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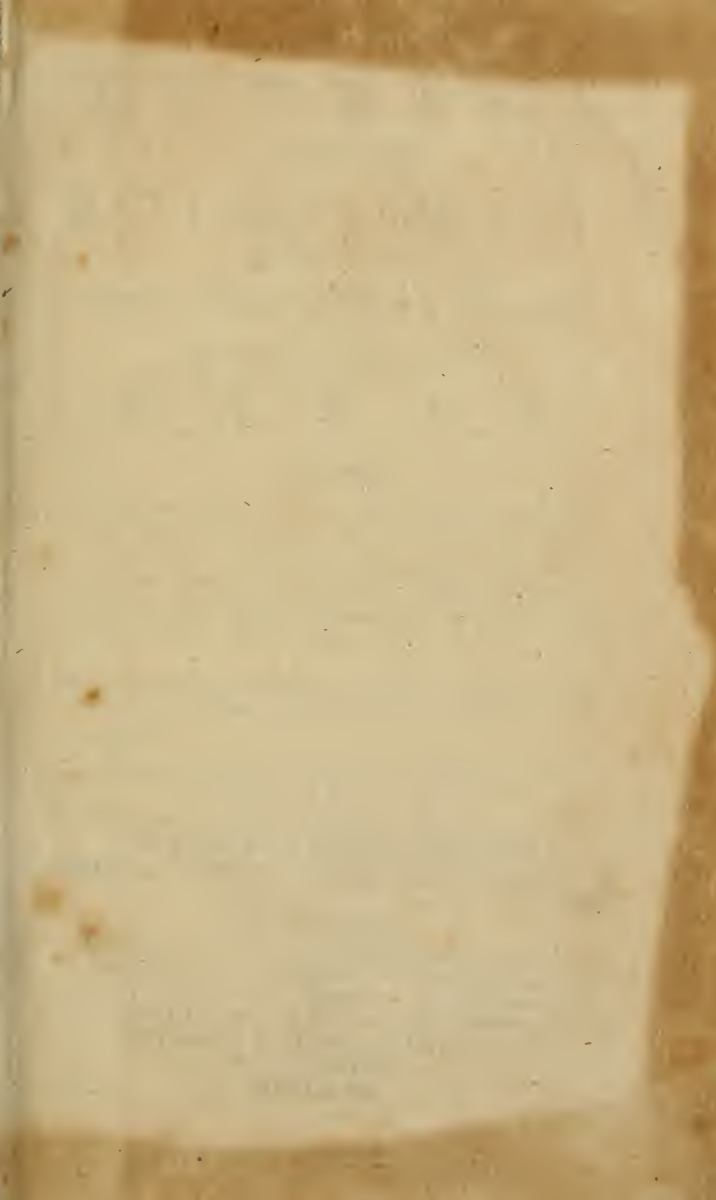
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L E T T E R S

WRIT BY

A TURKISH SPY,

WHO LIVED

FIVE AND FORTY YEARS

UNDISCOVERED AT

P A R I S:

GIVING

An Impartial ACCOUNT to the Divan at Constantinople, of the most remarkable Transactions of Europe: And discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts (especially of that of France). Continued from the Year 1649, to the Year 1682.

Written originally in ARABICK, first translated into ITALIAN, afterwards into FRENCH, and now into ENGLISH.

Giovanni Paolo Marana

VOLUME IV.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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and W. FLEXNEY.

MDCCLXX.

J. E. T. P. B. 1. 2.

1877

A. T. R. I. S. T. R. I. C. A.

1877

STATE AND TERRITORY

FROM 1877 TO 1877

T. A. M. I. S.

1877

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the office of Justice of the Peace in the several counties of the State of California, for the term ending on the 31st day of December, 1877.

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TO THE
R E A D E R.

EXPECT no more Commendations of our Arabian Author; or Apologies for any thing that may seem liable to Censure in his Letters. There is no End of answering the Cavils of those, who, to gain the Character of Critics, will create Faults where they find none; and impute the very Oversight of the Press to the Ignorance of the Author, rather than a Book shall escape free from Censure.

What is wanting in the Style, where it may be suppos'd to come short of the Original, must be laid to the Italian's charge, who undertook the first Version of so remote a Language. For the English Translator has endeavour'd to follow him as close as the difference of Idioms will admit. And all the world knows, that the English Tongue is none of the most copious and significant. But, if

To the R E A D E R.

this shall seem an invidious reflection, substituted in the room of a passable excuse, the English Translator in honour both of the Foreign Copies, and his own Native Language (for he is a true Englishman both by Blood and Affection) is willing to take the blame of all defects on himself. Assuring you, That whatsoever roughness or want of elegance; whatsoever carelessness of expression is to be found in the English Translation, though it may be a fault indeed, yet 'tis purely owing to the candor of him who has committed it: Since the chief reason of such neglect is, because he was loth the Reader should lose the original sense, for the sake of a sweet period, or a delicate cadence.

If in other places he seems affected, as in retaining the Turkish and Arabic Words, where they might as well have been render'd English; this also was out of respect to his Copy, where those words are left as, we may suppose, they were found in the Original Arabic.

This is address'd to such Gentlemen as have procur'd the Italian Copies of these Letters. For we are inform'd, that they
are

To the R E A D E R.

are in the hands of some English Travellers, who had a curiosity to compare the different Translations together.

However, to evidence that this is not spoken in partiality to ourselves, but with equal regard to that learned Foreigner, who first brought these Letters to light; it will not be amiss to exhibit such probable Reasons, as might induce him to leave some Arabic Words untranslated rather than others, tho' they had both the same sense.

The best method of clearing up this point, will be by producing instances, such as that, where the Word "Vizirs" is retain'd by the English Translator, because it was not changed by the Italian. Doubtless it had been as easy to say "The seven Chief Spirits, Angels, Chancellors, or Ministers above" as "The seven Vizirs." But since the Italian Copy has not altered the word "Vizirs" the English Translator thought fit to let it stand. And he conceives, 'tis proper enough in both Versions; because it better expresses the Thought of the Turkish Author, than

To the R E A D E R.

any Italian or English word can do, being a Title of Dignity peculiar to the Ottoman Empire: Where the credulous people are made to believe, that their Monarchy, with all its Officers of State, is exactly modell'd according to the pattern of the Celestial Court and Kingdom. Therefore it appears very natural in a Turk, to call the Ministers of Heaven by the Title of Vizirs, Beglerbeks, Bassa's, or whatsoever other appellatives are used by them, to express the Dignity of their Grandees on earth. And who would go to spoil his sense for the sake of a word?

Besides, not to let this passage fall without due remarks, is it not common in our Bible to call God "Lord of Lords?" And how can this be otherwise expressed in Arabic, but by the title which is appropriated to the principal Governors of Provinces, whom in their Language they call Beglerbeks? It is equally usual in Scripture to stile God "King of Kings," a Title frequently assumed by the Eastern Monarchs. Nay, in our common discourse here in England, it is customary to give God the Title of "The King of
"Heaven."

To the R E A D E R.

“Heaven.” And why may we not as well give to the Arch-Angels, and Angels, &c. the Titles which are ordinarily apply'd to the Princes and Nobles on Earth? But, however, if this will not appear allowable in a Christian, yet no Man can wonder at the Turk, when he hears him use his native Dialect, speaking of the Potentates above. And if this be granted, I hope neither the Italian will be blamed for preserving the peculiar Phrase of an Eastern Author, nor the English Translator be accus'd for following so polite a Pattern:

This instance had not been press'd so far, but in hopes that what is already said, may serve as a plea for several other examples of like nature in this Volume: Where it is impossible for any European to express the full meaning of an Oriental Author without reserving some words of his very Language. And in this, the Italian Translator is chiefly vindicated; from whose Copy the English in such cases had no reason to swerve. And thus much may suffice to answer all objections about the Style.

To the R E A D E R.

As to the Matter itself, it appears full of instruction, in Historical, Moral, and Political Affairs. Nor need any man wonder, if he encounter some passages which may be found in other Writers, both Gentile and Christian; since the Author of these Letters professes, That he has taken much pains to peruse the Treatises of the Ancients both whilst he study'd in the Academies, and during his residence at Paris, he often frequented the Libraries in that City, whereof there is no scarcity. He spent a great deal of time in reading modern as well as ancient Authors: By which means, he not only improved his Knowledge in the universal History of former Times, but grew familiar with the most remarkable occurrences in Europe, during these later Centuries. So that, in some of his Letters, one would swear he had read Sabellius, Petrus Justinianus, Philip de Comines, and other European Writers: For he seems to come very near them, in relating some particular Stories. And it may be suppos'd that he took this Advantage to oblige the Turkish Grandees to whom he writ, by inserting in his
Letters

To the R E A D E R.

Letters such passages as they were wholly strangers to.

There need no more be said, but that you may expect another Volume of Letters very speedily.

Farewell.

A T A B L E.



A
T A B L E
OF THE
LETTERS AND MATTERS
CONTAINED
IN THIS VOLUME.

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most illustrious Vizir Azem at the Porte.

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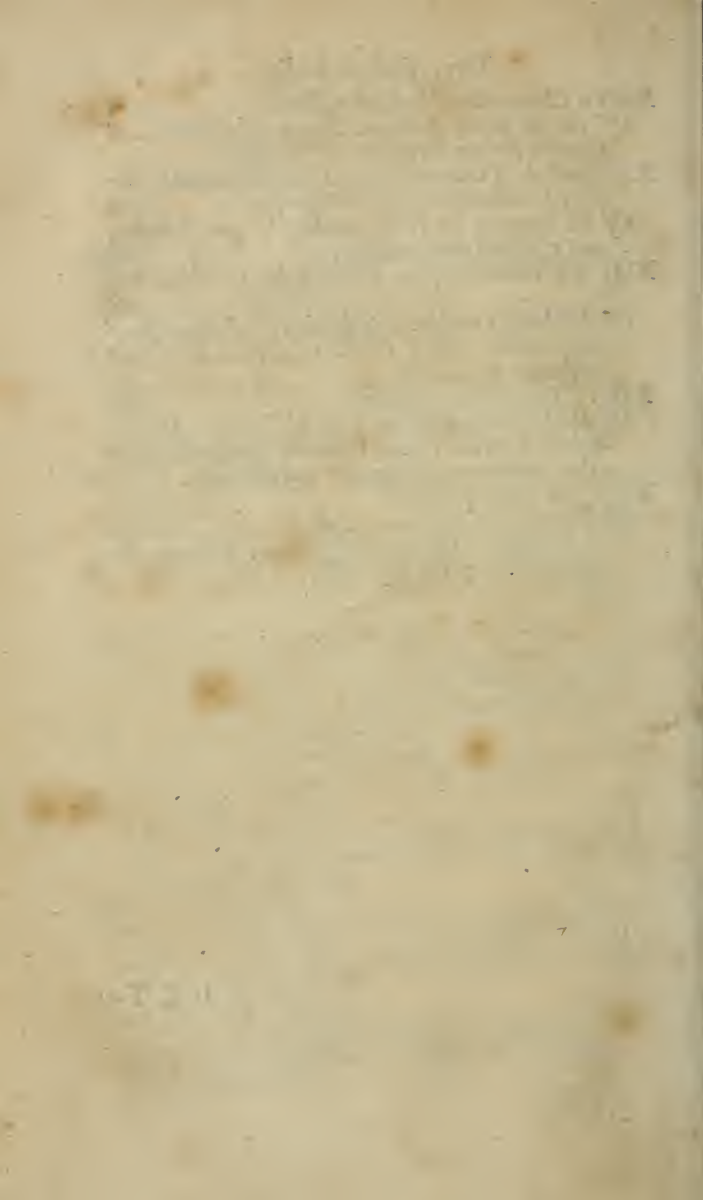
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LETTERS

WRIT BY

A SPY AT PARIS.

BOOK I.

LETTER I.

Mahmut the Arabian, and indefatigable Slave to the Grand Signior, To Mahomet, the most illustrious Vizir Azem at the Porte.

I Congratulate thy ascent to that top of honour, the first Dignity in the Empire ever victorious: 'Tis thy turn to be now exalted in the Orb of Fortune: Let not this high station make thee forget that the wheel is always in motion. But consider, That, since the advance thou hast made was not but by the fall of thy Predecessor, thou hast less reason to think thy own state secure.

I am no Fortune-Teller, nor would be so rude as to prognosticate ill luck to my Superiors. But, men in eminent dignity have need of a Monitor: And, it is recorded of a great Monarch, That he

commanded one of his Pages every morning to salute him, when he first awaked, with these words, "Remember, O King, that thou art a mortal."

Let this example, supreme Minister, plead my excuse, and incline thee to pardon the freedom which Mahmut takes; who by this, thou seest, is no flatterer.

Certainly all sublunary things ebb and flow like the waters. And, though men may sometimes enjoy a spring-tide of felicity, yet Fate has hidden sluices, which in a moment shall convey the mighty torrent to some other channel.

I myself have in some measure experienced this, who am but a puny in comparison with thee. Yet Destiny and Chance are allotted to the Little as well as to the Great. The Worm encounters as many gross contingences, in her humble reptile state, as does the tow'ring Eagle, in all her lofty flights and ranges, through the wide-stretch'd air.

In my Infancy I was snatch'd from the cradle, and from the arms of my mournful mother; mournful on two accounts, the death of a husband, and the necessity of parting with her child. Yet this early separation turn'd to my advantage, and her comfort. The sequel of my good fortune invited her to forsake her Solitudes, and follow me to the Imperial city; where she exchanged her melancholy widowhood, for the society and love of a merry Greek: Whilst Fate had another game to play with me, it being the Will of Heaven, That from the delights of the Seraglio, and the honour of serving the greatest Sovereign in the World, I should fall into a cruel captivity, and be compelled ignominiously to drudge for a barbarous Infidel. Afterwards, I gain'd my Liberty, and apply'd myself to study in the Academies. I will not boast of the proficiency I made: But, at my return to Constantinople, thou knowest, my Superiors thought me capable of doing the Porte service in this place. Thus Providence sports with Mortals,
and,

and, by an unaccountable clew of discipline, leads them through the mazes of this life.

How I have discharged my trust here, I dare appeal to all; yet can please none. Every man will be my judge to give sentence against me; and some, I believe, would willingly be my Executioners: Which, at certain times, carries me into so deep a melancholy, that I ever join with my enemies, and condemn myself, though I know not for what. Surely, say I, so many perspicacious men cannot be all in the wrong, and I only in the right: They must needs see some fault in me, which I cannot discern myself: Doubtless I'm partial, and never chang'd the order of Æsop's wallet. Then I reflect on these thoughts, as the mere product of melancholy: For, after the strictest examination of my conduct, I find myself innocent of those things whereof I am accus'd. Yet, whilst I am justifying my integrity towards my great Master, sadness returns again, and tells me, That without doubt, I have some ways offended God and his Prophet, who, for that reason, suffer the envious to persecute me; and drive me into a more intimate and familiar converse with myself, that so, by making a frequent scrutiny after the cause of my outward misfortunes, I may discover the secret crimes which I may have committed against heaven, and which lie hid under my inadvertence and oblivion.

Then I'm filled with a thousand scruples about my telling lies, and taking false oaths, though I'm dispensed with for all those immoralities, by the sovereign Arbiter of the Law. In a word, I know not sometimes what to think. And were it not that my Agency in these Parts meets with some success, I should often conclude, That I either lay under the Curse of God, or Charms of Men; that either Heaven or Hell, have a peculiar hand in afflicting me.

But all this may be only the fumes of my own distemper'd spleen. And the indulgent Judge of

Man may pass a milder Sentence on me, than either I do myself, or my fellow mortals. He is transcendently benign and merciful: And our sins of frailty appear in his eyes but as small Atoms in the rays of a morning sun; which, though they be innumerable, yet the least breath of wind blows them all out of sight.

By what I have said, 'tis apparent, That I have regard both to thee and myself: To thee, as the supreme Disposer of Life and Death, under the Grand Signior; to myself, as one cull'd out for a Victim by the malicious, and lying at the feet of thy noble nature, begging thy protection. My enemies are industrious to ruin me, and lay hold on all opportunities to accomplish it. The Sentence which they could not procure from thy Predecessor, they may hope to draw from thee by their false Insinuations. This makes me use Precautions in my own defence, hoping to forestal their malice by this humble address.

Imitate thou the Divine Nature, and be not severe in remarking the Peccadillo's, and small delinquencies of thy Slave. If I turn Infidel or Traitor, I crave no favour.

That supremely merciful and gracious, the first and last of the World, and Lord of Paradise, heap on thee as many blessings every day, as would employ my swiftest wishes a thousand years; and grant that thou may'st find admittance into the Place full of Rivers, whose Springs take their Rise from the Bottom of the Rock of Eternity.

Paris, 17th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1649,
according to the Christian Style.

LETTER II.

To the Kaimacham.

THE Troubles of this Kingdom, which a while ago seem'd to be compos'd, are now again broke out afresh. The private grudges of some, and the ambition of others of the nobility, have once more put all in arms. The city is block'd up by the Prince of Conde's army, who has not been long return'd from Flanders. The King, the Queen, with Cardinal Mazarini, and the whole Court, are at St Germain en Lay, whither they went by night. This abrupt departure gave fresh courage to the Seditious, and at the same time furnish them with new matter of accusation against Cardinal Mazarini, who, they say, has stolen away their Sovereign from them. The Parliament have declared him an Enemy to the Government. They are levying soldiers as fast as they can: And provisions are laid in, as if they were to sustain a long siege. Several princes and grandees are come over to the citizens, having deserted the court; among whom is the Prince of Conti, brother to the Prince of Conde. Yet, the Parisians are distrustful of him, and have confin'd his sister, as a hostage for his fidelity; not knowing, that his desertion is real, being occasion'd by some quarrel between him and his elder brother.

'Tis said, That Cardinal Mazarini has taken a resolution to depart the kingdom, that so he may avoid the tempest that threatens him from all hands.

The Queen has sent orders to the Colonels that serve under Marechal Turenne, in Germany, commanding them to abandon that General, who,

they say, has declared for the Parliament, and sent to offer them his service.

On the other side, the citizens endeavour to strengthen their party, by sending to all the Parliaments of France, to desire their conjunction in espousing the quarrel of this of Paris.

The company, which the Burghers of this city have rais'd, wear this Motto in their Ensigns, WE SEEK OUR KING.

In the mean while, the Arch-duke of Austria keeps near the frontiers of this kingdom, with an army of twenty thousand men; and sends frequent proposals to the Parliament, in order to a Peace.

Whilst I was writing the last words, news was brought me, that Eliachim the Jew is seiz'd, and clapp'd in prison at St. Denys, which place is in the King's hands. I cannot learn the reason of his confinement, but am apt to suspect 'tis on the score of his late appearing among the rabble of Paris, whereof I gave an account in a letter to the Aga of the Janizaries.

The surprize I am in at this unfortunate accident, puts me upon a thousand thoughts. I know not what course to take for my own safety. If Eliachim's papers should be search'd, Mahmut must be discover'd; and then, if I tarry in the city, I cannot escape a prison: For tho' at this juncture, one would think this place a sufficient protection from the Court; yet the hatred they bear to the true Believers, and the discovery of so important a commission as mine, would supersede their intestine animosities. I should infallibly be either deliver'd up to the court, or sent to the Bastile. If I go out of the city, my danger is yet greater; all the passes of the country being narrowly watch'd, and strongly guarded by the King's soldiers. This made me, at first, resolve to defer the conclusion of this letter to another time, whilst I provided for my own safety: as thinking

ing it impossible to convey any intelligence out of France undiscover'd. But being inform'd of a Courier, that was just going from the Parliament to the Arch-duke of Austria, and fearing lest I should never have the privilege of pen, ink, and paper again, I have ravish'd a few moments, from that little time I have left, to shift for myself, that so I might give notice of this accident.

I have written also to Nathan Ben Saddi at Vienna, to prevent any Dispatches from him, till farther order. Both these letters I venture in the hands of a faithful messenger, who has caused them to be sewed up in the heels of his shoes, to prevent discovery. He travels under the protection of the Courier.

I have not a minute left to say more, Than, that I am at this instant parting from my lodging; my books and other things being pack'd up, and porters ready to carry them away. If I get safe out of the House, I must change my habit and name, and so lay the foundation of a new concealment, till the issue of this adventure shall direct me what to do.

Adieu, illustrious Kaimacham, and expect to hear more in my next; or let my silence convince thee, That Mahmut is no longer at liberty.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R III.

To Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew, at Vienna.

IF thou hast any Dispatches coming for me, and it be yet in thy power to stop them, use wings in doing it: For I fear we are discover'd in this Place. Thy brother Eliachim is arrested by the King's orders. What is laid to his charge I know not for certain; neither is it necessary for thee to be informed in that point. But if his confinement be owing to some services he has lately done me, we are all lost. His papers will be search'd, which must of necessity betray our secrets: And then we have nothing to expect but the severest execution of the Christians fury and revenge. I am in no small confusion at this accident, having scarce time to provide for my concealment. Send no more to Paris, till thou receivest further advice. We are all in arms, this city being block'd up by the Queen's troops; so that I know not well which way to shift for myself, and escape a thousand scrutinies, which they will every where make into the affairs of a stranger. But, that Fate which over-rules human contingencies will, I hope, rescue me out of this danger: To which I commend both thee and me; bidding thee farewell, as if I were never to write to thee again: For so the issue may prove.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T.

L E T T E R IV.

To Adonai, a Jew, at Venice.

I HAVE something more respite now, than when I wrote last to my brother Nathan at Vienna, to inform him of Eliachim's being made a prisoner. I was in a greater hurry at that time, than the ninth Sphere. All my motions were swift. I went backward and forward, like the Planets; but had no leisure to stand still, as they do sometimes. In a word, I have run over the whole Zodiac of Policy, to seek for a new house; that wherein I lodg'd being like to prove too hot for me. At length I have found one, wherein I hope to meet with no malevolent Aspect, but to remain, as before, in a friendly Conjunction with the Moon; behind whose splendors, I may lie covered from the inquisitions of peering mortals.

To speak more intelligibly, I am, for the present, remov'd to other lodgings in this city, the better to shelter myself from the storm which seems to hang over my head, since Eliachim was seiz'd. Yesterday I wrote to the Kaimacham, and to Nathan Ben Saddi, to give them an account of this accident. This goes along with the same messenger; for I durit not confide in the Posts during the present disorders of this kingdom.

I receiv'd a letter from thee, wherein thou informest me of an attempt that has been lately made to rob the Treasury of Venice: Which, according to thy description, is very rich and magnificent; not to be match'd in Europe. Perhaps, if thou hadst seen the wealth that is preserv'd in the church of St. Denys, a city not far

from Paris, thou would'st be of another mind. But neither of us can make proper comparisons, having not seen both places. The French extol the latter, and say, it far exceeds that of Venice. But they may speak partially; it being the humour of all the people to magnify the grandeur of their own nations: And, the French come not short of the rest of the world in vain-glory. However it be, it was a vast attempt, and full of infinite difficulties and perils, to rob the vaults of a church in the heart of that great and populous city, where all the riches of the Seigniorie were repositied. It is an argument of the greatness of their souls, who durst undertake so hazardous an enterprize.

But this is not the first time the Venetians have been in danger to lose that prodigious mass of wealth. A poor Grecian once found a way, through marble barricado's under ground, to enter those golden cells; from whence he carried away, to the value of twenty hundred thousand Zechins in jewels. But making one of his countrymen acquainted with it, the villain betrayed him to the Doge, who caused him to be hang'd.

That Commonwealth has been all along very happy in discovery of Plots, and other mischiefs intended against her. I know not whether thou hast heard of the famous Conspiracy of Tiepoli; who, not content with the life and estate of a private Gentleman, sought to render himself Sovereign of Venice. And to this end, insinuated into the affections of many thousands of the citizens; whom he kept in constant pension for nine years together, under the notion of assisting him, to revenge certain injuries he had received from the Roman Gentlemen. They were all to run with their arms into the streets when they should hear the name Tiepoli utter'd aloud, and often repeated.

But,

But, when the day was come, whereon he was to put his designs in execution, and the alarm was given in the streets, an old woman made such haste to look out of her chamber-window, to see what was the occasion of the tumults, that she threw down an earthen vessel, which, falling directly on the head of Tiepoli, kill'd him, and so put an end to the rebellion. For which happy accident, the Senate settled a yearly pension of a thousand Zechins on the old woman, during her life, and the same to be paid to her heirs and posterity for ever.

Send me no Dispatches, till thou hast received another letter from me, which will direct thee what to do.

Paris, 27th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R V.

To Mahummed, Hodgia, Dervise, Eremite,
Inhabitant of the Prophetic Cave in Arabia the Happy.

THE Franks, (who are more ready to find faults in others, than to mend their own) censure the Mussulmans, for extending their charity to beasts, birds, and fishes. They laugh at the alms we bestow to feed dogs, cats and other living creatures; and ridicule the tenderness of such as go into the market, and buy the birds that are there sold, on purpose to restore them to their native liberty. They say, 'tis a sufficient demonstration of piety, to relieve the necessities
of

of men ; and that, It is but a fruitless hypocrisy, to shew kindness to the brutes, who, in their opinion, have neither souls nor reason, and are consequently insensible of our good offices towards them.

These are the charges of Western Raillery, the scoffs of the obdurate, with which they load the generous Orientals, the hearts transfixed with universal love. What would they say, if they had heard of thy heroic piety, who not only afforded protection and relief to those creatures whereof we have no need, but even abstainest from the flesh of all animals, though the Prophet himself has indulged us the use of some for our necessary food, and without which many plead, That we cannot sustain life? Oh! excellent man, born for the reproof and light of the age, how is the soul of our great Law-giver exhilarated, when he beholds thy innocent and unblemished life? The Treasury of Heaven is enrich'd with thy good Works, the fertile harvest of virtues, the first-fruits of the purity of thy nature! From thy first descent into that holy Cave, the Angels, who register the words of men, never heard thee utter a syllable that could be reprehended. Thy thoughts ravish the heart of God himself with joy. The universal Spirit full of Eyes, Watcher of the Universe, would fall asleep, were it not rous'd by the strong vibration of thy sublime soul. Thy contemplations are themes for the College of those who are assistant in forming of all things. Were it not for such as thee, the Angel of the first Motion would cease to whirl the Globes of Light through the Heavens : The orbs above would grow rusty, and all the Wheels and Springs of Nature would stand still. Oh elect Idea, before whose purify'd Essence the sun himself appears full of blemishes! Human wit cannot find thy equal on earth; Thou art the Impres on the Seal of the Prophets, the Soul of the Soul of Mahomet.

In thus celebrating thy high perfections, if I have offended thy modesty, thou hast the goodness to ascribe it to the excess of my affection, which carries me beyond human regards. I would fain be an imitator of thy incorrupt life. For, let the Christians say what they please, I will ever esteem Abstinence a divine Virtue. I have consulted the Sages of Old, that I might learn what was the practice of former times, whilst Human Nature was yet in its Infancy, before the manners of men were debauch'd. I have pursued the select writings of the Ancients, the records of truth, and void of fables. And, believing that such Memoirs will not be unwelcome to thee, I presume to lay them at thy feet, as a mark of that profound veneration I owe to the Tenant of the Darling of God.

These Historians say, That the first inhabitants of the earth, for above two thousand years, liv'd altogether on the vegetable Products; of which they offer'd the First-fruits to God; it being esteem'd an inexpiable wickedness, to shed the Blood of any Animal, though it were in Sacrifice, much more to eat of their Flesh. To this end, they relate the first Slaughter of a Bull to have been made at Athens, on this occasion. The Priest of the Town, whose name was Diomus, as he was making the accustomed Oblation of Fruits on an Altar in the open Field (for as yet they had no Temples) a Bull came running from the herd, which was grazing hard by, and eat of the consecrated herbage. Upon which Diomus the Priest, moved with zeal at the reputed Sacrilege, and snatching a sword from one of those that were present, kill'd the Bull. But, when his passion was over, and he consider'd what a heinous crime he had committed; fearing also the rage of the people, he persuaded them, That a God had appeared to him, and commanded him to offer that Bull in Sacrifice, by burning
his

his flesh with fire on the Altar, as an atonement for his devouring the consecrated Fruits. The devout multitude acquiesced to the words of their Priest, as to an Oracle. And the Bull being slay'd, and fire laid on the Altar, they all assisted at the new Sacrifice. From which time, the custom was yearly observed among the Athenians, to sacrifice a Bull. And by them this method of religious Cruelty was taught, not only to all Greece, but to the rest of the world. In process of time, a certain Priest, in the midst of his bloody Sacrifice, taking up a piece of the broiled flesh, which had fallen from the Altar on the ground, and burning his fingers therewith, suddenly clapped them to his mouth, to mitigate the pain. But, when he had once tasted the sweetness of the fat, he not only long'd for more of it, but gave a piece to his assistant, and he to others; who, well pleased with the new found dainties, fell to eating of flesh greedily. And hence this Species of Gluttony was taught to other Mortals. Neither is it material, what the Hebrew Doctors object against these testimonies, when they introduce the son of Adam, sacrificing living creatures, in the Infancy of the World; since, thou knowest many errors are inserted in the written Law, from whence they take this story.

They say also, That the first Goat that fell by the hands of men, was kill'd in revenge for the injuries it had done the owner of a vineyard, in brouzing on his vines; such an impious deed, having never been heard of before.

This is certain, That the Egyptians, the wisest and most ancient people in the world, having receiv'd from the first inhabitants of the earth, a Tradition, forbidding men to kill any living Creature; to give the greater force to this primitive Law of Nature, they form'd the Images of their Gods, in the Similitude of Beasts: That so the
vulgar,

vulgar, struck with reverence at the sacred Symbols, might learn to abstain from killing, or so much as hunting the dumb Animals; under whose Forms, they represented whatsoever among them was esteemed adorable.

Yet, lest any in his life-time should by accident, or otherwise, have transgress'd the Law of Abstinence, they used a kind of Expiation for the Dead, after this manner: The Priests took the bowels out of the belly of the deceased, and putting them in an earthen vessel, they held it towards the Sun; and calling witnesses, they made the following Speech, in behalf of the Dead: "O thou Sun, whose Empire is universal, and all ye other Powers who give Life to Men, receive me into the society of the immortal Gods; for, so long as I liv'd in this world, I religiously persevered in the Worship of those Deities, which were made known to me by my Ancestors. I always honoured my Parents, who begat my body. I never killed any Man or Beast, nor have been guilty of any black Crime. But if whilst I lived, I have trespass'd in tasting any of those Things which are forbidden, it was not my sin, but the fault of these entrails, which are here separated from the rest of my body." And having said this, they cast the vessels into the river on the banks of which the ceremony was perform'd, embalming the rest of the body as pure and free from sin.

After the same manner the Persian Magi, or wise Men, practised Abstinence. And, to imprint in their Disciples a tenderness and friendship toward the Beasts, they called them, according to their different station, either lions, hyæna's, crows, eagles, hawks, &c. And their Garments were painted all over with the various Figures of Animals; thereby insinuating, the Doctrine of the Soul's Transmigration; and inculcating this
Mystery,

Mystery, "That the spirit of man enters successively into all sorts of bodies:" Which thou knowest is not remote from the faith of true Believers.

It would not be amiss, as a testimony of the practice of the Ancients, to insert a memorable Address, which the reform'd Priests of Crete were wont to make before the Altar of Jupiter. "O Divine Governor of the Hundred Cities, we have led a holy life, from the time that we were initiated in thy Mysteries, and forsook the nocturnal Rites, and bloody Feasts of Bacchus: We are now purify'd, and cloath ourselves in white Vestments, the Emblems of our Innocence: We shun the society of polluted mortals; neither approach we to the Sepulchres of the Dead, nor taste of the Flesh of any Thing which has been endued with Life."

Such also was of old, and to this day is, the Abstinence of the Indians; among whom the Brachmans perform the office of Priesthood. These the ancient Grecians call'd Gymnosophists. They are all of one Race, neither will they admit a stranger into their Orders. They live for the most part near to the Ganges, or some other river, for the sake of their frequent Purifications. Their diet consists of milk, curdled with sour herbs. They feed also on apples, rice, and other fruits of the earth; esteeming it the height of impiety to taste of any thing that has life. They live in little huts or cottages every one by himself, avoiding company and discourse; employing all their time in contemplations, and the service of the Temple. They esteem this life but a necessary dispensation of nature, which they voluntarily undergo as a penance; ardently thirsting after the dissolution of their bodies; and firmly believing, That the Soul, by death, is released from its prison, and launches forth into immense liberty and happiness.

happiness. Therefore they are always chearfully disposed to die, bewailing those that are alive, and celebrating the funerals of the dead, with joyful solemnities and triumphs. Among their good works, it is accounted an act of great reputation and virtue, to build Hospitals for Beasts as well as Men: And, in every city, there are great numbers of such as spend all their life, in tending on sick and wounded animals, or such as have no sustenance elsewhere. And, this is no novel Institution, but deliver'd down to them by Tradition, from immemorable ages.

The Precepts also of Triptolemus and Draco, the most ancient Law-givers of the Athenians, are a testimony of the innocence and sincerity of the first Age: For they comprehended all the whole System of Piety and Virtue, in practising these few rules:

“ Let it be an eternal sanction to the Athenians
 “ to adore the immortal Gods; to reverence the
 “ departed Heroes; to celebrate their praises with
 “ songs and the First-fruits of the Earth; to ho-
 “ nour their Parents; and neither to kill Man or
 “ Beast.”

I could relate to thee examples of Abstinence in the ancient Lacedemonians, Spartans, Jews, and almost all nations of the East: Nor are there wanting some testimonies of it in these Western parts. This kingdom of France was in old Times instructed by a kind of Prophets or Philosophers, whom they call Druids, who took up their usual residence under Oaks. These taught the Transmigration of Souls, and there prescrib'd Abstinence from Flesh; and shew'd to men, the method of worshipping God with the First-fruits of the Earth. From whence they sailed over into Britain, and planted themselves in that Island, propagating the same Doctrines, and were revered by the people as sacred Oracles.

By all which it is evident, That the tender regard, which the True Faithful have for the Brutes,

is no Innovation, or singular Caprice of Superstition, but the primitive Practice of the Ancients, the universal Tradition of the whole Earth. Nay, the Eastern Christians, for the most part, live an abstemious life; such as the Grecians, Armenians, Georgians, Mingrelians, and others that are scatter'd up and down in divers parts of Asia. These following the Examples and Traditions of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers of their Churches, either taste not at all, or very sparingly, the Flesh of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes. But the Nazarenes of the West boast I know not of what liberty they have, to eat without scruple, of all things; having the dispensation of the Roman Musti, whom they call the Vicar of God. Hence it is, that these religious Libertines are not afraid to gorge themselves, even with the Blood of slaughter'd Beasts; which their own Law forbids them to taste. And they prop themselves up in their impiety, by saying, That the Pope has power to change the Traditions and Ordinances of the Apostles, and even of Jesus the Messiah himself. Hence proceeds their derision of those who shew any tenderness of the Brutes; for they are harden'd in their gluttonous cruelty, and are but one remove from the most savage Cannibals.

But thou, holy man of God, pity these Infidels, and pray that Mahmut may be a sincere Disciple of thy Purity.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon,
or the Year 1649.

A SPY AT PARIS.

LETTER VI.

To the Kaimacham.

I AM returned to my former lodging again, the case of Eliachim being not so bad as my fears. The occasion of his confinement were certain words he spoke against the proceedings of Cardinal Mazarini and the Court, in company of such as were officious to oblige that Minister. This was done at St. Denys, not far from Paris; where they immediately caus'd him to be taken into custody by the King's guards, who quarter'd in that town. It has cost him a considerable sum of money to purchase his liberty, which he now enjoys as before. I had other thoughts, when I first heard the news of his being seiz'd; and that it was for some seditious expressions: For then I call'd to mind, how he had acted last year, by my order, during the tumult of Paris; and concluded, that some unlucky accident had now betray'd him: Which, if it were so, would infallibly bring me into the same danger. This made me so suddenly change my habitation, and put a stop to the Dispatches of the Sublime Porte. I thought no caution too much, to preserve the affairs of my commission indemnified; and, That it were better to offend in being too wary, than too secure. If I have taken wrong measures in thus absconding, 'tis for want of fuller instruction from my Superiors. I wish they would honour me with particular rules, in case of such emergencies; then I should steer my course, without running the hazard of rocks and sands. I have often desired to know, whether,

ther, if I were discovered, I should own myself an Agent for the Grand Signior. But none of the Ministers have vouchsafed to direct me in this point: Whereby I may commit an irreparable mistake, if such a thing should happen.

Adonai the Jew informs me of an attempt lately made to rob the Treasury of Venice; which according to his description is very rich and magnificent. He says, There are twelve Crowns of pure gold, and an equal number of breast-plates of the same metal, set with all sorts of precious stones of inestimable value: An hundred vessels of agate: Threescore Services for the Altar, all of pure gold, enrich'd with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, and other stones of price. There is also a Unicorn's horn, above the purchase of money. There are fourteen unpolish'd pearls as large as a man's fist. The Ducal cap is valued at a hundred thousand Zechins; with many other rarities, and costly ornaments, too tedious to be inserted in a letter.

Certainly so much wealth was never destin'd to fall into the hands of little private Thieves: It is a booty fit for Kings and great Generals, the licens'd Banditti of the earth. So many glittering Jewels would tempt the honesty of an Angel, and he would be glad to adorn the apartments of his Heaven with these radiant drops of the sun which he sees on earth.

I have met with some pretty relations of the holdness of Robbers, but none that ever match'd the bravery of this enterprize; which was no less than to rob one of the most potent states in the world of her chiefest treasure.

He wanted not for impudence, who, when the Emperor Charles V. was removing his Court, and all the Officers were busy in packing up the goods, enter'd the chamber where the Em-
peror

peror was; and, having made his obeifances, fell roundly to pulling down the rich hangings of Tiffue, which by the help of his confederates be carried away, with abundance of plate: No body ever fufpecting but that he was one of the Emperor's fervants, 'till the perfon came, whose office it was to remove thofe goods, and then the other was known to be a thief.

I have heard of a Spaniard, who on a great Festival, when the Priests had finish'd the Service of the Altar, and were retired to their lodgings, went very boldly and took the golden veffels off the Altar, and carry'd them away under his cloak, as though he had been the Steward of the Church, no body fufpecting any other.

I kifs the hem of thy veft, illuftrious Kai-macham, and pray, That thou may'ft monopolize the choicest bleffings of Heaven, and have thy fhare of the riches of the earth, without danger of lofing them to great or fmall Thieves.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R VII.

To Nathan Bed Saddi, a Jew at Vienna.

NOW thou may'st continue thy Dispatches as before. Our fears are vanish'd: Eliachim is released, and all things are in safety. Thou hast no reason to tax me with timorousness, in so abruptly forsaking my habitation, on the bare foresight of far-fetch'd possibilities; when thou shalt consider, that there is no arming against contingencies in the moment they arrive, and that he, who trusts all things to Chance, makes a lottery of his life, wherein, for one happy event, he shall meet with ten unlucky ones. To what use serves that apprehensive Faculty, which Nature has posted as the Corps du Guard of our lives and fortune, allowing it the senses for scouts and sentinels? To what end, I say, serves the watchful Faculty, but to take the alarm at doubtful emergencies, to rouse our caution, that so we may make provision, and be in a posture of defence, against whatsoever may happen.

News came, that Eliachim was seiz'd for seditious words against the government. I was conscious, That both he and I had been guilty of more than words in that bare kind. Therefore what had happen'd to him, I look upon as a due to myself also; and that my confinement would soon follow, if I took no speedy care to prevent it, by seasonable absconding. This was the reason of my sudden departure, which cannot justly be ascribed to cowardice, since 'twas the effect of common prudence.

Now I am return'd to my old lodging again, where the joy they are in, for the birth of a son, will not give them leisure to reflect on my affairs:

Fairs : So that I am received by the host without the least jealousy or suspicious animadversions. Brim-full of mirth and jovial thoughts, the good man compliments me, and proclaims his better fortune : Invites me to sit down with his friends, and partake of the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus. This, thou knowest, is the custom of the whole earth at the birth of mortals. They make merry over one that is born to the same miseries as themselves, who, the first moment he draws the Breath of Life, is enrolled in the Register of Death ; and from the Womb, makes swift and direct advances to the Grave.

However, I sat down with the rest, to comply with the exhilarated humour of my Host. I eat, I drank, and seem'd merry with the company : yet, at the same time, I could not but nauseate my entertainment, and disdain the extravagant profusion of spirit, which appeared in every one of this vast assembly. They all talk'd eagerly, and one man's words drowned those of another ; whilst an universal laughter confounded the sense of all. Then I praised, in myself, the modesty and order observed in our Eastern banquets and feasts ; where no uncomely gestures or actions escape the well-natur'd guests ; no loud talking or braying like asses, but every one strives to suppress the motions and appearances of a too forward and indulgent mirth, and contain themselves within the bounds of a decent and civil reserve. Such were the feasts instituted by Lycurgus, among the ancient Lacedæmonians ; where such as were friends and acquaintance met together, and refresh'd themselves, without riot and luxury. They convers'd together interchangeably, after the manner of Philosophers or Men-of the Law : Discourfing soberly either of Natural things, or Civil affairs : Mixing facetious and witty jests with their more serious talk, without clamour, scurrility, or giving any offence. But these Western people think themselves not merry, till they
are

are drunk, nor witty, unless they be rude: They play a thousand various tricks, like apes, and the greatest buffoon is the best company.

Wherefore, sick to see men so much degenerate from themselves, I made my excuses, and retired to my chamber, where I presently set pen to paper, to give thee an account of my return.

If thou continuest thy former resolution of following the Dictates of Reason in Matters of Religion, thou wilt quickly find, that thy Rabbi's have taught thee to believe in Fables, which accord neither with Reason nor common Sense. Follow the best guide, and be happy.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R VIII.

To Adonai, a Jew at Venice.

TH Y pen is now free again: Write as soon and as often as thou wilt; our fears are dissipated, and all goes well. If thou canst inform me of any more remarkable passages and adventures, spare not to oblige me with frequent letters: And, to encourage thee, I will relate to thee a story which is recorded in the Histories of Naples.

In former times there was a Statue of Marble standing on the top of a mountain in Apulia, with this Inscription on the Head, which was Brass, ON MAY DAY AT SUN-RISING I SHALL HAVE A HEAD OF GOLD. No man in all those parts could be found, who was able to unriddle the mysterious expression, and therefore it was not regarded for many ages. But at length, in the
reign

reign of a certain Prince, there was a Saracen, who having seen and considered the Statue, with the Inscription, proposed to explain it for certain reward. The Prince hearing of this, and being greedy of the novelty, sent for the Saracen, and bargained with him for a thousand crowns to unfold this riddle. He waited till May-day came, and watching the Image that morning early, he observed the place where the head cast its shadow just as the sun rose. There he ordered certain men to dig; and which when they had done, and were got pretty deep in the earth, they encounter'd a prodigious treasure of silver, gold, and jewels: with which the Prince was so well satisfy'd that he doubled the Saracen's reward, and sent him home into his own country laden with rich presents. Doubtless there is much wealth buried by men in the earth. For in former times they were of opinion, that if they should die suddenly in the wars, or otherwise, such riches as they had hidden in the earth would serve them in the other world. And this is the practice of the Indians to this day, as my brother informs me, who has been among them.

Strange blindness! that men should think the immortal Soul needed the assistance of silver, gold, or any material substance, after she herself is divested of the Body, and become a naked Spirit.

Let thou and I have a nobler Idea of ourselves, than to fancy we should be in want of the glittering dross in that invisible State, whither we are all hastening. There are no Money-changers in that World of Spirits. If thou hast superfluity hide it not in the earth, but give it to the poor, and thou shall receive it again, transform'd into a substance more refined and radiant than the stars.

Paris, 16th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R IX.

To the Reis Effendi, Chief Secretary of
the Ottoman Empire.

THE Intestine Quarrels of the French seem to be like those of Lovers, whose choleric intervals serve but to give a new edge to the returns of their affection. As if one of these Passions was made to whet the other, and make it more sprightly : Or, as if Love would grow dull and feculent, were it not sometimes roused and fermented by Anger.

But I believe there is a greater mystery in the reconciliation between the French Court and the Parliament of Paris. Some ends of policy have hastened both parties to clap up a Peace, while the secret rancour remains unpurged.

Perhaps the union of so many Princes and Nobles, with the Parliament, might incline the Queen to milder councils than her own Spanish Genius. Besides, the conjunction of the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, the revolt of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Provence, with many eminent Cities, were very prevailing motives. But that, which was of greatest force, was, the want of money and men to carry on a war, which could not be raised without vast difficulty, during these public alienations.

Whatever were the inducements, a Peace was concluded about the latter end of the third Moon, at a place called Ruel, not far from Paris, where the King has a House of Pleasure, seated in the midst of a little Paradise. In one of my letters to the Kaimacham, I formerly described the King's House and Garden at St. Germain en Lay.

Lay. This is but a little Chioſe or bower, in compariſon of that ſtately Palace. Yet what is wanting in the grandeur of the fabric, is ſupplied in its elegant contrivance, and the richneſs of its ornaments. And as for the Garden, it comes not far ſhort of the other, there being in it all manner of curious water-works, groves, ſolitudes, fountains, ſtatues, and whatſoever the ingenuity of theſe Weſtern artiſts could ſuggeſt, as proper to render this place agreeable to the melancholy humour of the late Queen-Mother, Mary de Medicis, to whom it belonged during her life.

When you enter this delicious Eden, your eyes and ears are preſently deceived by the counterfeit notes and motions of all kinds of birds, which perpetually ſing as the water tunes their throats. A little farther you ſee ſeveral old gentile ſtatues adorning two fountains: and among the reſt a Crocodile, big as the life, who, by the harmony he makes, ſeems to have a concert of muſic in his belly, as regular and as ſweet as that of the Italian ſociety at Conſtantinople, which thou haſt often heard.

As we depart from this, full of complacency and admiration at the exquisite imitation of Nature in theſe contrivances, we fall inſenſibly into a place exactly like that the Poets deſcribe, when they ſpeak of Elifium. It is a grove, the tops of whoſe trees are ſo thick interwoven, that the ſun appears no otherwiſe through them, than as if he were behind a cloud, or an Eclipse. So that the darkneſs of this place, and ſolemn murmur the winds make on high among the tops of the trees, fills it with a kind of ſacred horror; which has often made me think this Wilderneſs ſomething like that which Hiſtorians deſcribe, when they ſpeak of the Avenues to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon in Egypt. For in the very center of the Grove ſtands the Houſe; a place one would think fitter for a Convent than a Prince's Court. At beſt it appears but like a Royal Hermitage, a Cell conſecrated to Kingly Melancholy.

I could not forbear making this digression when I mention'd Ruel to be the place where the Peace was concluded between the Court and the Parliament: This Encomium is a tribute which I owed for the satisfaction and pleasure I have often received in this Retirement. Besides, I thought an Idea of such a garden would not be unwelcome to thee who art a lover of Solitude.

The Coadjutor of Paris, who is an Archbishop, is highly affronted that this Peace was concluded without him, who had a chief hand in beginning the war. He labours to inflame the people again, and reduce all to the old confusion, being an irreconcilable enemy of Cardinal Mazarini. So that we expect another insurrection in a short time: for the French cannot be long idle.

Happy Minister, I leave thee under the wings of that Spirit which guards the Elect, and bid thee farewell.

Paris, 15th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

LETTER X.

To Dgnet Oglou.

