlady is none of the meanest, and her husband hath many good parts. I heard her setting him forth one day, and giving this character of him, *Mi marido es buen musico, buen esgrimido, buen escrivano, excelente arithmetico, salvo que no multiplica*; my husband is a good musician, a good fencer, a good horseman, a good penman, and an excellent *arithmetician*, only he cannot *multiply*. For outward usage, there is all industry used to give the Prince and his servants all possible contentment; and some of the King's own servants wait upon them at table in the palace, where, I am sorry to hear some of them jeer at the *Spanish* fare, and use other slighting speeches and demeanour. There are many excellent poems made here since the Prince's arrival, which are too long to couch in a letter, yet I will venture to send you this one *stanza* of *Lope de Vegas*.

*Carlos Estuardo soy
Que siendo Amor mi guia,
Al cielo d'España voy
Par ver mi estrella Maria.*

There are comedians once a week come to the palace, where under a great canopy, the Queen and the *Infanta* sit in the middle, our Prince and *Don Carlos* on the Queen's right hand, the King and the little Cardinal on the *Infanta's* left hand. I have seen the Prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the *Infanta* half an hour together in a thoughtful speculative posture, which sure would needs be tedious, unless affection did sweeten it: it was no handsome comparison of *Olivares*, that he watched her as a cat doth a mouse. Not long since, the Prince understanding that the *Infanta* was used to go

some

some mornings to the *casa de campo*, a summer-house the King hath the other side the river, to gather *May dew*, he did rise betimes and went thither, taking your brother with him, they were let into the house, and into the garden, but the *Infanta* was in the orchard; and there being a high partition-wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her, but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek and ran back: the old Marquis that was then her guardian, came towards the Prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his Highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company; so the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in. I have seen him watch a long hour together in a close coach in the open street to see her as she went abroad. I cannot say that the Prince did ever talk with her privately, yet publickly often, my Lord of *Bristol* being interpreter, but the King always sat hard by to over-hear all. Our cousin *Archy* hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat, where the *Infanta* is with her *meninas* and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering amongst them, and flurts out what he lists.

One day they were discoursing what a marvellous thing it was, that the Duke of *Bavaria* with less than 15000 men, after a toilsome march, should dare to encounter the *Palsgrave's* army, consisting of above 25000, and to give them utter discomfiture, and take *Prague* presently: whereunto *Archy* answered, that he would tell them a stranger thing than that. Was it not a strange thing, quoth he, that in the year 1588, there should come a fleet of 140 sails from *Spain* to invade *England*, and that ten of these could not go back to tell what became of the rest? By the next opportunity I will send you the *Cordouan* pockets and gloves you wrote for of *Francisco Marano's* perfuming. So my dear Captain live long, and love his

Madrid, July 10. 1623.

J. H.
LET-

LETTER LXXII.

To my Cousin THO. GUIN, Esq; at his House Treacastle.

COUSIN,

I Received lately one of yours, which I cannot compare more properly than to a posse of curious flowers, there was therein such a variety of sweet strains and dainty expressions of love; and though it bore an old date, for it was forty days before it came safe to hand, yet the flowers were still fresh, and not a whit faded, but did cast as strong and as fragrant a scent as when your hands bound them up first together, only there was one flower that did not favour so well, which was the undeserved character you please to give of my small abilities; which in regard you look upon me through the prospective of affection, appear greater unto you than they are of themselves; yet as small as they are, I would be glad to serve you upon any occasion.

Whereas you desire to know how matters pass here, you shall understand, that we are rather in assurance than hopes that the match will take effect, when one dispatch more is brought from *Rome*, which we greedily expect. The *Spaniards* generally desire it; they are much taken with our Prince, with the bravery of his journey, and his discreet comportment since; and, they confess there was never Princess courted with more gallantry. The wits of the court here have made divers encomiums of him, and of his affection to the Lady *Infanta*. Amongst others, I send you a *Latin* poem of one *Marnorius a Valencian*, to which, I add this ensuing *hexastic*; which in regard of the difficulty of the verse, consisting of all *ternaries*, (which is the hardest way of versifying) and of the exactness of the translation, I believe will give you content:

*Fax grata est, gratum est vulnus, mihi grata catena est,
Me quibus astringit, ledit & urit amor;*

Sed

*Sed flammam extingui, sanavi vulnera, solvi
Vincla, etiam ut possem non ego posse velim:
Mirum equidem genus hoc morbi est, incendia & ictus
Vinclaque, vincetus adhuc, laesus & ustus, amo.*

Grateful's to me the fire, the wound, the chain,
By which *love* burns, *love* binds and giveth pain;
But for to quench this fire, these bonds to loose,
These wounds to heal, I would not could I chuse:
Strange sickness, where the wounds, the bonds, the fire
That burns, that bind, that hurt, I must desire.

In your next, I pray send me your opinion of these verses, for I know you are a *critic* in poetry. Mr. *Vaughan* of the *Golden-grove* and I were comrades and bedfellows here many months together: his father, Sir *John Vaughan* the Prince's Controller, is lately come to attend his master. My Lord of *Carlisle*, my Lord of *Holland*, my Lord *Rochfort*, my Lord of *Denbigh*, and divers others are here, so that we have a very flourishing court; and I could wish you were here to make one of the number. So my dear cousin, I wish you all happiness, and our noble Prince a safe and successful return to *England*.

Your most affectionate cousin,

Madrid, August 13. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXIII.

To my noble Friend Sir JOHN NORTH.

S I R,

THE long looked for dispensation is come from *Rome*, but I hear it is clogged with new clauses; and one is, that the Pope, who alledgeth that the only aim of the apostolical See in granting this dispensation, was the advantage and ease of the catholics in the King of
Great

Great Britain's dominions, therefore he desired a valuable caution for the performance of those articles which were stipulated in their favour: this hath much puzzled the business; and Sir *Francis Cottington* comes now over about it: besides, there is some distaste taken at the Duke of *Buckingham* here; and I heard this King should say he will treat no more with him, but with the ambassadors, who, he saith, have a more plenary commission, and understand the business better. As there is some darkness happened betwixt the two favourites, so matters stand not right betwixt the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol*; but, God forbid that a business of so high a consequence as this, which is likely to tend so much to the universal good of *christendom*, to the restitution of the *Palatinate*, and the composing those broils in *Germany*, should be ranversed by differences betwixt a few private subjects, though now public ministers.

Mr. *Washington* the Prince's page is lately dead of a calenture, and I was at his burial, under a fig-tree behind my Lord of *Bristol's* house. A little before his death one *Ballard* an *English* Priest went to tamper with him; and Sir *Edward Varney* meeting him coming down the stairs of *Washington's* chamber, they fell from words to blows, but they were parted. The business was like to gather very ill blood, and come to a great height, had not Count *Gondamar* quash't it; which I believe he could not have done, unless the times had been favourable, for such is the reverence they bear to the church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest *Don* in *Spain* will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront. Count *Gondamar* hath also helped to free some *English* that were in the Inquisition in *Toledo* and *Seville*; and I could alledge many instances how ready and chearful he is to assist any *Englishman* whatsoever, notwithstanding the base affronts he hath often received of the *London* boys as he calls them. At his last return hither, I heard of a merry saying of his to the Queen, who discoursing with him about the greatness of *London*, and whether it was as popu-

lous

pulous as *Madrid*; yes *Madam*, and more populous when I came away, though I believe there is scarce a man left there now, but all women and children; for all the men both in court and city were ready booted and spurred to go away: and I am sorry to hear how other nations do much tax the *English* of their incivility to public ministers of state; and what ballads, and pasquils, and fopperies and plays were made against *Gondamar* for doing his master's business. My Lord of *Bristol* coming from *Germany* to *Brussels*, notwithstanding that at his arrival thither, the news was fresh that he had relieved *Frankindale* as he passed, yet was he not a whit the less welcome, but valued the more both by the Archdutchess herself and *Spinola* with all the rest; as also, that they knew well that the said Earl had been the sole adviser of keeping Sir *Robert Mansel* abroad with that fleet upon the coast of *Spain* till the *Palsgrave* should be restored. I pray Sir when you go to *London-wall* and *Towerhill*, be pleased to remember my humble service where you know it is due: so, I am

Your most faithful servitor,

Madrid, August 15. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXIV.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Colchester.

My very good Lord,

I Received the letter and commands your Lordship pleased to send me by Mr. *Walsingham Gresley*; and touching the constitutions and orders of the contratation house of the *West-Indies* in *Sevile*, I cannot procure it for love or money, upon any terms, though I have done all possible diligence therein; and some tell me it is dangerous, and no less than treason in him that gives the copy of them to any, in regard it is counted the greatest mystery of all the *Spanish* government.

That

That difficulty which happened in the business of the match of giving caution to the Pope, is now overcome: for whereas our King answered, that he could give no other caution than his royal word and his son's, exemplified under the great seal of *England*, and confirmed by his council of State, it being impossible to have it done by parliament, in regard of the averfeness the common people have to the alliance; and whereas this gave no satisfaction to *Rome*, the King of *Spain* now offereth himself for caution, for putting in execution what is stipulated in behalf of the *roman catholicks* throughout his Majesty of *Great Britain's* dominions. But he desires to consult his ghostly fathers to know, whether he may do it without wronging his conscience: hereupon there hath been a *junta* formed of bishops and jesuits, who have been already a good while about it; and the Bishop of *Segovia*, who is as it were Lord Treasurer, having written a treaty lately against the match, was outted of his office, banished the court, and confined to his diocess. The Duke of *Buckingham* hath been indisposed a good while, and lies sick at court, where the Prince hath no public exercise of devotion, but only bed-chamber prayers: and some think that his lodging in the King's house is like to prove a disadvantage to the main business: for whereas, most sorts of people here hardly hold us to be *christians*. If the Prince had a palace of his own, and been permitted to have used a room for an open chapel to exercise the liturgy of the church of *England*, it would have brought them to have a better opinion of us; and to this end there were some of our church-plate and vestments brought hither, but never used. The slow pace of this *junta* troubles us a little, and to the *divines* there are some *civilians* admitted lately; and the *quære* is this, whether the King of *Spain* may bind himself by oath in the behalf of the King of *England*, to perform such and such articles that are agreed on in favour of the *roman catholicks* by virtue of this match; whether the King may do this *salva conscientia*?

There

There was a great show lately here of baiting of bulls with men, for the entertainment of the Prince; it is the chiefest of all *Spanish* sports; commonly there are men killed at it, therefore there are priests appointed to be there ready to confess them. It hath happened oftentimes, that a bull hath taken up two men upon his horns with their guts dangling about them; the horsemen run with lances and swords, the foot with goads. As I am told, the Pope hath sent divers bulls against this sport of bulling, yet it will not be left, the nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it. There was an ill-favour'd accident like to have happened lately at the King's house, in that part where my Lord of *Carlisle* and my Lord *Denbigh* were lodged; for my Lord *Denbigh* late at night taking a pipe of tobacco in a *balcōny*, which hung over the King's garden, he blew down the ashes, which falling upon some parched combustible matter, began to flame and spread; but Mr. *Davis*, my Lord of *Carlisle's* barber, leapt down a great height, and quenched it. So with my continuance of my most humble service, I rest ever ready

At your Lordship's command,

Madrid, August 16. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXV.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, from Madrid.

S I R,

THE court of *Spain* affords now little news; for there is a *remora* sticks to the business of the match, till the *junta* of the *divines* give up their opinion; but from *Turky* there came a letter this week, wherein there is the strangest and most tragical news, that in my small reading no story can parallel, or shew with more pregnancy the instability and tottering estate of human greatness, and the sandy foundation whereon the vast

Ottoman empire is reared: for *Sultan Osman*, the *Grand Turk*, a man according to the humour of that nation warlike and fleshed in blood, and a violent hater of *christians*, was in the flower of his years, in the heat and height of his courage knocked in the head by one of his own slaves, and one of the meanest of them, with a battle-axe, and the murderer never after proceeded against or questioned.

The ground of this tragedy was the late ill success he had against the *Pole*, wherein he lost about 100,000 horse for want of forage, and 80,000 men for want of fighting; which he imputed to the cowardice of his *Janizaries*, who rather than bear the brunt of the battle, were more willing to return home to their wives and merchandizing; which they are now permitted to do, contrary to their first institution, which makes them more worldly and less venturous. This disgraceful return from *Polland*, stuck in *Osman's* stomach, and so he studied a way to be revenged of the *Janizaries*; therefore, by the advice of his *Grand Visier* (a stout gallant man, who had been one of the chief *Beglerbegs* in the East) he intended to erect a new soldiery in *Asia* about *Damasco*, of the *Coords*, a frontier people, and consequently hardy and inured to arms. Of these he purposed to entertain 40,000 as a life-guard for his person, though the main design was to suppress his lazy and lustful *Janizaries*, with men of fresh new spirits.

To disguise this plot, he pretended a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, to visit *Mahomet's* tomb, and reconcile himself to the Prophet, who he thought was angry with him, because of his late ill success in *Poland*: but this colour was not specious enough, in regard he might have performed this pilgrimage with a smaller train and charge; therefore it was propounded that the *empire of Sidon* should be made to rise up in arms, that so he might go with a great power and treasure; but this plot was held disadvantageous to him, in regard his *Janizaries* must then have attended him: so he pretends and prepares only for the pilgrimage, yet he makes ready as much treasure

treasure as he could make, and to that end he melts his plate, and furniture of horses, with divers church-lamps: this fomented some jealousy in the *Janizaries*, with certain words which should drop from him, that he would find soldiers shortly should whip them. Hereupon he had sent over to *Asia's* side his pavilions, many of his servants, with his jewels and treasure, resolving upon the voyage, notwithstanding that divers petitions were delivered him by the clergy, the civil magistrates, and the soldiery, that he should desist from the voyage, but all would not do: thereupon, on the point of his departure, the *Janizaries* and *Spahies* came in a tumultuary manner to the seraglio, and in a high insolent language dissuaded him from the pilgrimage, and demanded of him his ill counsellors. The first he granted, but for the second, he said that it stood not with his honour, to have his nearest servants torn from him so, without any legal proceeding; but he assured them that they should appear in the *divan* the next day, to answer for themselves: but this not satisfying, they went away in a fury, and plundered the *Grand Visier's* palace, with divers others. *Osman* hereupon was advised to go from his private gardens that night to the *Asian* shore, but his destiny kept him from it: so the next morning they came armed to the court, (but having made a covenant not to violate the imperial throne) and cut in pieces the *Grand Visier* with divers other great officers; and not finding *Osman*, who had hid himself in a small lodge in one of his gardens, they cried out, they must have a *Musulman* Emperor; therefore they broke into a dungeon, and brought out *Mustapha*, *Osman's* uncle, whom he had clapt there at the beginning of the tumult, and who had been King before, but was deposed for his simplicity, being a kind of *Santon*, or holy man, that is, betwixt an *innocent* and an *idiot*: this *Mustapha* they did re-enthronize, and place in the *Ottoman* empire

The next day they found *Osman*, and brought him before *Mustapha*, who excused himself with tears in his eyes for his rash attempts, which wrought tenderness in

some, but more scorn and fury in others; who fell upon the *Capi Aga*, with the other officers, and cut them in pieces before his eyes. *Osman* then was carried to prison, and as he was getting on horseback, a common soldier took off his turban, and clapt his upon *Osman's* head, who in his passage begged a draught of water at a fountain. The next day, the new *Visier* went with an executioner to strangle him, in regard there were two younger brothers more of his to preserve the *Ottoman* race; where, after they had rushed in, he being newly awaked, and staring upon them, and thinking to defend himself, a robust boisterous rogue knocked him down, and so the rest fell upon him, and strangled him with much ado.

Thus fell one of the greatest potentates upon earth, by the hands of a contemptible slave, for there is not a free-born subject in all that vast empire. Thus fell he that intitles himself most puissant and highest monarch of the *Turks*, King above all kings, a King that dwelleth upon the earthly paradise, son of *Mahomet*, keeper of the grave of the christian God, Lord of the tree of life, and of the river *Flisky*, Prior of the earthly paradise, Conqueror of the *Macedonians*, the seed of great *Alexander*, Prince of the kingdoms of *Tartary*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, and of the martial *Mammalucks*, *Anatolia*, *Bithynia*, *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Servia*, *Thracia*, *Morea*, *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and of all warlike *Hungary*, sovereign Lord and commander of all *Greece*, *Persia*, both the *Arabias*, the most noble kingdom of *Egypt Tremisen*, and *African*, empire of *Trabesond*, and the most glorious *Constantinople*, Lord of all the white and black seas, of the holy city *Mecca*, and *Medina*, shining with divine glory, commander of all thing that are to be commanded, and the strongest and mightiest Champion of the wide world, a warrior appointed by heaven in the edge of the sword, a persecutor of his enemies, a most perfect jewel of the blessed tree, the chiefest keeper of the crucified God, &c. with other such bombastical titles.

This *Osman* was a man of a goodly constitution, an amiable aspect, and of excess of courage, but sordidly covetous;

covetous ; which drove him to violate the church, and to melt the lamps therof, which made the *Musti* say, that this was a due judgment fallen upon him from heaven for his sacrilege. He used also to make his person too cheap, for he would go ordinarily in the night time with two men after him, like a petty constable, and peep into the *cauph-houses* and *carabets*, and apprehend soldiers there : and these two things it seems was the cause that when he was so assaulted in the *seraglio*, not one of his domestick servants, whereof he had 3000, would lift up an arm to help him.

Some few days before his death he had a strange dream, for, he dreamed that he was mounted upon a great *camel*, who would not go, neither by fair nor foul means ; and lighting off him, and thinking to strike him with his scimiter, the body of the beast vanished, leaving the head and the bridle only in his hand. When the *Musti* and the *boggies* could not interpret this dream, *Mustapha* his uncle did it ; for he said, the *camel* signified his empire, his mounting of him, his excess in goverment, his lighting down, his deposing. Another kind of prophetic speech dropt from the *Grand Visier* to Sir *Thomas Roe*, our Ambassador there, who having gone a little before this tragedy to visit the said *Visier*, told him what whisperings and mutterings there were in every corner, for this *Asiatic* voyage, and what ill consequences might ensue from it ; but if it held, he desired him to leave a charge with the *Ghimacham*, his deputy, that the *English* nation in the port should be free from outrages : whereunto the *Grand Visier* answered, trouble not yourself about that, for I will not remove so far from *Constantinople*, but I will leave one of my legs behind to serve you ; which proved too true, for he was murdered afterwards, and one of his legs was hung up in the hippodrome.

This fresh tragedy makes me to give over wondering at any thing that ever I heard or read, to shew the lubricity of *mundan* greatness, as also the fury of the vulgar, which like an impetuous torrent gathereth strength by degrees as it meets with divers dams, and being come to

the height, cannot stop itself: for when this rage of the soldiers began first, there was no design at all to violate or hurt the Emperor, but to take from him his ill counsellors; but it being once a-foot, it grew by insensible degrees to the utmost of outrages.

The bringing out of *Mustapha*, from the dungeon, where he was prisoner, to be Emperor of the *Musulmans*, put me in mind of what I read in Mr. *Cambden* of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, how she was brought from the scaffold to the *English* throne.

They who profess to be critics in policy here, hope that this murdering of *Osman* may in time bring good blood, and prove advantageous to christendom: for though this be the first Emperor of the *Turks* that was dispatched so, he is not like to be the last, now that the soldiers have this precedent. Others think, that if that design in *Asia* had taken, it had been very probable the *Constantinopolitans* had hoisted up another King, and so the empire had been dismembered, and by this division had lost strength, as the *Roman* empire did, when it was broken into East and West.

Excuse me that this my letter is become such a monster, I mean that it hath past the size and ordinary proportion of a letter; for the matter it treats of is monstrous; besides, it is a rule, that historical letters have more liberty to be long than others. In my next you shall hear how matters pass here: in the mean time, and always, I rest

Your honour's most devoted servant,

Madrid, August 17. 1623.

J. H.

LETTER LXXVI.

To the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS SAVAGE, Knight
and Baronet.

Honourable Sir,

THE procedure of things in relation to the grand business the match, was at a kind of stand, when the long winded *junta* delivered their opinions, and fell at last upon this result, that his catholick Majesty, for the satisfaction of *St. Peter*, might oblige himself in the behalf of *England*, for the performance of those capitulations which related to the *roman catholics* in that kingdom; and in case of non-performance, then to fight himself by war, since that the matrimonial articles were solemnly sworn to by the King of *Spain*, and his Highness, the two favourites, our two ambassadors, the Duke of *Infantado*, and other counsellors of state being present: hereupon, the eighth of *September* next is appointed to be the day of *desposorios*, the day of *affiance*, or the betrothing-day. There was much gladness express'd here, and luminaries of joy were in every great street throughout the city; but there is an unlucky accident hath interven'd, for the King gave the Prince a solemn visit since, and told him Pope *Gregory* was dead, who was so great a friend to the match, but in regard the business was not yet come to perfection, he could not proceed further in it till the former dispensation was ratified by the new Pope *Urban*, which to procure, he would make it his own task, and that all possible expedition should be used in it, and therefore desired his patience in the interim. The Prince answered, and prest the necessity of his speedy return with divers reasons; he said, there was a general kind of murmuring in *England* for his so long absence; that the King his father was old and sickly, that the fleet of his ships were already, he thought, at sea to fetch him, the winter drew on; and withal, that the articles of the match were signed in *England* with this proviso,

proviso, that if he be not come back by such a month, they should be of no validity. The King replied, that since his Highness was resolved upon so sudden a departure, he would please to leave a proxy behind to finish the marriage, and he would take it for a favour if he would depute *him* to personate him; and ten days after the ratification shall come from *Rome* the business shall be done, and afterwards he might send for his wife when he pleased. The Prince rejoined, that among those multitudes of royal favours which he had received from his Majesty, this transcended all the rest, therefore he would most willingly leave a proxy for his Majesty, and another for *Don Carlos* to this effect: so they parted for that time without the least umbrage of discontent; nor do I hear of any ingendered since. The last month, it is true, the *junta* of divines dwelt so long upon the business, that there were whisperings that the Prince intended to go away disguised as he came; and the question being asked by a person of quality, there was a brave answer made, that if love brought him thither, it is not fear shall drive him away.

There are preparations already a-foot for his return, and the two proxies are drawn and left in my Lord of *Bristol's* hands. Notwithstanding this ill-favoured stop, yet we are all here confident the business will take effect: in which hopes I rest

Your most humble and ready servant,

Madrid, August 18. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXVII.

To Captain NICH. LEAT at his House in London.

S I R,

THIS letter comes to you by Mr. *Richard Altham*, of whose sudden departure hence I am very sorry, it being occasioned by the late death of his brother Sir *James Altham*.

Altham. I have been at a stand in the business a good while, for his Highness's coming hither was no advantage to me in the earth. He hath done the *Spaniards* divers courtesies, but he hath been very sparing in doing the *English* any: it may be perhaps, because it may be a diminution of honour to be beholding to any foreign Prince to do his own subjects favours, but my business requires no favour; all I desire is justice, which I have not obtained yet in reality.

The Prince is preparing for his journey: I shall to it again closely when he is gone, and make a shaft or a bolt of it. The Pope's death hath retarded the proceedings of the match, but we are so far from despairing of it, that one may have wagers thirty to one it will take effect still. He that deals with this nation must have a great deal of phlegm; and if this *grand* business of state, (the match) suffer such protraction and puttings off, you need not wonder that private negotiations as mine is, should be subject to the same inconveniencies. There shall be no means left unattempted that my best industry can find out to put a period to it; and when his Highness is gone, I hope to find my Lord of *Bristol* more at leisure to continue his favour and furtherance, which hath been much already: so, I rest

Yours ready to serve you,

Madrid, August 19. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXVIII.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, Knight.

S I R,

THE Prince is now upon his journey to the seaside, where my Lord of *Rutland* attends for him with a royal fleet. There are many here shrink in their shoulders, and are very sensible of his departure, and the Lady *Infanta* resents it more than any: she hath caused

a mass to be sung every day ever since for his good voyage. The *Spaniards* themselves confess there was never *princess* so bravely wooed. The King and his two brothers accompanied his Highness to the *Escorial*, some twenty miles off, and would have brought him to the sea-side, but that the Queen is big, and hath not many days to go. When the King and he parted, there passed wonderful great endearments and embraces in divers postures between them a long time; and in that place, there is a pillar to be erected as a monument to posterity. There are some *grandees* and Count *Gondamar*, with a great train besides gone with him to the *Marine*, to the sea-side, which will be many days journey, and must needs put the King of *Spain* to a mighty expence, besides his seven months entertainment here. We hear that when he passed through *Valladolid*, the Duke of *Lerma* was retired thence for the time by special command from the King, lest he might have discourse with the Prince, whom he extremely desired to see: this sunk deep into the old Duke, insomuch that he said, that of all the acts of malice which *Olivares* had ever done him, he resented this more than any. He bears up yet very well under his cardinal's habit; which hath kept him from many a foul storm that might have fallen upon him else from the temporal power. The Duke of *Uzeda* his son, finding himself decline in favour at court, had retired to the country, and died soon after of discontentment. During his sickness, the Cardinal wrote this short weighty letter unto him: *Dizen me, que Mareys de necio; por mi, mas temo mis a nos que mis Enmigos.* *Lerma*. I shall not need to *English* it to you, who are so great a master of the language. Since I began this letter, we understand the Prince is safely embarked, but not without some danger of being cast away, had not Sir *Sackville Trevor* taken him up. I pray God send him a good voyage, and us no ill news from *England*. My most humble service at *Towerhill*, so I am

Your humble servitor,

Madrid, August 21. 1623.

J. H.
L E T-

LETTER LXXIX.

To my Brother Dr. HOWELL.

My Brother,

SINCE our Prince's departure hence, the Lady *Infanta* studieth *English* apace; and one Mr. *Wadsworth* and father *Boniface*, two *Englishmen*, are appointed her teachers, and have access to her every day: we count her as it were our *Princess* now, and as we give, so she takes that title. Our ambassadors, my Lord of *Bristol*, and Sir *Walter Aston*, will not stand now covered before her, when they have audience, because they hold her to be their *Princess*. She is preparing divers suits of rich cloaths for his Highness, of perfumed amber leather, some embroidered with pearl, some with gold, some with silver: her family is settling apace, and most of her officers are known already. We want nothing now but one dispatch more from *Rome*, and then the marriage will be solemnized, and all things consummated; yet there is one Mr. *Clerk* (with the lame arm) that came hither from the sea-side, as soon as the Prince was gone: he is one of the Duke of *Buckingham's* creatures, yet he lies at the Earl of *Bristol's* house; which we wonder at, considering the darkness that happened betwixt the Duke and the Earl: we fear that this *Clerk* hath brought something that may puzzle the business. Besides, having occasion to make my address lately to the *Venetian* Ambassador, who is interested in some part of that great business for which I am here, he told me confidently it would be no match, nor did he think it was ever intended; but, I want faith to believe him yet, for I know *St. Mark* is no friend to it, nor *France*, or any other Prince or state besides the King of *Denmark*, whose grandmother was of the house of *Austria*, being sister to *Charles* the Emperor. Touching the business of the *Palatinate*, our ambassadors were lately assured by *Olivares*, and all the counsellors here, and that in this
King's

King's name, that he would procure his Majesty of *Great Britain* entire satisfaction herein; and *Olivares*, giving them the joy, intreated them to assure their King upon their honour, and upon their lives, of the reality hereof; for the *Infanta* herself (saith he) hath stirred in it, and makes it her own business: for, it was a firm peace and amity (which he confessed could never be without the accommodation of things in *Germany*) as much as an *alliance*, which his Catholic Majesty aimed at. But we shall know shortly now what to trust to: we shall walk no more in mists, though some give out yet that our Prince shall embrace a cloud for *June* at last.

I pray present my service to Sir *John Franklin*, and Sir *John Smith*, with all at the *Hill and Dale*; and when you send to *Wales*, I pray convey the inclosed to my father. So my dear brother, I pray God bless us both, and bring us again joyfully together.

Your very loving brother,

Madrid, August 12. 1623.

J. H.

LETTER LXXX.

To my noble Friend Sir JOHN NORTH, Knight.

S I R,

I Received lately one of yours, but it was of a very old date. We have our eyes here now all fixed upon *Rome*, greedily expecting the ratification, and lately a strong rumour ran it was come, insomuch that Mr. *Clerk*, who was sent hither from the Prince, being a shipboard, (and now lies sick at my Lord of *Bristol*'s house of a calenture) hearing of it, he desired to speak with him, for he had something to deliver him from the Prince, my Lord Ambassador being come to him, Mr. *Clerk* delivered a letter from the Prince: the contents whereof were, 'that, whereas he had left certain *proxies* in his hand to 'be delivered to the King of *Spain* after the ratification ' was

' was come, he desired and required him not to do it
' till he should receive further orders from *England*.' My Lord of *Bristol* hereupon went to Sir *Walter Aston*, who was in joint commission with him for concluding the match, and shewing him the letter, what my Lord *Aston* said I know not, but my Lord of *Bristol* told him, that they had a commission royal under the broad seal of *England*, to conclude the match: he knew as well as he how earnest the King their master had been any time this ten years to have it done, how there could not be a better pawn for the surrendry of the *Palatinate*, than the *Infanta* in the Prince's arms, who could never rest till she did the work to merit love of our nation. He told him also, how their own particular fortunes depended upon it; besides, if he should delay one moment to deliver the *proxy* after the ratification was come, according to agreement, the *Infanta* would hold herself so blemished in her honour, that it might overthrow all things. Lastly, he told him, that they incurred the hazard of their heads, if they should suspend the executing his Majesty's commission upon any order, but from that power who gave it, who was the King himself. Hereupon, both the ambassadors proceeded still in their preparing matters for the solemnizing of the marriage: the Earl of *Bristol* had caused above thirty rich liveries to be made of watched velvet, with silver-lace up to the very capes of the cloaks; the best sorts whereof, were valued at 80 *l.* a livery. My Lord *Aston* had also provided new liveries; and a fortnight after the said politic report was blown up, the ratification came indeed compleat and full; so the marriage-day was appointed, a *terras* covered all over with tapestry was raised from the King's palace to the next church; which might be about the same extent as from *Whitehall* to *Westminster-Abbey*; and the King intended to make his sister a *wife*, and his daughter (whereof the Queen was delivered a little before) a *christian* upon the same day: the *grandees* and great ladies had been invited to the marriage, and orders was sent to all the port-towns to discharge their great ord-

O

nance,

nance, and fundry other things were prepared to honour the solemnity: but, when we were thus at the height of our hopes, a day or two before, there came Mr. *Kellegree, Gresly, Wood and Davies*, one upon the neck of another, with a new commission to my Lord of *Bristol* immediately from his Majesty, countermanding him to deliver the *proxy* aforesaid, until a full and absolute satisfaction were had for the surrendry of the *Palatinate* under this King's hand and seal, in regard he desired his son should be married to *Spain*, and his son-in-law remarried to the *Palatinate* at one time: hereupon, all was dashed in pieces, and that frame which was rearing so many years, was ruined in a moment. This news struck a damp in the hearts of all people here, and they wished that the postillions that brought it had all broke their necks in the way.

My Lord of *Bristol* hereupon went to court to acquaint the King with his new commission, and so proposed the restitution of the *Palatinate*. The King answered, it was none of his to give: 'tis true, he had a few towns there, but he held them as commissioner only from the Emperor, and he could not command an Emperor, yet if his Majesty of *Great Britain* would put a treaty a-foot, he would send his own ambassadors to join. In the interim, the Earl was commanded not to deliver the aforesaid *proxy* of the Prince, for the disponsories or espousal, until *Christmas*: (and herein it seems his Majesty with you was not well informed, for those powers of *proxies* expired before). The King here said further, that if his uncle the Emperor, or the Duke of *Bavaria* would not be conformable to reason, he would raise as great an army for the Prince *Palsgrave* as he did under *Spinola* when he first invaded the *Palatinate*; and to secure this, he would engage his contratation-house of the *West-Indies*, with his plate-fleet, and give the most binding instrument that could be under his hand and seal. But this gave no satisfaction, therefore my Lord of *Bristol* I believe hath not long to stay here, for, he is commanded to deliver no more letters to the *Infanta*, nor demand any

any more audience; and that she should be no more styled Princess of *England* or *Wales*. The foresaid caution which this King offered to my Lord of *Bristol*, made me think of what I read of his grandfather *Philip II.* who having been married to our Queen *Mary*, and it being thought she was with child of him, and was accordingly prayed for at *Paul's-cross*, though it proved afterwards but a tympany, King *Philip* proposed to our parliament, that they would pass an act that he might be Regent during his or her minority that should be born, and he would give good caution to surrender the crown, when *he or she* should come to age. The motion was hotly canvassed in the house of peers, and like to pass, when the Lord *Paget* rose up and said, *I, but who shall sue for the King's bond?* So the business was dashed. I have no more news to send you now, and I am sorry I have so much, unless it were better; for we that have business to negotiate here are like to suffer much by this rupture. Welcome be the will of God, to whose benediction I commend you, and rest

Your most humble servitor,

Madrid, August 25. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXI.

To the Right Honourable Lord CLIFFORD.

My good Lord,

THOUGH this court cannot afford now such comfortable news in relation to *England* as I could wish, yet such as it is you shall receive. My Lord of *Bristol* is preparing for *England*: I waited upon him lately when he went to take his leave at court, and the King washing his hands, took a ring from off his own finger, and put it upon his; which was the greatest honour that ever he did any Ambassador as they say here; he gave him also a cupboard of plate, valued at 20,000

crowns. There were also large and high promises made him, that in case he feared to fall upon any rock in *England*, by reason of the power of those who maligned him, if he would stay in any of his dominions, he would give him means and honour equal to the highest of his enemies. The Earl did not only wave, but disdained these propositions made unto him by *Olivares*; and said, he was so confident of the King his master's justice and high judgment, and of his own innocency, that he conceived no power could be able to do him hurt. There hath occurred nothing lately in this court worth the advertisement. They speak much of the strange carriage of that boisterous Bishop of *Halverstadt*, (for so they term him here) that having taken a place where there were two monasteries of nuns and friers, he caused divers feather-beds to be ripped, and all the feathers to be thrown in a great hall, whither the nuns and friers were thrust naked with their bodies oiled and pitched, and to tumble among these feathers; which makes them here presage him an ill death. So, I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest

Your very humble servant,

Madrid, August 26. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXII.

To Sir JOHN NORTH.

S I R,

I Have many thanks to render you for the favour you lately did to a kinsman of mine, Mr. *Vaughan*, and for divers others, which I defer till I return to that court, and that I hope will not be long. Touching the procedure of matters here, you shall understand, that my Lord *Aston* had special audience lately of the King of *Spain*, and afterwards presented a memorial, wherein there was a high complaint against the miscarriage of the

two *Spanish* ambassadors now in *England*, the Marquis of *Inopisa*, and *Don Carlos Coloma*: the substance of it was, that the said ambassadors in a private audience his Majesty of *Great Britain* had given them, informed him of a pernicious plot against his person and royal authority; which was, that at the beginning of your now parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* with other his complices, often met and consulted in a clandestine way, how to break the treaty both of *match* and *Palatinate*; and in case his Majesty was unwilling thereunto, he should have a country-house or two to retire unto for his recreation and health, in regard the Prince is now of years and judgment fit to govern. His Majesty so resented this, that the next day he sent them many thanks for the care they had of him, and desired them to perfect the work; and now that they had detected the treason, to discover also the traitors; but they were shy in that point. The King sent again, desiring them to send him the names of the conspirators in a paper sealed up by one of their own confidants, which he would receive with his own hands, and no soul should see it else; advising them withal, that they should not prefer this discovery before their own honours, to be accounted false accusers: they replied, that they had done enough already by instancing in the Duke of *Buckingham*, and it might easily be guessed who were his confidants and creatures. Hereupon his Majesty put those whom he had any grounds to suspect to their oaths; and afterward sent my Lord *Corway*, and Sir *Francis Cottington*, to tell the ambassadors that he had left no means unessayed to discover the conspiracy; that he had found upon oath such a clearness of ingenuity in the Duke of *Buckingham*, that satisfied him of his innocency; therefore, he had just cause to conceive that this information of theirs, proceeded rather from malice and some political ends than from truth; and in regard they would not produce the authors of so dangerous a treason, they made themselves to be justly thought the authors of it: and therefore, though he might by his own royal justice and the law of nations punish this ex-

cess and insolence of theirs, and high wrong they had done to his best servants, yea, to the Prince his son: for through the sides of the Duke they wounded him, in regard it was impossible that such a design should be attempted without his privity, yet he would not be his own Judge herein, but would refer them to the King their master, whom he conceived to be so just, that he doubted not but he would see him satisfied, and therefore he would send an express unto him hereabouts, to demand justice and reparation: this business is now in agitation, but we know not what will become of it. We are all here in a sad disconsolate condition, and the merchants shake their heads up and down, out of an apprehension of some fearful war to follow: so I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest

Your very humble and ready servitor,

Madrid, August 26. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXIII.

To Sir KENELME DIGBY, Knight.

S I R,

YOU have had knowledge (none better) of the progression and growings of the *Spanish* match from time to time. I must acquaint you now with the rupture and utter dissolution of it, which was not long a doing: for, it was done in one audience that my Lord of *Bristol* had lately at court; whence it may be inferred, that 'tis far more easy to pull down than rear up; for that structure which was so many years a rearing was dashed as it were in a trice: dissolution goeth a faster pace then composition. And it may be said, that the civil actions of men, especially great affairs of monarchs (as this was) have much analogy in degrees of progression with the natural production of man. To make man there are many acts must precede, first, a meeting and copulation of the sexes,

sexes, then conception; which requires a well disposed womb to retain the prolific seed, by the constriction and occlusion of the orifice of the matrix; which seed being first, and afterwards cream, is by a gentle ebullition coagulated and turned to a cruded lump; which the womb by virtue of its natural heat prepares to be capable to receive form, and to be organized, whereupon nature falls a working to delineate all the members, beginning with those that are most noble; as the heart, the brain, the liver, whereof, *Galen* would have the liver which is the shop and source of the blood, and *Aristotle* the heart, to be first framed, in regard 'tis *primum vivens*, & *ultimum moriens*: nature continues in this labour until a perfect shape be introduced; and this is called *formation*, which is the third act, and is a production of an organical body out of the spermatic substance, caused by the plastic virtue of the vital spirits; and sometimes this act is finished thirty days after the conception, sometimes fifty, but most commonly in forty two or forty five, and is sooner done in the male: this being done, the *embryo* is animated with three souls; the first with that of plants, called a vegetable soul, then with a sensitive, which all brute animals have, and lastly, the rational soul is infused; and these three in man are like *trigonus* in *tetragono*, the two first are generated *ex traduce*, from the seed of the parents, but the last is by immediate infusion from God; and, 'tis controverted betwixt philosophers and divines, when this infusion is made.

This is the fourth act that goeth to make a man, and is called *animation*: and as the naturalists allow *animation* double the time that *formation* had from the conception, so they allow to the ripening of the *embryo* in the womb, and to the birth thereof treble the time that *animation* had; which happeneth sometimes in nine, sometimes in ten months. This *grand* business of the *Spanish* match may be said to have had such degrees of progression; first, there was a meeting and coupling on both sides, for, a *junta* in *Spain*, and some select counsellors of state were appointed in *England*. After this con-
junction

junction the business was conceived, then it received form, then life, (though the quickening was slow) but having had near upon ten years in lieu of ten months to be perfected, it was unfortunately strangled when it was ripe ready for birth; and I would they had never been born that did it, for it is like to be out of my way 3000 *l*. And as the *embryo* in the womb is wrapt in three membranes, or tunics; so this great business you know better than I, was involved in many difficulties, and died so intangled before it could break through them.

There is a buz here of a match betwixt *England* and *France*: I pray, God send it a speedier formation and *animation* than this had, and that it may not prove an abortive.

I send you herewith a letter from the paragon of the *Spanish* court, *Donna Anna Maria Manrique*, the Duke of *Marquedas's* sister, who respects you in a high degree. She told me this was the first letter she ever writ to man in her life, except the Duke her brother: she was much solicited to write to Mr. *Thomas Cary*, but she would not. I did also your message to the *Marquesa d'Inojosa*, who put me to sit a good while with her upon her *estrado*; which was no simple favour: you are much in both these ladies books, and much spoken of by divers others in this court. I could not recover your diamond hat-band which the *Picaroon* snatched from you in the coach, though I used all means possible, as far as book, bell, and candle, in point of excommunication against the party in all the churches of *Madrid*, by which means you know things are recovered. So, I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest

Your most faithful servitor, J. H.

P. S. Yours of the 2d of *March* came safe to hand.
Madrid.

LETTER LXXXIV.

To the Lord Viscount Colchester, from Madrid.

Right Honourable,

YOUR Lordships of the 3d current came safe to hand; and, being now upon the point of parting with this court, I thought it worth the labour to send your Lordship a short survey of the monarchy of *Spain*; a bold undertaking your Lordship will say, to comprehend within the narrow bounds of a letter such a huge bulk; but as in the bos of a small diamond ring one may discern the image of a mighty mountain, so I will endeavour that your Lordship may behold the power of this great King in this paper:

Spain hath been always esteemed a country of antient renown; and as it is incident to all others, she hath had her vicissitudes and turns of fortune: she hath been thrice overcome; by the *Romans*, by the *Goths*, and by the *Moors*. The middle conquest continueth to this day; for this King and most of the nobility profess themselves to have descended of the *Goths*. The *Moors* kept here about 700 years; and it is a remarkable story how they got in first, which was thus upon good record: there reigned in *Spain*, *Don Rodrigo*, who kept his court then at *Malaga*, he employed the Conde *Don Julian* Ambassador to *Barbary*, who had a daughter, (a young beautiful lady) that was maid of honour to the Queen: the King spying her one day refreshing herself under an arbor, fell enamoured with her, and never left till he had deflowered her: she resenting much the dishonour, writ a letter to her father in *Barbary* under this allegory, *That there was a fair green apple upon the table, and the King's poignard fell upon it, and cleft it in two.* *Dou Julian* apprehending the meaning, got letters of revocation, and came back to *Spain*, where he so complied with the King, that he became his favourite. Amongst other things he advised the King, that in regard he was
now

now in peace with all the world, he would dismiss his *gallies* and garrisons that were up and down the *sea-coasts*, because it was a superfluous charge. This being done, and the country left open to any invader, he prevailed with the King to have leave to go with his Lady to see her friends in *Tarragona*, which was 300 miles off. Having been there a while, his Lady made semblance to be sick, and so sent to petition the King, that her daughter *Donna Cava* (whom they had left at court to satiate the King's lust) might come to comfort her a while; *Cava* came, and the gate through which she went forth is called after her name to this day in *Malaga*. *Don Julian* having all his chief kindred there, he sailed over to *Barbary*, and afterwards brought over the King of *Morocco*, and others with an army, who suddenly invaded *Spain*, lying armless and open, and so conquered it. *Don Rodrigo* died gallantly in the field, but what became of *Don Julian*, who for a particular revenge betrayed his own country, no story makes mention. A few years before this happened, *Rodrigo* came to *Toledo*, where, under the great church there was a vault with huge iron doors, and none of his predecessors durst open it, because there was an old prophecy, *That when that vault was opened Spain should be conquered*. *Rodrigo* slighting the prophecy, caused the doors to be broke open, hoping to find there some treasure; but when he entered, there was nothing found but the pictures of *Moors*, of such men that a little after fulfilled the prophecy.

Yet this last conquest of *Spain* was not perfect, for divers parts Northwest kept still under christian kings, especially *Biscay*; which was never conquered, as *Wales* in *Britanny*; and the *Biscayners* have much analogy with the *Welsh* in divers things. They retain to this day the original language of *Spain*; they are the most mountaineous people, and they are reputed the antientest gentry, so that when any is to take the order of knight-hood, there are no inquisitors appointed to find whether he be clear of the blood of the *Moors*, as in other places. The King when he comes upon the confines, pulls off

one shoe before he can tread upon any *Biscay* ground; and he hath good reason to esteem that province, in regard of divers advantages he hath by it, for, he hath his best timber to build ships, his best marines, and all his iron thence.

There were divers bloody battles betwixt the remnant of christians and the *Moors* for 700 years together; and the *Spaniards* getting ground more and more, drove them at last to *Granada*, and thence also in the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, quite over to *Barbary*. Their last King was *Cbico*, who, when he fled from *Granada* crying and weeping, the people upbraided him, that he might well weep like a woman, who could not defend himself, and them like a man. This was that *Ferdinand* who obtained from *Rome* the title of *Catholic*, though some stories say, that many ages before *Ricaredus*, the first orthodox King of the *Goths*, was styled *Catholicus* in a provincial synod held at *Toledo*; which was continued by *Alphonsus* I. and then made hereditary by this *Ferdinand*. This absolute conquest of the *Moors* happened about *Henry VII's* time, when the foresaid *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* had by alliance joined *Castile* and *Aragon*; which with the discovery of the *West-Indies*, which happened a little after, was the first foundation of that greatness whereunto *Spain* is now mounted. Afterwards there was an alliance with *Burgundy* and *Austria*: by the first house, the seventeen provinces fell to *Spain*; by the second *Charles V.* came to be Emperor: and remarkable it is how the house of *Austria* came to that height from a mean Earl; the Earl of *Hasburg* in *Germany*, who having been one day a hunting, he overtook a priest who had been with the sacrament to visit a poor sick Lady, the Priest being tired, the Earl lighted off his horse, helped up the Priest, and so waited upon him a-foot all the while till he brought him to the church: the Priest giving him his benediction at his going away, told him, that for this great act of humility and piety, his race should be one of the greatest that ever the world had; and ever since, which is some 240 years ago, the empire

empire hath continued in that house; which afterwards was called the house of *Austria*.

In *Philip II's* time the *Spanish* monarchy came to its highest cumble, by the conquest of *Portugal*, whereby the *East-Indies*, fundry islands in the *Atlantic* sea, and divers places in *Barbary* were added to the crown of *Spain*. By these steps this crown came to this grandeur; and truly give the *Spaniard* his due, he is a mighty Monarch, he hath dominions in all parts of the world, (which none of the four monarchies had) both in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, (which he hath solely to himself) though our *Henry VII.* had the same proffer made him: so, the sun shines all the twenty four hours of the natural day upon some part or other of his countries; for part of the *Antipodes* are subject to him. He hath eight viceroys in *Europe*, two in the *East-Indies*, two in the *West*; two in *Afric*, and about thirty provincial sovereign commanders more; yet, as I was told lately, in a discourse betwixt him and our Prince at his being here, when the Prince fell to magnify his spacious dominions, the King answered, *Sir, 'tis true, it hath pleased God to trust me with divers nations and countries; but of all these there are but two which yield me any clear revenues, viz. Spain, and my West-Indies, nor all Spain neither, but Castile only: the rest do scarce quit cost, for all is drunk up betwixt governors and garrisons; yet my advantage is, to have the opportunity to propagate the Christian religion, and to employ my subjects.* For the last, it must be granted that no Prince hath better means to breed brave men, and more variety of commands to heighten their spirits with no petty but princely employments.

This King besides, hath other means to oblige the gentry unto him by such a huge number of *commendams* which he hath in his gift to bestow on whom he pleases of any of the three orders of knighthood; which *England* and *France* want. Some noblemen in *Spain* can spend 50,000*l.* some forty, some thirty, and divers 20,000*l. per annum.* The church here is exceeding rich

rich both in revenues, plate and buildings; one cannot go to the meanest country chapel, but he will find chalices, lamps and candlesticks of silver. There are some bishopricks of 30,000 *l. per annum* and divers of 10,000 *l.* and *Toledo* is 100,000 *l.* yearly revenue. As the church is rich, so it is mightily revered here, and very powerful; which made *Philip II.* rather depend upon the clergy than the secular power. Therefore I do not see how *Spain* can be called a poor country, considering the revenues aforesaid of princes and prelates; nor is it so thin of people as the world makes it, and one reason may be that there are sixteen universities in *Spain*, and in one of these there were 15,000 students at one time when I was there, I mean *Salamanca*; and in the village of *Madrid* (for the King of *Spain* cannot keep his constant court in any city) there are ordinarily 600,000 souls. It is true, that the colonizing of the *Indies*, and the wars of *Flanders*, have much drained this country of people. Since the expulsion of the *Moors* it is also grown thinner, and not so full of corn; for those *Moors* would grub up wheat out of the very tops of the craggy hills, yet they used another grain for their bread; so, that the *Spaniard* had nought else to do but to go with his ass to the market, and buy corn of the *Moors*. There lived here also in times past a great number of the *Jews*, till they were expelled by *Ferdinand*; and as I have read in an old *Spanish* legend, the cause was this: the King had a young Prince to his son, who was used to play with a *Jewish* Doctor that was about the court, who had a ball of gold in a string hanging down his breast, the little Prince one day snatched away the said golden ball, and carried it to the next room; the ball being hollow, opened, and within there was painted our *Saviour* kissing a *Jew's* tail. Hereupon they were all suddenly dispersed and exterminated, yet, I believe in *Portugal* there lurks yet good store of them.

For the soil of *Spain*, the fruitfulness of their vallies recompences the sterility of their hills; corn is their greatest want, and want of rain is the cause of that, which

makes them have need of their neighbours ; yet as much as *Spain* bears is passing good, and so is every thing else for the quality ; nor hath any one a better horse under him, a better cloak on his back, a better sword by his side, better shoes on his feet than the *Spaniard* ; nor doth any drink better wine, or eat better fruit than he, nor flesh for the quantity.

Touching the people, the *Spaniard* looks as high, though not so big as a *German* ; his excess is in too much gravity, which some who know him not well, hold to be a pride ; he cares not how little he labours, for poor *Gascons* and *Morisco* slaves do most of his work in field and vineyard : he can endure much in the war, yet he loves not to fight in the dark, but in open day, or upon a stage that all the world might be witnesses of his valour ; so that you shall seldom hear of *Spaniards* employed in night-service, nor shall one hear of a duel here in an age. He hath one good quality, that he is wonderfully obedient to government ; for the proudest Don of *Spain*, when he is prancing upon his ginet in the street, if an *alguazil* (a serjeant) shew him his *vare*, that is a little white staff he carrieth as a badge of his office, my Don will down presently off his horse and yield himself his prisoner. He hath another commendable quality, that when he giveth alms, he pulls off his hat, and puts it in the beggar's hand with a great deal of humility. His gravity is much lessened since the late proclamation came out against ruffs, and the King himself shewed the first example : they were come to that height of excess herein, that twenty shillings were used to be paid for starching of a ruff ; and some, though perhaps he had never a shirt to his back, yet he would have a toting huge swelling ruff about his neck. He is sparing in his ordinary diet, but when he makes a feast he is free and bountiful. As to temporal authority, especially martial, so is he very obedient to the church, and believes all with an implicit faith : he is a great servant of ladies, nor can he be blamed, for, as I said before, he comes of a *Gotish* race ; yet he never brags of, nor blazes abroad his doings that way,

way, but is exceedingly careful of the repute of any woman, (a civility that we much want in *England*). He will speak high words of *Don Philip* his King, but will not endure a stranger should do so. I have heard a *Biscayner* make a *rodomantado*, that he was as good a gentleman as *Don Philip* himself, for, *Don Philip* was half a *Spaniard*, half a *German*, half an *Italian*, half a *Frenchman*, half I know not what, but he was a pure *Biscayner* without mixture. The *Spaniard* is not so smooth and oily in his compliment as the *Italian*; and though he will make strong protestations, yet he will not swear out compliments like the *French* and *English*: as I heard when my Lord of *Carlisle* was Ambassador in *France*, there came a great Monsieur to see him, and having a long time banded, and swore compliments one to another who should go first out at a door; at last my Lord of *Carlisle* said, *ô Monseigneur ayez pitie. de mon ame*, O my Lord have pity upon my soul.

The *Spaniard* is generally given to gaming, and that in excess; he will say his prayers before, and if he win he will thank God for his good fortune after: their common game at cards (for they very seldom play at dice) is *primera*, at which the King never shews his game, but throws his cards with their faces down on the table: he is merchant of all the cards and dice through all the kingdom, he hath them made for a penny a pair, and he retails them for twelve-pence; so that it is thought he hath 30,000*l.* a year by this trick at cards. The *Spaniard* is very devout in his way, for I have seen him kneel in the very dirt when the *Ave Mary* bell rings; and some, if they spy two straws or sticks ly cross-ways in the street, they will take them up and kiss them, and lay them down again. He walks as if he marched, and seldom looks on the ground, as if he contemned it. I was told of a *Spaniard*, who having got a fall by a stumble and broke his nose, rose up, and in a disdainful manner said, *Voto a tal esto es caminar por la tierra*, this it is to walk upon earth. The *labradores* and country swains here are sturdy and rational men, nothing so simple or servile as

the *French* peasant who is born in chains. It is true, the *Spaniard* is not so conversable as other nations, (unless he hath travelled) else he is like *Mars* among the planets, impatient of conjunction; nor is he so free in his gifts and rewards; as the last summer it hapened that Count *Gondomar* with Sir *Francis Cottington*, went to see a curious house of the Constable of *Castile's*, which had been newly built here, the keeper of the house was very officious to shew him every room, with the garden, grottos and aqueducts, and presented him with some fruit: *Gondomar* having been a long time in the house, coming out, put many compliments of thanks upon the man, and so was going away, Sir *Francis* whispered him in the ear, and asked whether he would give the man any thing that took such pains? Oh, quoth *Gondomar*, well remembered, *Don Francisco*, have you ever a double pistole about you? If you have, you may give it him, and then you pay him after the English manner, I have paid him already after the Spanish. The *Spaniard* is much improved in policy since he took footing in *Italy*, and there is no nation agrees with him better. I will conclude this character with a saying that he hath,

*No ay hombre debaxo d'el sol,
Como el Italiano y el Espanol.*

Whereunto a *Frenchman* answered,

*Dizes la verdad, y tienes razon,
El uno es puto, el otro ladron.*

Englified thus:

Beneath the sun there's no such man,
As is the *Spaniard* and *Italian*.

The Frenchman answers,

Thou tell'st the truth, and reason hast,
The first a thief, a buggerer the last.

Touching

Touching their women, nature hath made a more visible distinction betwixt the two Sexes here than elsewhere; for the men for the most part are swarthy and rough, but the women are of a far finer mould, they are commonly little; and whereas, there is a saying that makes a compleat woman, let her be *English* to the neck, *French* to the waist, and *Dutch* below: I may add, for hands and feet let her be *Spanish*, for they have the least of any. They have another saying, a *French-woman* in a dance, a *Dutch-woman* in the kitchen, an *Italian* in a window, an *English-woman* at board, and the *Spanish* a bed. When they are married, they have a privilege to wear high shoes, and to paint; which is generally practised here, and the Queen useth it herself. They are coy enough, but not so froward as our *English*; for if a Lady go along the street (and all women going here veiled, and their habit so generally alike, one can hardly distinguish a Countess from a cobbler's wife) if one should cast out an odd ill-sounding word, and ask her a favour, she will not take it ill, but put it off, and answer you with some witty retort. After thirty they are commonly past child-bearing; and I have seen a woman in *England* look as youthful at fifty, as some here at twenty-five. Money will do miracles here in purchasing the favour of ladies, or any thing else, though this be the country of money, for it furnisheth well near all the world besides, yea their very enemies, as the *Turk* and *Hollander*; insomuch, that one may say, the *coin* of *Spain* is as *catholic* as her *King*. Yet though he be the greatest King of gold and silver mines in the world, (I think) yet the common current coin here is copper; and herein I believe the *Hollander* hath done him more mischief by counterfeiting his copper coins, than by their arms, bringing it in by strange surreptitious ways, as in hollow sows of tin and lead, hollow masts, in pitch buckets under water, and otherways. But I fear to be injurious to this great King, to speak of him in so narrow a compass; a great King indeed, though the *French* in a slighting way compare his monarchy to a *beggar's cloak* made up of patches: they

are patches indeed, but such as he hath not the like. The *East-Indies* is a patch embroidered with pearls, rubies, and diamonds: *Peru* is a patch embroidered with massy gold, *Mexico* with silver, *Naples* and *Milan* are patches of cloth of tissue; and if these patches were in one piece, what would become of his cloak embroidered with *flower-de-luces*?

So, desiring your Lordship to pardon this poor imperfect paper, considering the high quality of the subject, I rest

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

Madrid, Feb. 1. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXV.

To Mr. WALSINGHAM GRESLEY, from Madrid.

Don BALTHASAR,

I Thank you for my letter in my Lord's last packet, wherein among other passages, you write to me the circumstances of Marquis *Spinola's* raising his leaguer, by flatt'ing and firing his works before *Berghen*. He is much taxed here, to have attempted it, and to have buried so much of the King's treasure before that town, in such costly trenches. A gentleman came hither lately, who was at the siege all the while, and he told me one strange passage; how Sir *Ferdinando Cary*, a huge corpulent Knight, was shot through his body; the bullet entering at the navel, and coming out at his back, killed his man behind him, yet he lives still, and is like to recover. With this miraculous accident, he told me also a merry one; how a Captain that had a wooden leg booted over, had it shattered to pieces by a cannon-bullet, his soldiers crying a *Surgeon, a Surgeon*, for the Captain; no, no, said he, a *carpenter, a carpenter will serve the turn*. To this pleasant tale I will add another that happened lately in *Alcala*, hard by, of a *Dominican* frier,

frier, who in a solemn procession which was held there upon *Ascension* day last, had his stones dangling under his habit cut off instead of his pocket by a cut-purse.

Before you return hither, which I understand will be speedily, I pray bestow a visit on our friends in *Bishopsgate-street*: so I am

Your faithful servant,

Madrid, Feb. 3. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXVI.

To Sir ROBERT NAPIER Knight, at his House in Bishopsgate-street.

S I R,

THE late breach of the *match*, hath broke the neck of all business here, and mine suffers as much as any: I had access lately to *Olivares*, once or twice; I had audience also of the King, to whom I presented a memorial that intimated *letters of mart*, unless satisfaction were had from his *Viceroy* the *Conde del Real*. The King gave me a gracious answer, but *Olivares* a churlish one, viz. *That when the Spaniards had justice in England, we should have justice here*: so, that notwithstanding I have brought it to the highest point and pitch of perfection in law that could be, and procured some dispatches, the like whereof were never granted in this court before, yet I am in despair now to do good. I hope to be shortly in *England*, by God's grace, to give you and the rest of the proprietaries, a punctual account of all things; and you may easily conceive how sorry I am that matters succeeded not according to your expectation, and my endeavours; but I hope you are none of those that measure things by the event. The Earl of *Bristol*, Count *Gondomar*, and my Lord Ambassador *Aston*, did not only do courtesies, but they did co-operate with

with me in it, and contribute their utmost endeavours.
So I rest

Yours to serve you,

Madrid, Feb. 19. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXVII.

To the Honourable Sir T. S. at Towerhill.

S I R,

I Was yesterday at the *Escorial* to see the monastery of *St. Laurence*, the eight wonder of the world; and truly considering the site of the place, the state of the thing, and the symmetry of the structure, with divers other rarities, it may be called so; for what I have seen in *Italy*, and other places, are but babbles to it. It is built amongst a company of craggy barren hills, which makes the air the hungrier, and wholesomer; it is all built of free-stone and marble, and that with such solidity and moderate height, that surely *Philip II's* chief design was to make a sacrifice of it to eternity, and to contest with the meteors, and *time* itself. It cost 8,000000, it was twenty-four years a building, and the founder himself saw it finished, and enjoyed it twelve years after, and carried his bones himself thither to be buried.

The reason that moved King *Philip* to waste so much treasure, was a vow he had made at the battle of *St. Quintin*, when he was forced to batter a monastery of *St. Laurence* friers, that if he had the victory, he would erect such a monastery to *St. Laurence*, that the world had not the like; therefore the form of it is like a grid-iron, the handle is a huge royal palace, and the body a vast monastery or assembly of quadrangular cloisters; for there are as many as there be months in the year. There be a 100 monks, and every one hath his man and his mule; and a multitude of officers: besides, there are three libraries there, full of the choicest books for all sciences.

It

It is beyond expression what grotos, gardens, walks, and aqueducts there are there, and what curious fountains in the upper cloisters, for there be two stages of cloisters: in fine, there is nothing that is vulgar there. To take a view of every room in the house, one must make account to go ten miles; there is a vault called the *Pantheon* under the highest altar, which is all paved, walled, and arched with marble; there be a number of huge silver candlesticks, taller than I am; lamps three yards compass, and divers chalices and crosses of massy gold: there is one quire made all of burnished brass, pictures and statues like giants, and a world of glorious things, that purely ravished me. By this mighty monument, it may be inferred, that *Philip II.* though he was a little man, yet had vast gigantick thoughts in him, to leave such a huge pile for posterity to gaze upon, and admire his memory. No more now, but that I rest

Your humble servant,

Madrid, March 9. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

To the Lord Viscount Colchestester, from Madrid.

My LORD,

YOU writ to me not long since, to send you an account of the Duke of *Ossuna's* death, a little man, but of great fame and fortunes, and much cried up, and known up and down the world. He was revoked from being Viceroy of *Naples* (the best employment the King of *Spain* hath for a subject) upon some disgust; and being come to this court, when he was brought to give an account of his government, being troubled with the gout, he carried his sword in his hand instead of a staff: the King misliking the manner of his posture, turned his back to him, and so went away: thereupon he was overheard mutter, *Esto es para servir muchachos: This it is to serve*

serve boys. This coming to the King's ear, he was apprehended, and committed prisoner to a monastery not far off, where he continued some years, until his beard came to his girdle; then growing very ill, he was permitted to come to his house in this town, being carried in a bed upon mens shoulders, and so died some years ago. There were divers accusations against him; among the rest, I remember these, that he had kept the Marquis *de Campolatoro's* wife, sending her husband out of the way upon employment; that he had got a bastard of a *Turkish* woman, and suffered the child to be brought up in the *Mahometan* religion; that being one day at high mass, when the host was elevated, he drew out of his pocket a piece of gold, and held it up, intimating that that was his god; that he had invited some of the prime courtisans of *Naples* to a feast, and after dinner made a banquet for them in his garden; where he commanded them to strip themselves stark naked, and go up and down while he shot sugar-plums at them out of a trunk, which they were to take up from off their high chapins, and such like extravagancies. One (amongst divers other) witty passages was told me of him; which was, that when he was Viceroy of *Sicily*, there died a great rich Duke who left but one son, whom with his whole estate, he bequeathed to the tutele of the jesuits; and the words of the will were, *When he is past his minority, (Darete al mio figliuolo qualche voi volete) you shall give my son what you will.* It seems the jesuits took to themselves two parts of three of the estate, and gave the rest to the heir: the young Duke complaining hereof to the Duke of *Offuna*, (then Viceroy) he commanded the jesuits to appear before him: he asked them how much of the estate they would have, they answered, two parts of three; which they had almost employed already to build monasteries and an hospital, to erect particular altars, and masses, to sing dirges and refrigeriums for the soul of the deceased Duke. Hereupon, the Duke of *Offuna* caused the will to be produced, and found therein the words afore-recited, *When he is past his minority, you shall*

shall give my son of my estate what you will. Then he told the jesuits, you must by virtue and tenor of these words, give *what you will* to the son, which by your own confession is two parts of three; and so he determined the business.

Thus have I in part satisfied your Lordship's desire; which I shall do more amply when I shall be made happy to attend you in person; which I hope will be before it be long. In the interim, I take my leave of you from *Spain*, and rest

Your Lordship's most ready and humble servitor,

Madrid, March 13. 1623.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXIX.

To Sir JAMES CROFTS, from Bilboa.

S I R,

BEING safely come to the *Marine*, in convoy of his Majesty's jewels, and being to sojourn here some days, the conveniency of this gentleman, (who knows, and much honoureth you) he being to ride post through *France*, invited me to send you this.

We were but five horsemen in all our seven days journey from *Madrid* hither, and the charge Mr. *Wiches* had is valued at 400,000 crowns; but 'tis such safe travelling in *Spain*, that one may carry gold in the palm of his hand, the government is so good. When we had gained *Biscay* ground, we past one day through a forest, and lighting off our mules to take a little repast under a tree, we took down our *alforjas* and some bottles of wine, (and you know 'tis ordinary here to ride with one's vituals about him) but as we were eating we spied two huge wolves, who stared upon us a while, but had the good manners to go away. It put me in mind of a pleasant tale I heard Sir *Thomas Fairfax* relate of a soldier in *Ireland*, who having got his passport to go for *England*,

as he past through a wood with a knapsack upon his back, being weary, he sat down under a tree, where he opened his knapsack and fell to some victuals he had, but upon a sudden he was surprized with two or three wolves, who coming towards him, he threw them scraps of bread and cheefe till all was done; then the wolves making a nearer approach unto him, he knew not what shift to make, but by taking a pair of bagpipes which he had; and as soon as he began to play upon them, the wolves ran all away as if they had been scared out of their wits; whereupon the soldier said, *A pox take you all, if I had known you had loved music so well you should have had it before dinner.*

If there be a lodging void at the three *Halberts-heads*, I pray be pleased to cause it be reserved to me: so, I rest

Your humble servitor,

Bilboa, Sept. 6. 1624.

J. H.

L E T T E R X C.

To my FATHER, from London.

S I R,

I Am newly returned from *Spain*; I came over in convoy of the Prince's jewels, for which, one of the ships royal with the *Catch* were sent under the command of Captain *Love*. We landed at *Plymouth*, whence I came by post to *Theobald's* in less than two nights and a day, to bring his Majesty news of their safe arrival. The Prince had newly got a fall off a horse, and kept his chamber: the jewels were valued at above 100,000 pounds; some of them a little before the Prince's departure had been presented to the *Infanta*, but she waving to receive them, yet with a civil compliment they were left in the hands of one of the Secretaries of state for her use upon the wedding-day; and, it was no unworthy thing in the *Spaniard* to deliver them back, notwithstanding

ing that the *treaties* both of *match* and *Palatinate* had been dissolved a pretty while by act of parliament, that a war was threatened and ambassadors revoked. There were jewels also amongst them to be presented to the King and Queen of *Spain*, to most of the ladies of honour and the *grandees*. There was a great table diamond for *Olivares* of eighteen carrats weight; but the richest of all was to the *Infanta* herself; which was a chain of great orient pearl, to the number of 276, weighing nine ounces. The *Spaniards* notwithstanding they are masters of the staple of jewels, stood astonished at the beauty of these, and confessed themselves to be put down.

