SHAKESPEARE'S EUROPE REVISITED:

THE UNPUBLISHED *ITINERARY* OF

FYNES MORYSON (1566 - 1630)

by

GRAHAM DAVID KEW

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
of The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume I

The Shakespeare Institute
School of English
Faculty of Arts
The University of Birmingham
July 1995

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Synopsis

This thesis consists of a transcript and edition of Fynes Moryson's unpublished *Itinerary* c.1617 - 1625, with introduction, text, annotations, bibliography and index.

Moryson was a gentleman traveller whose accounts of journeys undertaken in the 1590s across much of Europe as far as the Holy Land in the Ottoman Empire provide contemporary evidence of secular and religious institutions, ceremonies, customs, manners, and national characteristics.

The first part of Moryson's *Itinerary* was published in 1617. Some of the second part was transcribed in 1903 by Charles Hughes as *Shakespeare's Europe*, but this is the first transcript and edition of the whole manuscript.

The work has involved investigation of the historical, classical and geographical sources available to Moryson, of Elizabethan secretary hand, and of travel writing as a form of primitive anthropology. Moryson emerges as a subjective observer full of the political and religious preconceptions of the age, capable of acute insight but often unsystematic and unscientific in the assembly and presentation of his information.

Word-Count: Text, c.366,000; Introduction, c.47,000; Notes, c.120,000.

I would like to dedicate this work to my wife Dilys, my sons James and newly-born Benjamin, and to the memory of John L. Robertson (1929 - 1975), Head of the Department of English, Seaford College, Petworth, Sussex from 1961.

We were advised not to give thanks to "Uncle Tom Cobbley and all". However, this thesis has taken so long, and I have consulted so many people that to thank them here is a minimal courtesy.

I would like to acknowledge the ever - present help and encouragement given by my supervisor, Dr Tom Matheson, who has continued to guide me even though he retired as Deputy Director of the Shakespeare Institute over two years ago in 1993. Working on a Doctorate is such a lonely business, that his encouragement and help was much appreciated.

When I was on a Diploma Course in Management, it was a maxim that if one's company lacked internal expertise it could and should be "outsourced", bought in from outside. Although some of my letters went unanswered, many more were answered by those happy to share their expertise freely.

Those particularly generous with their time and effort were Brian Pullan, Professor of Modern History at the University of Manchester who even took all the Italian material that I sent to him on holiday, and Dr C. D. van Strein who provided me with much of the Dutch material that I would never have found unaided.

One of the pleasures in communicating personally or by letter with so many experts is the chance to learn. Some of those contacted also seemed genuinely pleased to have the material that I was able to give them. So I would also like to acknowledge the help of and to thank Dr Rhoads Murphey, the Ottoman expert at the University of Birmingham, Professor Peter Skrine, Head of Department of German Studies, the University of Bristol, Dr Henry Cohn, Chairman of the Department of History, and expert on Early Modern German States at the University of Warwick, Mr Frank Beetham who taught me Latin and tracked down many of the quotations, and the Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw who helped me with classical languages and theology.

Those who helped me with specific problems or pointed me in the right direction include Dr John Jowett, Dr Nicholas Hammond, Dr Henry Woudhuysen, Dr David Holton, and Dr Richard Cust, and my old history teacher John Hadwin.

I would also like to record Chief Librarian Dr Susan Brock's constant good humour and help.

A map depicting Moryson's travels would undoubtedly have helped, but difficulties with east European placenames seemed to have discouraged those approached. I apologize to the examiners for the length of this thesis, but the prolixity is more Moryson's than mine. A partial transcription would suffer from the deficiencies of the edition of Charles Hughes.

Table of Contents

Preface

1. The Manuscript.

1.1. Introductory material.

Fynes Moryson's four part *Itinerary* is an account of journeys across Europe undertaken between 1591 and 1595, and to the Holy Land between 1595 and 1597, and his observations thereon. Part Two describes Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland until its suppression in 1603. When unemployed, Moryson began to research and write up these journeys between 1606 and 1609 with an abstract of the histories of the countries through which he passed. He seems to have destroyed most of the abstract about 1609, stating that he did not wish to make his "gate bigger than his city". He subsequently wrote the first version of the *Itinerary* itself, in Latin. Only a part has survived in two manuscripts in the British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, and Harleian Additional MSS, 36706, the account of the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. In 1617 a printed version of the first three parts was published in English translated from the Latin. (Part II dealing with Ireland in this published version was reprinted in 1735 in Dublin; the whole publication was reprinted by Glasgow University in 1907 - 1908.) I have nominated this version as *Itinerary A*. Nothing of the English manuscript on which this publication

is based has survived.

A fourth part of the *Itinerary*, itself in English and in manuscript, received its *Imprimatur* in 1626, but was not published at that time. I have nominated this manuscript *Itinerary B* in cases of possible confusion. The first reference to this fourth part of the *Itinerary* is in a catalogue of 1697, which describes it as being at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1903, Charles Hughes transcribed and published about 40% of this fourth part under the title *Shakespeare's Europe*. (Jerzy Limon refers to a six volume reprint of Hughes's published transcription between 1907 and 1936[1]; in 1967 the whole of Hughes's transcript was reproduced in New York by the publisher Benjamin Blom.)

This thesis consists of an annotated transcription of the whole manuscript of the fourth part of Moryson's *Itinerary* for the first time.

1.2. Physical Description of the Manuscript.

This manuscript first appears in the compilation of Edward Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, (Oxford, 1697).

---

[1] I have been unable to track these volumes down. See Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 154.

The description reads, "The fourth part of *Fynes Moryson's* Itinerary. Licens'd by Tho. Wilson, June 14. 1626. Fol." It is given as number 1561 within England, and 94 within the collection of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. These figures, including shelf markings have been added to the first page. It has been bound into a handsome folio of seventeenth century calf. On each cover outer fillets including one in gilt enclose four gilt fleurons, and further fillets, including two in gilt, enclose five large gilt arabesques. There are seven swirling gilt arabesques on the spine. The corners of the covers have been repaired, and the two metal clasps are missing. Individual leaves measure thirtyfour and a half by twentytwo centimet-res, or in inches, thirteen and three eights by eight and five eighths. Although some of the catchwords are partially or wholly cropped[2], and heavy use of ink in the genealogies has sometimes burnt its way through the page, generally it is in good condition and very legible. The manuscript may even have been bound for presentation to the official censor or licenser to the press for his *Imprimatur*, for the misbinding of fols. 77 to 108 is noted on fol. 76 "seuenty seuen transplaced comes in the sixtenth syde after this" and in fol. 108 "i09 transplaced comes in 16. sydes after this" in what appears to be in the handwriting that I have nominated as Hand Two. The fact that the manuscript was

[2] For some examples of this, see fols. 584 and 590.

bound, rather than just scattered papers, must have helped its preservation.

There are 344 folios written on both sides. The manuscript is paginated, usually in arabic figures, apart from the preliminaries, which have been numbered in pencil and in Latin at some later date. Some of the number ones within the arabic figures are also in Latin. Confusingly, each page is designated "fol" followed by the page number. Moryson divided the manuscript into five books with varying numbers of chapters and lengths of chapter. Each book is without any obvious principle of division.[3] The hands are so nominated only because of their order of appearance in this document. Thus Hand One occurs first. As the following table demonstrates, there were probably four hands, possibly five, of which two dominate. Hand One and Hand Two are responsible for 39% and 60% of the manuscript respectively. The break-down of the various stints of the various hands follows.

1.3. The Hands

Hand One. Privilege - fol. 60 line 14.

Hand Two. Fol. 60 line 15 - fol. 64 line 60.

---

[3] The first two books are about governments, armies and taxes, the third about religion, and the final two about customs, the peoples and hunting. Why allow two books to one major topic, and only one to another?

Hand One. Fol. 65 - fol. 86 line 4.

Hand Two. Fol. 86 line 4 - fol. 89 line 54.

Hand One. Fol. 90 - fol. 101 line 5.

Hand Two. Fol. 101 lines 5 - 20.

Hand One. Fol. 101 line 20 - fol. 128 line 6.

Hand Two. Fol. 128 lines 6 - 19.

Hand One. Fol. 128 lines 20 - fol. 136 line 35.

Hand Two. Fol. 136 line 35 - fol. 138 line 59.

Hand One. Fol. 139 - fol. 145 line 13.

Hand Three. Fol. 145 lines 13 - 51.

Hand One. Fol. 146 - fol. 152 line 2.

Hand Two. Fol. 152 lines 2 - 28.

Hand One. Fol. 152 line 28 - fol. 155 line 16.

Hand Two. Fol. 155 line 16 - fol. 156 line 61.

Hand One. Fol. 157 - fol. 161 line 9.

Hand Two. Fol. 161 lines 9 - 19.

Hand One. Fol. 161 line 19 - fol. 162 line 1.

Hand Two. Fol. 162 line 1 - fol. 163 line 4.

Hand One. Fol. 163 line 4 - fol. 177 line 12.

Hand Two. Fol. 177 lines 13 - 31.

Hand One. Fol. 177 line 31 - fol. 178 line 37.

Hand Two. Fol. 178 line 37 - fol. 179 line 58.

Hand One. Fol. 180 - Fol. 191 part of the genealogy.

Hand Four. Fol. 191 part of the genealogy - fol. 193.

Hand One. Fol. 194 - fol. 196 line 30.

Hand Two. Fol. 196 line 30 - fol.197 line 61.

Hand One. Fol. 198 - fol. 203 line 9.

Hand Two.	Fol. 203 line 10 - fol. 204 line 3.
Hand One.	Fol. 204 line 4 - fol. 211 line 2.
Hand Two.	Fol. 211 line 2 - fol. 212 line 61.
Hand One.	Fol. 213 - fol. 216 line 18.
Hand Two.	Fol. 216 line 18 - fol. 217 line 59.
Hand One.	Fol. 218 - fol. 225 line 29.
Hand Two.	Fol. 225 lines 29 - 59.
Hand One.	Fol. 226 - fol. 228 line 4.
Hand Two.	Fol. 228 line 4 - fol. 229 line 36.
Hand One.	Fol. 229 line 36 - fol. 234 line 43.
Hand Two.	Fol. 234 line 43 - fol. 235 line 2.
Hand One.	Fol. 235 line 2 - fol. 237 line 7.
Hand Two.	Fol. 237 lines 7 - 30.
Hand One.	Fol. 237 line 30 - fol. 245 line 12.
Hand Two.	Fol. 245 lines 12 - 49.
Hand One.	Fol. 245 line 50 - fol. 248 line 24.
Hand Two.	Fol. 248 line 25 - fol. 249 line 11.
Hand One.	Fol. 249 line 11 - fol. 251 line 25.
Hand Two.	Fol. 251 line 25 - fol. 254 line 58.
Hand One.	Fol. 255 lines 1 - 47.
Hand Two.	Fol. 255 line 48 - fol. 256 line 30.
Hand One.	Fol. 256 line 30 - fol. 261 line 7.
Hand Two.	Fol. 261 lines 7 - 24.
Hand One.	Fol. 261 line 24 - fol. 265 line 15.
Hand Four.	Fol. 265 lines 15 - 56.
Hand One.	Fol. 266 - fol. 267 line 28.
Hand Two.	Fol. 267 line 28 - fol. 271 line 13.

Hand One. Fol. 271 line 13 - fol. 276 line 17.

Hand Two. Fol. 276 line 17 - fol. 281 line 6.

Hand One. Fol. 281 line 6 - fol. 284 line 2.

Hand Two. Fol. 284 lines 2 - 55.

Hand One. Fol. 285 - fol. 292 line 2.

Hand Two. Fol. 292 line 2 - fol. 294 line 56.

Hand One. Fol. 294 line 56 - fol. 298 line 36.

Hand Four. Fol. 298 lines 36 - 54.

Hand One. Fol. 299 - fol. 300 line 13.

Hand Two. Fol. 300 lines 13 - 25.

Hand One. Fol. 300 line 26 - fol. 302 line 4.

Hand Two. Fol. 302 line 4 - fol. 303 line 57.

Hand One. Fol. 304 - fol. 307 line 2.

Hand Two. Fol. 307 line 2 - fol. 308 line 27.

Hand One. Fol. 308 line 27 - fol. 310 line 12.

Hand Three. Fol. 310 lines 12 - 33.

Hand One. Fol. 310 line 33 - fol. 311 line 11.

Hand Two. Fol. 311 lines 11 - 48.

Hand One. Fol. 311 line 48 - fol. 313 line 1.

Hand Two. Fol. 313 lines 2 - 54.

Hand One. Fol. 314 - fol. 317 line 29.

Hand Two. Fol. 317 lines 29 - 33.

Hand One. Fol. 317 lines 33 - 40.

Hand Two. Fol. 317 line 40 - fol. 353 line 38.

Hand Three. Fol. 353 lines 38 - 58.

Hand Two. Fol. 354 - fol. 373 line 13.

Hand Five ? Fol. 373 line 14.

Hand Two. Fol. 373 line 15 - fol. 377 line 8.

Hand Four. Fol. 377 lines 8 - 50.

Hand Two. Fol. 378 - fol. 383 line 9.

Hand Five ? Fol. 383 line 10.

Hand Two. Fol. 383 lines 11 - 31.

Hand Five ? Fol. 383 line 32.

Hand Two. Fol. 383 line 33 - fol. 411 line 22.

Hand Four. Fol. 411 line 22 - fol. 412 line 47.

Hand Two. Fol. 413 - fol. 424 line 28.

Hand Five ? Fol. 424 line 29 - 32.

Hand Two. Fol. 424 line 33 - fol. 443 line 11.

Hand One. Fol. 443 lines 12 - 13.

Hand Two. Fol. 443 lines 14 - 17.

Hand One. Fol. 443 lines 18 - 21.

Hand Two. Fol. 443 line 22 - fol. 451 line 24.

Hand Four. Fol. 451 lines 24 - 51.

Hand Two. Fol. 452 - fol. 476 line 3.

Hand Five ? Fol. 476 line 4.

Hand Two. Fol. 473 line 5 - line 495 line 25.

Hand Five ? Fol. 495 line 25.

Hand Two. Fol. 495 line 26 - fol. 505 line 4.

Hand Three. Fol. 505 lines 5 - 15.

Hand Two. Fol. 505 line 16 - fol. 519 line 23.

Hand Five ? Fol. 519 line 24.

Hand Two. Fol. 519 line 25 - fol. 540 line 48.

Hand Five ? Fol. 540 lines 49 - 50.

Hand Two. Fol. 540 line 51 - fol. 582 line 24.

Hand Five ? Fol. 582 lines 24 - 27.

Hand Two Fol. 582 lines 27 - 32.

Hand Five ? Fol. 582 lines 32 - 33.

Hand Two. Fol. 582 line 34 - fol. 583 line 37.

Hand Five ? Fol. 583 line 37.

Hand Two. Fol. 583 line 37 - fol. 588 line 49.

Hand Five ? Fol. 588 line 49.

Hand Two. Fol. 588 line 49 - fol. 589 line 31.

Hand Five ? Fol. 589 lines 32 - 33.

Hand Two. Fol. 589 line 34 - fol. 590 line 43.

Hand Five ? Fol. 590 lines 43 - 44.

Hand Two. Fol. 590 line 44 - fol. 592 line 22.

Hand Five ? Fol. 592 lines 22 - 23.

Hand Two. Fol. 592 line 24 - fol. 594 line 8.

Hand Five ? Fol. 594 lines 8 - 12.

Hand Two. Fol. 594 line 12 - fol. 596 line 53.

Hand Five ? Fol. 596 lines 53 - 54.

Hand Two Fol. 596 line 55 - fol. 597 line 1.

Hand Five ? Fol. 597 lines 1 - 3.

Hand Two Fol. 597 line 4.

Hand Five ? Fol. 597 line 5.

Hand Two. Fol. 597 line 5 - fol. 629 line 20.

Hand Three. Fol. 629 lines 20 - 55.

Hand Two. Fol. 630 - fol. 638 line 9.

Hand Three. Fol. 638 lines 9 - 12.

Hand Two. Fol. 638 lines 12 - fol. 645 line 49.

Hand Five ? Fol. 645 line 49.

Hand Two. Fol. 645 line 50 - fol. 655 line 48.

Hand Five ? Fol. 655 line 49.

Hand Two. Fol. 655 line 50 - fol. 674 line 4.

Hand Three. Fol. 674 lines 5 - 24.

Hand Two. Fol. 674 line 25 - end.

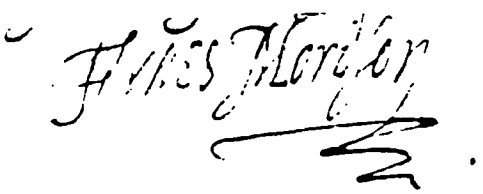
Hand One. Fynes Moryson?

I had hoped to be able to identify Moryson's hand, but as his will is nuncupative, even this was going to be difficult. However, in trying to track down Moryson's letter asking William Herbert, the Third Earl of Pembroke to be the dedicatee of *Itinerary A*, Ms. Laetitia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library was able to send me copies of some letters in the Loseley collection that Moryson has signed, although, alas, not the one to Pembroke.[4]

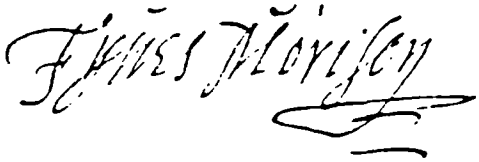
---

[4] The letter was extant until at least 1903. It was catalogued in *HMC 4th Report*, p. 372b which describes the letter, then at Crowcombe Court, Somerset: 'No date. Fynes Moryson to Wm. Earl of Pembroke, asking him to be patron of his work'. It appeared in Sotheby's sale of 6 May 1903 as Lot 313. This is why Charles Hughes never saw it. It was being catalogued ready for sale at the very time that he was doing his researches. According to W. H. Kelliher Curator of the Manuscripts at the British Library, it was sold to one Ridler. "Whether he was a private collector, or a bookseller - such as the William Ridler whose catalogues for the period 1880 - 1888 are among the Library's printed collections - I cannot guess." (Private communication.) A helpful assistant at the National Register of Archives told me of the destinations of the other manuscripts of the Sotheby's sale. The British Library, The Public Record Office, The National Library of Wales, Dyfed and Somerset Record Offices, and Trinity College, Dublin all had some manuscripts from the Sothebys sale, but not this letter. As the letter is addressed to one half of what the First Folio

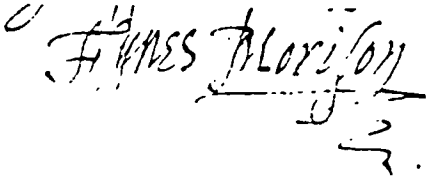
I base the identification of this hand as autograph upon the signatures of the five Loseley letters now in the Folger Library and the writing of Moryson's own full name in the title, privilege and on fol. 1 of this manuscript reproduced below. There are problems in this in that the signatures to dictated letters are much more ornamental than the utilitarian writing of names in the *Itinerary*, where legibilty is at a premium. Even with this *caveat*, I think an almost certain identification can be made.



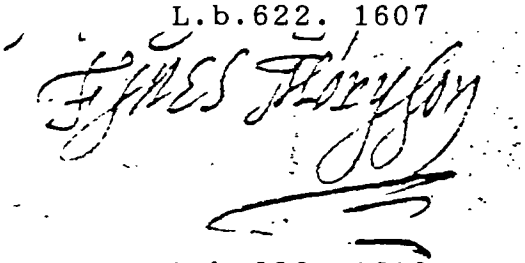
L.b.621. 1607



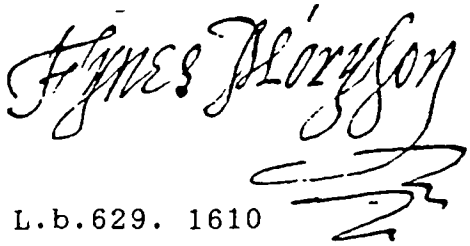
L.b.622. 1607



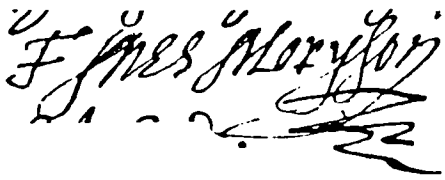
L.b.623. 1607



L.b.628. 1610



L.b.629. 1610



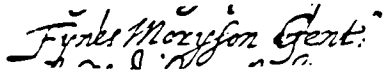
L.b.630. undated

---

calls that "INCOMPARABLE PAIRE/ OF BRETHREN", I wondered whether a chequebook-toting American philanthropist might have acquired it. The Folger, Newberry, Pierpont Morgan, Huntingdon, and Houghton Libraries, and the Harry Ransome Humanities Research Centre did not have it. Stamina and stamps exhausted, I have had to let the matter rest there.

Title - page. 1620s

Privilege. 1620s



Fol. 1. 1620s

The most obvious thing to say initially is that they are all in italic rather than secretary hand. The capital 'F' is ornamented with serifs which on the crosslines turn back, sometimes so far as to create a single in L.b. 622, 623, 628, and a double loop in L.b. 621, 629, and 630. In *Itinerary B*, Moryson's name is surrounded by other material, which has the effect of making the writing of the name less ornamental. Nevertheless, on the title page there are distinct signs of the serif turning back.

The 'y' in the Christian name, and surname where he uses it (in L. b. 621, 622, 623 and the Privilege he uses an 'i') loops and connects with the following letters, the 'n' or the long-tailed 's'. On the title page there are signs of looping, but no connection, whilst in the surname of fol. 1 there is the characteristic loop, and the 'y' and 's' connect.

The first 'n' is angular throughout. In the Loseley letters the last minim of the final 'n' is used for finishing

decoration, whereas in the *Itinerary* it is similar to the 'n' of the Christian name because the name is part of a longer sentence.

I have to admit that the 'e' is formed like two semi-circles in the letters, whilst in *Itinerary B* it is affected by the surrounding material, and looks like a modern 'e'.

Invariably, there is a short 's' at the end of the Christian name and a long one in the middle of the surname. Where the pen comes to rest at the end of the Christian name, pressure remains which creates thickening, and on L.b. 629, even a small blot.

With the exceptions of L.b. 630 and fol. 1 the capital 'M' has an unusual added spur which is not an integral part of the creation of the letter. (He also adds these italic spurs to '*A*'s and '*N*'s.) The 'M' on fol. 1 is a workaday creation and similar to the 'M' of *Mahomett* later down the same page.

I have little to add about the use of 'o' except to say that with the possible exception of the first on L.b. 628 they were all created without lifting the pen from the paper, which is not good italic practice.

Apart from L.b. 621, 622 the 'r' has a very long serif at its base which seems to be a Morysonian habit.

Although I have not reproduced them here, the signatures reappear on ff. 1v, and 3v of Harleian 5133 also have the characteristic crossback on the crosslines of capital 'F', and the extra applied serif on the initial stroke of the capital 'M'.

Moryson is equally comfortable with secretary or italic script. Headings, page headings, and foreign verses, are almost always, proper names and currencies are usually, and the second of a double 's' is sometimes, in italic. Classicist that he was, he uses the ligature as in *Cæsar*, *cælum* and even in English derivatives from Latin as "tædiousnes". The long serif at the base of the 'r' is sometimes used to connect to following letter as in "*Timars*", fol. 22 line 55. The 'u's and 'n's are often difficult to distinguish, and the loop of the 'e' is often small, and can be confused with 'c'. His numbers are an Arabic-Classical hybrid thus i06 means one hundred and six.

As for his secretary hand, it is neat, regular and generally easy to read. He often writes with spurred 'a's.

There are ten just in the Privilege that fronts the work.[5] The loop of the 'e's can be closed and open even in the same word, as "affected", fol. 3. line 22. The 'g' is open-tailed with thickening at the end of the tail indicating a movement of the pen backwards. He uses the double-stemmed and round 'r' on the same line as in fol. 52, line 11.

He likes capitalization even in the middle of sentences, particularly words beginning with 'C' and 'P'. If I take a page at random, fol. 266, there is Course, Papists, Customes, Coulor, Colonyes, Ciuill, in the first twenty lines. There is difficulty in the distinction of capitals and minuscules, particularly 'D' 'M', 'O', 'V' 'W', and 'Y'. Even size does not give an accurate impression. On fol. 173 line 23, there are two 'O's both probably meant to be capitals, one half the size of the other. Moryson prefers 'ei' rather to 'ie' in spellings as in breife, yeilded, cheife, freind, feildes, leiger, greife, seige, feirce, sheilds, mischeife, preists, releiue. He often retains the increasingly redundant final 'e', as can be seen from some of the examples given above. A modern 'u' at the beginning of a word is usually rendered as a 'v', and a 'v' in the middle of a word as a 'u' as in "vniuersityes", fol. ii. Favourite abbreviations are the

[5] This was supposedly one of the distinguishing marks of Shakespeare's autograph. Shakespeare was already beneath the chancel of Holy Trinity when this document was written, so Moryson cannot have been Shakespeare in disguise.

tilde to signify a 'm' or 'n', and less commmonly the marked 'p' indicating 'per' or 'pre'.

As regards punctuation, it is worth quoting M. B. Parkes,

> The fundamental principle for interpreting punctuation is that the value and function of each symbol must be assessed in relation to other symbols in the same immediate context, rather than in relation to a supposed absolute value and function for that symbol when considered in isolation.../ Punctuation is and always has been a personal matter.[6]

Moryson's sentences tend to be long. His favourite punctuation mark is the comma, by which he cascades one phrase over another to create a complicated almost Latinate structure. In modern usage we would often use points where he uses commas. Moryson also uses a full stop followed by a comma, which is an insular variant of the Classical system of grading the importance of the pause by heightening the mark on the line, and probably has the intended value of a semicolon.[7] Thus on fol. 116, line 26 there seems to be a deliberately ironic long pause, whilst Moryson describes the decrepit Viceroy of Naples and the love and amity that he feels for, there follows the pause, one of his Italian noblemen.

39% of the complete document is in this hand which disappears after fol. 317, (with the possible exception of

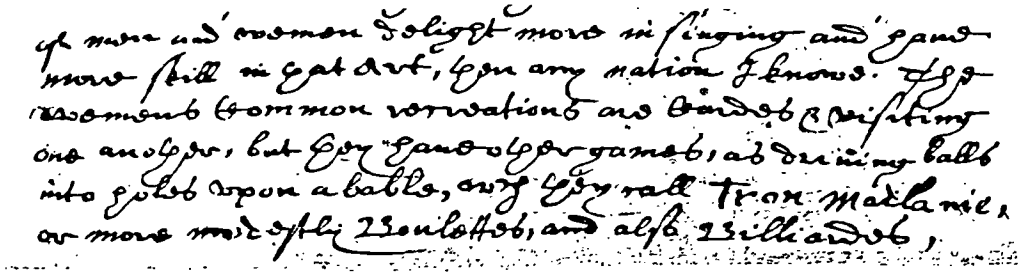
---

[6] M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 2, 4, referred to hereafter as Parkes.

[7] See Parkes, pp. 303 - 304.

some Latin rhymes on fol. 443.) Up until fol. 250 Hand One does almost three quarters of the work, and then it gradually tails off as Hand Two seems to gain in confidence. Hand One is characterized by its lean to the right, its legibility and neatness. The number of lines per page varied from 45 (a freak result) to 63 with 55 being the most usual.

Hand Two.



Fol. 645 lines 45 - 50.

It is not as superficially tidy or legible as Hand One, but generally there are fewer deletions and additions and consequently many more mistakes and omissions. Foreign verses and Greek, occuring within the text are often left for the other hands, even Moryson himself, to complete. In the case of italic it is usually avoided. However, the scribe did use the italic capital 'H', probably because of its simplicity over the secretary version. There is difficulty in the distinction of capitals and minuscules 'M', 'N', 'O', 'V' 'W', and 'Y'. Leaning to the right, this rounded hand sometimes elides certain letters such as 'd' and 'l' with those preceding. Lower case 'a' and 'o' are

often left open at the top, which can cause misreadings. He starts with the bottom loop of the 'd', which is usually open, and leans heavily on the nib, so that the backward flourish (which sometimes extends over the preceding letter) and the return stroke often causes the top of the 'd' to blot and become "blind". Ligatures are usually indicated by a cedilla. All of this suggests that he was an apprentice, or not as well educated as the others, and that there was some recognized gradation of experience amongst the various scribes.

Punctuation is as haphazard as the spelling. It is confined to commas, semicolons, colons and full stops. Incomplete checking means that the sense can actually be obfuscated by the defective punctuation.[8]

60% of the document is in this hand, which appears on fol. 60 and carries on right through. At first only small sections are in this hand, but towards the end of the document it is virtually all his. He seems to have been influenced by Hand One in that the pages are cramped towards the beginning of the work with as many as 61 lines being recorded, and as the work progresses and his confidence builds, his more usual average of 53 or 54 lines is maintained. The minimum line number is 47. The writer

[8] See fol. 486 lines 28 - 34.

seems to have had an ictus or an acute attack of boredom or frustration on fols. 419, and 638 where the writing starts to expand and disintegrate. This might also explain the vast number of errors. In addition there are transpositions as in "thickest" for "thickets", and a constant dropping of minims and final letters.[9] "The" for "they" is so common that I have ceased to correct it.

There is one fascinating Shakespearean connection. Lewis Theobald, or "piddling Tibbald" as Alexander Pope called him, perhaps because of their rivalry as editors of Shakespeare, proposed perhaps the most famous emendation of all.[10] When Hostess Quickly speaks of Falstaff's death in *Henry V*, the Folio has "and a Table of greene fields."[11] Pope thought this might be a stage direction to move Mr. Greenfield's table. Theobald countered by suggesting that in his delirium, Falstaff "babeld of greene fields." It is rendered "babbled" in the Oxford modern spelling edition. In secretary hand "Table" and "babld" would be very

---

[9] Fol. 390.

[10] See 'An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Doctor Arbuthnot', line 164, reproduced in Alexander Pope, *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, edited by John Butt (London, 1963), p. 601. Despite their mutual disregard, Pope correctly predicted that Theobald would be, "Preserv'd...in *Shakespear*'s name." Line 168. See also Peter Seary, *Lewis Theobald and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 75 - 79.

[11] See *Henry V*, II. 3. 16 - 17, and William Shakespeare, *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, edited by Charlton Hinman (New York, 1968), p. 429, line 839.

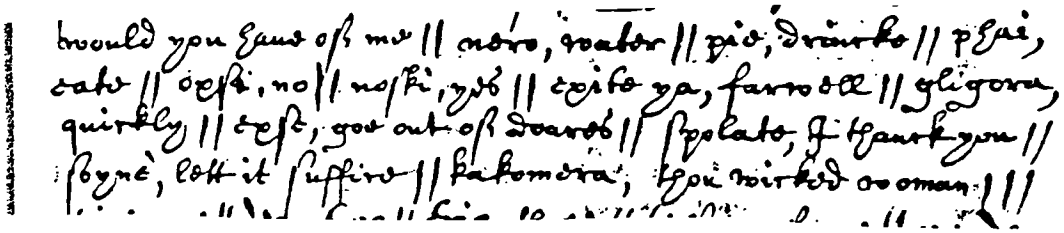
similar, and easily confused by the compositor. In the passage reproduced, there is a mirror image of this, in that "Table" is required to make sense and "bable" is written. Hand Two is consistent in his mistakes over a period. Thus on fol. 520 and again on fol. 672 the 'w' in "sweete" is dropped. An exciting prospect comes into view. Could this hand also be behind the Folio text of *Henry V* ?

It is fair to state that the balance of modern opinion is against this. The Oxford editors put their case so,

> F[olio], the fuller and more important text, derives throughout from foul papers, as is evident from the stage directions. As in all such cases, a scribal transcript of foul papers cannot be ruled out, but seems improbable, particularly as there is a significant number of 'Shakespearean' spellings, while the misreadings suggest a hand similar in all respects to what we can infer of Shakespeare's own.[12]

Perhaps the prospect is merely a mirage.

Hand Three.



Fol. 674 lines 12 - 15.

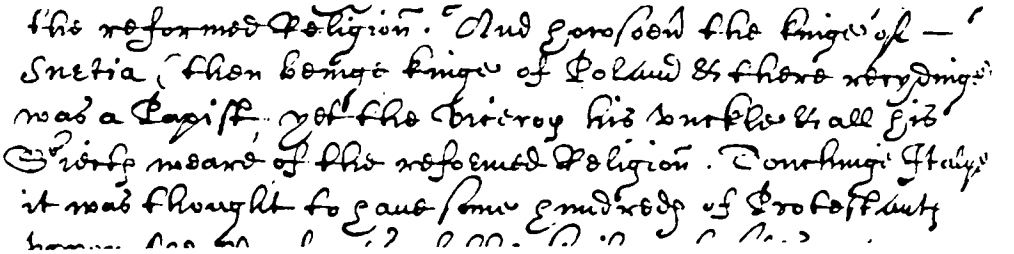
One third of one percent belongs to this hand. It is easily legible, and his secretary and his italic present no

[12] Stanley Wells, and Gary Taylor, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford, 1987), p. 375.

problems. There are long down strokes on the 'f' 's' and capital 'G' and 'I'. The 'P' is made of cross stroke, often with a detached or semi-detached loop.

He seems to have been a specialist in that he frequently corrects omissions and mistakes earlier on in the work, and also towards the very end. He seems to have been called in to write up the paragraph of Greek words on fol. 674. A whole page is never completed in his hand, which would suggest that he was more an overseer and checker.

Hand Four.



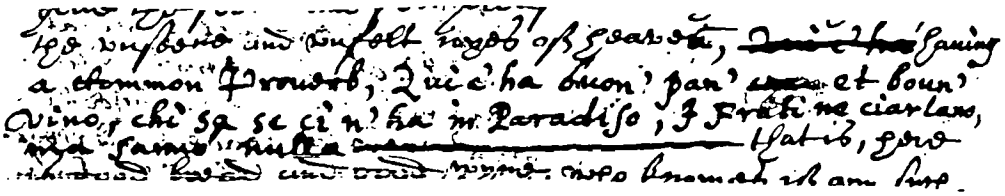
Fol. 412 lines 23 - 27.

Two thirds of a percent of the complete manuscript belongs to this tidy, heavily abbreviated, mixed secretary and italic hand. He seems to have helped with complicated dynastic and family tables. On fol. 412 the only page all in his hand, there are 47 lines.

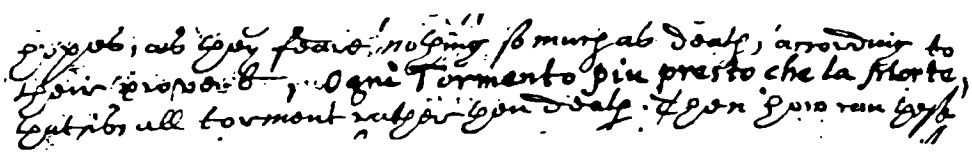
It is the most distinctive hand of all. The most obvious

distinguishing marks of this hand are the frequent abbreviations in the middle and at the end of words, "diuerse", "howsoeuer", "Subiectes", "the", and the switching from italic to secretary even when the same word is used, "...*his* vnckle & all his Subiectes... " There are frequent tildas, almost cast adrift from the end of words ending in 'n' and 'm', which I have taken as an intended doubling, except where the 'i' is missing, as in "invasionn", "Religionn", "kingdomm" and "inquisicion". The 'e' at the end of words does vary, but for about half of the instances, it is made up of two loops the upper of which is extremely long and distinctive to this hand.

Hand Five. Isaac Pywall or Fynes Moryson's "Latin hand" ?



Fol. 582 lines 24 - 27.



Fol. 582 lines 31 - 33.

Hand Five seems to be brought in to fill in the gaps left by Hand Two for Latin verses, or tags or proverbs in the main body of the text. If it exists, it represents less than one tenth of one percent. Since I am not entirely satisfied that Hand Five does exist for the extraneous

reasons I give below, I have put a question mark beside every listing.

It only occurs during the writing spells of Hand Two, and seems so interspersed with it, particularly at the beginning of fol. 597, that I wonder whether it might not be the same hand writing in italic. The 'r' is particularly distinctive here, with its serif on the foot, and a third stroke of the pen like a spur. In the Italian proverbs reproduced above 'r' has no serif or third stroke. This may merely mean that I have nominated something by Hand Two as Hand Five in error. The 'P' of the secretary version of "Prouerb" is made of cross stroke, often with a semi-detached loop, reminiscent of Hand Three, whilst the italic 'P' of *Paradiso* has a large serif on the base of its foot. The 'M' of *Morte* is reminiscent of the 'M' of Moryson's signature with its long ascender coming from below the line. With these contradictory impressions, I leave Hand Five and turn to the complete manuscript.

Generally, this copy of *Itinerary B* that I have transcribed is relatively clean, and certainly in good enough fashion to be fit for presentation to the licenser, Thomas Wilson, and for subsequent printing. In defending himself from the charge of "trifling away of much time", Moryson explains that as regards *Itinerary A*, "...the worke is first written in Latine, then translated into English, and that in divers

Copies, no man being able by the first Copie to put so large a worke in good fashion. I wrote the greatest part with my owne hand, and almost all the rest with the slowe pen of my servant..."[13]

Transferring the evidence from *Itinerary A* to *Itinerary B*, I was tempted to say that Hand One was Moryson, and Hand Two was that of Moryson's servant Isaac Pywall (who is nominated for bequests in Moryson's will.) However, the latter would seem to be a mistake. For on f. 6r of BL, Harleian MSS, Add. 36706, (a Latin version by Hand Five of *Itinerary A*, Part II, the Irish wars?) in the writing of Hand Two, there is a discussion of the problems of casting off and preparing the work for printing as follows,

> The second [part] beginns with Constantinople, and if it end at Irelands warr ended shall contayne 82 sheetes ⌈and a half⌉ in Latyn which in reguard Ireland in Latin hath much written on a syde I thinck ⌈the Tome⌉ in English wilbe asmuch as the first Tome for howsoeuer Ireland already in English be but 65 sheetes wheras the latin is 7i sheetes. yet as I thinck that comes by Isacks close writing of great part therof, which must be considered when you number the English leaues of this second with those of the first.

Unless Isaac Pywall refers to himself in the third person, he cannot be Hand Two. It is also obvious from the above that a Latin version cannot have been written by Isaac, but a large part of an English version, which no longer exists, was. Of course, Isaac may have copied yet another version which may have been in Latin or English. So which hand did

---

[13] *Itinerary A*, I, xxi.

write 36706? It might be in *Itinerary B* here as Hand Five.

Cyril Ernest Wright, a former keeper of MSS. in the British Library, identifies "...the Latin version of Part II (the Irish portion of his 'Itinerary')... BL, Harleian MSS, Add. 36706, which belonged to Sir Andrew Fontaine of Narford, a contemporary collector of Edw. Harley" as autograph. He also writes of autograph corrections and additions in the Latin version of *Itinerary A*, Part I, BL, Harleian MSS, 5133.[14] Certainly, the hand that dominates 36706, makes substantial corrections in 5133. Hughes, on the contrary, thought that this manuscript itself was autograph, calling 5133 "Moryson's original Latin version",[15] although there are clearly differing hands throughout. However, I am not entirely convinced either way.

Thanks to the Loseley letters now in the Folger, I am convinced that Hand One is Moryson. There are two further pieces of evidence to support this. There is an unnumbered "problems page" between 152 and 153 of manuscript 5133. One of the problems "Brill in Latin" is answered by "Brisla" in Hand One's script. In addition to the evidence that I have adduced above, I think it significant that the Privilege,

---

[14] Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972), pp. 245 - 246. Harley acquired 5133 through his scout Nathaniel Noel on 20 February 1719/20, p. 254.

[15] Hughes, Frontispiece to a facsimile a page of Harleian MSS, 5133.

and introductory material in *Itinerary B* are written in this hand. Hand One reappears in the introductory material of 5133, and is also responsible for the two Latin versions of letters to the Earl of Pembroke and a letter to the reader. Surely Moryson would not have deputed such an important letter to his dedicatee?

Moryson regards penmanship as a gentlemanly adjunct to a thorough linguistic grounding. It is fitting for gentlemen "...to learne the proper handwriting of the language (if they haue leasure) being no small ornament in the skill of languages, lest they be like marchants, who desyre no more skill in toungs, then to be vnderstood for traffique..."[16] This implies that Moryson's handwriting would be neat and pleasing, but that he could write in more than one style. Hand One is certainly neat and pleasing to the eye, and the fact that this hand switches easily from Italic or Italian writing to secretary and back again seems further proof that it is indeed Moryson himself.

However, this still leaves the problem of Hand Five. Is it possible that Moryson had a special foreign hand which differed from his official italic hand for writing in English? Thus I do not entirely discount that Hand Five is also Moryson. I am just not convinced.

---

[16] Fol. 483.

The parcelling out of the work is unusual. Dr H. R. Woudhuysen in a private communication writes, "The writing stints certainly are very strange and I can think of no reasonable explanation for them, other than a master's allowing his pupils or apprentices to take over from him for short periods while he attended to other matters." My hunch, and it is only that, is that Moryson tired of translating and transcribing. Once he had fully satisfied himself that the scribe nominated as Hand Two was competent, and during this time the scribe had helped him correct his own mistakes, he handed over a rough draft of the remaining work to the scribe to be tidied up in a new copy for the benefit of the licenser and the pressmen. It may have taken Moryson quite a while to satisfy himself, hence the switching, because an apprentice may have been all that Moryson could have afforded. The rough copy would have been like Harleian MS 5133, which, whilst it would not be impossible to make a fair copy from, would be tiresome to read. I suspect that Hands Three and Four were professional scribes as well, sometimes overlooking Hand Two's work. They gave Hand Two a fairly free rein in the middle to later sections, perhaps because they were absent attending to other business.

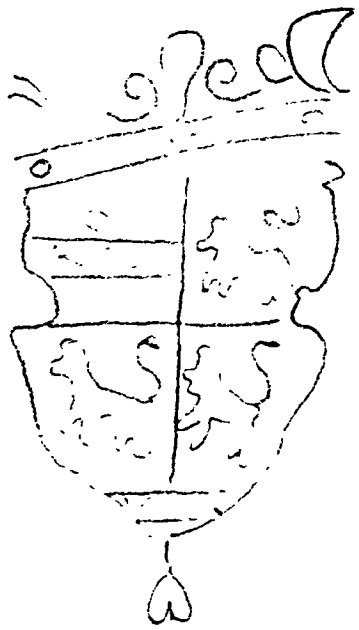
1.4. The Date of the Manuscript.

There are two definite limits within which this manuscript

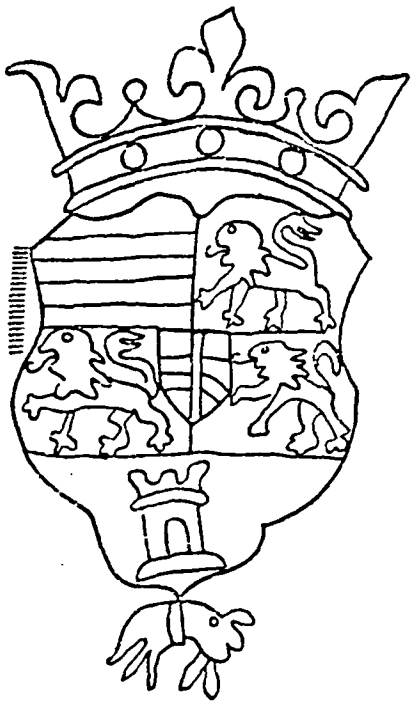
was written. The earlier is 1617, for that is the date when *Itinerary A* was published. The requirements of the printing house may have meant that enough of Moryson's work was cast off for composition and ready in formes so that no further material could be easily assimilated within the proposed folio. Thus a part may well have been ready in 1617. The latest that it can have been written is a few months before Thomas Wilson licensed the work for the press on 14 June 1626.