SHALL I tell thee I mourn for the death of our friend Egry Boinou, whom thou say'st a Fever snatch'd from us the first day of the Moon Regib? That Fever it seems, was the effect of his continual and excessive grief for the loss of his eyes; so that we may say, he has been dying ever since the hour that fatal Sentence was put in execution: And, shall we grudge our friend a release from so lingering a death? At best, it was but the
Winter

Winter of life wrapped up in clouds and darkness: Now, like the Serpent, he has cast his slough, lifts up his head with new vigour, sports himself in the meadows of Paradise, and basks in the warmth of an eternal Spring.

'Twill not therefore be a mark of our affection to him, but only a discovery of our self-love to condole the occasion of his happiness, because it has lessened ours, by robbing us of his beloved company and friendship. Besides, we know not but that he may still continue to be our friend, even in that invisible State; and either manage our interest above, or at least protect us from danger here below. We are ignorant of the Laws and Constitutions of that Kingdom of Spirits; and, for aught we know, the souls of just men, after death, may become the Tutelar Genii, or Guardian Angels of their surviving friends and relations. Let it be how it will, doubtless Egry is immortal and happy, and 'twill be envy in us to repine at it. Rather let us congratulate the time of his decease as the day of his nativity, and leave Mourning to the crowd of mortals, who do a thousand things without ever thinking what they are about. They tread in the steps of their fathers, never examining whether they be right or wrong! Custom and education have almost banished reason from the earth. Is it not a pleasant spectacle to see the kindred of an old rich Miser (for whose death they had long waited, like Harpies for their Prey) now flock about his lifeless carcase, howling out a thousand forced lamentations; whilst, in the mean time, their blood dances in their veins for joy? Yet however, this carries a shew of civiliz'd manners, and is better than the barbarous custom of the Scythians and Massagetes, who, when their old men grew useless and troublesome, were wont to sacrifice them, and make a banquet with their flesh; or the Thebarnes, who threw their aged friends alive down precipices. These were Savages; but much more so were the

Hyrcanians and Bactrians, who cast their aged parents, yet living, to be devoured by dogs; which inhumanity, when Stafanor the Deputy of Alexander the Great endeavoured to suppress, they had like to have deposed him from the Government: So prevalent is the force of a received custom on the minds of the unthinking herd.

Let thou and I therefore not supinely take up with common practices; but, like men of reason, let us adjust the last offices we owe to our friend, whilst we pour forth some devout Oraisons for the health of his soul, without disturbing his and our own repose with fruitless lamentations. And, since we are bereaved of his society on earth, let us prepare to follow him, and render ourselves agreeable company at our next rendezvous in Heaven.

It was an unjustifiable rigour in Sultan Ibrahim to deprive him of his eyes, because he had only cast them unhappily on one of the Sultana's as she enter'd the garden. This jealousy is the peculiar vice of the East. Yet they are more severe in Persia, where 'tis present death to be within two leagues of the King's women when they travel the road. But I never knew that Eunuchs were thus punish'd. Or is there such a difference between a white and a black Eunuch, that the One deserves to lose his eyes for beholding that by chance, which the Other is honourably rewarded for having access to and seldom being out of their sight.

This was the worst Punishment that Saleucus, the Law-giver of the Locrians, imposed on them that were actually caught in adultery; which puts me in mind of a notable instance of this man's justice: For when his own son was accused, and proved guilty of this crime; at once to shew the Tenderness of a Father, and the incorruptible Severity of a Judge, he first caused one of his own eyes to be put out, and then one of his Son's: Thus taking on himself half the penalty, that so the Law might be

be satisfied in the whole, and yet his son not be totally deprived of his sight.

Thou tellest me no news of our armies, nor what alterations have been made amongst the Ministers of the Porte since the death of Sultan Ibrahim. We have various reports here, and some say that the new Vizir Azem will be no long-liv'd man. I desire thee to write often to me, and send what intelligence thou canst.

Let nothing slip the knot which has fastened us so many years together in an entire friendship: but let us carry that Magnet with us to our graves; that, at what distance soever we may be buried, our souls may, by the force of that attractive, find one anothe out, and converse together in that region of Silence and Shadows.

Paris, 9th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XI.

To the Captain Bassa.

I Know not where this letter may find thee; on the shore, or at sea. If thou art in the watry Wilderness, I have no art to trace thee. There are no certain roads on that inconstant element. It is a mighty plain, without path or track. And though there be certain stages in it, yet thy arrival at them is timed at the pleasure of the winds and waves, which will not obey even the order thou hast received from the Grand Signior, Lord of the Four Seas. Perhaps thou art in pursuit of some Venetian ships, or other Christian vessels, the Corsairs of the Mediterranean. Or thou may'st be careening thy fleet in some securer retreats of the

Archipelago. Thou may'ſt be within a minute of a Wreck, or juſt entering a harbour. Where-ever thou art, may heaven preſerve thee from the dangers which always threaten ſuch as truſt their lives to a piece of wood; for there will be great need of thee, if our intelligence be true in theſe parts.

It is reported here, that the Coſſacks, Circaſſians, Mingrelians, and other People who border on the Black Sea, and obey not the Law brought down from Heaven, are entered into a League againſt the Bleſſed Porte, and have cover'd thoſe Seas with a mighty fleet: while the Prince of Georgia ruſhes down from his mountains with an army of forty thouſand Armenians, Perſians, and borderers of Mount Caucasus: That the former have taken a thouſand of our trading Saicks, and are advanced as far as the Ferry of the Bull, which thou knoweſt is but ſix hours ſail from the Imperial city: That the latter have made incuſſions into the Territories of the Grand Signior; put all to the ſword who reſiſted them as they march'd along; burned and laid waſte the country; and that all the Greeks and Armenians flock to them, threatening an univerſal defection from the Ottoman Empire.

As to the truth of theſe reports, I can aſcertain nothing, but am inclined to believe the Coſſacks are troubleſome at ſea, and that they may have drawn ſome of their neighbours into a League, thoſe pilfering Nations, who live by rapine and ſpoil on both elements. Our ſmall veſſels trading on the Black Sea, full of riches and empty of arms, muſt needs be a temptation to thoſe Pirates, who are the moſt dexterous at a robbery, and the boldeſt fellows in the world. The Merchants of theſe Parts, who have had ſome traffic at Cuſſa, and other towns on the banks of the Black Sea, give a frightful deſcription of thoſe tempeſtuous waters, and no good character of the People that border on them. The Coſſacks, they ſay, are valiant and mercenary; the Circaſſians hardy and bold; the Mingrelians ſly
and

and crafty; and the Georgians of an Astral complexion, capable of all virtues and vices. The First seldom act unless encouraged by the King of Poland, or the Czar of Muscovy; and then they are content with their pay, and the lawful plunder of war. The Second are never idle when there is hope of prey, whether they fight their own cause, or are employed by others, and fear neither hunger, cold, nor any other extremity for the sake of a prize. The Third are good at a Stratagem, and would steal a man's teeth out of his gums, if he be not wary; great cowards, yet be desperate in their own defence, when they see no Medium between fighting and death. As for the Fourth, they seem to be a kind of mungrels, a medley race, whose character is compounded of the other Three.

They are stout and witty, dexterous at a cheat, and no bunglers at an ingenious theft; great lyars, full of compliments and external civilities, but perfidious and implacable in their revenges.

Yet after all, I cannot believe the Prince of this country, who is a Tributary to the King of Persia, would venture his Government at two such desperate stakes, by breaking the Peace concluded by his Sovereign with the Grand Signior, and so drawing upon himself the vengeance of them both. Therefore, he is either secretly abetted by that Monarch, or else the news is false.

Would'st thou know how this country came to be subject to the Crown of Persia? It was conquered by Ishmael Sophi, to whom the Persian Historians, in flattery, give the Epithet of Great. He was the First of that Name, and of the Persian kings, that refused to obey the Orthodox Successors of the Sent of God. This Prince was valiant in the field, and no coward at wine, if we may believe one of his Courtiers, who wrote Memoirs of his Life. He records sixteen battles, wherein he always got the victory; and twice that number of Royal Debauches, when he shewed the strength

of his brain in the company of foreign Ambassadors ; with whom he would always carouse, before they departed his Court, that he might sound the depth of their instructions ; for, none were able to cope with him at the juice of the grape. And he always esteemed that liquor a friend to truth.

If he suspected his Ministers of State, or any of the Governors of Provinces, he used to invite them to a Banque ; where, in the midst of his drinking, he unravell'd their secret inclinations and councils ; being the most dexterous at picking the locks of a man's heart, of any one living. They never went alive from his presence, if by one false step in their carriage, tho' it were but a word too passionate, or a look less composed to resignation, he could discover or frame to himself the grounds of a just jealousy. It being ever his Maxim, "That credulity was the only vice that could ruin a happy Prince." He had another saying also, "That Persia was fertile of men, but barren of faithful officers."

I cannot admire these cruel strains of policy : Yet Kings have reasons for their actions and words, which we cannot comprehend. The Philosophers say, "That wine was given us by the Gods, to mitigate our cares ; and, for a time, to make us equal to their Divinities, in the free enjoyment of ourselves." And though, as a Mussulman, I am not bound to subscribe to the Principles of Pagans ; yet, as a man, partaker of flesh and blood, I think he doubly misuses that liquor, who perverts it to the ends of cruelty.

But this Monarch had other thoughts, when, by the assistance of other Georgian forces, having subdu'd the Regions bordering on the Caspian Sea, at that time in the hands of the Ottomans, he invited the King of Georgia to his Tent, under pretence of a festival joy for their mutual success. The unwary Prince, trusting on his own merit, and the faith of his neighbour, ventures himself with a small guard to the camp of Ithnael. The
Persian

Persian entertained him with all the outward demonstrations of affection and gratitude, for his repeated aids : But in the end of the Feast, taking exceptions at some words the King of Georgia spoke, in praise of his own soldiers, he commanded his Eunuchs to seize on him, and carry him to the Tent of the Unfortunate, (so they called the Pavilion or Cage of the Grandees fallen into disgrace.) Then he gave swift orders for the Georgian Soldiers to be manacled. And having thus done, he bestowed the Government of Georgia on one Luarzab, on condition, That he and his successors would embrace the Faith of Hali, and pay Tribute to the Crown of Persia.

From this Luarzab has the Government of Georgia descended, not in a Line of Blood, but at the pleasure of the Persian King, to him who now holds it, Shanavas-Chan ; who, I believe, has more wit than to hazard his possessions for the sake of a Chimera.

In thus roving from my first point thou canst not blame me, since thou thyself actest by the rules of Navigation, which vary according to the byass of the Needle. Thou followest one Magnet, and I another ; yet let us both meet in the center of duty we owe the Grand Signior.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XII.

To Cara Hali, Phyfician to the Grand Signior.

THOU wilt fay, 'tis an unmannerly way of congratulating thy new advance, to begin my addrefs with complaints. Yet Friendship overlooks Punctilio's. 'Tis not the firft time I have trespassed on thy generous temper. I am indisposed, and cannot act the Courtier, though I am ravished to hear the news. It is fome support to my languishing Spirits, that whilst I am crumbling and dwindling away into the little Principles of which I was made, thou my friend, art growing in the Bulk of mortal Greatness, in the favour of our glorious Sultan.

However, I cannot but suspect the pretended kindness of him who raised thee, I mean the new Vizir; neither hast thou much reason to take this sudden reconciliation for any other than a mask of his old malice. He cannot forget the quarrel between thy father and him, on the account of Dara Mesock, the Lieutenant-General of the Janizaries; when the brave old Cheik put a stop to the designed revenge of this unhuman upstart.

Assure thyself, That he who has made the steps to the grandeur he now possesses, o'er the neck of his Master, will not spare any from whose wit or power he may fear a shock. And he knows both by experience and interest too great, not to mistrust the son of his enemy.

Besides, the eminent command, thy brother has over the Spahi's, must needs be an additional caution to the man, whose name sounds no where so sweetly, as in the Chamber of the Janizaries.

Thou art sensible, that the newly reviv'd animosity

mosity between these Military Orders threatens a calamity to the Ottoman Empire, which cannot be diverted without a sacrifice on one side or other. And, since the Spahi's have engaged so many potent Bassa's in their quarrels, who can expect to fall, but the mighty Favourite of the Infantry?

He knows this very well; and to prevent his own ruin, resolves on thine and thy brother's. Thine under the masque of friendship, till by his wheedle he has drawn thy brother to Constantinople; where he will not fail to be strangled, that so a Creature of the Vizir may be promoted in his room: And what will become of thee after this, I leave to thy own judgment.

Perhaps thou wilt despise the advice of a sick man, and impute my fears to an excess of Melancholy; from which distemper, thou knowest, I am seldom free. But I tell thee, my Reason labours under no Hypochondriac disorders, tho' my Body may. I am no Enthusiast when I counsel my friend to avoid an apparent danger. However, if thou thinkest it needless for me to busy myself in such cases, I have done. But I shall never cease to pray for thy prosperity as often as I comply with the Law, in kissing the floor five Times a day, and repeating the appointed Oraisons of Faith.

Methinks, when I write to thee now, my pen is at a loss: I am puzzled for a style suitable to thy new honour, and our old friendship.

But, if I take too much liberty, ascribe it to the sincerity of my affection, which knows not how to be reserv'd or strange to a person, whom once I could call my other self: For no wider is the distance between friends.

Paris, 5th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XIII.

To Chiurgi Muhamet, Bassa.

I Know not, whether what I am going to relate will be news to thee, or to any of the Ministers residing at the Sublime Porte. However, 'tis so to me, and I am commanded to conceal nothing of any moment that comes to my ears.

Mahomet, eldest son to Achmet, the Dey of Tunis, is now at Rome, having embraced the Christian Religion. People relate variously the motives that induced him to this change. Some say, 'twas interest, he having held a private correspondence with the Viceroy of Sicily, who promised him, in the King of Spain's name, to make him Lord of several large Territories in the West Indies.

Others say, 'twas discontent at his father's government, and austere carriage towards him; the old man having forced him to marry the Bassa of Tripoli's daughter against his inclination.

But the greatest part ascribe this change in Religion to the force of his Conscience; which they say, was convinced by a Miracle, of the truth of the Christian Faith. For, as they relate, being once at sea in a Vessel, wherein were many Christians, and a dreadful tempest arising, the mariners, who were all Mussulmans, seeing the havock that the winds and waves had made of the ship-tackle, gave over all for lost, and fainting under so much labour, watching, and terror as they had undergone, lay down, and let the ship drive where-ever the storm would carry her. But there being a Christian Priest aboard, esteemed

esteemed a very holy and blameless man, he excited the Christians to appease the wrath of God by some extraordinary acts of Devotion. Then they all made a solemn Procession on the decks of the Ship, the Priest carrying before them that which they call the Sacrament, imploring the mercy of God, and often calling on Jesus and Mary. When behold, as the Priest stood aloft on the Poop, reading aloud part of the Gospel, the storm suddenly ceased, the clouds were dispers'd, the air grew serene and calm, and the vessel got safe into harbour. Upon this, they say, Mahomet, when he came ashore, took that Priest along with him, desiring to be instructed in the Christian Belief; making a vow also, That he would renounce the law of the Mussulmans, and embrace that of Jesus.

This is what such, as are zealous for the honour of the Christian Faith, relate concerning this Prince's conversion. However it be, it is certain, that he privately made his escape from Tunis by sea, and bent his course directly for Sicily; where in a few days he landed, and was received by the Viceroy, according to the Dignity of a Prince. A while after, he was baptiz'd by an Archbishop, who gave him the name of Don Philippo, by which he is called in all places.

They say, he was a little scandalized at first, when he saw with what freedom the Sicilian women appeared abroad in the streets, and conversed with men; but that afterwards, he took a great delight in their company, especially those that could sing well, or play on any instrument of Music, to which he is much addicted. And therefore, he chuses to frequent those Temples, where their Service is performed with variety of excellent Music, as it is in all great cities. And for aught we know,
the

the character, which the Christian Priest gave him of this harmonious manner of worshipping God, might have no small influence on a man naturally affected with that Science. Certainly music has a mighty force to our affection; and it is a Proverb here in the West, "That he, who does not love music, has no soul." One of the ancient Philosophers defined the Soul itself to be an Harmony. And another was so sensible of the various effects of this Science, in raising different passions in men, that he left as an Aphorism, "Such as the music is, such are the People of a Commonwealth." Whence it was the great care of such as took upon them to form the manners of Youth, that no tunes should be played in their hearing, which naturally provoked to levity and wantonness; but grave and martial strains, such as prompted heroic thoughts, and disposed them to virtue. The Italians are great Masters of this Science; and the airs which they compose for their Church Service are very deep and ravishing. Which causes their new profelyte Don Philipppo, to pass his time very attentively, during the celebration of the High Mass and their Even-Song. They report, that he will turn Jesuit.

He went from Sicily loaden with gifts and presents, and came to Rome, the seat of the Christians chief Musti, whom they call the Pope. He is much honoured and caressed by the Holy Father, and all the Cardinals, who have told him so many fair things of the Nazarene Faith, and shewed him so many sacred Relicks of Antiquity, that he thinks himself already within the Verge of Heaven, and that Rome is no other than the Suburbs of Paradise. There is something very charming and sweet in the conversation of the Christian Prelates,

lates, if they be men of learning, as most generally they are. And 'tis no wonder that such polite company should prevail much on the flexible temper of a young Prince, who is as a Pilgrim in a strange Country, where he can hear nothing but perpetual Eulogies of the Christian Religion; nor see any thing but objects, which serve only to confirm in his mind a venerable Idea of the Faith he has embraced. Besides, they say he is fallen deeply in love with a young Roman lady; so that there is no hopes of rescuing him from the power of so many enchantments.

Therefore, giving him over as lost, let us pray the Omnipotent to establish us in his Truth; that neither interest, passion, nor an erroneous conscience may ever be able to make us swerve from the Law written in Heaven, but, that we may adhere to God, and his Prophet, with a thousand Souls.

Paris, 5th of the 7th Moen,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XV.

To Sala Tircheni Ermin, Superintendant of the Royal Arsenal at Constantinople.

WE are all alarm'd here with the news of I know not what boisterous adventures of the Cossacks, and their neighbours, that possess the ancient Kingdom of Colchis. Had I not a firm Faith in the Alcoran, 'twould fill me with Panick Fears. But no attempts can prevail against the Men fighting under the Shadow of the Prophet. He descended with a consummate authority, from the Monarch who commands all things. The Mandate of Heaven will disperse the Infidels. The seven Viziers above were witnesses to the words, whose Eccho's caused thunder, when the Prophet retir'd from the Steps of the Throne. Had not Moses given him warning (who remember'd the noise in the Mount) the Apostle had lost his Address, and been confounded before the Angels; but encourag'd by the whisper of the Man with Horns, he made no default in his Conge: And with little loss of time arriv'd to the ninth Sphere, where he proclaim'd the Nefiarum; and all the Inhabitants of that Orb resorted to the Banner which he had in his hands. The Prophet told 'em, "'Twas only for a Trial "of their Fidelity." They made obeisance, and retir'd.

From that place he made no scruple, but that the Elect of Heaven and Earth would obey the Divine Patent. He finish'd his descent triumphantly, and pitch'd his feet on Mount Uriel. Those that believe Hali, say, 'Twas on the top of the Ragged Rock: But let the Heretics alone

in their Infidelity. Be it where it pleased God, he spoke the Words that shall ne'er be revers'd, when he display'd the heavenly Silk, and said, "Whoever takes up arms against this Banner, shall be reputed an Infidel; he shall be exterminated from the earth."

I often think on these passages in the holy Memoirs, the Collections of the life full of Wonders. Then I comfort myself with this thought, That, if all the uncircumcis'd in the World should enter into a combination, they would not succeed against the men fighting under the Commission with the Seal.

I have sent a letter to the Bassa of the Sea, acquainting him with the news of this Expedition of the Cossacks. Since which I am informed, That these People are headed by a famous Pirate, in those Parts, a man of a daring spirit, and capable of the boldest undertakings. The French merchants, who have traded in the Black Sea, give him a high character; and portend great injuries to the Ottoman Empire from the success of his arms: For, they say, he is a good Captain, both by Sea and Land. I have heard several different stories both of his birth and education: But this, I am going to relate, comes from the best hands, and seems most probable.

His name is Pachicour, a Circassian by birth, but bred up in a sea Town of the Ukrain, near the Mouth of the Niester. He left his native Country at the age of twelve years, out of a desire to see foreign Parts, embarking himself unknown to his parents in a vessel of Podolia, which then was ready to set sail from Bala Clug. He carried with him a small sum of money, which he had purloin'd from his father, and served as a fund of his future fortune: For, arriving at a certain town in Podolia, he frequented the Keys, and offered his service to several Merchants;

Merchants; one of which, observing in his face the marks of a promising Genius, entertain'd him in his house. He lived with him seven years, and performed his office so well, that he made him his Factor to Constantinople.

Pachicour discharged his trust there with much Profit to his Master, and Honour to himself. So that, at his return, several Merchants entrusted him with their goods; and sent him to trade at Caffa, and other towns on the Black Sea. His judgment and reputation increasing with his years, he became in time famous in all the trading towns. And such was his credit in the Ukrain, that all the Merchants put their vessels and goods into his hands: So that he sail'd many times with a fleet of twenty ships, having the disposal of all the goods committed to his management. He grew so rich in time by his dealing, that he was able to drive a considerable trade for himself. And then it was, he began to lay the foundation of a design, which he has since executed. His genius was too active always to be confined to this slow way of growing great: Therefore, he was resolv'd at one blow to raise his fortune to the pitch he aim'd at. He was the only Brother Banquier and Merchant where-ever he came.

It was no difficult thing for a man of so vast a credit to raise an extraordinary stock; and Pachicour could easily silence the alarms of Conscience. There happen'd also a juncture very proper for his design. For while he was at Is-gaou, a Port of Circassia, day and night projecting how to exalt himself, a War broke out between his Countrymen and the Mingrelians. The latter appear'd with a navy at Sea, which alarm'd all the Maritime Parts of Circassia. Pachicour, whose invention was always busy, took a hint from this, to accomplish his plot. Expedition was his chiefest game. Therefore he
speedily

speedily made the utmost use of his credit among the Podolian Merchants, and other foreigners residing at Isgaou. And, when he had amass'd together prodigious sums of gold, for which he only gave the Bills of Exchange, he privately sends away the whole treasure, with all his jewels, tissues, and other rich merchandize, to his father's house, who lived not many leagues from this town.

Within two days after this, the Mingrelian Fleet makes a descent at Isgaou, sack'd it, carried away two thousand captives, and went to their vessels again.

Pachicour, who knew how to make an advantage of this opportunity, privately fled after his wealth, as soon as the Mingrelian Fleet appeared before the place. And it happen'd that most of his creditors were made slaves, and transported to Mingrelia. He had no need to take any farther care, but how to secure his riches from his pilfering neighbours: For the Circassians are all profess'd Thieves: He therefore makes haste to his father; and, having gratified him for his troubles, he in a short time purchased four Men of War, with which he sets up for a Pirate, infesting those seas, and robbing all the Merchants, except those who had formerly entrusted him. His bounty and valour charm'd all that served him. And, his fame spreading with his wonderful success, many Circassians put out to sea, and joined with him: So that in a little time he made no small figure in the Kingdom of Neptune. Seeing himself Commander of a powerful Navy, he found out quickly the Mingrelian fleet, and engaging with them, got a glorious victory.

Soon after, a Peace was concluded, and Pachicour was declared Admiral of all the Circassian sea-forces; to which the Mingrelians were obliged by Treaty to join theirs, and to obey Pachicour's

chicour's orders. In a litte time, this fortunate General became so famous, that the Cossacks sent to him an Agent, and entered into a League; furnished out three hundred vessels, and joined the Circassian and Mingrelian fleets.

This is the bottom of the new Expedition, which makes so loud a noise in these parts.

Thou, who art master of the Arsenal, wilt know what measures are fittest to be taken against this bold Infidel, if he persists to break the Peace of the most Serene Empire. Yet, though he is an enemy, let us not envy him the praises that are due to his wit and courage. He seems to surpass the sneaking Thieves of his own Nation; and undertakes nothing but sovereign Cheats, and noble Thefts, such as would pass for virtuous Actions in a man of a higher Birth.

I do not plead for Robbery, nor take the part of an Infidel; but, if I had time to tell thee some heroic passages of this Pirate, thou would'st say, he is worthy of a generous and favourable usage, should he become a captive. In another letter I will oblige thee with a relation, which will not be unwelcome to a man who gives not sentence with the vulgar. I had more to say on another subject, but I am interrupted. Pardon the effect of my duty to the Grand Signior.

Paris, 19th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

LETTER XV.

To Melec Amet, Bassa.

THERE is news arrived here lately of the murder of the English Ambassador at the Hague. His name was Dorislaus. He was sent by the new Governors in England to make an Alliance with the States of Holland, and to satisfy them in reference to their late proceedings against their Sovereign. 'Tis said, the Negotiation would have had but little success, in regard the Prince of Orange, who is President or Chief over the States, and who married the daughter of the English King, takes to heart the untimely death of his Father-in-Law, and cannot be reconciled to his murderers. Yet, 'tis to be thought, that Princes are no farther touch'd with one another's misfortunes, than concerns their Interest.

However, on the 3d day of the 5th moon, some Scots enter'd into the lodgings of the Ambassador, and having dispatch'd him with several wounds, made their escape. It is not certainly known who set these Assassins at work. People descant variously, as their affections byass them. Some reflect on it as a judgment justly inflicted by God, though by an unjust act of men, on one who had been a notorious promoter of his Sovereign's death: Others censure it as a most impious Sacrilege, in regard the persons of Ambassadors are by the law of nations esteemed sacred and inviolable; and the injuries which they suffer are interpreted not only as done to their Masters who send them, but to all mankind, as if human Nature itself were wrong'd in the persons of public Ministers.

Indeed there is no method of establishing, or
con-

conserving Friendships and Alliances between different Nations, if their Agents be not secured with an immunity from affronts and violences.

The French relate a pretty passage of one of their Kings, who, before he came to the Crown, being Duke of Orleans, had received very ill usage in his travels from a certain Italian Lord call'd the Baron of Benevento. After this Prince was possess'd of the Kingdom, the same Italian Lord was sent Ambassador from the Viceroy of Naples, to congratulate his Accession to the Throne of his Ancestors. Some French Courtiers, who had been witnesses of the injuries this Lord had formerly done to their Master, now persuaded the King to revenge himself, by causing some gross indignities to be done him whilst he had him in his power. To whom the wise Monarch reply'd, "It becomes not the King of France to revenge on the Ambassador of Naples the injuries which the Duke of Orleans received from the Baron of Benevento."

'Tis said, the English nation have demanded satisfaction of the Hollanders for the murder of their Ambassador, but were answered, "That they themselves ought first to expiate the murder of their King."

The Scots have revolted from the New Government in England, and are yet in suspense, whether they shall set up the Son of the late King, or form themselves into an Independent Republic. The Irish are stedfast to the interest of the Crown: And many islands in America, subject to the Kings of England, have now denied all obedience to the new English Government, which seems to tend towards Democracy.

There is much talk of one Cromwel, the General of the English Forces in Ireland. This man, from a private and obscure estate, is as-

which is no other than Hebrew in its ancient Purity.

This is the language of those who dwell above the seventh Orb. 'Tis the Dialect wherein God converses with the Pages of his divine Scraglio, wherein all the Records of the celestial Empire are writ. And when he issues out Orders to the Ministers and Bassa's of Heaven, Hafmariel the Secretary of the immortal Diyan uses no other character, or speech, but that which is peculiar on earth to the sons of Ishmael, the inhabitants of the Region on the East of the Red Sea. In fine, this is the Language wherein the Omnipotent thought fit to discover his pleasure to Mortals.

Believe Mahmut, when he tells thee with profoundest submission, that he has taken some pains to pry into those languages, which have been the channels of divine knowledge. I have been peculiarly ambitious to study the Anatomy of oriental words: And it would be no Hyperbole to say, I have learned even to dissect the very Syllables, wherein the various placing of points and letters alters the sense, or at least makes it ambiguous. So significant and mysterious are our sacred Characters.

I speak not this in Peevishness, or to vindicate myself from the contempt which Ichingi Cap Oglani has put upon me. I have no emulation in that point; nor can any little spur of pedantic ambition make me forward to contend with a man, whose whole talent consists in knowing and remembering other mens Works; as if he had studied at Athens only for this end, to learn the facetious art of turning his Brains into a Catalogue of Books. But I reflect on the Learned among the Nazarenes, who are chiefly to blame, having the custody of the Book delivered to them from the Jews: And among them the Translators of that Volume are past

excuse, for they have deflower'd the Original, and robb'd the Virgin Language of its beauty and honour, whilst the rest are witnesses and silent abettors of the rape, in concealing the indignity that has been done to the Letters form'd by the Finger of God, and full of divine Mysteries.

In thus accusing the Christian Interpreters of the Bible, I do not patronize the critical whimsies of the Jewish Cabbalists. They are exploded by all men of sense; yet there is a Medium between the excess of that affected niceness, which has rendered the one ridiculous, and of that studied carelessness to which the obscurity of the other is owing. As the Hebrews, by pressing the letters too close, have squeezed out divine Chimera's; so the Christians, in using too slack a hand, have scarce gain'd a gross draught of common human sense, leaving the genuine Elixir of the writer's meaning behind.

I will not lay much to the charge of the Translators employ'd by Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. These were no Christians, nor yet in the number of those who adored the celestial Bodies and Elements: Nor did any of them pay their Devotions at the same Altar with that Egyptian Monarch, who was a Worshipper of the god Serapis: But they were Jews, seventy, or two more in number, as the Tradition goes. And being every one commanded severally to translate those Manuscripts, which the Jews esteemed the Oracles of God, without conversing with or seeing each other, it is said, their Versions all agreed to a Syllable.

This is the story of the Jews, and seems to be credited by the Christians: yet some have found many errors and incongruities in that celebrated Copy. And 'tis easy for an impartial eye, espe-

cially in the head of an Oriental, to spy many more.

But the Latin, which they call the vulgar Translation, is full of mistakes. And the pretended Saint, who made it, should have gone farther than Palestine for his intelligence in ancient Hebrew. His name (if I mistake not) was Hieronymus. He passed many years in a Cell, near the supposed tomb of the Christians Messiah in the Holy Land: Where, they say, he was inspir'd with the Knowledge of Hebrew; and from thence ventured upon a Translation of the Old Testament.

Thou wilt not expect a certificate of these things from Mahmut, who only tells thee what he has read in Christian authors, whom they call the Historians of their Church.

But I can assure thee 'twas no Spirit of the last assisted this Ecclesiastic in his Version. For he comes far short of rightly rendering the lofty Hyperboles, apposite Similitudes, elegant Figures, and other Ornaments of Speech peculiar to the Writings of those who first see the Rising-Sun. Such are all those penn'd in the East: From which we must not exclude the Manuscripts of Moses, and the rest of the Hebrew Prophets, Poets, Historians, and Philosophers. Of these does the Old Testament consist, except one Book writ by my countryman Job, who five times foil'd the Devil in so many set Combats before God.

What shall I say then of the Translations that have been made of their Bible in other languages, not so copious and significant as the Latin.

Since this division arose between the Roman-Catholics and Protestants, their Bible has been taught to speak the dialect of all, or most Nations in Europe. Yet such is the unhappiness of the Franks, that, the more they tamper with the language of great Purity, the worse they succeed.

succeed. Which has occasioned some learned men, as I am informed, to mark above a thousand faults in the last French Version of that mysterious Book.

What room will they leave for the censures of the Mussulmans, if the Christians themselves are thus critical upon the grand Patent of their Salvation?

It would be an endless task to recount all the errors that may be discern'd in the various Traducts of the Bible, by any Man that has conversed in the East. Neither will I entrench on thy patience to gain the character of a Critic.

Permit me to glance only on the Psalter, or the Odes of Sultan David. How flat and dull are the Measures of the Christian Translators? How low have they sunk the sense of that Royal Poet? He never began to warble forth any of those Divine Songs, 'till first inspir'd by a Seraph, whom he had lur'd down from Paradise by the melody of his Harp. That Seraph was master of the Music above, as the Hebrew Doctors teach. Ev'ry time David play'd on his instruments, Ariel, (for so was the Spirit call'd) made his descent, and sung with a grace which cannot be express'd. The docile poet soon learn'd both his notes and words. Seven hundred times David touched his harmonious strings, and so often the Angel stood by him with the Book of the Choir. He taught seven hundred Sonnets that are chaunted by the Lovers in Paradise. But the Devil stole them from the King, whilst he was gazing on another man's wife, bathing herself in an adjoining garden.

Yet there are above an hundred Hymns remaining, which David compos'd by memory out of the former. But some Sects among the Christians have turn'd them to the Ballads of the Vulgar.

So have they dealt with that surpassing Poem of Solyman, taught him by the ethereal Tutor of his Father. For Ariel was enamour'd of one of the Virgins of Paradise, at the same time that Solomon enjoy'd Pharaoh's daughter, and had newly built for her a Seraglio of Cedar. The heavenly Lover, therefore, to accommodate himself to the Passion of the Mortal, taught him one of the Pastorals of Eden, a Song peculiar to his own Amour.

But the Nazarenes have turn'd it into a dry and insignificant Allegory, by their Glosses; putting an affront also upon the Rhetoric and Poetry, in wording their Translation.

If I should go on and number the mistakes they have made in the Writings of the Prophets, and other Books of the Old Testament, tho' it were but in this general manner, I should tire thee out; but to recount the Particulars would be a thirteenth Task for Hereules.

Yet, after all these defaults of the Learned, neither they nor the Ignorant can be excused from wilful blindness, in shutting their Eyes against the twilight which appears in the worst Translation, and is sufficient to direct any man to the East, where Wisdom shines in her perfect Splendor.

There are expressions all over the Scriptures, which point to the Laws, Habits, Customs, Diet, and Manner of Life used in the Regions first visited by the Morning Sun. These are the same now as they were of old; and the Mussulmans of this Age observe no other rule of life but what was practised by the Patriarch Ibrahim, above three thousand years ago, and by all the Faithful of those Times. Our Marriages, Circumcisions, Funerals, Prayers, Washings, and all other Ceremonies of Religion or Civility, are the same now as then: There is nothing added or diminished, save the Faith and Obedience we owe to Mahomet
the

the Ambassador of God, and to the Volume put into his hands by Gabriel, Prince of the divine Messengers.

Our very Habits, and the Manner of our Building; our Salutations and whole Address are the same at this day, as the Scripture tells us were in use in those Ages next after the Flood among the Patriarchs and Prophets, and among all the true Believers, the posterity of Ibrahim, especially the Descendants by the Right Line, the Stem of Ismael, the eldest son of him who entertained three Angels at once in his Tent.

Yet the Infidels will not consider it; but persuade themselves they are the only Children of the faithful Ibrahim, pretending to practise in I know not what figurative Sense the life we lead in truth; cheating themselves with empty Symbols, while we enjoy the Substance.

But thou, great Successor of Ibrahim, and the Prophets, vouchsafe to pray for Mahmut, that whilst his duty to the Grand Seignior obliges him to dwell here in the West, and to converse with none but Infidels, he may still retain the Faith of the East, the Devotion of an Ismaelite, and the Purity of a True Believer; still crying in his heart even in the Temples of the Infidels, there is but one God, and Mahomet his Messenger.

Paris, 5th of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XVII.

To the Chiaus Bassa.

THE Peace agreed on last year, between the Germans and Swedes, is not yet fully established and confirmed; there has been a Cessation of Arms since that time, and now the Duke Amalfi on the Emperor's side, the Duke of Vandort for the King of France, and he of Erskin for the Crown of Swedeland, are met at Norimburgh, to conclude a final Ratification of the Articles.

During this Consult, the Swedish army are permitted by the Emperor's agreement to quarter up and down in seven Circles of the Empire, and not to be discharged till all their arrears are paid at the cost of the Germans. 'Tis said it will amount to three millions of Zequins. This War has lasted near thirty years; in which, above three hundred thousand men have lost their lives.

As to the English affairs, the prevailing party there have declared that ancient King. om to be a free State, and the Monarchy is abolish'd by a public Act. Nevertheless, after Charles was beheaded, his eldest son was proclaim'd King, both in England and Ireland, by some of the Nobles and Gentry that were Friends to that Royal Family. And in Ireland, a certain great Duke appeared at the head of a numerous Army, in behalf of the young King's Interest, having laid siege to the Metropolis of that Kingdom; which, with one other town, were the only strong holds that resisted the King's party. But in the 8th Moon the Army which the English states had newly sent over to that Island, engag'd with the
forces

forces of this Duke, entirely routed them, killing ten thousand men on the spot, and taking many thousand prisoners, with all their ammunition and baggage. This, being seconded with other victories, in a small time reduced that Kingdom under the obedience of the English States.

In the mean time I hear no pleasing news from the Levant. Vessels daily arrive in the Havens of France, who confirm each other's relations of a dreadful naval combat between our fleet, and that of the Venetians; wherein, they say, we have lost seventy-two Galliots, threescore Merchant Vessels, and eighteen Ships of War: That, in this fight, six thousand five hundred Mussulmans have lost their lives, and near ten thousand were taken prisoners.

I tell thee, these are great Breaches in the Navy, which, belonging to the Lord of the Sea and Land, has assum'd to itself the epithet of INVINCIBLE. These are blemishes in the ensigns of high renown, reproaches to the Empire, which we believe is to subdue all Nations. I reflect not on the courage or conduct of the Captain Bassa; neither am I willing to help forward the ruin of a man, who cannot expect to be honour'd with a vest, a sword, or any other mark of the Sultan's favour, for his service in the sea-campaign. I am naturally compassionate. 'Tis not in my praise I speak it: For, I believe this tenderness to be rather a Vice of my Constitution, than to have any rank of Morals, much less to be of kin to the Family of Virtues. I pity a man falling into disgrace, on whom the Weather of the Seraglio changes, from which he must expect nothing but clouds and storms. Those tempests will prove more fatal to him than any that ever tossed his fleet on the ruffled ocean. In all probability, he will suffer a ship-wreck of his fortune, if not of his life. There-

fore 'tis with extreme regret that I must say that which may hasten his fall.

But I am commanded, not to conceal any intelligence that relates to the interest of the Sublime Port, nor to spare the son of my mother, if I know him guilty of criminal practices.

All that I have to lay to the charge of the Bassa of the Sea is, a private correspondence which he holds with Cardinal Mazarini. This I discover'd by the assistance of a Dwarf, whom I have often mentioned in my letters to the Grandees of the Port. I need not repeat to thee what I have said already to them of the birth, education, and genius of Osmin (for so is the little spark call'd); nor of the method I have put him upon, to wind himself into the secrets of the public Ministers. Only thou may'st report to the Divan, that this diminutive man continues to pursue his advantages of access to the closets of the French Ministers, whereof I gave an account last year, in a letter to Chiurgi Munammet Bassa.

Thou may'st assure them also, That, when he was yesterday in the chamber of Cardinal Mazarini, he cast his eyes on a letter which lay open on the table, while the Cardinal was in earnest discourse with an extraordinary Courier from Rome. He had not opportunity to read more than the Superscription, and a line or two of the matter; which contained these words:

“ The mild Commander, the humble Shadow of
 “ the bright Star of the Sea, Bilal, Captain
 “ Bassa.

“ To the most Illustrious Prince of the Kingdom
 “ of the Messiah, eminent among the High
 “ Lords of holy honour, the sublime Director
 “ of the People of Jesus, assistant to the chair of
 “ Sovereign Dignity, the seat of the Roman
 “ Caliph,

“ Caliph, Julio Mazarini, Cardinal, and our
 “ Friend. May whose latter days encrease in
 “ happiness.

“ **T**HY affectionate letter and presents were de-
 “ liver'd safe to me, as I lay at anchor with
 “ the Fleet under my command, not far from the
 “ Island of Chios. And, as a mark of my ac-
 “ knowledgment and good-will to thee and all the
 “ Nazarenes, I embraced in my arms the noble
 “ Captain Signior Antonio Maratelli, who had
 “ the honour to be trusted with this negotiation.
 “ I immediately disrobed myself, and caus'd that
 “ brave Italian, thy messenger, to be vested with
 “ my own Garment, as a pledge of ——”

Before Osmin could read farther, the Cardinal
 approached the table, and took up the letter,
 letting fall some words to the Courier, by which
 the Dwarf was confirm'd in his suspicion of the
 Bassa's perfidiousness, and that this letter newly
 came from him. He posted immediately to give
 me an account of this passage; believing it to
 be, as it is, of great import. For he has a singu-
 lar regard for the Family, which first exterminat-
 ed the Greeks from Constantinople.

Thou knowest what use to make of this in-
 telligence. I am not cruelly inclin'd, but I
 must do my duty. The rest I refer to thy pru-
 dence.

I will only advertise thee of one farther re-
 mark of Osmin, who by comparing what he has
 seen now, with a discourse he once before over-
 heard between Mazarini and a French Noble-
 man, whilst he lay under the Cardinal's table
 (which I have insert'd in one of my letters)
 concludes, That the Bassa, there mention'd by
 the Cardinal, was this same Bilal Bassa, who was
 at the instance of the Janizaroes made Bassa of
 the Sea.

I could not without making myself an accom-
 plice,

plice, conceal so foul an ingratitude to the Grand Seignior, and so villanous a Treason against the Empire, which holds the first Rank among all the Dominions on Earth.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Cara Hali, Physician to the Grand Seignior.

WE have had a violent hot summer in these Parts, with much Thunder and Lightning, which has done considerable damage to the Farmers, in burning the hay and corn in their Granaries. Complaints arrive here daily from all the Provinces, that Heaven has consumed their Harvests.

This the Court Party interpret as a Judgment on them for their Rebellions; causing it to be industriously spread about in all companies, that Heaven is angry with the inhabitants of Guyenne, Bourdeaux, and other Provinces, for taking up arms this year against their Sovereign. I know not how far this censure is justifiable: But 'tis observ'd that the People of these rebellious Provinces have receiv'd more apparent and irreparable injuries by the Lightning, than those of other Parts: Several Members of the Parliament of Aix were found dead in their beds, after a tempestuous night of Lightning. And next day, the Roof of the House, where

where they assembled, fell down and kill'd several.

In the great church of Bourdeaux as they were celebrating their Mass, a ball of fire broke in from behind the Altar, smote down several images, and filling the Church with an intolerable stink, flew out of a window, without doing any farther harm. And a great bank of money, raised by this city to pay their soldiers, was all melted down by lightning, to the astonishment of those who saw it; for it was done in the day-time, the Grandees of Bourdeaux being present. It would be endless to recount all the mischiefs that have been done in those parts. We had no great harm here, save that almost all the wine in the city was turned to a kind of vinegar in one night. Which the philosophers attribute to the peculiar Energy of Lightning; which plays the Chymist with this liquor, and in a moment separates, and drinks up its vital spirits, leaving only a mortuum Caput behind.

The season has been so hot during the Dog-days, that the air itself seem'd combustible; and the very Winds from whence we look'd for refreshment, were like the breath of a stove: All things seem'd ready to take fire, as if the Elements waited for the Grand Conflagration. Heat was the cry every where. Men's bodies were scalded with internal flames; the shade of trees afforded no relief, the fountains could not allay their thirst. All Nature seem'd to be in a Fever, ready to expire.

Now these fervours are abated, and we begin to have frosty mornings. The nitrous air restores mens appetites. Abundance of rain has new-moulded the gaping parch'd earth, and produced a second Spring. The husbandman comforts himself with the hopes of another crop of hay, to repair the loss of the former,
which

which the Lightning robb'd him of: In the mean time, the winds are very busy in disrobing the trees, and scattering not only their leaves, but also the fruit that is not gather'd, on the ground; whereby a Banquet is prepared for the hogs in every Orchard, who claim as much right to feed on what lies on the common Table, as their Owners: And 'tis no unpleasant Music, to hear a herd of Swine set their teeth at work on the wind-fallen apples. At least, this spectacle and noise is delightful to me, who have been without appetite these three Moons, and but just begin to recover my stomach. I often ride out of Paris, on purpose to take the country air, where my bread tastes more favourily than in the city. There appears something so harmless and innocent in the faces and behaviour of the Rustics, as effectually relieves my Melancholy. I cannot discern in them any signatures of Court-Craft, and Villany. Their conversation cheers my spirits. I love to hear them talk of their rural affairs. My eye follows the ploughman with envy. Then I could wish it had been my lot to have been bred up in some homely cottage, where I might have tended oxen, sheep, or asses; all which act regularly according to their Nature: Whereas he, that is the Servant of Princes, is compelled to do many things contrary to his Reason; which is the greatest unhappiness that can befall a man. How sweet is the sleep of the husbandman by night, and how void is his mind of imbittering cares by day? He rises with the Lark, and is as chearful as that pretty bird, saluting Aurora with a Song or Lesson on his Pipe. He snuffs up the wholesome and fragrant dew of the morning, as he walks over the lands. He beholds with admiration and pleasure, the gilded clouds and tops of mountains, when the Sun comes forth of his

his Bed-chamber, in the East. He spurs himself on to his daily labour, by the example of that active Planet, following his work with content and joy. His food is pleasant both in his mouth and his belly; he feels no after-pangs through satiety; but, well refreshed and nourished with his homely diet, he lies down with the lamb, and sleeps in peace, never dreaming of State-Intrigues, or the Plots of the Mighty. Thus he passes his life in a circle of delights.

Tell me, dear Hali, are not these proper objects of envy to a man in my circumstances? Or, canst thou blame Mahmut, who has neither health of body, nor peace of mind, for wishing himself in a condition, which would entitle him to both? I am entangled in a thousand snares; my employment is a perfect riddle. I must say and unsay the same Things, as often as occasion requires. I must tell an hundred lyes, swear and forswear myself every hour, if the interest of the Grand Seignior be at stake. I must be a Mahometan, Christian, Jew, or any thing that will serve a turn; dissemble with God and Man, blaspheme the Prophets, curse the True Believers, and myself too, rather than baulk the Cause I am engaged in: And yet, all this while they will persuade me, I am a good man, and shall go to Paradise. As if the Mufti's dispensations were available to cancel the express, positive law of God! Do they think to amuse me with such umbrages, and send me muzzled to Hell, with my eyes open? I tell thee, I have a Conscience, and such a Conscience as will not let me be at rest in this manner of life. It were better to die, than to live stained with so many prevarications. I know not what to do amidst so many terrors: I feel my body decay apace, and hastening towards its dissolution. What will become

come of me, if I should die under the burthen of so many sins? What answer shall I be able to make to the two Inquisitors of the Grave, the Angels who shall examine me, who is my God, and who is my Prophet, and what is my Faith? The darkness of that Region of Shadows will not be sufficient to hide my blushes, and the confusion I shall be in at so pressing a trial.

All my comfort is, That I have yet friends left, to whom I may freely vent my thoughts, and ask their counsel.

If thou hast any remains of that friendship that has been between us, weigh my case thoroughly, and tell me whether I am not lost for ever, without a change of life? Flatter me not, neither use the artifices of civility, in palliating my crimes; but search my wounds, and give me thy advice without thy veil, and Mahmut shall esteem thee the Physician of his Soul.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XIX.

To Kenan Bassa, Chief Treasurer to his
Highness at Constantinople.

