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### Montaigne's Essays

In Three Books. With Notes and Quotations. And an Account of The Author's Life ; With a short Character of the Author and Translator, by the late Marquis of Halifax; With the Addition of A Complete Table to each Volume

**Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de**

**London, 1743**

Chap. VI. Of Coaches.

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I say that *Males* and *Females* are cast in the same Mould, and that, Education and Custom excepted, the Difference is not great: *Plato* indifferently invites both the one and the other to the Society of all Studies, Exercises and Commands, Military and Civil in the Commonwealth; and the Philosopher *Antisthenes* took away all Distinction between their Virtue and ours. It is much more easy to accuse one Sex than to excuse the other. 'Tis according to the Proverb, *Ill may Vice correct Sin.*



## C H A P. VI.

## Of Coaches.

**I**T is no difficult Matter to prove, that when great Authors write of Causes, they not only make use of those they think to be the true Causes indeed, but also of such as they believe are not so, provided their Works may be illustrated with the Beauty of Invention. They speak true, and usefully enough, if it be ingeniously. We cannot make ourselves sure of the supreme Cause, and therefore clutter a great many together, to see if it may not accidentally be amongst them.

—*namque unam dicere causam,  
Non satis est, verum plures unde una tamen fit* \*.

And thus my Muse a Store of Causes brings;  
For here, as in a thousand other Things,  
Tho' by one single Cause th'Effect is done,  
Yet since 'tis hid, a thousand must be shown,  
That we may surely hit that single one. }

\* *Lucretius, lib. 6,*† *Mr. Creech.*



*Why they say  
God blefs you  
when you sneeze.*

Will you ask me, whence the Custom of Blessing those that sneeze? we break Wind three several Ways; that which fallies from below is too filthy; that which breaks out from the Mouth carries with it some Reproach of having eaten too much; the third Eruption is sneezing, which, because it proceeds from the Head, and is without Offence, we give it this civil Reception: Do not laugh at this Distinction, for they say 'tis *Aristotle's*. I think I have read in *Plutarch*, (who of all the Authors I ever convers'd with, is he that has best mix'd *Art* with *Nature*, and *Judgment* with *Knowledge*)

*Why People are  
apt to vomit at  
Sea.*

giving a Reason for the Rising of the Stomach in those that are at Sea, that it is occasion'd by Fear, having found out some Reason by which he proves, that Fear may produce such an Effect: I who am very subject to vomit, know very well that that Cause concerns not me; and know it not by Argument, but by necessary Experience, without instancing what has been often told me, that the same thing oft happens in Beasts, especially Hogs, when out of all Apprehension of Danger, and what an Acquaintance of mine has told me of himself, that being very subject to it, the Disposition to vomit has three or four times gone off him, being very much afraid in a violent Storm, as it happen'd to that Ancient, *Pejus vexabar quam ut periculum mihi succurreret*\*, *I was too much troubled for my Danger to relieve me*. I was never afraid upon the Water, nor indeed in any other Peril (and I have had enough before my Eyes, if Death be one) so as to be astonish'd and lose my Judgment. Fear springs sometimes as well from want of Judgment, as from want of Courage. All the Dangers I have been in, I have look'd upon without winking, with an open, found and intire Sight; and besides, a Man must have Courage to fear: It has formerly served me better than some others, so to order my Retreat, that it was, if not without Fear, nevertheless without Affright and Astonishment. It was stirr'd indeed, but not amazed nor stupified. Great Souls go yet much farther, and represent Flights

\* *Seneca.*



not only found and temperate, but moreover fierce. Let us make a Relation of that which *Alcibiades* reports of *Socrates*, his Fellow in Arms; *I found him*, says he, *after the Rout of our Army, him and Lachez, in the Rear of those that fled, and considered him at my Leisure, and in Security, for I was mounted on a good Horse, and he on Foot, and had so fought. I took Notice in the first Place, how much Judgment and Resolution he shewed, in Comparison of Lachez; and then the Bravery of his March, nothing different from his ordinary Gait; his Sight firm and regular, considering and judging what passed about him, looking one while upon those, and then upon others, Friends and Enemies, after such a Manner, as encouraged the one, and signified to the others, that he would sell his Life dear to any one should attempt to take it from him, and so they came off; for People are not willing to attack such kind of Men, but pursue those they see are in a Fright. This is the Testimony of this great Captain, which teaches us what we every Day see, that nothing so much throws us into Dangers, as an inconsiderate Eagerness of getting ourselves clear of them. Quò timoris minus est, eò minus ferme periculi est\**, Where there is least Fear, there is, for the most Part, least Danger. Our People are to blame to say, that such a one is afraid of Death, when he expresses that he thinks of it, and foresees it: Foresight is equally convenient in what concerns us, whether Good or Ill. To consider and judge of the Danger, is, in some Sort, the Reverse to being astonished. I do not find myself strong enough to sustain the Force and Impetuosity of this Passion of Fear, nor of any other vehement Passion whatever: If I was once conquered and beaten down, I should never rise again very sound. Whoever should once make my Soul lose her Footing, would never set it upright again: She retales and researches herself too profoundly, and too much to the Quick, and therefore would never let the Wound she had received heal and cicatrize: It has been well for me that any Sickness has never yet discomposed it: At every Charge made upon me, I make my utmost Opposition, and best Defence; by which Means, the first