Touching the employment upon which I went to *Spain*, I had my charges born all the while, and that was all: had it taken effect, I had made good business of it; but 'tis no wonder (nor can it be I hope any disrepute unto me) that I could not bring to pass what three ambassadors could not do before me.

I am now casting about for another fortune, and some hopes I have of employment about the Duke of *Buckingham*: he sways more than ever, for whereas, he was before a favourite to the King, he is now a favourite to parliament, people, and city, for breaking the match with *Spain*. Touching his own interest, he had reason to do it, for the *Spaniards* love him not; but, whether the public interest of the State will suffer in it or no, I dare not determine: for my part, I hold the *Spanish match* to be better than their *powder*, and their *wares* better than their *wars*; and I shall be ever of that mind, that *no country is able to do England less hurt, and more good than Spain*, considering the large traffick and treasure that is to be got thereby.

I shall continue to give you an account of my courses when opportunity serves, and to dispose of matters so that I may attend you this summer in the country: so, desiring still your blessing and prayers, I rest

Your dutiful son,

London, Dec. 10. 1624.

J. H.
LET-

LETTER XCI.

To the Lord Viscount Colchester.

Right Honourable,

MY last to your Lordship was in *Italian*, with the *Venetian gazetta* inclosed. Count *Mansfelt* is upon point of parting, having obtained it seems the sum of his desires: he was lodged all the while in the same quarter of *St. James's* which was appointed for the *Infanta*: he supped yesternight with the council of war, and he hath a grant of 12000 men, *English* and *Scots*, whom he will have ready in the body of an army against the next spring; and they say, that *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Savoy*, do contribute for the maintenance thereof 60,000*l.* a month. There can be no conjecture, much less any judgment made of his design: most think it will be for relieving *Breda*, which is straitly begirt by *Spinola*, who gives out, that he hath her already as a bird in a cage, and will have her maugre all the opposition of christendom; yet, there is fresh news come over, that Prince *Maurice* hath got on the back of him, and hath belaguered him as he hath done the *town*; which I want faith to believe yet, in regard of the huge circuit of *Spinola's* works; for his circumvallations are cried up to be near upon twenty miles. But while the *Spaniard* is spending millions here for getting small towns, the *Hollander* gets kingdoms of him elsewhere. He hath invaded and taken lately from the *Portugal* part of *Brazil*, a rich country for sugars, cottons, balsams, dyeing-wood, and divers commodities besides.

The treaty of marriage betwixt our Prince and the youngest daughter of *France* goes on apace, and my Lords of *Carlisle*, and *Holland* are in *Paris* about it: we shall see now what difference there is betwixt the *French* and *Spanish* pace. The two *Spanish* ambassadors have been gone hence long since: they say, that they are both in prison,

prison, one in *Burgois* in *Spain*, the other in *Flanders*, for the scandalous information they made here against the Duke of *Buchingham*; about which, the day before their departure hence, they desired to have one private audience more, but his Majesty denied them. I believe they will not continue long in disgrace, for matters grow daily worse and worse betwixt us and *Spain*: for, divers letters of mart are granted our merchants, and letters of mart are commonly the fore-runners of a war; yet, they say *Gondomar* will be on his way hither again about the *Palatinate*, for the King of *Denmark* appears now in his niece's quarrel, and arms apace. No more now, but that I kiss your Lordship's hand, and rest

Your most humble and ready servitor,

Lond. Feb. 5. 1624.

J. H.

LETTER XCII.

To my FATHER, from London.

S I R,

I Received yours of the 3d of *February* by the hands of my cousin *Thomas Guin* of *Treastle*.

It was my fortune to be on *Sunday* was fortnight at *Theobald's*, where his late Majesty King *James* departed this life, and went to his last rest upon the day of rest, presently after sermon was done. A little before the break of day he sent for the Prince, who rose out of his bed and came in his night-gown; the King seemed to have some earnest thing to say unto him, and so endeavoured to rouse himself upon his pillow, but his spirits were so spent that he had not strength to make his words audible. He died of a fever which began with an ague; and some *Scots* doctors mutter at a plaister the Countess of *Buckingham* applied to the outside of his stomach. 'Tis thought the late breach of the match with *Spain*, which for many years he had so vehemently desired,

took too deep an impression in him, and that he was forced to rush into a war now in his declining age, having lived in a continual uninterrupted peace his whole life, except some collateral aids he had sent his son-in-law. As soon as he expired, the privy-council sat, and in less then a quarter of an hour, King *Charles* was proclaimed at *Theobald's* court-gate, by Sir *Edward Zouch* Knight-marshal, Master Secretary *Conway* dictating unto him, *That whereas, it hath pleased God to take to his mercy our most gracious Sovereign, King James of famous memory, We proclaim Prince Charles his rightful and indubitable heir to be King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.* The Knight-marshal mistook, saying, *his rightful and dubitable heir*, but he was rectified by the Secretary. This being done, I took my horse instantly, and came to *London* first, except one, who was come a little before me, infomuch, that I found the gates shut. His now Majesty took coach, and the Duke of *Buckingham* with him, and came to *St. James's*. In the evening he was proclaimed at *Whitehall* gate, in *Cheapside* and other places in a sad shower of rain; and the weather was suitable to the condition wherein he finds the kingdom, which is cloudy: for, he is left engaged in a war with a potent Prince, the people by long disuétude unapt for arms, the fleet royal in quarter repair, himself without a Queen, his sister without a country, the crown pitifully laden with debts, and the purse of the state lightly ballasted, though it never had better opportunity to be rich than it had these last twenty years; but God almighty, I hope will make him emerge, and pull this island out of all these plagues, and preserve us from worser times.

The plague is begun in *White-chapel*; and as they say, in the same house, at the same day of the month, with the same number that died twenty two years since when Queen *Elizabeth* departed.

There are great preparations for the funeral; and there is a design to buy all the cloth for mourning white, and then to put it to the dyers in gross; which is like to
save

save the crown a good deal of money: the drapers murmur extremely at the Lord *Granfield* for it.

I am not settled yet in any stable condition, but I lie windbound at the *Cape of Good Hope*, expecting some gentle gale to launch out into an employment.

So, with my love to all my brothers and sisters at the *Bryn*, and near *Brecknock*, I humbly crave a continuance of your prayers and blessing to

Your dutiful son,

London, Dec. 11. 1625.

J. H.

L E T T E R X C I I I .

To Dr. P R I C H A R D .

S I R,

SINCE I was beholden to you for your many favours in *Oxford*, I have not heard from you (*ne gry quidem*), I pray let the wonted correspondence be now revived and receive new vigour between us.

My Lord Chancellor *Bacon* is lately dead of a languishing weakness: he died so poor, that he scarce left money to bury him; which though he had a great wit, did argue no great wisdom, it being one of the essential properties of a wise man to provide for the main chance. I have read, that it hath been the fortune of all poets commonly to die beggars, but for an Orator, a Lawyer, and Philosopher as he was to die so, is rare. It seems the same fate befel him that attended *Demosthenes*, *Seneca*, and *Cicero*, (all great men); of whom, the two first fell by *corruption*. The fairest diamond may have a flaw in it, but I believe he died poor out of a contempt of the self of fortune; as also out of an excess of generosity, which appeared as in divers other passages, so once when the King had sent him a stag, he sent up for the under-keeper, and having drunk the King's health unto him in a great silver gilt-bowl, he gave it him for his fee.

He writ a pitiful letter to King *James* not long before his death, and concludes, ' Help me dear Sovereign Lord and Master, and pity me so far, that I who have been born to a bag, be not now in my age forced in effect to bear a wallet; nor that I who desire to live to study, may be driven to study to live: ' which words, in my opinion, argueth a little abjection of spirit, as his former letter to the Prince did of profaneness; wherein he hoped, that as the Father was his Creator, the Son will be his Redeemer. I write not this to derogate from the noble worth of the Lord Viscount *Verulam*, who was a rare man, a man *reconditæ scientiæ, & ad salutem literarum natus*; and I think the eloquentest that was born in this isle. They say he shall be the last Lord Chancellor, as Sir *Edward Coke* was the last Lord Chief Justice of *England*; for ever since, they have been termed Lord Chief Justices of the King's-bench, so hereafter they shall be only Keepers of the Great Seal, which for title and office are deposible; but they say the Lord Chancellor's title is indelible.

I was lately at *Grays-Inn* with Sir *Eubule*, and he desired me to remember him unto you, as I do also salute *meum* Prichardum *ex imis præcordiis*, *vale κεραλή μοι προσφιλες ἀήη.*

Yours most affectionately while,

Lond. Jan. 6. 1625.

J. H.

L E T T E R C I V.

To my Well-belov'd Cousin Mr. T. V.

C O U S I N,

YOU have a great work in hand; for you write unto me, that you are upon a treaty of marriage; a great work indeed, and a work of such consequence, that it may *make* you or *mar* you: it may make the whole remainder of your life uncouth or comfortable to you;

you; for of all civil actions that are incident to man, there is not any that tends more to his infelicity or happiness, therefore, it concerns you not to be over-hasty herein, nor to take the *ball before the bound*: you must be cautious how you thrust your neck into such a yoke, whence you will never have power to withdraw it again, for the *tongue* useth to tie so hard a knot that the *teeth* can never untie; no, not *Alexander's* sword can cut asunder among us christians. If you are resolved to marry, *chuse where you love, and resolve to love your choice*: let love rather than *lucre*, be your guide in this election, though a concurrence of both be good, yet for my part, I had rather the latter should be wanting than the first; the one is the pilot, but the other the ballast of the ship which should carry us to the *harbour* of a happy life. If you are bent to wed, I wish you anothergets wife than *Socrates* had, who when she had scolded him out of doors, as he was going through the portal threw a chamber-pot of stale urine upon his head; whereat the Philosopher having been silent all the while, smilingly said, *I thought after so much thunder we should have rain*; and as I wish you may not light upon such an *Zantippe* (as the wisest men have had ill luck in this kind, as I could instance in two of our most eminent lawyers, *C. B.*) so, I pray that God may deliver you from a wife of such a generation, that *Strowd* our cook here at *Westminster* said his wife was of, who, when (out of a millike of a preacher) he had on *Sunday* in the afternoon gone out of the church to a tavern, and returning towards the evening pretty well heated, to look to his roast, and his wife falling to read him a loud lesson in so furious a manner, as if she would have basted him instead of the mutton, and amongst other revilings, telling him often, that the *devil*, the *devil* would fetch him, at last he broke out of a long silence, and told her, I prithee good-wife hold thyself content, for I know the devil will do me no hurt, for I have married his kinswoman. If you light upon such a wife, (a wife that hath more bone than flesh) I wish you may have the same measure of patience

tience that *Socrates* and *Strowd* had, to suffer the *grey-mare* sometimes to be the *better horse*. I remember a *French* proverb:

*La maison est miserable & meschante
On la poule plus haut que le coc chante.*

That house doth every day more wretched grow,
Where the hen louder than the cock doth crow,

yet we have another *English* proverb almost counter to this, *That it is better to marry a shrew than a sheep*: for, though silence be the dumb orator of beauty, and the best ornament of a woman, yet a phlegmatic dull wife is fulsome and fastidious.

Excuse me cousin, that I jest with you in so serious a business. I know you need no counsel of mine herein, you are discreet enough of yourself; nor do I presume, do you want advice of parents, which by all means must go along with you: so, wishing you all conjugal joy, and a happy *confarreation*, I rest

Your affectionate cousin,

London, Feb. 5. 1625.

J. H.

L E T T E R X C V.

To my noble Lord, the Lord Clifford, from London.

My Lord,

THE Duke of *Buckingham* is lately returned from *Holland*, having renewed the peace with the states, and articed with them for a continuation of some naval forces for an expedition against *Spain*; as also, having taken up some monies upon private jewels, (not any of the crown's); and lastly, having comforted the Lady *Elizabeth* for the decease of his late Majesty her father, and of Prince *Frederick* her eldest son, whose disastrous manner of death, amongst the rest of her sad afflictions

ons is not the least: for passing over *Harlem Mere*, an huge inland loch, in company of his father who had been in *Amsterdam*, to look how his bank of money did thrive, and coming (for more frugality) in the common boat, which was overfet with merchandize and other passengers in a thick fog, the vessel turned over, and so many perished; the Prince *Palsgrave* saved himself by swimming, but the young Prince clinging to the mast and being intangled among the tackling, was half drowned, and half frozen to death: a sad destiny!

There is an open rupture betwixt us and the *Spaniard*, though he gives out, that he never broke with us to this day. Count *Gondomar* was on his way to *Flanders*, and thence to *England* (as they say), with a large commission to treat for a surrender of the *Palatinate*, and so to piece matters together again, but he died in the journey at a place called *Bannol*, of pure apprehensions of grief, it is given out.

The match betwixt his Majesty and the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, youngest daughter to *Henry the Great*, (the eldest being married to the King of *Spain*, and the second to the Duke of *Savoy*) goes roundly on, and is in a manner concluded; whereat the Count of *Soissons* is much discontented, who gave himself hopes to have her, but the hand of heaven hath predestined her for a far higher condition.

The *French* ambassadors who were sent hither to conclude the business, having private audience of his Majesty a little before his death, he told them pleasantly, that he would make war against the Lady *Henrietta*, because she would not receive the two letters which were sent her, one from himself and the other from his son, but sent them to her mother, yet he thought he should easily make peace with her, because he understood she had afterwards put the latter letter in her bosom, and the first in her cushionet; whereby he gathered, that she intended to reserve his son for her affection, and him for counsel.

The Bishop of *Lucon*, now Cardinal *de Richelieu*, is grown to be the sole favourite of the King of *France*, being brought in by the Queen-mother, he hath been very active in advancing the match; but 'tis thought the wars will break out afresh against them of the religion, notwithstanding the ill fortune the King had before *Montauban* few years since, where he lost above 500 of his nobles, whereof the Duke of *Main* was one; and having lain in person before the town many months, and received some affronts, as that inscription upon their gates shews, *Roy sans foy, ville sans peur: A King without faith, a town without fear*, yet he was forced to raze his works and raise his siege.

The letter which Mr. *Ellis Hicks* brought them of *Montauban* from *Rochel*, through so much danger, and with so much gallantry was an infinite advantage unto them; for whereas, there was a politic report raised in the King's army and blown to *Montauban*, that *Rochel* was yielded to the Count of *Soissons* who lay then before her, this letter did inform the contrary, and that *Rochel* was in as good plight as ever; whereupon, they made a sally the next day upon the King's forces, and did him a great deal of spoil.

There be summons out for a parliament, I pray God it may prove more prosperous than the former.

I have been lately recommended to the Duke of *Buckingham* by some noble friends of mine that have intimacy with him; about whom, though he hath three Secretaries already, I hope to have some employment, for I am weary walking up and down so idly upon *London* streets.

The plague begins to rage mightily. God avert his judgments that menace so great a mortality, and turn not away his face from this poor island: so, I kiss your Lordship's hand in quality of

Your Lordship's most humble servitor,

London, Feb. 25. 1625.

J. H.

L E T-

LETTER XCVI.

To the Right Honourable my Lord of Carlingford, after
Earl of Carberry, at Golden-Grove

My LORD,

WE have gallant news now abroad, for we are sure to have a new Queen before it be long; both the contract and marriage was lately solemnized in *France*, the one the second of this month in the *Louvre*, the other the eleventh day following in the great church of *Paris*, by the Cardinal of *Rochefoucault*: there was some clashing betwixt him and the Archbishop of *Paris*, who alleged it was his duty to officiate in that church; but the dignity of Cardinal and the quality of his office, being the King's great Almoner, which makes him chief Curate of the court, gave him the prerogative. I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard of the capitulations; but for better assurance, I will run them over briefly.

The King of *France* obliged himself to procure the dispensation; the marriage should be celebrated in the same form as that of Queen *Margaret*, and of the Dutches of *Bar*; her dowry should be 800,000 crowns, six shillings a-piece, the one moiety to be paid the day of the contract, the other twelve months after. The Queen shall have a chapel in all the King's royal houses, and any where else, where she shall reside within the dominions of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, with free exercise of the *Roman* religion, for herself, her officers, and all her household, for the celebration of the *mass*, the predication of the word, administration of the sacraments, and power to procure indulgences from the holy father. To this end she shall be allowed twenty-eight priests, or ecclesiastics in her house, and a Bishop in quality of Almoner, who shall have jurisdiction over all the rest; and that none of the King's officers shall have power over them, unless in case of treason; therefore all her ecclesiastics shall take the oath of fidelity to his Majesty of
Great

Great Britain: there shall be a cemetery or church-yard closed about to bury those of her family. That in consideration of this marriage all *English* catholics, as well ecclesiastics as lay, who shall be in any prison merely for religion, since the last edict, shall be set at liberty.

This is the eighth alliance we have had with *France* since the conquest; and as it is the best that could be made in *christendom*, so I hope it will prove the happiest. So, I kiss your hand, being

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

London, March 1. 1625.

J. H.

L E T T E R XCVII.

To the Honourable Sir THOMAS SAVAGE.

S I R,

I Converſed lately with a gentleman that came from *France*, who among other things diſcourſed much of the favourite *Richelieu*, who is like to be an active man, and hath great deſigns. The two firſt things he did, was to make ſure of *England* and the *Hollander*: he thinks to have us ſafe enough by this marriage; and *Holland*, by a late league, which was bought with a great ſum of money; for he hath furniſhed the States with 1,000,000 of livres, at two ſhillings a-piece in preſent, and 600,000 livres every year of theſe two that are to come, provided that the States repay theſe ſums two years after they are in peace or truce. The King preſſed much for liberty of conſcience to *Roman catholics* among them, and the deputies promiſed to do all they could with the States General about it; they articulated likewise for the *French* to be associated with them in the trade to the *Indies*.

Monsieur is lately married to *Mary of Bourbon*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*'s daughter; he told her, that he would be a better husband, than he had been a ſuitor to her, for he hung off a good while. This marriage was made

made up by the King, and Monsieur hath for his appenage 100,000 livres annual rent from *Chartres* and *Blois*, 100,000 livres pension, and 500,000 to be charged yearly upon the general receipts of *Orleans*, in all about 70,000 pounds. There was much ado before this match could be brought about; for there were many opposers, and there be dark whispers, that there was a deep plot to confine the King to a monastery, and that Monsieur should govern, and divers great ones have suffered for it, and more are like to be discovered. So, I take my leave for the present, and rest

Your very humble and ready servant,

London, March 10. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R XCVIII.

To the Right Honourable, the Lord Clifford.

My LORD,

I Pray be pleased to dispense with this slowness of mine, in answering yours of the first of this present. Touching the domestic occurrences, the gentleman who is bearer hereof, is more capable to give you account by *discourse* than I can in *paper*.

For foreign tidings, your Lordship may understand, that the town of *Breda* hath been a good while making her last will and testament; but now there is certain news come, that she hath yielded up the ghost to *Spinola's* hands after a tough siege of thirteen months, and a circumvallation of near upon twenty miles compass.

My Lord *Southampton* and his eldest son sickened at the siege, and died at *Berghen*; the adventurous Earl *Henry of Oxford*, seeming to tax the Prince of *Orange* of slackness to fight, was set upon a desperate work, where he melted his grease, and so being carried to the *Hague*, he died also. I doubt not but you have heard of *Grave Maurice's* death, which happened when the town was

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past

past cure ; which was his more than the the States : for he was Marquis of *Breda*, and had near upon 30,000 dollars annual rent from her ; therefore he seemed in a kind of sympathy to sicken with his town, and died before her. He had provided plentifully for his natural children, but could not, though much importuned by Dr. *Roscius*, and other divines upon his death-bed, be induced to make them legitimate by marrying the mother of them : for the law there is, that if one hath got children of any woman, though unmarried to her, yet if he marry her never so little before his death, he makes her honest, and them all legitimate. But it seems the Prince postponed the love he bore to this woman and children, to that which he bore to his brother *Henry* ; for had he made the children legitimate, it had prejudiced the brother in point of command and fortune ; yet, he had provided plentifully for them and the mother.

Grave *Henry* hath succeeded him in all things, and is a gallant gentleman, of a *French* education and temper : he charged him at his death to marry a young Lady, the Count of *Solme's* daughter attending the Queen of *Bohemia*, whom he had long courted ; which is thought will take speedy effect.

When the siege before *Breda* had grown hot, Sir *Edward Vere* being one day attending Prince *Maurice*, he pointed at a rising place called *Terhay*, where the enemy had built a fort, (which might have been prevented). Sir *Edward* told him, he feared that fort would be the cause of the loss of the town : the *Grave* sputtered and shook his head, saying, it was the greatest error he had committed since he knew what belonged to a soldier ; as also, in managing the plot for surprizing the citadel of *Antwerp* ; for he repented that he had not employed *English* and *French* in lieu of the slow *Dutch*, who aimed to have the sole honour of it, and were not so fit instruments for such a nimble piece of service. As soon as Sir *Charles Morgan* gave up the town, *Spinola* caused a new gate to be erected, with this inscription in great golden characters.

Philippo quarto regnante,
 Clara Eugreniâ Isabellâ gubernante,
 Ambrosio Spinolâ obsidente,
 Quatuor regibus contra conantibus,
 Breda capta fuit idibus, &c.

It is thought *Spinola* now, that he hath recovered the honour he had lost before *Berghen-op-zoom* three years since, will not long stay in *Flanders*, but retire. No more now, but that I am resolved to continue ever

Your Lordship's most humble servant

London, March 19. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R XCIX.

To Dr. FIELD, Lord Bishop of Landaff.

My LORD,

I Send you my humble thanks for those worthy hospitable favours you were pleased to give me at your lodgings at *Westminster*. I had yours of the fifteenth of this present, by the hand of Mr. *Jonathan Field*. The news which fills every corner of the town at this time is the sorry and unsuccessful return that *Wimbleton's* fleet hath made from *Spain*. It was a fleet that deserved to have had a better destiny, considering the strength of it, and the huge charge the crown was at: for, besides a Squadron of sixteen *Hollanders*, whereof Count *William*, one of Prince *Maurice's* natural sons was Admiral, there were above eighty of ours, the greatest joint naval power (of ships without galleys) that ever spread sail upon salt-water; which makes the world abroad to stand astonished how so huge a fleet could be so suddenly made ready. The sinking of the *Long Robin* with 176 souls in her, in the bay of *Biscay*, before she had gone half the voyage, was no good augury; and the critics of the time say, there were many other things that promised

mised no good fortune to this fleet; besides, they would point at divers errors committed in the conduct of the main design: first, the odd choice that was made of the Admiral, who was a mere landman; which made the seamen much slight him; it belonging properly to Sir *Robert Mansel*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, to have gone in case the High-Admiral went not. Then they speak of the uncertainty of the enterprize, and that no place was pitched upon to be invaded, till they came to the height of the South Cape, and in sight of shore; where the Lord *Wimbleton* first called a council of war, wherein some would be for *Malaga*, others for *St. Mary-Port*, others for *Gibraltar*, but most for *Cales*; and while they were thus consulting, the country had an alarm given them. Add hereunto the blazing abroad of this expedition before the fleet went out of the *Downs*; for *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* had it in print, that it was for the *Streights-mouth*. Now it is a rule, that great designs of state should be mysteries till they come to the very act of performance, and then they should turn to exploits. Moreover, when the local attempt was resolved on, there were seven ships (by the advice of one Capt. *Love*) suffered to go up the river, which might have been easily taken; and being rich, it is thought they would have defrayed well near the charge of our fleet; which ships did much infect us afterwards with their ordnance, when we had taken the fort of *Pontall*. Moreover, the disorderly carriage and excess of our landmen (whereof there were 10,000) when they were put ashore, who broke into the friers caves, and other cellars of sweet wines, where many hundreds of them being surprized, and found dead drunk, the *Spaniards* came and tore off their ears and noses, and plucked out their eyes; and I was told of one merry fellow escaping, that killed an ass for a buck. Lastly, it is laid to the Admiral's charge, that my Lord *de la Ware's* ship being infected, he should give orders that the sick men should be scattered into divers ships; which dispersed the contagion exceedingly, so that some thousands died before the fleet returned, which was done in a confused

fused manner, without any observance of sea orders, yet I do not hear of any that will be punished for these miscarriages, which will make the dishonour fall more foully upon the State; but the most unfortunate passage of all was, that though we did nothing by land that was considerable, yet, if we had staid but a day or two longer, and spent time at sea, the whole fleet of galleons from *Nova Hispania* had fallen into our mouths, which came presently in, close along the coast of *Barbary*; and in all likelihood we might have had the opportunity to have taken the richest prize that ever was taken on salt-water. Add hereunto, that while we were thus masters of those seas, a fleet of fifty sail of *Brazil* men got safe into *Lisbon*, with four of the richest *Caracks* that ever came from the *East-Indies*.

I hear that my Lord *St. David's* is to be removed to *Bath* and *Wells*, and it were worth your Lordship's coming up to endeavour the succeeding of him. So, I humbly rest

Your Lordship's most ready servant,

London, Nov. 20. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R C.

To my Lord Duke of Buckingham's Grace, at New-Market.

MAY it please your Grace to peruse and pardon these few advertisements, which I would not dare to present, had I not hopes that the goodness which is concomitant with your greatness, would make them venial.

My Lord, a parliament is at hand; the last was *boisterous*, God grant that this may prove more calm: a rumor runs that there are clouds already ingenerated, which will break out into a storm in the *lower region*, and most of the drops are like to fall upon your Grace. This, though

it be but vulgar astrology, is not altogether to be contemned, though I believe that his Majesty's countenance reflecting so strongly upon your Grace with the brightness of your own innocency, may be able to dispel and scatter them to nothing.

My Lord, you are a great Prince, and all eyes are upon your actions: this makes you more subject to envy; which like the sun-beams beats always upon rising grounds. I know your Grace hath many sage and solid heads about you, yet I trust it will prove no offence, if out of the late relation I have to your Grace, by the recommendation of such noble personages, I put in also my mite.

My Lord, under favour, it were not amiss if your Grace would be pleased to part with some of those places you hold which have least relation to the court, and it would take away the mutterings that run of multiplicity of offices, and in my shallow apprehension your Grace might stand more firm without an *anchor*. The office of High-Admiral in these times of action requires one whole man to execute it: your Grace hath another sea of business to wade through, and the voluntary resigning of this office would fill all men, yea even your enemies, with admiration and affection, and make you more a Prince, than detract from your greatness. If any ill successes happen at sea, (as that of the Lord *Wimbleton's* lately) or if there be any murmurs for pay, your Grace will be free from all imputation, besides, it will afford your Grace more leisure to look into your own affairs, which ly confused and unsettled. Lastly, (which is not the least thing) this act will be so plausible, that it may much advantage his Majesty in point of subsidy.

Secondly, it were expedient (under correction) that your Grace would be pleased to allot some set hours for audience and access of suitors; and it would be less cumber to yourself and your servants, and give more content to the world, which often mutters for difficulty of access.

Lastly, it were not amiss that your Grace would settle a standing mansion-house and family, that suitors may know

know whither to repair constantly; and that your servants, every one in his place might know what belongs to his place, and attend accordingly: for, though confusion in a great family carry a kind of a state with it, yet order and regularity gains a greater opinion of virtue and wisdom. I know your Grace doth not (nor needs not) affect popularity: it is true, that the peoples love is the strongest citadel of a sovereign Prince, but to a great subject, it hath often proved fatal; for he who pulleth off his *hat* to the people giveth his *head* to the Prince: and it is remarkable what was said of a late unfortunate Earl, who a little before Queen *Elizabeth's* death, had drawn the ax upon his own neck, *That he was grown so popular, that he was too dangerous for the times, and the times for him.*

My Lord, now that your Grace is threatened to be heaved at, it should behove every one that oweth you duty and good-will, to reach out his hand some way or other to serve you: amongst these, I am one that presumes to do it in this poor impertinent paper; for which, I implore pardon, because I am

Your Grace's most humble and faithful servant,

London, Feb. 18. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R C I.

To the Right Honourable the Earl R.

My LORD,

ACCORDING to promise, and that portion of obedience I owe to your commands, I send your Lordship these few avisos, some whereof I doubt not but you have received before, and that by abler pens than mine, yet your Lordship may happily find herein something which was omitted by others, or the former news made clearer by circumstances.

I hear Count *Mansfelt* is in *Paris*, having now received three routings in *Germany*; 'tis thought the *French* King will piece him up again with new recruits. I was told, that as he was seeing the two queens one day at dinner, the Queen-mother said, they say, Count *Mansfelt* is here amongst this croud; I do not believe it quoth the Queen, for whensoever he seeth a *Spaniard* he runs away.

Matters go on untowardly on our side in *Germany*, but the King of *Denmark* will be shortly in the field in person; and *Bethlem Gabor* hath been long expected to do something, but some think he will prove but a bugbear. Sir *Charles Morgan* is to go to *Germany* with 6000 auxiliaries to join with the *Danish* army.

The parliament is adjourned to *Oxford*, by reason of the sickness which increaseth exceedingly, and before the King went out of the town there died 1500 that very week, and two out of *Whitehall* itself.

There is high clashing again betwixt my Lord Duke and the Earl of *Bristol*, they recriminate one another of divers things: the Earl accuseth him amongst other matters, of certain letters from *Rome*, of putting his Majesty upon that hazardous journey to *Spain*, and of some miscarriages at his being in that court: there be articles also against Lord *Conway*, which I send your Lordship here inclosed.

I am for *Oxford* the next week, and thence for *Wales*, to fetch my good old father's blessing: at my return, if it shall please God to reprieve me in these dangerous times of contagion, I shall continue my wonted service to your Lordship, if it may be done with safety: so, I rest

Your Lordship's most humble servitor,

Lond. March 15. 1626.

J. H.

LETTER CII.

To the Honourable the Lord Viscount C.

My LORD,

SIR *John North* delivered me one lately from your Lordship, and I send my humble thanks for the vefifon you intend me. I acquainted your Lordship as opportunity ferved, with the nimble pace the *French* match went on by the fuccefsful negotiation of the earls of *Carlisle*, and *Holland*, (who outwent the monfieurs themfelves in courtfhip) and how in lefs than nine moons this great bufinefs was propofed, purfued and perfected; whereas the *fun* had leifure enough to finish his annual progrefs, from one end of the *Zodiac* to the other fo many years, before that of *Spain* could come to any fhape of perfection. This may ferve to fhew the difference betwixt the two nations, the leaden-beeled pace of the one, and the quick-filvered motions of the other. It fhews alfo how the *French* is more generous in his proceedings, and not fo full of fcruples, refervations, and jealousies as the *Spaniard*, but deals more frankly, and with a greater confidence and gallantry.

The Lord Duke of *Buckingham* is now in *Paris* accompanied with the Earl of *Montgomery*, and he went in a very fplendid equipage. The *Venetian* and *Hollander* with other ftates that are no friends to *Spain*, did fome good offices to advance this alliance; and the new Pope propounded much towards it, but *Richelieu* the new favourite of *France* was the cardinal instrument in it.

This Pope *Urban* grows very active, not only in things prefent, but ripping up of old matters, for which there is a felect committee appointed to examine accounts and errors paff, not only in the time of his immediate predeceffors, but others. And one told me of a merry pafquil lately in *Rome*; that whereas there are two great ftatues, one of *Peter*, the other of *Paul*, oppofite one to the other upon a bridge, one had clapt a pair of furs upon

upon St. *Peter's* heels, and St. *Paul* asking him whither he was bound, he answered, I apprehend some danger to stay now in *Rome*, because of this new commission, for, I fear they will question me for denying my master. Truly brother *Peter*, I shall not stay long after you, for I have as much cause to doubt that they will question me for persecuting the christians before I was converted. So, I take my leave, and rest

Your Lordship's most humble servitor,

Lond. March 3. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R CIII.

To my Brother Mr. HUGH PENRY.

S I R,

I Thank you for your late letter, and the several good tidings sent me from *Wales*: in requital, I can send you gallant news, for we have now a most noble new Queen of *England*, who in true beauty is beyond the long wooed *Infanta*: for she was of a fading flaxen hair, big lipped, and somewhat heavy eyed; but this daughter of *France*, this youngest branch of *Bourbon* (being but in her cradle when the great *Henry* her father was put out of the world) is of a more lovely and lasting complexion, a dark brown; she hath eyes that sparkle like stars, and for her physiognomy she may be said to be a mirror of perfection. She had a rough passage in her transference to *Dover* castle; and in *Canterbury* the King bedded first with her: there were a goodly train of choice ladies attended her coming upon the bowling-green on *Barram* downs upon the way, who divided themselves into two rows, and they appeared like so many constellations; but, methought that the country ladies outshined the courtiers. She brought over with her 400,000 crowns in gold and silver, as half her portion, and the other moiety is to be paid at the year's end. Her first
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fruit of servants (by article) are to be *French*, and as they die *English* are to succeed: she is also allowed twenty eight ecclesiastics of any order except jesuits; a Bishop for her Almoner, and to have private exercise of her religion for her and her servants.

I pray convey the inclosed to my father by the next convenience, and pray present my dear love to my sister. I hope to see you at *Dyvinnoek* about *Michaelmas*, for I intend to wait upon my father, and take my mother in the way; I mean *Oxford*. In the interim, I rest

Your most affectionate brother,

Lond. May 16. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R C I V.

To my Uncle Sir SACKVILE TREVOR, from Oxford.

S I R,

I Am sorry I must write unto you the sad tidings of the dissolution of the parliament here; which was done suddenly. Sir *John Elliot* was in the heat of a high speech against the Duke of *Buckingham*, when the Usher of the black-rod knocked at the door, and signified the King's pleasure; which struck a kind of consternation in all the house. My Lord Keeper *Williams* hath parted with the broad-seal, because as some say, he went about to cut down the scale, by which he rose, for some it seems did ill offices betwixt the Duke and him. Sir *Thomas Coventry* hath it now: I pray God he be tender of the King's conscience, whereof he is keeper, rather than of the seal.

I am bound to-morrow upon a journey towards the mountains to see some friends in *Wales*, and to bring back my father's blessing. For better assurance of lodging where I pass, in regard of the plague, I have a post warrant as far as *St. David's*; which is far enough you will say, for the King hath no ground further on this island.

Island. If the sickness rage in such extremity at *London*, the term will be held at *Reading*.

All your friends here are well, but many look blank because of this sudden rupture of the parliament. God almighty turn all to the best, and stay the fury of this contagion, and preserve us from further judgment: so, I rest

Your most affectionate nephew,
Oxford, August 6. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R C V.

To my FATHER, from London.

S I R,

I Was the fourth time at a dead stand in the course of my fortunes: for though I was recommended to the Duke, and received many noble respects from him, yet I was told by some who are nearest him, that some body hath done me ill offices, by whispering in his ear I was too much *Digbyfied*; and so, they told me positively that I must never expect any employment about him of trust. While I was in this suspense, Master Secretary *Conway* sent for me, and proposed unto me that the King had occasion to send a gentleman to *Italy*, in nature of a moving Agent, and though he might have choice of persons of good quality that would undertake this employment, yet notwithstanding, hearing of my breeding, he made the first proffer unto me, and that I should go as the King's servant, and have allowance accordingly. I humbly thanked him for the good opinion he pleased to conceive of me being a stranger to him, and desired some time to consider of the proposition, and of the nature of the employment; so he granted me four days to think upon it, and two of them are past already. If I may have a support accordingly, I intend by God's grace (desiring your consent and blessing to go along) to apply myself to this course;

course; but before I part with *England*, I intend to send you further notice.

The sickness is miraculously decreased in this city and suburbs, for from 5200, which was the greatest number that died in one week, and that was some forty days since, they are now fallen to 300. It was the violentest fit of contagion that ever was for the time in this island, and such as no story can parallel; but the ebb of it was more swift than the tide. My brother is well, and so are all your friends here; for I do not know any of your acquaintance that is dead of this furious infection. Sir *John Walter* asked me lately how you did, and wished me to remember him to you. So, with my love to my brothers and sisters, and the rest of my friends which made so much of me lately in the country, I rest

Your dutiful son,

Lond. August 7. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R C V I.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Conway, principal Secretary of State to his Majesty, at Hampton-Court.

Right Honourable,

SINCE I last attended your Lordship here, I summoned my thoughts to counsel, and canvassed to and fro within myself the business you pleased to impart unto me, for going upon the King's service to *Italy*. I considered therein many particulars: first, the weight of the employment, and what maturity of judgment, discretion; and parts are required in him that will personate such a man: next, the difficulties of it; for one must send sometimes light out of darkness, and like the bee suck honey out of bad, as out of good flowers: thirdly, the danger which the undertaker must converse withal, and which may fall upon him by interception of letters or other cross casualties: lastly, the great expence it will require

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being

being not to remain sedentary in one place as other agents, but to be often in itinerary motion.

Touching the first, I refer myself to your honour's favourable opinion, and the character which my Lord S. and others shall give of me: for the second, I hope to overcome it: for the third, I weigh it not, so that I may merit of my King and country: for the last, I crave leave to deal plainly with your Lordship, that I am a Cadet, and have no other patrimony or support but my breeding, therefore I must breathe by the employment; and my Lord, I shall not be able to perform what shall be expected at my hands under 100 *l.* a quarter, and to have bills of credit according. Upon these terms, my Lord, I shall apply myself to this service, and by God's blessing hope to answer all expectations. So, referring the premises to your noble consideration, I rest

My Lord, your very humble and ready servitor,

London, Sept. 8. 1626.

J. H.

L E T T E R CVII.

To my Brother, after Dr. HOWELL, Bishop of Bristol.

My Brother,

NEXT to my father, 'tis fitting you should have cognizance of my affairs and fortunes. You heard how I was in agitation for an employment in *Italy*, but my Lord *Conway* demurred upon the salary I propounded: I have now waved this course, yet I came off fairly with my Lord; for, I have a stable home-employment proffered me by my Lord *Scroop*, Lord President of the North, who sent for me lately to *Worcesterhouse*, though I never saw him before; and there the bargain was quickly made, that I should go down with him to *York* for Secretary; and his Lordship hath promised me fairly. I will see you at your house in *Horsley* before

before I go, and leave the particular circumstances of this business till then.

The *French* that came over with her Majesty, for their petulancy and some misdemeanors, and imposing some odd penances upon the Queen, are all cashiered this week, about the matter of sixscore; whereof the Bishop of *Mende* was one, who had stood to be Steward of her Majesty's courts; which office my Lord of *Holland* hath. It was a thing suddenly done; for about one o'clock as they were at dinner, my Lord *Conway* and Sir *Thomas Edmonds* came with an order from the King, that they must instantly away to *Somerset-house*, for there were barges and coaches staying for them; and there they should have all their wages paid them to a penny, and they must be content to quit the kingdom. This sudden undreamed of order struck an astonishment into them all, both men and women; and running to complain to the Queen, his Majesty had taken her before into his bed-chamber, and locked the doors upon them, until he had told her how matters stood: the Queen fell into a violent passion, broke the glass-windows, and tore her hair, but she was calmed afterwards. Just such a destiny happened in *France* some years since to the Queen's *Spanish* servants there, who were all dismissed in like manner for some miscarriages: the like was done in *Spain* to the *French*, therefore 'tis no new thing.

They are all now on their way to *Dover*, but I fear this will breed ill blood betwixt us and *France*, and may break out into an ill-favoured quarrel.

Mr. *Montague* is preparing to go to *Paris* as a messenger of honour, to prepossess the King and council there with the truth of things. So, with my very kind respects to my sister, I rest

Your loving brother,

London, March 15. 1626.

J. H.

LETTER CVIII.

To the Right Honourable the Lord S.

My LORD,

I Am bound shortly for *York*, where I am hopeful of a profitable employment. There is fearful news from *Germany*, that since Sir *Charles Morgan* went thither with 6000 men for the assistance of the King of *Denmark*, the King hath received an utter overthrow by *Tilly*: he had received a fall off a horse from a wall five yards high a little before, yet it did him little hurt.

Tilly pursueth his victory strongly, and is got over the *Elve* to *Holsteinland*, insomuch, that they write from *Hamburgh*, that *Denmark* is in danger to be utterly lost. The *Danes* and *Germans* seem to lay some fault upon our King, the King upon the parliament, that would not supply him with subsidies to assist his uncle, and Prince *Palsgrave*, both which was promised upon the rupture of the treaties with *Spain*; which was done by the advice of both houses.

This is the ground that his Majesty hath lately sent out privy-seals for loan monies, until a parliament be called, in regard that the King of *Denmark* is distressed, the *Sound* like to be lost, the *Eastland* trade and the staple at *Hamburgh* like to be destroyed, and the *English* garrison under Sir *Charles Morgan* at *Stoad* ready to be starved.

These loan monies keep a great noise, and they are imprisoned that deny to conform themselves.

I fear I shall have no more opportunity to send to your Lordship till I go to *York*, therefore I humbly take my leave, and kiss your hands, being ever,

My Lord,

Your obedient and ready servitor,

J. H.

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LETTER CIX.

To Mr. R. L. Merchant.

I Met lately with *J. Harris* in *London*, and I had not seen him two years before; and then I took him, and knew him to be a man of thirty, but now one would take him by his hair to be near threescore, for he is all turned gray. I wondered at such a metamorphosis in so short a time: he told me, 'twas for the death of his wife that nature had thus antedated his years. 'Tis true, that a weighty settled sorrow is of that force, that besides the contraction of the spirits it will work upon the radical moisture, and dry it up, so that the hair can have no moisture at the root. This made me remember a story that a *Spanish* Advocate told me, which is a thing very remarkable.

When the Duke of *Alva* was in *Brussels*, about the beginning of the tumults in the *Netherlands*, he had sat down before *Hulst* in *Flanders*, and there was a provost-marshal in his army who was a favourite of his; and this provost had put some to death by secret commission from the Duke. There was one Captain *Bolea* in the army, who was an intimate friend of the provost's; and one evening late, he went to the said Captain's tent, and brought with him a *confessor* and an *executioner*, as it was his custom, he told the Captain, that he came to execute his Excellency's commission and martial law upon him: the Captain started up suddenly, his hair standing at an end, and being struck with amazement asked him wherein he had offended the Duke: the provost answered, Sir, I come not to expostulate the business with you, but to execute my commission, therefore, I pray prepare yourself, for there is your *ghostly father* and *executioner*, so he fell on his knees before the priest, and having done, the *hangman* going to put the halter about his neck, the provost threw it away, and breaking into a laughter, told him, there was no such thing, and that he had done this

to try his courage how he could bear the terror of death. The Captain looked ghastly upon him, and said, then fir get you out of my tent, for you have done me a very ill office. The next morning the said Captain *Bolea*, though a young man of about thirty had his hair all turned gray, to the admiration of all the world, and of the Duke of *Alva* himself, who questioned him about it, but he would confess nothing. The next year the Duke was revoked, and in his journey to the court of *Spain* he was to pass by *Saragossa*, and this Captain *Bolea* and the provost went along with him as his domestics. The Duke being to repose some days in *Saragossa*, the young old Captain *Bolea*, told him that there was a thing in that town worthy to be seen by his Excellency; which was a *casa de locos*, a bedlam-house, for there was not the like in christendom: well said the Duke, go and tell the *warden* I will be there to-morrow in the afternoon, and wish him to be in the way. The Captain having obtained this, went to the *warden* and told him, that the Duke would come to visit the house the next day; and the chiefest occasion that moved him to it, was, that he had an unruly provost about him, who was subject oftentimes to fits of frenzy, and because he wished him well, he had tried divers means to cure him, but all would not do, therefore he would try whether keeping him close in bedlam some days would do him any good. The next day the Duke came with a ruffling train of captains after him; amongst whom was the said provost, very shining brave, being entered into the house about the Duke's person, Captain *Bolea* told the *warden*, pointing at the provost, that's the man; so he took him aside into a dark lobby, where he had placed some of his men, who muffled him in his cloak, seized upon his gilt sword with his hat and feather, and so hurried him down into a dungeon. My provost had lain there two nights and a day; and afterward, it happened that a gentleman coming out of curiosity to see the house, peeped in at a small grate where the provost was; the provost conjured him as he was a christian, to go and
tell

tell the Duke of *Alva* his provost was there clapped up, nor could he imagine why. The gentleman did the errand, whereat the Duke being astonished, sent for the warden with his prisoner; so he brought my provost *en cuerpo*, madman like, full of straws and feathers before the Duke, who at the first sight of him, breaking out into laughter, asked the warden why he made him his prisoner, Sir, said the warden, it was by virtue of your Excellency's commission brought me by Captain *Bolea*. *Bolea* stept forth and told the Duke, Sir, you have asked me oft how these hairs of mine grew so suddenly gray? I have not revealed it yet to any soul breathing, but now I will tell your Excellency; and so fell a relating the passage in *Flanders*. And Sir, I have been ever since beating my brains how to get an equal revenge of him; and, I thought no revenge to be more equal or corresponding, now that you see he hath made me old before my time, than to make him mad if I could; and had he staid some days longer close prisoner in the bedlam-house, it might happily have wrought some impressions upon his *pericranium*. The Duke was so well pleased with the story and the wittiness of the revenge, that he made them both friends; and the gentleman that told me this passage, said, that the said Captain *Bolea* was yet alive, so that he could not be less than ninety years of age.

I thank you a thousand times for the *Cephalonia Muscadel* and *Botargo* you sent me. I hope to be shortly quit with you for all courtesies: in the interim, I am

Your obliged friend to serve you,

York, May 1. 1626.

J. H.

P. S. I am sorry to hear of the trick that Sir *John Ayrs* put upon the company by the box of *Hailshot*, signed with the Ambassador's seal, that he had sent so solemnly from *Constantinople*; which, he made the world believe to be full of *Chequins* and *Turky gold*.

LETTER CX.

To Sir EDWARD SAVAGE, Knight.

SIR, It was no great matter to be a prophet, and to have foretold this rupture between us and *France* upon the sudden *renvoy* of her Majesty's servants; for many of them had sold their estates in *France*, given money for their places, and so thought to live and die in *England* in the Queen's service, and so have pitifully complained to that King; thereupon he hath arrested above 100 of our merchant-men that went to the vintage at *Bourdeaux*. We also take some stragglers of theirs, for there are letters of mart given on both sides.

There are writs issued out for a parliament, and the town of *Richmond* in *Richmondshire* hath made choice of me for their burgeses, though Mr. *Christopher Wandesford*, and other powerful men, and more deserving than I, stood for it. I pray God send me fair weather in the house of commons, for there is much murmuring about the restraint of those that would not conform to *loan monies*. There is a great fleet preparing, and an army of landmen; but the design is uncertain, whether it be against *Spain* or *France*, for we are now in enmity with both those crowns. The *French* Cardinal hath been lately the other side the *Alps*, and settled the Duke of *Nevers* in the Dutchy of *Mantua*, notwithstanding the opposition of the King of *Spain* and the Emperor, who alledged, that he was to receive his investiture from him, and that was the chief ground of the war; but the *French* arms hath done the work, and come triumphantly back over the hills again. No more now, but that I am, as always

Your true friend,

March, 2. 1627.

J. H.

LET-

LETTER CXI.

To the Worshipful Mr. Alderman of the Town of Richmond, and the rest of the worthy Members of that antient Corporation.

S I R,

I Received a public instrument from you lately, subscribed by yourself and divers others; wherein I find that you have made choice of me to be one of your burgeses for this now near approaching parliament. I could have wished that you had not put by Mr. *Wandeford*, and other worthy gentlemen that stood so earnestly for it, who being your neighbours, had better means and more abilities to serve you. Yet, since you have cast these high respects upon me, I will endeavour to acquit myself of the trust, and to answer your expectations accordingly; and as I account this election an honour unto me, so I esteem it a great advantage, that so worthy and well experienced a Knight as *Sir Talbot Bows* is to be my colleague and fellow-burgeses. I shall steer by his compass, and follow his directions in any thing that may conduce to the further benefit and advantage thereof; and this I take to be the true duty of a parliamentary burgeses, without roving at random to generals. I hope to learn of *Sir Talbot* what is fitting to be done, and I shall apply myself accordingly to join with him to serve you with my best abilities: so, I rest

Your most affectionate and ready friend to serve you,
London, March 24. 1627.

J. H.

LETTER CXII.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Clifford, at Knastrubugh.

My LORD,

THE news that fills all our mouths at present, is the return of the Duke of *Buckingham* from the isle of *Ree*, or as some call it, the isle of *Rue*, for the bitter

bitter success we had there: for we had but a tart entertainment in that *salt* island. Our first invasion was magnanimous and brave; whereat, near upon 200 *French* gentlemen perished, and divers barons of quality. My Lord *Newport* had ill luck to disorder our cavalry with an unruly horse he had. His brother Sir *Charles Rich* was slain, and divers more upon the retreat; amongst others, great Colonel *Gray* fell into a salt-pit, and being ready to be drowned, he cried out, *Cent mille escus pour ma rançon*, a hundred thousand crowns for my ransom: the *Frenchmen* hearing that, preserved him, though he was not worth a hundred thousand pence. Another merry passage a Captain told me, that when they were rifling the dead bodies of the *French* gentlemen after the first invasion, they found that many of them had their mistresses favours tied about their genitories. The *French* do much glory to have repelled us thus; and they have reason, for the truth is, they comported themselves gallantly, yet, they confess our landing was a notable piece of courage; and if our retreat had been answerable to the invasion, we had lost no honour at all. A great number of gentlemen fell on our side, as Sir *John Heyden*, Sir *Jo. Burrowes*, Sir *George Blundel*, Sir *Alexander Bret*, with divers veteran commanders, who came from the *Netherlands* to this service.

God send us better success the next time, for there is another fleet preparing to be sent under the command of the Lord *Denbigh*: so, I kiss your hand, and am

Your humble servitor,

London, Sept. 24. 1627.

J. H.

LETTER CXIII.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Scroop, Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the North.

My LORD,

MY Lord *Denbigh* is returned from attempting to relieve *Rochel*, which is reduced to extreme exigence; and now, the Duke is preparing to go again with as great power as was yet raised, notwithstanding that the parliament hath shewn higher at him than ever; which makes the people here hardly wish any good success to the expedition because he is General. The *Spaniard* stands at a gaze all this while, hoping that we may do the work, otherwise I think he would find some way to relieve the town; for there is nothing conduceth more to the uniting and strengthening of the *French* monarchy than the reduction of *Rochel*. The King hath been there long in person with his Cardinal, and the stupendous works they have raised by sea and land are beyond belief, as they say. The sea-works and booms were traced out by Marquis *Spinola*, as he was passing that way for *Spain* from *Flanders*.

The parliament is prorogued till *Michaelmas* term: there were five subsidies granted, the greatest gifts that ever subject gave their King at once; and it was in requital that his Majesty passed the petition of right, whereby the liberty of the freeborn subject is so strongly and clearly vindicated, so that there is a fair correspondence like to be betwixt his Majesty and the two houses. The Duke made a notable speech at the council-table in joy hereof: amongst other passages one was, 'That hereafter his Majesty would please to make the parliament his favourite, and he to have the honour to remain still his servant.' No more now, but that I continue

Your Lordship's most dutiful servant,

London, Sept. 25. 1627.

J. H.

LET

LETTER CXIV.

To the Right Honourable the Lady Scroop, Countess of
Sunderland, from Stamford.

Madam,

I Lay yesternight at the post-house at *Stilton*, and this morning betimes the post-master came to my bed's head, and told me the Duke of *Buckingham* was slain: my faith was not then strong enough to believe it, till an hour ago I met in the way with my Lord of *Rutland* (your brother) riding post towards *London*; it pleased him to alight and shew me a letter, wherein there was an exact relation of all the circumstances of this tragedy.

Upon *Saturday* last, which was but next before yesterday, being *Bartholomew* eve, the Duke did rise up in a well-disposed humour out of his bed, and cut a caper or two, and being ready, and having been under the barber's hands, (where the murderer had thought to have done the deed, for he was leaning upon the window all the while) he went to breakfast attended by a great company of commanders, where Monsieur *Soubize* came unto him, and whispered him in the ear that *Rochel* was relieved: the Duke seemed to slight the news, which made some think that *Soubize* went away discontented. After breakfast the Duke going out, Colonel *Fryer* slept before him, and stopping him upon some business, one Lieutenant *Felton* being behind, made a thrust with a common ten-penny knife over *Fryer's* arm at the Duke; which lighted so fatally, that he slit his heart in two, leaving the knife sticking in the body. The Duke took out the knife and threw it away, and laying his hand on his sword, and drawing it half out, said, the villain hath killed me, (meaning as some think, Colonel *Fryer*) for there had been some difference betwixt them; so reeling against a chimney he fell down dead. The Dutchess being with child, hearing the noise below, came in her night-gears from her bed-chamber, which was in an upper-

per-room, to a kind of rail, and thence beheld him weltering in his own blood. *Felton* had lost his hat in the croud, wherein there was a paper sewed, wherein he declared, that the reason which moved him to this act was no grudge of his own, though he had been far behind for his pay, and had been put by his Captain's place twice, but in regard he thought the Duke an enemy to the *State*, because he was branded in parliament, therefore what he did was for the public good of his country. Yet, he got clearly down, and so might have gone to his horse which was tied to a hedge hard by, but he was so amazed that he missed his way, and so struck into the pastery, where, though the cry went that some *Frenchman* had done it, he thinking the word was *Felton*, he boldly confessed it was he that had done the deed; and so he was in their hands. *Jack Stamford* would have run at him, but he was kept off by Mr. *Nicholas*; so being carried up to a tower, Captain *Mince* tore off his spurs, and asking how he durst attempt such an act, making him believe the Duke was not dead, he answered boldly that he knew he was dispatched, for it was not he, but the hand of heaven that gave the stroke, and though his whole body had been covered over with armour of proof he could not have avoided it. Captain *Charles Price* went post presently to the King four miles off, who being at prayers on his knees when it was told him, yet he never stirred, nor was he disturbed a whit till all divine service was done. This was the relation as far as my memory could bear, in my Lord of *Rutland's* letter, who willed me to remember him unto your Ladyship, and tell that he was going to comfort your niece (the Dutchess) as fast as he could; and so, I have sent the truth of this sad story to your Ladyship as fast as I could by this post, because I cannot make that speed myself, in regard of some business I have to dispatch for my Lord in the way: so I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your Ladyship's most dutiful servant,

Stamford, Aug. 5. 1628.

J. H.

T

L E T

LETTER CXV.

To the Right Honourable Sir PETER WICHTS, his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

My LORD,

YOURS of the 2d of July came safe to hand, and I did all those particular *recandos* you enjoined me to do some of your friends here.

The town of *Rochel* hath been fatal and unfortunate to *England*, for this is the third time that we have attempted to relieve her, but our fleets and forces returned without doing any thing. My Lord of *Lindsey* went thither with the same fleet the Duke intended to go on, but he is returned without doing any good: he made some shots at the great boom, and other barricadoes at sea, but at such a distance that they could do no hurt, insomuch, that the town is now given out for lost, and to be past cure; and they cry out, we have betrayed them. At the return of this fleet, two of the *Whelps* were cast away, and three ships more, and some five ships who had some of those great stones that were brought to build *Paul's*, for ballast, and for other uses within them; which could promise no good success, for I never heard of any thing that prospered which being once designed for the honour of God was alienated from that use. The Queen interposeth for the releasement of my Lord of *Newport* and others who are prisoners of war. I hear that all the colours they took from us are hung up in the great church of *Nostrre Dame*, as trophies in *Paris*. Since I began this letter, there is news brought that *Rochel* hath yielded, and that the King hath dismantled the town, and razed all the fortifications landwards, but leaves those standing which are toward the sea. It is a mighty exploit the *French King* hath done, for *Rochel* was the chiefest propugnacle of the protestants there; and now, questionless all the rest of their cautionary towns which they kept for their own defence will yield, so that they must

must depend upon the King's mere mercy. I hear of an overture of peace betwixt us and *Spain*, and that my Lord *Cottington* is to go thither, and *Don Carlos Coloma* to come to us. God grant it, for you know the saying in *Spanish*, *Nunca vi tan mala paz, que no fuera mejor, que la mejor guerra*. It was a bold thing in *England*, to fall out with the two greatest monarchies of *christendom*, and to have them both her enemies at one time; and as glorious a thing it was to bear up against them. God turn all to the best, and dispose of things to his glory: so, I rest

Your Lordship's ready servitor,

London, Sept. 1. 1628.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXVI.

To my Cousin Mr. ST. GEON, at Christ-Church College in Oxford.

C OUSIN, though you want no incitements to go on in that fair road of virtue where you are now running your course, yet being lately in your noble father's company, he did intimate unto me that any thing which came from me would take with you very much. I hear so well of your proceedings, that I should rather commend than encourage you. I know you were removed to *Oxford* in full maturity; you were a good Orator, a good Poet, and good Linguist for your time. I would not have that fate light upon you which useth to befall some, who from golden students, become silver batchelors, and leaden masters. I am far from entertaining any such thought of you, that *Logic* with her *quiddities* and *que ca vel hipps*, can any way unpolish your human studies. As *Logic* is clubbited and crabbed, so she is terrible at first sight; she is like a *Gorgon's* head to a young student, but after a twelvemonth's constancy and patience, this *Gorgon's* head will prove a mere bugbear: when you have devoured the *Organon*, you will find philosophy far

more delightful and pleasing to your palate. In feeding the soul with knowledge, the understanding requireth the same consecutive acts which nature useth in nourishing the body. To the nutrition of the body, there are two essential conditions required, *assumption* and *retention*; then there follows two more *mixis* and *coactio* concoction and agglutination or adhesion: so in feeding your soul with science, you must first assume and suck in the matter into your apprehension, then must the memory retain and keep it in; afterwards by disputation, discourse, and meditation, it must be well concocted; then must it be agglutinated and converted to nutriment. All this may be reduced to these two heads, *tenere fideliter, & uti feliciter*; which are two of the happiest properties in a student. There is another act required to good concoction, called the act of *expulsion*, which puts off all that is un-found and noxious; so in study, there must be an expulsive virtue to shun all that is erroneous; and there is no science but is full of such stuff, which by direction or tutor, and choice of good books must be excerned. Do not confound yourself with multiplicity of authors, two is enough upon any science, provided they be plenary and orthodox: *Philosophy* should be your substantial food, *poetry* your banquetting-stuff. *Philosophy* hath more of reality in it than any knowledge; the *Philosopher* can fathom the deep, measure the mountains, reach the stars with a staff, and bless heaven with a girdle.

But amongst these studies, you must not forget the *unicam necessarius*. On *Sundays* and holidays, let *divinity* be the sole object of your speculation; in comparison whereof, other knowledge is but cobweb learning; *præqua quisquiliæ cætera*.

When you can make truce with study, I should be glad you would employ some superfluous hour or other to write unto me, for I much covet your good, because I am

Your affectionate cousin,

London, Oct. 25. 1627.

J. H.

L E T -

LETTER CXVII.

To Sir SACKVILE TREVOR, Knight.

Noble Uncle,

I Send you my humble thanks for the curious sea-chest of glasses you pleased to bestow on me; which I shall be very chary to keep as a monument of your love. I congratulate also the great honour you have got lately by taking away the spirit of *France*, I mean, by taking the third great vessel of her *Sea-Trinity*, her *Holy Spirit*, which had been built in the mouth of the *Texel* for the service of her King. Without complimenting with you, it was one of the best exploits that was performed since the wars began; and besides the renown you have purchased, I hope your reward will be accordingly from his Majesty, whom I remember you so happily preserved from drowning in all probability at St. *Andera's* road in *Spain*. Though princes guerdons come slow, yet they come sure; and it is oftentimes the method of God almighty himself to be long both in his rewards and punishments.

As you have bereft the *French* of their *Saint Esprit*, their *Holy Spirit*, so there is news that the *Hollanders* have taken from *Spain* all her *saints*; I mean *todes los santos*, which is one of the chiefest staples of sugar in *Brazil*. No more, but that I wish you all health, honour and heart's desire.

London, Oct. 26. 1625.

J. H.

LETTER CXVIII.

To Captain THO. B. from York.

NOBLE Captain, yours of the 1st of *March* was delivered me by Sir *Richard Scot*; and I held it no profanation of this *Sunday* evening, considering the

quality of my subject, and having (I thank God for it) performed all church-duties, to employ some hours to meditate on you, and send you this friendly salute, though I confess in an unusual monitory way. My dear Captain, I love you perfectly well, I love both your person and parts, which are not vulgar: I am in love with your disposition which is generous; and I verily think you were never guilty of any pusillanimous act in your life: nor is this love of mine conferred upon you *gratis*, but you may challenge it as your due, and by way of correspondence, in regard of those thousand convincing evidences you have given me of yours to me; which ascertain me, that you take me for a true friend. Now I am of the number of those that had rather commend the virtue of an enemy than sooth the vices of a friend: for your own particular, if your parts of virtue, and your infirmities were cast into a balance, I know the first would much out-poise the other; yet give me leave to tell you, that there is one frailty, or rather ill-favoured custom that reigns in you, which weighs much, it is a humour of *swearing* in all your discourses; and they are not slight, but deep, far fetched oaths that you are wont to rap out, which you use as flowers of rhetoric to enforce a faith upon the hearers, who believe you never the more; and you use this in cold blood when you are not provoked, which makes the humour far more dangerous. I know many, (and I cannot say I myself am free from it, God forgive me) that being transported with choler, and as it were made drunk with passion by some sudden provoking accident, or extreme ill fortune at play, will let fall oaths and deep protestations; but to belch out, and send forth as it were whole vollies of oaths and curses in a calm humour to verify every trivial thing, is a thing of horror. I knew a King that being crossed in his game, would amongst his oaths fall on the ground, and bite the very earth in the rough of his passion. I heard of another King (*Henry IV. of France*) that in his highest distemper would swear but *ventre de St. Gris*; by the belly of *St. Gris*. I heard of an *Italian*, that having
been

been much accustomed to blaspheme, was weaned from it by a pretty wile; for having been one night at play, and lost all his money, after many execrable oaths, and having offered money to another to go out to deface heaven and defy God, he threw himself upon a bed hard by, and there fell asleep: the other gamesters played on still, and finding that he was fast asleep, they put out the candles, and made semblance to play on still; they fell a wrangling, and spoke so loud that he awaked: he hearing them play on still, fell a rubbing his eyes, and his conscience presently prompted him that he was struck blind, and that God's judgment had deservedly fallen down upon him for his blasphemies; and so he went to sigh and weep pitifully: a ghostly father was sent for, who undertook to do some acts of penance for him, if he would make a vow never to play again or blaspheme; which he did, and so the candles were lighted again, which he thought were burning all the while: so, he became a perfect convert. I could wish this letter might produce the same effect in you. There is a strong text, that the curse of heaven hangs always over the dwelling of the swearer; and you have more fearful examples of miraculous judgments in this particular, than of any other sin.

There is a little town in *Languedoc* in *France*, that hath a multitude of the pictures of the virgin *Mary* up and down, but she is made to carry *Christ* in her right-arm, contrary to the ordinary custom; and the reason they told me was this, that two gamesters being at play, and one having lost all his money, and bolted out many blasphemies, he gave a deep oath, that that whore upon the wall, meaning the picture of the blessed *Virgin*, was the cause of his ill luck: hereupon, the child removed imperceptably from the left-arm to the right, and the man fell stark dumb ever after: thus went the tradition there. This makes me think upon the *Lady Southwel's* news from *Utopia*, that he who sweareth when he playeth at dice, may challenge his damnation by way of purchase. This infandous custom of swearing, I observe, reigns in
England

England lately more than anywhere else; though a *German* in the highest puff of passion swear a *hundred thousand sacraments*, the *Italian* by the life of *God*, the *French* by his *death*, the *Spaniard* by his *flesh*, the *Welshman* by his *sweat*, the *Irishman* by his *five wounds*; though the *Scot* commonly bids the *devil hale his soul*, yet for variety of oaths the *English* roarers put down all. Consider well what a dangerous thing it is to tear in pieces that dreadful name which makes the vast fabric of the world to tremble; that holy name wherein the whole hierarchy of heaven doth triumph; that blissful name, wherein consists the fulness of all felicity. I know this custom in you yet, is but a light *disposition*, 'tis no habit I hope: let me therefore conjure you by that power of friendship, by that holy league of love which is between us, that you would suppress it before it come to that; for I must tell you, that those who could find in their hearts to love you for many other things, do disrespect you for this; they hate your company, and give no credit to whatsoever you say, it being one of the punishments of a swearer as well as of a liar, not to be believed when he speaks truth.

Excuse me that I am so free with you: what I write proceeds from the clear current of a pure affection; and I shall heartily thank you, and take it for an argument of love, if you tell me of my weaknesses, which are (God wot, too too many; for my body is but a cargazon of corrupt humours, and being not able to overcome them all at once, I do endeavour to do it by degrees, like *Sertorius's* soldier, who when he could not cut off the horse tail with his sword at one blow, fell to pull out the hairs one by one. And touching this particular humour from which I dissuade you, it hath raged in me too often by contingent fits; but I thank God for it, I find it much abated and purged. Now the only physic I used was a precedent fast, and recourse to the holy sacrament the next day, of purpose to implore pardon for what had passed, and power for the future to quell those exorbitant motions, those ravings and feverish fits of the soul,

in

in regard there are no infirmities more dangerous; for at the same instant they have being, they become impieties. And the greatest symptoms of amendment I find in me is, because, whensoever I hear the holy name of God blasphemed by any other, it makes my heart to tremble within my breast. Now it is a penitential rule, *that if sins present do not please thee, sins past will not hurt thee.* All other sins have for their object either pleasure or profit, or some aim and satisfaction to body or mind, but this hath none at all; therefore fy upon it, my dear Captain, try whether you can make a conquest of yourself in subduing this execrable custom. *Alexander* subdued the world, *Cæsar* his enemies, *Hercules* monsters; but he that overcomes himself is the true valiant Captain.