Evidence from the watermarks points towards the latter date. In the paper of *Itinerary B,* the clearest of the 172 watermarks to the naked eye is on the final page of the introductory material, numbered with the Roman iii. It is clear because the paper has been left blank. It is reproduced here with four similar contemporary watermarks.

Itinerary B.



Briquet 1477.



C. M. Briquet has no exact replica of the watermark, but his number 1477 bears a striking similarity to it. He suggests that it is a representation of the escutcheons of Burgundy and Austria.[17] This being the case, it is hardly surprising that the paper on which Moryson wrote was imported from the middle Rhine area, "*...de la région du Rhin moyen*".[18] As paper was obviously an expensive commodity, and Moryson's means were modest, he and his servants or amanuenses normally use all available space, even when chapters and books are complete and the new are to commence. The paper in which 1477 is found measured forty - two by thirty - two centimeters, and the watermark was found in archives at Bremen dated 1594, and a similar one at Ribeauvillé in 1598 and at Strasbourg in 1611.[19] Edward Heawood carries on where Briquet leaves off.[20] His watermark 576 is very similar indeed, although the crown is at a less jaunty angle, and it bears the date 1610. Heawood feels that "The date in the scutcheon is probably the mould

---

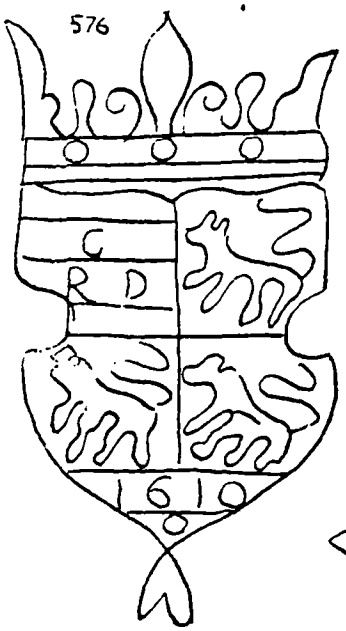
[17] C. M. Briquet, *Les Filogranes*, 4 vols (reprinted New York, 1966), I, xiii, referred to hereafter as Briquet. He excludes England because with a few exceptions the paper industry had not developed there by 1600.

[18] Briquet, I, 119.

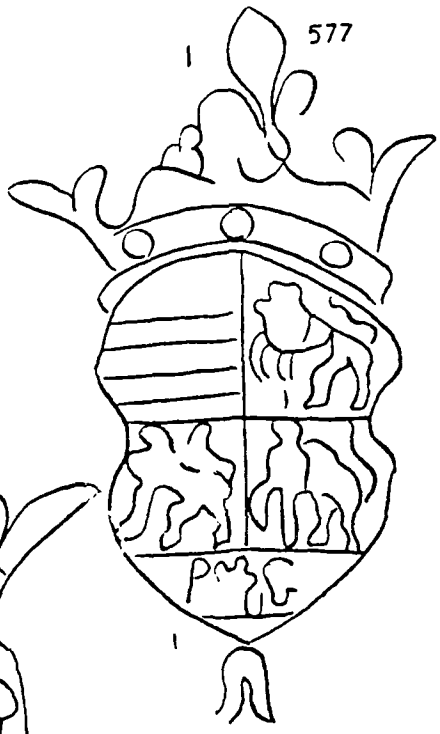
[19] Briquet, I, 119. The size is similar to that of the paper in *Itinerary B* by the time that it was folded and cut.

[20] Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Monumenta Chartæ Papyraceæ, I, corrected edition (Hilversum, 1957).

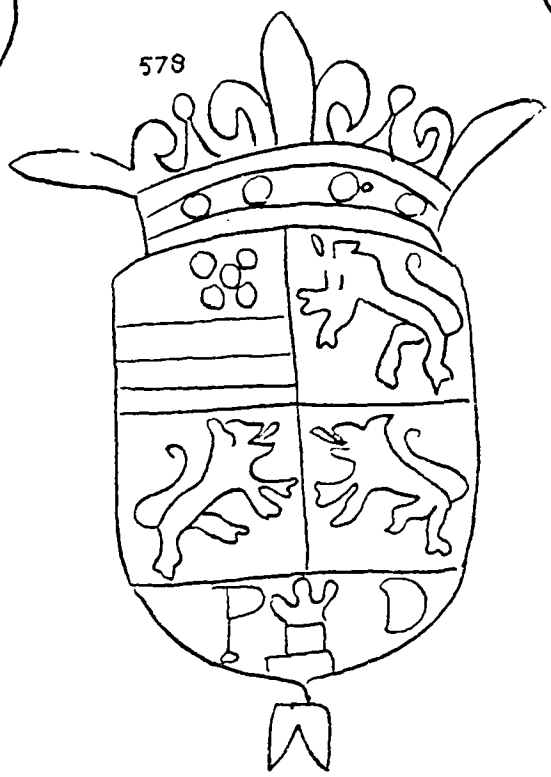
Heawood 576.



Heawood 577.



Heawood 578.



date."[21] It is doubtful if this were changed annually. Paper may be kept for many years before use, and the date 1607 in the watermark of the paper of *Itinerary B* may give a false precision. Indeed, Heawood finds 576, 577 and 578 in three books printed between 1625 and 1635. Watermark 576 was in Thomas Hobbes's *Thucydides Eight Bookes* of 1629. 577

[21] This is from the *addenda et corrigenda* sheet stuck into the front of Heawood's volume.

is in the travel collection by Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* of 1625. 578 was found in a map of the Arctic in Luke Fox's *North - West Fox* of 1635. Whilst it may be the long arm of coincidence, it is interesting that two travel books, which only constituted about two to three percent of the whole market, should be printed on paper from a source similar to that which Moryson had used.[22] A possible explanation is that Moryson may have placed his substantial order for paper with a stationer, or stationer's retail outlet which may have had some particular interest in this type of literature.

Thus the evidence from the watermarks for dating the manuscript would point to the later date of 1625.

Internal evidence within the text is also illuminating. Although Moryson had intended to keep his references to the 1590s, to the Europe of his travels, the temptation to do otherwise proved irresistible.

Internal evidence backs a date between late 1625 or even early 1626. Doctor King, Bishop of London who died on 30

---

[22] In 1588 - 1590, the market was two percent, whilst in 1603 and 1616 it was a little over three percent. See the series of doctorates encouraged by the Shakespeare Institute, entitled *Books and Readers* followed by the year in question by Betty Chandler Hunt for 1588 - 1590, Michael David Jardine for 1603, and Frederick David Clandfield for 1616, all unpublished doctoral theses of the University of Birmingham of 1964, 1977, 1981 respectively.

March 1621, is referred to as "the late reverent".[23] The expiry of the Twelve Years Truce between the Spanish and the Dutch on 9 April 1621 seems a distant memory in the following passage, "After, the Spaniardes brought it [the Inquisition] into the lowe Countryes, being one of the causes of the States vniting against Spayne, and the bloody warr that hath long continued in those partes."[24] The war is still going on. The assassination of the Turkish Emperor Osman II in May 1622, and his replacement by his mad uncle Mustafa who was subsequently deposed and strangled in 1623, is surely alluded to in this passage on the Janissaries, "So as they are and still grow more and more like the Pretorian bands in the State of *Rome*, who being at hand nere the Citty, at first strengthned the choice of the Emperors, but at last named and deposed them at pleasure."[25] There even seems to be an oblique reference to the massacre at Amboyna of English spice merchants by the Dutch in 1623,

> But howsoeuer they seeme no doubt the men are indeede most Crafty espetially in traffique, eating vp all nations therein, by frugallity, industry, and subtilety, as likewise in Coynes, hauing / no siluer, but drawing it from all nations in plenty, and making profitt of forrayne Coynes, by raysing and decrying them at pleasure, and indeede are most witty in all meanes to growe rich, as the

---

[23] See fol. 457. I have double checked to confirm these details found in *DNB* in Sir F. Maurice Powicke, and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, second edition, (London, 1961), p. 241.

[24] Fol. 439.

[25] Fol. 34.

experience of our age hath taught vs, wherein we haue also founde them expert men in State matters, to proue most wise and iuditious, though most of them are of Mechanicall education. Fols. 519 - 520.

This may be Moryson the gentleman speaking with a disdain for workmen or mechanicals, but I feel that the implication he makes is that the "mechanical" Dutch will stop at nothing to dominate trade.

The date of this manuscript seems to be pushed even further back by references to the upheaval in the Baltic in the mid 1620s,

The *Polonians* suffer the present vsurpation of the king of *Suecia* confining vppon *Liuonia* because they haue not power at Sea, and cannot lead an Army against him by Land without great difficultyes, neither doth he offend them being restrayned by iust feare of the *Danes* and *Moscouites*, continuall enemyes to that kingdome, and bordering it on all sydes. Fol. 53.

Gustavus Adolphus captured Riga in September 1621 to deny his cousin Sigismund III of Poland the chance of a port for a legitimist invasion of Sweden. The Poles were unable to lead an army against him because of their massive defeat at the hands of the Turks at Cecora in 1620.[26] "In 1622, in the course of negotiations for a truce, he [Gustavus] made it plain that he was ready to retrocede Riga and all his conquests in Livonia in return for a peace or a perhaps even a truce of sixty years."[27] Later the situation

---

[26] See Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus and the Rise of Sweden* (London, 1973), pp. 56 - 57, referred to hereafter as Roberts.

[27] Roberts, p. 57.

changed. "At first Riga was left as a Swedish outpost...but in June 1625...Gustavus recommenced the conquest of Livonia."[28] This would set the date of the above quoted passage as after September 1621 and before June 1625. News transmission was not instant, so it may be that a few months elapsed before the further Swedish attack on Livonia was confirmed in England.

This evidence is corroborated in the Royal Privilege or Patent, where the name of the king, James, is added in a thicker nibbed pen, perhaps even at a later date. This would imply that James I was already dead, and since Charles I was now king, it was felt necessary to nominate which king had granted it. If this were the case, this correction would be after March 1625.

The final piece of evidence which would even take it up to 1626, is that in the final rather bitter *envoi* to his readers, he writes of the labours of "*vigintos annos*", twenty years, which would be from the time from Mountjoy's death in 1606 until the final *Imprimatur* in 1626.[29] Of course, twenty years may be a slight exaggeration, a rounding up by a frustrated writer.

---

[28] Parker, p. 211.

[29] Fynes Moryson, British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, f.6r.

In attempting to be scrupulous, I have to mention one contrary piece of evidence from fol. 414. Moryson writes that *if* the Papists attack the Protestants, Islam might be the only victor. In the period 1621 - 1625, in the early stages of the Thirty Years War, the Catholic side *had* attacked the Protestants with considerable success, as had the Turks against the Poles. Perhaps in translating from his original Latin, Moryson had simply failed to update his information here. This may have been deliberate, (considering the furore and subsequent repression of writers at the height of the outcry from 1621 until 1623 over the proposed Spanish match of Prince Charles with the Infanta) or simply oversight. Otherwise, I cannot account for it.

Thus I disagree with Charles Hughes and *OED* who date this manuscript as 1618. Hughes goes on to write, "Internal evidence shows it was finished by 1619 or 1620 at the latest, and much of it was sketched out by 1617." Whilst the final assertion may be true, the first is not. It may partly date from 1617. Apart from putting the Turks in front of the Danes, and an arbitrary division of the chapters into books, the actual structure of *Itinerary B* hardly changed from the printed table of 1617 that fronts *Itinerary A*. Yet subsequent corrections in the light of current events may be seven, eight or even nine years later. My final guess is that the manuscript was last

amended late in 1625, and written in that year in a reasonable hurry to be ready for presentation to the licenser who then took a few months in reading it, before giving it the *Imprimatur* in June 1626.

1.5. Why was the remainder of the *Itinerary* not printed ?

Before looking at the events of 1626, it will be necessary to look at the circumstances of the original publication. The entry in the Stationers' Register reads as follows,

> "5° Aprilis i6i7
>
> *John Beale.* Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of Master Doctor Westfeild and both the wardens A booke Called *An Itynerary* written by Fines Morison Gent *Contayninge his Trauailes throughe diuers dominions vizt Germany Bohmerland &c.*vjd." [3]

Under normal circumstances, entrance in the register established "...the right of the stationer to the exclusive enjoyment of a copy which he had been the first to publish

---

[3] See The Stationers' Company, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, edited by Edward Arber, 5 vols, (London and Birmingham, 1875 - 1894) reprinted (New York, 1950), III (1876), 606, and referred to hereafter as Arber. I have slightly amended Arber (whose alterations here were unsubstantive) in the light of the University of Michigan microfilm of the actual Register.

or had lawfully acquired from a former owner." [31] These rights to copy were valuable and formed the "greatest part of their [the Stationers'] estates," as a contemporary put it.[32] Beale had established his rights to print and to the copy on 5 April, and on 29 April Moryson was granted "full and sole Priuiledge" for twentyone years by "his Maiesties Letters Patents" to "as well these three Parts finished, as one or two Parts more thereof not yet finished but shortly to be perfected by him."[33] This privilege is repeated in Moryson's hand, (although dated 25 April, almost certainly a mistake) with modified wording to take account of the fact that the final part of the Itinerary was now complete, at the beginning of the manuscript section of the *Itinerary*.

Such personal privileges granted by James I are unusual. One Caleb Morley was granted one for a book explaining his invention for learning languages easily, but normally such "privileges" were for printing Statutes and Bibles.[34] Another was given to a Thomas Middleton for *The Peacemaker*.

---

[31] W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1956), p. 63, and referred to hereafter as Greg, *Aspects*.

[32] Greg, *Aspects*, p. 64.

[33] See *Itinerary A*, I, facing xxviii.

[34] See Arber, V, lvii, lviii, where the list of thirty-eight such privileges for the whole reign of James I and his successor are reprinted.

It has the Royal Arms with *Cum Priuilegio.*[35] Certainly, Moryson's Privilege is very detailed in comparison. Such evidence as there is, is difficult to interpret. "Books issued under a specific privilege did not need to be entered in the Register."[36] So why did Beale bother ?

Beale was a successful printer and publisher from 1611 until 1640.[37] He was invited to attend the Lord Mayor's banquet in 1624 to represent the Company of Stationers, which gives some indication of his standing.[38] Beale probably inspired fear more than respect. "*The names of suche as keepe printing-houses*" includes

> Master John Beale, succeeded his partner Master William Hall about 15 yeeres since neuer admitted (of great estate, but a very contentious person he tooke 50 li to furnish ye pore with bread and doth not do it he bought hall [out] and tooke Thomas Brudenell to be his partner for 140 li which Brudenell had much a doe to recouer)". Arber, III, 701.

In "*A note of the Master Printers now liueing as are found registered in the hall Booke of the Company of Staconers taken this [Eighth] Day of [October.] Anno Domini 1634./*" it appears that Beale was admitted Master Printer on 1

---

[35] W. W. Greg doubts whether this potboiler is from the pen of the dramatist, but I believe that it will be included in the forthcoming collected Middleton edited by Gary Taylor and John Jowett. If it is his, Middleton certainly changed his views when he wrote *A Game at Chess.*

[36] W. W. Greg, *Aspects*, p. 93.

[37] *STC* III, 16, gives 1643 as the date of his death.

[38] Arber, III, 696.

March 1613, and more light is thrown on the Brudenell affair, "*(They are now parted.* Beale *tooke* 140 li *of* Brudenell: *and after wrangled with him and ou[s]ted him and made him take his* 140 li *againe after he had spent in Chauncery as much: &c/)*".[39] "Lawyers find out still/ Litigious men" as Donne mused in 'The Canonization'.[40]

Beale went blind in later years.[41] Yet he was obviously not a sympathetic man, but that kind of rough diamond who often prospers in business. In April 1617, Beale seems to have been engaged on a tidying up exercise for he enters various titles. Perhaps he entered Moryson's book to establish ultimate right to copy. At the expiry of the twentyone years, in 1638, Beale was still active. If Beale had had a bestseller on his hands all the profits would then have accrued to him. It was a businessman's gamble which might have paid off. Yet this explanation does not seem very plausible.

---

[39] Arber, III, 700.

[40] John Donne, *The Complete English Poems* edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 47.

[41] See Henry R. Plomer in *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), pp. 17 - 18. His printing house was originally that of Robert Robinson in Fetter Lane from 1587 to 1597, from whence it had passed to Richard Braddock who had married Robinson's widow. Bought in 1609 by Thomas Haviland and William Hall, Beale acquired it from Hall two years later.

That Moryson's work was not a roaring success was probably an economic as well as a literary disappointment. Moryson received the patent because of his brother's access to the Earl of Pembroke and King James. Sir Richard Moryson, former Vice President of Munster, returned to England in 1615 and on 1 January 1616 was granted "lieutenancy of the ordnance, and keeping of the storehouses near Aldgate, London, and of the artillery garden for life."[42] He is forever in the public records, surveying castles and fortifications, and disbursing money for troops and arms. Since Fynes was one of the under-utilized, if not alienated, intellectuals of early Stuart England, who seems never to have had a formal post after the death of the Earl of Devonshire in 1606, he probably hoped that a decade's work would bring some sound financial reward.[43] Hence the privilege was issued due to the good offices of his brother.

The imprint of the printed *Itinerary* reads "AT LONDON/ Printed by *John Beale*, dwelling in Aldersgate/ street. 1617." "Most important was the name and address of the

---

[42] *CSP Domestic 1611 - 1618*, p. 342. Richard is much closer to the centre of power, and, consequently easier to trace throughout this period than Fynes.

[43] See Mark H. Curtis, 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', *Past and Present 23* (1962), 25 - 43, where he writes of the overproduction of university students creating problems of unfulfilled expectation.

stationer from whom copies of the work could be obtained,"[44] for title pages were hawked about as advertisements for forthcoming titles. Moryson's expensive and bulky work was the kind of specialist book not obtainable in the booths of the retail booksellers of St Paul's and St Dunstan's. If he had a written a "sixpenny dreadful", published in quarto, about the depravity of the Italians or the Turks, he might have found more pecuniary success. Instead, Moryson's is a weighty tome, and the fact that it was originally written in Latin and published in folio is a mark of its seriousness. It made it a book more for the study rather than the traveller's trunk. Yet the market for travel books came from travellers themselves. It is also worth noting that the folio format was declining in general popularity at this time.[45]

As Dr John Jowett has pointed out to me there is a minor irregularity in that although Beale's is the only shop named, he is named as the printer and not the seller. Yet there would have to have been an outlet for this book, and as Moryson lived and died in Aldersgate, his neighbour

---

[44] W. W. Greg, *Aspects*, p. 82.

[45] In a lecture given on 20 October 1994 Dr Maureen Bell presented statistics of format as a percentage of output of London printing as noted in the *STC*. The folio format was giving place to the quarto and octavo. In the three years 1554 to 1556 it was 17.5% and it declined in the three years 1614 to 1616 to 5.8%. Popular travel writers like Villamont ran to many editions, but either in quarto or octavo.

Beale would be an obvious choice. Prospective buyers would have to address themselves to Aldersgate Street. Beale may have been in charge of wholesale and retail distribution. Thus "printed by" probably also implies "and to be sold by" without Beale's claiming title. Indeed, he would have had no choice but to concede title before Moryson's privilege.

One interpretation of these facts is that Moryson as copyholder had caused his work "to be imprinted", in the exact words of his privilege. Moryson had paid to keep Beale's compositors and presses busy. The advantage for Beale was that he bore none of the risks of publishing.

However, this scenario presents problems. Moryson's views about vanity publishing are scathing. He disparages the scarce-bearded Germans who "pay a Crowne for the Printing of each leafe," and give their books away, thereby hiring their readers.[46]

Moryson probably wanted to be paid rather handsomely for his pains. The Privilege, as Dr Jowett points out, may have meant that he came to some arrangement with Beale and financed printing, not as the dilettante Germans anticipating loss, but as a serious business proposition. As a copy-holder taking the business risk of printing, he

[46] Fol. 471.

expected to reap profit for his years of labour.

The facts could also bear other interpretations. Moryson may have trumped Beale's bid for profit and control over the work, (by entry in the Stationers' Register), with his royal privilege. If this were the case, naturally Beale would have been furious, having expended much on initial costs. A folio would have taken months to set up. The wording of the Privilege "Straitly forbidding any other during the said yeares to imprint or cause to be imprinted to import vtter or sell or cause to be imported vttered or sold the said Booke or Bookes" may well be a warning to Beale. If he had a folio going through the press, he had no choice but to treat with Moryson.

Turning to the events of 1626, Moryson certainly seems to have expected the final part of his work to be printed. The manuscript of *Itinerary B* is written as though it is a printed book, complete with catchwords, running titles at the top of each page and titles in the margin. The introductory page has the handwritten imprint "At London/ Printed by", but, significantly, there is no name. By 1626, when the political situation had improved, and Moryson's overlong work was even further out of date, Beale may have been unwilling to add a second part to a book printed nine years previously, and over which he would have had no ultimate control for at least another twelve years. Taking

either scenario of agreement or conflict between Moryson and his printer as outlined above, Beale may have felt that the agreement struck was simply not profitable enough for him as a sound business proposition.

By 1626 Moryson's personal situation may have declined to a great extent. At first sight, Moryson's will is rather a sad document. One bequest is of "twentie shillings", and no other money is mentioned. Hughes suggests that this may be because he sunk his funds into an annuity, and that he would have had enough for a studious bachelor to live on.[47] However, this may not have been enough for defraying the costs of further speculative publication. All of this contrasts markedly with the entry of 14 January 1613 in *CSP*, "Sir Rich. Morrison has bought the presidency of Munster from Lord Danvers for 3,000l."[48] If John Beale had deprived the poor of bread, he would hardly have been interested in humouring a not particularly influential and old man (as Fynes Moryson would have been by Stuart standards) by printing the final part of a book, the first part of which had not met with great success. He may not have wished to take the risk. There could be any number of reasons, now lost, why Moryson did not approach his

[47] Hughes, p. xliii. This is confirmed by what Moryson says, when he thanks God for having enjoyed, "...though no abundant, yet a competent estate, and more plentifull then in my former days." *Itinerary A*, I, 218.

[48] *CSP Domestic 1611 - 1618*, p. 167.

relations. Apart from pride, one may be that most of his generation were dead or incapacitated for some reason. His brother, Richard, never got the Presidency of Munster. Although he "...had the reversion, being grown too weak in mind and body.", he was passed over in 1624.[49] According to his will drawn up that year he was also heavily in debt.[50]

If the conflict scenario were correct, the reverberations of this affair may have meant that in 1626 Moryson could not find another publisher, particularly as they seemed to work in something like a cartel. Beale may have warned others off. If Moryson had not composed his differences with a rough diamond like Beale, his work may have remained in unpublished limbo. The censor may have given his *Imprimatur*, but no printer would touch it. Whatever did happen, publication in truncated form had to wait until 1903. It is this edition that I wish to examine now.

1.6. The Edition of Charles Hughes.

The parts transcribed by Charles Hughes are as follows:

The Ottoman Empire.

---

[49] See *CSP Domestic 1623 - 1625*, p. 360, entry for 23 October 1624. One of the Villiers clan got the position. Independent verification that Richard's incapacity was not Villiers propaganda, comes from the fact that he was not elected to the Parliament of 1624, as he had been to that of 1621.

[50] A transcription of this will is in the appendix.

Book One, Chapter One.

Fol. 1 line 1 - fol. 12 line 29.

Fol. 12 line 30 - fol. 27 line 21.

Fol. 27 line 28 - fol. 44 line 22. 99.8% included.

Book Three, Chapter Four, on Turkish religion omitted.

Book Four, Chapter Seven, on Turkish character omitted.

Poland.

Book One, Chapter Two.

Fol. 44 line 23 - fol. 56 line 35. 100% complete.

Book Three, Chapter Three,

Fol. 348 line 29 - fol. 349 line 41. 100% complete.

Book Four, Chapter Six

Fol. 545 line 7 - fol. 546 line 33

Fol. 546 line 36 - fol. 549 line 34

Fol. 550 line 1 - fol. 551 line 3. c.98% included.

The Italian States.

Book One, Chapter Three, on Italian History, omitted.

Book One, Chapter Four, on Italian History, omitted.

Book One, Chapter Five, on Venice, omitted.

Book One, Chapter Six, on Florence and Lucca,

Fol. 135 line 34 - fol. 147 line 28. 100% complete.

Book One, Chaper Seven, on Genoa,

Fol. 147 line 29 - fol. 153 line 55. 100% complete.

Book One, Chapter Eight, on Revenues,

Fol. 154 line 1 - fol. 188 line 3. 100% complete.

Book Three, Chapter Five, on Roman Religion omitted.

Book Five, Chapter One,

Fol. 579 line 42 - fol. 587 line 49.

Fol. 587 line 51 - fol. 589 line 22.

Fol. 589 line 25 - fol. 590 line 47.

Fol. 591 line 16 - fol. 593 line 32.

Fol. 593 line 40 - fol. 593 line 41.

Fol. 593 line 45 - fol. 622 line 17.

Fol. 622 line 18 - fol. 625 line 24.

Fol. 625 line 27 - fol. 627 line 25.

Fol. 628 line 4 - fol. 630 line 22.

Fol. 630 line 45 - fol. 635 line 34. c.97% included.

France.

Book Two, Chapter One,

Fol. 207 line 28 - fol. 209 line 30. c.4% included.

Book Three Book Six,

Fol. 449 line 13 - line 42. c.8% included.

Book Five, Chapter Two,

Fol. 641 line 16 - fol. 642 line 16. c.9% included.

Denmark.

Book Two, Chapter Two,

Fol. 234 line 42 - fol. 239 line 14.

Fol. 242 line 12 - fol. 243 line 49. c.40% included.

Book Three, Chapter Three, section on Danish Religion, omitted.

Book Four, Chapter Four, on Danish life omitted.

Ireland.

Book Two, Chapter Five,

Fol. 250 line 6 - fol. 300 line 25. c.90% included.

Book Three, Chapter Six,

fol. 453 line 38 - fol. 456 line 42 c.30% included.

Book Five, Chapter Five,

Fol. 653 line 3 - fol. 656 line 10.

Fol. 657 line 3 - line 55. c.17% included.

The German States.

Book Three, Chapter One,

Fol. 307 line 33 - fol. 310 line 2.

Fol. 313 line 50 - fol. 314 line 12.

Fol. 314 line 26 - fol. 320 line 8. c.30% included.

Book Four, Chapter One,

Fol. 460 line 39 - fol. 510 line 6. 100% included.

Bohemia.

Book Three Chapter Two

Fol. 326 line 10 - fol. 328 line 26. c.15% included.

Book Four, Chapter Five, on Bohemian life omitted.

The Swiss Cantons.

Book Three, Chapter Three,

Fol. 339 line 39 - line 55.

Fol. 341 line 21 - line 38.

Fol. 342 line 13 - fol. 343 line 3. c.20% included.

Book Four, Chapter Two,

Fol. 510 line 7 - fol. 517 line 42. 100% included.

The Netherlands.

Book Three, Chapter Three,

Fol. 345 line 35 - line 50.

Fol. 346 line 44 - line 52. c.15% included.

Book Four, Chapter Three,

Fol. 517 line 43 - fol. 532 line 7. 100% included.

The Jews.

Book Five, Chapter Six,

Fol. 664 line 40 - fol. 671 line 8. 100% included.

The Greeks.

Book Five, Chapter Six,

Fol. 671 line 9 - line 45.

Fol. 681 line 12 - line 28. c.5% included.

I am happy to acknowledge that I owe much to Moryson's former editor of the unpublished material, Charles Hughes. Coming after him, I have been able to amend my work silently, where his reading was superior. Hughes published the work under the title *Shakespeare's Europe*, probably through the good offices of a relation, since the publishers are Sherratt and Hughes. His book seems to have been a limited edition, hence the need for the reprint in New York in 1967. There seem to have been a few original special presentation copies with gold edging.

Hughes had been encouraged to look at Moryson by Gordon Duff of the Rylands Library Manchester. He dedicated his book to Adolphus William Ward, Master of Moryson's old College, Peterhouse, Cambridge. He went on to produce a transcription of *Willoughbie His Avisa* (London, 1904) and a transcription of Sir Henry Knyvett's *The Defense of the*

Realm 1596 (Manchester, 1906). In 1916 he contributed to the section on 'Land Travel' in *Shakespeare's England*, a patriotic title emphasising the narrowed vision caused by war.[51] I have been unable to establish what happened to him thereafter. Since the silence is so sudden, perhaps he perished on one of the battlefields of World War One. He does not feature among the great and the good in *Who's Who* or the *DNB*. Of course, he was "in trade", as a yarn agent, as he tells us, so he would be at an immediate disadvantage in being recorded in such august sources.

In producing his transcript of Moryson's work, Hughes states his aims as follows, "In printing this book, the aim will be to reproduce the author's MS., only correcting obvious slips of the pen. In cases of doubt, as to whether there is a slip of the pen or a blunder of the author, the MS. will be followed." Hughes makes frequent corrections, and I have followed him in this. However, whereas Hughes did it silently, I have left my tracks open for others to criticize or amend.

Hughes's principles of transcription differ from mine in that he corrects, amends and omits punctuation and mistakes where he sees fit, without noting them. He adds marginal

---

[51] Charles Hughes, 'Land Travel', in *Shakespeare's England*, edited by Sir Sidney Lee, C. T. Onions and W. Raleigh, 2 vols (Oxford, 1916), I, 198 - 223.

titles if he thinks that it aids the reader.[52] In one notorious instance he even helps Moryson out with his Irish history where Moryson conflates two Clarences, without noting it as his own addition.[53] He apologizes for Moryson's frank language, proclaiming, "Nor will there be any expurgations."[54] Then he silently omits repetitions, and the most salacious details of wife-battering and homosexuality. At the appropriate place I have noted these omissions. In this era, despite all the puffing of Shakespeare's patriotism and supreme genius, his "Problem Plays" were similarly passed over in silence.

Hughes is relatively unconcerned with spellings, adding 'e's where they do not exist, and mixing 'u's and 'v's, and 'y's and 'i's. The suspended 'r' Hughes takes to be a contraction of a preceding 'u', thus he transcribes "Rectour". Hughes also puts letters in the upper case to a greater extent than I have done. Unless I am sure by experience of the hand in question, that it is meant to be upper case, I have not capitalized. However, I hardly feel that these are hanging offences, and even where my transcription is more accurate, but differs in an unsubstantive way, I have not noted it.

---

[52] He adds a marginal note such as "The City of Pisa", p. 107, where it does not exist in the original, fol. 146.

[53] Fol. 250, p. 186 in Hughes.

[54] Hughes, p. xliv.

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Hughes does have a sprinkling of substantive mistakes, some of which are simple misreadings, as in "learne labour" instead of "beare labour".[55] Some are due to eyeslip.[56] Most may be put down to faulty proof-reading, and these I have also noted.[57] Other readings are more conjectural, and it may be that Hughes's reading is superior. In this instance I have included Hughes's reading in a footnote, with reasons why I have not adopted it.

In editing the work, Hughes brought it to the attention of the academic world. Fynes Moryson via Hughes appears in countless books to do with this period, both literary and historical. *Itinerary B* as transcribed by Hughes appears in the *OED* in over one hundred citations.

However, in filleting the work, Hughes also threw much of interest away. In effect, he buried it for a further century. This is the justification for my work. The editors of *OED* have not been through what was excluded by Hughes. Thus they quote the use of the word "prepuce" 1618, in the Jewish ceremony of circumcision, but ignore an earlier

---

[55] See fol. 22, line 37, and Hughes, p. 36.

[56] See fol. 477.

[57] See fol. 291, lines 33 - 38, transcribed by Hughes on p. 246, and fols. 521 lines 48 - 54 transcribed on p. 374.

instance where Moryson actually provides a definition.[58]

Hughes hardly annotates this work at all, which is a further justification for the attention that I have given it. When he does, it is rather patronizing, "The Venerable at Oxford! I feel that it is rather unkind to Moryson to quote this passage.", but he quotes it anyway.[59] It may seem ludicrous to us that Moryson can believe that the Venerable Bede taught at Oxford University, but Moryson had to rely on books, as we largely do, as a medium of learning and information. Books can be wrong.

What interested Hughes and his generation, might not interest us. Conversely, what interests us, might not have interested the Edwardians. Hughes writes

> Unfortunately, Moryson, the historical compiler, is a much inferior person to Moryson the social historian; he is laborious and widely read but quite uncritical. Moreover, his style, which is vivacious and masculine when he is writing from his own knowledge, often becomes flat and commonplace when he is working from other men's books. To have printed the whole of the MS would have needed 1,200 pages, and would have weighed down the valuable cargo with useless ballast. p. xliv.

I could take issue with much of this. The description of a disguised Moryson visiting the ships riding in the harbour at Copenhagen is fascinating and immediate. Yet it does not qualify for inclusion. Hughes excludes a section on Ireland

---

[58] See fols. 670 and 431.

[59] Hughes, p. 472, commenting on fol. 642.

from Book Five Chapter Five which Moryson acknowledges to be from Camden, whilst including an earlier section, which Moryson takes from Camden unacknowledged. The only fair thing to do is to let Moryson speak in his full prolixity. This I have done.

Hughes's choice of what text to edit, and what to include and what to omit, naturally reflects the tastes of his time. 1903 was between the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, and the tragedy of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Generally, educated Edwardians felt good about themselves, and their prominent place in the world. The upper classes who had the upper hand generally despised "trade". (One can trace this attitude in Moryson's deprecation of the trading princes of Italy.) An acute observer might have noticed that industrial indices indicated British stagnation and increasing German prominence, but there was always the Empire to take British goods. Pride in the Empire, and patriotism were a British heritage, and for Hughes, Moryson was a sensible patriot, "He had seen the world, and mixed with all sorts and conditions of men...He was intensely proud of his own country and his own countrymen, yet he judged the people of the countries where he sojourned with appreciative commonsense."[60]

---

[60] Hughes, p. xlv.

The fact that Hughes chose a traveller was part of a tradition emanating from the nineteenth century, by which the past was able to reflect preoccupations of the present. History legitimized the present. There had been British interests in the lands that Moryson visited three hundred years previously, and these interests were even more at stake in Hughes's day ensuring the free passage to India, the jewel of the Empire, via the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. 30% of accounts of travellers to the Ottoman Empire were published for the first time in the nineteenth century. This was a European wide phenomenon. The publication of accounts of Italian diplomats and travellers stimulated, and were stimulated by, the *risorgimento*, the revival and resurgence in Italian national consciousness. The *Drang nach Osten*, the strife in the East, stimulated publication of the accounts of German pilgrims and travellers.[61]

Within the field of his choice, Hughes placed his emphasis on what Moryson had to say about social life and customs, at the expense of the history and religion. I shall hope to show in the chapter on **History** that the Protestant view of history in Moryson's time was as important as the "Whig" view of history was to the Victorians. So, the sixteenth

---

[61] Stephane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs Dans L'Empire Ottoman (XIV - XVI siècles)* Publications de la Société Turque d'Histoire VII, 117 (Ankara, 1991), p. 17.

and seventeenth centuries without religion and history, is a bit like bread without the spread.

Within the Hughes's framework, the short section on England is naturally included in full. Ireland is also well represented. Ireland, in the period between William Gladstone's "Home Rule" and Sir Edward Carson's threat of civil war if the Union were broken, was perceived as a problem. The German states are well represented too. The *Entente Cordiale* with France, and the gradual chill in relations with Germany had yet to happen in February 1903. Memories of Fashoda in 1898, when Britain and France almost declared war over an obscure town in North Africa, may have influenced the reduction of space devoted to France. However, it is easy to over - historicise. The sections on German states are superior to the very derivative descriptions of France. Obviously, merit also influenced Hughes's selection. Germany, Switzerland and Poland having been well represented means that Denmark and Bohemia fare less well.

2.Fynes Moryson and His Background.

2.1 His Family

In 1566 Fynes Moryson was born, the third surviving son of five, into the family of Thomas and Elizabeth. There were also two surviving daughters, Faith and Jane. Fynes was close enough to both parents that he had precognitive dreams about them when they died. Unfortunately, he tells us little more about his mother.

Thomas's will shows that it was a prosperous and well connected family, with a seat at "Candeby" (Cadeby) in Lincolnshire, various granges and properties in the county, and a London home in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate when Parliamentary or other business called.[1] Until his death in 1593, the minister at St Botolph's was one John Morison, who may well have been a relative.[2] Certainly, it was the parish where Fynes ultimately felt at home, and where he lived, died and was buried.

The father, Thomas, was sharp in his own interests. In June 1585 there is a record of "Information of frauds and

---

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] Guildhall Library, St Botol ph without Aldersgate, Churchwarden's Accounts 1592 - 1593, MS, 1454. 94. His stipend was £6 13s. 4d.

concealments committed in the Exchequer on the accounts of several sheriffs of Lincolnshire, in the offices of Thomas Moryson and George Allington, of the Pipe Office."[3] Even when the Spanish Armada was embarking, Thomas wrote to Sir Charles Morison on 1 July 1588 about a property with such a good title as "is rarely to be seen" nowadays. (Elizabethans were as litigious as Americans are today, and a doubtful title would invite speculative litigation.) There might be a national emergency, but the fact that business was to be transacted as usual shows a confidence in the Queen's government, and its continuation.[4]

His position as clerk of the pipe (a registrar of land tax) gave him access to knowledge of property movements, and his life seems to have been one of successful acquisition, and moderate influence. He was elected the Member of Parliament for Great Grimsby for 1572, 1584, 1586, and 1588 - 1589, and Mayor in 1576.

He was not a man to flout law and convention. Much to

---

[3] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581 - 1590* (London, 1865), p. 249.

[4] British Library, Add. MSS, 40629, f. 87r. Charles Morison (1549 - 1599) was son of Henry VIII's lickspittle hack, Richard Morison. For his fawning and rewarding career, see W. Gordon Zeeveld, 'Richard Morison, Official Apologist for Henry VIII', *PMLA*, 55 (1940), 406 - 425, and *Alumni Cantabrigienses From the Earliest Times to 1751*, compiled by John Venn and J. A. Venn, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922), referred to hereafter as Venn, for details of Sir Charles Morison.

Fynes's chagrin primogeniture excluded the four younger brothers, and the two sisters, from the bulk of his estate. Although Thomas's will of 1592 expressed concern about the younger children, he left them unequal amounts. Significantly, Fynes was mentioned first, and the advowson of Louth (the reversion of a living) was a clear indication as to the career that Thomas felt his middle son should follow. The Venns estimate that about 90% of those with a Master's degree eventually took Holy Orders, but nowhere near that percentage obtained a living of their own.[5] In disdaining an obvious advantage, Fynes would have been able to sell the advowson on, but he left himself open to the vagaries of fortune.

So most of Thomas's estate went to the eldest, Edward (1557/1558 - 1598), who had already established himself and had a family. Edward was paid £30 for the final tidying up and processing of information about the forfeited lands of recusants, but he was obviously unable to procure the reversion of his father's public office.[6] Thereafter, he seemed to have been content to play the Country Squire. Fynes could never accept the inequities of primogeniture. He is always inveighing against the "...ignorant pride of

---

[5] *Alumni Cantabrigienses From the Earliest Times to 1751*, compiled by John Venn and J. A. Venn, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922), I, xiv.

[6] *CSP Domestic 1591 - 1594*, pp. 193 - 194, (26 February, 1592).

fathers..." accepting the iniquity of this English system, "...for in England gentlemen give their younger sonnes lesse, then in forraine parts they give to their bastards..."[7] Like so many landowners of the era, Edward would use the law to protect his interests, if he felt them threatened.[8]

Thomas, the next brother, along with his wife and son, Helen or Ellen and Charles, are recorded as buying a lease of St. Leonard's Priory Shoreditch.[9] There is a note in *CSP* of "Dr Thomas Morison's account of the contribution of the clergy in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, diocese of Lincoln towards recovery of the Palatinate, paid to William Boswell. Total 147l. 8s."[10] This refers to a nephew, the son of his eldest brother Edward.[11] Both Thomases were still alive in 1627, for they are cited in the case brought by the widow of Richard (the youngest Moryson brother) to establish her title to Richard's estate. Obviously, the younger Thomas did relatively well in the ministry. As a Doctor, presumably of Divinity, he shared his uncle's

---

[7] *Itinerary A*, I, 425, and 38.

[8] The letter is in the Folger Library, Washington D. C., Loseley MSS, L.b. 621r, and is transcribed in Appendix II.

[9] *CSP Domestic 1595 - 1597*, p. 443 (21 June 1597).

[1] *CSP Domestic 1619 -1623*, p. 379 (23 April 1622).

[11] *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees G - O*, 51 (London, 1903), p. 693.

academic leanings.

Next came Fynes, and then Henry (1569 - 1596) who was three years his junior.[12] They seem to have had a very close relationship. They shared a room together at Peterhouse, Cambridge. Henry matriculated as a pensioner, that is, having taken the oath of loyalty, he started to pay rent for his room, at Lent 1584/5. Each brother dreamt of their mother's shade passing by them, only to wake to find a courier bearing the bad news. In 1588 Henry leased chambers at Gray's Inn, as is mentioned in his father's will. The Inns of Court were as much finishing schools as places for the serious study of the law at this time.[13] However, Henry would have had to turn his talents to some remunerative employment, and successful careers with the English common law (as opposed to the civil law that Fynes studied) were to enable the founding of dynasties such as the Spencers and Churchills. Fynes returned from his first journey in 1595, to comply with regulations demanded by Peterhouse Cambridge, regarding his fellowship. His fellowship, worth £20 a year was then renewed until 1600. It is easy to

---

[12] A detailed chronology of Fynes's life is provided in Appendix I.

[13] See W. R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1590 - 1640* (London, 1972), passim, and Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, translated by Robert Mulcaster (London, 1616), sig. P3v, [*STC* 11197], where they are described as "...an vniuersity or schoole of all commendable qualities requisite for Noblemen."

imagine the younger brother being fired with enthusiasm at Fynes's letters from his travels. Henry had gambled his small patrimony on putting out his money to be repaid threefold if he returned from Jerusalem.[14] The two brothers teamed up. The fact that the second voyage was to end in disaster with Henry often ill, and finally succumbing to dysentry at Belen, was to haunt Fynes for the rest of his life. "My selfe have been twice sicke to death in forraigne parts, first when I lost my dearest Brother Henry in Asia (whose death I must ever lament with the same passion, as David did that of Absolon, who wished to redeeme his life with his owne death; and surely I freely professe, his life had been more profitable then mine, both to our friends, and to the Common-wealth.)" This illustrates what Lawrence Stone says about families in this period "The Restricted Patriarchal Nuclear Family...[which] predominated from about 1580 - 1640...saw the decline of loyalties to lineage, kin, patron and local community as they were increasingly replaced by more universalistic loyalties to the nation state and its head, and to a particular sect or Church."[15] Fynes continues, "The second time I was sicke to death at home in England, upon a less just but like

---

[14] *Itinerary A*, I, 425. The odds of "five for one" that Shakespeare's Gonzalo mentions, are perhaps a little generous. See *The Tempest*, III. 3. 48.

[15] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500 - 1800* (London, 1977), p. 7.

cause, namely grief".[16] Whether this was due to disappointment in promotion, or in love lost, Moryson is too modest to elaborate. Whilst Fynes was saying farewell to his dying brother, the Turks mocked, "...neither know I why my heart-strings brake not in these desperate afflictions: but I am sure from that day to this I never enjoied my former health, and that this houre was the first of my old age."[17] William Biddulph records the epitaph bearing the Moryson arms that Fynes had raised for Henry near Belen,

> To thee deere Henry Morison
> Thy Brother Phines here left alone:
> Hath left this fading memorie,
> For Monuments, and all must die.[18]

As a further memorial, Fynes sent pictures of his brother to three houses of the Levant Company merchants at Aleppo. The pictures were unwelcome as gifts, as they contravened the Islamic ban on the representation of the human form, and may have been destroyed then or later. Inquiries with the National Portrait Gallery proved fruitless.[19]

---

[16] *Itinerary A*, III, 394.