\* *Livius, l. 22.*

that



that should rout me, would disable me from ever rallying again: I have no After-game to play. On which Side soever the Inundation breaks my Banks, I lie open, and am drown'd without Remedy. *Epicurus* says, *that a wise Man can never become a Fool*; and I have an Opinion reverse to this Sentence, which is, that he who has once been a very Fool, will never after be very wise. God grant me Cold according to my Cloth, and Passions proportionable to the Means I have to withstand them. *Nature* having laid me open on the one Side, has covered me on the other; having disarmed me of Strength, she has armed me with Insensibility, and an Apprehension that is either regular or dull. Now I cannot long endure (and when I was young much less endured) either Coach, Litter, or Boat, and hate all other Riding but on Horseback, both in the City and Country. But I can worse endure a Litter than a Coach, and by the same Reason, better a rude Agitation upon the Water, from whence Fear is produced, than the Motions of a Calm. At the little Jerks of Oars, stealing the Vessel from under us, I find, I know not how, both my Head and my Stomach disordered: neither can I endure to sit upon a tottering Stool. When the Sail or the Current carries us equally, or if we are towed, those equal Agitations do not disturb me at all. 'Tis an interrupted Motion that offends me, and most of all when most slow: I cannot otherwise express it. The *Physicians* have ordered me to squeeze and gird myself about the Bottom of my Belly with a Napkin, to remedy this Accident; which however I have not tried, being accustomed to wrestle with my own Defects, and to overcome them by myself. Would my Memory serve me, I should not think my Time ill spent in setting down here the infinite Variety that History presents us of the Use of Coaches in the Service of War: various according to the Nations, and according to the Ages; in my Opinion of great Necessity and Effect: so that it is a Wonder that we have lost all Knowledge of them. I will only say this, that very lately, in our Fathers Time, the *Hungarians* made very advantageous Use of them against the *Turks*; having in every one of them a Targetteer and a Musket, and a Number of Harquebusiers, drawn up ready, and charged,



charged, and all covered with a \* *Pavesade* like a *Gal-  
liot*. They made the Front of their Battle with three  
thousand such Coaches, and after the Canon had play'd,  
made them all pour in their Shot upon the Enemy, and  
made them swallow that Volley before they tasted of the  
rest, which was no little Advance; and that done, the  
said Chariots charged into their Squadrons to break them,  
and make Way for the rest: besides the Use they might  
make of them to flank their Bodies in a Place of Danger  
marching in the Field, or to cover a *Quarter*, and for-  
tify it in haste. In my time, a Gentleman in one of our  
Frontiers, unwieldy of Body, and not being able to pro-  
cure a Horse able to carry his Weight, having a Quar-  
rel, rid up and down in a Chariot of this Fashion, and  
found great Convenience in it. But let us leave these  
Chariots of War. And if the Insignificancy of Coaches  
had not been sufficiently known by better Proofs, the last  
*Kings* of our first *Race* travelled in a Chariot drawn by  
four Oxen. *Mark Anthony* was the first at *Rome* that  
caused himself to be drawn in a Coach by *Lions*, and a  
Singing Wench with him. *Heliogabalus* did since as  
much, calling himself *Cybele* the Mother of the *Gods*;  
and also by *Tygers*, taking upon him the Person of the  
*God Bacchus*; he also sometimes harnessed two Stags to  
his Coach, another time four Dogs, at another four naked  
Whores, causing himself to be drawn by them in Pomp,  
stark naked too. The Emperor *Firmus* caused his Cha-  
riot to be drawn by *Ostriches* of a prodigious Size, so that  
it seemed rather to fly than roll. The Strangeness of  
these Inventions puts this other Fancy in my Head; that  
it is a kind of Pusillanimity in Mo-  
narchs, and a Testimony that they do  
not sufficiently understand themselves  
what they are, when they study to make  
themselves honoured, and to appear  
great by excessive Expence. It were  
indeed excusable in a Foreign Country, where they are  
Strangers; but amongst their own Subjects, where they  
are in sovereign Command, and may do what they

*The excessive  
Expence of Mo-  
narchs a Testi-  
mony of Pusil-  
lanimity.*

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\* *A Defence of Shields ranged by one another.*

please,



please, it derogates from their Dignity, the most supreme Degree of Honour, to which they can arrive. As, methinks, it is superfluous in a private Gentleman to go finely dressed at home; his House, his Attendance, and his Kitchen, sufficiently answer for him. The Advice that *Isocrates* gave his *King*, seems to be grounded upon Reason; that he should be splendid in Plate and Furniture: For as much as it is an Expence of Duration, that devolves to his Successors; and that he should avoid all Magnificence that will, in a short Time, be forgot. I loved to go fine, when I was a younger Brother, for want of other Ornament, and it became me well: There are some upon whom their rich Clothes weep. We have strange Stories of the Frugality of our Kings about their own Persons, and in their Gifts; Kings that were great both in Reputation, Valour and Fortune. *Demosthenes* mightily stickles against the Law of the City, that assigned the publick Money for the Pomp of their publick Plays and Festivals: He would that their Greatness should be seen in the Number of Ships well equipped, and good Armies well provided for. And there is good Reason to condemn *Theophrastus*, who, in his Book of *Riches*, has established a contrary Opinion, and maintains that sort of Expence to be the true Fruit of Abundance. They are Delights, says *Aristotle*, that only please the baser Sort of the People, and that vanish from the Memory so soon as they are sated with them, and of which no serious and judicious Man can have any Esteem. This Money would, in my Opinion, be much more royally, as more profitably, justly and durably, laid out in *Ports, Havens, Walls, and Fortifications*; in sumptuous *Buildings, Churches, Colleges*, the reforming of *Streets and Highways*; wherein *Pope Gregory* the Thirteenth will leave a laudable Memory to futures Times; and wherein our *Queen Catharine* would, to all Posterity, manifest her natural Liberality and Munificence to succeeding Ages, would her Means supply her Affection. Fortune has done me a great Despite, in interrupting the noble Structure of the *Pont-neuf* of our great City, and depriving me of the Hopes of seeing it finished before I die. Moreover, it seems to the Subjects, who are daily Spectators of these Triumphs that

*The Pont-neuf*  
at Paris.