All your friends here are well, *Tom Young* excepted, who I fear hath not long to live amongst us: so, I rest

Your true friend,

York, August 1. 1628.

J. H.

L E T T E R C X I X .

To WILLIAM AUSTIN, Esq;

S I R,

I Have many thanks to give you for that excellent poem you sent me upon the passion of Christ; surely you were possessed with a very strong spirit when you penned it, you were become a true *enthusiast*: for, let me despair if I lie unto you, all the while I was perusing it, it committed holy rapes upon my soul: methought I felt my heart melting within my breast, and my thoughts transported me to a true *elysium* all the while, there were such flexanimous strong ravishing strains throughout it. To deal plainly with you, it were an injury to the public good, not to expose to open light such divine raptures; for they have an edifying power in them, and
may

may be termed the very quintessence of devotion. You discover in them what a rich talent you have; which should not be buried within the walls of a private study, or pass through a few particular hands, but appear in public view, and to the sight of the world, to the enriching of others, as they did me in reading them. Therefore I shall long to see them pass from the bankside to *Paul's* church-yard, with other precious pieces of yours, which you have pleased to impart unto me.

Your most affectionate servitor,

Oxford, August 20. 1628.

J. H.

L E T T E R C X X .

To Sir J. S. Knight.

S I R,

Y^OU writ to me lately for a footman, and I think this bearer will fit you: I know he can run well, for he hath run away twice from me, but he knew the way back again; yet, though he hath a running head as well as running heels, (and who will expect a footman to be a stayed man?) I would not part with him were I not to go post to the North. There be some things in him that answer for his waggeries: he will come when you call him, go when you bid him, and shut the door after him; he is faithful and stout, and a lover of his master. He is a great enemy to all dogs, if they bark at him in his running; for I have seen him confront a huge mastiff, and knock him down. When you go a country journey, or have him run with you a-hunting, you must spirit him with liquor; you must allow him also something extraordinary for socks, else you must not have him to wait at your table; when his grease melts in running hard, it is subject to fall into his toes. I send him you but for trial, if he be not for your turn, turn him over to me again when I come back.

The

The best news I can send you at this time, is, that we are like to have peace both with *France* and *Spain*, so that *Harwich* men your neighbours, shall not hereafter need to fear the name of *Spinola*, who struck such an apprehension into them lately, that I understand they begin to fortify.

I pray present my most humble service to my good Lady; and at my return from the North I will be bold to kiss her hands and yours: so, I am

Your most obliged servitor,

London, May 25. 1628.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXI.

To my FATHER.

S I R,

OUR two younger brothers which you sent hither are disposed of: my brother Doctor hath placed the elder of the two with Mr. *Harves*, a mercer in *Cheapside*, and he took much pains in it; and I had placed my brother *Ned* with Mr. *Barrington*, a silkman in the same street; but afterwards for some inconveniencies, I removed him to one Mr. *Smith* at the *Flower-de-luce* in *Lombard-street*, a mercer also. Their masters are both of them very well to pass, and of good repute: I think it will prove some advantage to them hereafter, to be both of one trade, because when they are out of their time they may join stocks together; so that I hope, Sir, they are well placed as any two youths in *London*, but you must not use to send them such large tokens in money, for that may corrupt them. When I went to bind my brother *Ned* apprentice in *Drappers-hall*, casting my eyes upon the chimney-piece of the great room, I spied a picture of an antient gentleman, and underneath *Thomas Howell*. I asked the clerk about him, and he told me that he had been a *Spanish* merchant in *Henry VIII's* time,

time, and coming home rich, and dying a batchellor, he gave that hall to the company of *Drapers*, with other things, so that he is accounted one of their chiefest benefactors. I told the clerk, that one of the sons of *Thomas Howell* came now thither to be bound; he answered, that if he be a right *Howell*, he may have when he is free, 300 pounds to help to set up, and pay no interest for five years. It may be hereafter we may make use of this. He told me also, that any maid that can prove her father to be a true *Howell*, may come and demand fifty pounds towards her portion, of the said hall. I am to go post towards *York* to-morrow, to my charge, but hope, God willing, to be here again the next term: so, with my love to my brother *Howell*, and my sifter his wife, I rest

Your dutiful son,

London, Sept. 30. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXII.

To my Father Mr. BEN. JOHNSON.

FATHER Ben. *Nullum fit magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ*, there is no great wit without some mixture of madness, so saith the Philosopher: nor was he a fool who answered, *nec parvum sine mixtura stultitiæ*, nor small wit without some allay of foolishness. Touching the first, it is verified in you, for I find that you have been oftentimes mad; you were mad when you writ your *Fox*, and madder when you writ your *Alchymist*; you were mad when you writ your *Catilin*, and stark mad when you writ *Sejanus*; but when you writ your *Epigrams*, and the *Magnetic Lady*, you were not so mad, insomuch, that I perceive there be degrees of madness in you. Excuse me that I am so free with you. The madness I mean, is that divine fury, that heating and heightening spirit which *Ovid* speaks of.

Eß

Est deus in nobis, agitante calefcimus illo: that true enthusiasm which transports, and elevates the souls of poets above the middle region of vulgar conception, and makes them soar up to heaven to touch the stars with their laurelled heads, to walk in the *Zodiac* with *Apollo* himself, and command *Mercury* upon their errand.

I cannot yet light upon Dr. *Davies's Welsh* grammar; before *Christmas* I am promised one: so, desiring you to look better hereafter to your charcoal-fire and chimney; which I am glad to be one that preserved from burning, this being the second time that *Vulcan* hath threatened you, it may be because you have spoken ill of his wife, and been too busy with his horns. I rest

Your son and contiguous neighbour,

Westminster, June 27. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXIII.

To R. S. Esq;

S I R,

I Am one of them who value not a courtesy that hangs long betwixt the fingers. I love not those *viscosa beneficia*, those bird-limed kindnesses which *Pliny* speaks of; nor would I receive money in a dirty clout, if possibly I could be without it: therefore, I return you the courtesy by the same hand that brought it. It might have pleased me at first, but the expectation of it hath prejudiced me, and now, perhaps you may have more need of it than

Your humble servitor,

Westminster, August 3. 1620.

J. H.

LETTER CXXIV.

To the Countess of Sunderland at York.

Madam,

MY Lord continues still in course of physic at Dr. Napier's. I wrote to him lately, that his Lordship would please to come to his own house here in St. Martin's lane, where there is a greater accommodation for the recovery of his health, Dr. Mayern being on the one side, and the King's Apothecary on the other; but I fear there be some mountebanks that carry him away, and, I hear he intends to remove to Wickham, to one Atkinson a mere Quackfalver that was once Dr. Lopez's man.

The little Knight that useth to draw up his breeches with a shocing-horn, I mean, Sir Posthumus Hobby, flew high at him this parliament, and would have inserted his name in the scroll of recusants that is shortly to be presented to the King; but, I produced a certificate from Linford under the minister's hand, that he received the communion at Easter last, and so got his name out: besides, the Deputy-lieutenants of Buckinghamshire would have charged Biggin farm with a light-horse, but Sir William Alford and others joined with me to get it off.

Sir Thomas Wentworth and Mr. Wansford, are grown great courtiers lately, and come from Westminster-hall to Whitehall: (Sir Jo. Savill their countryman having shewn them the way with his white staff). The Lord Weston tampered with the one, and my Lord Cottington took pains with the other, to bring them about from their violence against the prerogative; and I am told, the first of them is promised my Lord's place at York, in case his sickness continues.

We are like to have peace with Spain and France; and for Germany, they say the Swedes are like to strike into her, to try whether they may have better fortunes than the Danes.

My

My Lady *Scroop* (my Lord's mother) hath lain sick a good while, and is very weak. So I rest, Madam,

Your humble and dutiful servitor,

Westminster, August 4. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXV.

To the Right Honourable my Lady *Scroop*, Countess of *Sunderland*, at *Langar*.

Madam,

I Am newly returned from *Hunston*; from giving the rites of burial to my Lord's mother: she made my Lord sole executor of all. I have all her plate and household-stuff in my custody; and unless I had gone as I did, much had been embezzled. I have sent herewith the copy of a letter the King wrote to my Lord upon the resignation of his place, which is fitting to be preserved for posterity among the records of *Belton* castle. His Majesty expresseth therein that he was never better served, nor with more exactness of fidelity and justice by any, therefore he intends to set a special mark of his favour upon him, when his health will serve him to come to court: my Lord *Carleton* delivered it me, and told me he never remembered that the King wrote a more gracious letter. I have lately bought in fee-farm, *Wanless* park of the King's commissioners for my Lord: I got it for 600*l.* doubling the old rent, and the next day I was offered 500*l.* for the bargain: there were divers that put in for it, and my Lord of *Anglesey* thought himself sure of it, but I found means to frustrate them all. I also compounded with his Majesty's commissioners for respite of homage for *Rabbi* castle; there was 120*l.* demanded, but I came off for forty shillings. My Lord *Wentworth* is made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and carries a mighty stroke at court. There have been some clashing betwixt him and my Lord of *Pembroke* lately, with

others at court, and divers in the North; and some, as Sir *David Fowler*, with others, have been crushed.

He pleased to give me the disposing of the next Attorney's place in *York*; and *John Lister* being lately dead, I went to make use of the favour, and was offered 300 *l.* for it, but some got betwixt me and home, so that I was forced to go away contented with 100 pieces Mr. *Ratcliff* delivered me in his chamber at *Grays-Inn*, and so to part with the legal instrument I had; which I did rather than contest.

The Dutchess your niece is well. I did what your Ladyship commanded me at *York* house. So I rest, Madam,

Your Ladyship's ready and faithful servant,
Westminster, July 1. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXVI.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Bristol at Sherburn Castle.

My LORD,

I Attended my Lord *Cottington* before he went on his journey towards *Spain*, and put him in mind of the old business against the Viceroy of *Sardinia*, to see whether any good can be done, and to learn whether the *Conde* or his son be solvent. He is to land at *Lisbon*; one of the King's ships attends him; and some merchantmen take the advantage of this convoy.

The news that keeps greatest noise now, is, that the Emperor hath made a favourable peace with the *Dane*; for *Tilly* had crossed the *Elve*, and entered deep into *Holstein* land, and in all probability might have carried all before him, yet that King had honourable terms given him, and a peace is concluded, (though without the privity of *England*). But I believe the King of *Denmark* fared the better, because he is grandchild to *Charles*

les the Emperor's sister. Now it seems another spirit is like to fall upon the Emperor; for, they write, that *Gustavus* King of *Swethland* is struck into *Germany*, and hath taken *Mecklenburgh*. The ground of this quarrel as I hear, is, that the Emperor would not acknowledge; much less give audience to his ambassadors: he also gives out to come for the assistance of his allies, the Dukes of *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburgh*; nor do I hear that he speaks any thing yet of the Prince *Palsgrave's* business.

Don Carlos Coloma is expected here from *Flanders* about the same time that my Lord *Cottingham* shall be arrived at the court of *Spain*. God send us an honourable peace, for as the *Spaniard* says, *Nunca vi tan mala pazque no fuesse mejor, que la mejor guerra.*

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servant,

1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXVII.

To my Cousin J. P. at Mr. CONRADUS'S.

Cousin,

A Letter of yours was lately delivered me, I made a shift to read the superscription, but within I wondered what language it might be in which it was written: at first, I thought it was *Hebrew*, or some of her dialects, and so went from the liver to the heart, from the right hand to the left to read it, but could make nothing of it: then I thought it might be the *Chinefe's* language, and went to read the words perpendicular; and the lines were so crooked and distorted, that no coherence could be made. *Greek* I perceived it was not, nor *Latin* or *English*; so, I gave it for mere gibberish, and your characters to be rather *hieroglyphicks* than letters. The best is, you keep your lines at a good distance, like those in chancery bills, who as a clerk said, were made so wide of purpose, because the clients should have room enough

to walk between them without justling one another; yet, this wideness had been excuseable if your lines had been streight, but they were full of odd kind of undulations and windings. If you can write no otherways, one may read your thoughts as soon as your characters. It is some excuse for you that you are but a young beginner: I pray let it appear in your next what a proficient you are, otherwise some blame might light on me who placed you there. Let me receive no more *gibberish* or *hieroglyphicks* from you, but legible letters, that I may acquaint your friends accordingly of your good proceedings: so, I rest

Your very loving cousin,

Westminster, Sept. 20. 1629.

J. H.

LETTER CXXVIII.

To the Lord Viscount Wentworth, Lord President of York.

My LORD,

MY last was of the first current, since which, I received one from your Lordship, and your commands therein; which I shall ever entertain with a great deal of chearfulness. The greatest news from abroad is, that the *French King* with his Cardinal are come again on this side the hills, having done his business in *Italy* and *Savoy*, and reserved still *Pignerol* in his hands; which will serve him as a key to enter *Italy* at pleasure. Upon the highest mountain amongst the *Alps*, he left this ostentuous inscription upon a great pillar:

*A la memoir eternelle de Louis treiziesme,
Roy de France & de Navarte,
Tres-Auguste, tres-victorieux, tres-heureux,
Conquerant, tres-juste:*

Lequel

*Lequel après avoir vaincu toutes les nations
de l'Europe,*

*Il a encore triumphe les elements
Du ciel & de la terre,*

*Ayant passé deux fois ces monts au mois
De Mars avec son armée,*

*Victorieuse pour remettre les Princes
d'Italie en leurs estates,*

Defendre & protéger ses allies.

To the eternal memory of *Lewis XIII.* King of *France* and *Navarre*, most gracious, most victorious, most happy, most just; a Conqueror, who having overcome all the nations of *Europe*: he hath also triumphed over the elements of heaven and earth, having twice passed over these hills in the month of *March* with his victorious army, to restore the princes of *Italy* to their estates, and to defend and protect his allies: so, I take my leave for the present, and rest

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servitor,

Westminster, August 5. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXIX.

To Sir KENELM DIGBY Knight.

S I R,

G I V E me leave to congratulate your happy return from the *Levant*, and the great honour you have acquired by your gallant comportment in *Algier*, in rescuing so many *English* slaves; by bearing up so bravely against the *Venetian* fleet in the bay of *Scanderoon*, and making the *Pantaloni* to know themselves and you better. I do not remember to have read or heard that those huge galeasses of *St. Mark* were beaten afore. I give you the joy also, that you have born up against the *Venetian* Ambassador here, and vindicated yourself of those foul scandals

scandals he had cast upon you in your absence. Whereas you desire me to join with Lord *Cottington* and others, to make *affidavit* touching *Bartholomew Spinola*, whether he be *Vezino de Madrid*, viz. free *Denison* of *Spain*; I am ready to serve you herein, or to do any other office that may right you, and tend to the making of your prize good. Yet, I am very sorry that our *Alleppo* merchants suffered so much.

I shall be shortly in *London*, and I will make the greater speed, because I may serve you. So, I humbly kiss my noble Lady's hand, and rest

Your thrice assured servant,

Westminst. Nov. 25. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXX.

To the Right Honourable Sir PETER WICHT, Ambassador at Constantinople.

S I R,

MR. *Simon Digby* delivered me one from your Lordship of the first of *June*; and I was extremely glad to have it, for I had received nothing from your Lordship a twelvemonth before. Master Controller Sir *Thomas Edmond* is lately returned from *France*, having renewed the peace which was made up to his hands before by the *Venetian* ambassadors, who had much laboured in it, and had concluded all things beyond the *Alps*, when the King of *France* was at *Susa* to relieve *Casal*. The *Monsieur* that was to fetch him from *St. Dennis* to *Paris*, put a kind of jeering compliment upon him, viz. that his Excellency should not think it strange, that he had so few *French* gentlemen to attend in this service to accompany him to the court; in regard there were so many killed at the isle of *Rhee*. The Marquis of *Chateañeuf* is here from *France*; and it was an odd speech also from him, reflecting upon Master Controller, that

that the King of Great Britain used to send for his ambassadors from abroad to pluck capons at home.

Mr. *Burlemach* is to go shortly to *Paris*, to recover the other moiety of her Majesty's portion; whereof they say my Lord of *Holland* is to have a good share. The Lord Treasurer *Weston* is he who hath the greatest vogue now at court, but many great ones have clashed with him. He is so potent, that I hear his eldest son is to marry one of the blood-royal of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Lenox's* sister, and that with his Majesty's consent.

Bishop *Laud* of *London* is also powerful in his way, for he sits at the helm of the church, and doth more than any of the two archbishops, or all the rest of his two and twenty brethren besides.

In your next I shall be glad your Lordship would do me the favour, as to write how the Grand Signior is like to speed before *Bagdat*, in this his *Persian* expedition. No more now, but that I always rest

Your Lordship's ready and most faithful servant,

Westminst. Jan. 1. 1629.

J. H.

LETTER CXXXI.

To my FATHER.

S I R,

S I R *Thomas Wentworth* hath been a good while Lord President of *York*, and since is sworn Privy-counsellor, and made Baron and Viscount; the Duke of *Buckingham* himself flew not so high in so short a revolution of time. He was made Viscount with a great deal of high ceremony upon a *Sunday* in the afternoon at *Whitehall*. My Lord *Powis* (who affects him not so much) being told that the heralds had fetched his pedigree from the blood-royal, viz. from *John of Gaunt*, said, *dammy if ever he come to be King of England, I will turn rebel.*

rebel. When I went first to give him joy, he pleased to give me the disposing of the next Attorney's place that falls void in *York*, which is valued at 300 *l.* I have no reason to leave my Lord of *Sunderland*, for I hope he will be noble unto me. The perquisites of my place, taking the King's fee away, came far short of what he promised me at my first coming to him, in regard of non-residence at *York*; therefore I hope he will consider it some other way. This languishing sickness still hangs on him, and I fear will make an end of him. There is none can tell what to make of it, but he voided lately a strange worm at *Wickham*; but, I fear there is an imposthume growing in him, for he told me a passage, how many years ago my Lord *Willoughby* and he, with so many of their servants (*de gayete de cœur*) played a match at foot-ball against such a number of countrymen, where, my Lord of *Sunderland* being busy about the ball, got a bruise in the breast; which put him in a swoon for the present, but did not trouble him till three months after, when being at *Bever* castle (his brother-in-law's house) a qualm took him on a sudden, which made him retire to his bed-chamber. My Lord of *Rutland* following him, put a pipe full of tobacco in his mouth; he being not accustomed to tobacco, taking the smoke downwards, fell a casting and vomiting up divers little imposthumated bladders of congealed blood; which saved his life then, and brought him to have a better conceit of tobacco ever after; and I fear there is some of that clodded blood still in his body.

Because Mr. *Haws* of *Cheapside* is lately dead, I have removed my brother *Griffith* to the hen and chickens in *Pater-noster-row* to Mr. *Taylor's*, as genteel a shop as any in the city; but I gave a piece of plate of twenty nobles price to his wife. I wish the *Yorkshire* horse may be fit for your turn, he was accounted the best saddle gelding about *York*, when I bought him of Captain *Philips* the Muster-master; and when he carried me first to *London*, there was twenty pounds offered for him by my Lady
Carlisle.

Carisle. No more now, but desiring a continuance of your blessing and prayers, I rest

Your dutiful son,

London, Dec. 3. 1630

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXII.

To the Lord Cottington, Ambassador Extraordinary for his Majesty of Great Britain in the Court of Spain.

My LORD,

I Received your Lordship's lately by *Harry Davies* the *Correo Santo*; I return my humble thanks, that you were pleased to be mindful (among so many high negotiations) of the old business touching the Viceroy of *Sardinia*. I have acquainted my Lord of *Bristol* accordingly; our eyes here look very greedily after your Lordship, and the success of your embassy; we are glad to hear the business is brought to so good a pass, and that the capitulations are so honourable (the high effects of your wisdom).

For news, the *Swedes* do notable feats in *Germany*; and we hope, they cutting the Emperor and *Bavarian* so much work to do, and the good offices we are to expect from *Spain* upon this redintegration of peace, will be an advantage to the Prince *Palatine*, and facilitate matters for restoring him to his country.

There is little news at our court, but that there fell an ill-favoured quarrel betwixt Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and Mr. *Goring*, Mr. *Jermin*, and others at St. *James's* lately, about Mrs. *Baker* the maid of honour, and duels were like to grow of it, but that the business was taken up by the Lord Treasurer, my Lord of *Dorset*, and others appointed by the King. My Lord of *Sunderland* is still indisposed: he willed me to remember his hearty service to your Lordship, and so did Sir *Arthur Ingram*,
and

and my Lady: they all wish you a happy and honourable return, as doth

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servitor,

London, March 1. 1630.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXIII.

To the Earl of Bristol.

My LORD,

I Doubt not but your Lordship hath had intelligence from time to time what firm invasions the King of *Swedes* hath made into *Germany*, and by what degrees he hath mounted to this height, having but 6000 foot, and 500 horse when he entered first to *Mecklenburgh*, and taken that town while commissioners stood treating on both sides in his tent: how thereby his army much increased, and so rushed further into the heart of the country, but passing near *Magdenbourg*, being diffident of his own strength, he suffered *Tilly* to take that great town with so much effusion of blood, because they would receive no quarters. Your Lordship hath also heard of the battle of *Leipsick*, where *Tilly* notwithstanding the victory he had got over the Duke of *Saxony* a few days before, received an utter discomfiture; upon which victory the King sent Sir *Thomas Roe* a present of 2000 *l.* and in his letter calls him his *strenuum consultorem*, he being one of the first who had advised him to this *German* war after he had made peace betwixt him and the *Polander*. I presume also your Lordship heard how he met *Tilly* again near *Auspurg*, and made him go upon a wooden leg, whereof he died, and after soundly plundered the *Bavarian*, and made him flee from his own house at *Munchen*, and rifled his very closets.

Now, your Lordship shall understand, that the said King is at *Mentz*, and keeps a court there like an Emperor, there being above twelve ambassadors with him.

The

The King of *France* sent a great Marquis for his Ambassador, to put him in mind of his articles, and to tell him, that his Christian Majesty wondered he would cross the *Rhine* without his privity, and wondered more that he would invade the church-lands, meaning the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who had put himself under the protection of *France*. The *Swede* answered, that he had not broke the least title of the articles agreed on; and touching the said Archbishop, he had not stood neutral as was promised, therefore he had justly set on his skirts. The Ambassador replied, in case of breach of articles, his master had 80,000 men to pierce *Germany* when he pleased. The King answered, that he had but 20,000, and those would be sooner at the walls of *Paris*, than his 80,000 should be on the frontiers of *Germany*. If this new conqueror goes on with this violence, I believe it will cast the policy of all christendom into another mould, and beget new maxims of state; for none can foretel where his monstrous progress will terminate. Sir *Henry Vane* is still in *Germany* observing his motions, and they write that they do not agree well: as I heard the King should tell him, that he spoke nothing but *Spanish* to him. Sir *Robert Anstruther* is also at *Vienna*, being gone thither from the diet at *Ratisbon*.

I hear the infante Cardinal is designed to come Governor of the *Netherlands*, and passeth by way of *Italy*, and so through *Germany*: his brother *Don Carlos* is lately dead. So I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servitor,
Westm. April 23. 1630. J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXIV.

To my noble Lady, the Lady Cot.

Madam,

YOU spoke to me for a cook who had seen the world abroad, and I think the bearer hereof will fit your Ladyship's turn. He can marinate fish, and gellies; he

is excellent for a pickant sauce, and the haugou: besides, Madam, he is passing good for an ollia. He will tell your Ladyship, that the reverend matron the *olla podrida* hath intellectuals and senses; mutton, beef, and bacon, are to her, as the will, understanding, and memory are to the soul. Cabbage, turnips, archichocks, potatoes and dates, are her five senses, and pepper the common sense: she must have marrow to keep life in her, and some birds to make her light; by all means she must go adorned with chains of sauceages. He is also good at larding of meat after the mode of *France*. Madam, you may make proof of him, and if your Ladyship find him too saucy or wasteful, you may return him from whence you had him. So, I rest, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most humble servitor,

Westminster, June 2. 1630.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXV.

To Mr. E. D.

S I R,

YOU write to me, that *T. B.* designs to give money for such a place; if he doth, I fear it will be verified in him, that a *fool and his money is soon parted*, for, I know he will never be able to execute it. I heard of a late Secretary of state that could not read the next morning his own hand-writing; and I have heard of *Caligula's* horse that was made Consul: therefore, I pray tell him from me, (for I wish him well) that if he thinks he is fit for that office, he looks upon himself through a false glass: a trotting horse is fit for a coach, but not for a Lady's saddle, and an ambler is proper for a Lady's saddle, but not for a coach. If *Tom* undertakes this place, he will be as an ambler in a coach, or a trotter under a Lady's saddle. When I come to town, I will put

put him upon a far fitter and more feasible business for him; and so, commend me to him, for I am his, and

Your true friend,

Westminster, June 5. 1630.

J. H.

LETTER CXXXVI.

To my FATHER.

S I R,

THERE are two ambassadors to go abroad shortly, the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Lord *Weston*: this latter goes to *France*, *Savoy*, *Venice*, and so returns by *Florence*; a pleasant journey, for he carrieth presents with him from the King and Queen. The Earl of *Leicester* is to go to the King of *Denmark*, and other princes of *Germany*. The main of the embassy is to condole the late death of the Lady *Sophia*, Queen Dowager of *Denmark*. She was the Duke of *Mecklenburgh's* daughter, and her husband *Christian III.* dying young, her portion, which was 40,000*l.* was restored her; and living a widow forty four years, she grew to be so great a house-wife, setting near three or 400 hundred people at work, that she died worth near 2,000,000 of dollars; so that she was reputed the richest Queen of christendom. By the constitutions of *Denmark* this estate is divisible amongst her children, whereof she had five; the King of *Denmark*, the Dutchess of *Saxony*, the Dutchess of *Brunswick*, Queen *Anne*, and the Dutchess of *Holstein*. The King being male, is to have two shares, our King and the Lady *Elizabeth*, is to have that which should have belonged to Queen *Anne*; so he is to return by the *Hague*. It pleased my Lord of *Leicester* to send for me to *Baynard's* castle, and proffer me to go Secretary in this embassy, assuring me, that the journey shall tend to my profit and credit; so, I have accepted it, for I hear very nobly of my Lord, so that

I hope to make a boon voyage of it. I desire as hitherto your prayers and blessing may accompany me: so, with my love to my brothers and sisters, I rest

Your dutiful son,

London, May 5. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXVII.

*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, at
Petworth.*

My LORD,

SIR *John Pennington* is appointed to carry your Lordship and your company to *Germany*, and he intends to take you up at *Margate*. I have been with Mr. *Bourlunack*, and received a bill of exchange from him for 10,000 dollars, payable in *Hamburgh*. I have also received 2000 l. of Sir *Paul Pinder* for your Lordship's use, and he did me the favour to pay it me all in old gold. Your allowance hath begun since the 25th of *July* last, at eight pound *per diem*, and is to continue so till your Lordship return to his Majesty. I understand by some merchants to-day upon the exchange, that the King of *Denmark* is at *Luckstad*, and stays there all this summer: if it be so, it will save half the voyage of going to *Copenhagen*, for in lieu of the *Sound*, we need go no further than the river of *Elve*: so, I rest

*Your Lordship's most humble
and faithful servitor,*

Westminster, August 13. 1632.

J. H.

L E T-

LETTER CXXXVIII.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mohun.

My LORD,

THOUGH any command from your Lordship be welcome to me at all times, yet that which you enjoined me in yours of the 12th of *August*, that I should inform your Lordship of what I know touching the *inquisition*, is now a little unseasonable, because I have much to do to prepare myself for this employment to *Germany*, therefore I cannot satisfy you in that fulness as I could do otherwise. The very name of the *inquisition* is terrible all christendom over, and the King of *Spain* himself with the chiefest of his grandees tremble at it. It was founded first by the catholick King *Ferdinand* (our *Henry VIII's* father-in-law), for he having got *Granada*, and subdued all the *Moors*, who had a firm footing in that kingdom about 700 years, yet he suffered them to live peaceably a while, in point of conscience; but afterwards he sent a solemn *mandamus* to the *Jacobin* friers, to endeavour the conversion of them by preaching, and all other means. They finding their pains did little good, (and that those whom they had converted turned apostates) obtained power to make a research; which afterwards was called *inquisition*: and it was ratified by Pope *Sixtus*, that if they would not conform themselves by fair means, they would be forced to do it. The *Jacobins* being found too severe herein, and for other abuses besides, this *inquisition* was taken from them, and put into the hands of the most sufficient ecclesiasticks. So a council was established, and officers appointed accordingly: whosoever was found pendulous and brandling in his religion was brought by a serjeant called a *Familiar*, before the said council of *inquisition*; his accuser or dilator stands behind a piece of tapestry to see whether he be the party, and if he be, then they put divers subtil and entrapping interrogatories unto him; and whether he

confess any thing or no, he is sent to prison. When the said *Familiar* goes to any house, though it be in the dead of the night, (and that is the time they commonly use to come, or in the dawn of the day) all doors, and trunks, and chests, fly open to him, and the first thing he doth he seizeth the party's breeches, searcheth his pockets, and takes his keys, and so rumageth all his closets and trunks; and a public Notary whom he carrieth with him, takes an inventory of every thing; which is sequestred and deposited in the hands of some of his next neighbours. The party being hurried away in a close coach, and clapt in prison, he is there eight days before he make his appearance; and then, they present unto him the cross, and the missal-book to swear upon: if he refuseth to swear, he convicteth himself, and though he swear, yet he is remanded to prison. This oath commonly is presented before any accusation be produced. His goaler is strictly commanded to pry into his actions, his deportment, words, and countenance, and to set spies upon him; and whosoever of his fellow-prisoners, or others, can produce any thing against him, he hath a reward for it. At last, after divers appearances, examinations, and scrutines, the information against him is read, but the witnesses names are concealed: then is he appointed a Rector and Advocate, but he must not confer or advise with them privately, but in the face of the court. The King's Attorney is a party in it, and the accusers commonly the sole witnesses. Being to name his own lawyers, oftentimes others are discovered, and fall into troubles: while he is thus in prison, he is so abhorred and abandoned of all the world, that none will, at least dare not visit him. Though one clear himself, yet he cannot be freed till an *act of faith* pass; which is done seldom, but very solemnly. There are few who having fallen into the grips of the *inquisition* do escape the rack, or the *sambenito*; which is a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the pourtrait of the devil painted up and down in black; and upon their heads they carry a mitter of paper, with a man frying in the flames of hell upon it:

it: they gag their mouths, and tie a great cord about their necks. The judges meet in some uncouth dark dungeon, and the executioner stands by, clad in a close dark garment, his face and head covered with a chaperon, out of which there are but two holes to look through, and a huge link burning in his hand. When the ecclesiastic inquisitors have pronounced the anathema against him, they transmit him to the secular judges to receive the sentence of death; for church-men must not have their hands imbrued in blood: the King can mitigate any punishment under death, nor is a nobleman subject to the rack.

I pray be pleased to pardon this rambling imperfect relation, and take in good part my conformity to your commands, for, I am

Your Lordship's most ready and faithful servitor,
Westminst. August 30. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXXXIX.

To P. W. Esq; at the Signet-Office, from the English House in Hamburg.

WE are safely come to *Germany*, Sir J. Pennington took us aboard in one of his Majesty's ships at *Margate's*; and the wind stood so fair, that we were at the mouth of the *Elve* upon *Monday* following. It pleased my Lord I should land first with two footmen, to make haste to *Gluckstad*, to learn where the King of *Denmark* was; and he was at *Reinsburg*, some two days journey off, at a *richsdach*, an assembly that corresponds to our parliament. My Lord the next day landed at *Gluckstad*, where I had provided an accommodation for him, though he intended to have gone for *Hamburg*; but I was bold to tell him, that in regard there were some umbrages, and not only so, but open and actual differences betwixt the King and that town, it might be
ill

ill taken if he went thither first, before he had attended the King. So I left my Lord at *Gluckstad*; and being come hither to take up 8000 rich dollars upon Mr. *Burlamacks's* bills, and fetch Mr. *Avery* our Agent here, I return to-morrow to attend my Lord again. I find that matters are much off the hinges betwixt the King of *Denmark* and this town.

The King of *Sweden* is advancing apace to find out *Wallestein*, and *Wallestein* him; and in all appearance they will be shortly engaged.

No more now, for I am interpell'd by many busineses: when you write, deliver your letters to Mr. *Railton*, who will see them safely convey'd; for a little before my departure, I brought him acquainted with my Lord, that he might negotiate some things at court. So, with my service and love to all at *Westminster*, I rest

Your faithful servitor,

Hamburgh, Oct. 23. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXL.

To my Lord Viscount S. from Hamburgh.

SINCE I was last in town, my Lord of *Leicester* hath attended the King of *Denmark* at *Reinsburgh* in *Holsteinland*: he was brought thither from *Gluckstad* in indifferent good equipage, both for coaches and waggon, but he staid some days at *Reinsburgh* for audience: we made a comely gallant show in that kind, when we went to court, for we were near upon a hundred all of one piece in mourning. It pleas'd my Lord to make me the orator; and so I made a long speech, *alta voce*, to the King in *Latin*, of the occasion of this embassy, and tending to the praise of the deceased Queen; and, I had better luck than Secretary *Nanton* had some thirty years since, with *Roger* Earl of *Rutland*: for at the beginning of his speech, when he had pronounced *serenissime Rex*, he

he was dashed out of countenance, and so gravelled that he could go no further. I made another to *Christian V.* his eldest son, King elect of *Denmark*. For though that crown be purely elective, yet for these three last kings, they wrought so with the people, that they got their eldest sons chosen, and declared before their death, and to assume the title of King's elect. At the same audience, I made another speech to Prince *Frederick*, Archishop of *Breme*, the King's third son; and he hath but one more, (besides his natural issue) which is Prince *Ulric*, now in wars with the Duke of *Sax*; and they say there is an alliance contracted already, betwixt *Christian V.* and the Duke of *Sax's* daughter. This ceremony being performed, my Lord desired to find his own diet, and then he fell to divers busineses, which is not fitting for me to forestal or impart to your Lordship now; so we staid there near upon a month. The King feasted my Lord once; and it lasted from eleven o' clock, till towards the evening, during which time, the King began thirty five healths: the first to the Emperor, the second to his nephew of *England*; and so went over all the kings and queens of christendom, but he never remembered the Prince *Palsegrave's* health, or his niece's all the while. The King was taken away at last in his chair, but my Lord of *Leicester* bore up stoutly all the while, so that when there came two of the King's guard to take him by the arms as he was going down the stairs, my Lord shook them off and went alone.

The next morning I went to court for some dispatches, but the King was gone a-hunting at break of day; but going to some other of his officers, their servants told me without any appearance of shame, that their masters were drunk over night, and so it would be late before they would rise.

A few days after we went to *Gothorp* castle in *Sleswickland*, to the Duke of *Holstein's* court, where, at my first audience, I made another *Latin* speech to the Duke, touching his grandmother's death. Our entertainment there was brave, (though a little fulsome): my
Lord

Lord was lodged in the Duke's castle, and parted with presents; which is more than the King of *Denmark* did. Thence we went to *Hufem* in *Ditzmarsh*, to the Dutchess of *Holstein's* court, (our Queen *Anne's* youngest sister) where he had also very full entertainment. I made a speech to her also, about her mother's death; and when I named the Lady *Sophia*, the tears came down her checks. Thence we came back to *Reinsburgh*, and so to this town of *Hamburgh*, where my Lord intends to repose some days, after an abrupt odd journey we had through *Holsteinland*; but, I believe it will not be long, in regard Sir *John Pennington* stays for him upon the river. We expect Sir *Robert Anstruther* to come from *Vienna* hither, to take the advantage of the King's ship.

We understand that the imperial and the *Swedish* armies have made near approaches one to another, and that some skirmishes and blows have been already betwixt them; which are the forerunners of a battle. So my good Lord, I rest

Your most humble and faithful servitor,
Hamburgh, Oct. 9. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R C X L I.

To the Right Honourable the Earl R. from Hamburgh.

My LORD,

THOUGH your Lordship must needs think, that in the employment I am in (which requires a whole man) my spirits must be distracted by multiplicity of business; yet because I would not recede from my old method and first principles of travel, when I came to any great city, to couch in writing what is most observable, I sequestered myself from other affairs, to send your Lordship what followeth touching this great *hanse* town.

The

The *hanse* or *hanfiatic league*, is very antient; some would derive the word from *hand*, because they of the society plight their faith by that action: others derive it from *hansa*, which in the *Gothic* tongue is council: others would have it come from *hander-see*, which signifies near or upon the sea; and this passeth for the best etymology, because their towns are all seated so, or upon some navigable river near the sea. The extent of the old *hanse* was from *Nerve* in *Livonia* to the *Rhine*, and contained sixty-two great mercantile towns, which were divided into four precincts: the chiefest of the first precinct was *Lubeck*, where the archives of their antient records and their prime chancery is still, and this town is within that verge. *Cullen* is chief of the second precinct, *Brunswick* of the third, and *Dantzick* of the fourth. The kings of *Poland* and *Sweden* have sued to be their Protector, but they refused them because they were not princes of the empire; they put off also the King of *Denmark* with a compliment, nor would they admit the King of *Spain* when he was most potent in the *Netherlands*, though afterwards, when it was too late, they desired the help of the *ragged-staff*; nor of the Duke of *Anjou*, notwithstanding that the world thought he should have married our Queen, who interceeded for him; and so it was probable that thereby they might recover their privileges in *England*: so that I do not find they ever had any protector but the great Master of *Prussia*; and their want of a protector did do them some prejudice in that famous difference they had with our Queen.

The old *hanse* had extraordinary immunities given them by our *Henry III.* because they assisted him in his wars with so many ships; and as they pretend, the King was not only to pay them for the service of the said ships, but for the vessels themselves if they miscarried: now, it happened that at their return to *Germany*, from serving *Henry III.* there was a great fleet of them cast away; for which, according to covenant, they demanded reparation. Our King in lieu of money, among other acts

of grace, gave them a privilege to pay but one *per cent.* which continued till Queen *Mary's* reign; and she by the advice of King *Philip* her husband, as it was conceived, enhanced the one, to twenty *per cent.* The *hanse* not only complained, but clamoured loudly for breach of their antient privileges, confirmed to them time out of mind by thirteen successive kings of *England*; which they pretended to have purchased with their money. King *Philip* undertook to accommodate the business; but Queen *Mary* dying a little after, and he retiring, there could be nothing done. Complaint being made to Queen *Elizabeth*, she answered, that as she would not innovate any thing, so she would maintain them still in the same condition she found them. Hereupon the navigation and traffic ceased a while: whereupon the *English* tried what they could do themselves, and they thrived so well, that they took the whole trade into their own hands, and so divided themselves (though they be now but one) to *staplers*; and *merchant adventurers*, the one residing constant in one place, where they kept their magazine of wool, the other stirring, and adventuring to divers places abroad with cloth, and other manufactures; which made the *hanse* endeavour to draw upon them all the malignancy they could from all nations. Moreover the *hanse* towns being a body-politic incorporated in the empire, complained hereof to the Emperor, who sent over persons of great quality to mediate an accommodation, but they could effect nothing. Then the Queen caused a proclamation to be published, that the *Easterlings* or *merchants* of the *hanse* should be treated and used as all other strangers were within her dominions, without any mark of difference in point of commerce. This nettled them more; thereupon they bent their forces more eagerly, and in a diet at *Ratisbon* they procured that the *English* merchants who had associated themselves into *fraternities* in *Embsen* and other places, should be declared *monopolists*; and so there was a *comissial edict* published against them, that they should be exterminated, and banished out of all parts of the empire; and this was done by the activity

activity of *Suderman* a great civilian. There was there for the Queen, *Gilpin*, as nimble a man as *Suderman*; and he had the Chancellor of *Emdden* to second and countenance him; but they could not stop the said *edict*, wherein the society of *English* merchant adventurers was pronounced to be a *monopoly*; yet *Gilpin* plaid his game so well, that he wrought under-hand, that the said *imperial ban* should not be published till after the dissolution of the diet, and that in the *interim*, the Emperor should send ambassadors to *England*, to advertise the Queen of such a *ban* against her merchants. But this wrought so little impression upon the Queen, that the said *ban* grew rather ridiculous than formidable, for the town of *Emdden* harboured our merchants notwithstanding, and afterwards *Stode*; but they not being able to protect them so well from the *imperial ban*, they settled in this town of *Hamburgh*. After this the Queen commanded another proclamation to be divulged, that the *Easterlings* or *hanseatic* merchants should be allowed to trade in *England* upon the same conditions and payment of duties, as her own subjects, provided that the *English* merchants might have interchangeable privilege, to reside and trade peaceably in *Stode* or *Hamburgh*, or any where else, within the precinct of the *hanse*. This incensed them more; thereupon they resolved to cut off *Stode* and *Hamburgh* from being members of the *hanse*, or of the empire; but they suspended this design till they saw what success the great *Spanish* fleet should have, which was then preparing in the year eighty-eight: for they had not long before had recourse to the King of *Spain*, and made him their own, and he had done them some material good offices; wherefore to this day the *Spanish* council is taxed of improvidence and imprudence, that there was no use made of the *hanse* towns in that expedition.

The Queen finding that they of the *hanse* would not be contended with that equality she had offered betwixt them and her own subjects, put out a proclamation, that they should carry neither corn, victuals, arms, timber, masts, cables, minerals, nor any other materials, or men

to *Spain* or *Portugal*. And after the Queen growing more redoubtable and famous by the overthrow of the fleet of eighty-eight, the *Easterlings* fell to despair of doing any good. Add hereunto another disaster that befel them, the taking of sixty sails of their Ships about the mouth of *Tagus* in *Portugal*, by the Queen's ships, that were laden with *ropas de contrabando*, viz. goods prohibited by her former proclamation into the dominions of *Spain*: and as these ships were upon point of being discharged, she had intelligence of a great assembly at *Lubeck*, which had met of purpose to consult of means to be revenged of her; thereupon she staid and seized upon the said sixty ships, only two were freed to bring news what became of the rest. Hereupon the *Pole* sent an Ambassador to her, who spake in a high tone, but he was answered in a higher.

Ever since our merchants have beaten a peaceful and free uninterrupted trade into this town and elsewhere, within and without the *Sound*, with their manufactures of wool, and found the way also to the *White-sea*, to *Archangel* and *Mosco*: insomuch, that the premises being well considered, it was a happy thing for *England*, that that clashing fell out betwixt her and the *hanse*; for it may be said to have been the chief ground of that shipping and merchandizing which she is now come to, and wherewith she has flourished ever since. But one thing is observable, that as the imperial or comitial *ban*, pronounced in the diet at *Ratisbon* against our merchants and manufactures of wool, incited them more to industry, so our proclamation upon Alderman *Cockein's* project of transporting no white cloths, but dyed, and in their full manufacture, did cause both *Dutch* and *German* to turn necessity to a virtue, and made them far more ingenious to find ways not only to dye, but to make cloth, which hath much impaired our markets ever since; for there hath not been the third part of our cloth sold since, either here or in *Holland*.

My Lord, I pray be pleased to dispense with the prolixity of this discourse, for I could not wind it up
closer,

clofer, nor on a leffer bottom. I fhall be careful to bring with me thofe *furrs* I had instructions for. So, I am

Your Lordship's moft humble fervant,

Hamburgh, Oct. 20. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R CXLII.

To Capt. J. SMITH, at the Hague.

Captain,

HAVING fo wishful an opportunity as this noble gentleman Mr. *James Crofts*, who comes with a packet for the Lady *Elizabeth* from my Lord of *Leicefter*, I could not but fend you this friendly falute. We are like to make a speedier return than we expected from this embaffy; for we found the King of *Denmark* in *Holftein*, which fhortened our voyage from going to the *Sound*: the king was in an advantageous posture to give audience, for there was a parliament then at *Reinsburgh*, where all the *Younkers* met. Among other things, I put myfelf to mark the carriage of the *Holftein* gentlemen, as they were going in and out at the parliament-houfe; and obferving well their phyfiognomies, their complexions and gait, I thought verily I was in *England*, for they refemble the *English* more than either *Welsh* or *Scot*, (though cohabiting upon the fame ifland) or any other people, that ever I faw yet; which makes me verily believe, that the *English* nation came firft from this lower circuit of *Saxony*; and there is one thing that ftrengtheneth me in this belief, that there is an antient town hard by called *Lunden*, and an ifland called *Angles*; whence it may well be that our country came from *Britannia* to be *Anglia*.

This town of *Hamburgh* from a fociety of *brewers*, is come to be a huge wealthy place, and her new town is almoft

most as big as the old ; there is a shrewd jar betwixt her and her Protector, the King of *Denmark*.

My Lord of *Leicester* hath done some good offices to accommodate matters. She *chomps* extremely, that there should be such a *bit* put lately in her mouth, as the fort of *Luckstadt*, which commands her river of *Elve*, and makes her pay what toll he pleases.

The King begins to fill his chests apace, which were so emptied in his late marches to *Germany* : he hath set a new toll upon all ships that pass to this town ; and in the *Sound* also there be some extraordinary duties imposed, whereat all nations begin to murmur, especially the *Hollanders*, who say, that the old primitive toll of the *Sound* was but a rose-noble for every ship, but by a new sophistry, it is now interpreted for every sail that should pass through, infomuch, that the *Hollander*, though he be a *low-countryman*, begins to speake *High-Dutch* in this point, a rough language you know ; which made the *Italian* tell a *German* gentleman once, that *when God almighty thrust Adam out of paradise, he spoke Dutch ; but the German returned wittily, then, Sir, if God spoke Dutch when Adam was ejected, Eve spoke Italian when Adam was seduced.*

I could be larger, but for a sudden avocation to business ; so I most affectionately send my kind respects to you, desiring, when I am rendered to *London*, I may hear from you : so I am

Your faithful friend to serve you,

Hamburgh, Oct. 22. 1632.

J. H.

F A M I L I A R
L E T T E R S.

P A R T II.

L E T T E R I.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Br.

My LORD,

I Am newly returned from *Germany*, where there came lately two ambassadors extraordinary in one of the ships royal, the Earl of *Leicester*, and Sir *Robert Anstruther*: the latter came from *Vienna*, and I know little of his negotiations; but for my Lord of *Leicester*, I believe there was never so much business dispatched in so short a compass of time, by any Ambassador, as your Lordship, who is best able to judge, will find by this short relation. When my Lord was come to the King of *Denmark's* court, which was then at *Reinsburgh*, a good way within *Holstein*; the first thing he did was to condole the late Queen Dowager's death, (our King's grandmother) which was done in such an equipage, that the *Danes* confessed, there was never Queen of *Denmark* so mourned for. This ceremony being passed, my Lord fell to business; and the first thing which he propounded, was, that for preventing the farther effusion of christian blood in *Germany*, and for facilitating a way to restore peace to all christendom, his Majesty of *Denmark* would join with his nephew of *Great Britain*, to send a solemn embassy to the Emperor, and the King of *Sweden*, (the end of whose proceedings were doubtful) to mediate an accommodation, and to appear for him who will be found most conformable to reason. To this, that

King answered in writing, (for that was the way of proceeding) that the Emperor and the *Swede* were come to that height and heat of war, and to such a violence, that it is no time yet to speak to them of peace; but when the fury is a little passed, and the times more proper, he would take it for an honour to join with his nephew, and contribute the best means he could to bring about so good a work.

Then there was a computation made, what was due to the King of *Great Britain* and Lady *Elizabeth*, out of their grandmother's estate; which was valued at near upon two millions of dollars; and your Lordship must think it was a hard task to liquidate such an accompt. This being done, my Lord desired that part which was due to his Majesty (our King) and the Lady his sister; which appeared to amount unto 160,000 *l. Sterl.* That King answered, that he confessed there was so much money due, but his mother's estate was yet in the hands of commissioners; and neither he nor any of his sisters had received their portions yet, and that his nephew of *England*, and his niece of *Holland*, should receive theirs with the first; but he did intimate besides, that there were some considerable accompts betwixt him and the crown of *England*, for ready monies he had lent his brother King *James*, and for the 30,000 *l.* a month, that was by covenant promised him for the support of his late army in *Germany*. Then my Lord propounded, that his Majesty's subjects of *Great Britain* were not well used by his officers in the *Sound*: for, though that was but a transitory passage into the *Baltick* sea, and that they neither bought nor sold any thing upon the place, yet they were forced to stay there many days to take up money at high interest, to pay divers tolls for their merchandize, before they have exposed them to vent: therefore it was desired, that for the future what *English* merchants soever should pass through the *Sound*, it should be sufficient for him to register an invoice of his cargazon in the custom-house book, and give his bond to pay all duties at his return, when he had made his market.

ket. To this my Lord had a fair answer, and so procured a public instrument under that King's hand and seal, and signed by his counsellors, which he had brought over, wherein the proposition was granted; which no Ambassador could obtain before. Then it was alledged, that the *English* merchant adventurers who trade into *Hamburgh*, have a new toll lately imposed upon them at *Luckstadt*; which was desired to be taken off: to this also, there was the like instrument given, that the said toll should be levied no more. Lastly, my Lord (in regard he was to pass by the *Hague*) desired that hereditary part, which belonged to the Lady *Elizabeth* out of her grandmother's estate, because his Majesty knew well what crosses and afflictions she had passed, and what a numerous issue she had to maintain; and my Lord of *Leicester* would engage his honour, and all the estate he hath in the world, that this should no way prejudice the accompts he is to make with his Majesty of *Great Britain*. The King of *Denmark* highly extolled the nobleness of this motion; but he protested, that he had been so drained in the late wars, that his chests are yet very empty. Hereupon my Lord was feasted, and so departed.

He went to the Duke of *Holstein* to *Sleswick*, where he found him at his castle of *Gothorp*; and truly, I did not think to have found such a magnificent building in these bleak parts. There also my Lord did condole the death of the late Queen, that Duke's grandmother; and he received very princely entertainment.

Then we went to *Hufem*, where the like ceremony of condolment was performed at the Dutchess of *Holstein's* court, his Majesty's (our King's) aunt.

Then he came to *Hamburgh*, where that instrument which my Lord had procured, for remitting of the new toll at *Gluckstadt* was delivered to the company of our merchant adventurers, and some other good offices done for that town, as matters stood betwixt them and the King of *Denmark*.

Then

Then we came to *Stode*, where *Lesly* was Governor, who carried his foot in a scarf for a wound he had received at *Buckstobo*, and he kept that place for the King of *Sweden*; and some business of consequence was done there also.

So we came to *Broomsbottle*, where we staid for a wind some days; and in the mid-way of our voyage we met with a *Holland* ship, who told us, the King of *Sweden* was slain: and so, we returned to *London* in less than three months; and if this was not business enough for such a compass of time, I leave your Lordship to judge. So craving your Lordship's pardon for this lame account, I rest

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servant,

London, Oct. 1. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R II.

To my Brother Dr. HOWELL, at his House in Horsley.

My good Brother,

I Am safely returned from *Germany*, thanks be to God; and the news which we heard at sea by a *Dutch* Skipper, about the midst of our voyage from *Hamburgh*, it seems proves too true; which was of the fall of the King of *Sweden*. One *Jerbire*, who says that he was in the very action brought the first news to this town, and every corner rings of it; yet such is the extravagancy of some, that they will lay wagers he is not dead; and the Exchange is full of such people. He was slain at *Lutzen* field battle, having made the imperial army give ground the day before; and being in pursuance of it, the next morning in a sudden fogg that fell, the cavalry on both sides being engaged, he was killed in the midst of the troops, and none knows who killed him, whether one of his own men, or the enemy; but, finding himself mortally hurt he told *Saxen Waymar*, Cousin, I pray look to
the

the troops, for I think I have enough. His body was not only rescued, but his forces had the better of the day; *Papenheim* being killed before him, whom he esteemed the greatest Captain of all his enemies: for, he was used to say, that he had three men to deal withal, a *Pultrona*, a *Jesuit*, and a *Soldier*; by the two first, he meant *Waltstein* and the Duke of *Bavaria*; by the last, *Papenheim*.

Questionless this *Gustavus* (whose anagram is *Augustus*) was a great Captain, and a gallant man; and, had he survived that last victory, he would have put the Emperor to such a plunge, that some think he would hardly have been able to have made head against him to any purpose again. Yet his own allies confess, that none knew the bottom of his designs.

He was not much affected to the *English*; witness the ill usage Marquis *Hamilton* had with his 6000 men, whereof there returned not 600: the rest died of hunger and sickness, having never seen the face of an enemy; witness also his harshness to our ambassadors, and the rigid terms he would have tied the Prince *Palsegrave* unto. So, with my affectionate respects to Mr. *Mouschamp*, and kind commends to Mr. *Bridger*, I rest

Your loving brother,

Westminster, Dec. 5. 1632.

J. H.

LETTER III.

To the R. R. Dr. FIELD, Lord Bishop of St. David's.

My LORD,

YOUR late letter affected me with two contrary passions, with gladness and sorrow: the beginning of it dilated my spirits with apprehensions of joy, that you are so well recovered of your late sickness, which I heartily congratulate; but the conclusion of your Lordship's letter contracted my spirits, and plunged them in a deep sense of just sorrow, while you please to write me
the

the news of my dear father's death. *Permultit initium, percussit finis.* Truly my Lord, it is the heaviest news that ever was sent me; but when I recollect myself, and consider the fairness and maturity of his age, and that it was rather a gentle dissolution than a death. When I contemplate that infinite advantage he hath got by this change and transmigration, it much lightens the weight of my grief: for, if ever human soul entered heaven, surely his is there; such was his constant piety to God, his rare indulgence to his children, his charity to his neighbours, and his candour in reconciling differences; such was the gentleness of his disposition, his unwearied course in actions of virtue, that I wish my soul no other felicity when she hath shaken off these rags of flesh, than to ascend to his, and co-enjoy the same bliss.

Excuse me, my Lord, that I take my leave at this time so abruptly of you. When this sorrow is a little digested you shall hear further from me, for I am

Your Lordship's most true and humble servitor,
Westminster, May 1. 1633.

J. H.

L E T T E R I V.

To the Earl of Leicester, at Penshurst.

My LORD,

I Have delivered Master Secretary *Cook* an account of the whole legation, as your Lordship ordered me; which contained near upon twenty sheets. I attended him also with the note of your extraordinaries, wherein I find him something difficult and dilatory yet. The Governor of the *Eastland* company, Mr. Alderman *Clethero*, will attend your Lordship at your return to court, to acknowledge your favour unto them. I have delivered him a copy of the transactions of things that concerned their company at *Reinsburgh*.

The

The news we heard at sea of the King of *Sweden's* death is confirmed more and more, and by the computation I have been a little curious to make, I find that he was killed the same day your Lordship set out of *Hamburgh*. But there is other news come since, of the death of the Prince *Palatine*; who, as they write, being returned from visiting the Duke *de deux Ponts* to *Mentz*, was struck there with the contagion, yet by special ways of cure, the malignity was expelled and great hopes of recovery, when the news came of the death of the King of *Sweden*, which made such impressions in him, that he died a few days after, having overcome all difficulties concluding with the *Swede*, and the Governor of *Frankindale*, and being ready to enter into a repossession of his country: a sad destiny!

The *Swedes* bear up still, being fomented and supported by the *French*, who will not suffer them to leave *Germany* yet. A gentleman that came lately from *Italy*, told me, that there is no great joy in *Rome* for the death of the King of *Sweden*. The *Spaniards* up and down, will not stick to call this Pope *Lutherano*, and that he had intelligence with the *Swede*: 'tis true, that he hath not been so forward to assist the Emperor in this quarrel, and that in open consistory, where there was such a *contrast* betwixt the cardinals for a supply from *St. Peter*, he declared, that he was well satisfied that this war in *Germany* was no war of religion, which made him dismiss the imperial ambassadors with this short answer, that the Emperor had drawn these mischiefs upon himself; for at that time when he saw the *Swedes* upon the frontiers of *Germany*, if he had employed those men and monies which he consumed to trouble the peace of *Italy*, in making war against the Duke of *Mantua*, against them, he had not had now so potent an enemy. So I take my leave for this time, being

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,
Westminster, Jan. 3. 1632.

J. H.

LETTER V.

To Mr. E. D.

S I R,

I Thank you a thousand times for the noble entertainment you gave me at *Berry*, and the pains you took in shewing me the antiquities of that place. In requital, I can tell you of a strange thing I saw lately here, and I believe it is true: as I past by *St. Dunstan's* in *Fleet-street* the last *Saturday*, I stept into a lapidary, or stone-cutter's shop, to treat with the master for a stone to be put upon my father's tomb; and casting my eyes up and down, I spied a huge marble with a large inscription upon it; which was thus to my best remembrance:

“ Here lies *John Oxenham*, a goodly young man, in
 “ whose chamber, as he was struggling with the
 “ pangs of death, a bird with a white breast was seen
 “ fluttering about his bed, and so vanished.

“ Here lies also *Mary Oxenham*, the sister of the said
 “ *John*, who died the next day, and the same appa-
 “ rition was seen in the room.” Then another sister
 is spoken of.

Then, “ Here lies hard by *James Oxenham* the son of
 “ the said *John*, who died a child in his cradle a little
 “ after, and such a bird was seen fluttering about his
 “ head a little before he expired, which vanished af-
 “ terwards.”

At the bottom of the stone there is:

“ Here lies *Elizabeth Oxenham*, the mother of the said
 “ *John*, who died sixteen years since, when such a
 “ bird with a white breast was seen about her bed be-
 “ fore her death.”

To all these there be divers witnesses, both squires and ladies, whose names are engraven upon the stone.
 This

This stone is to be sent to a town hard by *Exeter* where this happened.

Were you here, I could raise a choice discourse with you hereupon. So, hoping to see you the next term, to requite some of your favours, I rest

Your true friend to serve you,

Westminster, July 3. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R VI.

To Sir ARTHUR INGRAM, at York.

S I R,

OUR greatest news here now, is, that we have a new Attorney-General, which is news indeed, considering the humour of the man, how he hath been always ready to entertain any cause whereby he might clash with the *prerogative*; but now as judge *Richardson* told him, his head is full of proclamations and devices how to bring money into the exchequer. He hath lately found out amongst the old records of the *Tower*, some precedents for raising a tax called *ship-money* in all the port towns, when the kingdom is in danger. Whether we are in danger or no at present it were presumption in me to judge; that belongs to his Majesty, and his privy-council, who have their choice instruments abroad for intelligence, yet one with half an eye may see we cannot be secure while such huge fleets of men of war, both *Spanish, French, Dutch, and Dunkirkers*, some of them laden with ammunition, men, arms, and armies, do daily sail on our seas, and confront the King's chambers, while we have only three or four ships abroad to guard our coast and kingdom, and to preserve the fairest flower of the crown, the dominions of the narrow-sea; which I hear the *French* Cardinal begins to question: and, the *Hollander* lately, would not vail to one of his Majesty's ships that brought over the Duke of *Lenox* and my Lord

Weston from *Bullen*; and indeed we are jeered abroad, that we send no more ships to guard our seas.

Touching my Lord Ambassador *Weston*, he had a brave journey of it, though it cost him dear: for, it is thought it will stand his Majesty 25,000 *l.* which makes some critics of the times to censure the Lord Treasurer, that now the King wanting money so much, he would send his son abroad to spend him such a sum, only for delivering of presents and compliments; but, I believe they were deceived, for there were matters of state also in the embassy.

The Lord *Weston* passing by *Paris*, intercepted, and opened a packet of my Lord of *Holland's*, wherein there were some letters of her Majesty's: this my Lord of *Holland* takes in that scorn, that he defied him since his coming, and demanded a combate of him, for which he is confined to his house at *Kensington*: so, with my humble service to my noble Lady, I rest

Your most obliged servitor,

Westminst. April 1. 1633.

J. H.

L E T T E R VII.

To the Lord Viscount Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord President of York, &c.

My LORD,

I Was glad to apprehend the opportunity of this packet to convey my humble service to your Lordship.

There are odd doings in *France*; and it is no new thing for the *French* to be always a-doing, they have such a stirring genius. The Queen-mother hath made an escape to *Brussels*, and Monsieur to *Lorraine*, where they say, he courts very earnestly the Duke's sister, a young Lady under twenty: they say a contract is passed already, but the *French* Cardinal opposeth it; for they say, that *Lorraine milk seldom breeds good blood in France*. Not

only the King, but the whole *Gallican* church hath protested against it in a solemn synod, for, the heir apparent of the crown of *France* cannot marry without the royal consent. This aggravates a grudge the *French* King hath to the Duke, for siding with the imperialists, and for things reflecting upon the dutchy of *Bar*; for which he is homageable to the crown of *France*, as he is to the Emperor for *Lorraine*. A hard task it is to serve two masters; and an unhappy situation it is to ly betwixt two puissant monarchs, as the dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorraine* do: so, I kiss your Lordship's hand, and rest, my Lord,

Your most affectionate and ready servitor,

Westminster, April 1.

J. H.

L E T T E R VIII.

To the Lord Clifford, at Knafburgh.

My LORD,

I Received your Lordship's of the last of *June*, and I return you most humble thanks for the choice nag you pleased to send me, which came in very good plight. Your Lordship desires me to lay down what in my travels abroad I observed of the present condition of the *Jews*, once an elect people, but now grown contemptible, and strangely squandered up and down the world. Though such a discourse exactly framed, might take up a volume, yet I will twist up what I know in this point, upon as narrow a bottom as may be shut up within the compass of this letter.

The first country that expelled the *Jews* was *England*. *France* followed our example next, then *Spain*, and afterwards *Portugal*: nor were they exterminated these countries for religion, but for villanies and cheating, for clipping coins, poisoning of water, and counterfeiting of seals.

Those countries they are permitted to live now most in amongst christians, are *Germany, Holland, Bohemia* and *Italy*, but not in those parts where the King of *Spain* hath to do. In the *Levant* and *Turky* they swarm most; for their Grand Vizier, and all other great bashaws, have commonly some *Jew* for their counsellor or spy, who inform them of the state of christian princes, possess them of a hatred of the religion, and so incense them to a war against them.

They are accounted the subtlest and most subdalous people upon the earth: the reason why they are thus degenerated from their primitive simplicity and innocence, is their often captivities, their desperate fortunes, the necessity and hatred to which they have been habituated; for, nothing depraves ingenious spirits, and corrupts clear wits more than indigence. By their profession, they are for the most part brokers, and lombardeers, yet by that base and servile way of frippery trade, they grow rich wheresoever they nest themselves; and this with their multiplication of children, they hold to be an argument that an extraordinary providence attends them still. Methinks that so clear accomplishments of the prophecies of our Saviour touching that people, should work upon them for their conversion, of the destruction of their city and temple; that they should become despicable, and the tail of all nations; that they should be vagabonds, and have no firm habitation.

Touching the first, they know it came punctually to pass, and so have the other two: for they are the most hateful race of men upon earth, insomuch, that in *Turky* where they are most valued, if a *musulman* come to any of their houses, and leave his shoes at the door, the *Jew* dare not come in all the while, till the *Turk* hath done what he will with his wife. For the last, it is wonderful to see in what considerable numbers they are dispersed up and down the world; yet, they can never reduce themselves to such a condition and unity as may make a republic, principality or kingdom.

They

They hold that the *Jews* of *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Levant*, are of *Benjamin's* tribe. Ten of the tribes at the destruction of *Jeroboam's* kingdom were led captives beyond *Euphrates*; whence they never returned, nor do they know what became of them ever after, yet they believe they never became apostates and *Gentiles*: but the tribe of *Judab*, whence they expect their *Messias*, of whom one shall hear them discourse with so much confidence, and self-pleasing conceit, they say is settled in *Portugal*; where they give out to have thousands of their race, whom they dispense withal to make a semblance of christianity, even to church degrees.

This makes them breed up their children in the *Lusitanian* language; which makes the *Spaniard* have an odd saying, that *el Portuguez se cria del pedo de un Judio*; a *Portuguese* was engendered of a *Jew's* fart: as the *Mahometans* have a passage in their *alcoran*, that a cat was made of a lion's breath.

As they are the most contemptible people, and have a kind of a fulsome scent no better than a stink, that distinguishes them from others, so are they the most timorous people on earth, and so utterly incapable of arms; for they are made neither soldiers nor sailors: and this their pusillanimity and cowardice, as well as their cunning and craft, may be imputed to their various thraldoms, contempt and poverty, which hath cowed and dastardized their courage. Besides these properties, they are light and giddy-headed, much symbolizing in spirits with our apocalyptical zealots, and fiery interpreters of *Daniel* and other prophets; whereby they often sooth, or rather fool themselves into some illumination, which really proves but some egregious dotage.

They much glory of their mysterious *cabal*, wherein they make the reality of things to depend upon letters and words; but they say that *Hebrew* only hath this privilege. This *cabal*, which is nought else but a tradition, they say, being transmitted from one age to another, was in some measure a reparation of our knowledge lost in *Adam*; and they say it was revealed four times:

first to *Adam*, who being thrust out of paradise, and sitting one day very sad, and sorrowing for the loss of the knowledge he had, of that dependance the creatures have with their Creator, the angel *Raguel* was sent to comfort him, and instruct him, and repair his knowledge herein; and this they call the *cabal*; which was lost the second time by the flood and *Babel*. Then God discovered it to *Moses* in the bush; the third time to *Solomon* in a dream, whereby he came to know the beginning, mediety, and consummation of times, and so wrote divers books, which were lost in the grand captivity. The last time, they hold that God restored the *cabal* to *Esdra*, (a book they value extraordinarily) who by God's command withdrew to the wilderness forty days with five scribes, who in that space wrote 204 books: the first 130 were to be read by all, but the other 70 were to pass privately amongst the *Levites*; and these they pretend to be *cabalistic*, and not yet all lost.

There are this day three sects of *Jews*; the *African* first, who besides the holy scriptures, embrace the *Talmud* also for authentic; the second receive only the scriptures; the third, which are called the *Samaritans*, (whereof there are but a few) admit only of the *Pentateuch*, the five books of *Moses*.