IF I have not addressed to thee before, attribute it to my Ignorance of thy Quality and Person. As soon as I heard of thy advancement to this important trust, I resolved to salute thee, as becomes a Slave in my post, and to wish thee all the happiness that thou can'st desire. Yet, when I congratulate thy Rise, remember, I do but welcome thee to a Precipice, a meer Pinnacle of Fortune, where thou hast no reason to expect secure footing. The blast of an envious mouth will make thee totter. Thou breathest in an element full of tempests. The sly practices of a Rival may undermine thee; or the more open frowns of thy Sovereign may cast thee down. Thou art ever liable to the malice of the vulgar, and not a little in danger of thy own weakness, the inseparable companion of humanity. If thou shouldst once look with disdain on those that are beneath thee, the vast distance and height of the prospect may make thee giddy. Therefore it would be good for thee to have thy eyes always fix'd on thyself. That will prove the best Chart, by which to steer thy course through the rocks and sands, which on all hands threaten the life of a Courtier. It will not be amiss also to place before thee, the vast examples of wise men, thy Predecessors. There is a greater force in these, than in the best counsels; because matter of fact leaves no room for distrust: Whereas men are naturally jealous of those who pretend to instruct them. We are all fond of our own reason and judgment; and are apt to suspect him of some design who seeks to per-

persuade us, though to our good : Besides, there is a Species of Pride, a Punctilio of Honour in Mortals, which will hardly permit us to yield ourselves in a condition to need another's advice : Whence comes the Arabian Proverb, which says, "A man profits more by the sight of an idiot, than by the orations of the learned." We all love to make our own experiments, and sooner trust any sense than our ears. Therefore the Lacedemonians caused their Slaves to be made drunk in the presence of their children ; that from the Squalidness of the Spectacle, they might conceive a hatred against that vice, which by all the instructions in the world they could never learn to observe.

The crimes of some in thy Station have more of sobriety in them, but less honesty. Wonder not at the expression, nor accuse me of impudence. I reflect only on the wicked : Number not thyself among them.

Thou knowest it has been an ancient custom for our renowned Emperors to divert themselves at certain times, with the sight of their inestimable treasury. I am no stranger to the ceremonies used at such times ; one would think it impossible amidst so much caution, that the Grand Seignior should be defrauded of the least part of his wealth. I do not speak of the Chamber of Arms, or those others which make up the Imperial Wardrobe. The bulk and weight of those rich velvet Brocades, and other furniture of gold and silver, discourages the theft. But who can number the Robberies that have been committed among the Jewels, and invaluable Rarities of the mysterious Closet ? It has been found easy to conceal and transport from thence whole beds of diamonds, and chains of pearl, undiscovered, I will not say unsuspected, at the times when Anackdar-Agafs gives three Knocks on the Cabinet of the Keys.

There are hours of munificence and royal bounty,

ty, when the august Lord of the Mines is pleased to gratify his Slaves with gifts, and make them sensible they serve him, who commands this upper World, and that underneath.

No Prince can discommend this domestic sport of our Sovereign, when he makes his Pages scramble for Diamonds and Rubies, since it gives him a taste of his Humanity; nothing being more agreeable, in cases on this side of amorous jealousy, than to let others partake of our pleasures: And 'tis the peculiar delight of Kings sometimes to lay aside their state and grandeur, to be familiar with their attendants, making 'em their companions, or, at least, their Proxies, in many enjoyments.

But 'tis pity their favour should be abused, as it has been, in the instance I mentioned. Thou art no stranger to the Records of the Hafna, which tell us, That when Gelep Chiaus Bassa was made chief Treasurer, in the reign of Sultan Mustapha, the lucre of the glittering jewels had tempted him to defraud his Master, to the value of five hundred thousand Zequins; which, upon the information of three Pages, and a diligent search, were found in his trunks.

It has been whispered also, That few have enjoyed that office, who have not purloined something from the Imperial coffers. They say, 'tis an hereditary theft, delivered by tradition from one to another; every Hasnadarbassi being advanced to that honour by the recommendation of his Predecessor, for the service he has done him in conniving at these practices, which cannot be hid from any of the Sixty who guard the Royal Wealth.

Thou canst not blame me, for putting thee in mind of these things; in regard I am commanded to write with all freedom to the sublime Ministers, whatever concerns the interest of our great Master.

I have no more to say, but to desire thee, in
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transmitting what money is appointed for me to be timely and punctual, to send Duplicates by different Posts, that, if one should miscarry, I may not be at a loss: For, there is no credit for a Mussulman at Paris. Eliachim would supply me with what may suffice a Dervich; but it belongs to thee to take care, that I want not what is requisite for an Agent of the Grand Seignior.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

LETTER XX.

To Pesteli Hali, his Brother.

I Unwillingly concluded my last letter, before I had vented half my thoughts on those Oriental subjects, so full of instruction and pleasure. Thy Journal is become my pocket-companion. I carry it with me to the Gardens and Solitudes, and even to the Libraries and Churches: To which last, I am obliged to go sometimes, that I may avoid suspicion.

The Christians, when they enter the most delightful Gardens of Paris, spend their time, and weary themselves, in walking forward and backward. They will measure several leagues in traversing one Alley: Which vain custom, thou knowest, is contrary to the practice of the Eastern People, who love to force themselves, in sitting still under the cool shades, and feeding their eyes with the grateful verdure of trees, their noses with the fragrant smell of herbs and flowers, and their ears with the pretty melody of the birds: All which serve as helps to their contemplation.

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After this manner I many times pass away some hours in the gardens of this city, whereof there are great plenty. And when I am cloy'd with the fore-mention'd pleasure, then I take out thy Journal, and fall to reading; which winds up my thoughts afresh, like a watch that is down: Nay, it opens new sources of contemplation, and serves as a miraculous Talisman to bring China, India, and all the East, into the place where I am; so lively and natural are thy discourses of those parts.

When I am in Churches it serves me instead of a Prayer-Book: And, whilst others are babbling over they know not what, or at least they care not what; I offer up to God the First-fruit of my reason and knowledge, which he has given me, to distinguish me from all sorts of beasts, whether in human shape, or not.

When I go to the Libraries, I compare thy Journals with the Writings of others who treat of the same matters; and find, that thou agreeest with some, correctest the mistakes of others, and, in all, shewest a Genius elevated above all others of the common Historians and Travellers; who seek rather to amuse the reader with uncouth stories and adventures, than to instruct him with what is really useful and profitable.

Thus thy Journal is become the companion of my solitudes, the object of my studies, and the help to my devotions abroad; and it is no less the diversion of my retirement and melancholy at home. I am a great admirer of Antiquity; and therefore an old craggy rock, o'er-grown with moss, and full of gaping Chasms, is a more agreeable sight to me, than the flow'ry meadows or verdant groves; because the former looks like a Relic of the primitive Chaos; whereas, I know the latter to be only the product of the last Spring. 'Tis for this reason, thy Narrative affords me so vast a delight, because it treats
of

of the most ancient Kingdoms and Governments in the World: and is not stuffed with Chimera's and Fables, as most Relations of those Countries are; but gives us a sincere and true account of whatever is considerable, without touching on impertinencies.

But above all, I am delighted with that part which relates thy travels in China: That country being of so vast an extent, so rich, so populous; the people so industrious, learned, and politic (besides the Antiquity of their Empire, which cannot in that point be match'd by any Government under the Heavens;) that the exact knowledge of these things seems to me of greater moment, than any other discoveries whatsoever.

What thou sayest of the Chinese letters and words shews, That thou hast made some inspection into that language. And thy remarks on the long succession and series of their Kings, is an argument, that thou art no stranger to their Chronology, which takes in many thousands of Years before Noah's flood. Thou art very exact in enumerating their public Tribunals and Courts of Justice; as also in describing some remarkable bridges, temples, palaces, and other structures: Which serve to give the reader a true Idea of the magnificence and grandeur of the Chinese Emperors; and of the ingenuity of the people, who seem to excel all others in Arts and Sciences. In a word, it is evident, that thou didst not pass thy time with thy arms folded, whilst thou wert in that Kingdom. And I know not how better to express the esteem I have for thee, on the account of the pains thou hast taken to inform both thyself and me in matters of so great importance, than by giving thee an account of what progress the Tartars have made in the Conquest of that Empire, since thy return to Constantinople. In my last I acquainted thee with the Coronation of
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the Tartar King at Pekin; since which, other vessels are arrived from those parts, which bring an account that the young Tartarian Conqueror soon pushed forward his victories; and marching with an army into Corea, (which Kingdom, thou knowest, borders on China) the King of that Country made his submissions; and entering into a league with Zunchi, held his Crown in Fee of that victorious Emperor.

Afterwards he hastened to subdue the Provinces, which remain'd unconquer'd. His method in accomplishing this great work was by swift marches, like another Alexander the Great; and by laying siege to the principal city of a Province, which he never failed either to take by force, or compelled to surrender, that so they might escape famine: And when this was done, he took possession both of it and the whole Province, summoning the cities of lesser note to surrender; which they seldom refused after they had beheld the Fate of the first. Thus, in a little time he became master of all that spacious Empire.

The fame of his success quickly brought innumerable Tartars out of their native country to follow the fortune of their Emperor. To these he gave the chief Offices in his Army, and continued the Chinese in the administration of Civil affairs; and, as a token of their subjection, he commanded all the Chinese to cut their hair short, and to cloath themselves after the fashion of the Tartars.

They give a high character of this young Prince, who, amidst so many successes and triumphs, discovers not the least vain glory, but contains himself within the bounds of a virtuous moderation, ascribes all to the Decrees of Destiny, and is not in the least puffed up with any of his glorious actions; which is an argument of a spirit truly heroic. And yet this Prince is an Idolater, as are all the Tartars of that nation; or rather, they are men of no Religion, which makes their morals

rals the more admirable: For, according to the relation of those who came last from China, the Tartars are very temperate and continent people, abhorring those vices which are but too common in other parts of the world, and from which the true Believers themselves are not free. They are rigorously just also, and punish all manner of frauds and deceit with immediate death. As for their conduct and courage in the Wars, there is no Nation surpasses them, few are their equals. They are passionate lovers of an active life, spending most of their time on horseback, either in hunting wild beasts, or fighting with their enemies: And their horses are the best and most courageous in the world. There is nothing the Tartars so much despise, as the sedentary life of Students and learned men; accounting them the burthen of a Commonwealth, lazy drones, fit only to be sold for slaves: But men of service and merit in the wars they have in great esteem; never failing to reward such with dignities and commands, proportionable to their deserts and capacities. Nay, such is the martial Genius of this nation, that the very women ride to the wars with the men, and perform exploits above what is expected from that soft and delicate sex. Both men and women are habituated from their infancy to live in tents or waggons, there being very few cities in all Tartary: There they are inur'd to hunger, cold, thirst, and all other methods of a frugal and hardy life. This is that which renders them excellent soldiers, and a terror to all the nations round about them. This is that which so soon reduced all China to their obedience; the Chinese, among all their virtues and accomplishments, being the most effeminate people upon earth. This, no doubt, thou hast observed.

Brother, I advise thee to go to Kerker Hassan Bassa, our countryman, and present to him these observations on the Tartars; which thou may'st easily

easily do, by transcribing what is for thy turn out of this letter. He inherits his father's Genius; who, thou knowest, was one of the greatest Hunters in all Arabia, and has a character not much different from what I have here given thee of the Tartars. That Bassa will take great delight in these Memoirs, and will think himself obliged to make thee some proper acknowledgment. He is generous and great, and it lies in his power to promote thee. I have writ to him already, and have given him an Encomium of thy ability. I will second with it another letter, in answer to one I lately received from him, wherein he desires a farther account of China. I will inform him therefore of several passages out of thy Journal. He, no doubt, to make a farther trial of thy knowledge, will ask thee several questions relating to these matters. So shalt thou have a fair opportunity of rendering thyself conspicuous, and of gaining his esteem. Follow my advice; take time by the forelock, and the event shall prove happy.

Paris, 8th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

L E T T E R XXI.

To Kerker Haffan, Bassa.

I Received thy commands, and am proud of the honour thou hast done me in requiring the smallest service at my hands, especially one of this nature, which is an argument, That my former relation of China was acceptable to thee. This I account my honour and happiness, that I have a brother who has made such considerable improvements in his travels: For 'tis to him I owe the knowledge I have of that country, and the other parts of the East. As for my cousin Isouf, he would never vouchsafe to send me a syllable relating to his Travels, though he had rambled throughout Asia.

I desired this favour of him in several letters, but have received no answer; so that I know not whether he be dead or alive. My friends are very backward in writing to me; and, unless it be some of the Ministers of State, who sometimes honour me with a Dispatch, though very rarely, I hardly receive a letter from my familiar friends and relations in twenty Moons; which makes me conclude, that absence of so long a date has quite blotted me out of their minds.

As to what thou desirest farther to know, concerning China, my brother says, That Empire contains 4400 wall'd towns and cities; 3000 castles and towers of defence on the frontiers, wherein are always garrison'd a million of soldiers, who are reliev'd at due times by others of equal number. There are a million also constantly kept in pay to guard the governors of Provinces, Ambassadors, and other Officers of State: The Emperor of China maintaining five hundred thousand

thousand horse to attend his person. All this is in time of Peace. But, upon any Revolt or Invasion, the forces are innumerable. There are in China 331 bridges, remarkable for their strength and magnificence, beyond all others in the world; 2099 mountains; lakes and medicinal fountains 1472; 1159 triumphal arches and other monuments, erected in honour of valiant and learned men; 272 libraries, abounding with all manner of excellent books: Temples 300,000, and as many Priests, besides the Convents of their Religious. They reverence 3036 male Saints, and 208 females. All which have temples dedicated to their honour, besides those which are consecrated to the sun, moon, and stars, fire, air, earth, and water, and to the Heavens which comprehend all, and to the celestial Gods who rule all, and to the supreme GOD, creator of the Worlds. In these Temples they celebrate the praises to their Gods and Heroes with music and songs, incense and sacrifices; believing, That all things which are conspicuous for the excellency of their nature, or from which mankind receives any general or extraordinary benefit, ought to be worshipped with divine honours. In this they differ not from the ancient Pagans of Greece and Rome, who had almost as many Gods and Goddesses as there were several creatures in the world; so that there was no beginning or ending of their superstitions; and the most learned and contemplative of their Priests found the Ceremonies of their Religion to be an inextricable labyrinth, where they were often lost. Certainly, happy are the faithful Mussulmans, who adore but one God, the fountain of the Universe, without entangling themselves in the absurdities of Infidels.

The Chinese are great admirers of themselves, and their own notions; believing, that no peo-

ple can stand in competition with them for learning, wisdom, and riches. They have a very contemptible Idea of all other Countries, with their inhabitants, esteeming them either as Idiots or Monsters.

This conceitedness is owing to their ignorance of the rest of the world; for they seldom or never travel beyond the limits of their own Empire.

I could say a great deal more of this people, but it will be better for thee to hear it from my brother, who has been there, and can give thee an ample satisfaction in all things relating to that Empire. I have wrote to him to go and kiss the dust before thy feet. If thou makest trial of his abilities, thou wilt find him improved by his travels, a man fit for business, and one in whom thou may'st confide; which is a virtue never enough to be priz'd in these corrupt times.

In these things, however, mingle thine own discretion with the kindness of a countryman, and the affection of a friend.

Paris, 8th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1649.

LETTER XXII:

To Cornezan, Bassa.

WERE Ovid alive, the events of this year would afford him matter for new Fictions. He would either tell us, That the Goddess of Love has set a spell upon Mars, and charm'd him into good nature; or, That he had drank so large a draught of Nepenthe, as made him forget his old trade of embroiling Mortals in War. However it be, Hymen seems to have the greatest share in this year's action. For, instead of battles and sieges, the Nazarene Princes have been engaged in encounters of softer characters, the gentle affairs of Love and Marriage.

In the first Moon the new King of Poland, whom they call John Casimir, married the widow of his deceased brother. In the ninth, the Prince of Hainault espoused the Duke of Holstein's daughter: And the last Moon was remarkable for two matches; one of the King of Spain, with Anna Maria, the German Emperor's daughter; the other of the Duke of Mantua, with Isabella Clara of Austria.

These are all brushing forward in the crowd of the Living; they are busy in augmenting the Generations of Men; whilst others of as high Blood are gone to increase the Number of the Dead; being enroll'd among the Ghosts, and made Denizens in the Region of Shadows.

The Empress of Germany died in the fifth Moon; the Duke of Braganza in the ninth; the Dutchess of Modena in the eighth; and a

certain German Prince, whose name I have forgot, died in the Moon of October. Besides the e, death has also arrested Offalmiski, the great Chancellor of Poland; Wrangel, General of the Swedish army; Frederic, the German Ambassador at Rome; Ferdinand, elector of Cologne; and the Viceroy of Bohemia, who was by his enemies thrown out of a window, and his brains dash'd out. So that tho' Mars may have seem'd to lie dormant this year, yet his companion in mischief, old Saturn, has been very active, as the Astrologers say, who attribute all events to the Influx of the Stars. Some are also of opinion, that the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, this year, were presages of the death of these great persons. They might as well plead, That the daily Rising and Setting of those Luminaries portended all the tragical events that happened on earth; since it is not more natural for them to continue unalterable moving from East to West, than it is for them to be obscur'd, at certain determined stations, in their journey, by Interpositions which happen of course.

We are strangers to the chronologies of the Chinese and Indian Gentiles. Neither can any good account be now given of the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian Records: They run many Ages back beyond the common Epocha of the Beginning of the World.

But the whole System of known History relates but two extraordinary or preternatural changes in the course of the Sun during these six thousand years.

One, when that Luminary stood still in the time of Jehoshuah, General of the Israelites, to serve Ends of Destiny, and prolong the light of the day to a double proportion, 'till the opposite army was quite destroy'd, and not one of the Uncircumcis'd could escape the swords of the victorious sons of Jacob.

That

That day prov'd a long night to their Antipodes: They turn'd themselves in their beds, when they had out-slept the usual hours of night, and said in their hearts, "Surely the Sun is fallen asleep, or is banquetting with the Gods of the Sea: Perhaps Thetis detains him in her embraces, whilst the Tritons fasten his slumbers with their softest music; or Neptune regales in the palaces of the deep." Thus the disconsolate Nations argued in their chambers: They were alarm'd with fears of unknown events.

Such as dwelt on the borders of the earth, and were accusom'd to mark the constant Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, admired the delay of the usual tides, and ask'd, "What was become of the Moon?" For that Planet also stood still with the Sun.

The light of their souls was eclipsed, and their reason labour'd under a greater darkness than that which troubled their eyes. They were ignorant of the Works of God; and knew not that the celestial Orbs stood still at the command of the Spirit which formed them, even at the Word of the Prophet inspired from above.

So in the Days of Hezekiah, King of the Jews, the Sun went back in his circuit, and all the Frame of Heaven was retrograde to confirm the Prophet's good news when he told the sick King, "That fate had prolong'd his life for fifteen years." This was in the days of Merodack Baladan, the King of Babylon, who sent Ambassadors to congratulate Hezekiah's miraculous recovery.

Besides these, nothing has happen'd to the Sun, or any of the heavenly Bodies, beyond the ordinary course of Nature. A man may as well prognosticate, from cloudy weather, the calamities of Emperors and meaner men, as from the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, since the one, as well as the other, obscures the light of those hea-

venly Bodies: And the former quite hides them from us; which is the greater eclipse of the two.

Let us pray Heaven to grant us the continual use of our Senses, and not eclipse the Light of our Reason, and we need fear no Disasters from the common Appearances of Nature.

Paris, 7th of the Moon Chaban,
of the Year 1649.

The END of the First Book.

LETTERS,

WRIT BY

A SPY AT PARIS.

BOOK II.

LETTER I.

To Muhammed Eremit, Inhabitant of the
Prophetic Cave in Arabia the Happy.

PARDON my importunity, if I this once trouble thee with an address of scruples, begging thy counsels in the affairs of my Soul. I seem to myself as a traveller lost in a wilderness of doubts and uncertainties, without guide or conduct. Not that I question the truth of our Holy Religion, or mistrust the authority of the Sent of GOD. Certainly I revere the Book of Glory, whose sacred Versicles are transcribed on my heart. But there is wanting to every man a particular conduct in the intricacies of this life. I have not the art of applying the general precepts of the law to my own personal

occasions and necessities. Infinite difficulties arise from my daily affairs. My conversation with Infidels, and the duty I owe my great Master, entangle my conscience. I am embarrassed on all hands; and, whilst I study to conserve purity, I find myself still defiled.

I am no Heretic, nor in the number of those who are predestinated to be damn'd for the injurious love they bear to Hali: Injurious, I say, because it derogates from the honour they owe to Osmar, Osman, and Ebubecher, the true successors of the Apostle of God.

As I firmly believe the Alcoran, so I give an entire Faith to the Book of Assonak, or the Agreement of the Wise, with the Writings of the four principal Imaums, Haniff, Schafi, Melechi, and Hambeli. And I am resigned to the Sentence of the Mufti, as our Fathers were of Old to the oraculous determinations of the Babylonian Calliffs. I curse the Kyzilbaschi with as much devotion, as I pray for the health and felicity of true Believers. I spit at the naming of them, who deny the Chapter of the Covering, and the Versicles brought down by the Squire of Gabriel, in honour of the Prophet's wife. I never lifted up my hand against any, who descended from the Divine Messenger: And if, in my passion, I have ever curs'd a Mussulman, I took of the dust under his feet, and laid it on my lips, before the shadow of the sun had advanc'd a hair's breadth; and so I hinder'd the swift Recorder of our Words from registering the imprecation: For that dust, I believe, has power to blot out the memorials of our evil words and works.

When I meet a Santone, or one of those divinely mad, I put in practice the lesson of Orchanes; and honouring the holy Frantic, I fall down and adore Virtue in that contemptible disguise.

I neglect

I neglect none of the Purifications commanded by our holy Law-giver; but rather add those that we Arabians have received by tradition from our Fathers, the sons of Ismael: yet, I hope, in case of neglect, some indulgence is allowable to a Mussulman in a country of Infidels. I use the Washing of Abdest at all times in my chamber, where no curious Eye can observe my cleanliness, or suspicious apprehension draw conclusions of my being a Mahometan. But I cannot thus practise the Washing of Taharet; there being not such conveniences for that purpose in Paris, as in Constantinople: Yet I am careful to supply this want by other methods of purity; otherwise I should be an abomination to myself. There is no necessity that I should frequent the Bath, who never touch'd a woman; yet I often go into the river, taking a boat with me for that end, and causing myself to be rowed half a league from the city, where, in a little bay or creek, I wash my whole body, that I may do something beyond the obligation of the Law, to expiate the involuntary breaches of my duty. Yet, after all this, I cannot call myself clean.

I pray at the appointed Hours; or, at least, if the affairs of my Commission hinder me from complying with the Law, as to the exact time of the day, I atone for that neglect, by watching the greatest part of the night: And, to the Oraisons appointed by Authority, I add supernumerary Prayers of my own, to evidence the Sincerity of my Devotion.

I fast and give Alms, according to my Ability. I bestow much time in reading and meditating on the Alcoran. In a word, I do all that my reason tells me is necessary to render me a good Mussulman; and yet I have no peace in my mind. Methinks, I see our holy Prophet frowning his brows at me, and darting angry looks from his

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Paradise : He seems to reproach me with uncleanness and infidelity. By day, my imagination troubles me ; and, at night, I am terrified with fearful dreams : Which makes me conclude, that, notwithstanding all my obedience to the Law, and the strictest care I take to acquit myself a true Believer, yet I am far short of my aim ; and therefore, I number myself with those with whom God is displeas'd.

It is impossible to express the horror which this thought creates in me. I am overwhelmed sometimes with melancholy and despair. And, because I am forced to keep my grief to myself, without having the privilege of venturing it to a bosom friend, it is ready to burst my heart.

This is my condition at certain seasons, which I esteem as bad, or worse than those who are doom'd to Aaraf : For, as they cannot enjoy the felicities of Paradise, so they are secured from the torments of the damned ; whereas, for aught I know, my portion may be in Hell. Wilt thou know how I redress this evil temper of mind, and what method I take to cure my melancholy ? Receive it not as a flattery, when I tell thee, thou art my physician, and the Idea of thy innocent life, my medicine. When I have roll'd over ten thousand thoughts, which afford me no ease or relief, no sooner do I fix my contemplation on the Solitary of mount Uriel, but a sudden beam of light and comfort glances through my soul. I promise myself greater satisfaction from thy advice, than from all the Imaums and Molahs of the Empire.

Tell me therefore, O holy and pious Eremit, how shall I dissipate these mists of grief and sadness, which envelop my mind, and threaten to suffocate my intellect.

If, in this darkness and confusion, I should apply myself to the Disciples of Alhazon for instruction, they will puzzle me with intricate niceties

ties about the Essence and Unity of God; whereas I am too much troubled already with distracting speculations; I seek not to dive into that which is incomprehensible, but to be instructed in the plain and intelligible way to happiness. What imports it, whether God be good by his Goodness, or by his Essence? This is to throw metaphysical dust in my eyes, and so leave me in a worse condition than they found me.

No better light must I expect from the Mofconderan: For, if they are strict observers of the law, so am I, where the Precepts are applicable to my condition and circumstances. But I want a direction to many emergencies, for which the Alcoran seems to have made no provision, but leaves a man to the conduct of his own prudence; and I must confess, I dare not trust mine in all cases of this nature. Besides, instead of interpreting to me, in plain style, the Statutes of the Law, they will confound me with high and unintelligible notions of the Divine Attributes, which are sufficient to dazzle the intellect of the brightest Seraphims: And, if they could once persuade me to be zealous for their speculations, I might, in time, turn such another religious fool, as was one of their Followers, the Poet Namisi, who being wrapp'd in his profound speculation of the Divine Unity, and hearing an Imaum pronounce the sacred Sentence, GOD is One, gave him the lye, and told him, That he multiply'd the Divinity in assigning it any Attribute, tho' it were only that which expressed his Unity. For which impudent assertion he was slay'd alive.

In as bad condition should I be if I ask'd the advice of the Muserin, those Infidels in Masquerade, who, under the disguise of Mussulmans, deny the Being of a God, assert all things to come by chance, and live without hope or faith of another life. For if this were true, that there were no reward or punishment of good or bad works, I would
either

either soon make my way to earthly happiness, by not boggling at any vice that would conduce to that end: or, if I fail'd in that attempt, I would not tamely wait for a Martyrdom from men, but bravely rid myself of a life which was attended with nothing but misery.

Almost as bad as these are the Hairer, those Mahometan Sceptics, who dare not trust their own reason, but are ever wavering and irresolute. If I should seek for instruction at their hand, they would answer me, "God knows best what I ought to do;" and so leave me in the same suspense as I was before.

Much worse are the Guaid, those morose interpreters of the Law of Mercy, who damn a man irrecoverably to Hell for committing one mortal Sin. This is enough to drive all mankind to despair.

Indeed the Morals of the Saben please me, who seem to be perfect Mahometan Stoics, ascribing all events to Destiny, and the Influence of the Stars. I could willingly embrace the advice of Philosophers, who appear so void of passion; but I could never join with them in adoring the sun, moon, and constellations of Heaven, because the Alcoran has expressly forbidden it. And were there no such prohibition, my own reason would convince me, that I ought as well to adore the fire for warming me, and serving my other necessities, or the water for quenching my thirst, and purifying me, or my hands for feeding me, as to pay these divine honours to the celestial bodies; since the one, as well as the other, act according to their nature.

In a word, of all the innumerable Sects into which the Mussulman Empire is divided, I cannot expect entire satisfaction from any; for, if they appear orthodox in some Tenets, in others they are manifestly heretical. Yet I cannot but set a higher value on some than others, as their doctrines and practices approach nearer to reason and truth. For

I am

I am not yet such an Academic as to ask that mœck-question, "What is Truth?"

Doubtless our Fathers knew it, and the Messenger of God was sent to divulge it on earth. But if ignorance, superstition, and error have banish'd it from Courts and Cities, let us seek it in the Desert. Perhaps we may find this wanderer among the rocks or woods; or, 'tis possible, she has shelter'd herself in some den or cave; as hoping for greater favour from the wild beasts, than from the society of men.

If Truth be no where to be found entire, but has divided herself among the different Religions and Sects in the world, then, rather than miss of this divine Jewel, I will search for it in fragments, and whatsoever is rational and pious in any Sect I will embrace, without concerning myself in their follies and vices.

After all, the Munasihî seem to be the only orthodox and illuminated of GOD; who, declining the private by-ways of Schismatics, walk in the high road of pristine justice and piety, following the steps of the Ancients, and obeying the traditions which know no origin. Among these thou appearest as another Pythagoras, confirming them by thy example in an innocent life; enduring the utmost severities and abstinence, rather than be guilty of shedding the blood of those creatures, which the great Lord of all things created to enjoy the herbage of the field, and to partake of the common blessings of Nature. as well as we.

To thee therefore I have recourse, as to an Oracle: tell me, O sacred Sylvanian, am I not obliged to obey the Inspirations of my Nature, or better Genius, which tells me, 'tis a butcherly and inhuman life to feed on slaughtered animals? Did not all those who aim'd at Perfection among the primitive Disciples of the Prophet, abstain from murdering the brutes? 'Tis true, the Messenger of GOD did not positively enjoin Ab-

stinence

stinence from Flesh; yet he recommended it as a divine Counsel; and those, whom he indulg'd the liberty of eating it, he ty'd up to certain conditions. Do not all the religious Orders preach up Abstinence, both in their Sermons and Lives? I make no longer doubt, but the corruption of manners, and voluptuousness of men, are the causes that this ancient sobriety is now disused and slighted. My own experience confirms me in this opinion, who have often attempted to live in Abstinence; but, by the force of a voracious appetite, suffer'd myself to be carried back to my old Intemperance.

Yet, in eating flesh, I have been precisely careful to observe the prohibition of our holy Prophet, so long as it was in my power; I never knowingly tasted of Blood, nor of any thing strangled or knocked down. But it is impossible for me to assure myself of this, or that all the flesh I eat was killed in pronouncing that tremendous Name which gave it Life. Neither could I once escape a necessity of eating Swine's Flesh.

But I abominate myself for this involuntary crime; and to obviate the like temptation for the future, I will taste of nothing that has breathed the common air; being inclined to believe the Metempsychosis; which, if it be true, I wish for no greater happiness, than that, in my next change, my Soul may pass into the body of the Camel, which shall carry thee to Mecca.

Paris, 14th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1650.

LETTER II.

To Minezèm Aluph, Bassa.

MY intelligence from the Imperial Porte sometimes arrives too late; either thro' the neglect of Kifus Darmolec, to whom that care is committed, or through the badness of the roads, which many times are impassable; besides the frequent stops and interceptions of the Posts in this time of War; which is the reason I do not always hear of the Alterations at the Seraglio, and the Changes that are made in the Governments of the shining Empire, 'till many Moons are pass'd: Who is exalted, or who made Mansoul, are things to which Mahmut is for a time a great stranger.

Therefore thou hast no reason to be offended that I am thus late in sending to thee my congratulatory address; but rest confident, that I wish thee increase of happiness, like the sprouting of the Palm.

As a mark of my duty and affection, I shall now acquaint thee with news, which, though it may seem of small import to the Divan, yet has startled all Europe.

It is the imprisonment of three of the French Princes; not those of the ordinary Rank, but Branches of the royal Stem, whose names are not unknown in the Seraglio, the Residence of Fame. They are the Princes of Conde and Conti, brothers, and the Duke of Longueville, husband to their sister. They are the principal subjects of this Nation; all three having the majestic

Jeſtic Blood of the Kings of France running in their veins.

They owe their confinements to Cardinal Mazarini, or rather to their own inartificial conduct. The Prince of Conde is a paſſionate man, and has never learned how to conceal his reſentments. When he firſt return'd from the battle of Lens in Flanders, whereof I formerly gave an account, the Inſurrection of Paris began. The Prince block'd up the city, and promis'd the Cardinal (againſt whom alone all this ſtorm was rais'd) That he would either bring him back in triumph to Paris, or die in the attempt. He perform'd his word; and the Cardinal rode through the ſtreets of Paris in the ſame coach with the King, Queen, and all the Royal Blood, after the ſiege was rais'd, and a Peace concluded. And the Prince, when he alighted out of the coach, addreſs'd himſelf thus to the Cardinal, "Now, ſir, I eſteem
"myſelf the happieſt man in the world, in
"that I have been able to perform my En-
"gagements, in bringing your Eminence back
"to Paris; and that by my preſence the ha-
"tred, which the multitude have for your per-
"ſon, was repreſs'd whilſt we paſs'd through the
"ſtreets."

This too nearly touch'd the Cardinal. And indeed the Queen, with all the reſt, were ſenſible, that the Prince had far over-ſhot himſelf in this laſt expreſſion. However, the Cardinal reply'd in a kind of modeſty, not wholly void of choler and diſdain: "Sir, you have
"not only oblig'd me to that height, but have
"done the Kingdom ſo conſiderable a ſervice
"in this action, that I fear neither their Ma-
"jeſties nor myſelf ſhall be ever in a ſtate to
"make you answerable compensation."

Thoſe, who ſtood by and heard theſe interchangeable diſcourſes, were apt to interpret the
firſt

first for a reproach, and the second as a menace. Since it is not usual for great men to over-value the services they do their King and Country; and for Princes, when they cannot duly reward an eminent performance, to turn their gratitude into hatred.

This is certain, That the Prince of Conde has presum'd much on the merits of his late services; and it was not easy for the Queen or the Cardinal to invent such acknowledgments as he expected. For he imagined they ought to deny him nothing, who had so often hazarded his life for their interest.

It was on this ground he thought he had a right to interpose in a marriage which Mazarini design'd to make between one of his Nieces and the Duke of Mercœur.

The Duke is of a family which has been a long time at variance with that of the Prince of Conde: And therefore the Prince was jealous, lest the Cardinal, by the intended Match, should fortify his interest among the Prince's enemies, and so be in a condition not to want his protection; the only thing he was ambitious of. For, could he have once reduc'd the Cardinal to this necessity, he himself had been absolute Master at Court. Therefore he oppos'd the Match with all vigour and industry. This nettled the Cardinal. He complains to the Queen of the Prince's unkindness. She intercedes, and uses her utmost endeavours to reconcile the Prince to this marriage. But his brother, the Duke of Longueville, has so possessed the Prince with jealousy of the Cardinal's proceedings, that no arguments could prevail on him, or overcome his fix'd aversion for Mazarini's design'd Alliance with the house of Vendosme, (so they call the Family from whence the Duke of Mercœur is sprung.) He rails at the Cardinal, and lampoons him in all companies. This begets ill blood in
the

the supreme Minister of State, who secretly resolves the Prince's ruin.

In this, his policy and malice exceeded the petty revenges of the Prince; who being of a frank, open heart, contented himself with railleries and satyrical expressions, whilst the Cardinal concealed his anger under the mask of extraordinary civilities; returning all the contempts of the Prince, with a respect which seemed to speak much affection and devoir.

He has been a long time tampering with a Faction which goes by the name of the Frondeurs. These were his enemies, not so much in hatred of his person, as out of a zeal to serve their country, which they imagined was oppressed under the conduct of this Minister.

These he has lately gained over to his Party, by representing to them the Prince of Conde, as the author of all those evils which they ascribed to himself: Whilst at the same time, he persuaded the Prince, that they had some design against his person. Thus he artificially blinded both Parties, and engaged them in mutual revenges, privately animating the Frondeurs against the Prince, and provoking the Prince to seek the ruin of the Frondeurs. By this trap the Prince was inveigled to consent, and give orders for his own Imprisonment, whilst he was made to believe the Arrest was designed against his Enemies; and the people were satisfied, since they were persuaded the Faction of the Frondeurs had a hand in the Plot.

The 18th of the last Moon the three Princes were taken into Custody, and sent to a place they call the Castle of the Wood of Vinciennes, some leagues from Paris. The same day the Queen sent for the Dutchess of Longueville to come to her; but the wary Dutchess would not put herself into a Cage. She immediately fled in Disguise to a Sea-town belonging to her husband.

'Tis said, the Prince of Conde had Notice given him of his design'd imprisonment; but that he would not escape, projecting to himself some greater advantages from the discontents of the People (who now behold him as a Patriot) than from a clandestine or fugitive liberty. This is certain, his coach broke on the road between Paris and Vinciennes; and 'tis thought his friends might easily have rescu'd him: For this accident occasion'd a stop of six hours in his journey, time enough to have rais'd a thousand men to his relief, being only guarded by sixteen Cavaliers. But it seems he courts the Cardinal's persecution, that he may have deeper grounds for revenge. I know not whether his policy is justifiable or no; but, if I were in his circumstances, I should hardly take this method to gratify my resentments, which in all probability I should not be in a condition to accomplish 'till the Greek Calends, that is, never.

Paris, 4th of the 2d Moon;
of the Year 1650.

L E T T E R I I I .

To the Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of
the Ottoman Empire.

THE Devotees among the Franks talk much of the Jubilee that is to be celebrated this year at Rome. They enrich their fancies with the hopes of I know not what spiritual Treasure, which the Roman Mufti, or Pontiff, will distribute among the Pilgrims that resort to Rome, during this holy Year.

This, as I am told, is celebrated in imitation of the Sabbatical Year, formerly observ'd by the Jews when they possess'd the Holy Land. The Hebrew Writers, such as Josephus, and others, call that also the Year of Jubilee. The Cabalists, like the Pythagoreans, pretended to derive great Mysteries from certain Numbers: And the number Seven was had in particular veneration by the Hebrews: Therefore they kept every seventh day, week, and year, holy. In the seventh year it was not lawful to till the ground, plant vineyards, or sow any seed. And when seven times seven years were expired, the year of Jubilee was proclaim'd, being always the Fiftieth: They proclaim'd it by trumpets throughout the whole country of Palestine, in the forty-ninth year. And the Muezens cry'd in the gates of their Cities and Synagogues, at the beginning of the Jubilee: "Let every
" man return this year to his own Possession
" and Tribe, whether he be a Slave or Free.
" He that has sold his Houses or Lands, if he
" was not before able to redeem them, let him
" this year take possession of his inheritance.
" He that is become another man's slave, and
" neither

“neither himself nor his friends can redeem him,
 “let him this year be dismiss’d, and sent home to
 “the family to which he belongs: for henceforth
 “he is free by the Indulgence of the Law.
 “Let no man sow the ground, nor gather the
 “fruits that grow of themselves this year: But
 “the earth, as well as its inhabitants, enjoy li-
 “berty and rest; for this is the Year of Grace and
 “divine Bounty.”

After this manner was the Hebrew Jubilee pro-
 claimed and observed: And, they say, from hence
 arose the Custom among the Christians, who in
 many things, may be stiled the Jews apes. But
 others say, That the present Roman Jubilee is de-
 rived from the secular Games, celebrated by their
 Pagan ancestors; in regard, this was renewed
 every hundredth year, at first, even as those Games
 were. Whence it was, that the Cryer in those
 Days, at the Indiction of the secular Games, said,
 “Come to the Plays which no man living has yet
 “seen, nor shall ever see again.” For, man’s
 life being generally so short, they thought it im-
 probable that any Mortal should live to see this
 Solemnity repeated.

The modern Jubilee was first published by
 Boniface IX. Bishop of Rome, in the Year 1300
 of the Christian’s Hegyra: At which time, he
 promised full and entire Remission of Sins to all
 who should resort in Pilgrimage to Rome that
 year. After him it was celebrated every hun-
 dredth year, according to his institution, ’till the
 days of Clement VI. who, at the instance of the
 Roman citizens, reduced it to every fiftieth year.
 Then Urban VI. another Pope, reduced it to the
 thirty-third year. And, last of all Paul II. con-
 tracted the interval to five and twenty years:
 Which space of time has been observed by all his
 Successors to this day.

If thou wouldst know the reason why they
 have thus alter’d the Periods, it is for profit. For,
 in

in the year of Jubilee, there is a vast conflux of people from all parts of Europe; who bring a far greater treasure into the Roman coffers, than they carry away from that city. Though the Pope, 'tis said, is very liberal of that which they call the Treasure of the Church: Which is a certain Fund of Merits and superabundant Graces, left by the Messiah and his Saints in the custody of this Prelate, to supply the defects and infirmities of sinful men: And they believe 'tis only in his power to dispose of this heavenly Wealth to whom he pleases. They talk also of Indulgence and Pardons, whereby the holy Father can redeem men from all sin, and the punishments that are due to it: And this wonderful prerogative, they say, does not only benefit the Living, but extends even to the Souls departed; whom the Pope, according to their persuasion, can free from the Torments of Purgatory, and at his pleasure admit into the Gates of Paradise.

We that are Mussulmans cannot declaim against the Doctrine of praying for the Dead, since it is practised by all the Faithful: Neither have we reason to inveigh against Indulgencies, or Releases from Penance: But that the power of granting and dispensing these favours should be only reposed in the Christian Mufti, will not accord with the Faith of a true Believer. We know who swore by the Hooves of his swift and faithful Elborach, which in one night carry'd him a journey of six Moons, that from thenceforth the Key of Aaraf, or the Place of Prisons, was committed to him. Doubtless the Omnipotent can transfer his Commissions when, and to whom he pleases. If he once gave his authority of remitting Sins to the Messiah, and Peter his Lieutenant, does it follow that all Peter's successors, the Caliphs of Rome, have retain'd this Privilege? There have been many good men in that seat, and
not

not a few wicked ; some Prophets, and some Magicians ; a Catalogue interspers'd with Saints, Martyrs, Butchers, and Devils.

But 'tis evident they forfeited their authority, when they declin'd from the truth, from the unblameable profession of the Divine Unity, and resisted the Messenger of Heaven, sent to correct their errors, reform their vices, and reduce mankind to one Law of Purity and Light.

I write not partially ; nor am I imbitter'd against the Patriarch of the Romans : He is a man, like others, subject to the Will of Destiny. The Babylonian Cailiffs, and those of Egypt, successively enjoy'd the same power, transmitted to them from the Prophet, who seal'd up all the former Dispensations : Yet in time, through their sins, they forfeited their authority, together with their Empire, when the bright Osmans conquer'd all Things. Then was the Prophetic Office translated to our Mufti, the Guide of those who possess the Sepulchre of Mahomet : To him all the World ought to have recourse for Solution of their Doubts, Direction in their Lives, Absolution from their Sins, and for the Passport of Immortality, the Festa requir'd of all that enter the Gates of Paradise.

But all mortals are naturally tenacious of whatsoever advances their honour and interest. Kings hug empty titles that yield them no profit. And the Roman Bishops are unwilling to acknowledge themselves divested of the privileges which were once annex'd to that Chair of Peter : They shew the Keys, the Symbol of a power which they have lost. And the credulous Nazarenes believe that Heaven and Hell are open'd and shut at their pleasure. On the Eve of the Messiah's Nativity, the present Pope knock'd three times with a golden Hammer at the Gates of the principal Mosque in Rome ; which were then open'd, to signify the ensuing Year of

Jubilee; when the Christians are persuaded, that Heaven is open to all that visit Rome in this holy Time.

I wish thee a life of many Jubilees.

Paris, 9th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1650.

L E T T E R I V .

To the Flower of High Dignity, the most
Magnificent Vizir Azem.

WHEN I first heard the news of the Troubles that have been at Constantinople, the Deposition of Mahomet, the late Vizir Azem, and the Advancement of the Janizar-Aga to that Dignity, I imagin'd it had been Cassim Hali. But it seems that brave old soldier is elevated to a more lofty Station: He has enter'd the immortal Possessions, being translated to an high Seat: For I understand he has his rest in Paradise. On that Hero be the Mercies of the supremely Indulgent; whilst I turn myself to thee, his late Successor in that military Honour, but now the Lieutenant of the Shadow of God. I touch the earth thrice with my Forehead, when I salute thee, Great Prince of the Vizirs, in token of my humility and reverence; and in remembrance of my original: That I, who am but the product of dust, a mere worm, may not commit an indecency, when I address to the bright Image of our august Emperor, who is the Type of the Sun.

In speaking of Persons of thy immense Power, I strive equally to shun flattery and disrespect: endeavouring

deavouring to deport myself with an even course between those two extremes, as Mariners steer between Sylla and Carybdis. These are dangerous places in the Sicilian Seas.

All Europe celebrates thy praise, and extols thy justice for releasing the Ambassador of Venice, imprison'd in the 4th Moon of this year. They say, since thy assumption to this important Trust, the Ottoman Porte is reform'd, and grown more civiliz'd; (for the Franks esteem all the Followers of the Prophet, who could neither write nor read, as Barbarians.)

Here is much talk about the defeat given to our forces in Hungary: The French spare for no Encomiums on the Bassa of Buda, who fought valiantly till his legs were shot off; and then caus'd himself to be carried up and down through the army to encourage his soldiers. Neither do they diminish the glory that is due to his Son, who received his death in defending his Father, at the time that old Captain was taken prisoner.

But they blame the conduct of him who besieg'd the Fort of Clissa, in regard he undertook it in the wrong Season of the year: The defect of a General's judgment, in such cases, is many times fatal to an army. The French are the best in the world at spying advantages, and the most dextrous in making use of them. Most of their Campaigns are spent in their trenches, or in light skirmishes; seldom hazarding a battle, unless on some unequal terms, to their own interest; and then they never let slip the opportunity. This commends their Policy, but is no great argument of their Courage: For true valour never regards dangers.

Adonai the Jew sends me word, that the Venetians are put in great hopes of accommodating their affairs with the mysterious Divan, since the release of their Baillo: Yet both they and all

the Nazarenes resent highly the strangling of his Interpreter.

They understand not the measures of the sublime Porte, full of wisdom and justice; and that by the terror of such Examples, the Ministers of the righteous Throne seek to prevent future wickedness.

In these Western Courts, a little gold, or a great friend, shall easily palliate and procure a Pardon for the greatest Crimes. Their Processes here are slow in the execution of justice; being strangers to the impetuous orders and swift performance practis'd in the East. Besides, this Interpreter sported himself to death by the licentiousness of his tongue. He delighted to play upon Majesty, and with an insolent lasciviousness of speech, to deceive him whose high, sublime, and remote intellect uses no other expressions of his wrath, but the hands of his Mutes. It does not become the Emperor of the World to be profuse in words, as the Christian Princes are, who take great pains to satisfy their Vassals of the Justice of their proceedings. They cannot condemn the wicked without a formal process, wherein various wits shew their skill in canvassing the cause, which, upon sincere evidence, may be decided in two words. This is the Masquerade of Christian Justice, a mere trap for gold, the secret of the Western Lawyers, who enrich themselves at the price of other mens folly, and to the disgrace of the Monarch who there pretends to command.

Should those Men of Law see this letter, and know who wrote it, how would they not circumcise and slay the minutest dash of my pen to find argument of revenge against a Mussulman?

All men are full of themselves, and their own principles: And the Nazarenes of the West are so brimming with them, that there is no room left

left for instruction or amendment. Like the Chinese they boast of their own science and wisdom, reputed all the rest of the world ignorant and blind.

They are so narrow in their Tenets, so dogmatical in their Decisions, and so conceited of all, that it is difficult for a man, who has convers'd in a free air, to frame himself to their rules.

By what I have said, thou may'st determine, that it is no easy task for an Arabian native, bred in the Seraglio, to conform himself adroit to the humours and fashions of France. Yet I curb all the natural propensions of my Birth, Blood, and Education, as much as in me lies, that I may serve the Grand Signior. I am incognito in all respects, save those wherein I cannot be hid. And I would change my Masque a hundred times over, rather than fail of my ends.

What can I say more to him who only values a Slave for his deeds?

I turn not my back on thee, sublime Idea of absolute Power; but, retiring after the respectful manner of the East, I make a thousand obeisances, till the Antiport has cover'd me from thy illustrious presence.

Paris, 17th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

LETTER V.

To Sedree Al' Girawn, Chief Page of the
Treasury.

THOU wilt have reason to wonder at a man pretending acquaintance with thee, whom thou canst not remember to have seen. 'Tis from my brother Pesteli Hali, thy former Master, I received the news of thy late Preferment, who art thyself but early in years; yet no time is unreasonable to a man mature in virtue and wisdom.

I knew thee an infant in the arms of thy mother, the widow of an Arabian soldier, who served my brother in Wars of Persia. There appear'd then such evident symptoms of thy future wit and dexterity, as prompted thy father's Captain to take thee into his protection and care; and thy mother by her charms soon found a way to his bosom.