[17] *Itinerary A*, II, 68.

[18] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907), VIII (1905), 258.

[19] See fol. 355. The Levant Company, subsequently the Turkey Company, had its privileges withdrawn by Parliament in 1825. I wondered whether any such portraits might then have come into the state collections. I wondered whether there might be five lilies or *fleur de lys* from the Moryson coat of arms in a picture of a young man in late Elizabethan dress. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to reassign identity to anonymous pictures.

Finally there was Richard born in 1571. (He may have been christened after his namesake, Henry VIII's apologist, and subsequently diplomat to the court of Emperor Charles V.) He is also recorded as matriculating as a pensioner of Peterhouse in Lent 1584 - 1585, but he did not take his degree. He was less an academic, and more a successful soldier, on the Continent, on the Islands Voyage of 1597, and, above all, in Ireland. The army led to promotion as a Colonel, and subsequently public office as Vice President of Munster in 1609. Although I am not a graphologist, his signature seems less refined than that of his father, or his brother, Fynes.[20] Refinement was not a quality much in demand in Ireland where the imposition of martial law demanded a steady nerve, and a strong stomach. It enabled the English to commit atrocities in the serious belief that the cause of civility was being advanced. Richard would almost certainly have had to witness, and perhaps even order, this grisly work. On his return from Ireland, he became Master of the Ordinance, an office for which his military career well suited him. He seems to have become seriously ill in 1624, but lingered until 1627.

Fynes had always used family ties, or what sociologists call his kinship network, extensively, and this included

---

[20] The elder Thomas Moryson's signature is in British Library, Add. MSS, 40629, f. 87r, Richard's is in British Library, Add. MSS, 40629, f. 99r, and for Fynes's signature see the section on Hand One of this MS.

his sisters and brothers-in-law. It made sense for the younger children and their spouses to help one another for their mutual advantage. Fynes often stayed for prolonged periods with his married sisters Jane Alington (died 1612), and Faith Mussedine, subsequently Towthby (died 1622). His long lived brother-in-law, George Alington (c.1550 - 1632) proved a particular friend to the younger Morysons. In the 1590s he was elected Churchwarden at St Botolph without Aldersgate for successive years.[21] In 1592 he was made one of Thomas Moryson's executors and legatees. His signature is on the receipts for the collection of Richard's annuity, when military service prevented Richard from collecting it himself.[22] Fynes would have been happy for him to collect the rent owed to him by Edward Lacon.[23] He was an executor of Richard's will. Fynes left him "...his best night Capp and handkercheife...", probably in gratitude for his friendship, and perhaps for more material aid, over so many years. Such a steady and successful man was an indirect forbear of nobility and even an admiral.[24]

---

[21] Guildhall Library, St Botolph without Aldersgate, Churchwarden's Accounts, 1591 - 1592, MS 1454, 93.

[22] See British Library, Add. MSS, 40630, ff. 51r in 1600, 52r in 1601, 58r in 1602, and 61r in 1605.

[23] The letter is in the Folger Library, Washington, D.C., Loseley MSS, L.b. 621r, and is transcribed in Appendix Two.

[24] Hughes, pp. xxiii - xxiv.

The faithful servant, Isaac Pywall, although outside the kinship network, became a devoted companion in Moryson's last years. Many of Moryson's contemporaries were already dead. Isaac certainly worked for Fynes for at least thirteen years, from the mention of his small writing in the English sections on Ireland in *Itinerary A*, until the time of Fynes's death, and probably a lot longer. He then had the residue of Fynes's small estate, after certain bequests had been made.[25]

Sociologically true to the type of the younger sons who married late or not at all, Fynes had never married. Until he resigned his Fellowship at Peterhouse in 1600, there was an economic reason for his not doing so. He would have gained a wife and lost his Fellowship. Travel was seen as somehow incompatible with marriage. Moryson specifically says that women should not travel.[26] Part of the ludicrousness of Jonson's Sir Politic Would - be in *Volpone* is that he brings his wife along with him. In refusing a wife, Beaumont and Fletcher's Mirabell proclaims, "I will not lose the freedom of a traveller."[27] This freedom from

---

[25] BL, Harleian MSS, Add. 36706, f. 6r, and Appendix III.

[26] *Itinerary A*, III, 350.

[27] *The Wild Goose Chase*, I. 2. 71, in Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, edited by Fredson Bowers, (Cambridge, 1966 -) VI (1985).

a wife did not necessarily mean absence from the compa y of women since Mirabell wanted Italian liberties with them. Yet having spent so much on his travels, and having been unemployed for so long, Moryson may not have been considered as a desirable match, and he probably would not have considered marrying beneath him. It is worthy of note that other travellers such as George Sanderson, Thomas Coryat, and William Lithgow did not marry either.

Fynes was as misogynistic as the age in which he lived, so naturally many misogynists married in this era. He quotes St Paul's admonition about women keeping silence in the churches, but this is unexceptional.[28] The "familyar friend" who tells Fynes about prostitutes may possibly be Fynes himself.[29] His sexuality may have needed an outlet somewhere. I may be wrong, but Moryson's relative indulgence on these matters would suggest otherwise. From the above quoted passage on Henry's death, it may even have been that the grief he mentions was for a lady who died, or who rejected him. Speculation on this dark lady really would be futile...

---

[28] Fol. 456.

[29] Fol. 421.

2.2. His Education.

Coming from a literate family, Fynes and his siblings would have been encouraged to read and to write. His primary education was probably in the hands of a resident schoolmaster who looked after the large Moryson brood. Probably he would have learnt his letters from a hornbook, and to read from simple passages in the Bible. After the Reformation, literacy and reading were seen as means of spreading the gospel and securing salvation for oneself.[30] Thereafter his education would have embraced the Classics in ever more intimate detail as time passed.[31] As a boy Moryson probably would have started with the fables of Æsop in Latin translation, and by his teens have progressed to the elegancies of Cicero.[32] This may have been through a family tutor who would have probably doubled as the family chaplain, or through a schoolmaster at a grammar school. Fynes's own prescription for learning languages, that a pupil should learn the grammar first so as to be able to

---

[30] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 3 - 4.

[31] In the dedicatory poem to the First Folio, Ben Jonson sniffed at William Shakespeare's "...small Latine and lesse Greeke," but he still possessed much more classical knowledge than most postgraduate students of our period. Jonathan Bate has been able to produce a book length study about Shakespeare and Ovid without obvious irony.

[32] Both authors appear in his *Itinerary*. Cicero is unsurprising, but Æsop's astute little fables seem to have made a constant impression on Moryson too.

speak with elegance (he was able to speak and write Latin fluently), would derive from his early experience. Discipline would have been strict throughout. As an older man he compares this favourably with Irish methods of "liberty yea licentiousnes".[34]

Fynes seems to have been the first brother to have gone on to Peterhouse, Cambridge. The others were to follow. For Fynes it was one of the defining influences of his life. The Master of Peterhouse was Andrew Perne, who had been appointed under Queen Mary. Perne had managed to trim his opinions to the prevailing wind, and he remained Master for over thirty years. He had almost doubled the roll from the time of his appointment. In 1581, there were 154 students of whom Fynes was one.[35] At the Universities, the scholastic system held sway, which was, "...dialectical, Aristotelian, and highly systematized..."[36] As Moryson himself explains, "...they haue publike lectures, and disputations, and exercises for all Students from the lowest to the highest" by which he probably means

---

[33] Fol. 482.

[34] Fol. 284.

[35] Bryan Little, *The Colleges of Cambridge* (Bath, 1973), p. 13.

[36] William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958), p. 11, referred to hereafter as Costello.

declamations, or rhetorical speechmaking.[37]

Lectures involved "diting", copying verbatim. This seemed to be standard European practice. In Germany Moryson notes that students all copying together sounded like falling rain.[38] Learning to write at speed would have held him in good stead when on his travels he had to collect impressions quickly.

As an undergraduate Moryson would have had to appear once a year for four years in the disputations, twice as answerer, twice as objector on some proposition. "In every case, the opponent follows a carefully plotted line of syllogisms designed to trap the answerer into a position where he may be logically forced, step by step, into admitting the exact opposite of his thesis."[39] The structure of Moryson's work is generally episodic and loose. However, in presenting his Protestant view of history, Moryson seems to draw upon this training to present a closely reasoned argument. He piles up reasons why a Roman position is wrong, and having proven it to his satisfaction, logically proceeds to the next.

---

[37] Fol. 641.

[38] Fol. 473.

[39] Costello, p. 20.

Collecting philosophical gems to be placed under headings in their commonplace books was a further duty imposed upon students. Moryson inserts tags, verses and proverbs to enliven his text probably from his commonplace book which he would have kept up during his travels and perhaps even to the end of his life.

Cambridge in the 1580s had a tradition as a hotbed of radical Protestant dissent. This was fanned by the ineptitude of Archbishop Whitgift and an increasingly conservative bench of bishops (the Marian exiles were now dead) attempting to impose assent to religious articles by oath.[40] Still fighting the battles of his youth in the 1620s, Moryson quotes with approval Puritan divines such as silver-tongued Henry Smith, and William Fulke. He could not have failed to have missed the rumpus caused by William Whitaker, the Puritan Master of St. Johns from 1585 until his death in 1591. Whilst I am not suggesting that Moryson is in any sense a religious radical, I think he owes his strong Protestant views and his siege mentality, of Protestantism being under constant attack from within and outside, to his decade at Cambridge in the 1580s.

Finally, Cambridge granted him a Fellowship worth £20 a

---

[4] V. J. K. Brook, *Whitgift and the English Church* (London, 1957), pp. 78 - 90. Of course, Cambridge also produced Catholics whom Moryson evaded whilst in Rome. See *Itinerary A*, I, 260.

year, which, combined with his small patrimony, provided him with the means to travel. Ostensibly this was for postgraduate studies in Civil Law at foreign universities. James I called the Civil Law "most necessary for matters of treaty with forreine nations."[41] Whilst this shows Moryson's aspirations as a diplomat, James I probably exaggerated. He was also James VI of Scotland, a land where Roman Civil Law had struck a deeper root. Whilst Civil Law was still practised in the Church Courts and Court of Admiralty, Common Lawyers, of whom the most influential was Edward Coke, were successfully attempting to extend its scope.[42] Henry Moryson showed more acumen in attending the Inns of Court than his brother did by studying Civil Law abroad.

Yet as was widely recognized, education does not just encompass vocational training. The European Universities at which Moryson chose to study, Wittenberg, Leiden and Padua were far apart, thus giving an ostensible goal to his wide travel. Wittenberg acted as a magnet to dutiful Protestants, with its Reformation and Lutheran connections. Leiden was the foremost university for humanist studies of its day. The teaching staff were so eminent that Moryson

---

[41] Costello, p. 136 quoting from *Workes of James I* (London, 1616), p. 532.

[42] J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603 - 1688: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 90 - 94.

records them in detail.[43] Padua *la dotta*, the learned, was achieving new advances in the field of medicine and anatomy of which Moryson seems to have been aware.[44] In addition travelling itself was justified against its detractors as enabling the traveller to acquire personal qualities as "Wisedome or Pollicie. Knowledge or learning. Manners or behauiour."[45] His completed *Itinerary* with its emphasis on learned sources and his observations on the politics, resources, manners and customs of the various peoples with whom he came into contact, showed that by contemporary values, he had used his time profitably.

However, curiosity translated into the urge to travel as a means of self development was Moryson's main motive for being away so long. He explains that "...the endes of travailers," were "...to see many Cittyes, diuers manners of men, and to obserue good things for imitation, ill thinges to avoyde them..."[46] Only the Turks were to cure him of this urge,

> The desyre of Travelors to see newe Cittyes, people and manners of men, is so del[i]ghtfull, as Commonly it growes to a disease of endlesse perigrinnation, but I thincke

---

[43] See John R. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1993), p. 209 and fols. 521 - 523.

[44] Fol. 606.

[45] Justus Lipsius, *A Direction for Trauailers*, translated by Sir John Stradling (London, 1592), sig. B1r [*STC* 15696].

[46] Fol. 596.

nothinge so powerfull to cure the itch of this hunor[humour], and make them loue theire one Country, as to liue sometyme among the miscreants, and suffer their scornes. Fol. 553.

With the above exception, Moryson regarded his travel both as a pleasure and as vocational and personal training. He learnt German, French and Italian. He advises those who wish to serve the Commonwealth as ambassadors to get to know languages of different roots by study of the grammar and literature so that they might speak eloquently.[47] Yet unlike his near contemporary, Sir Henry Wooton, he was never called "to lie abroad for his country," as Wooton described his job much to King James's dismay. The nearest that Moryson came to deploying his skills was when he translated the terms of surrender of the Spanish expeditionary force at the Composition of Kinsale in 1602.[48] In this case accuracy rather than eloquence was probably required.

The lax security at most military installations in this period meant that Moryson also had a potential use as an expert or informer for the army should need arise. He collects information on warfare, arsenals, castles, armies and fleets assiduously. Perhaps with this experience in mind, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, called him to follow

---

[47] Fol. 483.

[48] Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), p. 311.

him to Ireland. When George Cranmer, nephew to the great Archbishop, and Mountjoy's principal secretary, was shot and killed at Carlingford on 13 November 1600, the day that Fynes arrived, and Fynes was promoted to his place the following day, it looked as though at long last Fynes's career had really started to blossom.[49] Perhaps his education and experience gained through travelling could well overcome the disadvantage of his being born a younger son.

2.3 Younger Sons and the Need for a Patron.

Moryson frequently outlined the plight of younger brothers. In gifting most to the elder brother, fathers,

> ...drive the rest to desperate courses, and make them unable to live, or to spend any money in getting understanding and experience, so as they being in wants, and yet more miserable by their Gentrie and plentifull education, must needes rush into all vices; for all wise men confesse, that nothing is more contrary to goodnesse then poverty. *Itinerary A*, I, 425.

The bitterness comes from disappointment. Left without the real status that land brought with it, or an independent income, the younger Morysons needed patrons to obtain lucrative positions to which they felt their talents entitled them. The patronage system "...was not only organized on the direct relationship between patron and

---

[49] Like Fynes, George Cranmer (1563 - 1600) also had had a university fellowship. He had also been abroad for three years from 1593 - 1596. His greatest friend was Sir Edwin Sandys. *DNB*

client; it also included the connections of friends of friends and enemies of enemies."[5] As Francis Bacon put it, "Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere..."[51] There were two main factions in the late Elizabethan era, that had access to the Queen and were conduits for patronage emanating from her, that of the Earl of Essex, and that of Robert Cecil. The Morysons were bound up, although far removed, from the centre of the faction opposing Cecil that had clustered around the Earl of Essex. In a letter dated 16 June 1596, or, more likely, 1597, since it would appear that the Islands Voyage is being alluded to, Richard Moryson writes to his relations Sir Charles and Lady Morison thanking them for payment of his £30 annuity and saying, "I can bragge of noe great hopes nor present encouragement to goe this Voyage, more then my Lord of Essex his fauorable wordes yesterdaye when I spoke with him onely hauinge made the warres my professione and expecting any aduauncement in it." Richard wondered if he might be obscuring himself when "...all our worlde is in actions."[52] In following Essex, he had made the right choice for the time being. He also met Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Richard was directly under Mountjoy's command in the

---

[5] See Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London, 1982), p. 38, referred to hereafter as Peck.

[51] 'Of Faction' in Francis Bacon, *Essays* (Oxford, 1937), p. 206, referred to hereafter as Bacon.

[52] British Library, Add. MSS, 40629, f. 99r.

Islands Voyage, and in the camaraderie of shared danger they became firm friends. Richard's star continued to rise. He was one of the excessive number of knights created in Ireland, that Essex had to answer for in June 1600 after his ignominious return. When Fynes returned from his journeys, encouraged by Sir Richard, as he now was, he applied to Essex's friend, Mountjoy, for employment. Theirs seems to have been a relationship of respect. The subsequent rebellion and fall of the Earl in February 1601 affected these three men profoundly.

Moryson's master, Mountjoy, was at the very centre of the Essex faction. Essex's sister, Penelope Rich, had children by him. His brother, Christopher Blount, who was also Essex's step-father, was involved in some of the violence of the uprising, and suffered the Earl's fate. Also, Mountjoy's literary tastes were frankly dangerous. Gabriel Harvey noted that he commended Samuel "...Daniels peece of the Chronicle, touching the Vsurpation of Henrie of Bullingbrooke."[53] The Lord Chamberlain's Men had had to answer before the Privy Council for playing Shakespeare's *Richard II* on the day before Essex's uprising, which dealt with this very subject. Sir John Hayward was imprisoned for

---

[53] This is from a note in Harvey's copy of Chaucer's *Workes*, reprinted in William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* edited by Harold Jenkins, The Arden Shakespeare (London, 1981), p. 573. The Chronicle referred to is Samuel Daniel's poem *The First Fowre Bookes of the ciuile warres between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke.*

the rest of the Queen's reign for writing of Henry IV's usurpation.[54] On hearing of the Earl's committal for treason, "...which much dismaied him and his neerest friends", Mountjoy shut up his cabinet immediately, and kept his personal papers and opinions to himself, to Fynes's profound regret.[55] If he had been recalled to London, he determined not "...to put his necke under the fyle of the Queenes Atturnies tongue."[56] Francis Bacon had a way with words. Having once been part of the Essex faction, Bacon might even have recalled the more intemperate things that Mountjoy had said. If recalled, Mountjoy determined that he would flee to France. Her own mortal danger in captivity before ascending the throne gave the Queen an unerring instinct in these matters. She recognized his plight. A manipulator to her fingertips, she sent Mountjoy a mollifying letter. She cleared him of any imputations, and asked him to look at others who might be of doubtful loyalty.[57]

Moryson's initial reactions were also fearful.

It is not credible that the influence of the Earles

---

[54] Much of this political material is reprinted in *Richard II*, edited by Peter Ure, The Arden Shakespeare (London, 1956), pp. 57 - 62.

[55] *Itinerary A*, II, 354.

[56] *Itinerary A*, II, 355.

[57] It is summarized by Moryson in *Itinerary A*, II, 356 - 357.

malignant star, should worke upon so poore a snake as my selfe, being almost a stranger to him yet my neernesse in bloud to one of his Lordships above named friends, made it perhaps seeme to his Lordship improper, to use my service in such neerenesse, as his Lordship had promised and begun to doe. *Itinerary A*, II. 354.

Fynes was near in blood to Richard, whose friend Sir Charles Danvers (1568 - 1601) had lent him money in Paris after he had been robbed.[58] Danvers had advised Essex to flee to Scotland, but stayed with him and also shared his fate. Literally decapitated, there was nothing the Essex faction could do but come to terms with Cecil. Mountjoy led the way. "For whereas before he stood on termes of honour with the Secretary, now he fell flat to the ground, and insinuated himselfe into inward love, and to an absolute dependancy..."[59] Where the lord goes, his suitors were sure to follow.

The patterns of Jacobean patronage grew out of the late Elizabethan factions. In the case of Robert Cecil and his network, many of the personages were the same, for there had not been the shake out that inevitably took place on Essex's execution.

Yet when Blount died on 3 April 1606 he had been promoted to an Earldom and then disgraced by his new sovereign for his marriage to Penelope Rich, a divorcee. John Ford

---

[58] *Itinerary A*, I, 419.

[59] *Itinerary A*, II, 354.

rhymed,

> Maugre the throat of malice, spight of spight
> He liu'd vnited to his hearts delighte.[60]

They were to pay a heavy price for their short-lived marriage. Mountjoy's household was broken up, attempts were made by distant relations to disinherit their children as bastards, and his wife Penelope, assailed on all sides, died a little over a year later.[61] Although it inspired John Ford to verse in *Fames Memoriall*, and as a possible model for *The Broken Heart*, Moryson never mentions Penelope directly.[62] The case was so notorious, that perhaps he felt that he did not need to. Perhaps he resented the fact that she had cost him his job. What Fynes Moryson had failed to do in the interim was to make the vital transition from a personal servant of Charles Blount to that of a servant of the state, or holder of a public office.[63]

---

[60] See John Ford, *Fames Memoriall; or The Earle of Deuonshire Deceased* (London, 1606), sig. D4, [*STC* 11158].

[61] Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope: Lady Penelope Rich An Elizabethan Woman* (Bourne End, 1983), pp. 175 - 189.

[62] "All one can reasonably assert is that Penelope's tribulations as the enforced wife of Lord Rich may have remained in Ford's/ memory, a quarter of a century after his having written *Fame's Memorial*, and been recalled when he was devising the part of his plot that concerns Penthea, Orgilus, and Bassanes." See John Ford, *The Broken Heart*, edited by T. J. B. Spencer (Manchester, 1980), pp. 16 - 17.

[63] Moryson is recorded as being Secretary of State in Ireland from 14 November 1600 until 31 May 1603 in Sir F. Maurice Powicke, and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, second edition, (London, 1961), but with the proviso that in this period such secretaries were "...personal assistants of the Lord Lieutenants [rather] than ministers of the Crown and their term of office began

His appearance may have told against him. Overweight, reeking of tobacco in a court where the king had counter-blasted it, and looking on the ground instead of straight in the eye (a tic remaining from his travels in Turkey), all may have hindered him in what was a fiercely competitive process.[64] One of the problems was that there were simply not enough jobs for the increased number of suitably qualified applicants as England grew more prosperous and populous.[65] One can only hope that the stoicism inculcated by Latin writers, and Christianized as Constancy, by Justus Lipsius, one of Fynes's favourite writers, prepared him for the disappointments that were to come.[66] It is easy to imagine the constant petitioning, the supercilious servants, the waiting in cold anterooms, and, finally, the brief interview with the great lord who was

---

and ended with that of the Lord Lieutenant whom they served."

[64] "...I having alwaies been very leane, after (by decay of naturall heate) became very fat, and having lost the retentive faculty of my stomack, so as I continually cast all that lay upon it, so soone as in the morning I came into the aire, I had no remedie against this weaknesse, but the taking of Tobacco." *Itinerary A*, II, 73. James I wrote *A counter-blaste to tobacco* (London, 1604), [*STC* 14363].

[65] See Peck, p. 25.

[66] Justus Lipsius (1547 - 1606) was a celebrity of European dimensions, judging by the success of his works, particularly *On Constancy in a Time of Public Evils* of 1583. It was translated by Sir John Stradling in 1594. Moryson lamented not seeing Lipsius in the Low Countries, "...whom I loved for his Booke of constancy, and much desired to see for his universall learning..." *Itinerary A*, III, 372.

inattentive, dismissive, and condescending. All the effort, all the learning and all the experience gained whilst travelling were of no avail. In a board game, described by a Spanish author in 1587, and similar to *Snakes and Ladders*, if a contestant landed on tile 43 with the caption "Your patron dies", he had to return to the beginning.[67] From 1606 Moryson's life was rather like this. He was never able to throw the six needed to recommence. He would never work again.

It made him over sensitive. Despite all his disappointments, he was a gentleman still, the younger son of an armigerous family.[68] Lest anybody should forget it, his work was by Fynes Moryson, Gentleman. In the title pages, it is repeated like a refrain.

In the meantime, after the temporary setback of Essex's fall, Sir Richard Moryson's star had gone on rising. He had been given a chance to mend fences with Robert Cecil by being the bearer of Mountjoy's news about the composition with the Spaniards at Kinsale. For his part, Mountjoy wanted a true friend to make the report, so that events

---

[67] Quoted in John R. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1993), p. 578.

[68] The family arms were "Or, on a cross sable five fleurs-de-lis of the field". *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees G - O*, 51 (London, 1903), p. 693.

would not be wilfully misinterpreted.[69] Richard then returned to Ireland. In 1604, he was promoted Governor of Waterford and Wexford. In 1609 Richard had achieved a significant public office via the army as vice President of Munster. He transferred his loyalties to William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke. Fynes probably hoped to ride along on Richard's shirt-tails again, as he had done in 1600, and so did every other brother, son and cousin of those who had achieved public office. It would appear that there was not the intense warmth between the two brothers that there had been between Henry and Fynes. Fynes seems somewhat wary of his brother in the letter of 7 May 1610. His name was excised from Richard's will, but it would be easy to read too much into this.[70]

"When One of the *Factions* is Extinguished, the remaining Subdiuideth," Francis Bacon predicted in 1597.[71] Even before Robert Cecil's death in 1612, his faction had fissured, some of it clustering around the Howards, many of whom were crypto - Catholics, and some around Pembroke. Pembroke stood for the opposite tendency, a robust Protestantism. In this sense, he was an ideal dedicatee for

---

[69] *Itinerary A*, III, 108.

[7] The evidence may indicate the inconvenience of distance between London where Fynes had rooms, and Richard's seat at Tooley Park in leicestershire, as much as a lasting quarrel between the pair.

[71] Bacon, 'Of Faction', p. 206.

Fynes's work.[72] In the dedicatory letter appended to the *Itinerary A*, Fynes explains how he had hovered in the background when his late master had discussed high affairs with Pembroke. Fynes almost certainly got his Royal Privilege through Richard's access to Pembroke who had access to the source of patronage and power, the king himself. From the position of King James, it had the benefit of pleasing a servant, whilst costing him nothing.[73] On a more material note, Richard Moryson named Pembroke as one of his executors in 1624. It was an obvious choice, for if Richard's legatees were to get anything, Pembroke was in a position to attempt to collect arrears owed from the king.

Yet Pembroke cannot have been that successful, for he was not a particularly forceful personality. When Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, married the sister, Lettice, of his great childhood friend Henry Morison (both children of Richard) it was considered that he had married very badly.[74]

---

[72] Pembroke was also interested in explorations, and was a member of Virginia and Bermudas companies. *DNB*

[73] It may have cost the stationer, John Beale, rather a lot, for in effect, it negated his rights.

[74] See Hughes p. xl. Falkland was one of the "tribe of Ben". Ben Jonson wrote a Pindaric Ode 'To the immortall memorie, and friendship of that noble paire, Sir LVCIVS CARY, and Sir H. MORISON', reprinted in Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson: The Man and His Work*, edited by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford, 1925 - 1952),

In the following years Fynes fared little better. In a Latin letter to Pembroke (which may well never have been sent for there are two versions of it) written in the 1620s, Fynes writes in a convoluted Latin of what it is to be a client "*Humilius sapiunt & rectius (me censore) faciunt, qui inveteratæ consuetudini se hac in parte obsequi, ac deuoti solum modo animi testimonium exhibere profitentur.*"[75] The tone gets even more servile as the letter ends, "...*et meipsum in vernam dedo. Tibi ad Imperata humiliter obeunda promptassimus, Fynes Moryson.*"[76] Such ingratiation and abasement were probably born of near despair. It is hardly surprising that Fynes devoted the rest of his life to the study of the patron who deals mercifully with those who know Him.[77]

Perhaps Fynes's shrewd father Thomas had been right after

VIII (1947), 242 - 247.

[75] British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, f. 3r. "They are more humbly wise, and, in my judgement, act more correctly, who confess that what they display, by ingrained custom, is a testimony of their obedience to your party and of their spirit devoted only (to you)." Translation supplied by Frank Beetham, referred to as FB hereafter.

[76] British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, f. 3v. "...I devote myself to be your house-born slave. Humbly awaiting your instruction, most ready for your tasks, Fynes Moryson." A *verna* was born into servitude within a household. Such were usually well treated in comparison with a *servus*, who were chained into gangs and worked to death. FB It reveals Fynes's low self esteem at this time, and also his attitude of complete loyalty to Pembroke's faction.

[77] BL, Harleian MS, 5133, f. 4r.

all. A contemporary proverb states that it is a wise father that knows his own child.[78] Fynes really would have been better off in the ministry.

2.4. The Man

This prompts the question, why did he not follow his own interests, and take hold of the clear career advantages that his father had left him ? This age was not unfamiliar with the idea of paradox stemming from the same impulse. So Shakespeare's King Lear imagines a beadle, and addresses him,

> Thou rascal beadle, hold thy bloody hand.
> Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thy own back.
> Thou hotly lusts to use her in that kind
> For which thou whip'st her.[79]

Moryson suffers from low self esteem and self-conflict. The guilt induced by his brother's death did nothing for his sense of self esteem. He records how a Turk seeing him pace to and fro in the Ambassador's gallery, asked him what he was doing.[80] Presumably, he was ill at ease and torturing himself with thoughts of how if things had been otherwise,

---

[78] Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of The Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), C 309.

[79] *The Tragedy of King Lear*, IV. 5. 156 - 159 in William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, edited by Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford, 1988). This is the edition that I use throughout.

[80] Fol. 556.

his brother Henry might be standing there with him. He could not even protect his much loved younger brother.

The self conflict manifests itself in the constant emphasis that he is a gentleman. Yet on his travels he abased himself by dirtying his clothes and pretending to be his own servant. Later in his life he is capable of contemplating a letter of quite shocking servility to his patron, the third Earl of Pembroke. He hated actors as despised outcast creatures, yet was a good actor himself. He was so good that when he pretended to be French, German or a serving-man he was never questioned. Although conservative in political thought, (he justifies monarchy on patriarchal grounds, which by implication is also a defence of the right of the eldest male to inherit) he deprecates primogeniture. There is real bitterness born out of the disappointment that he was to inherit so little. It was as though his father should break the rules just for him. The petulant rejection of the advowson his father left him appears in retrospect to be almost self - destructive.

He destroyed work, and constantly rewrote what had been written. Self conflict had been turned in on himself. This can be seen in the words of the work itself. Thus, *OED* uses an instance from Moryson's work for the use of the word

"prepuce", when he was describing a Jewish circumcision.[81] One of Moryson's charges against the Jesuits was that they deliberately used difficult language to obfuscate and confuse in their translations of the Bible,"...vsing obscure wordes where wee vse playne (they reading the prepuce, where wee reade the fore skinne, and the like)".[82] This could be interpreted as manifesting Moryson's dual repulsion and fascination with Catholicism.

Neither was Moryson the only one. Indeed, there were so many English Catholics in Rome, that after Moryson asked for Cardinal Allen's protection, he changed his lodging so as not to be pestered.[83] Similarly, the whole Stuart dynasty was also effected. Moryson lived long enough to see the destruction of an English and Protestant consensus by promotion of Arminianism in the Church, and a pro - Catholic foreign policy.

In Moryson I believe it is possible to see a duality which only the English Civil War of 1642 was to sunder. Intellectually, Moryson supported the Stuarts, but emotionally his heart was back in the 1580s, when Catholicism was the enemy, and Spain its prime exponent.

---

[81] Fol. 670.

[82] Fol. 431.

[83] *Itinerary A*, I. 260.

Dying in 1630, Moryson was spared the pain of choice that Civil War inevitably entails. Yet, it is not entirely surprising that the faction Moryson had supported, was in the person of Philip Fourth Earl of Pembroke on the Parliamentary side.

So in the final analysis, Moryson was a man apart, a man who was prepared to observe the cities and citizens, the country and countrymen in silence, and then happy to move on. Something similar could be said of his life. He seemed to be happiest in transit. It was his great misfortune that after the death of his patron, his life and career never really moved on any further.

3. The Models and the Market.

3.1. Models for the *Itinerary*.

In writing his *Itinerary*, Moryson's aim was augmentation of what had been written by Classical writers, and by those modern writers whom he admires, into a compendium or chorography. Under the sixth precept for a traveller, Moryson commends "cosmography" for helping to locate oneself, and "corography", what we would probably call physical and human geography. The traveller has to predict his own ends, to know what to look for, in "...the knowledge of those Kingdomes through which he is to passe, they being most necessary for his use." Without this framework, a traveller is "...like a blind folded man..." unable to make sense and to take advantage of the sights that are presented to him.[1]

The classical models that Moryson had before him included Pomponius Mela's three book *Chorographia* or *De Situ Orbis* of AD 43, a detailed account of the Mediterranean lands enlivened with descriptions of natural phenomena, customs and national characteristics, and sites of historical and

---

[1] *Itinerary A*, III, 376. Moryson may have culled these precepts from Hieronymus Turler, *The traueiler of Jerome Turler* (London, 1575), [*STC* 24336].

legendary association.[2] These works were enthusiastically promoted by the fifteenth century humanist Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini later Pope Pius II (1458 - 1464). Following him, Sebastian Münster (1488 - 1552) edited Pomponius Mela in 1538, and the *Geography* of Ptolemy, an Alexandrian of the second century AD, in what was to become a preparation for his own *Cosmographia*. First published in 1550, it went through constant reprints until 1628. It was a comprehensive encyclopaedia of geography, history, astronomy and the natural sciences. Uncritical and unashamedly populist, it contained stories of monsters, and fables.[3]

Before Moryson left in 1591 on his first journey, Mela had been translated into English by Arthur Golding, and a second enlarged edition published. There was even a checklist of things to be noted in foreign travel by Albertus Meierus, and published by John Wolfe. It is worth quoting the full title because it has a clear and wide market in view, *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners, &c Employed in seruices abroade or anie way occasioned to*

---

[2] See Sir Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford, 1937), referred to as Harvey hereafter.

[3] This section is indebted to Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Basel 1550*, with an Introduction by R. Ochme (reprinted, Amsterdam, 1968).

conuerse in the Kingdomes, and gouernments of forren Princes, translated by Philip Jones (London, 1589). Moryson's target readership was not so wide, "...I professe to write especially in this place to the Humanist, I meane him that affects the knowledge of State affaires, Histories, Cosmography, and the like, and out of that I write, let other men apply to their use, what they judge fit for them."[4] In addition, Thomas Coryat acknowledged that "An observative traveller" should record details of universities, even though he failed to do so in Paris, and again at Padua.[5] Moryson was not so remiss. Great men, "living monuments" were also a legitimate source of interest. Coryat bearded the great Classical scholar Isaac Casaubon in his study at Paris, whilst Moryson went to considerable lengths to see Robert Bellamine at Rome and Theodore Beza at Geneva.[6]

These written accounts or chorographies had their pictoral equivalents in the achievements of the many contemporary cartographers, of whom the most famous was Abraham Ortelius. It is no coincidence that this century of discovery and travelling was also the century when Europeans first had a picture of the world that is

---

[4] *Itinerary A*, III, 371.

[5] Coryat, I, 171 and 296.

[6] Coryat, I, 180; *Itinerary A*, I, 304, 390.

recognizably modern. To picture something is to diminish the unknown. The effects of this are difficult to overestimate. "...when the Emperor beheld England in a Mapp, he wondred that the king of *Spaine* did not digg it with mattocks, and cast it into the *Sea*."[7] Thus Moryson describes the initial amazement of the Turkish Emperor on seeing a map. Amazement stimulated curiosity. In Moryson this became his desire "...to see many Cittyes, [and] diuers manners of men..."[8]

Having chosen these expansive models, Moryson had no doubt that his was to be a work like his wanderings, on an epic scale.[9] At the beginning of *Itinerary B* there is a self-mocking allusion to Virgil's methods of composition of the *Aeneid*, the tale of a pious traveller who fulfilled his destiny. Moryson hoped to achieve his by completing his

---

[7] Fol. 19.

[8] Fol. 596.

[9] I remember a lecture on Shakespearean biography given by the late T. J. B. Spencer in 1977, in which he talked of each age having a preferred literary form. For the Victorians it was the novel. Hence the "happy ending" in their accounts of Shakespeare's final years. In this age it was the epic. Spenser and Daniel are obvious examples. Moryson demonstrates an urge to the epic as the following examples show. Neither was Moryson alone among the travellers in writing in these terms. The ever - modest William Lithgow compares his own travels with those of Ulysses as recorded by Homer, "...yet a voyage of no such estimation, as that Princely Poet accounted it; for his travels were not answerable to the fifteenth part of mine." William Lithgow, *The Total Discourse of The Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations* (Glasgow, 1906), p. 270.

book.[10] Nearing the end of this *Itinerary*, he specifically refers to the weary traveller in his own odyssey thinking of home.[11] In a letter to an Italian friend, Moryson alludes to *Orlando Furioso*, Ariosto's epic masterpiece with, what a modern commentator calls, its "multiplicity in the action".[12] There are similarities in Moryson's work with its multiplicities and epic digressions (including in Moryson's case the whole section on the Irish wars) which really have no place in an *Itinerary*.

3.2. The Market.

There certainly was a market for travel information and compilations of epic proportions in folio. In England, about two to three percent of book production was devoted to history and travel. "In the 17th century, possession of accurate and up to date information about the Ottomans was not just desirable; it often had critical importance."[13] What was particularly true of the Ottomans held true for all other peoples. The obvious comparison here is with

---

[10] See fol. 1. and note.

[11] Fol. 672.

[12] Robin Kirkpatrick, *English and Italian Literature from Dante to Shakespeare* (London, 1995), p. 158.

[13] Rhoads Murphey, 'Bigots or Informed Observers ? A Periodization of Pre - Colonial English and European Writing on The Middle East', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 110, 2 (1990), 291 - 303 (p. 301).

Richard Hakluyt and his follower Samuel Purchas who consciously set out to compile and create a "*...un outil professionnel aux navigateurs et marchands de la nation anglaise*".[14] Such professionals needed easily assimilable information about the best routes, about the most important cities and about the people who inhabited them. This kind of information changes slowly. By collecting so much material from so many sources about so many parts of the world, Hakluyt and Purchas collated enough information to attain critical mass and consequent synergy. The whole became more than the parts of which it was assembled. Their guides became indispensable as contemporary works of reference.

Moryson also published in folio, but his work was unsuccessful enough for the critics to jibe at its length, and for the final part to remain unpublished. Moryson the gentleman would hardly have regarded his role as helping merchants, but the inclusion of reams of irrelevant material (however interesting to us) would exclude it as a reference book for merchants and seamen, and annoy any

---

[14] "...a professional guide or tool for English seamen and merchants." See Stephane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs Dans L'Empire Ottoman (XIV - XVI siècles)* Publications de la Société Turque d'Histoire VII, 117 (Ankara, 1991), p. 21, referred to hereafter as Yerasimos. See also Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (Glasgow, 1903 - 1905), and Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907).

casual traveller who had bothered to carry Moryson's cumbersome folio for current guidance.[15]

The market was not yet really ready for the general reader, or the armchair traveller. Travel and travail did not only possess an etymological connection in this period. William Lithgow describes his experiences as *Painefull Peregrinations*. Generally, travelling was still too dangerous to be seen as a purely leisure activity, an end in itself. Moryson and Coryat are ahead of their time in this respect. Economic or religious benefit, in the form of plunder, colonization, education (an economic benefit if it enhanced career prospects), or pilgrimage were the usual motive forces, and the only justification for the risks involved. Even Henry Moryson obtained odds of three to one against his returning from the Holy Land. If he had returned, the journey could have virtually paid for itself.

Yet there was another ready market, to be aimed "*...à ceux qui voyagent...*", which usually meant the pilgrim and casual trader, and those on an educational tour within Europe.[16] In the most popular texts aimed at this market, personal anecdotes or original touches were to be

---

[15] Among irrelevant material I would include the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. In 1735, it was made the subject of a separate book, criticism in itself that these things were best not yoked together.

[16] "...at those who travel...", Yerasimos, p. 19.

eliminated in favour of that "*...ce qui doit être vu*".[17] One of Moryson's Turkish sources, Antoine Geuffroy is so impersonal that apart from his name and the date of first publication nothing more is known about him. *Les Voyages dv Seignevr de Villamont*, so often quoted by Moryson, ran to twenty-six editions, and another source, Bartholomeus Georgievits's *The ofspring of the house of Ottomanno* ran to eighty-eight editions in various languages by largely keeping to this well known formula.[18]

That is not to say that guidance could not be gleaned from Moryson. His time in the Ottoman Empire was immeasurably improved once Ambassador Edward Barton hired a Janissary as his protector and guide, and warned him against wearing green, the colour of the Prophet, that could incite faithful Muslims to violence against infidels.[19] Yet such information has to be winnowed from the work. Whilst Villamont has the same information, he also includes easy tables, and distances between cities, thereby giving an easy guide to routes, which were still missing from many

---

[17] "...that which ought to be seen...", Yerasimos, p. 18. Moryson's text is full of personal touches such as the praises of and gratitude to men like Edward Barton, ambassador at the Sublime Porte, and George Dorrington the envoy, dead in one case and dismissed in the other almost twenty years before the publication of 1617. This would have been scant use to a contemporary traveller, although it is fascinating for scholars.

[18] Yerasimos, p. 11.

[19] Fol. 365.

contemporary maps. There is not the same amount of personal chit-chat, about the inequity of primogeniture, or the kindness of people long dead. Significantly, the popular books by single travellers aimed at the non professional traveller were published in quarto or octavo. William Lithgow's work ran to four editions in quarto. Villamont was in octavo. Hakluyt's folios would present no problems of carriage for the professional traveller or trader on shipboard, but for the individual amateur travellers on horse or mule, the easiest portable guide would be the quarto or octavo sized book, or even better still the pamphlet. Moryson's folio would be too bulky an item.

Thus Moryson failed to capitalize properly upon the European craze, among Protestants as well as Catholics, and among professional as well as amateur travellers, for accounts of all voyages. There was another market that Moryson would have disdained as being unutterably vulgar and beneath a gentleman. This was the market for wonders, horrors and marvels, which Sebastian Münster, William Lithgow and even Sir Walter Raleigh were not above tapping.[20] In England sixpenny dreadfuls, about foreign vices and exotic marvels were produced in quarto and in

[20] Lithgow had a lurid tale to tell of his torture by the Inquisition just at the time of the furore over the Spanish Match. For Raleigh's obsession with Guiana, see *Last Voyages Cavendish, Hudson, Raleigh: The Original Narratives*, edited by Philip Edwards (Oxford, 1988), pp. 177 - 178.

quantity.[21]

In modern parlance we would say that Moryson's publishing strategy was faulty. Rather than segmenting the market, Moryson tried to appeal to all "humanists" or educated men, and as he ruefully admits, ended by pleasing few in his own "*Crittick* age."[22] This must have come as an unwelcome surprise after his labour of years, but Moryson had not fulfilled all the conditions set down as discussed above until he had completed Part IV. His critics were able to attack the incomplete, overlong and printed work to real effect.

3.3. The Critical Response to Moryson's *Itinerary*.

In 1625 Samuel Purchas wrote, "*Master Morisons travels are since printed in a large volume by themselves, where the reader may feast himselfe with the rarities and varieties of many Kingdomes.*"[23] Apparently not everybody was as kind. Tired of defending his work, Moryson in his bitter envoi to the readers, left it to posterity to judge,

Itaque huiusmodi lectores scire partier velim me nulli detractori omnino responsurum, quia mihi iam seni vitæque quod superest, Theologicis studiis Vouenti, hoc oneris hac

---

[21] A look at the titles of the *STC* will prove my point.

[22] Fol. 1.

[23] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907), VIII (1905), 258.

ætate molestissimum euaderet Illis, mihique pariter liberum sit opinari, et quis veritati magis consentiatur, cuius error infirmitatem cuius malitiam sapiat, iudicium sit posteritatis quam neuter in suas partes trahere poterit.[24]

Until 1735 posterity simply failed to respond. Then the account of Tyrone's rebellion was republished in Dublin. The Irish sections from *Itinerary B* were not included.

Thereafter there is a long silence until the Empire was created, and the later Victorians looked back to their pioneering forebears to justify their present. Sir Sidney Lee, Shakespeare's biographer, was dismissive in the *DNB* article that he wrote. "Moryson is a sober and truthful writer, without imagination or much literary skill." Nevertheless, his descriptions "...render the work invaluable to the social historian." This theme was taken up in their advertisement for the reprinting of *Itinerary A*, by James Maclehose & Sons who note in 1907 that the "...peculiar value of Moryson's Itinerary is in the account of the social conditions prevailing in Europe..."[25] The

---

[24] BL, Harleian MSS, 5133, f. 4r. "...I shall give no reply at all to any critic, because I am now old and am devoting the remainder of my life to theological studies; the labour involved, most troublesome at this time of life, should persuade them, as it is equally free for me, and for any one else whose feelings are in harmony with truth, to consider that it should be for posterity, whom neither will be able to drag over to his own side, to judge whose error smacks of frailty, and whose of malice." Translation by FB.