The *Jews* in general drink no wine without a dispensation: when they kill any creature, they turn his face to the East, saying, *Be it sanctified in the great name of God*: they cut the throat with a knife without a gap, which they hold very profane.

In their synagogues, they make one of the best sort to read a chapter of *Moses*, then some mean boy reads a piece of the prophets: in the midst, there is a round place arched over, where one of their *Rabbies* walks up and down, and in *Portuguese* magnifies the *Messias* to come, comforts their captivity; and rails at Christ.

They have a kind of cupboard to represent the tabernacle, wherein they lay the tables of the law, which now and then they take out and kiss: they sing many tunes, and *Adonai* they make the ordinary name of God.

Jehovah

Jehovah is pronounced at high festivals: at circumcision, boys are put to sing some of *David's* Psalms so loud, as drowns the infant's cry. The synagogue is hung about with glass-lamps burning; every one at his entrance puts on a linen-cope, first kissing it, else they use no manner of reverence all the while. Their elders sometimes fall together by the ears in the very synagogue, and with the holy utensils, as candlesticks, incense-pans, and such like, break one another's pates.

Women are not allowed to enter the synagogue, but they sit in a gallery without; for they hold they have not so divine a soul as men, and are of a lower creation, made only for sensual pleasure and propagation.

Amongst the *Mahometans* there is no *Jew* capable of a *Turkish* habit unless he acknowledge Christ as much as *Turks* do; which is to have been a great Prophet, whereof they hold there are three only, *Moses*, *Christ*, and *Mahomet*.

Thus my Lord, to perform your commands, which are very prevalent with me, have I couched in this letter what I could of the condition of the *Jews*; and if it may give your Lordship any satisfaction, I have my reward abundantly. So, I rest

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servitor,
Westminster, June 3. 1633.

J. H.

LETTER IX.

To Mr. PHILIP WARRICK, at Paris.

S I R,

YOUR last unto me was in *French*, of the first current, and I am glad you are come so safe from *Swissarland* to *Paris*, as also, that you are grown so great a proficient in the language. I thank you for the variety of news you sent me so handsomely couched and knit together.

To

To correspond with you, the greatest news we have here, is, that we have a gallant fleet-royal ready to set to sea, for the security of our coasts and commerce, and for the sovereignty of our seas. *Hanse* said the King of *England* was asleep all the while, but now he is awake; nor do I hear doth your *French* Cardinal tamper any longer with our King's title and right to the dominion of the narrow seas. These are brave fruits of the shipmonies.

I hear that the infante Cardinal having been long upon his way to *Brussels*, hath got a notable victory over the *Swedes* at *Nordlinghen*, where 8000 were slain, *Gustavus Horn*, and other of the prime commanders taken prisoners: they write also that Monsieur's marriage with Madam of *Lorraine* was solemnly celebrated at *Brussels*: she had followed him from *Nancy* in page's apparel, because there were forces in the way. It must needs be a mighty charge to the King of *Spain*, to maintain mother, and son in this manner.

The court affords little news at present, but that there is a love called *platonic* love, which sways there of late. It is a love abstracted from all corporeal gross impressions and sensual appetites, but consists in contemplations and ideas of the mind, not in any carnal fruition. This love sets the wits of the town on work; and they say there will be a mask shortly of it, whereof her Majesty and her maids of honour will be part.

All your friends here in *Westminster* are very well, and very mindful of you, but none more often than

Your most affectionate servitor,

Westminster, June 3. 1634.

J. H.

LET-

LETTER X.

To my Brother, Mr. H. P.

Brother,

MY brain was overcast with a thick cloud of melancholy, I was become a lump of I know not what, I could scarce find any palpitation within me on the left side, when yours of the first of *September* was brought before me; it had such a virtue, that it begot new motions in me, like the loadstone, which by its attractive occult quality moves the dull body of iron, and makes it active; so dull was I then, and such a magnetic property your letter had to quicken me.

There is some murmuring, against the *ship-money*, because the tax is *indefinite*, as also, by reason that it is levied upon the country towns, as well as maritime; and for that they say, *Noy* himself cannot shew any record. There are also divers patents granted, which are muttered at, as being no better than monopolies. Among others a *Scotsman* got one lately upon the statute of levying twelve-pence for every oath, which the justices of peace and constables had power to raise, and have still; but this new patentee is to quicken and put more life in the law, and see it executed. He hath power to nominate one, or two, or three in some parishes, which are to have commission from him for this public service, and so they are to be exempt from bearing office, which must needs deserve a gratuity; and I believe this was the main drift of the *Scots* patentee, so that he intends to keep his office in the temple, and certainly he is like to be a mighty gainer by it; for who would not give a good piece of money to be freed from bearing all cumbersome offices? No more now, but that with my dear love to my sister, I rest

Your most affectionate brother,

Westminster, Aug. 1. 1633.

J. H.
LET-

LETTER XI.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount SAVAGE at Long-Melford.

My LORD,

THE old steward of your courts, Master Attorney-General *Noy*, is lately dead, nor could *Tunbridge* waters do him any good: though he had good matter in his brain, he had, it seems, ill materials in his body; for his heart was shrivelled like a leather penny-purse when he was dissected, nor were his lungs found.

Being such a clerk in the law, all the world wonders he left such an odd will, which is short, and in *Latin*: the substance of it is, that he having bequeathed a few legacies, and left his second son 100 marks a-year, and 500 pounds in money, enough to bring him up in his father's profession, he concludes, *Reliqua meorum omnia primogenito meo Eduardo, dissipanda, nec melius unquam speravi ego*: I leave the rest of all my goods to my first-born *Edward*, to be consumed or scattered, for I never hoped better. A strange, and scarce a christian will, in my opinion, for it argues uncharitableness. Nor doth the world wonder less, that he should leave no legacy to some of your Lordship's children, considering what deep obligations he had to your Lordship; for I am confident he had never been Attorney-General else.

The vintners drink carouses of joy that he is gone, for now they are in hopes to dress meat again, and sell tobacco, beer, sugar, and faggots; which by a sullen *capricio* of his, he would have restrained them from. He had his humour as other men, but certainly he was a solid rational man; and though no great orator, yet a profound Lawyer, and no man better versed, in the records of the *Tower*. I heard your Lordship often say, with what infinite pains and indefatigable study he came to this knowlege; and I never heard a more pertinent anagram than was made of his name, *William Noy, I moile in law.*

law. If an *s* be added, it may be applied to my countryman Judge *Jones*, an excellent Lawyer too, and a far more genteel man *William Jones*, *I moile in laws*. No more now, but that I rest

Your Lordship's most humble and obliged servant,

Westminster, Oct. 1.

J. H.

L E T T E R XII.

To the Right Honourable the Countess of Sunderland.

Madam,

HERE inclosed I send your Ladyship a letter from the Lord-deputy of *Ireland*, wherein he declares, that the disposing of the Attorneyship in *York*, which he passed over to me, had no relation to my Lord at all, but it was merely done out of a particular respect to me: your Ladyship may please to think of it accordingly touching the accounts.

It is now a good while the two *nephew-princes* have been here, I mean the Prince Elector, and Prince *Robert*. The King of *Sweden's* death, and the late blow at *Norlinghen* hath half blasted their hopes to do any good for recovery of the *Palatinate* by land: therefore, I hear of some new designs by sea, that the one shall go to *Madagascar*, a great island eighty miles long in the *East-Indies*, never yet colonized by any christian, and Captain *Bond* is to be his Lieutenant; the other is to go with a considerable fleet to the *West-Indies*, to seize upon some place there that may countervail the *Palatinate*, and Sir *Henry Mervin* to go with him: but I hear my Lady *Elizabeth* opposeth it, saying, that *she will have none of her fans to be Knights-errant*. There is now professed actual enmity betwixt *France* and *Spain*, for there was a *Herald at Arms* sent lately from *Paris* to *Flanders*, who by sound of trumpet denounced and proclaimed open war against the King of *Spain* and all his

his dominions: this Herald left and fixed up the defiance in all the towns as he passed; so that whereas before, the war was but collateral and auxiliary, there is now proclaimed hostility between them, notwithstanding that they have one another's sisters in their beds every night. What the reason of this war is, truly, Madam I cannot tell, unless it be reason of state, to prevent the further growth of the *Spanish* monarchy; and there be a multitude of examples how preventive wars have been practised from all times. Howsoever, it is too sure that abundance of christian blood will be spilt. So, I humbly take my leave, and rest, Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient and faithful servant,

Westminster, June 4. 1635.

J H.

L E T T E R XIII.

To the Earl of Leicester, at Penshurst.

My LORD,

I Am newly returned out of *France* from a flying journey as far as *Orleans*, which I made at the request of Master Secretary *Windebank*, and I hope I shall receive some fruits of it hereafter. There is yet a great resentment in many places in *France* for the beheading of *Montmorency*, whom *Henry IV.* was used to say to be the better gentleman than himself, for in his colours he carried this motto, *Dieu ayde le premier Chevalier de France.* God help the first Knight of *France*, he died upon a scaffold in *Tholouse* in the flower of his years, at thirty-four, and hath left no issue behind, so that noble old family extinguished in a snuff. His treason was very foul, having received particular commissions from the King to make an extraordinary levy of men and money in *Languedoc*, which he turned afterwards directly against the King; against whose person he appeared armed in open field,

field, and in a hostile posture for fomenting of Monsieur's rebellion.

The infant Cardinal is come to *Brussels* at last through many difficulties; and some few days before, Monsieur made semblance to go a hawking, and so fled to *France*, but left his mother behind, who since the Archdutchess's death is not so well looked on as formerly in that country.

Touching our business in the exchequer, Sir *Robert Pye* went with me this morning of purpose to my Lord Treasurer about it, and told me with much earnestness and assurance, that there shall be a speedy course taken for your Lordship's satisfaction.

I delivered my Lord of *Lindsey* the manuscript he lent your Lordship of his father's embassy to *Denmark*; and herewith I present your Lordship with a compleat diary of your own late legation, which hath cost me some toil and labour. So, I rest always

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servitor,
Westminst. June 19. 1635.

J. H.

L E T T E R XIV.

To my honoured Friend and Father, Mr. BEN. JOHNSON.

Father BEN.

BEING lately in *France*, and returning in a coach from *Paris* to *Rouen*, I lighted upon the society of a knowing gentleman who related unto me a choice story, whereof peradventure you may make some use in your way.

Some hundred and odd years since, there was in *France* one Captain *Coucy* a gallant gentleman of an antient extraction, and keeper of *Coucy* castle, which is yet standing, and in good repair. He fell in love with a young gentlewoman, and courted her for his wife: there was a reciprocal love between them, but her parents un-

derstanding of it, by way of prevention they shuffled up a forced match betwixt her and one Monsieur *Faiel*, who was a great heir. Captain *Coucy* hereupon quitted *France* in discontent, and went to the wars in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, where he received a mortal wound, not far from *Buda*. Being carried to his lodging, he languished some days, but a little before his death he spoke to an antient servant of his, that he had many proofs of his fidelity and truth, but now he had a great business to entrust him with, which he conjured him by all means to do; which was, that after his death, he should get his body to be opened, and then to take his heart out of his breast, and put it in an earthen-pot to be baked to powder, then to put the powder into a handsome box, with that bracelet of hair he had worn long about his left wrist; which was a lock of Mademoiselle *Faiel's* hair, and put it amongst the powder together with a little note he had written with his own blood to her; and, after he had given him the rites of burial, to make all the speed he could to *France*, and deliver the said box to Mademoiselle *Faiel*. The old servant did as his master had commanded him, and so went to *France*; and coming one day to Monsieur *Faiel's* house, he suddenly met with that gentleman, who examined him, because he knew he was Captain *Coucy's* servant; and finding him timorous and faltering in his speech, he searched him, and found the said box in his pocket, with the note which expressed what was therein. He dismissed the bearer with menaces, that he should come no more near his house. Monsieur *Faiel* going in, sent for his cook, and delivered him the powder, charging him to make a little well relished dish of it, without losing a jot of it, for it was a very costly thing; and commanded him to bring it in himself, after the last course at supper. The cook bringing in the dish accordingly, Monsieur *Faiel* commanded all to void the room, and began a serious discourse with his wife, how ever since he had married her, he observed she was always melancholy, and he feared she was inclining to a consumption, therefore he had provided for her a

very precious cordial, which he was well assured would cure her: thereupon he made her eat up the whole dish, and afterward, much importuning him to know what it was, he told her at last, she had eaten *Coucy's* heart, and so drew the box out of his pocket, and shewed her the note and bracelet; in a sudden exultation of joy, she with a far fetched sigh said, *This is precious indeed*, and so licked the dish, saying, *It is so precious, that it is pity to put ever any meat upon it.* So she went to bed, and in the morning she was found stone dead.

This gentleman told me that this sad story is painted in *Coucy* cattle, and remains fresh to this day.

In my opinion, which vails to yours, this is choice and rich stuff for you to put upon your loom, and make a curious web of.

I thank you for the last *regalo* you gave me at your *museum*, and for the good company. I heard you censured lately at court, that you have lighted too foul upon Sir *Inigo*, and that you write with a *percupine's* quill dipped in too much gall. Excuse me that I am so free with you; it is because I am in no common way of friendship.

Yours,

Westminster, May 3.

J. H.

L E T T E R X V .

To my Lord Viscount S.

My LORD,

HIS Majesty is lately returned from *Scotland*, having given that nation satisfaction to their long desires, to have him come hither to be crowned. I hear some mutter at Bishop *Laud's* carriage there, that it was too haughty and pontifical.

Since the death of the King of *Sweden*, a great many *Scots* commanders are come over, and make a shinning

ing shew at court: what trade they will take hereafter I know not, having been so inured to the wars. I pray God keep us from commotions at home, betwixt the two kingdoms, to find them work. I hear one Colonel *Lesty* is gone away discontented, because the King would not Lord him.

The old rotten Duke of *Bavaria*, for he hath divers issues about his body, hath married one of the Emperor's sisters, a young lady little above twenty, and he near upon fourscore. There is another remaining, who they say, is intended for the King of *Poland*, notwithstanding his pretences to the young Lady *Elizabeth*; about which, Prince *Razevill* and other ambassadors have been here lately, but that King being elective, must marry as the estates will have him. His mother was the Emperor's sister, therefore sure he will not offer to marry his cousin-german; but it is no news for the house of *Austria* to do so, to strengthen their race. And if the *Bavarian* hath male-issue of this young Lady, the son is to succeed him in the electorship, which may conduce much to strengthen the continuance of the empire in the *Austrian* family. So, with a constant perservance of my hearty desires to serve your Lordship, I rest, my Lord,

Your most humble servitor,

Westminster, Sept. 7.

J. H.

L E T T E R XVI.

To my Cousin Mr. WILL. ST. GEON, at St. Omer.

Cousin,

I Was lately in your father's company, and I found him much discontented at the course you take; which he not only protests against, but he vows never to give you his blessing if you persevere in it. I would wish you to descend into yourself, and seriously ponder what a weight a father's blessing or curse carries with it; for, there is nothing

nothing conduceth more to the happiness or infelicity of the child. Amongst the ten commandments in the *decalogue*, that which enjoins obedience from children to parents, hath only a benediction (of longevity) added to it. There be clouds of examples for this, but one I will instance in: when I was in *Valentia* in *Spain*, a gentleman told me of a miracle which happened in that town; which was, that a proper young man under twenty, was executed there for a crime, and before he was taken down from off the tree, there were many gray and white hairs had budded forth of his chin, as if he had been a man of sixty. It struck amazement in all men, but this interpretation was made of it, that the said young man might have lived to such an age, if he had been dutiful to his parents, unto whom, he had been barbarously disobedient all his life time.

There comes herewith a large letter to you from your father: let me advise you to conform your courses to his counsel, otherwise, it is an easy matter to be a Prophet what misfortunes will inevitably befall you; which by a timely obedience you may prevent, and I wish you may have grace to do it accordingly. So, I rest

Your loving well-wishing cousin,

Lond. May 1. 1634.

J. H.

L E T T E R X V I I .

To the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

My LORD,

THE Earl of *Arundel* is lately returned from *Germany*, and his gallant comportment in that embassy deserved to have had better success. He found the Emperor conformable, but the old *Bavarian* froward, who will not part with any thing till he have monies reimbursed, which he spent in these wars, and for which he hath the upper *Palatinate* in deposit; insomuch, that in

all probability all hopes are cut off of ever recovering that country, but by the same means that it was taken away, which was by the sword: therefore, they write from *Holland* of a new army, which the Prince *Palatine* is like to have shortly, to go up to *Germany*, and push on his fortunes with the *Swedes*.

The *French King* hath taken all *Nancy* and almost all *Lorraine* lately, but he was forced to put a fox tail to the lion's skin, which his Cardinal helped him to before he could do the work. The quarrel is, that the Duke should marry his sister to Monsieur, contrary to promise; that he sided with the imperialists against his confederates in *Germany*, and that he neglected to do homage for the dutchy of *Bar*.

My Lord Viscount *Savage* is lately dead, who is very much lamented by all that knew him, I could have wished had it pleased God, that his father-in-law, who is riper for the other world had gone before him: so, I rest

Your Lordship's most humble and ready servitor,
Westminster, April 6.

J. H.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To the Right Honourable Sir PETER WICHTS, Lord
Ambassador at Constantinople.

My LORD,

IT seems there is some angry star that hath hung over this business of the *Palatinate* from the beginning of these *German* wars to this very day, which will too evidently appear, if one should mark and deduce matters from their first rise.

You may remember how poorly *Prague* was lost: the Bishop of *Halverstadt* and Count *Mansfelt* shuffled up and down a good while, and did great matters, but all came to nothing at last. You may remember how one
of

of the ships-royal was cast away in carrying over the last, and the 12,000 men he had hence perished very miserably, and he himself, as they write, died in a poor hostrey with one lacquey, as he was going to *Venice* to a bank of money he had stored up there for a dead list. Your Lordship knows what success the King of *Denmark* had, (and our 6000 men under Sir *Charles Morgan*) for while he thought to make new acquests, he was in hazard to lose all that he had, had he not had favourable propositions tendered him. There were never poor christians perished more lamentably than those 6000 we sent under M. *Hamilton* for the assistance of the King of *Sweden*, who did much, but you know what became of him at last; how disasterously the Prince *Palatine* himself fell, and in what an ill conjuncture of time, being upon the very point of being restored to his country.

But now we have as bad news as any we had yet, for the young Prince *Palatine*, and his brother Prince *Rupert*, having got a jolly considerable army in *Holland* to try their fortunes in *Germany* with the *Swedes*, they had advanced as far as *Munsterland* and *Westphalia*, and, having lain before *Lengua*, they were forced to raise the siege; and one General *Hatzfield* pursuing them, there was a fore battle fought, wherein Prince *Rupert*, my Lord *Craven* and others were taken prisoners. The Prince *Palatine* himself, with Major *King*, thinking to get over the *Wefer* in a coach, the water being deep, and not fordable, he saved himself by the help of a willow, and so went a-foot all the way to *Munden*, the coach and the coachman being drowned in the river. There were near upon 2000 slain on the *Palsgrave's* side, and scarce the twentieth part so many on *Hatzfield's*. Major *Gætus*, one of the chief commanders was killed.

I am sorry I must write unto you this sad story; yet to countervail something, *Saxon Waymar* thrives well, and is like to get *Brisac* by help of the *French* forces. All
your

your friends here are well, and remember your Lordship, but none more oft than

Your most humble and ready servitor,

London, June 5. 1635.

J. H.

L E T T E R X I X .

To Sir SACKVIL C. Knight.

S I R,

I Was as glad that you have lighted upon so excellent a Lady, as if an Astronomer by his optics had found out a new star; and, if a wife be the best or worst fortune of a man, certainly you are one of the fortunatest men in this island.

The greatest news I can write unto you, is of a bloody banquet that was lately at *Liege*, where a great faction was a fomenting betwixt the imperialists, and those that were devoted to *France*; amongst whom, one *Ruelle*, a popular Burgue-master was chief. The count of *Warsuzee*, a vassal of the King of *Spain*, having fled thither for some offence, to ingratiate himself again into the King of *Spain*'s favour, invited the said *Ruelle* to a feast, and after brought him into a private chamber, where he had provided a ghostly father to confess him; and so some of the soldiers whom he had provided before to guard the house, dispatched the Burgue-master. The town hearing this, broke into the house, cut to pieces the said Count, with some of his soldiers, and dragged his body up and down the streets. You know such a fate befel *Walstein* in *Germany* of late years, who having got all the Emperor's forces into his hands, was found to have intelligence with the *Swedes*; therefore the imperial ban was not only pronounced against him, but a reward promised to any that should dispatch him: some of the Emperor's soldiers at a great wedding in *Egra*, of which band of soldiers Colonel *Butler* an *Irishman* was chief

chief, broke into his lodging when he was at dinner, killed him, with three commanders more that were at table with him, and threw his body out at a window into the streets.

I hear *Butler* is made since Count of the empire: so, humbly kissing your noble Lady's hands; I rest

Your faithful servitor,

London, Jan. 5.

J. H.

L E T T E R XX.

To Sir EDWARD B. Knight.

S I R,

I Received yours this *Maunday-Thursday*: and where-as amongst other passages, and high endearments of love, you desire to know what method I observe in the exercise of my devotions, I thank you for your request, which I have reason to believe doth proceed from an extraordinary respect unto me; and I will deal with you herein, as one should do with his confessor.

'Tis true, though there be rules and rubrics in our *Liturgy* sufficient to guide every one in the performance of all holy duties, yet I believe every one hath some mode and model or formulary of his own, specially for private cubicular devotions.

I will begin with the last day of the week, and with the latter end of that day, I mean *Saturday* evening, on which, I have fasted ever since I was a youth in *Venice*, for being delivered from a very great danger. This year I use some extraordinary acts of devotion to usher in the ensuing *Sunday* in hymns, and prayers of my own penning before I go to bed. On *Sunday* morning I rise earlier than upon other days, to prepare myself for the sanctifying of it: nor do I use barber, taylor, shoemaker, or any other mechanic that morning; and whatsoever diversions, or lets may hinder me the week before, I never

never miss, but in case of sickness, to repair to God's holy house that day, where I come before prayers begin, to make myself fitter for the work by some previous meditations, and take the whole service along with me: nor do I love to mingle speech with any in the interim, about news or worldly negotiations in God's holy house. I prostrate myself in the humblest and decentest way of genuflection I can imagine: nor do I believe there can be any excess of exterior humility in that place; therefore I do not like those squatting unseemly bold postures upon one's tail, or muffling the face in the hat, or thrusting it in some hole, or covering it with one's hand; but with bended knee and an open confident face, I fix my eyes on the East part of the church, and heaven. I endeavour to apply every title of the service to my own conscience and occasions; and I believe the want of this, with the huddling up, and careless reading of some ministers, with the commonness of it, is the greatest cause that many do undervalue and take a surfeit of our public service.

For the reading and singing *psalms*, whereas most of them are either petitions or eucharistical ejaculations, I listen to them more attentively, and make them my own. When I stand at the *Creed*, I think upon the custom they have in *Poland*, and elsewhere, for gentlemen to draw their swords all the while, intimating thereby that they will defend it with their lives and blood. And for the *decalogue*, whereas others use to rise, and sit, I ever kneel at it in the humblest and tremblingest posture of all, to crave remission for the breaches past of any of God's holy commandments, (especially the week before) and future grace to observe them.

I love a holy devout sermon, that first checks, and then cheers the conscience, that begins with the law, and ends with the gospel: but I never prejudicate or censure any preacher, taking him as I find him.

And now that we are not only adulted, but antient christians, I believe the most acceptable sacrifice we can send up to heaven, is *prayer and praise*; and that *sermons* are

are not so essential as either of them to the true practice of devotion. The rest of the holy Sabbath, I sequester my body and mind as much as I can from worldly affairs.

Upon *Monday* morning, as soon as the *Cinq-ports* are open, I have a particular prayer of thanks, that I am reprived to the beginning of that week; and every day following, I knock thrice at heaven's gate, in the morning, in the evening, and at night; besides prayers at meals, and some other occasional ejaculations, as upon the putting on of a clean shirt, washing my hands, and at lighting of candles; which because they are sudden, I do in the the third person.

Tuesday morning I rise winter and summer as soon as I awake, and send up a more particular sacrifice for some reasons; and as I am disposed, or have business, I go to bed again.

Upon *Wednesday* night I always fast, and perform also some extraordinary acts of devotion, as also upon *Friday* night; and *Saturday* morning, as soon as my senses are unlocked, I get up. And in the summer time, I am oftentimes abroad in some private field, to attend the sun-rising; and as I pray thrice every day, so I fast thrice every week, at least I eat but one meal upon *Wednesdays*, *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*, in regard I am jealous with myself, to have more infirmities to answer for than others.

Before I go to bed I make a scrutiny what peccant humours have reigned in me that day, and so I reconcile myself to my Creator, and strike a tally in the *exchequer* of *heaven* for my *quietus est*, before I close my eyes, and leave no burden upon my conscience.

Before I presume to take the holy sacrament, I use some extraordinary acts of humiliation to prepare myself some days before, and by doing some deeds of charity; and commonly I compose some new prayers, and divers of them written in my own blood.

I use not to rush rashly into prayer without a trembling precedent meditation; and if any odd thoughts intervene, and grow upon me, I check myself, and recommence;
and

and this is incident to long prayers, which are more subject to man's weakness and the devil's malice.

I thank God I have this fruit of my foreign travels, that I can pray to him every day of the week in a several language, and upon *Sunday* in seven, which in oraisons of my own I punctually perform in my private pomeridian devotions.

Et sic æternam contendo attingere vitam.

By these steps I strive to climb up to heaven, and my soul prompts me I shall thither; for there is no object in the world delights me more than to cast up my eyes that way, especially in a star-light night: and if my mind be overcast with any odd clouds of melancholy, when I look up and behold that glorious fabrick, which I hope shall be my country hereafter, there are new spirits begot in me presently, which makes me scorn the world, and the pleasures thereof, considering the vanity of the one, and the inanity of the other.

Thus my soul still moves *Eastward*, as all the heavenly bodies do; but I must tell you, that as those bodies are over-mastered, and snatched away to the *West*, *raptu primi mobilis*, by the general motion of the tenth sphere, so by those epidemical infirmities which are incident to man, I am often snatched away a clean contrary course, yet my soul still persists in her own proper motion. I am often at variance and angry with myself, (nor do I hold this anger to be any breach of charity) when I consider that as my Creator intended this body of mine, though a lump of clay, to be a temple of his Holy Spirit, my affections should turn it often to a *brothel-house*, my passions to a bedlam, and my excesses to an hospital.

Being of a lay profession, I humbly conform to the constitutions of the church, and my spiritual superiors; and I hold this obedience to be an acceptable sacrifice to God.

Difference in opinion may work a disaffection in me, but not a detestation; I rather pity than hate *Turk* or *infidel*, for they are of the same metal, and bear the same stamp

stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ: if I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church, so that I could be content to see an *Anabaptist* go to hell on a *Brownist's* back.

Noble Knight, now that I have thus eviscerated myself, and dealt clearly with you, I desire by way of correspondence that you would tell me, what way you take in your journey to heaven: for if my breast ly so open to you, it is not fitting yours should be shut up to me; therefore I pray let me hear from you when it may stand with your convenience.

So I wish you your heart's desire here, and heaven hereafter, because I am

Yours in no vulgar way of friendship,

London, July 25. 1635.

J. H.

LETTER XXI.

To SIMON DIGBY, *Esq;* at Moscow, the Emperor of Russia's Court.

S I R,

I Received yours by Mr. *Pickhurst*, and I am glad to find that the rough clime of *Russia* agrees so well with you; so well, as you write, as the catholick air of *Madrid*, or the imperial air of *Vienna*, where you had such honourable employments.

The greatest news we have here is, that we have a Bishop Lord Treasurer; and it is news indeed in these times, though it was no news you know in the times of old to have a Bishop Lord Treasurer of *England*. I believe he was merely passive in this business: the active instrument that put the white staff in his hands, was the metropolitan at *Lambeth*.

I have other news also to tell you: we have a brave new ship, a royal galleon, the like they say did never spread sail upon salt-water, take her true and well com-

pacted symmetry, with all her dimensions together: for her burden, she hath as many tons as there were years since the incarnation, when she was built, which are 1636: she is in length 127 foot, her greatest breadth with the planks is 46 foot and six inches: her depth from the breadth is 19 foot and four inches: she carrieth 100 pieces of ordnance, wanting four, whereof she hath three tyre: half a score of men may stand in her lanthorn: the charges his Majesty hath been at in building of her, are computed at 30,000*l.* one whole year's ship-money. Sir *Robert Mansel* launched her, and by his Majesty's command called her *the Sovereign of the sea*. Many would have had her to be named the *Edgar*; who was one of the most famous *Saxon* kings this island had, and the most potent at sea. *Ranulphus Gestrensis* writes, that he had 400 ships, which every year after *Easter* went out in four fleets to scour the coasts. Another author writes, that he had four kings to row him once upon the *Dee*. But the title he gave himself, was a notable lofty one; which was this, *Altitonantis Dei largeslua clementia qui est Rex regum, ego Edgardus Anglorum Basilius, omnium regum, insularum, oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarumque nationum que infra eam includuntur, Imperator & Dominus, &c.* I do not think your grand Emperor of *Russia* hath a loftier title. I confess the *Sophy* of *Persia* hath a higher one, though profane and ridiculous, in comparison of this: for he calls himself, *The star high and mighty, whose head is covered with the sun, whose motion is comparable to the æthereal firmament, Lord of the mountains Caucasus and Taurus, of the four rivers Euphrates, Tygris, Araxis and Indus; bud of honour, mirror of virtue, rose of delight, and nutmeg of comfort.* It is a huge descent methinks, to begin with a *star* and end in a *nutmeg*.

All your friends here in court and city are well, and often mindful of you, with a world of good wishes; and you cannot be said to be out of *England*, as long as you live in so many noble memories. Touching mine, you have

have a large room in it, for you are one of my chief inmates. So, with my humble service to your Lady, I rest

Your most faithful servitor,

London, July 1. 1635.

J. H.

LETTER XXII.

To Dr. THOMAS PRICHARD.

Dear Dr.

I Have now had too long a supersedeas from employment, having engaged myself to a fatal man at court, (by his own seeking) who I hoped, and had reason to expect (for I waved all other ways) that he would have been a *scale* towards my rising, but he hath rather proved an *instrument* to my ruin: it may be he will prosper accordingly.

I am shortly bound for *Ireland*, and it may be the stars will cast a more benign aspect upon me in the *West*; you know who got the *Persian* empire by looking that way for the first beams of the sun-rising, rather than towards the *East*.

My Lord Deputy hath made often professions to do me a pleasure, and I intend now to put him upon it.

I purpose to pass by the *Bath* for a pain I have in my arm, proceeding from a defluxion of rheum; and then I will take *Brecknock* in my way, to comfort my sister *Penry*, who I think hath lost one of the best husbands in all the thirteen shires of *Wales*.

So with appreciation of all happiness to you, I rest

Yours while,

London, Feb. 10. 1637.

J. H.

LETTER XXIII.

To Sir KENELM DIGBY Knight, from Bath.

S I R,

YOUR being then in the country, when I began my journey for *Ireland*, was the cause I could not kiss your hands, therefore, I shall do now from *Bath* what I should have done at *London*.

Being here for a distillation of rheum that pains me in one of my arms, and having had about 3000 strokes of a pump upon me in the *Queen's bath*; and having been here now divers days, and viewed the several qualities of these waters, I fell to contemplate a little what should be the reason of such extraordinary actual heat, and medicinal virtue in them. I have seen and read of divers *baths* abroad, as those of *Cadanel* and *Avinian*, in *lagro Senensf*, the *Grotta* in *Vicerbio*, those between *Naples* and *Puteolum* in *Campania*; and, I have been a little curious to know the reason of those rare lymphatical properties in them above other waters. I find that some impute it to wind, or air, or some exhalations shut up in the bowels of the earth; which either by their own nature, or by their violent motion and agitation, or attrition upon rocks, and narrow passages do gather heat, and so impart it to the waters.

Others attribute this *balneal* heat unto the sun, whose all-searching beams penetrating the pores of the earth, do heat the waters.

Others think this heat to proceed from quick-lime, which by common experience we find to heat any waters cast upon it, and also to kindle any combustible substance put upon it.

Lastly, there are some that ascribe this heat to a subterranean fire kindled in the bowels of the earth upon sulphury and bituminous matter.

'Tis true, all these may be general concurring causes, but not the adequate, proper and peculiar reason of *balneal*

neal heats; and herein, truly our learned countryman Dr. *Jorden* hath got the start of any that ever wrote of this subject, and goes to work like a solid Philosopher: for, having treated of the generation of minerals, he finds that they have their seminaries in the womb of the earth replenished with active spirits; which meeting with apt matter and adjuvant causes, do proceed to the generation of several species, according to the nature of the efficient, and fitness of the matter. In this work of generation, as there is *generatio unius*, so there is *corruptio alterius*; and this cannot be done without a superior power which by moisture dilating itself, works upon the matter like a leavening and ferment, to bring it to its own purpose.

This motion betwixt the agent spirit, and patient matter, produceth an actual heat: *for motion is the fountain of heat*, which serves as an instrument to advance the work; for as cold dulls, so heat quickeneth all things. Now for the nature of this heat, it is not a destructive violent heat, as that of fire, but a generative gentle heat joined with moisture, nor needs it air for eventilation. This natural heat is daily observed by digging in the mines; so then, while minerals are thus engendering, and *in solutis principiis*, in their liquid forms, and not consolidated into hard bodies, (for then they have not that virtue) they impart heat to the neighbouring waters. So then it may be concluded, that this soil about the bath is a mineral vein of earth, and the fermenting gentle temper of generative heat that goes to the production of the said minerals doth impart and actually communicate this *balneal* virtue and medicinal heat to these waters.

This subject of *mineral waters* would afford an ocean of matter, were one to compile a solid discourse of it; and I pray excuse me, that I have presumed in so narrow a compass as a letter to comprehend so much, which is nothing I think in comparison of what you know already of this matter.

So I take my leave, and humbly kiss your hands, being always

Your most faithful and ready servitor,

Bath, July 3. 1638.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXIV.

To Sir EDWARD SAVAGE, Knight, at Towerhill.

S I R,

I Am come safely to *Dublin*, over an angry boisterous sea; whether it was my voyage on salt-water, or change of air, being now under another clime, which was the cause of it, I know not, but I am suddenly freed of the pain in my arm, when neither *bath*, nor plaisters, and other remedies could do me good.

I delivered your letter to Mr. *James Dillon*, but nothing can be done in that business till your brother *Pain* comes to town. I met here with divers of my *Northern* friends, who I knew at *York*. Here is a most splendid court kept at the castle, and except that of the Viceroy of *Naples*, I have not seen the like in christendom; and in one point of *grandeza*, the Lord Deputy here goes beyond him, for he can confer honours, and dub knights; which that Viceroy cannot, nor any other I know of. Traffick increaseth here wonderfully, with all kind of bravery and building.

I made an humble motion to my Lord, that in regard businesses of all sorts did multiply here daily, and that there was but one Clerk of the council (*Sir Paul Davis*) who was able to dispatch business, (*Sir William Usher* his colleague being very aged and bedrid) his Lordship would please to think of me. My Lord gave me an answer full of good respect, to succeed *Sir William* after his death.

No more now, but with my most affectionate respects unto you, I rest

Your faithful servitor,

Dublin, May 3. 1639.

J. H.
L E T-

LETTER XXV.

To Dr. USHER, Lord Primate of Ireland.

MAY it please your Grace to accept of my most humble acknowledgment, for those noble favours I received at *Drogheda*; and that you pleased to communicate unto me those rare manuscripts in so many languages, and divers choice authors in your library.

Your learned work, *De primordiis ecclesiarum Britannicarum*, which you pleased to send me, I have sent to *England*, and so it shall be conveyed to *Jesus College* in *Oxford*, as a gift from your Grace.

I hear that Cardinal *Barberino*, one of the Pope's nephews, is setting forth the works of *Fastidius*, a *British* Bishop called *De vita Christiana*. It was written 300 years after our Saviour, and *Holstenius* hath the care of the impression.

I was lately looking for a word in *Suidas*, and I lighted upon a strange passage in the name *Ἰησοῦς*, that in the reign of *Justinian* the Emperor, one *Theodosius* a *Jew*, a man of great authority, lived in *Jerusalem*, with whom a rich goldsmith who was a christian, was in much favour and very familiar, The goldsmith in private discourse told him one day, that "he wondered, he being
 " a man of so great understanding did not turn christian,
 " considering how he found all the prophecies of the
 " law so evidently accomplished in our Saviour, and our
 " Saviour's prophecies accomplished since." *Theodosius* answered, "that it did not stand with his security and
 " continuance in authority to turn christian, but he had
 " a long time a good opinion of that religion, and he
 " would discover a secret unto him, which was not yet
 " come to the knowledge of any christian." It was, that when the temple was founded in *Jerusalem*, there were twenty-two priests according to the number of the *Hebrew* letters, to officiate in the temple; and when any was chosen, his name, with his father's and mother's were
 used

used to be registered in a fair book. In the time of Christ, a Priest died, and he was chosen in his place, but when his name was to be entered, his father *Joseph* being dead, his mother was sent for, who being asked who was his father? She answered, that she never knew man, but that she conceived by an angel: so his name was registered in these words, JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD AND OF THE VIRGIN MARY. This record at the destruction of the temple was preserved, and is to be seen in *Tiberias* to this day. I humbly desire your Grace's opinion hereof in your next.

They write to me from *England* of rare news in *France*; which is, that the Queen is delivered of a Dauphine, the wonderfulest thing of this kind that any story can parallel; for this is the twenty-third year since she was married, and hath continued childless all this while, so that now Monsieur's cake is dough; and I believe he will be more quiet hereafter. So, I rest

Your Grace's most devoted servitor,

Dublin, March 1. 1639.

J. H.

LETTER XXVI.

To my Lord Clifford, from Edinburgh.

My LORD,

I Have seen now all the King of *Great Britain's* dominions; and he is a good traveller that hath seen all his dominions. I was born in *Wales*, I have been in all the four corners of *England*: I have traversed the diameter of *France* more than once, and now I am come through *Ireland* into this kingdom of *Scotland*. This town of *Edinburgh* is one of the fairest streets that ever I saw, (excepting that of *Palermo* in *Sicily*) it is about a mile long, coming sloping down from the castle (called of old the *Castle of Virgins*, and by *Pliny*, *Castrum alatum*) to *Holyroodhouse*, now the royal palace; and these

two begin and terminate the town. I am come hither in a very convenient time, for here is a *national assembly*, and a *parliament*, my Lord *Traquair* being his Majesty's Commissioner. The bishops are all gone to wreck, and they have had but a sorry funeral: the very name is grown so contemptible that a black dog if he hath any white marks about him, is called Bishop. Our Lord of *Canterbury* is grown here so odious, that they call him commonly in the pulpit, *the Priest of Baal*, and *the son of Belial*.

I will tell your Lordship of a passage which happened lately in my lodging, which is a tavern. I had sent for a shoemaker to make me a pair of boots, and my landlord, who is a pert smart man brought up a chopin of white wine; and for this particular, there are better *French* wines here than in *England* and cheaper, for they are but a groat a quart; and it is a crime of a high nature to mingle or sophisticate any wine here. Over this chopin of white wine, my vintner and shoemaker fell into a hot dispute about bishops. The shoemaker grew very furious, and called them the firebrands of hell, the panders of the whore of *Babylon*, and the instruments of the devil; and that they were of his institution, not of God's. My vintner took him up smartly and said, "Hold neighbour there, do you not know as well as I, that *Titus* and *Timothy* were bishops? that our Saviour is intitled *the Bishop of our souls*? That the word *Bishop* is as frequently mentioned in scripture as the name *Pastor*, *Elder*, or *Deacon*? Then, why do you inveigh so bitterly against them." The shoemaker answered, "I know the name and office to be good, but they have abused it." My vintner replies, "Well then, you are a shoemaker by your profession, imagine that you, or a hundred, or a thousand, or a hundred thousand of your trade should play the knaves, and sell *calfskin-leather* boots for *neats-leather*, or do other cheats, must we therefore go barefoot? Must the gentle craft of shoemakers fall therefore to the ground? It is the fault of the men not of the call-

"ing."

“ing.” The shoemaker was so gravelled at this, that he was put to his *last*; for he had not a word more to say, so my vintner got the day.

There is a fair parliament house built here lately, and it was hoped his Majesty would have taken the maiden-head of it, and come hither to sit in person; and, they did ill who advised him otherwise.

I am to go hence shortly back to *Dublin*, and so to *London*, where I hope to find your Lordship, that according to my accustomed boldness I may attend you. In the interim, I rest

Your Lordship's most humble servitor,

Edinburgh, 1639.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXVII.

To Sir SACKVILL CROW, his Majesty's Ambassador at the Port of Constantinople.

Right Honourable Sir,

THE greatest news we have here now, is a notable naval fight that was lately betwixt the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander* in the *Downs*; but to make it more intelligible, I will deduce the business from the beginning.

The King of *Spain* had provided a great fleet of galleons, whereof the Vice-Admirals of *Naples* and *Portugal* were two, (whereof he had sent advice to *England* before). The design was to meet with the *French* fleet, under the command of the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, and in default of that, to land some treasure at *Dunkirk*, with a recruit of *Spaniards* which were grown very thin in *Flanders*. These recruits were got by an odd trick, for some of the fleet being at *St. Andreas*, a report was blown up of purpose that the *French* were upon the coasts: hereupon all the young men of the country came to the sea-side, and so a great number of them were tumbled a shipboard, and so they set sail towards the coast of *France*; but the Arch-

bishop

bishop it seems had drawn in his fleet. Then striking into the narrow-seas, they met with a fleet of about sixteen *Hollanders*, whereof they sunk and took two, and the rest got away to *Holland* to give an alarm to the States; who in less than a month got together a fleet of about 100 sail, and the wind being a long time easterly, they came into the *Downs*, where *Don Antonio d'Oquendo* the *Spanish* Admiral had staid for them all the while. Sir *John Pennington* was then abroad with seven of his Majesty's ships; and *Don Antonio* being daily warned what forces were preparing in *Zealand* and *Holland*, and so advised to get over to the *Flemish* coasts. In the interim, with a haughty spirit he answered, *Tengo de quedar-me aqui para castigar estos rebeldes: I will stay here to chastise these rebels.* There were ten more of his Majesty's ships appointed to go join with Sir *John Pennington* to observe the motions of those fleets, but the wind continuing still East, they could not get out of the river.

The *Spanish* fleet had fresh waters, victuals, and other necessaries from our coasts for their money, according to the capitulations of peace, all this while. At last, being half surprized by a cloud of *Hollanders*, consisting of 114 ships, they launched out from our coasts, and a most furious fight began, our ships having retired hard by all the while. The Vice-Admiral of *Portugal*, a famous sea Captain, *Don Lope de Hozes*, was engaged in close fight with the Vice-Admiral of *Holland*; and after many tough rencounters they were both blown up, and burnt together. At last, night came and parted the rest, but six *Spanish* ships were taken, and about twenty of the *Hollanders* perished. *Oquendo* then crossed over to *Nardic*, and so back to *Spain*, where he died before he came to the court; and 'tis thought, had he lived, he had been questioned for some miscarriages: for if he had suffered the *Dunkirkers*, who are nimbler and more fit for fight, to have had the van, and dealt with the *Hollander*, it is thought matters might have been better
with

with him; but his ambition was, that the great *Spanish* galleons should get the glory of the day.

The *Spaniards* give out that they had the better, in regard they did the main work; for *Oquendo* had conveyed all his recruits and treasure to *Flanders*, while he lay hovering on our coasts.

One thing is here very observable, what a mighty navigable power the *Hollander* is come to, that in so short a compass of time he could appear with such a numerous Fleet of 114 sails of men of war, in such a perfect equipage.

The times afford no more at present; therefore with a tender of my most humble service to my noble Lady, and my thankful acknowledgment for those great favours, which my brother *Edward* writes to me he hath received from your Lordship in so singular a manner at that port; desiring you would still oblige me with a continuance of them, I rest, among those multitudes you have behind you in *England*,

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

London, Aug. 31. 1639.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

To SIMON DIGBY Esq; at Moscow in Russia.

S I R,

I return you many thanks for your last, of the first of *June*, and that you acquaint me with the state of things in that country.

I doubt not but you have heard long since of the revolt of *Catalonia* from the King of *Spain*; it seems the sparkles of those fires are flown to *Portugal*, and put that country also in combustion. The Duke of *Braganza*, whom you may well remember about the court of *Spain*, is now King of *Portugal*, by the name of *El Rey Don Juan*; and he is generally obeyed, and quietly settled,

as if he had been King these twenty years there ; for the whole country fell suddenly to him, not one town standing out. When the King of *Spain* told *Olivares* of it first, he slighted it, saying, *that he was but Rey de havat, a bean-cake King.* But it seems strange to me, and so strange that it transformed me to wonder, that the *Spaniard* being accounted so politic a nation, and so full of precaution, could not foresee this ; especially there being divers intelligences given, and evident symptoms of the general discontentment of that kingdom, (because they could not be protected against the *Hollander* in *Brazil*) and of some designs a year before, when this Duke of *Braganza* was at *Madrid*. I wonder, I say, they did not secure his person, by engaging him to some employment out of the way : truly, I thought the *Spaniard* was better sighted, and could see further off than so. You know what a huge limb the crown of *Portugal* was to the *Spanish* monarchy, by the islands in the *Altantick* sea, the towns in *Africk*, and all the *East-Indies*, infomuch that the *Spaniard* hath nothing now left beyond the *Line*.

There is no offensive war yet made by *Spain* against King *John*, she only stands upon the defensive part, until the *Catalan* be reduced : and I believe, that will be a long winded business, for this *French* Cardinal stirs all the devils of hell against *Spain*, infomuch that most men say, that these formidable fires which are now raging in both these countries, were kindled at first by a grenado hurled from his brain : nay, some will not stick to say, that this breach betwixt us and *Scotland* is a reach of his.

There was a ruthless disaster happened lately at sea, which makes our merchants upon the *Exchange* hang down their heads very sadly. The ship *Swan*, whereof one *Linery* was master, having been four years abroad about the *Streights*, was sailing home with a cargazon valued at 800,000*l.* whereof 450,000 was in money, the rest in jewels and merchandize ; but being in sight of shore, she sprung a leak, and being ballasted with salt, it choaked the pump, so that the *Swan* could swim no

longer: sixteen were drowned, and some of them with ropes of pearl about their necks; the rest were saved by an *Hamburgher* not far off. The King of *Spain* loseth little by it, (only his affairs in *Flanders* may suffer) for his money was insured, and few of the principals, but the insurers only, who were most of them *Genoese* and *Hollanders*. A most unfortunate chance! for had she come to safe port, she had been the richest ship that ever came into the *Thames*, so that *Neptune* had never such a morsel at one bit.

All your friends here are well, as you will understand more particularly by those letters that go herewith. So I wish you all health and comfort in that cold country, and desire that your love may continue still in the same degree of heat towards

Your faithful servitor,

Lond. March 5. 1639.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXIX.

To Sir K. D. Knight.

S I R,

IT was my fortune to be in a late communication, where a gentleman spoke of a hideous thing that happened in *High Holborn*, how one *John Pennant* a young man of twenty-one being dissected after his death, there was a kind of serpent with divers tails found in the left ventricle of his heart; which you know is the most defended part, being thrice thicker than the right, and in the cell which holds the purest and most illustrious liquor, the arterial blood and the vital spirits. This serpent was it seems three years engendering, for so long a time he found himself indisposed in the breast; and it was observed, that his eye in the interim grew more sharp and fiery, like the eye of a cock, which is next to a serpent's eye in redness, so that the symptom of his inward dis-
ease

ease might have been told by certain exterior rays and signatures.

God preserve us from public calamities, for serpentine monsters have been often ill-favoured presages. I remember in the *Roman* story to have read, how when snakes or serpents were found near the statutes of their gods, as one time about *Jupiter's* neck, another time about *Minerva's* thigh, there followed bloody civil wars after it.

I remember also a few years since to have read the relation and deposition of the carrier of *Terwxbury*, who, with divers of his servants, passing a little before the dawn of the day with their packs over *Cots-hill*, saw most sensibly and very perspicuously in the air, musqueteers harnessed men, and horsemen, moving in battle array, and assaulting one another in divers furious postures. I doubt not but that you have heard of those fiery meteors and thunderbolts that have fallen upon sundry of our churches and done hurt. Unless God be pleased to make up these ruptures betwixt us and *Scotland*, we are like to have ill days. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was lately outraged in his house by a pack of common people; and Captain *Mahun* was pitifully massacred by his own men lately, so that the common people it seems have strange principles infused into them, which may prove dangerous: for I am not of that Lord's mind who said, *That they who fear any popular insurrection in England, are like boys and women, that are afraid of a turnip cut like a death's head with a candle in it.*

I am shortly for *France*, and I will receive your commands before I go. So I am

Your most humble servant,

London. May 2. 1640.

J. H.

LETTER XXX.

To the Honourable Sir P. M. in Dublin.

S I R,

I Am newly returned from *France*, and now that Sir *Edward Nicholas* is made Secretary of State, I am put in fair hopes, or rather assurances to succeed him in the clerkship of the council.

The Duke *de la Valette* is lately fled hither for sanctuary, having had ill luck in *Fontarabia*, they say his process was made, and that he was executed in effigy in *Paris*. 'Tis true, he could never square well with his eminency the Cardinal, (for this is a peculiar title he got long since from *Rome*, to distinguish him from all other) nor his father neither, the little old Duke of *Espernon*, the antientest soldier in the world, for he wants but one year of a hundred.

When I was last in *Paris*, I heard of a facetious passage betwixt him and the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who in effect is Lord High Admiral of *France*, and it was thus: the Archbishop was to go General of a great fleet, and the Duke came to his house in *Bordeaux* one morning to visit him: the Archbishop sent some of his gentlemen to desire him to have a little patience, for he was dispatching away some sea-commanders, and that he would wait on him presently. The little Duke took a pet at it, and went away to his house at *Cadillac*, some fifteen miles off. The next morning the Archbishop came to pay a visit, and to apologize for himself: being come in, and the Duke told of it, he sent his chaplain to tell him, That he was newly fallen upon a chapter of *St. Austin's de civitate Dei*, and when he had read that chapter, he would come to him.

Some years before, I was told he was at *Paris*, and *Richelieu* came to visit him, he having notice of it, *Richelieu* found him in a Cardinal's cap, kneeling at a table altar-

altar-wife, with his book and beads in his hand, and candles burning before him.

I hear the Earl of *Leicester* is to come shortly over, and so over to *Ireland* to be your Deputy. No more now, but that I am

Your most faithful servitor,

London, Sept. 7. 1641.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXI.

To the Earl of B. from the Fleet.

My LORD,

I Was lately come to *London* upon some occasions of mine own, and I had been divers times in *Westminster-hall*, where I conversed with many parliament men of my acquaintance; but one morning betimes there rushed into my chamber five armed men with swords, pistols, and bills, and told me they had a warrant from the parliament for me: I desired to see their warrant, they denied it: I desired to see the date of it, they denied it: I desired to see my name in the warrant, they denied all. At last one of them pulled a greasy paper out of his pocket, and shewed me only three or four names subscribed, and no more: so, they rushed presently into my closet, and seized on all my papers, and letters, and any thing that was manuscript; and many printed books they took also, and hurled all into a great hair trunk, which they carried away with them. I had taken a little physic that morning, and with very much ado, they suffered me to stay in my chamber with two guards upon me till the evening: at which time they brought me before the committee for examination, where I confess I found good respect; and being brought up to the close committee, I was ordered to be forth-coming till some papers of mine were perused, and Mr. *Corbet* was appointed to do it. Some days after, I came to Mr. *Cor-*

bet, and he told me he had perused them, and could find nothing that might give offence. Hereunto, I desired him to make a report to the house, according to which (as I was told) he did very fairly; yet such was my hard hap, that I was committed to the *Fleet*, where I am now under close restraint; and as far as I see, I must ly at dead anchor in this fleet a long time, unless some gentle gale blow thence to make me launch out. God's will be done, and amend the times, and make up these ruptures which threaten so much calamity. So, I am

Your Lordship's most faithful,
(though now afflicted) servitor,

Fleet, Nov. 20. 1642.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXII.

To Sir BEVIS THELWALL, Knight, (Petri ad vincula)
at Peter-house in London.

S I R,

THOUGH we are not in the same prison, yet are we in the same predicament of sufferance; therefore, I presume you subject to the like fits of melancholly as I. *The fruition of liberty is not so pleasing, as a conceit of the want of it is irksome*, specially to one of such free-born thoughts as you. Melancholly is a black noxious humour, and much annoys the whole inward man: if you would know what cordial I use against it in this my sad condition, I will tell you, I pore sometimes on a book, and so I make the *dead my companions*; and this is one of my chiefest solaces. If the humour work upon me stronger, I rouze my spirits, and raise them up towards heaven, my future country; and one may be on his journey thither, though shut up in prison, and happily go a straighter way than if he were abroad. I consider, that my soul while she is cooped within these walls of flesh, is but in a perpetual kind of prison: and now my
body

body corresponds with her in the same condition; my body is the prison of the one, and these brick walls the prison of the other. And let the *English* people flatter themselves as long as they will, that they are free, yet are they in effect but prisoners, as all other islanders are: for, being surrounded and inclosed about with salt-water, (as I am with these walls) they cannot go where they list unless they ask the winds leave first, and *Neptune* must give them a pass.

God almighty amend the times, and compose these woful divisions, which menace nothing but public ruin, the thoughts whereof drown in me the sense of mine own private affliction.

So wishing you courage (whereof you have enough, if you put it in practice) and patience in this sad condition, I rest

Your true servant and compatriot,

Fleet, August 2. 1643.

J. H.

L E T T E R X X X I I I .

To Mr. E. P.

S I R,

I Saw such prodigious things daily done these few years, that I had resolved with myself to give over wondering at any thing, yet a passage happened this week that forced me to wonder once more, because it is without parallel. It was, that some odd fellows went sculking up and down *London* streets, and with figs and raisins allured little children, and so purloined them away from their parents, and carried them a ship-board to transport them beyond sea, where, by cutting their hair, and other devices, they so disguise them that their parents could not know them. This made me think upon that miraculous passage in *Hamelen*, a town in *Germany*, which I hoped to have passed through when I was in *Hamburgh*, had we returned

returned by *Holland*; which was thus, (nor would I relate it unto you were there not some ground of truth for it). The said town of *Hamelen* was annoyed with rats and mice; and it chanced, that a pied-coated piper came thither, who covenanted with the chief burghers for such a reward, if he could free them quite from the said vermin, nor would he demand it till a twelvemonth and a day after. The agreement being made, he began to play on his pipes, and all the rats and the mice followed him to a great loch hard by, where they all perished, so the town was infested no more. At the end of the year, the pied-piper returned for his reward, the burghers put him off with flightings and neglects, offering him some small matter; which he refusing, and staying some days in the town, on *Sunday* morning at high mass when most people were at church, he fell to play on his pipes, and all the children up and down followed him out of the town, to a great hill not far off, which rent in two, and opened, and let him and the children in, and so closed up again. This happened a matter of about 250 years since; and in that town, they date their bills and bonds, and other instruments in law, to this day, from the year of the going out of their children: besides, there is a great pillar of stone at the foot of the said hill, whereon this story is engraven.

No more now, for this is enough in conscience for one time: so, I am

Your most affectionate servitor,

Fleet, Oct. 1. 1643.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXIV.

To my Lord G. D.

My LORD,

THERE be two weighty sayings in *Seneeca*, *Nihil est infelicius eo, cui nil unquam contigit adversi*: There is nothing more unhappy than he who never felt an adversity.

adversity. The other is, *Nullum est majus malum, quam non posse ferre malum: There is no greater cross, than not to be able to bear a cross.* Touching the first, I am not capable of that kind of unhappiness, for I have had my share of adversity: I have been hammered, and dilated upon the anvil, as our countryman *Breakspear* (*Adrian IV.*) said of himself, *I have been strained through the limbec of affliction.* Touching the second, I am also free of that cross; for, I thank God for it, I have that portion of grace, and so much philosophy as to be able to endure, and confront any misery: it is not so tedious to me as to others to be thus immured, because I have been inured and habituated to troubles. That which sinks deepest in me, is the sense I have of the common calamities of this nation: there is a strange spirit hath got in amongst us, which makes the idea of holiness the formality of good, and the very faculty of reason, to be quite differing from what it was. I remember to have read a tale of the ape in *Paris*, who having got a child out of the cradle, and carried him up to the top of the tiles, and there sat with him upon the ridge: the parents beholding this ruthless spectacle, gave the ape fair and smooth language, so he gently brought the child down again and replaced him in the cradle. Our country is in the same case this child was in, and I hope there will be sweet and gentle means used to preserve it from precipitation.

The city of *London* sticks constantly to the parliament, and the common-council sways much, insomuch, that I believe, if the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* were now living, he would not be so pleasant with them as he was once to a new Recorder of *London*, whom he had invited to a dinner to give him joy of his office, and having a great woodcock pye served in about the end of the repast; which had been sent him from *Cheshire*, he said, *Now, Master Recorder you are welcome to a common-council.*

There be many discreet brave patriots in the city, and I hope they will think upon some means to preserve us
and

and themselves from ruin: such are the prayers early and late of

Your Lordship's most humble servitor,

Fleet, Jan. 2. 1643.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXV.

To Sir ALEXANDER R. Knight.

S I R,

SURELY God almighty is angry with *England*, and it is more sure, that God is never angry without cause: now to know the cause, the best way is, for every one to lay his hand on his breast and examine himself thoroughly, to summon his thoughts, and winnow them, and so call to remembrance how far he hath offended heaven; and then it will be found, that God is not angry with *England*, but with *Englishmen*. When that doleful change was pronounced against *Israel*, *Perditio ex te Israel*, it was meant of the *concrete*, (not the *abstract*) *Oh! Israelites, your ruin comes from yourselves*. When I make this scrutiny within myself, and enter into the closest cabinet of my soul, I find (God help me) that I have contributed as much to the drawing on of these judgments on *England* as any other. When I ransack the three cells of my brain, I find that my *imagination* hath been vain and extravagant: my *memory* hath kept the bad, and let go the good, like a wide sieve that retains the bran and parts with the flour: my *understanding* hath been full of error and obliquities: my *will* hath been a rebel to reason: my *reason* a rebel to faith, (which I thank God I have the grace to quell presently with this caution) *Succumbat ratio fidei, & captive quiescat*.

When I descend to my heart, the center of all my affections, I find it hath swelled often with tympanies of vanity, and tumors of wrath. When I take my whole self

self in a lump, I find that I am nothing else but a cargon of malignant humours, a rabble of unruly passions, amongst which my poor soul is daily crucified, as betwixt so many thieves. Therefore, as I pray in general, that God would please not to punish this island for the sins of the people, so more particularly I pray, that she suffer not for me in particular; who, if one would go by way of indiction, would make one of the chiefest instances of the argument; and as I am thus conscious to myself of my own demerits, so I hold it to be the duty of every one to complete himself this way, and to remember the saying of a noble *English* Captain, who when the town of *Calais* was lost (which was the last footing we had in *France*) being jeered by a *Frenchman*, and asked, now *Englishman*, when will you come back to *France*? answered, O Sir, mock not, when the sins of *France* are greater than the sins of *England*, then the *Englishmen* will come again to *France*.

Before the sack of *Troy*, it was said and sung up and down the streets:

Ilicos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The verse is as true for sense and feet:

Intra Londini muros peccatur & extra.

Without and eke within

The walls of *London* there is sin.

The way to better the times is, for every one to mend one. I will conclude with this serious invocation: I pray God avert those further judgments (of famine and pestilence) which are hovering over this populous and once flourishing city, and dispose of the brains and hearts of this people to seek and serve him aright.

I thank you for your last visit, and for the poem you sent me since: so, I am

Your most faithful servitor,

Fleet, June 3.

J. H.

LET-

LETTER XXXVI.

To Mr. JOHN BATTY, Merchant.

S I R,

I Received the printed discourse you pleased to send me, called *the merchant's remonstrance*, for which I return you due and deserved thanks.

Truly Sir, it is one of the most material and solid pieces I have read of this kind; and, I discover therein two things: first, the affection you bear to your country, with the resentment you have of these woful distractions: then the judgment and choice experience you have purchased by your negotiations in *Spain* and *Germany*. In you may be verified the tenet they hold in *Italy*, that the merchant bred abroad, is the best commonwealthsman, being properly applied: for my part, I do not know any profession of life (especially in an island) more to be cherished and countenanced with honourable employments than the merchant-adventurer; (I do not mean only the staplers of *Hamburgh* and *Rotterdam*) for if valiant and dangerous actions do ennoble a man, and make him merit, surely the merchant-adventurer deserves more honour than any; for he is to encounter not only with men of all tempers and humors, (as a *French* Counsellor hath it) but he contests and tugs oft-times with all the elements: nor do I see how some of our country squires, who sell calves and runts, and their wives perhaps cheefe and apples, should be held more genteel than the noble merchant-adventurer, who sells silks and fattins, tissues and cloths of gold, diamonds and pearl, with silver and gold

In your discourse, you foretel the sudden calamities which are like to befall this poor island, if trade decay, and that this decay is inevitable, if these commotions last: herein you are proved half a Prophet already, and I fear your prophecy will be fully accomplished if matters hold thus. Good Lord! was there ever people so active to draw

draw on their own ruin? Which is so visible, that a pur-blind man may take a prospect of it. We all see this apparently, and hear it told us every minute; but we are fallen to the condition of that foolish people the Prophet speaks of, *who had eyes but would not see, and ears, but would not hear.* All men know there is nothing imports this island more than trade: it is that wheel of industry which sets all other a going: it is that which preserves the chiefest castles and walls of this kingdom, I mean the ships; and how these are impaired within this four years, I believe other nations (which owe us an invasion) observe and know better than we: for truly, I believe a million, (I mean of crowns) and I speak within compass, will not put the navy-royal in that strength it was in four years since, besides the decay of merchants ships. A little before *Athens* was overcome, the oracle told one of the *arcopagites*, that *Athens had seen her best days, for her wooden walls* (meaning her ships) *were decayed.* As I told you before, there is a nation or two owe us an invasion.

No more now, but that with my most kind and friendly respects unto you, I rest always

Yours to dispose of,

Fleet, May 4. 1644.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To my honoured Friend Mr. E. P.

S I R,

THE times are so ticklish, that I dare not adventure to send you any *London* intelligence, she being now a garrison town, and you know as well as I, what danger I may incur; but for foreign indifferent news, you shall understand that Pope *Urban VIII.* is dead, having sat in the chair above twenty years, a rare thing: for it is observed, that no Pope yet arrived to the

years of *St. Peter*, who, they say, was Bishop of *Rome* twenty and five. Cardinal *Pamfilio* a *Roman* born, a knowing man, and a great lawyer is created Pope by assumption of the name of *Innocent X.* There was rough canvassing for voices, and a great *contrast* in the *conclave*, betwixt the *Spanish* and *French* faction, who with the *Barberino* stood for *Sachetti*, but he was excluded, as also another *Dominican.* By these exclusions the *Spanish* party, whereof the Cardinal of *Florence* was chief, brought about *Barberino* to join with them for *Pamfilio*, as being also a creature of the deceased Pope. He had been *Nuncio* in *Spain* eight years, so that it is conceived he is much devoted to that crown, as his predecessor was to the *French*, who had been Legate there near upon twenty years, and was godfather to the last King; which made him to be *fleurdelize*, to be flower-de-luced all over. This new Pope hath already passed that number of years which the Prophet assigns to man, for he goes upon seventy-one, and is of a strong promising constitution to live some years longer. He hath but one nephew, who is but eighteen, and so not capable of business: he hath therefore made choice of some cardinals more to be his coadjutors. *Pancirellio* is his prime confident, and lodged in *St. Peter's.* It is thought he will presently set all wheels a going to meditate an universal peace. They write of one good augury among the rest; that part of his arms is a *dove*, which hath been always held for an emblem of peace; but, I believe it will prove one of the knottiest and difficultest tasks that ever was attempted, as the case stands betwixt the house of *Austria* and *France*; and the roughest and hardest knot I hold to be that of *Portugal*, for it cannot yet enter into any man's imagination, how that may be accommodated, though many politicians have beaten their brains about it. God almighty grant, that the appeasing of our civil wars prove not so intricate a work; and that we may at last take warning by the devastations of other countries, before our own be past cure.

They

They write from *Paris*, that Sir *Kenelm Digby* is to be employed to *Rome* from her Majesty, in quality of a high *Messenger of honour* to congratulate the new Pope, not of an Ambassador, as the vulgar give out: for, none can give that character to any, but a sovereign independant Prince; and all the world knows, that her Majesty is under *Covert Baron*, notwithstanding, that some cry her up for *Queen Regent of England*, as her sister is of *France*. The Lord *Aubigny* hath an abbacy of 1500 pistoles a year given him yearly there, and is fair for a Cardinal's cap.

I continue still under this heavy pressure of close restraint, nor do I see any hopes (God help me) of getting forth till the wind shift out of his unlucky hole. Howsoever, I am resolved, that if *innocence* cannot free my body, yet *patience* shall preserve my mind still in its *freeborn* thoughts: nor shall this storm slacken a whit that firm league of love, wherein I am eternally tied unto you. I will conclude with a distich, which I found amongst those excellent poems of the late Pope:

*Quem valide strixit præstanti pollice virtus,
Nescius est solvi nodus amicitie.*

Your constant servitor,

Fleet, Jan. 1. 1644.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

To the Lord Bishop of London, late Lord Treasurer of England.

