

put to death in *Spain* your own Ambassadors, my Lords of *Bergues* and of *Montigni*? Did they not at the same time set before your eyes, upon Spears and Lances, the Heads of your principal Captains and Governours? The other Point, which they most set before them, is the Extirpation of Religion. I mind not here, my Lords, to enter into this Question, which is the true Religion, wherein God is truly serv'd and call'd upon, and that according to his Word; but leave it rather to be declar'd by others, more exercis'd in that matter than I: and yet so, that every one may know by my Profession, what I believe concerning the same. But this I cannot chuse but tell you, that such is the Estate of your Country, that without the Exercise and free Use of the said Religion, it cannot stand three days. You see the number of them that profess it marvellously increas'd; you see that Hatred against the Pope is inrooted deeply in the Hearts of all the Inhabitants of the Country, because that his damnable Practices against this whole Estate are manifestly discover'd.

Who is he then that can boast that he loveth the Country, and would give Counsel to drive away such a great number of People, which once departing, shall leave the Country waste, poor, and miserable; and shall people and enrich the strange Nations about us? But suppose that they will not depart, or void the Country, who is he that can enforce them so to do? Let us look upon our Neighbours; let us consider our own Examples, and if we be not utterly void of Wit and Understanding, we will never chuse such pernicious and hurtful Counsels, as shall utterly, even from top to toe, bring to ruin and destruction this Estate. I will yet say somewhat more unto you, my Lords, that albeit that amongst them which follow the *Roman* Church, there are sundry good People, and Lovers of their Country; and that amongst them there are some also, which have most honourably acquitted and behav'd themselves: yet notwithstanding those of the Religion are very well assur'd of this, that there shall never be found any amongst them, who hath had Intelligence, or made any practice with the Enemy, but all of them generally have been contrary unto him. And albeit that some have been found amongst them, who being like unto wanton and proud Children, have brought, thro their Unheediness, some trouble into the House; yet for all that, they have not had any dealing with the common Enemy. Seeing then, my Lords, that you know their Purposes and Attempts, there resteth no other thing but this, that you do in time provide for them, and labour what ye can to redress the same. And how shall this be perform'd? Forsooth by this means, that ye perform

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in effect that which ye have always in your mouth; and that which the Mark of your Sheaf of Arrows signifieth, which it hath pleas'd you to have graven in your Seal: that is to say, that no Member of this goodly Body respect that which is his own, but regard the whole Body altogether; that some one part of the Body take not unto it self that Meat which is prepar'd for the whole, but that it suffer the Stomach (which is the Council that ye shall ordain and appoint) to concoct and digest the same, and to send it by the Veins to all the Members of this Estate; and specially, that where-soever any Disease or Sicknes shall appear, the Physicians should speedily be sent thither, and that the Patients should quietly bear for a time the Miseries upon them, that so they may feel at the length a joyful Deliverance from their Disease and Evil. Shall not this be a just Reproach upon us and ours for ever, if that, having so glorious an Estate under our power, and so goodly means for our Defence, we do, thro a miserable Covetousness and greedy Desire to get unto our selves some Commodities, and that with the prejudice and hurt of our Country-men and Friends, whilst some draw one way, and some another; if we do, I say, find our selves, and that in a moment, snar'd and overwhelm'd by our deadly Enemies? Remember, my Lords, I pray you, the very great diminishing and weakning of this Estate, which came to pass after the Death of Duke *Charles*, which fell upon us for no other thing, but because that while the Provinces busied themselves, to contend and to fight against one another for certain pretended Privileges, and for certain Commodities, the rest was abandon'd and forsaken. Think not that it is in my power (the Affairs and Matters being in such Condition as they are) any long time to resist the Enemy with such small and slender means, as you (my Lords) know that I have had in my hand and possession. But on the other side, if I have any Experience or Practice of Government and War; if I know this Country, and the Means that the Enemy hath, tho that all the Armies and Powers, which they threaten shall come the next Year out of *Spain* and *Italy*, should come upon us and our Powers, they shall do no more, but much less rather, than the Duke of *Alva* did in *Holland* and *Zeland*. And if it be in your power to take order for this (as it is indeed) and yet notwithstanding ye do it not; by what name shall a man call this Fault, if it be committed by you, my Lords, who are here assembled, and upon whom all the good People of this Country stay themselves, esteeming you as their Fathers and their Protectors, who will also willingly embrace, as some joyful News sent from Heaven, any
good

good Order which you shall decree and establish? Wherefore take pity of your selves; and if that which concerneth your selves move you not, yet take pity, I pray you, of so many poor People already destroy'd, and more like to be; of so many poor Widows and fatherless Children; of so many Murders and Slaughters, committed within the Bowels of your own Country; of so many Churches destroy'd; and of so many Pastors wandering up and down, together with their poor Flocks. Set before you that cruel and barbarous Execution committed at *Nivelle*, by the Count of *Mansfeld*. Which things you may easily avoid, and cast all the Evil and Mischief of this War upon the Enemy, if only you remove Partiality and Partakings, and with one Courage and Heart, as it were, employ together all the means that you have, without sparing, I say, not the bottom of your Purses, but that which aboundeth therein.

And as concerning that which particularly toucheth myself, you see (my Lords) that it is this Head that they seek for, the which by such a Price, and so great a Sum of Money, they have vow'd and appointed to death; and say, that so long as I shall be among you, the Wars shall have no end. Would to God, my Lords, either that my perpetual Banishment, or else my very Death it self, might bring unto you a sound and true Deliverance from so many Mischiefs and Calamities, as the *Spaniards* (whom I have seen so many times deliberate in Council, devise, and speak of particularly, and whom I know within and without) do devise against you, and prepare for you. O how sweet should this Banishment be unto me? O how delightful should this Death be unto me? For wherefore is it, that I have given over, yea lost all my Goods? Is it to enrich my self? Wherefore have I lost mine own Brethren, whom I lov'd more than mine own Life? Is it that I might find some other elsewhere? Wherefore have I so long time left my Son a Prisoner; my Son, I say, whom I ought so much to desire, if I be a Father? Is it because you are able to give me another, or because you are able to restore him to me again? Wherefore have I put my Life so oftentimes in danger? What other Recompence, what other Reward, can I look for, of my long Travels, which have come upon me for your Service sake, even so far, that they have brought upon me old Age, and the Ruin and Loss of all my Goods, except it be to purchase and to procure you Liberty, and that, if need be, with the Price of my Blood? If you therefore, my Lords, do judg, either that my Absence, or that my very Death it self, may serve you, or stand you in any stead, behold I am ready to obey;

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Command me, yea send me even to the world's end, and I will obey you. Behold my Head, over which no Prince or Monarch hath any power, save you only; dispose thereof, as shall make most for your own Good, and for the Health and Preservation of your Commonwealth. But if you judge, that this mean Experience and small Diligence that is in me, and which I have attain'd by so long and so continual Travel: if you judge that the Remainder of my Goods, and that my Life it self, may as yet serve you (as indeed I do wholly dedicate and consecrate the same unto this Country) resolve then upon the Points which I propound unto you and set before you. And if you think that I bear any Love to the Country, and that I have any Sufficiency in me to give Counsel, believe that this is the only mean to assure, yea to deliver our selves from the Enemy. This being done, let us with one Heart and Good Will go together, and let us together embrace the Defence of this good People, which demandeth nothing else but to have good Counsels laid open before them, nor desireth any thing else but to follow the same: And this doing, if you yet continue towards me the Favour which heretofore you have born me, I hope by your Aid and God's Grace (which I have so often heretofore felt, and that in very perplexed and doubtful Matters) that that which shall be resolv'd upon by you, shall be for the Good and Preservation of your Selves, your Wives and Children, and all Sacred and Holy Things.

*The Prince of Orange's Letter to the Estates.**To my Lords the Estates General.*

YOU have known, my Lords, by my Life past, and by my Behaviour, that I never minded to answer to any Libels of Defamation, which certain Slanderers had publish'd against me; insomuch as if the Quality and Greatness of the Wrong, which hath been done against me by the Proscription that the King of *Spain* hath caus'd to be publish'd, I had not as yet proceeded so far, especially had it not been that the Maintenance of mine Honour had requested the same of me, as I have more largely laid out the same in my Defence, which I have presented unto you. Since which time, there is come into my hands a Letter very false and counterfeit by mine Enemy, which they say they intercepted, and I sent to my Lord the Duke of *Anjou*, or (as they say) to the Duke of *Alanson*, whereof some Personages amongst them, and that of great Quality also, have sent Copies, as well to certain Towns of our side, and amongst us, as to sundry strange and foreign Princes. This Letter, my Lords, is so fondly written (whether a Man regard the Stile thereof, or will respect the matter therein contain'd, which by the bare reading thereof sufficiently bewrayeth that there is not in it any shew of Truth) that such an impudent Device deserveth no Answer: as also, God be prais'd, there is not found a Man amongst us, which is any whit at all mov'd therewith. On the other side, every Man hath known, that they had no other meaning hereby, but by such Mists and Smokes to darken the Brightness, by which their miserable and pernicious Intent against this Country hath been discover'd by the Letters of Cardinal *Grandville* and others, which you have commanded to be printed, after that you knew their Hands, their Signs, and their Seals; and withal thereby to take unto themselves an occasion and matter to cast up and spew out (according to the manner of shameless Women) slanderous and wicked Speeches, full of lying. But so far off is it, that by this means they have (in respect of me) obtain'd that which they pretended, that on the other side they have done me great pleasure, in publishing such Follies; because that thereby they do more and more justify and verify my Defence:

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fence: sufficiently proving themselves to be shameless Lyars, most impudent Slanderers, and most fond Falsifiers, which serveth more and more to justify (as I have said) mine Innocency, and to give Approbation to all my Actions. For seeing that all Men know, that this should be the best News that they could receive or hear of, that I would forsake the Country, and leave it to them; I offer'd them (my Lords) and you under my Honour do promise them to accomplish it, if they be able to prove in your Presence, that I have at any time written, or commanded to be written, or sent such a Letter, that presently I will depart the Country, and withdraw my self from it, without ever setting my self against them: And I promise them, even upon a simple or bare Request, to send them such Passports and Safe-conducts, and they also pen'd in such order, as either they can or will demand. But yet this shall be with this Condition, that if they will not accept this so reasonable an Offer, all they who have been the Authors of such a Writing, or who have publish'd it, or who have sent it into the Towns amongst us, or to foreign Princes and strange Countrys, shall be held for Lyars, Slanderers, and wicked Speakers, as indeed such they are.