I write not these things to reproach thee with the Meanness of thy Birth: Thy Merits equal thee with those who are born of Nobles. It is not the custom of the East to prefer men for their Parentage, or because they can shew the dusty Statues of their ancestors. This is the peculiar oversight of the Infidels, to give that honour to Names, and men of a noisy Descent, which is only due to Virtue. There are Families in Rome in this day who boast of their Pedigrees, and that they spring from the renowned Heroes, that are recorded in the Histories of that Empire; but they glory in their shame, since they are quite degenerated from the brave Qualities which ennobled their progenitors; and by their sordid actions are become a daily subject for the descants of Pasquil. There is an Image in a certain public place in Rome to which in the night-time they affix the Libels which they

they dare not own: A kind of dumb Satire on the Vices of the Grandees, not sparing even the chief Mufti of the Christians, if he is guilty of any follies which merit to come within the verge of a Lampoon.

It is no contemptible jest which was in this manner put upon the present Pope, and one of his Nephews, at the latter end of the last year. It seems the good old Father has advanced this Spark from a poor ignorant Taylor to the Dignity of a Roman Baron; bestowing on him Offices which brought him a Revenue sufficient to maintain his Title and Post. All the ancient Nobility were disgusted at this; and some arch Wag was set at work to ridicule the Pope's conduct, and the new Baron's honour. Wherefore, on the day which the Nazarenes celebrate with great solemnity, for the Birth-day of Jesus the son of Mary, early in the Morning the 'fore-mentioned image, Pasquil, was observ'd to be apparell'd all in rags, and a very nasty habit, with a Schedule of paper in his hand, wherein was writ, "How now, Pasquil; what! all in rags on a Christmas-Day?" (for so they call the Nativity of their Messias.) And underneath was inscribed this answer: "Alas, I cannot help it; for my TAYLOR is become a LORD."

Yet notwithstanding the Obscurity of this man's Birth, and the Meanness of his former Trade, he became an eminent Statesman after the Pope had exalted him to that Dignity; and lived with an unblemish'd reputation, whilst he saw all, or most of the ancient Nobility pasquil'd every day for their effeminate vices.

By what I have said, thou may'st be assured, that I have not the less esteem for thee, because thou wast not the son of a Bassa; since, had thy father liv'd, his fortune and courage might have promoted him to that Honour, or a Command equal to it; and thou thyself art in a fair way to supply some future vacancy in those great Charges of the Empire.

I have no news at present to send thee, save that

the three French Princes, of whose imprisonment I gave an account to Minezim Alouph, are removed by Cardinal Mazarini's order from the Castle of Vinciennes, to a sea-town call'd Havre de Grace, for fear they should be rescued by Marshal Turenne, who is much devoted to their interest. The Princess of Conde is retired to Bourdeaux, a city at this time in arms against the King, having also with her the young Duke of Enguien her son.

The Marshal de la Meilleray is gone with his army to besiege this place; and 'tis said, the King will soon follow with the whole Court. All things seem to portend another relapse of this state into the old Disorders.

But this is not of so near concern to us that are Mussulmans, as the quarrels that I hear are broach'd between the Janizaries and the Spahi's. They say, the whole Ottoman Empire is warp'd this way and that way into contrary factions; and that the Seraglio itself is full of different cabals, on the account of these Military Orders. It afflicts me with extreme grief, to receive nothing but sad news from the Porte, which is, or at least ought to be, a Fountain of Joy to the whole Earth. I pray Heaven avert the Omen! for it looks with an ill presage, when the Champions of the divine Unity are thus divided against themselves.

If thou wilt take my advice, enter not thyself into the secrets of either party; but, poisoning thy affections with prudence, stand neuter to all things but the Grand Signior's interest. In that be as zealous as thou canst. As for the rest, wait the Decrees of Destiny.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

LETTER VI.

To the Kaimacham.

GRaphul Eben Shahenshah the Arabian Philosopher has said it, and every man's experience confirms it, That no human care can prevent the accomplishment of what Heaven has decreed. There are certain moments of our lives wherein Fate delights to mock our wit and prudence, to baffle our strictest caution, and to ridicule all our conduct, that we may learn the lesson of Resignation, and not trust too much to ourselves.

When I first saluted the light of this morning sun, my spirits were serene and joyful: No melancholy dreams had left their black impression on my mind, no saddening thoughts possessed my soul; I awak'd chearful and sprightly as the lark. After I had ador'd the Omnipotent, and perform'd my accustom'd holy things, I began to reflect on my own happiness; in that I had so many years served the sublime Porte in this Station, full of difficulties and perils, yet by no misfortune had ever betray'd the least secret of my Commission. It pleas'd me to think I still pass'd for Titus of Moldavia among the French, who are the most apprehensive people in the world; and even in the opinion of Cardinal Mazarini, who, like Janus, has more eyes than two. I embrac'd myself (if I may so speak) in the conceit of my good success; concluding I was born under fortunate Stars, and that no disaster could ever hurt me.

But I took wrong measures of the Ways of Destiny, which are as untractable as the mines:

For before mid-day my Sun was eclipsed ; the Air of my Soul ruffled with Storms, and all my Joy turn'd to Mourning and Sadness.

Wilt thou know the occasion of my grief ? It was this. In the year 1645, according to the Style of the Nazarenes, I receiv'd some particular instructions from the then Vizir Azem, putting me in mind of the hazard I run in this post, and giving me strict charge to bestow all my letters in a secure place, whether the transcripts of those I write to the Ministers of the Porte (for I always retain'd a copy of the original) or the Dispatches I receive from thence.

That Minister was afraid, lest I might some time or other be discover'd ; and consequently that my chamber would be search'd. Therefore, obeying his hint, I immediately carry'd all my Writings to Eliachim the Jew ; knowing his house to be free from any jealousy of the State, and that the most important secrets in the world might be there an Age unreveal'd.

The Letters of my writing were enclosed in one Box, and those which I receiv'd from the Invincible Porte in another. And this was my constant custom from that time ; as often as I writ to the Ministers of the Divan, or had perus'd the Dispatches which came from them, I dispos'd of both in proper places, leaving all to the care of Eliachim.

But neither his caution nor mine were sufficient to prevent the Resolves of Heaven : It was determin'd above that we should lose some of the papers. Eliachim came to me to-day, before the Hour of Ulanamisi, all in passion, astonish'd, raving and staring like a madman. As soon as he enter'd my chamber he tore his inner vest, which was of crimson silk, fring'd round with gold, and cry'd, " We are undone, betrayed, and ruined."

I presently thought of my Writings ; and ask'd him

him whether they were safe. In a word, he told me he had lost the Box, which contain'd the letters sent him from the Ministers at the Port to me, and that his Slave, a Negro, whom he kept in his house, was missing. Thou may'st imagine, sage Minister, That this news put me into no small confusion. I presently suspected that this villain of a Negro had got the Writings, and was gone to Cardinal Mazarini with 'em: But then, recollecting with cooler thoughts, that this African understood not Arabic, in which Language alone Eliachim and I us'd to converse; and that consequently he never could know our affairs, or read the letters, which might tempt him to such a Treason, I was at a loss what to think of it: Neither am I better satisfy'd now, though I have ruminated on it these twelve hours: Only I think, if Cardinal Mazarini has these Papers in his custody, he would have given orders before this time, to seize the supposed Titus of Moldavia; for some of these Letters take notice of my having assumed that name: But I cannot perceive any attempt that has been made in that kind, or that any body has been to enquire for me at my Lodgings; for I set Spies to observe, as soon as I departed thence with Eliachim, which was about noon. We are now together in a friend's house, where we shall continue, 'till we hear farther of this event; as we are yet in the dark, and full of fears: but time, which brings all things to light, will convince us what we have to trust to.

In the mean while there is little news, save a discourse of a certain Convention at Nurembergh, and the great Jubilee which is celebrated at Rome, where they say, the Christian. chief Musti, the Week before their Beriam, or Easter, wash'd the feet of twelve Pilgrims; and that Cardinal Ludovisio entertain'd nine thousand of these Devotees: at once with a very magnificent feast. They

say also, that the Pope will get this year two millions of Zequins, by the resort of Pilgrims to that city.

The King of Denmark's Resident at this Court has received a letter, which certifies him that his Master has declar'd Prince Christian his son Successor in the Throne.

They talk also of a marriage lately solemnized between Charles, a German Count, and Charlotte, Sister to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

But that which most takes up mens ears, and employs their tongues and thoughts, are the Civil Wars of this Kingdom; which is all in a flame, by occasion of the imprisonment of the Prince of Conde, and his brothers. The citizens of Paris are very jocund, at the repeated news of the King's ill success, for they wish not well to his arms, whilst employ'd against the Malcontents.

Illustrious old Grandee, I wish thee the years of Nestor, and those calculated by Full Moons of Prosperity. But I pray Heaven avert from thee some of his moments, wherein they say he was tormented with the Gout, as I am at this instant. It is a pain hardly to be supported.

Paris, 11th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

LETTER VII.

To the same.

BY the GOD whom I adore, and by his Shadow, I swear there is no disloyalty in Mahmut, yet his life is full of temptations and perils. The Box of Letters, I mentioned in my last, is irrecoverably gone, and laid up in the bowels of the Earth, if we may believe the confession of a man, every angle of whose heart has been searched with exquisite torments, even to death.

Eliachim's slave, the Negro whom I spoke of, mistook that Box for one very like it, out of which he has often seen his Master take Jewels; for this is the particular merchandize of that Jew: And the weight of each was not so unequal as to rectify his error. Lucre tempted him, and the desire of liberty; whilst the darkness, (for he committed the villany before sun-rising) and his own guilty fears, conspired to baffle his intended theft. The Boxes stood together (so careful was Eliachim of the sublime Secrets, as not to venture 'em in a place less secure than that of his Jewels) and the villain, hasty to be gone, and confounded for want of light, took up that, wherein were the Writings, instead of his designed prey, the Jewels. He went directly into the fields, purposing to bury this supposed treasure in the earth, in some private place where he might take it forth at discretion: But first opening the Box to supply himself with such Stones as he thought would be unquestionable pawns for money, to
answer

answer his present necessities, that so he might the better provide for his concealment; he was astonish'd, and his heart became like lead, when he found nothing but papers full of characters, to which he was wholly a stranger. A thousand resolutions presented themselves to him in that agony of his mind, and he knew not what to fix on. Sometimes he thought to carry the Box back again, as he found it; and since his design had been thus strangely baulk'd, to content himself till another opportunity. But then he consider'd it was too late to return before his master would miss both his Slave and Box; for the Sun was now far advanced in our hemisphere, and Eliachim is an early riser. In a word, therefore, he thought it the safest way to bury it in the ground, as he first intended, had it been the Box of Jewels, and so shift for himself. Proposing to himself this advantage in hiding the Papers in a secure place, that, if they were of value, he might at any time make composition with his Master, by discovering where they were.

All that I have related here is drawn from his own mouth, in midst of tortures. For Eliachim soon heard of this fugitive Negro, who was seized on the road to Lyons by some correspondents of this Jew. Who, having intelligence of it, took horse immediately, and went to the place. He did not think it safe to make a public business of it, or to arraign him before the appointed Judge of the Country; but, relying on the Justice of his Cause, and the Right of a Master, he privately put him to Tortures of divers kinds, in a house where he could command any thing.

The stout African at first deny'd that he had meddled with any Box, saying, he escaped purely for the sake of Liberty. But when a succession of divers Torments had quite overthrown his
con-

constancy, he confessed all that I have already related.

Eliachim still suspecting worse, and that he only fram'd this as a plausible story, to be freed from or at least to respite the pains he suffer'd, caus'd sharp thorns to be thrust under the nails of his fingers and toes; believing that the extremity of so sensible a pain would extort the true secret from him. But he could get nothing else from the poor excruciated Negro, though now almost ready to expire, but that he had hid the Box under ground in a certain corner of a field out of the City, to which he knew not how to direct Eliachim, but promis'd to shew it him if he would carry him alive to Paris.

This was no hard task to perform in the opinion of the Jew; it being but a day's journey to this city from the place where they then were. But he was deceiv'd in his hopes; and now all the applications and cordials they could use, came too late; for that very night the Negro breath'd out his soul.

However, when Eliachim came to Paris, he follow'd the directions of his dead Slave, as well as he could, in searching every corner of the fields on that side of the city where this Black had been seen to go out, but all to no purpose. He cou'd find nothing; nor have we any hopes ever to see that Box again. Yet I have many qualms of fear, lest some time or other it should come to light, to our disadvantage and ruin.

I desire thy instruction, sage Governor of the Capital City, how I shall deport myself if it be my lot to be discover'd. As to the remaining Box, which has in it the transcripts of my own Dispatches, I have taken it home to my lodging, believing it will be as safe here as in the house of Eliachim; since that faithful Jew is no more ex-
empted

empted from contingencies than myself: And I have no servant to betray me.

This kingdom abounds at present in treasons and rebellions. The French spare not to massacre one another for the sake of a passion: While the Spaniards make their advantage of their intestine feuds; for, under pretence of assisting the Princes of the Blood, they get footing in Picardy, from whence it will not be easy to expel them. Leopold Arch-Duke of Austria, is at the head of the Spanish army, and has taken several towns belonging to the French King.

When the Quarrels of these Infidels will end I am not solicitous; my thoughts being ever taken up in the service which I owe to the Empire of True Believers.

I cannot bid thee adieu, illustrious Kaimacham, 'till I have assured thee I am macerated with zeal for the Grand Signior.

Paris, 23^d of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

LETTER VIII.

To Solyman Kuslir Aga, Prince of the
Black Eunuchs.

AFTER I had perus'd thy Dispatch, wherewith thou hast honour'd thy Slave Mahmut; as I was full of joy for the continued demonstrations of thy friendship and protection; so my breast conceived an indignation at the affront which has been offer'd to the sublime Port by the Cham of the Tartars, in presuming to demand the Tutelage of our august Emperor. It is an indignity to the Ministers of supreme Justice and Honour, Lights of the Imperial Divan, to whom is committed the cognizance of all human events; the illustrious Viziers, who manage the affairs of the mighty and invisible Sultan Mahomet, whose Throne may GOD fortify, 'till the Moon shall no more appear in the Heavens.

Those people have been ever thirsty of rule, and 'tis number'd among the virtues of their Ancestors, that they enlarged their Dominions by the keen edge of their swords. But, in all the Registers and Archives of the Empire, it has not been found, that any of that Nation challenged a right to govern our Sultans, though during their minority. It is sufficient, that they shall have the honour (according to the ancient Capitulations) to succeed in the Throne of the Osman Princes, if ever that sacred Line should be extinct: Which GOD avert, till the final Consummation.

It is a wonder they demanded not also his royal brothers, the other sons of Sultan Ibrahim; that so they might, at one blow, cut off the whole Osman Race, and take possession of the vacant Throne.

I have not heard any thing these many Moons what is become of those high-born Infants; whether they are alive, or sacrificed to the jealousy of
the

the Sultan, as has been the custom. Here are various flying reports concerning them. Some say, that thou hast convey'd away Sultan Achmet, and that he is privately educated in the House of a certain Georgian. The blessing of Mahomet be upon thee, and refresh thy heart, if thou hast taken this care to preserve the life of an Osman Prince, which is more precious than a hundred thousand of common Birth.

As for Solyman, and the rest of that sublime Race, the French gave 'em over for lost; and I cannot contradict 'em for want of true intelligence. Besides, I have reason to fear it is too true, in regard it has been the cruel practice of all, or most of our late Emperors, either to slaughter their Brethren, as soon as they ascended the Throne, or to put 'em to a more lingering death and martyrdom in a prison.

'Tis true indeed, our present Sovereign is not yet arrived to those years wherein children commonly lose their native innocence. I believe he suspects none of his brethren, or harbours any unkind thoughts against their lives. Yet cruelty may be insinuated into his tender years by the artifices of his mother; especially against those of his father's Blood, that did not also partake of her's. For, Sultan Ibrahim, thou knowest, had children by other women besides the Sultana Valede.

The Maltese think they have one of these Royal infants in their possession: Thou knowest the whole story of thy Predecessor's voyage towards Egypt, with his beautiful Slave and her son, whom these Infidels honour as the Offspring of the Grand Signior. Thou art not ignorant, also, that this Infant, with his Mother, were banished out of jealousy, by the order of her who bore in her womb Sultan Mahomet, our glorious Sovereign. The remembrance of which makes me tremble for the sake of the young Prince, if there be any yet remaining alive. It is in thy power to certify me, and, in doing so, thou wilt rid me of much anxiety:

I am

I am but a Slave of the Slaves, who serve the Grand Signior; and it is not decent for me to descant on the actions of our most absolute Monarch, whose Will is not to be controul'd: But I am still a man, and have some share of humanity and reason. Thou also art my particular friend, and wilt permit me to discourse with freedom. Was it not a bloody Feast, to which our King's great grandfather Mahomet III, invited nineteen of his brethren on the day of his Inauguration? Was it not a cruel act, to cause those Royal Guests, in whose Veins ran the Blood of his own Father, to be strangled before they departed from his table? No less inhuman was it of Mahomet, the late Vizir Azem, to guide the hand of our present Sovereign, when but six years old, and incapable of knowing what he did, to sign a Warrant for the Execution of his Father. Well may the Nazarenes call us Barbarians, when they contemplate the Empire of the Mussulmans, supported by such unnatural Methods.

Thou, that hast the superlative honour of being the immediate Guardian of our young Emperor, wilt pardon the liberty I take. Ascribe all to the force of my zeal and loyalty. Thou art valiant and wise. Protect thy charge as the Crystal on thine eyes, which thou wilt not suffer to be hurt by the dust of the streets.

Paris, 14th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

LETTER IX.

To Dgnet Oglou.

NOtwithstanding all my Philosophy, I have not command enough of my passion, to conceal it from thee, who hast always been the partaker of my unequal fortunes. Whatever magnanimity of spirit I pretended to formerly in my sickness, 'tis at present overcome by the desire of ease. At that time, I remember some Stoical considerations made me industriously hide from thee the tormenting pains I felt. I endeavoured to disguise my sufferings, and to paint my misery in such colours, that it could hardly be distinguished from happiness. But now I have not courage enough to hide from thee my fears and apprehensions: And all Seneca's morals are too little to hinder me from complaining of the uncertainty that we daily experience in human affairs. This is a Theme so popular, that, were not particular misfortunes very pressing, 'twould make me sick to say any thing on a subject, that has been in every man's mouth since the time that our first Father appeared among the Trees. Therefore thou may'st be assured, I am not going about to make a Declamation, or play the Orator; to expatiate and make large descants on the Instability of all things. What I have to say refers to myself and no-body else, save to those who are the occasion of my melancholy.

In the tenth Moon of the last year, I sent a Letter to Kenan Bassa, the new Hasnadar Bassy. I have a Copy of it by me, as I always retain of whatever Dispatches I send to the sublime Porte, whether to the public Ministers or my private Friends.

I have

I have perus'd this letter several times within these eight and forty hours, and can find no just ground of offence, which that Grandee cou'd take thereat; unless he was angry with me for desiring him to be careful in transmitting my money. As for the rest, I only obey'd the particular instructions I received from Mahomet the late Vizir Azem; who commanded me not to spare the greatest Minister of the Port, if I had reason either to counsel, or to reprehend him: For said he in his Letter, "To this end art thou plac'd
"at such a distance, that, besides the service thou
"doest our Sovereign in disclosing the secrets of the
"Infidels, thou may'st also be free to write what-
"ever thou thinkest will conduce to his interest,
"without standing in fear of the revenge of the
"grandees." These were the very words of the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire.

Now I only told him of some miscarriages in his Predecessors, warning him to be wary in his Station. Either he was offended at this freedom I took, or because I presumed to advise him how to order my Bills. Be it which it will, I have a severe reprimand from the Reis Effendi, whom I have the greatest reason in the world to esteem my friend.

It would never have vexed me, had he wrote plainly, and not disguised his sentiments. But all was obscure, saving one blunt expression, which convinced me, That the real ground of all this anger was my letter to Kenan, wherein I desired his care as to my money.

Can that minister blame me for being apprehensive of want in a foreign country, a Region of Infidels, where I have no other commerce but with Courtiers and Strangers, where, if I should be in the least suspected, they would presently put me in prison, which would hazard a discovery of the sublime Secrets? Does he not know that Money commands all things; and that the
greatest

greatest Potentates obey the power of Gold? It cannot be imagin'd, but that a man in my Post has a thousand pressing occasions for Money; which 'tis troublesome to express; and I have had very wrong notions of my Employment, if I deserve, on this account, to be reprov'd and threaten'd with such politic circumlocutions: For the Secretary charges me with unwillingness to continue in the Service of the ever-happy Port; as if he thought my fidelity were corrupted, or that I had an inclination to the Nazarene interest.

I tell thee, my Dgnet, Perfidy I ever abhor'd: This appears to me the most terrible and odious of all vices; I could bear the guilt and reproach of a great many crimes, which have less of malice in their constitution. I am not ashamed of many venial frailties which I daily commit, though the Law is severe against them. But cou'd any man accuse me of wilful treachery and ingratitude, I would pray instantly, That the Luminaries of Heaven might be extinguish'd, and that no terrene Substance might henceforth have in it the least potential Light; that so I might neither be capable of seeing myself, or of being expos'd to the eyes of others: And, the better to escape the confusion which would attend that horrid guilt, I would not only avoid human society, but, if it were possible, would run away from myself.

After all this, methinks such a temper need not be suspected, as averse from the interest to which he has so solemnly sworn.

I wou'd not have troubled thee with the news of any other affliction; but to be suspected of what I never was guilty of, and to be menac'd in dark mysterious terms, not by an enemy, but by my friend, and one who has in his keeping the immortal Records of my Zeal and Integrity; this cuts me to the heart: And I had no other way

way to ease myself, but by venting my anguish to thee.

If any of the Ministers will charge me with weakness, or want of ability to act in this Station, I should have no reason to repine; since none of them can think so meanly of Mahmut, as he does of himself. I boast of nothing, but a loyalty to my trust, incapable of being corrupted.

But I forget that I am a Mussulman, and therefore ought to be resign'd to the Will of Heaven in all things, without complaint or murmur. Besides, I am infinitely obliged, in many regards, to the Reis Effendi: and therefore he may be allow'd to take his own advantages. Perhaps his reproofs may be just, and 'tis my own peevishness that hinders me from discerning it. However, I could wish he would henceforth express his resentments with less obscurity, and not give me ground to apprehend the loss of his friendship.

For, where I once love, I hate a change. And, if thou beest of the same mind, we two shall continue our Friendship to the other Side of the Grave.

Paris, 30th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

L E T T E R X.

To the Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary
of the Ottoman Empire.

IF thou wilt permit me to learn something from Husbandmen, they say, 'tis not profitable to plow the fields, whose barren glebe brings forth nothing but briars and thorns. Such are the grounds of passion and anger among friends: Let 'em lie fallow for ever. Perhaps thou wilt call it presumption in me, to challenge such a relation between us: Or, if thou ownest the title of a friend, thou wilt claim a right to reprove me. Be it how it will, reprochs make the best impression when they are given with mildness and moderation; especially, they ought not to be founded on a mistake, or false apprehension. For they appear like arrows discharg'd in the dark, which, being shot at random, may, by giving an undeserved wound, make an enemy of a friend, or at least render a friend suspected to be an enemy.

But I tell thee, I will not blow up the embers of a fire, whose flame is extinguish'd long ago, and whereof, by this time, I hope there remains not the least smoke. I never love to add fuel to such cases: Otherwise, had I return'd an answer to thy angry letter in the heat of my resentments, I might have play'd the incendiary: For I had both matter enough, and passion sufficient to ventilate the already kindled sparks. And, of this I know thou art sensible.

Well; to make the best construction of it: The Hasnadar-Bassly was affronted, I believe, at the freedom I took in advising him, not knowing that I had positive orders to do so, even to the first Minister of State, if I saw occasion. And, to vent his choler, he misrepresented the business to thee, hoping by thy means to awe me into a fawning acknowledgment of my supposed crime. If this was thy intention in writing that sharp letter, I smile at his mistake, but am sorry for thine, because I esteem thee my friend. 'Twas but an oversight in you both; and so let it pass.

Thy friendship I court, and refuse not his, nor that of any Officer of the Seraglio. I honour all the Bassa's and Ministers of the Imperial Port: I shew to every one the respect that is due to his Quality: But I am commanded to write with Freedom to all, and not to speak, as if I had the bearded head of a barley-stalk on my tongue, which is apt to slip down a man's throat, and threatens to choak him that speaks whilst it is in his mouth. This charge I first received from the late Vizir Azem Mahomet, and it has been since renew'd with fresh instructions from others of great Authority. They all tell me with much assurance, that one chief end of my being placed here is, that being out of the limits of the Ottoman Empire, yet holding a constant intelligence, I may freely, and without fear, reprove the vices and encourage the virtues of the greatest Governors and Princes among the Mussulmans. Nay, I am threaten'd with punishment, and the Sultan's displeasure, if I neglect any opportunity of this nature, or appear partial and timorous in my reprehensions.

For it seems this is judged the most ready and effectual method to reform the corruptions that are crept into court, camp, and city; since

every man is obliged to communicate the letters which he receives from me : And they are all registered by thy care : Whereby the Grantees are compell'd, either to live within the limits of justice and their duty, or else to be the discoverers of their own faults ; which will unavoidably bring them into disgrace, if not the loss of their liberty and lives ; or at least put them to the expence of costly presents to make their atonement. And thou knowest some men would almost as willingly part with their lives as their money, which is their God.

After all this, I hope thou wilt not be displeas'd if I perform my duty. It is not for me to be frighted with menaces, or softened with bribes. My integrity is proof against the pride of the one, and baseness of the other. Yet I have great esteem for the Treasurer and thee, with other Ministers who are my friends. I could, to serve such, freely hazard my liberty, fortune, and any thing but my honour, which I value at a higher rate than my life.

Thou may'st register it for a truth, That an English Ambassador was in the 6th Moon of this year murder'd by Villains in his chamber at Madrid, the capital city of Spain. There has been also a great battle fought in Scotland, between the army of that nation, who maintain their King's interest, and the forces of the New English Commonwealth ; wherein the latter obtain'd a signal victory, having kill'd three thousand on the spot, taken nine thousand prisoners, fifteen thousand arms, two hundred ensigns, and all their cannon and baggage. These are prosperous beginnings of that Republic, and redound much to the honour of the English General Oliver, whom every body extols for a gallant man. And I can assure thee the Western Nations are not barren of Heroes.

Prin-

Principal Scribe of the Mussulmans, I wish thy heart may be a Transcript of the best Copies.

Paris, 1st of the 12th Moon,
of the Year 1650.

L E T T E R XI.

To Solyman Aga, Principal Chamberlain of the Womens Apartments in the Seraglio.

THESSE Tartars, of whom I spoke to thee in my last, are a strange sort of people in their manner of life. But we must not censure 'em because we are of kin. I speak not of myself; for though I am an Arab, yet the greatest part of those, who serve in the armies of the Grand Seignior, are descended from the Crims, I mean the Spahis and Timariots. Thou know'st the Originals of the Military Orders, and that they are more honourable than the Janizaries; who, being Strangers by Blood, are brought up to the Lure of the Seraglio. They know neither father nor mother (I speak to the tributary youths) nor have they any partial fondness for their Native Country. They are educated in a perfect resignation to the Grand Seignior, and his chief Ministers; yet often disobey both, and not seldom put 'em in hazard of their lives. How many Vizirs have been sacrificed to a cunning Janizar-Aga; who, to prevent his own ruin, has tempted those under his command to mutiny, and accept of no atonement for their pretended

grievances, less than the life of the first Deputy? The rigid Fate of Sultan Osman, uncle to our present Sovereign, will not be forgot by those who love the Ottoman Family better than these bastard Heretics. Shall the Empire of true Believers be ruin'd by these Renegades? Besides, their Discipline is extremely corrupted; they marry, and follow mechanical trades repugnant to the austere manners of the Primitive Guards, who are wholly attentive to martial exercise.

Were this to come to the hands of a Janizary, he would curse me to the Pains which have neither Medium or End. Yet I had once a friend of that Order, Cassim Hali, the chief Aga, a brave man, and of the same sentiments as myself: He sought to reform that disorderly Militia, but was oppos'd by the wise men in power. He would freely have sacrificed his own grandeur and interest for the good of the Mussulman Empire; but was over-aw'd by those who had no other interest but in its ruin.

Thou know'st who I mean. Neither am I a stranger to the heroic bravery of the faithful Solyman, when he bearded the Bostangi Aga, on that account. That Gardiner was of the Faction, being the son of a Janizary, and train'd up in all the Practices of the Seditious. It makes me ashamed when I hear the Infidels upbraid the Wisest of the Wise, the supreme Monarch on Earth with folly, for permitting this insolent and mutinous Soldier to continue in the Empire. And I tremble to think, that one time or other the renown'd Offspring of Ertogriel will owe its Ruin and Catastrophe to these disloyal Vipers, whom he cherishes in the Seraglio.

Much more assur'd is the French King of his Guards of Switzers; whose fidelity was never stain'd with the least infamous brand of perfidiousness, in taking up arms against their Master,
whose

whose bread they eat. These are necessary soldiers, who travel out of their native country to serve foreign Princes, and will shed the last drop of their blood rather than betray their trust. Three-score there are admitted into the Palaces, and nigh the Bed-chambers of the Pope and the King of France, with full confidence of their valour and integrity.

As for their Country, it is barren and poor, consisting chiefly of rocks and desarts; which occasions the youth, who are generally very strong and hardy, to seek their subsistence abroad, by serving in the Guards and Armies of neighbouring Monarchs and States.

Some regiments of the Switzers now serve in the Wars of Candy, under the Standard of Venice.

There are vessels arriv'd lately in some of the French harbours, which bring news of the ill success of our arms in the siege of Candia, the chief city of that Island. They talk, as if above two thousand Mussulmans were blown up in the ninth Moon; and that Chusaein Bassa, discourag'd by this loss, and with the inconveniences of the approaching Winter, was forc'd to raise the Siege in the Moon of October.

The French magnify the valour of the Knights of Malta, who signaliz'd themselves by many brave actions during this Siege: And if all be true that is related of these Christian Champions, we cannot in common justice deny 'em their due character, and number some of them at least among the Heroes.

Otherwise, we should come short of these Western Nazarenes in Generosity, who, with no less honourable expressions, extol the repeated courage and invincible constancy of the illustrious Chusaein, and the alacrity of all the Mussulman soldiers in the service of our great Master.

Yet they cannot forbear reflecting on the cow-

ardice of the Janizaries ; who, after that fatal blow, had they stoutly maintain'd their other posts, that brave Bassa would not so soon have quitted the siege of this important Place.

As for other news I have little to acquaint thee with, save a seeming calm at present in this Kingdom of France, which has, for the greatest part of the year, been harras'd with Civil Discords and Slaughter. Bourdeaux, the chief city which held out against the King, is now reduc'd to obedience, the pacify'd Monarch retir'd, and there is now appearance of Peace.

The Queen of Sweden, we hear, was solemnly crown'd in the tenth Moon of the last year, having declared for her Successor, Carolus Gustavus, Prince Palatine, and her cousin.

In the same Moon died the Prince of Orange ; and soon after the Count d' Avoux, a French Grandee, and Minister of State.

In the mean time I rejoice to hear, that my old friends are alive and flourishing ; and that the knot is not loosened which was tied in our Youth. May it continue firm to the Day of the Earthquake, and to a Term unlimited.

Paris, 29th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R XII.

To Kifur Darmelec, Secretary of the Nazarene Affairs at the Porte.

IN the name of GOD and his Prophet, what occasion hadst thou to send me such an angry letter; thou art thyself but a Slave, as I am, to the Slaves of him whose Throne is above the flight of the eagle? Dost thou think to frighten Mahmut into sordid compliance with thy ambition, whom nothing can terrify, so long as he preserves himself free from any stain of disloyalty? I tell thee, I'm another Achilles, invulnerable all over, save the Soals of my Feet, which are the Emblems of our most tender Affections. There thou may'st wound me with the soft arrows of pretended friendship. But, if once thou appearest with the naked face of an enemy, I'm presently on my guard.

Thou accusest me of many crimes whereof I was never guilty, loadest me with a thousand undeserved reproaches, and all to vent thy choler: Threatening me with revenge, because I once excus'd the lateness of my address to Minezim Aluph Bassa, then newly vested by our munificent Sultan, by laying the blame on the badness of the ways, or the insolence of soldiers, by whom the Posts are often intercepted in time of War: Or, in fine, on thy neglect in not supplying me with more early intelligence. Wherein 'tis easy to discern, That thou wert the last I would accuse to that Minister, though thou wert principally in the fault. For I was afterwards inform'd, That the Posts were neither retarded by any impassable roads, or stop'd by the Orders of

military men, but arriv'd here at their accustom'd seasons. Wherefore thou hast no reason to be offended at me, unless it be for the shortness of my accusation, and that it was defective in malice.

Thou would'st take it ill, if in my own defence I should complain to the Vizir Azem of thy frequent neglects in this kind. But I scorn to vindicate myself at the price of another man's disgrace and peril. Only I advise thee to forbear threatening. It is a reflection on thy prudence to menace a man who has no other resentments of thy passion, than to own himself oblig'd to thee for so open a discovery of it.

Would'st have the very spleen of my humour? I smile at thee. Thou hast made me as jocund as Democritus: If thou know'st not how I mean, he was a pleasant sort of a philosopher, to whom all human actions were objects of mirth. There was another whining Sage that perpetually wept. The most comical passages, and such as mov'd all men to laughter, drew floods of tears from his eyes: His name was Heraclitus. It is hard to determine which of these two was in the right. But I think I am not much in the wrong to be a little pleasant with thee: Perhaps it may put thee into a better humour. However, I would not have thee displeas'd with thyself for being of so peevish a disposition. 'Tis observ'd, That passionate men are always best natur'd, and free from secret malice. Choler is as necessary as our Blood: Without the latter we could not live; and, if we were void of the former, our Lives would be as unactive as that of Snails and Oysters: We should be absolutely Drones.

Hippocrates, the famous physician, says, This Complexion is the most noble of all the four, transforming Men to Heroes, one refining our earthly Mould, in a constitution like that of the
immortal

immortal Gods; whose Bodies, according to the Poets, consist wholly of an æthereal Flame.

Therefore be not discouraged, neither repine at a temper which ranks thee among those to whom Sacrifices are made. On the other side, take it not amiss from Mahmut, if he tells thee, he has not devotion enough to become thy voluntary Victim.

Yet if I cannot be so obsequious as to throw myself away by acknowledging crimes wherein I was never concerned, and for which I have a natural abhorrence; rest satisfy'd at least, That I will serve thee as far as I can, without intrenching on the duty I owe to the Grand Seignior. And be assur'd, I will do thee no harm, so long as thou observest that rule.

In fine, I advise thee to order thy steps like a man that is walking in the Bogs of Egypt, where, if he observe the Track of those who have gone before him, he may be safe; but, if his foot slips, he sinks in the Mire. Such is the Life of Courtiers.

Paris, 18th of the 2d Moen,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R XIII.

To Minezin Aluph, Bassa.

IN the beginning of the last year I sent thee a Dispatch, wherein I acquainted thee with the Imprisonment of three Princes of the Royal Blood of France; now thou shalt receive the news of their Liberty.

They were releas'd by an order from the King on the 13th Day of this Moon, and arrived in the city on the 16th, which was yesterday, attended by a numerous Cavalcade, consisting of some Princes, divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and, one would think, of half the Citizens of Paris. Even those who triumph'd last year, and made bonfires for their confinement, yesterday throng'd out of the city to welcome them home with acclamations of joy, and to congratulate their release. So fickle and inconstant a thing is the Multitude, driven hither and thither with every artificial declaration of Statesmen, or pretence of Faction.

But there were divers Princes and Noblemen, who, from the first hour of their being seiz'd, resolv'd not to leave a stone unturn'd to procure their freedom. The Grandees, that were their Friends, retir'd to their Governments, and rais'd Rebellions in the Provinces. All the kingdom was harras'd with Civil Wars. The Parliaments decreed against the Court; and there wanted not cabals of seditious Courtiers, even in the Palace of the King, to undermine the royal authority; which the Cardinal Minister thought to establish, by the imprisonment of the Princes. In all places the King's interest ran retrograde.

Thou wilt not wonder at this, when thou shalt know, that the Princes of France are not Slaves

to the King, like the Bassa's of the most serene Empire, who owe all their greatness to the sole favour of our magnificent Sultans. These Princes enjoy all that and more by inheritance, which our Grandees acquire only by their merits, and the smiles of their Sovereign. Hence it is, that their interest is rivetted in the hearts of the people, who revere the Blood Royal, in whatsoever channel it runs.

Therefore thinking men blame the Cardinal's conduct in this affair; saying, there was neither Justice or Policy in it. Indeed, if a man's wit is to be measured by the success of his contrivances, the censure of these people is true; for the Cardinal seems to have made a trap for himself.

As soon as he perceiv'd the King was prevail'd on by the importunity of his uncle, the Duke of Orleans and the Parliament of Paris, to release the Princes, and that they had at the same time earnestly begg'd of him, that this Minister might be removed from the Court; he suddenly pack'd up his moveables, and withdrew privately towards the place where the Princes were confin'd: Hoping, that, though he had lost his first point, yet he might make an indifferent after-game, by going in person to the Royal Prisoners, and assuring them, 'twas to him they ow'd their release; since it was in his power to carry them away with him, as also those who brought them the King's Mandate. For he travell'd not without a considerable guard.

'Tis said the Princes receiv'd him with seeming compliments and address of civility; promising their friendship to the Cardinal, now a voluntary Exile, and in a worse condition than themselves.

It is very strange, that so great a Minister, who inherited all that absolute Power which his Predecessor Richlieu had at this Court, should thus on a sudden abandon his fortune. But it is thought he is not gone to pick straws.

However, he had, by this timely flight, avoided the displeasure of seeing himself compell'd to depart by an Arrest of Parliament, which was publish'd within two days after he was gone; commanding him to depart the Kingdom within fifteen days.

The wise Minister foresaw this disgrace approaching, and therefore thought it more becoming his honour to depart of his own accord: Having still the advantage to reproach the State with ingratitude, in that they have reduced to such streights the man, by whose auspicious conduct, France has been elevated to an extraordinary Grandeur in Europe.

By this thou may'st comprehend, illustrious Bassa, that there's no Stability in human Greatness; but that the Wheels of a Courtier's life run thro' unequal Tracks, often sticking in the Mire of the Valley, and not seldom threatening to overthrow a man, and cast him headlong from the Precipice of a Mountain. Against these inconstant Turns of Fortune, I advise thee to be arm'd with Moderation; since no man can avoid his Destiny.

Paris, 14th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R X I V .

To Ifouf, his Kinsman, at Fez.

I Am glad to hear thou art alive. Thy letter came in a good hour; for I bear a true affection to those of my Blood, and have been particularly anxious for thee these many years. The sun has nine times measur'd the twelve Signs of the Zodiac, since I received thy last letter before this, or heard any news of thee. It seems thou hast travell'd a great part of the earth during that time.

'Twas kindly done of thee, to remember thy sick Uncle's request when thou wert at Aleppo, in making Oblations for his Health to Sheigh Boubac the Santone; and distributing Corban to the Poor, in honour of Syntana Fiffa.

Thou hast sent me a large and satisfactory account of thy Observations in Asia: Yet I am sorry thou hast not time to penetrate into the Religion and Secrets of the Indian Bramins. I am more ambitious to pry into the Wisdom and Learning of those Philosophers, than into any other Species of Knowledge whatsoever. Methinks 'tis pity the Records of so vast an Antiquity should be conceal'd from the rest of the World, and only known to those happy Priests. I protest 'tis impossible for me to think of it without envy: But perhaps it is the Will of Heaven to lock up those Mysteries in the remotest Provinces of the East, as a reward of their constancy, in adhering to the Traditions of their Father, which know no origin; as a reproach to all other nations, who,
in

in matters of Religion, have been mutable as the Winds.

I have convers'd with several Jesuits and others who have been in the Indies; but they seem to relate all things partially, out of a natural aversion for the Manners of the East; and I knew not how to disprove 'em, till my brother Pesteli Hali undeceived me. He has also visited those Parts, and resided a considerable time in China. It is a difficult thing for a traveller to keep himself within the bounds of truth in his relations; but I believe he has not exceeded. Thy Journal touches but lightly the Indian affairs, not having leisure, as thou tellest me, to observe much. However, thou hast made amends in thy relations of Persia, Tartary, and the Land of the Curds.

I depend much on thy promise of sending me a Journal of thy Travels in Afric. To that Quarter of the World I am much a stranger, not having met with any authentic relation of the Regions of the South.

It seems thou hast been in Æthiopia, Libya, Ægypt; and in fine, all over the Torrid Zone.

Historians tell wonderful things of these Parts: Herodotus mentions a sort of People in Afric, whose bodies are more venomous than Serpents. These affronted once at the Winds for driving the Sands of Libya into their Country, and filling up all their wells and streams, enter'd into a war against the kingdom of Æolus; but the South Wind met 'em in their march, and buried them under Mountains of Dust.

I do not represent this to thee as a truth, tho' related by that learned Grecian. Thou may'st repute it for a Fable, as I do, but let this passage be a hint that I expect from thee none but solid remarks.

It would please me to be assured of one thing,
which

which perhaps thou hast heard of when thou wast in Barbary. Very credible Authors report, that when the Phœnicians were expell'd by the Israelites, and driven into this corner of Afric, they set up two Pillars of Marble, whereon they engraved these Words, as a lasting Monument of their Expulsion: "WE ARE
 " A REMNANT OF THOSE, WHO FLED FROM
 " THE FACE OF JOSHUA, THE ROBBER, THE
 " SON OF NUN."

The first Invention of ships is by some ascribed to these People, whom necessity taught to seek rest on the unquiet Ocean; since the more turbulent sons of Jacob would not permit them to enjoy any repose on the land, having harras'd 'em from one place to another, till at length they drove 'em to the very Borders of the Earth. But thou knowest, the Chinese pretend to the Use of Ships, many thousand years before this depredation of the Israelites. Every Nation aims to be esteem'd the most ancient. And when there was formerly a dispute between the Egyptians and Scythians on this point, 'twas adjusted in favour of the latter. But the Chronologies of the Chinese and Indians far exceed all others in the world: For they seem to outstrip Time itself in Antiquity; at least, they transcend the common Date of the World's Creation.

I have heard a Traveller assert, that, as he was journeying through the Desarts of Libya, he discover'd an Altar of Stone, with this inscription on it, in Grecian Characters, " I, POLY-
 " STRATUS of ATHENS, HAVE CONSECRATED THIS ALTAR TO ALL THAT IS GOOD IN
 " HEAVEN; AND IF THAT ALL BE BUT ONE,
 " AS SOME SAY, MAY THAT ONE ACCEPT MY
 " VOWS."

I desire thee to inform me, whether thou hast ever seen or heard of such an Altar, when thou
 wert

wert in those Parts. You Travellers must expect this kind of trouble from your friends: Every body is naturally inquisitive, and desirous of Knowledge.

'Twill be acceptable also to send me an Abstract of the present State of Fez. I should be glad to hear of the health of Abdel Melec Muli Omar, the Superior of the magnificent College, in that City, built by Al' Habu Ennor, King of the Country. They say, it cost him two hundred and forty thousand Zechins.

'Tis added, That in Fez, there is a Mosque near half a League in circuit; in which are as many Gates as there be days in the Revolution of a Moon. And that the number of the pillars, which support it, is equal to the Year of the Hegira wherein it was founded; being encompassed also by seventeen high Minarets, besides innumerable Domes and Terrasses; having also 900 lamps burning in it by night, and 300 windows to let in the light of the day. The revenue of this famous Mosque is said to be 36500 Zechins a year. They relate many other things of Fez, and the Provinces belonging to it. Of all which I desire thee to send me a distinct account.

I had almost forgot one passage, which I have read in the Ancients, concerning a certain subtle African, whose name was Psaphon. This man had train'd up a Parrot, to repeat very frequently these words, "Psaphon is a great God." When the bird had perfectly learn'd his lesson, he let it loose; which being accustomed to a domestic life in a cage, fled not presently to the fields, but perch'd on the Temple of the town, where it was heard by the people to utter the aforesaid sentence aloud, and very often. They, ignorant of the quality of Parrots, and led with native Superstition, esteem'd it an Oracle from Heaven. Wherefore, immediately flocking to
the

the house of Psaphon, they offer'd Sacrifice to him, and in all respects treated him as a Divinity.

Whether this story be true or no, 'tis certain, Idolatry had no better foundation than artifice and lyes: Unless we shall conclude with the Poet, "That fear made the first Gods in the World." Cousin, Let there be frequent intercourse between us. It will be profitable to thee and me.

Paris, 5th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R X V.

To Kerker, Haffan, Bassa.

'TIS a custom in the Court of Rome, That every Nation of the West has a Protector among the Cardinals there, who are Princes of the Roman Church. Such I esteem thee, in the most exalted Court of the East.

Arabia gave thee thy first breath: But thy own merits have lifted thee up to the Dignity of a Bassa, a Prince of the Ottoman Empire, whose limits far exceed those of the modern, or even of ancient Rome.

'Tis from hence our countrymen address to thee, as to their patron, using thy power and mediation with the Grand Seignior in all their necessities.

Among the rest, wonder not that the humblest of thy slaves, Mahmut, the son of thy father's neighbour, falls at thy feet in a time of great distress,

trials, in the agonies of his spirits, the hazard of his fortune, and perils of his honour, which he values more than his life.

I complain not of the many repeated abuses and contempts I have received from some in the Seraglio, to whom it belongs not to meddle with things out of their Sphere, much less to discourage the faithful Agents and Missioners of the Grand Seignior. Yet the persecutions I have felt from their hands are such, as would drive another man, less patient of injuries, either to revenge or despair.

They have vilify'd all my conduct in this Station; reproach'd my best actions with the odious Character of Imprudence and Disloyalty; and misrepresented the smallest Peccadilloes (for which also I have the Mufti's dispensation) under the ignominious Title of Infidelity and Atheism. In a word, they thirst after my blood: nothing will satisfy their greedy malice, but my life.

I never was afraid to die, since I perfectly understood what it is to live. Nor can I be fond of protracting my breath, when my great Master shall please to call for a surrender of it, for whose service only it was given me. But it would render the Scene of my Death tragical, and strew my passage into the other World with Thorns, to be sent out of this, under the notion of a Traitor, who have acted my part without a real blemish.

Ikingi, that learned Tutor of the Royal Pages, was the first that broach'd this enmity against me; (for I have forgot the prevarications of Shashim Ishham, the black Eunuch, since the time he acknowledg'd his fault with much candour and ingenuity.) 'Twas that Athenian Sophist, who debauch'd the integrity of my cousin Solyman; and persuaded the unwary youth to enter into a conspiracy against his uncle. But I.

reprehended my kinsman's folly in one letter; and his answer, though late, convinc'd me, that he was not guilty of malice, so much as of rashness and credulity. I was extremely oblig'd to the Kaimacham for his benignity and friendship in this affair. The good old Minister had a real kindness for me, and took no small pains to penetrate into the causes of my Cousin's eager passion and malice against me. At length, he found it to be only the practices of Ikingi, who took advantage of Solyman's temper, equally loyal and flexible, insinuated into his youthful mind monstrous Ideas of me; and, in fine, set him a railing at me with a fierce kind of liberty where-ever he came. The wise Bassa soon open'd my kinsman's eyes, brought him to his sense, and the issue of all was, That Solyman writ me a letter of apology.