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that



that their own Riches are expos'd before them, and that they are entertain'd at their own Expence. For the People are apt to presume of *Kings*, as we do of our *Servants*, that they are to take care to provide us all things necessary, in abundance: but not to touch it themselves: And therefore the Emperor *Galba*, being pleas'd with a *Musician* that play'd to him at Supper, call'd for his Cabinet, and gave him a handful of Crowns that he took out of it, with these Words, *This is not the Publick Money, but my own*. Yet it so falls out, that the People, for the most part have Reason on their Side, and that their Princes feed their Eyes with what they once had to fill their Bellies. Liberality itself is not in it's true Lustre in a Sovereign Hand: Private Men have therein the most Right; for, to take it exactly, a King has nothing properly his own: he owes himself to others. Authority is not given in favour of the *Magistrate*, but of the *People*. A Superior is never made so for his own Profit, but for the Profit of the Inferior; and a Physician for the Sick Person, and not for himself. All Magistracy, as well as all Art, has it's End out of itself. *Nulla ars in se versatur* \*. Wherefore the *Governors* of young *Princes*, who make it their Business to imprint in them this Virtue of Liberality, and to preach to them to deny nothing, and to think nothing so well spent as what they give, a Doctrine that I have known in great Credit in my Time, either have more particular Regard to their own Profit than that of their Master, or ill understand to whom they speak. It is too easy a thing to imprint Liberality in him, who has as much as he will to supply it with at the Expence of others; and the Estimate of it, not being proportion'd to the Value of the Gift, but to the Wealth of him who extends it, it comes to nothing in so mighty Hands. They find themselves prodigal, before they can be reputed liberal; and yet it is but of little Recommendation, in comparison of other Royal Virtues: and the only one, as the Tyrant *Dionysius* said, that suits well with Tyranny itself. I should rather teach him this of the ancient Labourer,

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\* *Seneca.*



Τῇ χειρὶ δεῖ σπείρειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅλα τῷ θυλάκῳ\*.

That whoever will have a good Crop, must sow with his Hand, and not pour out of the Sack: he must disperse it abroad, and not lay it on a Heap in one Place: and that as he is to give, or to say better, to pay and restore to so many People, according as they have deserv'd, he ought to be a faithful and discreet Disposer. If the Liberality of a Prince be without Measure or Discretion, I

had rather he were covetous. A Royal  
*Wherein Royal Virtue consists.* Virtue seems most to consist in Justice; and of all the Parts of Justice, that best

denotes a King which accompanies his Liberality; because they have particularly reserv'd it to be perform'd by themselves, whereas all other Sorts of Justice they remit to the Administration of others. An immoderate Bounty is a very weak Means to acquire them Goodwill, for it checks more People than it allures: *Quo in plures usus fit, minus in multos uti possit †. Quid autem est stultius, quam quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis ‡?* By how much more you use it to many, by so much less will you be in a Capacity to use it to many more. And what greater Folly can there be than to order it so, that what you would do willingly you cannot do long? And if it be confer'd without due Respect of Merit, it puts him out of Countenance that receives it, and is re-

ceiv'd without Grace. Tyrants have  
*Tyrants hated by those that they have unjustly advanc'd.* been sacrific'd to the Hatred of the People by the Hands of those very Men they have unjustly advanc'd; such kind

of Men thinking to secure to themselves the Possession of Benefits unduly receiv'd, if they manifest to have him in Hatred and Disdain of whom they hold them; and in this associate themselves to the common Judgment and Opinion. The Subjects of a Prince profuse in Gifts grow unreasonable in asking, and accommodate themselves not to Reason but Example. We have, indeed, very often Reason to blush at our own Im-

\* *Corinea apud Plutarch.*

† *Cic. de Offic.*

‡ *Seneca de Benef. vel in Epist.*

pudence:



pudence: we are over-paid, according to Justice, when the Recompence equals our Service; for do we owe nothing of Natural Obligation to our Princes? If he bears our Charges, he does too much; 'tis enough that he contributes to them; the Overplus is called Benefit, which cannot be exacted: For the very Name of Liberality sounds of Liberty; there is no End of it, as we use it. We never reckon what we have receiv'd, we are only for the future Liberality. Wherefore, the more a Prince exhausts himself in giving, the poorer he grows in Friends. How should he satisfy immoderate Desires that still increase the more they are fill'd? He who has his Thoughts upon taking, never thinks of what he has taken. Covetousness has nothing so proper, and so much it's own as Ingratitude. The Example of *Cyrus* will not do amiss in this Place, to serve the *Kings* of these Times for a Touchstone to know whether their Gifts are well or ill-bestow'd, and to see how much better that Emperor confer'd them than they do: By which Means they are reduc'd to borrow of their unknown Subjects, and rather of them whom they have wrong'd, than of them on whom they have confer'd their Benefits, and so receive *Aids*, wherein there is nothing of gratuitous but the Name. *Cræsus* reproach'd him with his Bounty, and cast up to how much his Treasure would amount, if he had been a little closer handed. He had a mind to justify his Liberality, and therefore sent Dispatches into all Parts, to the *Grandees* of his Dominions, whom he had particularly advanc'd, entreating every one of them to supply him with as much Money as they could, for a pressing Occasion, and to send him a Particular of what every one could advance. When all these Tickets were brought to him, every one of his Friends, not thinking it enough barely to offer him only so much as he had receiv'd from his Bounty, adding to it a great deal of his own, it appear'd that the Sum amounted to a great deal more than *Cræsus* his Reckoning. Whereupon *Cyrus*, *I am not, said he, less in love with Riches than other Princes, but rather a better Husband, you see with how small a Venture I have acquired the inestimable Treasure of so many Friends; and how much more faithful Treasure they are to me than mercenary Men without Obligation or Affection*



would be; and my Money better laid up than in Chests, putting upon me the Hatred, Envy and Contempt of other Princes. The Emperors excus'd the Superfluity of their Plays and publick Spectacles, by reason that their Authority did, in some sort (at least in outward Appearance) depend upon the Will of the People of *Rome*; who, time out of mind, had been accustomed to be entertain'd and carress'd with such Shows and Excesses. But they were particular Men who had nourish'd this Custom, to gratify their Fellow-Citizens and Companions, (and chiefly out of their own Purfes by) such Profusion and Magnificence: It had quite another Taste, when they were the Masters who came to hold it up. *Pecuniarum translatio à justis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri* \*. The transferring of Money from the right Owners to Strangers, ought not to have the Title of Liberality. Philip, seeing his Son, went about by Presents to gain the Affection of the *Macedonians*, reprimanded him in a Letter after this manner: *What! hast thou a Mind that thy Subjects look upon thee as their Cash-keeper, and not as their King? Wilt thou tamper with them to win their Affections? Do it then by the Benefit of thy Virtue, and not by those of thy Chest.* And yet it was doubtless a fine thing to bring and plant within the Theatre a great Number of vast Trees with all their Branches in their full Verdure, representing a great shady Forest, disposed in excellent Order, and the first Day to throw into it a thousand Ostriches, a thousand Stags, a thousand Boars, and a thousand Fallow-Deer, to be kill'd and dispos'd of by the People; the next Day, to cause an hundred great Lions, an hundred Leopards, and three hundred Bears to be kill'd in his Presence: And for the third Day, to make three hundred Pair of Fencers to fight it out to the last, as the Emperor *Probus* did. It was also very fine to see those *Rich and sumptuous Amphitheatres*, vast *Amphitheatres*, all fac'd with Marble without, curiously wrought with Figures and Statues, and the Inside sparkling with rare Decorations and Enrichments.

*Baltheus en gemmis, en illita Porticus auro* †.

\* *Cic. de Offic. lib. 1.*

† *Calphurnius, Eg. 7.*  
Behold



Behold a Belt with Jewels glorious made,  
And a brave Portico with Gold o'er-laid.

All the Sides of this vast Space were fill'd and environ'd,  
from the Bottom to the Top, with three or fourscore Ranks  
of Seats, all of Marble also, and cover'd with Cushions.

— *exeat, inquit,*  
*Si pudor est, & de pulvino surgat equestri.*  
*Cujus res legi non sufficit*†.

Get y'out, whose Means fall short of Law, one cries,  
For Shame, from off the noble Cushion rise †.

When an hundred thousand *Men* might sit plac'd at their  
Ease; and the Place below, where the Plays were play'd,  
to make it by Art first open, and cleft into Chinks, re-  
presenting Caves that vomited out the Beasts designed  
for the Spectacle; and then secondly, to be overflow'd  
with a profound Sea, full of Sea-Monsters, and loaded  
with Ships of War, to represent a Naval Battle: And  
thirdly, to make it dry and even again for the Combats  
of the *Gladiators*; and for the fourth Scene, to have it  
strew'd with Vermilion and Storax instead of Sand, there  
to make a solemn Feast for all that infinite Number of  
People: The last Act of one only Day.

— *Quoties nos descenditis arenæ*  
*Vidimus in partes, ruptaque varagine terræ*  
*Emersisse feras, & iisdem sæpe latebris*  
*Aurea cum croceo creverunt arbuta libro.*  
*Nec solum nobis sylvestria cernere monstra*  
*Contigit, æquoreos ego cum certantibus ursis*  
*Spectavi vitulos, & equorum nomine dignum,*  
*Sed deforme pecus* ||.

How often, when Spectators, have we seen  
One Corner of the Theatre sink in;  
And from a dreadful Chasm in the Earth,  
Vomit wild Beasts: Then presently give birth

\* *Juv. Sat. 3.* † *Sir Robert Stapleton.* || *Calphurnius.*  
K 2 Unto



Unto a glittering Grove of golden Bowers,  
 Then put forth Blossoms of enamell'd Flowers.  
 Nor yet of *Sylvan* Monsters had we fight.  
 Alone, I saw Sea-calves with wild Bears fight,  
 And a deformed Sort of Monsters came,  
 Which, by their Shape, we might Sea-Horfes name.