Given at Delft the 25th of January 1581.

A Copy of the Letter which my Lord the Prince of Orange sent unto the Kings and Potentates of Christendom.

S I R,

I Doubt not, but that your Majesty hath been advertis'd of a certain Proscription, which the King of *Spain* hath appointed to be publish'd against me, because he hath caused the same to be spread abroad in all Languages, and hath sent it also into divers quarters of *Christendom*. I and all my very good Friends have thought, that I could not sufficiently defend mine Honour (which I am advis'd and purpos'd not to hazard or indanger for any thing) but by setting a just Defence against this unjust Proscription. In regard whereof, I have presented unto my Lords, the Estates of these Countries, my Answer: which Answer also (for the maintenance of my Honour and Reputation amongst the Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, who in respect of their Preheminences and Dignities are the Succours of poor Princes and distressed Noblemen) I have been bold to send unto them, and to you, Sir, particularly; most humbly beseeching your Majesty, that after you have seen it, you would yield like Judgment thereof, as it hath pleas'd my Lords the Estates, who have been most faithful Witnesses of all my Actions, to do, and to esteem and judg thereof also (as it shall please your Majesty to take knowledg of it) by their Advice and Counsel, which also is annex'd to my said Defence. And because, Sir, your Majesty may think it strange, that the King of *Spain* having heretofore violently taken from me all my Goods, after that I had put my Governments into the hands of the Dutchess of *Parma*, then the Governess of this Estate, and had withdrawn my self into the Country of *Germany*, the Place of my Nativity, where I kept my self peaceably among my Brethren, Kinsfolks, and Friends, as also I had fully purpos'd so to continue: and that having at the same time convey'd or carry'd away from the Schools my Son the Count of *Bueren*, and both contrary to the Privileges of the Country, and against his own Oath, causing him to be carry'd Prisoner into *Spain*, where he is as yet cruelly kept captive: and besides, having procur'd me to be condemn'd to death, by the Duke of *Alva* his own Officer. Because, I say, your Majesty may think it
strange,

strange, that for all these Reasons (which were nevertheless very great and weighty) I have not hitherto publish'd any Defence, which was directed to the said King, or might directly concern him: which thing notwithstanding I do at this present, and declare thereby, that the Faults wherewith the King of *Spain* mindeth to charge me, belong unto himself. I do therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, Sir, that before you judg of this my Writing, you would consider the Quality both of the Crimes and Faults, wherewith I am charg'd by this Proscription, and also the Quality of mine own Person. For if the King of *Spain* was content to withhold from me my Son and my Goods, which he hath in his possession, and further to offer (as at this present he doth) five and twenty thousand Crowns for my Head, and to promise to make such noble as should murder me, and to pardon them all the Faults whatsoever that they could have committed before that time: no man should think it evil in me, that I have attempted by all the means I could (as indeed heretofore I have done) to preserve my self and mine, and to enable my self what I could, to enter again into that which is mine own; and that I have follow'd that Order and Course of Life that I have done. But further, the King of *Spain* having all the world thorow publish'd, that I am a *publick Plague, an Enemy of the World, Unthankful, Unfaithful, a Traitor, and a wicked Person*; these are such Injuries, Sir, that no Gentleman, no tho he were of the basest of the King of *Spain's* natural Subjects, can or ought to endure: Insomuch, Sir, that tho I were one of his simple and absolute Vassals, who oweth Homage unto him by Honour, yet so it is, that by such a Sentence, and so unjust in all and every part thereof (I also having been by him spoil'd of my Lands and Lordships, in respect of which I should heretofore have taken an Oath unto him) I might have held my self absolv'd and free from all my Bonds towards him, and have assay'd also (which thing even Nature hath taught every one) by all the means I could to maintain mine Honour, which ought to be to me and to all Noblemen more dear than Life and Goods. Notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleas'd God to shew me this great Grace, that I am born a free Lord, not holding of any other but of the Empire, as do the Princes and other free Lords of *Germany* and *Italy*: and further, seeing that I bear the Title, and have the name of an *absolute and free Prince*, tho indeed my Princedom be not very great: yea whatsoever it be, I not being his natural Subject, neither having held any thing of him, but by reason of my Signiories and Lordships, of which notwithstanding he hath wholly dispossest'd me; it hath seem'd

seem'd unto me, that I could not defend mine Honour, and satisfy or content my near Kinsfolks, sundry Princes (to whom this is my Honour that I am link'd) and my whole Posterity, but in answering by publick Writing to this Accusation, which in the presence of all *Christendom*, is publish'd and set out against me. And tho' I have not been able to do it, without touching his Honour, I hope notwithstanding (Sir) that your Majesty will impute it, rather to the Inforcement that the Quality and Heinousness of this Proscription hath laid upon me, than to my Nature or Will. For as concerning this point, that some Men may think it strange, that I do after this sort defend my self, seeing that I have sometimes heretofore held of him sundry Lands and Lordships; for answer thereto, I will most humbly beseech your Majesty, to consider the Heinousness of the Injury that is done me, which a right Nobleman will never indeed abide: also that I am not his natural Subject, and as concerning my Fees and Pensions, that he hath spoil'd me of them. But suppose that I had always enjoy'd them, yet so it is, that the same Law which he useth towards others, should not be deny'd to me.

He holdeth of the *French King* in Loyalty and Homage, and even as the Vassal doth of his Lord, the County or Earldom of *Charolois*: and yet for all that he ceaseth not to make war against the Crown of *France*, yea he never leaveth off continually to practise and devise somewhat against the same. He taketh this as a sure Foundation or Rule, that being a Sovereign Governor in some other place, it is lawful for him to

In the Letter sent to the French King, it is written, He holdeth of your Majesty.

revenge himself of the wrong which he pretended was done unto him by the late *French King Henry* of most noble Memory. When he made war against the Pope *Caraffa*, because as a Vassal he held of him the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*, he publish'd his Defence, by which he maintain'd that he was absolv'd from his Oath, because that the Pope kept not himself within the terms or points that the Lord oweth to his Vassal, according to the feodal Laws which are mutual, and respect as well the one as the other. Now, Sir, there is nothing so natural or kindly, as that every one should in his own cause, receive the very self-same Rule and Order, that he would have another Man to receive or allow of. Wherefore he should not think it strange, that I being so many ways revil'd and injur'd by him, and not being his Subject, that I, I say, do aid my self with the means that God hath given me, and with which he hath been willing to help himself against his Lords, who have not offended him in any thing
what-

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whatsoever, that draweth nigh to the Wrong which I have suffer'd at his hand: yea, he should not think it strange, that I use against him that reproachful Note, by which he assayeth to mark as it were in the Forehead both me and my Race.

And because my Lords the Estates (who have more nearly known the truth of all that is contain'd in this my Defence, and have approv'd the same) have yielded unto me sufficient Testimony touching my Life past; I do most humbly also beseech your Majesty (Sir) in approving this same mine Answer, to believe that I am not either a Traitor or wicked Person, but that I am (thanks be to God for it) a Nobleman, of a very good and most antient House, yea a good Man, and true in every thing that I promise; not unthankful, nor unfaithful, nor having committed any thing, whereby a Lord or Knight of my State and Countenance may receive any Reproach or Shame: most humbly beseeching you to hold and account me in the number of your most humble Servants. And thus having most humbly submitted my self unto your Majesty, I will pray God, Sir, to give you, together with a perfect Health, a most blessed and most long Life.

At Delft in Holland,
Febr. 4. 1581.

Your Majesty's most Humble
and Obedient Servant,

William of Nassau:

Phenix

Phenix XIV.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, assembled in the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty Leagues from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the Twelfth of October 1650.

By SAMUEL BRET T, there present.

Also a Relation of some other Observations in his Travels beyond the Seas.

First Printed in 1655.

To the READER.