But, since this, the Master of the Pages has laid new trains for me, and drawn a great many more to his party. He has corrupted Mustapha Guir, an Eunuch, and Page to the old Queen; with whom I once held a correspondence, and friendship; but, it seems, it was only an appearance, without reality. I could give thee a long list of those, whom this Academic has taught to slander Mahmut; but I will not appear so revengeful: Besides, this is not the only grievance of which I complain.

Shall I remonstrate to thee, most excellent and serene Bassa, the true cause of my uneasiness? I am weary of living among Infidels. Favour me with thy assistance and intercession, that I may have leave to retire from this place, and vindicate myself before the faces of my enemies. And having had that honour, rendering also a just account of the affairs wherewith I am entrusted, I may visit my native country, and spend the residue of my days in Arabia,

bia, the scene of all our Prophet's great actions, the place where I first drew my breath. I languish for the aromatic air of Admoim, the crystal fountain, and cooler shades of that happy Province. I long to see the groves which encompass the Village of my Nativity, the turrets of thy father's house, and the Mosque of Hasen the Prophet; for tho' I took no notice of these things in my infancy, yet having once seen 'em in my riper years, when I was able to make more lasting reflections, I shall never forget these delightful objects so long as I live.

If this be an infirmity, pardon it, illustrious Arab, since it is natural to all men. Thou, thyself, hast enjoy'd the pleasure of re-visiting that sweet Region: Pity Mahmut, who burns with desire to taste the same.

Or if this shall be thought too great an indulgence to the poor exil'd Mahmut, yet it will be easy for thee, who art a favourite, to obtain of the Grand Seignior, that I may at least be recall'd from this Employment, and some body else substituted in my place. There are those among my enemies, who are ambitious of the fatigue; and Ikingi, my old friend, would exchange all the honours he is possess'd of in the Seraglio, for this obscure, yet hazardous post. 'Tis pity but such a man's thirst of perils should be gratify'd.

But if, after all that I have said, my Superiors shall think it expedient to continue me here, I am resign'd; only desiring, That from henceforth my slanderers may be suspected, as men ill affected to the sublime Port, for traducing a man that has waded through a thousand difficulties, temptations, and perils; and serv'd the Ottoman Empire in this Station fourteen years, without making a false step, or transgressing the least point of his instructions.

I hear

I hear that Chastain has been slain. The French have a very great opinion of his valour. They are generally impatient Critics in martial affairs, scorning to deny a brave Enemy his due Character.

We are at present barren of other news, save a new Arrest of Parliament against Cardinal Mazarini, and all his kindred and creatures; whereby they are declar'd Enemies of the State, and charg'd with a large catalogue of crimes, whereof perhaps they were never guilty.

Here are also some flying reports of the Cardinal's death; who, they say, has poison'd himself for grief of his ill success in this Court: But I esteem this only as the froth of his enemies malice, who really wish him dead; and, to discourage his friends, give it out that he is so.

Serene Bassa, I commit my affairs to thy protection; beseeching thee to do the office of a countryman and a friend, to the betray'd for GOD.

Paris, 26th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R X V I .

To Chusaein Bassa, the Magnanimous Vizir Azem, and Invincible General of the Ottoman Forces in Candia.

I AM not much above forty-three years old, yet have seen great changes in the World, mighty Revolutions in Kingdoms and States, and the Death of many sovereign Monarchs, illustrious Generals, and wise Statesmen. Doubtless, all sublunary things are subject to Vicissitude. There appears nothing constant and settled, but the Heavens and Stars: They indeed persevere in their immutable Courses, never change their Orb, nor start from their eternal Posts. The Sun rises and sets at his accustomed hours; and the Moon exactly observes the determin'd Periods of her Encrease and Wane: They vary only as the Seasons of the Year, with exquisite regularity and constant returns.

But, here below, there is an universal Transmigration and Metempsychosis of States, and Forms of Things; a perpetual flux and reflux of human events. Men die hourly, and others are hourly born to supply their places. One Age treads close upon the heels of another. And we, who live at present, as we walk in the steps of our Fathers, so shall we follow them down to the grave, where our Flesh, by a new Metamorphosis, shall be turn'd into the bodies of Worms, Insects, and Serpents; and what shall become of our Souls is uncertain.

I was born in the Reign of Sultan Achmet, from whom our present Sovereign is the sixth Emperor that

that has ascended the glorious Throne of the Ottomans. May God grant him a long life, and a Series of years blest'd with a continual health, and victory over his enemies. I pray Heaven also to perpetuate thy new Office to the last period of the Sultan's life; and, in wishing this, I say all that can be expected.

But when I reflect on the frequent and bloody Tragedies that have been acted in the Seraglio since I can remember; and the many Sacrifices that have been made of Sultans, Vizirs, Bassa's, and principal Ministers of State, besides the massacres and butcheries of meaner persons, it makes me melancholy amidst the joys I conceive for thy late Exaltation; and fills me with fears lest my good wishes to the Grand Seignor and thee, who art his right-hand, should, by some sinister Decree of Fate, be almost as soon disannull'd as pronounc'd. I pray Heaven avert my melancholy presages.

The death of the old Queen (the news of which is hardly arriv'd at this Court) does but revive and encrease my apprehension of greater Tragedies to come, because one act of cruelty still propagates another: Revenge is prolific, and mischief is never at a stand. 'Tis true indeed, as it is not decent to insult o'er the Ashes of illustrious Persons; so neither has a loyal Mussulman any great reason to mourn for the fall of a woman, by whose connivance her Royal son, and our late Great Master Sultan Ibrahim, fell a Sacrifice to the Musti's indignation. 'Twas an unnatural part in a Mother: And we may say, the divine Justice has overtaken her, in making her Grandson sign the Warrant for her Death, with the Consent of that very Musti, at whose Instigation she had consented to the murder of his Father.

Yet, after all, may she not have left behind her a party in the Seraglio, or at least in the State,

State, who will study to revenge her fall; or, however, do some mischief to prevent their own? Let me not seem to contradict my own arguments, and, whilst I plead against revenge and cruelty, appear an Advocate for those inhuman passions. I do not mention the surviving Creatures of this unhappy Queen, to excite in thee false sentiments of justice, suspicious Chimæra's of a possible Conspiracy, and to stimulate thee to punish them by anticipation for crimes of which perhaps they never will be guilty. I rather suggest these things, That, after so many Tragedies in the Royal Family, a stop may be now put to future mischiefs; lest, whilst men pursue a particular and self-interested revenge, the contagion shall spread, and Cruelty become universal and infinite.

Let it suffice, that no less than three of our Sultans have been depos'd and strangled within these thirty years: Not to mention the Deluge of Royal Blood that has overflow'd the private chambers of the Seraglio, the prisoners of the Ottoman Princes, brothers or sons to the Emperors formerly reigning.

These are barbarous cures of untimely jealousies; and it is pity that such royal massacres should ever be repeated again. Why should the Posterity of Ottoman be in this regard the only unfortunate Princes on earth? Were it not much more noble, and equally wise, to take the measures of Æthiopian policy, where, to prevent sedition and discords about Succession, the Princes of the Blood are confin'd indeed, but to a very pleasing liberty: Whilst they have palaces, parks, and large fields at command; are serv'd by a princely train, and deny'd no lawful pleasures within the Pale of their Restraint. For there is an exceeding high mountain in the country, the top of which is very spacious, containing large tracts of Ground, many beautiful Seraglio's furnish'd

nish'd with whatsoever can contribute to the enjoyment of these Princes, or at least to compensate for their want of greater liberty. This mountain is environ'd with a high and strong wall, having but one entrance, and that guarded by soldiers, so that no man can go in or out who has not the Emperor's warrant, or at least a permission from the Prime Minister of State: For he, upon the death of the Emperor, immediately calls a Council of the supreme Officers, who, from among these imprison'd Princes, chuse him whom they think most worthy to succeed. The rest, who never felt the appetite to reign (for they are carried to this place in their infancy, and kept in perpetual ignorance of State-Affairs) pass away their time without envy, or repining at the exaltation of their brother, addicting themselves wholly in the innocent delights of that rural life, or to the study of Books, whereof they have great plenty in their Libraries, and those altogether treating of matters of divine and natural speculation. Whereby, though they know nothing of State-Artifices and Intrigues of Courts, yet they become able Philosophers, and vers'd in all the liberal Sciences.

Would to GOD our Ottoman Princes (I mean the younger brothers) had but half this liberty granted them, then the Infidels would have no reason to call the exalted Port a Nest of Vultures.

But we must not find fault with the actions of our Sovereigns, though they tend to the scandal and ruin of the Musulman Empire. Yet I know to whom I write these things; having often heard thee declaim against this barbarous Custom of shutting up the Royal Offspring in a Dungeon, without light or comfort during their lives; which many times are also cruelly shorten'd by the hands of the Executioner.

But turning our eyes from the Tragedies of the East, let us fix them on the affairs of the Nazarenes in the West.

The chief discourse at present is about a marriage lately solemnized between the Emperor of Germany and the Dutchess of Mantua. She is his third wife successively; for Polygamy is not allow'd, even to the Sovereigns in these Parts, where the Priests bear all the sway.

The post from Sweden informs us of the death of General Torstenson, of whose exploits in Germany thou hast often heard. That Empire is very unfortunate, spending its time and vitals in unprofitable Assemblies and Consults; whilst her active enemies take whole Provinces from them with ease; but this need not grieve us.

Great Atlas of the Mussulman Empire, I wish thee the Continnence of Scipio, the Fortune of Alexander, and the Temperance of Cato; who, when he was marching through the sand of Lybia, with his Army, all ready to expire with thirst, and one of his soldiers brought him his helmet full of water, as a rare present in that general distress, gratify'd the soldier for his gift, but spilt the water on the ground, saying, That since there was not enough to satisfy the whole army, he would not taste a drop; and that he was unworthy to be a General, who would not endure as much hardship as the meanest Soldier.

Paris, 26th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

LETTER XVII.

To Nassouff, Bassa of Natolia.

PRaise be to GOD, Lord of the seven Heavens, and of all that is within their circumference: These Western Nazarenes are always a quarrelling. They are resolved to do their parts towards the fulfilling the Mussulman Predictions, and those of their own Prophets. It makes me smile to see these Infidels employing their arms against each other, contending about petty rights and possessions, whilst they neglect the general conservation and defence of Christendom, from the impetuous Torrents of our invincible Armies.

The Elector of Brandenburg is enter'd into the Dutchy of Mons, with considerable forces, pretending to adjust I know not what Differences between those whom they call Catholics and Protestants.

'Twould be too tedious for a letter to run back to the first Original of this War, and trace it down from above an hundred years ago to the present time. Besides, 'tis of no import to a Mussulman, to hear a long story of the marriages, deaths, heirs, and law disputes of these petty Infidel Princes. Yet, that thou may'st know something of it, I will relate the whole business as briefly as I can.

In the year 1546, William Duke of Mons, Juliers, and Cleves, married Mary, the daughter of Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany, and by this match obtain'd of the Emperor (whom they call Cæsar, as they did the ancient Em-

perors of Rome, whose Successor he pretends to be) some privileges, touching the Succession of his Children, and their Right of his Dominions; and particularly, that this vast Estate should not be divided, but rest in the entire possession of one Heir-male; or in default of that, it should descend to the next Female; which, as I am told, is a custom in Germany; that so the Grandezza, and authority of Princely Families may be supported.

I will not trouble thee with the particulars, which would take up a Volume. But in short it appears, that, notwithstanding all the strict provision that was, or could be made, this great Estate, after it had remain'd sixty years united, was at length divided between two Princes, both claiming an equal right to the whole; yet to prevent wars and effusion of blood, each was contented with Half. These were Wolfgang, Duke of Newburgh, and Ernest, Marquis of Brandenburg. In whose Families the parted Succession has continued to this day.

The occasion of the present quarrel is their Difference of Religion; the Duke of Newburgh being a Catholic, and he of Brandenburg a Protestant. It seems the Brandenburgers had formerly made inroads on those of Mons and Juliers, carrying away captive their Priests and Dervises from their Altars and Convents, and detaining them in servitude for many years, contrary to certain Articles that had been drawn up between them. They also us'd them with great cruelty, and committed a thousand insolencies on the Roman Imaums, where ever they got them in their power.

Thus their affairs continued, till the late Agreement at Munster. Since which time the Duke of Newburgh endeavour'd to free his subjects from their former calamities, and restore things to their ancient state.

The

The Elector of Brandenburg, making this an occasion of War, has now invaded the Dominions of the said Duke. He is not gone in person, but has sent a good soldier, whom they call Otho Spar, with four thousand men, to begin the campaign; who, 'tis said, will be follow'd by a greater army.

But, before he took the field, the Elector of Brandenburg had an Interview and Conference with the Duke of Saxony about this affair, who is also a Protestant: So that 'tis thought, no small disturbance will arise in the Empire. All joy and peace to true Believers!

He of Brandenburg has caus'd a Declaration to be spread abroad, full of specious pretences, that so his conquests may be the more easy. He talks of nothing but restoring the People of Juliers and Mons to their ancient liberties and rights, both in Civil and Religious matters, promising the fairest things in the world to those that obey him, and receive his armies with friendship: On the other side, threatening to treat those who resist him with the utmost severity that is due to traitors and rebels; and all this for the sake of two or three insignificant ceremonies and opinions wherein they differ; mere trifles, literal whimsies, the sport of their Doctors, the spawn of wanton and luxuriant brains. For no greater was the original difference between the Lutherans and those of the Roman Church. One will be saved by the strength of his Fancy, which he calls Faith, without doing any good Works towards it: The other toils all his life-time to merit Heaven, and thinks he can never do enough to obtain his end. He wears out the pavement of Churches, and makes the skin of his knees like that of the Camel, with perpetual kneeling and praying to Images and Pictures. And after all, they may be both damn-

ed for aught I know for their ill lives. They tear and devour one another like wild beasts, and think to gain Paradise by their unnatural zeal.

The Duke of Newburgh has publish'd a Manifesto against the proceedings of Brandenburg, and solicited the Duke of Lorrain's aid, as also that of Leopold Arch-duke of Austria. What will be the issue no man knows ; but oft-times a small spark kindles great fires : And it is not impossible, that this little feud may set the whole Empire in a flame.

Mighty Bassa, I pray Heaven blefs thee with Peace, Health, and thy due Revenue. If these be not enough to make thee happy, I wish thee an Increase of Honours, and all the glorious Fatigues which Mortals court as their Way to Blife.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Useph Bassa.

SUSPECT me not: I have an equal esteem for thee, as I have for the other Bassa's and Ministers of the Divan. But I find it difficult to please any. They are captious, and every one wou'd have all my Letters address'd to himself: As if I were plac'd here to serve particular interests, and not the public. However, I cannot but acknowledge the tacit honour they do me in being so covetous of poor Mahmut's correspondence. I wish I were in a condition to be more partial: Then I would quickly make thee and some others sensible, which are the persons for whom I have a peculiar regard.

But as the case is at present, I must observe the Instructions I have received; and by turns write to all.

Wherein, if I fail of Arithmetical Proportions, I will make amends by the Rules of Geometry: If I write but seldom to some, I desire that the length of my letters, and solidity of the matter, may be accepted as a proper supplement.

But thou hast no reason to complain on this score, unless it be with thyself for travelling into remote Countries, whither I know not how to follow thee with letters, or any other way. Besides, the former friendship, that has been between us, is a sufficient counterscarp against all suspicion of neglect on my part, who am a thousand times obliged to thee for

many repeated favours. For the sake of GOD therefore, and all that is good, wound my heart no more with these undeserved reproaches, but believe stedfastly, that Mahmut can never be ungrateful and false.

Thy letter is a miscellany of friendly complaints and compliments. Thou givest me a character to which I do not pretend. 'Tis true indeed, and I thank GOD and my good Stars for it, that I was not born blind, deaf, or dumb. Nature gave me my Senses free from any manifest defect; and I have an indifferent good Memory. When I was young I had an inclination to read Books; and fortune has since favoured me with many opportunities for that purpose. But I found the most profitable Study to be that of Myself, to which all the laborious pains of the Schools and Academies serve only as a certain gradation and discipline. Nay, without these a man may attain all the knowledge that is necessary to the accomplishments of his nature; for so did the first Philosophers, before Books or Letters were extant. If thou wilt be perfectly wise, read the ALCORAN, and the UNIVERSE; after that peruse THYSELF; thou wilt find matter of wonder and improvement in each; but most of all in the last; for Man is a Medley of all Things.

Were this lesson well learn'd and practis'd in the Court of France, there would not be so many little quarrels among these Infidels; or at least such petty Originals would not produce so many fatal Consequences.

From the first time the Prince of Conde with his brothers were releas'd from their Imprisonment (whereof I have given an account to Minnezim Aluph) there appeared much coldness in the Queen's reception of 'em, and their addresses to her. On both sides they were at a
last

lofs how to behave themselves, for all their civilities were forc'd. 'Tis true, there was a splendid umbrage of reconciliation; but it soon vanish'd. Their suppress'd passions discover'd themselves by degrees, and at length broke out into an open enmity.

The Queen appear'd full of condescension and favours: But young Conde is as full of his Merits and brave Exploits; remembering what Services he has done to the Crown. Besides he is not void of suspicion and jealousy, lest all those excesses of royal kindness are strain'd, only to render him more secure, and to entrap him a second time with greater advantage. The horror of his first Imprisonment is yet fix'd in his mind; from whence it will not be easy to efface it. Three principal servants of the Queen were banish'd to remove his fears; for he imagin'd them to be instruments of correspondence between the Queen and his old enemy Cardinal Mazarini. Yet she publish'd a Declaration, signifying, "That the Cardinal should be for ever banish'd, not only from the Court, but from the Kingdom."

And this Moon the King, being come of Age, invited the Prince to the Ceremonies usual on such occasions: Which Conde apprehended as a snare, and so fled out of Paris.

The event of these emergencies is yet in the sacred Pages of Destiny: But in all likelihood a Civil War will follow. People are whispering, caballing, and making parties of both sides. All the powder in Paris is engrossed and gone; but nobody knows by whom. Some say the Prince is posted into Flanders; others report, that he is retir'd to his own Government, there to raise an army. The most knowing aver, that, where-ever he is, he has two hundred thousand Sequins in bank

to give life to his designs, let them be what they will.

Think not this news of small importance, serene Bassa: But when thou hearest of the Civil Wars among Christians, especially in the realm of France, the first and most victorious Empire of the West, look on thy Right hand and on thy Left, for our holy Prophet, or his Herald is near at hand.

Paris, 23d of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R X I X.

To Solyman, his Cousin at Constanti-
nople.

THOU see'st what thy Libertinism has brought on thee. For my part I am sick in reading thy letter, full of melancholy, and the worst kind of Enthufiasm.

Hadst thou follow'd my advice: or, if that be contemn'd, hadst thou but obey'd the precepts of thy father, an honest man, and one that went down to the grave in peace, thou would'st have liv'd as happily as other men; but now thou art overwhelm'd with Hypochondriac vapours, and dreams of a filthy brain. I counsel thee to purge thyself with Hellebore; for thou hast more need of that than of Books. In all my life I never heard of such religious Nonsense from a Mussulman, as thy last letter is stuff'd with.

I have no patience to make repetitions, or answer

swer every particular Whimsy of thine. But in GOD's name, what makes thee fright thyself with such a wrong notion of Hell? It is a common Maxim in Nature, "That nothing violent is permanent." Either therefore the pains of the Damn'd are not infinitely Intense, or else they are not Eternal in their Duration. Thou wilt say, The Alcoran itself asserts the Eternity of those Torments. But dost thou understand the figurative manner of Speech us'd in that divine Book, and in all our Eastern Writings? Is it not common to call a very high mountain, "The Mountain of God?" As if all the mountains and valleys of the earth were not equally his. So, to express an uncertain length of time, 'tis customary to use the Epithet [Eternal]. Thus we in ordinary conversation say in Arabia, "I love you eternally; I will serve you, fight for you, &c. eternally;" and the same of the contrary Passions: And yet we all know we shall live but a few years.

But granting, that the Alcoran speaks in a literal sense; it does not follow, that those Pains are without Intervals of Reason. We read of the tree Zacon, which grows in the Center of Hell: But who will interpret what is understood by this Plant?

Cousin, make use of thy Reason, and practise the best Things. As for our condition after this Life, trouble not thyself; for no man knows what will become of him when he goes hence. However, we cannot believe the Supremely Merciful delights in Cruelty.

There is a Path which the Eagle has not wing'd, nor the Serpent trac'd, though 'tis obvious to both. But their own rashness blinds them, and they cannot discern the way of the wise. There are men of tow'ring speculations, and others very crafty; neither one nor t'other can grope out the direct road to Bliss. If I may advise thee,

let Nature be thy guide. Do nothing but what Humanity prompts thee to: 'Tis this alone distinguishes thee from other animals. Honour the Memory of thy deceased Parents, love thy Friends, and be generous to thy Enemies: Do justice to all men: Observe the Purifications and Prayers prescrib'd by the Law: But give no credit to the Fables of Infidels. It is common here among the Christians to paint Hell with horrid flames and Devils flying up and down with red hot prongs, to toss the Damn'd from fire to fire. And their Preachers make long and direful harangues on the same subject: When, all the while, neither they nor we know, what or where Hell is, or after what manner the Wicked shall be chastis'd.

Only the Illuminated of GOD have this Standard of Truth; that both our Pains and Pleasures after this Life, shall be exactly proportion'd to our Virtues and Vices. There is no Malice or Injustice in the good Creator of all things.

Cousin, once again, let thy senses be awake, and suffer not thy reason to dream of things which have no existence. For, assuredly, GOD is the most impartial Judge of the Universe.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R XX.

To Endel Al' Zadi Jaaf, Beglerbeg of Dierbekir.

I Have not the honour to know thee in person, but have heard of thy fame. So mortals are unacquainted with the secrets of the fixed Stars, yet we observe their lustre and rank, and the figure they make in those remote Worlds.

Thy exploits among the Curds and Georgians are not unknown in these Parts. The Franks, that travel in the East, have transported hither such a character of thy magnanimous actions as makes all men of honour in love with thee: And I have conceiv'd a particular veneration for thy virtues. May GOD encrease them with thy hours, and grant thee a Monopoly of Blifs.

Thou art placed in an eminent Seat, and may'st with reason be call'd Lord of Lords, as thy Title imports; for thou art Possessor of the terrestrial Paradise, if we may give credit to the Tradition of the Ancients. They tell us, That for a time Adam dwelt there with his second Wife; and that the particular place of his abode was an Island, encompass'd with the rivers Euphrates, Tygris, Pison and Gibon. From whence it was call'd Mesopotamia by the Greeks; which signifies, "A Region environ'd with Rivers."

All the West of Asia have a profound respect for this Country. And the Jews relate strange stories of a Tree in Dierbekir, which grew five hundred miles high in the days of Adam; which they say, was cut down by an Angel, lest Man should climb to Heaven by it before his time. For, it seems, Ambition was a vice early as our nature; and Adam was no sooner sensible that he was a Man, but he aspir'd to be a God, or something

thing like one. So great a charm is there in honour and authority.

They say also, that Abraham was born in this Region. However, 'tis certain, if there be any certainty in Records and Histories, that he resided there a considerable time. But thou knowest best what Traditions thy subjects have of these things.

The Chinese and Indians laugh at all this, as a Romance of later Date than their Chronicles, which makes those extremities of the East to be the Stage of the first Mortals. Instead of Adam and Eve, or Alileth, they assert the Names of the original Parents of Mankind to be Panzon and Panzona; whose Offspring, they say, continued ten millions of years; but at length were all destroyed from the Earth by a tempest from Heaven. After whom, they tell us, GOD created Lontizam, a man with two Horns, each as big and tall as a Tree in that country, which they call the Plant of GOD, being the largest and first of the Vegetables. This man's Horns being prolific, according to their Tradition, out of the Right sprang a thousand men every day for a hundred years; and as many women out of the Left in the same space. From whom descended all Mortals of both sexes to this day; though we are much diminished in bulk, thro' the general decay of human Nature. For these People affirm, That the first Race of Men were all Giants; but that, through intemperance and other vices, their Offspring shrunk by degrees into smaller dimensions, 'till at length they arriv'd at the present stature, and appear'd like Pygmies in comparison of the primitive sons of Lontizam. In confirmation of this, the Indians shew to Travellers some of their Temples hewn out of vast rocks, with the Images of those Gigantic men, who they say were employ'd in the work. These they honour as Heroes, or Demi-Gods.

I do not relate this for truth, but only to divert thee, in representing the different opinions of men.

GOD

GOD only knows how to separate the Truth from Falshood in Histories.

But to return to Dierbekir : This Country is famous for the Tower of Babel, built by Nimrod and his Followers ; at that time the Languages were confounded, as Moses relates. 'Tis remarkable also, for the Battle fought between the Parthians and Romans at Harran ; and for the death of Caracalla, the son of Severus, Emperor of Rome, who was murder'd by Macrinus, the Roman General. These Emperors were all call'd Cæsars, as the Kings of Egypt were call'd Pharaohs and Ptolemies. It seems, the word Cæsar was first apply'd to Julius the Roman Dictator, for that, his mother dying under the pains which were to give him life, her belly was ript up, and he drawn forth from her womb by the hands of a Surgeon, in memory of which, he and all his Successors were call'd Cæsars ; that word signifying [drawn forth by violence.] But howsoever the manner of his birth was, this is certain, That he, and forty of his Successors, were hurry'd out of the world by untimely deaths : For they either laid violent hands on themselves, or were murdered by Traitors.

If thou wouldest have any news out of these Parts, the chief discourse at present is, of a great victory obtain'd by the Polanders against the Cossacks and Tartars. And I could wish this were all : But the Nazarenes are continually made joyful with the success of the Venetians against the arms of the invincible Empire. They beat us by Sea, and baffle all our attempts by Land. We have not got an inch of ground in Candia, during the last Campaign, but lost many thousands of men, and brought the name of the sublime Porte and victorious Mussulmans, into contempt and scorn. Where the fault lies GOD knows. 'Tis too melancholy a theme to insist on particulars.

Don Juan of Austria has also besieg'd Barcelona by sea and land.

Several

Several Arrests of Parliament are here published against the Prince of Conde and his Adherents; and 'tis reported, the King will recall Cardinal Mazarini from his banishment.

Illustrious Prince and Governor of a happy Region, I beg thy favourable construction of this address. And thus, in reverence, I desist, full of dutiful and affectionate vows for thy prosperity.

Paris, 19th of the 12th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

The END of the Second BOOK.

L E T T E R S

WRIT BY

A S P Y A T P A R I S.

B O O K I I I.

L E T T E R I.

To Abdel Melech Muli Omar, President of the College of Sciences at Fez.

THOU hast formerly receiv'd a letter from me, wherein I mention'd the Tenets of a certain French Philosopher, who maintains that the Earth moves like the rest of the Planets, and the Sun stands still, being the Center of this our world: For he asserts that there are many.

The name of this Sage is Des Cartes, renowned throughout the world for his learning and knowledge. He lays as a Basis of all his Philosophy this short Position and Inference, I THINK, THEREFORE I AM. In this alone he is dogmatical, allowing a lawful Scepticism in all the uncertain

certain Deductions which may be drawn from it.

Pardon me, oraculous Sage, if I expose before thee my infirmities. I am naturally distrustful of all things. This temper puts me upon perpetual Thinking. And that very act convinces me of the Truth of my Being, according to the Method of the Philosopher. But what I am, I know not. Sometimes I fancy myself no more than a Dream or Idea of all those other things which men commonly believe do really exist; a mere imagination of possibilities. And that all, which we call the World, is but one grand Chimæra, or Nothing in Masquerade.

At other times, when these wild thoughts are vanish'd, and my spirits, tired in pursuit of such abstracted Whimfies, begin to flag, and that my lower senses, awak'd by some present pain or pleasure, rouse my sleeping appetites; when I am touch'd with hunger, thirst, or cold, or heat, and find experimentally I am something that cannot be a mere thought or a dream, but of a composition which stands in need of meat, drink, garments, and other necessaries; when, rather than fret myself with vain and endless scrutinies, I tamely conclude I am that which I call a Man; I lay the Sceptic aside, and without any farther scruples or doubts fall round to eating, drinking, or any other refreshments my nature craves for.

But no sooner have I tasted these delights, when my old distemper returns again. I then consider myself as a Being capable of happiness or misery in some degree: as I shall possess or want those very delights I just before enjoy'd. This is a sufficient damp to a thinking man, when he knows that he stands in need of any thing out of himself. But 'tis far greater, when he will take the pains to number all the train of his particular necessities, which he is not sure he shall always be able to supply.

This

This makes me presently conclude, that, as I am indebted to other creatures for my sensible happiness, so I owe my very Being to something besides myself. I examine my Original, and find I am born of men and women, who were in the same indigent circumstances as myself: And that it is not only so with my particular family, but with all mankind; our whole human race being born natural Mendicants from the Womb. As soon as we breath the vital air, we cry; and, with these inarticulate Prayers, beg for help and protection from others, without whose generous aid we could not subsist a Moment: So poor and beggarly a thing is man, from his birth: this is the condition of all: Neither is a King any more exempt from that common Character of Mortals, than the Slave who sweeps the Streets.

If I could have rested in this thought, I should have been happy: For it would have had this influence on me, either to convince me, that I ought to be content with the condition to which I was born, or, to rid myself out of so despicable a state by death.

But, alas! one thought produces another: And, from the contemplation of our present misery in this Life, I fall to thinking what will become of us after Death. For as we know not what or where we were before we came into this World; so there is no human certainty, whither we shall go, or in what Condition we shall be, when we leave it: And therefore, it would be an unpardonable madness, to throw myself headlong into a state of which I have no account. And to avoid the little miseries of this life, which must have an end one time or other, cast myself down a Precipice (for aught I know) of intolerable Torments, which has no Bottom.

I hear the Philosophers talk of Immortality, the Poets of Elisium, the Christian Priests of Heaven,
Hell,

Hell, and Purgatory; the Indian Bramins of Transmigration: But I know not what or which I have reason to believe of all these.

I speak after the manner of Philosophers, for, if we come to the Faith, the case is alter'd. Think not, I beseech thee, that I call in question the sacred Oracles, the Revelations of the Sent of GOD. But I only acquaint thee how my natural Reason hatters me with doubts.

I see men every where professing some Religion or other; paying divine Honours to some superior Being, or Beings, according as they have been educated: Which many times tempts me to think, that Religion is nothing but the Effects of Education.

Then I wonder how men, when they come to years of discretion, and their Reason is able to distinguish between things probable, and mere Romances, can still retain the Errors of their Infancy. 'Tis natural for children to be wheedled or aw'd into a Belief of what their Parents, Nurses, or Tutors teach them. But, when they come of age, they soon rectify their misled understandings, in all things, save the affairs of Religion. In this they are children still, tenacious of the sacred Fables of their Priest, and obstinate in maintaining them, sometimes even to death.

It puzzles me to find out the cause of so strange an effect, that men other ways endu'd with mature judgment, and an extraordinary sagacity in all things else, should yet be Fools in Matters of Religion, and believe things inconsistent with the common Sense and Reason of Mankind.

I could never give credit to the Histories of the ancient Pagans, which acquaint us with the devout Adoration they paid to the Creatures of the Painter or Carver, did I not see the same practised among the Christians; or, that those wise old men could swallow the forgeries of their Priests concerning the Gods and Goddeses, were
I not

I not an eye-witness how bigotted the modern Nazarenes are to the Legends of their Saints, and the Jews to those more ridiculous Figments of the Talmud.

It perplexes me to see Mankind generally labouring under so great a darkness, not so much the effect of Ignorance as of Superstition: To behold men well vers'd in Sciences, and all kinds of human Learning; yet zealous asserters of manifest contradictions in matters of Divinity, rather than oppose, or so much as examine, the Traditions of their Fathers.

When I behold Mankind divided into so many innumerable different Religions in the World, all vigorously propagating their own Tenets, either by subtlety or violence, yet few or none seeming by their practice to believe what they with so much ardour profess; I could almost think that these various ways of Worship were first invented by Politicians; each accommodating his Model to the inclinations of the People whom he design'd to circumvent.

But when on the other side I consider there appears something so natural and undisguis'd in the furious zeal and unconquerable obstinacy of the greatest part; I am as ready to join with Cardan, and conclude, that all this Variety of Religions depends on the different Influence of the Stars. This was a famous Philosopher in Europe; and held, that the Religion of the Jews ow'd its original to the forces of Saturn; that of the Christians to Jupiter; and ours to Mars. As for the Pagans, he assigns to them many Constellations and Aspects.

Thus there is so equal an appearance of truth and falsehood in every Religion, that I should not know how, in human reason to fix on any.

Superstition renders a man a fool, and Scepticism is enough to make him mad. To believe all
Things

Things is above Reason ; to give credit to nothing is below it : I will keep the middle path, and direct my Faith by Reason.

That Faculty tells me, That, if I were inclined to adore the sun, moon, and stars, for their beauty and influence, I might on the same ground worship my own Eyes, without which I could not behold their tempting splendors : Or, I might as well pay divine honour to that more intimate Sense my Feeling, or any of my other Senses which only render me capable to know the virtue of these Luminaries. The same may be said of the Elements, and all visible Beings.

What then shall I adore, or to whom shall I return thanks for all the Blessings I enjoy (for even in this miserable life I taste some happiness) ? To what Being, I say, shall I address my Vows and Supplications, for all the good that I possess and want ? Is it to any thing that I have seen or can see, or that I can represent to myself under a figure ? Is it to any part of the Universe, or no ? No. To the whole complex together ? No. I have a thousand kind thoughts for the sun, moon, and stars, for the elements, and many other compound creatures. My Soul, and that of the World, are Unisons. But 'tis the profound Depth of Eternity, the infinite, and immortal, who is the Diapason, and makes perfect harmony.

To that Being which has no Resemblance, neither is divided into Parts, nor circumscrib'd with Limits, whose Center is every where, Circumference no where, who hath neither Beginning nor End : To the only Omnipotent, from whom all other things flow ; and to whom they all return ; to whom I owe all that I have, and will pay what I can. And something by his determination I am indebted, and will discharge it to thee, Orient Light of the
Mo-

Morefco Muffulmans; that is, the Duty of an humble Slave, in begging Pardon for this Pre-
fumption.

Paris, 14th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1652.

LETTER IX.

To the Kaimacham.

TWAS the contemplation of Ifouf Eb'n Hadrill, an Arabian Philosopher, that all men were at first created in a State of War: For this Sage gave no credit to the Writings of Moses, the Jewish Historian, and Prophets; neither could any arguments persuade him to believe, That all Mortals descended from Adam. 'Twas an Article of his Faith, That in the Infancy of the World men were form'd of the prolific Slime of the Earth, impregnated by the vigorous Warmth of the Sun, and that all other Animals had their Original in the same manner: But that, in process of time, the richness of the Seminal Soil being exhausted by a continual spontaneous Production of living creatures, there was no other way to perpetuate the various kinds of Beings, and multiply the Individuals, but by the ordinary method of Generation. For which reason Nature seems to have subdivided every Species into two Sexes.

Hence this Philosopher concludes, That at first there was no nearer relation between man and man, than there is now betwixt a lion and a
sheep,

sheep, or any other different kinds of animals; saving only, That as these are distinguished by their Forms, in four footed-beasts, fowls, fishes, and creeping things, so men assum'd to themselves the character of rational creatures: And a Principle of Self-Preservation was the first ground of a tacit and common League between men, against the rest of their fellow-animals; especially against those, which made a more frightful figure on earth than we do, and seem'd more rapacious, and inclin'd to mischiefs; such as dragons, tigers, bears, lions, &c.

But notwithstanding this general association of our Race, against the more savage and fierce troops of Beasts; yet one man stood still upon his guard against another: And all the Sons of the Earth endeavoured to maintain the posts which nature had allotted each man; that is, the place where he was first form'd, and drew breath. But things could not last long in this state: For either by Instinct or Reason (call it which you will, says this Author) men being streighten'd for want of fruits, or spur'd on by some secret desire of novelty, soon went out of their bounds and encounter'd each other, more by chance than design: whence arose the first occasions of actual war: For every Stranger appear'd like an Invader; they naturally startled and suspected each other. Reciprocal passions of choler sprung in their breasts; and every man, to prevent the effect of his own fears and apprehensions, rush'd on his neighbour; who was, on the same ground, as ready for an assault as himself. Thus an universal War commenc'd in the World, which, by various methods of improvement, was carried on by the succeeding Generations, and continu'd to the present time.

As for the Original of Government, the particular time cannot be determin'd; but it may be suppos'd, that men generally finding the in-

convenience of these private personal combats, and by degrees arriving to greater maturity of experience, form'd themselves at first into little Societies and Friendships, or as they dwelt near one another, or as they agreed in some common inclinations, principles, and interests. From which small Associations they gradually spread into larger Communities, living under certain laws and obligations of mutual peace, justice, and assistance towards each other, and of defence against their common enemies: Some living under the form of a Commonwealth, others of a Monarchy; each Body of men setting up such a Model, as best suited their own interest and necessities. From hence sprung the distinction of Nations, Kingdoms, and Empires. Thus far the Arabian Philosopher.

But, without enquiring into the truth of his Principles, one would think, that some of the Western Nazarenes were his Disciples. And indeed all civil dissensions seem to be grounded on the same Maxims. Whilst men, on the least discontent or jealousy, lay aside the obedience they owe to their Sovereigns, claiming I know not what natural Right to defend themselves against the incroachments and usurpations of others.

Thus no sooner was it suppos'd here, That the King intended to recall Cardinal Mazarini from his Exile; but the Parliament of Paris, who are secret friends to the Prince of Conde, publish'd an Arrest against the Cardinal, whereby all persons are forbid to contribute towards the return of this Minister: And ordering, that his Library, with all his moveables, should be sold, to raise a sum of a hundred and fifty thousand Livres; which is promised as a reward to those who shall either take him prisoner, or kill him. They also petitioned the Duke of Orleans to make the utmost use of his authority against the Cardinal; who thereupon raised considerable troops,

and gave the command of them to the Duke of Beauford.

In the mean time the Cardinal is not idle, but, with what force he has, performs some considerable action in his own defence. He has taken Prisoner an eminent Counsellor of Parliament. The Parliament sent a Trumpet to demand his release. This messenger was rejected. Whereupon the Parliament are taking new methods.

The Prince of Conde has sent a letter and request to the Parliament, desiring them to suspend the Execution of the Arrest publish'd against him; since the time given him to lay down his arms was not yet expired, and that the Cardinal was returned into the Kingdom, contrary to the Prohibition sign'd by the King.

But, notwithstanding all these traverses, Mazarini is come again to the Court, which is now kept at Poitiers; where he was received with infinite respect and caresses, by the King, the Queen, and all his friends. Animosities daily increase between the different parties: Private grudges are improved to public factions: An universal peevishness has possess'd the hearts of the French nation: They are alarm'd and offended at one another's looks. If a man smiles too much, or too little in conversing with his friends, 'tis enough to give him the character of an enemy, or at least to render him suspected. So that he, who would live peaceable here at this juncture, had need to be well skilled in all secrets of Physiognomy, and make frequent use of his looking-glass; lest an oblique cast of his eye, or satirical wrything of his nose, should be interpreted for symptoms of hidden malice. For now they'll spy Treason in every feature of a man's face.

As for me, when I go abroad, I conform to all companies yet alter not my Address; I neither
play

play the Ape, nor counterfeit a Statue: But observing a Medium, I pay a civil respect to all, without being courtly or rude; for this carriage best suits with my circumstances. Hence it is that nobody suspects the plain, deform'd, blunt, crook-back'd Titus of Moldavia, to be what I am really, Mahmut the Slave of the exalted Port.

Paris, 14th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1652.

L E T T E R III.

To the Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary
of the Ottoman Empire.

THE Prince of Conde's taking up arms has more puzzled the counsels of the King of France, and more embarrass'd his affairs, than any occurrence that has happen'd since the death of his father.

I have already inform'd the Kaimacham and others of all passages hitherto relating to these intestine Broils; since which they seem to be improv'd into a War, wherein foreign nations take a part. After the return of Cardinal Mazarini to this Court, the Prince of Conde was driven to great streights; being compell'd by the swift marches of the King's army to retire to Bourdeaux: Where, considering that it would not be so much his interest to keep this place, as to encrease his forces, he sent Envoys to the King of Spain, and Arch-duke Leopold in Flanders, to desire their assistance.

The former immediately dispatched away orders for a considerable body of men to approach the confines of Gascoigne, where the Prince had a

great interest ; and the latter sent him eight thousand men, to act on the side of Flanders, and toward Paris, as occasion offer'd.

This is the particular game of the Spaniards, to take advantage of the Civil Wars in this kingdom, that so, by assisting the weaker party, they may balance the contesting power of the nation, and keep 'em in a perpetual quarrel ; whilst in the Interim they gain ground, recover the places which the French took from 'em in time of domestic peace, and so pave the way to new Conquests.

In the mean time the Parliament sent Deputies to the King, beseeching him to remember his Royal word, by which he had for ever banished Cardinal Mazarini, and representing to him the fatal consequences which were like to proceed from his return. But the King, instead of complying with their request, caus'd an Edict of Council to be publish'd, which justify'd his conduct in this matter.

He also writ a Letter to the Parliament full of complaints, that they had not yet publish'd any Order to hinder the entrance of a Foreign Army into the Kingdom. But all signified nothing to men passionately bent to maintain the Prince of Conde's quarrel against their Sovereign. He has but few trusty Men in that Senate, and they are over-aw'd by the rest. Besides, the Duke of Orleans bears a strange sway, both in the Parliament and Country.

At the instigation of the Prince, the citizens of Orleans shut up their gates, when they heard the King was coming that way in his return to Paris : Yet the country was open for the Prince of Conde a subject : he travell'd up and down the Provinces to make new interests, and confirm the old, leaving the command of his army in Gascogne, to his brother the Prince of Conti.

There have been many skirmishes and encounters between the King's forces, and those of the Male-

Male-contents, and one fierce combat, wherein the Prince of Conde defeated the Vanguard of the King's army, as he was marching to this city: Whereby, getting the start of his Sovereign, he arriv'd here and was receiv'd in the Parliament, whilst the Monarch was forc'd to lie encamp'd in the field.

The Prince found a different reception, according to the various humours of people: The greatest part favour'd him; and he receiv'd infinite caresses from the citizens of Paris: But met with some opposition from persons of higher Rank, and more stedfast Loyalty to the Crown. The Duke of Orleans is his greatest friend, and one for whom the Parliament have a great deference: Not so much in contemplation of his wit and policy, as for the sake of his near relation to the Crown, he being uncle to the present King: Whereby he has a right to assume more authority than others, in regulating the disorders of the Court; among which the greatest is esteem'd that of Cardinal Mazarini's return.

In a word, both parties serve themselves of those who have the greatest interest, and are most likely to compose the quarrel. The exil'd Queen of England and her son, who have taken sanctuary in this Kingdom from the persecutions of their own subjects, make it their business to mediate between the Court-party and the faction of the Princes.

The Prince of Conde also sent Deputies to the King, to represent to him, that the only means to give quiet to the State was to banish the Cardinal Minister: And, as they were delivering their address, Mazarini came in, at the sight of whom they aggravated their charge, and said to his face, "That he was the cause of all the EVILS which the kingdom suffer'd." The Cardinal, interrupting them, turn'd to the King, and said, "Sir, It will not be just that so flourishing a
I 3 " kingdom,

“ kingdom, and to whose grandeur I have con-
 “ tributed all that lay in my power, should ruin
 “ itself for my sake; therefore I humbly intreat
 “ your Majesty to grant that I may return to my
 “ own country, or whithersoever my fortune
 “ shall call me. No, no, replied the Queen (not
 “ without some passion) this cannot be granted:
 “ The King had never more need of your coun-
 “ sels than at this juncture: We cannot consent,
 “ that so serviceable a man should be banish’d on-
 “ ly to humour his enemies; therefore let us hear
 “ no more of that.”

The Deputies, perceiving nothing of hopes, re-
 turn’d to Paris. Then the Parliament deputed
 others to go to the King, and remonstrate the de-
 plorable state of the Realm. This was done a
 few days ago.

In the mean time, we have been alarm’d here
 in the city, with daily insurrections of the mul-
 titude. The occasion was, some private orders
 which the Duke of Orleans had given to the Pro-
 vost of the Merchants, relating to his charge, and
 the welfare of the city. This being misunder-
 stood by the people, who have not the sense to
 distinguish the good offices of their Governors
 from injuries, put ’em all into a tumult. They
 assaulted the Provost in his coach, as he was
 passing the streets: And, had he not escaped into an
 Apothecary’s shop, they would, perhaps, in their
 fury, have torn him in pieces; for so they served
 his coach, as an after revenge.

I am weary of beholding the malicious quar-
 rels of these Infidels. But when I consider, that
 their discords will be instrumental to the future
 conquest of the true Believers, I am patient and
 resign’d.

However, ’tis one comfort to me in this thorny
 Station, that one time or other, instead of the
 perpetual jangling of bells in Paris, I may again
 have the happiness to hear the Muezzins cry on the
 Minarets in Constantinople, “ There is but One
 “ God,

“ God, and Mahomet his Prophet.” Or if I shall not live to enjoy this wish, yet, in the invisible State, I shall hear the same cry, and shall be past doubt of those things, whereof I have no certainty in this life.

Paris, 29th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

L E T T E R IV.

To Cara Hali, Physician to the Grand Signior.

THE Christians seem to have too proud an opinion of themselves, and set a greater value on human Nature than suits with reason. They assert, that all things were made for man, and stile him Lord of his Fellow-Creatures; as if God had given him an absolute dominion over the rest of his Works, especially over the Animal Generations, and that all the birds of the air, beasts of the earth, and fish of the sea, were created only to serve his appetite, and other necessities of life. I remember a letter I formerly sent to thee, wherein I discoursed of the Cartesian Philosophers, and their contempt of the beasts, in denying them Souls, or the Use of Reason.

Give me leave to entertain thee now, and divert myself with some farther remarks on this subject. 'Tis a refuge from melancholy, when I can thus freely discover my thoughts to a friend, who I know will not be partial to the truth.

I have been long an advocate for the Brutes, and have endeavoured both to abstain from injuring them myself, and to inculcate this fundamental point of justice to others. This is owing to the

Example and Philosophy of Mahummed, the Eremitic in Arabia, that Light and Glory of religious Men. And, were it not that my humour is to be doubtful in all things, the influence of his conversation would make me a profess'd Pythagorean, a Disciple of the Indian Brachmans, a Champion for the Transmigration of Souls.

The last Letter, save one I writ to that Solitary, was upon this subject; such a one as would divert him in his Cave. It contain'd an account of the primitive manner of life, practis'd by the Ancients, a Narrative of the Golden Age, a History of human Innocence, and the Steps which men first took to use Violence and Cruelty to their Fellow Creatures. Now I will present thee with some additional observations, some remnants of some antiquated truth, glean'd from Philosophers and Historians, and winnow'd from the Chaff of Error and Superstition.

Who would not believe the Beasts to be endued with Reason, when he beholds them perform all the actions of rational creatures with more caution, though less pride than men? They are more provident than we, and much more subtle in avoiding any affliction or danger. Witness Thales the Philosopher's Mule, which he often employed to carry salt to a certain market; but the cunning Beast, finding herself over-loaded, when she was passing through a river, lay down, whereby the water, penetrating into the sacks of salt, melted it away, and lightened her burden. And this was her constant practice, 'till the Philosopher, perceiving himself thus out-witted by his Beast, was resolv'd to circumvent her another way. Wherefore, instead of salt, he loaded her with wool, which he knew would grow heavier by being wet. But the wary Mule, sensible of the difference of her burden, would couch no more in the water; but, seeing no other remedy, went forward on her journey.