[25] See the advertisement by the publishers, James Maclehose and Sons in the special insertion at the back of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow 1905 - 1907), XX (1907), 21.

Encyclopaedia Britannica in its best, eleventh, edition remarks "The *Itinerary* is a work of great value to the historian as a truthful picture of the social conditions prevailing in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century."[26] The American, E. S. Bates in 1911 remarked on his prolixity saying that his *Itinerary* was published "...in a form that has proved the equivalent of a burial." Nevertheless, "It must form the basis of any description of the countries he saw, at any rate, as seen by a foreigner, going, as he does, more into detail than any one else, and being a thoroughly fair-minded, level-headed, and well-educated man, whose knowledge was the result of experience."[27] Boies Penrose takes up this theme in 1942, with his description of Moryson as "...a shrewd, careful, accurate, if somewhat prosaic and unimaginative man, whose encyclopedic writings (for they are no less than that) constitute a veritable prose monument to the Europe of Elizabeth."[28] In 1954 T. J. B. Spencer wrote "Never was a travelling studentship better spent."[29] John Stoye, who has

---

[26] Before the marketeers had begun to sell it like soapflakes, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as edited at Cambridge University was a worthwhile source of reference. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, 29 vols (Cambridge, 1910 - 1911), referred to hereafter as *EB*.

[27] E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600* (New York, 1911), pp. 402, and 5.

[28] Boies Penrose, *Urbane Travelers* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 4.

[29] Terence Spencer, *Fair Greece Sad Relic* (London, 1954), p. 61.

revised his work of 1951 in 1989, but not his comments on Moryson, calls it a "ponderous Itinerary" and "...an overwhelming conflation of authorities immuring his own very valuable experience."[30]

Thus, the balance of opinion in his end of life report is that he scores highly on content and veracity, but low on literary merit and imagination. Yet Moryson was working to a formula which did not encourage imagination, but rather imitation, and to accuse him of lacking the former seems to be pointless, if not anachronistic. Bates is partially wrong when he states that Moryson's knowledge was the result of experience. It was also the result of wide reading and those who had gone before, as Stoye comments correctly. Each journey "*...ne constitue seulement un accomplissement individuel mais entraîne aussi une consécration sociale.*"[31] This social mission meant writing and rewriting the story, thereby firing the enthusiasm of others to follow. Each account intentionally resembled the past and anticipated the next in a continuous and slowly evolving process of augmenting the body of knowledge.

---

[30] John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604 - 1667* revised edition (London, 1989), pp. 7, 22.

[31] "...did not just constitute an individual achievement, [individual certificates were given to all, as "testimony under the seale of the Monastery, that we had beene at Jerusalem" *Itinerary A*, II, 37,] but involved a social mission too." Yerasimos, p. 17.

The *Itinerary* is of more use and interest to today's scholars than to Moryson's contemporaries. It was already twenty years out of date when published. Undoubtedly, Moryson would have defended himself by saying that "...riper yeares and second Counsells [are] all wayes best..."[32] Yet the prices of inns and carriages would have risen with inflation since the 1590s. Moryson commends Calvin for concise thought in his *Institutes*, as against the more diffuse Luther whose output including his *Tabletalk* runs to many volumes, and whose ideas modified over the years. Yet Moryson's output is much more like Luther than Calvin. It is part travelogue, part journal, part history, part religious polemic, part sociological survey. The only connecting motif of the whole work is that it goes from the particular to the general, from a daily journal to generalized observation. It is also an itinerary of Moryson's life itself, although it is not an autobiography in the accepted sense. Ultimately, the book failed because it was trying to do too much, too seriously, too late.

---

[32] Fol. 471.

4. Sources.

4.1. The Sources.

Moryson's list of sources, like the work itself, is on an epic scale. "Fynes Moryson, gentleman" was no populist. The piling up of learned authorities was a contemporary equivalent of our doctoral theses. This may explain why Moryson and so many theses remain largely unread. As an author, Moryson was more a promoter of ideas than an originator.[1] He was writing at the time when what Foucault calls the "...*individualization* in the history of ideas..." was not complete.[2] Working within a framework of Classical and humanist thought and Protestant historiography, Moryson drew examples from his wide reading and experiences to illustrate and amplify the arguments of others which he had adopted. His was a spirit of collaboration.[3]

Our obsession with originality and ultimate sources is a manifestation of the individualistic ethic of our own times. In a time when the European reading public feared

---

[1] See *OED*, senses 1. d. and 1. a.

[2] See Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *Contemporary Literary Criticism* edited by Robert Con Davis and Ronald Schleifer, third edition (New York, 1994), pp. 341 - 353 (p. 342).

[3] The very word "collaborator" still conjures up images of betrayal in Vichy France.

social disruption above almost all other ills, the conservative imitative approach, a continuity of perspective and a repetition of the familiar was prized above any quirky individuality. The question of originality did not really arise. What was published belonged to all. It became part of the intellectual currency of the age.

It is a useful term. The old gold and silver coinage was used and in use was exchanged and changed, in some cases radically changed by being clipped, but in most cases ever so slightly changed so that over years of use the legend and bust become less distinct and ultimately worn away. Eventually the coin was melted down and restruck anew. So with ideas, details, and stories. One cannot push the numismatic parallel to extremes (most ideas, details, scandals and stories, get augmented rather than diminished). Intellectual currency is not a soft option for researchers too idle to establish sources, but a reasonable surmise that within the social milieu, it is possible that the writer in question could have been influenced by ways and means no longer capable of being proven beyond absolute doubt. What follows will serve as an example.

4.2. Running a Reference to Ground.

Moryson writes of the Janissaries of the Turkish Emperor, "So as they are and still grow more and more like the

Pretorian bands in the State of *Rome*, who being at hand nere the Citty, at first strengthned the choice of the Emperors, but at last named and deposed them at pleasure."[4] It is an apt comparison, since both hindered and sometimes destroyed the Emperors that they had been instituted to protect. Osman II was killed by the Janissaries for attacking their privileges in May 1622. Now it is possible that Moryson thought of this comparison himself. Yet it may even have been an historical commonplace.

Moryson may have remembered it from his browsing in Guicciardini in the original whilst studying in Italy a quarter of a century previously. In writing of the coup against Bajazeth II in 1512 by his son Selim the Grim, Guicciardini writes how Selim "...*corrotto i soldati pretoriani*", corrupted the praetorian guards.[5] This idea is lost in the three English editions translated by Fenton that Moryson might have used, "...concurring the corruption of the souldiors of his garde", in 1579, "...concurring the corruption of the souldiers of his gard", in 1599, and "...corrupting the Ianisaries and souldiers of his guard", in 1618.[6] Perhaps Moryson really did remember his reading in Italy. He prided himself on his Italian because he

---

[4] Fol. 34.

[5] Book Thirteen, Chapter Nine.

[6] Pages 756, 617 and 536 respectively.

printed various, rather stilted letters including one of October 1596, that he had written to the "Nicolao Donato" Proveditore di Sanità (Registrar of Health) on Corfu, saying that he was clear of the plague.[7]

However, he could have got it from other sources translated into English. In Giovanni Botero's work translated as *The Traveller's Breviat*, another of Moryson's definite sources (perhaps in the original or in the English) there is in the Chapter on Spain a description of the Mamelukes as, "...a kinde of soldier no lesse famous for their armes and discipline, then the Prætorian Turkish soldiers, called Ianizaries".[8]

Botero may well have got the idea from Guicciardini. Francis Bacon also mentions Guicciardini in his essay 'Of Empire' before describing "...*Men of warre*; It is a dangerous State, where they liue and remaine in a Body, and are vsed to Donatiues; whereof we see Examples in the *Ianizaries*, and the *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome*..."[9] Moryson might have disdained to read the *Essays* of a man who deserted the Earl of Essex's faction, and for whom he must

---

[7] See *Itinerary A*, II, 76 - 81.

[8] Giovanni Botero, *The Traveller's Breviat* (London, 1601), p. 23.

[9] Francis Bacon, *Essays*, The World's Classics (London, 1937), p. 82.

have felt contempt, particularly as Bacon had prospered by attacking old friends and members of his old faction in the law courts. Even Bacon felt it necessary to write a self-justification or *Apology* for his actions in 1604.[10]

Thus there are several ways that Moryson may have got this idea from the one source, if he got it from that source at all. It is very difficult, if not almost impossible, to be absolutely sure that some sources that I have quoted were the actual ones used by Moryson. In this case I can only defend my inclusion of them by calling them part of the intellectual currency in constant circulation in that age.

4.3. Which Edition?

A similar *caveat* attends the choice of edition, as I shall amplify here. Moryson calls Francesco Guicciardini a "worthy Historiographer" for his *Storia d'Italia*.[11] He merits this title from Moryson for his exposure of Borgia vices, and for highlighting the escalating demands and corruptions of the Popes as the centuries progressed. The Roman Church, which really did have something to hide, censored these two contentious passages from all Italian

---

[10] *Sir Francis Bacon his Apologie, in certaine imputations concerning the late earle of Essex* (London, 1604), [*STC* 1111].

[11] Fol. 597.

editions. As discussed above, it is likely that Moryson could have read or browsed Guicciardini in one of the many Italian editions that were on sale whilst he was in Italy. He certainly did visit the booksellers, as he remarks that the libertine Aretino "of a sharp wit, though hee abused it wantonly",[12] was on sale everywhere, even though "the Inquisition worthily condemned" his work.[13] Probably he browsed through many Italian books, particularly when he had time to spare in Padua and Venice, the centre of the Italian book trade.

However, such Italian editions would have had the all important excisions, and if Moryson had been using the original as a guide when writing or dictating then surely the names would have been a little nearer their Italian equivalents even taking into account Guicciardini's variable orthography.[14]

There were three English editions available during Moryson's lifetime, the first of 1579, the second of 1599, and the third of 1618. Retranslated by Geoffrey Fenton from

---

[12] *Itinerary A*, I, 317.

[13] *Itinerary A*, I, 173.

[14] Guicciardini renders the tyrant of Perugia ultimately killed by Pope Leo X as Giovan Pagalo Baglioni in Book Five, and Giampaolo Baglioni in Book Six. See Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy* translated and edited by Sidney Alexander (New York, 1969), pp. 161, 168.

a French translation by Hierosme Chomedy of 1568,[15] the work Moryson is likely to have owned is his second edition of 1599. Fenton renders Baglioni as *"Baillon"*, a French equivalent, and Moryson renders it as "*Ballio*".[16] At times Moryson was working very closely with this book. The list of the lords who revolted after the news of the death of Alexander VI, or the list of the demands of the signatories of the League of Cambrai follow Fenton's translation down to the spellings and order of listing.[17]

Both first and second editions of Fenton have the significant omissions about the growth of papal power, (although they both include the section on the Borgia incest).[18] Both omissions appear separately in *Two Discourses of Master Frances Guicciardin, which are wanting*

---

[15] See Jeannette Fellheimer,'The Englishman's Conception of the Italian in the Age of Shakespeare' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1935), p. 106.

[16] See fols. 69 and 70, and Francesco Guicciardini, *The Historie of Guicciardin* translated by Geffray Fenton (London, 1599), p. 237, and referred to hereafter as Fenton.

[17] See fols. 70, 71.

[18] In the first edition of 1579 it is on p. 179, and in the second edition of 1599, from which the quotation is taken, it is on p. 138. "The brute was (if such enormitie be worthy to be beleeued) that in the loue of *Mad. Lucrecia* were concurrant, not only the two bretheren, [her brothers] but also the father, who when he was chosen Pope...not able to suffer her husband to be his corriual, he made dissolution of the marriage alreadie consummated..." Moryson refers to Alexander VI as "that Monster of men", on fol. 69.

in the thirde and fourth Bookes of his Historie translated by W. I. (London, 1595). It seems almost certain that Moryson had access to this work, for he quotes two lines from Sonnet 106 "*Fiamma dal ciel*" of Petrarch.[19] Three sonnets of Petrarch censored by the Catholic Church appear as a frontispiece before the dedication to the reader in the *Two Discourses*. The two lines he quotes come from the first sonnet printed there, number 106. Of course, this could be coincidence. It is in English translation, and Moryson quotes the original and gives his own, differing, translation.

There is a further possibility that Moryson could have used the third edition of 1618 which incorporates both the missing passages. Yet this seems unlikely. Moryson talks in 1617 of destroying a larger historical work.[20] Since he could hardly have constructed a European history without consulting "Gvicciardin", as both he and Fenton call him, so the earlier edition of 1599 is the more likely, unless he had a second hand copy or the family copy of the first edition of 1579. Thus, it is possible that Moryson had the 1579 or 1599 edition, and access to the *Two Discourses* and he may well have browsed through a text in the original Italian as well. His modest means would hardly have enabled

---

[19] Fol. 100.

[20] See the preface to *Itinerary A*, I, p. xx.

him to get a new updated edition in 1618, if he were already in possession of an earlier one.

Yet even if he were possessed of all the funds that he might possibly have required, it is doubtful that he would have bothered. There is a certain parallel here with the cavalier way that dramatic texts were treated. What was printed and to hand was used, even at times in preference to the playwright's autograph or the playhouse book. Moryson's attitude was equally cavalier. With the sole exception of the Bible, he was happy to use whatever edition or work was to hand.

This attitude affects his choice of sources. Moryson is quite happy to quote sources such as Antoine Geuffroy, with ninety-year-old information on Ottoman administration, a medieval bishop on Islamic practices, and even Julius Caesar describing beasts that were later hunted to extinction in the German forests centuries before Moryson lived. He is aware that these beasts no longer exist. Yet, for Moryson the past and present were as a seamless garment that might have a few rents and tucks in it, but essentially it was still the same fabric.

4.4. Biblical and Religious Sources.

Moryson was working to God's time. Since God is unchanging

from age to age, it would be natural for Moryson to think that whilst the divine design or providence is being worked out, man, being but God's reflection, also changed little from age to age. Therefore finding out about God illuminates man. The knowledge of God comes from both prayer and the Bible.

Moryson's first precept for travellers is frequent prayer.[21] He ends his epic enterprise in the same way that he began, with a prayer.[22] The whole work is suffused with extensive biblical quotation. The Bible as God's written Word was the ultimate authority. It could be used to justify the ways of men to God. English policy in Ireland can be justified by Moryson quoting from an old sermon of Joshua's enslavement of the Gibeonites for their guile.[23]

Yet the Bible as a source of authority was also problematic. What was actually said, and what was actually meant were open to interpretation. The meanings were so deep and various, that very unusually for this period, contemporaries were made aware of differing traditions. The Bible that Moryson uses is not the King James version of 1611 or the Latin Vulgate but the Bible of his youth, the

---

[21] *Itinerary A*, III, 370 - 371.

[22] Fol. 681.

[23] See Fol. 457 and Joshua 9. 21.

Geneva Bible translated into English and constantly reprinted from 1560 onwards. Moryson also shows knowledge of Catholic English versions, and their differing translations.[24] The Reformation itself was initially a quarrel about meaning and symbol. Hence the need for accurate translations, and two differing traditions of translation and interpretation, validated by the individual Papal arms or the crossed keys, or by the secular authority with the royal arms. Moryson provides an illuminating vignette when Catholic and Protestant traditions collide.

The leader of the defeated Spanish expeditionary force into Ireland, Don Juan d'Agulya remonstrated with his vanquisher and host, Lord Mountjoy, about eating meat on Fridays. Mountjoy

> ...replyed that Gods worde taught him to make no difference of meates, which he not beleeuing, a newe Testament was brought, and a playne Text to that purpose shewed him, and when he reiected it as falsely translated by the Protestants, / it happined the lord Mountioy had a booke printed at Rome, and allowed by Pope Pius the fifth, at the sight whereof Don Iean stoode at first sight somewhat amazed, but presently, Crossing himselfe, sayd that he woundred howe the protestant ministers could gett those first leaues Printed at Rome, to sett before theire false Bibles, and how they durst deceave the people in that manner... fols. 432 - 433.

The Protestant delight in immediate biblical quotation meets the Catholic reliance upon Papal authority and tradition. Neither really wishes to accommodate the other; it is a dialogue of the deaf, a paradigm of Europe in 1602,

---

[24] See fol. 431.

when these events took place.

In accusing the Protestants of falsity and deception, Don Juan was returning the taunt that Protestants made of the Catholics. On the other hand, Protestants felt that without the Pope forbidding them, Catholics given the vernacular Bible properly translated (that is by Protestants) would automatically see the light. Moryson is an exemplar of this optimistic view,[25] which explains why he expends much energy outlining what he perceives to be the intellectual assault on "the deuine authority of Gods worde",[26] by the Pope and his creatures. Moryson himself becomes a hunter of the sources of this Papal corruption. Moryson has the idea from his wide knowledge of medieval scholastic theologians that they are to blame. He certainly has some acquaintance with some of their more obscure exemplars as Nicholas of Lyra, and Durandus of Troarn.[27]

Naturally, his reading among Protestant theologians was even wider. He is able to quote from the more obscure work of famous Protestants as Philip Melanchthon to Friedrich Myconius of Gotha discussing Luther's conception of the

---

[25] Fol. 404.

[26] Fol. 88.

[27] Fol. 89.

Communion.[28] Disturbed at the bad blood which he had witnessed between Lutherans and Calvinists in the German States, Moryson is somewhat exasperated by those uncritical Germans he met who regarded whatever Luther said as a new holy writ, with the words "He said it".[29] Yet Moryson's adoption of John Foxe was as uncritical.

The Bible is, amongst many other things, a book of history and of prophecy, of the past and of the future. Inevitably the temptation to use the past to predict the future was irresistible. Luther, towards the end of his life, felt that the Pope in dividing Christendom, was paving the way for further victories by militant Islam under Suleiman the Magnificent. Moryson repeats Luther's fears as his own.[30] To Luther the Papacy itself rather than Islam was the real antichrist mentioned in the Book of Revelations. This was logical. St John the Divine had meant the persecuting Roman Empire to be antichrist, and the Pope was sitting on the remains of that Empire. Most influentially in England, John Foxe, in the fourth edition onwards of his *Acts and Monuments*, combined Guicciardini's theme of the increase of Papal corruption throughout history, with Luther's view of

---

[28] Fol. 322.

[29] Fol. 314.

[30] Fol. 414. See R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962), pp. 104 - 109, and referred to hereafter as Southern.

the Pope as antichrist. Foxe's synthesis was a Protestant history, a view of an increasingly corrupted Catholic past, and a prediction of inevitable Protestant victory in the future. This view was wholly adopted by Moryson with some additions of his own, particularly from his own legal knowledge.[31]

Wide reading of medieval authors also enabled Moryson to get some intellectual understanding of foreign religions. Moryson's view of Islam is "gathered out of the Alcoran in abstractes made by some Christian writers."[32] Probably these come from Latin works originally based on Byzantine sources. One such source that Moryson actually mentions elsewhere is "Otho of Freesland",[33] who is known to historians as Otto, Bishop of Freising from 1138 to 1158, and one of the first Christians to take a rational view of Islam.[34] From these Latin sources come "These facts concern[ing Mahomet's] marriage to a rich/ widow, his fits, his Christian background, and his plan of general sexual licence as an instrument for the destruction of Christendom.../Some of the details - such as the role of the white bull which terrorized the population and finally

---

[31] I shall expand upon Moryson's view of history and politics in the section on his **History and Polemic.**

[32] Fol. 365.

[33] Fol. 443.

[34] See Southern, p. 36.

carried the new Law between its horns, or the account of the suspension of Mahomet's tomb in mid-air by magnets - belong to folklore..."[35] Some of these details were repeated in Münster's *Cosmographia*.[36] Of these two sources, Moryson might well have used both, plus others that I have been unable to locate. Since the fundamentals of religion do not really change, Moryson's practice seems sound enough here. Informing his reading which gives the structure, is his experience, which gives the detail. To show the necessity of Muslims needing to do good works to all things, Moryson remembers a Muslim in Venice letting caged birds fly in an act of gratuitous kindness pleasing to God.[37]

Moryson's experience of Judaism is also mediated by reading. His experience of attending a circumcision of an eight day old child as a guest of the Jewish community at Prague is augmented by close reading of the anonymously printed *A Relation of the State of Religion* (London, 1605), by Sir Edwin Sandys. What is surprising is that Moryson was recycling what was for this age a moderate and generally respectful account of all religions. The timing of its

---

[35] Southern, pp. 29 - 30, 31.

[36] Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Basel 1550*, with an Introduction by R. Ochme (reprinted, Amsterdam, 1968), sigs. I5r - K2v.

[37] Fol. 361.

appearance could hardly have been worse. It had previously been burnt by the hangman on 2 November 1605, (three days before the Gunpowder Plot.)[38] Moryson seems blissfully unaware of all of this, as he is to the identity of the author. Moryson dispenses with Sandys's respect and moderation, but plunders him for detail and descriptive power to augment his own experiences of Catholicism as well as Judaism.

4.5. Classical Sources.

With the exception of the Bible, the most important literary sources for educated men of this era lay in the treasurehouse of Classical civilization. When he came to compose his *Itinerary*, it was a Classical model at which he looked first. The prestige of Classical Ages was such, that with the exception of Upper Germany and Denmark, Moryson's journeys were confined to what the old maps called *orbus veteribus notus*, the world known to the ancients. Whenever Moryson seeks a comparison, it is a Classical precedent that first comes to mind. Whenever he thinks of history, it

---

[38] The article in *DNB* says that the manuscript was stolen, and that Sandys sued through High Commission to have the book burned on 7 November. He was duplicitous enough to treat with the government whilst in parliamentary opposition, so it might have been an elaborate ruse to get his book published whilst ducking responsibility for its publication. In media other than drama (where a banned play could not be performed) censorship seems sporadic and rather ineffective.

is to Classical history that he first turns. When he describes physiology, and even national characteristics, it is underpinned by the theory of the humours advanced by physicians living during the Roman Empire.

This way of thinking became almost automatic. In musing on the length and difficulties of the Irish wars, and how the natives became inured to hardship and expert at wielding modern weapons, Moryson thinks of the good example of Sparta. By Spartan law, victory was to be devastating, and peace terms generous, so that their wars might be short.[39] Thinking further on the corrupt times in which he lived, when the English State attempted to bribe Irish troublemakers into submission, Moryson is reminded of how

> *Galba* the *Roman* Emperor in his oration to his Soldiers expecting and murmuring for a largesse or free guift at his election, said brauely that he did inroll, and not hire his Subiects to serue in the warr, but this free speech to a dissolute Army, cost him his life and Empire... fol. 273.

Bravery, like patriotism, is not always enough. The use of the word "enroll", suggests that Moryson was familiar with the original Greek of Plutarch who uses the word *katalogon* from which we get our word "catalogue". Sir Thomas North, translating from the French, has the word "choose".[40]

---

[39] Fol. 286.

[40] Compare Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North, (London, 1579), p. 1115, [*STC* 20065] with *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, 11 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914 - 1926), XI (1926), 245.

Moryson obviously had some serious Greek as well as much Latin.

At times he could put his Classicism to very good use. Moryson is at his best when he can combine his two loves, theology and the Classics. He remembers a passage from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, *On the Nature of the Gods* attacking the Epicureans for maintaining that the gods are "semi-corporeal" to attack the Catholic position on the mass. "*Mirabile videtur quod non rideat haruspex cum haruspicem viderit; hoc mirabilius, quod vos inter vos risum tenere postestis. 'Non est corpus sed quasi corpus'.*"[41] Moryson translates, "And as Tully sayth, considering the fraudulent arts of the Southsayers to deceaue the people, That it was wonderfull one Southsayer did not laugh when he sawe another, so wee may Iustly say of the Priests and fryers the same, vpon the same groundes."[42] This is very neat quotation on Moryson's part, for he sees the friars and priests as epicures battening on and laughing at the gullible people who believe the real presence of the body and blood in the bread and wine of the mass.

---

[41] "It is thought surprising that an augur can see an augur without smiling; but it is more surprising that you Epicureans keep a grave face when by yourselves. 'It is not a body, but the semblance of a body.'" Cicero, *De Natura Deorum, Academia*, translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1933), pp. 68, 69. Book I. 71.

[42] Fol. 373.

This tradition of learned Classical quotation and even repartee was to continue in England until the middle of this century. The *linguafranca* of educated Europe, Latin's prestige as the medium of international learning was transcendent. James Howell deprecated that one of his correspondents was prepared to drop Latin in favour of Italian and French, "To truck [trade] the *Latin* for any other vulgar Language, is but an ill barter...The proceed of this Exchange will come far short of any Gentleman's expectation, tho' haply it may prove advantageous to a Merchant, to whom common Languages are most useful."[43] The gentlemanly aspect of studying the Classics would have appealed to Fynes Moryson, scholar and gentleman. It also gave Moryson a claim to visit any learned man in any place, and to be received courteously.

The work of scholars such as J. W. Binns has merely shown how much more needs to be done in the field of Renaissance Latin.[44] It is no exaggeration to say that an understanding of Classical civilization is essential for a fuller understanding of this period. Without it, our understanding is lopsided. It is true that despite the amount of Classics flogged into them, Etonians could not understand the Latin

---

[43] James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 491 (30 November 1635).

[44] See J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: the Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds, 1990), passim.

of Thomas Platter, and one of Archbishop George Abbot's party pieces long after Giordano Bruno had been burnt at the stake was his imitation of Bruno's pronunciation at the Oxford University lectures of 1583.[45] Yet Moryson made his Latin understood even by ordinary Poles who could summon a few ungrammatical phrases.[46] Above all, it was the written language, and what was left by the ancients themselves in newly edited and printed Renaissance texts that carried tremendous prestige and influence over all boundaries.

Moryson's first drafts of his *Itinerary* in Latin show the international ambitions he harboured for his work. Even in the English translation, Moryson's words, derived from the Classical root, usually have the original rather than the modern meaning. Sometimes they have both. He justifies his conscious Latinisms by his erudition, for "these wordes and the like are only vsed by the learned."[47] Thus on two successive pages, he uses the word "absolue" from *absolvere*, to mean to set free, and to bring to completion.[48] Moryson's readers are spared the Latin

---

[45] Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, translated by Clare Williams (London, 1937), p. 215, and John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven, 1991), p. 24.

[46] *Itinerary A*, I, 379.

[47] Fol. 483.

[48] Fols. 473 and 474.

excesses of William Lithgow, or of Thomas Coryat who at least delivers them with a knowing nod and a wink, which lightens their effect. Coryat describes being seasick as "...the excrementall ebullitions of my tumultuous stomach..." and in urging his nag on he did "...even excarnifate his sides with my often spurring of him..."[49] Moryson's purpose being altogether more serious is more restrained. His purpose was less to amuse than to inform. The recommended style of the Cambridge University declamations, (in which Moryson had participated in the 1580s) "...clear, & perspicuous, smooth & plaine"[50] could really apply to his English *Itinerary*. He was translating from his Latin, a language where the aural memory had to be acute to wait for the essential words, the verb or the subject, that make the whole make sense. This sometimes shows in the English style, where phrases cascade over one another until the important phrase is reached.

4.6. Historical Sources.

Whenever Moryson looks at the history of an individual European country, he normally starts at the beginning, or rather he looks at the earliest mention by a Classical

---

[49] Coryat, I. 152, 185.

[50] William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958), p. 32.

author, Polybius, or more usually, Caesar or Tacitus, and he progresses from there. Livy was particularly popular with Moryson's contemporaries because of his didacticism, and tales encouraging *pietas*, that Roman virtue that encourages piety, dutifulness, and devotion to high ideals.

However, Moryson was wary of Livy. Whilst at Leiden University, Moryson may have followed a course on Cicero's *De Oratore* that was being given by the Professor of Rhetoric Henricus Bredius.[51] In Book II, Chapter 62 of Cicero's work there is the famous admonition, "*Nam quis nescit, primam esse/ historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne qua simultatis?*"[52] It is an irony not lost on Moryson that Livy, the most Ciceronian of historians, deviates most from these ideals. Livy relies on unreliable sources, his chronology and topography are often false, and his relating of events episodic rather than integrated. "Lacking...analyses in depth...Livy's literary powers are devoted to the depiction of a succession of vividly drawn scenes, frequently studded with speeches of

---

[51] Fol. 521.

[52] Cicero, *De Oratore*, translated by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1947(?) - 1948), I, 242 - 245. "For who does not know history's first law to be that an author must/ not dare to tell anything but the truth? And its second that he must make bold to tell the whole truth? That there must be no suggestion of partiality anywhere in his writings? Nor of malice?"

a Ciceronian virtuosity."[53] From his experience of life and contemporary Romans, Moryson has a shrewd idea that these moral fables of Livy were untrue. The present jaundices his view of the Classical past and its heroes,

> Yet I confesse that I doe not fully beleeue all the relations their historyes haue made of the old Roman fortitude, which were they never so false, yet nether the Conqured durst obiect the falshood against the Conquerers, nor coulde the contrary historyes of barbarous enemyes haue gotten Creditt against the Romans most eloquent and learned in those tymes, and I rather suspect the same, because all travellers into Italy fynd at this day how they did rayse hills to mountaynes, brookes to Riuers, and small things to be reputed famous Monumments, and why may we not thincke they magnifyed in like sorte the Roman Actions aboue the due proportion. Why should wee beleeue Liuy, more in the Actions of Curtius, of Manlius, of the Fabij, and like worthy men, then in the sweating of stones, Nodding of Images, and like supperstitious Miracles. Fol. 580.

Livy is too engaged, too partial in Rome's cause. Moryson recognizes that he is writing from the viewpoint of the ultimate victor. These early tales of Rome's foundation are as fabulous as Catholic miracles. Add to that the scandalous uses to which Machiavelli put Livy's first Decade in the *Discorsi*, and Moryson's suspicions are fully roused. In relation to Livy, Moryson looks with an historian's detachment. In relation to Caesar or Tacitus, Moryson acts like an uncritical compiler.

Equally, in relation to his modern sources, Moryson sometimes acts like a compiler even excluding his own

---

[53] P. G. Walsh, 'Livy', in *Latin Historians* (London, 1966) 115 - 142 (p. 117). I have also used his introduction to Book XXI in Livy, *Book XXI*, edited by P. G. Walsh (London, 1973), pp. 17 - 31.

experience, in preference for what we would call out-of-date printed sources. He had a good source of information in his friend Edward Barton, English ambassador and favourite at the Sublime Porte, but often he is content to quote from Antoine Geuffroy, whose own experiences dated from the 1530s, ninety years before. Thus when Geuffroy writes of the salaries of the various Ottoman courtiers, and Moryson repeats them, these figures should be regarded with extreme caution. Rampant inflation in the Turkish Empire in the last quarter of the sixteenth century would have reduced their value considerably, had they remained unchanged. In this instance, Moryson is simply not being critical enough, particularly when he probably could have got current figures for the 1590s from Barton. However, Moryson only decided to write his *Itinerary* after he was out of work in 1606. Having missed the chance of asking Barton, who was now dead, he consulted books, some of them old books.

However, it is easy to be too hard and to judge Moryson by modern standards. The British Library has an edition of Geuffroy of 1546 annotated by William Cecil, Lord Burleigh himself. It is clear that Cecil's understanding of current Turkish affairs was hazy in the extreme. It is small wonder that dramatists should get their Turks mixed up, as when

Shakespeare muddles his Amuraths,[54] or when Thomas Goffe combines the love interest from the reign of Mohammed II, with the military interest from Murad II in *The Courageous Turk*. Hardly anybody, with the possible exception of Richard Knolles, from whose book the plot was taken, would have noticed.

4.7. His Own Experiences.

At times Moryson actually tells us what he is doing. Amplifying the discussion about abusive Papist attacks on Protestant authors that he found in Sandys, Moryson writes, "To which purpose a worthy Author of our tyme (who chuseth to be to be Nameles) hath Compendiously, but very well and truely written, so as it will suffice that I only add my owne experience in this point."[55]

Moryson's working method seems to have been that with main sources he had the work in front of him whilst he composed. He was happy to take their views and information, and modify or correct them in the light of his own experience. For the traveller to the Holy Lands he updates the information given by Sansovino, that a pilgrim galley from

---

[54] *II Henry IV*, V. 2. 48.

[55] See fol. 437.

Venice left annually. It no longer sails.[56]

Sometimes it is difficult to judge how far what he writes is his own observation, and how far his reading. Moryson says that there are more executions in England than in any other country. There may have been good reasons for this. Theft of goods worth over a shilling was a capital felony, which in an age of inflation was not a large amount. So was this observation on Moryson's part, or is he regurgitating the opinions of others? The fifteenth century Chief Justice Fortescue wrote that "There be...more men hanged in England in a year for robbery and manslaughter than be hanged in France for such manner of crime in seven years."[57] Even if Moryson had compiled this from a source, if his observations had indicated otherwise, he would have either disputed it, or passed it over. A compiler's choice of material carries its own significance.

Moryson's perceptions of significance, truth and the

---

[56] Fol. 617.

[57] I have been unable to find its source although in *The Foist and Nip* Exhibition at the Shakespeare Centre, Stratford-upon-Avon in 1994 it was recorded as being in *The Governance of England*. *STC* only records this work in Latin. A similar passage, "For though in England, aswell open, as priuy theeues, are commonly put to death, yet cease they not there from stealing, as though they had no feare of so great a punishment. Howe much lesse then woulde they witholde their handes from theft, / if they forsawe once that the punishment were mitigated?" occurs in Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, translated by Robert Mulcaster (London, 1616), sig. O6r - O6v, [*STC* 11197].

possible were affected by his prejudice. Thanks to the help extended by Brian Pullan, it has been possible to compare historical records with Moryson's version of events. Moryson admired Venetian justice for its uncompromising severity particularly against blasphemers. One of Moryson's greatest gripes against the Italians (following Dallington and Edwin Sandys) was their blasphemy and smutty humour. He reports a multiple incident twice "...happning in Venice at my being there, some fewe dayes before lent," where "young gentlemen" assaulted a friar, and an apothecary, and cut off the penis of a boy and finished with goliards under the papal nuncio's window.[58]

> ...only two were taken whome I did see executed in this manner, their hands were cutt of in fower places where they did the greatest villanyes, their tongues were cutt out vnder the windowe of the Popes Nuntio and so they were // brought out into the markett place of St *Marke*, where vppon a Scaffold they were beheaded with an axe falling by a Pully, which done the scaffold and their bodyes were burnt, and the Ashes throwne into the Sea" Fols. 184 - 185.

The little circumstantial details, a few days before Lent, the scaffold for exection and the axe falling by a pulley are convincing. Of Moryson's three visits to Venice, he was there a little before Lent in 1594. In 1594 some youths, including one aristocrat, were freed from charges of blasphemy after they had failed to confess under torture. Yet in November 1596, manual workers were proceeded against for similar blasphemies by the Venetian authorities interfering in the interminably slow processes of the

---

[58] Fol. 425.

Inquisition. Two suffered as Moryson describes, but in November 1596 Moryson was in Crete, a Venetian colony, but not Venice itself. Yet the attempt to throw the friar in the Grand Canal, or the mutilation of the boy are simply not in the official Venetian or Inquisitorial records.[59] What seems to have happened is that Moryson conflated the two incidents. He may have picked up rumours of what happened whilst staying in the German Inn in Venice with its international and covertly Protestant atmosphere. These he added to incidents that he had witnessed. This should not impair Moryson's reputation for veracity. Almost certainly he believed what had been passed to him by word of mouth as truth. For Italians, Moryson felt that the bounds of possiblity were greater than for other nations. That is a fascinating observation in itself.

4.8. Conclusion. Moryson's Status as a Travel Writer.

Modern travellers are expected to bring their personal experience to bear on their subject. Moryson used his polyglot sources, Classical and modern to balance and validate his own experience. In this sense the *Itinerary* is a ponderous work as John Stoye has pointed out.[60] It is for

---

[59] See my note on fol. 425, which contains details of the records.

[60] See John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604 - 1667* revised edition (London, 1989), pp. 7, 22.

this reason that twentieth century critics have referred to the work's sobriety and evenhandedness. Moryson in comparison to a contemporary such as William Lithgow is a model of thoughtfulness and discretion.[61]

It was Moryson's misfortune to be judged by contemporaries on his partially completed work. When the *Itinerary* is taken as a totality, it fulfils the conditions expected of a writer of chorography. In our times we would wish that Moryson might have excluded some of his sources and included more about his personal experience, but the very frequency of modern citation is its own endorsement.

---

[61] Lithgow bears an uncanny resemblance to Kenneth Grahame's Toad of Toad Hall of *The Wind in the Willows* in his enthusiasms and boastfulness, and even in the ruse of getting a Huguenot galleyslave to escape dressed as a washerwoman.

5. History and Polemic

5.1. The English Interest in History.

Moryson's interest in medieval as well as classical history seems to have been part of a general burgeoning in the late Elizabethan age. Justinian's laws, the Roman laws of Byzantium, in the *Codex*, *Pandects* and *Digest* were on the syllabus of most European universities, including those which Moryson attended, for the ostensible purpose of his travels was that he should study civil law. These collections give a great insight to classical and post-classical society.

In England the system of case law forced awareness on lawyers about the past. In the production of his *Britannia*, William Camden (1551 - 1623) drew upon the work of his predecessors.[1] Equally, Moryson drew heavily upon this massive work in relation to his comments on Ireland, and he might have used it very extensively if his projected work on England and Scotland were ever completed.[2] It is

---

[1] The dispersal of the monastic libraries was not the unmitigated disaster that it might have been but for men like John Leland, (1503 - 1542); the ex-Carmelite playwright John Bale (1495 - 1563); Matthew Parker (1504 - 1575) the future Archbishop of Canterbury ; and many local antiquaries, topographers and archivists. See May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971), passim.

[2] See Fol. 244.

interesting to speculate what work it might have been.

There was a gulf between historians (and the dramatists who ransacked them for source material), who produced literary and semi-literary compositions with a didactic and moral purpose often delivered in setpiece speeches or passages rather like the classical historian, Livy, and antiquarians who studied legal records, manuscripts, seals, coins and remains.[3] Thus Camden in describing Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, mentions that Edward II was murdered there, but tells his reader to seek the histories to find out more.[4] Moryson details documents, places and monuments of interest in his descriptions of places seen, but in his heart he is more historian than antiquarian. He prefers the broad sweep to the minutiae.

Moryson's brand of history is a committed, if conventional, Protestant one. This is not to say that he did not take a lot from a Catholic historian like Francesco Guicciardini. What was particularly telling for Moryson was that Catholic writers had exposed the truth, and the Roman Church then attempted to hide it. Guicciardini's examination of the genesis and growth of Papal power in an extended aside in

---

[3] See D. R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto, 1990), p. 15, and referred to hereafter as Woolf.

[4] Woolf, p. 21.

Book Four of his *History of Italy* is amidst the description of the events of the troubled international scene of 1499. It establishes a pattern of the Popes as brave martyrs until Constantine, their gradual assertion of secular power at the expense of the Byzantine Emperor, the importance of the alliance with the Carolingians, then the Ottonians and then the Normans, and the gradual loss of spirituality in favour of the corruptions of worldly power. The passage was excised from every Italian edition from the first of 1561 until that of 1774 - 1776. Even in the Age of the Enlightenment, the imprint was changed to *Friburgo*, although it had been printed in Florence.[5]

Outside of Italy, Protestant publishers gleefully published this banned passage in Geneva, and in London.[6] John Foxe in his post 1570 editions of his *Acts and Monuments* takes up these themes. In making the Pope to be the antichrist predicted in Revelations, Luther, and Foxe after him, provided a sure prophecy of Protestant victory. Foxe's influence was pervasive in England. His views came to be a

---

[5] The information about the Italian editions of Guicciardini comes from the introduction in Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy* translated and edited by Sidney Alexander (New York, 1969).
History can be highly subversive, a fact that Marx was to use when he tried to tie his philosophy into an inevitable historical and dialectical process.

[6] They appeared under the title *Two Discourses of Master Frances Guicciardin, which are wanting in the thirde and fourth Bookes of his Historie* translated by W. I. (London, 1595), [*STC* 12462].

semi-official orthodoxy, even a Protestant world picture, as can be seen in such pamphlets as the report of the great treason trial of the Gunpowder Plotters, *A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the severall arraignments of the late traitors (Guy Fawks, H. Garnett)* (London, 1606). Edward Coke as State Prosecutor and the Earl of Northampton as head of the panel of judges treat the condemned, the spectators and the readers, to a disquisition on Papal ambition and wickedness in history.[7] This published version, edited and revised by Northampton's confidant the antiquary Robert Cotton, and with John Foxe providing the framework, so pleased King James that he had it translated into French, Italian and Latin.[8]

In his schema John Foxe splits history into three hundred

---

[7] No world picture is ever inclusive enough to comprehend all the doubters and dissident voices as the detractors of E. M. W. Tillyard's *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1943), finally pointed out in the 1980s. J. W. Lever had started the counter-movement in his lectures collected as *The Tragedy of State* (London, 1971). The significance of Henry Howard, the Earl of Northampton (1540 - 1614) condemning Papal pretensions, was that an acknowledged crypto - Catholic added further weight to the case presented. The government was presenting as wide a span of opinion as possible. See Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London, 1982), pp. 111 - 113.

[8] Linda Levy Peck, 'The Mentality of a Jacobean Grandee', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, edited by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 148 - 168 (p. 159). As this was also the time of the Papal Interdict against Venice, the view expressed by Northampton, the suspected Papist, that Papal power should be purely spiritual, and not extend to temporal things as Bellamine contended, went right of the very heart of the controversy.

year intervals, with corruption gradually coming upon the Church of Christ. Until 300 was the primitive time, until 600 the flourishing time and until 900 the declining time of the church and true religion. Until 1200 was the "time of Antichrist reigning and raging in the church since the loosing of Satan".[9] Until 1500 was the reforming time, and the Reformation itself a culmination of what went before. Yet what went before placed Foxe in difficulties. If the Catholic Church were not the True Church, Catholics could reason, where did the True Church go in the Middle Ages? By juggling with the prophecies of Revelations 11. 3. Foxe took the days mentioned as being years and decided that the date 1260 was relevant. It was at the time the sect of the Waldenses fell foul of the Church authorities. Foxe even co-opted the Albigensians, the thirteenth century heretics of Albi, as "sound enough" even though elsewhere he calls their doctrine "worse than Turks and infidels."[10] Anti - popery was sufficient to gain admittance to the select, or rather, elect band in Foxe's plan. Following Foxe's tradition, Moryson also recognizes the Albigensians as the forerunners of Protestantism.[11] Foxe also wished to see

---

[9] Quoted in Jane Facey, 'John Foxe and the Defence of the English Church', in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, edited by Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (London, 1987), pp. 162 - 192 (p. 164) and referred to hereafter as Facey.

[10] Facey, p. 169.

[11] Fol. 98.

some Protestant tradition in England, but with the exception of John, the track record of medieval English kings against Papal encroachment was poor. Moryson was able to evade this difficulty by concentrating on the history of the Europe of his travels, where the clash between Pope and Emperor was so strident.