THERE was nothing I more desired than to travel beyond the Seas, and to know the various Manners of the Nations of the World: for which, thro God's Providence, I had an opportunity offer'd me, to my great Satisfaction, being Chirurgion of an English Ship in the Straits, where, for a Cure that I did for Orlando de

de Spina of Gollipulo, an eminent Man in those parts, I was by him prefer'd to be a Captain of a Ship of Malta, which was set out by the said Orlando, and committed to my Command against the Turks in the Arches, in assistance to the Venetian Service: in which Service I spent about nine months, till the tempestuous Season of the Year enforc'd me to return into Harbour again. And in this time of Employment, I made five Fights at Sea, and two at Land; being chosen by lot to invade the Turks Country, with a certain Company of Soldiers collected out of our Fleet, to do some execution upon the Borders of the Enemy, and to get some Provision for our Relief; in all which Fights (altho very perillous) God gave me the Victory.

The whole time I spent beyond the Seas, before and after this Employment, was almost four years, not staying long in any one place. But first I travel'd to all the Sea-Towns of note for Merchandizing, to know the Trade of the places, and the Conveniency of their Harbours, that I might be able to do some profitable service in Merchants Affairs. Also I travel'd into several Countries, and the most eminent Cities and Towns therein; viz. Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicilia, Assyria, Sclavonia, some parts of Spain and Portugal; to the Islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, Delphos; to Carthage, Corinth, Troy, Constantinople; besides many other Towns and Places: but my longest abode was in Italy, and therein at Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bologna, Mantua, Genoa, &c. And at last looking homeward, I came into France; taking a brief view of many eminent places in that Kingdom. And at Paris I found many of my Countrymen (of which, tho some be Persons of great Quality, yet) God knoweth they are in a low Condition. And now I shall give a brief Account of some of my Observations, during the time of my abode beyond the Seas.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, &c.

AT Paris our Countrymen live peaceably, and enjoy our Religion without disturbance. There is a Place allow'd them, with necessary Accommodations for the Exercise of Religion. Dr. Steward did often preach to them; and for their Form of Worship, it is the same that was formerly in England, with the Book of Common Prayer, and the Rites therein used; and also they continue the Innovations that were practis'd by many of our Clergy, as Bowing at the Name of Jesus towards the Altar, &c. which I know giveth offence

offence to the good *French* Protestants, who to me did often condemn those Innovations for Romish Superstitions. Doubtless they would do our Church and our Religion more Credit there, if they did use less Ceremony. As for the *French* Papists, truly they are more civil to them than was expected: for the Opinion of the World, where I have been, is but mean of that Nation. And I believe the *Italian* may be their Cousin German, for both of them are false and faithless enough. And this Consideration (God having taken away *Orlando* my noble Friend, who did always much countenance me) did lessen my Affection to continue in that Service; for my Soldiers were all *Italians* (except a few *Greeks*) and I never saw much cause to be confident in their Fidelity; but it was chiefly for fear of him, that they were so tractable to me.

As for Religion, in most parts where I have been, it is generally the same with the Church of *Rome*; but for the *Grecians* (for amongst them I was) they are neither pure Protestants nor pure Papists; I mean, neither only Protestants nor only Papists, but their Religion is a mixture of both: For tho they hold some Fundamentals with us, yet they follow many of the *Romish* Superstitions; and (according to my Observation) they follow more the Religion of *Rome*, than the Protestant Church; and they are much poison'd with Heresys.

But of all Nations, according to my Observation, none are more zealous for the Religion of *Rome* than the *Spaniards*, who, I think, for this are more *Romanists* than the *Romans* themselves; for with them there is an Inquisition, and in *Rome* I never heard of the same dangerous Snare: there I had as much Freedom as I could desire, and more Courtesy than I could expect, without any Temptation to apostatize from my Religion.

As for the Occurrences that I met with, they were many: But these four were the most considerable.

First, The strangling of the great *Turk* by the Janizaries, at which time there was great Fear and Trouble in *Constantinople*; but they enthron'd his Son, and this brought a peaceable Settlement. And with him there were cut off divers *Basha's* Heads; all whose Heads (excepting the Great *Turk's*) lay three days in Chargers before the Palace-Gate, for the publick View of the People; which they say is the Custom for the Noblemen that are beheaded.

The next thing is, The flowing of the River *Nilm* in *Egypt*; the manner whereof is this: It beginneth to flow about the fifteenth of *June* every year: the People know the time there-

of, and expect it accordingly; and this is after their Harvest, which is usually ended about the beginning of *May*. As for Rain, there seldom falleth any in *Egypt*. During the time the River is up, all the Country appeareth like Islands. Their Towns are seated upon Hills, and their lower Grounds are all cover'd with Waters; and the Inhabitants use small Boats to pass from place to place about their Affairs: and because they know the yearly flowing of *Nilus*, they provide for the Safety of their Cattel till the Waters are waisted away again. There are also certain Pillars of Stone set up, with divers Marks upon them, by which they know the degrees of the rising, and the usual height that the Waters do ascend unto; and if the Waters do ascend above the highest Mark, they do expect some strange Consequence thereof. But the greatest wonder is, the present Cessation of the Plague upon the flowing of this River. There died some thousands of the Plague the day before the flowing of *Nilus* in *Grandcairo*, as they certify'd me; and a day or two after, not one Person more died of the Infection. This I observ'd, that the Land is full of unhealthy Fogs, Mists, and Vapours, which cause the Disease; and it seems the Waters of *Nilus* do purify it again.

In the Kingdom of *Grandcairo*, alias *Pharaoh's Town*, is the City, and it is greater than any elsewhere I did behold; but *Memphis* is the neater City: and being there, I went to see the Land of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* did inhabit. This is a very pleasant and fruitful Land for Pasture, such as I have no where seen the like. At this time also, I had an opportunity to see the *Red Sea*, and the place where (as they inform'd me) the *Israelites* did enter their Journey thro' the same. There also they shew'd me the great Mountains that inclos'd them; when *Pharaoh* pursued them with his great Army; and the Hills where the two Armies lay in sight one of another. And there I found the true reason why it is call'd the *Red Sea*; not because the Water is red naturally, but because the Sand is red: And this was clear to me by plain Demonstration; for I put some of the Water into a clean Vessel, and there I did see it had the same colour of other Water; but the Sand is reddish, and giveth the same colour to the Water.

I shall omit many other things concerning *Egypt*; only this, It is under the *Turks* Dominion, and the Natives are his miserable Slaves.

Thirdly, You may expect some News from *Rome*, where also I was, and did behold their great Solemnity; it being then the *Anno Sancto*, as they there call it, that is, the Year of Jubilee.

There

There I beheld the Pope in his Glory, and how in great State he was carried about the City: the Streets were throng'd with the People; and as he pass'd by, they made them even ring with Acclamations and Rejoicings: He was carried by some eminent Men, having a rich Canopy over him. He made his Crosses in the Air with his fingers, and threw his Blessings amongst them. And truly these Delusions were so prevailing with the People, that (poor Souls) they seem'd to me to rejoice, as if Christ himself had been come to *Rome*, and brought them down the Felicities of Heaven.

At one time I beheld in *Naples* (perhaps it will seem strange, but it is true) about eight thousand Pilgrims going to *Rome* for their Absolution; all which the Vice-Roy of *Naples* maintain'd three days at his own charge; and on the fourth day, they did present themselves before him at his Palace in Pilgrim Weeds, viz. with leaden Pictures of Saints in their Hats, with leather Collars about their Necks, which fell down half way over their Arms, and their Staves in their hands: and thus they march'd away from *Naples*, in the posture of an Army towards *Rome*; and so farewell *Rome*. *Vidi, satis est vidisse.*

I omit to recite many other Occurrences, which by conference I shall willingly communicate to my Friends, they being too many to commit to writing: only now the fourth remarkable thing remaineth to present you with; and that is,

The Proceedings of a great Council of *Jews*, assembled in the Plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary*, about thirty Leagues distant from *Buda*, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ; on the twelfth of *October*, 1650.

It hath been much desir'd by many honest Christians, that this Narrative of the *Jews* Council should be publish'd, which I did intend only to communicate to private Friends. The chief Argument by which they have persuaded me to do it, is, because they do conceive it to be a Preparative and hopeful Sign of the *Jews* Conversion, and that it will be glad Tidings to the Church of Christ; and therefore I have yielded to satisfy their Desires therein. And thus it was:

At the place above-named there assembled about three hundred Rabbies, call'd together from several parts of the World, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ; and it seems this Place was thought most convenient for this Council, in regard that part of the Country was not much inhabited, because of the continual Wars between the *Turk* and the King of *Hungary*; where (as I was inform'd) they had fought two bloody Battels: yet both Princes, notwithstanding their own Differences, did give leave to the *Jews* to hold their Council

there. And for their Accommodation there, the *Jews* did make divers Tents for their Repose, and had Plenty of Provision brought them from other Parts of the Country, during the time of their sitting there. There was also one large Tent, built only for the Council to sit in, made almost foursquare; the North and the South part of it, being not altogether so large as the East and West part thereof. It had but one Door, and that open'd to the East; and in the middle thereof stood a little Table and a Stool for the Propounder to sit on, with his Face towards the Door of the Tent. The said Propounder was of the Tribe of *Levi*, and was named *Zacharias*; and within this Tent round about were placed divers Forms for the Consulters to sit on. It was also inclosed with a Rail, that stood at a distance from it, to prevent entrance to all Strangers, and to all such *Jews* as could not prove themselves to be *Jews* by Record, or could not dispute in the *Hebrew* Tongue, which many had forgotten, who liv'd in such Countries, where they are not allow'd their Synagogues, as in *France*, *Spain*, and those parts of *Italy* that do belong to the King of *Spain*, viz. the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Province of *Calabria* and *Apuleia*; the Kingdom of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*; in which places if a *Jew* be found, and he deny the Popish Religion, he is in danger to be condemn'd and executed for it; and yet Profit and Benefit allureth them to dwell in those Countries, notwithstanding their Fears and Dangers: and themselves are willing to forget, and so neglect to teach their Children their native Language, rather than they will lose their opportunity of Profit: and some have burnt the antient Records of their Tribe and Family, that they might not be discover'd by searching, or otherwise. And for this Defect, that they could not prove their Tribe or Family, they were not permitted to come within the Rail, but were commanded to remain without, with the Strangers that remain'd there, to see the Issue of their Proceeding, which were above 3000 Persons, and they were for the most part *Germans*, *Almains*, *Dalmatians*, and *Hungarians*, with some *Greeks*; but few *Italians*, and not one *English*-man, that I could hear of, besides my self.