Who will not admire the wisdom of the Fox in cold Countries, which the inhabitants use as a guide

guide when they would pass over any frozen lake or river? For this creature going before them, lays her ears close down to the ice, and listens to try if she can hear any motion or noise of the water running underneath; which if she does, she will not venture on the ice; but, if all be still, then by a logical Deduction she concludes the ice is thick enough to bear passengers; and so she leads the way, whilst the men follow.

When a dog is hunting in the thick woods, and by chance comes to a place where three paths meet, he first scents the one, then the other; and perceiving, that the game is not gone by any of those two ways, he throws himself swiftly forward in the third, without such a particular application of his nose. Which is an evident argument, that he makes use of the like choice we ourselves should do.

And now I have mention'd this creature, I cannot forbear celebrating their virtue and fidelity, whereof we have daily experience; and there are many pleasant examples recorded by grave Historians.

Such is that of Hyrcanus, a dog belonging to Lyfimachus, who would never depart from the body of his dead master, but, following to the Funeral Pile, leapt'd into the fire, and was burned for company.

But the gratitude of a Lion to a certain Slave in Rome, is beyond all parallel. This Slave was one of those who were appointed to combat with wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, in the public shows which were exhibited to the people. As soon as the Lion was let loose in the pavement he ran furiously at the Slave; but, coming nearer, he stopp'd on a sudden, as one astonished: Then he came gently towards the Slave, fawning upon him, and licking his hand, which caus'd all the people to give a shout. The Emperor being present, and taking notice of

the seeming friendship and acquaintance that was between the Slave and the Lion, sent for the Slave, and enquired the occasion of so strange an accident. To whom the Slave made the following relation.

“ My name, said he, is Andredus, and I am
“ Slave to a certain Proconsul, who having deter-
“ min’d to kill me, I made my escape, and
“ hid myself in a cave; where I had not lain
“ long, before this Lion, which you now see,
“ came in, being very lame of one foot. As
“ soon as he espy’d me, he came limping to-
“ wards me, and stretched forth the paw that
“ was wounded, as though he begg’d of me
“ to ease him. Affrighted as I was, I took
“ his paw in my hand, and pull’d out a great
“ ragged thorn which stuck fast in it. Then
“ I washed the wound with my own water,
“ whilst he lay very patiently ’till I thorough-
“ ly dress’d it. The ease he found by my ap-
“ plication made him fall asleep; and when he
“ awak’d, he lick’d my hands, and shew’d other
“ signs of affection and gratitude. I lived with
“ him thus three years in that cave, and every
“ day he brought me a share of his prey, on
“ which I sustain’d myself. But at length tir’d
“ with this manner of life, I took my oppor-
“ tunity when he was gone abroad to make
“ my escape. I wandered up and down three
“ days; when a company of soldiers meeting
“ with me, and knowing to whom I belong’d,
“ took me, and brought me hither to my old
“ Master, who has condemn’d me to this cruel
“ death. But it seem’d fortune to order’d it,
“ that this Lion should be taken about the same
“ time, and appointed to be my Executioner
“ this day. Yet you see he refuses to per-
“ form his office out of gratitude to me for my
“ former kindness.”

The Emperor, astonish'd and pleas'd at this passage, gave the Slave his life and freedom, bestowing also the Lion on him, which brought him in a constant livelihood, by shewing him to all people; who, having heard of this wonderful accident, were desirous to see both the Lion and his Tenant, for so they styl'd the slave; and some call'd him the Lion's Physician.

I should think I had said enough already to tire thy patience, and make thee forswear reading my letters for the future, were I not well acquainted with thy Genius, and know that thou delightest in relations of this nature, being no enemy to the harmless brutes.

Whatever thy sentiments are towards these, I dare be sure thou art my friend, and wilt bear with my importunity, when I strive to convince all men, and confirm myself in this truth, that the wild Beasts are not void of Reason and Moral Virtues.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

LET.

L E T T E R V.

To the Captain Bassa.

IN the Name of God, superlatively indulgent and benign, Lord of Armies which cannot be number'd, Conservator of the Empire founded on his own Unity; praise be to Him that has neither Beginning nor End! What is the reason that we are always baffled by the Infidels? Every year our august Emperor sends out mighty Armies by Land, and our Fleets by Sea are term'd INVINCIBLE, yet they are still overcome by the Christians. Where the fault lies is best known to thee, and the Generals, to whom the command of all is committed.

My spirit is disquieted about these things, and I am uneasy by day, neither does the night afford me any repose. This hot weather I go up to the terrass of my house at the hour of sleep, thinking that the coolness of the air would incline me to rest; but I can find none. I turn myself on the leads to the right hand and to the left, yet all postures are alike. Sleep has abandon'd my eyes. My Zeal for the Empire of the Faithful will consume me.

One night I made solemn preparations to welcome the first appearance of the Moon, after the manner of my countrymen. I sprinkled water on the floor of the terrass, and with a new besom swept away all Uncleaness: I fill'd a lamp with the most precious Oil I could get in Paris; which having lighted at
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the going down of the Sun, I placed directly on that part which is nearest to Mecca. Then I fell on my face and prayed the eternal Source of Light, "That at the moment, when the Moon first ascended our Horizon, an intellectual splendor might shine in my breast; that I might there, as in a Mirror, behold the future Fate of the Mussulmans, and the Events which as yet were hid in the dark Womb of Possibility."

My petition was granted. The Night was in her shady course, the Stars on their watch, and Time, as from a Limbec, distill'd the silent minutes, 'till the moment wherein the neighbour Planet first peep'd on the tops of the mountains. At that instant I saw and heard things (or at least I thought so) which I never so much as dream'd of before, neither can I remember the thousandth part.

Believe me, supreme Commander of the Marine, I do not boast or joy in this: For I think, there can be no greater affliction than to be once made partaker of such a bliss, and then to lose it almost as soon as gain'd. Yet there are some foot-steps of the Vision remaining on my Memory.

"Methinks I beheld armies of Mussulmans (for I thought 'em to be such by their Turbants) making several descents on the shores of Italy: Methought I saw them prostrate themselves on the ground; and, after a considerable space of silence, the air eccho'd with the sound of Allah, Allah, much like the noise of great Cascades, or Falls of Water.

"Then they seem'd to disperse themselves all over the country in divers bodies. The inhabitants of Rome appear'd all in great consternation: The chief Musti of that place went forthwith into the streets, followed by his Cardinals and Dervises, accompanied by
"an

“ an innumerable multitude of people. They
 “ carried their Gods of gold and silver along
 “ with them; and being apparelled with gar-
 “ ments of coarse hair, they sprinkled ashes on
 “ their foreheads in token of their humility, and
 “ to pacify the indignation that was kindled
 “ against them.

“ But Heaven was deaf to their clamorous
 “ vows, neither could all the pomp of their su-
 “ perstitious solemnity dazzle the eyes which are
 “ a thousand times brighter than the Sun, pene-
 “ trating into the darkest corners of the heart.
 “ In a word, these Infidels seem'd a while after
 “ to be in a great confusion and hurry, run-
 “ ning this way and that way to hide their goods,
 “ and save themselves from the victorious Stran-
 “ gers. In fine, I saw the Crosses taken down
 “ from the Minarets of the Mosques in Rome,
 “ and Crescents advanced in their place.”

I do not relate this, as if I gave credit to Visions and Trances: Perhaps all this might be but a waking Dream. Yet such visionary entertainments happen of course to our countrymen, when they observe the aforesaid Ceremonies. But I tell thee, I am not asleep at this moment; and yet it appears to me a very probable undertaking, for the Mussulmans to fit out a mighty Fleet, which, having a sufficient army of land-men aboard, might deliver them with little or no opposition, on some of the wealthy shores of Italy: And it is not thought worth the labour to make new conquests, which would be difficult to maintain; yet at least our soldiers, by plundering only the rich Temples and Convents of the Nazarenies, might carry away inestimable treasures.

I wrote formerly to one of thy Predecessors about the same matter, proposing the surprize of Loretto, as a very easy attempt, and that the booty would infinitely surpass the expence and trouble:

trouble: But Mahmut's advices are never regarded 'till 'tis too late. We squander away thousands of men, and millions of money, to purchase little insignificant Islands, which are defended indeed with seeming vigour by the Christians, but 'tis rather to amuse us, than out of any real value they have for those places.

It is only a maxim of Western Policy, thus to give diversion to the arms which are destin'd to subdue all Nations. They sport themselves, to see the flower of the Eastern Militia consum'd in their trenches, before the impregnable fortress of Candia, which, if won, will not quit the cost of so tedious a siege. Whereas, in half that time, our invincible forces might have over-run all Italy.

Thou wilt not think this an impracticable enterprize, when thou shalt consider the divisions of the Italian Princes, the universal security and voluptuousness of the inhabitants, and yet the oppressions and tyranny they live under, being fleec'd and poll'd of all their substance, to maintain the Grandeur of their Governors, and the Pride of the Clergy; which renders 'em equally disgusted at their present slavish manner of life, and desirous of a change. It is not hard to surmise, after all this, that a conquest would be easy to the victorious Mussulmans; or at least, such depredations would mightily enrich them.

The most proper news that I can send thee, is of a combat lately fought at sea between the English and the Dutch. The Generals on both sides are said to be brave men. He of Britain is called Blake; the other's name is Trump. Which had the best or't, is not certainly known: Men speak as they are byass'd. Yet the Dutch lost two ships in this Engagement, tho' their Fleet was far more numerous than that of the English.

If I were worthy to advise my Superiors, I would propose some notable exploit by Land; for GOD has given the Earth to the true Believers; but the Sea to the Christians.

Paris, 14th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

L E T T E R VII.

To the Kiaya Bey, or Lieutenant-General
of the Janizaries.

I Had once a great intimacy with Cassim Hali, the brave Aga, who is now no more on earth; that honest old General merited all mens love: Follow thou his example, and in time his post will fall to thy lot. Thou art already in the advance to it; let no airy vice make thee giddy, and give thee a fall. 'Tis a common Aphorism, That Health, long Life, and Honour descend from above. But if they do, I tell thee, 'tis like the rain, which only then does good, when it penetrates the earth, and moistens to the root. An humble Heart is like a kindly Mold, receiving the dews of Heaven with advantage and profit; but Pride is a Rock, which spatters away the Blessings shower'd down on it.

Perhaps thou wilt be affronted at my blunt way of writing: Yet assure thyself, I honour thee more than a thousand flatterers. I am not sent hither to study nice expressions, but to serve the Grand Seignior with integrity. Besides, I know thou hast not been accustom'd to the soft
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Entertainments of Ladies chambers, but the rough Dialect of War. It is thy honour to be unacquainted with the delicacies of discourse, diet, or dressing; things only fit to enervate a man's courage, and change his heart into that of a woman. Thou knowest how to handle the Cuirass and Lance, the Sabre and Shield, the Bow and Gun; and art perfectly vers'd in all the Military Terms of Art. A discourse of sieges and campaigns, storming of forts, and plundering of camps, is more agreeable to thee than all Tully's Oratory, or the finest strains of the Persian Poets. I am therefore confident thou wilt not take it ill, that I address to thee in a style void of artifices, yet full of real respect and love.

If I counsel thee, 'tis for thy good; and I am commanded to express my sentiments with freedom. Besides, I have a personal privilege to advise thee, the Right of a friend; which thou wilt acknowledge, when I tell thee, that I once had the happiness to save thy life, as we travelled together in Arabia.

Thou canst not but remember that passage: and how that, in heat of youthful blood, thou had'st provoked an Emir to kill thee in the fight of the whole Caravan, had I not fallen at his feet, and told him, thou wert a stranger to the Customs of the Country.

Believe me, I do not reproach thee with this, but only make use of it, as an argument to convince thee, That the same motives which prompted me to interpose myself at that time between thee and certain death, induce me now to give thee warning of a Precipice, of which thou art in danger. Every one gives thee the character of a brave man; and nobody likes thee the worse, for being of an Air as fierce as a Tartar. All this becomes a man of the Sword; and they say, thou dost every thing with a martial grace.

But

But I am told likewise, that thou art guilty of avarice: And that, for the lucre of Presents, thou enrollest men in the List of the Janizaries, who are not fit to serve in the Wars; such as are house-keepers, persons entangled with wives and children, with debts and other incumbrances; that they only appear on certain days in the military habit, and then return to their domestic business without ever regarding the Discipline of the Royal Chambers, or thinking themselves obliged to learn the Art of War: That thou in the mean time takest their Pay, and many additional bribes, whilst they are only contented with the Title and Privilege of a Janizary, to shelter themselves from justice, and protect them in their rapine and villanies.

I tell thee, should this be known, and proved against thee, it would be thy ruin: But I hope better things, and that these are only the surmises of thy enemies. For thou knowest, That none ought to be admitted in that ancient Order, but the Tributary Sons of the Nazarenes: Who, being in their Infancy listed in the Colleges know neither Father nor Patron, save the Grand Seignior, who is the common Parent and Protector of the Osman Empire. On his service is all their zeal and courage fixed, having no private bias, or partial inclinations, to warp them from the fidelity they owe their great Master. They are devoted to indefatigable toils and hardships during their whole life.

This was the first Institution of the Janizaries, though through the corruption of the times, they have much degenerated from their primitive Rules. But thou, who art honoured with an high Command, wilt signalize thy virtue and loyalty, in reforming these abuses, and not suffering the College of Men of War to become a Receptacle of Rogues and Drones.

Such

Such disorders as these have promoted the intestine Broils of this Kingdom; I say not that they are the original Causes; yet 'tis a great diminution of Sovereign Majesty, when a King shall find his own armies fighting against him, as they do at present here in France. How many mutinies and rebellions have been rais'd by the licentious Janizaries at Constantinople; when, laying aside all respect and duty, they have not spar'd to violate the Seraglio itself; but entering within those sacred walls with bands of armed men, have turn'd all things topsy-turvey, seized on the imperial treasure, chang'd the domestic officers of their Sovereign, and sometimes chas'd him from his own Palace, to the hazard, if not to the loss of his life.

If thou would'st know what they are doing here in France, the Men of Arms are cutting one another's throats, whilst the rabble are burning their neighbours out of their houses.

Two days ago, the Multitude assembled in the streets, and, having beset a certain Palace in this city, they put fire to it, resolving to kill all that should attempt to make their escape out of the flames. A person of Quality, coming out to pacify them, fell a Victim to their unbridled rage: And had not the Duke of Beauford (of whom I have often made mention in my letters) interpos'd his authority, they had murder'd all that were within those suspected walls.

Sometime before this, the Marechal Turenne took a place of strength from the Prince of Conde; who in lieu of it took St. Denys, a town not far from Paris, wherein there is a Temple, which, the French say, is the richest in Europe. But they are laugh'd at by the Italians, who boast of far richer Mosques in Venice, Milan, Naples, and Rome.

The Duke of Lorraine plays fast and loose with
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the Prince of Conde. He enter'd the Kingdom with an army, pretending to espouse the Prince's quarrel, but was quickly brought off by the Queen, so that he is now gone to Flanders again; by this action leaving a free passage to the King's army under Marechal Turenne to range whither they please, which were before block'd up by his forces.

Four days ago there was a bloody encounter between the troops of the Prince, and those of Marechal Turenne, in one of the suburbs of Paris. Neither could boast of the victory, tho' the battle lasted five hours; but at length, the Prince of Conde's troops retir'd into the city, being frighten'd with the main body of the King's army, which appear'd on the neighbouring hills.

Illustrious Janizary, fortify thy heart with all the necessary retrenchments of heroic Virtue; and, rather than surrender to temptations of vice, on dishonourable terms, run the hazard of a Storm.

Paris, 6th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

L E T T E R VII.

To Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna.

WE are altogether by the ears in this Kingdom, killing, burning, and destroying one another, whilst you in Germany enjoy abundance of peace. The occasion of our quarrels here, is the return of Cardinal Mazarini, against whom the Duke of Orleans and Prince of Conde are inveterate enemies. The former is declared Lieutenant-General of that Kingdom by the Parliament of Paris; who give it out, that the King is Cardinal Mazarini's prisoner. They have also bestow'd the command of all forces under the authority of the said Duke, on the Prince of Conde.

Their principal and only pretence, is the removal of the Cardinal from the King and his Council. What will be the issue, time will demonstrate.

There has been a Duel lately fought, between the Dukes of Beauford and Nemours, two eminent friends to the Prince of Conde.

The King going to a town call'd Pontoise, some leagues from Paris, drew a great many Counsellors and Presidents of Parliament thither; men who are loyal and stedfast to his cause. This encouraged the King to put forth a Declaration, commanding the Parliament to meet at Pontoise. They, on the other side, publish'd an Arrest against this Declaration. Thus they continue piquering one at another.

But here is news arriv'd from Cologne, which surprize people very much. I know not the true ground of their astonishment; but the Priests seem to be mad for joy. All that I can hear about it is,
the

the restoration of the Roman Catholic Religion in that Province, which is a novelty unexpected; especially the ecclesiastic grandeur, which, it seems, has been laid aside above these hundred years. I tell thee only as I am inform'd myself: It lies in thy power to certify me of the truth of matters.

They say also, That the famous General, John de Werdt is dead; as likewise the Archbishop of Treves. It is added, That Frankendal is surrender'd to the Elector of Heidelberg, according to the late Agreement at Munster; and that there is a Diet begun at Ratisbon.

I desire thee to inform me of all these things particularly, and of whatsoever else occurs in the Court where thou residest.

As to Matters of Religion, be not over sedulous: Piety is compriz'd in a few Rules. Yet the Soul of Man is naturally inquisitive, and would fain be acquainted with all things. I advise thee to cast thy eyes frequently on the Earth that is under thy feet; survey the groves and fields, the mountains and valleys, rocks and rivers; then look up to the Heavens, and take a stedfast view of the stars; consider the beauty and order of all things: And after this tell me, if thou can't imagine, That the great and immense Creator of this wonderful Fabric form'd all the nations of the earth to damn 'em eternally, save only those of your Race.

Son of Israel, I wish thee heartily adieu.

Paris, 11th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

LETTER VIII.

To the Kaimacham.

THE Parisians seem to be all in a Dream or Trance: They know not what they say or do, or at least they care not: Such is the immense joy for the return of the King to this city. The steps to this sudden change, were the retiring of Cardinal Mazarini from the Court; which was seconded with a Declaration of Indemnity, or a general Pardon for all that had passed during these troubles, save some particular reserves, sacrilege, fires, and such like. This worked strangely on the inhabitants of Paris. But the Prince of Conde not finding any satisfaction, as to his own person in this Amnesty, call'd in the Duke of Lorraine's army to his assistance. These reduc'd the King's forces to so great a streight and extremity, that the Parliament being sensible of the advantage, made use of it, and sent Deputies to the King, beseeching him to continue in the same good resolution he had taken before this misfortune.

The Monarch suffer'd himself to be overcome, by a violence mix'd with so much submission, and yielded to their requests. Immediately the hearts of the Prince of Conde's friends grew cold, and began to change their sentiments. In a word, they were resolv'd to desert their new Master, and cast themselves at the feet of their lawful Sovereign. The Grandees, who had most affected Conde's interest, laid down their Offices. The foreign armies of Spaniards and Lorrainers retired out of the Kingdom. The citizens of Paris sent a deputation, consisting of sixty-six Persons of Honour, to invite the King to the city, and assure him of their future allegiance. All the Officers
of

of the Militia did the like. The King being satisfy'd with the timely penitence of his Subjects, and having commanded some preparatory alterations in Places of Trust, entered this city on the twenty-first of the last moon, with the joy and acclamation which could express the love of his people, and the regret they had labour'd under during his absence.

Thou see'st, illustrious Minister, that though by the artifices of a Faction, a King may be rendered odious to his Subjects, be banished from his Palace, and have the gates of his city shut against him, as befel to this King: Yet the inconveniences they feel, in taking up arms against him, sooner or later bring them to repentance; and they are glad to court his return, whom but a while ago they forced away by their undutifulness, to gratify the ambition of a bold young Prince of the Blood, who promised, and ventured all things in hopes of a Crown. For it cannot be supposed, That the Prince of Conde had less aims when he first began this War; tho' his pretences were specious, only to remove Cardinal Mazarini, and other evil Ministers from the King, and to protect the French from the machinations of Spanish and Italian counsels; whilst it is evident, That all along he and his party have been supported by the King of Spain in their Rebellion. One would wonder how the French, a sensible and witty Nation, could be thus imposed upon, But the Arabian Proverb says, "There are none so blind, as those who wilfully shut their eyes."

Yet whatever stupidity reigns among the Franks, methinks nothing but light and reason ought to appear in the actions of the Mussulmans. I am confounded to hear of the Rebellions, in Syria and Egypt. Will they never give rest to the Banner of the Prophet? Must the supreme Minister be ever employ'd in proclaiming the Nesiraum? What offence has been given to the Bassa of Damascus, or to him of Cairo?

Sage President of the Imperial City, I am abash'd before the Infidels, when I hear these tragical reports out of the East.

But what can be expected, when the manners of the Faithful are quite estranged from those of their Fathers? The Mussulmans almost out-do the Franks in vice and debauchery.

When thou readest this, draw thy Scymitar and make a Scabbard of the next man who mutters a word against our lawful Sovereign.

Paris, 26th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1651.

L E T T E R IX.

To Dgnet Oglou.

I Tell thee, I am neither melancholy nor merry, but in a kind of mungrel humour, between both. I am half Democritus, and t'other half Heraclitus; being equally dispos'd to laugh and weep at the vanity of all things here below. That thought touches me sensibly, yet not enough to carry me into extremes. The misery and happiness of the whole life of mortals, are themes scarce worth a passion. Whatever we endure as an Evil, or possess as a Good, are both so short, that as one need not sink us to an Excess of Grief, so neither does the other deserve a Paroxysm of Joy. A sigh or a tear are enough for the first, and a smile is too much for the last. My mind at present is an Equilibrium.

What signifies the birth of the greatest Monarch, or that he can boast of a long descent of Kings

his Progenitors? He is born to labour and trouble as well as other men; and all the charming pleasures that attend a Crown are scarce sufficient to recompense his cares and fatigues, his hazards and toils, and the perpetual risques he runs both in peace and war.

If from the cradle he make an early step to a throne, 'tis but a mock honour to be crown'd with a Wreath of Briars, squeez'd and press'd into his tender temples by the deceitful hands of his guardians and ministers, who strive only to lay the foundation of their own honour in his ruin, by improving the time of his Minority, and making oppression chymical; that, during their present authority, they may expect the Life and Elixir of his subjects wealth, and hoard it in their own coffers, leaving only the lees to him when he comes of age, and these generally compounded with the ill-will of his people. I wish the case prove not the same in our present Sovereign Sultan Mahomet; who, thou knowest, was lifted to his father's throne before his time, and by methods which cannot be justify'd: It was the Musti's plot, who is the Oracle of the Laws; and so the Mussulmans acquiesced. But mark the end; such Treasons seldom escape unpunish'd. Tho' Sultan Ibrahim was depos'd and imprison'd, (not to mention that which grates the ears of any loyal Ottoman) though his eldest son be plac'd on his Throne to serve the ends of a Faction; yet a younger than he may live to revenge the wrongs that are done to his father, and restore the Empire of the Faithful to its pristine grandeur. There are now above three years elaps'd since the change of affairs at the Seraglio. In the mean time dost thou not observe the discontents of the people? Is there not a general coldness and neutrality to be discern'd in the conversation of those who, at first, were most forward to approve the Musti's proceedings? Men begin every where to reflect

on the present Revolution, and its fatal consequences. The Venetian War, they say, has quite impoverish'd the Empire. Decay of trade, want of money, and a thousand other things are the daily complaints in Constantinople: This I am told from very good hands, men of several Nations, merchants who trade in that city, persons altogether unbyass'd. They, as strangers, have been inquisitive, during their residence there, into the humours of the people, to find how the Mus-sulmans stand affected to the present state of the Ottoman affairs. I approve not the presumption of those Infidels, yet make use of it to inform myself of several material passages, which I could not otherwise learn at this distance from the august Port.

They tell me, The soldiers murmur that so many thousands of men have been sacrific'd in Candia and Dalmatia; whilst what they gain in the Island they lose on the Continent: for it seems, the Venetians are still too hard for us one way or other. They grumble also for want of their due pay, and that they have not bread enough to keep them from starving. A certain Greek assured me, he had heard several of the Spahi's swear solemnly, That it was agreed among them, not to go into Dalmatia the next Campaign. But this I took as a strain of the Grecian's natural faculty, who, thou knowest, are much given to romancing. However, I hear enough both from them and other travellers of East and West, to convince me, That some of the Grandees at the Imperial City are in a tottering condition.

All which serves but to confirm my first discourse, that hardly any thing on earth is worth a thought, since all things are of so short a duration.

In a word, the world seems to be a Garden, intermingled with Roses and Weeds. The first are so close encompass'd with thorns, that a man cannot gather 'em without wounding himself: And,

if there be more ease in cropping the latter, yet they are unwholesome, and stink; putting a man to as frequent purifications, as the times he touches 'em.

Let thou and I, dear Dgnet, pass along the Alleys of this Garden, view her Beauties and Deformities with an even mind: not putting ourselves to the fatigue of gathering her Flowers, or suffering ourselves to be tempted with her softer Pleasures. But let every thing we see and hear in this enchanted Ground serve the ends of our contemplation, being stedfastly mindful of this truth, "That all those things, which appear so gay and full of charms, are nothing but mere empty Ideas and fleeting shadows of that substantial and permanent pleasure, which has her residence only in Paradise."

Thou may'st tell the Kaimacham, our friend, that now the King of France begins to play the Monarch on the bottom of his own wit and courage, without the assistance or counsel of Tutors. He has brought the Parliament to an absolute compliance with his will, having purged that Senate of disaffected members, and banish'd from the Court the Duke of Orleans, who pretended a right to rule his Sovereign. In the mean time, the Prince of Conde has taken Rethel, and St. Menehoud, whilst Barcelona is surrender'd to the Spaniards. Thus what is gain'd in one point, is lost in another. Doubtless there is nothing stable on earth.

Paris, 8th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

LETTER X.

To Melec Amet.

THY adventure, and miraculous escape over the Danube, puts me in mind of a certain French Nobleman of the Prince of Conde's party, who last Summer being closely pursued by some of the King's horse, and himself excellently mounted, leap'd hedges and ditches to avoid captivity. At length they had chas'd him into the corner of the land, from whence it was impossible for him to escape but by swimming o'er a small arm of the sea. What risque will not a man run for the love of liberty? This person, like an o'er-heated Stag, perceiving his Hunters close at his heels, boldly leap'd on horseback into the sea, chusing rather to perish in the waters, than to fall into his enemies hands.

None were so hardy as to follow him through the uncertain waves. However, his Horse being of matchless strength, carried him safe over to the opposite shore. As soon as he arrived at the next town, where he had many friends, he related this wonderful passage. But, instead of cherishing his Horse for so faithful and invaluable a service, he drew his sword, and immediately kill'd the beast that sav'd his life, saying, He did it for the sake of fame, being resolv'd that his Horse should never perform the like service to any other mortal.

This was an ungrateful Caprice, and far from the morality of Sultan Selim, the son of Bajazet, who, when his trusty Horse Carabuluc had once sav'd his life by his extraordinary swiftness; he in token of his thankfulness, built a stable on purpose for

him, in a large enclosure of meadows, allowing a Pension to a Groom to wait on the meritorious Beast, and gave him his free delight in all things as long as he liv'd, commanding that he should never more be forced to labour or travel. And to compleat the happiness of the Beast, he cull'd out some of the beautiful'st Mares of Arabia to accompany him, charging also, that the doors of the stable should be always open for the Horse to go in or out, and range when and where he pleas'd. This was a generosity worthy of an Eastern Monarch, whom as thy letter informs me, thou hast in part imitated.

But such is some mens ambition and vain desire to be talk'd of, that they care not by what barbarous methods they accomplish their aim: It was a motive of this nature which tempted Erostratus to set fire to the famous Temple of Ephesus; which had been two hundred years in building, and was number'd among the Seven Wonders of this World.

This happen'd on the very night that Alexander the Great was born. And the Villain being asked, why he committed so destructive a Sacrilege, answered, "That it was to acquire an immortal fame by so stupendous a wickedness, since he could not hope to be recorded for his virtue."

Plutarch mentions a jest that was made on this destruction of Diana's Temple. For it was common in every body's mouth, That the Goddess being called that night to the labour of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, could not be present at home to save her house from burning. For the Gentiles believ'd, That Diana, (whom they also called Lucina) was invisibly assistant at the birth of children.

However, the Priests made no jest on't; but ran up and down howling and making gashes in their flesh, presaging, that Fate was that day busy'd

busy'd in signing the Decree of Asia's ruin. This is certain, that very night the man was born who was destin'd to subdue all Asia, and on the ruins of the Persian Empire raise the Monarchy of the Macedonians. However the Villain who burnt the Temple had not his desire; for it was decreed throughout all Asia, that his name should never be mention'd in History, or any public Writings.

It is recorded of a certain Governor of a city in Italy that being on the top of an high Tower with only the Pope, the German Emperor, and an Ambassador from Venice in his company, he was tempted to throw the two former over the Battlements as they were taking a survey of the city; which he might have easily done, for they were both aged, and incapable of resisting his strength. This passage he confess'd to his ghostly Father; and being ask'd, what induced him to think of such a horrid Treason? He answer'd, "That it might be said, He did a thing which never was done before, nor in all probability would ever be done again; since no Prince, having heard such a story, would ever venture himself into the same danger without a sufficient guard of his own." But however, he had not resolution enough to go through with his project.

I hear thou art like to acquire fame by other methods than these, being in a fair way to rise by thy Virtues to some considerable employments in the Empire: for which I equally rejoice with thyself.

In the mean time, 'twill perhaps be obliging to tell thee some news out of these parts, which will make thy company welcome to the Grandees: They love to converse with men who can furnish 'em with intelligence of foreign Affairs.

The freshest discourse, here, is of the imprisonment.

ment of the Cardinal de Retz, who was arrested by the King's order on the nineteenth of this Moon. What his crime is I cannot inform thee, unless it be that he is an enemy to Cardinal Mazarini. People generally give him the character of a very honest man; but thou know'st Honesty is counted a Vice in the Courts of these Western Princes. The crafty are the only men of Virtue and Merit among the Infidels.

Thou may'st also report for a certainty, That the Spaniards have taken Dunkirk in Flanders, and Casal in the Dukedom of Mantua. This Town is said to be the Key of all Italy: I cannot tell thee which is the Lock it belongs to; nor, I believe, they themselves. But this I observe, that when the King of France sits down before any place with his army, whoever has the Key, neither Locks nor Bolts can keep him out long, And 'tis ten to one if he do not find an entrance into this place again very speedily, when the Spanish King has pleas'd himself for a while with an imaginary possession of it.

I conclude my letter just at the hour when the old Year expires, according to the account of the Christians, wishing thee a Scene of new Felicities.

Paris, 31st of the 12th Moon,
of the Year 1652.

LETTER XI.

To the same.

HAVING the opportunity of a day or two more before the Post goes out of town, I make use of it to ask thee, Whether there be any notice taken in your Parts of a Comet newly appearing above the Orb of the Sun? It has not been observed here till within these few nights. And the Astronomers, notwithstanding the coldness of the season (which I assure thee is sharp enough) are very busy with their Telescopes, to pry into the figure of this Meteor, and observe its motions. They take great pains, and endure all the rigour of frost and snow, in hopes of making some new discovery.

The vulgar look on it as a great Prodigy: There are a thousand opinions among them about the consequences: Every body sets up for a judicial Astrologer. Nay, the learned themselves, and such as are esteem'd great Philosophers, cannot agree in their judgment concerning it. Some assert that the Matter of the Heavens is subject to Corruption and Change, and that this Comet is generated after that manner: Whilst others hold a contrary opinion. They are all divided, and dispute only in as unintelligible Terms as the Languages of America are to us of this Continent. They amuse one another, and themselves, with far-fetch'd words: And all this while, for aught I know, the wisest among 'em may be as much under a mistake as those who never study'd such things. All the instruments of the Optics are sought out to help their sights; and yet they may be as much in the Dark as the Men in Plato's

Cave. It is an Article of my faith, that we Mortals know very little of those far distant Beings. But these Franks are the most opinionated people in the world: No man has the modesty to allow another so much right to reason as himself. Every one sets up for a Dogmatist, and requires the intellects of all others to be resigned to his; tho' perhaps that be only form'd by the rules of his parents, the impressions of his early years, the force of education, the fashion of his country, or by some notable accident in his life: All which are equally liable to falshood and truth. How many Sects were there of the ancient Philosophers, stilly defending their several opinions? One says, the Heavens are made of brass; another of iron; a third of smoke. This will have 'em to be solid, that fluid: There is no end of their controversies.

In the mean time no man knows what they are made for, or what is the figure of the World; whether round or square, or beyond all dimensions; whether matter be divisible or indivisible in the last Atom. Who can assure me, if there be only one World, or whether there may not as well be a thousand millions? Whether the Stars be opake bodies as this Earth, and inhabited, or no? I tell thee again, there is no certainty of these things. Man's senses are too weak, his imagination too frail, and all his faculties too short to comprehend the Works of the Omnipotent, who alone is wise and perfect in Science.

Wilt thou have my opinion of this Comet? I am apt to think 'tis some such Globe of combustible Matter as our Earth appears to be, and perhaps burden'd with as many Sinners; that either by the Course of Nature, or Decree of Destiny, the enclos'd Fire has broke its Bounds, and spread its consuming flame o'er the Surface; which embodying themselves in the Pyramid of Smoke, arising from so vast a Conflagration, cause that Appearance

pearance which we call the Tail of the Blazing-Star. And, for ought I know, after the same manner shall all our Globe appear to the Inhabitants of those remote Worlds at our Day of Judgment.

I am not positive in these matters, nor will I shut up my Soul from future lights; but leaving things as I find 'em, full of mystery and double faces, I will expect no better fate than that of Socrates, That as I have liv'd, so shall I die in doubt, only hoping for plenary satisfaction in the next World.

Paris, 2d of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1653.

L E T T E R XII.

To Pesteli Hali, his Brother, Master of the
Grand Seignior's Customs.

NOW thou beginnest to reap the Fruits of thy Travels: May'st thou live to have a full Harvest! I esteem myself infinitely obliged to the illustrious Bassa, our countryman, for his particular friendship in this business. 'Tis true, thy own merits were a sufficient recommendation: But what light can a candle give that is shut up close in a dark Lantern? So thick was the Veil which thy own Modesty had drawn o'er the Splendor of the most accomplish'd Virtue.

Son of my mother, let not what I have said, pass for the words of a Flatterer. Thou knowest I am as free from that vice, as I am from envy. 'Tis affection only guides my pen, when I tell thee, I heartily rejoice in my brother's prosperity;
and

and that the Grand Seignior has a faithful Servant. I hope that Sovereign of Sovereigns will, in time, find reason to acknowledge to the noble Kerker Hassian the good office he has done him, in presenting such a Slave. Let no error of thine baulk my expectation.

'Twill be an eternal Honour to the House and Tribe from which we descend, if, by acquitting thyself fairly in this post, our great Master shall think thee worthy of a more sublime Station. Therefore esteem this only as a Trial of thy Fidelity, and how far thou art capable of serving the Sultan. Be industrious but not affected in disclosing thy abilities. Observe a gradation; for the slowest steps of Greatness are the most secure. Aim not to be rich and mighty on a sudden. Swift rises are often attended with precipitate falls. If in other cases 'tis commendable to be niggardly of time, and squeeze every minute to an improvement of virtue; yet thou wilt find it expedient to follow other Maxims, in the way of growing great: And that to be liberal, in years of patience, will be no unprofitable frugality in the main; since what is soonest got, is generally short in the possession; and he, that monopolizes Honours or Wealth, is most times-envied to his ruin.

Nature itself shall convince thee of this, if thou wilt but contemplate her most obvious Works. Cast thy eye on the Oak among the Plants: What Vegetable is more permanent, or of greater service to men? Yet the Tree of so vast a bulk, in whose aged hollow trunk I have seen sixteen men sitting round a table, under whose wide-spread branches the House of Erom Eh'niel Eben Sherophaim, the chief Emir of Arabia, is built and stands at this day. I say, this Tree, in its first original, was not so big as the Thumb of thy Right-hand: And, if Naturalists speak Truth, 'twas a hundred years a growing to these dimen-

dimensions, as many in a fix'd and flourishing condition, and that it will not take up a less time in decaying to its last rottenness.

They say also, That an Elephant, the biggest and strongest of all the Beasts on the Earth, lives two hundred years, and continues increasing in its stature the greatest part of that term. The like they relate of Crocodiles and Dragons.

But not to tire thee with examples of this nature, let us consider, that whatsoever is great and durable among men, whatsoever is illustrious and excellent, is slow in the production, and makes not hasty leaps to maturity. View all the Monarchies that have made so much noise on Earth, and thou wilt find, that, in proportion to the time of their growing Greatness, was the Term of their Duration. How swift was the Rise and Fall of the Persian Empire! Equally precipitate was that of the Macedonians. None could ever boast of so permanent and universal a sway as the City of Rome, of which it is commonly said, "Rome was not built in a Day."

To come nearer home: How lasting and perpetually victorious is the sacred Empire of the Mussulmans? Yet it took its Rise from very small Beginnings, met with frequent repulses, and has made a slow progression to the present formidable Height of Sovereign Power it now possesses: For, thou knowest, this is the thousandth, sixtieth and third year, since the Holy Flight of the Messenger of GOD.

What I have said may be apply'd, with proportion to mens personal advances in the Honours and Fortunes of this World. Be content therefore with thy Seasons wherein Destiny shall think fit to raise thee, and strive not to out-run thy Fate.

All the news I can tell thee is, that Cardinal Mazarini return'd the 13th of the last moon from his second Banishment; which thou may'st report for a Truth to the Ministers of State.

We

We are all Exiles here on Earth. GOD restore us to a Region more agreeable, and admit us to the Caresses of our Friends in Paradise.

Paris, 25th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1653.

LETTER XIII.

To Kerker Hassan, Bassa.

THE blessings of GOD and his Prophets descend upon thee from a thousand sources. Thou art a true friend, and our whole family are obliged to thee for favours which have no number: But none more than my brother and I; our engagements to thee are equal; since what kindness thou hast shewed to him, in recommending him to the Sultan's favour and to a place of Honour and Profit, I take as done to myself, we being naturally sharers in each other's prosperity, or adverse fortune; for such is the method of strict Relations and Friendships. And I have a particular reason to thank thee, because it was at my instance thou promoted'st him. Yet, though he is my brother, I should not be so partial as to say these things in his behalf, did I not know him to be a man of merit. For places of trust ought not to be bestow'd for favour or affection. We are bound to sacrifice all private Regards to the Interest of the Grand Seignior; and not act like the French, who get offices of the greatest importance many times by being of a faction, or party, opposite to their King.

Since the return of Cardinal Mazarini to this Court, which was in the foregoing Moon, the King has reform'd many abuses of this kind. He begins to feel his own strength and authority every day more and more.

In the Moon of December dy'd Cardinal Richlieu's brother, who was Bishop of Lyons, and Grand Almoner of France. The King has bestow'd these Honours on Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who took Sanctuary in this Court, from the persecutions of the present Roman Pontiff, almost ten years ago. He has always espoused the king of France's interest in Rome. And the grateful Monarch receiv'd him with much affection; and, as an additional honour, has made him a Knight of the Holy Spirits. This is the chiefest Order of Knighthood in France.

It is freshly reported here, that the Duke of Newburgh, a great Prince in Germany, is dead. They talk of certain Prodigies that have been lately seen in England, Ireland, and other Parts of Europe, as raining of warm blood, tin, and copper. And 'tis affirm'd for certain, that three Suns were lately seen at Dublin, the chief City of Ireland.

There has been a Sea-Combat between the English and Hollanders on the coast of Italy. Wherein they say, the Dutch had the victory, having sunk two of their enemies ships, and taken one, without any considerable loss on their own side.

Here is no other news stirring at present, worth the knowledge of a Mussulman Grandee. The eyes of all the Western Nazarenes are fix'd on that Refuge of the World where thou residest, and on the actions of our invincible Vizir in Candia.

They discourse of some Overtures of Peace, which that great General has made to the Venetians, if they will forthwith surrender the City of Candia to the victorious Osmans.

If this be true, one would think so great clemency

mency must needs tempt the proud Infidels to Submission and Compliance. But, if Destiny has otherwise decreed, I wish they may feel the Force of our Arms, which appear more keen than even the Scythe of Time, that Devourer of all Things.

Paris, 11th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1653;

L E T T E R X I V .

To Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna.

TH Y last letter speaks thee at once willing to be enlightened, yet tenacious of thy old Prepossessions. I wonder not at the difficulty thou findest in shaking off the Precepts of thy Rabbi's, those religious Triflers. The influence of Education is as forcible as that of our Birth: And the Habits that are rooted in us in our tender Years, are harder to be displanted, than the inherent Affections of our Blood: This is signified by the Arabian Proverb, which says, "The Tutors of Youth have an ascendant over the Stars of their Nativity."

I know it has been esteem'd the peculiar glory of thy Nation, that you have been rigid observers of the Traditions of your Fathers: From which, rather than deviate a tittle, there have not been wanting such as freely expos'd themselves, and have bravely endur'd racks, scourgings, burnings, and all sorts of torments, even the most exquisitely cruel deaths, that the malice of Tyrants could invent,

invent. But do not I know also that in some of the most weighty points of your Law, your zeal has exceeded your prudence? I speak not of the private bigotry of one man, or a few; but of the Representative Body of your whole Nation. How foolishly superstitious were your armies, in the days of Mattathias, when being assaulted by their enemies on the Sabbath-Day, they refused to draw a sword in their own defence, and so were all cut off by the army of Antiochus! This is no invidious remark of your Adversaries in Religion, but the observation of Josephus, a man of the same Faith, and sprung from the Stock of Israel as well as thyself.

Now tell me thy opinion, did your Fathers do well in thus sacrificing themselves and the whole interest of Israel, to a mistaken Punctilio of that obedience they owe the Law, or no? If thou allowest the former, then Mattathias did wickedly in making a Decree, that from thenceforth it should be lawful on the Sabbath-Day to resist their enemies; and all the Jews were guilty of many notorious breaches of the Law, in obeying this Decree, and fighting on the Sabbath-Day. But if thou say'st, they did ill in not fighting, tho' at a prohibited time, and prohibited under the several Curses, then it follows, that there is no Point of your Law which may not, nay, which ought not to be dispensed with, and give way to the interest of State, and the good of the Commonwealth. So that, at this rate, the Religion, for which you are all so zealous, will appear to be but a Form of Government, divinely contrived for human regards. I do not call in question the miraculous delivery of your Law on Mount Sinai. Suffer me to plead without suspicion of partiality: I do not go about to invalidate the Testimony of Moses and the Prophets. Doubtless the most High came down through the Heaven, attended with Myriads of Angels, and thirty-two thousand chariots.

chariots of fire; and, when he stood on the top of the mountain, the Rear of his Train had not pass'd the Silver Gates of the Moon. The Sun appear'd in his circuit, as one astonish'd; he blush'd, and fled away from the eternal Brightness, not able to endure the Lustre of a Glory so far surpassing his own. The Stars were dazzled at the immortal Splendor, and mistook their course; they run one against another in their affrighted careers. And as a lasting Memorial of that glorious Descent, the Angels left their bright Impressions of their Footsteps in the Path; that heavenly Road is to this day distinguish'd from all the rest of the sky by its Whiteness, which makes the Astronomers call it *THE MILKY WAY*.

The Nations of the Earth were amaz'd at the tremendous vision and noise; for the mountain was all on Fire, whole Flames reach'd up to the Clouds, and its Smoke to the Mid-Heaven. The Globe trembled and quak'd at the dreadful Thunderings, and the Lightnings penetrated the Abyss of Hell. The infernal Spirits were startled at the uncouth Flashes; and ask'd one another, "if the "Day of Judgment were come?" The Waters hid themselves in their Fountains, and the Ocean utter'd a deep murmur. Every thing in Nature was surpriz'd with wonder and dread; and Moses himself when he came down from the Mountain, was all transform'd into Light.

Thou seest, Nathan, I am no Infidel, but believe as thou dost, that the Law of Moses was brought down from Heaven. But does it therefore follow, that this Law is universal and eternal? Can none be saved but the sons of Israel, and such as are profelyted to their Religion? Doubtless, this is an error, as thou thyself wilt acknowledge, when thou hast well examin'd the matter. Remove thy post a little, if it be only in imagination: Rise from the feet of thy Doctors, who have instill'd into thee prejudices against all the

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the sons of Adam, except those of your own Race. Stand aloof for a while, and look round about thee to the four Winds; but fix thine eye on the East, for from thence Wisdom takes her Origin. Did not the same God, who created the Jews, also create all the Nations on the Earth? And canst thou be so blind and obdurate as to think, That Sovereignty Merciful made so many Millions of Souls on purpose to damn them? Or that it should be imputed to them for Sin, that they were not born of the Seed of Jacob? Was it in their Power to chuse the Father that should beget them, or the Mother that should conceive them? How absurd are the consequences of this narrow opinion? It is an unpardonable pride and malice, thus to contemn and judge those that are compounded of the same ingredients as yourselves.

Doubtless GOD has sent Prophets into all Nations, to guide them into the right Way, and not into the Way of Infidels. Those who believe the Prophets, and obey their Precepts, shall be saved: For they preach the Unity of the Divine Essence, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Day of Judgment, the Joys of Paradise, and the Torments of the Damn'd. They teach the necessity of justice, purity, and good works; exhorting all to practise the Golden Rule, without entangling their minds in endless niceties, which are but the superfetation of piety, the excrementitious burdens of a religious life. Such are most of the troublesome and ridiculous Ceremonies observed by the Zealots of your Law, at which I have known the wise sort of Jews to laugh. These little Superstitions, like unprofitable Suckers, exhaust the Vitals of Religion, and leave it only a sapless Trunk, from which no Fruit can be expected. Were they commanded in the Law of Moses, something might be pleaded in their defence; but, as they are only the Dreams of your Rabbi's, a wise man would beware how he put on
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a needless yoke, the Stratagem of your crafty Guides, to keep you in subjection, and a servile awe of their authority, and a religious timorousness of you know not what.

Thy letter replies to this by anticipation: for supposing that I should argue thus, and charge you with adding Traditions of your own to the positive Injunctions of the Law, thou tellest me, That those are greatly mistaken, who think, that all which was deliver'd to Moses in the Mount was written in the two Tables, or compriz'd even in the Pentateuch, as if the Prophet spent those forty Days and Nights only in keeping of Geese. For it is evident, say'st thou, That, if GOD had nothing else to give him but the Written Law, he might have dispatch'd him in an Hour or a Day at most. Therefore thou addest, That by Day he gave him the Written Law, and by Night the mysterious explanation of it, call'd, the Oral Law: which Explanation Moses taught by Word of Mouth to Joshua, his Successor; Joshua to the Seventy-two Seniors; and that they transmitted this Oral Traditional Comment down to their Posterity, even to the last of the Prophets, from whom the great Sanhedrim receiv'd it. After this every one deliver'd it to his Son, as he had receiv'd it from his Ancestors; and so it continues to this day to be the Rule of your Lives, in those cases where the Written Law is silent. I tell thee, Nathan, There appears a great shew of reason in what thou say'st: And it cannot be suppos'd, That Moses spent all that time only in receiving the Written Law. But on the other side, I cannot believe that the eternal Mind was busied so many days in prescribing those ridiculous Rules and Ceremonies which are found in the Talmud, and the Writings of your Rabbi's. If thou can'st convince me of that, I will cease to persuade thee to a change.