5.2. The Uses and Pattern of History.

To Moryson also history had a use and a pattern. The pattern is God's design, which is manifest to those who can see it. It explains Jewish history, and their continuing persecution throughout Europe. "Thus in all places the Iewes long seruitude and wonderfull scattering is exposed to all Christians for a fearefull spectikle, and to themselues for a dayly remembrance of Gods Curse layd vpon them."[12]

History legitimizes the Elizabethan plantations in Ireland. There is a scant mention of the early medieval Irish cultural flowering, but most emphasis is put on a list of

---

[12] Moryson has no doubt that the diaspora is God's design, and a warning to Protestants of what follows disobedience and God's curse. See also Matthew 27. 25. The Jews shouted "His blood be on us and on our children," after Pilate washed his hands. In Prague, Jews "...durst not stirr out of theire gates for any buisinesse what soeuer dureing the Celebration of Christs passion, which any doeing should willfully expose himselfe to many scornes." Fol. 329.

mythical and semi-mythical characters fighting for dominance. The English have a prior claim produced out of legend to justify their actions,

> Also they acknowledge that the power of the *Britaines* ouer the *Irish* hath bene of antiquity and that of old the kings of *Britany* had their rights ouer the *Irish*., namely that *Gurguntius* king of *Britany* (whome we call Gurgustus) did about the yeare of our lord 375 graunt leaue, to a people sayling out of Spayne into Ireland, to setle themselues in that Iland, As also that the kings of Ireland payd tribute to the Britten Arthur Sonne to Vther Pendragon, whome they write to haue raigned about the yeare of our lord 516, and to haue beene of great fame.," Fol. 245.

Above all, for Moryson, history was also yet another stick with which to beat the Catholics, or Romans or Papists as he preferred to call them, since Catholic implied a universality which he wished to deny. "...learned authors of the Reformed Church haue playnely shewed by historyes, how and at what tyme all grosse errors grewe in the Roman Church."[13] Particularly in the sections on "The Historicall Introduction" to Italy, and "The Popes power in generall, how it grewe",[14] Moryson's attack on the Roman Church is not primarily in terms of religious disputation (although there is plenty of that, supported by extensive biblical quotation), but rather in terms of damning historical fact. For him, and his generation, history could be a means with which to prove the egregious error of papal claims to be the only true church descending from Peter in apostolic

---

[13] Fol. 416.

[14] Fols. 56 - 76, 86 - 117.

succession.

Popes had launched a double pronged assault upon God and His secular magistrate. They claimed spiritual suzerainty. This entailed their demanding obedience from secular rulers, and, if necessary, using secular means to obtain that obedience. In his history Moryson attempts to show the genesis of papal claims. He shows how they arose out of human contingencies rather than divine inspiration. He also shows how they increased with the passing of centuries, particularly at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire, but of all rulers in general. At the same time he counters papal claims by appealing to God's Word, and an insistence upon the primacy and elder authority of the secular over the ecclesiastical powers.

Moryson sees the "vndecent ambition"[15] of medieval Popes as causing this strife. However, he recognizes that at the beginning of Christianity, the Bishops of Rome were men of a different stamp,

> It is not denyed that for the first three hundreth yeares after Christ, the Popes / of Rome were godly men, and many of them suffered martridome. About that tyme the Emperor Constantine gaue peace and riches to the Church, an happie guift, had not pryde and ambition entred with them. But from the yeare three hundreth to the yeare six hundreth most of the Popes being godly men, yet they began to preach the dignity of St Peter aboue all the Apostles, and to appropriate him to the Roman Sea, so that if Peter gott any prehemince, the Popes hoped to be exalted with him (as one

[15] Fol. 86.

of them sayd in playne tearmes). Fols. 440 - 441.

Moryson calls the Popes up until 300 (305 marked the end of Diocletian's persecution) "of the first rancke", and up to 604 "of the second rancke" because they were "inventers of humane traditions" which led on to the impieties of the following ages.[16]

As for them of the third rancke from that tyme to this present, what kynde of men they haue bene appeares by the Ecclesiasticall and prophaine historyes. Fol. 86.

The third decadent rank of Popes from 600 to 900 constructed secular power on their good reputation,

Hetherto the Bishopps of *Rome* were vnknowne to the *french*, only the had gotten great reputation of holines, and of loue to cherrish Christian kings, and at this tyme Pope *Zachary* came into *Fraunce* to craue *Pipins* ayde against the king of the *Lombards*, and when *Pipin* had reconciled him to that king, this Pope to merritt his fauour, and to haue helpe out of *Fraunce* against the kings of *Lombardye*, did first without example free the *french* of their oath to *Chilpericus*, and perswaded the States then gathered together, to chuse *Pipin* king of *Fraunce*, who dyed in the yeare 768,. Fol. 189. [17]

This symbiotic relationship brought forth further fruits of self interest. In exchange for land and destruction of the

---

[16] Both quotations are from Fol. 86.

[17] Even the priest Giovanni Botero feels uneasy about what Moryson calls "a most pernitious example" fol. 194, the deposition of the rightful king, Chilperic III. He attempts to explain it away. He makes Pipin's father, Charles Martel, a hero who stopped the Islamic push into Europe, "This valiant defence was so effective that Martel was universally acclaimed by the Franks, the king was reduced to a mere cypher, and it is hardly surprising that Martel's son Pepin was readily acknowledged King of the Franks in 752." thereby shifting any blame from the Pope. See Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956), p. 79, referred to hereafter as *State*.

Lombards, Pope Leo III crowned Pepin's ambitious son Charlemagne as Emperor, thereby managing to "bringe out of the graue, the Imperiall maiesty of the west..."[18]

Moryson considers from 900 to 1177 to be the period when "the Popes tyranny and the Corruption of manners and doctryne grewe to highst."[19] Emperor Henry IV's minority "...gaue the Popes meanes to rayse their power and pryde."[20] The furious Cardinal Hildebrand, "a true brand of hell"[21] chosen as Gregory VII "...was the first Pope that vilifyed an Emperor, and prostituted Imperiall maiesty to Papall pride..."[22] This process culminated in 1177, with Pope Alexander III treading on Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's neck, and blasphemously exulting with the Psalmist, "the young lyon and the Dragon shalt thou tread vnder thy feete."[23] This was the apogee, and from thenceforward there was a decline, imperceptible at first, but slowly gathering momentum.

In the next cycle the church was riven by schism, whilst

---

[18] Fol. 87.

[19] Fol. 442.

[20] Fol. 61.

[21] Fol. 442.

[22] Fol. 63.

[23] Fol. 66.

Roman doctrine became more extravagant. Thus the doctrine of transubstantiation, mooted at the Lateran Council of 1215 was made an article of faith at the Council of Constance of 1417. More and more "heretics" had to be suppressed as the centuries passed; the Albigensians; the poor men of Lyons; John Wycliffe; John Hus and Jerome of Prague; the Bohemian Brethren. Even secular princes became much more troublesome against "Papall vsurpation".[24] They used various means to over ride Papal Power. These means could include violence, as in Philip the Fair's attempt to capture Boniface VIII at the Outrage of Anagni in 1303; or compromise, as in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438; or, simply, corruption. Gold in the conclave could get the "right" candidate chosen Pope. Gold not God made Popes.

By 1517 the truth could not be held in thrall any longer, and the Reformation started. Often under difficulty, the seeds of God's Word began to bear fruit, until in 1588, almost unexpectedly, the Spanish Armada was defeated, and the forces of darkness dispelled in the murders of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, and the death of Catherine de Medici. As Moryson puts it "...the voge of all Christendome was turned..."[25]

---

[24] Fol. 104.

[25] Fol. 197.

In these troubled times, the Book of Revelations was able to supply meaning and prediction to contemporary events. In the frenzy after the Gunpowder Plot, Dekker's play *The Whore of Babylon* of 1606, shows how the Fairy Queen, Elizabeth delivers a great blow against Spain, the protector of the Whore. Moryson also equates Rome with Babylon and the Whore with the Pope. By usurping Christ's rôle in the Church, the Pope must be Antichrist. In 1572, fearing that he might lose more ground to the Protestants, "the Pope first resolued to sett the marke of the Beast vpon the foreheades of his followers, forbidding them to come to our Churches, to ioyne with vs in priuate prayer, or somuch as to say Amen to our graces at table."[26] Yet the Beast will be defeated. God has promised that.

5.3. The Means of Popish Subjection.

Having thus established a happy ending and a pattern on the chronology, Moryson examines the means by which papal subjection was established and maintained. The most important was the intellectual assault on "the deuine authority of Gods worde", by the Pope and his creatures over the centuries.[27]

---

[26] Fol. 453.

[27] Fol. 88. Here Moryson is indebted yet again to the anonymously published work of Sir Edwin Sandys, *A Relation of the State of Religion* (London, 1605), [*STC* 21716]. He does not share Sandys's respect for the Jewish and even the

The most important means of subjugation was the assault on language itself. As the imposition of Latin was "that badge of slauery vpon all nations" conquered by Classical Rome, so its continued use by the Church was useful in its ability "to restrayne the liberty of Tounges and penns".[28] It denied the mass of people their vernacular, the very tools with which to learn God's Word, let alone to dispute theology. Where the Greek and Hebrew had to be acquired to argue with Protestants, only those students who "first sweare to defende and mantayne the translation allowed by the Roman Church" were to "be admitted to those Studyes."[29]

The attempt to control the very means of communication had gone even further. "...the pure latten tounge was torned into a base and barbarous language" by the medieval scholastic divines. Their "vnprofitable questions" were disputed in a dog latin "full of obsecure distinctions, and Pharses."[30] The pure message of the Church Fathers of the Primitive Church was polluted by "Corrupt glosses of Fryers" throughout the succeeding ages.[31]

Catholic religions, but much of the argument and contemporary detail comes from him. Moryson with his interest in history is able to fill this out with historical references.

[28] Fols. 420, 438.

[29] Fol. 395.

[30] All direct quotations are from Fol. 89.

[31] Fol. 431.

These corruptions enabled new "frauds" and "practices" to be propounded. One of the most notorious was the so called "Donation of Constantine". The Emperor Constantine purportedly wrote to Pope Sergius saying that he was happy to leave for the East, and to leave the Pope in charge of the West.[32] The humanist Lorenzo Valla (1405 - 1457) was able to show that the eighth century forger had dressed the Emperor in his contemporary rather than Roman costume. He wrote in dog Latin rather than in the late classical prose. Where it did not work for the papist cause, history had even been manufactured.[33]

These innovations and man - made fabrications were often clean contrary to what was God's Word as understood in the divinely ordained Primitive Church. The Pope's special ability as successor to Peter was claimed as that of binding and loosing. This had degenerated into dispensing with unwelcome marriages, giving indulgences from the pains of purgatory, and encouraging prayers to the saints. The motive behind all this was money, "all humane and divine happines at sale to him that would giue most, though

---

[32] See Fol. 94.

[33] See Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (London, 1991), p. 10 for part of Lorenzo Valla's dissection of the Donation. Catholics were not the only ones manufacturing history. The many specious genealogies of the period bear witness to this.

otherwise he deserued least."[34] For a speculator, the expenditure in the initial investment on a good saint could be considerable, yet it could be justified by the handsome return,

> ...the Cannonization of a Saynt, vpon some miracle alledged to be donne, by the Image, the dead body, or sepulcher of some dead man reputed holy, is so dearely purchased at Romme, because the Apostolike Sea knowes well what gayne the Priests of that place (like good Alcumists) will rayse from that newe Saynt. Fol. 372.

It is more profitable than the Philosopher's Stone. This was the new alchemy. Appropriate measures were taken to protect it.

Should anyone be so bold as to question the philosophic basis of these new fangled fabrications, there were the terrors of the Inquisition to bring them into line. Lest any impugn the conduct of the Papacy in print, "the purging Indix of the Councell of Trent" was always there to censor authors, both old and new, in that,

> ...they purged all the [Church] Fathers and bookes of Antiquity, permitting the glosses of Fryers to be entred into the Text, publishing newe bookes in the name of old Authors that neuer writte them, and so making those, who liuing wrote against them, now dead in theire bookes printed anewe to speake with them, or at least not against them, and they not only printed a newe and purged many old authors (as Dant and Petrarch), and newe Authors, who being Papists yet in many thinges wrote against them... Fol. 432.

There were also enough modern Papal placemen such as Bartholomew Platina and Giovanni Botero ready to sell their souls in defending this iniquitous system.

---

[34] Fol. 101.

The Popes had been subtle enough to change their means of subjugation over the centuries as circumstances demanded. In the modern age when Popes needed the support of lay rulers, the Jesuits, a new sect, made sure to insinuate,

> ...themselues to follow kings and Princes Courts, and to be their Confessors, and being at the Commaund of the Generall of their Order, bound to goe into any kingdome to further the Popes Counsells, and by their auricular Confessions having meanes to driue into mens hartes, and the most secrett Corners thereof, and being indeed imployed as spyes and bound to write all affayres at large weekely to their Prouincialls, who abstract the most important relations, and send them weekely to the Generall of their Order residing at *Rome*, it is no wonder that the Papall yoke is so hardly shaken of. Fol. 92.

Thus Rome knew what a prince was thinking almost before he did. Yet the Jesuits were merely updating an older policy.

For of old the Popes had studied the secular power, rewarding usurpers such as Phocas and Pepin, if the usurper could give them prestige, titles or land in exchange. In 800 Leo III revived for Pepin's son, Charlemagne, what Moryson calls "the Awfull reverence and most ample power of the sacred Empire of the west,"[35] by which he particularly means the Holy Roman Empire of the Carolingians, and the Ottonians who followed them. Popes continued to promote its interests, because the Empire promoted theirs, until the mid eleventh century.

There had been a change in the high Middle Ages. Then

---

[35] Fol. 88.

Emperors had become an impediment to Papal ambitions of ridding the church of all lay interference, and subordinating all lay rulers. Clerics, who had been allowed to marry in the early church, were to be marked out from laymen by new rules of celibacy. So the Popes went on the attack in novel ways deviating from the uncorrupted old customs of the Primitive Church.

Consent of the clergy for these innovations against lay patrons had been secured by an unusual oath and a politic appeal to self interest,

> ...the Popes declared it an heresy for any layman to giue a Bishopprick, Abbye or any other Benefice (though their forefathers were the Founders of them) or for any Clergy man to receiue them of their guift, and so assumed that Infinite Prerogatiue to their owne power and right only, whereby in short tyme they alienated the myndes of all Clergie men from their Princes and lay Superiors, and firmely obliged them only to depend vppon the Papall power, only able to advance them, and vppon that ground tooke the boldnes after a new manner formerly vnknowne to the Church, to exact an oath of obedience from all Clergymen, and so to make voyd their oathe of obedience to their seuerall kings and Princes vnder pretence that therein the greater bond to the Popes was alwayes vnderstood to be excepted. Fol. 91.

After the passage of time, ecclesiastics began to despise all laymen. Receiving nothing from them, they "contemne and tread vnder them all Ciuill magistrates, yea theire very kinges to / whome they giue only a limited Oath of obedience, sauing theire oath to the Pope, so as when he is displeased, this oath to theire kings vanisheth."[36]

---

[36] Fols. 383 - 384.

To bolster and legitimize this new state of affairs, the Popes used clerics such as Gratian to codify canon law. They used the rights of sanctuary to erode the purlieu of civil laws, and enlarge the ambit of ecclesiastical authority, "monasteryes of old lay open as Sanctuaryes to all malefactors, euen lay men as Clarkes".[37] They imitated to undermine the great collections of civil law that Moryson had studied at European universities. "*Gregory* the ninth in imitation of *Iustinians Codex*, did in the yeare i227 make bookes of decretalls out of the Epistles of Popes."[38] They further enhanced canon law by making it into a course of university study, "making Doctors of that lawe in *Bonomia* (vulgarly *Bologna*) with statutes for taking of their degrees, and for the Ceremonyes thereof. With this Bulwarke the Popes fortifyed their tyranny against the Imperiall lawes."[39]

Where law and self interest failed, there were the formal curses of excommunication. When this failed too, Popes condoned and even promoted armed rebellion against rightful sovereigns. If necessary, they were even prepared to foster unnatural rivalry between father and son, as in the persons and wars of the Holy Roman Emperors Henry IV and his son,

---

[37] Fol. 384.

[38] Fol. 90.

[39] Fol. 90.

the future Henry V.[40]

All this military activity required immense amounts of money. The new doctrines of dispensations, indulgences and special prayers to saints were devised to provide it. The Pope uses these doctrines like some leech, first

> ...as spunges to suck the peoples vaynes, and then letts them blood when they growe full, sometymes by playne dealing taking from them what he iudgeth superfluous, but more commonly by gentle meanes, yet all one in effect, as by loanes never repayd, by Contributions to some pretended invasion of the Turkes, and the like. Fol. 384.

This mildness in exaction was not without its politic effect. Since the Princes of Italy were cruel in their exaction, a little mildness could work wonders among the populace. It ensured that the escheat to the Papacy of its fief of Ferrara went without any problems in 1598.

For territory as a further means of providing income was very important. Papal territories, the Patrimony of St. Peter, had grown apace,

> ...by their sowing dissention among the *Italian* Princes, which they well knew with singuler craft to turne to their owne profitt, at least vppon their ostentation of piety being made Arbiters, and reseruing to St *Peter* either some present part of the thing controverted, or to be present lords of the Fee controuerted, to which Princes yeilded, in hope to enioy it more safely vnder their patronage, and to haue the future succession in those Fees for want of heyres males... Fol. 94.

Not content with poisoning minds against secular authority, the Popes and their minions would not hesitate to use real

---

[40] See Fol. 63.

poison against recalcitrant medieval Emperors. In the case of the Borgias it was against unfortunates who stood in the way of their dynastic ambitions, even in the administering of the very communion service. What had been a celebration of life through Christ becomes a means of death for the satanic ends of that great conjuror of spirits, "that monster of men," Alexander VI (1492 - 1503).[41] Even in Moryson's age, poison was still not out of use. Now it was used in the interests of Spain against the Popes. Sixtus V (1585 - 1590) is thought to have bought independence from Spain "with the shortning of his life."[42] From 1590 - 1592 three Popes died within months.

Having thus established a Protestant perspective on over a millenium of subjugation by popes in European history, Moryson repeats it in the individual histories of each country. The same arguments, the corruptions of language, man - made fabrications, new doctrines and the rise of cannon law, and the final resort to force and poison are summarized and elaborated, for truth cannot be repeated often enough. Summary and repetition were Moryson's forte.

---

[41] Fol. 69.

[42] Fol. 409.

5.4. Polemic.

The image of the Catholic Church, militant and triumphant, haunted Moryson and many of the generation which came to political awareness in the 1580s. It prompted them into a furious counterattack. Having thus restated the position many times, Moryson attempts to retaliate against the perceived Papal assault, by God's Word, by the facts of history themselves, by the acts of contemporary Italians, and, where appropriate and when possible, by his own actions.[43]

From his reading in the Bible, Moryson could prove the primacy of the secular power. King David ordered the religious services. The Psalms are his. King Solomon deposed Abiathar the political priest. Brought before Festus to answer charges, the Apostle Paul appealed to Caesar.[44] From history, Moryson cites Emperor Honorius who ended a schism by preferring one candidate over another as Bishop of Rome. Theodoric the Ostrogoth ruler of Italy "refused *Laurentius*, and confirmed *Symachus* Bishopp of

---

[43] Peter Lake in his article 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice' in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603 - 1642*, edited by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London, 1989), pp. 72 - 106, (referred to hereafter as, Lake, *Prejudice*) could almost be describing Moryson's work when he outlines what this prejudice meant.

[44] I Kings, 2. 27; Acts 25. 11.

Rome."[45] Pope Gregory the Great referred to the Emperor Maurice as his "Lord". Even where the precedents of history did not fit, there were special reasons which exemplified his argument. Phocas may have acknowledged Boniface III as "Universal Bishop", but he was the bloodstained usurper of Emperor Maurice's throne who needed as much legitimation as he could get. In deposing the last Merovingian king, Pepin traded his help for the Pope against the Lombards, for the papal legitimation of the all important title of king. There was nothing divine in these exchanges. It was pure human self - interest. By encouraging Popes to interfere in secular matters, lay rulers set a dangerous precedent which would haunt future generations. Moryson, like the many divines whose sermons he heard, attempts to reverse this trend by this emphasis on "...the sovereign powers of Christian princes. Popish tyranny was thus to be avoided...by the vindication of the rights of sovereign Christian princes as ecclesiastical governors."[46]

The actions of contemporary Italians showed where the Papists had deviated from the truth, no less than history. "For what needes wordes, when deedes giues evidence."[47] Moryson talks of their three "hatefull and palpable

---

[45] Fol. 102.

[46] Lake, *Prejudice*, p. 78.

[47] Fol. 372.

scandalls" of "grosse Idolatry, and vowes rashly made & frequently broken, and the great abuse of Confession and Pennance."[48]

The pagan Romans adopted all the idols of their conquered peoples, saving the exclusive God of the Jews who would be worshipped alone.[49] The Christian Romans practise a similar kind of deism, "by diuine worship they make an Infinite number of other gods, euen all the glorious Angells and blessed Sayntes departed, yea some styled Sayntes, though indeede nothing lesse then Saynts, yea very stockes and stonnes of Images."[50] The Roman excuse that they are worshipping God or the Redeemer or His mother behind the image is given the lie by the practise of devotees only worshipping at certain images, "indowed with perticular power for perticular workes."[51] This was ancient Roman idolatry updated, "...the worship of the one true God...supplanted and subverted by...reverence for the worship of idols and images...".[52]

"...the rash making & frequent breaking of vowes" is the

---

[48] Fol. 368.

[49] Fol. 369.

[50] Fol. 372.

[51] Fol. 372.

[52] Lake, *Prejudice*, p. 74.

second scandal that Moryson mentions.[53] Young people are often forced into the Church and into vows for which they have neither vocation nor restraint, "Our sauior sayth Non omnibus datum", it is not given to all.[54] The homosexuality and buggery in Italy that Moryson claims to be so widespread,[55] is

> "...an archetypically popish sin, not only because of its proverbially monastic provenance but also because, since it involved the abuse of natural faculties and impulses for unnatural ends, it perfectly symbolized the wider idolatry at the heart of the popish religion. Again the Protestants made great play with the papists' notorious laxity towards heterosexual promiscuity, citing here the stews of Rome, and the papal revenues produced by licencing them." Lake, *Prejudice*, p. 75.

So much for the vow of chastity.[56] As for the next vow, the Papists "pretending pouerty they begg a Gose, and vnder the Cloke of Charity giue a fether."[57] Obedience the third and final vow keeps the people in blind ignorance, and superstition,

> This is the Gordian knott which cannot be vntyed, but must be Cutt with the kings sworde. By this alone they are kept from reading the Scriptures and the writings of the Reformed Church, convincing them of grosse errors... Fol. 392.

The godly magistrate needs to use force to free the people.

---

[53] Fol. 376.

[54] Fol. 391.

[55] See Fol. 426.

[56] Rome's bad reputation has a long history. See George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy, The Middle Ages to 1525* (Rome, 1954), passim.

[57] Fol. 388.

The Jesuits, singular in all things, have a further vow of obedience, that of mission, of going wherever they are told, "an invention of the last age and a misteriall strong support of the Roman Church..."[58] Moryson thought that the Jesuit seminary was as good as a strong fort planted in the middle of Protestant lands.

For spiritual arms were not the only type that the Papists trained on the Protestants. The reinvigorated Catholic Church after the Council of Trent supported rebellion and encouraged massacres and assassination. The usual Protestant litany of events of recent history is reproduced, the Bull of deposition of Elizabeth, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and Spanish encouragement of Irish rebellions. "Religion first began in *Ireland* to be made the Cloke of ambition, and that by Popish Combinations two great Rebellions were raised."[59] The Catholic League in France, the assassinations of Henry III and Henry IV, and the Gunpowder Plot all complete Moryson's picture of a reinvigorated revolutionary plotting Catholicism. "'By divine right', said Cardinal Bellarmine, 'the power attributed to Christ's Vicar is not properly temporal, but extends to temporal things.'"[60] It was an indirect

---

[58] Fol. 392.

[59] Fol. 249.

[60] Quoted by J. P. Somerville, *Politics and Ideology in England 1603 - 1640* (London, 1986) p. 196.

temporal power. The Pope could encourage a faithful son of the Church, like Philip II of Spain, to attack the stubborn and notorious Jezebel of England, Queen Elizabeth, to dethrone her. It was, therefore, an indirect deposing power over all princes. The fact that it was an indirect power seemed another equivocation to Protestants.

Moryson could think of no better way to illustrate the pretended zeal of the Papists than comparing them to actors, a byword for insincerity,

> The preachers haue long Pulpitts (not rounde as ours) some foure or fyue yeardes long, wherein they walke like Roscius vpon a stage, with affected gesture, speaking to the people some tymes at one ende, sometymes at the other, and some tymes at the midle of the Pulpitt, more like tragicall Poets and Orators declaming at the Roman Rostra (with Artificiall eloquence, now inflaming, then allaying the passions of theire hearers... Fol. 414.

Yet what kind of zeal is it that persecutes Protestants whilst letting the schismatical Greek Orthodox and, worse still, the unconverted Jews and the Mohammedan Turks to survive unmolested ? "The true reason hereof, is the great gayne the Pope and Princes make of them..."[61]

At the corrupt heart of the Roman religion, there lies a Machiavellian self interest. The whole monstrous edifice is "built vppon so strong pillers of policy", that little can shake it.[62]

---

[61] Fol. 434.

[62] Fol. 100.

To which I will add (that which all men of experience will confesse) that the pollicy of Religion grounded on worldly witt, and the superstitious worshipp of God farr from sincerity of heart, make the Italyans thincke Religion an invention of policye, rather then the true way to heauen, and thincke Numa Pompilius rather then God the Author of it, so as in Italy much more then in all other nations, Athists swarme... Fol. 424.

The reference to Numa Pompilus shows that Moryson has read Machiavelli's *Discorsi*. In Machiavelli, Numa is praised for his politic use of the pantheon in creating a well ordered state.[63] It seems to be irrelevant to Machiavelli as to whether the religion is independently "true" or "false". It is a self interested use of religion. For Moryson recognizes that self interest in religion plays a part among all secular powers, amongst the Catholic of course, but even amongst the Protestant.

If Mary I had a vested interest in her Catholicism,

Agayne for England king *He*nry the Eight by the Popes dispensation marryed / his owne deceased brothers widdowe,

---

[63] *The Discourses*, Book One, Chapters Eleven and Twelve. See Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Plamenatz (London, 1972), pp. 166 - 171. It is interesting to speculate how Moryson acquired his knowledge. The BM has seven manuscripts of *The Prince* and three of *The Discourses*. That there was a market for such forbidden work is attested by the trouble, cost, and in the case of the publisher Wolfe, personal risk, in publishing his "Italian" prints of *I Discorsi* and *Il Principe*. "Everything indicates that, at least from the middle of the 'eighties onwards, Machiavelli was being quite widely read in England and was no longer the sole preserve of 'Italianate' Englishmen and their personal contacts, as had been the case earlier." Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500 - 1700* (London, 1964), p. 53. Moryson would have hated the thought of being "Italianate" in any way.

and by her had his eldest Daughter Mary, who comming after to the Crowne, in mantayning the Popes Authority did mantayne her owne right to the Crowne; for only by it her birth was made legitimate... Fols. 406 - 407,

equally Elizabeth had a self interest in her Protestantism,

If all mighty God powerfully turning the same humane bond to serue his diuine providence, had not raysed her younger sister Queene Elizabeth to the Crowne, who being borne of a second venter, without any diuorce graunted from the Pope of the former Marryage, was no lesse bound to mantayne her right by impugning the Popes Authority, besydes the bond of her education from her Childhood in the Reformed Religion. Fol. 407.

What is obvious from this is that for Moryson, everything including man's self interest is all part of God's Providence, part of the greater design.

Accepting that God's will might be done through the self-interest of rulers, is very far removed in Moryson's mind from the Machiavellian, politic use of religion of the Papacy. Despite the potential penalties, Protestants travelling through Catholic countries found themselves impelled to express their secret contempt in some tangible form or other. Thomas Coryat purloined an image at the Bartholomew Day celebrations at Brescia.[64] Whenever he could, William Lithgow tore the clothes adorning "...their senselesse images and blockes...",[65] whilst Moryson took money out of the collection plate at shrine of Our Lady of

---

[64] Coryat, II. 47 - 48.

[65] Lithgow, p. 241.

Loreto.[66] This may appear small beer, but for each traveller it was polemic made manifest, a demonstration from the heart, still uncorrupted by all the surrounding idolatry.

5.5. The Problem of Providence in History ?

If Moryson ever had his doubts about providence, he would probably have dismissed them as evil promptings.[67] It is typical that the divines that he cites with approval such as Henry Smith and William Fulke were ardent Calvinists, even if as dead Elizabethans they were slightly old fashioned by the 1620s. Yet the dedicatee of his work, William Herbert, the third Earl of Pembroke, was a similarly strong Protestant. He was also the most hawkish member of the government against Spain, who probably helped mitigate royal anger over *A Game at Chess*.[68] Pembroke was

---

[66] *Itinerary A*, I, 217 - 218.

[67] English victory in Ireland is seen as a demonstration of "...the prouidence of God euen miraculously protecting our Religion against the Papists. No doubt in humane wisdome, that Rebellion would haue had an other end then by the grace of God it had." Fol. 288.

[68] See John Richard Briley, *A Biography of William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke 1580 - 1630* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1961), pp. 875 - 878. For Moryson's dedication it is worth quoting Briley's proviso that, "...a one-time dedication does not equate with any display of patronage" but rather a hope of the same, p. 862. Moryson's dedication, with its respectful reminder of how he had been "an eye and eare witnes" of the "Noble conversation" between his long deceased master and Pembroke seems to come from a social and temporal distance.

a sympathetic patron to Protestant anti-Catholic writers. He also accepted the dedication of a translation by Samson Lennard of Jean Paul Perrin's work *The Bloody Rage of that Great Anti-Christ of Rome* in 1624.[69] Thus Moryson's sympathies as far as they can be deduced, suggest that he was a moderate in doctrine with some Calvinist tendencies, and a moderate in matters of church organization and discipline, since he writes of "allowable Ceremonyes of the Roman Church", and deprecates the "superstitious neglect of Common prayer, and excessiue valuation of Preaching, to haue infected some places among vs."[70] He is no Presbyterian, for he leaves the secular power a large rôle in ecclesiastical affairs. For him, there would be no problem about Providence in history. It existed as God's promises which had been interpreted in Revelations. Man might have free will, but God does not let evil go unpunished.[71] Neither was he unusual in thinking this, as

---

Moryson suggests that it is conventional, a "powerfull custome" without any expectation of patronage as such. *Itinerary A*, I, xvii. Moryson had prepared the ground first. "*HMC 4th Report*, p. 372b notes a letter, then at Crowcombe Court Somerset: 'No date. Fynes Moryson to Wm. Earl of Pembroke, asking him to be patron of his work'." See Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London, 1988), p. 211, referred to as Brennan hereafter. I also owe much of the following discussion to a conversation I had with Dr. Richard Cust in the Department of Medieval and Modern History, The University of Birmingham.

[69] Brennan, p. 174.

[70] Fols. 449, and 346.

[71] Fol. 457.

literary critics of the cultural materialist school might have us believe.[72] Not until the "Scientific Revolution" later in the century do these ideas even begin to lose wide acceptance. An under-rated member of Jacobean society as a playwright, as the Thomas Middleton of *A Game at Chess*, naturally held similar views. However, the problem of history and politics was much more controversial, as Middleton found out.

5.6. History and Politics.

From internal evidence it would appear that Moryson completed the final revisions of his *Itinerary* by late 1625. The *imprimatur* by Thomas Wilson was not given until 14 June 1626. Since Moryson was so dilatory as to neglect the printing of his work for twelve years, this, it could be argued, was yet another example of the same. This may be so, but I think that the deterioration in the political situation from 1620 until 1626 also had some part to play in its delay.

The reputation of James I has fluctuated remarkably over recent years. Rising from its nadir in the contemptuous

---

[72] See Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, second edition (Hemel Hempstead, 1989), passim.

biography by D. H. Willson,[73] it has never been so high, apart from possibly in James's own estimation. Realising the importance of Elizabethan intervention in the Netherlands in the 1580s, the Spanish were determined to neutralize any English threat of intervention when their Twelve Years Truce with the Dutch expired in April 1621. Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador suggested a match between Prince Charles and the Infanta, which James accepted with alacrity. Rather than James being seen as Gondomar's dupe, he could be credited with a sound appreciation of England's weakness and a sensible determination to pursue continental peace by diplomacy. James did show independence of action by despatching the first English fleet into the Mediterranean under the command of Sir Robert Mansell in 1620 to attack pirates, and it was also a timely reminder to Spain of England's naval power.[74] Unfortunately James could not control his impetuous son - in - law, Frederick V, the Palsgrave, Elector Palatine, and briefly King of Bohemia. Frederick's defeat by the Habsburgs at the White Mountain in 1620 had been so complete, that they decided to expel him from his

---

[73] D. H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956).

[74] Thomas Middleton puts an unfavourable interpretation on this, by getting the Black Knight to claim a deeper purpose,

> Was it not I proclaimed a precious safeguard
> From the White Kingdom to secure our coasts
> 'Gainst the infidel pirate, under pretext
> Of more necessitous expedition ?
>
> *A Game at Chess*, III. 1. 85 - 88.

ancestral lands of the Palatinate as well as Bohemia. James permitted English recruitment for the cause of the Palatinate, but when negotiations with Spain were going well, he ordered the troops to surrender.

As the foregoing section has shown the stakes in joining with Spain, the protector of antichrist, were incredibly high, and the odds against its success were almost equally high. James was playing a subtle game, and its subtlety eluded most of his subjects. "In the first place, such a settlement meant dealing with the Pope...'Have peace *from* Babylon ?' Theophilus Higgons asked sceptically; 'you can have no peace *with* her...you are sent against Rome...to destroy it with fire and sword'."[75] The bad news from the Continent from 1620 onwards was relayed to most Englishmen in the weekly sermons, and by prayers for the oppressed Protestants, and from 1622 also in the *corantos*, or weekly newsheets of the day.[76]

The Habsburg family, rulers of both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire simply could not allow James's son-in-law to take the crown of Bohemia, because the Catholic majority

---

[75] Quoted in Thomas Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603 - 1642*, edited by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London, 1989), pp. 107 - 133 (p. 113), and hereafter referred to as Cogswell.

[76] See Cogswell, p. 116, and Majorie Plant, *The English Book Trade* (London, 1939), p. 47.

in the Electoral College (which chose the Holy Roman Emperor) would become a Protestant one. When the Habsburgs conquered Bohemia and went on to overwhelm the Palatinate itself in 1620 and then started to expel the Protestant majority, it appeared to the shaken Protestants that the Catholics were making a bid for what Middleton's Black Queen's Pawn in *A Game at Chess* calls "the universal monarchy",[77] a popish plot, or rather, series of plots for world dominion. Told, "Sir, your plot's discovered.", the Black Knight replies, "Which of the twenty thousand and nine hundred/ Four score and five, canst tell ?"[78] Rumour has to feed on truth, however slight. There really was a plot. Incriminating letters showing papal and Habsburg aspirations to reconvert the Empire and to deprive Frederick V of his electoral vote were found and printed by the supporters of the Elector Palatine.[79] After the Protestant reverses James I merely added the Palatinate to

---

[77] *A Game of Chess*, I. 1. 51.

[78] *A Game at Chess*, III. 1. 125 - 127.

[79] See Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598 - 1648*, Fontana History of Europe (London, 1979), pp. 182, 183. Of course, this is hardly proof of "universal monarchy". When Cardinal Baronius wrote that Sicily was a possession of the Holy See, such a devoted son of the Church as Philip III of Spain (1598 - 1621) almost imprisoned the Neapolitan printer for life. See J. P. Somerville, *Politics and Ideology in England 1603 - 1640* (London, 1986), p. 195. In fact, with the failure of the interdict against Venice in 1607, proof was given, if it were ever needed, that the time of the great medieval Popes commanding the states of Europe was long past. Prejudice rarely bears too much relation to current fact.

his shopping list in the negotiations over the dowry for the Spanish match.[80]

Peter Lake distinguishes how the Elizabethan belief of the Pope as Antichrist was merely a doctrinal point for someone like Archbishop Whitgift, but a dynamic and guiding principle for an extreme Calvinist like William Whitaker.[81] "This view of history since the apostles was a teleological one, which contained at its heart a dynamic tension or contradiction."[82] The contradiction was between the complacency generated because of the sure fulfilment of God's promises, and the fear that the visible Church, unlike the invisible Church of the Elect,[83] was "...subject to precisely the same vagaries of human history as secular states and could well fail before the forces of Antichrist and the heathen, never to rise again."[84] History afforded many such examples. Thus in Whitaker's view it was necessary to ally with the godly Dutch fighting against the

---

[80] Cogswell, p. 114.

[81] Moryson would have known of Whitaker since his Cambridge days. See p. lxxi.

[82] Peter Lake, 'The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), pp. 161 - 178, (p. 175), referred to hereafter as Lake, *Antichrist*.

[83] The invisible church consisted of the dead, the living and the to - be - born.

[84] Lake, *Antichrist*, p. 163.

Spanish, to help God's Providence along.[85] In this period some similar mechanism was at work notching tension up to a feverish level. The House of Commons (many of whose members, including Richard Moryson, had come to maturity in the 1580s) petitioned James on 3 December 1621 reminding him of "The devilish positions and doctrines whereon Popery is built..." and "The disastrous accidents to your Majesty's children abroad..." meaning Elizabeth and her husband, Frederick the Elector Palatine who were now in exile with the Dutch, their cause all but lost.[86]

From 1621 until 1623 James banned discussion from the pulpit, imprisoned recalcitrant preachers, and censored printing rigorously, and relaxed the imposition of anti-Catholic laws, thereby adding to the tension. Middleton gets the Black Knight, the Spanish ambassador, Count Gondomar, to claim the credit, by bragging

> Who made the jails fly open, without miracle,
> And let the locusts out, those dangerous flies
> Whose property is to burn corn with touching ?...
> Whose policy was't to put a silenced muzzle
> On all the barking tongue-men of the time,
> Made pictures that were dumb enough before
> Poor sufferers in that politic restraint ?
> *A Game at Chess*, III. 1. 89 - 91, 100 - 104.

---

[85] Moryson feels similarly warmly towards the Dutch. He seems to agree wholeheartedly with Devonshire's plans to help plant Ireland with the industrious Protestant Netherlanders who might have a beneficial effect on the lazier or less industrious English. See Fol. 294.

[86] *The Stuart Constitution 1603 - 1688: Documents and Commentary*, edited and introduced by J. P. Kenyon (Cambridge, 1966), p. 44.

The last lines refer to the luckless Reverend Samuel Ward who imported from Dutch presses an engraving showing the Armada of 1588 on the left, and the Gunpowder Plotters of 1605 on the right with the Pope in the middle. "In any other period of James's reign, Ward's cartoon would have been unexceptional; during the Spanish match, it earned Ward a stint in prison."[87] The picture was a reminder of what the Spanish had done in recent history, and a warning about the future. History itself was becoming all too topical. Praise of Elizabeth's foreign policy could be construed as implicit criticism of that of James.

Moryson had cast doubt on Philip III's legitimate existence as the product of an incestuous union whereby uncle, Philip II, had married niece, Anne of Austria. These sacred bonds were duly dispensed with by the Pope to allow the marriage to be valid.[88] All Moryson's anti-Catholic theory and history now seemed potentially impolitic, not to say subversive of royal foreign policy in the years from 1620 until 1623. In inflating the claims of lay rulers against the Papacy, Moryson can hardly have ever imagined that James I, with his impeccable Protestant credentials, would wish to ally with Spain, the leading Catholic power.

---

[87] Cogswell, p. 122.

[88] See Fol. 406. Dekker in *The Whore of Babylon* had called Philip II "good politic Satyran" III. 1. 63, implying, perhaps, that his sexual appetite was comparable to that of a satyr.

Moryson's attack on women,[89] the weaker sex easily seduced by Jesuitical plotting, finds a resonance in the subplot of *A Game at Chess* where the White Queen's Pawn is assailed by the Jesuitical black pieces. Buckingham's mother was a Catholic convert. His wife was from a Catholic family.[90] The relationship between Rome and homosexuality, and that between James I and his "Sweet child and wife" dear Steenie[91], (rumoured to have converted to Rome like his mother,) may well have induced Moryson, the cautious traveller who averted his eyes, and kept silent, to look away and keep his silence still.

The return of Prince Charles and Buckingham empty-handed and embittered from Madrid in October 1623 to almost universal rejoicing changed the picture, if only slowly. Pressure built up on James to change course, not least from his own son and from Buckingham often manipulating within Parliament, but it was pressure that James was able to resist. The reason why the players were haled before the Privy Council on 18 August 1624 for playing *A Game at Chess* was so as not to give offence to Spain which was still courted by James in order to drive a wedge between the two

---

[89] See Fols. 284, 456.

[90] See Margot Heinemann, 'Drama and Opinion in the 1620s' in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge, 1993), 237 - 265 (pp. 245 - 246).

[91] Willson, p. 384.

Habsburg families, and facilitate the restoration of the Palatinate.[92] He did renew an alliance with the Dutch in 1624, but it was left to his son, by then Charles I to declare war on Spain. In June 1626 Moryson's work was finally given the *Imprimatur*. Since the work is so long Moryson probably had had to wait a few months whilst it was being read.[93] This begs the question, if Moryson had gone as far as bothering to get authority, why was it not printed? As I have suggested earlier, the reason for this was probably due to problems with the Stationers.

---

[92] See Robert E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971), pp. 386, 387.

[93] According to Marjorie Plant the delay could be from three months to two to three years. *The English Book Trade* (London, 1939), p. 31.

6. Antichrist, Infidels and Heretics.

6.1. Italians and Turks.

Inevitably, Moryson's views of peoples was coloured by his preconceptions of their religion and their history. This is particularly true of Moryson's view of the Italians.

In this period Italy was a geographical concept rather than a state in its own right. Only Machiavelli at his most lyrical envisaged the ejection of the foreign barbarians and a united polity.[1] Yet the instinct to generalize is so strong that Moryson is able to write of the Italian character and national vices, by which he seems to mean those people who speak Italian. "...blasphemous oathes and rotten talke are among their nationall vices, and they can hardly seeke to please men in those thinges wherein they feare not to offende God."[2]

Such Atheism and Machiavellianism were popularly associated

---

[1] In the *envoi* to *The Prince* addressed to Lorenzo de'Medici, Machiavelli hopes, "...that Italy, after so long a time, may see her redeemer come." He will dam the "alien floods" and fell the "barbarian tyranny". See Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince,* selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Plamenatz (London, 1972), p. 135. Machiavelli is something of a hero in modern Italy. In Milan a school is named after him.

[2] Fol. 593.

with Italians, and Moryson makes the connection himself.[3] One year, 1570, can be isolated as crucial to the way that Italians were to be subsequently viewed by the English. In that year Pius V finally excommunicated Elizabeth I, and Roger Ascham's widow allowed *The Scholemaster* to be published. Ascham infamously denounced Italy as "*Circes* Court",[4] where men, serving and served by enchantresses, become monsters, with "...the belie of a Swyne, the head of an Asse, the brayne of a Foxe, the wombe of wolfe."[5] Even Venice, normally admired by errant Englishmen, sends a shudder down Ascham's back. "...there it is counted good pollicie, when there be foure or fiue brethren of one familie, one, onelie only to marie: & all the rest, to waulter, with as litle shame, in open lecherie, as Swyne do here in the common myre."[6] So much for *fratellanza*, living in brotherhood.

This animal and porcine image is linked to Italian lack of restraint and widely accepted prostitution. It was extremely powerful and was to be repeated in many descriptions that were to follow. It occurs among the "infinite contraries" of Italy that Sir Edwin Sandys

---

[3] See the section on **History and Polemic.**

[4] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), sigs. H4v, I1v, [*STC* 832], referred to hereafter as Ascham.

[5] Ascham, sig. I2r.