I was inform'd, that the King of *Hungary* not favouring the Reformed Religion, did give no encouragement to any Protestant Churches to send any Divines thither; but he did allow that some Assistants should be sent from *Rome*: and their coming thither did prove a great unhappiness to this hopeful Council.

When the Assembly did first meet, they spent some time in their mutual Salutations; and, as their manner is, they kiss'd one the other's Cheek, expressing much Joy for their happy Meeting. And all things being provided for their Accommodation,

dation, they consider'd of the *Jews* that were to be admitted Members of this Council; and they were only allow'd to be Members, which could by Record prove themselves to be native *Jews*; and for defect herein, I observ'd above Five hundred refus'd: tho doubtless they were True-born *Jews*, yet they could not by Record prove themselves so to be; and for this they were not admitted to be Members of the Council, but they did abide without the Rail with the Strangers that were there: and the number of them that were accepted to be Members, was about Three hundred *Jews*. And this was all that was done the first day.

On the second day, the Assembly being full, the Propounder stood up, and made his Speech concerning the end of their meeting: And, *This*, said he, *is to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, whether he be already come, or whether we are yet to expect his coming.* In examining this Question, they search'd the Old Testament with great Care and Labour, to be resolv'd of the Truth thereof, having many Bibles with them there for this end. And about this Point there were great Disputes amongst them. The major part were of Opinion, That he was not come: and some inclin'd to think that he was come; being mov'd thereunto by their great Judgment, that hath continu'd now this Sixteen hundred years upon them.

I remember very well one of the Council in his Conference with me, seem'd to be very apprehensive of the great and long Desolation of their Nation, ever since their Destruction by the *Roman* Emperors; and he imputed this their Affliction to their Impenitency. And comparing their present Judgment, with their other Judgments they had suffer'd before, he ingenuously confess'd, that he did conceive it was for some great Wickedness; and that their Nation was guilty of the Blood of the Prophets sent from God to their Nation, and the many Massacres that had been committed by the several Sects and Factions amongst them. For (said he) *we are no Idolaters, neither do I think we were guilty of Idolatry since our Captivity in Babylon; and therefore (said he) I do impute this our Calamity and present Judgment to the fore-nam'd Causes.* And this was the sum of that which was disputed amongst them the second day of their meeting; and so they adjourn'd till the next Morning, which was the third day of their meeting.

When being assembl'd together again, the Point that was chiefly agitated was concerning the Manner of Christ's coming. And this, some said, shall be like a mighty Prince, in the full Power and Authority of a King, yea, in greater Power than ever any King had; and that he will deliver their Nation out of the Power of their Enemies, and their Temple shall

be rebuilt again; and, that the Nations shall be of their Religion, and worship God after their manner. For they hold, That the *Messiah* will not alter their Religion, whensoever he cometh. And further, concerning his Parentage, they did agree in this, That he should be born of a Virgin, according to the Prediction of the Prophets; and they agreed also, that he may be born of such a Virgin, which might be of mean Note amongst their Nation, as was the Virgin *Mary*. And here some of them seem'd to me, to incline to think that Christ was come. Therefore when they came together again the next day, the Propounder demanded of them, if Christ were already come, and who they thought he was? and to this Demand they gave this Answer, That they thought *Elijah* was he, if he were come, because he came with great Power, which he declar'd by slaying the Priests of *Baal*; and, for the fulfilling of the Scripture, he was oppress'd by *Ahab* and *Jezebel*: yet they esteem'd him to be more than a mortal Man, because he so strangely ascended up into Heaven. And because this Opinion was contradicted by others, the day following they took into Examination the same Question, to answer them that said *Elijah* was not the *Messiah*. They of the contrary Opinion did urge the Care and Love of *Elijah* for the good of their Nation, in that he left them *Elisha* his Disciple to teach and instruct the People; which they expect to be the Care of their *Messiah*. These were the chief Arguments they had to defend their Opinion: and the same day, towards night, it came into question amongst them, What he then was that said he was the Son of God, and was crucified by their Ancestors? And because this was the great Question amongst them, they defer'd the further Consideration thereof until the next day.

When meeting again, the *Pharisees* (for some of this Sect were amongst them, that were always the Enemies of Christ) they first began to answer this last Night's question; and these by no means would yield that he was the Christ; and these Reasons they gave for their Opinion.

First, Because (said they) he came into the World like an ordinary and inferior Man, not with his Scepter, nor Royal Power; wherewith they affirm'd the Coming of Christ should be Glorious. Secondly, They pleaded against him the Meanness of his Birth, in that his Father was a Carpenter; and this they said, was a Dishonour that Christ should not be capable of. Thirdly, They accus'd him to be an Enemy to *Moses's* Law, in suffering his Disciples, and in doing Works himself that were prohibited on the Sabbath-day; for they believe that the *Messiah* will punctually and exactly keep the Law

Law of *Moses*: and where the Gospel doth testify of Christ, that he did fulfil the Law, they reject the Testimony thereof, because they do not own the Gospel. But I observ'd these Reasons of the *Pharisees* did not satisfy all that heard them, but there still remain'd some Doubt in some of them concerning Christ; for there stood up one *Rabbie* call'd *Abraham*, and objected against the *Pharisees*, the Miracles that Christ wrought whilst he was upon Earth, as his raising of the Dead to life again, his making the Lame to walk, the Blind to see, and the Dumb to speak. And the same *Abraham* demanded of the *Pharisees*, by what Power he did these Miracles? The Answer the *Pharisees* return'd to him, was to this purpose: They said he was an Impostor and a Magician; and blasphemously traduc'd him of doing all his Miracles by Magick: Thus, said they, he first caus'd them to be blind, to be dumb, to be lame; and then by taking away his Magical Charm, they were restor'd to their former condition. Nevertheless, this Answer gave little Satisfaction to the said *Abraham*: but thus he reply'd, That he could not charm those that were born in that condition, as blind, &c. and born also before Christ himself was born; as it appeareth some of them were. This seem'd to him an absurd Paradox; and truly the pressing of this Argument did almost put them to a nonplus, till at last they had this Evasion (tho weak and vile) They were (said they) by other Magicians convinc'd to be so in their Mother's Wombs; and that altho himself were not then born when they were born with these Evils, yet he being a great Dissembler, and more cunning than any Magician before him, Power was given him by the Devil, to remove those Charms which others had plac'd. And there was one *Pharisee* nam'd *Zebedee*, who of the *Pharisees* there did most opprobriously revile him, and vehemently urge these things against him; but I conceive he did it not to the well-liking of many there that heard him, even Members of the Council. And as the *Pharisees* that day play'd their Parts against him; so did the *Sadduces* also endeavour (for some of that Sect were also of the Council) to render Christ vile and odious to the rest of the *Jews* that were assembl'd there. I observ'd it was with them, as it was once with *Herod* and *Pilate*; tho they two could not agree betwixt themselves at other times, yet they could agree together to crucify Christ; for the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*, tho they be much divided in Opinion among themselves, yet did they at this time too much agree to disgrace and to dishonour Christ with their Lies, Calumnies and Blasphemies: for the *Sadduces*, as well as the *Pharisees*, did in other things accuse him for a grand Impostor; and for a Broacher of corrupt Doctrine; in

that in his Gospel he teacheth the Resurrection from the Dead, which they there deny'd to be true Doctrine: but it is no new thing to see Factions dissenting, to agree in some evil design against others, as I found it by experience. Being at *Rome* in the Year 1650, which was the Year of their *Jubilee*, there was a great Strife between the *Jesuits* and the *Fryars* of the Order of *St. Dominick*, both which were against the Protestants: and altho their Differences have been by the care and vigilance of the *Pope* so smother'd, that the World hath not taken much notice thereof; yet this Fire broke out into a Flame greater than ever it was before, (as they certified me there) both by publick Disputings, and by bitter Writings one against another, opening the Vices and Errors of one another's Faction, thus seeking to disgrace one the other; which caus'd the *Pope* to threaten to excommunicate the Authors of all such black and libellous Books, that did tend to the dishonour of his Clergy and Religion, to make them infamous to the World. But this by the way.