My LORD,

YOU are one of the miracles of these times, the greatest mirrour of moderation our age affords; and as heretofore when you carried the white staff, with such clean incorrupted hands, yet the *crozier* was still your chief care: nor was it perceived that that high obliging office did alter you a jot, or alienate you from yourself,

yourself, but the same candour and countenance of meekness appeared still in you. As whosoever had occasion to make their address to your gates, went away contented whether they sped in their business or not, (a gift your predecessor was said to want) so since the turbulency of these times, the same moderation shines in you, notwithstanding that the mitre is so trampled upon, and that there be such violent factions a-foot, insomuch, that you live not only secure from outrages, but honoured by all parties. 'Tis true, one thing fell out to your advantage, that you did not subscribe to that petition which proved so fatal to prelacy; but the chief ground of the constant esteem the distracted world hath still of you, is your wisdom and moderation, passed and present. This put me in mind of one of your predecessors (in your late office) Marquis *Pawlet*, who it seems failed by the same compass; for there being divers bandings, and factions at court in his time, yet was he beloved by all parties; and being asked how he stood so right in the opinion of all, he answered, *By being a willow, and not an oak.*

I have many thanks to give your Lordship for the late visits I had; and when this cloud is scattered, that I may respire free air, one of my journies shall be to kiss your Lordship's hands. In the interim, I rest

Your most devoted and ready servitor,

Fleet, Sept. 3. 1644.

J. H.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

To PHIL. WARWICK, Esq;

S I R,

THE earth doth not always produce roses and lillies, but she brings forth also nettles and thistles; so the world affords us not always contentments and pleasures, but sometimes affliction and troubles: *Ut illa tribulos, sic iste tribulationes producit.* The sea is not more subject to contrary blasts, nor the surges thereof to tossings

toſſings and tumblings, as the actions of men are to incumbrances and croſſes; the air is not fuller of meteors, than man's life is of miſeries: but as we find that it is not a clear ſky, but the clouds that drop fatneſs, as the holy text tells us, ſo adverſity is far more fertile than proſperity: it uſeth to water and mollify the heart, which is the centre of all our affections, and makes it produce excellent fruit; whereas the glaring ſun-ſhine of a continual proſperity would enharden and dry it up, and ſo make it barren.

There is not a greater evidence of God's care and love to his creature than affliction; for a *French* author doth illuſtrate it by a familiar example: if two boys ſhould be ſeen to fight in the ſtreets, and a ring of people about them, one of the ſtanders by parting them, lets the one go untouched, but he falls a correcting the other, whereby the beholders will infer, that he is his child, or at leaſt one whom he wiſheth well unto: ſo the ſtrokes of adverſity which fall upon us from heaven, ſhew that God is our Father as well as our Creator. This makes this bitter cup of affliction become *nectar*, and the bread I now eat, to be true *ambroſia* unto me. This makes me eſteem theſe walls, wherein I have been immured theſe thirty months, to be no other than a college of inſtruction unto me; and whereas *Varro* ſaid, that the great world was but the houſe of a little man, I hold this Fleet to be one of the beſt lodgings in that houſe.

There is a people in *Spain* called *Los Patuecos*, who ſome threeſcore and odd years ſince were diſcovered by the flight of a hawk of the Duke of *Alva's*: this people, then all ſavage, (though they dwelt in the centre of *Spain*, not far from *Toledo*, and are yet held to be a part of thoſe aborigines that *Tubal Cain* brought in) being hemmed in, and imprifoned as it were, by a multitude of huge craggy mountains, thought that behind thoſe mountains there was no more earth. I have been ſo habituated to this priſon, and accuſtomed to the walls thereof ſo long, that I might well be brought to think, that there is no other world behind them. And in my

extravagant imagination, I often compare this *Fleet* to *Noah's ark* furrounded with a vast sea, and huge deluge of calamities, which hath overwhelmed this poor island: nor, although I have been so long aboard here, was I yet under hatches, for I have a cabin upon the upper deck, whence I breathe the best air the place affords: add hereunto, that the society of Mr. *Hopkins* the warden is an advantage unto me, who is one of the knowingest and most civil gentlemen that I have conversed withal. Moreover, there are here some choice gentlemen who are my co-martyrs; for a prisoner, and a martyr are the same thing, save that the one is buried before his death, and the other after.

God almighty amend these times, that make imprisonment to be preferred before liberty, it being more safe, and desirable by some, though not by

Your affectionate servitor,

Fleet, Nov. 3. 1643.

J. H.

L E T T E R XL.

To THOMAS YOUNG, *Esq;*

S I R,

I Received yours of the fifth of *March*, and it was as welcome to me as flowers in *May*; which are coming on apace. You seem to marvel I do not marry all this while, considering that I am past the meridian of my age, and that to your knowledge there have been overtures made me of parties above my degree. Truly in this point, I will deal with you as one should do with his confessor: had I been disposed to have married for wealth without affection, or for affection without wealth, I had been in bonds before now; but I did never cast my eyes upon any yet, that I thought I was born for, where both these concurred. It is the custom of some (and it is a common custom) to chuse wives by the weight, that

is,

is, by their wealth. Others fall in love with light wives, I do not mean venerean lightness, but in reference to portion. The late Earl of *Salisbury* gives a caveat for this, *That beauty without a dowry, (without that unguentum indicum) is as a gilded shell without a kernel,* therefore he warns his son to be sure to have something with his wife, and his reason is, *because nothing can be bought in the market without money.* Indeed it is very fitting that he or she should have wherewith to support both according to their quality, at least to keep the wolf from the door, otherwise it were a meer madness to marry; but he who hath enough of his own to maintain a wife, and marrieth only for money, discovereth a poor fordid disposition. There is nothing that my nature disdaineth more, than to be a slave to silver or gold, for though they both carry the King's face, yet they shall never reign over me; and, I would I were free from all other infirmities as I am from this. I am none of those mammonists who adore white and red earth, and make their Princes picture their idol that way: such may be said to be under a perpetual eclipse, for the earth stands always betwixt them, and the fair face of heaven; yet my genius prompts me, that I was born under a planet, not to die in a lazaretto. I have upon occasion of a sudden distemper, sometimes a madman, sometimes a fool, sometimes a melancholy odd fellow to deal withal, I mean myself, for I have the humours within me that belongs to all three; therefore who would cast herself away upon such a one. Besides, I came tumbling out into the world a pure cadet, a true cosmopolite, not born to land, lease, house or office. It is true, I have purchased since, a small spot of ground upon *Parnassus*; which I hold in fee of the muses, and I have endeavoured to manure it as well as I could, though I confess it hath yielded me little fruit hitherto; and what woman would be so mad, as to take that only for her jointure.

But to come to the point of wiveing, I would have you know that I have, though never married, divers children

children already, some *French*, some *Latin*, one *Italian*, and many *English*; and though they be but poor brats of the brain, yet are they legitimate, and *Apollo* himself vouchsafed to co-operate in their production. I have exposed them to the wide world, to try their fortunes; and some (out of compliment) would make me believe they are long-lived.

But to come at last to your kind of wiveing, I acknowledge that marriage is an honourable condition, nor dare I think otherwise without profaneness, for it is the epithet the holy text gives it: therefore it was a wild speech of the Philosopher to say, that *if our conversation could be without women, angels would come down and dwell amongst us*; and a wilder speech it was of the *Cynic*, when passing by a tree where a maid made herself away, wished, *that all trees might bear such fruit*. But to pass from these moth-eaten philosophers, to a modern physician of our own, it was a most unmanly thing in him, while he displays his own religion, to wish that there were a way to propagate the world otherwise than by conjunction with women, (and *Parcellus* undertakes to shew him the way) whereby he seems to repine (though I understand he was wived a little after) at the honourable degree of marriage; which I hold to be the prime link of human society, the chiefest happiness of mortals, and wherein heaven hath a special hand.

But I wonder why you write to me of wiveing, when you know I have much ado to man or maintain myself, as I told you before; yet notwithstanding that the better part of my days are already threeded upon the string of time, I will not despair, but I may have a wife at last, that may perhaps enable me to build hospitals: for, although nine lustres of years have long passed over my head, and some winters more, (for all my life, considering the few sun-shines I have had, may be called nothing but winters) yet, I thank God for it, I find no symptom of decay either in body, senses, or intellectuals. But writing thus extravagantly methinks I hear you say, that
this

this letter shews I begin to dote and grow idle, therefore I will display myself no further unto you at this time.

To tell you the naked truth, my dear *Tom*, the highest pitch of my aim is, that by some condition or other, I may be enabled at last (though I be put to sow, the time that others use to reap) to quit scores with the world, but never to cancel that precious obligation, wherein I am indissolubly bound to live and die

Your true constant friend,

Fleet, April 28. 1645.

J. H.

LETTER XLI.

To Mr. B. J.

F. *B.* The fangs of a bear, and the tusks of a wild boar, do not bite worse, and make deeper gashes than a goose-quill sometimes; so not the badger himself, who is said to be so tenacious of his bite, that he will not give over his hold, till he feels his teeth meet, and the bone crack. Your quill hath proved so to Mr. *Jones*; but the pen wherewith you have so gashed him, it seems was made rather of a porcupine, than a goose-quill, it is so keen and firm: you know;

Anser, apis, vitulus, populos & regna gubernant.

The goose, the bee, and the calf (meaning wax, parchment, and the pen) rule the world; but of the three, the pen is the most predominant. I know you have a commanding one, but you must not let it tyrannize in that manner, as you have done lately. Some give out there was a hair in it, or that your ink was too thick with gall, else it would not have so bespattered and shaken the reputation of a royal Architect; for reputation, you know, is like a fair structure, long time a rearing, but quickly ruined. If your spirit will not let you retract, yet you shall do well to repress any more copies
of

of the satire ; for to deal plainly with you, you have lost some ground at court by it ; and, as I hear from a good hand, the King who hath so great a judgment in poetry (as in all other things else) is not well pleased therewith. Dispense with this freedom of

Your respectful S. and servitor.

Westminster, July 3. 1635.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLII.

To T. D. Esq;

S I R,

I Had yours lately by a safe hand : wherein I find you open to me all the boxes of your breast. I perceive you are sore hurt, and whereas all other creatures run away from the instrument and hand that wounds them, you seem to make more and more towards both. I confess such is the nature of love, and which is worse, the nature of woman, is such, that like shadows the more you follow them, the faster they flee from you. Nay, some females are of that odd humour, that to feed their pride, they will famish affection, they will starve those natural passions, which are owing from them to man. I confess coyness becomes some beauties, if handsomely acted ; a frown from some faces penetrates more, and makes deeper impression than the fawning and soft glances of a mincing smile : yet, if this coyness and these frowns favour of pride, they are odious ; and it is a rule, that where this kind of pride inhabits, honour sits not long porter at the gate. There are some beauties so strong, that they are leaquer-proof, they are so barricadoed, that no battery, no petard, or any kind of engine sapping or mining, can do good upon them. There are others that are tenable a good while, and will endure the brunt of a siege, but will incline to parley at last ; and you know that fort and female which begins to parley, is half won ;
for

for my part, I think of beauties as *Philip King of Macedon* thought of cities, there is none so inexpugnable, but an ass laden with gold may enter into them; you know what the *Spaniard* said, *dauidos quebrantan pen- nas, presents can rend rocks*. Pearls and golden bullets may do much upon the impregnablest beauty that is: it must be partly your way. I remember a great Lord of this land sent a puppy with a rich collar of diamonds, to a rare *French Lady*, *Madam St. L.* that had come over hither with an Ambassador; she took the dog, but returned the collar. I will not tell you what effect it wrought afterwards. 'Tis a powerful sex, they were too strong for the first, the strongest, and wisest man that was: they must needs be strong when *one hair of a woman can draw more than a hundred pair of oxen*; yet for all their strength, in point of value, if you will believe the *Italian*, *A man of straw is worth a woman of gold*: therefore, if you find the thing perverse, rather than to undervalue your sex (your manhood) retire handsomely, for there is as much honour to be won at an handsome retreat as at a hot onset, it being the difficultest piece of war. By this retreat you will get a greater victory than you are aware of, for thereby you will overcome yourself, which is the greatest conquest that can be. Without seeking abroad, we have enemies enough within doors to practise our valour upon, we have tumultary and rebellious passions, with whole hosts of humours within us. He who can discomfit them is the greatest Captain, and may defy the devil. I pray recollect yourself, and think on this advice of .

Your true and most affectionate servitor,

Westminster, Dec. 4. 1637.

J. H.

LETTER XLIII.

To G. G. Esq; at Rome.

S I R,

I Have more thanks to give you than can be folded up in this narrow paper, though it were all wrote in the closest kind of stenography, for the rich and accurate account you please to give me of that renowned city wherein you now sojourn. I find you have most judiciously pried into all matters both civil and clerical, especially the latter, by observing the poverty and pennances of the frier, the policy and power of the jesuit, the pomp of the Prelate and Cardinal. Had it not been for the two first, I believe the two last, and that See had been at a low ebb by this time: for the learning, the prudential state, knowledge and austerity of the one, and the venerable opinion the people have of the abstemious and rigid condition of the other, specially of the mendicants, seem to make some compensation for the lux and magnificence of the two last: besides, they are more beholding to the protestant than they are aware of, for unless he had risen up about the latter end of the last century of years, which made them more circumspect and wary of their ways, life, and actions, to what an intolerable high excess that court had come to by this time, you may easily conjecture. But, out of my small reading I have observed that no age ever since *Gregory the Great* hath passed, wherein some or other have not repined and murmured at the pontifical pomp of that court, yet for my part I have been always so charitable as to think that the religion of *Rome*, and the court of *Rome* were different things. The counterbuff that happened betwixt *Leo X.* and *Francis I.* of *France* is very remarkable, who being both met at *Bolonia*, the King seemed to give a light touch at the Pope's pomp, saying, it was not used to be so in former time. It may be so, said *Leo*, but it was then when the kings kept sheep; (as we read in the
Old

Old Testament) no, the King replied, I speak of times under the gospel. Then rejoined the Pope, it was then when kings did visit hospitals, hinting by those words at St. *Leavis* who oft used to do so. It is memorable what is recorded in the life of *Robert Grosset* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who lived in the time of one of the *Leo*'s, that he feared the same sin would overthrow *Leo*, as overthrew *Lucifer*.

For news hence, I know none of your friends but are as well as you left them, *bombres y lembra*s: you are fresh and very frequent in their memory, and mentioned with a thousand good wishes and benedictions. Amongst others, you have a large room in the memory of my Lady *Elizabeth Cary*; and, I do not think all *Rome* can afford you a fairer lodging. I pray be cautious of your carriage under that meridian, it is a searching (inquisitive) air: you have two eyes, and two ears, but one tongue; you know my meaning. This last you must imprison, (as nature hath already done with a double fence of teeth and lips) or else she may imprison you, according to our countryman Mr. *Hoskin*'s advice when he was in the *Tower*.

Vincula da lingua, vel tibi lingua dabit.

Have a care of your health, take heed of the fyrens, of excess in fruit; and be sure to mingle your wine well with water. No more now, but that in the large catalogue of friends you have left behind here, there is none who is more mindful of you than

Your most affectionate and faithful servitor,

J. H.

LETTER XLIV.

To Dr. T. P.

S I R,

I Had yours of the 10th current, wherein you write me tidings of our friend *Tom D.* and what his desires tend unto: in my opinion, they are somewhat extravagant. I have read of one, that loving honey more than ordinary, seemed to complain against nature, that she made not a bee as big as a bull, that we might have it in greater plenty. Another who was much given to fruit, wished that pears and plumbs were as big as pumpions. These were but silly vulgar wishes, for if a bee were as big as a bull, it must have a sting proportionable; and what mischiefs do you think such stings would do, when we can hardly endure the sting of that small infected animal as now it is? And if pears and plumbs were as big as pumpions, it were dangerous walking in an orchard about the autumnal equinoctial, (at which time they are in their full maturity) for fear of being knocked on the head. Nature the handmaid of God almighty doth nothing but with good advice, if we make researches into the true reason of things. You know what answer the fox gave the ape, when he would have borrowed part of his tail to cover his posteriors.

The wishes you write that *T. D.* lately made, were almost as extravagant in civil matters as the aforementioned were in natural: for, if he were partaker of them, they would draw more inconveniencies upon him than benefit, being nothing fortale either to his disposition or breeding, and for other reasons besides, which I will reserve till my coming up; and I pray let him know so much from me, with my commendations. So, I rest

Yours in the perfectest degree of friendship,

Westminster, Sept. 6. 1640.

J. H.

LET-

LETTER XLV.

To Doctor B.

S I R,

WHEREAS upon the large theoretical discourse, and bandings of opinions we had lately at *Gresham* college, you desired I should couch in writing what I observed abroad of the extent and amplitude of the christian commonwealth in reference to other religions: I obtained leave of myself to put pen to paper, rather to obey you, than oblige you with any thing that may add to your judgment, or enrich that rare knowledge I find you have already treasured up; but I must begin with the fulfilling of your desire in a preambular way, for the subject admits it.

'Tis a principle all the world over, except amongst atheists, that *omne verum est a Deo, omne falsum est a diabolo, & omnis error ab homine: All truth is from God, all falshood from the devil, and all error from man.* The last goes always under the visard of the first, but the second confronts truth to the face, and stands in open defiance of her: error and sin are contemporary, when one crept first in at the fore-door, the other came in at the postern. This made *Trismegistus* one of the great Lords of reason to give this character of man, *Homo est imaginatio quædam, & imaginatio est supremum mendacium: Man is nought else but a kind of imagination, and imagination is the greatest lie.* Error therefore entering into the world with sin among us poor *Adamites*, may be said to spring from the tree of knowledge itself, and from the rotten kernels of that fatal apple. This, besides the infirmities that attend the body, hath brought in perversity of will, depravation of mind, and hath cast a kind of cloud upon all our intellectuals, that they cannot discern the true essence of things with that clearness as the protoplast our first parent could; but we are involved in a mist, and grope as it were ever

since in the dark, as if truth were got into some dungeon, or as the old wizard said, into some deep pit which the shallow apprehension of men could not fathom. Hence comes it that the earth is rent into so many religions, and those religions torn into so many schisms, and various forms of devotion, as if the heavenly Majesty were delighted as much in diversities of worship as in diversities of works.

The first religion that ever was reduced to exact rules and ritual observances was that of the *Hebrews*, the ancient people of God, called afterwards *Judaism*, the second *Christianity*, the third *Mahometism*, which is the youngest of all religions. Touching *Paganism*, and heathenish idolatry, they scarce deserve the name of religion; but for the former three, there is this analogy between them, that they all agree in the first person of the Trinity, and all his attributes. What kind of religion there was before the flood, it is in vain to make any researches, there having been no monuments at all left, (besides that little we find in *Moses* and the *Phœnician* story) but *Seth's* pillars, and those so defaced, that nothing was legible upon them, though *Josephus* saith, that one was extant in his days: as also the oak under which *Abraham* feasted God almighty, which was 2000 years after. The religion (or cabal) of the *Hebrews* was transferred from the patriarchs to *Moses*, and from him to the prophets. It was honoured with the appearance and promulgation of God himself, specially the better part of it, I mean the decalogue containing the ten commandments; which being most of them moral and agreeing with the common notions of man, are in force all the world over. The *Jews* at this day are divided into three sects: the first, which is the greatest, are called the *Talmudists*, in regard that besides the holy Scriptures they embrace the *Talmud*, which is stuffed with the traditions of their rabbins and chacams: the second receive the Scriptures alone: the third the pentateuch only, viz. the five books of *Moses*, who are called *Samaritans*. Now touching what part of the earth is possessed by *Jews*, I cannot

cannot find they have any at all peculiar to themselves; but in regard of their murmurings, their frequent idolatries, defections, and that they crucified the Lord of life, this once select nation of God, and the inhabitants of the land flowing with milk and honey, is become now a scorned squandered people all the earth over, being ever since incapable of any coalition or reducement into one body politic. There where they are most without mixture, is *Tiberias* in *Palestine*, which *Anurath* gave *Mendez* the Jew; whither, and to *Jerusalem*, upon any conveniency, they convey the bones of their dead friends from all places to be reinterred. They are to be found in all mercantile towns and great marts, both in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Europe*, the dominions of *England*, of the *Spaniard* and *French* excepted; and as their persons, so their profession is despicable, being for the most part but brokers every where. Among other places they are allowed to be in *Rome* herself near *St. Peter's* chair; for they advance trade wheresoever they come, with their banks of money, and so are permitted as necessary evils. But put case the whole nation of the *Jews* now living were united into one collective body, yet according to the best conjecture and exactest computation that I could hear made by the knowingest men, they would not be able to people a country bigger than the seventeen provinces. Those that are dispersed now in christendom and *Turky*, are the remnants only of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, with some *Levites* which returned from *Babylon* with *Zerubbabel*. The common opinion is, that the other ten are utterly lost; but they themselves fancy that they are in *India*, a mighty nation, environed with stony rivers, which always cease to run their course on their *Sabbath*; from whence they expect their *Messias*, who shall in the fulness of time over-run the world with fire and sword, and re-establish them in a temporal glorious estate. But this opinion sways most among the oriental *Jews*, whereas they of the *West* attend the coming of their *Messias* from *Portugal*; which language is more common among them any other. And thus

much in brief of the *Jews*, as much as I could digest, and comprehend within the compass of this paper-sheet; and let it serve for the accomplishment of the first part of your desire. In my next I shall give you the best satisfaction I can concerning the extent of christianity up and down the globe of the earth; which I shall speedily send: for, now that I have undertaken such a task, my pen shall not rest till I have finished it. So, I am

Your most affectionate ready servitor,

Westminst. August 1. 1635.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLVI.

To Doctor B.

S I R,

HAVING in my last sent you something touching the state of *Judaism* up and down the world, in this you shall receive what extent christianity hath, which is the second religion in succession of time and truth: a religion *that makes not sense so much subject to reason, as reason succumbent to faith.* There is no religion so harsh and difficult to flesh and blood, in regard of divers mysterious positions it consists of; as the incarnation, resurrection, the Trinity, &c. which, as one said, *are bones to philosophy, but milk to faith.* There is no religion so purely spiritual, and abstracted from common natural ideas and sensual happiness, as the christian: no religion that excites men more to the love and practice of virtue, and hatred of vice, or that prescribes greater rewards for the one, and punishments for the other: a religion that in a most miraculous manner did expand herself, and propagate by simplicity, humbleness, and by a meer passive way of fortitude, growing up like the palm-tree under the heavy weight of persecution: for never any religion had more powerful opposition, by various kinds of punishments, oppressions and torture; which may be said

said to have decked her with rubies in her very cradle ; infomuch, that it is granted by her very enemies, that the christian in point of passive valour hath exceeded all other nations upon earth. And it is a thing of wonderment, how at her very first growth she flew over the heads of so many interjacent vast regions into this remote isle so soon, that her rays should shine upon the crown of a *British* King first of any ; I mean King *Lucius*, the true proto-christian King in the days of *Eleutherius*, at which time she received her propagation ; but for her plantation, she had it long before, by some of the apostles themselves. Now, as the christian religion hath the purest and most abstracted, the hardest and highest spiritual notions, so it hath been most subject to differences of opinions and distractions of conscience : the purer the wheat is, the more subject it is to tares, and the most precious gems to flaws. The first bone that the devil flung, was into the *Eastern* churches ; then betwixt the *Greek* and the *Roman*, but it was rather for jurisdiction and power, than for the fundamentals of faith ; and lately betwixt *Rome* and the *North West* churches. Now the extent of the *Eastern* church is larger far than that of the *Roman*, (excluding *America*) which makes some accuse her as well of uncharitableness as of arrogance, that she should positively damn so many millions of christian souls, who have the same common symbols of faith with her, because they are not within the close of her fold.

Of those *Eastern* and *South-East* churches, there are no less than eleven sects, whereof the three principallest are the *Grecian*, the *Jacobite*, and the *Nestorian*, with whom the rest have some dependance or conformity ; and they acknowledge canonical obedience either to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, of *Alexandria*, of *Jerusalem*, or *Antioch* : they concur with the *Western* reformed churches, in divers positions against *Rome* ; as in denial of purgatory, in rejecting of extreme unction, and celebrating the sacrament under both kinds ; in admitting their clergy to marry ; in abhorring the use of massy statues, and celebrating

brating their liturgy in the vulgar language: among these, the *Russe*, and the *Habassin* emperors are the greatest; but the latter is a *Jew* also from the girdle downward, for he is both circumcised and christened, having received the one from *Solomon*, and the other from the Apostle *St. Thomas*. They observe other rites of the *Levitical* law: they have the cross in that esteem, that they imprint the sign of it upon some part of the child's body when he is baptized: that day they take the holy sacrament they spit not till after sun-set; and the Emperor in his progresses, as soon as he comes to the sight of a church, lights off his camel, and foots it all along, till he loseth the sight of it.

Now touching that proportion of ground that the christians have on the habitable earth, (which is the main of our task) I find that all *Europe* with her adjacent isles is peopled with christians, except that ruthful country of *Lapland*, where idolaters yet inhabit: towards the *East* also, that religion which lieth betwixt *Tanais* and *Boristhenes*, the ancient country of the *Goths*, is possessed by *Mahometan Tartars*; but in these territories which the *Turk* hath betwixt the *Danube* and the sea, and betwixt *Ragusa* and *Buda*, christians are intermixed with *Mahometans*; yet in this cohabitation, christians are computed to make two third parts at least: for here and elsewhere, all the while they pay the *Turk* the quarter of their increase, and a sultanin for every poll, and speak nothing in derogation of the *alcoran*, they are permitted to enjoy both their religion and lives securely. In *Constantinople* herself, under the *Grand Signior's* nose, they have twenty churches; in *Saloniche* (or *Theffalonica*) thirty. There are 150 churches under the metropolitan of *Philippi*, as many under him of *Athens*, and he of *Corinth* hath about 100 suffragan bishops under him.

But in *Afric*, (a thing which cannot be too much lamented) that huge extent of land which christianity possessed of old betwixt the *Mediterranean* sea, and the mountain *Atlas*, yea as far as *Egypt*, with the large region of *Nubia*, the *Turks* have over-mastered. We
read

read of 200 bishops met in synods in those parts; and in that province where old *Carthage* stood, there were 164 bishops under one *Metropolitan*; but *Mahometism* hath now overspread all thereabout, only the King of *Spain* hath a few maritime towns under christian subjection, as *Septa*, *Tangier*, *Oran*, and others. But through all the huge continent of *Afric*, which is estimated to be thrice bigger than *Europe*, there is not one region intirely christian, but *Habassia* or *Ethiopia*: besides, there is in *Egypt* a considerable number of them yet sojourning. Now *Habassia*, according to the itineraries of the observingest travellers in those parts, is thought to be in respective magnitude as big as *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy* conjunctly: an estimate which comes nearer truth than that which some make by stretching it from one tropick to the other, viz. from the *Red-sea* to the *Western* ocean. There are also divers isles upon the coast of *Afric*, that are colonized with christians, as the *Madera*, the *Canaries*, *Cape Verd*, and *St. Thomas's*; but on the *East* side there is none but *Zocotora*.

In *Asia* there is the empire of *Russia* that is purely christian, and the mountain *Libanus* in *Syria*. In other parts they are mingled with *Mahometans*, who exceed them one day more than another in numbers, especially in those provinces (the more is the pity) where the gospel was first preached, as *Anatolia*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Palestina*, *Ghaldea*, *Affyria*, *Persia*, the *North* of *Arabia*, and *South* of *India*. In some of these parts, I say, especially in the four first, christians are thick mixed with *Mahometans*, as also in *East-India*, since the *Portugals* discovery of the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, christians by God's goodness have multiplied in considerable numbers; as likewise in *Goa*, since it was made an archbishopsrick, and the court of a Viceroy. They speak also of a christian church in *Quinsay* in *China*, the greatest of all earthly cities; but in the islands thereabouts called the *Philippines*, which they say are above 1100 in number, in thirty whereof the *Spaiard* hath taken firm footing, christianity hath made a
good

good progress, as also in *Japonia*. In the *North-East* part of *Asia*, some 400 years since, christianity had taken deep root under the King of *Tenduc*, but he was utterly overthrown by *Chingis* one of his own vassals, who came thereby to be the first founder of the *Tartarian* empire: this King of *Tenduc* was the true *Prester John*, not the *Ethiopian* King of the *Habassines*, as *Scaliger* would have it; whose opinion is as far distant from truth in this point, as the *Southerne*st part of *Afric* from the *North-East* part of *Asia*, or as a *Jacobite* is from a *Nestorian*. Thus far did christianity find entertainment in the old world: touching the new, I mean *America*, which is conjectured to equal, well near, the other three parts in magnitude, the *Spanish* authors and merchants (with whom I have conversed) make report of a marvellous growth that christianity hath made in the kingdoms of *Mexico*, *Peru*, *Brasil*, and *Castilia de loro*; as also in the greater islands adjoining, as *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Portorico*, and others, insomuch that they write of one antient Priest who had christened himself 700 *Savages* some years after the first discovery; but there are some who seeming to be no friends to *Spain*, report that they did not baptize half so many as they have butchered.

Thus you have as compendiouly as an epistle could make it, an account of that extension of ground which christians possess upon earth. My next shall be one of the *Mahometan*, wherein I could wish I had not occasion to be so large as I must be: so, I am, Sir,

Your respectful and humble servant,

Westminst. August 9. 1635.

J. H.

LETTER XLVII.

To Doctor B.

S I R,

MY two former were of *Judaism* and *christianity*: I come now to the *Mahometans*, the modernest of all religions, and the most mischievous and destructive to the church of Christ; for this fatal sect hath justled her out of divers large regions in *Afric*, in *Tartary* and other places, and attenuated their number in *Asia*, which they do wheresoever they come, having a more politic and pernicious way to do it than by fire and faggot: for, they having understood well that the dust of martyrs were the thrivingest seeds of christianity; and observed that there reigns naturally in mankind, being composed all of a lump, and carrying the same stamp, a general kind of compassion and sympathy; which appears most towards them who lay down their lives, and postpone all worldly things for the preservation of their consciences, (and never any died so, but he drew followers after him) therefore the *Turk* goes a more cunning way to work: he meddles not with life and limb to prevent the sense of compassion which may arise that way; but he grinds their faces with taxes, and makes them incapable of any offices either of authority, profit, or honour; by which means, he renders them despicable to others, and makes their lives irksome to themselves. Yet the *Turks* have a high opinion of Christ, “That he was a greater Prophet than *Moses*; that he was the son of a virgin, who conceived by the smell of a rose presented to her by *Gabriel* the angel: they believe he never sinned; nay, in their *alcoran*, they term him the breath and word of God: they punish all that blaspheme him, and no *Jew* is capable to be a *Turk*, but he must be first an *ABDULA*, a christian.” He must eat hog’s flesh, and do other things for three days, then he is made

made a *Mahometan*, but by abjuring of Christ to be a greater Prophet than *Mahomet*.

It is the *Alfange* that ushers in the faith of *Mahomet* every where, nor can it grow in any place, unless it be planted and sown with gunpowder intermixed: when planted, there are divers ways of policy to preserve it: they have their *alcoran* in one only language, which is the *Arabic*, the mother-tongue of their Prophet. It is as bad as death for any to raise scruples of the *alcoran*; thereupon there is a restraint of the study of philosophy, and other learning, because the impostors of it may not be discerned. The *Musti* is in as great reverence amongst them as the Pope is among the *Romanists*: for, they hold it to be a true principle in divinity, *that no one thing preserves and improves religion more than a venerable, high, pious esteem of the chief ministers*. They have no other guide or law both for temporal and church-affairs than the *alcoran*; which they hold to be the rule of civil justice, as well as the divine charter of their salvation; so that their judges are but expositors of that only: nor do they trouble themselves or puzzle the plaintiff with any moth-eaten records, or precedents to entangle the business, but they immediately determine it, according to the fresh circumstances of the action, & *secundum allegata, & probata*, by witnesses. They have one extraordinary piece of humanity to be so tender of the rational soul, as not to put christian, Jew, Greek, or any ether to his oath, in regard that if, for some advantage of gain or occasion of inconvenience and punishment any should forswear himself, they hold the imposers of the oath to be accessory to the damnation of the perjured man. By these and divers other reaches of policy (beside their arms) not practised elsewhere, they conserve that huge bulk of the *Ottoman* empire, which extends without interruption (the *Hellepont* only between) in one continued piece of earth 3200 miles, from *Buda* in *Hungary* to a good way into *Persia*: by these means, they keep also their religion from distracting opinions, from every vulgar fancy and schisms in their church,

church, for there is no where fewer than here: the difference that is, is only with the *Persian*, and that not in fundamentals of faith, but for priority of government in matters of religion. This so universal conformity in their religion, is ascribed as to other politic institutions, so especially to the rigorous inhibition they have of raising scruples and disputes of the *alcoran* under pain of death, especially among the laity and common people; whose zeal commonly is stronger than their judgment.

That part of the world where *Mahomet* hath furthest expanded himself, is *Asia*; which, as I said before, exceeds *Africa* in greatness, and much more in people: he hath firm footing in *Persia*, *Tartary*, (upon the latter of which the *Mussulman* empire is entailed) in *Turcomania* itself, and *Arabia*, four mighty kingdoms: the last of these was the nest where that cockatrice egg was hatched, which hath diffused its poison so far and near, through the veins of so many regions: all the Southerly coasts of *Asia*, from the *Arabian* bay to the river of *Indus* is infected therewith, the vast kingdom of *Cambaia* and *Bengala*; and about the South part, the inhabitants of *Malabar* have drank of this poison, insomuch, that by no wrong computation it may well be said, that *Mahometism* hath dispersed itself over almost one half of the huge continent of *Asia*, besides those multitudes of isles especially seven, *Moldavia*, *Ceylon*, the sea-coast of *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Sunda*, the ports of *Banda*, *Borneo*, with divers others, whereof there are many thousands about *Asia*, who have entertained the *alcoran*. In *Europe* the *Mahometans* possess all the region betwixt *Don* and *Meper*, called of old *Tanais* and *Boristhenes*, being about the twentieth part of *Europe*: the King of *Poland* dispenseth with some of them in *Littuania*. Touching *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Thracia*, *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, *Epire*, the greatest part of *Hungary* and *Dalmatia*, although they be wholly under *Turks* obedience, yet *Mahometans* scarce make the third part of the inhabitants. In *Africa* this contagion is further spread: it hath intoxicated all the shore of *Ethiopia* as far as *Mosumbick*,

bick, which lieth opposite to *Madagascar*. It is worse with the firm land of *Africa* on the North and West parts: for, from the *Mediterranean* sea to the great river *Ni- per*, and along the banks of *Nile*, all *Egypt* and *Barbary*, with *Lybia* and the *Negro's* country, are tainted and tanned with this black religion.

The vast propagation of this unhappy sect may be ascribed first to the sword, for the *conscience commonly is apt to follow the conqueror*: then to the loose reins it gives to all sensual liberty, as to have eight wives, and as many concubines as one can maintain, with the assurance of venereal delights in a far higher degree, to succeed after death to the religious observers of it, as the fruition of beautiful damsels, with large rolling eyes, whose virginity shall renew after every act: their youth shall last always with their lust, and love shall be satiated with only one, where it shall remain inalienable. They concur with the christian but only in the acknowledgment of one God, and in his attributes. With the *Jew* they symbolize in many things more, as in circumcision, in refraining from swine's flesh, in detestation of images, and somewhat in the quality of future happiness; which, as we said before, they place in venereal pleasure, as the *Jew* doth in feasting and banquetings, so that neither of their laws have punishment enough to deter mankind from wickedness and vice, nor do they promise adequate rewards for virtue and piety: for, in the whole *alcoran*, and through all the writings of *Moses*, there is not a word of angelical joys and eternity. And herein christianity far excels both these religions, for she placeth future happiness in spiritual, everlasting and unconceivable bliss, abstracted from the fading and faint grossness of sense. The *Jew* and *Turk* also agree in their opinion of women, whom they hold to be of an inferior creation to man; which makes the one to exclude them from the mosques, and the other from his synagogues.

Thus far have I rambled through the vast *Ottoman* empire, and taken a cursory survey of *Mahomet's* religion. In my next I shall take the best view I can of

Pagans and idolaters, with those who go for athiests; and in this particular, it may be said to be worse than hell itself, and the kingdom of the devil, in regard there are no athiests there: for the very damned souls find and feel in the midst of their tortures, that there is a God by his justice and punishments; nay, the prince of darkness himself and all the cacodæmons by an historical faith believe there is a God, whereunto the poet alludes very divinely:

Nullus in inferno est Atheus, ante fuit.

So, I very affectionately kiss your hand, and rest

Your faithful ready servitor,

Westminster, August 14. 1635.

J. H.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

To Doctor B.

S I R,

HAVING in my three former letters washed my hands of the *Mahometan* and the *Jew*, and attended christianity up and down the earth, I come now to the *Pagan* idolater or *Heathen*, who (the more to be lamented) make the greatest part of mankind. *Europe* herself, though the beams of the cross have shined upon her above these sixteen ages, is not free from them, for they possess to this day *Lappia*, *Corelia*, *Biarmia*, *Scriffinnia*, and the North parts of *Finmark*: there are also some shreds of them to be found in divers places of *Litwania* and *Somogitia*, which make a region 900 miles in compass.

But in *Africa* their numbers is incredible, for from *Cape Blanc*, the most Westerly point of *Africa*, all Southward to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and thence turning by the back of *Africa* to the *Cape of Mozambic*, all these coasts being about the one half of the circumference of

Africa, is peopled by idolaters, though in some places intermixed with *Mahometans* and christians, as in the kingdom of *Cong* and *Angola*; but, if we survey the inland territories of *Africa* between the river of *Nile*, and the West sea of *Ethiopia*, even all that country from about the North parallel of ten degrees, to the South parallel of six degrees, all is held by idolaters; besides, the kingdom of *Borno*, and a great part of *Nubia* and *Lybia*, continue still in their old *Paganism*, so that by this account we have above one half of that immense continent of *Africa* peopled by idolaters. But in *Asia*, which is far more spacious and more populous than *Africa*, *Pagan* idolaters, and *Gentiles*, swarm in great numbers, for from the river *Pechora* eastward to the ocean, and thence southward to the *Cape of Cincapura*; and from that point returning westward by the South coasts to the outlets of the river *Indus*, all that maritime tract, which makes a good deal more than half the circumference of *Asia*, is inhabited by idolaters: so are the inland parts. There are two mighty mountains that traverse all *Asia*, *Taurus* and *Imaus*: the first runs from the West to East, the other from North to South, and so quarter and cut that huge mass of earth into equal parts: this side those mountains most of the people are *Mahometans*, but the other side they are all idolaters. And as on the firm continent *Paganism* thus reigns, so in many thousand islands squandered in the vast ocean, on the East and South-east of *Asia*, idolatry overspreads all, except in some few islands that are possessed by *Spaniards* and *Arabs*.

Lastly, if one take a survey of *America*, (as none hath done yet exactly) which is estimated to be as big as all the old earth: idolaters there possess four parts of five. It is true some years after the first navigation thither, they were converted daily in great multitudes, but afterwards observing the licentious lives of the christians, their greediness for gold, and their cruelty, they came not in so fast; which made an *Indian* answer a *Spanish* frier who was discoursing with him of the joys of heaven,
and

and how all *Spaniards* went thither after this life. Then said the *Pagan*, I do not desire to go thither if *Spaniards* be there, I had rather go to hell to be free of their company. *America* differs from the rest of the earth in this, that she hath neither *Jew* nor *Mahometan* in her, but christians and *Gentiles* only. There are, besides all those religions and people before mentioned, an irregular confused nation in *Europe*, called the *Morduits*; which occupy the middle confines betwixt the *Tartars* and the *Russe*, that are mingled in rites of religion with all those that have been fore-spoken: for from the privy-members upward they are christian, in regard they admit of baptism: from the navel downward they are *Mahometans* or *Jews*, for they are circumcised; and besides, they are given to the adoration of heathenish idols. In *Asia* there are the *Cardi*, which inhabit the mountainous country about *Mozal*, between *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, and the *Druci* in *Syria*, who are demi-*Mahometans* and christians.

Now concerning *Pagans* and heathenish idolaters, whereof there are innumerable sorts up and down the surface of the earth. In my opinion, those are the excuseablest kind who adore the sun and moon, with the host of heaven. And in *Ireland*, the *Kerns* of the mountains, with some of the *Scots* isles, use a fashion of adoring the moon to this very day, praying, she would leave them in as good health as she found them. This is not so gross an idolatry as that of other heathens: for, the adoration of these glorious celestial bodies is more excuseable than that of garlick and onions with the *Egyptian*, who some think (with the *Sicynian*) was the antientest idolater upon earth; which he makes thrice older than we do: for *Diodorus Siculus* reports that the *Egyptian* had a religion and kings 18,000 years since; yet, for matter of philosophy and science, he had it from the *Chaldean*, he from the *Gymnosophists*, and *Brachmans* of *India*; which country, as she is the next neighbour to the rising sun, in reference to this side of the hemisphere, so the beams of learning did first en-

lighten her. *Egypt* was the nurse of that famous *Hermes Trifmagistus*, who having no other scale but that of natural reason, mounted very high towards heaven: for he hath very many divine sayings, whereof I think it not impertinent to insert here a few, first he saith, *That all human sins are venial with the gods, impiety excepted.* 2. *That goodness belongs to the gods, piety to men, revenge and wickedness to the devils.* 3. *That the word is lucens Dei filius, the bright son of God, &c.*

From *Egypt* theoretical knowledge came down the *Nile*, and landed at some of the *Greek* islands; where, betwixt the 33d, 34th, and the 35th century of years after the creation, there flourished all those renowned philosophers that sway now in our schools: *Plato* flew in the highest divine notions, for some call him another *Moses* speaking *Athenian*. In one of his letters to a friend of his, he writes thus: "When I seriously salute thee, I begin my letter with one God; when otherwise, with many." His scholar *Aristotle* commended himself at his death to the *Being of Beings*; and *Socrates* may be said to be a martyr for the first person of the Trinity. These great secretaries of nature, by studying the vast volume of the world, came by main strength of reason to the knowledge of one Deity, or *primus motor*; and of his attributes, they found by undeniable consequences that he was *infinite, eternal, ubiquitary, omnipotent, and not capable of any definition*; which made the philosopher being commanded of his King to define God, to ask the respite of a day to meditate thereon, then two, then four: at last, he ingeniously confessed, that the more he thought to dive into this mystery, the more he was *ingulphed in the speculation of it*: for the quiddity and essence of the incomprehensible Creator, cannot imprint any formal conception upon the finite intellect of the creature. To this I might refer the altar which *St. Paul* found among the *Greeks* with this inscription, τῷ ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ. *To the unknown God.*

From the *Greek* isles philosophy came to *Italy*, thence to this Western world among the *Druids*, whereof those

those of this isle were most celebrated; for, we read that the *Gauls* (now the *French*) came to *Britany* in great numbers to be instructed by them. The *Romans* were mighty great zealots in their idolatry; and their best authors affirm, that they extended their monarchy so far and near, by a particular deference they had for their gods, (which the *Spaniard* seems now to imitate) though those gods of theirs were made of men, and of good fellows at first: besides, in the course of their conquests, they adopted any strange gods to the society of theirs, and brought them solemnly to *Rome*; and the reason one saith was, that they believed the more gods they had the safer they were, a few being not sufficient to conserve and protect so great an empire. The *Roman Gentiles* had their altars and sacrifices, their arch-flamins and vestal nuns: and it seems the same genius reigns still in them; for in the primitive church, that which the *Pagans* disliked most in christianity was, that it had not the face and form of religion, in regard it had no oblations, altars, and images; which may be a good reason why the sacrifice of the mass and other ceremonies were first instituted to allure the *Gentiles* to christianity. But to return a little further to our former subject in the condition that mankind stands now, if the globe of the earth were divided into thirty parts, it is thought that idolaters, (with horror I speak it) having as I said before, the one half of *Asia* and *Africa*, both for the inland country and maritime coasts, with four parts of five in *America*, inhabit twenty parts of those regions that are already found out upon earth. Besides, in the opinion of the knowing and most inquisitive mathematicians, there is toward the Southern clime as much land yet undiscovered, as may equal in dimension the late new world, in regard, as they hold there must be of necessity such a portion of earth to ballance the centre on all sides; and it is more than probable, that the inhabitants there must be *Pagans*. Of all kinds of idolaters those are the horridest who adore the devil, whom they call *tantara*, who appears often unto them, especially in a hurricane, though
he

he be not visible to others. In some places they worship both God and the devil: the one, that he may do them good, the other, that he may do them no hurt: the first they call *tantum*, the other *squantum*. It were presumption beyond that of *Lucifer's* or *Adam's*, for man to censure the justice of the Creator in this particular, why he makes daily such innumerable vessels of dishonour. It is a wiser and safer course far, to sit down in an humble admiration, and cry out, Oh, the profound inscrutable judgments of God! his ways are past finding out; and so to acknowledge with the divine Philosopher, *Quod oculus vespertilionis ad solem, idem est omnis intellectus humanus ad Deum*: what the eye of a bat is to the sun, the same is all human understanding to God wards.

Now to draw to a conclusion, touching the respective largeness of christianity and *Mahometanism* upon the earth, I find the first to exceed, taking the new world with the old, considering the spacious plantations of the *Spaniard* in *America*, the colonies the *English* have there in *Virginia*, *New-England* and *Caribbee* islands, with those of the *French* in *Canada*, and of the *Hollander* in *East-India*: nor do I find that there is any region purely *Mahometans* without intermixtures, as christianity hath many; which makes me to be of a differing opinion to that gentleman, who held, that christianity added little to the general religion of mankind.

Now touching the latitude of christian faith in reference to the differing professors thereof, as in my former I shewed that the Eastern churches were more spacious than the *Latin* or *Roman* (excepting the two *Indies*) so they who have fallen off from her in the Western parts are not so far inferior to her in *Europe* as some would make one believe; which will appear, if we cast them in counterbalance.

Among the *Roman* catholicks, there is the Emperor, and in him the King of *Hungary*, the three kings of *Spain* *France*, and *Poland*; *Italy*, the dukes of *Savoy*, *Bavaria*, and *Lorain*, the three spiritual electors, with some few more. Touching them who have renounced
all

all obedience to *Rome*, there are the three kings of *Great Britain*, *Denmark*, and *Swethland*, the Duke of *Saxon*, *Holftein*, and *Wittemberg*: the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and *Baden*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, most of the *Hausiatic* towns, which are eighty-eight in number, some wherof are equal to republics, the (almost seven) provinces the *Hollander* hath. The five cantons of *Swiss* and *Geneva*; they of *France* who are reputed the fifth part of the kingdom; the Prince of *Transylvania*; they of *Hungary*, and of the large kingdom of *Bohemia*, of the marquisates of *Lusatia*, *Moravia*, and the dukedom of *Silesia*; as also they have the huge kingdom of *Poland*, wherein protestants are diffus'd through all quarters in great numbers, having in every province their public churches and congregations orderly sever'd and bounded with diocesses, whence are sent some of the chiefest and most principal men of worth, unto their general synods: for although there are divers sorts of these *Polonian* protestants, some embracing the *Waldensian* or the *Bohemic*, others the *Augustane*, and some the *Helvetian* confession; yet they all concur in opposition to the *Roman* church, as also they of the *Anglican*, *Scotican*, *Gallie*, *Argentine*, *Saxonick*, *Wirttembergick*, *Palatine* and *Belgick* confessions. They also harmoniously symbolize in the principal articles of faith, and which mainly concern eternal salvation; in the full sufficiency of the scriptures, divine essence, and unity of the everlasting Godhead, the sacred trinity of the three glorious persons, the blessed incarnation of Christ, the omnipotent presence of God, the absolute supreme head of the church, Christ himself, justification by faith through his merits, and touching the nature of lively faith, repentance, regeneration, and sanctification, the difference between the law and the gospel, touching free-will, sin, and good works, the sacraments, their number, use and efficacy, the marks of the church, the resurrection and state of souls deceased. It may seem a rambling wild speech at first view, of one who said, that to make one a complete christian, he must have the 'works of a papist, the words
' of

‘ of a puritan, and the faith of a protestant;’ yet this wish if well expounded may bear a good sense, which were unfitting for me to give, you being better able to put a gloss upon it yourself.

Thus learned Sir, have I exercised my pen, according to my small proportion of knowledge, and conversation with books, men, and maps, to obey your desire, though in comparison of your spacious literature, I have held all this while but a candle to the sun, yet by the light of this small candle you may see how ready I am to shew myself

Your very humble and affectionate servitor,
Westminster, Aug. 25. 1635.

J H.

L E T T E R XLIX.

To Sir THO. HAWK, Knight.

S I R,

I Was invited yesternight to a solemn supper by *B J.* where you were deeply remembered, there was good company, excellent cheer, choice wines, and jovial welcome: one thing interveened, which almost spoiled the relish of the rest, that *B.* began to engross all the discourse, to vapour extremely of himself, and by villifying others to magnify his own muse. *T. C.* buzzed me in the ear, that though *Ben* had barrelled up a great deal of knowledge, yet it seems he had not read the ethics; which among other precepts of morality forbid self-com mendation, declaring it to be an ill-favoured solecism in good manners. It made me think upon the lady, (not very young) who having a good while given her guests neat entertainment, a capon being brought upon the table, instead of a spoon she took a mouthful of claret and spouted it into the poop of the hollow bird: such an accident happened in this entertainment, you know—

Proprio.

Proprio laus sordet in ore: Be a man's breath never so sweet, yet it makes one's praise stink, if he makes his own mouth the conduit-pipe of it. But for my part, I am content to dispense with the *Roman* infirmity of *B.* now that time hath snowed upon his pericranium. You know *Ovid* and (your) *Horace* were subject to his humour, the first bursting out into

Jamq; exegi quod nec Jovis ira nec ignis, &c.

The other into,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius, &c.

As also *Cicero*, while he forced himself into this ex-
meter, *O fortunatum natum, me consule, Romam!* there is another reason that excuseth *B.* which is, that if one be allowed to love the natural issue of his body, why not that of the brain, which is of a spiritual and more noble extraction? I preserve your manuscripts safe for you till you return to *London*: what news the times afford, this bearer will impart unto you. So, I am, Sir,

Your very humble and most faithful servitor,

Westminster, April 5. 1636.

J. H.

L E T T E R L.

To my Cousin Mr. J. P. at Gravesend.

COUSIN,

GOD send you a good passage to *Holland*, and the world to your mind when you are there. Now, that you intend to trail a pike, and make profession of arms, let me give you this caveat, that nothing must be more precious to you than your reputation. As I know you have not a spirit to receive wrong, so you must be careful not to offer any, for the one is as base as the other: your pulse will be quickly felt, and trial made what mettle you are made of after your coming. If you
get

get but once handsomely off, you are made ever after, for you will be free from all baffles and affronts. *He that hath once got the name of early rising may ly till noon*; therefore be wondrous wary of your first compartments, get once a good name, and be very tender of it afterwards, for it is like *Venice glass, quickly cracked, never to be mended, patched it may be*. To this purpose take along with you this fable: it happened that fire, water, and fame, went to travel together, (as you are going now) they consulted, that if they lost one another, how they might be retrieved and meet again: fire said, where you see smoke, there you shall find me: water said, where you see marsh and moorish low ground, there you shall find me: but fame said, take heed you do not lose me, for if you do, you will run a great hazard never to meet me again, there is no retrieving of me.

It imports you also to conform yourself to your commanders, and so you may more confidently demand obedience, when you come to command yourself, as I doubt not but you may do in a small time. The *Hogen Mogen* are very exact in their polemical government, their pay is sure, though small, four shillings a week being too little a hire, as one said, to kill men. At your return, I hope you will give a better account of your doings than he who being asked what exploits he had done in the *Low-Countries*, answered, that he had cut off a *Spaniard's* legs: reply being made, that that was no great matter, it had been something if he had cut off his head; O, said he, you must consider his head was off before. Excuse me that I take my leave of you so pleasantly, but I know you will take any thing in good part from him who is so much

Your truly affectionate Cousin,

Westminster, Aug. 3. 1634.

J. H.

LETTER LI.

To the Lord C.

My LORD,

THERE are two sayings which are fathered upon Secretary *Walsingham*, and Secretary *Cecil*, a pair of the best weighed statesmen this island hath bred: one was used to say at the council-table, 'My lords, stay a little, and we shall make an end the sooner:' the other would oft-times speak of himself, 'It shall never be said of me, that I will defer till to-morrow what I can do to-day.' At first view these sayings seem to clash with one another, and to be diametrically opposite, but being rightly understood, they may very well be reconciled. Touching the first, it is true, that haste and choler are enemies to all great actions: for, as it is a principle in chymistry, that *omni festinatio est a diabolo*; all haste comes from hell: so in the consultations, contrivings, and conduct of any business of state, all rashness and precipitation comes from an ill spirit. There cannot be a better pattern for a grave and considerate way of deliberation than the antient course of our high-court of parliament, who, when a law is to be made which concerns the welfare of so many thousands of men, after a mature debate and long discussion of the point beforehand, cause the bill to be read solemnly three times in the house before it be transmitted to the lords; and there also, it is so many times canvassed, and then presented to the Prince. That which must stand for law, must be long stood upon, because it imposeth an universal obedience, and is like to be everlasting, according to the *Ciceronian* maxim, *deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel*. Such a kind of cunctation, advisedness, and procrastination is allowable also in all councils of state and war: for the day following may be able commonly to be master to the day passed, such a world of contingencies human actions are subject unto. Yet, under favour,

I believe this first saying to be meant of matters while they are in agitation, and upon the anvil; but when they have received form and are resolved upon, I believe then, nothing is so advantageous as speed. And at this, I am of opinion, the second saying aims; for when the weights that use to hang to all great businesses are taken away, it is good then to put wings unto them, and to take the ball before the bound, for expedition is the life of action; otherwise, time may shew his bald *occiput*, and shake his posteriors at them in derision. Among other nations, the *Spaniard* is observed to have much phlegm, and to be most dilatory in his proceedings; yet they who have pried narrowly into the sequel and success of his actions, do find that this gravity, reservedness and tergiversations of his, have turned rather to his prejudice than advantage, take one with another. The two last matrimonial treaties we had with him continued long, the first, betwixt *Ferdinand* and *Henry VII.* for *Catharine* of *Arragon* for seven years; that betwixt King *James* and the now *Philip IV.* for *Mary* of *Austria*, lasted eleven years, (and seven and eleven is eighteen); the first took effect for Prince *Arthur*, the latter miscarried for Prince *Charles*; and the *Spaniard* may thank himself and his own slow pace for it, for had he mended his pace to perfect the work, I believe his monarchy had not received so many ill-favoured shocks since. The late revolt of *Portugal* was foreseen and might have been prevented, if the *Spaniard* had not been too slow in his purpose to have sent the Duke of *Braganza* out of the way upon some employment as was projected.

Now will I reconcile the former sayings of those two renowned secretaries, with the gallant comparison of *Charles* the Emperor, (and he was of a more temperate mould than a *Spaniard*, being a *Fleming* born) he was used to say, that while any great business of state was yet in consultation, we should observe the motion of *Saturn*, which is plumbeous, long, and heavy; but when it is absolutely resolved upon, then we should observe the motion of *Mercury*, the nimblest of all the planets: *Ubi definit*

desinit Saturnus, ibi incipiat Mercurius. Whereunto, I will add, that we should imitate the mulberry, who of all trees casts out her buds latest, for she doth it not till all the cold weather be passed, and then she is sure they cannot be nipped, but then she shoots them all out * in one night; so though she be one way the slowest, she is another way the nimblest of all trees.

Thus have I obeyed your Lordship's command in expounding the sense of these two sayings, according to my mean apprehension; but this exposition relates only to public affairs, and political negotiations, wherein your Lordship is so excellently versed. I shall most willingly conform to any other instructions of your Lordship's, and esteem them always as favours, while I am

Westminster, Sept. 5. 1633.

J. H.

L E T T E R LII.

To Sir J. BROWN, Knight.

S I R,

ONE would think that the utter falling off of *Catalonia* and *Portugal* in so short a compass of time should much lessen the *Spaniard*, the people of both these kingdoms being from subjects become enemies against him, and in actual hostility: without doubt it hath done so, yet not so much as the world imagines. It is true, in point of regal power, and divers brave subordinate commands for his servants, he is a great deal lessened thereby; but though he be less powerful, he is not a penny poorer thereby, for there comes not a farthing less every year into his exchequer, in regard that those countries were rather a charge than benefit unto him, all their revenue being drunk up in pensions, and payment of officers and garrisons: for, if the King of *Spain* had lost all except the *West-Indies*, and all *Spain* except *Castile* her-

G g 2

self,

* Quodum cum strepitu. PLIN.

self, it would little diminish his treasury. Touching *Catalonia* and *Portugal*, especially the latter, it is true, they were mighty members of the *Castilian* Monarchy; but, I believe they will sooner want *Castile*, than *Castile* them because she filled them with treasure: now that *Barcelona* and *Lisbon* hath shaken hands with *Sevil*, I do not think that either of them hath the tithe of that treasure they had before, in regard the one was the scale whereby the King of *Spain* sent his money to *Italy*; the other, because all her *East-India* commodities were bartered commonly in *Andaluzia* and elsewhere for *bullion*. *Catalonia* is fed with money from *France*, but for *Portugal*, she hath little or none; therefore I do not see how she could support a war long to any purpose if *Castile* were quiet, unless soldiers would be contented to take *cloves* and *pepper-corns* for *pattacons* and *pistoles*. You know money is the sinew and soul of war. This makes me think on that blunt answer which Capt. *Talbot* returned *Henry VIII.* from *Calais*, who having received special command from the King to erect a new fort at the water-gate, and to see the town well fortified, sent him word, *that he could neither fortify nor fistify without money*. There is no news at all stirring here now, and I am of the *Italian's* mind that said, *nulla nuova buona nuova*; no news good news. But it were great news to see you here, whence you have been an alien so long to

Your most affectionate friend,

Holborn, June 3. 1640.

J. H.

LETTER LIII.

To Captain C. PRICE.

COUSIN,

YOU have put me upon such an odd intricate piece of business, that I think there was never the like of it. I am more puzzled and entangled with it than oft-times

times I use to be with my bandstrings when I go hastily to bed, and want such a fair female hand as you have to untie them. I must impute all this to the peevish humour of the people I dealt withal. I find it true now, that one of the greatest tortures that can be in the negotiation of the world is, to have to do with perverse irrational half-witted men, and to be worded to death by nonsense; besides, as much brain as they have is as full of scruples, as a bur is of prickles; which is a quality incident to all those that have their heads lightly ballasted, for they are like buoys in a barred port, waving perpetually up and down. The father is scrupulous of the son, the son of the sisters, and all three of me, to whose award they referred the business three several times. It is as hard a task to reconcile the fanes of St. Sepulcher's steeple, which never look all four upon one point of the heavens, as to reduce them to any conformity of reason. I never remember to have met with father and children, or children among themselves, of a more differing genius and contrariety of humours; insomuch that there cannot be a more pregnant instance to prove that human souls come not *ex traduce*, and by seminal production from the parents. For my part, I intend to spend my breath no longer upon them, but to wash my hands quite of the business; and so I would wish you to do, unless you love to walk in a labyrinth of briers. So expecting with impatience your return to London, I rest

Your most faithful servitor,

Westminster, April 27. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R L I V .

To Sir J. B.

Noble Sir,

THAT odd opinion the Jew and Turk have of women, that they are of an inferior creation to man, and therefore exclude them, the one from their synagogues,

nagogues, the other from their mosques, is in my judgment not only partial, but profane: for the image of the Creator shines as clearly in the one, as in the other; and I believe, there are as many female saints in heaven as male, unless you could make me adhere to the opinion that women must be all masculine before they be capable to be made angels of. Add hereunto, that there went better and more refined stuff to the creation of woman than man. It is true, it was a weak part in *Eve* to yield to the seducement of *Satan*; but it was a weaker thing in *Adam* to suffer himself to be tempted by *Eve*, being the weaker vessel.

The antient philosophers had a better opinion of that sex, for they ascribed all sciences to the *muses*, all sweetness and morality to the *graces*, and prophetic inspirations to the *Sybils*. In my small revolving of authors, I find as high examples of virtue in women as in men; I could produce here a whole regiment of them, but that a letter is too narrow a field to muster them in. I must confess, there are also counter instances of this kind: if Queen *Zenobia* was such a precise pattern of continency, that after the act of conception, she would know her husband no more all the time of her pregnancy till she had been delivered: there is another example of a *Roman* Empress, that when she found the vessel fraughted, would take in all passengers; when the barn was full any one might thresh in the haggard, but not till then, for fear the right father should be discovered by the countenance of the child. But what need I go so far off, to rake the ashes of the dead? There are living examples enough *pro* and *con* of both sexes; yet woman being (as I said before) the weaker vessel, her failings are more venial than those of man; though man indeed being more conversant with the world, and meeting more opportunities abroad (and opportunity is the greatest bawd) of falling into infirmities, as he follows his worldly negotiations, may on the other side be judged the more excuseable.

But you are sifter than I to discourse of this subject, being better versed in the theory of women, having had

a most virtuous Lady of your own before, and being now linked to another. I wish a thousand benedictions may fall upon this your second choice, and that—*tam bona sit quam bona prima fuit*. This option shall be my conclusion for the present, whereunto I add, that I am in no vulgar degree of affection

Your most humble and faithful servitor,

Westminster, Aug. 5. 1632.

J. H.

L E T T E R LV.

To Mr. P. W.

S I R,

THERE are two things which add most to the merit of courtesies, viz. *cheerfulness* and *speed*, and the contraries of these lessen the value of them; that which hangs long betwixt the fingers, and is done with difficulty and a fullen supercilious look, makes the obligation of the receivers nothing so strong, or the memory of the kindness half so grateful. The best thing the gods themselves liked of in the entertainments they received of these poor wretches *Baucis* and *Philemon*, was open hearty looks.

—*Super omnia vultus,*
Accessere boni.—

A clear unclouded countenance makes a cottage appear like a castle in point of hospitality; but a beetle-browed fullen face makes a palace as smoaky as an *Irish* hut. There is a *mode* in giving entertainment, and doing any courtesy else, which trebly binds the receiver to an acknowledgment, and makes the remembrance of it more acceptable. I have known two lord high treasurers of *England* of quite contrary humours, one successively after the other; the one, though he did the suitors business, yet he went murmuring; the other, though

he

he did it not, was used to dismiss the party with some satisfaction. It is true, money is welcome though it be in a dirty clout, but it is far more acceptable if it come in a clean handkerchief.

Sir, you may sit in the chair, and read lectures of morality to all mankind in this point, you have such a dexterous discreet way to handle suitors in that troublesome office of yours; wherein as you have already purchased much, I wish you all increase of honour and happiness.

Your humble and obliged servitor,

J. H.

L E T T E R LVI.

To Mr. F. COLL. at Naples.

S I R,

IT is confessed I have offended by my over-long silence, and abused our maiden friendship: I appear before you now in this white sheet to do penance: I pray in your next to me, send an absolution. Absolutions, they say, are as cheap in that town as courtesans, whereof it was said there were 20,000 on the common list, when I was there; at which time I remember one told me a tale of a *Calabrian* who had buggered a goat; and having bought an absolution of his confessor, he was asked by a friend what it cost him; he answered, I procured it for four pistoles, and for the other odd one, I think I might have had a dispensation to have married the beast.

I thank you for the exact relation you sent me of the fearful earthquakes and fires which happened lately in that country, and particularly about *Vesuvius*. It seems the huge giant, who the poets say, was hurled under the vast mountain by the gods for thinking to scale heaven, had a mind to turn from one side to the other, which he useth to do at the revolution of every hundred years; and stirring his body by that action, he was taken
with

with a fit of the cough, which made the hill shake, and belch out fire in this hideous manner. But to repay you in the like coin, they send us stranger news from *Lisbon*; for they write of a spick and span-new island, that hath peeped up out of the *Atalantick* sea, near the *Terceras*, which never appeared before since the creation, and begins to be peopled already: methinks the King of *Spain* needs no more countries, he hath too many already, unless they were better united. All your friends here are well, and mind you often in town and country, as doth

Your true constant servitor,

Westminster, April 7. 1629.

J. H.

L E T T E R LVII.

To Mr. G. C. at Dublin.

S I R,

THE news of this week have been like the waves of that boisterous sea, through which this letter is to pass over to you. Divers reports for peace have swoln high for the time, but they suddenly fell low and flat again. Our relations here, are like a peal of bells in windy blustering weather; sometimes the sound is strong on this side, sometimes on that side of the steeple; so our relations sound diversly, as the air of affection carries them; and sometimes in a whole volley of news, we shall not find one true report.

There was in a *Dunkirk* ship, taken some months ago, hard by *Arundel* castle, among other things, a large picture seized upon, and carried to *Westminster-hall*, and put in the *Star-chamber* to be publickly seen; it was the legend of *Conanus* a *British* Prince in the time of *Gratian* the Emperor, who having married *Ursula*, the King of *Cornwall's* daughter, was embarked with 11,000 virgins for *Britany* in *France* to colonize that part with christians; but being by distress of weather beaten upon the

the *Rhine*, because they would not yield to the lust of the infidels, after the example of *Ursula* they were all slain, their bodies were carried to *Colen*, where there stands to this day a stately church built for them. This is the story of that picture; yet the common people here take *Conanus* for our King, and *Ursula* for the Queen, and the Bishop which stands hard by to be the Pope, and so stare upon it accordingly, notwithstanding that the Prince there represented, hath sandals on his feet after the old fashion, that the coronets on their heads resemble those of dukes and earls: as also, that there are rays about them which never use to be applied to living persons, with divers other incongruities: yet it cannot be beaten out of the belief of thousands here, but that it was intended to represent our King and Queen; which makes me conclude with this interjection of wonder, Oh the ignorance of the common people!

Your faithful friend at command,

Westminster, Aug. 12. 1644.

J. H.

LETTER LVIII.

To the Right honourable the Lord R.