[6] Ascham, sig. K1v.

describes "...on the one syde of the streete, a Cloister of Virgins, on the other a stye of Curtezans, with poblique permission..."[7] Thomas Coryat echoes Ascham when he writes that he finds the embellishments of a Venetian prostitute, part Siren, part Circe, as alluring as "...a golden ring in a swine's snowt. Moreover shee will endevour to enchaunt thee partly with her melodious notes that she warbles out upon her lute...", which was always considered to be an instrument of "lascivious pleasing".[8] On 13 March 1594 NS Moryson notes that he passed by Circello, Mount Circeo, on his way to Naples, the traditional site of Circe's enchantments. Writing of the practise of newly-elected Popes assuming a new name, Moryson states "And this Custome hath bene from the yeare 844, (as they write) when the Chosen Pope called Hogsface (or a name of that sence) tooke the name of *Sergus* the second."[9] The man was a Hogsface not only because of his ugliness, but his lack of restraining his appetites. Hogsface would take upon himself another name to deceive men as to his true character.

---

[7] Sandys, sig. D2v.

[8] See *Richard III*, I, 1. 13, and Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1905), I, 405. Some of Coryat's friends thought that he protested too much.

Venice' vast lake thou hadst seen, and wouldst seek then
Some vaster thing, and found'st a courtesan.

See John Donne, 'Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's *Crudities*' in *The Complete English Poems*, edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 173.

[9] Fol. 106.

These swinish images became proverbial and were naturally taken up by the dramatists. Thus Antonio in *Antonio's Revenge* addresses the souls of the departed,

> If Pythagorean axioms be true,
> Of spirit's transmigration - fleet no more
> To human bodies! rather live in swine
> Inhabit wolves' flesh, scorpions, dogs and toads
> Rather than man. [10]

The mixture of all animals recalls Ascham's warning of the monsters of men that Italy makes. In *Volpone*, Jonson's frightful Corbaccio, the raven, disinherits his own son, Bonario (the name gives his true character) through avarice, with,

> I will not hear thee,
> Monster of men, swine, goat, wolf, parricide.
> Speak not thou viper. [11]

Jonson, as always, has the right word, as when Volpone describes Corvino the crow as a "chimera", the monster of Greek myth, part lion, part goat, part serpent.[12] The image of animality and lack of restraint was too powerful to ignore in other contexts as well. John Florio maintains that the traveller must learn to be protean, imitating the virtues, if not the vices, of the animals, particularly of

---

[10] John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge*, edited by W. Reavley Gair (Manchester, 1978), p. 108. (III. 2. 59 - 63.)

[11] Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962), IV. 2. 137 - 139, referred to hereafter as *Volpone*.

[12] *Volpone*, V. 7. 91. In modern Italian, *corvino* often signifies a raven, or other corvine. Zingarelli. There is the fable of Æsop where the fox deceives the crow of a tasty morsel by flattery. In Corvino's case it is self - flattery that he is the fox's heir. The morsel is Celia.

the hog to eat all things, and the stag to fly danger. However, this identification probably has more to do with Æsop than Ascham.[13]

Yet another powerful image adopted about perceived Italian vices was that they spread like poison. For Moryson, Italians were the inventors of poison.[14] G. K. Hunter has suggested that these worries were a projection of endemic English concerns about the influence of a culture more advanced than England was at that time.[15] Sir Edwin Sandys felt that some,

> ...not content to spot themselues with al Italian impurity, proceed on to impoyson their Country also at their returne hither.../...the Italians were excellent men but for three faults they had: in their lust they were vnnaturall: in their malice vnappeasable, and that they would deceive all men. Sigs. B3r and B4r.[16]

The association between Italians spreading their poison on

---

[13] John Florio, *Florios second frutes* (London, 1591), p. 93, [*STC* 11097].

[14] Fol. 425.

[15] "Italy became important to English dramatists only when 'Italy' was revealed as an aspect of England." G. K. Hunter, 'English Folly and Italian Vice: The Moral Landscape of John Marston', in *Jacobean Theatre*, edited by John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris, Stratford - upon - Avon Studies, 1 (London, 1960), pp. 84 - 111 (p. 95).

[16] This description so pleased Peter Heylyn that in his *Microcosmus: a Little description of the Great World* he repeats it almost verbatim. It is quoted by Michele Marrapodi in the 'Introduction', in *Shakespeare's Italy*, edited by Michele Marrapodi, A. J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo and others (Manchester, 1993), p. 3.

stage and off was to have a long history in English minds.[17] Yet if all of this were true, and the fictional Italy of *The Unfortunate Traveller* (c.1593) of Thomas Nashe represented anything approaching reality, there could be no justification for any traveller ever going there to acquire "...the art of atheism, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, the art of sodomitry."[18]

Whilst agreeing in part with these criticisms, Moryson has to counter them (or be self - condemned) by recognizing the reality of a divided Italy of cities and small states. Some are good, in Protestant eyes, such as Venice, which even withstood a Papal Interdict, and might even convert. Some are evil, as the dominion of antichrist, the Papal States. James I recognized this division in 1616 when he sent orders to Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to Venice, to discourage visitors from going to Rome and to forward the names of those who neglected his warning.[19] The other Italian states are in varying stages between the evil of

---

[17] One of the later examples is William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, edited by John Sutherland (Oxford, 1983), pp. 826 - 829, where Belladonna and the frightful Lord Steyne frighten Becky from Italy.

[18] Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 345.

[19] Jeannette Fellheimer, 'The Englishman's Conception of the Italian in the Age of Shakespeare' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, 1935), p. 163, note 2.

Rome and the virtues of Venice. Sir Robert Dallington was amusingly rude about Tuscany.[20] Moryson includes sections on Venice, the Papal States, Tuscany, Genoa and the free city (in the sense of freedom from princely control) of Lucca. He also emphasises that each city had its own characteristics,

> Touching the Cities of Italy, it is proverbially said among them. *Roma la santa, Paduoa la dotta, venetia la ricca, Fiorenza la bella, Milano la grande, Bologna la grassa, Ravenna l'antica, Napoli gentile, Genoua Superba.* That is: Rome the holy, Paduoa the learned, Venice the/ rich, Florence the beautifull, Milan the great, Bologna the fat, Ravenna the ancient, Naples the Gentile, Genoua the proud.[21]

Moryson modifies these proverbs with his experiences. Florence's cathedral may be part of "the beautifull" cityscape, but he prefers the marmoreal black and white of Siena.[22] Padua may be "the learned", but the wily Paduans send out graduates as asinine as when they came.[23]

Only Venice "the rich" was *the* destination for all

---

[20] See Sir Robert Dallington, *A survey of the great dukes state of Tuscany. In 1596* (London, 1605), passim, [*STC* 6200]. The book was burnt by the hangman at the request of the Tuscan ambassador.

[21] *Itinerary A*, III, 455 - 456. Presumably Bologna is called "the fat" because of its calorific cooking or because it was rich, Ravenna "the ancient" because of its Ostrogothic and Byzantine buildings, Naples "the gentle" because of the nobility there, and Genoa "the proud" because it had to often fight against the Venetians and French for its very existence.

[22] *Itinerary A*, I, 349, and fol. 429.

[23] Fol. 606.

travellers. Thomas Coryat, who was always struggling against poverty, says that he would not have missed the city for four manors in Somerset.[24] Villamont the French aristocrat, and best-selling travel writer, expresses the sheer wonder of the city,

Qvi a veu Venise, il peut bien dire comme ce grand Legiste, qu'il a veu l'impossible dans l'impossible: lequel vouloit dire par là, que tout homme qui voudra bien considerer par le menu ceste Cité, la voyant fondée en la mer, ornée de/ merueilleux & admirables edifices, & d'vn concours de gens qui y viennent de tous les cantons de la terre...[25]

Even Moryson is enthusiastic in his restrained way. He also admires the stately palaces and their precious artefacts.

Yet, above all, he admires Venetian institutions,

This Common wealth of *Venice* hath lasted more then a thousand two hundreth yeares, and he that shall see the grauity and wisdome of their Senate, and the iustnes of their gouernment, would iudge it likely to last so long as the Sunne and moone indureth; yet many reasons make it vnlike to increase and grow much greater; For all *Italy* being divided into many parts of free Citties & principalityes euery small warr threatens ruine, and destruction to the whole Country. Fol. 119.

This is an enthusiasm tempered by his close reading in Guicciardini. In the course of the terrible Italian wars between the Valois and the Hapsburgs of 1494 - 1559, the

---

[24] Coryat, I. 427.

[25] Le Sieur de Villamont, *Les Voyages dv Seignevr de Villamont* (Paris, 1609), sigs. P8r - P8v, Book II Chapter 7, referred to hereafter as Villamont. "Who has seen Venice, can well say with the great jurist that he has seen the impossible in the impossible, which he might wish to say of it, for every man will wish to contemplate this city in detail, seeing it founded in the sea, ornamented with wonderful and awe-inspiring buildings, and with a throng of peoples who come there from all parts of the earth..."

small states were simply eliminated. In 1509 it looked as if it might be the turn of Venice. Yet, ultimately, Moryson's reservations and suspicions fall away, as did Venice's enemies. He amasses details of Venetian institutions, their functionaries, and its constitution as a whole. He rejects Jean Bodin who says, correctly, that it is an aristocracy, in favour of the myth fostered by Gasparo Contarini, that it is a *stato misto*, a mixed government compromising elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy.[26] He praises the Signory, in what are, for him, extravagant terms,

> In generall, I can hardly beleeue, that the *Roman Sena*te passed that of *Venice* in grauity of Countenance or statelynes, of ornaments, and all the Gentlemen, aswell as the *Senators*, weare gownes and litle Caps vppon the Crowne of the heads, not only in Councell, but at all tymes, when they goe abroad. Fol. 123.

Mixed government is the key that explains Venice's security over so many years. The Greek historian Polybius (c.202 BC - 120 BC), reviewing the utter eclipse of Carthage by Rome in two generations, tried to explain Rome's stability and success in terms of its mixed government.[27] Too scrupulous an historian to falsify events, Polybius still felt that Rome had a destiny to Empire. In accepting Contarini's description of Venice as a mixed state, Moryson is also

---

[26] See fol. 122, and Professor Brian Pullan's observations.

[27] Only fifty-two years separate Hannibal's attack on Saguntum 220 BC to the battle of Pydna 168 BC. See F. W. Walbank, 'Polybius', in *Latin Historians*, edited by T. A. Dorey (London, 1966), pp. 39 - 63 (p. 56).

within the tradition of Polybius, whose histories he admired. He accepts without comment that Venice was founded "...vpon our ladyes feast day in march, instituted because the first foundation of the Citty was layde as vpon that day of the yeare, when the Goathes came first into Italy."[28] Founded on Ladyday, 25 March, the Day of the Annunciation, Venice is a new Rome, an idealized Christian republic. This is the second great myth of Venice, which leads on from the first, that Venice is as an unconquered virgin.

Of course, Moryson was not blind. Venice would have been ideal without the Venetians. The Venetians at Carnival, and particularly their gondoliers (who get a cut for bringing passengers to a particular brothel) are the very antithesis of virginity.[29] Moryson preferred to stay away from the Venetians in the cosmopolitan, and, even covertly Protestant, atmosphere of the German Inn.[30] There are dark hints that Venetian spending, in all its senses, saps valour, and encourages effeminacy and their enemies,

> And as generally in respect of the gentlemens effeminatenes, trayned vpp in delicacye, and wantonnes, and of the *Senato*rs wisdome imbracing peace as the best end of

---

[28] Fol. 616. Thus Moryson accepts that Venice is twelve hundred years old, which, as Villamont reminds his readers, is longer than the Romans lasted, "*...plus duré que la monarchie des Romains*", sig. L6v, Book I Chapter 35.

[29] Fol. 633.

[3] *Itinerary A*, II, 113.

all warrs, and not willingly plunging into vnnecessary troubles, they were iudged at this tyme litle to affect Counsells of any Warr, so more specially from the *Turkes* they suffered many great and daily iniuryes... Fol. 121.

Part of Moryson's admiration for the Venetian constitution extends to their system of justice. When a foreigner played the fool with the law against carrying weapons whilst masked, and dressed with a sword of lath like a vice-figure or stage-player, he was hauled before the magistrate,

...who with a graue Countenance said to him, *Non burlar'con la Giustitia, Veh* : Ieast not with the Iustice, marke me. And he found that he had mocked himselfe more then the officers, for he payd not a fewe Crownes before he could be freed by mediation of great freinds. Fol. 183.

Moryson also seems to believe that the law works impartially against the powerful as well as the weak. He repeats a story of some "roaring boys" who were "gentlemen". For their blasphemies and crimes, they were dealt with in a summary manner. Investigation has shown that he conflates two cases, and the only aristocrat among them was tortured, but subsequently released. As always, manual workers were the ones of whom an example was made.[31] What Moryson is doing is not setting out to tell untruths, but rather countenancing a modern fable. Despite the irreligious nature of the Italians, not all can be tarred with the same brush.

It is not surprising that Moryson is prepared to countenance fables and myths about Venice, because he felt

---

[31] See fols. 184 - 185, 425.

secure there. England's wars with Spain meant that in Spanish-dominated Naples and Milan, he had to go *da Francese*, dressed as a Frenchman. In Rome he had to shift lodging in Holy Week in order to avoid questions about non-attendance at mass. In Venice he was unmolested.[32] Above all, as a self-improving traveller, Moryson's inclusion of Italy in his travels had to be justified by good countervailing the evil of modern Rome.

This ambivalence towards Italy was common. James Howell amplifies this most graphically in two letters,

> You are now under the chiefest Clime of Wisdom, fair *Italy*, the Darling of Nature, the Nurse of Policy, the Theatre of Virtue: But tho' Italy give milk to *Virtue* with one dug, she often suffers *Vice* to suck at the other; therefore you must take heed you mistake not the dug: for there is an ill favour'd Saying, That *Inglese Italionato è Diavolo incarnato*; an *Englishman Italianate* is a Devil incarnate./ To conclude, in *Italy* there be *Virtutes magnæ, nec minora Vitia; Great Virtues, and no less Vices.*"[33]

For Moryson, this ambivalence even extends to the Renaissance masterpieces. He repeats a fable about Michelangelo,

> Agayne being to make a Crucifix for the Pope he hyred a Fachino that is a Porter to be fastned to a crosse, and when he came to giue life to the passion, he gaue the porter a deadly stroake with a pen knife and during the Agonies of his death, made a rare Crucifix, and no lesse

---

[32] Venice's freedom was more apparent than real. Giordano Bruno was handed over to the Inquisition there. See his entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960 -).

[33] James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), pp. 95 (24 March 1622), 146 (30 November 1621).

rare Monument of his wickednes."[34]

This story encapsulates English doubt about Italy in general, and Rome in particular, "The brittle veneer of civilization barely concealed the vicious, ruthless and sinister behaviour beneath."[35] Rome taints even the greatest human works. Too great a price has been paid.[36]

So for Moryson the Protestant waiting on God's Providence, nothing can or must equal antichrist's Rome in depravity, not even the Turks. That is an act of faith. Religious prejudice has to colour his descriptions. So in pomp and adoration, the Pope surpasses even the Grand Signor or Sultan,

> ...much lesse doth any Christian Prince vse like pompe except the Pope, who in his publike processions comes neere the Turkish Emperors pompe, saue that the Popes consists most of spirituall men, the Emperors all together of millitary governnors, yea goes beyond it in his adoration, and the kissing of his foote. Fol. 561.

Islam and Papistry have "theire blynde deuotion" in common.[37] They are also alike in their observance of outward things, their belief in the merit of going on Pilgrimage, their lustrations, and prayers for the dead, relics, and the Islamic use of "...beads wherewith they

---

[34] Fol. 597.

[35] Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Brill, 1995), p. 279.

[36] This is the feeling that Robert Browning successfully recreates in 'My Last Duchess'.

[37] Fol. 357.

pray as Papists doe, and vsing like idle Ceremonies."[38] As they are both tyrannies, both systems are inherently unstable, or "slippery" is the word that Moryson uses.[39] It is this instability which could bring about the general ruin predicted in Revelations,

> And howsoeuer the Turkish Empire is not like to growe, being a tyrannye that hath no long period, and being so great, as it is ready to fall with his owne weight, and hauing no heades of Nobility, and the forces so distant as they are not easily assembled, yet if God haue ordayned the Turkes to be a scourge vnto Christians, they haue no more likely meanes to prevayle, then by the ambition of the Papists, if at any tyme it shall move them to make warr vpon the Protestants, which the Turkes are not like to quench but by the ruinne of both. Fol. 414.

It is not surprising that given these charged associations, modern Rome (as opposed to Classical Rome) was not used by Shakespeare as a setting.[40]

Mario Praz likens Shakespeare's use of Italian cityscapes to "*etichette*" or labels.[41] With a few surprising

---

[38] Fol. 566.

[39] Fols. 43 and 113.

[40] The possible exception to this is the wager scene in *Cymbeline*. Whilst it derives from Boccaccio, and the Italians seem contemporary rather than Classical, the play is set near year zero, about the time of Christ's birth. Robert S. Miola sees in this play Britain attempting "...to declare its independence of Rome and Rome's values...to come into its own as a strong but gentle nation, seasoned with courtesy, humanity, and a respect for the human heart." See his *Shakespeare's Rome* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 218.

[41] Mario Praz, *Shakespeare e l'Italia* (Florence, 1963), p. 22. This appeared after Praz's better - known article, 'Shakespeare's Italy', in *Shakespeare Survey 7* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 95 - 106.

exceptions, as when Thurio and Proteus are to meet "At Saint Gregory's well" outside Milan, the details certainly are unspecific.[42] Yet even labels have their significances and immediate associations. Praz is surely also correct when he emphasises that Shakespeare, unlike his fellow dramatists, usually opted for the more positive labels, of Italy as a flourishing garden and the nursery of arts, rather than the Italy of inflamed passions and terrible crimes.[43]

For "Italy" was a polyvalent set of labels. I have attempted to show how writers of this period, took up one another's images, and either quoted them verbatim or developed them. Manfred Pfister has suggested that a way forward in looking at Shakespeare's Italy is to look at what he calls "...the *constructedness* of the stereotypes...reflecting...the interests, needs and anxieties of the English themselves."[44] So we return to the concerns first raised in G. K. Hunter's seminal article quoted above. Italy meant so many things, that it was up to

---

[42] See *The Two Gentleman of Verona*, IV. 2. 81, and Murray J. Levith, *Shakespeare's Italian Settings and Plays*, Contemporary Interpretations of Shakespeare, (London, 1989), p. 62. Only the name *Via San Gregorio* survives in today's Milan.

[43] Mario Praz, 'Shakespeare's Italy', in *Shakespeare Survey 7* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 95 - 106 (p. 96).

[44] See Manfred Pfister's 'Afterword', in *Shakespeare's Italy*, edited by Michele Marrapodi, A. J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo and others (Manchester, 1993), p. 299.

the individual to choose some labels to make a construction of his Italy. For a writer like Fynes Moryson his Italy is constructed on the theological framework that underpins his writing and his life, on his concerns and hopes for the Protestant cause.

6.2. Settling Ireland.

Ireland, unlike Italy, was the place where reformation really could be effected, particularly as the government of Queen Elizabeth had been slow to pursue its consistent interests there. Moryson was one of the third generation of Elizabethans to try his luck in Ireland. The poet Edmund Spenser, the translator Geoffrey Fenton, and many other talented, hopeful, greedy, and above all, landless younger sons and young men had followed the speculators after the land grabbing in Munster initiated in the 1560s. Ireland was a land of opportunity without being as impossibly far from home as America. Ireland was also an apprenticeship for America. Many of the personnel in the joint stock companies attempting to exploit Ireland went on to Virginia.[45] Fortunes were made (and sometimes lost) by the first generation, such as the Carew family who initiated the legal assault on land titles; by the second generation

---

[45] See Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 76* (Hassocks, 1976), passim.

such as Sir Walter Raleigh, and his half-brother Sir Richard Greville; and by the third generation such as Richard Boyle, and Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Fynes's employer, and by Sir Richard Moryson, Fynes's brother. Being relatively near England, Ireland drew those who did not want to settle, but rather those who wanted to make their money and return home to play the landed gentlemen. Edmund Spenser, as Colin Clout in his "simple honestie", was unusual in that he returned home again from the court, and the bounty of England.[46] The government's foreign policy need was to prevent Catholic adventuring by pacifying Ireland and settling it with good Protestants. This conflicted with the needs of the speculative undertaker, who wanted to make his money and return to England. There were simply not enough Colin Clouts as far as the government was concerned.

This, and allied problems, made Spenser write his dialogue *A View of the State of Ireland* in 1595 or 1596, which in many ways anticipates Moryson's views written in *Itinerary B.*[47] Spenser's work was not published until 1633, but the fifteen manuscript copies still extant were circulating,

---

[46] See *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* line 727 in Edmund Spenser, *Poetical Works* edited by J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912).

[47] The edition I use is Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* edited by W. L. Renwick, (Oxford, 1970), hereafter contracted to *View*.

and similarities in content and even wording, images and order that I have marked in the footnotes would suggest that Moryson had read a copy at some time. Moryson does not copy chunks verbatim as with some of his sources, and it could be argued that the ideas advanced were common enough for him not to have seen Spenser's work. They also share a common source in Camden's *Britannia*,[48] yet I feel that the balance of probability is that Moryson did read Spenser. Both are not the old fashioned generalized advice to a prince or courtier, but a set of practical solutions to a perceived real problem. In this their work is part of a European movement and similar to that of the *arbitristas* of Castile, those projectors who wished to examine and reverse the causes of Spanish malaise and decline.[49]

Both Spenser and Moryson seem to have aroused opposition, which is perhaps surprising since they share the humanist inheritance and a militant Protestantism of many of their putative readers. Spenser was not published in his lifetime, whilst Moryson says,

> And I could name agreat lord among them, who was credibly reported to haue putt away his wife of a good Family and beautill only for a fault as light as wynde (which the Irish in generall abhorr) but I dare not name it, lest I

---

[48] The edition I use is *Camden's Britannia 1695*, with an Introduction by Stuart Piggott, and Bibliographical Note by Gwyn Walters, David and Charles Reprints (Newton Abbot, 1971), referred to hereafter as Camden.

[49] See J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716* (London, 1963), p. 300.

offend the perfumed sences, of some whose censure I haue incurred in that kynde." Fol. 284.

The difficult syntax confuses. Whether the unfortunate lady was expelled for a small fault other than eructating is unclear. What is clear is that Moryson has acquired censure from delicate sensibilities, the perfume might even suggest from the court itself. His account of "...the miserable estate to which the Rebels were...brought" in Lord Deputy Mountjoy's scorched earth policy is graphic. After describing two cases of cannibalism, Moryson continues,

> And no spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Townes, and especiallie in wasted Countries, then to see multitudes of these poore people dead with their mouthes all coloured greene by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above ground. These and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion..." *Itinerary A*, III. 283.

Lord Deputy Grey's scorched earth policy had similar effects, as described by Spenser,

> Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat of dead carrions, happy were they could find them, yea and one another soon after in so much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and if they found a plot of water cress or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue therewithal, that in short space there were none almost left and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of men or beast. Yet sure in all that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine, which they themselves had wrought. *View*, p. 104.

For Spenser and Moryson, responsibility is displaced onto the sufferers. It could be that such blatant misrepresentation of the terrible facts here uncovered in such circumstantial detail jolted readers. Such things may

have had to take place for the cause of civilizing the Irish, but readers would rather be spared the graphic detail. However, squeamishness is not normally associated with the Elizabethans and Jacobeans.

David Baker has suggested that Spenser's *View* did not find favour because of its despair with and "...tacit critique of English legal verities."[50] For Spenser, some "...subtle-headed fellow amongst them will pick some quirk, or devise some subtle evasion".[51] Moryson concurs, "...that Crafty and subtile a nation" using

> delatorye temporising in theire obedience to the kings Commaundes or lawes, hopeing that newe magistrates will giue newe lawes, and so if they can putt offe any buisinesse for the present if it be but for a day, thincking with Crafty Dauus that in the meane tyme some chaunce may happen to theire advantage, dayly gapeing for such changes and inquiring after nothinge more. Fol. 253.

Moryson and Spenser agree on the other means that the Irish use to delay, deny and frustrate due process of law. Lands held in trust for subversives abroad,[52] or held by friends to prevent escheat on behalf of subversives at home,[53] accessories to crimes untried because the principals could

---

[50] David J. Baker, ' "Some Quirk, Some Subtle Evasion": Legal Subversion in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* ' *Spenser Studies* 6 (1985), 147 - 163 (p. 152), referred to as Baker hereafter.

[51] *View*, p. 23.

[52] Fol. 282, *View*, p. 27.

[53] Fol. 259, *View*, p. 26.

not be brought to justice,[54] Irish juries that will never convict their countrymen, and who will "bear out" their lords and kinsmen against everyone from the monarch down,[55] all contribute to make "...a chaos of ambiguity, subversive equivocation, and pervasive uncertainty," of Elizabethan law.[56] Moryson even quotes instances of wilful misinterpretation by one of the Earl of Tirconnel's lawyers to deny freeholders their rights, a wrong which the former freeholders felt unable to pursue in the English courts for fear of the Earl's displeasure.[57] This is far from what Irenius had hoped,"...the law ought to be like to stony tables, plain, steadfast and unmoveable ",[58] like the Commandmants on the stone tablet given by God to Moses. In Baker's words "English law in Ireland had become so concussed with uncertainty that its authority - the Queen's authority - had effectively come into question" and this was "something the royal apologists who sat on Elizabeth's Council" could not accept.[59] Consequently, Spenser's work was not given the required authority for printing in 1598.

---

[54] Fol. 283, *View* p. 25.

[55] Fols. 259, 267, *View*, pp. 22, 24.

[56] Baker, p. 152.

[57] Fols. 281 - 282.

[58] *View*, p. 33.

[59] Baker, p. 154.

However, what the censor also may have thought provocative at a time when the government was trying to be conciliatory was the attack on the English Irish. At the nadir of English fortunes in Ireland in 1598, the government desperately needed the support of those old settlers and descendants of the medieval conquerors. To Spenser, the Palatine of Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormonde in County Tipperary was "...a receptacle to rob the rest of the counties about it".[60] Ormonde was related to the Queen on the Boleyn side, and a favourite with her. His support in the coming conflict with Tyrone was vital.[61] Perhaps the petty Munster official who wanted no "privileging", but equity before the law, had really gone too far, thus his work was not given the *Imprimatur*. In his equal respect for the law, Moryson feels the same way about the medieval royal charters granting exorbitant privileges to the Anglo-Irish townsfolk. His master Mountjoy was able to ignore them with a victorious army at his back.[62] Moryson also makes damning allegations that the Anglo-Irish betrayed state secrets even from the Council Chamber. "...the generall opinion of that tyme was, that the English *Irish* made Counsellors of State, and Iudges of Courts did euidently hurt the publike good, and that their false

---

[60] *View*, p. 30.

[61] For details of palatinate jurisdiction see Grenfell Morton, *Elizabethan Ireland* (London, 1971), p. 117.

[62] See Fol. 272.

harted helpe, did more hinder reformation, then the open Acts of the Rebells."[63] "Lord, how quickly doth that country alter men's natures !" Eudoxius says.[64] The hostility between the old settlers and the new can be heard from the 1550s onwards when Sir Nicholas Walsh complained on behalf of "the country cause", the loyal opposition, against the "impes", the new settlers.[65]

What newcomers such as Spenser and Moryson fear (and what the Anglo-Irish represent) is degeneration. This fear is hardly surprising from the author of the "Mutability Cantos", but Moryson is very fearful too. It is that relaxing from civilized standards, as Moryson perceives them, into an idle, incontinent and slovenly barbarism that is so shocking.[66] He pinpoints the first degeneration of the English Irish to their self rule movement of 1341.[67] This movement from "English Ciuility",[68] towards the bestiality of the "meere" or unmixed Irish was hastened during the tragedy of the Wars of the Roses, the first

---

[63] Fol. 263.

[64] *View*, p. 151.

[65] See Ciarán Brady, 'The Road to the *View*: On the Decline of Reform Thought in Tudor Ireland', in *Spenser in Ireland* edited by Patricia Coughlan (Cork, 1989), 25 - 45 (pp. 30 -31.), referred to hereafter as Brady.

[66] Fol. 662.

[67] Fol. 247.

[68] Fol. 270.

English civil war when the remaining English "...applyed themselues to the Customes, manners, language, and apparrell of the meere Irish," until they "...grewe so degenerate, as in the last rebellion, they could not be distinguished from meere Irish."[69] They lost their language. They had "even forgotten their English names",[70] or converted them into Irish,[71] preferring a debased non-language without roots, without an etymology, without a stability of meaning which "would never be missed either for pleasure or necessity."[72]

That the Irish have degenerated to bestiality, both Spenser and Moryson have no doubt. Spenser uses animal images to describe the Irish who live in "swinesteads than houses", in a "beastly/ manner of life and savage condition".[73] They are "licentious" and "wanton colts", or like a "steer out of yoke".[74] Moryson uses similar images. The Irish are "Iadish" and "froward" who "haue euer kicked at the least

---

[69] Fols. 248, 262.

[70] *View*, p. 115.

[71] Fol. 257.

[72] Fol. 658.

[73] *View*, pp. 82, 82 - 83.

[74] *View*, pp. 6, 65, 50. See also Eamon Grennan, 'Language and Politics: A Note on Some Metaphors in Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*', *Spenser Studies* 3 (1982), 99 - 110, referred to as Grennan hereafter.

burthen".[75] The Irish women deliver children with an almost bestial fecundity and facility.[76] They "haue very great Dugges some so bigg as they giue their Children sucke ouer theire shoulders."[77] Indeed, the women are returned with a few cows when they are divorced.[78] Like their cows, they excrete where they stand.[79]

As unsupervised animals the "meere Irish" also wander. They inherited their nomadic culture from their ancestors, identified by William Camden as Tartarians and Scythians, who "...live in herds as they call them, being the very same that the Irish Bollies are, driving their cattle continually with them and feeding only on their milk and white meats."[80] Moryson finds further traces of their original Scythian culture in the women's headgear, "The wemen weare many yeardes of linnen vpon their heades, as the wemen doe in Turky" (which then incorporated what was Scythia).[81] Both races also wander morally, for they are

---

[75] Fols. 294, 295, 296.

[76] Fols. 657, 659.

[77] Fol. 657.

[78] Fol. 284.

[79] Fol. 662.

[80] *View*, p. 49. Eating red meat was a symbol of man's superiority over the beasts.

[81] Fol. 661.

very promiscuous and think nothing of bastardy.[82] It is an irony of history, that after his flight into Europe in 1607, Tyrone remained a wanderer. Long before that, he had been able to fool the English into thinking that he was settling down at Dungannon as a good subject by "building a fayre house, (which we hold a sure argument of faithfull hartes to the State)".[83]

The solution to this state of error and degeneracy is implied in the metaphors used. Like domestic animals, the Irish must be taught to "bear" by "bridle" and "yoke".[84] "...the Irish espetilly being by theire nature plyable to a harde hand, and Iadish when vpon the least pricking of prouender the bridle is lett loose vnto them", must be forced onto the right path.[85] Moryson was very much for repression to limit the "great liberty", of the Irish.[86] Better to tie the Irish to the land by tillage and leasehold and freehold, than let them wander from pasture to pasture.[87]

---

[82] Fols. 565, 660.

[83] Fol. 286.

[84] Fols. 294, 257, 278.

[85] Fol. 294.

[86] Fol. 653.

[87] Fol. 261.

What appals Moryson is that this process of degeneration to Irish beastliness can take a matter of weeks, and even affected the English army besieging the Spaniards in Kinsale in 1601.

> The Prouant Masters thus compounding with the Captaynes, they contented the Soldier, with a litle drincking mony which the *Irish* desyred rather then Clothes, not caring to goe halfe naked, by whose example some of the *English* were drawne to like barbarous basenes. Fol. 290.

To do this was "to fall to the barbarous Customes of the Irish" or "to fall to the Irish manners."[88] Of course the Irish were Papists, and the religious dimension of the word "fall" implicit above is made explicit where Moryson prescribes due punishments for those "that should fall from the knowne truth of the Reformed Religion to the Roman..."[89]

The solution that Moryson proposed was radical if not original. Something similar was suggested by Sir Nicholas Walsh fifty years earlier.[90] Moryson casts himself as the literary executor of the plans of his old master Lord Mountjoy.[91] Since everything degenerates in Ireland, a well

---

[88] Fols. 293, 294.

[89] Fol. 458.

[90] "Walshe advocated the establishment of several small, densely planted settlements which would be like the old Roman colonies economically and militarily self-sufficient." Brady, p. 32.

[91] Fol. 292. Nicholas Canny has demonstrated that these ideas were current from the time of Henry Sidney (the father of the poet), and three times Lord Deputy 1558 -

equipped cavalry unit loses men, horses and saddles within the year, even the cows become refractory and will not give milk unless coaxed, and warhorses become garrons that go lame on hard ground,[92] Moryson proposes a policy of segregation. The failure of the Munster plantation, where English and Irish had been together seemed to prove this essential by bitter experience. The policy of "reformation" in religion and manners is not to be pursued by fire and sword,[93]

> But because the Irish and English Irish were obstinate in Popish superstition, great care was thought fitt to be taken, that these newe Colonyes should consist of such men, as were most vnlike to fall to the barbarous Customes of the Irish, or the Popish superstition of Irish and English Irish so as no lesse Cautions were to be obserued for vniting them and keeping them from mixing with the other, then if these newe Colonyes were to be ledd to inhabitt among the barbarous Indians. Fol. 293.

This is frontier country, and the Irish are as dangerous as barbarous Indians. Yet good and civilized Protestants had a duty to perform with them both, what one critic has called a "cultural mission".[94] So good English and Dutch Protestant stock, "...honest gentlemen and husbandmen to inhabitt the Country, and honest Cittisens and marchants to

---

1559, 1565 - 1571, 1575 - 1578. See his *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565 - 1576* (Hassocks, 1976), passim.

[92] Fols. 289, 295; *Itinerary A*, II, 434, 436; Fol. 653.

[93] Fol. 457.

[94] Jonathan Hayes, *The Humanist as Traveler* (Cranbury, New Jersey, 1986), p. 14. George Sandys in Virginia was able to alternate from translating Ovid, to masterminding policy towards the natives, the Indians.

inhabitt the Cittyes, with wemen of good fame, and espetially learned and honest Preachers and ministers for them both.",[95] were to be planted in colonies easily accessible by "thorughfayres".[96] Meanwhile the "woodes and desert places" where the thieves wander were to be "shutt vp." The army should continue in peacetime until reformation were well established.[97]

What this represents is the psychology of the barrier, the barricade, and the exclusion zone. There is almost a fearful despair about this, for "nurture can never stick" on the Irish.[98] At best, it "might, in tyme".[99] Civility and civilization are something to be worked towards, and the degeneracy, error, idleness and incontinence that Moryson has seen in Ireland are so frightening because they challenge his own nature and assumptions. Moryson was, after all, an unemployed ex-wanderer or traveller who had a long time to brood on these things, and, if he kept to his own morality, as an unmarried man, he should never ever have engaged in sex. Better to deny any common humanity with the Irish and Indians, and think of them as truculent animals to be

---

[95] Fol. 293.

[96] Fol. 294.

[97] Fols. 294, 295.

[98] *The Tempest*, IV. 1. 189.

[99] Fol. 294.

repressed like difficult thoughts. For all his religious conviction, Moryson simply could not apply to the Irish the parable of the good Samaritan, Christ's answer to the lawyer's question, "And who is my neighbour?"[100] This attitude of separation, of a refusal of neighbourliness and a common humanity has borne bitter fruit from that time onwards.

Edmund Spenser who had made his home in Ireland ultimately produces a slightly less optimistic document than Moryson, who was writing after victory had been secured. He can respond with sympathy to the "sweet wit and good invention", if not to the content, of the songs of the Irish bards.[101] To Moryson the balladeers are "knaues to be strictly curbed".[102] For Spenser the Irish can be drawn from "...the former rudeness in which they were bred" for the civility of the settlers planted among them, "can soften and temper the most stern and salvage nature."[103] Commentators have pointed out that the above quotation is atypical in a stern document in which Eudoxius, an intelligent Englishman, concedes to Irenius the need for

---

[10] Luke 10. 29.

[101] *View*, p. 75.

[12] Fol. 259.

[103] *View*, p. 159.

force and violence.[104] Yet the point is that it is there, even if it is part of the contradiction that commentators have detected within Spenser's *View*. Contradiction is built into its very form, the dialogue, and its constant wandering from the question in debate only to brought back, a paradigm for how English rule should be imposed.[105]

Moryson's may seem a self-serving colonialist tract, but there is also a grain of idealism there. He has some understanding of the Irish Septs, the lords and their retinues and large kinship networks. They demand complete loyalty from all within them, whilst giving identity, protection and social position. He recognizes that something similar existed in England,

> This experience hath shewed of old, aswell in *England*, where the greatest Robberies were comonly done, by idle seruing men swarming in great houses, as in the more northern parts, and in // *Ireland*, where the multitude of loose Followers hath of old bene prone to fight their lords quarrells, yea to rebell with them. Fols. 260 - 261.

The failure of the Rebellion of the Northern Earls of 1569 seen in this context was the final blow to the old order in England, to what Lawrence Stone calls an open lineage

---

[104] Brady, p. 41.

[105] See Anne Fogarty, 'The Colonization of Language: Narrative Strategy in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* and *The Faerie Queene*, Book VI', in *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork, 1989), 75 - 108, (p. 82.)

kinship system.[106] The failure of two great Irish rebellions, Desmond's and Tyrone's, and the later reduction of the Scottish highlands can and should all be seen within this context. This period "...saw the decline of loyalties to lineage, kin, patron and local community as they were increasingly replaced by more universalistic loyalties to the nation state and its head, and to a particular sect or Church."[107] We can see these factors working in Moryson's narrative. What is loyalty to the Sept, and its lord, he sees as Irish servility to absolute petty tyrants.[108] With the coming of English judges garbed in new robes for further *gravitas*, the Irish lords can no longer make their "cuttings" or demands for money at will.

> ...the Iudges had taught the inferiour gentlemen and all the Common people, that they were not slaues but free men, owing only Rents to theire lords, without other subiection, since theire lordes as themselues were subiect to a Iust and powerfull king, whose sacred Maiestie at his great charg mantayned them his Iudges to giue equall Iustice to them both, with equall respect to the lordes and to them for matters of right. Fol. 279.

There is a hope in Moryson that there is a new start for the law in Ireland, even if it is balanced by fear that self serving sherrifs could subvert it.[109] The founding of

---

[106] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500 - 1800* (London, 1977), p. 91, and referred to hereafter as Stone.

[107] Stone, p. 7. I have already quoted this on p. lxii, but it is worth quoting again.

[108] Fol. 294.

[109] Fol. 260.

"the hopefull Colleg"[110] Trinity, to provide suitable Protestant preachers, was, in part, a reply to those who denigrated the almost complete lack of good Protestants to administer to the Irish.

To make the new order seem more natural, images of husbandry and planting are used. Spenser writes of reaping harvests, cutting corrupt branches and unwholesome boughs. Moryson takes up the metaphors,

> and in this meane tyme the meere *Irish* had taken such roote, and so ouert<o>pped the *English Irish*, as the sending of *English* Colonyes thether so long as the meere *Irish* remayned good Subiects, would rather haue disturbed then established peace. The first fayre occasion of planting newe *English* Colonyes there, was giuen in the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth* by two Rebellions... Fol. 266.

The solution for trees not getting enough light is to plant afresh in the right places, such as Ulster, away from obstuction (in this case the native Irish). Grennan observes of the *View* "Where metaphor falters as the agent of moral justification the text resorts to the indisputable rhetoric of fact uncomplicated by any moral considerations whatsoever".[111] This applies to Moryson also.

Four or five generations later, Jonathan Swift was to apply this logic to quite alarming effect. Moryson's work on Ireland in *Itinerary A* was reprinted at Dublin in 1735

---

[110] Fol. 460.

[111] Grennan, p. 109.

under the title *A History of Ireland from 1599 to 1603.* That there was no introductory comment is comment in itself that little had changed. It was left to Swift to try to satirize all of these attitudes out of existence by *A Modest Proposal.* To the innocent proposer, the Irish women were merely "breeders", "...forced to employ all their time in strolling...".[112] Yet these vagrant women could be of use to the commonweal - in the capacity of farm animals. They might provide plump sucking-babes which would grace any table, whether stewed, boiled, fried, or in a fricassee.

We can dissect the literary and rhetorical means by which justification of dispossession, violence and force is attempted. Like Swift, we are appalled by the greed and cynicism masking as civility. There is little doubt that the hatreds many Irishmen felt, and some still feel, against the English stem from this period. Yet to call Spenser's policy a holocaust or "final solution"[113], or for me to call Moryson's policy of segregation "apartheid",

---

[112] See Jonathan Swift, *Prose Works*, 12 vols, Bohn's Standard Library, (London, 1898 - 1908), VII (1905), 207, 208.

[113] William Palmer, 'That "Insolent Liberty": Honor, Rites of Power and Persuasion in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', *Renaissance Quarterly* 46. no. 2 (Summer 1993), 308 - 327, (p. 323). It is the second reference to Hitler in his article. As terrible as the English treatment was, it did not cost eight million Jewish lives. As such, the metaphor denigrates that enormity by grotesque overstatement.

would be, at best, to bring anachronistic perceptions to bear, and, at worst, to update the accumulated bitterness of history. Readers of the future will probably find us morally coarse in attitudes which we take for granted. In tempering our response to literature, we should scrutinize the text, and like historians also go beyond it "for other evidence which will assist...in determining the purpose of the author."[114] Shakespeare may be for all time, but he is also of his own age. A very minor writer like Moryson, is even more of his own age still, and when he is judged it must be with a sympathy informed by his temporal context, by his history and Protestant ideals. Moryson's value lies in casting more light and insight onto his times. Thus, when Moryson, and Spenser too, attempt to destroy the transhumance, the droving life in Ireland, it must be considered in its own context. Even that gentle soul St Thomas More wrote of the Utopians,

"They consider it a most just cause for war when a people does not use its soil but keeps it idle and waste nevertheless forbids the use and posses/sion of it to others who by the rule of nature ought to be maintained by it." Quoted by Canny, pp. 15 - 16.

This is not an attempt to excuse. It is an attempt to understand more. Understanding may eventually solve the problems associated with the divisions of Ireland that Moryson and his generation did so much to promote.

---

[114] Nicholas Canny, 'Introduction: Spenser and the Reform of Ireland', *Spenser and Ireland* (Cork, 1989) 9 - 24, (p. 10.), referred to hereafter as Canny.

7. "Apparrell" and Ceremony.

For Moryson religion was not a part of life, it was life itself, the mental framework within which he operated. So even those topics which a conscientious traveller should notice and remark upon, "apparrell" and ceremonies inevitably have a large religious dimension to them.

7.1 "Apparrell"

For many poor Europeans of this era, perhaps the majority, clothes were largely utilitarian. For the very poor, as many native Irish ground down by years of warfare, even utilitarian clothes soon became rags. Rags eventually fell away, exposing the body. To Moryson the gentleman, this was Irish beastliness. To be naked is to be shamed. That Knowledge came with the Fall. A man is not a man until he be decently clothed. Only then has he been brought to "civility".[1]

For Moryson, civility meant being well clothed within a highly stratified society where clothes were legible signs of that stratification. Rags signified destitution, the lowest rung of the social ladder. Rags, kerseys, serges, velvets and silks were all social signifiers, legible

[1] Fol. 294.

signs, for "...the apparrell in some sort shewes the man."[2] So Moryson justifies describing Mountjoy's wardrobe in his character sketch. Clothing declared much about individuals before they had even opened their mouths. Such initial impressions were crucial. Moryson notes of the Germans that "Generally they dispise humility in strangers, to whome a bigg looke and good suite of Apparrell add no small respect,"[3] particularly as the Germans themselves wore their plain clothes out, "The Parcimony of the Germans is singuler, spending sparingly if not basely, in theire apparrell, which is Commonly of Cloth, and playne stuffes, with litle or no lace, neuer imbrodered, and worne by them to the vttermost proofe, euen when it is greasy."[4]

Certainly, the mental and social confidence that handsome clothes conferred can hardly be overestimated. The Venetian state processions made such an impact on beholders partly because of the elaborate costumes. Frustrated of any return to political power under the Medici, Machiavelli would change after a day's hunting so that he might enter his study in the right frame of mind to think, to write and to

---

[2] *Itinerary A*, II, 262. Compare "For the apparel oft proclaims the man", Polonius in *Hamlet*, I. 3. 72.