We are come now to the seventh and last Day of their Council; and on this day, this was the main Query amongst them: If Christ be come, then what Rules and Orders hath he left his Church to walk by? This was a great Question amongst them: and because they did not believe the New Testament, nor would be guided by it, they demanded some other Instruction to direct and guide them in this Point: Thereupon six of the *Roman* Clergy (who of purpose were sent from *Rome* by the *Pope*, to assist in this Council) were call'd in, *viz.* two *Jesuits*, two *Friars* of the Order of *St. Augustine*, and two of the Order of *St. Francis*. And these being admitted into the Council, began to open unto them the Rules and Doctrine of the Holy Church of *Rome*, (as they call it) which Church they magnified to them for the Holy Catholick Church of Christ, and their Doctrine to be the infallible Doctrine of Christ, and their Rules to be the Rules which the Apostles left to the Church for ever to be observ'd, and that the *Pope* is the Holy Vicar of Christ, and the Successor of *St. Peter*: And for instance in some particulars they affirm'd the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the religious Observation of their Holy Days, the Invocation of Saints praying to the *Virgin Mary*, and her commanding Power in Heaven over her Son, the Holy use of the Cross and Images, with the rest of their Idolatrous and Superstitious Worship; all which they commended to the Assembly of the *Jews*, for the Doctrine and Rules of the Apostles. But so soon as the Assembly had heard these things from them, they were generally and exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high Clamors against them and their Religion, crying out, *No Christ, no Woman-God, no Intercession*

Intercession of Saints, no Worshipping of Images, no praying to the Virgin Mary, &c. Truly their Trouble hereat was so great, that it troubled me to see their impatience: they rent their Clothes, and cast dust upon their Heads, and cryed out aloud, *Blasphemy, Blasphemy*; and upon this the Council broke up. Yet they assembled again the eighth Day; and all that was done then, was to agree upon another meeting of their Nation three Years after; which was concluded upon before their final Dissolution.

I do believe there were many *Jews* there that would have been persuaded to own the Lord Jesus; and this I assure you for a Truth, and it is for the Honor of our Religion, and the encouragement of our Divines: One eminent *Rabbi* there did deliver me his Opinion in conference with me, that he at first feared that those which were sent from *Rome*, would cause an unhappy Period to their Council; and professed to me, that he much desired the presence of some Protestant Divines, and especially of our *English* Divines, of whom he had a better Opinion, than of any other Divines in the World: For he did believe that we have a great Love to their Nation; and this Reason he gave me for their good Opinion of our Divines, because he understood that they did ordinarily pray for the Conversion of their Nation; which he did acknowledg to be a great Token of our Love towards them: And especially he commended the Ministers of *London* for excellent Preachers, and for their Charity towards their Nation; of whom he had heard a great Fame. As for the Church of *Rome*, they account it an Idolatrous Church, and therefore will not own their Religion: and by conversing with the *Jews*, I found that they generally think, that there is no other Christian Religion in the world, but that of the Church of *Rome*; and for *Rome's* Idolatry, they take offence at all Christian Religion. By which it appeareth that *Rome* is the greatest Enemy of the *Jews* Conversion.

For the place of the *Jews* next Meeting, it is probable it will be in *Syria*, in which Country I also was, and did there converse with the Sect of the *Rechabites*, living in *Syria*. They still observe their old Customs and Rules; they neither sow nor plant, nor build Houses; but live in Tents, and often remove from one place to another, with their whole Family, Bag and Baggage. And seeing I find, that by the *Italian* Tongue I can converse with the *Jews*, or any other Nation, in all the parts of the world where I have been; if God give me an opportunity, I shall willingly attend their next Council. *The good Lord prosper it. Amen.*

Phenix XV.

Certain LETTERS, evidencing K. Charles II's Stedfastness in the Protestant Religion: Sent from the Princess of Turenne, and the Ministers of Charenton, to some Persons of Quality in London.

A LETTER from the Princess of Turenne, to a Noble Lady her Cousin-German, Madam de Castelnaut, at London.

My Dear Cousin,

IF you had not been for a long time accusom'd to bear with, and to pardon my Laziness, I should be in pain for the Judgment you might make of my Silence, and that I have delay'd so long to answer the last Letter I receiv'd from you: But if your Goodness protects me from the Reproaches which you have reason to charge me with, it does not secure me from those which I ought to lay to my own charge, when I neglect to give you such Testimonies as I am able of the Tenderness I have for you. It is true, that I shall be more earnest to give you real and useful Proofs of it, than I am to let you see these weak Assurances; and you may be confident, my dear Cousin, that I shall ever cherish such Opportunities,
and

and embrace them with all my heart as often as I am able. Yet I must complain of you to your self, because you have again written to me with Ceremony, and did not follow this Method which is more frank and more convenient; and truly this was the thing which did contribute to my Laziness; for I am so unacquainted with formal Writing, especially to those I love so heartily, that I know not how to set my self to it, and I was afraid that it would be too uncivil to use such freedom after all those Complements you gave me. Yet at last, Madam, my dear Cousin, I thought this should not make you suspect that I could fail to join to that Affection I have for you, all those Resentments of Honour and Respect which are due to you, and to which I am more particularly oblig'd than another, both by nearness in Blood, and by many other Reasons: Therefore I am fix'd to continue in this way in the Resolution to overcome you, and to oblige you to do so too; otherwise, I do declare, that I shall take a refusal for such a Complement as witnesses more Civility than Friendship, and for a kind of renouncing of this Commerce. I will therefore, Dear Cousin, expect a very kind Letter with little Ceremony; such a one I do desire, and that you would receive this with the same Affection wherewith I do write it. I long much for the Satisfaction to see you again in this Country, you have already seen many Revolutions in that where you are; and whatever my longing be for your return, I do avow it, That I wish with all my heart you may yet see there that Change, which the present condition of affairs gives us reason to hope very shortly, and which all good Men desire with an extreme Passion; that is, *The King's return into his former Lustre and Authority.* I have ever wish'd with great Passion the re-establishment of that Prince for divers Reasons, both for the desire which I think every one ought to have, that things be done according to Justice, and for the horror of the Crime committed upon the Person of the King his Father, which hath since drawn down such terrible Judgments on those Nations, and so fearful Confusions in those Churches, which God had gather'd there, and which he had made flourish with so much Lustre and Purity, that one cannot forbear to weep over their Ruin as bitterly as *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel* did over that of *Jerusalem*, until it may please the Lord to hear us and settle them. I profess I cannot believe that that Sin can be expiated, nor the Interdict remov'd from among them, but by the re-establishment of their Lawful and Sovereign Lord, and by the rendring to him that Power which he receiv'd from God, and which for so long a time hath been usurp'd over him. The same who commands to give God the things which are God's, commands

556 *A Letter from the Princess of Turenne.*

mands us also to render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*: So that I believe that he who would content himself with one of these two Duties, and so separate the things which God hath join'd, should satisfy neither; and that so lame a Service should be less acceptable among Christians, than a lame Offering was among the *Jews*. These Considerations make me wish with great Passion that God would inspire those Nations to do their Duty; but I do avow it, that I double my Prayers and my Zeal, when I hear that the present Governours are no more those Sectarys, but Men of our Profession. They have had the misfortune to be slander'd by the Adversarys, as accessory to the Death of their Sovereign, and that infamous Accusation seems to have blackt all their Brethren. Blessed be the God of Mercy, who presents to them so fair an occasion to clear themselves, and to remove that Reproach from so holy a Profession as ours is, which we have ever brag'd to have this advantage above all others, in that it did teach us better than any other that which we owe to Sovereigns, and did not permit that Men should, under any pretext whatsoever, dispense themselves of the Oath of Fidelity which they have taken. I have so great an impatience to hear that they have there so re-establish'd it by so just and so lovely an Action, that I cannot tell you with how much Affection I beg'd it of God on the Fast day which we kept at *Charenton* last *Easter* Week, and how earnestly I do beg it every day: And I believe there be few Lovers of the Peace of *Jerusalem* who make not the same Prayer; and I see that all those of our Profession in this Kingdom are more earnest in this than ever, whether it be that God inspires this Motion to pray more earnestly in a time when he will do his work (as he is often pleas'd to make the Prayers of his Children meet with the Decrees of his Providence) or whether they have taken more notice of late of the *Effects of the Piety of the King of England*, which makes them interest themselves more sensibly in his Concerns. For my own part I profess it, that I was exceedingly satisfy'd when I had the Honour to pay my Respects to him the last time he past thro this Country, having heard him speak with so great Testimonys of Piety, that I was extremely edify'd. He was also pleas'd to give this Mark of his Communion with our Churches, as to go to Sermon at *Rochel* and at *Rouen* in his Passage; and if he had staid here, we had had the honour to have seen him at *Charenton*. There can nothing be added to the Regularity which this Prince keeps in assisting daily at those Exercises of Piety, which are kept Morning and Evening in his Family. *In a word, I bless God, because the Marks of God's Election are seen in him:* And I hope God will use his Service
for

for re-establishing what we have before seen with so much pleasure in his Dominions, and that his Subjects will have cause to bless the Lord for putting it into their Hearts, to render to their King his Crown, and as fair as ever he had it, and without spoiling or defacing it in setting it on his Head. I pray God with all my Heart that he may give them this Grace, and I do so lay it to heart, that I take the liberty to write you a long Letter of it, which looks like a little Volume. But it is, dear Cousin, because I believe that as you are on the place, it is a point of Duty to contribute always what one can to infuse these Thoughts into such as have them not, and that every one ought to be ambitious to bring their little Stone toward that excellent Work. As I do desire very much that those in whom I am concern'd may employ themselves toward what is excellent, I shall be very glad that my Lady your Sister in Law and You might contribute somewhat to this. Oblige me, by assuring her of my most humble Service, and by believing me altogether

Tuesday, 6 April,
N. Stile, 1660.