I have a great deal more to say, but the hour of the Post calls on me to conclude my letter. In
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my next I will fully answer all thy arguments. In the mean time, let not Custom, and the Dictates of the Synagogue, supplant thy Reason, but remember thou art a Man.

Paris, 17th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1653.

L E T T E R X V.

To the Sublimely Wise, the Seignior of
Excellent Dignity, Abul Recowawn,
Grand Almoner to the Sultan.

THOU art plac'd on a high Seat eminent among the Faithful; and the eyes of the distressed are fixed on thee. Thou art the Patron of all the miserable. To thee, as to a Sanctuary, flies the man, whose misfortunes have bereav'd him of all other hope; whose drooping spirits can find no comfort from the rest of mortals. His last and only refuge is to thee, who art the faithful steward of the Grand Seignior's liberalities. Let not too much prudence supersede thy charity. The wicked and the innocent have equal access to thee: And it ought to be so; for no man at first can distinguish between the one and the other by their outward aspect. Yet a little examination and converse will shew the difference.

There are those who get large possessions under the masque of poverty. There are impudent Beggars, who make a trade of imposing on human compassion, and sport themselves in this

humble method of cheating people of their money ; whilst, imagining they bestow it on persons really indigent, it is thrown away on Counterfeits, Villains and Infidels.

On the other side, I have seen true objects of pity, men reduc'd to the last extremities, who would rather perish, than expose their condition to any, save the Great and Noble. They esteem such as be wise men, generous, and considerate of the accidents which commonly befall mortals. They think, to these they may freely unbosom themselves, tell their wants, and claim relief, without the hazard of a reproach, which wounds more deeply than a short denial.

Thou may'st know them by the modesty which appears in their faces (says the holy Prophet) and that they are soon repuls'd. To such as these, give plentiful Alms, and do not repine. For it is as a profitable Merchandize, sent to remote countries, which tho' ventur'd on the uncertain waters, yet in time, by the special blessings of Heaven, shall return with seven-fold interest.

Nay, give to all that ask : For it is better to misplace our charity on nine unworthy persons, than to deny an Alms to one that is really in need. Besides, it is not for the honour of a Sovereign Monarch, that any person in distress should depart from his Court, sad or discontented for want of relief.

I have in some of my letters glanc'd at the Vices of these Western Nazarenes ; and have not been altogether silent as to their Virtues. Among which, their Charity is very conspicuous.

The French relate a pretty passage of a certain Cardinal, a very good man, and one that, by the multitude of his generous Actions, gave occasion for the World to call him, the Patron of the Poor.

This Ecclesiastic Prince had a constant custom, once or twice a week, to give public audience to all indigent people in the hall of his palace, and
relieve

relieve every one according to their various necessities, or the motions of his own bounty.

One day a poor widow, encourag'd with the fame of his generosity, came into the hall of this Cardinal, with her only daughter, a beautiful maid about fifteen years of age. When her turn came to be heard, among the crowd of petitioners, the Cardinal discerning the marks of an extraordinary modesty in her face and carriage, as also in her daughter, he encourag'd her to tell her wants freely. She blushing, and not without tears thus address'd herself to him: "My Lord, I owe
" for the rent of my house five crowns, and such
" is my misfortune, that I have no other means
" to pay it, save what would break my heart, since
" my landlord threatens to force me to it; that
" is, To prostitute this my only daughter, whom
" I have hitherto with great care educated in
" virtue, and an abhorrence of that odious crime.
" What I beg of your Eminence is, That you
" would please to interpose your sacred authority,
" and protect us from the violence of this cruel
" man, 'till by our honest industry we can pro-
" cure the money for him."

The Cardinal, mov'd with admiration of the woman's virtue and innocent modesty, bid her be of good courage. Then he immediately writ a billet, and giving it into the widow's hands, "Go," said he, "to my steward with this paper, and he shall deliver thee five crowns to pay thy rent."

The poor woman overjoy'd, and returning the Cardinal a thousand thanks, went directly to his steward, and gave him the note: Which when he had read, he told out fifty crowns. She astonish'd at the meaning of it, and fearing this was only the steward's trick to try her honesty, refus'd to take above five, saying, "She ask'd the Cardinal for no more, and she was sure 'twas some mistake."

On the other side, the steward insisted on his
Master's

Master's order, not daring to call it in question. But all the arguments he could use, were insufficient to prevail on her to take any more than five crowns. Wherefore, to end the controversy, he offer'd to go back with her to the Cardinal, and refer it to him. When they came before the munificent Prince, and he was fully inform'd of the business; "'Tis true," said he, "I mistook in writing fifty crowns; give me the paper, and I will rectify it." Thereupon he wrote again, saying thus to the woman: "So much candour and virtue deserves a recompence: Here, I have order'd you five hundred crowns; what you can spare of it, lay up as a dowry to give with your daughter in marriage."

If I mistake not, this Cardinal was call'd Farnese. But, whatever his name was, this was an action truly heroic, and which has but few Parallels.

It will be much to the glory and interest of the Shining Porte, if thou sometimes, by an extraordinary largess, raise the fortune of deserving men; and put them in a capacity to serve the Grand Seignior: At least, such bounty will oblige them not to disserve him.

Among the rest, permit me to recommend the case of Ebnol Barwana Kayemas, thy countryman: He was once professor of a Timariot, but was turn'd out by Sultan Ibrahim, to gratify a creature of Schechir Para: Thou know'st the life of that infamous woman. I say no more.

Paris, 2d of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1653.

LETTER XVI.

To the Captain Bassa.

THOU that art a man of War, delightest, no doubt, to hear of combats and battles : And I to tell thee, that since the beginning of the World there have never been known such dreadful Sea-Fights, as during the present War between the English and Dutch. It seems there is an emulation sprung up in the latter : They grudge the Inhabitants of Britain the Character, which has been given 'em from all Antiquity, "Of being the most victorious on that element of any nation on the earth."

'Tis possible there may be some more particular grounds for their present Quarrel, to which I am a stranger : But assuredly they have pursued their animosities very eagerly on both sides ; and, let the occasion be what it will, the Dutch are still losers.

I sent thee an account of a Combat between their Fleets last year, since which they have had many other Engagements. And 'tis said here, that, during this War, the English have taken from the Dutch near two thousand Merchants vessels, and sunk and burnt many of their ships of War, slain some of their chief Commanders, spoil'd their Trade, and reduced 'em almost to as great streights, as when they first courted the protection of the English against their Sovereign the King of Spain, from whom they had then newly revolted.

But the most terrible conflict was on the second of this Moon, wherein the Dutch had seven and twenty of their greatest ships either sunk or burnt, two thousand of their seamen and

Soldiers killed, and a thousand taken prisoners, with many Captains. That great General Trump, whom I mention'd in my last, was slain in this Fight, after he had perform'd prodigies of valour.

The French say, That, during the heat of this engagement, Trump, being excessive thirsty, call'd for a bowl of wine: Which his servant had no sooner deliver'd to him, but a cannon bullet took his hand off just as he was retiring from his Master. The brave General, touch'd with a noble compassion, spilt the wine on the deck, saying, "It is not fit that I should quench my thirst with the blood of a faithful slave." And as soon as he had spoke these words, another bullet took from him the power of ever drinking again.

If such an accident should happen to thee when thou fightest against the Infidels, know for certain that thou shalt be immediately transported to the green and shady Banks of the Rivers of Wine in Paradise, where thou may'st drink thy fill in eternal security: For he that dies fighting for the Faith is a Martyr.

Paris, 12th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1653.

LETTER XVII.

To Sale Tircheni Ermin, Superintendent
of the Royal Arsenal at Constantinople.

I Remember I promised in my last to give thee a farther account of Pachicour, the famous Pirate of the Black-Sea. 'Twere easy to perform it, but a temptation diverts my pen another way.

I remember when thou wert Chiaus, I have heard thee speak of the Kingdom of Tunis, whither thou wast sent by Sultan Amurat, to compose the differences that happen'd between the Dey and the Divan of that city. At the same time thou mad'st mention of a certain admirable Engine, contrived to draw up Ships, or any thing else from the bottom of the sea: And that the Divan of Tunis gave to the Artist who fram'd it an hundred thousand Piasters, as a Reward of his ingenuity.

I have read in a certain French Author, of such another device at Venice, made on purpose to draw up the famous Carrac, which they call'd the Castle of the Sea. This Galleon was built of a monstrous bulk, more for state than service; and was overturn'd by her own unwieldiness, as she lay at anchor, and sunk to the bottom: From whence neither that forementioned Engine, nor all the art of man could raise her. Yet the skill of the Engineer was highly commended, and the Senate honour'd him with the Title of Clarissimo, and settled a noble Pension on him during life.

It is questioned, whether the States of Holland will be so liberal to a certain French Engineer, who

has made a Ship at Rotterdam, which, they say, will out-do all the Miracles of Noah's Ark.

This Ship is at present all the talk at Paris. Our merchants receive letters full of wonders from the Low-Countries, concerning this whir-
ligig of a vessel, which is to move by clock-work, without sails, oars, rudder, or any common marine tackle; yet shall cut her way through the sea with a swifter progress than the Moon glides along the Sky, or Bullet out of a Cannon. This is the discourse of those who love to advance all that they hear to the height of a Miracle or Romance. Yet, 'tis certain, the Artist has promis'd it shall equal the motion of some birds, and run twelve leagues an hour. Neither winds nor tides shall forward or hinder its course, which, depending on an internal principle of perpetual Motion, is to be directed only at the pleasure of him who manages the springs and wheels. So that the Master of this Vessel shall be able with a single touch of his hand, to turn it to any Point of the Compass, in the most boisterous weather that blows.

This Engineer farther engages, that his Vessel shall make a voyage to the East-Indies in the Revolution of a Moon, and to some Regions of America in a fourth part of that time. If he be as good at performance as he is at promising, he will sail round the Globe at this rate in three Moons.

In farther commendation of this wonderful Machine, 'tis said, that by a new invented art, it shall secretly, under water, disable any ship, provided she be within cannon-shot; and this with so sudden a force, that in the space of six hours it will successively sink a fleet of an hundred Ships of War.

Moreover, this Artist, to appear not less subtle against the Efforts of Heaven, than in surpassing all the Inventions on Earth, promises, that his
miracu-

miraculous Vessel shall, at the distance of a league cut asunder any Spouts or Cataracts of waters, which usually threaten Mariners in the Mediterranean, and other seas.

'Tis possible thou art very well acquainted with the nature of these spouts, and the danger of ships that sail near them. Yet give me leave to inform thee what I have heard from a certain Corsair, who has often met with them in the Levant.

This Pirate tells me, that a Spout is a kind of Aqueduct between the clouds and the sea, by which those pendulous cisterns above are replenish'd with water from the Ocean, drawing it up as through a pipe; which seems to be let down for that end, at certain seasons, and in some particular places, where the water boils up first above the surface of the briny plain, as a signal to those thirsty bladders, to make a descent there, and suck their fill.

If this be true, who knows but that all the rain, to which the earth is indebted for its fertility, comes thus originally from the sea? For, it may be made fresh, either in its first ascent through the roscid air, or after its reception into the clouds, by some hidden Energy of that Element, or the natural Force of the Middle Region: Or at least by some unknown virtue, perhaps not inferior to that by which the waters of a bitter Lake in the Desert became sweet at the intercession of our Holy Prophet, when the whole army of the primitive Mussulmans was like to have perish'd of thirst.

And then how will the Western Philosophers dispose of all the vapours which they say are exhal'd from this globe, and afterwards condens'd into clouds? I tell thee that's but a loose notion of such retentive bodies, as the clouds seem to be. And 'twould tempt one to ask, What the vessels are made of which hold those condens'd

exhalations, so that they do not fall at once upon our heads and overwhelm us, but only distil in small successive showers drop by drop, to refresh the barren parts of the earth, and serve the necessities of men? And why the rains fall in the Indies, and other Regions of the East, whole Moons together without intermission, the rest of the year being dry: Whereas in other countries the periods of the weather's alterations are uncertain, and in some parts it seldom or never rains at all.

Doubtless, the Works of the Omnipotent are inscrutable: And though it may be an argument of a great wit, to give ingenious reasons for many wonderful appearances in nature; yet 'tis an evidence of small piety or judgment, to be positive in any thing, but the acknowledgment of our own ignorance.

Now, I have made as wide an excursion from my first discourse, as the Maulla did, who began an Oration in praise of Noah's ark, and ended with telling a tale of an Armenian Wheel-Barrow. But I will not forget that I was speaking of the promise which the Rotterdam Engineer has made of his Machine, That it should effectually break all the force of Spouts; which would render him very serviceable to Merchants, as a Convoy to defend them from those terrible bugbears to sailors. For the Corfair tells me, That these Spouts very often occasion shipwrecks; either by entangling the masts of a ship; and so overturning it; or, by breaking in the encounter, overwhelm it with water, and so sink it.

He says likewise, that the Christian Pirates are accusom'd to use a certain Charm against these Spouts. They have a knife, whose haft is made of the bone of a man's right arm; and every Vessel is bound to provide one or two of these knives when they loose from the shore. They buy 'em of certain persons who have the character

rafter of magicians: And when they see a Spout at some distance from 'em at sea, the master of the Vessel, or any body else, takes this enchanted knife in his right hand, and holding the book of their Gospel in his left, reads some part of it, and when he comes to a certain Versicle which mentions the Incarnation of their Messiah, he makes a motion with his knife towards the Spout, as if he would cut it in two; thereupon immediately the Spout breaks in the middle, and all the inclos'd water falls into the sea.

But I tell thee, he who gives credit to the stories of Charms, or the projects of men pretending to excel all the rest of their race, has more Faith than is requisite to him who reads Æsop's Fables, since in perusing that ingenious Figment we are only desired to believe the MORAL.

'Tis thought by some that this Engineer will, by the natural clock-work of his heels, be much more nimble than his vessel, in flying the disgrace which will attend him, if his fantastick project prove unsuccessful. In my next thou shalt hear of Pachicour.

Paris, 12th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1653.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Murat, Bassa.

THE English, at present, make the greatest figure and noise of all the Nations in the West. Spain, Portugal, and even France itself, courts the friendship of that Island, since the inhabitants have form'd themselves into a Commonwealth. It appears as if the English were but newly awaken'd to a sense of their own strength, and by thus rousing themselves had alarm'd all their Neighbours.

However it be, this King has sent an Ambassador to the English Court to break the Negotiation of the Spaniards there, and to establish a Peace between England and France, if possible.

One cannot tell what to make of the Maxims of these Infidels. For, at the same time, the banish'd Heir of the English Crown takes his Sanctuary in this Court, where he is carefs'd, and made to believe great Things they will do towards his Restauration: But Interest supersedes all Arguments of Affection and Consanguinity. There are more sollicitous here for the success of the Embassy, than for the right of the poor exil'd Prince. He is call'd the King of Scotland, having been solemnly crown'd in that Kingdom since the death of his father; and, entering into England with an army of Scots, was routed; and, having narrowly escaped the trains that were laid for his liberty and life, at length landed in this Kingdom, where he has been entertain'd with much seeming affection. But the dread they are under, of the victorious new English Commonwealth, makes 'em begin to talk of his departure from hence.

The Prince of Conde has taken Rocroy; which was the first place where he signaliz'd his arms, in
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the Infant Reign of this King, about ten years ago; which the superstitious interpret as an Omen of ill Luck to the King. This sort of people are led by Maxims void of reason, and so there is no regard to be given to their observations: Yet some of the wiser sort think this will prove a long War.

That which amuses people most, is the small concern the Prince of Conti and the Dutchess of Longueville shew for their brother's cause. For, while the King was on his march against the Prince of Conde, they came and submitted themselves to him, and were received to favour. Those, who are apt to suspect an intrigue in every thing, say that this reconciliation is only feign'd on their part, it being a means to serve their persecuted brother with greater security and success. Others are of opinion, that it is real, especially on the Prince of Conti's part; since he and his brother had never any good understanding.

There has been a battle lately fought between the French and Spanish forces in Italy: Wherein the Spaniards lost twelve hundred men, and the French above half that number of their best soldiers. So that the King of France may say with a famous General, "Victories attended with so little advantage, will ruin rather than enlarge an Empire."

Bassa, in the midst of thy grandeur I wish thee health, which sweetens the worst events. As for me, I'm like one hovering between two worlds.

Paris, 15th of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1653.

L E T T E R X I X .

To Afis, Bassa.

THE Gods of the Nazarenes, one would think, were studying how to perplex their Adorers. These Western Parts abound with prodigies and surpassing events. More especially the Low-Countries feel the Strokes of a Hand, which by making 'em smart, seems to put them in mind, They're too high in their own Conceit.

For several weeks we have been alarm'd from thence with the tragical stories of shipwrecks, inundations, tempests of thunder and lightening, not usual at this time of the year; monstrous Spectres seen rising out of the seas, lakes, and rivers, Armies in the Air, with Comets, and other wonderful Apparitions.

The States of the United Provinces have lost by wreck sixteen Ships of War, and thirty-seven Merchant Vessels. It looks as if Æolus and Neptune, the chief Gods of the Hollanders, had enter'd into a League to punish 'em for struggling against their Fate, whilst they maintain a Fleet to brave and plunder the English, under whose shadow they first rose to a power they so ungratefully now possess.

For, besides these losses at sea, the winds and waves have conspir'd to break down their very Banks, the only guard they have against that encroaching Element. All the Low-Countries are overwhelm'd with water: Insomuch as, five miles within land from Ostend, there has been found a Whale newly cast up, seven times as long as a man.

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This the Infidels look on as a great Prodigy, and the Fore-runner of some strange Revolution; tho' it is but a natural event, and frequently happens in those seas where Whales are more plentiful. The Naturalists say, that this King of the Scaly Nations never makes his progress through the seas without his Guide; which is a certain small fish, that always swims before him, and gives him warning of flats and shallows, upon which he often strikes, and sometimes on the main shores, if this little Guide chance to be devour'd by any other fish, or come to other mishap. And this may be the reason, why so many Whales are found on the sands when the tide ebbs. They say also, that when this little fish is inclin'd to rest, it retires into the Whale's belly, reposing itself there for some time; during which the Whale rests also, not daring to venture forward, till his Guide comes forth, and leads the way. If this be true, it seems as if there were a league or friendship contracted between these two, they mutually performing all the necessary offices of love and gratitude. And how this can be done without some Species of Reason, I cannot comprehend.

Let them at the Port call me Minesth, or what they please, I cannot forbear doing this justice to the Fish of the Sea, as well as to the Animals on Earth, to acknowledge, that either they are endued with a kind of Reason; or that Faculty, which we call so in men, is no other than sense. If the Brutes perform many things without any deliberation or counsel, so do most men: And no man can demonstrate, that even those dumb beings do not advise and project, before they attempt any thing of moment towards their own preservation, or the service of others. And if they seem to do many things rashly, it may be attributed to the quickness and vivacity of their Sense, which needs not

not the slow and phlegmatic methods of human counsel.

Suffer these Digressions, courteous Bassa; and, since I have led thee so far out of the road, take but another step, and I'll shew thee a great Monarch, who commands millions of men, carried away captive by a silly Beast.

The King of France, t'other day, as he was a hunting, discharg'd a fowling-piece at a Partridge on the wing. The bird drop'd, and the Monarch, eager to take up his game, gave the reins to his horse, who ran away with him over a great plain, for the space of half a league. And had not the King fallen off, within six paces of a great chasm or hole of the earth, he would have been carried, for aught I know, to keep company with Horatius Curtius, the venturous Roman, of whose exploits thou hast heard; for the furious steed not being aware of the danger before him, as soon as he had cast the King gallop'd full speed into the gaping Precipice, and was never more heard of.

This the Priests cry up for a miraculous escape and presage, "That the King is reserv'd by Providence for great things."

The King of Portugal has an Ambassador here, who in his Master's name proposes a match between this King and the Infanta of Portugal, proffering four millions of crowns as her Dowry. But the Court entertains this motion coldly, the Cardinal being averse, for what reason is not known; for the Infanta has an illustrious character, and known to be a Princess of incomparable virtue.

This Minister is managing a match of nearer concern to himself, designing to marry one of his nieces to the Prince of Conti, brother to the Prince of Conde. And 'tis said, this Prince receives the Cardinal's proposals with less scorn, than did the Count of Soissons those

those of Cardinal Richlieu, on the like occasion.

Here is a rumour, as if the Prince of Conde would be condemn'd by a Proceſs of Parliament, and that he will be put to death in Effigy.

This indignity is common among the Infidels, who eſteem whatſoever Honour and Diſgrace is ſhewn to Images, as done to the Perſons whom they repreſent. They have no other excuſe for their Worſhip of Things made by the Hands of Men like themſelves, but that it is purely relative, and centers in the Prototype.

In the mean time the Prince of Conde's friends and well-wiſhers ſmile at his imaginary death; knowing, that, if no effectual ſtroke of Fate carry him out of the world, he will be at the head of a potent army in the Spring, to put many to death in reality, and by the edge of the ſword, who fight for his enemies.

A while ago a man was imprifon'd here by his own folly; having voluntarily declar'd, that he was hir'd by this Prince to aſſaſſinate Cardinal Maſzarini.

I have formerly ſpoke of the Count d' Harcourt, and the diſgrace he was in at this Court, for not continuing the ſiege of Londa, a ſtrong Hold of the Spaniards in Catalonia. The General is a brave man, and has done eminent ſervices to the Crown of France. It is no wonder, therefore, that he laid to heart the coldneſs and contempt with which he was receiv'd at his return from that unfortunate campaign. Great Souls are to be careſs'd with more than ordinary affection in their adverſe fortunes; and faithful ſervants ought not to be reproach'd with every falſe ſtep or ill ſucceſs in their affairs. The Count reſenting the King's carriage towards him, removed himſelf from the Court, and then out of the Kingdom; deſigning,

ing, as is supposed, to serve the Emperor of Germany.

Last week his two sons, that were detain'd as Hostages in this city, made their escape ; the Duke of Lorraine having promised to give the eldest his daughter in marriage.

The Duke roves up and down like a Free-Booter, with an army of Banditti at his heels.

Renown'd Afis, I make an humble and affectionate obeisance : wishing thee as many years of life, as thou canst pass without languishing for death.

Paris, 17th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1653.

L E T T E R XX.

To the Dgebe Nafir, Bassa.

THOU succeedest a righteous Minister, Chirgi Muhammet : I wish thee a surplussage of happiness ; which thou wilt not fail to possess if thou inheritest the virtues of that Bassa, as well as his Office. May his Soul now taste the reward of his just life ! And I doubt not but he has made an happy experience of my wishes. He sits down in quiet under the Tree of Eden ; his head encompass'd with a Garland of Flowers, which never fade ; vested with the immarcescible Crimson, and Purple of Paradise. He reposes on his Bed of Delight, whilst beau-

beautiful Pages serve him in Vessels of Gold, set round with Sapphires and Emeralds: He drinks the delectable wine which never inebriates; and eats of the Fruits, every morsel of which prolongs his life for a thousand Ages. He hears nothing but the voices of such as are full of benediction and joy. The Virgins of Paradise salute him with a grace which cannot be express'd. They chant to the new-come Guests Songs of immortal Love. To the stranger from Earth, they tell their passions in strains which ravish his heart. He is dissolv'd in a thousand Ecstasies. This is the Reward of a pious Mussulman, a wise Minister, a just Judge of the Faithful. Follow his example, and thou shalt be translated into his company: For he is in a goodly place, near the spring-head of perfect bliss.

Thou wilt expect some news from me, as a testimony of my respect. And I cannot pretend there is none stirring, at a juncture when all this part of the world is so full of Action, or at least of Counsels.

Here have been great rejoicings lately for the taking of St. Menehoud, a strong town in the hands of the Prince of Conde. All the Officers of the French King's army endeavoured to dissuade him from the siege of this place; but Cardinal Mazarini over-rul'd their arguments, and, having reprov'd their groundless fears, caus'd it to be invested and attack'd the 22d of the 10th Moon. Some say he had a party there; yet it held out 'till the 27th of the last Moon, at which time it was surrender'd upon Articles to the King, who was there in person, with his brother the young Duke of Anjou, the Queen, the Cardinal, and the whole Court. They return'd to this city the 9th of this present Moon.

They were receiv'd with great acclamations,
and

and seeming joy, by those who would have triumph'd more heartily, had they been defeated, or forc'd to raise the Siege. For the citizens of Paris wish well to the Prince of Cond's arms, not so much out of love to him, as in hatred of his enemy the Cardinal Minister. And they are sensible, That this successful siege will redound wholly to the Cardinal's honour, by whose sole orders the place was invested.

It is discours'd, that this Minister has some new design on foot, to conquer the Kingdom of Naples. This is certain, a mighty Fleet is fitting out to sea: Whither bound no man knows but those of the Cabinet, among whom the Cardinal is chief.

In the mean while, the common people listen after certain Prodigies that have been seen in the air. They say, a flaming Sword appear'd lately to rise in the North, and take its course South - Eastward. From whence people make various Prognostics, as their passions or interests inspire them. Some are of opinion it prefigures the Conquest of Naples by the King's arms. Others apply it to the new Commonwealth of England, and to the victorious sword of Oliver; who, from General of the English army, is now, in this very Moon, exalted to the Height of Sovereign Power, governing the Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the Title of their Protector.

Here are divers of his Subjects in this city; and other English, Scots, and Irish, who embrace the interest of Charles, the son of their late murder'd King, who has been since crown'd King of the Scots. They give a different character of Oliver; yet all agree, that he is a wise Statesman and a great General.

The Scotch King's party speak contemptible

tible of Oliver's birth and education: Yet thou knowest this hinders not, but he may be a man of courage and virtue. They relate many odd passages of his Youth, which seem to me so many evidences of an extraordinary Genius, and that he is a person of a deep reach.

He tamper'd with several religious Factions in England, counterfeiting an exquisite piety, whereby he first rais'd himself a name among the Zealots of that Nation, who look'd upon him there as a very holy person, and one mark'd out by Destiny for great undertakings.

He soon got a considerable Command in the army of the Revolters; where he signaliz'd himself by many brave actions, which spoke him a man of an invincible courage, and admirable conduct. So that at length none was thought more fit than he to be General. In fine, he acquitted himself so gallantly in that high Office, and has so wrought himself into the affections of the people, that they now look upon him as a Prophet or Saviour; and the Divan, or Parliaments of that Nation, have conferr'd on him the Sovereign Authority.

Those of the English, which are affected to his interest, speak great things in his praise, They call him another Moses or Joshua; they prefer him to Hannibal, Scipio, and even to the Great Alexander. It is difficult for them to speak of him without Hyperboles. 'Tis said the King of France will court his friendship. Indeed all the neighbouring countries stand in awe of this successful Hero. And the Hollanders, who are the only people that durst engage in a War with the English Commonwealth, now seek for a Peace, since he is invested with the supreme Authority.

In the mean time the poor exil'd King of
the

the Scots takes sanctuary in this Court, with his mother the late Queen of England, and his brother, whom they call the Duke of York. The French King allows them all very considerable Pensions; and the latter has some Command in his Army in Flanders. There is another brother also; but little talk'd of as yet, being the youngest of the three.

They are generously entertain'd here, it being the peculiar honour of this Court to be a hospitable Refuge to Princes in distress. Yet observing men say, the King will in time grow weary of his Royal Guests; it being very chargeable to maintain them and their burdensome retinue. Besides, he will have some reason of state to discard them, if he enters into a league with Oliver, the new English Sovereign, who is courted on all hands.

Eliachim the Jew (of whom thou wilt hear in the Divan) is just come into my chamber, and brings me word, That there is an express newly arriv'd, who informs the Queen of a defeat given to the Spaniards near a city called Rozes, which they had besieged in Catalonia. The French were going to the relief of this place, and the Spaniards set upon them in their march, but were beaten into their trenches; from whence they fled by night, leaving three hundred Spaniards on the spot, almost two thousand prisoners, and all their cannon and baggage.

This has put the Court into a jolly humour. Nothing but revelling and dancing employs their time: The young King taking great delight in balls, masques, and such recreations; having left off hunting, ever since his horse ran away with him in the tenth Moon of this year, after he had shot a Partridge. Whereof I have spoken already in one of my letters.

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The great GOD preserve thee from Precipices,
Poison, the Glances of a Witch, and from be-
ing canoniz'd a Martyr in a String: And, for
other deaths, thou hast Virtues enough to en-
counter 'em bravely.

Paris, 30th of the 12th Moon,
of the Year 1653.

The END of the Third Book.

L E T T E R S

WRIT BY

A S P Y A T P A R I S.

B O O K I V.

L E T T E R I.

To Bedredin, Superior of the Convent of
Derviches, at Cogni at Natolia.

WHEN I first open'd thy venerable letter,
my heart on a sudden became fresh as a
garden of roses or fields of cinnamon and myrrh,
whose odours are exhal'd by the West wind. In
my breast there sprung a fountain of joy, serene
as crystal, and refreshing as the waters of Eu-
phrates.

I contemplate thee as a Cedar among the trees
of the Forest, or as the durable Oak of the De-
sart. May Heaven prolong thy life, till the Sound
of the Trumpet!

The commands, with which thou hast honour'd
me,

me, came in an acceptable hour. I have receiv'd them with a complacency which I cannot exprefs. My eyes were fo fix'd on the lines of great purity, that I could not for a long time take them off. Thou haft hit the mark of my affection, in employing me to write what the moft impartial Hiftorians fay of Jefus, the fon of Mary, the Chriftian Meffias.

That holy Prophet was honour'd by his very enemies. Jofephus, a learned Jew, who liv'd in his time, and wrote the Hiftory of that Nation, makes worthy mention of him.

So did many of the Gentile Philofophers, though they oppos'd his Difciples and Followers. Porphyry, whom the Chriftians commonly repute as a bitter enemy to his Profefion, yet calls Jefus, Wife, Bleffed, and Divine. That Sage was exasperated againft a certain Sect of Nazarenes in his time, whom they call'd Gnoftics. Thefe corrupted the Doctrines of Plato, and the Theology of the Ancients; wantonly mixing human fables with divine truth. Againft thefe Porphyry sharpen'd his pen, and, not making a difference between them and other Chriftians, drew upon himfelf the ill-will of them all. Yet he retain'd a profound attachment for the Meffias.

Would'ft thou know the circumftances of this Holy Prophet's birth? They were glorious even in obfcurity. For, though his father and mother were then upon the road to Jerufalem, ftrangers at Bethlehem, and forc'd for want of room in the Caravancera to lodge in a ftable with an ox and an afs, where the Meffias was born, and laid in a manger; yet in this contemptible ftate there came fome of the Magi out of Perfia and Chaldæa, who brought Prefents to the Holy Infant; and having laid at his feet gold, myrrh, and incenfe, they proftated themfelves on the ground, and praifed GOD, the Moft High King

of All, in that he had honour'd them with a sight of the Messias.

This was in the 43d Year of the Reign of Augustus Cæsar the Roman Emperor; at which time one Herod was President of Judea. This man being inform'd, that certain noble Strangers were come out of the East to Jerusalem, he sent for them, and requiring the occasion of so tedious a journey, they gave him this answer.

“Peace be to thee, O Sultan: There was of old time a Prophet of great fame in our Nation; who, among other predictions that have since come to pass, left also this in writing.

“That in Palestine should be born a Child of heavenly Race, who would rule over the greatest part of the world; and by this sign ye shall know the time and place of his birth: A strange Star shall appear in the Firmament, which shall direct you to the very house where you may find him. When therefore ye shall behold this Star, take gold, myrrh, and incense, and following the conduct of the Star, go and offer these gifts to the young Child; then return immediately to your own country, lest some grievous calamity befall you.

“Now this Star has appear'd to us, we are come to perform what was commanded us.”

Herod said to them, “Ye have done well. Go therefore and seek diligently for the Infant; and when you have found him come and tell me, that I may go and pay homage also.”

But they never return'd to him again. Wherefore Herod in his anger and jealousy commanded all the Infants in Bethlehem to be strangled, that had not been born above four and twenty Moons. But the father and the mother of the Holy Infant fled away with him into the Land where it never rains, the same night that the Magi came.

What I here relate to thee, sage Bedredin, is

taken out of approv'd Historians, for many among the Gentiles wrote of these things besides the Christians.

There was a Roman Philosopher much about the same time, a man in great esteem with Cæsar; to whom he wrote a letter, wherein he mentions the coming of the Magi after this manner. "Certain oriental Persians, says he, have set foot within the limits of thy Empire, bringing presents fit only for Kings, to a certain Child newly born in the Country of the Jews; but who this Infant is, or whose son, we are yet ignorant."

Thou seest, O pious Dervich, that the Messias appear'd with no small lustre, even in his Cradle; and, in his early years, he enter'd into the Temple, and disputed with the Hebrew Rabbi's, convincing them of an universal defection from the primitive Law of Moses, declaring himself the Messias; and yet in profound humility acknowledging, That a Prophet should come after him, who should be preferred before him, the dust of whose feet he was not worthy to kiss. This passage the Christians have perverted to another sense; but the true Faithful know it was spoken only of Mahomet, the SEAL of the PROPHETS.

The time would fail me, to recount all the stupendous actions of this Man's life: And, in calling him MAN, I imitate his own example; since throughout the whole he never called himself GOD, or the Son of GOD, as the Christians do, but most frequently gave himself the Title of the Son of Man. He turn'd water into wine, fed five thousand people with five Cakes and two small Tench: Heal'd all diseases, restor'd sight to them that were born blind, rais'd the dead, went invisibly through crowds of his enemies, and, finally, was taken up into Paradise.

If thou would'st know more of this Holy Prophet;

phet; there are Historians who say, He was initiated in the Myſteries of the Eſſenes, a certain Sect among the Jews.

That nation, it ſeems, was then divided into ſeven Claſſes: among which, this of the Eſſenes was none of the leaſt conſiderable, as being the moſt religious obſervers of the Law. Their converſation was full of humanity, both among themſelves, and towards ſtrangers; avoiding pleaſures as enemies to the mind, and eſteeming charity the very cement of all virtues. Therefore they deſpis'd marriages, as an entanglement to men devoted to contemplation. They had alſo an equal contempt for riches: No man of this Sect call'd any thing his own, though 'twere his lawful inheritance; but their poſſeſſions were in common and equally diſtributed.

It was among their Myſteries, to anoint their bodies frequently with oil, and as often to waſh 'em with running water. They neither bought nor ſold, nor frequented the public Places; but every one communicated freely ſuch things as he poſſeſs'd, to him that ſtood in need. Thus there was a reciprocal exchange of kindneſſes and aſſiſtance, according to every one's faculty and power. They were very aſſiduouſ in watching, faſting, and prayers, curious in obſerving the various names of the Angels, which they frequently repeated, invoking thoſe happy Beings, as the Miniſters of the King eternal: And thoſe, who were exerciſ'd in this kind of religious life, arriv'd to ſo great a conſtancy of mind, that neither racks, fire, ſword, or any other tortures, could ever move 'em to renounce their Law, or ſpeak the leaſt word in contempt of their Inſtitution. Nay, they would rather ſuffer Martyrdom, than be prevail'd on to taſte of any thing that had life in it. For they were ſtrict obſervers of the Law, which
com-

commands perpetual abstinence from the Flesh of Animals.

It was an establish'd Article of Faith, that as soon as the Union of soul and body was dissolv'd by Death, the former by a natural inclination ascends to the skies, even as sparks fly upward when freed from the gross, earthly matter in which they lay imprison'd.

I have here given thee a short and true character of the Essenes. Of which Sect all Christians own the Messias to be a Favourer, if not Member; in regard he is no where recorded to have upbraided them, as often as he did the Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, and the rest.

Time will not permit me to say more at present concerning that venerable Prophet. But, if thou would'st have a perfect Idea of all his virtue and sanctity of life, turn thy eyes inward, and fix them on thyself. For thou art a lively Transcript of the Holy Jesus.

Paris, 1st of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1654.

LETTER II.

To the Venerable Mufti.

THOU hast heard of the Jesuits, an Order of Nazarene Dervises. All Europe abounds with them; and they have attempted to settle themselves at the sublime Port, and several places of Asia: Besides their actual possessions in the Indies, where they are very numerous and powerful. They are esteem'd the richest Order of the Roman Church, tho' the Constitutions of their Founder oblige them to perpetual Poverty. But what will not the sacred hunger of gold tempt men to? For the sake of this charming métal, they can dispense with antiquated Laws and dull melancholy Vows.

These religious persons have lately spread about a Letter in print, which they pretend comes from one of their Order in America.

This Dispatch relates a strange accident that has happen'd at the Sepulchre of our holy Prophet, (upon whom rest the Favours of the Eternal.) For it affirms, That, in the eighth Moon of the last year, the Shrine which contains the Body of the heavenly Missioner, fell from the roof of the sacred Mosque, to which, they say, it adher'd by virtue of a Magnet, fasten'd in the Centre of the Arch; and that, at the same time, the Pavement of the Temple open'd, and swallow'd up that venerable Ark, wherein was repositèd the most holy Reliques in the world. And that from the Chasm there issued out a flame like that of Sulphur, accompany'd with such a smoke and intolerable stench,

as caus'd all the Pilgrims that were present to swoon away : Whereupon many of them are since turn'd Christians.

This forgery is believ'd here by those who never examine any thing their Priests tell them, but take all on trust. The common people bless themselves in that they were born of Christian parents, and not of the Disciples of that wicked Impostor : So they blaspheme the Man in whom the Promises of their Messias are verified, when he said, "He would intercede with GOD to send a Prophet who should lead 'em into all truth."

They would never be at the pains or cost to examine, whether the foundation of this story be true or false. All the Mussulmans who have been at that Holy of Holies know, that the Body of our Divine Law-giver reposes in a Sepulchre, built after the same manner as the Tombs of our august Emperors, and other Dormitories of the Great : Only with this difference, that it surpasses all the Monuments of the world in the invaluable richness of its ornaments, the gifts of devout Mussulman Princes. There appears always such an insupportable lustre of gold and precious stones, in every angle of that mysterious recess as may well dazzle the eyes of mortal Spectators, since the Angels themselves are forc'd to be veil'd within those majestic walls.

Hence it is not hard to suppose, that the circular Refractions of such a glittering Orb of Jewels might create the resemblance of a Tomb suspended in the air, or cleaving to the roof of that glorious Edifice, deceiving the eyes of some ignorant, but devout Mussulmans, from whom this magnetic Fable first took its origin. However it be, no man of common Faith, or but ordinary sense, will believe, that GOD, who has for so many ages protected the Sepulchre of his Apostle and Favourite, verifying therein the Prophecy of Mahomet

himself, who foretold, as did other Prophets before him, "That the Place of his rest should be glorious, and that the greatest Monarchs of the earth should visit it:" I say no man will believe that GOD would at length suffer so vile a disgrace to happen to the Tomb of his Messenger, the Refuge of Sinners.

But the Nazarenes will believe any thing save the truth. They are given up to a Spirit of Delusion and Error, incapable of light and instruction.

Thus I leave 'em till the Day of Alarm, and the Hour of Scrutiny; when the Angels of the Test shall enter the Graves, and, having made experiment of every man's Works and Faith, shall give the Just a Register of their Virtues in their Right hand, but to the Wicked in their Left hand, a black Record of their Sins.

In the mean time, I prostrate myself before thee, begging, that, when thou turnest thy Face to the House of Ibrahim, and the Tomb of the Prophet, thou wilt send up one Ejaculation for Mahmut, that he may persevere in shunning the Errors of the Infidels.

Paris, 19th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R III.

To Cara Hali, Physician to the Grand
Seignior.

SINCE what I wrote last in behalf of the Brute Animals is so acceptable to thee, I will comply with thy request in continuing that discourse.

'Tis certain the Ancients had another opinion of the Beasts than these French Philosophers, who deny them the use of Reason. Socrates us'd to swear by the Animal Generations, and so did Rhadamanthus before him. The Egyptians form'd the Images of the Gods in the similitude of Beasts, or Birds or Fishes. So the Grecians fix'd the Horns of a Ram on the Head of Jupiter's statue, and those of a Bull on the Image of Bacchus. They compounded the Image of Pan of a Man and a Goat; painted the Muses and Graces with Wings: And the Poet Pindar makes all the Gods winged, and disguises them in the shapes of several Beasts, when in his Hymns, he introduces them chas'd by Tryphon. Thou knowest also, that our holy Doctors affirm the Angel Gabriel to have Wings, with one of which he once gave a mark to the Moon.

When the Poets bring in Jupiter courting Pasiphae, he appears in the form of a Bull. And in his other Amours, if we may believe them, he chang'd himself sometimes into a Swan, then into an Eagle: They report also, that he was suckled by a Goat.

For these and other reasons, the Ancients not
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only forbore to injure their Fellow Animals, but entertain'd them with singular affection and friendship. A Dove was the darling of Semiramis. A Dog was the joy of Cyrus. Philip King of Macedon made a Swan his companion. And our holy Law-giver was often wont to sport himself with a Cat. He lov'd this creature for its cleanness and activity ; and therefore we Musfulmans generally have a Cat in great esteem and veneration.

That Favourite of GOD understood the Language of Beasts, and convers'd as familiarly with them as with men. So it is fam'd of Melampus, and Tiresias of old, as also of Apollonius Tyanæus, who affirm'd to his friend, sitting by him, that a Sparrow, which he heard chirping to his fellows, told them of an Afs which he had seen fall down with his load a little way off from that place. It is also recorded of a boy, who understood all the Voices of Birds, and by that means could foretel things to come, That his mother, by pouring urine into his ears when he was asleep, depriv'd him of his incomparable gift, for fear he should be taken from her, and presented to the King. There is no question, but several Nations have a certain knowledge of the Speech of some Animals. My Countrymen, by a peculiar gift bestow'd on our Fathers and their Posterity for ever, understand the language of Crows and Eagles. And the Ancients were so well vers'd in this Knowledge, that when they convers'd with the Birds, or at least when they heard them in their Language utter presages of what should shortly happen to Earth, they persuaded themselves that those Birds were the Messengers of the Gods. Therefore the Eagle was suppos'd to be the Messenger of Jupiter, the Crow and Hawk of Apollo, the Stork of Juno, the Owl of Minerva, and so of others.

It is evident, that our common Huntsmen understand the different Voices of their Dogs, when at a distance they signify by one kind of Cry, that they are questing after the Hare; by another, that they have found her; by a third, that they have taken her, or that she is turn'd to the Right hand, or to the Left. So those, who look after cattle, know by the Voice of the Bull when he is hungry, thirsty, or weary, or when he is stung with lust. So by the Roaring of the Lion, the Howling of Wolves, the Bleating of Sheep, Men are made sensible of the various wants, inclinations, and passions of those creatures.

Nor are these Animals ignorant of our Language, but by our voices or words they know when we are angry or pleas'd, when we call them to us or drive them from us: And our domestic animals obey accordingly, with as much promptness and alacrity as a man or maid-servant. All which could not be, if they were not endued with faculties conformable to ours. They also teach their young ones to sing artificially. In a litter of Dogs, Huntsmen chuse the best by this experiment; They take all the Whelps from the Bitch, and carry them to some place at a little distance; then they observe which she first carries back again, and those always prove the best Dogs. What is this distinguishing Faculty in the Bitch but Reason, or something like it.

We see apparently, that every living Creature knows its own weakness or strength, and knows how to use most dexterously those Weapons with which Nature has furnish'd it for its own Defence. They are also sensible what places are most convenient for them to dwell in, and which not. Thus the weakest creatures, as Dogs and Cats, live together in Houses and Cities with Men, whilst the Lions, Tigers, and such fierce animals

school, which cannot be done without the use of Reason.

To conclude, I have omitted five hundred arguments, which might be brought to prove the brute Animals to have Souls as well as we, to have Faculties and Affections conformable to ours. And therefore it is little less injustice to kill and eat them, because they cannot speak and converse with us, than it would be for a Cannibal to murder and devour thee or me, because we understood not his Language, nor he ours.

GOD, who locketh up the Winds, during the time the Halcyon hatcheth her Young, thereby shewing that this Bird is his Favourite, will assuredly grant us a perpetual tranquillity, if we abstain from injuring our Fellow-Animals.

Paris, 22d of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R I V.

To Mustapha, Berber Aga, at the Seraglio.

THOU hast formerly heard me speak of the Duke of Lorraine, and his several losses which most people thought would have ended with the Excommunication pronounced against him by the Roman Mufti, whereof I gave thee intelligence. But experience teaches us, "That misfortunes
" seldom set upon any man singly, but assault
" him in troops whom Fate has mark'd out for
" ruin." Yet this Prince owes his sufferings chiefly to his own inconstancy, whilst he has long play'd fast and loose with the Kings of France and

Spain, taking up arms by successive turns for one, at the same time underhand practising with the other, always unfaithful to both, and only driving on an independent interest of his own.

This is his true character. To which we may add, an ungovernable disposition, and insatiable thirst of money, which has prompted him by all the methods of rapine and violence, to heap up an incredible treasure of gold and jewels. So that having procur'd the enmity of several Monarchs, the jealousy of his late Master the King of Spain, the ill-will of his own brother (whom they call Duke Francis) and the curses of all people wherever his army has been quarter'd; he is at length seiz'd and imprison'd by Arch-Duke Leopold, in the castle of Antwerp; for which joyful news the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands every-where made bonfires for joy. He was confin'd on the 25th of the last Moon. And soon after his second wife was taken into custody, that by her means they may discover his papers and money: This latter being the chief thing they aim at, he being reputed prodigiously rich; and the Spanish coffers want a supply. They connived at his robberies, whilst there was any thing left for him to plunder, and that they saw he hoarded up. But now he has done his work, they punish him for the crimes which they themselves encourag'd, that so they may become masters of his wealth. 'Tis said, he brook'd his restraint very well at first; but a while ago, being deny'd the liberty of the Castle walls, he grew raving mad, flung a Candlestick (which was all the weapons they allow'd him) at the Governor's head, and broke the windows of his lodgings. So that they have been forc'd to confine him to a hole without any light, save a little that finds admittance through an iron grate at the top of the room.

His

His brother Francis of Lorraine is to command the army in his stead; who pretends great fidelity to the House of Austria, yet may in the issue prove as wavering as his brother: For the King of France has baits would tempt the Virtue of an Angel. Yet nothing shall ever corrupt the integrity of Mahmut the Mussulman, on whose forehead Fate has engraven this motto, "Prepar'd to suffer."

I blush, serene Aga, when I think I am so barren of Virtues that I have nothing else to boast of but my Loyalty: Whilst thousands of illustrious Souls, crown'd with a circle of merits, daily ascend to Paradise: And tho' they made but an obscure figure on earth, even as contemptible as the exil'd Arabian in his Hutch at Paris, yet now take their Seats among the hundred and twenty-four thousand Prophets, Favourites of the Eternal.

May'st thou increase that happy number, but not till thou hast had thy fill of bliss on earth; and that all thy enjoyments here seem like the perfumes of ointments, which, tho' they please for a time, yet at length they cloy the sense.

Paris, 23d of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1654.

LET.

LETTER V.

To Nathan Ben Saddi, a Jew at Vienna.