[3] Fol. 461.

[4] Fol. 462.

commune with the Ancients.[5] In a similar attempt to influence thought, English judges in Ireland donned scarlet robes to impress onlookers with that gravitas which the English law, formerly so abused in Ireland, had lacked.[6]

Since these effects were so obvious and immediate, and the possibilities of deception so great, governments required immediate recognition and legibility of these portable signs, clothes. This was the aim of the welter of European sumptuary legislation from Venice to London. It manifested a fear of social mobility, and was an attempt to impose discipline on those with thoughts above their station. Naturally, those who made the rules were exempt from any such restrictions, being on the top rung of the social ladder.

For those not on the top rung, such rules of clothing were almost made to be broken. Only non-compliance can explain the constant reiteration of sumptuary legislation throughout Queen Elizabeth's reign. There was an idea that each stratum should keep to clothing proper to its station. Consequently, Moryson was scandalized by the Neapolitan Cortisans who "...hauing great and many louers growe proude

---

[5] Letter from Machiavelli to Francesco Vettori, 10 December 1513 reproduced in Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, translated by Robert M. Adams, second edition (New York, 1992), pp. 126 - 129.

[6] Fol. 280.

in apparrell, and rich in purse, and the nomber of harlotts was thought to exceed sixty thousand."[7] Moryson was not alone in being scandalized, and in Rome he notes how Sixtus V (1585 - 1590) issued edicts to curb their presumption.[8] If prostitutes breached decorum by being too well dressed, equally, so did certain rulers by not being magnificent enough. For Moryson, the sight of Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, King Sigismund of Poland, and Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany were all a disappointment. Only Henry IV of France and James I came up to his exacting expectations.

The welter of European legislation of this era did not only prohibit, but for some racial and religious groups actually mark them out by prescribing what was to be worn. "Apparrell" was an immediately readable sign of subordination and obedience. A uniform sign as a badge of religion, or of a subject or subjugated nation, or of lost freedom was to be donned compulsorily. Moryson notes that servants of the Turkish Emperor and Pope, including the Jesuits, were all given a uniform. Even the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople was forced to wear Turkish clothes as a slave, for his master paid tribute.[9] A uniform mark of identification had to be worn by Jews, and another

---

[7] Fol. 589.

[8] Fol. 183.

[9] Fol. 17. The tribute was often in arrears, and a term of the peace treaty of 1606 was its cessation.

by the Greeks, peoples often yoked together in the Renaissance imagination as decadent, or at the very least, as fallen from past glories due to their own fault.[10] Moryson notes of the Italian Jews, "They are allowed to liue in all Cittyes of Italy and haue greater priuileges in Piemont then in other partes, but in all these places they are tyed to weare a Redd or yellowe Capp, or more Commonly a litle bonett or hatt."[11] He goes on to complain that at Mantua the tuft of yellow silk was so small that it could be missed altogether. Similarly the Greek Orthodox in Ottoman Turkey who "...are vsed in all thinges as slaues, for distinction [have] party Collered Chasses [sashes] on theire heads...", as opposed to the Muslim turban.[12] The priest Giovanni Botero suggested that a good Catholic prince should extend such treatment to humiliate heretics "...their clothing must not be ostentatious and magnificent but abject, vile and wretched, for there is nothing that

---

[10] Compare "...there cannot be two more pregnant instances of the lubricity and instableness of Mankind than the decay of these two ancient Nations; the one the select people of God, the other the most famous that ever was for Arts, Arms, Civility, and Government..." James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 467 (25 July 1630).

[11] Fol. 665. These would be obvious props for a production of *The Merchant of Venice*.

[12] Fol. 356. On fol. 672 shasses are defined as Greek heargear "...vpon Cloth Capps [they] weare two or three yeardes of striped linnen like our barbars Apronns called Shasses..."

humbles men more than to be ill-dressed."[13]

These attempts at imposing legibility of signs by law or decree were sometimes turned on their head by rulers where factionalism could be immediately "...distinguished by diuers fashions, of wearing the hatt, / of drincking on diuers sydes of the Cupp, and the like, and by diuers signes worne, vpon the most visible partes of the body, and in diuers fashions, and vpon contrary sides of the body."[14] Moryson notes that Ferdinand I of Tuscany tried to ban these signs by law as part of a larger campaign against civic lawlessness, with some partial success.

As a conscientious traveller who should record details of costume, Moryson amasses them, and then attempts to go further in reading their significance. "Apparrell" proclaims the woman or man certainly, but also it proclaims their country, their loyalties and even national characteristics. This was particularly the case in Ireland where conquerors and conquered found cohesion and identity, what Moryson calls "...a generall bond of amity..."[15] in their respective clothes. These were the "outward signes

---

[13] Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956), p. 101.

[14] Fols. 586 - 587. These would be obvious props for any production of *Romeo and Juliet*.

[15] Fol. 261.

being tochstones of the inward affection".[16] Many of the English Irish "...infected with the barbarous Customes of the meere *Irish...*" adopted the long hair or *glibs*, and long cloaks of the natives.[17] Their clothes showed where their loyalties lay, as with the factions in Italian city-states.

With the French he takes his reading and interpretation of costume further still. Clothing affords an insight into the French character. Moryson states that it cannot

> ...be denyed that in apparell they are most inconstant, changing with most incredible ficklenes both stuffes & espetialy Fashions. For howsoeuer the Courtyers, when they weare rich Apparrell, doe also exceede therin (for they wilbe very rich or very playne) yet generally the variety, Changing, and quaintnes of fashion and ornaments, cost more then the stuffe. Nether doth any nation come neere them therein, except perhaps the English, who most followe the French fashions, and in most imitations commonly goe beyond their teachers. Fol. 637.

A visit to the early Stuart section of the National Portrait Gallery confirms Moryson's observation on the English. The pompoms on the footwear, the elaborate lace, and the richness of ornamentation manifest a gay excitement that charged James I's court in his latter years during Buckingham's ascendancy. Beyond other significances that it possesses, the style is "high camp", or excessive, going beyond gender differences into what Marjorie Garber calls "the state of desire", in this case the desire of James for

---

[16] Fol. 269.

[17] Fols. 261, 268.

his sweet "Steenie", Buckingham.[18] This encrypted message is as near as Moryson gets to censure of the English court. However, no such restraints hold him back with his interpretation of the clothing of Turks, Italians and Irish. In Ireland loose apparel indicates a moral laxity, "The bodyes of men and wemen are large for bignes and stature, because they are brought vp in liberty and with loose apparrell".[19] Turkish "Apparrell [is] easey", whilst Italian "looseness" is similarly manifest in their clothing.[20] A mark of civility is constraint within "the Taylors prison".[21]

Although Moryson was happy to read significances into the clothes of others, there were many times as a traveller when he wished his identity to be unreadable, or rather misread by disguise as something other than it was. A traveller must only to do this "...when necessity forceth."[22] Fearful of freebooters, Moryson deliberately dirtied himself and "dressed down" in Flanders in 1592, so that it would appear that he was not worth robbing. His

---

[18] Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York, 1992), referred to hereafter as Garber.

[19] Fol. 657.

[20] Fols. 578, 626.

[21] Fol. 578.

[22] *Itinerary A*, III, 410.

disguise was so effective that when he called on the family of a friend, his nerve failed him. He pretended to be his own servant.[23] When in Rome he dressed as a Frenchman, so as to escape notice when he went to interview the theologian Bellarmine at the Jesuits College.[24] On his visit to Milan, a Spanish possession, he also went *da francese*, dressed as a Frenchman. When he had a tour of the Danish navy riding in the harbour at Copenhagen, the English shipwright showing him round suggested that he dress as a merchant rather than as a gentleman or soldier to avoid any problems of security.[25] The only time that Moryson's disguise failed to convince was when his silk stockings gave him away. A servingmaid caught a glimpse of them below his linen, so he was given a comfortable bed instead of the bench formerly offered.[26]

Moryson would doubtless have justified his disguises in terms of his personal safety. The sumptuary legislation mentioned above was really aimed at those with what were considered less noble motives, such as the ambition to climb. In England there seemed to be a large market in second hand clothing. It was a common bequest in wills.

---

[23] *Itinerary A*, I, 79 - 80.

[24] *Itinerary A*, I, 304.

[25] Fol. 532.

[26] *Itinerary A*, I, 85.

Moryson bequeathed his, apart from his best cloak, to his servant, Isaac Pywall.[27] Thomas Platter, the traveller, states that the actors were easily able to pick up aristocratic cast-offs from servants who were forbidden to wear such finery.[28] In countries other than England, the Jews controlled the second handmarket selling what Moryson calls "all kyndes of fripery wares."[29]

There were only two exceptions which made second hand clothes unacceptable. The first was if the previous owner had died of the plague. The health implications make this easy to understand. The second is perhaps more surprising. To be touched by the common hangman was the equivalent of a social plague, an incurable social disease. Hence the disgrace of books being burnt by the common hangman in England. Moryson also notes this loathing in Denmark, Germany, France and the Italian States.[30] In a fine little tale of deception and misogyny, Moryson records how a

---

[27] See Appendix 3.

[28] Quoted in Garber, p. 35. Before travelling English actors were to perform for him, Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel ordered "...that old apparell,/ weapons, armour and clothes that are in our possession should be graciously dispatched for the performance of a comedy about ancient potentates." Quoted in Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company: English Players in Central and Eastern Europe, 1590 - 1660* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 20 - 21.

[29] Fol. 665. Even until this century there was a large Jewish presence in what is still called "the rag trade".

[3] Fols. 239, 309, 585, 182.

haughty courtesan in Vicenza set such a high price upon herself, that the scorned suitors clubbed together with both money and clothes so that the hangman, suitably enriched and disguised, might enjoy her. The next morning, the former suitors took back their clothes, throwing them onto the fire, thus revealing the naked truth. Now socially untouchable, the courtesan was never seen again.[31]

With these two exceptions in mind, it can be said that there was a ready market of second hand clothes, or false signs for those who wished to deceive. Moryson changed class and country. In Italy at certain times, it was even possible to change sex,

> This Carnauall is a most licentious tyme, wherein men and wemen walke the streetes in Companyes all the afternoones, and sometymes (espetially towardes the end of that tyme) also in the mornings, excepting only fryday in the after noone, hauing their faces masked, and the men in wemens, wemen in mens apparrell at theire preasure [pleasure]." Fol. 625.

Not only was this restricted to certain times, but it was considered unseemly for aristocratic women to cross dress, for they were at the top of the social ladder. However, it was acceptable for those lower down,

> The Harlotts called *Cortisane* commonly weare dobletts and Breches vnder their wemens gownes, yea I haue seene some of them (as at *Paduoa*) goe in the Company of young men to the Tennis-Court in mens Apparrell and Racketts in their handes, most Commonly wearing doblets and Hose of Carnatian Satten, with gold buttons from the Chinne round to the wast behinde, and silke stockings...." Fol. 629.

---

[31] Fol. 182.

Sexual motives were often behind the use of such disguises, particularly in Italy. Moryson records how the Italians never shut their doors,

> So as my selfe walking with an Italian in a gallerye where two English gentlemen entring their chamber shutt the dore close after them, he asked me if the younger were not a woman in mans apparrell, and gaue the shutting of their dore for a reason of his suspition." Fol. 594.

There were a few other exceptional occasions when Moryson met those who were cross-dressed. He saw barefoot women dressed as friars walking to Rome as a penance.[32] In the Netherlands, some women wore breeches to keep out the biting winds from the North Sea.[33] For Moryson, the Dutch ladies really wore the trousers, dominating their elder brothers, transacting trade, and only allowing their husbands drinking money,[34] whereby, as Edmund Spenser said in another context,"...it appeareth that there is not a little in the garment to the fashioning of the mind and conditions."[35]

So perhaps the English Puritans who objected to the theatre really had a point after all. God had given actors their lowly estate, and they were pretending to be something that

---

[32] *Itinerary A*, I, 308.

[33] Fol. 528.

[34] Fol. 527.

[35] Quoted from Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* edited by W. L. Renwick, (Oxford, 1970), p. 70.

they were not. God had given them their own clothes and they borrowed those of their betters. God had given them one face and they had made themselves another. I am not suggesting that Moryson was a Puritan. Nevertheless, that climate of thought was able to give an intellectual and theological underpinning to the widespread disdain for actors, which, I will later suggest, was in Moryson's case essentially an emotional reaction.

7.2. Ceremony and Rituals.

It would be almost impossible to overestimate the importance of ceremonies and ritual behaviour in which Moryson both participates and records at length. Ceremonies are personal and biological, the rites of passage in birth, christening, churching, marrying, dying, and committal of the body. They are also, on a larger scale, the ceremonies of communities, universities and states.

In Moryson's English, "ceremony" from the Latin *cærimonia* implies religious observances, although in modern English it has a more secular feel than a later word "ritual", which we would tend to think of as repetitive religious acts. I use the words virtually interchargeably because religion was not a part of life for Moryson. It is worth emphasising yet again that it was life itself. Virtually all his activities were conducted within a framework of

religion. So in recording all of these types of "ceremony" as he calls them, Moryson is acknowledging their religious as well as secular importance, and their deep significance to him and to his contemporaries throughout Europe.

Religion in sixteenth century Europe also bound the personal and the social, intersecting both. Moryson seems to have engaged on a gourmet's guide to European religion. What vestments are worn, or shed, whether bread and wine are given or denied, and to whom exactly, are scrupulously noted. Like a Shakespearean play, nothing is redundant. Each detail is charged with significance. In every ritual, little has been left to chance, because its structure and repetition, like the passing of seasons, give comfort in a dangerous and changing world.

In this period, too few ever reached the Biblical three score and ten. Motherhood was a particularly dangerous state. The example of the Virgin Mary, the pattern of all motherhood, recuperating from Christmas Day until Candelmas or "lying in" for about six weeks was the desired norm in most European countries that Moryson visited. Moryson registers his surprise when one of the camp followers in Ireland, delivered and then walked six miles to the next camp.[36] Yet even for those who could afford to do so, the

---

[36] Fol. 659.

precaution of "lying in" did not necessarily help. The forceps had yet to be invented, and obstetrics and paediatrics in the modern sense did not exist. In this connection, it is worth quoting Lawrence Stone,

> It is impossible to stress too heavily the impermanence of the Early Modern family, whether from the point of view of husbands and wives, or parents and children. None could reasonably expect to remain together for very long, a fact which fundamentally affected all human relationships. Death was a part of life, and was realistically treated as such.[37]

This death in life, and life in death, (the Christian paradox) was manifested in the appallingly high maternal death rate.[38] Sometimes the mother dies so that the child might live.

These hard facts of nature were replicated symbolically, as in the ritual slaughter of beasts for eating of the Venetian *Carnevale*,[39] and in peasant festivals in France,

---

[37] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500 - 1800* (London, 1977), p. 81. I appreciate that I am extrapolating English evidence and applying it to Europe, but I would not expect death rates to be wildly different, although there may be local irregularities due to the incidence of plague or influenza, as demonstrated in Professor Pullan's article showing how Venetian building workers' wages kept their real value due to labour shortages following the plague of 1576. See Brian Pullan, 'Wage-Earners and the Venetian Economy 1550 - 1630' in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy* (London, 1968), pp. 146 - 174.

[38] J. R. Hale quotes a figure of 5%, which in an age of multiple births is high. It may have been a factor in Elizabeth I's decision not to marry. See *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1993), p. 439.

[39] Fol. 618.

(which Moryson did not stay to see, having been robbed.)[40] Beasts die so that humanity might live on. Farewell to the flesh, *Carnevale* also became in Boccaccio's pun *carne levare*, the phallus with its fertile potential.[41] Moryson was duly scandalized by celebrations in the Italian states, tut-tutting "This Carnauall is a most licentious tyme..."[42] Prostitutes cross-dressed, not just for those with esoteric tastes, but as part of the temporary inversion and misrule that *Carnevale* represented. It was advisable to book the courtesans in advance as at *Carnevale* they could not be easily obtained without prior reservation.[43] For a while, sexual "death", the seventeenth century metaphor for sexual climax, cheats the grim reaper. Love and death were truly conjoined in an age when syphilis was a scourge. This guying of death held its fear, if not death itself, at bay.[44]

After the death itself, the funeral is strictly for the living. Only Catholics with their superstition and

---

[40] Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), p. 175, referred to as Muir hereafter. For Moryson's descriptions see fols. 618, 619.

[41] Professor Kenneth Pennington cited in Muir, p. 178n.

[42] Fol. 625.

[43] Fols. 396, 426, 625.

[44] See Philippe Ariès, *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1975), pp. 105 - 108. He feels that death in this period became suffused with eroticism.

indulgences believe otherwise. So it was natural for Moryson to look in on the passing show at marriages, christenings and funerals, on his travels. He would have noted what was different, distinct and unusual. What was then current English practice would not be remarkable, and would possibly be left unrecorded.

The English of that period were, by current standards, obsessed with death. It is not without significance that of the plays that dealt with contemporary political events, Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, George Chapman's Biron plays and John Fletcher's and Philip Massinger's *The Tragedy of Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt* all culminate in death. John Donne's poetry, prose and sermons, and his wearing of his shroud were all a progression towards death. The elaborate funerary monuments in every church, and the continual passing bells for the sick, were constant reminders of mortality. Only funerals for the rich in Venice were comparable to the English in elaboration and pomp, which may have been a further reason why Englishmen felt more at home in Venice than anywhere else on the Italian peninsular. Only for suicides was due form not observed. Even in such cases, Moryson was appalled when compassion was not shown.[45]

---

[45] Fol. 309.

Moryson deprecates the fact that a fitting monument for William the Silent had yet to be built by the Dutch.[46] The passing bell, for those passing from corruption to the incorruptible, was an Anglican institution, and he also deprecates the fact that no other nation uses it.[47] Moryson's own brother-in-law, George Alington, whose son and grandson predeceased him, left each of his legatees a death's head ring, with the motto *Sum quod eris.*[48] All demonstrate a ready acceptance of death's inevitability and ubiquity. Where this is not shown, and grief gets the better of the relations of the deceased, as with a ceremony at Prague, Moryson calls it "...foolish lamentation." God's will has been done. Who can be so impious, impudent and stupid as to argue with that? Temporal considerations, "...that he wanting nothinge to a happy life, would thus forsake them," are missing the point. Yet Moryson, essentially a kind man, is not without sympathy, ending the account on a pathetic note,"...and the litle Chilldren could hardly be pulled from imbracing the dead father."[49]

Unless death were sudden, making a fine end, as Hostess Quickly assures us Falstaff did, was part of death's

---

[46] Fol. 526.

[47] Fols. 450, 625.

[48] "I am what you will be". For Alington's bequests see Hughes, p. xxiii.

[49] Fols. 543, 544.

didactic purpose.[50] In lamenting his wife, Donne explains what that purpose is,

> Here the admiring her my mind did whet
> To seek thee God; so streams do shew the head...[51]

The death-scene itself was a part that the dying person had to play to an audience of relatives and neighbours. Donne anticipates a wry attempt at this ritual in 'The Will'.[52] The need to write a will, to accept that life will go on, to make adequate provision for one's relations and friends, and to give some charitable bequests was all part of this.[53]

Then there were great set-piece death scenes of public executions. (Almost by definition, these were of lower class persons, for gentlemen and nobles were normally beheaded in relative privacy, with only their peers as onlookers.) It was particularly didactic if the condemned wretch took the church's comfort, spoke a few inspiring last words, and wished longevity on the monarch under whose

---

[50] *Henry V*, II. 3. 11.

[51] Divine Meditations, Sonnet 17, in John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 316.

[52] John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 90 - 91. He bequeaths "My silence to any, who abroad hath been".

[53] See Christopher Marsh, 'In the name of God? Will-making and faith in Early Modern England', in *The Records of the Nation the Public Record Office 1838 - 1988* (Woodbridge, 1990), 215 - 249 (p. 248).

laws he or she was about to suffer. The drama was prolonged and even relived in pamphlets and verbal repetition. Moryson is so pleased with the Venetian punishment of blasphemers, that he repeats the story.[54] In this sense death was a common recreation, witnessed, read and heard by many over and over again. Even the place of death was worth a mention to a conscientious traveller. In Paris Moryson notes that he had been to the "Greve".[55] The Swiss traveller, Thomas Platter notes that on the centre of London Bridge there were more than thirty skulls of former eminent traitors stuck on tall stakes.[56] He also notes that during the law-terms, Tyburn was kept busy. "Rarely does a law day in London in all the four sessions pass without some twenty to thirty persons - both men and women - being gibbetted."[57] Moryson concurs in this judgment, "... more persons are executed in England for stealing and Roberyes by the high way, then in many vast kingdomes, abroade..."[58] Bodies rotting on gibbets, and heads impaled on stakes, were a common sight and constant reminder in Shakespeare's Europe of death, the prince's displeasure, and the

---

[54] See Fols. 184 - 185, 425.

[55] *La Place de la Grève*. See *Itinerary A*, I, 407.

[56] Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, translated by Clare Williams (London, 1937), p. 155, referred to hereafter as Platter.

[57] Platter, p. 174.

[58] Fol. 649.

penalties of the law.

Yet even Moryson was appalled by the exotic manner of public death in the Turkish empire. There was flaying, after which the tanned remains would be filled with straw as a grisly reminder. There was *kazik* where the condemned was impaled through the fundament until the stake came out of the front, and what he calls, after the French, *Gancher*, impaling on a spike.[59] However, within Christian Europe, Moryson records these matters with an observer's detachment. When, in the section on the German states, he mentions that it might be better to mitigate the torture of having every bone broken upon the wheel, than making the wretch drunk before the execution, it is most difficult to register which he disapproves of more, the inebriation or the torment.[60] The mode of punishment or execution was meant to instruct. The English roaring boys (gangs of youths whose exuberance could quickly turn to violence and blasphemy) may well have jostled and frightened an older man as Moryson was by this time. He remembers their equivalents in Venice and the city-state of Lucca, and applauds the summary banishment and justice meted out to

---

[59] Fol. 41.

[6] Fol. 316.

them.[61] In Venice, the blasphemers were mutilated at the places where their outrages were committed, "...thereby cleansing the scene of the crime."[62] In a "calculated ritual response", their hands which had committed various crimes were severed, the offending members becoming ritual objects of purification.[63] Severing hands was considered a particularly appropriate response to the sins of manual workers. Their bodies were burnt as a warning to all beholders of the hell-fire awaiting those who might be tempted into similar outrages. Symbols, like beauty, are in the eye of the beholder. What use the brain makes of them, depends on the channels of thought in which it is used to run. What Moryson missed in his enthusiasm for Venetian justice was that the Venetian state was also sending messages to the Papacy. Whatever the difficulties in their relationship, the Venetians were still good Catholics, a point that was to elude some of the more enthusiastic Protestant staff in the English embassy there during the Paul V's Interdict of 1605 - 1607. They hoped Venice might break from Rome.[64]

---

[61] See fol. 144 for Lucca, and fols. 184 - 185, and 425 for Venice. Leonard Bernstein's adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* works so well because the scene is set among modern America's equivalent of the roaring boys.

[62] Muir, p. 247.

[63] Muir, p. 245.

[64] See John Leon Lievsay, *Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi And Some of His English Friends (1606 - 1700)* (Kansas, 1973), passim. The Interdict arrived the day the Doge died,

As princes and states began to widen their field of activity beyond the due execution of the law, collection of taxes, and waging of war, so communities of scholars were happy to meet, to honour, and to take the patronage of lay rulers or high-ranking members of the state. Moryson records how the Orange family, leaders of the war in the struggle against Spain, liked to be consulted about the senior appointments at Leiden University. So did the Elector of Saxony consider appointments at Wittenberg.[65] The latter took such an interest as even to punish the negligent.[66] Moryson explains how this symbiotic relationship works,

> But if it happen that any Baron or Prince be Student in the Vniversity, they vse to chuse him Rector for the yeare, and he vseth to chuse for his Prorector or Substitute, him who by order and course should haue otherwise beene Rector that yeare, so as the Baron or Prince hath the honor, and his Substitute the Profitt and administration of the office, to whome also at the yeares end, the Baron or Prince vseth to giue a Present (as a peece of plate) for his paynes in that Substitution. Fol. 472.

The prince would often grant privileges and even exemption from certain tolls to the university and its students because it had honoured him. The rituals and processions, what Moryson calls "pompe of Ceremonyes", elevated the patron, the university and even the city in which the

---

Christmas Day 1605. The delays consequent on his death meant that Venetians did not know they were officially interdicted until 1606, which is why it is sometimes dated as 1606.

[65] See fols. 522 and 472.

[66] Fol. 473.

university was situated. At Leiden some of the burghers came to a degree congregation, although they were not particular friends of the candidate. The ceremony of making a doctor at Leiden has a ritual and symbolism which Moryson records and interprets for the uninitiated.[67] There is less pomp than in Germany, where trumpeteers herald the procession. The universities borrowed some royal pomp and ceremony with royal licence. Across Europe, whilst the individual customs of individual universities might differ, rulers whose ancestors had been mere warlords, were now happy to extend state ritual to encourage a liaison with learning. This was to the mutual benefit of students, academics and the rulers themselves.

Rituals of state are most obvious in some momentous occasion as a coronation. Moryson probably participated in that of James I in the entourage of his master Charles Blount, the Earl of Devonshire. He certainly mentions it in his section on England. The "guilded halberd" that he bequeathed to Master William Ireland was an old fashioned weapon by 1630. It may have been used as a ceremonial weapon in guards of honour, just as swords are today. Moryson's brother Richard, the Master of the Ordinance, would have been well placed to give him some ceremonial

[67] Fols. 523 - 524.

work, although I have no proof that he did.[68]

As a spectator, he records the official view that the institution wishes to project, for festivities and ceremonies are essentially conservative, as was Moryson himself.[69] The Venetian oligarchy ensured that the official view was the only one given representation, so much so that "...the ducal procession was the constitution."[70] Moryson was so impressed by what he saw in Venice, that he transcribes pages and pages from Sansovino's descriptions of the doge's special processions to church on festive days throughout the year. They were detailed displays of the hierarchy of power. They imposed an official sanctity on the state, that the virulent quarrels of the factions of *giovani* and *vecchi* could not undermine. Where such

---

[68] On 25 July 1619 Richard was given "280l 15s for 200 gilt javelins and 241 gilt halberts for the Yeoman of the Guard and Wardens of the Tower." *CSP Domestic 1619 - 1623*, p. 66. Fynes may well have been one of the recipients.

[69] This is the case even where a Lord of Misrule inverts the normal social order for a specified time. Once the time has expired, the "natural" order is reasserted, and the resentments of the lower orders are dissipated until the next special season. A review of carnival and misrule theory from Mikhail Bakhtin onwards, and of Le Roy Ladurie's famous study of the Carnival of 1580 at Romans is given in Michael D. Bristol, *Carnival and Theatre: Plebian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York, 1985) pp. 3 - 53. Moryson's own conservatism can be seen in his patriarchalism.

[70] Muir, p. 190. The frequent Venetian rituals imposed an official unity on a state where splits in the oligarchy between the "*vecchi*" and the "*giovani*", the pro and anti Spanish groups could have otherwise threatened stability.

festivities were not under official control, fines and punishments could be imposed. Such unregulated festivities were proscribed as "temptations to vice".[71]

On a less dramatic scale, those state everyday rituals when a ruler processes about a palace, or simply eats, probably symbolize as much as a set piece occasion. Only Henry IV of France, and James I came up to Moryson's exacting expectations of what a monarch should be. He expected the life of a monarch to be ritualized. Thus he was disappointed that the Emperor Rudolph II, neither looked the part in his ordinary clothes, nor did the servants pay the reverence to the state chair that he would have anticipated.[72] Of course, Rudolph's own character may have precluded much reverence. When Moryson saw the future Queen of France, she was just niece to Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany. He saw her go to church with only the Duchess, one maid and two dwarfs, a visual metaphor of a stunted ritual.[73] Moryson felt that the Italian princelings simply did not

---

[71] Fol. 223.

[72] Fol. 485. Contrary to Moryson's expectations of royal display, Botero suggests to the Prince in the chapter 'How to Preserve Reputation', "Let his apparel be sober rather than gaudy, and ordinary rather than elaborate." Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956), p. 57, and referred to hereafter as Botero, *State*. However, Botero was writing for mere Italian princelings, who in Moryson's eyes hardly count.

[73] Fol. 139.

know what it was to have a magnificent court. "Yet no doubt they of all Nations can worst iudge what it is to keepe a plentifull house, or a Princes Court and trayne." [74] The lack of courtiers, the lack of elaboration, and of ritual, at the court of upstart Medici was something rather shocking.

For Moryson ritual and ceremony should be associated with religious observance, the rites of passage of ordinary lives, and with displays of power by potentates. The only time that he loses patience with ceremony is when ordinary Germans make tedious orations for no special occasion before overdrinking "harty draughts".[75] Overuse debases its effect.

One of its crucial effects is to separate rulers from the ruled. This is particularly true when dealing with the Irish. Moryson constantly uses images of the Irish as a species of truculent animals. Ceremony is a way of distancing, of setting bounds between the English and their civility, and the Irish and their barbarity.

Authority could be reinforced by perception and informal controls, and both sides, but especially the English in Ireland, made extensive use of the symbols, rituals, images, and ideas essential to / the exercise of power and authority, not only to inculcate the Irish but to sustain

[74] Fol. 145.

[75] Fol. 485.

their own fading spirits as well.[76]

Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone knew the English well, having been brought up in an Anglo-Irish family. He knew also the Sidney family. The poet's father had three terms as Lord Deputy.[77] As the barbarian youths brought up in ancient Rome proved to be its most effective enemies, so Tyrone proved with the English. He could play, and, for a while, beat them at their own game. On 13 July 1601 he even mounted a ceremonial march past the assembled English forces near Blackwater, flying the English colours captured at the battle of Yellow Ford, and with drums playing. Partly imitating, partly parodying, Tyrone then disappeared into the woods.[78] Ultimately, superior English resources and generalship began to alter the balance. Left with little else after defeat, the ladies of great Irishmen would make water even "...in the Rushes of the Presence Chamber at Dublin..."[79] Moryson seems to regard this as an Irish form of sprainting, further proof of Irish bestiality. However,

---

[76] William Palmer, 'That "Insolent Liberty": Honor, Rites of Power and Persuasion in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', *Renaissance Quarterly* 46. no. 2 (Summer 1993), 308 - 327, (pp. 325 - 326).

[77] The actual dates of Sidney's appointement were 12 December 1558 - 3 July 1559, 13 October 1565 - 1 April 1571, but he was back in England from 1568, and 5 August 1575 - 27 April 1578. See Sir F. Maurice Powicke, and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, second edition, (London, 1961).

[78] *Itinerary A*, II, 409 - 410.

[79] Fol. 662.

I suspect that this was urinating with a vengeance in the ceremonial centre of the English establishment. It placed the English in a double bind. This was symbolic defiance that could not be punished without recognizing that the Irish were more than the animals that the English so often thought them to be.

At the end of the campaigns, Tyrone was literally brought to his knees. Moryson was instrumental in humiliating the defeated and despairing man on 30 March 1603. Queen Elizabeth died on 24 March, and the Lord Deputy's commission expired with her, for he represented her person. Three days later, when the momentous news arrived, Moryson intercepted the bearer, promising him a knighthood via Mountjoy if he would only keep quiet. If the news had leaked it "...might cause new combustions..."[80] Tyrone could have claimed that he was undefeated, and in voluntarily submitting to King James have driven up the price of peace. When Tyrone knelt for over an hour before Mountjoy at Mellifont, his symbolic humiliation must have gone some way to redress the misery that the English felt he had caused. When told that the Queen had died, Tyrone burst into tears.[81] Further humiliations were in store, for he then had to resubmit to King James. He even had to be

---

[80] *Itinerary A*, II, 298.

[81] *Itinerary A*, III, 304.

placed under armed escort when travelling to London, because of attacks by enraged widows and orphans. As always, war has its victims on every side.

Thus Moryson was able to record, participate and even manipulate rituals, ceremonies and processions. Modern commentators have thought that Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* or *All is True* somewhat static. For contemporaries the appeal of those processions and ceremonies culminating in trial, coronation, and Queen Elizabeth's christening would have amply compensated.

Of course, Henry VIII was an actor. Sir Henry Wotton's account of the play "...sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous.", is the very antithesis of the distancing effect of true state ceremony.[82] Small wonder that Moryson, who resented the intrusive questioning of the Germans on his travels, and who kept himself safe by silence, and who set a distance between himself as a scholar and gentleman and the rest should be annoyed by the way actors seemed to be able confound social division.

---

[82] Quoted in E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923), II, 419.

8. Shakespeare's Europe Revisited?

8.1. Historical Restraint.

At first glance, it may appear that Fynes Moryson has little to do with the drama of this period. I have adopted Hughes's title of *Shakespeare's Europe* only in the temporal sense that Moryson was travelling during the life of the dramatist, and that he was revisiting the scenes of his youth two decades later when he came to write up the *Itinerary*.

There used to be a 'must have' school of Shakespearean philosophy now largely confined to older text books and amateurs with an enthusiasm such as heraldry or hawking. The argument runs that Shakespeare 'must have' been to Italy, or 'must have' been a herald or fowler or whatever other obsession that the particular writer wishes to foist upon him. The burden of proof has to remain with that particular writer. What can be said with certainty is that the explosion of knowledge from the busy printing presses of Europe, combined with discussion and manuscript and book circulation, what I have previously called the intellectual currency of the age, would enable an enquiring mind to find out the most recondite facts and ideas. Even Moryson's work, "...translated into English, and that in divers Copies..." may well have been circulating widely before its

publication.[1]

Yet a generalized term such as intellectual currency should not be a *carte blanche* for foisting our eccentric modernist enthusiasms onto the past. To put this another way, it is necessary to practise historical restraint. It is a truism that literary critics and historians inevitably cannot help writing themselves into the past. Victorian views of Shakespeare or Tudor England are very different from ours. In this sense, the title of the famous work by Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* can apply to every age.[2] Historians with their emphasis on questioning sources and their overall historical perspective are perhaps more aware of this than some literary critics. I have found it disquieting that some academic historians reject new historicism and cultural materialism as something of a joke. For literary critics, history should be regarded less as a storehouse to be raided than as a constraint to temper their wilder flights of anachronistic fantasy. This constraint can only work if literary critics have a solid historical grounding in all aspects of the society which produced the literature of which they write. For authors, not being gods, do not just rise up like Pallas out of the head of Zeus, fully formed, fully socialized, and ready for

---

[1] *Itinerary A*, I, xxi.

[2] Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, translated by Boleslaw Taborski, second edition (London, 1967).

action. If that were the case, sociologists and historians have been wasting their time. One famous critic who questioned these links has obligingly proved that there really is "...a history in all men's lives/ Prefiguring the nature of the times deceased."[3]

So for a literary critic interested in other texts, Moryson's value lies in manifesting what an educated man of Shakespeare's era might think. I shall take three examples of where historical restraint might have improved, and would certainly have altered the conclusions of some criticism of the last decade.

When Kathleen McCluskie writes that *King Lear* is unamenable to feminist discourse, the only surprise should be if it were. Even though he suffered under and resented the system, Moryson also repeats patriarchal truisms where the eldest son takes all. Shakespeare is a patriarchal bard because he lived in a patriarchal society. Disobedience to the father is disobedience to the king. In Shakespeare's play they are the same person, and disruption and civil war

---

[3] *II Henry IV*, III. 2. 75 - 76. Paul de Man's critical endeavour can be read as a specious attempt to drain significance from the anti-Semitism of his youth. See *Contemporary Literary Criticism* edited by Robert Con Davis and Ronald Schleifer, third edition (New York, 1994), pp. 93 - 108.

inevitably follow.[4]

Jonathan Dollimore characterizes the two decades of the 1590s and 1600s as those in which the belief of providence among playwrights in general disintegrated.[5] So is Fynes Moryson a religious freak? The *Books and Readers* series of doctorates encouraged by the University of Birmingham's Shakespeare Institute demonstrate that over this period about half of all books published were of a religious nature.[6] So, if Dollimore were correct, why were the dramatists so out of step with the society in which they moved, and which provided their audience? Why was Middleton's *A Game at Chess* so popular at the height of the furore over the Spanish Match? Surely Dollimore's interpretation is eccentric. He may be projecting what seems to be his own godlessness and radical cynicism

---

[4] See Kathleen McCluskie, 'The Patriarchal Bard' in *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, edited by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester, 1985), pp. 88 - 108, and J. P. Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England 1603 - 1640* (London, 1986), pp. 27 - 34, which deal with 'Patriarchalism'.

[5] Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, second edition (Hemel Hempstead, 1989), pp. 81 - 108. This view has a distinguished pedigree stretching back to the grand old man of Shakespearean criticism, A. C. Bradley, who wrote something similar in *Shakespearean Tragedy*, second edition (London, 1905), p. 17, "The Elizabethan drama was almost wholly secular..." by which he seems to mean that the gods do not intervene actively.

[6] Definitions may differ slightly, but in each of the years studied, the figure is plus or minus a few percentage points of fifty.

backwards. He may be on surer ground with Marlowe, but the setting of the plays of Fulke Greville in Imperial Turkey, under what Moryson, following Aristotle's political analysis, calls a tyranny of the worst type, without legitimation and doomed to ultimate collapse, means that care should be taken before extrapolating any lessons for England. Indeed, Joan Rees's biography of Greville includes a quotation where Greville specifically denies any such connection.[7]

Terry Eagleton locates his *William Shakespeare* firmly in the late twentieth century. So the witches in *Macbeth* are heroical radical feminist separatists, who in sliding the signifiers subvert the pious self - deceptions of a society based on routine oppression and warfare. For Eagleton, "...it is difficult to read Shakespeare without feeling that he was almost certainly familiar with the writings of

---

[7] "My purpose in them was, not (with the Ancient) to exemplifie the disastrous miseries of mans life, where Order, Lawes, Doctrine, and Authority are unable to protect Innocency from the exorbitant wickednesse of power, and so out of that melancholike / Vision, stir horrour, or murmur against Divine Providence: nor yet (with the Moderne) to point out Gods revenging aspect upon every particular sin, to the despaire, or the confusion of mortality; but rather to trace out the high waies of ambitious Governours, and to show in the practice, that the more audacity, advantage, and good successe such Soveraignties have, the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruine." Virtually all Christian writers concerned with the Turks in this period join with Greville in predicting their collapse. See Joan Rees, *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554 - 1628: A Critical Biography* (London, 1971), pp. 140 - 141. This book is not in Dollimore's bibliography.

Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Wittgenstein // and Derrida."[8]

Probably he was more familiar with the writings of Ovid, Plutarch, Montaigne, Holinshed and Caesar. The drama of this period stimulates these three critics coming from their differing perspectives to rewrite it after their own image. Like Coleridge seeing a little of himself in Hamlet, they are ultimately talking more about themselves than the drama that they study, which is why they write with such seductive facility and *brio*. Shakespeare should not be a peg on which to hang up our obsessions. To help redress the balance it is necessary to be more boring, to look not at endless permutations of oneself, but at the period at large, and particularly at what minor and conventional writers have to say. John Tosh repeats what Lucien Febvre the co - founder with Marc Bloch of the hugely influential *Annales* school of historians first wrote in 1938, that "...the worst kind of historical anachronism is psychological anachronism - the unthinking assumption that the mental framework with which people interpreted their experience in earlier periods was the same as our own."[9] Historians are as much trapped in their time as those they

---

[8] Terry Eagleton, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1986), pp. ix - x.

[9] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Method and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, second edition (London, 1991), p. 103.

study, but they usually go beyond their texts to challenge and modify their views with other contemporary evidence. Literary critics would do well to copy them. When they do, as with E. M. W. Tillyard's *The Elizabethan World Picture*, their work can dominate criticism for years.[10] Shakespeare was of his own age, as well as for all time. Ultimately, the work of critics and historians however well rounded will always be superseded, because there can never be a definitive version, only more light in the darkness, for we only know in part. That granted, it is still worth the extra effort.

It remains for me to make some connections between the observations that I have previously made on Moryson, with the drama of his period. It appears that there is no mechanical or dialectical connection between literature and the society from which it derives, but rather what Aram Veeser calls the "surprising coincidences" of their messy commingling.[11] I shall be offering no over-arching framework, no theory of colonization, but rather those modest circumstantial glosses which can flesh out our knowledge and our acquaintance with the period.

---

[10] Tillyard overstated his case and seemed to think society more homogenous than it probably was or is, but he was writing in the middle of World War II when Britain had a unified sense of purpose and direction.

[11] *The New Historicism*, edited by H. Aram Veeser (London, 1989), pp. xii, xiii.

8.2. Circumstantial Glosses.

8.2.1. Classicism, Imitation and Innovation.

The prestige of the classics was such that virtually all writers felt constrained by them. As has already been discussed, Moryson looked to the classical writers first, and then to others. When Ben Jonson handled classical history, he consciously reined in his imagination in *Sejanus, His Fall* and *Catiline, His Conspiracy*. For added authenticity, he even notes in the margin where he has taken information from Suetonius or Sallust or other classical sources. One of the actors in these plays who was undaunted by the Classical heritage was Shakespeare.

He used the doubly distorting mirror of North's translation from the French of Plutarch's original Greek, unlike Moryson or Jonson. Although Jonson put Shakespeare in his place by referring to his "small *Latine*, and lesse *Greeke*" in his commendatory verses in the First Folio, the fact is that Shakespeare still had considerably more than most experts working on this period today. Possibly his first play, *The Comedy of Errors* is a free adaptation from Plautus's *Menaechmi*. No great respecter of the classics for their own sake, Shakespeare adds twin servants for the twin masters, and deepens and darkens the play into a search for identity that is more akin to nightmare than comedy.

Such tinkering with the sources was to get more audacious as his career continued. The reason why Shakespeare was not particularly prized above others in his lifetime can surely be found here. For imitation was as highly prized as innovation. Only when Ben Jonson seems to have felt less constrained by the Classical heritage as in the mode of comedy, do *imitatio* and invention happily transform the trickster-slaves and legacy hunters of the classics to a Mosca, Corvino or Captain Face alias Jeremy the Butler.

8.2.2. "Apparrell" and Ceremony.

Many of Jonson's characters dress to deceive. In acting mode, Moryson made a convincing Frenchman in the Italian States, deceiving the authorities to his religion and nation. In his precepts to prospective travellers, Moryson advises readers that men should not wear a confusion of styles as a disguise because that would draw attention. The disguise should be consistent. So there certainly seems to have been recognized costume which implied nationality, as when Malcolm in *Macbeth* says of Ross "My countryman, but yet I know him not."[12] This may be a further twist to the images of badly fitting clothes that Caroline Spurgeon first isolated in this play.[13] Such is the state of cowed

---

[12] *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 161.

[13] Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 324 - 326.

Scotland under Macbeth, a "poor country/ Almost afraid to know itself" that men no longer dare to appear signifying what they really are.[14] Disguise is a necessity under the tyranny of Macbeth, since most dare not say what they feel.

Under more normal circumstances the misappropriation of clothing, the trying to appear to be what one is not, excited the legislators and moralists to furious condemnation. This teaching started early, for the moral in one of Æsop's tales of a Jay and a Peacock was "None oughte to were and put on hym another mannes rayment."[15] One of Shakespeare's most inflexible characters, Coriolanus, would have endorsed that sentiment. In certain stratified societies, dressing down was a sign of ritual humility, a custom that Coriolanus would be as happy to "o'er-leap" as the privileges of the people. Against all his instinctual pride, Coriolanus is forced to wear the gown of humility, the "wolvish toge" (presumably because it was of a shaggy coarse cloth) and he actually does it, albeit begrudgingly.[16] Yet he neither asked for the people's voices nor wore their clothes with any fellow feeling or

---

[14] *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 165 - 166.