Sometimes they have made a high Mountain advance itself, full of Fruit-Trees, and other flourishing Sorts of Woods, sending down Rivulets of Water from the Top, as from the Mouth of a Fountain: Other whiles, a great Ship was seen to come rolling in, which opened and divided of itself; and after having disgorg'd from the *Hold* four or five hundred Beasts for Fight, clos'd again, and vanish'd without Help. At other times, from the Floor of this Place, they made Spouts of perfum'd Waters dart their Streams upward, and so high as to besprinkle all that infinite Multitude. To defend themselves from the Injuries of the Weather, they had that vast Place one while cover'd over with Purple Curtains of Needle-work, and by and by with Silk of another Colour, which they could draw off or on in a Moment, as they had a mind.

*Quamvis non modico caleant spectacula sole,  
 Vela reducuntur cum venit Hermogenes.*

The Curtains, tho' the Sun does scorch the Skin,  
 Are, when *Hermogenes* appears, drawn in.

The Net-work also that was set before the People to defend them from the Violence of these turn'd-out Beasts, were also woven of Gold.

— *Arro quoque torta resulgent  
 Retia* \*.

And woven Nets refulgent are with Gold.

If there be any thing excusable in such Excesses as these, it is where the Novelty and Invention create more Wonder than Expence. Even in these Vanities we discover how fertile those Ages were in other kind of Wits than

\* *Calpurnius, Eg. 7.*



these of ours. It is with this Sort of Fertility, as with other Products of Nature. Not that she there employ'd her utmost Force. We do not go, we rather run up and down, and whirl this way and that; we turn back the Way we came. I am afraid our Knowledge is weak in all Senses. We neither see far forward nor backward: Our Understanding comprehends little, and lives but a little while; 'tis short both in Extent of Time, and Extent of Matter.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi: sed omnes illachrymabilis,  
Urgentur, ignotique longa  
Nocte* \*.

Men slash'd e'er *Diomed* was made;  
But all are in Oblivion drown'd,  
And put unmourn'd into the Ground,  
For lack of sacred Poets Aid †.

*Et supra bellum Trojanum, & funera Trojæ,  
Multi alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ* ||.

And long before the War, and Sack of *Troy*,  
And other things *Bards* did their Pens employ.

And the Narrative of *Solon*, of what he had got out of the *Egyptian* Priests, touching the long Life of their State, and their manner of learning and preserving Foreign *Histories*; is not, methinks, a Testimony to be slighted upon this Consideration. *Si interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum wideremus, & temporum, in quam se injiciens animus, & intendens, ita latè longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam oram ultimi videat, in qua possit insistere: in hac immensitate infinita vis innumerabilium appareret formarum* \*\*. Could we see on all Parts the unlimited Magnitude of Regions and Extent of Times, upon which the Mind being intent, does wander so far and wide, that no Limits of the last are to be seen, in which it can bound

\* *Horace, l. 4. Ode 9.* † *Sir Richard Fanshew.*

|| *Lucret. l. 5.* \*\* *Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 1.*



*it's Eye. We should in that infinite Immensity discover an innumerable Quantity of Forms. Tho' all that has arriv'd at our Knowledge of Times past should be true, and known by some one Person, it would be less than nothing in Comparison of what is unknown. And if this be the Image of the World, which glides whilst we live upon it, how wretched and short is the Knowledge of the most curious? Not only of particular Events, which Fortune often renders exemplary and of great Concern, but of the State of great Governments and Nations, an hundred more escape us, than ever come to our Knowledge. We make a mighty Business of the Invention of Artillery and Printing, China, which other Men at the other End of the World, in China, had a thousand Years ago. Did we but see as much of the World as we do not, we should perceive, it is to be suppos'd, a perpetual Multiplication and Vicissitude of Forms. There is nothing singular and rare in respect of Nature, but in respect of our Knowledge; which is a wretched Foundation whereon to ground our Rules, and that represents to us a very false Image of Things. As we now a-days vainly conclude the Declension and Decrepidness of the World, by the Arguments we extract from our own Weakness and Decay;*

*Jamque adeo fracta est Ætas effætaque Tellus\*.*

So much the Age, so much the Earth is chang'd.

so did they formerly vainly conclude the Birth and Youth of theirs, by the Vigour they observ'd in the Wits of their Time, abounding in Novelties, and the Invention of divers Arts.

*Verum, ut opinor, habet novitatem summa, recensque  
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit:  
Quare etiam quædam nunc artes expoliuntur,  
Nunc etiam augefcunt, nunc addita navigiis sunt  
Multa †.*

\* *Lucret. l. 2.*

† *Ibid. l. 5.*

But



But sure the Nature of the World is strong,  
 Perfect and young ; nor can I think it long  
 Since it Beginning took, because we know  
 Arts still increase, and still politer grow,  
 And many Things, in former Times unknown,  
 Are added now to Navigation.