DO not suspect me of partiality, or that I am fond of making Profelytes, because I take such pains to restore thee to Reason, and make thee sensible thou art a Man. I have no design, or self-interest, in doing thee this good office; and 'tis remote from my humour to busy myself in gaining Converts. Only the love of truth sets my pen to work in this manner; being ever of the mind, That a free disquisition, in matters either of Religion or Philosophy, is the only way to get quit of errors. Perhaps my case may be the same as thine: And, for aught thou knowest, I seek not more to undeceive thee, than to satisfy myself, by thus frankly venting my thoughts; since nothing is more commonly observed, than, that, whilst a man is teaching another he improves himself. Our memories are frail and treacherous, and we think many excellent things, which, for want of making a deep impression, we can never recover afterwards. In vain we hunt for the straggling Idea; and rummage all the solitudes and retirements of our Soul for a lost thought, which has left no track or footstep behind it. The swift Off-spring of the Mind is gone; 'tis dead as soon as born; nay, often proves abortive in the moment it was conceived. The only way therefore to retain our thoughts, is to fasten them in words and chain them in writing. This is one cause that I trouble thee with letters of this nature; that, whilst I am instructing thee, I may establish my own Reason, and confirm myself in the method I have taken, to live according to my Nature; that is, by not suffering my rational Faculties to fall asleep, whilst my passions are active and vigorous in working my ruin. For I reckon

reckon no greater shame or misfortune can befall a man, than to be deprived of his humanity, that is, his Reason.

What I have said, concerning the perfidiousness of our Memories, may serve as a proper introduction to the objections I shall make against your Traditionary Laws.

If one ask you, "Why these Laws were not written as well as the other;" You answer, "That God took care in this, lest the Gentiles getting copies of 'em, should corrupt and pervert the Sense, even as they had done the written Laws." But how then came he to suffer any to be written? Has he not equal care of one part, as of the other? Or, could the Gentiles do more harm, by altering and corrupting the less substantial Traditions, than the very fundamental Statutes? For, that these unwritten Laws contain'd only circumstantials, your Doctors themselves confess. What man of common sense then can sit down contented with so trivial an answer? Or will you say, that GOD took more care to preserve these Traditions incorrupt from the Gentiles, than to retain them in their purity among the Jews? For that committing them to writing had been the surest way to retain them in their original purity, is evident by the preservation of the written Law; of which there was so great care taken in transcribing it, that if but a letter or point were added, diminish'd, or misplac'd, they took it for a fatal Omen of some calamity, and the faulty Scribes were severely punished, nay the whole Congregation were bound to expiate the offence by Fasting, Prayers, and Alms. So that it was in a manner impossible, that, with all this circumspection, the least corruption or alteration should creep into the written Law.

I appeal now to thine own reason, whether this was not a much securer way of preserving the Laws uncorrupt, than by trusting them to the fickle memories of men?

Besides I would fain know what became of these Traditions

Traditions during the various Captivities of the Jews, and Depopulation of the Holy Land? Who took care to deliver these Traditions unalter'd to Posterity when they were without Priests, Prophets, or Synagogues? When they were dispers'd over the remote Provinces of Media, Persia, Egypt, and Babylon? In those days your Fathers were slaves to the Gentile Kings of Asia; there were then no Seniors sitting in the Sanhedrim, who might take care of these things. Neither do I find, that Esdras the Scribe was any ways concern'd for these Traditions, when he, with his brethren the Jews, return'd from their long captivity in Persia and Babylon. All his most strenuous endeavours were employ'd in recovering the lost Books of the Written Law, without so much as regarding or mentioning the other. From whence I gather, that either these Traditions were of no great importance; or if they were, yet they were wholly or for the most part chang'd or lost many hundred of years before the Talmud was first compos'd, which, thou say'st, is the grand Repository of these sacred Instructions. And, in saying so, thou contradictest thy own arguments: For if these Traditions were appointed to be transmitted by Word of Mouth, from Father to Son, to all Generations, as you suppose, then what need was there of writing them in the Talmud, or any other Book? And yet the Writings of your Rabbi's are full of them. Thus thou confoundest thyself, and runnest blindfold round in a circle of absurdities.

Rouze up therefore thy reason, and suffer not thyself to be hoodwinked by the Fables of your Rabbi's, those industrious Midwives of old womens Tales. Doubtless those Traditions, about which you make such a bustle, are no other than the Whimsies of your Cabalists, who pretend to spy more Mysteries in the order of two or three Hebrew letters or points, than they are able to unfold in whole Volumes. They crack their brains
in

in conjuring up far-fetched Interpretations, from the particular fashion and placing of one single dash of a pen. They puzzle and amuse their Disciples, with teaching them more knotty and romantic Divinity out of the four and twenty Letters, than ever Pythagoras did with all his mystic Numbers. The Alphabet to them is the Oracle of Theology. They have turned the Law into a perfect Riddle.

Believe not therefore these religious Mountebanks, those holy Jugglers, who with their sanctify'd Legerdemain would turn you into Apes, that they may laugh in secret at your folly: while they behold, how precisely devout you are in cringing, jumping, dancing, howling, braying, and all your other antic postures and actions in the Synagogue; in the practice of which you have bestowed so much care, and are so exact, that you quite neglect the weighty Points of the Law.

I hope, what I have said, is sufficient to convince thee, that those Traditions, which you are taught to believe were deliver'd to Moses in the Mount of God, are no other than the Impositions of your blind Guides, who are studious of nothing more, than to entangle you in a perpetual Labyrinth of Superstition and Error.

It will not be a greater difficulty to demonstrate, that the written Law itself, though divine in its Original, is not of universal Obligation to all People, but only calculated for your particular Nation, and such as were willing to enter into your interest, among the Nations adjacent to the Holy Land.

And because my time hastens me, I will only suggest one argument for all, and leave it to thy deliberation; whether it was possible for all mankind to repair once a year to Jerusalem, to sacrifice in Solomon's Temple, as is requir'd in your Law? For that is was not lawful to sacrifice any where else is evident, both from the Law itself, which expressly

expressly forbids it, and from the Examples of your Fathers in their several Captivities ; and from your own Practice at this day, who have made no sacrifice since the days of Titus Vespasian, the Roman Emperor, who laid waste your City, and burnt your Temple to ashes.

And this may also serve to convince thee, that the Law of Moses was not of perpetual Obligation, even to the Jews themselves ; since 'tis evident from matters of fact, that, for these sixteen hundred years, you have not been in a capacity to keep it : And doubtless, GOD would never require any thing of men, which he foresaw they would not be able to perform.

Cease then to think so highly of thy nation, as if none but they were the Elect of GOD, or capable of his favours : Cease to insult over the rest of mankind, and to curse thy brethren the Sons of one Father, even Noah the just Man and Prophet of GOD. Behold the Sun and Moon, with all the Constellations in Heaven : Their Influences are equally dispersed to all of Human Race. Behold the Elements : they serve all the Sons of Adam alike ; they are not partial to Mortals, neither does any Faction byass the Winds and Rain. These happen all at their appointed times and places. And the four Seasons of the Year return with even courses to the inhabitants of the four Corners of the World. The Plants know no difference between the Circumcis'd and the Uncircumcis'd ; but yield their encrease with equal indifferency to the one and the other : And the Brute Animals equally acknowledge both for their Lords. The Birds of the Air are as soon caught by a Heathen, Christian, or Mahometan Fowler, as by one that is a Jew. And the Fish of the Sea, when they swallow the hook, or plunge themselves into the net, regard not the difference of Religion in those that catch them. All things happen to every man according to their Nature and the Pleasure of Destiny :

tiny: Only man himself transgresses the condition of his Being. But those that obey the eternal Law-giver, let them be of what Nation or Religion soever, doubtless they live happily, and die in peace.

However, lest Men should err for want of Knowledge, a Light is sprung forth in the East, even the Book of Glory, which confirms the written Law, and instructs men in the Truth. Doubtless this Book was brought down from Heaven: It carries its own evidence, and a Testimony of its divine Original, in the majesty of the style: There is a Spirit and Energy in every word, sublimating the Intellect of the devout Reader, and purifying his affections: It is written in Arabic, in a Dialect so pure and perfect, that the most accurate Critics can find no blemish from the beginning to the end. One part coheres exactly with the other; 'tis void of contradiction. All the Chapters in this glorious Volume are of a piece; which excellencies could not have thus met together without a miracle, in a Book divulg'd by a Man, who could neither write nor read.

The success it has had in the World, speaks it of celestial Descent. The greatest part of Asia, and Afric, with many kingdoms in Europe, have obey'd the Alcoran for above these thousand years. Could such a thing come to pass, without the Decree of Heaven? When the Prophet and Favourite of GOD first receiv'd his divine Commission, he was like a Pelican in the Wilderness, so solitary, and without companion. Nevertheless, he was not discourag'd, but obey'd the Orders of Heaven. He saw himself in the midst of Rocks and Sands, encompassed on all Sides with terrible Beasts: Yet he despair'd not of assistance from above, but comforted himself in the promise of the Eternal. He first preached to the savage Lions and Tigers; who, as if they had heard another Orpheus, grew tame and sociable at his powerful words. Those fierce
inhabitants

inhabitants of the woods came and prostrated themselves before the Seat of GOD; they lick'd his feet, in token of submission; they environ'd the place of his repose, as his guards, and brought him food morning and evening. The Prophet wondered that so great grace was given to the Beasts of the earth. He prais'd the Creator of all things, and his mouth was full of Benedictions. He blessed the Day and the Night, and the Obscurity that came between them. He bless'd the Dews that fall at the rising of the odoriferous Star, and the refreshing winds that stir the leaves of the trees at Midnight. And in the Morning he pray'd that all men might become true Believers. Doubtless GOD had granted his Petition, had not the Angel, who carry'd up his Prayers to Heaven, met with the Devil, a little on this side the Orb of the Moon, who stole from him some of Mahomet's words, that so the Prayer ascended imperfect to the Throne of the Merciful. Nevertheless, a great part of men became Believers; and more shall be added to the number.

In a little time the solitary Prophet saw himself at the head of a numerous army, all Voluntiers, who resorted to him in the Wilderness, as they were inspir'd from Above. The mighty Men of Arabia oppos'd the sacred Hero: They led the power of the East against him; but they accelerated their own Fate, and incens'd their angry Stars. The Elements took up arms against them, and the Meteors fought in defence of the Messenger of GOD. Lightning and hail, with stones of fire, blasted the troops of the Infidels: And terrible storms of wind buried whole armies in the sands. Thus the Host of the Mussulmans became victorious without drawing a sword, and the Empires of the Wicked fell to the possessions of true Believers. Persia, Babylon, and Egypt were subdued, and embrac'd the undefiled Truth. The Alccran was receiv'd from India to the Mauritanian shore:

From

From the rising of the Sun, to the going down thereof, this holy Profession is made with one consent, There is but one GOD, and Mahomet his Prophet.

Now Nathan consider, whether ever the Law of Moses had such footing in the World, or the Children of Israel could boast of such universal Conquests: Your little Kingdom has had its Period long ago; and both that, and all the Empires of Asia and Afric, are swallowed up in the All-conquering Monarchy of the Osmans. Your Tabernacle, Temple, City, and Sacrifices, are quite extinct: Your Nation scattered over the whole World, without Lands or Possessions that they call their own. Neither is there Prince, Priest, or Prophet, to whom you can have recourse for delivery from your misfortunes.

Come out therefore from the Synagogue, which lies under the Scourge of Heaven; shake off the Malediction; and, being purified, join thyself to the true Believers, who are blessed in this World, and shall be happy in Paradise. Or at least stand by thyself, and follow thy own Light. Adieu.

Paris, 22d of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1654.

LETTER VI.

To Dicheu Hufflein, Bassa.

THE policies of Cardinal Mazarini are no secrets at the Imperial City. Now he is about to play his master-piece. He has all along maintain'd Pensioners in the service of the French Grandees. No man of prime Quality cou'd be sure he entertain'd not at his table some creature of this Minister. Disguises of all sorts, both for body and mind, were never wanting to men dexterous at treachery, and officious to do mischief.

But now he is setting Spies of another character on the Princes of the Blood, and the chief Nobility of France. Women are to become his private agents; Females of his own Blood, true Italians, and brought up under his particular care and management: In a word, his Sisters and Nieces.

Five of them are newly come to this city, having been conducted hither by the Cardinal's Secretary, accompanied with a considerable retinue of Courtiers, who went to meet them some leagues from Paris. 'Tis said, That one of those ladies is a great beauty, and that the young King, having seen her Picture, fell in love with her.

This is certain, the Prince of Conti has married one of them; with whom the Cardinal has given his palace, and two hundred thousand crowns in Dowry.

They talk as if another of them was to be married to the Duke of Candale; and the third, to the son of General Harcourt. And, as if Mazarini

zarini were emulous of Joseph's character and authority in Pharaoh's Court, he has sent for his Father also, with all his Family, to come and reside in France. He is resolv'd to stock this Kingdom with Sicilian Blood, a Race of Mazarins : who by instinct, as well as by rules, shall carry on the design he had laid ; and either raise this tottering State to the height of his Model, or absolutely ruin it. For that active spirit cannot take up with Mediums.

'Tis said, That the Duke of Orleans resents very ill the Cardinal's ambition, in marrying his Nieces into the Blood Royal. That Prince will not be prevail'd on to come near the Court ; but rather favours the Prince of Conde, and the other Malecontents ; whence some people are apt to preface another turn of affairs before 'tis long ; for the generality of the French are inclin'd to the Prince's party.

There is great caballing all over the Kingdom ; and the Cardinal strives to push his interest forward by all the methods of a cunning statesman. He knows the Prince of Conde's spirit too well to dream of a reconciliation, and he has a double interest in the ruin of that unfortunate General ; his own preservation, and the aggrandizing his Niece, the Princess of Conti ; who, by the fall of her Brother-in-law, will be Mistress of his Estate.

He is endeavouring also to make an Alliance with the Cardinal de Retz, his perfect enemy, and one rais'd by the Pope to that Dignity, on purpose to counter-balance Mazarini's power at this Court ; where he is suspected to animate the King against the Court of Rome.

The Cardinal de Retz is now a prisoner of State, and has been so a long time ; being first confin'd by Mazarini's orders. But the wise Minister now thinks it safer to compound with a man, whom he cannot longer persecute, without draw-

drawing on himself the revenge of all the Ecclesiastics, and especially the Thunder of the Roman Court.

Therefore, to reconcile matters, and fortify himself, he has propos'd a Match between his Nephew and de Retz's Niece. The Court is wholly taken up with making friendships of this nature; which is an evident sign they feel their power at an ebb, and fear it will be much lower if the Prince of Conde should once take the field in France.

'Tis nothing to the Mussulman interest, which side gets the advantage, for they are all equal enemies to the Sent of GOD.

If I can by any successful artifice promote the divisions of these Infidels, I shall not dis-serve the shining Port. However, I will still pray, That those swords may be turn'd against each other; which, united, would hazard the state of the true Faithful.

Illustrious friend, let thy presence in the Divan be as a strong Bastion, under the Covert of which Mahmut may be shelter'd from the Artillery of evil Tongues and Sycophants.

Paris, 14th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

LETTER VII.

To Dgnet Oglou.

THOU art not ignorant that when I first heard of the cruel Sentence executed on our late friend Egri Boinou, (on whom be the Mercies of the Créator) I wrote to his Successor Ismael Mouta Faraca, a letter of condolence; wherein, to keep a Medium between the tenderness I ow'd to the loss which my friend had sustained of his eyes, and the distrust I had of a stranger, I filled up my letter to Ismael with consolatory expressions; such as I would have used to Egri himself, had I been in his company: believing that Ismael would read my letter to his blind Predecessor.

I play'd the Stoic, and encouraged the Doctrine of Apathy: or, at least, I abounded in philosophical counsels, almost as impracticable as the other: Nothing but severe Morality drop'd from my pen. And all this, to cover my real concern and passion for Egri's sufferings; who, thou knowest, was beloved by more than thee and me. I told thee in a former letter, that I did not dare trust my sentiments, though disguis'd, to a man, who on the score of his new Preferment, might become more quick-sighted than before, and would soon penetrate the thin veil of words, and spy something in that Dispatch, to my disadvantage, should I have ventur'd to descant on the Sultan's severity, or Egri's merits.

Therefore I thought it best to pretend an indifferency, to which I am as much a stranger as any man, in cases that too nearly touch our sense. 'Tis easy to give counsel to another, which in the same circumstances we are far from practising

practising ourselves. Then we can be full of wisdom, and grave morals; but when it once comes home, all our Philosophy vanishes; there remains nothing to be seen, but a mere sensitive Animal, without virtue or patience.

My own experience, but two days ago, forces this confession from me, when by an unlucky blow I lost the sight of both my eyes, for the space of eight and forty hours. 'Tis true, I should not have used them much during a third part of that time, had they not been hurt; unless thou wilt say, they are serviceable in our Dreams, and help our souls to spy the dark Chimera's of the night. However, I remember 'twas no small grief, even in that absence of the sun, to be only sensible of the Privation of my eyes: For, whilst the windows of my Soul were shut, 'twas in vain for those of my chamber to be open; which before this misfortune would, by letting in the light of the Moon or Stars, have convinc'd me, That it was night, without being beholden to the clocks and bells of the Convents for my Intelligence, as I was under this affliction.

Then it was, that in my heart I unsaid all that I had written to the Eunuch, on the subject of Blindness, and cursed the Philosopher for a fool or a madman, who put out his own eyes for the sake of his thoughts. I envied those more happy fools, who are without thoughts, but enjoy their sight, which helps to form and regulate the conceits of the most wise and thinking men.

Nay, such was my passion and melancholy, during this short eclipse of my eyes, that I prefer'd to mine even the life of those dumb Animals, whom men have learn'd to call irrational, because they express their Sentiments by inarticulate Sounds, a Dialect which we don't understand. And I could almost have wished myself metamorphos'd, though it were into a Dog, provided I might have but that sense, the want of
which

which renders our humanity imperfect, and a burthen to itself. Or, if thou wilt blame me for such a wish, I cannot forbear thinking that Dog happier than his Master, whom I have seen leading a blind man in a string along the streets of Paris. How prudently did that faithful Creature act the Guide, in crossing the way, if any danger threatened his charge, as a cart, coach, or throng of people! And all this conduct was owing to his eyes, which made him wiser than his Master, who, had he enjoy'd this sense, might not, for aught I know, have surpassed his kind Brute in the exercise of Reason.

And now I am fallen on this subject of the Wisdom of Brutes, I must not forget a story which I have read in Plutarch, as also in a certain French Author, of a Dog in the Court of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, who would act to the life all the agonies and symptoms of death at the command of a Mountebank, who had taught him many such comical tricks to divert the Grandees of Rome.

The same Frenchman mentions certain Oxen, which it seems had learned Arithmetic: For being employed in turning the wheel of a well an hundred times every day, when they had finish'd that task, would not stir a step more; but, having resolv'd that number in their minds, desisted of their own accord; nor could any violence compel 'em to farther labour. Who will deny now that the Oxen were Mathematicians? Or, that the ship Dog had any need to study Euclid's Elements; who, having a great desire to taste of some oil that he saw in a deep earthen vessel, and not being able to put his head in far enough, by reason of the long strait neck of the pot, after some study ran to the Hold of the ship, which was ballasted with gravel-stones; from thence he brought in his mouth, at several times, as many of those little stones, as, half filling the pot, forced the oil up to the mouth, so that he could lap his belly full? Of this Plu-

tarch says, he was an eye-witness. Was not this, thinkest thou, an Archimedes among the Dogs? Are not the Goats of Candy absolute Physicians, when, being wounded, they never cease ranging the plants of that fertile Island, 'till they have found the herb Dittany, with which they restore themselves to health?

Should the French read these lines, and the others I have writ on this subject to Cara Hali; and the great Mahummed of the Desert, they would censure me as a Heretic, a fool, or a madman: Or, at least, they would conclude, I am too importunate an advocate for the Beasts. They would call me Brute myself, and fix my Pedigree among some of the dumb Generations.

But thou who hast been educated in the serener Principles of the East, and hast had the honour to pour out Water on the Hands of the abstemious Eremit, wilt have another opinion of what I say, in defence of our Kindred Animals.

He that has given Wisdom and Language to the Pismires, and instructed them to converse together by mute signs, so that when the signal was given, the alarm was taken throughout their humble Territories, and they all fled away with their bag and baggage, when the army of Solomon approached: Inspire us with Grace to understand the Language of the Beasts, or at least, not think ourselves wiser than them who understand ours.

Paris, 14th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

LETTER VIII.

To Afis, Bassa.

THIS Court is wholly taken up at present with the preparations that are making to crown the young King. The place, design'd for that Ceremony, is a city call'd Rheims. 'Tis said the Duke of Orleans will not be there, though the King has summon'd all the Princes and Nobility to attend at his inauguration, according to the ancient custom: But that Prince stomachs the great sway Cardinal Mazarini bears at Court. Besides his daughter, who has no small power over him, is affected to the party of Malecontents. 'Tis thro' her persuasion the Duke her Father absents himself from the King his Nephew. Yet there are those that say, his mind will change before the time appointed for the Coronation: And that he will rather dissemble his grudge, that so he may more advantageously ruin the Cardinal, who keeps the King lull'd in a circle of pleasures agreeable to his youth, that so he may not have time or inclination to pry into his management of affairs.

The Court is at present at Fontainebleau, a house of pleasure belonging to the King. They pass their time away in delights, drown'd in security: Whilst the wakeful Princes of the Blood are plotting new methods to rouse them from their Lethargy, and teach the young Monarch, that the Sound of the Trumpet, and Beat of the Drum, will in a short time be more necessary music than the soft Airs of the Lute, and such Chamber-Melody.

In the mean time, the Prince of Conde being condemn'd, the Princess, his wife, has petition'd the Parliament, that her Dowry may be secur'd to her. But they have referr'd the matter to the King. Her husband seems to be lost in all respects, save

those of the people's affections, who favour any that are enemies to Cardinal Mazarini.

Monsieur Broussel, one of the Counsellors of Parliament, whose imprisonment I formerly mention'd to be the cause of the first Seditious at Paris, is newly dead ; yet the cause, whereof he was a Patriot, dies not with him, but rather takes fresh vigour from daily grounds of discontent.

It was more particularly reviv'd upon the death of the late Archbishop of Paris ; the Clergy chusing for his Successor the Cardinal de Retz, a prisoner of State, and under the severe displeasure of the King. This Election was countermanded by a Declaration of the Council Royal. Nevertheless the Ecclesiastics persist in their first choice ; whilst Cardinal Mazarini threatens 'em with the punishments due to those who contemn the King's authority. But they slight his menaces, trusting to the arms of the Prince of Conde, which they hope will deliver them in time from the oppressions of that great Minister.

The men of Ability cabal, whilst the Vulgar are easily drawn into Parties, as their affections byass 'em. Here is nothing but murmuring and whispering against the Government. Every man endeavours to purchase arms, and lay 'em up privately, as against some public Invasion. Nay, the citizens walk not abroad without Daggers hid under their garments, as if they either intended a Massacre, or were afraid of one. All things seem to portend some sudden eruption of popular Fury ; and the wisest know not what will be the issue of so many threatening occurrences.

Only Mahmut (surrounded with Infidels) is resign'd to Destiny ; knowing that no human Counsel can hasten or retard the Decrees sign'd above.

Paris, 17th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R IX.

To Murat, Bassa.

IT seems the Devils have been lately let loose in these Western Parts, if we may give credit to the deposition of such as have accus'd certain suppos'd Witches.

In Bretagne, a Province of this Kingdom, above forty old women have been seiz'd and imprison'd, for holding correspondence with infernal Powers, and above half of them condemn'd to death: GOD knows with what justice.

Some of them are accus'd of enchanting the persons of their neighbours; others for bewitching their cattle; and a third sort for dissolving the mischievous Charm of the first and second: All of them for assembling in the night-time, and using certain diabolical Ceremonies, which, they say, begin and end in kissing the Posteriors of a goat, or the Devil in that form.

I know not how far those poor superannuated figures of mortality may be wrong'd. 'Tis a question whether their judges are always in the right. A shrivell'd meagre face, a hollow eye, join'd with irrecoverable poverty, are many times the chief grounds of suspicion, which, improv'd by superstition, mistakes, and malice, have often prevail'd on those who ought to administer justice, to condemn poor wretches more innocent than themselves, as guilty of Witchcraft.

Yet it cannot be deny'd but that there have been both men and women vers'd in magical Arts, as they are commonly called, which I take to be only the more mysterious Science of Nature. Such was Zoroaster, the great grand-child of Noah, and King of that part of Asia, which was then call'd Bactria. Such was Apollonius Tyanæus, Phi-

littides Syracusanus, with many others of ancient date : These understood the hidden force of the elements, the influence of the stars, the specific operation of metals, minerals, and other subterranean bodies, with the virtues of all vegetables. They knew exactly how to frame Astral Images and Talismans, by help of which they were able to effect wonders. And all this perhaps without once dreaming of infernal spirits, or having the least society with Devils.

Yet I believe Lucian, an ancient Writer, who never spoke seriously of any thing, scarce believed himself, when he related the story of Pancrates, a famous Magician of Egypt, who by these Talismans was able to transform inanimate things into the appearance at least of living creatures : Thus he would turn a stick or piece of wood into a seeming man, who should walk, discourse, and perform all the actions of a rational Being.

A certain stranger travelling with him once to Memphis, and lying with him in the same Caravanera, as soon as they were alighted from their camels, Pancrates took a Plank of Oak, and having touch'd it with his Talisman, and pronounc'd two or three syllables, incontinently the stock mov'd, stood upright, walk'd, and, taking the camels by the bridle, led them to the stables : After which this wooden Man came in and prepared their Pillow, went on whatsoever errands Pancrates sent him ; and when they departed, the Magician using a certain private ceremony, this officious servant return'd to a Plank again. This was his practice all along the road.

One day his fellow traveller, being resolv'd to try the experiment, took the advantage of the Magician's absence, who was gone to the Temple, and left his Talisman behind him. The curious traveller, having been often an eye-witness of this trick, takes a piece of Wood, and touches it with Pancrates's Talisman, repeating the syllables he had heard him utter. Immediately the inanimate

Timber

Timber became a Man, asking his pleasure. The traveller, astonish'd at the event, commanded his new servant to bring him a bucket of water. The enchanted spark obeys. The traveller told him it was enough, and bid him return to the piece of Wood, again; but, instead of that, he continued drawing of water, and bringing it in till the house was full. The traveller, fearing the anger of Pancrates, thought to dissolve the Enchantment, by cleaving the Wooden animal in two. But this augmented his trouble; for each piece, taking a bucket, fell to drawing of water, so that of one servant he had made two. This continued till the Magician came to his rescue, who, having sternly rebuked the traveller's rashness, at a word turn'd the two busy drudges to their primitive loggishness and inactivity again.

I do not tell this story as if I would have thee believe it, or that I give credit to it myself. Let us imitate the Author of it, who laughs at all that delight in such Fables. But the Christians, who believe a Piece of Bread is transform'd to Flesh and Blood, and becomes an immortal God at the pronouncing of four words by the Priest, may be excus'd, if they put confidence in the Figments of Poets and Orators.

I have in my custody the Journal of Carcoa, who formerly resided at Vienna, a private Agent for the Ever-happy Port. Some of his letters speak of the superstition and credulity of the Germans in this kind. Yet in a letter to the Musti, he acknowledges himself overcome by unquestionable testimonies of such as had been eye-witnesses of the Life and Death of one Faustus, a German Magician, who play'd a thousand infernal Pranks (as he calls them) even before the Emperor himself.

He tells also of another Magician, call'd Zyto, who liv'd in the days of the Emperor Charles IV. And when the Emperor's son, to whom Zyto

belong'd, was to marry the Duke of Bavaria's daughter, the Duke, to oblige his son-in-law, who was much taken with magical tricks, as were all the Germans, sent for a great many famous Sorcerers to the wedding. Among the rest, while one was performing a rare exploit, on a sudden Zyto, the Prince's Conjuror, came up to him, with a mouth seeming as wide as that of an old Crocodile, and swallows him up at a morsel. When he had thus done, he retires and voids him again in a bath, and brings him thus drench'd into the company, challenging any of the other Magicians to do a feat like that, but they were all silent.

I hear of no such tricks done by those French Witches, who cause so much discourse at present. The worst they are accus'd of, is bewitching their neighbours hogs to madness, which thou knowest may be only a natural malady.

I pray Heaven defend us from the Enchantments of a deluded Fancy, that domestic Incubus of every mortal, and we need fear neither Witch nor Wizard.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R X.

To Chornezan Mustapha Bassa.

THE fame of Christina, Queen of Sweden, has no doubt reach'd thy ears; I have made mention of her in several of my Letters. That Royal Virgin is now about to surrender her Crown to her Cousin, whom they call Charles Prince Palatine. This is a voluntary resignation. And her motive is said to be a strong Inclination to Solitude, and a private Life; being esteem'd the most accomplish'd and learned Princess of this age. But those, who pretend to know more than others, say, that the true ground of her abandoning the Kingdom, is a resolution she has taken to change her Religion, and embrace the Faith of the Roman Musti, which is forbidden by the laws of Sweden.

Thou wilt smile at the proposals which this Queen sent to her design'd Successor; and his answer to them.

In the first place, "She will keep the greatest part of the kingdom and revenues in her own hands."

Secondly, "She will be no Subject, but altogether independant and free."

Thirdly, "She will be at Liberty to travel into foreign Countries, or into any part of that Dominion."

Lastly, "She will not have the offices of Trust, or any other gifts that she shall have dispos'd of to her Favourites, revoked by her Successor."

To these Articles Prince Charles answer'd, First, "That he will not be a mere titular King, without Dominions, nor without such a revenue as is necessary to defray the royal expences, both in Peace and War."

Secondly, "That he will suffer no Competitor, Equal, or Sovereign, in his Kingdom."

Thirdly, "That he will not run the hazard
"of her Intrigues in foreign Courts."

Lastly, "That, if he be King, he will dis-
"pose of Preferments as he thinks fit. And in
"fine, That he will not be the Shadow of a
"King, without the substantial Prerogatives of
"Sovereignty."

'Tis added, That when the Queen heard his
reply, she said aloud, "I propos'd those Articles
"only to try his spirit. Now I esteem him worthy
"to reign, who so well understands the incom-
"municable Rights of a Monarch."

This intelligence comes by a Secretary to the
Spanish Ambassador, who is newly come out of
Sweden to negotiate at this Court a ten years Truce
between France and Spain.

Here is likewise an Ambassador from Portugal,
who acquaints the Court, that the Portugueze
have expell'd the Hollanders out of the Places they
held in the East-Indies. But, if our Merchants
bring true intelligence, the Tartars will exterminate
all the Franks which are in China.

In the mean time, the young King of France
passes away his hours in dancing, seeing of plays,
and other recreations, provided with vast expence
by Cardinal Mazarini, to divert him from med-
dling with public Affairs, and from thinking too
seriously on the Sentence he has pronounced in
Parliament against the Prince of Conde.

One knows not well how to blame the Prince of
Conde's proceedings, nor yet to accuse the King
of injustice. Neither is it proper for a Mussulman
Slave to decide the controversy: Our Principles
and Laws are different from theirs: And he that
is esteem'd a Patriot here in the West, would be
condemn'd for a Rebel without hesitation in any
part of the East, where but one GOD in Hea-
ven, and one Sovereign on Earth, is acknowledg'd
by the Subjects of every Kingdom and Empire.

But in France the Princes of the Royal Blood
are invested with such a power, as renders it dif-
ficult

ficult for those under their command to distinguish 'em from supreme Monarchs. Yet not one of 'em possesses a Government equal to that of the Bassa of Egypt: or superior to his of Aleppo.

I have spoken of these Princes formerly in some of my Letters to the happy Ministers of Him, who when he pleases, can make the greatest Sovereigns the Squires of his Stirrup.

And therefore 'twill be needless to say any more on that subject, but only acquaint thee, that the French Court, tho' they cannot relent of the rigour they have used towards the Prince of Conde, yet seem willing to compound the business with his son, the young Duke of Enguien, and by a subtle artifice, to strike two strokes for the State at once. A great Duke of this Realm has been lately dispatch'd to the Duke of Orleans, to propose a Match between his daughter and Conde's heir. Whereby the Estate of the Prince of Conde will fall to the Duke of Orleans's possession, during the Minority of the young Couple. This is a wheedle to reconcile the King's uncle to the Court, who has been a long time estrang'd. But 'tis thought his displeasure is of too deep a dye to be wash'd off with Court Holy Water.

I have no more news to tell thee, save the death of a certain Prince, whom they call the Duke of Elbeuf. And it is of no import to the Divan, whether a hundred of these Infidel Princes die every day or no, so long as the Grand Seignior lives, and is ever supply'd with faithful Ministers.

For his health I pray, before the Sun peeps o'er the Tops of the Eastern Mountains, and after he hides himself in the Vallies of the West. Neither do I rise from my knees at the five appointed Hours, without an Oraison for Chornezan, and the other Bassa's of the Port.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R XI.

To Sale Tircheni Ermin, Superintendant of the Royal Arsenal at Constantinople.

THOU, that hast the charge of the Ammunition design'd for the Conquest of the World, art fittest to receive the news of a terrible blow lately given to a city of the Infidels in Flanders.

This place is call'd Gravelins, whereof I have made mention in some of my former Letters. On the 29th of the last Moon, the powder of the Magazine there took fire, whether by accident, or design, is not certainly known; but the damage it has done is very great. It is reported, that a third part of the city is blown up, and the chief Fortifications about it, with the Outworks of the Citadel. Three thousand mortals had their breath exhausted by the violent convulsion of the air, and were sent into another World, well season'd with Salt Petre: Besides a vast multitude of all sorts, that were bury'd in the ruins of the houses.

Some say, a certain person coming to buy some powder of the Steward of the Magazine, as they were knocking out the head of a powder barrel, the hammer struck fire. Others report, that this person, who pretended to buy powder, was a Spy, or private Agent of Cardinal Mazarini in those parts: And that, by his master's order, he had prepared a certain artificial fire, enclos'd in a shell or box; and that, at a certain determined period of time, it would cause the box to fly in pieces,
and

and scatter flames almost as subtil and penetrating as those of Lightning.

Having therefore this little instrument of mischief ready, and being instructed in all things, he with the Steward enter'd the Vaults where the powder lay, under pretence of buying some for the Governor of Bruffels. And, when they had opened one of the barrels, he thrust his hand among the powder, as though he would take up some to look upon; at the same time dextrously conveying his little shell or box into the barrel, knowing that in an hour's time it would work its effect. In the mean while seeming to dislike that barrel, they open'd another; which he bought, and so departed. Within an hour afterwards, all the countries round about were astonish'd at the dreadful blow, which made the Earth to tremble. They say, it was heard beyond the Seas into England.

Thus the contrivance of this Tragedy is fastened on Mazarini; and such is the hatred the people bear to this Minister, that, if an earthquake should happen in these parts, I believe they would accuse him as the author of it.

But it seems as if all the Elements were at War against the Netherland provinces. I have already acquainted the Ministers of the Ever-happy Port, what distresses besel these people by storms at Sea, and Inundations on Land. After which the Element of Fire took its turn to chastise them. For, in the first Moon of this year, a certain Windmill, in the Low-Countries, whirling round with extraordinary violence, by reason of a furious storm; the stone at length, by its rapid motion became so intensely hot, as to fire the mill: from whence the flames, being dispersed by the high winds, to the neighbouring houses, set a whole town on fire.

And now the wrath of Heaven has been kindled again to destroy these Infidels: Yet those that survive will not be converted. Perhaps they will
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be ruin'd piece-meal, even to a final Extermination, like the people of Aad and Thamod, of whom at this day there remain no foot-steps.

I pray GOD guard the Imperial City and Arsenal from all Casualties of Fire, from Inundations of Water, and from Earthquakes: And thy own watchful care and prudence will defend the Magazines in thy custody, from the sly attempts of Traitors and Villains.

Paris, 10th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R X I I .

To Mehemet, an Eunuch, in the Seraglio.

I Acquainted thee formerly with the first necessity I had to drink wine, that I might the better conceal my being a Mussulman, when I was made a prisoner by Cardinal Mazarini's order. I tell thee now, this liquor is grown habitual to me, it being the natural Beverage of the Country where I am. But the French temper it with water, the better to allay their thirst, and prevent Fevers: Which custom agrees not with the stomach of a Mahometan, who, when he drinks either water or wine, loves to have 'em pure without mixture. I use it moderately for my health, and to create an appetite. But this evening I drank a glass of wine, which is like to make me abhor it for ever. In all probability I shall turn as strict and precise
as

as a Hodgja. For, in the midst of my draught, I had almost swallowed a great Spider, which lay drowned in the wine. The little Beast had pass'd my lip; but I soon clear'd my mouth of so ungrateful a morsel. I wish I could as easily discharge my Imagination of the hated Ideas it has imbibed with this fatal Potion. Not, that I think I am poisoned, or have received any real damage from the Spider: The worst Venom lies in my own Fancy. It will be impossible for all the water in France to wash away the prejudices I have conceived against this little Insect. I have a perfect Antipathy against it. The sight of a Spider would always make me sweat and tremble. Now if ever I should taste of wine again, I should imagine every mouthful I swallow'd had a Spider in it. My reason tells me, there was no danger if I had one in my stomach; having seen a Physician, without the use of any Antidote, swallow two or three large Spiders in a glass of wine: And this was his ordinary practice every morning. And most of that profession maintain, that Spiders, so drank, can do no harm; yet my Antipathy overcomes my Reason in this point. And if Galen or Hippocrates were alive, they would not be able with all their learned Demonstrations, to reconcile me to a Creature, for which I have an invincible Aversion and Abhorrence. I had rather encounter with a Lion or Tiger in the Desarts of Arabia, provided I had but a sword in my hand, than to have a Spider crawling about me in the dark. And therefore I have often envied the happiness of the Irish men; for in that Island, they say, no venomous Creature will live. The same is reported of the Isle of Malta; which wonderful privilege both these Islands ascribe to the Prayers of certain Saints.

There is no reason to be given for these secret Antipathies, which are discover'd in many men. Some will sweat and faint away, if there be a Cat
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in the room where they are, though they know nothing of it, any otherwise than by the secret Intimations of his unaccountable Sense, which Nature has added to the other five. I have seen a gentleman drop down in a swoon, as soon as he enter'd a chamber where there was a Squirrel kept in a cage. And those that knew him said, It was his constant infirmity.

If there be any truth in the doctrine of the soul's Transmigration, I should think the best reasons for these private Antipathies might be drawn from some former state of the soul. And according to that supposition I shall conclude, that I had been a Fly before I came into this Body; and having been frequently persecuted by Spiders in that state, do still retain the dread of my old enemy, which all the circumstances of my present Metamorphosis are not able to efface. But if this be so, I wonder I should have no distinct remembrance of my former little volatile life; since Pythagoras, the great patron of the Metempsychosis declares, that he could remember several changes he had undergone. And particularly recounts, how he led a merrier life when he was a Frog, than since he became a Philosopher.

It affords me a matter of thought, and is no small diversion to behold the contrariety that is in mens diet. One man never tastes of Fish all his days, another abhors Flesh; this faints if his Bread be cut with a knife that has touched Cheese, that swoons at the smell of Mutton. Men have as different appetites, as they have faces. Some are squeamish, and almost nauseate every thing that others eat freely of: Again, there are others to whom nothing comes amiss. For my part, I have many aversions in point of diet: And, above all things, I can never be reconciled to the eating of Insects, Serpents, and other reptile Creatures; yet here are men in this Kingdom, who live upon Frogs, Vipers, Grasshoppers,
and

and such kind of loathsome Animals. - And I have read of a People in the Southern Parts of Africa, who had no other diet but salted Locusts, which they catch in the spring; when certain Winds bring innumerable swarms of them over the land, so that all the Country is covered. These People are very lean, active, and black. They run swift as Stags, and will climb trees, and jump from one bough and tree to another, as nimble as Apes and Squirrels. But they are short-liv'd, never exceeding forty years of age. For, about that time, they feel a violent itching all over their bodies; which tempting them to scratch themselves, they never cease 'till they make holes in their flesh, where certain winged Insects breed: Which multiply so fast, that in a little time they devour the poor wretches. This is thought to be the result of their ill diet.

Let not what I have said create any squeamishness in thee, but eat thy Pilaw with a good stomach: For that Food has the Benediction of GOD and his Prophet.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

LETTER XIII.

To the Kaimacham.

THE King of France has been solemnly crowned at Rheims; where were present his Mother and Brother, Cardinal Mazarini, divers Princes and Nobles, and Foreign Ministers. But nothing could persuade the King's Uncle, the Duke of Orleans, to grace this Ceremony with his presence. He has declared he will never come to the Court so long as Cardinal Mazarini is there.

Marshall Turenne has received private orders to repair speedily to his army in Flanders. What the design is we are not certain. Some say, He is gone to surprize Gravelins, a city in Flanders, which was lately so ruin'd by the blowing up of the Magazine, that it is not in a condition to resist the French, should they assault it.

Others say, the King has commanded his General to lay siege to Stenay, a city belonging to the Prince of Conde, a place of great strength, and exquisitely fortify'd.

'Tis reported, that Cardinal Mazarini holds a correspondence with the Governor of this strong Hold: And that on this ground it was he promis'd the King, on the Honour of his Purple, that, if he would suffer his army to lie down before it, it should by such a day be delivered into his hands.

The Duke of Lorraine, of whose imprisonment at Antwerp, I inform'd Mustapha Berber Aga, is now remov'd from thence, and sent to Spain; from whence 'tis believed he will never come back.

From the North the Post brings news of the resignation which Christina, Queen of Sweden, has made of her Crown, to her Cousin, Prince Charles. They add, That she caus'd a Crown to be made with this Inscription, FROM GOD AND
CHRISTINA;

CHRISTINA ; and that she placed this Crown on the Prince's head with her own hands, having before absolv'd all her subjects from their Oaths of Fidelity to her.

The same Post also tells us of a mighty army of Muscovites, which are enter'd into Poland, destroying and laying desolate wherever they come. The pretended cause of this invasion is said to be a disgust the Czar has taken at a certain Historian and Poet of Poland ; who, in reciting the Wars between those Nations, had made a mistake in the Genealogy of the Muscovite Emperors, naming the Father for the Son. The Czar, being inform'd of this, demanded the Head of the Writer as an atonement ; which being deny'd, he rush'd into the territories of Poland, to revenge himself by fire and sword.

These are the actions of such as pretend to follow the example of Jesus, the Messias ; who commanded men to forgive Injuries, even as did our Holy Prophet ; yet they scruple not to accuse us of what they themselves are only guilty. Thus, whilst they are Christians in Name, we shew by our Practice that we are true Disciples of the venerable Jesus.

Doubtless all men are just or wicked by Nature. Every man's Fate is engraven on his Forehead. And neither the Precepts nor Examples of Jesus, or Mahomet, can alter the Inclination of those, whose Stars have sign'd 'em in their Nativity with the indelible characters of Vice.

Paris, 3d of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1654.

L E T T E R XIV.

To Dgnet Oglou.

Hitherto I have been in a Wilderness, or at least I'll suppose it, wandering up and down, lost and confounded in the dark, without sun, star, land-mark, or any faithful Guide to direct me. What shall I do in this case? I am tired with perpetual rambling, and rest dare I not; neither can I, such is my uneasiness, even in the only circumstance which gives to other men repose.

Thus I discourse with myself when I am alone, and consider my present state as a Mortal. The miseries of this life are the Themes of my first contemplation; and 'tis but reason it should be so, because we feel them every moment. They touch our sense nearly, and afflict us with sharp pains. Yet they are but like the sting of a Wasp, violent for a time, but last not long.

This thought carries me farther, and puts me upon an endless meditation, what will befall me after I am dead. When I have contemplated all that I can, ran over a thousand paths of fancy, and track'd all the footsteps of the Wise, or of such as were esteem'd so; still I find myself in a Desert, more entangled than a traveller lost in the Forest of Hyrcania, which extends from the most Northerly part of Muscovy, to some Provinces in the German Empire; and 'tis reputed five hundred leagues in length.

In this bewilder'd condition I met with many pretended guides; one telling me this is the way, another that. But, because they do not agree in their advice, I know not which to trust; and am inclined to suspect some for cheats, and the rest for fools; as much at a loss, if not more than myself.

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Permit me to discourse with freedom, my dear Dgnet, and let us unmask like friends. What signifies all that the Imaums and Mollahs can say of Paradise and Hell, since none of 'em have been there to make an experiment? Why should we suffer ourselves to be amazz'd with notions of things, which for aught we know have no other existence, but in the Harangues of the Preachers, and the Fancies of the credulous?

Think not that I am going to persuade thee to the Heresy of the Muserin, who deny the Being of a GOD. I tell thee, I am no Atheist. From every thing I behold, my thought soon flies up to a first Cause; and there 'tis dash'd into a thousand Queries. This I lay as a solid foundation, "All things were not always in the same state as they are now," (my experience demonstrates to the contrary.) But how much longer they have been otherwise, than my own remembrance, I cannot be assur'd but by the confidence which I repose in people that are older than myself, and the faith I give to books. Both which agree in this, That they are guilty of contradictions without number.

Those that were born before me, and liv'd in the Days of Sultan Mahomet III. tell me many passages of his Reign, quite different from the relations of others, who also liv'd in those times, and remark'd the transactions of their age.

I like the disagreement I find among Authors, who have committed to writing the Histories of former Times. 'Tis difficult to encounter with two men of the same opinion, even as to matters of fact. Some take a pride in disguising the truth, whilst others have not skill to take off the mask. There are a sort of persons in the world, men of supine and easy judgments, credulous, and not daring to call in question what has been transmitted to them from the Authority of such and such a writer. They superstitiously revere, as an Oracle, the Manuscripts of a mortal man like themselves, subject to as many frailties and mistakes.

takes. And all this, only because they have been taught to do so from their Infancy : So forcible is the influence of Education. Thus the Hebrews believe the Records of their Nation to be of divine original, though they want not verbal contradictions, and abound with logical and philosophical inconsistencies. But that which is of greatest moment is, that neither they nor any other nation, no not even the Assyrian or Egyptian records; come near the immense chronologies of the Chinese and Indians. So that, amidst such vast variety of accounts, a man knows not where to fix his belief. But whether the world be only five or six thousand years old, or of a more infinite antiquity, this is a sure maxim, That Something is Eternal. Even the Jews and Christians, who deny the eternity of matter, and assert the creation of the world out of NOTHING, in a 'determin'd period of time, must of necessity own, There was an eternal and infinite emptiness or vacuity, which is the same as Moses calls by the name of NOTHING : Which will sound as harsh to Philosophy as the Eternity of Matter does in their Divinity. Nay, if I mistake not, 'tis of a worse consequence, even in the Doctrines of Religion, to assert an infinite Privation, or want of Existence, to be co-eternal with the substantial GOD, who is omnipotent, living, and strong ; than to affirm Matter itself to be co-eternal with him, since this is an actual Substance, and may with reason be suppos'd, as a necessary Emanation of his Power and Goodness ; whereas the other is a mere naked Potentiality, a Non-Entity, as the Western Philosophers call it ; and therefore cannot be conceived to flow from the Divine Nature, which is Essential Life and Being. Yet in these nice and remote speculations I am timorous, and dare not be positive ; lest I should profane the honour of the Sovereignly Good, who is the Breath of our Nostrils. To speak the truth, I am wavering in all things but this : That there is an Eternal Mind, every where

present, the Root and Basis of all Things visible and invisible, whom we call Alla, the Support of infinite Ages, the Rock and Stay of the Universe.

Let thou and I, dear friend, persevere in adoring that superlative Essence of Essences, with internal and profound Devotion: Let our thoughts be pure, our words few, and those full of innocent and grateful flames. For assuredly, GOD delights not in the babbling of the tongue.

As for the rest, Let us live according to our Nature and Reason, as we are Men. For we may believe, That the indulgent Father of all Things will accept us, if we square our actions according to this Rule, without aiming at the perfection of Angels.

In a word, Let us love all human Race, and shew justice and mercy to the Brutes. For, in so doing, we shall not be unkind to ourselves.

Paris, 13th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1654,
according to the Christian Style.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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