[15] *The fables of Esope in Englysshe with all his life* (London, 1551), sig. K3r.

[16] The First Folio has "Wooluish tongue" which the Oxford editors change to "womanish toge", II. 3. 115, and the New Penguin editor changes to "wolvish toge". See William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, edited by G. R. Hibbard (Harmondsworth, 1967), II. 3. 114.

kindness, and he is rejected.

In a somewhat gentler vein, Shakespeare exploits the difference between what clothes might promise and the deficiencies of those wearing them. Parolles wishes that recovery of the drum that he has boasted of performing might be as easy as slashing his clothes and breaking his sword. Apparel cannot deceive everybody. Lafeu has known him all along to be "...a snipped - taffeta fellow there, whose villainous saffron would have made all the unbaked and doughy youth of a nation in his colour."[17]

The way that Falstaff covers his substantial girth says much about him. Unable to buckle himself within any belt of rule, his clothes and body are an image of his own disorderliness. Told by the Lord Chief Justice "...you live in great infamy." he replies "He that buckles himself in my belt cannot live in less."[18]

Whereas Parolles at the end of *All's Well That Ends Well* is known for what he is, and Lafeu will see that he will eat rather than starve, the resolution of *Volpone* is very severe. At the catastrophe (for that is what it is) in *Volpone*, when the judges finally realise what has happened,

---

[17] *All's Well That Ends Well*, IV. 5. 1 - 4.

[18] *II Henry IV*, I. 2. 137 - 140.

the first impulse is to degrade the servant who has fooled them as to his proper status, "Disrobe that parasite!" Ben Jonson is a moralist in that he does not let his Mosca and Volpone escape, one goes to the gallies, a virtual death sentence, and the other to prison to waste away in the *Incurabili*.[19] The punishment fits the crime, (as in real Venetian cases discussed by Moryson where manual workers had their hands severed). For Mosca had,

> abused the court,
> And the habit of a gentleman of Venice
> Being a fellow of no birth, or blood.
> *Volpone*, V. 7. 110 - 112.

Jonson seems to have had an intuitive grasp which transcends the accurate details of the city that were mostly supplied to him by John Florio. The importance of costume and ceremony in Venice that Moryson describes in loving detail have been thoroughly abused even down to Mosca pretending to plan an elaborate Venetian funeral for his late dear patron and master.[20] Frightful punishments must inevitably follow. Normality is restored, but Jonson leaves us pondering what kind of distorted normality it really is.

Moryson also shows how sexual motives were often behind the

---

[19] In a French film version of the play, Mosca did escape, and Volpone was an outcast. See Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, edited by Philip Brockbank, New Mermaids (London, 1968), p. xxxi.

[20] *Volpone*, V. 7. 59.

use of disguises, particularly in Italy. This was used to dramatic advantage in Jonson's *Volpone*, so that Volpone can stalk Celia in the guise of a mountebank, and then seduce her, acting out various shapes, as the Sophy (Shah) and the Turk. Italian cross - dressing is even the motive for the resolution of the subplot. Lady Politic Would - be believes that Peregrine is a "Punk" or prostitute dressed as a man, whilst the ever - distrustful Peregrine, following Lady Would - be's sexually ambiguous apology, misinterprets Sir Politic as a bawd, and decides to gull and punish him.

More famously, Shakespeare's ladies cross - dress, usually in order to assert themselves in a male world. Since this field is well covered, and is getting far away from Moryson, I would only observe that Moryson noted that it was usually only lower class women and prostitutes who tended to do this. How far this impinges on the interpretation of Shakespeare's characters cross - dressing, I will leave for others to judge.

One of the lowest class jobs of all, below that of prostitute was the hangman. Clothes were considered contaminated by contact with him. Moryson records that the hangman's job in Denmark, was an "...office *abhorred* as in Germany."[21] Shakespeare recognizes in Abhorson (abhorred

[21] Fol. 239. My italics.

son/whore's son?) the hangman in *Measure for Measure*, the need to upgrade his job into a "mystery". Death certainly is a mystery, but hardly in the sense that Abhorson intends it. He is at the bottom of the social heap as is Pompey Bum. Pompey's movement from bawd to hangman's assistant is not much of a career move. When Macbeth refers to his "hangman's hands" after the murder of Duncan, he is recognizing that he too is unfit for society. This becomes all too apparent in the subsequent banquet scene where he has "...displaced the mirth, broke the good meeting/ With most admired disorder."[22] Without pushing this parallel too far, this ties in with the images of ill - fitting clothes in this play noted above. The hangman was able to appropriate the clothes of his victims.

Dramatists were able to exploit the use of apparel as a national signifier, as an image of a character, as a pointer to the difference between mere image and reality, and as an image of attractive chaos, empowerment and even degradation. Moryson, as part of the audience on the Bankside would have understood these signals immediately.

8.2.3. European Cities and Borders and Nations.

Although he came from Lincolnshire, Moryson was really an

---

[22] *Macbeth*, II. 2. 25, and III. 4. 108 - 109.

adopted Londoner. Throughout, his is an urban perspective. His journeys were really travels between the cities of Europe. Those positive adjectives urbane, and civil derive from *urbs* and *cives*. Yet it is difficult to know how far the Classical heritage influenced him, since there was a contrary Classical tradition of praise of the country against the sophisticated corruptions of the city. In Æsop's story, repeated by Horace in his *Satires*, of the Country Mouse visiting his cousin the Town Mouse, the respective merits of both modes of living are weighed.[23] Yet there is no doubt where Moryson's preferences lay. When he writes of bringing Ireland to civility, that implies the planting of garrisons and new towns. For much of his life, Moryson had rooms at the centre of things, in London.

Queen Elizabeth herself never travelled farther north than Kenilworth, the seat of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[24] The further that Moryson departed from the centre, the more he disliked it. He deprecated, "...the wickednes of the people commonly incident to all borderers and more spetially proper to the Inhabitants thereof"[25] for they

---

[23] Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1929), pp. 216 - 219, *Satires*, II. 6. 77 - 117.

[24] This information is from 'The Triumphs of Oriana', a lecture given by Eric Ives at the Shakespeare Institute in 1992.

[25] Fol. 180.

"vsed to liue like outlawes vpon spoyle".[26] There was constant cattle rustling on the Scottish - English border, and Moryson deprecates the still mighty power of the Northern lords with their retainers, and compares it with the Irish lords who lived beyond the Pale. The brigands living on the Papal - Neapolitan border were so powerful that passengers had to go under armed guard, and they were still attacked. The feared Uskoks, pirates living in the power vacuum on the borders of the Venetian, Ottoman and Holy Roman Empires were supposed to carouse the blood of their enemies. Shakespeare introduces an Uskok in *Measure for Measure*, but Ragusine is so much on the borders that he does not appear in person in the play. His head merely supplies that of the unrepentant Barnadine.[27]

Borderers were outlandish in every sense. Some of these fears are expressed in Westmoreland's report of the annihilation of Mortimer's forces on the Marcher lands of the Welsh border in *I Henry IV*, and the subsequent outrages done on the bodies,

> Upon whose dead corpse' there was such misuse,
> Such beastly shameless transformation,
> By those Welshwomen done as may not be
> Without much shame retold or spoken of.
> I. 1. 43 - 46.

The Vienna of *Measure for Measure* was also a border and

---

[26] Fol. 294.

[27] See my comments on Ragusine on fol. 170.

garrison town, "a famous fort against the Turkes"[28] and the Turkish satellites, the princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania. The Imperial capital was Prague at this time. We are too used to thinking of the anachronistic Vienna of Strauss waltzes, and baroque palaces, but it is a misleading distortion. Shakespeare includes some local colour between Lucio and some gentlemen who seem to have a choral function,

Lucio If the Duke with the other dukes come not to composition with the King of Hungary, why all the dukes fall upon the King.
First Gentlemen Heaven grant us its peace, but not the King of Hungary's!
Second Gentleman Amen. *Measure for Measure*, I. 2. 1 - 6.

Shakespeare may have included the title, the King of Hungary, for the pun on a hungry peace when gentlemen warriors are unwanted. Yet Shakespeare does seem to have some knowledge of the upheaval in this area, and the ebb and flow of war nearby. Scholars taking up John Dover Wilson's suggestion of extensive revision of this play from the original production of 1604 have suggested that the King of Hungary was Bethlen Gabor, who almost captured Vienna in 1619, but another and contemporary candidate would be Michael the Brave of Wallachia.[29] Moryson maintains that his old friend Edward Barton was instrumental in getting him appointed as voivode by Sultan

---

[28] *Itinerary A*, I, 141.

[29] Gary Taylor and John Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped 1606 - 1623* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 180 - 186.

Murad III.[3] Michael then butchered the Turks, allied with Habsburgs, fell out with them by overwhelming his and their erstwhile allies the Princes of Moldavia and Transylvania, re - allied with Habsburgs and was assassinated on their behalf in 1601.[31] What I think can be said with reasonable certainty is that Shakespeare was well aware of trouble in the Balkans impinging on Vienna, a frontier town with all the social problems that that implied. As Moryson says of the city, "It is dangerous to walke the streetes in the night, for the great number of disordered people, which are easily found upon any confines [borders], especially where such an army lieth neere, as that of Hungary, governed by no strict discipline."[32]

Having left Vienna, Moryson made for Venice over the mountains, those natural borders and boundaries. Along with so many foreigners, he could not help but admire the extended ceremonies against the backdrop of the amazing cityscape, even though he deplored certain Venetians and their habits. However, the magic of the city had not worked on Ben Jonson for he had not been there. His character Volpone, rapacious, greedy, and animalistic in desires is also a powerful image of the darker side of a self-

---

[30] Fol. 19.

[31] See Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598 - 1648*, Fontana History of Europe (London, 1979), pp. 76 - 94.

[32] *Itinerary A*, I. 141.

indulgent Venice in decline, living on others and on borrowed time as a great trading nation.[33] Where Moryson sees a grave respect for justice, Jonson sees a self serving system of law, where one of the judges wishes to get in quickly to marry his daughter off to Mosca as magnifico. Whereas Moryson accepts the myth of Venice as an unravished virgin despite the best attentions of *Signor Turco* [the Turks], for Jonson the sensual Turks are already in the Lagoon. Volpone is acting out the part in his protean sexual romps that he envisages with Celia.[34]

It is noticeable that in *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare sets the final act, which represents a new, if faltering start, away from the hard - nosed commercial centre of Venice. J. R. Mulryne has equated this to the flight of the Venetian nobility and their capital from

---

[33] To Brian Parker Volpone "catches the essence of contemporary Venetian decadence". See his 'Jonson's Venice' in *Theatre of the English and Italian Renaissance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (London, 1991), 95 - 112 (p. 108). He is an image of Venice's riches looted from others (most notoriously from Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade). Moryson's contradictory feelings about Venice, admiration for the *stato misto*, public - spirited polity, the excellent laws and justice, and effective poor relief against the materialism, atheistic pragmatism, extravagance, sexual laxity are "...amusingly reflected in the play's English travellers, the admiring, imitative Wouldbes and the censorious mistrustful Peregrine." p. 107. Parker believes that Moryson's "...brilliantly detailed *Itinerary*...widely circulated in manuscript among social groups to which Jonson had access..." p. 96 Moryson only started on his *Itinerary* in the year that *Volpone* was created.

[34] *Volpone*, III. 2. 424 - 428.

trade to their Palladian villas on the terrafirma that the historian Brian Pullan previously had noted.[35] Moryson was aware of the Venetians turning away from the sea for he has much to say on the shortcomings of Venetian seamanship and their vessels.[36]

On his return out of Italy over the Alps, Moryson mentions avalanches, the packs of hungry howling wolves, and the cold. The Sweitzers or Swiss who lived in these mountainous regions were known for their fierce independence, and for supplying the armies of Europe with mercenaries. In the play *Sir Thomas More* when the citizens of London wish to expel foreigners, blaming them for raising prices and lowering trade, More paints a picture of mounting emotion of homeless foreigners trudging away with their little children trailing behind them, culminating in the "mountainish inhumanity" that expulsion would represent.[37] Only the Romantics were to find mountains remarkable for their beauty, when nature seemed more tamed and subjugated.

[35] See J. R. Mulryne, 'History and Myth in *The Merchant of Venice*', in *Shakespeare's Italy*, edited by Michele Marrapodi, A. J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo and others, (Manchester, 1993), pp. 87 - 99, and Brian Pullen, 'The Occupations and Investments of the Venetian nobility in the middle and late sixteenth century', in *Renaissance Venice*, edited by J. R. Hale (London, 1973), pp. 379 - 408.

[36] Fols. 165 - 168.

[37] *Sir Thomas More*, Add. II. D. 155.

Beyond the borders, and beyond the limits of Christendom were the Sunni or orthodox Islamic Turks. They were much more of a closed book than any other race. So when dramatists search for an extreme comparison or ultimate referent they turn to the Turks. Where critics go wrong is when they equate English and Turkish government as equivalent in the minds of contemporaries. Moryson or Lithgow or George Sandys should dispel any doubts about this. Richard Hillman sees in Turkish tyranny "...a powerful subversive emblem of the shadow-side of English monarchy" in Shakespeare's histories, mentioning Bolingbroke's broken promises of a crusade and culminating when Henry V boasts of siring a son to reclaim Constantinople.[38] Yet Henry V disclaims that he is anything like the Turks "Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,/ But Harry Harry."[39] Murad III was succeeded by his son Mahomet III, who then strangled his nineteen brothers. When Hillman tries to explain Shakespeare's mistake as a history lesson, he is simply trying too hard. "This is the English not the Turkish court" Hal says, and critics should believe that.[40] Hillman is aware of Lord Burleigh's rather feeble attempts

---

[38] Richard Hillman,' "Not Amurath an Amurath Succeeds": Playing Doubles in Shakespeare's *Henriad* ', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21, No. 2 (Spring, 1991), 161 - 189, (p. 167), and *Henry V*, V. 2. 204 - 208. Even that is an anachronism, as Constantinople had not been lost yet.

[39] *II Henry IV*, V. 2. 48 - 49.

[4] *II Henry IV*, V. 2. 47.

to come to grips with the current Turkish scene by annotating a 1546 edition of Geuffroy now in the British Library. If the man who helped to formulate English policy towards the Ottomans were in the dark, why should Shakespeare know more than Burleigh?

8.2.4. National characteristics.

Moryson seems to have been happy enough to accept the common perception of national characteristics which was based on the theory of the combination of humours. Jean Bodin also claimed that they were partly determined by the climate, and with a few minor reservations Moryson seems happy enough to agree with him. By defining others, Moryson also defined himself. The French were changeable, the Dutch [Germans] were drunkards, the Swiss freedom - loving, and the Italians unappeasable, malicious and lustful. By implication Englishmen were constant, sober, tractable (a virtue if one thinks of oneself as part of the ruling élite, as Moryson did), forgiving, benign and continent. Whilst this was patently not the case with all Englishmen, the image of the ape, the imitator of foreign vices, was invented to explain away the faults of errant Englishmen.[41] It was not a particularly convincing argument, and

[41] See A. J. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cranbury, New Jersey, 1992), passim.

Shakespeare puts it in the mouth of one of his most ineffective characters, the Duke of York in *Richard II*, who attempts to excuse Richard's behaviour to the dying Gaunt as being influenced by something foreign,

> Report of fashions in proud Italy,
> Whose manners still our tardy - apish nation,
> Limps after in base imitation. II. 1. 21 - 23.

This is in marked contrast with the set - piece England speech that Gaunt, the last representative of a dying but nobler generation, then delivers. The point is that Gaunt is dying, and his banished son Bolingbroke, a quiet Machiavellian, is well aware of foreign tricks. Having deprived King Richard of crown and life, he bemoans "They love not poison that do poison need", and punishes the regicide Sir Piers of Exton.[42] The poison is the Machiavellian, or, perhaps merely Italian, methods of politics that are necessary in a more sophisticated, but less honourable generation.

It is instructive to contrast how Moryson and Shakespeare used the raw material of preconception and prejudice and labelling that passed for national characteristics. That despised group who lived in the suburbs, mewed up in ghettoes, the Jews, lived almost literally on the borders of society. Moryson paints an unflattering picture of them as decadent and much more superstitious than in the ages of

---

[42] *Richard II*, V. 6. 38.

the Biblical patriarchs. They were useful as bailiffs to grind the peasantry in Poland, or for their profits that princes, including the Pope, could make from them in Italy. In Prague at Easter when passions became inflamed they had to be careful not to provoke Christians, because their ancestors had taken on the responsibility of crucifying Jesus.[43] Contrary to Moryson's flat, one - dimensional image, Shakespeare has produced in Shylock a rounded character with a past of love, Leah had given him a ring that still means a lot to him, and of hate, in his ancient grudge against Antonio, of pride in his well won thrift, and of sufferance "...the badge of all our tribe"[44] against the spitting and spurning of the Christians. Shylock decides to take revenge, fails and is pardoned. If we presume that Shakespeare along with Marlowe and Moryson knew the fact of the confiscation of all the goods of a Jew converting to Christianity,[45] then Shylock's sentence, his life spared, and half his goods, if he turn Christian, is an example of "the difference of our spirit"[46] between the Old Testament and the New, the law and forgiveness. Shylock is given hope. Brian Pullan has also shown that forcibly

---

[43] Matthew 27. 25.

[44] *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 109.

[45] See fol. 386, and *The Jew of Malta*, IV. 1. 164 - 165. See Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1969).

[46] *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. 1. 365.

converted Venetian Jews apostasized again usually without the Inquisition troubling them.[47] Since Shakespeare seems to have been aware of the Uskoks, professional pirates of Dubrovnik that preyed on all, but particularly on Venetian shipping, and described as "water - rats" by Shylock, he just might have been aware of this too. Yet seen in the context of Moryson's anti - Semitism, and that of the age, Shakespeare's mitigation of the severity of the resolution is important for dramatic purposes and also religious ones. It represents a considerable advance from the standards of his own day, rather than a back sliding from ours of the late twentieth century.[48]

---

[47] See Brian Pullan, 'The Conversion of the Jews: The Style of Italy', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, 70 (1988), 53 - 70. He believes that the numbers changing their faith in both directions was about equal.

[48] Fifty years on from the ending of World War II, the West has to come to terms with the abuse of its technology by a criminal regime in coralling and slaughtering a race of people coldly and systematically. Denial and silence are inadequate responses. The attempted silencing of this play, the selective cutting when it is staged, or the constant skewing of its production so that the Christians are the greedy market speculators, or veritable Brownshirts or just thugs, seem a modern squeamishness. Anti - Semitism has been a mass European phenomenon since the Crusades. It will not disappear by hoping that it does not exist. Only by facing it, can it be outfaced. Arnold Wesker, arguing against recent trends, said, "David Thacker sanitised his production [by cuts and reversing scenes at Stratford - upon - Avon in 1993]. But by sanitising the play you make it easier for the anti - Semite to be comfortable with it." David Lister, 'Shylock, unacceptable face of Shakespeare?', *Independent*, 17 April 1994, p. 3.

8.3. Fynes Moryson and the Stage Players.

Moryson was as uncomfortable, exasperated even, with stage players as he might have been when confronted with difficult foreigners. Yet it is a further paradox, that he reckoned them to be one of the great English sights, excelling anything that he had seen elsewhere.[49] He listened to them with great "wearysomeness" at the Frankfurt mart for they had "...nether a Compleate number of Actors, nor any good apparell..."[50] Luxurious clothing added to the overall dramatic effect. Its absence impaired the performance. Moryson is famous for this description of the travelling players that he encountered at the Frankfurt mart in September 1592, and also for the brief description that he gave of the Fnglish playhouses. Of the many times that the famous passages have been reproduced the focus has been on the development of English drama on the Continent or at home rather than on Moryson.

As regards the travelling company, it is worth noting that he was describing events that had happened about thirty years previously. However, there is a certain freshness in the description because of Moryson's method of recording events in his Tables night and day, and then transferring

---

[49] Fol. 649.

[50] Fol. 470.

them to a "paper booke that [could be consulted] many yeares after..."[51] One of his precepts is that travellers should be gentlemen at the very least. "Let them stay at home, and beholde the World in a Mappe, who have not meanes for honest expences..."[52] Since only gentlemen should travel, it is not difficult to imagine the disdain that he felt for these begging vagabonds, these "cast despised Stage players", who went from city to city, wheedling permission to perform their patched plays in their patched clothes.

What commentators have missed, because they were more interested in what he has to say than in Moryson as a writer, is that Moryson, like all of us, has his own agenda. He was a gentleman fallen on difficult times, certainly, but more than that, an actor manqué. The actors became nobles, lords and kings with the help of their abilities and the tiring - house, achieving daily what Moryson failed to do in a lifetime. When the play ended, the spell was broken. The familiarity of performance was replaced by the facts of social life, and the social distance between actors and those whom they depicted, and Fynes Moryson and the rightful position to which he felt his talents should have entitled him. In effect actors to

---

[51] *Itinerary A*, III, 374.

[52] *Itinerary A*, III, 389.

him were like Catholic priests, blatant deceivers.[53] Yet for the time of the play, Moryson, as part of the audience, had joined in the deceit, just as years previously he had gone disguised and in acting mode to the Jesuit College in Rome, repelled and yet fascinated. Perhaps his reaction was an emotional one for the actors reminded him of his own missed chances, and the freedom of his youth abroad when he could act any part he pleased. What I am suggesting is that he might have been more severe when he came to incorporate this passage into the *Itinerary* in the 1620s than if he had done so in the 1590s. During that period, the native product that Moryson witnessed had also become much more sophisticated. As such, the passage presents thorny problems of interpretation, posing more questions than it answers.

Jerzy Limon has researched German sources, which emphasise the "excellent music" and "perfect dances" of these early travelling English troupes of actors.[54] Everything is in

[53] "Indeede all the Churches of Italy ingenerall, are very darke, perhapps (as the olde Pagons were wont to sacrifice in groues) to strike a religious horror into the hearts of the people, or to make theire burning of lampes and candles of wax at Noone seeme more comlye and requisite, or the better to sett forth the Ceremonyes of theire Masses and Processions, as Comedians desyre to present theire playes, and all Coseners to shewe theire Counterfeite wares, by the candle, or other shadowed false lights." Fol. 428.

[54] Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company: English Players in Central and Eastern Europe, 1590 - 1660* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 17, referred to hereafter as Limon.

the perception. It is easy to forget that music was an integral component of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic experience because of our reliance on what is left, the words. The lack of "ornament" that Moryson notes held no disappointment for the Germans. In a sense, both the actors and Moryson were both in the "reconnaissance period" of English travel.[55] Journeying got more comfortable for travellers and actors alike as the years progressed. The actors enlarged their scope in terms of repertory, numbers, apparel, and use of the native languages as the years progressed. Originally paid for by the spectators at fairs on feast days, the best companies soon obtained the patronage of the princelings, and even the great families of Europe, as the Hohenzollerns, Vasas, and Habsburgs.

Moryson also describes a representation of the events of the first Easter morning when attending a Hussite Church service in Bohemia. Complete with boy-actors playing Mary mother of James, and Mary Magdelene, and with pulleys for the angel, the passage has not been previously recorded because Hughes edited it out.[56] At least in Bohemia, audiences were not unfamiliar with dramatic presentation, which presaged well for the English companies which came

---

[55] Limon, p. 19.

[56] Fol. 331.

from 1596 onwards.[57]

8.4. Moryson as a Model and Source?

8.4.1. *Hamlet*

Moryson did meet literary figures at odd times and in unusual situations. When recuperating in Crete, Moryson wrote to "Nicholao Donato" requesting permission to pass through on his way to Constantinople as he was free of the plague. Donati sent the Greek poet Vicenzo Cornaro, "generall Provisour for the health" to him. After fumigating his possessions with sulphur, Cornaro allowed Moryson access to the city of Candia. Vitsentzos Kornaros as he is known in Greek, wrote *Erotokritos*, but it is doubtful that Moryson's conversation with him included literary matters. He was probably too annoyed about being detained and fumigated. Even if the conversation had stretched to poetry, Moryson would have disparaged modern Greek decadence against the very obvious achievements of the ancients.[58]

Yet Moryson does seem to have been genuinely interested in

[57] Limon, p. 107.

[58] *The Battle for Crete 1941: A Symposium to Mark the 50th Anniversary*, edited by David Holton (Cambridge, 1991), p. 2. The theme of Greel decadence is explored by Terence Spencer in *Fair Greece Sad Relic* (London, 1954).

Italian literature. He writes to a M. T. H. about Orlando, by which I believe he means the romantic epic *Orlando Furioso* of Ludovico Ariosto, since he also mentions Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio.[59] It has been suggested somewhat mischievously by J. C. Whitebrooke that Moryson was a possible model for Shakespeare's Orlando, and that this is an oblique self-reference in a letter which has more than its fair share of disguises and ruses to foil the Inquisition should it have fallen into their hands. Certainly the youngest brother in *As You Like It* complains of his ill treatment at the hands of the eldest, though he seems to accept "The courtesy of nations" that allows his elder brother to be his "better" with more grace than Moryson.[60] Whitebrook also feels that Moryson could be the model for the title role in *Hamlet*.[61] William Ireland, a beneficiary of Moryson's will, was also Shakespeare's tenant at the Blackfriars gatehouse, the investment property that the dramatist bought in March 1613.[62] It would be typical of Moryson's perverse luck that the sharp - eyed dramatist had seen and noted this procrastinating,

---

[59] *Itinerary A*, I, 343.

[6] *As You Like It*, I. 1. 42 - 43.

[61] J. C. Whitebrook, 'Fynes Moryson, Giordano Bruno and William Shakespeare', *Notes and Queries* (October 1936), 255 - 260.

[62] See Appendix III, where I have copied of Moryson's will with full refererces. There may be more than one William Ireland in London at this time. The nexus between tenant and landlord may be solely monetary.

diffident ex - student of Wittenberg who had visited Elsinore, dreamt of his dead parents and made frequent notes on his tables like Hamlet, "Meet it is I set it down".[63] Yet in his attitude to the actors, Moryson is more like Polonius who wishes to "...use them according to their desert", than Hamlet who wishes them to be used "much better."[64] It could well be Moryson speaking on the virtue of silence when Polonius advises Laertes before his travels, "Give every man thine ear but few thy voice".[65]

Neither does Moryson share Hamlet's despair with "Words, words, words."[66] Moryson is less cynical than we seem to be about words, and their effect. The Papists are so frightened of them that they have their own translations, and the Reformation itself began with Luther's new reading of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Moryson has no doubts about the power of poetry to move. It even moved the Irish to rebellion.[67]

[63] *Hamlet*, I. 5. 108.

[64] *Hamlet*, II. 2. 530 - 532.

[65] *Hamlet*, I. 3. 68.

[66] *Hamlet*, II. 2. 195.

[67] "The wilde or meere *Irish* haue a generation of Poets, or rather Rymers vulgarly called *Bardes*, who in their songs vsed to extoll the most bloudy licentious men, and no others, and to allure the hearers, not to the loue of religion and Ciuill manners, but to outrages Robberies living as outlawes, and Contempt of the Magistrates and the kings lawes." Fol. 259.

Having seen the tears in the eyes of the player declaming the antique tale of Queen Hecuba, Hamlet realises the power of words, which have so far failed to move him to action. Unlike John Florio who disparaged English as being "bepeesed with foreign tounges", Moryson regards this as a strength of the language so that it is "...excellently refyned, and made perfitt for ready and breefe deliuery both in prose and verse."[68]

Ultimately, *Hamlet* is such a large play that, like quotation from the Bible, virtually any thing can be proven in partial context. Yet even if further details of Moryson's connection with Shakespeare were to emerge, since the act of creation cannot be recreated for us to observe, the case would still remain open. In a way it is a curious naivety to think that a writer must have an immediate model. Yet if writers do not necessarily have immediate models, many do have immediate sources.

8.4.2. Moryson as a possible Source of *Women Beware Women*

For Moryson, "Three vices are generally imputed to the Italyans, which the most ingenious of them will not deny, namely vnbridled lust, vnapeasable malice, and politique

---

[68] Fol. 609.

deceite."[69] Certainly these characteristics are present in English tragedies based in Italy, and J. R. Mulryne, the editor of Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women* has gone so far as to cite the passage on the lives and deaths of Duke Francis of Tuscany and Bianca Capelli as a possible source.[7] Moryson's phrase about Bianca and her merchant husband,"...he hauing wasted his estate in shorte tyme, shee was thought a fitt pray for a better man." may have set Middleton thinking of the tone of his play. Morality is traded for wealth. Like bankrupt stock, Bianca is picked up by the Duke in a smart move. The pawn Bianca asks, "Why should you seek, sir,/ To take away that you can never give?" which the Duke checks with, "But I give better in exchange: wealth, honour."[71] Certainly, Moryson has little time for these trading princes of Italy. The Cardinal of Middleton's play became Duke Ferdinand I (1587 - 1609). He was seen in his threadbare coach by Moryson. Although Moryson tones down the descriptions found in Dallington (whose work was burnt by the common hangman at the request

[69] Fol. 424. Note the similarity to the description of Sir Edwin Sandys quoted on p. clxxvi.

[7] See fols. 136 - 137, and Thomas Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, edited by J. R. Mulryne (Manchester, 1975), pp. xlii - xliii, 178 - 179. I shall use this edition hereafter.

[71] II. 2. 367 - 369.

of the Tuscan ambassador,)[72] his description of the Duke with the roving eye is still as a masterpiece of repulsiveness. In neoplatonic terms, inner beauty is reflected by outward appearance. So Moryson's views are temperate but unequivocal. It is dangerous to confuse the reality of a play with historical realities, although both play and the description are mediated by the each author's prejudice, imagination and selection. Within the confines of Middleton's play, I used to feel that the Cardinal provided the centre of moral gravity. His poetry convinces. However, if Middleton had read Moryson's description, did he read on further to find out what happened to the Cardinal? For the interpretation of this role is crucial to the whole play. Did he read Moryson's disparaging remarks about cardinals in general, and of the factions, ambitions and corruptions in the conclaves to vote in the next antichrist? Many of these ideas would have been already familiar to him. If Middleton did read on, should this in context alter how we interpret the Cardinal's views of marriage "the immaculate robe of honour", and his summation at the end of the play,

> Sin, what thou art these ruins show too piteously.
> Two kings on one throne cannot sit together,
> But one must needs down, for his title's wrong;
> So where lust reigns, that prince cannot reign long.?
> V. 2. 222 - 225.

---

[72] See fol. 138 and Sir Robert Dallington, *A survey of the great dukes state of Tuscany. In 1596* (London, 1605), [*STC* 6200].

Is the Cardinal with the wandering eye merely saying the correct things? Has he not fooled us, the audience as well? Everything has worked to his advantage. He is now Duke. The two kings on one throne may refer to his own ambition to climb. A director could emphasise this by having him pull his dead brother out of the chair of state, and perching on it himself. This final speech could be merely conventional, and unfelt piety.

> The Italyans taught in this Roman schoole, as the haue a Religion like the Pharisyes, glorious on the outsyde, but rotten in the insyde, so is theire outwarde behauiour generally Ciuill and graue, but for the most parte, this nation aboue all others is defiled with wicked speeches and actions. Fol. 423.

Is Middleton's Cardinal what Moryson calls elsewhere one of "The subtle witts of Italy'?[73] Could it be that these trading potentates and princes buy and sell everything? If so, it is an Italy without scruple or true religion.[74] This, in Moryson's terms, is "politique deceite" indeed.

Two modern critics of this play have suggested that the duplicity is Middleton's rather than that of his creation, the Cardinal.[75] To them, this play which depicts a fatal

[73] Fol. 401.

[74] Middleton with his Protestant concern evident in *A Game at Chess* may have said "Amen" to that.

[75] Zara Bruzzi and A. A. Bromham, ' 'The soil alters; Y'are in another country': multiple perspectives and political resonances in Middleton's *Women Beware Women*,' in *Shakespeare's Italy*, edited by Michele Marrapodi, A. J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo and others (Manchester, 1993), pp. 251 - 271 (p. 267), referred to as Bruzzi

outcome to an unfortunate marriage, is a veiled attack of 1621 on the proposed Spanish Match of Prince Charles and the Infanta. For them, the Cardinal speaks "...the language of Calvinism, with its metaphors of the purity of the true Church opposed to the adultery of Catholicism...but the fact that it is a Cardinal, a Catholic, reproving the Duke [about the proposed match] seems to deny this interpretation as it is made." A literary critic might regard a Calvinist cardinal as an oxymoron; a historian would regard it as nonsense.[76] For Moryson a possible source of this play, the concept of "cardinal" comes freighted with massive and negative theological association. Of course, Middleton as author could have rejected this emphasis, but he shared Moryson's dedicatee, the Earl of Pembroke as patron, and much of Middleton's output from the religious works of his youth to *A Game at Chess* has a strong Protestant emphasis. For him to create a Calvinist cardinal would be as logical as to create an altruistic Machiavel. Once again, an interesting article which actually takes note of some historical research is vitiated by what I called earlier a lack of historical

hereafter.

[76] There was a movement later in the seventeenth century within the Catholic Church called Jansenism which had some similarities to Protestant thought because its founder Cornelius Jansen took as his starting point St Augustine's doctrines on divine grace and the helplessness of man. See Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church in the Age of Reason 1648 - 1789* (Harmondsworth, 1960), pp. 25 - 30.

restraint, by putting a modern theory forward and not getting into the age's frame of reference.

8.5. Envoi.

Familiarity might breed contempt, but it also dulls the critical faculties. I have tried to avoid the besetting sin of writers of theses in claiming more for "their" author than is really justified. It might be argued that in trying to get into the frame of reference of Moryson's period, I have been too lenient on his work. However, I must leave that for others to judge.

Perhaps my final justification for spending so long on this work is that it represents an entry point into the mentality and the references of the society that produced the greatest period of English drama and also helped to ensure that it would be understood centuries later across the wider globe.

9. Conventions and Abbreviations Adopted in this Transcription.

9.1. Conventions.

This edition is a diplomatic one, being a transcription of everything that is on the pages of the manuscript. This includes erasures where legible. They are included within these brackets: []. If the word "many" were deleted, it would appear so: [many]. Where deleted letters are illegible, dots are supplied for each missing letter: [....]. If "may" were written, and the word "many" intended, and the "n" had been added with a caret underneath, it would appear thus: ma⌈n⌉y. In the few cases where corrections are added below the normal writing line, it would appear thus: ma⌊n⌋y.

For common abbreviations such as "wch" or "wth" or words with contracted letters, usually the 'm' or 'n', I have merely expanded the contraction and underlined the letters that I have supplied thus: which, with, common. Hand Two has a favourite contraction or mistake of "the" for "they", which I have not always corrected by a footnote as the context will supply the meaning. "Their" and "there" are used indiscriminately.

Where I am unsure of my reading, I use these brackets: <>.

If I were unsure whether the word were "mary", or "many", and decided that the latter seemed to be the more likely, it would appear so: ma<n>y, and possibly I would include a note explaining my choice. These brackets are used for headings and catchwords, {}, material that is in but not an integral part of the text. I have italicized where the writer italicizes, or departs from his normal secretary hand.

There are four exceptions to my rule of including everything. I do not include the caret mark. Catchwords are only included where anomalous. I needed the slash mark, /, to set off number lines and ends of pages, so I do not include it. Often Moryson is indicating space to be left, or the end of a paragraph or section, in which case there is space left or a paragraph break. Finally, where annotations on the side of the work are not contemporary, but relatively modern, by which I mean nineteenth century onwards, I have ignored them. I normally expand abbreviations, but, exceptionally, where the dynastic tables proved difficult to get within the constraints of an A4 sheet, I have not expanded absolutely everything.

I have used the "modern" edition of Moryson's Printed *Itinerary* published in 1907 - 1908, as opposed to the original of 1617. Both are rare. Even the modern edition

print run was limited to one thousand copies.[1] However, the modern edition is probably still the more accessible even in the age of microfilms. I have referred to it as *Itinerary A*, and used its pagination.

This manuscript, I refer to as *Itinerary B*, but only in cases of possible confusion. As formerly stated, *Itinerary B* follows on from *Itinerary A*, and is meant to complete the work. In this sense, it is a false distinction, even though it dates from the decision to publish Moryson's partly completed work. In *Itinerary B* Moryson uses the word folio, or the abbreviation fol. in the sense of just one side of a page, either recto or verso, but never both. I have followed his practice, since it would be unnecessarily pedantic to do otherwise. Thus fol. 412 is followed by fol. 413. This also has the advantage that when I refer to fol. followed by a number, it can only be from *Itinerary B*, and so is a useful shorthand.

In those sections of Charles Hughes's transcription of *Itinerary B* of 1903, where he changes the text from what is there, I have only noted it where the change is substantive. Thus, if he gets a little too free with his "e"s at the end of words, it is not noted. If, however, he

---

[1] See the advertisement by the publishers, James Maclehose and Sons in the special advertising insertion at the back of Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols (Glasgow 1905 - 1907), XX (1907), 22.

makes meaning out of nonsense, and I am convinced that what he substitutes, is, by my experience of that hand, what was very likely to have been intended by the writer, it is noted with the formula "Hughes amends to..." or "Hughes corrects to...". If I am not absolutely convinced, I will use some other formula such as "Hughes changes to..." "Hughes has..." or "Hughes substitutes...". This does not necessarily mean that I am in violent disagreement, but that I cannot think of anything else. If I can think of something else but am unsure whether my reading is preferable, I will put it in a note. In those sections not transcribed before, provided that the spelling is intelligible, I have not annotated it, however far it departs from modern usage.

Where dates are given beside the name of ordinary mortals, it will be the dates of birth and death. In the case of all rulers, German princes, counts, and electors, Doges, Popes, Kings and Emperors, they will refer their to regnal years. All dates are old style unless followed by NS, which indicates the new style Gregorian calendar introduced in Catholic states from 1582.

I have capitalized the double "f", thus "ffrench" become "French". There are obscurities enough without complicating matters further by deliberate antiquarianisms.

I have attempted to keep annotations to a minimum. I have assumed a reader with a reasonable knowledge of Jacobean English, for a general reader is unlikely to stumble across Moryson. I have glossed, words that I have found difficult, Hughes's substantive emendations and mistakes, possible sources and influences, and corrected dates or information where I have found it incorrect from my reading. For quotations from the Bible, I have used the Geneva edition.[2]

I have tried to be consistent in the frequency and depth of annotation. However, where correspondents with me have been particularly diligent, or they are particularly eminent in their field, I have attempted as far as possible to include all their observations. Otherwise, I would be excluding their knowledge for the sake of consistency, which I cannot justify.

Where I have tracked down a foreign source, I have not translated it in my notes where Moryson has already done the job for me.

In my introduction and annotations I have quoted from

---

[2] In Elizabethan fashion I used the easiest edition to hand which was in the Shakespeare Centre, Henley Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, *The Holy Bible*, Geneva edition (London, 1594), [*STC* 2163]. Unfortunately, its earlier edition of 1576 was on public display. Obviously Moryson would have had an earlier edition than 1594, probably bought for him in his early childhood.

Moryson's complete *Itinerary*. Both parts were intended to make a completed whole, and although for preference I have tried to quote from this document, when a quotation from *Itinerary A* is appropriate, I have not hesitated to use it.

The dynastic trees caused endless trouble. I had to reduce the size of the typeface, and move parts of the dynasty lines far away from from their forbears to make it fit on a page. Where the latter case was necessary a dotted line is used to guide the reader. Where the line becomes solid again is where the dynastic line recommences.

It is a mark of how long I have been at work on this thesis that I am using the third edition of the *MHRA Style Book*, when the fourth was issued in 1991. However, apart from naming publishers, the committee only tinkered with their previous recommendations.

For a reader of this work, I would suggest that the best method of tackling it is to do so country by country rather than starting at the beginning and working through. That is the method that I adopted.

I have decided to split the bibliography at about the year 1800. Contemporary and near contemporary works are in **Bibliography One**, whilst modern works are in **Bibliography Two**.

9.2. Abbreviations of Frequently Cited Individuals and Works.

BMCG *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955*, compact edition, 27 vols. (New York, 1967),

BP Brian Pullan, Professor of Modern History, The University of Manchester,

Breviat Giovanni Botero, *The Travellers Breviat*, translated by I. R. (London, 1601),

CE *Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Charles B. Hebermann, Edward A. Pace, Conde B. Pullen and others, 15 vols (London, 1907 - 1912),

CSP *Calendar of State Papers* followed by topic to which they relate, Ireland, Venetian, Domestic,

Caesar Julius Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul*, translated by S. A. Hanford, revised edition by J. F. Gardner (Harmondsworth, 1982),

Camden *Camden's Britannia 1695*, with an Introduction by Stuart Piggott, and Bibliographical Note by Gwyn Walters, David and Charles Reprints (Newton Abbot, 1971),

CDvS Dr C. D. van Strien formerly of Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam,

Cipolla Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400 - 1700*

(London, 1965),

Coryat — Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1905),

Davis — R. H. C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe From Constantine to Saint Louis*, revised edition (London, 1970),

DNB — *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, 22 vols (London, 1885 - 1900),

EB — *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, 29 vols (Cambridge, 1910 - 1911),

Elliott — J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided 1559 - 1598* (London, 1968),

Elton, — G. R. Elton, *Reformation Europe 1517 - 1559* (London, 1963),

EWH — *Encyclopedia of World History*, edited by William L. Langer, fourth edition (London, 1968),

FB — Frank Beetham, Department of Classical Studies, University of Birmingham,

Fenton — Francesco Guicciardini, *The Historie of Guicciardin*, second edition, translated by Geffray Fenton (London, 1599),

Fol. — A page number from *Itinerary B.*

Harvey — Sir Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, (Oxford, 1937),

HC — Henry Cohn, The Chairman of the Department of

History, The University of Warwick,

Hyamson — Hyamson, Albert M., *A Dictionary of Universal Biography* second edition (London, 1951),

Itinerary A — Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeares Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, & Ireland*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1907 - 1908), the first three books of his work originally published in 1617,

Itinerary B — Fynes Moryson, *The fourth Part of an Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson gent:* Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 94, referred to as *Itinerary B* only in cases of possible confusion with *Itinerary A*.

Koenigsberger — H. G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G. Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, second edition (London, 1989),

L & S — Lewis, Charlton T., and Short, Charles, *A Latin Dictionary* (reprinted Oxford, 1960),

m.n. — Marginal note in Moryson's text followed by line number.

NH — Dr. Nicholas Hammond, The Department of French, The University of Birmingham.

NS — Following a date indicates the New Style dating system of the Gregorian calendar, instituted into Catholic Europe in 1582.

OED — *Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition) On Compact Disk* (Oxford, 1992),

OL — *Orbis latinus*, compiled by J. G. T. Graesse and Friedrich Benedict, second edition (Berlin, 1909),

Parker — Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598 - 1648* (London, 1979),

PS — Peter Skrine, Professor and Head of Department of German Studies, The University of Bristol,

RM — Dr. Rhoads Murphey, Department of Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, The University of Birmingham,

Room — Adrian Room, *A Dictionary of Coin Names* (London, 1987),

State — Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956),

STC — A. W. Pollard, and Redgrave, G. R., *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475 - 1640*, second edition, revised and enlarged, 3 vols (Oxford, 1986),

Sugden — Edward H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925),

Tilley — Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of The*

Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950),

Tuscany Sir Robert Dallington, *A survey of the great dukes state of Tuscany. In 1596* (London, 1605), [*STC* 6200]

View Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, edited by W. L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970),

Waley Daniel Waley, *Later Medieval Europe From St Louis to Luther* (London, 1964),

Zingarelli Nicola Zingarelli, *Il nuovo Zingarelli Vocabolario Della La Lingua Italiana*, eleventh edition (Milan, 1990).