Our World has lately discover'd another, (and who will assure us that it is the last of his Brothers, since the *Dæmons*, the *Sybils*, and we ourselves have been ignorant of this till now ?) as large, well peopled, and fruitful as this whereon we live ; and yet so raw and childish, that we yet teach it it's *A B C* : 'Tis not above fifty Years since it knew neither *Letters*, *Weights*, *Measures*, *Vestments*, *Corn* nor *Vines*. It was then quite naked in the Mother's Lap, and only liv'd upon what she gave it. If we rightly conclude of our End, and this Poet of the Youthfulness of that Age of his ; that other World will only enter into the Light when this of ours shall make it's *Exit*. The Universe will be paralytick, one Member will be usefess, another in Vigour. I am very much afraid that we have very much precipitated it's Declension and Ruin by our Contagion ; and that we have sold it our Opinions and our Arts at a very dear Rate. It was an infant World, and yet we have not whip'd, and subjected it to our Discipline, by the Advantage of our Valour and Natural Forces ; neither have we won it by our Justice and Goodness, nor subdu'd it by our Magnanimity. Most of their Answers, and the Negotiations we have had with them, witness, that they were nothing behind us in Pertinency and Clearness of natural Understanding. The astonishing Magnificence of the Cities of *Cusco* and *Mexico*, and amongst many other such like Things, the Garden of this King, where all the *Trees*, *Fruits*, and *Plants*, according to the Order and Stature they are in a Garden, were excellently form'd in Gold ; as in his Cabinet were all the Animals bred upon the Earth, and in the Seas of his Dominions ; and the Beauty of their Manufactures, in *Jewels*, *Feathers*, *Cotton* and *Painting*, gave ample Proof that they

*The magnificent Garden of the King of Mexico.*



were as little inferior to us in Industry. But as to what concerns *Devotion, Observance of the Laws, Bounty, Liberality, Loyalty,* and plain Dealing, it was of Use to us, that we had not so much as they; for they have lost, sold, and betray'd themselves by this Advantage. As to *Boldness and Courage, Stability, Constancy* against Pain, Hunger, and Death, I should not fear to oppose the Examples I find amongst them, to the most famous Examples of elder Times, that we find in our *Records* on this side of the World. For as to those who have subdu'd them, take but away the Sights and Artifices they practis'd to deceive them, and the just Astonishment it was to those Nations, to see so sudden and unexpected an Arrival of Men with Beards, differing in Language, Religion, Shape and Countenance, from so remote a Part of the World, and where they had never heard there was any Habitation, mounted upon great unknown Monsters, against those who had never so much as seen a Horse, or any other Beast train'd up to carry a Man or any other Loading; sheli'd in a hard and shining Skin, with a cutting and glittering Weapon in his Hand against them, who, out of wonder at the Brightness of a Looking-glass, or a Knife, would truck great Treasures of Gold and Pearl; and who had neither Knowledge nor Matter with which at Leisure they could penetrate our Steel: to which may be added, the Lightning and Thunder of our Pieces and Harquebusses, enough to fright *Cæsar* himself, if surpriz'd with so little Experience; and now, against naked People, if not, where the Invention of a little quilted Cotton was in use, without other Arms at the most, than *Bows, Stones, Staves,* and *Bucklers of Wood*; People surpriz'd under colour of Friendship and good Faith, by the Curiosity of seeing strange and unknown Things; take but away, I say, this Disparity from the Conquerors, and you take away all the Occasion of so many Victories. When I look upon that invincible Ardor wherewith so many thousands of Men, Women, and Children, have so often presented, and thrown themselves into inevitable Dangers for the Defence of their *Gods and Liberties*; that generous Obstinacy, to suffer all Extremities and Difficulties, and even Death it self, rather than submit to the Dominion



minion of those by whom they had been so shamefully abus'd; and some of them chusing rather to die of Hunger and Fasting, than to accept of Nourishment from the Hands of their so basely victorious Enemies: I foresee, that whoever would have attacked them upon equal Terms of Arms, Experience, and Number, would have had a hard, and perhaps a harder Game to play, than in any other War we have seen. Why did not so noble a Conquest fall under *Alexander*, or the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; and so great a Revolution and Change of so many Empires and Nations, fall into Hands that might have rooted up and gently levell'd, and made plain and smooth whatever was rough and savage amongst them, and that might have cherished and propagated the good Seeds that Nature had there produced, mixed, not only with the Culture of Land, and the Ornament of Cities, the Arts of this Part of the World, in what was necessary, but also the *Greek* and *Roman* Virtues, with those that were Originals of the Country? What a particular Reparation had it been to them, and what a general Good to the whole World, had our first Examples and Deportment in those Parts allured those People to the Admiration and Imitation of Virtue, and had begot betwixt them and us a fraternal Society and Intelligence? How easy had it been to have made Advantage of Souls so innocent, and so eager to learn; having for the most part naturally so good Inclinations before? Whereas on the contrary, we have taken Advantage of their Ignorance and Inexperience, with greater Ease to incline them to Treachery, Luxury, Avarice, and towards all Sorts of Inhumanity and Cruelty, by the Pattern and Example of our Manners. Whoever inanced the Price of Merchandize at such a Rate? So many Cities levelled with the Ground, so many Nations exterminated, so many Millions of People fallen by the Edge of the Sword, and the richest and most beautiful Part of the World turned upside down, for the Traffick of Pearl and Pepper: Mechanick Victories! Never did Ambition, never did Animosities engage Men against one another to such a Degree of Hostility and miserable Calamity! Certain *Spaniards* coasting the Sea in Quest of their Mines, landed in a fruitful, and pleasant, and very



very well peopled Country, and there made their usual Remonstrances to the Inhabitants. That they were peaceable Men, who were come from a very remote Country, and sent on the Behalf of the *King of Castile*, the greatest Prince of the habitable World, to whom the *Pope*, *God's Vicegerent* upon Earth, had given the Principality of the *Indies*. That if they would become *Tributaries* to him, they should be very gently and courteously used, at the same time requiring of them *Victuals* for their Nourishment, and Gold where-