Yours,

Ox. Caumont.

A Letter of Monsieur Daille to Monsieur Le Roy.

S I R,

ONE of my Friends having desir'd me, a little while since, to send him a Copy of the great Bible printed at *London*; I remembred that the last Winter you propos'd to send one to Monsieur *Duret*, and my self, for fifty Crowns; so that I believ'd, that in this occasion I could not make an Address to any with more conveniency than to you, that my Friend might be provided. And I hope you will grant me the Favor which I request of you, to inform me, whether you can at present perform your Promise, and send me this Book for the price which you formerly exprest. Moreover, I cannot but rejoice with you for the happy News which is convey'd to us from the place where you are; whereby we are inform'd, that the universal Desire of the People seems with a common voice to recal their natural and lawful King. Besides that Generosity and Equity it self obliges us to wish, that this Prince may return into his own Kingdom and Inheritance, of which he hath been unjustly depriv'd; we ought also to desire it for the honour of our Religion, which should be more dear to us than any other Interest.

For

For when our Adversaries formerly would charge the Blame of the Death of the late King of *England* on our Religion, you know we could very well guard our selves from this Reproach, by casting it intirely upon the Sectaries, who indeed were only guilty of that horrible Crime. But at present we do not stand upon the same terms, since there is such a change of Affairs; the Sectarians having lost their credit, or at least being fallen from that Sovereign Power which they had graspt; and on the contrary the Presbyterian Party, which is ours, now governing in *England*. So that if they let slip the fair opportunity which God seems to open to them, for the re-establishing of the King of *Great Britain* in his Dominion, and to re-advance him to the Throne of his Ancestors, it is most apparent there will be no further ground to excuse themselves upon the Sectaries, nor to wash our holy Religion from that spot, from which, by the Grace of God, it hath always been preserv'd pure and clean to this present. I well know there are dispersed evil Rumors concerning the Religion of this Prince; and I doubt not, but there are some Persons at *London*, as well as at *Paris*, who endeavour to persuade the World, That he hath forsaken our Communion, to embrace that of *Rome*: But who can believe a thing that is so contrary to all probability? there is nothing of this appears to us. On the contrary we well know, That altho this Prince hath been constrain'd by the Circumstances of his present Condition, to reside sometimes in places where the Exercise of our Religion is not permitted, yet he hath always had his Chaplains near to him, who are nothing less than Papists, and who every where have regularly in his presence prayed, and perform'd the other parts of Divine Service. Moreover, all *Paris*, and all the World hath known the Anger and the just Indignation which he express'd, when he understood the Endeavours which have been used (tho ineffectively) for the Apostacy of the Duke of *Glocester*. And if this young Prince rendred his Piety and Constancy admirable, by that firm Resistance which he oppos'd in so tender an Age, to such a violent and dangerous Persecution; so also in that he retir'd to the King his Brother, and there sought for a Sanctuary to his Religion, it is a very certain Argument, that the King had not quitted that Religion: for if this had been true, the Duke of *Glocester* had found him an Enemy instead of a Protector, and had suffer'd the loss of his Conscience, where he had sought its Security, and where he really found it. It is objected against this, that during the whole space of time which the King of *Great Britain* pass in the Court of *France*, he never came to our Religious Assemblies, and that amongst others he never came to

Charenton in the days of our Worship. But altho this may at first view appear strange to those who know not the reason of it; nevertheless, as we are better inform'd of this than any one, we can testify that Religion was not the cause of it, and that he abstain'd from coming upon politick and prudential Considerations, which may be peculiar to our Church. And the proof of this appears, in that when the King of *England* hath been out of *Paris*, he hath willingly gone to Sermon in the Churches of our Brethren; as for instance, in *Caen*, and some other Towns; and in *Holland* also, he hath several times heard the Sermons of the famous Monsieur *More*, who at present is our Colleague.

Thus, Sir, it is more clear than the Day, that whatsoever hath been reported till this time of the Change of his Religion, is a mere Calumny, scatter'd by the Artifice of his Enemies, for to vilify him in the Judgment of his Subjects, and to alienate their Affections and Good Will from him; and finally to render fruitless the just Prayers which they make at present for his happy Return into *England*.

God grant their Accomplishment by his Almighty Justice; and as it is he who hath inspir'd these good Designs into the Hearts of his People, and who seems to dispose all things for the effecting them, may it please him to bless what remains of this Work, and to succeed it for his Glory, and the Honour of his Anointed, but especially for the Edification of his Church. For this I pray to him with all my Soul, and recommend you particularly to his Grace, being,

Paris, 7 April,
1660.

Sir, Your most humble Servant.

DAILLE.

Raimond Gaches Pastor of the Reformed Church of Paris, to the most Famous Man and most Upright Pastor, Richard Baxter, wisheth all Health.

TH O I am neither by Face nor Fame known unto you (most Worthy Sir, and most Reverend Brother in Christ) yet I address my self to you with confidence, because I know you very well, and am fully assur'd of your Piety. I have read again and again, not without admiration, those learned
Volumes

560. *Mons. Gaches's Letter to Mr. Baxter.*

Volumes (little indeed, if we respect the Bulk, but exceeding precious, and throughly dyed with the truest Tinctures of Christianity) wherewith you have blest your own Country, and with which *France* hath not been altogether unacquainted. Who can seriously read, tho but one Leaf of them, and not perceive how you felt the Breathing of God's Spirit, and were seasonably rais'd up for these unhappy times, as one who may with stout Courage and invincible Arms undertake and curb outrageous Ungodliness? I solemnly profess, I never saw any thing studied, and come from those, commonly call'd *the antient Fathers of the Church*, or from the Doctors of the latter times, which doth with equal Success breathe forth the Author's, and also kindle the Reader's Devotion. Those things which you have already put out concerning *Everlasting Rest, a Call to the Unconverted, Justification* (in which if you leave the beaten Road a little, you do it, as far as I can understand, not without Reason and Scripture) *Infant-Baptism, Peace of Conscience, &c.* do witness most clearly both what your Learning is, and what your Love of Religion. Who then may forbid me to pour forth my careful and doubtful Thoughts into the Bosom of such and so great a Man, and to declare what runs in my mind concerning the sad and fickle State of your Commonwealth? Truly I am no Pryer into other mens matters; and especially as to yours, I have been so far from angerly thundring [*Virulent Declaiming*] against them, that I have thought it an unspeakable Fault to dispute curiously of them. I will say more, I could not but hope well of *Britain*; for I was, and am still of this opinion, that God hath reserv'd to himself in *England* more Elect, and more Godly Men, than ever either flourish'd of old, or can be shewn now in any Realm of *Christendom*. Let both fearful Brethren and furious Enemies judg your Safety desperate, and ask in their Unbelief, who will give Salvation to *Israel* out of *Zion*? God will provide; there are not ten, not a thousand Just Men, but entire Millions of godly Men. I will hear what the Lord God will say, for he will speak Peace to his People. But because the most high Ruler of the World (who can indeed without the intervening of means, both scatter the Darknes, and call back the Light, yet nevertheless) will not (for the most part) to put forth his Power immediately; we ought (Reverend Sir) to lay together our Studies, and all Counsels to establish firmly the Safety of *Britain*. I suppose its Condition will be perpetually tottering, until the Government return into one Man's hands (*Monarchy*.) As the Customs of Nations and their Dispositions are various, so are their Manners of governing publick Affairs; they are not of the same

same mind. One People chuses a popular Government; and neither is, nor can be accustom'd to be ruled by one Man: Another People, being taken with the Splendor of Nobility, and hating the Madness of the Commonalty, prefers Monarchy. Your Country of *England* hath been a Lover of Kings for almost innumerable Ages; neither do I know any Monarchy in the world more antient. The same Sun shines upon the present *English*-men; the Aspects of the Stars, the Quality of the Soil hath the same influence upon their Affections now as formerly: Who then can hope that either a Democracy or Aristocracy, will easily prevail in that Country, wherein Monarchy hath taken such deep rooting? But *England* (may some man say) hath already chang'd the Form of Government, and that (as it seem'd) with common Consent; who then can deny that may be commodiously done, which hath been done commodiously? I have a double Answer hereto. First, I will in like manner query, whether that Change prov'd very happy for *England*? Truly, if Taxes and Imposts be to be counted, they are not only doubled, but increas'd beyond almost all measure. If the State of Religion be to be consider'd, what a Common Sewer of Heresies is there! Who ever heard of *Ranters*, *Quakers*, &c. under the King? Secondly, Suppose *Britain* hath been happy since the Change, yet it was under the Government of One. What matters the Name? This One was a Protector, not a King, I grant; but he was One, and such a One, as was neither unskilful in the Art of Ruling, nor behav'd himself inferiour to a King in dissolving Parliaments; and from his Death, or at least from the casting out of his Son, *England* never was quiet; Changes were continual: whom yesterday we reverenc'd, to day we loath; whom we swore Fealty to but now, him soon after we damn with Curses. Shall that most noble Queen of *Islands* always be so toss'd upon the Waves? And shall no Halcyon fly thither, which may calm your Seas? Truly I fear you will never have Peace ascertain'd either against Tumults at home, or the Attempts of Enemies abroad, till he, who is the Grandson of so many Kings, at length be restor'd to his Grandfather's Throne. He hath every where by Right of Inheritance the Title of King of *Britain*, tho he yet possess not the thing design'd by the Title. I know what *Odiūm* hath been cast upon him: Some, whether really or counterfeitly, are dissatisfy'd in his Constancy to the true Religion; and alledg, that it concerns the Church very much, that he who is to rule others, should excel them in Godliness. I will not answer (which truly may be said) that it belongs not to us to inquire into the Prince's Religion; Be he what he