My LORD,

SURE there is some angry planet hath lowred long upon the catholic King; and though one of his titles to *Pagan* princes be, that he wears the sun for his helmet, because it never sets upon all his dominions, in regard some part of them lies on the other side of the hemisphere among the *Antipodes*, yet methinks that neither that great star, or any of the rest are now propitious unto him: they cast, it seems, more benign influences upon the *flower-de-luce*, which thrives wonderfully; but how long these favourable aspects will last, I will not presume to judge. This, among divers others of late, hath been a fatal year to the said King; for Westward he hath lost *Dunkirk*. *Dunkirk*, which was the terror of this

this part of the world, the scourge of the occidental seas, whose name was grown to be a bugbear for so many years, hath now changed her master, and thrown away the *ragged-staff*; doubtless a great exploit it was to take this town: but whether this be advantageous to *Holland*, (as I am sure it is not to *England*) time will shew. It is more than probable that it may make him careless at sea, and in the building and arming of his ships, having now no enemy near him; besides, I believe it cannot much benefit *Hans*, to have the *French* so contiguous to him: the old saying was, *Ayez le François pour ton amy, non pas pour ton voisin*; have the *Frenchman* for thy friend, not for thy neighbour.

Touching *England*, I believe these distractions of ours have been one of the greatest advantages that could befall *France*; and they happened in the most favourable conjuncture of time that might be, else I believe he would never have as much as attempted *Dunkirk*: for *England*, in true reason of state, had reason to prevent nothing more, in regard no one place could have added more to the naval power of *France*; this will make his sails swell bigger, and I fear make him claim in time as much regality in these narrow seas as *England* herself.

In *Italy* the *Spaniard* hath also had ill successes at *Piombino* and *Porto-longone*: besides, they write that he hath lost *il Prete*, & *il Medico*, the Priest and the Physician; to wit, the Pope, and the Duke of *Florence*, (the house of *Medici*) who appear rather for the *French* than for him.

Add to these disasters, that he hath lost within the revolution of the same year the Prince of *Spain* his unicorn, in the very flower of his age, being but seventeen years old. These with the falling off of *Catalonia* and *Portugal*, with the death of his Queen not above forty, are heavy losses to the catholic King, and must needs much infeeble the great bulk of his monarchy, falling in so short a compass of time, one upon the neck of another; and we are not to enter into the secret counsels of God almighty for a reason. I have read it was the
sensuality

sensuality of the flesh that drove the Kings out of *Rome*, the *French* out of *Sicily*, and brought the *Moors* into *Spain*, where they kept firm footing above 700 years. I could tell you how not long before her death, the late Queen of *Spain* took off one of her chapines and clowted *Olivares* about the noddle with it, because he had accompanied the King to a Lady of pleasure; telling him, that he should know, she was sister to a King of *France*, as well as wife to a King of *Spain*. For my part, *France* and *Spain* is all one to me in point of affection; I am one of those indifferent men that would have the scale of power in *Europe* kept even: I am also a *philerenus*, a lover of peace, and I could wish the *French* were more inclinable to it, now that the common enemy hath invaded the territories of *St. Mark*. Nor can I but admire, that at the same time the *French* should assail *Italy* at one side, when the *Turk* was doing it on the other. But had that great naval power of christians, which were this summer upon the coasts of *Tuscany*, gone against the *Mahometan* fleet, which was the same time setting upon *Candy*, they might in all likelihood have atchieved a glorious exploit, and driven the *Turk* into the *Hellepont*. Nor is poor christendom torn thus in pieces by the *German*, *Spaniard*, *French*, and *Swedes*, but our three kingdoms have also most pitifully scratched her face, wasted her spirits, and let out some of her illustrious blood, by our late horrid distractions; whereby it may be inferred, that the *Mufti* and the *Pope* seem to thrive in their devotion one way, a chief part of the prayers of the one being, that discord should still continue betwixt christian princes; of the other, that division should still increase among the protestants. This poor island is a woful example thereof.

I hear the peace betwixt *Spain* and *Holland* is absolutely concluded by the plenipotentiary ministers at *Munster*, who have beat their heads so many years about it: but they write that the *French* and *Swede* do mainly endeavour, and set all the wheels of policy a going to puzzle and prevent it. If it take effect, I do not see how

how the *Hollander* in common honesty can evade it. I hope it will conduce much to an universal peace; which God grant, for war is a *fire struck in the devil's tinder-box*. No more now, but that I am, my Lord,

Your most humble servant,

Fleet, Dec. 1. 1643.

J. H.

L E T T E R LVIII.

To Mr. S. B. Merchant, at his House in the Old-Jewry.

S I R,

I Return you those two famous speeches of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, with the addition of another from *Baudius* at an embassy here from *Holland*. It is with languages as it is with liquors, which by transfusion use to take wind from one vessel to another; so, things translated into another tongue, lose of their primitive vigour and strength, unless a paraphrastica! version be permitted; and then, the traduct may exceed the original, not otherwise, though the version be never so punctual, especially in these orations which are framed with such art, that like *Vitruvius's* palace, there is no place left to add one stone more without defacing, or to take any out without hazard of destroying the whole fabric.

Certainly she was a Princess of rare endowments for learning and languages: she was blessed with a long life, and triumphant reign, attended with various sorts of admirable successes, which will be taken for some romance a thousand winters hence, if the world last so long. She freed the *Scot* from the *French*, and gave her successor a royal pension to maintain his court: she helped to settle the crown on *Henry the Great's* head: she gave essence to the State of *Holland*: she civilized *Ireland*, and suppressed divers insurrections there: she preserved the dominion of the narrow seas in greater glory than ever: she maintained open war against *Spain*, when *Spain* was

in her highest flourish, for divers years together; yet, she left a mighty treasure behind; which shews that she was a notable good housewife. Yet, I have read divers censures of her abroad; that she was ingrateful to her brother of *Spain*, who had been the chiefest instrument under God to preserve her from the block, and had left her all *Queen Mary's* Jewels without diminution; accusing her, that afterwards she should first infringe the peace with him, by intercepting his treasure in the narrow seas, by suffering her *Drake* to swim to his *Indies*, and rob him there; by fomenting and supporting his *Belgic* subjects against him then, when he had an Ambassador resident at her court. But this was the censure of a *Spanish* author; and, *Spain* had little reason to speak well of her. The *French* handle her worse, by terming her, among other contumelies, *l'Haquenee de ses propres vassaux*.

Sir, I must much value the frequent respects you have shewn me, and am very covetous of the improvement of this acquaintance: for, I do not remember at home or abroad to have seen in the person of any, a gentleman and a merchant so equally met, as in you; which makes me style myself

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,
Fleet, May 3. 1645.

J. H.

L E T T E R L I X.

To my honourable Friend, Sir S. C.

S I R,

I Was upon point of going abroad to steal a solitary walk, when yours of the 12th current came to hand, the high researches and choice abstracted notions I found therein, seemed to heighten my spirits, and make my fancy fitter for my intended retirement and meditation. Add hereunto, that the countenance of the weather invited me: for it was a still evening, it was also a clear open sky,

sky, not a speck or the least wrinkle appeared in the whole face of heaven, it was such a pure deep azure all the hemisphere over, that I wondered what was become of the three regions of the air with their meteors. So having got into a close field, I cast my face upwards, and fell to consider what a rare prerogative the optic virtue of the eye hath, much more the intuitive virtue of the thought, that the one in a moment can reach heaven, and the other go beyond it: therefore, sure that Philosopher was but a kind of frantic fool, that would have plucked out both his eyes because they were a hindrance to his speculations. Moreover, I began to contemplate, as I was in this posture, the vast magnitude of the universe, and what proportion this poor globe of earth might bear with it: for, if those numberless bodies which stick in the vast roof of heaven, though they appear to us but as spangles, be some of them thousands of times bigger than the earth, take the sea with it to boot, for they both make but one sphere, surely the astronomers had reason to term this sphere an invisible point, and a thing of no dimension at all, being compared to the whole world. I fell then to think, that at the second general destruction, it is no more for God almighty to fire this earth, than for us to blow up one small squib, or rather one small grain of gunpowder. As I was musing thus, I spied a swarm of gnats waving up and down the air about me; which I knew to be part of the universe as well as I: and methought, it was a strange opinion of our *Aristotle* to hold, that the least of those small insected ephemerans should be more noble than the sun, because it had a sensitive soul in it. I fell to think, that the same proportion which those animalillios bore with me in point of bigness, the same I held with those glorious spirits which are near the throne of the Almighty. What then should we think of the magnitude of the Creator himself? Doubtless, it is beyond the reach of any human imagination to conceive it. In my private devotions, I presume to compare him to a great mountain of light, and my soul seems to discern some glorious form therein;

but suddenly as she would fix her eyes upon the object, her sight is presently dazled and disgregated with the refulgency and coruscations thereof.

Walking a little further, I spied a young boisterous bull breaking over hedge and ditch to a herd of kine in the next pasture; which made me think, that if that fierce strong animal, with others of that kind knew their own strength, they would never suffer man to be their master. Then looking upon them quietly grazing up and down, I fell to consider that the flesh that is daily dished upon our tables is but concocted grass, which is recarnified in our stomachs, and transmuted to another flesh. I fell also to think what advantage those innocent animals had of man, who, as soon as nature cast them into the world, find their meat dressed, the cloth laid, and the table covered: they find their drink brewed, and the buttery open, their beds made, and their clothes ready. And though man hath the faculty of reason to make him a compensation for the want of those advantages, yet this reason brings with it a thousand perturbations of mind, and perplexities of spirit, gripping cares, and angishes of thought, which those harmless silly creatures were exempted from. Going on, I came to repose myself upon the trunk of a tree, and I fell to consider further what advantage that dull vegetable had of those feeding animals, as not to be so troublesome and behold-ing to nature, nor to be subject to starving, to diseases, to the inclemency of the weather, and to be far longer lived. Then I spied a great stone, and sitting a while upon it, I fell to weigh in my thoughts that that stone was in a happier condition in some respects, than either those sensitive creatures or vegetables I saw before, in regard that that stone which propagates by assimilation, as the philosophers say, needed neither grass nor hay, or any aliment for restoration of nature, nor water to refresh its roots, or the heat of the sun to attract the moisture upwards, to increase growth, as the other did. As I directed my path homeward, I spied a kite soaring high in the air, and gently gliding up and down the clear
region

region so far above my head, I fell to envy the bird extremely, and repine at his happiness, that he should have a privilege to make a nearer approach to heaven than I.

Excuse me that I trouble you thus with these rambling meditations, they are to correspond with you in some part for those accurate fancies of yours you lately sent me. So, I rest

Your intire and true servitor,

Holborn, March 17. 1639.

J. H.

LETTER LX.

To the Right Honourable the Lord CLIFF.

My LORD,

SINCE among other passages of entertainment we had lately at the *Italian* ordinary, (where your Lordship was pleased to honour us with your presence) there happened a large discourse of wines, and of other drinks that were used by several nations of the earth, and that your Lordship desired me to deliver what I observed therein abroad, I am bold now to confirm and amplify in this letter what I then let drop *extempore* from me, having made a recollection of myself for that purpose.

It is without controversy, that in the nonage of the world, men and beasts had but one buttery, which was the fountain and river: nor do we read of any vines or wines till 200 years after the flood. But now, I do not know or hear of any nation that hath water only for their drink, except the *Japonois*, and they drink it hot too; but we may say, that what beverage soever we make, either by brewing, by distillation, decoction, percollation or pressing, it is but water at first: nay, wine itself is but water sublimed, being nothing else but that moisture and sap which is caused either by rain or other kind of irrigations about the roots of the vine, and drawn up to

the branches and berries by the virtual attractive heat of the sun, the bowels of the earth serving as a limbec to that end; which made the *Italian* vineyard-man (after a long drought, and an extreme hot summer, which had parched up all his grapes) to complain, that *per mancanza d'acqua bevo dell'acqua se io haveffi acqua, berei el vino*; for want of water, I am forced to drink water; if I had water, I would drink wine. It may be also applied to the miller when he had no water to drive his mills.

The vine doth so abhor cold, that it cannot grow beyond the forty-ninth degree to any purpose: therefore God and nature hath furnished the Northwest nations with other inventions of beverage. In this island the old drink was ale, noble ale, than which, as I heard a great Doctor affirm, there is no liquor that more increaseth the radical moisture, and preserves the natural heat; which are the two pillars that support the life of man: but since beer hath hopped in amongst us, ale is thought to be much adulterated, and nothing so good as Sir *John Oldcastle* and *Smug* the smith was used to drink. Besides ale and beer, the natural drink of part of this isle may be said to be metheglin, braggot, and mead, which differ in strength according to the three degrees of comparison. The first of the three, which is strong in the superlative, if taken immoderately, doth stupify more than any other liquor, and keeps a humming in the brain; which made one say, that he loved not metheglin, because he was used to speak too much of the house he came from, meaning the hive. Cyder and perry are also the natural drinks of part of this isle: but, I have read in some old authors of a famous drink the antient nation of the *Picts*, who lived betwixt *Trent* and *Tweed*, and were utterly extinguished by the overpowering of the *Scot*, were used to make of decoction of flowers, the receipt wherof they kept as a secret, and a thing sacred to themselves, so it perished with them: these are the common drinks of this Isle, and of *Ireland* also, where they are more given to milk and strong waters of all kinds:
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the prime is *usquebagh* which cannot be made any where in that perfection; and whereas we drink it here in *aqua-vitæ* measures, it goes down there by beer glass-fulls being more natural to the nation.

In the seventeen provinces hard by, and all *Low-Germany*, beer is the common natural drink, and nothing else: so is it in *Westphalia*, and all the lower circuit of *Saxony*, in *Denmark*, *Swethland* and *Norway*. The *Prusse* hath a beer as thick as honey. In the Duke of *Saxe's* country, there is beer as yellow as gold, made of wheat, and it inebriates as soon as sack. In some parts of *Germany* they used to spice their beer, which will keep many years, so that at some weddings there will be a but of beer drunk out as old as the bride. *Poland* also is a beer country; but in *Russia*, *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, they use *Mead*, which is the naturallest drink of the country, being made of the decoction of water and honey: this is that which the antients called *hydromel*. Mare's milk is a great drink with the *Tartar*, which may be a cause why they are bigger than ordinary: for the physicians hold, that milk enlargeth the bones, beer strengtheneth the nerves, and wine breeds blood sooner than any other liquor. The *Turk* when he hath his tripe full of pelaw, or of mutton and rice, will go to nature's cellar; either to the next well or river to drink water, which is his natural common drink: for *Mahomet* taught them, that there was a devil in every berry of the grape, and so made a strict inhibition to all his sect from drinking of wine as a thing profane. He had also a reach of policy therein, because they should not be incumbered with luggage when they went to war, as other nations do, who are so troubled with the carriage of their wine and beverages; yet hath the *Turk* peculiar drinks to himself besides, as *sberbet*, made of the juice of limon, sugar, amber, and other ingredients: he hath also a drink called *cauphe*, which is made of a brown berry; and it may be called their clubing drink between meals, which though it be not very gustful to the palate, yet it is very comfortable to the stomach, and good for

for the fight: but notwithstanding their Prophet's anathema, thousands of them will venture to drink wine, and they will make a precedent prayer to their souls to depart from their bodies in the interim, for fear she partake of the same pollution. Nay, the last *Turk* died of excess of wine, for he had at one time swallowed thirty-three okes; which is a measure near upon the bigness of our quart; and that which brought him to this, was the company of a *Persian* Lord that had given him his daughter for a present, and came with him from *Bagdat*: besides, one accident that happened to him was, that he had an eunuch who was used to be drunk, and whom he had commanded twice upon pain of life to refrain, swearing by *Mahomet* that he would cause him to be strangled if he found him the third time so, yet the eunuch still continued in his drunkenness: hereupon the *Turk* conceiving with himself that there must needs be some extraordinary delight in drunkenness, because this man preferred it before his life, fell to it himself, and so drunk himself to death.

In *Asia* there is no beer drunk at all, but water, wine, and an incredible variety of other drinks made of dates, dried raisons, rice, divers sorts of nuts, fruits, and roots. In the Oriental countries, as *Cambia*, *Calicut*, *Narsingha*, there is a drink called *banque*, which is rare and precious; and it is the height of entertainment they give their guests before they go to sleep, like that *repenthe* which the poets speak so much of, for it provokes pleasing dreams, and delightful phantasies: it will accommodate itself to the humour of the sleeper, as if he be a soldier, he will dream of victories and taking of towns: if he be in love, he will think to enjoy his mistress: if he be covetous, he will dream of mountains of gold, &c. In the *Moluccas* and *Philippines*, there is a curious drink called *tampoy*, made of a kind of gilliflowers; and another drink called *otraqa*, that comes from a nut, and is the more general drink. In *China*, they have a holy kind of liquor made of such sort of flowers for ratifying and binding of bargains; and having drunk thereof, they hold it

no less than perjury to break what they promise: as they write of a river in *Bithynia*, whose water hath a peculiar virtue to discover a perjurer, for if he drink thereof, it will presently boil in his stomach, and put him to visible tortures. This makes me think of the river *Styx* among the poets, which the gods were used to swear by; and it was the greatest oath for the performance of any thing.

Nubila promissi Styx mihi testis erit.

It put me in mind also of that which some write of the river of *Rhine* for trying the legitimation of a child being thrown in, if he be a bastard he will sink, if otherwise he will not.

In *China* they speak of a tree called *maguais*, which affords not only good drink being pierced, but all things else that belong to the subsistence of man: they bore the tree with an awger, and there issueth out sweet potable liquor; betwixt the rind and the tree there is a cotton or hempy kind of moss, which they wear for their cloathing: it bears huge nuts, which have excellent food in them: it shoots out hard prickles above a fathom long; and those arm them, with the bark they make tents, and the dotard trees serve for firing.

Africa also hath a great diversity of drinks, as having more need of them, being a hotter country far. In *Guiney*, or the lower *Ethiopia*, there is a kind of drink called *mingol*; which issueth out of a tree much like the palm, being bored: but in the upper *Ethiopia*, or the *Habassines* country, they drink *mead*, decocted in a different manner: there is also much wine there. The common drink of *Barbary* after water, is that which is made of dates; but in *Egypt* in times past there was beer drunk called *zichus* in *Latin*; which was no other than a decoction of barley and water. They had also a famous composition (and they use it to this day) called *chiffi*, made of divers cordials and provocative ingredients, which they throw into water to make it gustful: they use it also for fumigation. But now, the general drink of *Egypt* is *Nile* water; which of all water may be said

to be the best, infomuch that *Pindar's* words might be more applicable to that than to any other, *'Απιστὸν μὲν ἕδωρ*. It doth not only fertilize, and extremely fatten the soil which it covers, but it helps to impregnate barren women; for there is no place on earth where people increase and multiply faster: it is yellowish and thick, but if one cast a few almonds into a potful of it, it will become as clear as rock water: it is also in a degree of lukewarmness as *Martial's* boy:

Tolle puer calices tepidique toreumata Nili.

In the new world they have a world of drinks: for there is no root, flower, fruit, or pulse, but is reducible to a potable liquor; as in the *Barbado* island, the common drink among the *English*, is *mobbi*, made of potatoe roots. In *Mexico* and *Peru*, which is the great continent of *America*, with other parts, it is prohibited to make wines under great penalties, for fear of starving of trade, so that all the wines they have are sent from *Spain*.

Now for the pure wine countries, *Greece* with all her islands, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, one part of four of *Germany*, *Hungary*, with divers countries thereabouts, all the islands in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic* sea, are wine countries.

The most generous wines of *Spain*, grow in the midland parts of the continent, and *St. Martin* bears the bell, which is near the court. Now, as in *Spain*, so in all other wine countries, one cannot pass a day's journey but he will find a differing race of wine. Those kinds that our merchants carry over are those only that grow upon the sea-side, as *Malaga*, *Sherries*, *Tents*, and *Alicants*: of this last there is little comes over right, therefore the vintners make *tent*, (which is a name for all the wines in *Spain*, except white) to supply the place of it. There is a gentle kind of white wine grows among the mountains of *Galicia*, but not of body enough to bear the sea, called *Rabidavia*. *Portugal* affords no wines worth the transporting: they have an old stone we
call

call *yef*, which they use to throw into their wines, which clarifieth it, and makes it more lasting. There is also a drink in *Spain*, called *alofha*, which they drink between meals in hot weather; and it is a *hydromel* made of water and honey, much of the taste of our *mead*. In the court of *Spain* there is a *German* or two that brew beer; but for that antient drink of *Spain* which *Pliny* speaks of, composed of flowers, the receipt thereof is utterly lost.

In *Greece* there are no wines that have bodies enough to bear the sea for long voyages: some few muscadels, and malmsies are brought over in small casks. Nor is there in *Italy* any wine transported to *England* but in bottles, as *Verde* and others; for the length of the voyage makes them subject to pricking, and so lose colour by reason of their delicacy.

France participating of the climes of all the countries about her, affords wines of quality accordingly: as towards the *Alps* and *Italy*, she hath a luscious rich wine called *florentine*. In the country of *Provence* towards the *Pyrenees* in *Languedoc*, there are wines conculstable with those of *Spain*: one of the prime sort of white wines is that of *Beaume*; and of clarets, that of *Orleans*, though it be interdicted to wine the King's cellar with it, in respect of the corrosiveness it carries with it. As in *France*, so in all other wine countries, the white is called the *female*, and the claret or red wine is called the *male*, because commonly it hath more sulphur, body, and heat in it. The wines that our merchants bring over grow upon the river of *Garon* near *Bordeaux* in *Gascony*; which is the greatest mart for wines in all *France*. The *Scot* because he hath always been an useful confederate to *France* against *England*, hath (among other privileges) the right of pre-emption or first choice of wines in *Bordeaux*: he is also permitted to carry his ordnance to the very walls of the town, whereas the *English* are forced to leave them at *Blay*, a good way distant, down the river. There is a hard green wine that grows about *Rochel*, and the islands thereabouts, which
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the cunning *Hollander* sometime used to fetch; and he hath a trick to put a bag of herbs, or some other infusions into it, (as he doth brimstone in *rhenish*) to give it a white tincture and more sweetnes: then they reimbarck it for *England*, where it passeth for *Bachrag*; and this is called stooming of wines. In *Normandy* there is little or no wine at all grows, therefore the common drink of that country is cyder, especially in low *Normandy*. There are also many beer-houses in *Paris*, and elsewhere; but though their barley and water be better than ours, or that of *Germany*, and though they have *English* and *Dutch* brewers among them, yet they cannot make beer in that perfection.

The prime wines of *Germany* grow about the *Rhine*, especially in the *Pfalts* or *Lower-Palatinate* about *Bachrag*; which hath its etymology from *Bachiara*: for in antient times there was an altar erected there to the honour of *Bacchus*, in regard of the richness of the wines here and all *France* over. It is held a great part of incivility for maidens to drink wine until they are married, as it is in *Spain* for them to wear high shoes, or to paint till then. The *German* mothers, to make their sons fall into hatred of wine, do use when they are little to put some owl's eggs into a cup of *rbenish*, and sometimes a little living eel; which twingling in the wine while the child is drinking, so scares him, that many come to abhor, and have an antipathy to wine all their lives after. From *Bachrag*, the first stock of vines which grow now in the grand *Canary* island were brought; which with the heat of the sun and the soil, is grown now to that height of perfection, that the wine which they afford are accounted the richest, the most firm, the best bodied, and lastingest wine, and the most defecated from all earthly grossness of any other whatsoever: it hath little or no sulphur at all in it, and leaves less dregs behind, though one drink it to excess. *French* wines may be said but to pickle meat in the stomachs, but this is the wine that digests, and doth not only breed good blood, but it nutritieth also, being a glutinous substantial

stantial liquor. Of this wine, if of any other, may be verified that merry induction, that good wine makes good blood, good blood causeth good humours, good humours cause good thoughts, good thoughts bring forth good works, good works carry a man to heaven; *ergo*, good wine carrieth a man to heaven. If this be true, surely more *English* go to heaven this way than any other; for, I think there is more *Canary* brought into *England* than to all the world besides. I think also there is a hundred times more drunk under the name of *Canary* wine than there is brought in; for *Sherries* and *Malagas* well mingled pass for *Canaries* in most taverns, more often than *Canary* itself, else I do not see how it were possible for the vintner to save by it, or to live by his calling, unless he were permitted sometimes to be a brewer. When *Sacks* and *Canaries* were brought in first among us, they were used to be drunk in *aquavita* measures; and it was held fit only for those to drink of them who were used to carry their legs in their hands, their eyes upon their noses, and an almanack in their bones: but now, they go down every one's throat, both young and old, like milk.

The countries that are freest from excess of drinking, are *Spain* and *Italy*: if a woman can prove her husband to have been thrice drunk, by the antient laws of *Spain* she may plead a divorce from him. Nor indeed can the *Spaniard*, being hot brained, bear much drink; yet, I have heard that *Gonaumer* was once too hard for the King of *Denmark*, when he was here in *England*. But the *Spanish* soldiers that have been in the wars of *Flanders*, will take their cups freely, and the *Italian* also. When I lived on the other side the *Alps*, a gentleman told me a merry tale of a *Ligurian* soldier who had got drunk in *Genoa*; and Prince *Doria* going a horseback to take the round one night, the soldier took his horse by the bridle, and asked what the price of him was, for he wanted a horse: the Prince seeing in what humour he was, caused him to be taken into a house and put to sleep: in the

morning he sent for him, and asked him what he would give for his horse. Sir, said the recovered soldier, the merchant that would have bought him yesternight of your Highness, went away betimes in the morning. The boonest companions for drinking, are the *Greeks* and *Germans* ; but the *Greek* is the merrier of the two, for he will sing and dance and kiss his next companions; but the other will drink as deep as he. If the *Greek* will drink as many glasses as there be letters in his mistress's name, the other will drink the number of her years; and though he be not apt to break out into singing, being not of so airy a constitution, yet he will drink often musically a health to every one of these six notes, *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La*; which, for this reason, are all comprehended in this hexameter:

Ut Relevet Miserum Fatum Solitosque Labores.

The fewest draughts he drinks are three; the first to quench the thirst past, the second to quench the present thirst, the third to prevent the future. I heard of a company of *Low-Dutchmen* that had drunk so deep, that beginning to stagger, and their heads turning round, they thought verily they were at sea, and that the upper-chamber where they were was a ship; insomuch that it being foul windy weather, they fell to throw the stools, and other things out of the window, to lighten the vessel for fear of suffering shipwreck.

Thus have I sent your Lordship a dry discourse upon a fluent subject, yet I hope your Lordship will please to take all in good part, because it proceeds from

Your most humble and ready servant,

Westminster, Oct. 7. 1634.

J. H.

LETTER LXI.

To the Right Honourable the Earl R:

My LORD,

YOUR desires have been always to me as commands, and your commands as binding as acts of parliament: nor do I take pleasure to employ head or hand in any thing more than in the exact performance of them. Therefore if in this crabbed difficult task, you have been pleased to impose upon me about languages, I come short of your Lordship's expectation, I hope my obedience will apologize for my disability. But whereas your Lordship desires to know what were the original mother-tongues of the countries of *Europe*, and how these modern speeches that are now in use were first introduced, I may answer hereunto, that it is almost as easy a thing to discover the source of *Nile*, as to find out the original of some languages; yet, I will attempt it as well as I can; and I will take my first rise in these islands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*: for to be curious and eagle-eyed abroad, and to be blind and ignorant at home, (as many of our travellers are now a days) is a curiosity that carrieth with it more of affectation than any thing else.

Touching the isle of *Albion*, or *Great Britan*, the *Cambrian* or *Cymraccan* tongue, commonly called *Welsh*, (and *Italian* also is so called by the *Dutch*) is without controversy the prime maternal tongue of this island, and connatural with it: nor could any of the four conquests that have been made of it by the *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Dane*, or *Norman*, ever extinguish her; but she remains still pure and incorrupt: of which language, there is as exact and methodical a grammar, with as regular precepts, rules, and institutions both for prose and verse, compiled by Dr. *David Rice*, as I have read in any tongue whatsoever. Some of the authentickest annalists report that the old *Gauls*, (now the *French*) and the *Britons* understood one another: for they came thence very frequently

to be instructed here by the *British* druids; which were the philosophers and divines of those times: and this was long before the *Latin* tongue came on this side the *Alps*, or books written; and there is no meaner man than *Cæsar* himself records this.

This is one of the fourteen *vernacular* and independant tongues of *Europe*, and she hath divers dialects: the first is the *Cornish*, the second the *Armoricans*, or the inhabitants of *Britany* in *France*, whither a colony was sent over hence in the time of the *Romans*. There was also another dialect of the *British* language among the *Picts*, who kept in the North parts, in *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*, and some parts beyond *Tweed*, until the whole nation of the *Scots* poured upon them with such multitudes, that they utterly extinguished both them and their language. There are some which have been curious in the comparison of tongues, who believe that the *Irish* is but a dialect of the antient *British*; and the learnedest of that nation, in a private discourse I happened to have with him, seemed to incline to this opinion: but this I can assure your Lordship of, that at my being in that country, I observed by a private collection which I made, that a great multitude of their radical words are the same with the *Welsh*, both for sense and sound; the tone also of both the nations is consonant: for, when I first walked up and down *Dublin* markets, methought verily I was in *Wales*, when I listened unto their speech; but, I found that the *Irish* tone is a little more querulous and whining than the *British*, which I conjectured with myself proceeded from their often being subjugated by the *English*. But, my Lord, you would think it strange, that divers pure *Welsh* words should be found in the new-found world in the *West-Indies*; yet it is verified by some navigators, as *grando* (hark), *nes* (heaven), *Iluynog* (a fox), *pergwin* (a bird with a white head), with sundry others, which are pure *British*: nay, I have read a *Welsh* epitaph which was found there upon one *Madoc* a *British* Prince, who some years before the *Norman* conquest, not agreeing with his brother, then
Prince

Prince of *South-Wales*, went to try his fortunes at sea, embarking himself at *Milford-haven*, and so tarried on those coasts. This if well proved, might well intitle our crown to *America*, if first discovery may claim a right to any country.

The *Romans*, though they continued here constantly above 300 years, yet could they not do as they did in *France*, *Spain*, and other provinces, plant their language as a mark of conquest; but the *Saxons* did, coming in far greater numbers under *Hengist* from *Holsteinland* in the lower circuit of *Saxony*; which people resemble the *English* more than any people upon earth, so that it is more than probable that they came from thence: besides, there is a town there called *Lunden*, and another place named *Angles*, whence it may be presumed that they took their new denomination here. Now the *English*, though as *Saxons*, (by which name the *Welsh* and *Irish* call them to this day) they and their language is antient, yet in reference to this island they are the modernest nation in *Europe*, both for habitation, speech, and denomination; which makes me smile at Mr. *Fox's* error in the very front of his epistle before the book of martyrs, where he calls *Constantine* the first christian Emperor, the son of *Helen* an *English* woman; whereas, she was purely *British*, and that there was no such nation upon earth called *English* at that time, nor above 100 years after, till *Hengist* invaded this island, and settling himself in it, the *Saxons* who came with him, took the appellation of *Englishmen*. Now the *English* speech, though it be rich, copious, and significant, and that there be divers dictionaries of it, yet under favour, I cannot call it a regular language, in regard though often attempted by some choice wits, there could never any grammar of exact syntaxis be made of it; yet hath she divers subdialects, as the *Western* and *Northern English*, but her chiefest is the *Scotick*, which took footing beyond *Fawced* about the last conquest; but the antient language of *Scotland* is *Irish*, which the mountaineers and divers of the plain, retain to this day. Thus, my

Lord, according to my small model of observation, have I endeavoured to satisfy you in part: I shall in my next go on, for in the pursuance of any command from your Lordship, my mind is like a stone thrown into a deep water, which never rests till it goes to the bottom: so for this time, and always, I rest, my Lord,

Your most humble and ready servitor,
Westminster, Aug. 9. 1630.

J. H.

LETTER LXII.

To the Right honourable the Earl R.

My LORD,

IN my last I fulfilled your Lordship's commands, as far as my reading and knowledge could extend, to inform you what were the radical primitive languages of those dominions that belong to the crown of *Great Britain*, and how the *English*, which is now predominant, entered in first: I will now hoist sail for the *Netherlands*, whose dialect is the same with the *English*, and was so from the beginning, being both of them derived from the *High-Dutch*. The *Danish* also is but a branch of the same tree, no more is the *Swedish*, and the speech of them of *Norway* and *Iceland*. Now the *High-Dutch*, or *Teutonic* tongue, is one of the prime and most spacious maternal languages of *Europe*: for, besides the vast extent of *Germany* itself, with the countries and kingdoms before mentioned, whereof *England* and *Scotland* are two, it was the language of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and continueth yet of the greatest part of *Poland* and *Hungary*, who have a dialect of hers for their vulgar tongue; yet though so many dialects and subdialects be derived from her, she remains a strong sinewy language, pure and incorrupt in her first centre, towards the heart of *Germany*. Some of her writers would make the world believe that she was the language spoken in paradise; for

they

they produce many words and proper names in the five books of *Moses*, which fetch their etymology from her: as also in *Persia* to this day divers radical words are the same with her, *fader, moeder, broder, star*; and a German gentleman, speaking hercof one day to an *Italian*, that she was the language of paradise, *sure*, said the *Italian*, (alluding to her roughness) *then it was the tongue that God almighty chid Adam in.* It may be so, replied the *German*, *but the devil had tempted Eve in Italian before.* A full-mouthed language she is, and pronounced with that strength as if one had bones in his tongue instead of nerves.

Those countries that border upon *Germany*, as *Bohemia, Silesia, Poland*, and those vast countries North-Eastward, as *Russia* and *Muscovy*, speak the *Slavonic* language; and it is incredible what I have heard some travellers report of the vast extent of that language; for beside *Slavonia* itself, which properly is *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*, it is the vulgar speech of the *Macedonians, Epirots, Bosnians, Servians, Bulgarians, Moldavians, Rascians, and Podolians*: nay, she spreads herself over all the Eastern parts of *Europe*, (*Hungary* and *Wallachia* excepted) as far as *Constantinople*, and is frequently spoken in the seraglio among the *Janizaries*: nor doth she rest there, but crossing the *Hellepont* divers nations in *Asia* have her for their popular tongue, as the *Circassians, Mongrelians, and Gazarites* Southward: Neither in *Europe* nor in *Asia* doth she extend herself further North than to the parallel of forty degrees. But those nations which celebrate divine service after the *Greek* ceremony, and profess obedience to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as the *Russ, the Muscovite, the Moldavian, Rascian, Bosnian, Servian, and Bulgarian*, with divers others Eastern, and North-East people that speak *Slavonic*, have her in a different character from the *Dalmatian, Croatian, Istrian, Polonian, Bohemian, Silesian*, and other nations towards the West. These last have the *Illyrian* character, and the invention of it is attributed to *St. Jerom*; the other is of *Cyril's* devising, and is called the

the *Serbian* character. Now, although there be above sixty several nations that have this vast extended language for their vulgar speech, yet the pure primitive *Sclavonic* dialect is spoken only in *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Liburnia*, and the countries adjacent, where the antient *Sclavonians* yet dwell; and they must needs be very antient, for there is in a church in *Prague* an old charter yet extant given them by *Alexander the Great*, which I thought not amiss to insert here. ‘We *Alexander the Great*, ‘son of King *Philip*, founder of the *Grecian* empire, ‘conqueror of the *Persians*, *Medes*, &c. and of the whole ‘world from East to West, from North to South, son of ‘great *Jupiter* by, &c. so called: to you the noble stock ‘of *Sclavonians*, and to your language, because you have ‘been unto us a help, true in faith, and valiant in war, ‘we confirm all that tract of earth from the North to the ‘South of *Italy*, from us and our successors, to you, and ‘your posterity for ever; and if any other nation be ‘found there, let them be your slaves. Dated at *Alex-* ‘*andria* the 12th of the goddess *Minerva*, witness *Eth-* ‘*ra*, and the eleven princes whom we appoint our suc- ‘cessors.’ With this rare, and one of the antientest records in *Europe*, I will put a period to this second account I send your Lordship touching languages. My next shall be of *Greece*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*, and so I shall shake hands with *Europe*; till when, I humbly kiss your hand, and rest, my Lord,

Your most obliged servitor,

Westminster, Aug. 2. 1630.

J. H.

LETTER LXIII.

To the Right Honourable the Earl R.

My LORD,

HAVING in my last rambled through high and low *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Russia*, and those vast North-East regions, and given your Lordship

Lordship a touch of their languages, (for it was no treatise I intended at first, but a cursory short literal account) I will now pass to *Greece*, and speak something of that large and learned language; for it is she indeed upon whom the beams of all scientific knowledge did first shine in *Europe*, which she afterwards diffused through all the Western world.

The *Greek* tongue was first peculiar to *Hellas* alone, but in tract of time the kingdom of *Macedon*, and *Epire* had her: then she arrived on the isles of the *Egean* sea, which are interjacent and divide *Asia* and *Europe* that way: then she got into the fifty-three isles of the *Cyclades* that ly betwixt *Negropont* and *Candy*, and so got up to the *Hellespont* to *Constantinople*: she then crossed over to *Anatolia*, where, though she prevailed by introducing multitudes of colonies, yet she came not to be the sole vulgar speech anywhere there, so far as to extinguish the former languages. Now *Anatolia* is the most populous part in the whole earth; for *Strabo* speaks of sixteen several nations that slept in her bosom, and it is thought the twenty-two languages which *Mithridates* the great *Polyglot* King of *Pontus* did speak, were all within the circumference of *Anatolia*, in regard his dominions extended but a little farther. She glided then along the maritime coasts of *Thrace*, and passing *Byzantium*, got into the out-lets of *Danube*, and beyond her also to *Zaurica*, yea, beyond that to the river *Pbafis*; and thence compassing to *Trebizond*, she took footing on all the circumference of the *Euxine* sea. This was her course from East to North; whence we will return to *Candy*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicily*; thence crossing the *Phare* of *Messina*, she got all along the maritime coasts of the *Tyrrhene* sea to *Calabria*: she rested herself also a great while in *Apuleia*. There was a populous colony of *Greeks* also in *Marseilles* in *France*, and along the sea-coasts of *Savoy*. In *Africa* likewise, *Cyrene*, *Alexandria*, and *Egypt*, with divers others were peopled with *Greeks*; and three causes may be alleged why the *Greek* tongue did so expand herself. First, it may be imputed

to the conquests of *Alexander the Great*, and the captains he left behind him for successors: then the love the people had to the sciences, speculative learning and civility, whereof the *Greeks* accounted themselves to be the grand masters, accounting all other nations *Barbarians* besides themselves. Thirdly, the natural inclination and dexterity the *Greeks* had to commerce, wherein they employed themselves more than any other nations, except the *Phœnician* and *Armenian*; which may be a reason why in all places most commonly they colonized the maritime parts; for I do not find they did penetrate far into the bowels of any country, but lived on the sea-side in obvious mercantile places, and accessible ports.

Now many ages since, the *Greek* tongue is not only impaired, and pitifully degenerated in her purity and eloquence, but extremely decayed in her amplitude and vulgarness. For first, there is no trace at all left of her in *France* or *Italy*, the *Slavonic* tongue hath abolished her in *Epire* and *Macedon*, the *Turkish* hath outed her from most parts of *Anatolia*, and the *Arabian* hath extinguished her in *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Egypt*, and sundry other places. Now touching her degeneration from her primitive suavity and elegance, it is not altogether so much as the deviation and declension of the *Italian* from the *Latin*; yet it is so far that I could set foot on no place, nor hear of any people, where either the *Attick*, *Doric*, *Aeolic*, or *Bœotic*, antient *Greek* is vulgarly spoken; only in some places near *Heraclia* in *Anatolia*, and *Peloponnesus*, (now called the *Morea*) they speak of some towns called the *Lacones*, which retain yet, and vulgarly speak the old *Greek*, but incongruously: yet though they cannot themselves speak according to rules, they understand those that do. Nor is this corruption happened to the *Greek* language, as it useth to happen to others, either by the law of the conqueror, or inundation of strangers; but it is insensibly crept in by their own supine negligence and fantastickness, especially by that common fatality and changes which attend time, and all other sublunary things. Nor is this antient scientific

cal language decayed only, but the nation of the *Greeks* itself is as it were mouldered away, and brought in a manner to the same condition, and to as contemptible a pass as the *Jew* is: insomuch that there cannot be two more pregnant instances of the lubricity and instableness of mankind, than the decay of these two antient nations; the one the select people of God, the other the most famous that ever was for arts, arms, civility and government: so that *in statu quonunc*, they who termed all the world *Barbarians* in comparison of themselves in former times, may be now termed (more than any other) *Barbarians* themselves, as having quite lost not only all inclination and aspiring to knowledge and virtue, but likewise all courage and bravery of mind to recover their antient freedom and honour.

Thus have you, my Lord, as much of the *Greek* tongue as I could comprehend within the bounds of a letter; a tongue that both for knowledge, for commerce, and for copiousness, was the principallest that ever was. In my next I will return near home, and give your Lordship account of the *Latin* tongue, and of her three daughters, the *French*, *Italian* and *Spanish*. In the interim you find I am still, my Lord,

Your most obedient servitor,

Westminster, July 25. 1630.

J. H.

L E T T E R L X I V .

To the Right Honourable the Earl R.

My LORD,

MY last was a pursuit of my endeavours to comply with your Lordship's desires touching languages; and I spent more oil and labour than ordinary in displaying the *Greek* tongue, because we are more beholden to her for all philosophical and theoretic knowledge, as also for rules of commerce and commutative justice, than to any

any other. I will now proceed to the *Latin* tongue, which had her source in *Italy*, in *Latium*, called now *Compagna di Roma*, and received her growth with the monstrous increase of the city and empire. Touching the one, she came from poor mud-walls at mount *Palatine*, which were scarce a mile about at first, to be afterwards fifty miles compass, (as she was in the reign of *Aurelianus*) and her territories, which were hardly a day's journey extent, came by favourable successes and fortune of war, to be above 3000 in length, from the banks of the *Rhine*, or rather from the shores of this island to *Euphrates*, and sometimes to the river *Tigris*. With this vast expansion of *Roman* territories, the tongue also did spread; yet I do not find by those researches I have made into antiquity, that she was vulgarly spoken by any nation, or any intire country, but in *Italy* itself: for notwithstanding that it was the practice of the *Roman* with his lance to usher in his laws and language as marks of conquest, yet I believe his tongue never took such firm impression any where, as to become the vulgar epidemic speech of any people else, or that she was able to null and extinguish the native languages she found in those places where she planted her standard: nor can there be a more pregnant instance hereof than this island, for notwithstanding that she remained a *Roman* province 400 years together, yet the *Latin* tongue could never have the vogue here so far as to abolish the *British* or *Cambrian* tongue.

It is true, that in *France* and *Spain* she made deeper impressions, the reason may be in regard there were far more *Roman* colonies planted there; for whereas there were but four in this isle, there were twenty-nine in *France*, and fifty-seven in *Spain*, and the greatest entertainment the *Latin* tongue found out of *Italy* herself, was in these two kingdoms; yet I am of opinion that the pure congruous grammatical *Latin* was never spoken in either of them as a vulgar vernacular language, common amongst women and children; no, nor in all *Italy* itself, except *Latium*: in *Africa*, though there were

were sixty *Roman* colonies dispersed upon that continent, yet the *Latin* tongue made not such deep impressions there, nor in *Asia* neither; nor is it to be thought, that in those colonies themselves did the common soldiers speak in that congruity as the *flamens*, the judges, the magistrates and chief commanders did. When the *Romans* sent legions and planted colonies abroad, it was for divers political considerations, partly to secure their new acquets, partly to abate the superfluous numbers and redundancy of *Rome*. Then by this way they found means to employ and reward men of worth, and to heighten their minds; for the *Roman* spirit did rise up, and take growth with his good successes, conquests, commands, and employments.

But the reason that the *Latin* tongue found not such entertainment in the Oriental parts, was, that the *Greek* had fore-stalled her; which was of more esteem among them, because of the learning that was couched in her, and that she was more useful for negotiation and traffic; whereunto the *Greeks* were more addicted than any people: therefore, though the *Romans* had an ambition to make those foreign nations that were under their yoke to speak, as well as to do what pleased them, and that all orders, edicts, letters, and laws themselves, civil as well as martial, were published and executed in *Latin*; yet I believe the *Latin* was spoken no otherwise among those nations, than the *Spanish* or *Castilian* tongue is now in the *Netherlands*, in *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Naples*, the two *Indies* and other provincial countries which are under that King. Nor did the pure *Latin* tongue continue long at a stand of perfection in *Rome* and *Latium* itself among all sorts of people, but she received changes and corruption: neither do I believe that she was born a perfect language at first, but she received nutriment, and degrees of perfection with time, which matures, refines, and finisheth all things. The verses of the *Salii* composed by *Numa Pompilius* were scarce intelligible by the *flamens*, and judges, themselves in the wane of the *Roman* commonwealth, nor the laws of the *Decemviri*. And

if that *Latin* wherein were couched the capitulations of peace betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage* a little after the expulsion of the kings, which are yet extant upon a pillar in *Rome*, were compared with that which was spoken in *Cæsar's* reign, 140 years after, at which time the *Latin* tongue was mounted to the meridian of her perfection, she would be found as differing as *Spanish* now differeth from the *Latin*. After *Cæsar* and *Cicero's* time, the *Latin* tongue continued in *Rome* and *Italy* in her purity 400 years together, until the *Goths* rushed into *Italy* first under *Alaric*; then the *Huns* under *Attilia*; then the *Vandals* under *Genfericus*; and the *Heruli* under *Odoacer*, who was proclaimed King of *Italy*; but the *Goths* a little after, under *Theodoric* thrust out the *Heruli*; which *Theodoric* was by *Zeno* the Emperor formally invested King of *Italy*, who with his successors reigned there peaceably sixty years and upwards; so that in all probability the *Goths* cohabiting so long among the *Italians* must adulterate their language, as well as their women.

The last barbarous people that invaded *Italy* about the year 570 were the *Lombards*, who having taken firm rooting in the very bowels of the country above 200 years without interruption, during the reign of twenty kings, must of necessity alter and deprave the general speech of the natural inhabitants; and among others, one argument may be, that the best and midland part of *Italy* changed its name, and took its appellation from these last invaders, calling itself *Lombardy*, which name it retains to this day: yet before the intrusions of these wandering and warlike people into *Italy*, there may be a precedent cause of some corruption that might creep into the *Latin* tongue in point of vulgarity: first, the incredible confluence of foreigners that came daily far and near, from the colonized provinces to *Rome*; then, the infinite number of slaves which surpassed the number of free citizens, might much impair the purity of the *Latin* tongue; and lastly, those inconstancies and humour of novelty, which is naturally inherent in man, who according to those frail elementary principles and ingredients
whereof

whereof he is composed, is subject to insensible alterations, and apt to receive impressions of any change.

Thus, my Lord, as succinctly as I could digest it into the narrow bounds of an epistle, I have sent your Lordship this small survey of the *Latin*, or first *Roman* tongue: in my next I shall fall aboard of her three daughters, *viz.* the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French*, with a diligent investigation what might be the original native languages of those countries from the beginning, before the *Latin* gave them the law. In the interim, I crave a candid interpretation of what is passed, and of my studiousness in executing your Lordship's injunctions; I am, my Lord,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Westminster, July 16. 1630.

J. H.

LETTER LXV.

To the Right Honourable, the E. R.

My LORD,

MY last was a discourse on the *Latin* or primitive *Roman* tongue, which may be said to be expired in the *market*, though living yet in the *schools*; I mean, she may be said to be defunct in point of vulgarity, any time these 1000 years passed. Out of her ruin have sprang up the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French*, whereof I am now to treat; but I think it not improper to make a research first what the radical prime mother-tongues of these countries were before the *Roman* eagle planted her talons upon them.

Concerning *Italy*, doubtless there were divers before the *Latin* did spread all over the country, the *Calabrian* and *Apulian* spoke *Greek*, whereof some reliques are to be found to this day, but it was an adventitious, no mother-language to them. It is confessed that *Latium* itself, and all the territories about *Rome* had the *Latin* for its maternal and common first vernacular tongue; but

Tuscany and *Liguria*, had others quite discrepant, viz. the *Hetruscane* and *Mesapian*, whereof though there be some records yet extant, yet there are none alive can understand them: the *Oscan*, the *Sabin* and *Tusculan*, are thought to be but dialects of these.

Now the *Latin* tongue with the coincidence of the *Goths* language, and other Northern people, who like waves tumbled off one another, did more in *Italy* than anywhere else, for she utterly abolished (upon that part of the continent) all other maternal tongues as antient as herself, and thereby their eldest daughter the *Italian* came to be the vulgar universal tongue to the whole country; yet the *Latin* tongue had not the sole hand in doing this, but the *Goths* and other septentrional nations who rushed into the *Roman* state, had a share in it as I said before, and pegged in some words which have been ever since irremoveable, not only in the *Italian*, but also in her two younger sisters, the *Spanish* and the *French*, who felt also the fury of those people. Now the *Italian* is the smoothest and softest running language that is, for there is not a word except some few monosyllables, conjunctions and propositions, that ends with a consonant in the whole language: nor is there any vulgar speech which hath more subdialects in so small a tract of ground, for *Italy* itself affords above eight. There you have the *Roman*, the *Tuscan*, the *Venetian*, the *Milanez*, the *Neapolitan*, the *Calabresse* the *Genoese*, the *Picmontez*; you have the *Corfican*, *Sicilian*, with divers other neighbouring islands; and as the cause why, from the beginning there were so many different dialects in the *Greek* tongue, was because it was sliced into so many islands; so, the reason why there be so many subdialects in the *Italian*, is the diversity of governments that the country is squandered into; their being in *Italy* at this day two kingdoms, viz. that of *Naples* and *Calabria*; three republicks, *Venice*, *Genoa* and *Lucca*, and divers other absolute princes.

Concerning the original language of *Spain*, it was without any controversy the *Bascuence* or *Cantabrian*; which

which tongue and territory neither *Roman*, *Goth*, (whence this King hath his pedigree, with divers of the nobles) or *Moor*, could ever conquer, though they had over-run and taken firm footing in all the rest for many ages; therefore, as the remnant of the old *Britons* here, so are the *Biscayneers* accounted the antientest and unquestionablest gentry in *Spain*; insomuch that when any of them is to be dubbed Knight, there is no need of any scrutiny to be made whether he be of the blood of the *Morisicos*, who had mingled and incorporated with the rest of the *Spaniards* about 700 years. And as the *Arcadians*, and *Attiques* in *Greece*, for their immemorial antiquity are said to vaunt of themselves, that the one are *Προσιλωνοι*, before the moon; the other *αὐτόχθονες*, issued of the earth itself; so the *Biscayneer* hath such like rodomontadoes.

The *Spanish* or *Castilian* language hath few subdialects, the *Portugueze* is most considerable: touching the *Catalan*, and *Valencian*, they are rather dialects of the *French*, *Gascon*, or *Aquitarian*. The purest dialect of the *Castilian* tongue is held to be in the town of *Toledo*; which above other cities of *Spain* hath this privilege, to be arbiters in the decision of any controversy that may arise touching the interpretation of any *Castilian* word.

It is an infallible rule to find out the mother and antientest tongue of any country, to go among those who inhabit the barrenest and most mountainous places, which are posts of security and fastness; whereof divers instances could be produced: but, let the *Biscayneer* in *Spain*, the *Welsh* in *Great Britain*, and the mountaineers in *Epire* serve the turn, who yet retain their antient unmixed mother-tongues, being extinguished in all the country besides.

Touching *France*, it is not only doubtful, but left yet undecided, what the true *Gallic* tongue was: some would have it to be the *German*, some the *Greek*, some the old *British* or *Welsh*; and the last opinion carrieth away with it the most judicious antiquaries. Now all *Gallia* is not meant by it, but the country of the *Celtæ* that inhabit the middle part of *France*, who are the true *Gauls*. *Cesar* and *Tacitus* tells us, that these *Celtæ*,

and the old *Britons*, (whereof I gave a touch in my first letter) did mutually understand one another; and some do hold that this island was tied to *France*, as *Sicily* was to *Calabria*, and *Denmark* to *Germany*, by an isthmus of land betwixt *Dover* and *Bullen*: for if one do well observe the rocks of the one, and the cliffs of the other, he will judge them to be one homogeneous piece, and that they were cut and shivered asunder by some act of violence.

The *French* or *Gallic* tongue hath divers dialects; the *Picard*, that of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, (appendixes once to the dutchy of *Normandy*) the *Provensal*, the *Gascon*, or speech of *Languedoc*, which *Scaliger* would etymologize from *Langued'uy*, whereas it comes rather from *Langued'got*; for the *Saracens* and *Goths*, by their incursions and long stay in *Aquitain*, corrupted the language of that part of *Gallia*. Touching the *Britan* and they of *Bearn*, the one is a dialect of the *Welsh*, the other of the *Basque*. The *Walloon* who is under the King of *Spain*, and the *Liegeois*, is also a dialect of the *French*; which in their own country they call *Roman*. The *Spaniard* also terms his *Castillian*, *Roman*; whence it may be inferred that the first rise and derivation of the *Spanish* and *French* were from the *Roman* tongue, not from the *Latin*; which makes me think that the language of *Rome* might be degenerated, and become a dialect to her own mother-tongue (the *Latin*) before she brought her language to *France* and *Spain*.

There is besides these subdialects of the *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*, another speech that hath a great stroke in *Greece* and *Turky*, called *Franco*, which may be said to be composed of all the three, and is at this day the greatest language of commerce and negotiation in the *Levant*.

Thus have I given your Lordship the best account I could of the sister-dialects of the *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*. In my next I shall cross the *Mediterranean* to *Africa*, and the *Hellepoint* to *Asia*, where I shall observe the generallest languages of those vast continents where such numberless swarms and differing sorts
of

of nations do crawl up and down this earthly globe; therefore, it cannot be expected that I should be so punctual there as in *Europe*: so, I am still, my Lord,

Your obedient servitor,

Westminster, July 7. 1630.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXVI.

To the Right Honourable the Earl R.

My LORD,

HAVING in my former letters made a flying progress through the *European* world, and taken a view of the several languages, dialects and subdialects whereby people converse one with another, and being now wind-bound for *Africa*, I held it not altogether supervacaneous to take a review of them, and inform your Lordship what languages are original independant mother-tongues of christendom, and what are dialects, derivations, or degenerations from their originals.

The mother-tongues of *Europe* are thirteen, though *Scaliger* would have but eleven: there is 1. the *Greek*, 2. the *Latin*, 3. the *Dutch*, 4. the *Selavonic*, 5. the *Welsh* or *Cambrian*, 6. the *Bascuence* or *Cantabrian*, 7. the *Irish*, 8. the *Albanian* in the mountains of *Epire*, 9. the *Tartarian*, 10. the old *Illyrian*, remaining yet in *Liburnia*, 11. the *Jazygian*, on the North of *Hungary*, 12. the *Chauchian* in *East-Friezeland*, 13. the *Finnic*; which I put last with good reason, because they are the only heathens of *Europe*: all which were known to be in *Europe* in the time of the *Roman* empire. There is a learned antiquary that makes the *Arabic* to be one of the mother-tongues in *Europe*, because it was spoken in some of the mountains of *South Spain*. It is true, it was spoken for divers hundred years all *Spain* over, after the conquest of the *Moors*; but yet it could not be called a mother-tongue, but an adventitious tongue in reference to that part of *Europe*.

And

And now that I am to pass to *Africa*, which is far bigger than *Europe*; and to *Asia*, which is far bigger than *Africa*; and to *America*, which is thought to be as big as all the three: if *Europe* herself hath so many mother-languages, quite discrepant one from the other, besides secondary tongues and dialects, which exceed the number of their mothers, what shall we think of the other three huge continents in point of differing languages? Your Lordship knows that there be divers meridians and climes in the heavens, whence influxes of differing qualities fall upon the inhabitants of the earth; and as they make men to differ in the ideas and conceptions of the mind, so in the motion of the tongue, in the tune and tones of the voice, they come to differ one from the other. Now, all languages were at first imperfect confused sounds, then came they to be syllables, then words, then speeches and sentences; which by practice, by tradition, and a kind of natural instinct from parents to children, grew to be fixed. Now to attempt a survey of all the languages in the other three parts of the habitable earth, were rather a madness than a presumption, it being a thing of impossibility, and not only above the capacity, but beyond the search of the activest, and knowingest man upon earth: let it therefore suffice, while I behold those nations that read and write from right to left, from the liver to the heart, I mean the *Africans* and *Asians*, that I take a short view of the *Arabic* in the one, and the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* in the other: for touching the *Turkish* language, it is but a dialect of the *Tartarian*, though it have received a late mixture of the *Armenian*, the *Persian*, and *Greek* tongues, but specially of the *Arabic*; which was the mother-tongue of their Prophet, and is now the sole language of their *alcoran*, it being strictly inhibited, and held to be a profaneness to translate it to any other; which, they say, preserves them from the encroachment of schisms.

Now the *Arabic* is a tongue of vast expansion; for besides the three *Arabias*, it is become the vulgar speech of *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Palesline*, and *Egypt*; from
whence

whence she stretcheth herself to the streight of *Gibraltar*, through all that vast tract of earth which lieth betwixt the mountain *Atlas* and the *Mediterranean* sea, which is now called *Barbary*, where christianity and the *Latin* tongue, with divers famous bishops flourished. She is spoken likewise in all the Northern parts of the *Turkish* empire, as also in petty *Tartary*; and she, above all other, hath reason to learn *Arabic*, for she is in hope one day to have the *Crescent*, and the whole *Ottoman* empire; it being entailed upon her, in case the present race should fail, which is now in more danger than ever. In fine, wheresoever the *Mahometan* religion is professed, the *Arabic* is either spoken or taught.

My last view shall be of the first language of the earth, the antient language of paradise, the language wherein God almighty himself pleased to pronounce and publish the tables of the law, the language that had a benediction promised her, because she would not consent to the building of the *Babylonish* tower: yet this holy tongue hath had also her eclipses, and is now degenerated to many dialects, nor is she spoken purely by any nation upon earth; a fate also which is befallen the *Greek* and *Latin*. The most spacious dialect of the *Hebrew* is the *Syriac*, which had her beginning in the time of the captivity of the *Jews* at *Babylon*, while they cohabited and were mingled with the *Chaldeans*; in which tract of seventy years time, the vulgar sort of *Jews* neglecting their own maternal tongue, (the *Hebrew*) began to speak the *Chaldee*; but not having the right accent of it, and fashioning that new learned language to their own innovation of points, affixes, and conjugations, out of that intermixture of *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, resulted a third language called the *Syriac*; which also after the time of our Saviour, began to be more adulterated by admission of *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Arabic*. In this language is the *talmud* and *targum* couched; and all their rabbins, as Rabbi *Jonathan*, and Rabbi *Onkelos*, with others, have written in it; insomuch that, as I said before, the antient *Hebrew* had the same fortune that the *Greek* and
Latin

Latin tongues had, to fall from their being naturally spoken anywhere, to lose their general communicableness and vulgarity, and to become only school and book-languages.

Thus we see, that as all other sublunary things are subject to corruption and decay, as the potentest monarchies, the proudest republicks, the opulentest cities have their growth, declinings, and periods: as all other elementary bodies likewise by reason of the frailty of their principles, come by insensible degrees to alter and perish, and cannot continue long at a stand of perfection; so the learnedest and most eloquent languages, are not free from this common fatality, but they are liable to those alterations and revolutions, to those fits of inconstancy, and other destructive contingencies which are unavoidably incident to all earthly things.

Thus, my noble Lord, have I eviscerated myself, and stretched all my sinews: I have put all my small knowledge, observations, and reading, upon the tenter, to satisfy your Lordship's desires touching this subject. If it afford you any contentment. I have hit the white I aimed at, and hold myself abundantly rewarded for my oil and labour: so, I am, my Lord,

Your most humble and ever obedient servitor,
Westminster, July 1. 1630.

J. H.

LETTER LXVII.

To the Honourable Mr. CAR. RA.

S I R,

YOURS of the 7th current was brought me, whereby I find that you did put yourself to the penance of perusing some epistles that go imprinted lately in my name. I am bound to you for your pains and patience, (for you write you read them all thorough) much more for your candid opinion of them, being right glad that they

they should give entertainment to such a choice and judicious gentleman as yourself. But whereas you seem to except against something in one letter that reflects upon Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* voyage to *Guinea*, because I term the gold mine he went to discover, an *airy and suppositious mine*, and so infer that it toucheth his honour: truly, Sir, I will deal clearly with you in that point, that I never harboured in my brain the least thought to expose to the world any thing that might prejudice, much less traduce in the least degree that could be, that rare and renowned Knight, whose fame shall contend in longevity with this island itself, yea, with that great world which he historiseth so gallantly. I was a youth about the town when he undertook that expedition, and I remember most men suspected that mine then, to be but an imaginary politic thing; but at his return, and missing of the enterprize, these suspicions turned in most, to real beliefs that it was no other. And King *James* in that declaration which he commanded to be published and printed afterwards touching the circumstances of this action, (upon which my letter is grounded, and which I have still by me) terms it no less: and if we may not give faith to such public regal instruments, what shall we credit? Besides, there goes another printed kind of remonstrance annexed to that declaration which intimates as much; and there is a worthy Captain in this town, who was a co-adventurer in that expedition, who, upon the storming of *St. Thomas* heard young Mr. *Rawleigh* encouraging his men in these words, 'Come on my noble hearts, this is the mine we come for, and they who think there is any other are fools.' Add hereunto, that Sir *Richard Baker* in his last historical collections intimates so much: therefore, it was far from being any opinion broached by myself, or bottomed upon weak grounds; for I was careful of nothing more, than that those letters, being to breathe open air, should relate nothing but what should be derived from good fountains. And truly, Sir, touching that apology of Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* you write of, I never saw it; and I am very sorry I did not, for it had

had let in more light upon me of the carriage of that great action, and then you might have been assured that I would have done that noble Knight all the right that could be.

But Sir, the several arguments that you urge in your letters are of that strength, I confess, that they are able to rectify any indifferent man in this point, and induce him to believe that it was no chimera, but a real mine: for you write of divers pieces of gold brought thence by Sir *Walter* himself, and Captain *Kemys*, and of some ingots that were found in the Governor's closet at *St. Thomas*, with divers crucibles, and other refining instruments; yet, under favour, that might be, and the benefit not countervail the charge, for the richest mines that the King of *Spain* hath upon the whole continent of *America*, which are the mines of *Potosi*, yield him but six in the hundred, all expences defrayed. You write how King *James* sent privately to Sir *Walter*, being yet in the *Tower*, to intreat and command him, that he would impart his whole design unto him under his hand, promising upon the word of a King to keep it secret; which being done accordingly by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that very original paper was found in the said *Spanish* Governor's closet at *St. Thomas*: whereat, as you have just cause to wonder and admire the activeness of the *Spanish* agents about our court at that time, so I wonder no less at the miscarriage of some of his late Majesty's ministers, who, notwithstanding that he had passed his royal word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondomar* to that paper; so that the reproach lieth more upon the *English* than the *Spanish* ministers in this particular. Whereas you allege, that the dangerous sickness of Sir *Walter*, being arrived near the place, and the death of (that rare spark of courage) your brother upon the first landing, with other circumstances discouraged Captain *Kemys* from discovering the mine, but to reserve it for another time. I am content to give as much credit to this as any man can; as also that Sir *Walter*, if the rest of the fleet according to his earnest motion had gone with him to re-

victual

victual in *Virginia*, (a country where he had reason to be welcome unto, being of his own discovery) he had a purpose to return unto *Guyana* the spring following to pursue his first design. I am also very willing to believe, that it cost Sir *Walter Rawleigh* much more to put himself in equipage for that long intended voyage, than would have paid for his liberty, if he had gone about to purchase it for reward of money at home; though I am not ignorant that many of the coadventurers made large contributions, and the fortunes of some of them suffer for it at this very day. But although *Gondomar*, as my letter mentions, calls Sir *Walter* pirate, I for my part am far from thinking so, because, as you give an unanswerable reason, the plundering of *St. Thomas*, was an act beyond the equator, where the articles of peace betwixt the two kings do not extend. Yet, under favour, though he broke not the peace, he was said to break his patent by exceeding the bounds of his commission, as the foresaid declaration relates: for King *James* had made strong promises to Count *Gondomar*, that this fleet should commit no outrages upon the King of *Spain's* subjects by land, unless they began first; and I believe that was the main cause of his death, though I think, if they had proceeded that way against him in a legal course of trial, he might have defended himself well enough.