*The Offers of the Spaniards to the discovered Indians.*

of to make some pretended Medicine. They moreover remonstrated to them the Belief of the only *God*, and the Truth of our *Religion*, which they advised them to embrace, to which they also added some Threats. To which they received this Answer: *That as to their being peaceable, they did not seem to be such, if they were so. As to their King, he seemed to be necessitous and poor, because he asked, and he who had given him that Dividend, a Man that loved Dissention, to go give away that to another, which was none of his own, to bring it into Dispute against the ancient Possessors. As to Victuals, they would supply them; that of Gold they had little, it being a Thing they had in very small Esteem, as being of no Use to the Service of Life, whereas their Care was only bent to pass it over happily and pleasantly: but that what they could find, excepting what was employed in the Service of their Gods, they might freely take. As to one only God, the Proposition had pleased them well, but that they would not change their Religion, because they had so happily lived in it, and that they were not used to take Advice of any but their Friends, and those they knew. As to their Menaces, it was a Sign of want of Judgment, to threaten those whose Nature and Power was to them unknown. That therefore they were to make haste to avoid their Coast, for they were not used to take the Civilities and Remonstrances of arm'd Men and Strangers in good Part; otherwise they should do by them as they had done by those others, shewing them the Heads of several executed Men round the Wall of their City. A fair Example of the Gibberish and beginning to speak of this Infancy. But so it is, that the Spaniards did neither in this nor several*

several



several other Places, where they did not find the Merchandize they sought for, make any stay or any Attempt, whatever other Conveniencies were there to be had; witness the *Canibals*.

Of two the most puissant Monarchs of that World, and perhaps of this, *Kings of so many Kings*, and the last they exterminated; that of *Peru*, having been taken in a Battle, and put to so excessive a Ransom as exceeds all Belief, and it being faithfully paid, and that

*The excessive Ransom of the King of Peru.*

he had by his Conversation given manifest Signs of a frank, liberal, and constant Spirit, and of a clear and settled Understanding; the Conquerors, after having exacted a Million, three hundred twenty five thousand, and five hundred Weight of Gold, besides Silver, and other Things which amounted to no less; (so that their Horses were shod with massy Gold) had yet a Mind to see (at the Price of what Disloyalty and Injustice soever) what the Remainder of the Treasure of this *King* might be, and to possess themselves of that also. To which End a false Accusation was exhibited against him, and false Witnesses brought in to prove that he went about to raise an Insurrection in his Provinces, by that means to procure his own Liberty. Whereupon, by the vir-

tuous Sentence of those very Men, who had by this Treachery conspired his Ruin, he was condemned to be publickly hang'd, after having made him buy off the Torment of being burnt alive, by the Baptism they gave him immediately before Execution. A horrid and unheard of Barbarity, which nevertheless he underwent without growing less either in Word or Look, with a truly grave and royal Behaviour. After which, to calm and appease the People, daunted and astonished at so strange a Thing, they counterfeited great Sorrow for his Death, and appointed most sumptuous

*Afterward hang'd notwithstanding.*

Funerals. The other *King of Mexico*, after having a long time defended his beleagu'd City, and in this Siege manifested the utmost of what Suffering and Perseveration can do, if ever Prince and People did, and his Misfortune having delivered him alive into his Enemies Hands, upon Articles of being

*The Siege of Mexico.*



ing treated like a *King*; neither did he in his Captivity discover any thing unworthy of that *King*. His Enemies, after their Victory, sought for so much Gold as they expected, when they had searched and rifled with their utmost Diligence, they were not able to procure Discoveries by the most cruel Means: but they could invent upon the Prisoners they had taken: not having profited nothing that Way, their Courages being greater than their Torments, they arrived at last to such a Degree of Fury, as contrary to their Faith, and the Law of Nations, to condemn the *King* himself, and one of the principal Noblemen of his Court to the Rack, in the Presence of one another. This Lord finding himself overcome with Pain, being environ'd with burning Coals, pitifully turned his dying Eyes towards his Master, as it were to ask him Pardon, that he was able to endure no more; whereat the *King* darting at him a fierce and severe Look, as reproaching his Cowardice and Pusillanimity, with a rough and steady Voice said to him thus only: *And what dost thou think I suffer, said he, am I in a Bath, am I more at Ease than thou?* Whereupon the other immediately quailed under the Torment, and died upon the Place. The *King*, half roasted, was carried thence; not so much out of Pity, (for what Compassion ever touched such barbarous Souls, who, upon the doubtful Information of some Vessel of Gold to be made a Prey of, caused not only a Man, but a *King* so great in Fortune and Desert, to be broil'd before their Eyes) but because his Constancy render'd their Cruelty still more shameful. They afterward hang'd him, for having nobly attempted to deliver himself by Arms from so long a Captivity, where he died with a Courage becoming so magnanimous a *Prince*.