will, (if his Power be otherwise lawful, and the Right of Reigning belongs unto him) Obedience in Civil Matters must be perform'd to the King, and other Matters must be committed unto Divine Providence. Let the Bishop of *Rome* lust to juttle Kings out of the Throne, unless they order Affairs of Religion according to his Beck; We may not be so proud. We give unto God the things that are God's, and to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*. But I pass over all this; for (which is the thing chiefly to be consider'd) this Prince being born, and duly educated in the true Religion, never departed from the publick Profession of it; no, not even in those places, in which he was likely to suffer loss thereby: neither did he disdain to be present at our Religious Assembly at *Roan* and *Rochel*. Moreover, he hath the Estimation of godly Use among those that are about him. I confess he never graced our Church with his Presence, while he was seated at *Paris*; which truly griev'd us: but because the Case of those call'd Presbyterians, seem'd to concern us who are Presbyterians; and because the King's Death was ascribed to the Presbyterians; he could not but be strange to us, until the Event of things certify'd him that his Insalment was principally hinder'd not by our Brethren, but by the Anabaptists for the most part, or at least the Independents; whom also he certainly understood to have before promoted his Father's sad Death. I wish the Odium of that Fact, wherewith our Churches have so long been loaded, might now at length be removed both from us, and our *English* Brethren: which I know not how it can ever be, unless matters may be so compos'd as the Son may bear his Father's Scepter, not violently wrested out of the Presbyterians hands, but friendly and freely proffer'd. Go on, Reverend Sir; prevent the Calamity of imminent War. Do you, and the Brethren like you, embrace peaceable Counsels, and give the like to your Countrymen. Divine Providence will favour and bless your Endeavours, and will use you as sacred Instruments for restoring Happiness to your Country. But enough, and too much of this, for you may wonder that I speak so familiarly to you; but I mention'd in the beginning what cause moved me thereto, *viz.* relying on your Piety and Charity, which will take all in good part. Further, God bless your Studies, your Labours, your Church, and all your, nay our *England*, which is the Flower and Glory of all the Kingdoms wherein God is truly worshipped.

Paris, April 2. 1660.

Paris,

Paris, *April the third, 1660.*

S I R, my Honoured Brother,

Nothing hath happen'd more strange in our days, than the Revolutions of *England, Scotland, and Ireland.* After the tragical Death of the late King, hopes were given that a Commonwealth might be establish'd, that should become the wonder and admiration of the whole World. But the several Changes that have happen'd since, from time to time, and the Confusions that are to be fear'd, cause many to believe, that God will reduce Affairs to their first state, and set the three Crowns united, upon the Head of one Monarch. That which in this doth most rejoice and comfort us, is, That it seems for the doing of this glorious Work, God will use the Service of those with whom we have more strict Communion in Doctrine and Discipline. For we understand, that such as are call'd Presbyterians, are now possess'd of the greatest Power, and sit at the Helm of State. That illustrious Assembly, which would have preserv'd to their King his Life and his Royalty, was without doubt very far from designing to rob his Children of that Right which is convey'd to them by a continued Succession in their Royal Family for many Ages. A Report is here, that the thing which might hinder this King from being recall'd to the Inheritance of his Fathers, is the Opinion conceiv'd by some, of his being turn'd to the Roman Catholick Profession; and the fear that in time he might ruin the Religion now flourishing in those three Kingdoms. But, Sir, you know that we have ever detested the Doctrine of Popes and their Instruments, who teach that all Princes, call'd by them Hereticks, are incapable of Succession of Crowns, and if in possession, to be turn'd out. And more than this, I see not any ground there is for calling this Prince a Roman Catholick, he making no profession of it; but on the contrary, hath rejected all the Advantages and all the Aids offer'd to him upon that condition. Charity is not jealous, and if it forbid us to suspect on slight grounds private Persons, how can it approve Jealousys upon Persons so sacred? Experience hath taught us, how little reason hath in the end appear'd, for the like, and even the greatest Apprehensions of that kind: our History doth furnish us with a convincing Example. The *League* never pretended other cause for their Rebellion against King *Henry* the Third, but for his

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being an Heretick, and a Maintainer of Hereticks. And thence was infer'd, that he was no ways affected to the Roman, and a Favourer of our Religion. In the mean time, we never had a more potent Enemy; and to all mens knowledg he lived and died in the Communion of *Rome*, and therein shew'd as much Zeal as any of his Predecessors. But not to pass the Seas, you have in the midst of you an instance against all Contradiction: For what Jealousys have not been raised against the Religion of the late King of *Great Britain*, and yet at the hour when there was no place for dissembling, as being void of Fears and Hopes from Man, he made his Zeal to the true Religion appear; and even that Sweetness and that admirable Patience with which he suffer'd Death by the hands of his own Subjects, hath made it very visible that the Spirit of God reign'd in his Heart. True it is, that from my self I am not able to relate any thing touching the Religion of that Prince; because for Reasons of State, we had not the Honour of his Presence in our Assemblys of *Charenton*, the only place where in a formal Body we are able to witness the Respect we bear to stranger Princes in Communion with us. And as to my self, I am not considerable enough to have made a visit to so great a Prince, which was also the reason why I had not the Honour to see the Duke of *York*. But two years since being inform'd, how the Duke of *Glocester* had manifested his Ability to confound the false Doctors that had undertaken to seduce him, and that he had Courage and Generosity enough to resist those who would have placed him in the College of the Jesuits; I thought, considering how very young he was, that I might have the Honour to give him a visit, without apprehending any disadvantage. And I perform'd the Work freely, because I knew that not only he would accept it, but did also desire it. I cannot express how much I was satisfy'd with that young Prince. For besides the obliging manner wherewith he receiv'd me, he gave me several Proofs of his Zeal and Piety. I remember, that among other Discourses, he told me, how the late King his Father, a little before his death, had charg'd him with three things: Never to change his Religion: To obey his elder Brother, who was to be his King, in the same manner as he would have obey'd himself, if God had spared his Life: And to continue obedient to the Queen his Mother, in all, but what related to Religion. To which he added, that in persevering in his Religion, he did not only do his Duty towards God, and preserve the Peace of his Conscience; but also perform the last Will of the King his Father, and follow the Order of the King his Brother, who had sent for him, to free him of future Temptations.

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This Discourse, which he deliver'd with a very good Grace, confirm'd me in the Belief I had of the late King's Religion, and made me see what I ought in Charity to believe of the King his Son. But over and above, there are in his Family among his Domesticks some Gentlemen of our Religion, and my antient Friends, who at several times have given me Assurances of the Piety of this Prince, and his Stability in the Profession he makes. True it is, *English*-men have unadvisedly done him great Wrong, for upon false Prejudices they have staid from Communion with us, and so have rais'd Jealousys, as if their King and all his Court were inclin'd to Popery. But the more discreet behave themselves otherwise; for knowing that the Belief of our Church, and that of the Church of *England* is the same, they willingly came to our Churches, and even Dr. *Cosin*, the King of *Great Britain's* Chaplain, hath join'd with us with great Devotion. To return to my Discourse, God intrusts at this day your Presbyterians, the Gentlemen now in power, with the Honour and Reputation of our Churches: For if without the intervening of any foreign Power, they recal this Prince, and seat him in his Throne, they acquire to themselves and to their Posterity an immortal Glory, and stop their mouths for ever, who charge us falsely as Enemys of Royalty, and make appear, that the Maxim of, *No Bishop no King*, is injuriously imputed to us. For my part I confess, that as I have deplor'd with bitter Tears the bloody Death of the late King; so shall it be to me an exceeding Joy, to behold the Re-establishment of the King his Son, if perform'd with Circumstances not lessening the Splendor of Royal Majesty; and which may be to the Glory of God, and the Good and Rest of the three Kingdoms. 'Tis for this that I will offer up my hearty Prayers to God: and for you, Sir, that he will preserve and bless you. I have persuaded my self, that you would not take it ill that I open my Heart to you, and discover my Thoughts upon a Subject of such moment; since I am,

Sir, Your most humble and most affectionate

Brother and Servant,

DRELINCOURT,

Minister of the Church of *Paris*.

A Monsieur
Monsieur *Stroupe* f. M. D. S. E.
A Londres.

Phenix XVI.