Whereas you allege, that if that action had succeeded, and afterwards been well prosecuted, it might have brought *Gondomar's* great catholic Master to have been begged for at the church-doors by friars, as he was once brought in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* days: I believe it had much damnified him, and interrupted him in the possession of his *West-Indies*, but not brought him, under favour, to so low an ebb. I have observed, that it is an ordinary thing in your popish countries for princes to borrow from the altar, when they are reduced to any straits; for they say, 'the riches of the church are to serve as anchors in time of a storm.' Divers of our kings have done worse, by pawning their plate and jewels. Whereas, my letter makes mention that Sir *Wal-*

ter Rawleigh mainly laboured for his pardon before he went, but could not compass it: this is also a passage in the foresaid printed relation; but I could have wished with all my heart he had obtained it, for I believe, that neither the transgression of his commission, nor any thing that he did beyond the *Line*, could have shortened the line of his life otherwise; but in all probability we might have been happy in him to this very day, having such an heroic heart as he had, and other rare helps, by his knowledge, for the great preservation of health. I believe without any scruple what you write, that *Sir William St. Geon* made an overture unto him of procuring his pardon for 1500*l.* but whether he could have effected it I doubt a little, when he had come to negotiate it really. But I extremely wonder how that old sentence which had lain dormant above sixteen years against *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, could have been made use of to take off his head afterwards, considering that the Lord Chancellor *Verulam*, as you write, told him positively (as *Sir Walter* was acquainting him with that proffer of *Sir William St. Geon* for a pecuniary pardon) in these words, ‘ Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money, spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is passed already, the King having under his broad-seal made you Admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial-law over your officers and soldiers.’ One would think by this royal patent, which gave him power of life and death over the King’s liege people, *Sir Walter Rawleigh* should become *rectus in curia*, and free from all old convictions; but, Sir, to tell you the plain truth, Count *Gondomar* at that time had a great stroke in our court, because there was more than a mere overture of a match with *Spain*; which makes me apt to believe that that great wise Knight being such an *Anti-Spaniard*, was made a sacrifice to advance the matrimonial treaty. But I must needs wonder, as you justly do, that one and the same man should be condemned for being a friend to the *Spaniard*, (which was the ground of his first condemnation)

nation) and afterwards lose his head for being their enemy by the same sentence. Touching his return, I must confess I was utterly ignorant that those two noble earls, *Thōmas of Arundel*, and *William of Pembroke*, were engaged for him in this particular; nor doth the printed relation make any mention of them at all, therefore I must say, that envy herself must pronounce that return of his, for the acquitting of his fiduciary pledges, to be a most noble act; and waving that of King *Alphonso's* moor, I may more properly compare it to the act of that famous *Roman* commander, (*Regulus*, as I take it) who to keep his promise and faith, returned to his enemies where he had been prisoner, though he knew he went to an inevitable death. But well did that faithless cunning Knight who betrayed *Sir Walter Rawleigh* in his intended escape, being come ashore, fall to that contemptible end, as to die a poor distracted beggar in the isle of *Lundy*, having for a bag of money falsified his faith, confirmed by the tie of the holy sacrament, as you write; as also before the year came about, to be found clipping the same coin in the King's own house at *Whitehall*, which he had received as a reward for his perfidiousness; for which being condemned to be hanged, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to purchase his pardon, of two knights.

And now, Sir, let that glorious and gallant cavalier *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, (*who lived long enough for his own honour, though not for his country*, as it was said of a *Roman Consul*) rest quietly in his grave, and his virtues live in his posterity, as I find they do strongly, and very eminently in you. I have heard his enemies confess, that he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this island ever bred. *Mr. Nath. Carpenter*, a learned and judicious author, was not in the wrong when he gave this discreet character of him: 'Who hath not known or read of this prodigy of wit and fortune, *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, a man unfortunate in nothing else but in the greatness of his wit and advancement; whose eminent worth was such both in dome-

‘ stic policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in arts
 ‘ and literature, both practic and contemplative, that it
 ‘ might seem at once to conquer example and imitation.’

Now, Sir, hoping to be rectified in your judgment touching my opinion of that illustrious Knight your father, give me leave to kiss your hands very affectionately for the respectful mention you please to make of my brother, once your neighbour: he suffers good soul, as well as I, though in a differing manner. I also much value that favourable censure you give of those rambling letters of mine, which indeed are nought else than a legend of the cumbersome life and various fortunes of a cadet. But whereas you please to say, ‘ That the world of
 ‘ learned men is much beholden to me for them, and
 ‘ that some of them are freighted with many excellent
 ‘ and quaint passages, delivered in a masculine and solid
 ‘ style, adorned with much eloquence, and stuck with
 ‘ choicest flowers picked from the muses garden.’ Whereas you also please to write, ‘ That you admire my great
 ‘ travels, my strenuous endeavours, at all times and in
 ‘ all places, to accumulate knowledge, my active laying
 ‘ hold upon all occasions, and on every handle that might
 ‘ (with reputation) advantage either my wit or fortune.’ These high gallant strains of expressions, I confess, transcend my merit, and are a garment too gaudy for me to put on; yet I will lay it up among my best reliques, whereof I have divers sent me of this kind. And whereas in publishing these epistles at this time you please to say, ‘ That I have done like *Hezekiah* when he shewed
 ‘ his treasures to the *Babylonians*, that I have discovered
 ‘ my riches to thieves, who will bind me fast and share
 ‘ my goods.’ To this I answer, that if those innocent letters (for I know none of them but is such) fall among such thieves, they will have no great prize to carry away, it will be but petty larceny. I am already, God wot, bound fast enough, having been a long time cooped up between these walls, bereft of all my means of subsistence and employment: nor do I know wherefore I am here, unless it be for my sins: for, I bear as upright a
 heart

heart to my King and country, I am as conformable and well affected to the government of this land, especially to the high court of parliament, as any one whatsoever that breathes under this meridian, I will except none; and for my religion, I defy any creature betwixt heaven and earth, that will say that I am not a true *English* protestant. I have from time to time employed divers of my best friends to get my liberty, at leastwise leave to go abroad upon bail, (for I do not expect, as you please also to believe in your letter, to be delivered hence, as *St. Peter* was, by miracle) but nothing will yet prevail.

To conclude, I do acknowledge in the highest way of recognition, the free and noble proffer you please to make me of your endeavours to pull me out of this doleful sepulchre, wherein you say I am entombed alive. I am no less obliged to you for the opinion I find you have of my weak abilities, which you pleased to wish heartily may be no longer eclipsed. I am not in despair, but a day will shine, that may afford me opportunity to improve this good opinion of yours, (which I value at a high rate) and let the world know how much I am, Sir,

Your real and ready servitor,

Fleet, May 5. 1645.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXVIII.

To Mr. T. V. at Brussels.

My dear Tom,

WHO would have thought poor *England* had been brought to this pass? Could it ever have entered into the imagination of man, that the scheme and whole frame of so antient and well-moulded a government should be so suddenly struck off the hinges, quite out of joint, and tumbled into such a horrid confusion? Who would have held it possible, that to fly from *Babylon*, we should fall into such a *Babel*? That to avoid superstition, some

people should be brought to belch out such a horrid profaneness, as to call the temples of God, the tabernacles of satan; the Lord's supper, a two-penny ordinary; to make the communion-table a manger, and the font a trough to water their horses in; to term the white decent robe of the Presbyter, the whore's smock; the pipes through which nothing came but anthems and holy hymns, the devil's bagpipes; the liturgy of the church, though extracted most of it out of the sacred text, called by some another kind of *alcoran*, by others raw porridge, by some a piece forged in hell? Who would have thought to have seen in *England*, the churches shut and the shops open upon *Christmas* day? Could any soul have imagined that this isle would have produced such monsters, as to rejoice at the *Turks* good successes against christians, and wish he were in the midst of *Rome*? Who would have dreamed ten years since, when Archbishop *Laud* did ride in state through *London* streets, accompanying my Lord of *London* to be sworn Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, that the mitre should have now come to such a scorn, to such a national kind of hatred, as to put the whole island in a combustion; which makes me call to memory a saying of the Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland* in the reign of *Henry VIII.* which Earl, having deadly feud with the Bishop of *Cassiles*, burnt a church belonging to that diocese; and being asked upon his examination before the Lord-Deputy at the castle of *Dublin*, why he had committed such a horrid sacrilege as to burn God's church? He answered, 'I had never burnt the church unless I had thought the Bishop had been in it.' Lastly, who would have imagined that the excise would have taken footing here? A word I remember in the last parliament save one, so odious, that when Sir *D. Carleton*, then Secretary of State, did but name it in the house of commons, he was like to be sent to the *Tower*; although he named it to no ill sense, but to shew what advantage of happiness the people of *England* had over other nations, having neither the gabels of *Italy*, the tallies of *France*, or the excise of *Holland* laid upon them;

yet

yet upon this he was suddenly interrupted, and called to the bar. Such a strange metamorphosis poor *England* is now come unto, and I am afraid our miseries are not come to their height, but the longest shadows stay till the evening.

The freshest news that I can write unto you is, that the *Kentish* Knight of your acquaintance, whom I wrote in my last had an *apostacy* in his brain, died suddenly this week of an *imposthume* in his breast, as he was reading a pamphlet of his own that came from the press, wherein he shewed a great mind to be nibbling with my trees; but he only shewed his teeth, for he could not bite them to any purpose.

William Roe is returned from the wars, but he is grown lame in one of his arms, so he hath no mind to bear arms any more: he confesseth himself to be an egregious fool to leave his mercership, and go to be a musqueteer. It made me think upon the tale of the *Gallego* in *Spain*, who in the civil wars against *Arragon*, being in the field he was shot in the forehead, and being carried away to a tent, the Surgeon searched his wound and found it mortal: so he advised him to send for his confessor, for he was no man for this world, in regard the brain was touched. The soldier wished him to search it again, which he did, and told him, that he found he was hurt in the brain, and could not possibly scape: whereupon the *Gallego* fell into a chafe, and said he lied; for he had no brain at all, *por que se tuviera seso, nunca huniera venido esta guerra*; for if I had had any brain, I would never have come to this war. All your friends here are well, except the maimed foldier, and remember you often, especially Sir *J. Brown* a good gallant gentleman, who never forgets any who deserved to have a place in his memory. Farewel my dear *Tom*, and God send you better days than we have here; for I wish you as much happiness as possibly man can have: I wish your mornings may be good, your noons better, your evenings and nights best of all: I wish your sorrows may be short, your joys lasting, and all your desires end in success. Let me

me hear once more from you before you remove thence, and tell me how the squares go in *Flanders*: so, I rest

Your entirely affectionate servitor,

Fleet, August 3. 1644.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXIX.

To his Majesty at Oxon.

S I R,

I Prostrate this paper at your Majesty's feet, hoping it may find way thence to your eyes, and so descend to your royal heart.

The foreign Minister of State, by whose conveyance this comes, did lately intimate unto me, that among divers things which go abroad under my name reflecting upon the times, there are some which are not so well taken, your Majesty being informed that they discover a spirit of indifferency, and lukewarmness in the author. This added much to the weight of my present sufferances, and exceedingly embittered the sense of them unto me, being no other than a corrosive to one already in a hectic condition. I must confess that some of them were more moderate than others; yet (most humbly under favour) there were none of them but displayed the heart of a constant true loyal subject; and as divers of those who are most zealous to your Majesty's service told me, they had the good success to rectify multitudes of people in their opinion of some things: insomuch that I am not only conscious, but most confident that none of them could tend to your Majesty's disservice any way imaginable: therefore I humbly beseech, that your Majesty would vouchsafe to conceive of me accordingly, and of one who by this reclusive passive condition hath his share of this hideous storm: yet he is in assurance, rather than hopes, that though divers cross winds have blown, these times will bring in better at last. There have been
divers

divers of your royal progenitors who have had as shrewd shocks; and it is well known, how the next transmarine kings have been brought to lower ebbs: at this very day he of *Spain* is in a far worse condition, being in the midst of two sorts of people, (the *Catalan* and *Portuguese*) which were lately his vassals, but now have torn his seals, renounced all bonds of allegiance, and are in actual hostility against him. This great city, I may say, is like a chessboard chequered, inlaid with white and black spots, though I believe the white are more in number; and your Majesty's countenance, by returning to your great council and your court at *Whitehall* would quickly turn them all white. That almighty Majesty who useth to draw light out of darkness, and strength out of weakness, making man's extremity his opportunity, preserve and prosper your Majesty according to the prayers early and late of your Majesty's most loyal subject, servant, and martyr,

Fleet, Sept. 3. 1644.

HOWELL.

L E T T E R LXX.

To Sir R. GR. Knight and Baronet.

S I R,

I Had yours upon *Maunday-Thursday* late; and the reason that suspended my answer till now, was, that the season engaged me to sequester my thoughts from my wonted negotiations, to contemplate the great work of man's redemption, so great, that were it cast in counterbalance with his creation, it would outpoize it far. I summoned all my intellectuals to meditate upon those passions, upon those pangs, upon that despicable and most dolorous death, upon that cross whereon my Saviour suffered, which was the first christian altar that ever was; and I doubt that he will never have benefit of the sacrifice, who hates the harmless resemblance of the altar whereon

whereon it was offered. I applied my memory to fasten upon it, my understanding to comprehend it, my will to embrace it. From these three faculties, methought I found by the mediation of the fancy, some beams of love gently gliding down from the head to the heart, and inflaming all my affections. If the human soul had far more powers than the philosophers afford her, if she had as many faculties within the head as there be hairs without, the speculation of this mystery would find work enough for them all. Truly the more I screw up my spirits to reach it, the more I am swallowed in a gulph of admiration, and of a thousand imperfect notions; which makes me ever and anon to quarrel my soul that she cannot lay hold on her Saviour, much more my heart, that my purest affections cannot hug him as much as I would.

They have a custom beyond the seas, (and I could wish it were the worst custom they had) that during the *Passion* week divers of their greatest princes and ladies will betake themselves to some convent or reclused house, to wean themselves from all worldly incumbrances, and converse only with heaven, with performance of some kind of penances all the week long. A worthy gentleman that came lately from *Italy*, told me that the Count of *Byron*, now Marshal of *France*, having been long persecuted by Cardinal *Richlieu*, put himself into a monastery, and the next day news was brought him of the Cardinal's death; which I believe made him spend the rest of the week with the more devotion in that way. *France* brags that our Saviour had his face turned towards her when he was upon the cross: there is more cause to think that it was towards this island, in regard the rays of christianity first reverberated upon her, her King being christian 400 years before him of *France*, (as all historians concur) notwithstanding that he arrogates to himself the title of the first son of the church.

Let this serve for part of my apology. The Day following, my Saviour being in the grave, I had no list to look much abroad, but continued my retiredness: there was another reason also why, because I intended to take
the

the holy sacrament the *Sunday* ensuing; which is an act of the greatest consolation, and consequence, that possibly a christian can be capable of: it imports him so much, that he is made or marred by it: it tends to his damnation or salvation, to help him up to heaven, or tumble him headlong to hell. Therefore, it behoves a man to prepare and recollect himself, to winnow his thoughts from the chaff and tares of the world beforehand. This then took up a good part of that day to provide myself a wedding-garment, that I might be a fit guest at so precious a banquet, so precious, that manna and angels food are but coarse viands in comparison of it.

I hope that this excuse will be of such validity, that it may procure my pardon for not corresponding with you last week. I am now as freely as formerly,

Your most ready and humble servitor,

Fleet, April 30. 1647.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXI.

To my honourable Friend Mr. E. P. at Paris.

S I R,

LET me never fall hence from among these disconsolate walls, if the literal correspondence you please to hold so punctually with me, be not one of the greatest solaces I have had in this sad condition: for I find so much salt, such endearments and flourishes, such a gallantry and neatness in your lines, that you may give the law of lettering to all the world. I had this week a twin of yours, of the 10th and 15th current: I am sorry to hear of your achaques, and so often indisposition there; it may be very well (as you say) that the air of that dirty town doth not agree with you, because you speak *Spanish*; which language you know is used to be breathed out under a clearer clime, I am sure it agrees not with the sweet breezes of peace, for it is you there that would
keep

keep poor christendom in perpetual whirlwinds of wars; but I fear, that while *France* sets all wheels a-going, and stirs all the cacodæmons of hell to pull down the house of *Austria*, she may chance at last to pull it down upon her own head. I am sorry to understand what they write from *Venice* this week, that there is a discovery made in *Italy*, how *France* had a hand to invade the territories of *St. Mark*, and puzzle the peace of *Italy*. I want faith to believe it yet, nor can I entertain in my breast any such conceit of the most *Christian King*, and first son of the church, as he terms himself: yet I pray in your next to pull this thorn out of my thoughts, and tell me whether one may give any credit to this report.

We are now *Scot* free as touching the Northern army, for our dear brethren have trussed up their baggage, and put the *Tweed* betwixt us and them once again: dear indeed, for they have cost us first and last above 1,900,000*l. Sterling*, which amounts to near 8,00000 of crowns with you there. Yet if reports be true, they left behind them more than they lost, if you go to number of men; which will be a brave race of *Mestizos* hereafter, who may chance meet their fathers in the field, and kill them unwittingly: he will be a wise child that knows his right father. Here we are like to have twenty-four seas emptied shortly, and some do hope to find abundance of treasure in the bottom of them, as no doubt they will, but many doubt that it will prove but *aurum tolosanum* to the finders. God grant that from *Aereans* we turn not to be *Arians*: the Earl of *Stratford* was accounted by his very enemies to have an extraordinary talent of judgment and parts, (though they say he wanted moderation) and one of the prime precepts he left upon the scaffold to his son was, that he should not meddle with church-lands, for they would prove a canker to his estate. Here are started up some great knowing men lately, that can shew the very track by which our Saviour went to hell: they will tell you precisely whose names are written in the book of life, whose not, God deliver us from spiritual pride, which of all sorts is
the

the most dangerous. Here are also notable star-gazers, who obtrude to the world such confident bold predictions, and are so familiar with heavenly bodies, that *Ptolemy*, and *Tycho Brache* were but ninnies to them. We have likewise a multitude of witches among us, for in *Essex* and *Suffolk* there were above 200 indicted within these two years, and above the one half of them executed: more, I may well say, than ever this island bred since the creation, I speak it with horror. God guard us from the devil, for I think he was never so busy upon any part of the earth that was enlightened with the beams of christianity; nor do I wonder at it, for there is never a cross left to fright him away. *Edinburgh* I hear is fallen into a relapse of the plague: the last they had raged so violently, that the fortieth man or woman lives not of those that dwelt there four years since, but it is all peopled with new faces. *Don* and *Hans*, I hear, are absolutely accorded; nor do I believe that all the artifices of policy that you use there can hinder the peace, though they may puzzle it for a while: if it be so, the people which button their doublets upward, will be better able to deal with you there.

Much notice is taken that you go on there too fast in your acquests; and now that the eagle's wings are pretty well clipped, it is time to look that your *flower-de-luce* grow not too rank, and spread too wide. Whereas you desire to know how it fares with your master, I must tell you, that like the glorious sun, he is still in his own orb, though clouded for a time that he cannot shoot the beams of majesty with that lustre he was wont to do: never did cavalier woo fair Lady as he woos the parliament to a peace; it is much the head should so stoop to the members.

Farewel my noble friend, cheer up, and reserve yourself for better days; take your royal master for your pattern, who for his longanimity, patience, courage, and constancy, is admired of all the world, and in a passive way of fortitude hath outgone all the nine worthies. If the cedar be so weather-beaten, we poor shrubs must not

murmur to bear part of the storm. I have had my share, and I know you want not yours: the stars may change their aspects, and we may live to see the sun again in his full meridian. In the interim come what will, I am

Entirely yours,

Fleet, Feb. 3. 1646.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXII.

To the Rt. Hon. EDWARD Earl of Dorset, (Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, &c.) at Knowles.

My LORD,

HAVING so advantageous a hand as Dr. S. Turner, I am bold to send your Lordship a new tract of French philosophy, called *L'usage de passions*, which is cried up to be a choice piece. It is a moral discourse of the right use of passions, the conduct whereof as it is the principal employment of virtue, so the conquest of them is the difficultest part of valour: to know one's self is much, but to conquer one's self is more. We need not pick quarrels and seek enemies without doors, we have too many inmates at home to exercise our prowess upon; and there is no man, let him have his humours never so well balanced, and in subjection unto him, but like *Muscovia* wives, they will oftentimes insult, unless they be checked; yet we should make them our servants, not our slaves. Touching the occurrences of the times, since the King was snatched away from the parliament, the army they say, use him with more civility and freedom; but for the main work of restoring him, he is yet, as one may say, but tantalized, being brought often within the sight of London, and so off again. There are hopes that something will be done to his advantage speedily, because the *Gregorian* soldiers and gross of the army is well affected to him, though some of the chiefest commanders be still averse.

For

For foreign news, they say *St. Mark* bears up stoutly against *Mahomet* both by land and sea: in *Dalmatia* he hath of late shaken him by the turban ill-favouredly. I could heartily wish that our army were there to help the republick, and combate the common enemy, for then one might be sure to die in the bed of honour. The commotions in *Sicily* are quashed, but those of *Naples* increase; and it is like to be a more raging and voracious fire than *Vesuvius*, or any of the sulphureous mountains about her did ever belch out. The *Catalan* and *Portuguese* bait the *Spaniard* on both sides, but the first hath shrewder teeth than the other; and the *French* and *Hollander* find him work in *Flanders*. And now, my Lord, to take all nations in a lump, I think God almighty hath a quarrel lately with all mankind, and given the reins to the ill spirit to compass the whole earth; for within these twelve years there have the strangest revolutions, and horridest things happened not only in *Europe*, but all the world over, that have befallen mankind, I dare boldly say, since *Adam* fell, in so short a revolution of time. There is a kind of popular planet reigns everywhere: I will begin with the hottest parts, with *Africa*, where the Emperor of *Ethiopia* (with two of his sons) was encountered and killed in open field by the groom of his camels and dromedaries, who had levied an army out of the dregs of the people against him, and is like to hold that antient empire in *Asia*. The *Tartar* broke over the 400 miled wall, and rushed into the heart of *China*, as far as *Quinzay*, and belaguered the very palace of the Emperor, who rather than become captive to the base *Tartar* burnt his castle, and did make away himself, his thirty wives and children. The great *Turk* hath been lately strangled in the seraglio, his own house. The Emperor of *Muscovia* going in a solemn procession upon the *Sabbath* day, the rabble broke in, knocked down and cut in pieces divers of his chiefest counsellors, favourites, and officers before his face; and dragging their bodies to the mercat-place, their heads were chopped off, into vessels of hot water, and so set upon poles to burn

more bright before the court-gate. In *Naples* a common fruiterer hath raised such an insurrection, that they say above sixty men have been slain already upon the streets of that city alone. *Catalonia* and *Portugal* have quite revolted from *Spain*. Your Lordship knows what knocks have been betwixt the Pope and *Parma*: the *Pole* and the *Cosacks* are hard at it, *Venice* wrestleth with the *Turk*, and is like to lose her maidenhead unto him, unless other christian princes look to it in time. And touching these three kingdoms, there is none more capable than your Lordship to judge what monstrous things have happened; so that it seems the whole earth is off the hinges; and (which is the more wonderful) all these prodigious passages have fallen out in less than the compass of twelve years. But now that all the world is together by the ears, the States of *Holland* would be quiet, for advice is come that the peace is concluded, and interchangeably ratified betwixt them and *Spain*; but they defer the publishing of it yet, till they have collected all the contribution-money for the army. The *Spaniard* hopes that one day this peace may tend to his advantage more than all his wars have done these fourscore years, relying upon the old prophecy: *Marte triumphabis, Batavia, Pace peribis.*

The King of *Denmark* hath buried lately his eldest son *Christian*, so that he hath now but one living, viz. *Frederick*, who is Archbishop of *Breme*, and is shortly to be King elect.

My Lord, this letter runs upon universals, because I know your Lordship hath a public great soul, and a spacious understanding, which comprehends the whole world: so in a due posture of humility I kiss your hands, being my Lord,

Your most obedient and most faithful servitor,

Fleet, Jan. 20. 1646.

J. H.

LETTER LXXIII.

To Master W. B.

S I R,

I Had yours of the last week, and by reason of some sudden incumbrances I could not correspond with you by that carrier. As for your desire to know the pedigree and first rise of those we call presbyterians, I find that your motion hath as much of piety as curiosity in it; but I must tell you it is a subject fitter for a treatise than a letter, yet I will endeavour to satisfy you in some part.

Touching the word *πρεσβύτερος*, it is as antient as christianity itself; and every churchman compleated in holy orders was called Presbyter, as being the chiefest name of the function; and so it is used in all churches both Eastern and Occidental to this day. We by contraction call him Priest, so that all bishops and archbishops are priests though not *vice versa*. These holy titles of Bishop and Priest are now grown odious among such poor sciologists, who scarce know the hoties of things, because they favour of antiquity: though their Minister that officiates in their church be the same thing as Priest, and their Superintendent the same thing as Bishop; but because they are lovers of novelties, they change old *Greek* words for new *Latin* ones. The first broacher of the presbyterian religion, and who made it differ from that of *Rome*, and *Luther*, was *Calvin*; who being once banished *Geneva*, was revoked, at which time, he no less petulantly than profanely applied to himself that text of the holy Prophet which was meaned of Christ, *The stone which the builders refused, is made the head-stone of the corner, &c.* Thus *Geneva* lake swallowed up the episcopal sea, and church-lands were made secular; which was the white they levelled at. This *Geneva* bird flew thence to *France*, and hatched the *Hugonots*, which make about the tenth part of that people. It took wing

also to *Bohemia* and *Germany* high and low, as the *Palatinate*, the land of *Hesse*, and the confederate provinces of the States of *Holland*, whence it took flight to *Scotland* and *England*. It took first footing in *Scotland*, when King *James* was a child in his cradle; but when he came to understand himself, and was manumitted from *Buchanan*, he grew cold in it; and being come to *England*, he utterly disclaimed it, terming it, in a public speech of his to the parliament, a sect, rather than a religion. To this sect may be imputed all the scissures that have happened in christianity, with most of the wars that have lacerated poor *Europe* ever since; and it may be called the source of the civil distractions that now afflict this poor island.

Thus have I endeavoured to fulfil your desires in part: I shall enlarge myself further when I shall be made happy with your conversation here, till when, and always, I rest

Your most affectionate to love and serve you,

Fleet, Nov. 29. 1647.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXIV.

To HENRY HOPKINS, Esq;

S I R,

TO usher in again old *Janus*, I send you a parcel of *Indian* perfume, which the *Spaniard* calls the holy herb, in regard of the various virtues it hath, but we call it tobacco: I will not say it grew under the King of *Spain's* window, but I am told it was gathered near his gold mines of *Potosi*, (where they report, that in some places there is more of that ore than earth) therefore it must needs be precious stuff: if moderately and seasonably taken, (as I find you always do) it is good for many things: it helps digestion taken a while after meat, it makes one void rheum, break wind, and keeps the

the

the body open: a leaf or two being steeped over night in a little white wine is a vomit that never fails in its operation: it is a good companion to one that converseth with dead men, for if one hath been poring long upon a book, or is toiled with the pen, and stupified with study, it quickeneth him, and dispels those clouds that usually overset the brain. The smoke of it is one of the wholesomest scents that is, against all contagious airs, for it over-masters all other smells, as King *James* they say found true, when being once a hunting, a shower of rain drove him into a pig-sty for shelter, where he caused a pipefull to be taken of purpose: it cannot endure a spider, or a flea, with such like vermin; and if your hawk be troubled with any such, being blown into his feathers it frees him: it is good to fortify and preserve the sight, the smoke being let in round about the balls of the eyes once a week, and frees them from all rheums, driving them back by way of repercussion; being taken backward, it is excellent good against the cholic, and taken into the stomach, it will heat and cleanse it; for I could instance in a great Lord (my Lord of *Sunderland*, President of *York*) who told me, that he taking it downward into his stomach, it made him cast up an imposthume, bag and all, which had been a long time engendering out of a bruise he had received at foot-ball, and so preserved his life for many years. Now to descend from the substance of the smoke, to the ashes, it is well known that the medicinal virtues thereof are very many; but they are so common, that I will spare the inserting of them here: but if one would try a pretty conclusion, how much smoke there is in a pound of tobacco, the ashes will tell him; for let a pound be exactly weighed, and the ashes kept charily and weighed afterwards, what wants in a pound weight in the ashes cannot be denied to have been smoke, which evaporated in the air. I have been told that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* won a wager of Queen *Elizabeth* upon this nicety.

The *Spaniards* and *Irish* take it most in powder or snutchin, and it mightily refreshes the brain; and I believe

lieve there is as much taken this way in *Ireland*, as there is in pipes in *England*: one shall commonly see the serving-maid upon the washing-block, and the swain upon the plough-share, when they are tired with labour, take out their boxes of snutchin and draw it into their nostrils with a quill, and it will beget new spirits in them with a fresh vigour to fall to their work again. In *Barbary* and other parts of *Africa*, it is wonderful what a small pill of tobacco will do; for those who use to ride post through the sandy deserts, where they meet not with any thing that is potable or edible, sometimes three days together, they use to carry small balls or pills of tobacco, which being put under the tongue, it affords them a perpetual moisture, and takes off the edge of the appetite for some days.

If you desire to read with pleasure all the virtues of this modern herb, you must read Dr. *Thorius's* Pætologis, an accurate piece couched in a strenuous heroic verse, full of matter, and continuing its strength from first to last; insomuch that for the bigness it may be compared to any piece of antiquity, and in my opinion is beyond *Βατραχομυομαχία*, Or *γαλιωμυομαχία*.

So I conclude these rambling notions, presuming you will accept this small argument of my great respects unto you. If you want paper to light your pipe, this letter may serve the turn; and if it be true what the poets frequently sing, that *affection is fire*, you shall need no other than the clear flames of the donor's love to make ignition, which is comprehended in this distich:

*Ignis amor si sit, tabaccum accendere nostrum,
Nulla petenda tibi sax nisi dantis amor.*

*If love be fire, to light this Indian weed,
The donor's love of fire may stand instead.*

So I wish you, as to myself, a most happy new year: may the beginning be good, the middle better, and the end best of all.

Your most faithful and truly affectionate servitor,

Fleet, Jan. 1. 1646.

J. H.
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LETTER LXXV.

To the Right Honourable my Lord of D.

My LORD,

THE subject of this letter may peradventure seem a paradox to some, but not, I know, to your Lordship, when you have pleased to weigh well the reasons. Learning is a thing that hath been much cried up, and coveted in all ages, especially in this last century of years, by people of all sorts, though never so mean and mechanical; every man strains his fortunes to keep his children at school; the cobbler will clout it till midnight, the porter will carry burdens till his bones crack again, the ploughman will pinch both back and belly to give his son learning; and I find that this ambition reigns nowhere so much as in this island. But under favour, this word; *learning*, is taken in a narrower sense among us than among other nations, we seem to restrain it only to the book, whereas indeed, any artisan whatsoever (if he know the secret and mystery of his trade) may be called a learned man. A good mason, a good shoemaker that can manage *St. Crispin's* lance handsomely, a skillful yeoman, a good shipwright, &c. may be called learned men, and indeed the usefullest sort of learned men, for without the two first, we might go barefooted, and ly abroad as beasts, having no other canopy than the wild air, and without the two last we might starve for bread, have no commerce with other nations, or ever be able to trade upon a continent: these, with such like dexterous artificans, may be termed learned men, and the more behoveful for the subsistence of a country than those polymathists, that stands poring all day in a corner upon a moth-eaten author, and converse only with dead men. The *Chinese* (who are the next neighbours to the rising sun on this part of the hemisphere, and consequently acutest) have a wholesome piece of policy, *that the son is always of the father's trade*, and it is all the learning he aims at;

at; which makes them admirable artificers, for, besides the dexterousness and propensity of the child, being descended lineally from so many of the same trade, the father is more careful to instruct him, and to discover to him all the mystery thereof. This general custom or law, keeps their heads from running at random after book-learning and other vocations. I have read a tale of *Robert Grossthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, that being come to his greatness he had a brother who was a husbandman, and expected great matters from him in point of preferment, but the Bishop told him, that if he wanted money to mend his plow or his cart, or to buy tacklings for horses with other things belonging to his husbandry, he should not want what was fitting; but he wished him to aim no higher, for a husbandman he found him, and a husbandman he would leave him.

The extravagant humor of our country is not to be altogether commended, that all men should aspire to book-learning: there is not a simpler animal, and a more superfluous member of a state, than a mere scholar, than only a self-pleasing student, he is, — *Telluris inutile pondus.*

The *Goths* forbore to destroy the libraries of the *Greeks* and *Italians*, because books should keep them still soft, simple or too cautious in warlike affairs. *Archimedes* though an excellent engineer when *Syracuse* was lost, was found at his book in his study, intoxicated with speculations. Who would not have thought another great learned Philosopher to be a fool or frantic, when being in a bath he leaped out naked among the people and cried, *I have found it, I have found it*, having hit then upon an extraordinary conclusion in geometry? There is a famous tale of *Thomas Aquinas*, the angelical Doctor, and of *Bonaventure* the seraphical Doctor, of whom *Alexander Hales* (our countryman and his master) reports, whether it appeared not in him that *Adam* had sinned. Both these great clerks being invited to dinner by the *French King*, of purpose to observe their humours, and being brought to the room where the table

table was laid, the first fell a eating of bread as hard as he could drive, at last breaking out of a brown study, he cried out, *Conclusum est contra manichæos*, the other fell a gazing upon the Queen, and the King asked him how he liked her, *Oh, Sir, if an earthly Queen be so beautiful, what shall we think of the Queen of heaven?* The latter was the better courtier of the two. Hence we may infer, that your mere book-men, your deep clerks, whom we call the only learned men, are not always the civillest or best moral men: nor is too great a number of them convenient for any state, leading a soft sedentary life, especially those who feed their own fancies upon the public stock. Therefore it were to be wished that there reigned not among the people of this land such a general itching after book-learning; and I believe so many free-schools do rather hurt than good: nor did the art of printing much avail the christian commonwealth, but may be said to be well near as fatal as gunpowder, which came up in the same age: for, under correction, to this may be partly ascribed that spiritual pride, that variety of dogmatists which swarm among us. Add hereunto, that the excessive number of those which converse only with books, and whose profession consists in them, is such, that one cannot live for another, according to the dignity of the calling: a physician cannot live for the physicians, a lawyer (civil and common) cannot live for lawyers, nor a divine for divines. Moreover, the multitudes that profess these three best vocations, especially the last, make them of far less esteem. There is an odd opinion among us, that he who is a contemplative man, a man who weds himself to study, and swallows many books, must needs be a profound scholar, and a great learned man, though in reality he be such a dolt, that he hath neither a retentive faculty to keep what he hath read, nor wit to make any useful application of it in common discourse; what he draws in lieth upon dead lees, and never grows fit to be broached. Besides, he may want judgment in the choice of his authors, and knows not how to turn his hand either in weighing

weighing or winnowing the soundest opinions. There are divers who are cried up for great clerks, who want discretion. Others though they wade deep into the causes and knowledge of things, yet they are subject to screw up their wits, and soar so high, that they lose themselves in their own speculations; for thinking to transcend the ordinary pitch of reason, they come to involve the common principles of philosophy in a mist: instead of illustrating things, they render them more obscure: instead of a plainer and shorter way to the palace of knowledge, they lead us through briery odd uncouth paths, and so fall into the fallacy called *notum per ignotius*. Some have the hap to be termed learned men, though they have gathered up but the scraps of knowledge here and there, though they be but smatterers and mere sciolists, scarce knowing the hoties of things; yet like empty casks, if they can make a sound, and have a gift to vent with confidence what they have sucked in, they are accounted great scholars. Amongst all book-learned men, except the divine, to whom all learned men should be lacqueys, the Philosopher who hath waded through all the mathematicks, who hath dived into the secrets of the elementary world, and converseth also with celestial bodies, may be termed a learned man: the critical historian and antiquary, may be called also a learned man, who hath conversed with our forefathers, and observed the carriage and contingencies of matters passed, whence he draws instances and cautions for the benefit of the times he lives in: the civilian may be called likewise a learned man, if the revolving of huge volumes may intitle one so; but touching the authors of the common law, which is peculiar only to this meridian, they *may be all carried in a wheel-barrow*, as my countryman Dr. Gawyn told Judge Finch: the physician must needs be a learned man, for he knows himself inward and outward, being well versed in autology, in that lesson *nosce teipsum*; and as Adrian VI. said, he is very necessary for a populous country, for 'were it not for the physician, men would live so long and grow so thick,

'thick, that one could not live for the other; and he
'makes the earth cover all his faults.'

But what Dr. *Gwyn* said of the common law-books, and Pope *Adrian* of the physician, was spoken, I conceive, in merriment: for my part, I honour those two worthy professions in a high degree. Lastly, a polyglot, or good linguist, may be also termed an useful learned man, especially if versed in school-languages.

My Lord, I know none of this age more capable to sit in the chair, and censure what is true learning and what is not, than yourself: therefore in speaking of this subject to your Lordship, I fear to have committed the same error as *Phormio* did in discoursing of war before *Hannibal*. No more now, but that I am, my Lord,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXVI.

To Doctor J. D.

S I R,

I Have many sorts of civilities to thank you for, but among the rest, I thank you a thousand times (twice told) for that delightful fit of society, and conference of notes we had lately in this *Fleet* cabin of mine upon divers problems, and upon some which are exploded, (and that by those who seem to sway most in the commonwealth of learning) for paradoxes, merely by an implicit faith, without diving at all into the reason of the assertors. And whereas you promised a further expression of yourself by way of a discursive letter, what you thought of *Copernicus's* opinion touching the movement of the earth, which hath stirred all our modern wits; and whereof Sir *J. Brown* pleased to oblige himself to do the like touching the philosopher's stone, the powder of projection, and potable gold, provided that I would do

the same concerning a peopled country, and a species of moving creatures in the concave of the moon; which I willingly undertook upon those conditions. To acquit myself of this obligation, and to draw on your performances the sooner, I have adventured to send you this following discourse (such as it is) touching the lunar world.

I believe it is a principle which not many will offer to controvert, that as *antiquity cannot privilege an error, so novelty cannot prejudice truth*. Now, truth hath her degrees of growing and expanding herself, as all other things have; and as time begets her, so he doth the obstetricious office of of a midwife to bring her forth. Many truths are but embryos or problems: nay, some of them seem to be mere paradoxes at first. The opinion that there were *Antipodes*, was exploded when it was first broached: it was held absurd and ridiculous, and the thing itself to be as impossible as it was for men to go upon their heads, with their heels upwards: nay, it was adjudged to be so dangerous a tenet, that you know well the Bishop's name, who in the primitive church was by sentence of condemnation sent out of this world without a head, to go and dwell amongst his *Antipodes*, because he first hatched and held that opinion. But now our late navigators, and *East-India* mariners, who use to cross the equator and tropicks so often, will tell you, that it is as gross a paradox to hold there are no *Antipodes*, and that the negative is now as absurd as the affirmative seemed at first. For men to walk upon the ocean when the farges were at the highest, and to make a heavy dull piece of wood to swim, nay, fly upon the water, was held as impossible a thing at first, as it is now thought impossible for men to fly in the air: sails were held then as uncouth, as if one should attempt to make himself wings to mount up to heaven *à la volle*. Two hundred and odd years ago, he would have been taken for some frantic fool that would undertake to batter and blow up a castle with a few barrels of a small contemptible black powder.

The great Architect of the world hath been observed not to throw down all gifts and knowledge to mankind confusedly at once; but in a regular parsimonious method, to disperse them by certain degrees, periods, and progress of time, leaving man to make industrious researches and investigations after truth: *He left the world to the disputations of men*, as the wisest of men saith, who in the acquisition of natural truths went from the hyssop to the cedar. *One day certifieth another*, and one age rectifieth another: the morrow hath more experience than the precedent day, and is oft-times able to be his schoolmaster: the grandchild laughs at some things that were done in his grandsire's days; insomuch, that hence it may well be inferred, that natural human knowledge is not yet mounted to its meridian, and highest point of elevation. I confess it cannot be denied without gross ingratitude, but we are infinitely obliged to our forefathers for the fundamentals of sciences; and as the herald hath a rule, *Mallet cum patribus quam cum fratribus errare; I had rather err with my fathers than brothers*: so it holds in other kinds of knowledge. But those times which we term vulgarly the *old world*, was indeed the youth or adolescence of it; and though if respect be had to the particular and personal acts of generation, and to the relation of father and son, they who forelived and preceded us, may be called our ancestors, yet if you go to the age of the world in general, and to the true length and longevity of things, we are more properly the older cosmopolites: in this respect the cadet may be termed more antient than his elder brother, because the world was older when he entered into it. Moreover, besides truth, time hath also another daughter, which is experience, who holds in her hands the great looking-glass of wisdom and knowledge.

But now to the intended task, touching an habitable world, and a species of living creatures in the orb of the moon, which may bear some analogy with those of this elementary world: although it be not my purpose to maintain and absolutely assert this problem, yet I will say

this, that whosoever crieth it down for a new necoterical opinion, as divers do, commit a grosser error than the opinion may be in its own nature: for it is almost as ancient as philosophy herself; I am sure, it is as old as *Orpheus*, who sings of divers fair cities and castles within the circle of the moon. Moreover, the profoundest clerks and most renowned philosophers in all ages have affirmed it. Towards the first age of learning, among others, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* avouched it; the first of whom was pronounced the wisest of men by the *Pagan* oracle, as our *Solomon* is by holy write. In the middle age of learning *Plutarch* speaks of it; and in these modern times, the most speculative and scientificallest men, both in *Germany* and *Italy* seem to adhere to it, subinuating that not only the sphere of the moon is peopled with *Selenites* or lunar men, but that likewise every star in heaven is a peculiar world of itself, which is colonized and replenished with *Astrean* inhabitants, as the earth, sea, and air, are with elementary; the body of the sun not excepted, who hath also his *Solar* creatures, and they are accounted the most sublime, the most pure, and perfectest of all. The elementary creatures are held the grossest of all, having more matter than form in them: the *Solar* have more form than matter; the *Selenites* with other *Astrean* inhabitants, are of a mixed nature, and the nearer they approach the body of the sun, the more pure and spiritual they are: were it so, there were some ground for his speculation, who thought that human souls, be they never so pious and pure, ascend not immediately after the dissolution from the corrupt mass of the flesh before the glorious presence of God, presently to behold the beatifical vision, but first into the body of the moon, or some other star, according to their degrees of goodness, and actuate some bodies there of a purer composition: when they are refined there, they ascend to some higher star, and so to some higher than that, till at last by these degrees they be made capable to behold the lustre of that glorious Majesty, in whose sight no impurity can stand. This is illustrated by

by a comparison, that if one after he hath been kept close in a dark dungeon a long time, should be taken out, and brought suddenly to look upon the sun in the meridian, it would endanger him to be struck stark blind; so no human soul suddenly falling out of a dirty prison, as the body is, would be possibly able to appear before the incomprehensible Majesty of God, or be susceptible of the brightness of his all-glorious countenance, unless he be fitted thereunto beforehand by certain degrees, which might be done by passing from one star to another, who, we are taught differ one from the other in glory and splendor.

Among our modern authors that would furbish this old opinion of lunar creatures, and plant colonies in the orb of the moon with the rest of the celestial bodies, *Gasper Galileo Galilei* is one, who by artificial prospectives hath brought us to a nearer commerce with heaven, by drawing it sixteen times nearer earth than it was before in ocular appearance, by the advantage of the said optic instrument.

Among other arguments which the assertors of *Astrea*n inhabitants do produce for proof of this high point, one is, that it is neither repugnant to reason or religion to think, that the almighty Fabricator of the universe, who doth nothing in vain, nor suffers his handmaid nature to do so, when he created the erratic and fixed stars, he did not make those huge immense bodies, whereof most are bigger than the earth and sea, though conglobated, to twinkle only, and to be an ornament to the roof of heaven; but he placed in the convex of every one of those vast capacious spheres some living creatures to glorify his name, among whom, there is in every one of them one supereminent, like man upon earth, to be Lord paramount of all the rest. To this haply may allude the old opinion, that there is a peculiar *intelligence* which guides and governs every orb in heaven.

They that would thus colonize the stars with inhabitants, do place in the body of the sun, as was said before, the purest, the most immaterial and refinedest in-

lectual creatures, whence the Almighty calls those he will have to be immediately about his person, and to be admitted to the hierarchy of angels. This is far dissonant from the opinion of the *Turk*, who holds that the sun is a great burning globe designed for the damned.

They who are transported with this high speculation that there are mansions and habitable conveniencies for creatures to live within the bodies of the celestial orbs, seem to tax man of a high presumption, that he should think all things were principally created for him; that the sun and stars are serviceable to him in chief, *viz.* to measure his days, to distinguish his seasons, to direct him in his navigations, and pour wholesome influences upon him.

No doubt they were created to be partly useful and comfortable to him; but to imagine that they are solely and chiefly for him, is a thought that may be said to be above the pride of *Lucifer*: they may be beneficial unto him in the generation and increase of all elementary creatures, and yet have peculiar inhabitants of their own besides, to concur with the rest of the world in the service of the Creator. It is a fair prerogative for man to be Lord of all terrestrial, aquatic, and airy creatures; that with his harping-iron he can draw ashore the great leviathan; that he can make the camel and huge dromedary to kneel unto him, and take up his burden; that he can make the fierce bull though ten times stronger than himself, to endure his yoke; that he can fetch down the eagle from his nest, with such privileges. But let him not presume too far in comparing himself with heavenly bodies, while he is no other thing than a worm crawling upon the surface of this earth. Now the earth is the basest creature which God hath made, therefore it is called his *footstool*; and though some take it to be the centre, yet it is the very sediment of the elementary world, as they say the moon is of the celestial: it is the very sink of all corruption and frailty; which made *Trismegistus* say that *terra non mundus, est nequitiae locus*; the earth, not the world is the seat of wickedness: and
though,

though, it is true, she be susceptible of light, yet the light terminates only in her superficies, being not able to enlighten any thing else, as the stars can do.

Thus have I proportioned my short discourse upon this spacious problem to the size of an epistle: I reserve the fulness of my opinion in this point, till I receive yours touching *Copernicus*.

It hath been always my practice in the search and ventilation of natural verities, to keep to myself a philosophical freedom, as not to make any one's opinion so magisterial and binding, but that I might be at liberty to recede from it upon more pregnant and powerful reasons. For as in theological tenets it is a rule, *Quicquid non descendit a monte scripturae, eadem auctoritate contemnitur, qua approbatur*; whatsoever descends not from the mount of holy scripture, may be by the same authority rejected as well as received: so in the disquisitions and winnowing of physical truths, *Quicquid non descendit a monte rationis, &c.* whatsoever descends not from the mount of reason, may be as well rejected as approved of.

So longing after an opportunity to pursue this point by mixture of oral discourse, which hath more elbow room than a letter. I rest with all candour and cordial affection,

Your faithful servant,

Fleet, Nov. 2. 1647.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXVII.

To Mr. EN. P. at Paris,

S I R,

THAT which the plots of the jesuits in their dark cells, and the policy of the greatest roman catholic princes have driven at these many years, is now done to their hands, which was to divide and break the strength of these three kingdoms, because they held it
to

to be too great a glory and power to be in one heretical Prince's hands, (as they esteemed the King of *Great Britain*) because he was in a capacity to be umpire, if not arbiter of this part of the world, as many of our kings have been.

You write thence, that in regard of the sad condition of our Queen, their countrywoman, they are sensible of our calamities; but I believe, it is the populace only, who see no further than the rind of things: your cabinet-council rather rejoiceth at it, who, or I am much deceived, contributed much in the time of the late sanguine Cardinal, to set a-foot these distractions, beginning first with *Scotland*, who, you know, hath always served that nation for a brand to set *England* a-fire for the advancement of their own ends. I am afraid we have seen our best days; we knew not when we were well, so that the *Italian* saying may be well applied to poor *England*, I was well, I would be better, I took physic and died. No more now, but that I rest still

Yours entirely to serve you,

Fleet, Jan. 20. 1647.

J. H.

LETTER LXXVIII.

To Mr. W. B.

HOW glad was I, my choice and precious nephew, to receive yours of the 24th current; wherein I was sorry, though satisfied in point of belief, to find the ill fortune of interception which besel my last unto you.

Touching the condition of things here, you shall understand, that our miseries lengthen with our days; for though the sun and the spring advance nearer us, yet our times are not grown a whit the more comfortable. I am afraid this city hath fooled herself into slavery: the army, though forbidden to come within ten miles of her by order of parliament, quarters now in the bowels of

of her: they threaten to break her percuillies, posts, and chains, to make her pervious upon all occasions: they have secured also the *Tower*, with addition of strength for themselves: besides, a famine doth insensibly creep upon us, and the mint is starved for want of bullion. Trade, which was ever the sinew of this island, doth visibly decay, and the insurance of ships is risen from two to ten in the hundred: our gold is ingrossed in private hands, or gone beyond sea to travel without licence; and much I believe of it is returned to the earth (whence it first came) to be buried where our late nephews may chance to find it a thousand years hence, if the world lasts so long; so that the exchanging of white earth into red, (I mean silver into gold) is now above six in the hundred; and all these, with many more, are the dismal effects and concomitants of a civil war. It is true, we have had many such black days in *England* in former ages; but those paralleled to the present, are as the shadow of a mountain compared to the eclipse of the moon. My prayers early and late are, that God almighty would please not to turn away his face quite, but chear us again with the light of his countenance. And I am well assured you will join with me in the same orison to heaven's gate: in which confidence I rest.

Yours most affectionately to serve you,

Fleet, Dec. 10. 1647.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXIX.

To Dr. W. TURNER.

S I R,

I Return you my most thankful acknowledgments, for that collection, or farrago of prophecies, as you call them, (and that very properly, in regard there is a mixture of good and bad) you pleased to send me lately, especially that of *Nostredamus*, which I shall be very chary

chary to preserve for you. I could requite you with divers predictions more, and of some of the *British* bards, which were they translated to *English* would transform the world to wonder.

They sing of a *red* parliament and *white* King, of a race of people which should be called *Pengruns*, of the fall of the church, and divers other things which glance upon these times. But I am none of those that afford much faith to rambling prophecies, which (as we said elsewhere) are like so many odd grains sown in the vast field of time, whereof not one in a thousand comes to grow up again and appear above ground. But that I may correspond with you in some part for the like courtesy, I send you these following prophetic verses of *Whitehall*, which were made above twenty years ago, to my knowledge, upon a book called *Balaam's* ass that consisted of some invectives against King *James* and the court *in statu quo tunc*: it was composed by one Mr. *Williams* a Counsellor of the *Temple*, but a roman catholic, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Charing-Cross* for it; and I believe there be hundreds that have copies of these verses ever since that time about town yet living. They were these:

Some seven years since Christ rid to court,
 And there he left his ass,
 The courtiers kicked him out of doors,
 Because they had no * grafs. * grace.
 The ass went mourning up and down,
 And thus I heard him bray,
 If that they could not give me grafs,
 They might have given me hay:
 But sixteen hundred forty three,
 Whosoe'er shall see that day,
 Will nothing find within that court,
 But only grafs and hay, &c.

which was found to happen true in *Whitehall*, till the soldiers coming to quarter there trampled it down.

Truly,

Truly Sir, I find all things conspire to make strange mutations in this miserable island: I fear we shall fall from under the sceptre to be under the sword; and since we speak of prophecies, I am afraid among others that which was made since the reformation will be verified, *The churchman was, the lawyer is, the soldier shall be.* Welcome be the will of God, who transvolves kingdoms, and tumbles down monarchies as mole-hills at his pleasure. So I rest, my dear Doctor,

Your most faithful servant,

Fleet, Aug. 9. 1648.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXX.

To the Honourable Sir EDWARD SPENCER Knight, at his House near Branceford.

S I R,

WE are not so bare of intelligence between these walls, but we can hear of your doings in *Branceford*: that so general applause whereby you were cried up Knight of the shire for *Middlesex*, sounded round about us upon *London* streets, and ecchoed in every corner of the town; nor do I mingle speech with any, though half affected to you, but highly approves of and congratulates the election, being glad that a gentleman of such extraordinary parts and probity, as also of such a mature judgment, should be chosen to serve the public,

I return you the manuscript you lent me of *Dæmonology*, but the author thereof and I are two in point of opinion that way; for he seems to be on the negative part, and truly, he writes as much as can be produced for his purpose. But there are some men that are of a mere negative genius, like *Johannes ad oppositum*, who will deny, or at least cross and puzzle any thing though never so clear in itself, with their *but, yet, if, &c.* they will flap the lie in truth's teeth though she visibly stand before

before their face without any vizard: such perverse cross-grained spirits are not to be dealt withal by arguments, but palpable proofs; as if one should deny that the fire burns, or that he hath a nose on his face: there is no way to deal with him, but to pull him by the tip of the one, and put his finger into the other. I will not say that this gentleman is so perverse; but to deny there are any witches, to deny that there are ill spirits which seduce, tamper and converse in divers shapes with human creatures, and impel them to actions of malice: I say, that he who denies there are such busy spirits, and such poor passive creatures upon whom they work, which commonly are called witches: I say again, that he who denies there are such spirits, shews that he himself hath a spirit of contradiction in him, opposing the current and consentient opinion of all antiquity. We read that both *Jews* and *Romans*, with all other nations of christendom, and our ancestors here in *England*, enacted laws against witches: sure they were not so silly as to waste their brains about chimeras, against *non entia*, or such as *Plato's Kterismata's* were. The judicial law is apparent in the holy codex, *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live*: the *Roman* law which the *Decenviri* made, is yet extant in the twelve tables, *Qui fruges incantassent pœnis danto*; They who shall inchant the fruit of the earth let them be punished. The imperial law is known by every civilian; *Hi cum hostes naturæ sint, supplicio afficiantur*; These, meaning witches, because they are enemies to nature, let them be punished. And the acts of parliament in *England* are against those 'that invoke ill spirits, that take up any dead man, woman, or child, or take the skin or bone of any dead body, to employ it to forecery or charm, whereby any one is lamed or made to pine away, &c. such shall be guilty of flat felony, and not capable of clergy or sanctuary, &c.'

What a multitude of examples are there in good authentic authors of divers kinds of fascinations, incantations, prestigiations, of philtres, spells, charms, forceries, characters, and such like; as also of magic, necromancy,
and

and divinations? Surely the witch of *Endor* is no fable; the burning *Joan d'Arc* the maid of *Orleans* in *Rouen*, and of the Marchioness *d'Ancre* of late years in *Paris*, are no fables: the execution of *Nostredamus* for a kind of witch, some fourscore years since, is but a modern story, who among other things foretold, *Le senat de Londres tuera son Roy*; The senate of *London* shall kill their King. The best historians have it upon record, how *Charlemain's* mistress enchanted him with a ring, which as long as she had about her, he would not suffer her dead carcase to be carried out of his chamber to be buried; and a Bishop taking it out of her mouth, the Emperor grew to be as much bewitched with the Bishop; but he being cloyed with his excess of favour, threw it into a pond, where the Emperor's chiefest pleasure was to walk till his dying day. The story tells us, how the *Waldenses* in *France* were by solemn arrest of parliament accused and condemned of witchcraft. The *Malteses* took *St. Paul* for a witch. *St. Augustin* speaks of women who could turn men to horses, and make them carry their burdens. *Danaus* writes of an enchanted staff, which the devil, summoner like, was used to deliver some mercat-women to ride upon. In some of the Northern countries, it is as ordinary to buy and sell winds, as it is to do wines in other parts; and hereof, I could instance in some examples of my own knowledge. Every one knows what *Olaus Magnus* writes of *Erich* (King of *Swethland's*) cornered cap, who could make the wind shift to any point of the compass, according as he turned it about.

Touching diviners of things to come, which is held a species of witchcraft, we may read they were frequent among the *Romans*; yea, they had colleges for their augurs and aruspices, who used to make their predictions sometimes by fire, sometimes by flying of fowls, sometimes by inspection into entrails of beasts, or invoking the dead, but most frequently by consulting with the oracles, to whom all nations had recourse except the *Jews*. But you will say, that since christianity displayed her banners,

the cross hath scared away the devil, and struck the oracles dumb: as *Plutarch* reports a notable passage of *Thamus* an *Italian* pilot, who, a little after the birth of *Christ*, sailing along the coasts of *Calabria* in a still silent night, all his passengers being asleep, an airy cold voice came to his ears, saying, *Thamus, Thamus, Thamus, The great god Pan is dead*, who was the chiefest oracle of that country. Yet though the light of the gospel chased away those great owls, there be some bats and little night-birds that fly still abroad, I mean petty spirits, that by secret pactions, which are made always without witness, enable men and women to do evil. In such compacts beyond the seas, the party must first renounce *Christ*, and the extended woman, meaning the blessed *Virgin*; he must contemn the sacrament, tread on the cross, spit at the host, &c. There is a famous story of such a paction, which *Frier Louis* made some half a hundred years ago with the devil in *Marseilles*, who appeared to him in shape of a goat, and promised him the enjoyment of any woman whom he fancied, with other pleasures, for 41 years; but the devil being too cunning for him put the figure of 1 before, and made it 14 years in the contract, (which is to be seen to this day, with the devil's claw to it) at which time the *Frier* was detected for witchcraft, and burnt; and all those children whom he had christened during that term of fourteen years, were rebaptized: the gentlewomen whom he had abused, put themselves into a nunnery by themselves. Hereunto may be added the great rich widow that was burned in *Lions*, because it was proved the devil had lain with her; as also the history of *Lieutenant Jaquette*, which stands upon record with the former; but, if I should insert them here at large, it would make this letter swell too much.

But we need not cross the sea for examples of this kind, we have too many (God wot) at home. *King James* a great while was loth to believe there were witches; but that which happened to my *Lord Francis of Rutland's* children, convinced him, who were bewitched

witched by an old woman that was servant at *Belvoir* castle; but being displeas'd, she contracted with the devil, (who convers'd with her in form of a cat, whom she call'd *rutterkin*) to make away those children out of mere malignity and thirst of revenge.

But since the beginning of these unnatural wars, there may be a cloud of witnesses produced for the proof of this black tenet: for within the compass of two years near upon 300 witches were arraigned, and the major part executed in *Essex* and *Suffolk* only. *Scotland* swarms with them now more than ever, and persons of good quality are executed daily.

Thus Sir, have I huddled together a few arguments touching this subject, because in my last communication with you, methought I found you somewhat unsatisfied, and staggering in your opinion touching the affirmative part of this thesis, the discussing whereof is far fitter for an elaborate large treatise than a loose letter.

Touching the new commonwealth you intend to establish now, that you have assigned me my part among so many choice legislators: something I shall do to comply with your desires; which shall be always to me as commands, and your commands as laws, because I love and honour you in a very high degree for those gallant free-born thoughts, and sundry parts of virtue which I have discerned in you; which makes me intitle myself

Your most humble and affectionate faithful servant,

Fleet, Feb. 20. 1647. J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXI.

To R. K. Esq; at St. Giles.

S. I R,

DIFFERENCE in opinion, no more than a differing complexion, can be cause enough for me to hate any. A differing fancy is no more to me than a

differing face. If another hath a fair countenance, though mine be black; or if I have a fair opinion, though another have a hard-favoured one, yet it shall not break that common league of humanity, which should be betwixt rational creatures, provided he corresponds with me in the general offices of morality and civil uprightness: this may admit him to my acquaintance and conversation, though I never concur with him in opinion: he bears the image of *Adam*, and the image of the Almighty as well as I: he had God for his father, though he hath not the same church for his mother. The omniscient Creator, as he is only kardiognostic, so he is the sole Lord of the whole inward man: it is he who reigns over the faculties of the soul, and the affections of the heart: it is he who regulates the will, and rectifies all obliquities in the understanding by special illuminations, and oftentimes reconciles men as opposite in opinions, as meridians and parallels are in point of extension, whereof the one draws from East to West, the other from North to South.

Some of the *Pagan* philosophers, especially *Themistius* who was Prætor of *Byzantium*, maintained an opinion, that as the pulchritude and preservation of the world consisted in varieties and dissimilitudes, (as also in eccentric and contrary motions) that as it was replenished with such numberless sorts of several species, and that the individuals of those species differed so much one from the other, especially mankind, amongst whom one shall hardly find two in ten thousand that hath exactly (though twins) the same tone of voice, similitude of face, or ideas of mind; therefore, the *God of Nature* ordained from the beginning, that he should be worshipped in various and sundry forms of adorations, which nevertheless like so many lines should tend all to the same centre. But christian religion prescribes another rule, *viz.* that there is but *una via, una veritas*, there is but one true way to heaven, and that but a narrow one; whereas there be huge roads that lead to hell.

God

God almighty guide us in the first, and guard us from the second, as also from all crofs and uncouth by-paths, which use to lead such giddy brains that follow them to a confused labyrinth of errors; where being intangled, the devil, as they stand gaping for new lights to lead them out, takes his advantage to seize on them for their spiritual pride, and insobriety in the search of more knowledge.

Your most faithful servant,

July 28. 1648.

J. H.

LETTER LXXXII.

To Mr. T. MORGAN.

S I R,

I Received two of yours upon *Tuesday* last, one to your brother, the other to me; but the superscriptions were mistaken, which makes me think upon that famous civilian Dr. Dale, who being employed to *Flanders* by Queen Elizabeth, sent in a packet to the Secretary of State two letters, one to the Queen, the other to his wife; but that which was meant for the Queen was superscribed, *To his dear wife*; and that for his wife, *To her most excellent Majesty*: so that the Queen having opened his letters, she found it beginning with *sweet heart*, and afterwards with *my dear*, and *dear love*, with such expressions, acquainting her with the state of his body, and that he began to want money. You may easily guess what motions of mirth this mistake raised, but the Doctor by this oversight (or cunningness rather) got a supply of money. This perchance may be your policy, to indorse me your brother, thereby to endear me the more unto you; but you needed not to have done that, for the name friend goes sometimes further than brother; and there be more examples of friends that did sacrifice their lives for one another, than of bro-

thers; which the writer doth think he should do for you, if the case required. But since I am fallen upon Dr. Dale, who was a witty kind of drole, I will tell you instead of news, (for there is little good stirring now) of two other facetious tales of his; and familiar tales may become *familiar letters* well enough: when Queen Elizabeth did first propose to him that foreign employment to *Flanders*, among other encouragements, she told him, that he should have 20 s. *per diem* for his expences; then Madam, said he, I will spend 19 s. a day. What will you do with the odd shilling, the Queen replied? I will reserve that for my *Kate*, and for *Tom* and *Dick*, meaning his wife and children: this induced the Queen to enlarge his allowance. But this that comes last is the best of all, and may be called the superlative of the three; which was, when at the overture of the treaty, the other ambassadors came to propose in what language they should treat, the *Spanish* Ambassador answered, that the *French* was the most proper, because his mistress intitled herself *Queen of France*: nay then, said Dr. Dale, let us treat in *Hebrew*, for your master calls himself King of *Jerusalem*.

I performed the civilities you enjoined me to your friends here, who return you the like contuplicated, and so doth.

Your intire friend,

May 12.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXIII.

To the Lord Marquis of Hartford,

My LORD,

I Received your Lordship's of the 11th current, with the commands it carried, whereof I shall give an account in my next. Foreign parts afford not much matter of intelligence, it being now the dead of winter, and the

the season unfit for action; but we need not go abroad for news, there is store enough at home. We see daily mighty things, and they are marvellous in our eyes; but the greatest marvel is, that nothing should now be marvelled at, for we are so habituated to wonders, that they are grown familiar unto us.

Poor *England* may be said to be like a ship tossed up and down the surges of a turbulent sea, having lost her old pilot; and God knows when she can get into safe harbour again: yet doubtless this tempest, according to the usual operations of nature, and the succession of mundane effects by contrary agents, will turn at last into a calm, though many who are yet in their nonage may not live to see it. Your Lordship knows that this κόσμος, this fair frame of the universe came out of a chaos, an indigested lump; and that this elementary world was made of millions of ingredients repugnant to themselves in nature; and the whole is still preserved by the reluctance and restless combatings of these principles. We see how the shipwright doth make use of knee-timber, and other cross-grained pieces as well as of straight and even, for framing a goodly vessel to ride on *Neptune's* back. The printer useth many contrary characters in his art, to put forth a fair volume; as d is a p reversed, and n is an u turned upward, with other differing letters, which yet concur all to the perfection of the whole work. There go many and various dissonant tones to make an harmonious consort: this puts me in mind of an excellent passage which a noble speculative Knight (*Sir P. Herbert*) hath in his late conceptions to his son: how a holy anchoret being in a wilderness, among other contemplations he fell to admire the method of providence, how out of causes which seem bad to us he often produceth good effects: how he suffers virtuous, loyal and religious men to be oppressed, and others to prosper. As he was transported with these ideas, a goodly young man appeared to him, and told him, 'Father, I know your thoughts are distracted, and I am sent to quiet them; therefore if you will accompany me a few days,

' you

‘ you shall return very well satisfied of those doubts
‘ that now incumber your mind.’ So going along with
him, they were to pass over a deep river, whereon there
was a narrow bridge; and meeting there with another
passenger, the young man jostled him into the water, and
so drowned him. The old anchoret being much asto-
nished hereat, would have left him, but his guide said,
‘ Father, be not amazed, because I shall give you good
‘ reasons for what I do, and you shall see stranger things
‘ than this before you and I part, but at last I shall settle
‘ your judgment, and put your mind in full repose.’ So
going that night to lodge in an inn where there was a
crew of banditti, and debauched ruffians, the young man
struck into their company, and revelled with them till the
morning, while the anchoret spent most of the night in
numbering his beads; but as soon as they were departed
thence, they met with some officers who went to apprehend
that crew of banditti they had left behind them. The
next day they came to a gentleman’s house, which was a
fair palace, where they received all the courteous
hospitality which could be; but in the morning as they
parted, there was a child in a cradle, which was the only
son of the gentleman; and the young man spying his
opportunity, strangled the child, and so got away. The
third day they came to another inn, where the man of
the house treated them with all the civility that could be,
and *gratis*; yet the young man embezzled a silver goblet,
and carried it away in his pocket, which still increased
the amazement of the anchoret. The fourth
day in the evening they came to lodge at another inn,
where the host was very fullen, and uncivil to them, ex-
acting much more than the value of what they had spent;
yet at parting, the young man bestowed upon him the
silver goblet he had stolen from that host who had used
them so kindly. The fifth day they made towards a
great rich town; but some miles before they came at it,
they met with a merchant at the close of the day, who
had a great charge of money about him; and asking the
next passage to the town, the young man put him in a
clean

clean contrary way. The anchoret and his guide being come to the town, at the gate they spied a devil, which lay as it were centinel, but he was asleep: they found also both men and women at fundry kinds of sports, some dancing, others singing, with divers forts of revellings. They went afterwards to a convent of capuchins, where, about the gate they found legions of devils, laying siege to that monastery, yet they got in and lodged there that night. Being awaked the next morning, the young man came to that cell where the anchoret was lodged, and told him, ' I know your heart is full of horror, and your head full of confusion, astonishments, and doubts for what you have seen since the first time of our association. But know, that I am an angel sent from heaven to rectify your judgment; as also to correct a little your curiosity in the researches of the ways and acts of providence too far: for though separately, they seem strange to the shallow apprehension of man, yet conjunctly they all tend to produce good effects.

' That man which I tumbled into the river, was an act of providence, for he was going upon a most mischievous design, that would have damnified not only his own soul, but destroyed the party against whom it was intended; therefore I prevented it.