Another Time they burnt in one and the same Fire, four hundred and sixty Men alive at once; the four hundred, being of the common People, the sixty, the principal Lords of a Province; no other but mere Prisoners of War. We have these Narratives from themselves: for they do not only own it, but

*The King taken Prisoner.*

*Put to the Rack.*

*Afterwards hang'd.*

*Indian Prisoners burnt alive by the Spaniards.*



but boast of it. Could it be for a Testimony of their Justice, or their Zeal to Religion! Doubtless these are Ways too differing, and contrary to so holy an End. Had they proposed to themselves to extend our Faith, they would have considered, that it does not amplify in the Possession of Territories, but in the gaining of Men, and would have more than satisfied themselves with the Slaughters occasioned by the Necessity of War, without indifferently mixing a Massacre, as upon wild Beasts, as universal as Fire and Sword could make it, having only, by their good Will, saved so many as they intended to make miserable Slaves of, for the Work and Service of their *Mines*: So that many of the Captains were put to death upon the Place of Conquest, by Order of the *King of Castile*, justly offended with the Horror of their Departments, and almost all of them hated and disesteemed. God did meritoriously permit that all this great Plunder should be swallowed up by the Sea in Transportation, or by civil Wars, wherewith they devoured one another, and the greatest Part was buried upon the Place, without any Fruit of their Victory. As to what concerns the *Revenue*, that being in the Hands of so parsimonious and so prudent a Prince, it so little answers the Expectation was given to his Predecessors of it, and that first Abundance of *Riches* which was found at the first Landing in those new discovered Countries, (for though a great deal be fetched from thence, yet we see 'tis nothing in Comparison of what might be expected) it is, that the Use of Coin was there utterly unknown, and that consequently their Gold was found all hoarded together, being of no other Use but for Ornament and Show, as a Furniture reserved from Father to Son, by many puissant Kings, who always drained their Mines to make this vast Heap of *Vessels* and *Statues*, for the Decoration of their *Palaces* and *Temples*; whereas our Gold is always in Motion and Traffick: we cut ours into a thousand small Pieces, and cast it into a thousand Forms, and scatter and disperse it a thousand Ways. But suppose our Kings should thus hoard up all the Gold they could get in several Ages, and let it lie idle by them. Those of the Kingdom of *Mexico* were in some Sort more civilized, and greater *Artists* than the other *Nations* that

I

were



were beyond them: Therefore did they judge as we do, that the World was near it's Period, and looked upon the Desolation we brought amongst them for a certain Sign of it. They believed that the Existence of the World was divided into five *Ages*, and the Life of five successive *Suns*, of which *four* had already ended their Time, and that which gave them Light was the *fifth*. The first perish'd with all other Creatures, by an universal Inundation of Water. The second, by the Heavens falling upon us, which suffocated every living Thing: to which Age they assign the *Giants*, and shew'd Bones to the *Spaniards*, according to the Proportion of which, the Stature of Men amounted to twenty Hands high. The third by Fire, which burnt and consumed all. The fourth, by an E-motion of the *Air* and *Wind* which came with such Violence as beat down even many Mountains; wherein the Men died not, but were turned into *Baboons*; (what Impressions will not the Weakness of human Belief admit?) After the Death of this fourth *Sun*, the World was twenty five Years in perpetual Darkness; in the fifteenth of which a Man and a Woman were created, that restored human Race: Ten Years after, upon a certain Day, the Sun appeared newly created, and since the Account of their Years take Beginning from that Day. The third Day after his Creation, the ancient *Gods* died; and the new ones are since born daily. After what manner they think this last *Sun* shall perish, my *Author* knows not. But their Number of this fourth Change agrees with the great Conjunction of Stars, that eight hundred and odd Years ago, as *Astrologers* suppose, produced great Alterations and Novelties in the World. As to Pomp and Magnificence, upon the Account of which I am engaged in this Discourse, neither Greece, Rome, nor *Ægypt*, whether for Utility, Difficulty, or State, compare any of their Works with the *Way* to be seen in *Peru*, made by the *Kings* of the Country, from the City of *Quitto*, to that of *Cusco*, (three hundred Leagues) straight, even five and twenty Paces wide, pav'd, and enclos'd on both Sides with high and beautiful Walls; and close by them on the Inside, two clear Rivulets, bordered with a beautiful Sort of a *Tree*, which they

*The magnificent  
Causeway be-  
twixt Quitto  
and Culco.*

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they call *Molly*: in which Work, where they met with Rocks and Mountains, they cut them through, and made them even, and filled up Pits and Valleys with Lime and Stone to make them level. At the End of every Day's Journey are beautiful *Palaces*, furnish'd with Provisions, Vestments, and Arms, as well for Travellers, as for the Armies that are to pass that Way. In the Estimate of this Work, I have reckon'd the Difficulty, which is particularly considerable in that Place. They did not build with any Stones less than ten Foot square: and had no other Conveniency of Carriage, but by drawing their Load themselves by Force of Arms, and knew not so much as the Art of Scaffolding, nor any other Way of standing to their Work, but by throwing up Earth against the Building, as it rose higher, taking it away again when they had done. Let us here return to our Coaches, instead of which, and of all other Sorts of Carriages, they caused themselves to be carried by Men, and upon their Shoulders. This last King of *Peru*, the Day that he was taken, was thus carried betwixt two upon Staves of Gold, and set in a Chair of Gold in the middle of his Battle. As many of these *Chairmen* as were killed to make him fall, (and they contended for it) took the Place of those that were slain, so that they could never beat him down, what Slaughter soever they made of those People, 'till a *Light-Horseman* seizing upon him, brought him down.]



C H A P. VII.

*Of the Inconvenience of Greatness.*

SINCE we cannot attain to Greatness, let us revenge ourselves by railing at it: and yet it is not absolutely railing against any thing to proclaim it's Defects, because they are to be found in all Things, how beautiful, or how much soever to be coveted. Greatness has in general this manifest Advantage, that it can grow less when  
it