A True Relation of the late King's Death. To which are added, Copies of two Papers written by the late King CHARLES II. of Blessed Memory, found in the Strong Box.

ON Monday, being the second of February, the K. rose early, saying, that he had not slept well the last night; and about Seven of the Clock, coming from his private Devotions out of his Closet, fell down (and scarce any sign of Life remaining in him for the space of four hours) of a Fit of an Apoplexy: But with the loss of sixteen Ounces of Blood, and other Applications, came again to his Senses, and there was great hopes of his Recovery, till Thursday about One a clock; and at Five the Doctors being come before the Council, declar'd that the King was in great danger; and on Friday a quarter before Twelve, he departed this Life. God have mercy on his Soul.

P. M. a C. F. came to the D. upon the Doctor's telling him of the State of the K. and told him, *That now was the time for him to take care of his Brother's Soul*, and that it was his Duty to tell him so. The D. with this admonishment went to the K. and after some private Discourse, the K. utter'd these Expressions; *O Br. how long have I wish'd? but now help me: withal declaring, that he would have Mr. Hud. who had preserv'd him in the Tree, and now hop'd would preserve his Soul.* Mr. H. was accordingly sent for, and desir'd to bring
all

all Necessaries for a dying Man. But he not having the B. S. by him, went to one of the Qu. Ps. and telling him the occasion, desir'd his Assistance to procure it, and to bring it to the Back Stairs. The K. having notice that Mr. *Hud.* waited at the Door, desir'd to be in private; the Bishops and Nobles withdrew, the D. latching fast the Door, the Lords P. B. and F. were going out also, but the D. told them they might stay. The K. seeing Mr. *H.* cry'd out, *Almighty God! what good Planet governs me, that all my Life is Wonders and Miracles! When, O Lord, I consider my Infancy, my Exile, my Escape at Worcester, my Preservation in the Oak with the Assistance of this good Father, and now to have him again to preserve my Soul! O Lord, my wonderful Restoration, my great danger in the late Conspiracy; and last of all to be rais'd from Death to Life, and to have my Soul preserv'd by the Assistance of this good Father, whom I see, O good Lord, that thou hast created for my good!* The D. and Lds withdrew into the Closet for the space of an hour: Then entering the Room again, the Father ask'd the K. whether he would be pleas'd to receive? He answer'd, *If I were worthy of it. Amen, Amen.* The Fa. remaining comforting and praying with him, he said, *Father, if I am worthy of it, I pray let me have it.* The Fa. said, it would be brought to him immediately, and ask'd his leave to proceed with the *Extreme Unction.* The King reply'd, *With all my heart:* the D. and Lords assisting at the time. Fa. *H.* was call'd to the Door, where he receiv'd the B. S. and desiring the K. to compose himself to receive, the K. would needs rise (but was persuaded to the contrary) he said, *Let me meet my Heavenly Father in a better manner than lying on my back.* But being over-rul'd, they continue in Prayer: Amongst others, the Fa. repeats an *Akt of Contrition*, desiring the K. to repeat it word by word after him. Having made an end, the K. receiv'd with the greatest Expressions of Devotion imaginable. This being ended, they go on with the *Prayers de Anima.* That being done, the K. desir'd the *Akt of Contrition* to be again repeated, saying, *O Lord, good God, when my Lips fail, let my Heart speak these Words eternally. Amen.*

The Bishops and Lords enter the Room again, and desire the K. to remember his last End, and to endeavour to make a good End. He said he had thought of it, and hop'd he had made his Peace with God. They ask'd him whether he would receive; he said he would not. So persisting in extolling the Qu. and D. said, *He was not sorry to leave the World, leaving so good a Brother to Rule behind him;*

The First Paper.

THE Discourse we had the other day, I hope, satisfied you in the main, *That Christ can have but one Church here upon Earth*; and I believe that it is as visible, as that the Scripture is in Print, That none can be that Church, but that which is call'd the *Roman Catholick Church*. I think you need not trouble your self with entering into that Ocean of particular Disputes, when the main, and in truth the only Question is, Where that Church is, which we profess to believe in the two Creeds? We declare there to believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church, and it is not left to every fantastical man's Head to believe as he pleases; but to the Church, to whom Christ left the Power upon Earth to govern us in matters of Faith, who made these Creeds for our Directions. It were a very irrational thing to make Laws for a Country, and leave it to the Inhabitants to be the Interpreters and Judges of those Laws: for then every man will be his own Judg, and by consequence no such thing as either Right or Wrong. Can we therefore suppose that God Almighty would leave us at those Uncertainties, as to give us a Rule to go by, and leave every Man to be his own Judg? I do ask any ingenious Man, whether it be not the same thing to follow our own Fancy, or to interpret the Scripture by it? I would have any Man shew me, where the Power of deciding Matters of Faith is given to every particular Man. Christ left his Power to his Church, *even to forgive Sins in Heaven*, and left his Spirit with them, which they exercis'd after his Resurrection: First by his Apostles in their Creeds, and many years after by the Council at *Nice*, where that Creed was made that is call'd by that name: and by the Power which they had receiv'd from Christ, they were the Judges even of the Scripture it self, many years after the Apostles, which Books were Canonical and which were not. And if they had this Power then, I desire to know how they came to lose it, and by what Authority men separate themselves from that Church? The only Pretence I ever heard of, was, because the Church has fail'd in wresting and interpreting the Scripture, contrary to the true Sense and Meaning of it, and that they have impos'd Articles of Faith upon us, which are not to be warranted by God's Word. I do desire to know who is to be Judg of that, whether the whole Church, the Succession whereof has continued to this day

day without interruption, or particular Men, who have rais'd Schisms for their own Advantage.

This is a true Copy of a Paper I found in the late King my Brother's Strong Box, written in his own Hand.

J. R.

The Second Paper.

IT is a sad thing to consider, what a world of Heresys are crept into this Nation: Every man thinks himself as competent a Judg of the Scriptures, as the very Apostles themselves. And 'tis no wonder that it should be so, since that part of the Nation which looks most like a Church, dares not bring the true Arguments against the other Sects, for fear they should be turn'd against themselves, and confuted by their own Arguments. The Church of *England* (as it is call'd) would fain have it thought they are the Judges in Matters Spiritual, and yet dare not say positively there is no Appeal from them; for either they must say, that they are Infallible (which they cannot pretend to) or confess, that what they decide in Matters of Conscience, is no farther to be follow'd than it agrees with every man's private Judgment. If Christ did leave a Church here upon Earth, and we were all once of that Church, how and by what Authority did we separate from that Church? If the power of interpreting of Scripture be in every man's Brain, what need have we of a Church or Churchmen? To what purpose then did our Saviour, after he had given his Apostles power to bind and loose in Heaven and Earth, add to it, *That he would be with them even to the end of the World?* These words were not spoken parabolically or by way of Figure: Christ was then ascending into his Glory, and left his Power with his Church, even to the end of the World. We have had these hundred years past, the sad Effects of denying to the Church that Power in Matters Spiritual, without an Appeal. What Country can subsist in peace or quiet, where there is not a Supreme Judg, from whence there can be no Appeal? Can there be any Justice done, where the Offenders are their own Judges, and equal Interpreters of the Law with those who are appointed to administer Justice? This is our case here in *England* in Matters Spiritual: For the *Protestants* are not of the Church of *England*, as 'tis the true Church from whence there can be no Appeal, but because the Discipline of that Church is conformable at that present to their Fancies;

Fancies; which as soon as it shall contradict or vary from they are ready to embrace or join with the next Congregation of People, whose Discipline or Worship agrees with their own Opinion at that time: so that according to this Doctrine, there is no other Church, nor Interpreter of Scripture, but that which lies in every man's giddy Brain. I desire to know therefore of every serious Considerer of these things, whether the great Work of our Salvation, ought to depend upon such a sandy Foundation as this? Did Christ ever say to the Civil Magistrates (much less to the People) *That he would be with them to the end of the World?* Or did he give them the Power to forgive Sins? St. Paul tells the *Corinthians, Ye are God's Husbandry, Ye are God's Building; We are Labourers with God:* This shews who are the Labourers, and who are the Husbandry and Building. And in this whole Chapter, and in the preceding one, St. Paul takes great pains to set forth, that *They (the Clergy) have the Spirit of God, without which no man searches the deep things of God.* And he concludes the Chapter with this Verse, *For who hath known the Mind of the Lord, that he might instruct him? But we have the Mind of Christ.* Now if we but consider in human probability and reason, the Powers Christ leaves to his Church in the Gospel, and St. Paul explains so distinctly afterwards; we cannot think that our Saviour said all these things to no purpose. And pray consider on the other side, that those who resist the Truth, and will not submit to his Church, draw their Arguments from Implications, and far-fetch'd Interpretations, at the same time that they deny plain and positive Words: which is so great a Disingenuity, as 'tis not almost to be thought that they can believe themselves. Is there any other Foundation of the *Protestant Church*, but that if the Civil Magistrate please, he may call such of the Clergy as he thinks fit for his turn at that time, and turn the Church either to *Presbytery, Independency*, or indeed what he pleases? This was the way of our pretended Reformation here in *England*; and by the same Rule and Authority it may be alter'd into as many more Shapes and Forms, as there are Fancies in mens Heads.

This is a True Copy.





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