' The cause why I conversed all night with that crew of rogues, was also an act of providence, for they intended to go a robbing all that night, but I kept them there purposely till the next morning, that the hand of justice might seize upon them.

' Touching the kind host from whom I took the silver goblet, and the clownish or knavish host to whom I gave it, let this demonstrate unto you, that good men are liable to crosses and losses, whereof bad men oftentimes reap the benefit; but it commonly produceth patience in the one, and pride in the other.

' Concerning that noble gentleman whose child I strangled after so courteous entertainment, know, that that also was an act of providence; for the gentleman

' was

‘ was so indulgent and doting on that child; that it
 ‘ lessened his love to heaven, so I took away the
 ‘ cause.

‘ Touching the merchant whom I misguided in his
 ‘ way, it was likewise an act of providence; for had he
 ‘ gone the direct way to this town, he had been robbed,
 ‘ and his throat cut, therefore I preserved him by that
 ‘ deviation.

‘ Now concerning this great luxurious city, whereas
 ‘ we spied but one devil which lay asleep without the
 ‘ gate, there being so many about this poor convent, you
 ‘ must consider, that *Lucifer* being already assured of
 ‘ that riotous town by corrupting their manners every
 ‘ day more and more, he needs but one single centinel
 ‘ to secure it: but for this holy place of retirement, this
 ‘ monastery inhabited by so many devout souls, who spend
 ‘ their whole lives in acts of mortification, as exercises
 ‘ of piety and penance, he hath brought so many legions
 ‘ to belaguer them, yet he can do no good upon them,
 ‘ for they bear up against him most undauntedly, maugre
 ‘ all his infernal power and stratagems.’ So the young
 man or divine messenger, suddenly disappeared and van-
 ished; yet leaving his fellow-traveller in good hands.

My Lord, I crave your pardon for this extravagancy,
 and the tediousness thereof; but I hope the sublimity of
 the matter will make some compensation, which if I am
 not deceived, will well sute with your genius; for I
 know your contemplations to be as high as your condi-
 tion, and as much above the vulgar. This figurative
 story shews that the ways of providence are inscrutable,
 his intention and method of operation not conformable
 oftentimes to human judgment, the plummets and line
 whereof is infinitely too short to fathom the depth of his
 designs; therefore let us acquiesce in an humble admira-
 tion, and with this confidence that all things co-operate
 to the best at last, as they relate to his glory, and the
 general good of his creatures, though sometimes they
 appear to us, by uncouth circumstances, and cross me-
 diams.

So in a due distance and posture of humility, I kiss your Lordship's hands, as being, my most highly honoured Lord,

Your thrice obedient, and obliged servitor, J. H.

LETTER LXXXIV.

To Sir EDWARD SPENCER Knight.

S I R,

I Find by your last of the first current, that your thoughts are much busied in forming your new commonwealth: and whereas the province that is allotted to me is to treat of a right way to govern the female sex, I hold my lot to be fallen upon a fair ground, and I will endeavour to husband it accordingly. I find also, that for the establishment of this new republic, you have culled out the choicest wits in all faculties, therefore I account it an honour that you have put me in the list, though the least of them.

In every species of government, and indeed among all societies of mankind, (reclused orders, and other regulars excepted) there must be a special care had of the female kind; for nothing can conduce more to the propagation, and perpetuity of a republic, than the well managing of that gentle and useful sex; for though they be accounted the weaker vessels, yet are they those in whom the whole mass of mankind is moulded, therefore they must not be used like saffron bags, or verde bottles which are thrown into some by-corner when the wine and spice are taken out of them.

It was an opinion truly besitting a *Jew* to hold, that woman is of an inferior creation to man, being made only for multiplication and pleasure; therefore hath she no admittance into the body of the synagogue. Such another opinion was that of the *Pagan* poet who stuttered out
this

this verse, that there are but two good hours of any woman.

Τὴν μίαν ἐν θαλάμῳ, τὴν μίαν ἐν θανάτῳ: *Unam in thalamo, alteram in tumulo*; one hour in bed, the other in the grave. Moreover, I hold also that of the orator to be a wild extravagant speech, when he said, that if women were not conterranean and mingled with men, angels would descend and dwell amongst us. But a far wilder speech was that of the Dog philosopher, who termed women, *necessary evils*. Of this cynical sect, it seems was he, who would needs make *orcus* to be the anagram of *uxor*, by contracting *cs* into an *x*, *uxor* & *orcus*—*idem*.

Yet I confess, that among this sex, as among men, there are some good, some bad, some virtuous, some vicious, and some of an indifferent nature in whom virtue makes a compensation for vice. If there was an Empress in *Rome* so cunning in her lust, that she would take in no passenger until the vessel was freighted, (for fear the resemblance of the child might discover the true father) there was a *Zenobia* in *Asia* who would not suffer her husband to know her carnally no longer when once she found herself quick. If there was a *Queen of France* that poisoned her King, there was a *Queen in England*, who when her husband had been shot with an envenomed arrow in the *Holy-Land*, sucked out the poison with her own mouth, when none else would do it. If the *Lady Barbara* wife to *Sigismund* the Emperor, being advised by her ghostly father after his death to live like a *turtle*, having lost such a mate that the world had not the like, made this wanton answer, *Father, since you would have me to lead the life of a bird, why not of a sparrow, as well as a turtle?* which she did afterwards, I say, if there were such a *Lady Barbara*, there was the *Lady Beatrix*, who after *Henry* her Emperor's death lived after like a *dove*, and inmurred herself in a monastic cell. But what shall I say of *Queen Artemisia* who had an urnful of her husband *Mausolus's* ashes in her closet, whercof she would take down a dram every morning

next her heart, saying, that her body was the fittest place to be a sepulchre to her dear husband, notwithstanding that she had erected such a tomb for the rest of his body, that to this day is one of the wonders of the world?

Moreover, it cannot be denied, but some females are of a high and harsh nature; witness those two that of our greatest clerks for law and learning (Lord *B.* and *C.*) did meet withal, one of whom was said to have brought back her husband to his horn-book again: as also *Moses* and *Socrates's* wives, who were *Zipporah* and *Xantippe*: you may guess at the humour of one in the holy code. The history of the other is also well known.

But a thousand such instances are not able to make me a misogynist, a female foe; therefore towards the polishing and perpetuating of this your new republic, there must be some special rules for regulating of marriage, for a wife is the best or worst fortune that can betide a man throughout the whole train of his life. *Plato's promiscuous concubitus* or copulation is more proper for beasts than rational creatures. That incestuous custom they have in *China*, that one should marry his own sister, and in default of one, the next a kin, I utterly dislike: nor do I approve of that goatish latitude of lust which the *alchoran* allows, for one man to have eight wives, and as many concubines as he can well maintain; nor of another branch of their law, that a man should marry after such an age under pain of mortal sin, (for then what would become of me?) No, I would have every man left at liberty in this point, for there are men enough besides to people the earth.

But that opinion of a poor shallow-brained puppy, who upon any cause of disaffection, would have men to have a privilege to change their wives, or repudiate them, deserves to be hissed at rather than confuted; for nothing can tend more to usher in all confusion and beggary throughout the world: therefore that wiseacre deserves of all others to wear a toting horn. In this republic one man should be contented with one wife, and he may have work enough to do with her; but whereas in other

commonwealths men use to wear invisible horns, it would be a wholesome constitution, that they who upon too much jealousy and restraint, or ill usage of their wives; or, indeed not knowing how to use and man them aright, (which is one of the prime points of masculine discretion,) as also they who according to that barbarous custom in *Russia* do use to beat their wives duly once a week; but especially they who in their absence coop them up and secure their bodies with locks: I say, it would be a very fitting ordinance in this new moulded commonwealth, that all such who impel their wives by these means to do bad things, should wear plain visible horns, that all passengers may beware of them as they go along, and give warning to others, — *Cornu ferit ille, caveto.* For indeed nothing doth incite the mass of blood, and muster up libidinous thoughts more than diffidence, and restraint.

Moreover, in coupling women by way of matrimony it would be a good law, and consentaneous to reason, if out of all dowries exceeding 100 *l.* there should be two out of every *cent.* deducted and put into a common treasury for putting off hard-favoured and poor maids.

Touching virginity and the vestal fire I could wish it were the worst custom the *Roman* church had, when gentle souls to endear themselves the more unto their creator, do immure their bodies within perpetual bounds of chastity, dieting themselves and using austerities accordingly; whereby, bidding a farewell, and dying unto the world, they bury themselves alive, as it were, and so pass their time in constant exercises of piety, and penance night and day, or in some other employments of virtue, holding idleness to be a mortal sin. Were this cloistered course of life merely spontaneous and unforced, I could well be contented that it were practised in your new republic.

But there are other kinds of cloyiers in some commonwealths, and among those who are accounted the wisest and best policied, which cloisters are of a clean contrary nature to the former: these they call the courtesan cloister. And as in others, some females shut up themselves

selves to keep the sacred fire of pudicity and continence, so in these latter there are some of the handsomest sorts of females who are connived at to quench the flames of irregular lust, lest they should break into the lawful married bed. It is true, nature hath poured more active, and hotter blood into the veins of some men wherein there are stronger appetites and motions, which motions were not given by nature to be a torment to man, but to be turned into delight, health and propagation. Therefore they to whom the gift of continence is denied, and have not the conveniency to have *debita vasa*, and lawful coolers of their own by way of wedlock, use to extinguish their fires in these venerean cloisters, rather than abuse their neighbours wives, and break into other mens inclosures. But whether such a custom may be connived at in this your republick, and that such a common may be allowed to them who have no inclosures of their own, I leave to wiser legislators than myself to determine, especially in South-East countries where venerean titillation (which *Scaliger* held to be a fixed outward sense, but ridiculously) is in a stronger degree, I say, I leave others to judge whether such a rendezvous to be connived at in hotter climes, where both air, and food, and the blood of the grape do all concur to make one more libidinous, But it is a vulgar error to think that the heat of the climate is the cause of lust: it proceeds rather from adust choler and melancholy that predominate, which humours carry with them a salt and sharp itching quality.

The dull *Hollander* (with other North-West nations, whose blood may be said to be as butter-milk in their veins) is not so frequently subject to such fits of lust; therefore he hath no such cloisters or houses for ladies of pleasure: witness the tale of *Hans Boobikin*, a rich boor's son, whom his father had sent abroad a *fryaring*, that is, shroving in our language, and so put him in an equipage accordingly, having a new sword and scarf, with a gold hatband, and money in his purse to visit handsome ladies; but *Hans* not knowing where to go else, went to his grandmother's house, where he fell a

courting and feasting of her; but his father questioning him at his return where he had been a *frying*, and he answering that he had been at his grandmother's: the boor replied, God's sacrament, I hope thou hast not lain with my mother! yes, said *Boobikin*, why should not I ly with your mother, as you have lain with mine?

Thus in conformity to your desires, and the task imposed upon me, have I scribled out this piece of drollery, which is the way as I take it, that your design drives at: I reserve some things till I see what others have done in the several provinces they have undertaken towards the settlement of your new republic. So with a thousand thanks for your last hospitable favours, I rest as I have reason, and as you know me to be

Your own true servant,

London, Jan. 24.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXV.

To J. SUTTON, Esq;

S I R,

WHEREAS you desire my opinion of the late history translated by Mr. *Wad.* of the civil wars of *Spain*, in the beginning of *Charles* the Emperor's reign, I cannot chuse but tell you, that it is a faithful and pure maiden story, never blown upon before in any language but in *Spanish*, therefore very worthy your perusal: for among those various kinds of studies that your contemplative soul delights in, I hold history to be most fitting to your quality.

Now among those fundry advantages which accrue to a reader of history, one is, that no modern accident can seem strange unto him, much less astonish him: he will leave off wondering at any thing, in regard he may remember to have read of the same, or much like the same that happened in former times; therefore he doth not

not stand staring like a child at every unusual spectacle, like that simple *American*, who the first time he saw a *Spaniard* on horseback, thought the man and the beast to be but one creature, and that the horse did chew the rings of his bit, and eat them.

Now, indeed, not to be an historian, that is, not to know what foreign nations, and our forefathers did, *Hoc est semper esse puer*, as *Cicero* hath it, this is still to be a child who gazeth at every thing. Whence may be inferred, there is no knowledge that ripeneth the judgment, and puts one out of his nonage sooner than history.

If I had not formerly read the barons wars in *England*, I had more admired that of the ligners in *France*: he who had read the near upon fourscore years wars in *Low-Germany*, I believe he never wondered at the late wars in *High-Germany*. I had wondered more that *Richard of Bordeaux* was knocked down with halberds; had I not read formerly that *Edward of Carnarvon* was made away by a hot iron thrust up his fundament. It was strange that *Murat* the great *Ottoman* Emperor should be lately strangled in his own court at *Constantinople*; yet considering that *Osman* his predecessor had been knocked down by one of his ordinary slaves not many years before, it was not strange at all. The blazing star in *Virgo* thirty-four years since did not seem strange to him who had read of that which appeared in *Cassiopeia* and other constellations some years before. Hence may be inferred, that history is the great looking-glass through which we may behold with ancestral eyes, not only the various actions of ages passed, and the odd accidents that attend time, but also discern the different humours of men, and feel the pulse of former times.

This history will display the very intrinsicals of the *Cassilian*, who goes for the prime *Spaniard*; and make the opinion a paradox, which cries him up to be so constant to his principles, so loyal to his prince, and so conformable to government, for it will discover as much levity, and tumultuary passions in him as in other nations.

Among divers other examples which could be produced out of this story, I will instance in one: when *Juan de Padillia* an infamous fellow, and of base extraction, was made General of the people, among others there was a Priest, that being a great zealot for him, used to pray for him publickly in the church, ‘ Let us pray for the holy commonalty, and his majesty Don *Juan de Padillia*, and for the Lady *Donna Maria Pacheco* his wife, &c.’ But a little after some of *Juan de Padillia*’s soldiers having quartered in his house, and pitifully plundered him, the next *Sunday* the same Priest said in the church, ‘ Beloved christians, you know how *Juan de Padillia* passing this way, some of his brigade were billeted in my house: truly they have not left me one chicken, they have drunk up a whole barrel of wine, devoured my bacon, and taken away my *Catalina*, my maid *Kate*; I charge you therefore pray no more for him.’ Divers such traverses as these may be read in that story, which may be the reason why it was suppressed in *Spain*, that it should not cross the seas, or clamber over the *Pyreneans* to acquaint other nations with their foolery and baseness: yet Mr. *Simon Digby*, a gentleman of much worth, got a copy, which he brought over with him, out of which this translation is derived, though I must tell you by the by, that some passages were commanded to be omitted, because they had too near an analogy with our times.

So in a serious way of true friendship, I profess myself,

Your most affectionate servant,

London Jan. 15.

J. H.

LETTER LXXXVI.

To the Lord Marquis of Dorchester.

My LORD,

THERE is a sentence that carrieth a high sense with it, *viz. Ingenia principum fata temporum*; The fancy of the Prince is the fate of the times: so in point of peace or war, oppression or justice, virtue or vice, profaneness or devotion: for *Regis ad exemplum*. But there is another saying which is as true, *viz. Genius plebis est fatum Principis*; The happiness of the Prince depends upon the humour of the people. There cannot be a more pregnant example hereof, than in that successful and long-lived Queen, Queen *Elizabeth*, who having come as it were from the scaffold to the throne, enjoyed a wonderful calm, (excepting some short gusts of insurrection that happened in the beginning) for near upon forty-five years together. But this, my Lord, may be imputed to the temper of the people, who had had a boisterous King not long before, with so many revolutions in religion, and a minor King afterward, which made them to be governed by their fellow-subjects. And the fire and faggot being frequent among them in Queen *Mary's* days, the humours of the common people were pretty well spent, and so were willing to conform to any government that might preserve them and their estates in quietness. Yet in the reign of that so popular and well-beloved Queen, there were many traverses which trenched as much if not more upon the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people, than any that happened in the reign of the two last kings, yet it was not their fate to be so popular. Touching the first, *viz. parliament*: in one of hers, there was a motion made in the house of commons, that there should be a lecture in the morning some days of the week before they sat, whereunto the house was very inclinable: the Queen hearing of it sent them a message, that she much wondered at their

their rashness, that they should offer to introduce such an innovation.

Another parliament would have proposed ways for the regulation of her court, but she sent them another such message, 'That she wondered, they being called by her thither to consult of public affairs, they should intermeddle with the government of her ordinary family, and to think her to be so ill an housewife as not to be able to look to her own house herself.'

In another parliament there was a motion made, that the Queen should entail the succession of the crown, and declare her next heir; but *Wentworth* who proposed it, was committed to the *Tower*, where he breathed his last; and *Bromely* upon a less occasion was clapped in the *Fleet*.

Another time the house petitioning that some lords might join in private committees with the commoners, she utterly rejected it. You know how *Stubbs* and *Page* had their hands cut off with a butcher's knife and a mallet, because they wrote against the match with the Duke of *Anjou*; and *Penry* was hanged at *Tyburn*, though *Allured* who wrote a bitter invective against the late *Spanish* match, was but confined for a short time: how Sir *John Heywood* was shut up in the *Tower*, for an epistle dedicatory to the Earl of *Essex*, &c.

Touching her favourites, what a monster of a man was *Leicester*, who first brought the art of poisoning into *England*? How many of her maids of honour did receive claps at court? Add hereunto that privy-seals were common in her days, and pressing of men more frequent, especially for *Ireland*, where they were sent in handfuls, rather to continue a war, (by the cunning of the officers) than to conclude it. The three fleets she sent against the *Spaniards* did hardly make the benefit of the voyages to countervail the charge. How poorly did the *English* quit *Havre-de-Grace*? And how were we baffled for the arrears that were due unto *England* (by article) for the forces sent into *France*? For buildings, with all kind of braveries else that use to make a nation

happy,

happy, as riches and commerce inward and outward, it was not the twentieth part so much in the best of her days, (as appears by the custom house book) as it was in the reign of her successors.

Touching the religion of the court, she seldom came to sermon, but in *Lent* time, nor did there use to be any sermon upon *Sundays*, unless they were festivals: whereas, the succeeding kings had two duly every morning, one for the household, the other for themselves, where they were always present, as also at private prayers in the closet; yet it was not their fortune to gain so much upon the affections of city or country. Therefore, my Lord, the felicity of Queen *Elizabeth* may be much imputed to the rare temper and moderation of mens minds in those days; for the pulse of the common people and *Londoners*, did beat nothing so high as it did afterwards when they grew pampered with so long peace and plenty. Add hereunto, that neither *Hans*, *Jocky*, or *John Calvin*, had taken such footing here as they did get afterwards, whose humour is to pry and peep with a kind of malice into the carriage of the court, and mysteries of state, as also to malign nobility, with the wealth and solemnities of the church.

My Lord, it is far from my meaning hereby to let drop the least aspersion upon the tomb of that rare renowned Queen; but it is only to observe the differing temper both of time and people. The fame of some princes is like the rose, which, as we find by experience, smells sweeter after it is plucked: the memory of others is like the tulip and poppy, which make a gay shew, and fair flourish upon the stalk, but being cut down, they give an ill-favoured scent. It was the happiness of that great long-lived Queen to cast a pleasing odour among her people both while she stood, and after she was cut off by the common stroke of mortality; and the older the world grows, the fresher her fame will be. Yet she is little beholden to any foreign writers, unless it be the *Hollanders*; and good reason they had to speak well of her, for she was the chiefest instrument, who, though
with

with the expence of much *English* blood and bullion, raised them to a republic, by casting that fatal bone for the *Spaniard* to gnaw upon, which shook his teeth so ill-favourably for fourscore years together. Other writers speak bitterly of her for her carriage to her sister the *Queen of Scots*, for her ingratitude to her brother *Philip of Spain*; for giving advice by her Ambassador with the *Great Turk*, to expel the jesuits, who had got a college in *Pera*; as also that her Secretary *Walsingham* should project the poisoning of the waters of *Do-uay*; and lastly, how she suffered the festival of the nativity of the *Virgin Mary* in *September* to be turned to her own birth-day, &c. But these stains are cast upon her by her enemies; and the aspersions of an enemy use to be like the dirt of oysters, which doth rather cleanse than contaminate.

Thus my Lord, have I pointed at some remarks, to shew how various and discrepant the humours of a nation may be, and the genius of the times, from what it was; which doubtless must proceed from a high all-disposing power: a speculation that may become the greatest, and knowingest spirits, among whom your Lordship doth shine as a star of the first magnitude; for your house may be called a true academy, and your head the capitol of knowledge, or rather an exchequer, wherein there is treasure enough to give pensions to all the wits of the times. With these thoughts, I rest, my most highly honoured Lord,

Your ever obedient, and ever obliged servant,
 Lond. Aug. 15.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXVII.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare.

My LORD,

AMONG those high parts that go to make up a grandee, which I find concentrated in your Lordship, one is, the exact knowledge you have of many languages,

guages, not in a superficial vapouring way, as some of our gallants have now a-days, but in a most exact manner both in point of practice and theory. This induced me to give your Lordship an account of a task that was imposed lately upon me by an emergent occasion, touching the original, the growth, the changes, and present consistence of the *French* language, which I hope may afford your Lordship some entertainment.

There is nothing so incident to all sublunary things as corruptions and changes: nor is it to be wondered at, considering that the elements themselves, which are the principles or primitive ingredients whereof they be compounded, are naturally so qualified. It were as easy a thing for the spectator's eye to fasten a firm shape upon a running cloud, or to cut out a garment that but for a few days together might fit the moon, (who by privilege of her situation and neighbourhood, predominates more over us than any other celestial body) as to find stability in any thing here below.

Nor is this common frailty, or fatality rather, incident only to the grosser sort of elementary creatures, but mankind, upon whom it pleased the Almighty to imprint his own image, and make him as it were Lord paramount of this lower world, is subject to the same lubricity of mutation: neither is his body and blood only liable thereunto, but the ideas of his mind, and interior operation of his soul, religion herself, with the notion of holiness, and the formality of saving faith not excepted; nay, the very faculty of reason (as we find it too true by late experience) is subject to the same instableness.

But to come to our present purpose, among other privileges which are peculiar to mankind, as emanations flowing from the intellect, language is none of the least. And languages are subject to the same fits of inconstancy and alteration, as much as any thing else, especially the *French* language: nor can it seem strange to those who know the airy volatile humour of that nation, that their speech should partake somewhat of the disposition of their spirit, but will rather wonder it hath received no oftner change,

change, especially considering what outward causes did also concur thereunto; as, that their kings should make six several voyages to conquer or preserve what was got in the *Holy-Land*; considering also how the *English* being a people of another speech, kept firm footing in the heart of *France*. Add hereunto the wars and weddings they had with their neighbours, which, by the long sojourn of their armies in other countries caused by the first, and the foreign courtiers that came in with the second, might introduce a frequent alteration: for languages are like laws or coins, which commonly receive some change at every shift of princes; or as slow rivers, by insensible alluvions take in and let out the waters that feed them, yet are they said to have the same beds; so languages, by a regardless adoption of some new words, and manumission of old, do often vary, yet the whole bulk of the speech keeps intire.

Touching the true antient and genuine language of the *Gauls*, some would have it to be a dialect of the *Dutch*, others of the *Greek*, and some of the *British* or *Welsh*. Concerning this last opinion, there be many reasons to fortify it, which are not altogether to be slighted.

The first is, that the antient *Gauls* used to come frequently to be instructed here by the *British* druids who were the divines and philosophers of those times, which they would not probably have done, unless by mutual communication they had understood one another in some vulgar language, for this was before the *Greek* or *Latin* came this side the *Alps*, or that any books were written, and there are no meaner men then *Tacitus* and *Cesar* himself who record this.

The second reason is, that there want not good geographers who hold, that this island was tied to *Gallia* at first (as some say *Sicily* was to *Calabria*, and *Denmark* to *Germany*) by an *isthmus* or neck of land from *Calais* to *Dover*; for if one do well observe the quality of the cliffs on both shores, his eye will judge that they were but one homogeneal piece of earth at first, and that they

were

were flented and shivered asunder by some act of violence, as the impetuous waves of the sea.

The third reason is, that before the *Romans* conquered the *Gauls*, the country was called *Wallia*, which the *Romans* called *Gallia*, turning *W* into *G*, as they did elsewhere: yet the *Walloon* keeps his radical letter to this day.

The fourth reason is, that there be divers old *Gaulick* words yet remaining in the *French*, which are pure *British*, both for sense and pronounciation, as *havre* a haven, which is the same in *Welsh*, *derechef* again, *putaine* a whore, *arrain* brass-money, *prou* an interjection of stopping, or driving of a beast; but especially, when one speaks any old word in *French* that cannot be understood, they say *il parle baragouin*, which is to this day in *Welsh*, white bread.

Lastly, *Pausanias* saith, that *Mark* in the celtick old *French* tongue signifieth a horse, and it signifieth the same in *Welsh*.

But though it be disputable whether the *British*, *Greek*, or *Dutch* was the original language of the *Gauls*, certain it is that it was the *Walloon*; but I confine myself to *Gallia Celtica*, which when the *Roman* eagle had fastened his talons there, and planted twenty-three legions up and down the country, he did in tract of time utterly extinguish: it being the ordinary ambition of *Rome*, where-soever she prevailed, to bring in her language and laws with the lance; which yet she could not do in *Spain*, or this island, because they had posts and places of fastness to retire unto, as *Biscay* and *Wales*, where nature hath cast up those mountains as propugnacles of defence, therefore the very aboriginal languages of both countries remain there to this day. Now *France* being a passable and plain pervious continent, the *Romans* quickly diffused and rooted themselves in every part thereof, and so coplanted their language, which in a short revolution of time came to be called *Roman*; but when the *Franco-nians*, a people of *Germany*, came afterwards to invade

and possess *Gallia*, both speech and people was called *French* ever after, which is near 1300 years since.

Now as all other things have their degrees of growing, so languages have before they attain a perfection. We find that the *Latin* herself in the times of the *Sabines* was but rude; afterwards under *Ennius* and *Cato* the Censor it was refined in twelve tables; but in *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, and *Sallust's* time it came to the highest pitch of purity; and so dainty were the *Romans* of their language then, that they would not suffer any exotic or strange word to be enfranchised among them, or enter into any of their *diplomata*, and public instruments of command, or justice. The word *emblema* having got into one, it was thrust out by an express edict of the senate; but *monopolium* had with much ado leave to stay in, yet not without a large preface and apology. A little after, the *Latin* tongue in the vulgarity thereof began to degenerate, and decline very much; out of which degeneration sprang up the *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*.

Now, the *French* language being set thus upon a *Latin* stock, hath received since sundry habitudes, yet retaining to this day some *Latin* words intire, as *animal*, *cadaver*, *tribunal*, *non, plus, qui, os*, with a number of others.

Childeric, one of the first race of *French* kings commanded by public edict, that the four *Greek* letters Θ \times Φ Ψ should be added to the *French* alphabet to make the language more masculine and strenuous; but afterwards it was not long observed.

Nor is it a worthless observation, that languages use to comply with the humour, and to display much the inclination of a people. The *French* nation is quick and spritful, so is his pronounciation: the *Spaniard* is slow and grave, so is his pronounciation: for the *Spanish* and *French* languages being but branches of the *Latin* tree, the one may be called *Latin* shortened, and the other *Latin* drawn out at length; as *corpus*, *caput*, *tempus*, &c. are monosyllables in *French*, as *corps*, *temps*, *caps*, or *chef*; whereas the *Spaniard* doth add to them, as *cuerpo*,

po, tiempo, cabeza. And indeed of any other the *Spaniard* affects long words, for he makes some thrice as long as they are in *French*, as of *levement*, arising, he makes *levantamiento*; of *compliment* he makes *complimento*: besides, the *Spaniard* doth use to pause in his pronounciation, that his tongue seldom fore-runs his wit, and his brain may very well raise a second thought before the first be uttered. Yet is not the *French* so hasty in his utterance as he seems to be, for his quickness or volubility proceeds partly from that concatenation he useth among his syllables, by linking the syllable of the precedent word with the last of the following, so that sometimes a whole sentence is made in a manner but one word; and he who will speak the *French* roundly and well, must observe this rule.

The *French* language began first to be polished, and arrive to that delicacy she is now come unto, in the midst of the reign of *Philip de Valois*. *Marot* did something under *Francis I.* (which King was a restorer of learning in general, as well as of language) but *Ronsard* did more under *Henry II.* Since these kings there is little difference in the context of speech, but only in the choice of words, and softness of pronounciation, proceeding from such wanton spirits that did miniardize and make the language more dainty and feminine.

But to shew what changes the *French* hath received from what it was, I will produce these few instances in verse and prose, which I found in some antient authors: the first shall be of a gentlewoman that translated *Eseop's* fables many hundred years since out of *English* into *French*, where she concludes:

- ' Au finement de cest' escrit
- ' Qu'en *Romans* ay tourne et dit;
- ' Me nommer ay par remembrance,
- ' *Marie* ay nom je suis de *France*;
- ' Per l'amour de conte *Guillaume*
- ' Le plus vaillant de ce royaume,
- ' M' entremis de ce livre faire

- ‘ Et de l’*Anglois* en *Roman* traire,
- ‘ *Eslope* appelle l’on cil livre,
- ‘ Qu’on translato et fit escrire;
- ‘ De *Griec* en *Latin* le tourna,
- ‘ Et le Roy *Alvert* qui l’ama,
- ‘ Le translata puis en *Angloiz*,
- ‘ Et je l’ay tourne en *Francois*.

Out of the *Roman de la Rose* I will produce this example:

- ‘ Quand ta bouche toucha la moye,
- ‘ Ce fut dont au cœur jeus joye;
- ‘ Sire juge, donnes sentence
- ‘ Par moy, car, la pucelle est moye.’

Two of the most antient and approvedest authors in *French* are *Jeffrey de Villardovin* Marshal of *Campagne*, and *Hugues de Bersy*, a Monk of *Clogny*, in the reign of *Philippe Auguste*, above 500 years since: from them I will borrow these two ensuing examples, the first from the Marshal upon a *croisada* into the *Holy-Land*.

‘ Schachiez que l’an 1188 ans apres l’incarnation al temps *Innocent III.* apostoille de *Rome*, et *Philippe* Roy de *France*, et *Richard* Roy d’*Engleterre* eut un Saint homme en *France*, qui et nom folque de nuilly, et il ere prestre, et tenoit le paroichre de la ville et ce folque commença a parler de biex, et nostre sire fit manits miracles par luy, &c.’

Hugues de Bersy who made the *Guiot* bible so much spoken in *France*, begins thus in verse:

- ‘ D’oun siecle puant et horrible
- ‘ M’e stuet commencer une bible,
- ‘ Per poindre, et per ai guillonner
- ‘ Et per bons exemples donner,
- ‘ Ce n’ert une bible bisongere
- ‘ Ma’ fine, et voire et droit uriere
- ‘ Mironer ert a tontis gens.’

If one would compare the *English* that was spoken in those times, which is about 560 years since, with the present, he should find a greater alteration.

But to know how much the modern *French* differs from the antient, let him read our common law, which was held good *French* in *William* the Conqueror's time.

Furthermore, among other observations, I find that there are some single words antiquated in the *French*, which seem to be more significant than those that are come in their places; as *maratre*, *paratre*, *filatre*, *se-rouge*, a step-mother, a step-father, a son or daughter-in-law, a sister-in-law, which now they express in two words, *belle mere*, *beau pere*, *belle sœur*. Moreover, I find there are some words now in *French* which are turned to a counter-sense; as we use the *Dutch* word *crank* in *English* to be well-disposed, which in the original signifieth to be sick. So in *French*, *cocu* is taken for one whose wife is light, and hath made him a passive cuckold; whereas clean contrary, *cocu*, which is the cuckow, doth use to lay her eggs in another bird's nest. This word *pleiger* is also to drink after one is drunk unto; whereas the true sense of the word was, that if the party drunk unto was not disposed to drink himself, he would put another for a pledge to do it for him, else the party who began would take it ill. Besides, this word *abry* derived from the *Latin* *apricus* is taken in *French* for a close place or shelter, whereas in the original it signifieth an open free sun-shine. They now term in *French* a free boon companion, *roger bon temps*, whereas the original is, *rouge bon temps*, reddish and fair weather: they use also in *France*, when one hath a good bargain, to say, *Il a joue a boule veue*, whereas the original is *a bonne veue*. A beacon or watch-tower is called *beffroy*, whereas the true word is *l'effroy*: a travelling warrant is called *passéport*, whereas the original is *passé par tout*. When one is grown hoarse, they use to say, *Il a veu le loup*, he hath seen the wolf; whereas that effect of hoarseness is wrought in whom the wolf hath seen first, according to *Pliny*, and the poet,—*Lupi*

illum videre priores. There is another saying or proverb which is observable, whereby *France* doth confess herself to be still indebted to *England*, which is, when one hath paid all his creditors, he useth to say, *j'ay paye tous mes anglois*; so that in this, and other phrases *anglois* is taken for *craencier* or creditor; and I presume it had its foundation from this, that when the *French* were bound by treaty in *Bretigny*, to pay *England* so much for the ransom of King *John* then prisoner, the contribution lay so heavy upon the people that for many years they could not make up the sum. The occasion might be seconded in *Henry VIII's* time at the surrendery of *Bullen*, and upon other treaties; as also in *Queen Elizabeth's* reign, besides the monies which she had disbursed herself to put the crown on *Henry IV's* head; which makes me think on a passage that is recorded in *Pasquier*, that happened when the Duke of *Anjou* under pretence of wooing the Queen, came over into *England*, who being brought to her presence, she told him, 'He was come in good time to remain a pledge for the monies that *France* owed her father; and other of her progenitors;' whereunto the Duke answered, 'That he was come not only to be a pledge, but her close prisoner.'

There be two other sayings in *French*, which though they be obsolete, yet are they worthy the knowledge: the first is, *Il a perduc ses cheveux*, he hath lost his hair, meaning his honour: for in the first race of kings there was a law called, *La loy de la cheveleure*, whereby it was lawful for the *noblesse* only to wear long hair, and if any of them had committed some foul and ignoble act, they used to be condemned to have their long hair to be cut off as a mark of ignominy; and it was as much as if he had been *flouerdelized*, viz. burnt on the back or hand, or branded in the face.

The other proverb is, *Il a quitté sa cienture*, he hath given up his girdle, which intimated as much as if he had become bankrupt, or had all his estate forfeited: it being the antient law of *France*, that when any upon some offence

fence had that penalty of confiscation inflicted upon him, he used before the tribunal of justice to give up his girdle, implying thereby, that the girdle held every thing that belonged to a man's estate, as his budget of money and writings, the key of his house, with his sword, dagger, and gloves, &c.

I will add hereunto another proverb which had been quite lost, had not our order of the garter preserved it; which is, *Hony soit qui mal y pense*; this we *English*, *Ill to him who thinks ill*, though the true sense be, *Let him be bewrayed who thinks any ill*: being a metaphor taken from a child that hath bewrayed his clouts; and I dare say, there is not one of a hundred in *France* who understands this word now a-days.

Furthermore, I find in the *French* language, that the same fate hath attended some *French* words, as usually attend men, among whom some rise to preferment, others fall to decay and an undervalue. I will instance in a few: this word *maistre* was a word of high esteem in former times among the *French*, and applicable to noblemen, and others in high office only; but now it is fallen from the Baron to the boor, from the Count to the cobbler, or any other artisan; as *Maitre Jean le sauvetier*, Mr. *John* the cobbler; *Maitre Jaquet le cabaretier*, Mr. *Jammy* the tapster.

Sire was also appropriate only to the King: but now, adding a name after it, it is applicable to any mean man upon the indorsement of a letter or otherwise; but this word *souverain* hath raised itself to that pitch of greatness, that it is applied now only to the King, whereas in times passed, the president of any court, any bailiff or seneschal, was used to be called *souverain*.

Marshal likewise was at first the name of a smith, farrier, or one that dressed horses; but it is climbed by degrees to that height, that the chiefest commanders of the gendarmery and militia of *France* are come to be called *marshals*, which about 100 years since were but two in all, whereas now they are twelve.

The

The title *majesty* hath no great antiquity in *France*, for it began in *Henry II's* time. And indeed the style of *France* at first as well as of other countries, was to *tutoyer*, that is, to thou any person that one spake unto, though never so high: but when the commonwealth of *Rome* turned to an empire, and so much power came into one man's hand, then, in regard he was able to confer honour, and offices, the courtiers began to magnify him, and treat him in the plural number by *tou*, and by degrees to deify him by transcending titles; as we read in *Symmachus*, in his epistles to the Emperor *Theodosius*, and to *Valentinian*, where his style to them is, *Vestra aternitas, vestrum numen, vestra perenitas, vestra clementia*; so that *you* in the plural number, with other compliments and titles, seem to have their first rise with the Western monarchy, which afterwards by degrees descended upon particular persons.

The *French* tongue hath divers dialects, *viz.* the *Picardy*, that of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, appendixes once of *Normandy*; the *Provensal*, the *Gascon*, or the speech of *Languedoc*, which *Scaliger* would etymologize from *Langue d'ouy*, whereas it comes truly from *Langue de got*, in regard the *Goths* and *Saracens*, who by their incursions and long stay in *Aquitain*, first corrupted the speech of *Gallia*: the *Walloon* is another dialect, which is under the King of *Spain*: they also of *Liege* have a dialect of the *French*, which among themselves they call *Roman* to this day.

Touching the modern *French* that is spoken now in the King's court, the court of parliament, and in the universities of *France*, there hath been lately a great competition which was the best; but by the learnedest, and most indifferent persons, it was adjudged that the style of the King's court was the purest and most elegant, because the other two did smell, the one of pedantry, the other of chicanery. And the late Prince of *Conde*, with the Duke of *Orleans* that now is, were used to have a censor in their houses, that if any of their family spoke any word

word that favoured of the palace or the schools, he should incur the penalty of an amercement.

The late Cardinal *Richlieu* made it part of his glory to advance learning, and the *French* language. Among other monuments he erected an university where the sciences should be read and disputed in *French* for the ease of his countrymen, whereby they might presently fall to the matter, and not spend time to study words only.

Thus have I presumed to send your Lordship a rambling discourse of the *French* language passed and present, humbly expecting to be corrected when you shall please to have perused it. So, I subscribe myself

Your Lordship's thrice obedient servant,

London, Oct. 1.

J. H.

L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

To Sir J. Tho. Knight.

S I R,

THERE is no request of yours but is equivalent to a command with me; and whereas you crave my thoughts touching a late history published by one Mr. *Wilson*, which relates the life of King *James*, though I know for many years your own judgment to be strong and clear enough of itself, yet to comply with your desires, and for to oblige you that way another time to me, I will deliver you my opinion.

I cannot deny but the thing is a painful piece, and proceeds after a handsome method, in drawing on the series and head of the story; but it is easily discernable, that a partial presbyterian vein goes constantly throughout the whole work, and you know it is the genius of that people to pry more than they should into the courts and compartments of princes, and take any occasion to traduce and bespatter them: so doth this writer, who endeavours all along (among other things) to make the world believe
that

that King *James* and his son after him were inclined to popery, and to bring it into *England*; whereas I dare avouch, that neither of them entertained the least thought that way, they had as much design to bring in *Prefter-John* as the Pope, or *Mabomet* as soon as the mass. This conceit made the writer to be subject to many gross mistakes and misrepresentations, which so short a circuit as a letter cannot comprehend.

Yet I will instance in one gross mistake he hath in relating a passage which concerns Sir *Elias Hicks*, a worthy Knight, and a fellow-servant of yours and mine. And he doth not only misrepresent the business, but he foully asperseth him with the terms of unworthiness and infamy. The truth of that passage is as followeth, and I had it from very good hands.

In the year, 1621. the *French King* making a general war against them of the religion, beleaguered *Montauban* in person, while the Duke of *Esperton* blocked up *Rochel*. The King having lain a good while before the town, a cunning report was raised that *Rochel* was surrendered: this report being blown into *Montauban*, must needs dishearten them of *Rochel*, being the prime and tenablest propugnacle they had: Mr. *Hicks* happened to be then in *Rochel*, being commended by Sir *George Goring* to the Marquis *de la Force*, who was one of them that commanded in chief, and treated Mr. *Hicks* with much civility, so far that he took him to be one of his domestic attendants. The *Rochellers* had sent two or three special envoys to *Montauban* to acquaint them with their good condition, but it seems they all miscarried; and the Marquis being troubled in his thoughts one day, Mr. *Hicks* told him, that by God's favour he would undertake and perform the service to *Montauban*: hereupon he was put accordingly in equipage; so after ten days journey, he came to a place called *Moyzak*, where my Lord of *Doncaster*, afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*, was in quality of Ambassador from *England*, to observe the *French King's* proceedings, and to mediate a peace betwixt him and the protestants. At his first arrival thither, it

was his good hap to meet casually with Mr. *Peregrin Fairfax*, one of the Lord Ambassador's retinue, who had been a former comrade of his : among other civilities he brought Mr. *Hicks* to wait upon the Ambassador, to whom he had credential letters from the assembly of *Rochel*, acquainting his Lordship with the good state they were in : Mr. *Hicks* told him besides that he was engaged to go to *Montauban* as an envoy from *Rochel*, to give them true information how matters stood. The Ambassador replied, that it was too great a trust to put upon so young shoulders : so Mr. *Hicks* being upon going to the *French* army which lay before *Montauban*, Mr. *Fairfax* would needs accompany him thither to see the trenches and works ; being come thither, they met with one Mr. *Thomas Webb* that belonged to the Marshal *St. Gerand*, who lodged them both in his own hut that night ; and having shewed them the batteries and trenches the day after, Mr. *Hicks* took notice of one place which lay most open for his design, resolving with himself to pass that way to the town. He had told *Fairfax* of his purpose before, who discovering it to *Webb*, *Webb* asked him whether he came thither to be hanged ; for divers were used so a little before. The next day *Hicks* taking his leave of *Webb*, desired *Fairfax* to stay behind, which he refusing, did ride along with him to the place which *Hicks* had pointed out the day before for his design, and there *Fairfax* left him. So having got betwixt the *Corps de gard* and the town, he put spurs to his horse, and waving his pistol about his head, got in, being pursued almost to the walls of the town by the King's party : being entered, old Marshal *de la Force* who was then in *Montauban* having heard his relations of *Rochel*, fell on his neck and wept, saying, that he would give 1000 crowns he were as safely got back to *Rochel* as he came thither ; and having staid there three weeks, he, in a sally that the town made one evening, got clear through the leaguer before *Montauban*, as he had formerly done before that of the Duke of *Espernon*, and so recovered *Rochel* again. But to return to Mr. *Fairfax*, after he had parted with

Mr.

Mr. *Hicks* he was taken prisoner, and threatened the rack, but whether out of the apprehension thereof, or otherwise, he died a little after of a fever at *Moyfac*; though it is true that the *gazettes* in *Paris* did publish that he died of the torture, with the *French* mercury since.

Mr. *Hicks* being returned to *London*, was questioned by Sir *Ferdinando Fairfax* for his brother's death: thereupon Mr. *Webb* being also come back to *London*, who was upon the very place where these things happened in *France*, Mr. *Hicks* brought him along with him to Sir *Ferdinand's* lodgings, who did positively affirm, that Mr. *Hicks* had communicated his design to Mr. *Peregrin Fairfax*, and that he revealed it first to him; so he did fairly vindicate Mr. *Hicks*, wherewith Sir *Ferdinand* remained fully satisfied, and all his kindred.

Whosoever will observe the carriage and circumstance of this action, will needs confess that Mr. *Hicks* (now Sir *Elias Hicks*) did comport himself like a worthy gentleman from the beginning to the end thereof: the design was generous, the conduct of it discreet, and the conclusion very prosperous, in regard it preserved both *Montauban* and *Rochel* for that time from the fury of the enemy; for the King raised his siege a little after from before the one, and *Espernon* from the other. Therefore it cannot be denied but that the said writer (who so largely intitles his book the *History of Great Britain*, though it be but the particular reign of King *James* only) was very much to blame for branding so well a deserving gentleman with infamy and unworthiness, which are the words he pleaseth to bestow upon him; and I think he would willingly recant and retract his rash censure were he now living, but death pressed him away before the press had done with his book, whereof he may be said to have died in child-bed.

So presenting herewith unto you my hearty respects and love, endeared and strengthened by so long a tract of time, I rest,

Your faithful true servant,

London, Nov. 9.

J. H.
L E T-

LETTER LXXXIX.

To J. ANDERSON, Esq;

S I R,

YOU have been often at me (though I know you to be a protestant so in grain, that all the water of the *Tyber* is not able to make you change colour) that I should impart to you in writing what I observed commendable and discommendable in the *Roman* church, because I had eaten my bread often in those countries where that religion is professed and practised in the greatest height. Touching the second part of your request, I need not say any thing to it, for there be authors enough of our church to inform you about the positions and tenets wherein we differ, and for which we blame them. Concerning the first part, I will give you a short intimation what I noted to be praise worthy and imitable in point of practice.

The government of the *Roman* church is admirable, being moulded with as much policy as the wit of man can reach unto; and there must be civil policy as well as ecclesiastical used to keep such a world of people of several nations and humours in one religion: though at first when the church extended but to one chamber, then to one house, after to one parish, then to one province, such policy was not so requisite. For the church of Christ may be compared to his person in point of degrees of growing; and as that coat which served him in his childhood could not fit him in his youth, nor that of his youth when he was come to his manhood, no more would the same government (which compared to the fundamentals of faith, that are still the same, are but as outward garments) fit all ages of the church, in regard those millions of accidents that use to attend time, and the mutable humours of men: insomuch that it was a wholesome caution of an ancient father, *Distingas inter tempora, & concordabis*

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cum

cum scriptura. This government is like a great fabric reared up with such exact rules of art and architecture, that the foundation, the roof, sides, and angles, with all the other parts, have such a dependance of mutual support by a rare contignation, concinnity, and indentings one in the other, that if you take but out one stone, it hazards the downfall of the whole edifice. This makes me think that the church of *Rome* would be content to part with, and rectify some things, if it might not endanger the ruin of the whole; which puts the world in despair of an oecumenical council again.

The uniformity of this fabric is also to be admired, which is such as if it were but one intire continued homogeneous piece: for put case a *Spaniard* should go to *Poland*, and a *Pole* should travel to the furthest part of *Spain*, whereas all other objects may seem strange to them in point of lodging, language and diet, though the complexion and faces, the behaviour, garb, and garments of men, women and children, be differing, together with the very air and clime of the place; though all things seem strange unto them, and so somewhat uncomfortable, yet when they go to God's house in either country, they may say they are there at home: for nothing differs there either in language, worship, service, or ceremony; which must needs be an unspeakable comfort to either of them.

Thirdly, it must needs be a commendable thing that they keep their churches so cleanly and amiable, for the dwellings of the Lord of hosts should be so: to which end your greatest ladies will rise before day sometimes in their night-cloaths to fall a sweeping some part of the church, and decking it with flowers, as I heard Count *Gondomar's* wife used to do here at *Ely-house* chapel; besides, they keep them in constant repair, so that if but a quarry of glass chance to be broken, or the least stone be out of square, it is presently mended. Moreover, their churches stand wide open early and late, inviting as it were all comers, so that a poor troubled soul may have access thither at all hours to breath out the pantings
of

of his heart, and the ejaculations of his soul either in prayer or praise: nor is there any exception of persons in their churches, for the cobbler will kneel with the Count, and the laundress gig by geoul with her Lady, there being no pews there to cause pride and envy, contention and quarrels which are so rife in our churches.

The comely prostrations of the body, with genuflection, and other acts of humility in time of divine service is very exemplary. Add hereunto, that the reverence they shew to the holy function of the church is wonderful; princes and queens will not disdain to kiss a capuchin's sleeve, or the surplice of a Priest: besides, I have seen the greatest and beautifullest young ladies go to hospitals, where they not only dress, but lick the sores of the sick.

Furthermore, the conformity of seculars, and resignation of their judgments to the governors of the church is remarkable. There are not such scepticks and cavillers there as in other places; they humbly believe that *Lazarus* was three days in the grave, without questioning where his soul was all the while; nor will they expostulate how a man that was born blind from his nativity should presently know the shapes of trees, whereunto he thought the first men he ever saw were like, after he received sight. Add hereunto, that they esteem for church preferments most commonly a man of a pious good disposition, of a meek spirit, and godly life, more than a learned man, that is either a great linguist, antiquary, or philosopher; and the first is advanced sooner than the latter.

Lastly, they think nothing too good or too much for God's house or for his ministers, no place too sweet, no building too stately for them, being of the best profession. The most curious artists will employ the best of their skill to compose hymns, and anthems for God's house, &c.

But, methinks I hear you say, that you acknowledge all this to be commendable, were it not that it is accompanied with an odd opinion that they think to merit thereby, accounting them works of *supererogation*.

Truly Sir, I have discoursed with the greatest magnifiers of meritorious works; and the chiefest of them, made me this comparison, that the blood of Christ is like a great vessel of wine, and all the merits of men whether active or passive, were it possible, must be put into that great vessel, and so must needs be made wine; not that the water hath any inherent virtue of itself to make itself so, but as it receives it from the wine.

It is reported of *Cosmo de Medici*, that having built a goodly church with a monastery thereunto annexed, and two hospitals, with other monuments of piety, and endowed them with large revenues; as one did much magnify him for these extraordinary works, for which doubtless he merited a high reward in heaven, he answered, 'It is true, I employed much treasure that way, yet when I look over my leger-book of accompts, I do not find that God almighty is indebted to me one penny, but I still in the arrear to him.'

Add hereunto, the sundry ways of mortification they have by frequent long fastings, and macerations of the flesh, by their retiredness, their abandoning the world, and sequestrations from all mundane affairs; their notable humility in the distribution of their alms, which they do not use to hurl away in a kind of scorn as others do, but by putting it gently into the beggar's hand.

Some shallow-pated puritan in reading this, will shoot his bolt, and presently cry me up to have a Pope in my belly; but you know me otherwise, and there is none knows my intrinsecals better than you. We are come to such times, that if any would maintain those decencies, and humble postures, those solemnities and rites which should be practised in the holy house of God, (and holiness becomes his house for ever) nay, if one passing through a church should put off his hat, there is, a giddy and malignant race of people (for indeed they are the true malignants) who will give out that he is running post to *Rome*; notwithstanding that the religion established by the laws of *England* did ever allow of them ever since the reformation began, yet you know how few have run thither.

thither. Nay, the *Lutherans* who use far more ceremonies symbolizing with those of *Rome*, than the *English* protestants ever did, keep still their distance, and are as far from her now as they were at first.

England had lately (though to me it seems a great while since) the face and form, the government and gravity, the constitutions and comeliness of a church: for she had something to keep herself handsome; she had wherewith to be hospitable, and do deeds of charity, to build *alms-houses*, *free-schools*, and *colleges*, which had been very few in this island, had there been no church-benefactors: she had brave degrees of promotion to industry, and certainly the conceit of honour is a great encouragement to virtue. Now, if all professions have steps of rising, why should divinity the best of all professions, be without them? The *apprentice* doth not think it much to wipe his master's shoes, and sweep the gutters, because he hopes to be an Alderman: the common soldier carrieth hopes in his knapsack to be one day a Captain, or Colonel: the student in the inns of courts turns over *Plyden* with more alacrity, and tugs with that crabbed study of the law, because he hopes one day to be a Judge; so the scholar thought his labour sweet, because he was buoyed up with hopes that he might be one day a Bishop, Dean, or Canon. This comely subordination of degrees we once had, and we had a visible conspicuous church, to whom all other reformists gave the upper-hand; but now she may be said to have crept into corners, and fallen to such a contempt that she dares scarce show her face. Add hereunto, in what various kinds of confusions she is involved; so that it may be not improperly said, while she thought to run away so eagerly from *Babylon*, she is fallen into a babel of all opinions: insomuch that they who came lately from *Italy* say, how *Rome* gives out, that when religion is lost in *England*, she will be glad to come to *Rome* again to find one out, and that she danceth all this while in a circle.

Thus have I endeavoured to satisfy your importunity as far as a sheet of paper could reach, to give you a

touch what may be not only allowable but laudable, and consequently imitable in the *Roman* church: for

— *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

But I desire you would expound all with the *sane sense*, wherewith I know you abound; otherwise I would not be so free with you upon this ticklish subject: yet I have cause to question your judgment in one thing, because you magnify so much my talent in your last. Alas, Sir, a small handkerchief is enough to hold mine, whereas a large table-cloth can hardly contain that rich talent which I find God and nature hath intrusted you withal: in which opinion I rest always

Your ready and real servant

London, July 3.

J. H.

L E T T E R X C.

To the truly Honourable the Lady SYBILLA BROWN at her House near Sherburn.

Madam,

WHEN I had the happiness to wait upon you at your being in *London*, there was a dispute raised about the ten *Sibyls* by one, who, your Ladyship knows, is no great friend to antiquity; and I was glad to apprehend this opportunity to perform the promise you drew from me then, to vent something upon this subject for your Ladyship's satisfaction.

Madam, in these peevish times, which may be called the rust of the iron age, there is a race of cross-grained people, who are malevolent to all antiquity. If they read an old author, it is to quarrel with him, and find some hole in his coat: they slight the fathers of the primitive times, and prefer *John Calvin*, or a *Causaban* before them all. Among other tenets of the first times, they

they hold the ten *Sibyls* to be fictitious and fabulous, and no better than *Urganda*, or the Lady of the lake, or such dotting beldams. They slick not to term their predictions of Christ to be mere mock oracles, and odd ar-repitiitious frantic extravagancies. They cry out, that they were forged and obtruded to the world by some officious christians to procure credit and countenance to their religion among the *Pagans*.

For my part Madam, I am none of this incredulous perverse race of men; but what the current and concurrent testimonies of the primitive times do hold forth, I give credit thereunto without any scruple.

Now, touching the works of the *Sibyls*, they were in high request among the fathers of the first four centuries, insomuch that they used to urge their prophecies for conversion of *Pagans*, who therefore called the christians *Sibylianists*, nor did they hold it a word of reproach. They were all virgins, and for reward of their chastity, it was thought they had the gift of prophecy; not by any endowment of nature, or inherent human quality, or ordinary ideas in the soul, but by pure divine inspirations, not depending on second causes in sight. They spake not like the ambiguous *Pagan* oracles in riddles, but so clearly, that they sometimes go beyond the *Jewish* prophets: they were called *Siobula*, that is, of the counsels of God, *Sios* in the *Eolic* dialect being *Deus*. They were preferred before all the *Chaldean* wizards, before the *Bacides*, *Branchyda*, and others; as also before *Tyresias*, *Manto*, *Matis*, or *Cassandra*, &c.

Nor did the christians only value them at that height, but the most learned among the *Ethnicks* did so, as *Varro*, *Livy*, and *Cicero*; the first being the greatest antiquary, the second the greatest historian, and the third the greatest orator, that ever *Rome* had; who speaks so much of that famous acrostic that one of them made of the name of our Saviour, which sure could not be the work of a christian, as some would maliciously obtrude, it being so long before the incarnation.

But

But for the better discharge of my engagement to your Ladyship, I will rank all the ten before you, with some of their most signal predictions.

The *Sibyls* were ten in number, whereof there were five born in *Europe*, to wit, *Sibylla Delphica*, *Cumæa*, *Samia*, *Cumana*, and *Tyburtina*: the rest were born in *Asia* and *Africa*.

The first was a *Persian* called *Samberta*, who plainly foretold many hundred years before in these words, 'The womb of the Virgin shall be the salvation of the Gentiles, &c.'

The second was *Sibylla Lybica*, who among other prophecies hath this, 'The day shall come that men shall see the King of all living things, and a Virgin Lady shall hold him in her lap.'

The third was *Delphica*, who saith, 'A Prophet shall be born of a Virgin.'

The fourth was *Sibylla Cumæa*, born in *Campania* in *Italy*, who hath these words, 'That God shall be born of a Virgin, and converse with sinners.'

The fifth was the famous *Erythræa*, born at *Babylon*, who composed that famous acrostic which *St. Augustin* took so much pains to translate into *Latin*; which begins, 'The earth shall sweat signs of judgment, from heaven shall come a King who shall reign for ever, viz. in human flesh, to the end that by his presence he judge the world. A river of fire and brimstone shall fall from heaven, the sun and stars shall lose their light, the firmament shall be dissolved, and the moon shall be darkened; a trumpet shall sound from heaven in wonderful and terrible manner; and the opening of the earth shall discover confused and dark hell; and before the Judge shall come every King, &c.'

The sixth was *Sibylla Samia*, who saith, 'He being rich, shall be born of a poor maid: the creatures of the earth shall adore him, and praise him for ever.'

The seventh was *Cumana*, who saith, 'That he should come from heaven, and reign here in poverty: he should rule in silence, and be born of a Virgin.'

The

The eighth was *Sibylla Hellepontica*, who foretells plainly, that 'A woman shall descend of the *Jews*, called *Mary*, and of her shall be born the Son of God, and that without carnal copulation, &c.'

The ninth was *Phrygia*, who saith, 'The highest shall come from heaven, and shall confirm the counsel in heaven, and a Virgin shall be shewed in the valleys of the desarts, &c.'

The tenth was *Tyburnina*, born near *Tyber*, who saith, 'The invisible world shall be born of a Virgin, he shall converse with sinners, and shall of them be despised, &c.'

Moreover, *St. Augustin* reciteth these prophecies following of the *Sibyls*: 'Then shall he be taken by the wicked hands of infidels, and they shall give him buffets on his face; they shall spit upon him with their foul and accursed mouths, he shall turn unto them his shoulders, suffering them to be whipped: he also shall be crowned with thorns; they shall give him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink: then the veil of the temple shall rend, and at mid-day it shall be dark night, &c.'

Lanctantius relateth these prophecies of theirs, 'He shall raise the dead, the impotent and lame shall go, the deaf shall hear, the blind shall see, and the dumb shall speak, &c.'

In fine, out of the works of the *Sibyls* may be deduced a good part of the miracles and sufferings of Christ; therefore for my part I will not cavil with antiquity, or traduce the primitive church, but I think I may believe without danger, that those *Sibyls* might be select instruments to announce the dispensations of heaven to mankind. Nor do I see they do the church of God any good service or advantage at all, who question the truth of their writings, (as also *Trismegistus* his *Pymandra* and *Aristæus*, &c.) who have been handed over to posterity as incontrollable truths for so many ages.

Thus, Madam, have I done something of that task you imposed upon me touching the ten *Sibyls*; whereunto I may well add your Ladyship for the eleventh: for
among

among other things, I remember you foretold confidently that the *Scotish* kirk would destroy the *English* church; and that if the hierarchy went down, monarchy would not be of long continuance.

Your Ladyship I remember foretold also, how those unhappy separatists the puritans would bring all things at last into confusion, who since are called presbyterians, or *Jews* of the New Testament; and they not improperly may be called so, for they sympathize much with that nation in a revengeful sanguinary humour, and thirsting after blood. I could produce a cloud of examples, but let two suffice.

There lived a few years before the long parliament near *Clun-Castle* in *Wales*, a good old widow that had two sons grown to mens estate, who having taken the holy sacrament on a first *Sunday* in the month, at their return home they entered into a dispute touching the manner of receiving it. The eldest brother who was an orthodox protestant (with the mother) held it was very fitting, it being the highest act of devotion, that it should be taken in the humblest posture that could be upon the knees: the other, being a puritan, opposed it, and the dispute grew high, but it ended without much heat. The next day being both come home to dinner from their business abroad, the eldest brother, as it was his custom, took a nap upon a cushion at the end of the table, that he might be the more fresh for labour. The puritan brother, called *Enoch Evans*, spying his opportunity fetched an ax, which he had provided it seems on purpose, and stealing softly to the table, he chopped off his brother's head: the old mother hearing a noise, came suddenly from the next room, and there found the body and head of her eldest son both asunder, and reeking in hot blood: O villain, cried she, *Hast thou murdered thy brother?* Yes, quoth he, *and you shall after him;* and so striking her down, he dragged her body to the threshold of the door, and there chopped off her head also, and put them both in a bag: but thinking to fly he was apprehended and brought before the next Justice of Peace,

Peace, who chanced to be Sir *Robert Howard*; so the murderer the next assizes after was condemned, and the law could but only hang him, though he had committed matricide and fratricide.

I will fetch another example of their cruelty from *Scotland*. The late Marquis of *Montrose* being betrayed by a Lord in whose house he lay, was brought prisoner of war to *Edinburgh*; there the common hangman met him at the town's end, and first pulled off his hat, then he forced him up to a cart, and hurried him like a condemned person, though he had not yet been arraigned, much less convicted, thro' the great street, and brought him before the parliament, where being presently condemned, he was posted away to the gallows, which was above thirty foot high: there his hand was cut off first, then he was lifted up by pulleys to the top, and then hanged in the most ignominious manner that could be. Being taken down, his head was chopped off and nailed to the high cross; his arms, thighs, and legs were sent to be set up in several places, and the rest of his body was thrown away, and deprived of christian burial. Thus was this nobleman used, though one of the antientest peers of *Scotland*, and esteemed the greatest honour of that country both at home and abroad. Add hereunto the mortal cruelty they used to their young King, with whom they would not treat unless he acknowledged his father to be a tyrant, and his mother an idolatress, &c.

So I most humbly kiss your hands, and rest always,
Madam,

Your Ladyship's most

faithfully devoted servant,

London, Aug. 30.

J. H.

LETTER XCI.

To the incomparable Lady, the Lady M. CARY.

Madam,

I Have discovered so much of divinity in you, that he who would find your equal, must seek one in the other world. I might play the oracle, and more truly pronounce you the wisest of women, than he did *Pythagoras* the wisest of men: for questionless, that he or she are the wisest of all human creatures, who are careful of preserving the noblest part of them, I mean the soul. They who prink and pamper the body, and neglect the soul, are like one, who having a nightingale in his house, is more fond of the wicker cage than of the bird; or rather, like one who hath a pearl of an invaluable price, and esteems the poor box that holds it more than the jewel. The rational soul is the breath of God almighty, she is his very image: therefore who taints his soul may be said to throw dirt in God's face, and make his breath stink. The soul is a spark of immortality, she is a divine light, and the body is but a socket of clay that holds it. In some this light goes out with an ill-favoured stench; but others have a save-all to preserve it from making any snuff at all. Of this number, Madam, you are one that shine clearest in this horizon, which makes me so much

Your Ladyship's truly devoted servant,

Lond. Nov. 3.

J. H.

The E N D.

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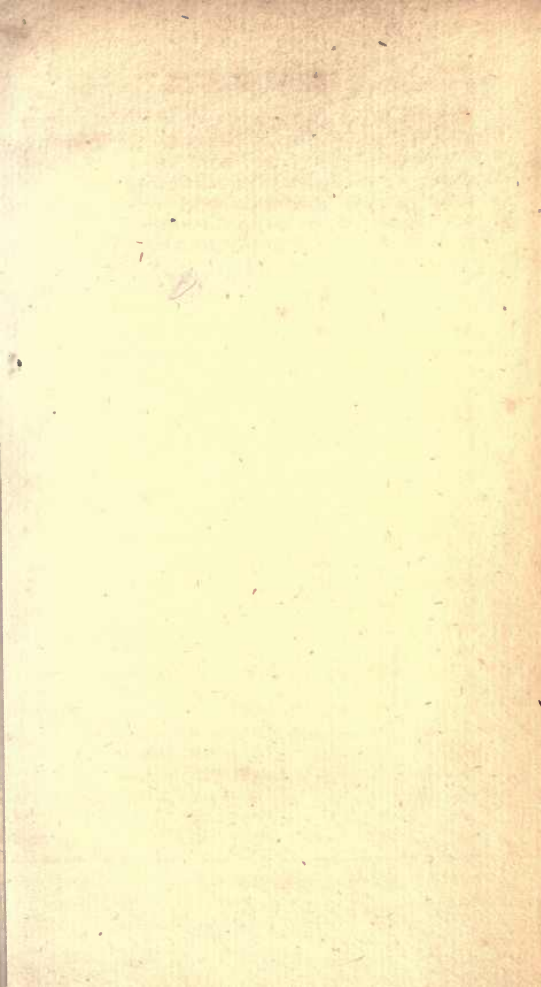
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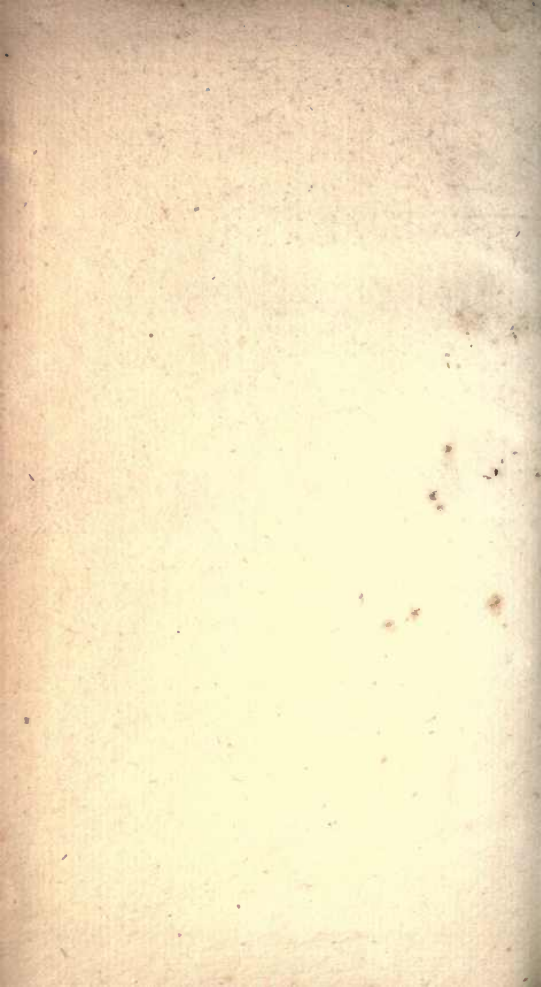
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